

**EDUCATION, INSURGENCY AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A
STUDY ON WOMEN EDUCATION IN KASHMIR IN
POST- INDEPENDENT INDIA (1947-2017)**

Thesis Submitted for the Award of the Degree of

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**In
History**

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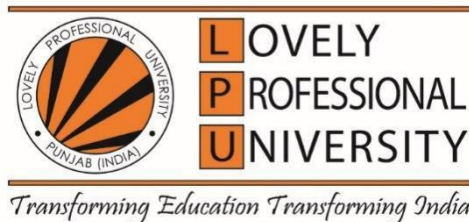
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2024**

DECLARATION

I, hereby declared that the presented work in the thesis entitled “**Education, Insurgency And Social Change: A Study on Women Education in Kashmir in Post - Independent India (1947-2017)**” in fulfillment of degree of **Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)** is outcome of research work carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Tariq Ahmad Sheikh working as Assistant Professor in the department of History, School of Arts and Humanities Lovely Professional University, Punjab, India. In keeping with general practice of reporting scientific observations, due acknowledgements have been made whenever work described here has been based on findings of other investigator. This work has not been submitted in part or full to any other University or Institute for the award of any degree.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the work reported in the Ph.D. thesis entitled “Education, Insurgency And Social Change: A Study On Women Education In Kashmir In Post-Independent India (1947-2017)” submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the reward of degree of **Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)** in the Department of History School of Arts and Humanities is a research work carried out by Shoab Mohammad, Registration No 11720106 is bonafide record of his/her original work carried out under my supervision and that no part of thesis has been submitted for any other degree, diploma or equivalent course.

Signature of Supervisor



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Abstract

Jammu and Kashmir is mostly centered in rural areas. It is estimated that 72% of its total population resides in rural areas and towns. In terms of education as per census 2011 the total literacy of the state is 68%. In proportion to literacy rate about 63.18% people are literates in rural population of which 73.46% are males and only 46% are females. The state of affairs of women in rural areas with regard to literacy is too dismal. There is a wide gap of illiteracy between men and women. This gap is also prevalent between rural women and urban women in Jammu and Kashmir and comparably the overall literacy rate of women in Kashmir stands low as compared to other states of India.

This perplexing problem of women education in the region is a reverberating question and a challenge to the state. Despite of the various initiatives taken by the government and other organizations from time to time still a sea change seems apparently far.

If we plump into history the dismal state of women education has its origins and roots in the past. Prior to Independence particularly in dogra period (1846-1947) the picture of education in Kashmir was not rosy but too sick due to the apathy of rulers and conservatism in society in this regard. Christian missionaries who had a modern bend of mind initiated different moves but they had to face odds because the development of education in general and female education in particular was an uphill task due to lack of support and narrow outlook of the society.

After Independence in 1947 initiatives were taken to disperse the conservative and narrow outlook of the society. Different policies were framed at national and state level to establish modern and welfare state of Jammu and Kashmir. The importance of women was formally recognized and special emphasis was laid upon women rights, education and empowerment. But the dismal state of women in the field of education has continued with slow growth even after independence primarily due different socio cultural inhibitions. Even though such socio cultural inhibitions with more or less degrees have remained common for the women living in other states of India, but the point of distinction between women of Kashmir and women of other states has been the pervasive conflict recognized in Kashmir . The origin of this conflict can be seen in retrospection to the period of Indian independence in 1947.

The valley of Kashmir underwent a new state of affairs since 1990's with the emergence of militancy and armed insurgency. Insurgency reshuffled the socio-political arena of the region

and disordered the values of peace and prosperity. During the period the government has been barren of conflict oriented vision and initiatives to direct education in general and women education in particular in the state. One of the major impacts of this turmoiling period is seen as shattering force upon the women. The fear and violence has diminished her values of education and emancipations.

Moreover women education in the state has also been driven by aspects like gender inequality, patriarchy, unawareness, unemployment, climate barriers and inherent problems within women education system.

Since the Government and non-governmental agencies have initiated various plans to improvise the system of female education in the state. Education of girls has remained one of the top priorities of the government. The national level policies, programmes and schemes from time to time have played vital role in the development of women education in the state. The government of India in collaboration with the state has played a vital role in addressing the educational problems of the weaker and vulnerable sections of the society. Compared to past number of improvements has been made in the sector. But the female education in the state lacks desired growth compared to the other parts of country. The policies concerning to girl education need reformation and modification owing to complicity which such plans do face in Jammu and Kashmir. Due to lack of supplementary approach at grassroot level the burning issues specifically in women's education are less addressed. The plans pertained to women education should have element of panacea to block the repercussions of the prevailing conflict. The inference we draw is that this element is missing.

Nevertheless there is also a major role played by NGO's and indigenouse religious organizations. But bearing some exceptions most of the religious organizations and institutions in the state lack capacity to boost female education in the state owing to scarcity of good schools, quality of teachers, un-updated curriculums, and lack of non-scholastic dimensions of education. The ironic part within such intuitions is gender biases and prejudice which defeats the noble cause to educate women.

Hence the social change has faced complexity in the region owing to bondage of women under narrow outlook, lack of proper initiatives and domineering conflict operating since decades. This has lead to a kind of stagnancy in the broader social outlook and the educational development of women folk. It is pertinent to mention that this stagnancy has been more central in rural Kashmir.

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0.1: INTRODUCTION

Since the dawn of human civilization the existence of woman has attained a strong pedestal in human society. Women are key agents of social change and dynamic changes in any society can occur if women are educated and empowered. The education of women is transactional, this can be better understood from the proverb “If we educate a man, we educate an individual, but if we educate a woman, we educate a family. The outcomes of giving education to men and women differ; the knowledge of women is transactional to their children. An educationally empowered woman can change family and society if seeds of knowledge are properly sown into them. Our motive and effort is to make women capable of delivering positive change.

History bears witness to the fact, that the conditions of women folk in past was not favorable. They used to be subjects of discrimination, confined to domestics and restricted under patriarchy and dogmatic cultures. The discrimination over womenfolk had continued for centuries until they observed and believed that dependency and discrimination was natural to them. This phenomenon had affected their intellect, empowerment and their social status. Infact Throughout history the emancipation and education of women has narrow vents.

The present research is mainly focused to the Indian state of Jammu & Kashmir particularly ‘Kashmir’ division. The region is located on the northern side of the country. It is surrounded by the Uygur in the northeast (region of Xinjiang) and Tibet to the east. On the southern side, it is bounded by the Indian states of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. Its boundaries touch Pakistan in the west and Afghanistan in the northwest. As per the 2011 census the total population of the state is 1.25 Crores, A bulk of the population that constitutes 72.62% of the total population is subdud in rural areas while 27.38% remains the urban population. The literacy rate in rural areas is 63.18% in which females constitute 46% while males constitute 73.76%. Moreover, Female literacy in urban areas stands at 56.65%. Female literacy in Kashmir stands far compared to the literacy rates of men.

Kashmir is a sensitive area due to its strategic location and historical events that have shaped its social structure. To understand the dimensions of society, politics and female education in the valley, we need to draw insights into background. Historically the valley of Kashmir has gone through two major important cultural changes. Viewing Kashmiri women within these two historical changes are widely responsible for their development and shift in society. History has marked the first phase with the sub mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism in the

society of Kashmir up to thirteen century A.D. Onwards the thirteen century A.D a new cultural shift took place with the emergence of Muslim rule and the arrival of Islamic missionaries who sowed the seeds of Islam, thus Kashmir became predominantly a Muslim Majority.

In antiquity the place was once a hub of teaching and learning. People used to learn Sanskrit and students from different parts of the world visited here for perusing higher education. The remains and traces of higher education are found during the Buddhist period in Kashmir. it was the time when the higher institutes like Nalanda, Vikramshila, and Takshashila or (Taxila) used to be at their peak. Before the onset of the 13th, the position of Kashmiri women in society was much better. Kashmiri women folk enjoyed a profound space in society compared to the rest of the women in India. Education, in general, was imparted even if traditionally but there were no strict restrictions. Women were also taught diplomacy, statecraft, and languages. The 11th-century literature work by Bilhana mentions that the women of Kashmir used to speak good Sanskrit and fluent Prakrit language. But on the other side, it was also true that she had not full freedom from the bondage of ancient society. It had got clung to her in the form of burdens and social restrictions.

During Muslim rule in Kashmir education was given through institutions called Maktabas and Madrasas. For Hindus, it was given through 'Pathshalas'. The education was mostly religious in which special emphasis was given on character building and learning moral values. During the Sultanate period in Kashmir valley, a series of Madrasas and Maktabas was established. Besides religious and moral education, other subjects like grammar, literature, theology, logic, and jurisprudence were also taught. Education of the women in Muslim rule inclusive of the Afghan rule was confined to such institutions to cultivate religious formalism and develop moral values among learners. But even during the Muslim rule no such change and advancements were measured concerning the status of women in society and family. Self-reliance on the part of women was missing and her dependency on men folk was dominant.

The people of Kashmir witnessed major structural changes with the emergence of the Dogra rule (1846-1947). The state came under the control of Dogras after the treaty of Amritsar. The treaty was signed between the British Government and Maharajah Gulab Singh. Under this treaty, the first Dogra ruler Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir sold the state to British paramountcy for seventy -five Lakhs 'Nanakshahi'. It included people, land, trees, and cattle. This deal is popularly known as "The Sale deed of Kashmir". The articles

mentioned in the treaty were limited to discussing area and amount of sale, regulations regarding bilateral disputes, paying yearly tributes, shaping of military alliances, and acknowledgment of British supremacy. But in contrast to the rights of the Kashmiri people, their aspirations and interests were not addressed. Gulab Singh considered his British master's eternal rulers of the subcontinent thus he sold the land along with the people of Kashmir and ruled over there under their harmony. However, people under tyrannical Dogra rule faced manifold miseries and chaos especially Muslims who were largely discriminated against, burdened with taxation, and given partial rights. Their education and opportunities were limited and inadequate. Under them the approach towards uplifting the status of women was completely diminished. Various scholars have revealed that the condition of people especially Muslims was seen at its worst under Dogra rule. The scenario of education was in distress. It is being said that if Muslims were given equal education then the present scenario would have been different. Although several advancements in the field of education took place under later Dogra rulers like Maharaja Ranbir Singh and Maharaja Pratap Singh but those too were limited. Education of women folk had no vent in this period although the phenomenon of Maktabas and Madrasas continued in this period. In hundred years of their rule, Kashmir witnessed a spark of consciousness only during the latter half of the 18th century due to the arrival of Christian church missionaries who tried to light the candle of modern education and consciousness to develop the mental state of people and change their condition. Special focus was given to womenfolk; their health and education were taken as a basic priority. But for missionaries, it was not easy to bring change in a socially conservative, patriarchal society. The biased local rulers on the other side did not want to make their subjects conscious thus they showed less support to missionaries. But hard work paves the way. In the first stage, their holistic approach remained limited to the education of boys. Under their affairs, it was only after the 1920's that the sense of modern education and the importance of female education came into the social limelight. Although the growth was extremely slow and the development of female education was limited to urban locations.

In 1931's the freedom movement against Dogras emerged in Kashmir. This movement was headed by 'Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah' also known as the 'Lion of Kashmir'. It was a widespread agitation to fight for the rights of the majority Muslim population in which women also participated. The situation resulted in the introduction of political reforms by maharaja under the Glancy Commission. Under this commission, "it was deemed to establish

a legislative assembly through elective representatives from each community". Sheikh Abdulla who was chaired as a president under the banner of the Muslim Conference wanted to advance the society of Kashmir on modern lines. Sociologists like 'B. A Dabla' writes that it was in the context of this freedom movement that a prospectus for women empowerment was granted in 1944 under "Naya Kashmir" which later turned into a pathway for future governments to construct modern Kashmir. Compared to the previous scenario one must know about the routes which became agents of marginalization. Before the 1930's no such women's movement at gross root level was ever organized. Those who were already working on women-related issues showed no serious zeal in raising their voices. Professor 'Hafsa Kanjwal' points out that they were solely dependent upon the state, but later they became active participants and started to engage themselves in raising concerns of women when 'Naya Kashmir Manifesto' was planned. Therefore it was a period of change for womenfolk. The manifesto which delivers a special chapter on women's empowerment and rights seems an attempt to promote state-sponsored feminism. The development of female education remained quite an important and urgent task among the authors of this social cum economic development program.

The Dogra rule came to decline with the end of British rule in India in 1947. After 1947 successive govt in Kashmir attempted to improve the conditions of people especially women folk. It was planned that the status of women shall be transformed through modern education from primary up to university level and new initiatives shall be taken to upgrade their status in society. But as Professor Dabla's "*Multidimensional problems of women in Kashmir*" reveals that the women-related welfare programs were neither planned properly nor carried out seriously. One such reason could be that the political disturbances after 1947 in the valley of Kashmir had an impact on the development plans for women folk as it sidelined the motives of government in proper planning. Besides, that other factors like illiteracy, unawareness, and lack of zeal for education among womenfolk are responsible causes.

After 1947 the state of Jammu and Kashmir witnessed new structural changes from a shift to one social structure to another. After 300 years of rule over Indian territories finally, towards the end of British rule, the Indian subcontinent was divided into India and Pakistan having. It began one of the greatest migrations in the human history. Across Indian subcontinent, communities that had coexisted near to millennium together lead to conflicts and brutal crimes against each other during partition which was a terrifying outbreak of sectarian violence. More than one and half million people were dead and more than 15 million people

were dislocated. Women were used as an instrument of war and rage caught between communal war and hatred. After partition under the '*Indian Independence Act 1947*' all the states were reorganized to form a nation. At the time of British withdrawal, there existed 565 princely states including Jammu & Kashmir. In this nation-building process, the governor-general of India stated that if any state wants to accede with Indian dominion then the ruler must sign the Instrument of Accession which would be considered as a legal document in the constitution of India. Kashmir was recognized as a princely state and last Dogra ruler Maharaja Hari Singh decided to sign 'Still Stand Agreement' and did not choose to merge with either "India or Pakistan". The region of Kashmir decided to remain independent. Since the skirmishes between two nations after independence and partition lead to conflict popularly known as First Kashmir War (1947-1948) which was fought between India and Pakistan. In October 1947 "Afridi's" also known as "Kabales" from the North West frontier of Pakistan planned to invade Kashmir. It threatened the maharaja and later motivated him to sign the instrument of accession and merge with the dominion of India. It was decided that India shall have the right to maintain and interfere in the defense, communication, and external matters of the state. Although it is also believed that the majority of the people (Muslims) were not satisfied with the decision of the Maharaja. In the year 1951, the first - ever election in the constituent assembly of the state was fought; Sheikh Abdullah won all the 70 seats under the flagship of his party National Conference. In 1952 the prime minister of India Pandith Jawaharlal Lal Nehru along with Sheikh Abdullah framed the separate constitution of Jammu & Kashmir under Article 370 of the Indian constitution which guaranteed to provide special status to the people of Jammu & Kashmir by securing their rights, aspirations, land, and citizenship. However, in 1953 Sheikh Abdulla was arrested due to his public speeches regarding the accession of the state with Indian dominion. Therefore Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was appointed in place of Sheikh Abdulla. Under this new Government, different initiatives were taken for the development of education, and new schools and colleges were constructed. Bakshi's Government tried to develop the system of education parallel to the path of 'Naya Kashmir Manifesto' special attention was given to educating and empowering women. But we can't deny the fact that Sheikh Abdullah considered ignorance not less than an evil deed; He was a great believer of change and thus accepted firmly that education is the instrument of receiving dynamic social change.

Bakshi retired in 1964 and soon after his retirement, there was an infiltration again between India and Pakistan. It resulted in the 2nd India-Pak war in 1965. In 1971 both countries fought

for the third time. Following the year in 1972, Sheikh Abdullah was released and in a comeback, he was appointed as new chief minister of the state of Jammu & Kashmir *(the title of prime minister was replaced as chief minister from 1965 onwards).

The political chaos and indo pak wars over Kashmir from time to time bear witness to the presence of political instability. Even after independence from Dogras the state of Jammu and Kashmir had remained engulfed in political turmoil and crisis. The society on the other side was largely conservative, especially in villages. Patriarchal norms were mostly encouraged in which women folk continued to live a confined life. But even then the womenfolk step by step came out of unstable situations and expressed their role in different fields of life. Though the visible change in women folk was not wholly but partially accepted. Modernity and tradition were partly maintained by the womenfolk. The changes have occurred owing to initiatives taken at the national and state level concerning their development through a gender-oriented curriculum, with a deeper emphasis on access to education.

A tranquil environment was seen in the society of Kashmir during the late 1970s. The period witnessed a lot of visitors from outside to enjoy the scenic beauty of the valley, films were shot, and the nightlife was enjoyed in towns and cities without fear and dread. But this tranquility did not last for a long time. In the late 1980s, the long-run political disturbance between two countries India & Pakistan shaped different paradoxical ideologies over the valley of Kashmir. The valley formed seeds of immense violence after 1989 with the emergence of militancy and armed conflict. The insurgency in the valley not only ripped *Kashmir* apart but also pulled the rest of the world into a dangerous war. It disturbed most of the state development motives in which women empowerment and education sector became one of the major victims. The emergence of the conflict in 1990 was the result of all previous enactments and emerging ideologies that were taking ground in the background which got sudden momentum in the valley. Compared to the political disturbances in the valley after 1947 was limited to borders. But the insurgency after 1989 took its ground within the four walls of society which has a direct impact upon people. It drove huge losses to people and their socio-economic fabric. The ongoing insurgency from the 1990s has changed narratives thus the violence from the last three decades has shaped a generation of rage and anger. One of the major impacts of this conflict is seen on women folk. They became primary receptors of fear, bloodshed, and terror. Earlier Kashmir was popularly known for its beauty, flora, and fauna. But in contemporary times the place is popularly known for the ongoing

conflict which is fading its beauty. Endless discussions and debates are been conducted worldwide over this issue yet no panacea are to be found.

Education and opportunities for young folk got clung to it. The learner's community is confused. A survey led by 'Chinar International' in 2016 revealed that "Students in Kashmir perceive education as a dead-end". Reflecting the condition of female folk within such a prevailing social system it could be argued that social institutions especially the education sector have done little for them. Therefore the grievances and dissatisfaction have shaped the ill picture of educational development in the valley.

The world is commenced to the fact that education and empowerment of women are of paramount importance for the overall development of societies. But it is important to point out that women living in conflict zones are special. Their problems and qualities differ them from the rest. Although Kashmir women are not different when general problems of women in the country are concerned. But living in a conflicted zone has created multidimensional problems for such women leaving them more vulnerable in society as compared to women living in other states. Their education, empowerment, health, and social life turn out major victims. The state of disempowerment of women highlights the issue of high concern. It is an element that hinders the indicators of sustainable development goals and has challenged the society of Kashmir in different ways.

Despite such barriers, it is also a naked truth that the sick picture of women's education has been an age-old challenge. In Kashmir, it has been emerging in the form of Gender inequality, Patriarchal families, unawareness, prohibition of women to underage jobs, Lack of media, geographical barriers, and Lack of proper education and guidance. The sum of all such factors has steered the education system of women. It is transparent from the census data of 2011 that in rural areas only 53.36% of women literates were found. Earlier in 2001, it was 36.7%. Compared to the urban areas of Kashmir where female literacy stands at 70.9% and earlier in 2001 it was 61.9%. Census makes it transparent that despite having literacy gaps between men and women there also exists a gap between rural and urban women. The decadal growth of education for the majority of the women population is slow. Hence Jammu and Kashmir still rank 33rd among other states of India in terms of women empowerment. But compared to past scenarios literacy has gained momentum even if the growth is slow. The steps taken at the national and state level are responsible for such growth in reviving the education system from time to time making it suitable for the upliftment of women folk.

The Indian education system is transforming however some states like Bihar, Jharkhand, etc still pertain to low literacy compared to other states. Multiple reasons are responsible for the slow growth in such states. In the case of Jammu & Kashmir, it has been noticed that the large numbers of government schools have turned into a hub of inequalities due to lack of infrastructure, quality education, and lack of facilities, especially for girls. There is a common trend that the children of government school teachers prefer learning in private schools.

Moreover, the right to education for every citizen is a fundamental right guaranteed by the constitution. It is further deemed that free and compulsory education shall be guaranteed to every citizen from 6-14 years of age groups. However, the Act (Article 21-A) has been implemented in other states of India but in the case of Kashmir, it had no direct application. Many believe that the separate constitution of the state under Article 370 acted barrier behind its implementation over the decades. Although on August 5th 2019 Article 370 was abrogated and the state turned into a union territory. But infiltration in the state is still going on. The removal of article 370 remains in contradiction as the people of Kashmir believe that Article 370 acted as a protector of their rights and properties and including their demography and citizenship. The Article was abrogated by the Government of India on a claim that it hinders the development of the state and also violates the marital property rights of women married outside the state. But as far as education is concerned particularly of women, the abrogation of article 370 may not have the potential and panacea to address the problems. Because the socio-political and economic problems that woman of the valley face bears major responsibility for the low growth of literacy among them.

In recent decades while addressing problems of female education in the country the government of India in collaboration with state governments launched centrally sponsored Educational Schemes and welfare programs for girls e.g. Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan, NPEGEL- (National Policy of Education of Girls at Elementary Level), KGBV- (Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya) to provide free education including boarding and lodging facilities to secondary school girls. Beti Padao Beti Bachao, Beti Anmol, Midday Meals, etc these sponsored schemes aim to universalize girl education and boost the enrollment of girls in schools. These schemes are also implemented in Jammu and Kashmir where the education supplies especially for girls due to such initiatives have developed in these years but the final results are not satisfactory as compared to the progress of these schemes in other states. What is more intriguing is that despite such policies the enrollment rate of girls in Kashmir is increasing at a much slower rate. While regulating the education system to bring change in

the existing social order however it seems that the right way implementation of such schemes, the process of monitoring, their orientation, and their suitability to regulate in a conflict zone seem missing. The foremost task of educating females is to develop their minds and bring behavioral change by igniting critical thinking in them. However social perceptions, political hegemonic forces, and lack of proper guidance make it complicated and rigid making it difficult to protect and empower them.

0.1. The scope of the present study

Social science is a study of human relations, man-made institutions, human past and population related traits. History as a branch aims to study humans and their societies from time to time. According to E.H. Carr 'History is an unending dialogue between past and present'.

In contemporary period empowerment of women and addressing their issues remains a trend. In order to bring such issues into the limelight different researchers have made meaningful emphasis. In Kashmir less work has been done in the context of issues regarding female education especially in the field of History. Education is a pivotal instrument as it forms the base of women empowerment thus studying education and society has itself a wider scope. Moreover the present study may also help future researchers in this field. The subject of the education of women cannot be studied in isolation. Therefore the study will explore, explain and analyze the process of women's education concerning social change in the state.

0.3. Review of the Literature and Research Gaps

1. **“The Kashmir Sunlight and shade” Book by Cecil Tyndale Biscoe:** the work is a detailed account author Cecil Tyndale Biscoe a British missionary and educationalist working in the state of Kashmir during dogra period. His written masterpiece the ‘Kashmir Sunlight and Shade’ reveals the information about the society, polity, nature of people, economy and education in the 19th century Kashmir. This book is helpful to interpret the approach of state, society regarding the process of developments in society and social conditions of people. The book talks about the conservative society and rulers who have nothing better to offer people. Biscoe’s record tells us about the contribution and struggle of Christian Missionaries in implementing modern education in the valley and how they dealt with the conservative elements of the society. Even though the book gives us detailed information about the place and people but the information is limited to a particular period of time. The special attention of the author is simply to explore the nature and status of people living in the valley. But being an educationalist he has also penned down the phenomenon of girl education in the valley which becomes useful for the present study. One of the ultimate aims of the present study is to include such accounts and put forward the storey of the history of women education in the state by adding different narratives and approaches to it.

2. **The Socio-Economic History of Kashmir “1846-1925” Book by “P.N.K. Bamzai”:**

After the shift of power from Sikhs to Dogras under the helm of British rule. It also resulted into socio economic upheaval in the state especially after 1889 when British a fter disposing the maharaja took direct control over administration. They started overhauling the administrative system, for example they drafted new land revenue settlement, issued grant of tenancy rights to the cultivators, made regulations to spread modern education, issued provisions for sanitary and medical services and also extended the telegraph and postal services, etc. Such a quick shift from medieval darkness to modern crescent in a short span of time, is a phenomenon of rare occurrence in the history of societies. Due to such dynamic changes the valley acquired modern outlook in many aspects of society by 1925. The book by PNK Bamzai gives the detailed account on the nature of these developments and the impact of changing socio-economic dimensions. It is thus a useful account for the present study to understand the social change brought about by the bureaucratic measures in a static and closed society.

3. **“A history of Srinagar, A study in socio, cultural change”: (1846-1947) book by “Khan, Mohd Ishaq”:**

The work by Dr. Ishaq Khan despite throwing light upon political history of Srinagar city since (1846 to 1947), it also describes the phenomenon of social, economic, and cultural life as well. It also discusses the phenomenon of education which was limited to urban areas like Srinagar.

4. **Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla (1944) “Naya Kashmir” :**

Naya Kashmir is a manifesto and memorandum that Mr. Sheikh Abdullah has submitted to the Dogra ruler Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir before independence in 1944. The manifesto contains provisions, strategies and plans for the future development of the state.. It aims to convert the absolute monarchy into constitutional democracy by keeping Maharajah as the head of the state. The Naya Kashmir plan contains a detailed socio economic plan to build modern Jammu and Kashmir. The plan was also adopted by the National Conference as its party manifesto. The "Naya Kashmir" became highly popular in the valley at times because it was the blueprint for a welfare state. It also had a feminist approach as for the first time women rights and their education and fresh guidelines were framed to empower them. The motive was to bring women par excellent to men in every sphere of life. The guidelines mentioned in Naya Kashmir also became a pathway for future governments in the development of the state. However the document did not divulge about the process of its implementation and incorporation of the said guidelines in the state. Therefore in this regard the present study will try to explore that how far “Naya Kashmir Manifesto” has been responsible for the development of the state particularly in overhauling education sector and women education in particular after 1947.

5. **Prem Nath Bazaz (1959): “The Daughters of Vitasta” the History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day:**

This book is a luminous source to study the history of Kashmiri women upto first half of 20^t^h century. The book explains the foundation of Women Welfare Trust and the status of female education in the valley after independence. It gives account of the renounced, and famous women personalities and highlights their key role in the development of Kashmir. The development of various socio-religious reformation movements has also been discussed. As far as the theme of the study is concerned it focuses upon the conditions and situation of

women, however development of women's education in detail is minutely been researched. The book 'Daughters of Vitasta' is limited to the period of 1957 even though it gives detailed information about the pre independent and post independent society of Kashmir particularly under dogra rule and the development of women after independence. The present work is an endeavor to research and update the picture of women education in the backdrop of socio political conditions of the state.

6. *The History and Growth of Education in Jammu & Kashmir: Book by "SL Seru" 1872-1973*

The book "*History and Growth of Education in Jammu & Kashmir 1872-1973*" is written in two parts. Part I gives the cultural background and the historical evolution in the state which covers Hindu period upto 1320 A.D, the Muslim period 1320-1819 A.D, the Sikhs 1819-1846 A.D and the Dogras 1846-1947 A.D. it also covers the period of independence. in the part second of the book the author makes an diagratiion to put together the story of the growth of education, statistically from the year 1872 A.D to 1973 A.D. the book throughs light upon some unique initiatives which were taken to reform the education sector. The book "History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir" delivers a chapter on female education. However the book does not wholly cover the portion of the educational history which is the history of female education in Kashmir. Therefore it is important to see the other aspects of the history of women education during the period starting from prior to independence and after.

7. *Chatterekha Zutshi, (2004): Languages of belonging: Islam, regional identity, and the making of Kashmir:*

The book looks at the responses of Kashmir's society to social and economic restructuring. It studies the uses made of Kashmir's political elites by the state and analyzes the impact of Islamic discourse on political culture of Kashmir.

8. *B.A Dabla (2007) "Multi-Dimensional Problems of Women in Kashmir":*

One of the robust work conducted by professor B.A Dabla which quantitatively highlights the women issues in Kashmir through the lens of different socio-cultural paradigms. Dabla explains the phenomenon of prevailing women's issues. The book illustrates the information statistically via numbers, figures and tables and produces less qualitative

information. It is based on primary data collection. Dabla gives more focus on explaining the family, social, and economic and health problems of women. Though he discusses the educational problems of women as well but the approach is kept limited to measure the ratio of females educated per family, and finally draws a family education chart which clearly reveals the status of female education in family and education sector. The segment of this study also explores the status of children in learning in government and private schools and discusses the infrastructure issues recommended to facilitate girls in schools. The author has not covered other issues of women education like the impact of conflict and other challenges to women education. The approach of Professor B.A Dabla is to generalize the women issues in the state to find out their problems in different dimensions of life what he calls multi dimensional problems of women in Kashmir. But the present endeavor will look beyond to particularly discuss the history of the development and challenges of women in perusing education in the back drop of socio political conditions of the state. It will also address some unique socio economic and cultural challenges to women education in the state to add more knowledge to the field.

9. Nyla Ali Khan and BA Dabla (2012): “*The parchment of Kashmir: History, Society and Polity*”:

This cross study explains the socio cultural and political factors of Jammu & Kashmir and its relevance in the contemporary times, it starts defining the dimensions of the Kashmir conflict and the formation of socio cultural institutions due to religious discourse and social hierarchy in the state. The book contains a few chapters researched by sociologist professor B. A Dabla, his research has exposed the destitute scenario of women folk under conflict. Some light is thrown over the impact on conflict on education which is useful for the present study. Though the book focuses more on mentioning the atrocities faced by women in conflict ridden zone, and lays minimum stress on thoroughly defining the problems of women education in Kashmir under rigid politics and closed society. The present study would be an effort to fill the knowledge by defining such aspects of conflict which directly or indirectly affect women and education. Although valuable information is retrieved from the work which supports the present study.

14. Suri, Kavita. (2013) “*Impact of Violence on Women’s Education in Kashmir*”

Dr. Kavita Suri working as Director and Head of the Department of Lifelong Learning, as a Member of the Jammu & Kashmir “*Protection of Women and Child Rights Commission*” Dr

Kavita Suri has traveled to rural areas of Kashmir to understand the impacts of the conflict on education of girls. In her research she has recorded the scenes of marginalization and showed the qualitative impact of conflict on girl education. She exposes the issues that girl's education faces in the backdrop of conflict. Kavita Suri brings into limelight the state of education in the conflict-torn state. Moreover in a series of articles appeared in the leading papers the author focuses on the problems of ordinary people in the state particularly the psychological and social impact of violence on their life. Kavita Suri finds out that the sector of education in Kashmir has been badly affected due to militancy and armed insurgency. In a series of issues she describes how insurgency diminished growth of education sector because of Damage to the educational infrastecture, and fear of sending children to schools, and dropouts etc. In her published articles Suri asserts that the sector of education had to bear the destruction of school buildings as well as the occupation of school compounds by security forces and militants which in contrasted affected education.

In her study "*The impact of violence on women education in Kashmir*" she highlights the different narratives regarding the crucial aspects of education in general and women education in particular and shows how female children have been placed on the back burner owing to the violence and prevailing militancy in the state.

10. Hafsa Kanjwal. (2017): "*Building a New Kashmir: Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad and the Politics of State-Formation in a Disputed Territory 1953-1963*:"

The published work of Hafsa Kanjwal professor of History in women studies at Lafayette College London. Professor Hafsa has done numerous works by researching different narratives of the people's history in Kashmir which are useful for the present study. Her thesis work gives us an insight into the socio, political and economic developments of the state during the tenure of Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad (1953-1963). Despite that the author provides an insight into the role this different government towards the development of education. Though the work does not wholly represent the conditions of women or contribution of government particularly towards female education but the author mainly stresses on analyzing the contribution of two different governments in the development of the state. The author concludes that the state under Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad has progressed in economy, agriculture and education compared to developments lead under sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Though the Author does not look over together over the scocio political and conditions of the women in the state which were problematic indicators

problematic for the development of the state prior to independence and even after. The present study will research such aspects to explain the phenomenon more deeply.

15. David Devdas (2018): “The Generation of Rage”:

The book takes the years 2008, 2010, and 2016 the three important periods in recent history which witnessed violence at peak in the valley and mass involvement of local youth and girls into hardcore protests and violent agitations which reflected the negative changes in behavioural pattern prevailing generation. The Author in this book depicts the scenes of mass rage, violence and brutality during three different timelines. David has delved into his deep understanding of the region and its youth for years to offer a new and unique understanding of the Kashmir conflict. Devdas makes clear diagraphation that the anger among new generation is due to the political instability which could not deal with the situations from time to time. The book explores vital aspects of the conflict Devdas shows how the poor and marginal were put to deaths. The book also provides insight into the scenario of education in the backdrop of high-intensity conflict. Though the work done by David Devdas does not particularly focus of impact of conflict on women folk but it shows the different narratives of the conflict during the period which affected the young generation. The present study will particularly look over such dimensions of Kashmir conflict which have been affecting women folk in general and their education and emancipation in particular.

----- The above mentioned sources and scholarly works on Kashmir give us insight to study the history of education, women, society and politics in the state. Though there are some areas which the existing literature has not fully explored. The case of women education in is one of them. The present endeavor is a step forward to add new knowledge to the area. The study “Education, Insurgency and Social Change: A study on women education in Kashmir in Post Independent India” is a combination of dimensions to explain the panorama in which the development of modern Kashmiri women has taken place. In contrary the study will discuss the multi-dimensional problems of women education in the state from pre and post Independence period till date covering the period of 171 years. It will explain the phenomenon and development of women education in the back drop of socio political conditions of the state and the role played by stake holders regarding emancipation and education of women. Less research work has been carried out so far with a purpose to research multidimensional problems of women education in Kashmir.

In Kashmir less work has been carried out that studied the context of issues regarding women education especially in the field of History. Different scholars and researchers have revealed that there is a lack of information due to less contribution of scholar's researching the field. Nevertheless women issues in the state are high and alarming therefore there emerges a need and urgency to conduct studies like this to bring women issues into limelight and to generate ideas for future scholars.

Hypothesis

- The slow growth of women education in Kashmir has been a reverberating question.
- The slow growth of women education in Kashmir can be attributed to a combination of socio political dynamics in the state after independence and lack of proper initiatives which has particularly impeded the educational growth of women in the region.

0.4. Objectives of Research

1. To study the evolution of women education in Kashmir in pre-independent India particularly during Dogra period.
2. To explore the development of women education in Kashmir in a state of special status after 1947.
3. To investigate Insurgency in Kashmir and its impact on women education after 1989.
4. To analyze the status of women education in the backdrop of multidimensional hindrances especially gender disparity, Climate barriers, unemployment and social evils,
5. To analyze the role of government and non-governmental organizations in the development of women education in Kashmir.

0.5. Research Methodology

The research utilizes primary and secondary sources of data to explore the theme. it includes Books, Memoir, Annual reports, Administrative reports, Census data, Educational survey reports, Photographs, Religious references, Annual plans and educational plan reports, Audit reports, evaluation reports, archival records etc. Moreover it includes Newspapers, Journal articles, and research papers and published thesis.

The data collection tools like questionnaire and group discussions, Interviews, are used in order to retrieve the primary information for the research. A survey was conducted for the research which was intended to figure out issues that women encounter while perusing education it tries to measure the impact of insurgency on women education. Moreover the survey was also purposed to know the condition of female education system e.g. Availability of infrastecture and facilities in educational institutions for girls, participation of girls in academic and other activities, family support of girls in perusing education etc. in this regard different samples were taken from educational institutions in selected districts. The survey was conducted in four districts of Kashmir valley e.g. Baramulla, Ganderbal, Kulgam, and Budgam. Total 750 respondents were questioned in which 150 respondents from each district were taken of different age groups and different levels of education e.g. Higher Secondary, College and at University level. In this regard wherever possible group discussions were also conducted by the researcher at different institutions

Moreover the present research is both qualitative and quantitative in nature. It pertains to analyze information qualitatively through descriptive, explanatory and content analysis. In case of information represented quantitatively it is mentioned through figures and tables showing the Enrollment of girls in schools and colleges in numbers, Number of educational institutions level wise, literacy rates (year wise and decade wise), etc and the same is also systematically represented graphically and via illustrations.

Chapter I

Dogra Rule, Women Education and British Intervention

1. Introduction

The education of females has a profound space in the renaissance of modern India. But the development of female education has gone through many controversies, debates, and acute hardships. In the case of Kashmir before 1947, the women got stuck into the hands of conservative society who took their education in a lighter vein. The definition of women in traditionally male-dominated society was that she was simply a picture of ignorance and dormancy. The males expected only such skills which could qualify women as better mothers and housewives. Different social stigmas that were prevalent in the society had confined the society into unconstructive channels. Only religious theology was introduced by the clergy class but formal education was a faraway dream for the womenfolk. The prevailed social system kept women ignorant of their needs, rights, and their creative energy. Education and consciousness were the instruments of perceptual change among people, but it was languishing.

Historically, the society of Kashmir has gone through two major cultural changes. While viewing Kashmiri women within these two historical changes that are widely responsible for the development and shift in their social status, position, and behavior patterns. The first change was marked with the mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism in the society of Kashmir till thirteen century A.D. Secondly a new cultural shift took place with the emergence of Muslim rule in Kashmir after thirteen century. Due to the influx of Islam, this transformed Kashmir into Muslim majority society. In the mid 19th century the valley of Kashmir passed into the hands of Dogras (1846-1947). Gulab Singh was declared as sovereign ruler of the state under the shadow of British rule via 'Treaty of Amritsar'. Under Dogras Jammu & Kashmir was the most backward and downtrodden state among rest of the princely states in India. Majority of the people under Dogra rule faced discrimination. The general education of people was all in chaos and the transformation of women, in particular, was a serious issue. Though few steps were taken by later Dogra rulers regarding the education of people but that was lukewarm and not enthusiastic. Infact, the real spirit of modernistic education was contributed by Christian

Missionaries to eradicate illiteracy among people. However, they faced hardships due to interference of local government, religious authorities, and conservative elements of the society. Despite these obstacles and impediments, their tireless efforts continued and they did not abandon their mission to mainstream women folk into education. In the initial chapter of this study, it is significant to understand the evolution of women's education in Kashmir during pre-independent India particularly under Dogra rule.

1.1. Women Education in Dogra Period

History has revealed that the position of Kashmiri women was much better in the early times. Kashmiri women folk had profound status in society compared to the women who lived in other parts of India. Regarding education, in general, education was imparted even if traditionally but there were no strict restrictions against women. Women were taught diplomacy, statecraft, and languages¹. The 11th-century literature work by Bilhana mentions that the women of Kashmir spoke good Sanskrit and had fluency in speaking the Prakrit language². But she had not full freedom from the bondage of ancient society. It had got clung to her in the form of burdens and restrictions. Women of all ages were considered minor before the law. A female child in a family remained under the protection and authority of her parents and after marriage under her husband. And as a widow, a woman was dependent on her offspring's (Sons)³.

Even during the onset of Muslim rule in Kashmir, no such change was measured in the status of women towards the middle of the 14th century⁴. The education was imparted through religious institutions called 'Maktabs' and 'Madrasas'. Though some pioneers believed in transformation of the society through education but that was limited to religious and moral education. The efforts of Sultan Shahab-Ud-Din (1354-73) the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir was responsible for opening many institutions to impart education. The Quran and 'Hadith' (sayings of Prophet Pbih) and 'fiqh' (jurisprudence) were taught in such institutions⁵. During

¹ Kapur, M.L, *Studies in History and Culture of Kashmir*, Tirkuta, Jammu, 1976, p.72

² Banerjee, SC. Gupta, A.K. (Tr.) *Vikramankandvacarita* XVIII.6, Calcutta, 1965,p.167

³ Bazaz, P. N. "*Daughters of The Vitasta: A History Of Kashmiri Women From Early Times To The Present Day*", Pamposh, New Delhi, 1959, p.3

⁴ Kotay F.A, *Colonialism and Modern Education in India: A Study of Kashmir 1880-1947*, Locknow, 2014, p.171

⁵ Khan, M. Isaaq, "*Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishis, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century*", Manohar, New Delhi, 2002, p. 63.

The Sultanate period in Kashmir valley, an organized chain of Madrasas and Maktabas were established in all the corners of the valley⁶. Besides religious and moral education, other subjects were also taught like grammar, theology, logic, literature, and jurisprudence⁷.

The reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abi-din (1401-1470) is considered a glorious period as compared to other Muslim rulers of that time. Among people he laid emphasis on free learning and no discrimination based on creed, caste and color. Child education at basic level was given specific importance. At a very early age, boys and girls were given knowledge of basic religious fundamentals and responsibilities. Before they were admitted in the Maktabas under the guidance of Molvi or when a Hindu child was admitted to Pathshalas, under the supervision of Pandits, the welcome ceremony of the child was celebrated as an auspicious thing. At the early stage, Muslim boys and girls were taught Islamic “Kalma” and the procedure of performing Namaz (prayers). In the same way, Hindus were taught “Sandhya” and “Natinama”. This type of education was simply a motivating factor for cultural boosting. Culturally but on the other side approach of society towards women was predominantly conservative. People largely used to prefer early marriage for girls. Although during Mughal rule Akbar’s marriage policy was fixed at the age limit of a minimum 16yr for boys and 14yr for girls however this policy was not accepted in Kashmir. Early marriage of girls and domestic skills was given chief importance in the case of women folk.

The conditions of the women turned worst overtime especially when Kashmir passed into the hands of Dogras. Dogras at initial stage did not lay much emphasis on the development of people in general and educational development of the people in particular. The majority of the people under Dogra rule faced economic and educational issues, especially Muslims. In the case of women folk, the government had nothing better to offer them. The traditional conservative and patriarchal social setup was prevalent in the period. This social system led to the picture of women merely for domestics, childbearing, and child-rearing. There was no space for women to give or receive an education. If any girl child received the education that was only religious and given for a limited period. The type of education-focused them to be fit for moral and domestic roles encouraged by social norms. More agony was that the rulers paid no attention to their subjects in general and women in particular. Thus irony with

⁶Dar Nazir A, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, Jay Kay, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 35-36

⁷Jaffar S. M., *Education in Muslim India: Being an Enquiry into the State of Education during the Muslim Period of Indian History 1000-1800*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat, Delhi, 1973, p. 20

women folk was from both sides; the authorities had no concern towards the uplift of women secondly restrictions were put on them by family and society.

Gulab Singh does not want to develop socio-political consciousness among the majority of his subjects thus he kept them away from modern education. For instance, in 1854 a retired British colonel named Martin and Robert Clark of Punjab came to Srinagar for the cause of disempowerment in the state in terms of 'Education' and 'Health'. The attitude of authorities in making their subjects educated can be understood by Robert Clark's letter to F.H Cooper, wherein he revealed that the objection of the people towards Christian missionaries wasn't voluntary rather it was been constructed in their minds⁸. Robert Clark, the founder of Kashmir Mission after his visit, revealed that he and his fellow members were accorded by Gulab Singh in a friendly manner despite he was rather pessimistic, Gulab Singh has said "My subjects in Kashmir, are very bad. "I am sure that no one can do them harm", "I am also curious to see whether the padre sahibs (clergy men) can do them any good"⁹. The state authorities did not like the approach of missionaries to impart modern education and awareness therefore they faced severe opposition from the state authorities including religious authorities. It indicates the intentions of authority were prejudicial and biased which defeated the purpose of educating people. On his return, Clark strictly illustrated the needs of Kashmiri's and after receiving much support from profound military officials and other civilians soon an order was officially passed that directed the 'Church Missionary Society' to help promote a mission of empowerment in the mountainous valley of Kashmir¹⁰. But it was not easy to bring change; the efforts of CMS were undigested by local authorities. If parents were caught sending their children to missionary schools they receive investigative visits by law and order authorities to their homes¹¹.

According to PNK Bazaz, "busy in consolidating power the Dogras sidelined all thought of reforms and reconstruction of the state", driven by masters, who were called to look over problems of the state but the new masters (Britishers) bend their strategies and made them confined and busy to conquer the northern frontier territories. The power politics led to the torture of the common masses¹². Dogras paid less or no attention to the upliftment and social

⁸ Khan, Mohd Ishaq, "A History Of Srinagar City ; A Study In Socio Cultural Change" 1846-1947", Gulshan Publications , 2007, pp. 125-126

⁹ Neve Ernest, F, *Beyond the Pir Panjal- Life and missionary Enterprise in Kashmir*, Church Missionary Society, London 1914, p.68

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.68

¹¹ Khan, Mohd Isaaq , 'A History Of Srinagar A Study In Socio Cultural Change, op.cit., pp.126-127

¹²Bazaz, P.N. "Daughters of the Vitasta", *op.cit*, p.18

development of their subjects while the silent sufferers in such a destitute situation were females. In the words of PN Bazaz within several decades the “women in Kashmir had sunk to the level of ignorance and destitution, they lost their intellect, charm, confidence and the spirit of revolt”¹³. Their role was characterized by dependency and discrimination, living in such a state of slavery for decade’s women gradually started believing that hardships and miseries are natural to them.

The early Dogras used to be indifferent towards welfare and the intellectual development of the people. There was not even a single well-defined school in the capital of the valley till 1880. The education of a girl used to be a dream. The birth of a girl child was not much entertained rather considered as a woe, but as P.N Bazaz mentions that the selfish men portrayed women as the queen of their house, where they had hardly any say or obey her dictates”¹⁴. Illiteracy in that very period was common to all classes of society. Educating a girl and developing her mental ability was a myth in itself. Even the Kashmiri Pandits, who were considered as intellectual class having 95% of the male literate population, however in case of females if their girls were allowed to learn that was only limited to reading religious scriptures in the Sanskrit language.

The traditional education in Kashmir given through Madrasas and Pathshalas also declined slowly but did not fade away abruptly from the scene. This system continued till the Dogra regime ended in 1947.

In the later years of Dogra rule, several advancements took place. Some of the major steps to develop education in the valley were taken by Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) who was the son and successor of Maharaja Gulab Singh. He was the first Dogra ruler to pay stress on the education of people due to his interest and scholarly bent of mind he took an active interest in imparting knowledge. He paved the way to established schools and general instructions of the curriculum. The educational system that existed during his reign was still dictated by indigenous traditional concerns. He encouraged religious education by developing the learning of classical languages like Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic. His ultimate aim and objectives were to spread classical Hindu learning among his subjects. Therefore he constructed a temple known as the Ragunath temple which he turned into a center of classical

¹³ Bazaz, P.N, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, Op.cit. p.266

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.196

Sanskrit learning which was joined by hundreds of Brahman students¹⁵. He established many Pathshalas and such institutions were also center for higher learning. One of the major developments that took place in this period was the establishment of the printing press in Kashmir. Though it was located in Jammu, the idea behind its establishment was to prepare quick and readymade books for students reading in various schools opened by Maharaja Ranbir Singh in the valley. This step helped in the translation of many books like History, Geography, Geology, etc into Hindi and Sanskrit. Arabic books were translated into both Hindi and Persian¹⁶. In the context of Muslim people of the valley, the system of Maktabas and Madrasas of an earlier time were continued, only slight changes were made in the educational system of Kashmir. The focus was given towards the learning of languages to make students able to read religious scriptures for example the Sanskrit was taught to Brahman students in Pathshalas the future Arabic and Persian were also added and arithmetic was taught to the age group of five to sixteen years or more. But Kashmir at times was witnessed as the most backward region in terms of education. According to the administrative report of 1873 only four institutions named as Maharajung School, Pathshala, Nawakadal School, and the Basant Bagh School were established too in the capital city of Srinagar¹⁷.

The education of women folk remained a serious question for decades. as Charles Girdles stone, in 1871 a British official in Kashmir writes that only a few, not more than one or two attempts were made to establish girls' schools in Srinagar, but the experiment of establishing girl schools failed¹⁸. This scenario of destitution and chaos within female education continued in the period till the 19th century. Realizing the status of women at the beginning of the 20th century by taking the words of Begum Zafar Ali who recalls of her times revealed in an interview that:

“In my time there were no schools for the girls, even the education of the boys was in infancy. Social conditions were different from present times. Women were kept in strict Purdah. Muslim women were taught only the Quran, which they learned like parrots. They were allowed only to recite and cram but not permitted to write even alphabets. Such was the fundamental society. Women were not allowed to go outside the four walls of the house, not even to the

¹⁵Zutshi, C, *Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*, C. Hurst and Company, London. 2004, p.172

¹⁶S. L. Seru. “*History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir 1872-1973*”, Ali Mohammad and Sons, Srinagar, 1988, p. 33

¹⁷Khan, Mohd Ishaq, *Op.cit.*, p.161

¹⁸Om Hari, *Muslims Of Jammu And Kashmir, A Study In The Spread Of Education And Consciousness In Kashmir*, Archives Distributors, University of Michigan, USA,1986, p.23

Compound, lest they should come to the gaze of male servants and gardeners.”¹⁹

Women’s education was a crucial social issue for the development of society which was taken non-seriously. The problem of women in the villages was even more dismal and poor. Women on the whole were left with selective rights in which education was considered not their cup of tea. This systematic approach boosted the patriarchal system in the society in which men were seen having a superior code of conduct and women were forced to accept an inferior one. Though Christian missionaries in the 19th century took a step to modify the narrow outlook of people but their initial steps focused mostly on the education of boys.

1.2. From Morass towards Metamorphosis

As mentioned earlier that a glimpse of change in education was seen in times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh’s reign (1857-1885) but it does not cover up the avenues for girl education. Though one or two experiments were undertaken to establish schools for girls, unfortunately, the idea failed. Apart from such failed experiments, there were a few educational institutions run by the Christian missionaries, limited to boy’s education though it was lacking a definite and systematic approach. Moreover, a few Christian missionaries who had visited the state did not receive a positive response from the government and other social groups. Thus the efforts did not cover and encompass the entire society which has many creeds and religious convictions. Therefore women, in particular, remained a deselected identity.

Under the reign of dogra ruler Maharaj Pratap Singh (1885-1925), more efforts were led by the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) to develop education among people. In ‘1885’ two primary schools were upgraded to high schools, and later affiliated to the Punjab University. Separate schools for Mohammadan’s and Hindus were also opened. In the case of girls’ education missionaries had to plan differently. It was noted that the conservative social attitude of people towards female education has to be taken under consideration before doing any such experiment.

¹⁹ F.A, Kotay, “*Colonialism and Modern Education in India*”, Op.cit. p.171

\FA Kotay has cited the already held Interview of Begum Zafar Ali a renowned Social activist and educationalist in kashmir.

In the late 19th century a lady missionary established a girl school in Srinagar Nawa Kadal. At that time the CMS's initiative taken towards educating women folk shocked the people. Efforts were led to motivating girls and parents but even those who were brave enough to attend the school felt nervous as their parents were not willing because of the social pressure which was against their decision. As C.E Tyndale Biscoe reveals in *'Kashmir Sunlight and Shade'* 'that during the first prize day in the girl's school, the lady superintendent invited some of the European ladies to join the function, to encourage girls and their parents. Soon when the lady visitors appeared someone in the street shouted out that the 'Europeans had come to kidnap the girls'. Some people also shouted and asked students to escape from the institution thus they jumped from the school windows; the men on streets cached them safely. No student was found inside classroom once the visitors entered school for inspection. Biscoe recalls that "it was a shocking moment for the superintendent seeing students disappearing out of the windows"²⁰. The impact of this incident diminished the charm of the first girl's institution which was established in Srinagar. There was no doubt that the lady workers in the process of educating girls experienced hard setbacks but they did not lose hope and were strong towards their mission and objectives thus they kept motivating people.

In 1909-1910 there were 8 state-run girl schools against 7 in previous years. The number of girl students was 659 against 549 in previous years. The advancement of female education was receiving the best attention in the Dabar of Maharaja Pratap Singh. The management of these schools was vested in local communities to a certain extend. The local communities were working hard to popularize these schools but the education and instructions in these state-run girl schools were confined to reading literary and religious books, doing needle and minor household work, and some arithmetic's was taught. The efforts of local communities were fruitful even a person having the most orthodox ideas commenced to recognize the advantages of female education²¹. As the education was not modern and had limited instructions confined to reading religious books, therefore, no social pressure was exerted by the society. In some parts of the state territory especially areas near capital cities like Srinagar and Jammu people began to realize the importance of education, while as in remote areas and other corners of the state the situation was still apathetic²²

²⁰Tyndale Biscoe C. E, "*Kashmir in Sunlight & Shade*" Seeley, Service & Co, Shaftesbury Avenue, SP College Library, Srinagar, 1925, p.257

²¹"*Administrative Report of education department (1909-10)* Girls Education, Jammu & Kashmir, pp.1-3

²²Ibid. , pp.1-3

In 1912, a committee was established to discuss the issues faced in the education sector. The educational authorities involved both officials and non-officials in the cause of female education to report whether it was the right time to open more schools for girls in the state. After number of efforts and discussions, the report was submitted to the Maharaja Ranbir Singh. It was highly suggested by the committee that there should be at least two modern girl educational schools started in the Srinagar city of Kashmir valley and in Jammu. But Maharaja Pratap Singh at first disagreed and remained unconvinced. After much motivation was exerted on Maharajas finally he agreed to accept some sections of the proposed plan. But it was hard to secure the services of educated women to function as teachers in schools as compared to gather female students. The conservative thinking was deeply rooted in society while ignorance was hailed as bliss; a female teacher was viewed as a stigma in the society of Kashmir²³. At that time “Pandith” class was known as the intellectual section of the society. More than 95% of male Pandith’s were literate and some were even highly educated. The State authorities felt it reasonable to begin the initiative of establishing a primary school for Hindu community girls at Fateh Kadal area which is in the heart of the Srinagar city. Since the Muslims were considered conservative and their conditions were not considered favorable for such experiments. Among the Pandith community, (Hargopal and Jankinath Kaul) the two brothers were basically lawyers who had voluntarily supported the team of officers in the establishment of new school. The first Kashmiri woman from Pandith community named ‘Tekri’ also participated voluntarily and gave lessons and lectures to school girls. She was having a desire to serve the cause of education. In the beginning, she had to bear the taunts of conservative society. But she stood strong and worked hard as a result she was popular as Tekri Master in Srinagar. The officers wanted to refine suspicious minds and conservative mindset of parents. In order to keep strong surveillance over the functions of the school parents the educational authorities formed an advisory committee. Though it was not official the committee had members including lawyers, local landlords, officials and traders. The two Kaul brothers were also associated with the committee.²⁴

After some span, the government agreed the demand to establish a school for Muslim girls in the Srinagar. The school was governed under the advisory committee of some liberal Muslims. Since the difficulties encountered by both Muslims and Hindus were similar. The medium of instruction was different for Hindu and Muslim students in such schools. for

²³ Bazaz, P.N, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, *Op.cit.* p.219

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218

Hindu girls the mode of instruction was Hindi in *Devnagri script*, Persian and Urdu was used in Muslim schools. There was no common language to learn and no common script to read. In 1920 education of girls had some progress as three Mission Schools, a state school, a Mohammadan's school, and five Hindu schools for girls were established. Among these newly established five Hindu girl schools three Middle level schools were upgraded to High school level. Miss Coverdale, of C.M.S., had one hundred girl students in her school which was situated in Islamabad. The education of the girls was given preference. They were trained to become learned mothers to lead future generation²⁵. But the speed of this development was lethargic and too slow. One could not easily search for a single girl having matriculated degree and those who had passed Middle school were less in numbers. During this period finally the people begun to realize the value of female education and importance of their emancipation, but it was still argued and discussed whether it would be productive to keep girls learning religious subjects and how to implement modern subject's²⁶. It was also unfortunate that the conservativeness among women was prevailing at large. Women herself was a mute spectator who was barn of zeal to revamp herself by education. They were fed with ignorance and their belief in superstitions; they were more under the guidance and power of priests as compared to the men. In this context Missionaries felt that it was women more than men responsible to hinder the process of development.

One of the strategies to educate women folk adopted by Christian Missionaries was to establish a girl's school adjacent to a boy's school where brothers and sisters study together. It was a way to disperse inhibitions and repose confidence and trust among the people. The objective was to fill up the gender gap in a broader context. Miss Fitze Mallinson, who was the Principal of C.M.S Boys wing established in (1912), by her devotion, patience, and tact's miss Fitze managed a great job in order to castoff superstition, ignorance, and various other evils among boys and girls²⁷. Though Miss Fitze faced a lot of opposition in the beginning but after 1916 girls were seen interested in education and their mothers curious about educating children. In 1918 the school received a grant of (Rs 700) from the state authorities and it was also upgraded to a middle-level School. The Missionary Girls School underwent a great transformation under Miss Fitze. She had a keen interest to advance Kashmiri women both educationally and culturally. It was under her management that the school turned into a hub

²⁵ Ibid., p.258

²⁶ Ibid., p.219

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 258-259

of activities by involving students into activities like swimming, drill, picnics, camping at different places, Mountain climbing, Music, and Dancing in the school. Besides such co-curricular activities subjects like English, Urdu, Persian, general knowledge, mathematics, and environmental studies were also taught. The contribution of Miss Fitze Mallinson towards the cause of women's empowerment through education in Kashmir is greatly applauded.

Till 1920s the people began to realize the value of female education. But the debate continued over whether to apply only religious education to girls or it was right time to introduce girls over modern scientific lines. They thought if girl students are prepared for modern scientific subjects then would it be accepted by the society to educate girls equally like boys? Generally, it was believed that studying arithmetic and some religious scriptures is sufficient for a girl to learn in schools. In the case of giving higher education to girls, however, most of the male members of the society considered it dangerous to give them university education as they found it a threat to patriarchal norms. Despite such debates, girls in average Kashmiri homes considered it more important to assist their mothers in domestic work rather than reading in schools. In many schools, only few female teachers were well trained in developing interest among students regarding education. Otherwise hundreds of girls used to only attend the classes without learning. In other schools, it was observed that most of the children who were not needed at home were sent to attend school classes. The attendance of the students was irregular most of the time and unfortunately, parents used to pay no attention. Most of the students used to believe that buying books and other educational requirements is a waste of money and a useless job²⁸. As per the census report of 1921, there was one literate female against fifteen literate males. On average 999 out of every 1,000 females were illiterate. The status of Male and female education in Jammu & Kashmir as per religion in the year 1921 can be seen from the below table. It can be seen that Janis were leading in literacy following Christians especially females. While as Buddhists and Muslim communities were the most backward communities in terms of literacy compared to the Hindu community which has only 25 literate females against 198 males (Census Report 1921)²⁹.

²⁸ Ibid., pp.219

²⁹ Census of India 1921, *literacy, Jammu & Kashmir, Vol-xxii, Part (1)*

Literates (per mile) of Different Religious Communities of Kashmir in- 1921

Religions	Total	Males	Females
Hindu	115	189	25
Sikh	116	189	34
Jain	412	612	129
Buddhist	3	69	2
Muslim	12	20	1
Christian	280	275	286

Table 1: Source: Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXII, Kashmir Part-I

The idea of Mission schools was supported by a great deal to emancipate Kashmiri women. Due to their intervention, the quality of family life especially in urban areas got improved. To a certain level, positive change was witnessed in the society. It was observed by the Missionaries who worked hard to attract more girls to schools. The hard work proved productive resulting in the establishment of a girl's school in many parts of Srinagar towards the end of Dogra rule. Though the number of schools was not large but less and one can secure professions such as teaching and medicine³⁰. The fact cannot be denied on the other side large number of women folk were indulged in domestic work and had less interest towards modern education. Pandith community was the first to gain benefits of modern education that got inclined and attracted towards it and later they secured posts in different government sectors. As compared to the Muslims who were attracted late towards modern education.

Besides such steps taken by Christian Missionaries to develop female education in the valley, the role and impact of Women's Welfare Trust cannot be denied. The Trust was formed in the year 1926, with an objective to advance the welfare of Kashmiri women by imparting knowledge to them. The WWT also aimed to stimulate the home industry among women and to make them aware of their health and diet. The founding members of the Trust were:, Mrs. L. D. Van Gheel Sri Kantha Toshakhani, Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, Aftab Kaul Nizamat and Shridhar Kaul Dulloo. They gave recommendations to develop women folk and laid special stress on the education of girls and adult education.

The trust at first established a single primary school for girl's which had only five students on roll and a single teacher was appointed. It was a hard to employ male teacher because of strict

³⁰Khan Mohammad Isaaq, "History of Srinagar 1846-1947", *Op.cit.*, p.140

social outlook which was against women folk. Fortunately, a steep improvement was seen in the next four years, the number of schools established by the Trust rose to ten which include 6 primary level schools, 3 middle level schools, and 1 high school. Nearly 575, girls were enrolled in schools. The results drawn from the hard work paved by the Welfare Trust were exciting and beyond the imagination of trustees³¹. It was in 1934 when the first fully developed girl's high School both for Hindu and Muslims was established by the trust³².

Despite the role played by organizations like the Women's Welfare Trust to develop girl education in the region, there were also several efforts led by some social reformers of Hindu and Muslim communities. In the 1930's Anjuman e Nasratul Islam started two private primary girl schools and a series of private schools were established by Hindu communities which were due to the result of missionary activities and vision³³. But such reform activities were less empowered to bring change at mass level thus their efforts were limited to their respective areas. After 1930 the education system of Pandith girls was boosted with the establishment of Women's Welfare Trust. Despite such leading efforts, however, compared to males the literacy of females showed less growth. It can be seen from the below data that the education among boys is although low but had still made some progress, compared to the girls which show low growth. But female education had made some progress onwards 1930 till 1941³⁴. According to the Census report of 1901 from the total population of 2,905,578 approximately 97.97% of people both of rural and urban areas were illiterate and only 2.3% were literate of which 0.4 were women literates³⁵.

³¹ Khan Mohammad Isaaq, "*History of Srinagar 1846-1947*", *Op.cit.*, pp.222-224

³² Rasool Ghulam, C. Menakshi, "*Education in Jammu and Kashmir: Issues and Documents*", Jay Kay, Jammu, 1986, pp. 81-82

³³ Khan Mohammad Isaaq, "*History of Srinagar*", *Op.cit.*, pp.139-140

³⁴ Census of India, Literacy, *Jammu and Kashmir, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941*

³⁵ Census of India, Literacy, *Jammu & Kashmir, 1901, Part 1, vol-xxiii, p.50*

**Jammu and Kashmir Literacy Rate of Males and Females:
1901-1941**

Year of Census	% Males	% Females
1901	2.40	0.11
1911	2.67	0.13
1921	2.79	0.33
1931	5.92	0.53
1941	7.17	2.31

Table 2: Source: *Census of India Jammu and Kashmir*

1.3. Reorganization of Education in (1939) and female education

One of the major developments that took place in the late 1930s gave impetus to education, especially for womenfolk. Given the urgent need for a new orientation of educational policy and a reorganization of the existing educational system in the state, His Highness' Government under Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-1952) the son and successor of Maharaja Pratap Singh appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Director of Education to examine the suitability and adequacy of the present system of primary and secondary education and to suggest different ways and means by keeping the present socio-economic conditions of the valley into consideration to improve its quality. The committee held its two sessions in 1938 to discuss the prevailing issues in the education sector and submitted its report on 13th March 1939. The Committee considered very carefully the position and problems of the education of girls in the State³⁶.

Miss S. W. Shaw, who was holding the position of Chief Inspectress of girl's schools, was specially appointed by the committee to cooperate for this purpose. The Committee examined the figures of the total number of schools, enrolment of girl students, the expenditure on schools including the number and qualifications of female teachers in service. It also

³⁶ His Highness Government of Jammu and Kashmir "*Educational Reorganization Committee*", Kashmir Mercantile, Srinagar, 1939, p.71

questioned on existing educational facilities for the training of teachers to boost the quality of teaching in schools. Unfortunately, the results drawn from the survey conducted by the committee remained largely unsatisfactory and had depressing results when they found that 99.5% of women were illiterate in the region. The committee heartily endorses the view expressed by the Hartog Committee that in all schemes of future expansion, priority must be given to the question of girls' education. The vision also emphasized that no educational scheme can be effective for the betterment of children until their mothers continue to be illiterate.

Recommendations for female education

The Committee felt that the present growth of education by the opening of 6 primary 2 middle schools in each province is not sufficient to meet the needs. Therefore, the committee decided that every year at least 20 primary level and 4 middle level schools should be opened in each province. As quoted that "We are aware that even this provision is far meager to cope with the immense problem of the women illiteracy in the State". But "we have made a reasonable and somewhat limited recommendation as we are of opinion that the guidelines of educational facilities for women should not out-pace the demand for it"³⁷. The committee was notified that in certain cases the attendance of students in existing schools is very low and also certain institutions have not shown seriousness in availing the given facilities. In order to attract the mass number of girl students who are unable to join schools they should be provided scholarships, the committee was of the opinion to increase the provision made for the award of scholarships to girl students. The committee also suggested arrangements for the training of 25 teachers in each province annually including hostel facilities attached to each training department where all girls under training can reside with no fees charged on them.

The Reorganization committee highlighted that it was hard to keep the supervision over large jurisdictions under one chief inspectress and two provisional inspectresses. It was very difficult for lady supervisors to inspect schools annually. Therefore the committee recommended increasing the number of inspecting officers and supervisors. It also suggested that one more Inspectress should be appointed for each province and it should be their duty to visit the schools more frequently and to opt steps to increase the general efficiency and

³⁷ Ibid. p. 73

quality of the teachers working under them. Special emphasis was laid to minimize wastage in schools and ratio of illiteracy. The committee recommended financial aid for the distribution of free text books in the 4th and 5th classes of the Primary schools. It was deemed that this will attract a number of girls to continue education. The expenditure was calculated nearly Rs. 10,000/- per annum.

The Committee revealed that the availability of accommodations in girl's schools, particularly in the rural areas was very unsatisfactory. These schools were mostly setup in rented buildings that were unsuitable for learning purposes. Therefore the committee believed that government must establish and construct school buildings for girls and also accommodation for the residence of the teachers-in-charge. It was recommended that 15 school buildings must be constructed every year at a moderate cost. Moreover, the committee recommended overhauling the then-existing contents of the syllabus and addition of courses for school girls which could meet their present interests for suitable future occupations. It was deemed that inside schools, girls should be involved in art and craft activities, and later their mothers and other local women must be invited to appreciate them and to understand the school process.

After the submission of the report presented by the members of the Educational Reorganization committee, the government accepted the recommendations. However, not all of the above recommendations were implemented as incorporated in the report.

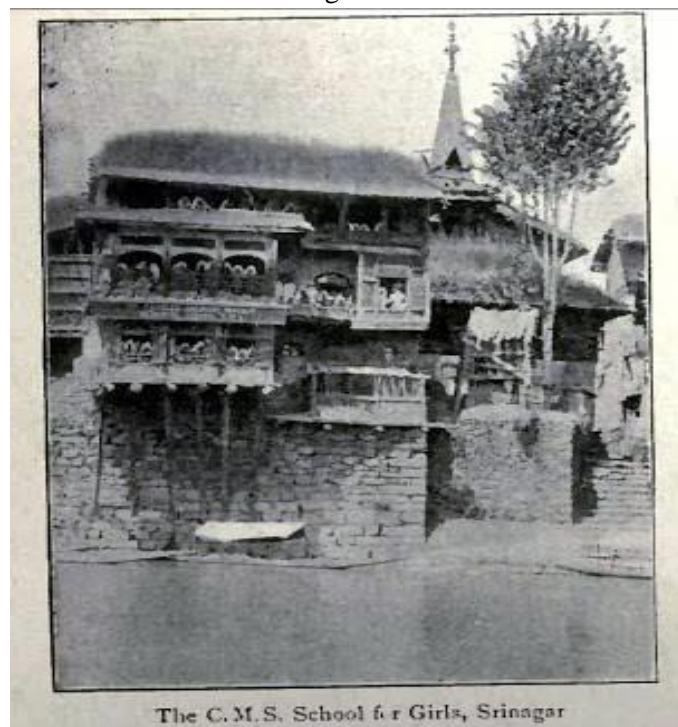
According to the administrative report of 1945, in the year 1945 the total numbers of 270 primary schools and 47 middle level schools were rerecorded in the valley. In 1945 three more high schools were established in the region. In the case of training of female teachers steps at grass root' levels were not taken seriously except in this regard a refresher course attended by 30 teachers was started in Srinagar during the first year of its implementation. Besides no change was brought in curriculum and Subjects, infact till 1947 subjects like science were not introduced to girls. The supervision and monitoring process was still facing scarcity of inspection staff but in 1940 two new posts were issued to recruit School Inspectresses. To cater to the need and demand for proper Infrastructure and facilities in schools the results drawn were extremely unsatisfactory. There was a single girl's school that was established in a government building while as rest of the school buildings were accommodated in poor and

Unsuitable buildings³⁸. Moreover, till 1932 there was no representation of girls in a higher level of education. According to Bamzai, in '*Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*', it was only in 1932 the first Pandith lady named Vimla Kaul was enrolled in Sri Pratap College. The enrollment of girls in higher education reached to 40 students in 1940³⁹. In the case of Muslim women, there were only six students enrolled in higher education till 1947⁴⁰. Close to 1947 towards the end of British rule, the girl education was developed in the valley though not wholly but partially the sense of girl's education was visible in the region.

Pictures and images

The Christian missionary Society school for girls

Figure 1



The C. M. S. School for Girls, Srinagar

³⁸F.A. Kotay "*Educating Girls, State Paradox and Social Response: A Study of Girls' Education in Princely Kashmir 1900-1947*, Research Gate, 2016, p.3

³⁹ Bamzai, P. N.K, *Socio Economic History of Kashmir 1846-1947*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2007, pp.358-59

⁴⁰ Seru S. L, "*History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir 1872-1973*", *Op.cit.*, p.269

Figure 2: A group of girl students at Mallinson Girls School Srinagar wearing the traditional Kashmiri dress in the 1920s.



Figure 3 the girl students of CMS School, attending class work in the year 1923 at Fateh Kadal Srinagar.



Photo captured by S.T Steane.

Figure 4: The year 1923: Girl scouts at Mallinson Girls School helping evacuate a person with sprained ankles. This was an intricate part of the school's curriculum to involve students in Social and community service and welfare. Photo captured by S.W Steane.



Figure 5: Ghat at the C.M.S. Girls' School and here are seen typical waterside houses. The houses seem to be on stilts due to safeguard from frequent floods.



THE GHAT AT THE C.M.S. GIRLS' SCHOOL.

Source; Kashmir Sunlight and Shade by C Tyndale Biscoe

1.4. Conclusion

Prior to Dogra rule women in Kashmir were more revered and respected as they were given a free atmosphere for cultivating diplomacy, Languages, and statecraft. But self-reliance on the part of women in Kashmir was still missing and her dependence on others was dominant. Education of the women in Muslim rule inclusive of the Afghan rule was confined to Makhtabs, Madrasas for (Muslims) and Pathshalas for (Hindus) to cultivate ethical and moral values, the integrity of character, and religious formalism. But formal education was kept aloof from the female gender and no conducive and encouraging opportunity was provided for them. During the onset of Dogras in the state, Gulab Singh's had not offered any relief to them. Concerning to education social restrictions were not let loose or given any flexibility. It was a total callousness, indifference, and apathy towards the women folk by the government which made them inert, docile, and simple symbols of dependency and morbid intellectual growth. The neglected state of the women in Kashmir had a slight breath of relief under state patronage in the Dogra period but it too was communalized. The inclination of Dogra rulers was simply to boost Sanskrit and formal Hindu classical learning among Hindu subjects leaving the Muslim community in the lurch and subsequently the female folk of this community became a neglected identity. Christian Missionaries who wanted to imbibe the spirit of education in the state were not facilitated by the Dogra rule which was a big hurdle and impediment. Whenever girls of both sects after the motivation of Christian missionaries expressed their desire to get educated, they had met serious criticism with taunts and insults within the community.

The sustained efforts of Christian Missionaries were confined to boy's education only in the beginning leaving no space for female education due to the suspicious, ignorant and conservative society. Biscoe's narrative of the episodes mentioned in "Kashmir Sunlight and Shade" gives us a picture of the narrow-minded outlook of Kashmiri society. Hindu community was positively responsive and recipient to the initiatives taken by Christian missionaries and the government while the Muslim community was repulsive to accommodate the initiative. The girl's education was noticed after 1920 with the establishment of new schools even though the major emphasis was on the education of Hindu girls as the Hindu community was favorable and responsive to the previous experiments on girl education. But the pace of speed was too low in both the communities as they had not got freedom from the slavery of old inhibitions and narrow outlooks. The irony of the fact was that Kashmiri women herself were a symbol of conservatism and blind beliefs. They used to

be more under the guidance of priests. Education and empowerment was not a fascinating thing for her. The efforts of the Christian lady missionaries to disperse the negative elements and inhibitions in Kashmiri society were praiseworthy as is reflected in the sustained efforts of Miss Malison. Even after the 1920s people oscillated whether to educate women folk on modern scientific lines or not. Lack of zeal and enthusiasm was missing both in parents and in students and going to school was considered an exercise in futility and waste. The Census of 1921 is a shocking and baffling picture of educated Muslims just figuring as one percent in contrast to other communities.

The contribution of the Women's Welfare Trust was praise-worthy. Its hard efforts coupled with efforts of social reformers like Anjuman-Nasratul Islam brought a profound and notable transformation even though limited to the areas where they established their schools and were confined to male education only. Census of 1901-1941 testifies this fact showing just 2.3 percent as compared to 7.17 percent of male percentage.

Education reorganization of 1939 was an appraisal of the prevailing system, its challenges, and subsequent steps to improvise it and emphasize the need to educate girls. Their highlighting of the slow pace of growth of schools and their recommendations for the provision of scholarship to girls, facilitating the training of women teachers, increase in the administrative facility, provision for free textbooks, Infrastructure, and specific curriculum to meet their needs and demands was an appreciable effort and step to boost female education.

But the lapses and deficiencies in female education continued as there was no improvement in infrastructure, curriculum, teacher training which major gaps remained. Though some traces of change seemed visible.

Chapter II

Development of Women Education in Kashmir in Post-Independent India

Introduction

Since the opponents of enlightenment and rigid elements in the society had nothing better to offer women. But after independence in 1947, the concept of creating change within the status of women folk was felt imperative and it was deemed that enlightenment of women can only be attained by the medium of education. Therefore a new dawn of change seemed visible in the valley of Kashmir. The post-Independence governments cutting across all political barriers initiated efforts to uplift the women folk in Kashmir. But as sociologist B.A Dabla argues that the steps taken by the post-independence governments regarding the development of womenfolk lacked seriousness. After 1947 the government also faced impediments and hurdles owing to political instability within the state from time to time. But even then the women folk gradually came out of unhealthy situations and expressed their role in different fields. Though the visible change in women folk was not wholly but partially accepted. Modernity and traditions were partly maintained by the women folk.

After 1947 the changes among female folk have occurred owing to initiatives taken at the national and state level concerning to their development through gender -oriented curriculum with a deeper emphasis on access to education for girls. The dynamic changes came in the form of Craft education, Technical education, Home science, and the establishment of schools and colleges for girls. Different techniques were also introduced to remove gender disparity from all corners of society through education. But despite of changes in the role of womenfolk, social issues persisted in the society of Kashmir. Even after independence especially in rural areas where women had to face obstacles to pursue education in a suitable environment.

It is important to note that in 1953 the separate constitution for Jammu & Kashmir under Article 370 of Indian constitution was framed which guarantee to provide special status to the people of Jammu & Kashmir by securing their rights, aspirations, and citizenship. The national and state based initiatives were planned while taking the special status of the state into account.

The present chapter will mainly reflect the phenomenon of the development and the initiatives taken for the improvement of female education in Kashmir in the post -independent period. It is also crucial to discuss that under what state of conditions the development of women's education and their empowerment was taking place. Therefore at first it is imperative to throw light on the political and social scenario of the state during the period.

2.1 Socio-Political Overview of the Period

i. Political Overview

It started with the departure of the colonial rule in India and the division of the subcontinent into two parts India and Pakistan. The partition of this subcontinent is one of the greatest tragedies in History. It witnessed a migration of millions of people across borders along with communal riots and clashes which outstretched across the country. Attacks, rape, and brutal killings were used as instruments of communal war and hatred against each other. Such catastrophic events shaped the new history of this subcontinent. After the Indian Independence Act of 1947, the states were reorganized to form a nation. In this nation - building process, the governor-general of India stated that if any state wants to accede with Indian dominion then the ruler must sign the 'Instrument of Accession' which would be considered as a legal document in the constitution of India.

Towards the end of British rule there existed a total number of 565 princely states in India. The Jammu & Kashmir was one of the largest princely states that shared its borders with India & Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh, the then ruler of Kashmir decided to remain independent and offered a "Still Stand Agreement" to both countries in order to ensure the continuity of essential services and goods. Though Pakistan agreed on the decision of the maharaja however India refused to sign the agreement but virtually agreed with the terms of the agreement.

In October 1947 "Afridi's" also known as "Kabali's" from the North West frontier of Pakistan planned to invade Kashmir. They were intruders loaded with arms, and entered the state in trucks and ransacked people. The situation turned crucial when two days later this tribal militia reached 'Baramulla' district in north Kashmir which is 50km away from the capital city Srinagar. To safeguard the region Maharaja appealed to India to intercept and

prevent the tribal invasion and provide urgent help. In October 1947 the first batch of Indian troops was airlifted and deployed in Kashmir to stop the tribal invaders⁴¹. The Maharaja soon agreed to the terms and signed the Instrument of Accession with Indian dominion. On October 26 Maharaja of Kashmir signed the document and gave jurisdiction to India over communication, defense and foreign affairs of the state, the last Governor-General of India. Mount Batten accepted the decision. It was committed that once law and order shall be restored, people will be given referendum and choice. The dominion of Pakistan did not agree with this accession and by giving the reference of “Still Stand Agreement” that was already signed between the last Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan. Pakistan called it a hasty step of Maharaja, the matter was intervened, which later resulted into political turmoil and territorial conflict between the two countries. However, the fate of Kashmiri people remained undecided and unsettled destined in such an atmosphere. In 1947 -48 the first Kashmir War was fought between India and Pakistan over the state of Jammu & Kashmir. The armed conflict between India and Pakistan turned the state of Jammu & Kashmir into a disputed territory. Onwards the conflict was escalated with a series of wars fought between two countries on the borders of Jammu & Kashmir. The results of this conflict stand heavy for both the countries since Kashmiri’s have remained major sufferers. After the accession of Jammu & Kashmir when Sheikh Abdullah who became first prime minister of Jammu & Kashmir, was on a mission to develop the state on modern lines. But during his tenure the political conditions of the state were unstable. Soon after the formation of the special status of the state under Article 370 in 1953 Sheikh Abdullah was arrested. Sheikh being a patron of the plebiscite front gave speeches that stimulated political consciousness in the valley especially regarding the accession of the state. Sheikh Abdullah's imprisonment and dismissal in August 1953 lead to demonstrations held all over the valley. People expressed anger over the new regime. Women also came out and took part. The authorities’ restored the situation by opening fire on hostile processions to disperse the aggressive crowds. Three women and many others died one of whom is said to have been pregnant⁴². The autobiography of sheikh Abdulla demines his role and stand in the politics of Kashmir and what he considered a ‘betrayal of trust’. He has penned down experiences in his autobiography “Aatish e Chinar” or “The Flames of Chinar”.

⁴¹The Indian Express “*Pakistan Afridi’s Invade Kashmir: Tribes Enter State in Trucks Arms with Modern Weapons*”, Indian Express, Madras, 1947, p.1

⁴²P. N. Bazaz, “*Daughters of the Vitasta: A history of Kashmiri women from early times to the present Day*”, 1959. Pamposh, New Delhi: p.266

After Sheikh Abdulla was detained in 1953, Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad (1953-1964) of the National Conference was appointed as a new Prime Minister. It is believed that Bakshi was the man of vision. His regime witnessed development in many fields of the state from agriculture to education. One of his chief objectives was to construct the state as crafted under the “Naya Kashmir” Manifesto which was framed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla in 1944 to design the modern Jammu & Kashmir. Bakshi laid special emphasis on the education and empowerment of people. But the governments after 1947 who had their plans of modern education faced opposition as there was a sense of disagreement from organizations like ‘Jamaat e Islamia’ who not only wanted to give modern education but also wanted to implement knowledge of traditional Islamic values in curriculum to safeguard the socio-cultural ethos.

The political instability on the other side gave little vent to the authorities to organize the development plans. In 1965 another war broke out between India and Pakistan due to the culmination to re-encounter. The conflict started following “Operation Gibraltar”, which was intended to invade powers into Jammu and Kashmir to encourage the insurgency in the state contrary to India. India retaliated and fought back by dispatching a full-scale military assault on West Pakistan. The war left thousands of casualties on both sides. It was on January 10, 1966, when both the countries agreed to withdraw weapons and respect the cease-fire line under the ‘Tashkent Conference’ which was held on 4th January 1966⁴³. According to Ganguly even though the Indo-Pakistan conflicts of 1947-48, 1965, and 1971 had low intensity and were taken for a short period but “the infiltration which was carried out for decades have its significance that overshadows to solve all other issues in the region”⁴⁴. Sheikh Abdulla was released in 1964. In 1971 Sheikh and Prime Minister of India Indra Gandhi reached a settlement to fill the gaps of long-lasting differences. On 23 February 1975, an accord was signed between the two to end his opposition to India. The agreement dropped his demand for the concept ‘Plebiscite’ on the future status of Kashmir⁴⁵. Though the local governments and religious originations especially fundamentalists had opposition to the ongoing system. After the death of Sheikh Abdullah in 1982 his son Dr. Farooq Abdulla took the political responsibilities of the National Conference which witnessed a major leap when he became Chief Minister of state for the first time in 1987. To remove the impasse or

⁴³S, Ganguly, “Wars without End: The Indo-Pakistani Conflict”, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Royal Institute of International Affairs, New Delhi, Vol.541, (1995), pp. 168-174.

⁴⁴Ibid. pp. 168-174

⁴⁵Lockwood, David E “Kashmir: Sheikh Abdullah's Reinstatement”, The World Today, Vol 31, (6), (1975), p.249.

Stalemate “Rajiv- Abdulla” Accord came into existence with a spirit to create mutual trust and strengthen the integration of the state into the Indian polity. Rajiv Gandhi wanted a man who could share his vision of politics aligned with the peaceful setting of paradise Kashmir on earth. This accord led to the reinstatement of Farooq Abdullah as chief minister of Jammu & Kashmir and proposed a road map for stabilizing the state. But this accord proved a flop show as in the following election the rigging feature of it gave a setback to the political stability with the rise of militancy in the valley of Kashmir that punctured the relations between the two countries. The insurgency that started in the late 1980s had a catastrophic impact upon the socio-economic fabric and life of Kashmiri people particularly the women folk. The phenomenon of insurgency and women's education after 1990 will be addressed in the next chapter of this study.

ii. Social Overview

Though the political conditions of the region were not stable concerning security and safety people still lived a free state of life. But on the flip side society was beset with many challenges like poor economy, lack of education, and staunch adherence to conservatism. The society was not enough conducive especially for the upliftment of women as it was lacking a liberal outlook. For example the marriage of a girl was given more preference rather than educating her. In the post-independent period despite the slight progress in education not a single woman had acquire placements in public services nor had any woman emerged as a distinctive social or political figure. No women had found any official place either in district board, municipal committee, or panchayats. The concept of modernity was not felt to majority. The large population of women in villages and small towns remained largely illiterate and ignorant thus blocking their mental horizons, few women living in the city and one or two big towns were benefited those being affluent in the society. As P.N.K Bazaz reveals in the “*Daughters of Vitasta*” “Kashmiri women had continued to suffer in hundred ways, and there were many difficulties which they had to undergo in an onward march⁴⁶. The majority of elite class Muslims used to follow strict purdah. An educated man attired in the western fashion had a burqa-clad wife by his side; women who were employed in any institution or department had to cover their faces because they had to face criticism. Men had had an aversion of seeing women going to offices and moving freely at public places. Though

⁴⁶P. N, Bazaz, “*Daughters of Vitasta*”, Op.cit., pp. 270-271.

this practice was not prevalent among Kashmiri Pandits. But other social evils were in common like dowry, as a result in most cases the girls used to choose such men having low economic status so that their families could get rid of the burden of dowry⁴⁷.

The future course of events witnessed some changes as was seen in the inclination of both Hindus and Muslims to educate their daughters. People took pride in making girls as teachers, nurses etc. though it was limited to those classes of society where one of the parents was educated, while in the rest of the society specifically in rural areas where the pace of overall developments regarding womenfolk was dormant and not speedy.

2.2. Naya Kashmir and Women Education

The mass representation and change among women in Kashmir had started from 1930's with the emergence of freedom movement against dogra rule. When for the first time Kashmiri women were seen participating in the processions against the rule. The movement saw the rise of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah whom people regarded as their leader against tyrannical Dogra rule. It was in the context of this movement that the sense of women rights was also recognized. Sheikh Abdullah after analyzing the situation drafted his concept of building modern Jammu and Kashmir. The ideas are drafted in a document known as 'Naya Kashmir' manifesto. This document guided all the post-independent governments across the process of development in Jammu & Kashmir. One of its important features was that it promises to safeguard women rights, aspirations and develop women education

The scholarly works of the time reveal how it was a movement of liberation for the Kashmiri womenfolk. The document stated that the Jammu and Kashmir was a country with a majority of the Muslim population, and other minorities like Sikhs, Hindus, Buddhists, and Christians. It contains provisions for all without any discrimination⁴⁸. The 'Naya Kashmir' promised "*to pull the people out of the abyss of oppression and poverty, degradation and superstition, and from medieval darkness and ignorance into the sunlit valley ruled by freedom, science, and honest toil*"⁴⁹. The Authors of this manifesto had a strong belief that "Education is a pivot

⁴⁷ P. N, Bazaz, " *Daughters of Vitasta* ", *Op.cit.*, p.272

⁴⁹ Kashmir Bureau of Information, "*New Kashmir*", no date, New Delhi,

around which the progress of people can revolve therefore it should not be merely liberal, but technical and allied to the national needs and the National Economic Plan”⁵⁰. The manifesto laid special stress on the development of education and highlighted that the development of education should be equal both for boys and girls. The below mentioned guidelines are directly quoted from the Naya Kashmir document which shows the educational development plan for the state.

- i) Mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in all primary schools
- ii) In universities research scholarships must be offered to study the problems of national importance abroad and lay special stress on technical training and establishment of technical institutions to meet the purposes of the state economic plan's)
- iii) A statistical institute to be established that would help the work of the planning commission and the state services
- iv) To establish the *Institute of Nationalities* that would educate and train men and women from remote areas having specific problems of language and tradition.
- v) Colleges to be established in each district especially in those areas where it is difficult for students to travel to the university, the nature of such institutions shall be both liberal and technical.
- vi) A network of higher, middle, and primary schools and kinder gardens shall be established on a compulsory and free basis, to educate every child in the state,
- vii) Special types of schools like traveling schools and boat schools usually for the nomad class and fisher men and for those who find it difficult to attend the ordinary state schools shall be established.
- viii) The state shall establish night schools and a special committee of the National Educational Council shall look into the problems in adult literacy.
- ix) To provide a network of libraries and the supply of books and other materials
- x) The state shall analyze the problems in girl education and make special arrangements for educational growth of women.

The other provisions regarding emancipation of women are mentioned in the chapter *womens charter* in Naya Kashmir manifesto. The charter speaks that “The Jammu and

⁵⁰Abdulla, Sheikh Muhammad “*Naya Kashmir*”, Bamzai; Director Kashmir Bureau of Information: New Delhi. p.38

Kashmir National Conference stands for the attainment by women of her just and rightful place in society”. “Her support is the important and responsible task in nation building process thus we ensure to her the following rights”.

- 1) Right to vote for all women above 18 years of age,
- 2) Right of election to all elective bodies.
- 3) Right of entry in all state services.

It was deemed that the department shall work for the backward class and neglected women, the nomads, women of frontier areas, the boatman women, and so on. The memorandum explains that every woman has the right to confront her marriage, the evil of dowry must not prevail and women should be free from exploitations⁵¹.

However, this manifesto is criticized in modern times. Many believe that these were promises printed on paper which were not fulfilled. As After the formation of the Naya Kashmir manifesto in 1944 the years later followed a pattern of chaos and disturbance with the end of the long freedom struggle against Dogras and the withdrawal of British rule in India. As India became independent the new socio-political order in Kashmir took people from previous social structure to a completely new system. In 1948, when the popular government led by Sheikh Abdullah came into power, it led strong efforts to implement the 'Naya Kashmir' program. Education was one of the high priorities. Many efforts were taken to fulfill these e.g. the idea of providing free modern education in general and technical education for women in particular. However it can be argued that the state lacked seriousness in incorporating these guidelines. The view is also supported by sociologist B.A Dabla in “*Multi dimensional problems of women in Kashmir*” Dabla pointed out that “the government programmes for the welfare of the women after Independence were not planned properly nor were they carried out in a serious way.

We see that the problem with the womenfolk had been two faced as on one side different social issues and conservative approach of society towards women was dominant. On the other side focus of government in modernizing women through education was lukewarm.

⁵¹ Ibid. pp. 41-43

Though the state lead continuous efforts to educate womenfolk. The ‘Naya Kashmir’ was used as a road map to align women on proper lines. After 1947 government took the process of delivering social education among people and also established multipurpose schools in different areas. But during Sheikh Abdulla’s first tenure (1948-1953), the process of universalization of education and particularly addressing the problems in women education faced impediments. The rural areas covering majority of the population were lagging schools and basic infrastecture for learning. The enrollment and excellence of girls at higher level education was also lagging, although a college named ‘Government Women’s College’ was established in Srinagar in an old residential house. It is considered as first college for women in Kashmir for higher education. But the access to education for female folk largely having rural background was a cumbersome job because the college was not accessible to the rural women folk.

Sheikh Abdulla being intellectual and such problems was not away from his sight. He planned to reconstruct these unaligned educational lines. In this regard an Educational Re-organization Committee was setup to discuss such newly formed issues in the education sector.

2.3. Re-organization of Education System

Majority of the total population living in rural areas lacked basic facilities and awareness to approach education. They had to deal with different social and economic problems. Therefore rural population had slow indicators of change in the region. The education system was running in an unparallel without clear-cut directives. The spade work of the Educational re-Organization Committee began in August 1950. The state government felt that foremost task is to develop creative and constructive minds which were possible through the medium of education⁵². The Committee pointed out that the impact of past events upon the people had remained drastic which needs to be dispersed from their minds through the medium of education. As the previous policy of ‘Divide and Rule’ had worked well in the marginalization of the society in which education was one of the worst-hit. At first the committee decided to organize teaching staff and gradually the department started taking versatile educated classes into the teaching profession.

⁵²Government of Jammu & Kashmir, “*Educational Reorganization Committee*”, Ranbir Government Press, New Delhi, (1950), pp.1-2

If we consider the Education Re-organization survey report 1950, it shows that previously the access to education in rural areas varied from area to area, as in some places the government high school was flanked by private institutions having boys and girls of the same age group and class. In other areas, there used to be no high schools at all⁵³. This reflected an unsystematic pattern. Therefore this pattern of education was to be stopped and equal access to every area be given was maintained.

The exchange of reviews in the committee and the main recommendations given to overhaul the education system are following:

- i. **Kindergartens** “The committee ordered Kindergarten schools to be an integral part of the educational ladder and a larger number of such ‘schools should be organized’. It was decided that women teachers should be given priorities to continue placement in charge of these schools”⁵⁴.
- ii. **Primary Education:** fresh recommendations were laid on primary education which was reorganized as an independent unit. Primary education had duration of 9 years and in case of backward areas, it was set for 5 plus. Art and craft was taken as an integral part of the syllabus during this stage and these crafts were to be selected by individual schools. Besides, it was decided that the Middle schools would be gradually liquidated⁵⁵”
- iii. **Secondary Education:** in case of secondary education “The duration was set for four years (12 plus to 16 plus) and it was also constituted as an independent unit”. The rural multipurpose high schools were to be set up in larger Mufassil (divided) towns and for urban areas schools of this type would be set up in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar. Such schools would have a 'Career Master' trained in the technique of assessing the aptitudes of the pupils and commanding them on the choice of their careers.

The mother tongue was placed as a medium of instruction at the primary schools. English language was recommended from secondary up to the university level. Subject like Home Science was made compulsory subject for every girl from primary upto the matriculation level. Girls from rural areas were also taught “The Village Home” which was also one of the compulsory subjects⁵⁶.

⁵³Ibid., p.2

⁵⁴Ibid. p.32

⁵⁵Ibid., p.32

⁵⁶Ibid., p.33

- iv. Infrastructure and equipments:** The department adopted a new method to reconstruct old and broken furniture. For this purpose a small sum of money was to be put at the disposal of the headmasters to make minor repairment on the school buildings. It was further deemed that there should be a “building and equipment unit” which would work under the supervision of the Director of Education to look into infrastecture related problems.⁵⁷
- v. Social Education:** It also laid stress on the Social Education of people in the state that must be organized on correct lines. It should however enlist the cooperation of people, organizations particularly the National Conference and local Panchayats.
- vi. Training & Qualification of the Teachers:** “The age limit for the training of a teacher was set 45 earlier it was 35 years. Mobile Training Squads were to be organized to take training facilities to the teachers. As it was decided to make Home Science, a compulsory subject for girls, it was further recommended that there must have at least, a traveling woman expert on this subject. The qualification of teachers required was matriculation for both men and women. In backward areas relaxation of qualification for women was set at middle level especially for those rural and suburb areas where there was scarcity or dearth of matriculating female candidates’⁵⁸

We see the exchange of reviews in the committee had mainly laid stress on the establishment of kindergartens, imparting social education, training teachers, and improvising primary and secondary education. But the qualification of teachers, technical education for girls and establishment of night schools, providing new infrastecture etc was compromised, infact it was earlier mentioned in the guidelines of “Naya Kashmir”. The census of education 1952 shows that there was scarcity of girl students in institutions at all levels. Most of the students who got enrolled in government schools remained barn of quality education and subject specified teachers. Therefore it is transparent that the government for the second time had produced a void in lifting womenfolk through the medium of education. No doubt after independence state had less financial support and the liberation of women from the conservative society was also a crucial task. Still government could have constructed a mechanism that could at least aware women to get basic education. But it could not; since

⁵⁷Ibid., p.37

⁵⁸Ibid., p.34

The disturbance at political level was another setback that sidelined the interest of government to develop such strategies.

2.4. Bakshi's contribution towards female education

The political situation in the valley was not stable. Sheikh Abdulla was dismissed as a prime minister in 1953 and was arrested upon an allegation in his public speeches for allegedly supporting the cause of an independent Kashmir popularly known as “Kashmir Conspiracy Case”. Sheikh was jailed for a decade and Ghulam Muhammad Bakshi was appointed as a Prime Minister under Sadri-e-Riyasat Mr. Karan Singh son of Maharaja Hari Singh.

The new government lead by Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad led great contributions to the development in all the spheres of the state including education sector. The argument can be made concrete; looking at the fact when in 1965 the valley of Kashmir witnessed mass number of journalists both from national and across borders to collect the information about political social and economic developments in the state. The journalists reported about the shift in the economic sector especially in the field of Education, Transportation, Employment, and agriculture sector⁵⁹. Dr. Hafsa Kanjwal professor of History points that “Once Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi came to power, he opened the gates of aid from central government” because of which the education department was able to implement projects.

The government led strong emphasis on the development of education and to remove illiteracy. G.M Bakshi gave a practical shape to the Naya Kashmir manifesto. He was quick at implementing new policies. Referring to the report of Directorate of Information & Broadcasting (1954) one of the bold steps taken by G.M Bakshi within a few weeks of his governance was providing free education from elementary up to the higher level⁶⁰. The impact of this policy was that it yielded productive results as it attracted nearly 1.5 lakh students in the first year. Jammu & Kashmir was the only state in India at that time to implement this plan.

⁵⁹ Kanjwal, H “*Building A New Kashmir: Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and the Politics of State Formation in a disputed territory (1953-1963)*”, History & Women Studies, University of Michigan, 2017, p.44

⁶⁰ Directorate of Information & Broadcasting, “*A review of the achievements of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad 1953-1954*”, Ranbir Printing, Jammu & Kashmir, p.10

In doing so, Bakshi's govt "exhibited acute political acumen, previously the increase in tuition fees had resulted in agitations among people under Sheikh Abdullah's tenure⁶¹. S.L Seru in the '*History of the growth of education in Srinagar*' mentions that from 1950 to 1956 the free education policy raised the educational budget from 6% percent to 12% of the total revenue of the state. The total expenditure on education also showed growth. In 1957 about 50 primary level schools were upgraded to basic activity schools⁶². The idea constructed by the Bakshi government to implement a basic education scheme to convert primary stage schools into basic activity schools was implemented soon after it was formulated.

According to PNK Bazaz the contemporary writer of the period writes that "This period saw an increase in the number of educational institutions at all levels in rural and urban areas". Strong stress was laid on the universalization of primary education, and the establishment of mobile schools for the nomadic tribes like Gujjar and Bakerwals. The attention was not limited to cover urban centers like Srinagar, but the vision was to cover all other areas. Such special efforts boosted the enrollment of students and within ten years the number of students raised from 107,233 to 276,351. Female enrollment also increased upto 400 percent. In 1950 there were only 1330 institutions in the valley. The efforts led by the government resulted in the establishment of institutions from 1330 to 3653 by the year 1960. Strong efforts were also led in the establishment of *Arts College in Jammu* and *Islamia College of Science and Commerce* in Kashmir Srinagar.

Though Sheikh Abdullah and G.M Bakshi represented a common party but when the nature of their contribution for the state is compared, it can be noticed, that throughout the period Sheikh Abdulla was seen indulged in the political matters of the state like freedom from Dogras, states accession to India, leading plebiscite and framing the special status for the state. In contrast Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad had little focus to such issues. He laid much emphasis to develop social institutions and boost economic sector in the state. Although the role played by Sheikh Abdullah in taking stand for the state prior to independence and even after cannot be underestimated; neither the efforts lead by G.M Bakshi can be taken for granted. The quality of meeting both the ends was missing in their leadership.

Moreover in the politics of education, department had to tackle opposition from religious ideologies like Jamaat-e-Islamia. The organization was one of the key individual groups

⁶¹ Kanjwal, H, "*Building A New Kashmir: Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and the Politics of State Formation in a disputed territory*" *Op cit.*, pp.119-120

⁶²S.L Seru, "*History and Growth of Education in Jammu & Kashmir 1872-1973*", Ali Mohammad and Sons, Srinagar, 1977, p.176

participating in providing education. The vision of Jamaat-e-Islamia was to bring modern education and traditional Islamic studies on the same lines. It had opened several private schools throughout the valley of Kashmir. But the organization did not get any aid from the government compared to the schools run under other organizations e.g. “Anjuman e Nusrat ul Islam” which was timely aided by government⁶³. The Anjuman-e-Nasratul Islam was another Muslim organization founded in the pre-independent period to promote education and eradicate illiteracy among Muslims of the region that continued its process even after independence.

The government wanted to build education on different lines in order to balance secularity of the state policy. But the state did not show support towards Jamaat e Islamia, rejecting their education policies and restricting funds to the organization. Although Jamaat-i-Islamia was an active and well developed organization, it had attracted increasing number of youth in the valley by opening chain of schools. However After few years Jamaat-e-Islami turned into a religious-political organization. It started defining the state as a disputed territory and claimed that its accession to the Indian dominion was unjustified. So far as the educational work of the organization is concerned it continued its process throughout the period without the support of government.

In order to manage numbers of institutions, the government issued grants and aids to many private and religious institutions except Jamaat-I-Islamia based schools’ because of organization’s religious and separatist ideology. Scholarships were reserved for backward class children. Such steps were also taken at the national level. The government acknowledged the need for quality teachers which could attract people towards teaching profession. In this regard government raised the salaries of teachers. The education became more accessible to people especially to Muslims and female folk. As in the case of Muslims before independence only 1.6 percent of Muslims were literate, and in 1961 close to the end of Bakshi’s government, the percentage of literate Muslims was recorded as 11.03%⁶⁴.

Following the path of Naya Kashmir, education and employment of women also became a primary focus of the government to overhaul their status. Education for women was recognized as an important indicator of change for the development of the region. To

⁶³Kanjwal, H, “*Building a New Kashmir*”, *Op.cit.*, p. 118

⁶⁴Khan, Mohd Ishaq, “*History of Srinagar*”, *Op.cit.*, pp.119-121

motivate and educate maximum girls, the government established schools from primary up to higher-level which allowed their presence in the social sphere of life⁶⁵.

On 9th December 1955 Shri D.P Nayar, Assistant chief of the education planning commission of India referred some serious concerns to the commissions concerning female education in the country. To give the utmost attention to this issue a letter was forwarded to all states directing them to provide information concerning the status of women's education. A series of letters between DP Nayar and State government of Kashmir retrieved from state Archives Srinagar reveals that the authorities of Jammu and Kashmir had not gathered the information on time. Though the report submitted and attached to the file shows the enrollment of girls at different levels since years 1950-1956. However the information for the year 1960-61 had not been listed by the authorities⁶⁶. The enrollment data which was submitted to the planning commission of India is mentioned below.

Table 2 1 Status of Girl's Education 1951-1956

Type	Number of Pupil 1950-1951			1955-1956		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Primary Stage	55057	47078	7979	65091	57862	7229
Middle Stage ⁷	24959	18105	6854	35363	29797	5586
Higher Secondary Stage	20700	18568	2132	65591	57862	7729

Source: file education- a66-c/55, State Archives Srinagar Kashmir, Statistics regarding Women's Education

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 294

⁶⁶ Education Secretarial, "Statistics Regarding Women's Education", file edu- a66-c/55, AR No: 8433, S. No: 1167, (1955), State Archives, Srinagar Kashmir, pp.1-11

The above table indicates a wide gap between male/female enrollments at all levels. These numbers highlight the issue of the gender gap and disparity in the sector. Despite of certain developments in the field of education the growth of female education in the state had slow pace.

One of the imperative steps under this government was to universalize education. Though in Jammu and Kashmir, the very first initiative towards the universalization of education at the primary level had began in 1930 during the rule of Maharaja Hari Singh. But that endorsement resulted in the development of compulsory education particularly for boys and it was limited to the towns of Jammu and the Srinagar city. The policy had limited coverage therefore the step had remained ineffective. The reason of the failure was 'inadequate machinery to enforce compulsion of sending children to schools'⁶⁷. Even in the post independence period the policy showed less growth in the state. But when the separate constitution for the state was framed in 1953 important provisions regarding education were highlighted. These provisions claim to deliver free and compulsory education to all citizens. For example "Article 20" of the constitution in the Directive Principles of the state policy reveals the "Right to secure every permanent resident of the state and to provide free education upto University level"⁶⁸. All children of the age group 6 to 14 years were to receive "free and compulsory education"⁶⁹. The development goals to meet the needs and universalize the education were target bounded and were to be completed within the time period of 10 years or one decade since the formation of the constitution. The other provisions related to education framed under the Constitution: is Article (21) declared to provide the "equal opportunities in education and employment, and protection against exploitation". The Article '23' of the constitution highlights that "The State shall promote education of socially and educationally backward sections and to protect them against injustice"⁷⁰.

After the installation of Bakshi at the helm of affairs in 1953 his government tried to galvanize the concept of universalization of education which was guaranteed under separate constitution of Jammu & Kashmir. He encompassed on free and compulsory education to all, he lead expansion of educational institutions and increase in the enrollment of students both

⁶⁷Census of India, "*J&K Census Operations 1961*" Vol.-V1, Part I-A, Act No-(3) of Sammat 1986, State Archives, Srinagar.

⁶⁸*Extracts from the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir State*, Government Free Press, Srinagar, 1973, p.23

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p.23

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p.23

Male and females to eradicate illiteracy. But in case of the higher and technical education, institutions were established in urban areas and in few towns. A number of primary, middle and high schools were established in rural areas.

Although the special status of the state given under Article 370 and 35-A of the Indian constitution which was abrogated after in the year 2019. The GOI claimed that the Article 370 has remained hindrance in the development of the state. It also violates the marital property rights of women married outside. But as far as the educational developments in the state are concerned, the abrogation of article 370 has not potential to address the problems in education in general and women education in particular. Because the problems within socio-political and economic arena onwards 1947 bear major responsibility for the low growth of education in general and women education in particular in the state. The misconception that the special provision has directly impeded general educational developments in the state is not true. So far as observed in this study that after 1947 the chronology of the political events that the state underwent like Still stand agreement, Kabali's infiltration, instrument of accession, wars between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, arrest of Sheikh Abdulla, installation of Bakshi's regime, jamatite faction and lack of interest among government were major turbulences and commotions which had eclipsed and overshadowed other urgent issues like education in Kashmir. In fact the impact of armed conflict after 1990's which is briefly explained in next chapter also possesses a major halt on all the dimensions of society including women and education.

The contributions lead by state authorities especially by Sheikh Abdulla and Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad towards education in the state cannot be counted alone. As after independence the role of national education committees and commissions particularly with regard to the development of female education in the state is imperative to discuss.

2.5. The National Reform Committees and Commissions

After the independence, in 1947 one of the major contributions towards the overall educational development of the country and in the sphere of female education can be credited to the national level educational committees and commissions that had formed the base of our today's education system. It galvanized the problems of women both socially and economically and also represented the importance and need of female education in the country to portray them in a positive light.

i. "The University Education Commission 1948-49"

In 1948-1949 under the chairmanship of Dr. Radha Krishnan the University Education Commission was appointed. Dr Radha Krishnan recommended improvements in women's higher education and suggested to classify the universities into types E.g. affiliated type universities, Teaching universities, etc. He also recommended to classify the structure of colleges and defined its governing bodies. The commission laid special stress on objectives and medium of instruction in university education and defined curriculum for institutions.

An important emphasis was laid on the education of females. The chapter XII of the report of the University Education Commission (1948-49) mentions higher education for women in the country. The data released by the Ministry of Education in (1945-1946) reveals that there were six and a half times as many boys in secondary schools and colleges as there were girls in India"⁷¹. Thus there was a huge disparity and gap in education, the commission recognized the slow growth in women educations. It suggested developing equal education without discrimination. Women can share equal thought and interests with men. They can digest the same academic work as men do because the general ability among women is approximately the same as in men. Therefore they must share the same system and programs as men do.

But the committee had decided that home can provide a befitting and excellent setting for women folk and they can be no slave to men if they would learn skills. It was pointed out that the best relations in family maintained by men and women are possible only when they share the same level of education. It was decided that her education should include practical experience so that she can care for home and family. To attain such objectives the committee recommended equipments for educating girls. A well-maintained baby home, a nursery

⁷¹ *University Education Commission (1948-1949)*, Government of India Press, New Delhi, Vol-(1), 1963, pp.343-352

school which would relieve nearby mothers during a part of the day, a club for adolescents and school children, A small home for old people, creating an atmosphere where students may act as hostesses and gain experience of home maintenance and operations⁷². The commission examined that this kind of education can train women to deal with problems of her home management; their interests would match with the place like home and they could develop an equal sense of competence as trained men have at work place. Some special courses for women were also added like Home Economics, Nursing, Teaching, and Fine Arts. However, courses in home economics and home management were implemented at a low level due to the lack of female students in such courses. Quoting the report which says that “We are informed that in some of our most progressive universities where special provision was made for courses in home economics, unfortunately, no women students have chosen to take them”⁷³. This was due to social conservativeness and due to the lack of awareness and guidance that could help girl students to understand the opportunities in the woman's world. One of the issues that the education sector was facing at that time was the lack of co - education in most of the institutions and scarcity of women teachers. The committee recommended special and intelligent educational guidance, educational counseling programs, and equal status and wages to men and women teachers at work place.

ii. National Committee on Women’s Education (1958-1959):

The Planning Commission in Poona in July 1957 decided to appoint a committee to recognize the status of female education from primary upto higher level in order to understand how far the existing system of education had benefited female folk. In the year 1958 “The National Committee on Women Education” was appointed by the Ministry of Education Government of India Resolution No. F. 34-12/57-B.5 and was organized under the chairmanship of Durgabhai Deshmukh⁷⁴. The committee was empowered to survey the then system of women’s education and its problems so that fresh recommendations would be made for states and UT’s. The committee took a survey and presented the statistical data of both men and women and highlighted the differences, major issues, and also recommended ways to tackle with new issues.

⁷²Ibid. 343-352

⁷³Ibid., 343-352

⁷⁴Ministry of Education, “*National Committee on Women’s Education 1958-1959*”, Govt. of India Press, New Delhi, 1959, p.1

The below data is taken from the survey report of the ‘National Committee On Women’s Education with regard to the educational development in state of Jammu & Kashmir,

It shows the percentage of school-going girls of different age groups in Jammu & Kashmir in 1956 and also shows the target that was to be achieved till 1960-61.

Table 2 Percentage of School going girls

Age Groups	As on 1-4-1956		1960-1961 target	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
6-11 years	35.5	8.9	57.2	12.7
11-14 years	18.3	4.0	30.0	4.8
14-17 years	7.8	3.0	N/A	N/A

Source: Data retrieved from Ministry of Education (1956-1957)

Taking all-India figures for the year 1956-57 we find that under these age groups the percentage of overall school-going boys is 73.8 while as only 34.7 percent of the girls attended the school even when the population of boys was almost equal to the population of girls. A wide gap was seen confining to girls only. In Jammu and Kashmir and in Rajasthan the percentages of literate girls in the schools remained below 10 percent. The gender disparity in education was visible even at the primary stage. The high rise in disparity was particularly seen in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Viewing the about table we see that in the age group 11-14, there had a steep drop in the enrollment of girls against their total population. For example in Jammu & Kashmir, we see that in the age-group 6-11 years the percentage of girls admitted in the schools to their total population was 8.9 whereas for the age-group of 11-14yrs it is only 4.0. This indicates that the percentage of girls falling in the age group of 11-14 years was declining.

In the age group of 14-17, the education of girls had lag behind. The data shows 3.0% decrease in the enrollment of girls. The decline in enrollment can also be seen in case of boys who stood at 7.8% against 18.3% earlier. A wide gender gap in education was prevalent at

The middle and secondary level. There would have been chances of wider gaps while crossing the educational ladder.

Table 2: The total number of female teachers in primary, secondary, and higher education compared to the male teachers in Jammu and Kashmir.

Table 2 3 : Total number of female teachers in primary, secondary, and higher education

Stage	Total	Male	Female
Primary	2490	2091	399
Middle	1877	1574	303
High School	2242	1738	504
College & Universities	417	333	84
Total	7026	5664	1290

Source: Ministry of Education (1956-1957)

The above data shows that in Jammu & Kashmir the number of women teachers employed was very small. There had been a major gap between male and female teachers; the overall female teachers at the primary level were 399 compared to male teachers who were 2091 in numbers. We can conclude that the population of female teachers remained one-fifth of the total number of male teachers. With regard to the middle schools the number of female teachers was even less, the above data shows that there had been only 303 female teachers at the middle school level compared to 1574 male teachers. Moreover it is observed that there was lack of both male and female teachers especially at the university level but compared to male teachers the population of female teachers was less. There was an urgent need to motivate and increase quantity of women teachers at all levels. In the above figure, the total number of teachers at all stages is 7026 of which 5664 were males and only 1290 were females.

Table3: The total number of trainees and training facilities provided to primary and secondary level female teachers (1956-57) in Jammu & Kashmir.

State	Schools			Managed By			Number of Trainees		
	Men	Women	Total	Govt	Local board	private	Men	Women	Total
<i>Primary Level</i>	7	0	7	7	0	0	992	263	1255
<i>Secondary Level</i>	2	0	2	2	0	0	123	34	157

Table 2 4Source: Data retrieved from Ministry of Education (1956-1957)

From the preceding, the number of training institutes at primary level is 7 for males and no institution is listed for females but there had been 263 women trainees. In the case of secondary level, there were only 2 training centers for males while no such facilities were provided against 34 women trainees in Jammu and Kashmir. This shows an unsystematic pattern of placements.

Such variations in female education system were prevalent even at the national level though it differed from state to state. Besides Jammu & Kashmir, several other states like Rajasthan, Assam, were lagging in female education compared to other states. Based on the above information the National Committee on Women’s Education highlighted the key concerns. The committee also highlighted that social customs which were prevailing in most of the states have hindered the process, the will of parents to settle their daughters in life was more preferred in getting them married rather to train and involve them in vocations, and better occupations. The committee produced some special and general recommendations based on the results of the survey.

- i.** “The highest priority should be given to schemes framed for the upliftment of female folk and separate funds to be allocated for this purpose.
- ii.** The committee recommended establishing a National Council for the education of females in the country as early as possible and the state should develop state councils for the development of female education. In every state a Joint Director should be appointed as a woman, she must be given the authority of the women’s education system. The responsibility of checking the disparity between boys and girls and releasing funds for the development of same was recommended to the Central government.
- iii.** Appointment of the School Mothers at primary level in all schools especially where there is lack of female teachers. There was a need for necessary privacy and arrangements for girls, especially in co-educational institutions. There should be enough co-educational institutions at the middle school level and important attention had to be paid to providing the special requirements and needs of the female students. But for the secondary school level, it was recommended that there should be separate schools for girls and boys, especially in the rural areas, to give freedom to the parents as per their desire to admit their girls in boys or girl’s schools. Therefore the committee did not recommend co-education at the secondary stage.
- iv.** Hostel and transport facilities should be made available to girls so that they could have easy access to schools. Girls up to the middle school level who had less family income would be provided cash or free school uniform, books, and other necessary educational tools. The establishments of the productive curriculum at primary, middle, and secondary level and more training centers for teachers was given high importance. Moreover the council also stressed on the Third Year Plan and recommended that some suitable provisions should be made that could provide availability of quarters for women teachers serving in rural areas that must be attached to schools. Girls from rural areas who had passed the middle school examination were eligible to be recruited as primary level teachers. Besides all these suggestions the council recommended for the establishment of more institutions at all stages, and improvement for building co-education, filling gender gaps and special emphasis to be

laid on improvements in education in rural areas while keeping their social conditions into consideration”⁷⁵.

The National Committee of Women’s Education of 1958 later paved a pathway to appoint the National Council of Women’s Education in 1961-1962 under the chairmanship of Hans Mehta. The committee was established to improvise women’s education system. The committee recommended upgrading the curriculum for boys and girls and encouraging co-education and vocational schools for girls. The council laid special stress on the appointments of female teachers at all levels. The committee also suggested encouraging girls to study subjects like Mathematics and Science at the secondary level.

iii. Bhaktavatsalam Committee (1963):

The National Council for Women’s Education held a meeting in the year 1963. The council demanded to establish a micro committee which can figure out the reasons behind the lack of public support in educating girls, particularly in rural areas. The reason behind such decision was based on the curiosity of fewer enrollments of girls in educational institutions. A new subcommittee known as the “Bhaktavatsalam committee was appointed under the chairmanship Chief Minister of Madras Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam 1963-1967. The committee was appointed to study the issues in women education, especially in rural areas of the country. However, this committee was not much empowered than the National Council of Women’s education itself. Neither was it empowered to look at the grassroots problems of women’s education in rural areas with a broader perspective covering all the socio-economic and political issues affecting female education.

The members of Bhaktavatsalam Committee expressed that “it is only possible through educated and informed people that can help making progress; therefore the programs based on public initiatives must be put forward”⁷⁶.

The following recommendations were given

- i. Establish private institutions and new school buildings.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp.192-225

⁷⁶Ministry of Education, “*To Look Into the Causes For Lack Of Public Support Particularly In Rural Areas, For Girls’ Education and To Enlist Public Cooperation*”, Ministry of Education, New Delhi, 1965, pp.39-45

- ii. In the rural areas provide suitable accommodation for teachers and students and popularizing co-education at the Primary level.
- iii. Encourage teaching profession and women teachers. Encouraging married women to take up part-time teaching jobs in schools or work as school mothers.
- iv. breakdown the traditional biases and prejudices against girl empowerment with the help of education’
- v. Supplying mid-day meals because a hungry child can’t learn.
- vi. Supplying uniforms to poor and needy children, supplying free textbooks is essential to encourage them towards education.
- vii. Creating school improvement conferences encourage seminars, media talks and provide audio-visual aids to schools and colleges. Encourage enrolment drives especially for girls.

Special Recommendations for Jammu & Kashmir: The committee had drafted the enrolment status of boys and girls in the state of Jammu& Kashmir. The information is presented below.

Table 2 5: The enrollment position in the state of Jammu and Kashmir 1960-1966

Age Groups	1960-1961		1965-1966			
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
6-11 years Number of Children Number on Roll	2.63	-	2.33	3.03	-	2.69
Not attending	1.65	-	0.45	2.56	-	0.87
	0.98	-	1.88	0.47	-	1.82
11-14 years Number of Children Number on Roll	1.29	-	1.15	1.61	- s	1.41
Not attending	0.48	-	0.12	0.73	-	0.22
	0.81	-	1.03	0.88	-	1.19
14-17 years Number of Children Number on Roll	1.14	-	1.03	1.33	-	1.20
Not attending	0.17	-	0.5	0.22	-	0.6
	0.97	-	0.98	0.11	-	1.14

Source: Ministry of education 1965, Bhaktavatsalam Committee Report

Retrieved: <http://14.139.60.153/handle/123456789/2067>

The above data shows the status of female education in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The main difficulties which have led to the low enrollment status regarding girls were pointed out by the committee as follows and recommendations were made on same.

- (i) The mountainous areas, the hilly tracks were making the spread of educational facilities difficult. Homes were seen scattered and most of the areas in Kashmir remain snow bound for a considerable period of the year. Lack of adequate facilities in schools was another reason.
- (ii) Due to the acute level of poverty among people especially in rural areas the parents required their children to support them in their work rather than allowing them to get educated. The element of conservatism present among parents was disappearing at a very low pace. Therefore, the committee recommended media like radio, films, banners, organization of seminars, involvement of village committees and “Mahila Samajas” etc to propagate the importance of girls’ education among parents of the rural community.
- (iii) The committee gathered the information that in Kashmir there was no opposition towards co-education except in rural areas. Therefore committee recommended separate schools for girls in such areas to boost enrollment.
- (iv) Moreover, arrangements for establishing Mobile schools to educate the tribal population of Jammu & Kashmir and provision of free books and educational equipment, mid-day meals for children, and scholarships were recommended.
- (v) A special preference was given to free education in the State of Jammu & Kashmir up to the post-graduate level for both boys and girls. The committee said that the state may have universal education in the age group 6- 11yrs till the end of the Fifth year Plan (1975-76). While in the age group 11-14, universal education may reach the end of the Seventh year Plan (1985-86). The main problem at that time was to increase the enrolment of girls at all levels

- (vi) The committee found that there were strong prejudices against female education particularly in the rural societies of Kashmir. Therefore special measures were recommended to prepare women teachers and expand the education of girls.

In order to develop teacher training programs, and establishment of quarters, new schools buildings, etc. The committee was informed that financial help from the center would be given that must be spent on a long-term basis. But however “limited assistance was given for a period of one or two years and after that state was made responsible for all expenditure. It would mean a heavy burden on the state’s exchequer. The state was having less financial resources so it was not able to carry out and start such schemes”⁷⁷.

Iv. Kothari Commission (1964-66)

National Educational Commission or Kothari Commission (1964-1966), also known by NPE “National Policy on Education” was set up by the government of India to look at all loopholes of the educational segment in India. This was the sixth commission in the history of the education of India and was the most comprehensive document in nature.

On 14th of July 1964 Kothari Commission was established by the government of India under the chairmanship of “Daulat Singh Kothari” who was serving as a chairman of the University Grants Commission. The Kothari Commission's aimed to examine all the aspects of the academic sector across the country. D.S.Kothari submitted a report on 29th June 1966. The recommendations mentioned were later enlisted in India's National Policy on Education in the year 1968.

The need of drafting this commission can be clearly understood by quoting the words in a letter attached to the report which says that “*Education has always been essential but, never more in human history than it is today. In a scientific world, education and research are important elements for the whole developmental of the country*”. This emphasizes the demand for an educational policy which can adjust to the changing circumstances. It was deemed that in the emerging world the traditional system of education cannot fulfill to the present needs to sustain the future⁷⁸.

⁷⁷Ibid.pp.13-14

⁷⁸Kothari D.S. “*Education and National Development*” The Education Commission, Government of India New Delhi, 1966, p.1

Though the 'Kothari Commission dealt with the overall issues and concerns of education in the country. One of its important features was drafted on women's education and empowerment. Chapter six of the commission report discusses about the development of female education. The suggestions and recommendations are summed up below:

Recommendations for female education

The Kothari commission encouraged the recommendations given by previous held committees. The endorsement of the Kothari commission pertains to (a) The National Committee on Women education under Durgabai Deshmukh (b) Hans' Mehta committee and (c) The Bhaktavatsalam Committee under the chairmanship of Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam which examines the reasons behind slow growth in female education among 6 states of the country⁷⁹.

Thus Kothari Commission had two-way plans for the development of the female education. Firstly, the commission emphasized the special programs as already recommended by the "National Committee of Women's Education". Special committee to supervise the education of girls and women was formed which was intended to be applied at the center as well as States.

Secondly a keen stress was paid on the role females played outside. The dual role of women was considered an imperative feature of the socio-economic life of the country. It was foreseen that in the coming years, the social scenario will draw large proportions and affect a bulk of women. Therefore necessary actions were laid to employment and training of women. One of the important indicators of change was felt in the field of solving gender roles particularly of women who were unable to carry out their dual roles in domestic and in the professional line. The Census of 1961 shows that below the age of 24years about one million young women, having a minimum qualification of matriculation who were unemployed and worked as housewives⁸⁰. The committee was to recognize issues both in education and employment sector of female folk.

Thirdly, it paved a way to develop and strengthen Primary, Secondary and Higher education for girls. It led clear emphasis on facilities and necessities needed for the smooth transaction of education. It was deemed that education must build good character among both boys' and girls' therefore moral education was also a question of top priorities. it was advised to involve both girls and boys into discussions and debates and to provide quality education that will

⁷⁹Ibid., pp.631-637

⁸⁰Ibid., p.138

grow seeds of moral values among them. The problem of education among scheduled tribes was also questioned and it was advised to pay special attention to the education of children from the backward classes.⁸¹

The Kothari Commission (1964–1966) recognized the need for the reconstruction of the education system⁸². One of its major contributions was the ‘10+3+2’ system of education and a common scheme under which Mathematics and Science were recommended as compulsory subjects for both boys and girls.

However, in the case of Jammu and Kashmir the suggestions made were not incorporated properly especially in girl education. This can be sighted from the below figure which shows the progress of female education in the valley in 1968-69.

Table 2 6; Digest of statistics (Education)

Year Institutions	Number of students on Roll (Lakhs)			ratio			Number of teachers		
	Male	female	Total	Male	Female	total	Male	Female	total
1968-1969									
Primary Schools	3524	1431	4995	2.59	0.11	2.70	4596	1774	6340
Middle Schools	1017	292	1309	0.75	0.30	1.05	4764	1199	5964
Higher- Secondary	443	108	551	1.23	0.10	0.51	5925	1995	7920

Source: Digest, Government of Jammu and Kashmir, department of economics and statistics.

Web link: "<http://ecostatjk.nic.in/publications/publications.htm>"

Out of 4995 institutions at primary level schools girls hold only 1431 institutions against boys who had 3524 institutions. The same is the case with middle and higher institutions where girls had only 292 institutions out of 1309. In higher secondary level compared to the boy's girls had only 108 institutions and boys had 443 institutions out of total 551. Out of 2.70 lakh students at primary level only 0.11 are enrolled as girl students. In the case of enrollment at higher, secondary level girls roll only 0.10 compared to boys which are 1.23 Lakhs. The enrollment of female teachers was low at all stages compared to the male

⁸¹Ibid., p.631

⁸²Ministry of Human Resource development, "National Policy on Education", Department of Education Government of India, 1986, New Delhi, p.1

teachers especially at the higher secondary level as data shows that there were only 1995 female teachers out of a total of 7920 teachers while 5925 were male teachers in service. In Jammu & Kashmir and Kashmir respectively the administrative report of 1975 reveals clearly that during the year the number of female institutions had remained stationary and low. The girl's roll has fell from 1811 to 1675 in the year. This decrease in enrollment was specifically seen in the girl's middle schools where the management was not been facilitated correctly. Although female education was free but its system was not enough matured and remained infancy. Though popular scholarships were given to students on basis of merit and poor economic conditions and in some cases widows were also allowed to attend schools, and provided with special scholarships. English as a language was taught in some of the schools as the parents had realized its need. Girls were often seen having interest in this subject. Moreover the private schools were doing a better job compared to government schools, though it was not affordable for many girls to join private institutions⁸³.

It is to be noted here that both the countries India and Pakistan were leading towards the second Kashmir war in 1965. On account of the war, much could not be done in the state especially the construction of school buildings and managements. The disturbances in the state stressed education. However, the Kothari Commission did not recognize the impact of such disturbances on educational lines and had not recommended any such remedies.

v. The National Policy on Education (1986):

The NPE was found in 1986. The report submitted by the policy makers clearly mentioned that the general articulations incorporated in the previous policy had not strengthened the broader strategy in its implementation and had less financial and organizational support. The result drew however created massive proportions on the access and quality of education as well as its utilization and financial outlays⁸⁴.

The National Education Policy of 1986 recommended forming a National System of Education and national curricular framework having a common core and more flexible components. The common core means including history of India's freedom struggle and learning duties of citizens in constitution in order to maintain national identity and to promote common cultural heritage through education, including equality among sexes, environmental protection, and vanishing social barriers. Development of scientific temper among pupils was

⁸³Department of education , "*Annual Administration Report*", Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar, 1974.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.2

included in the national system of education. It was deemed that all the educational programs under the system would be carried out in a strict manner keeping secular values of the country into consideration. The NPE 1986 also suggested promoting equality both in terms of access and success that would be regulated through the core curriculum. It aimed to remove biases, prejudice, and differences in the social environment by making students aware of diverse cultures and social systems and creating a link language⁸⁵.

It emphasizes overhauling the entire education system and takes empowerment of women into the limelight. In such regard, the policy encouraged the educational institutions to initiate active programs in enhancing the status of women in the education sector and the rest of the sectors as well. The NPE suggested developing vocational, professional and technical education for women. The National System of Education aimed to change the status of women, it recommended updating curriculum, approving new textbooks, and subjects like social engineering and women studies were also added.

Special attention was given to eradicate illiteracy among women in rural areas especially at elementary level. In this regard a special support services and was recruited to monitor the process. The major stress was laid on women folk to get admissions in technical and professional education. It was added that no discrimination shall be strengthened. Education will thus remove common stereo-typing in professional and vocational education⁸⁶. In May 1990 the central government decided to review the NPE of 1986. Therefore a committee headed by educationalist Acharya Ramamurti was appointed. The committee took Women's Education as a vital component of the overall strategy to maintain equality in the education system⁸⁷.

The committee reviewed the NPE 1986 and made recommendations for the female education

- a) Proper access to education and equality at all stages of learning.
- b) Focus on removing gender bias.
- c) Involvement of girls in professional, technical and Vocational education.

⁸⁵Ibid.,p.4

⁸⁶Ibid., p.6

⁸⁷Ministry of Education, "Review of National Policy on Education 1986", Government of India, New Delhi, 1991, pp.11-31

- d) Recruitment of trained women teachers in schools,
- e) Adult Education for Women especially mothers having small children to educate them so that they can have the best technique of mother care and development of mind.
- f) The policy framework made on women's education must be aligned with ECCE (Early Childhood Care and Education) and access to elementary education. The committee stressed on effectiveness of ECCE services attached to all primary and middle level schools.
- g) The committee also suggested establishing department of women studies and quality research centers.

2.6. Establishment of Institutions for Access to Female Education in Kashmir

One of the important initiatives taken after the independence was the establishment of institutions in the valley. Till 1958 714 primary schools were having a roll of 5847 girls, there were 25 middle schools enrolled with 2065 girl students. Besides, there were 15 high schools and 3 lower and high schools having 3918 girls on roll. The schools were managed and supervised by the government authorities. The teaching faculty of the schools was comprised of women. The total number of women teachers employed in both government and private schools was 1194⁸⁸.

The other major improvements and developments were in the field of higher education and learning for women. Although such developments made for higher learning were majorly focused towards urban areas, however, that did not restrict the learners of rural areas especially women to join these institutions but due to socio-cultural issues and access to such institutions was a hard job. Though the establishment of the university and few colleges for women had an impact on people and society as it developed a sense of empowerment and awareness among women's rights. The institutions established after 1947 that had contributed towards the education and empowerment of Kashmiri women folk are as:

⁸⁸ *Extracts from the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir State, Op.cit., p.258*

Women's College Srinagar: in the year 1950 the first women's college was established on Maulana Azad Road, in Srinagar. It was 'red-letter day' in the history of women's education in Kashmir valley. By this higher education and awareness among Kashmiri women began to gain popularity.⁸⁹ It was possible under National Conference government to start the separate women's college. It was established in Samandar Bagh in the old palace of Maharani Katoch. The rooms were quite spacious. The campus was a garden surrounded by orchids. The garden was enough for outdoor games. Some important subjects like economics, History, English, Political Science, and Music were taught. A tuition fee was exempted for girls studying in women's college. The students were provided with different ways to qualify discounts like orphan scholarships, scholarships for students living in backward communities, concession on categories like scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.⁹⁰ This was a great initiative to uplift the paralyzed society.

Moreover, Classical Languages like Urdu and Hindi and subjects of science like Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, and Botany were also included in the curriculum. The establishment of the women's college boosted the sense of higher education among women. Gradually scores of girls secure degrees in arts and sciences. In 1958, there were 739 students in the college. Among 739 students 240 students were in the college first year, 348 students were studying second year, there were total 88 students in 3rd year and 63 students admitted in the 4th year⁹¹.

In the coming years as girls continued pursuing degrees in higher education gradually, they started finding jobs that would make them capable of teaching ship in their subjects. The State Government drove attention and took initiative and referred some popular, and experienced, retired professors in different subjects to join the college as a male staff. However, the presence of this male staff hardly scared the conservative obsessed purdah - ridden parents and fortunately, this idea worked fine. The future time drafted a new change when men were replaced by women, many of them were internal students and products of the same college, and they were recruited when they were capable and available for the profession of teaching. Soon the entire staff of the college was recruited as female members. Miss 'Mahmuda Ahmad Ali' a well-educated and towering lady joined the rank of the

⁸⁹ Bhat, Fayaz Ahmad, Khurshid Fouzia, et.al. "*Islam, Gender and Education: A Case Study of Jammu and Kashmir*", Asia Pacific Journal of Social Sciences. Vol III (2), 2011, pp.170-171

⁹⁰ Bazaz, P. N. "*Daughters of the Vitasta*", (1959), *Op.cit.*, pp. 256-258

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-258

Principal.⁹² She used to deal with the students and staff in a well-mannered way and demonstrated all to work in unity and progress and welfare of the women.

University of Kashmir: By the time when colonial rule was setup in north India, Kashmir had become backward in education. The first college of arts established in Srinagar came into existence in 1905. This was followed by the opening of another college in Jammu in 1908. Onwards time witnessed the establishment of fresh primary, middle and high schools in various parts of the valley. One of the important steps taken into consideration after 1947 was the establishment of the University in Jammu and Kashmir on 1-Nov-1948. Fortunately, the university showed rapid increase in student population and enrollment, due to which the University was reorganized in 1964 and divided into two divisions, one for Jammu and another for Kashmir. In 1953 education was made free from the primary up to the post-graduate level.⁹³ this initiative brought change in education as it was within the reach of everyone residing in the state. But it was not possible for everyone especially for the female folk to reach the institution as it was only in the vicinity of capital city Srinagar. But the establishment of this university brought a change which was not seen before.

Women's college Nawa Kadal: By 1961, another college at (Nawa Kadal) was established particularly for women. The location of this college targeted Muslim enrollment and had high ratio of pupil in the predominantly Muslim area.⁹⁴

Government College for Women in Baramulla: It was established in north Kashmir District Baramulla. Though the population and area of the district is majority rural the college was established in late 1986 under the governance of Dr Farooq Abdulla. It was the first college that focused on rural women in north Kashmir.

⁹²Ibid., pp. 256-258

⁹³Dogra, R.Chander, "*Jammu and Kashmir: A selected and annotated bibliography of manuscripts, books and articles together with a survey of its history, languages and literature from Rajatarangini to 1977/78*". ProQuest LLC, United States, 2018, p.134

⁹⁴Ibid., p.134

2.7. Technical Education for Women in Kashmir

In pre independence period there was low growth of technical education, though there were few institutions established in British India, however there was not a single technical institute established for women until 1961. After 1950 the government started to establish national, as well as state and divisional technical institutions. They were fitted to graduate level and later upgraded to post graduate level. As mentioned earlier in this chapter the National Policies on women's education and committees held after independence suggested to development vocational and technical education for women. Unfortunately due to gender bias and social conservatism prevalent in the society affected the growth of technical education among female folk as a result it showed slow growth in the country.

In case of Jammu and Kashmir and Kashmir respectively before the independence of India, not a single technical institution was setup in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The position of technical education in the state was decimal. In 1954 when the recommendations were made in 18th meeting of co-ordination committee of All India Council of Technical Education, all the states were advised to establish a unit of technical education that must be governed by technical officer . However with regard to Jammu & Kashmir the set back could not get fully implemented because of the dearth of institutions in the state having technical education. Though there have been some multipurpose high schools where a hobby oriented education was given besides academics but they were only confined to boys. Therefore in the backdrop of scarcity of technical schools in the state the question of establishing a department of technical education was not possible⁹⁵.

It was in 1958 when one Govt. Polytechnic also known as Kashmir "Government Polytechnic was established for women in Srinagar. Later in 1961 one regional engineering college and one polytechnic was established in the Srinagar city⁹⁶. Following years from 1958 to 1994 about 18 ITI (Industrial Training Institutes) were established at different places of Kashmir⁹⁷. Though most of these technical institutes shared co-education in their process of learning and

⁹⁵Education Secretariat , "A Letter to the Director of Education, Technical Education in the state", File No: EDU-429/0/54, see Letter No: EDU-429-c/54, S.No 298, Government of India. State Archives, Srinagar Kashmir, 1954, pp.1-3

⁹⁶Sharma K.R, Singh G.deep, "Role of Technical Education with Special Reference to Jammu and Kashmir State", International Journal of Scientific and Technical Advancements, , Vol 4 (1), 2018, pp. 21-22

⁹⁷ Government of Jammu and Kashmir Directorate of Skills Development, "List of Govt. Industrial Training Institutes (ITI) existing in Jammu & Kashmir State, Retrieved from <https://jkdsd.in/notifications/130702-list-of-itis-with-trades.pdf?shem=sswnst>

Training beside no such institution was established particularly for women. The mass number of girls in such institutions used to learn typing, stitching and craft education. It was in 1986 when Government polytechnic for women's was established in Srinagar. This institute emerged as the first technical institute in the state of Jammu & Kashmir that clearly focused on women folk to guide and steer them into an era of skills and technology.

The table below shows the status of Male/Female students, teachers and the total number of technical and small scale polytechnic institutions in the state since 1960-1981.

Table 2 7: Enrolment of students and teachers Male/Female in schools for technical education in Kashmir:

Technical Education	No of Schools for boys and girls			Enrollment of students Gender wise			Total number of teachers Gender wise		
	Year::	'Boys	Girls	Total'	'Boys	Girls	Total'	Male	Female
1960-61	2	0	22	318	0	318	160	16	176
1965-66	7	0	77	382	67	449	86	2	88
1968-69	7	0	77	583	150	733	68	8	76
1974-75	10	0	110	889	482	1371	113	15	128
1977-78	10	0	110	1179	504	1683	135	20	155
1980-81	17	0	187	1342	637	1979	172	28	200

Source: Digest of statistics, department of economics and statistics Government of Jammu and Kashmir. <http://ecostatik.nic.in/publications/publications.htm>

The information listed above shows the numbers of technical institutions from 1960 -1981. It can be seen clearly that no technical institution was established for women in the valley till 1981 while a less number of such institutions were established for boys with whom some girls were also accommodated. The total enrollment of boys was also more than the total enrollment of girls; in 1961 the data shows that no girl was admitted in any institution and only 67 girls enrolled in 1965-66. The steep in the growth of enrollment of girls can be seen from 1974 onwards. Moreover while analyzing the number of teachers in such institutions it is observed that less number of female teachers were recruited in technical institutions compared males, in 1960 there was no a single female teacher, and in 1980-81 there had been 172 male teachers against only 28 female teachers

2.8. Progress in female education (1968-1990)

The overall male and female literacy rates in the following years can be seen from the below data. It should be noted that the state underwent turbulent disturbances in 1990s. Therefore no census has been conducted in 1991.

Table 2 8: Female Literacy rate 1951-2001

Year	Persons	Male	Female
1951	NA.	NA.	NA.
1961	12.95	19.75	5.05
1971	12.71	31.01	10.94
1981	32.68	44.18	19.56
1991	N.	NA.	NA.
2001	54.46	65.75	41.82

Source: *Census of India Jammu and Kashmir, literacy 1961-2001*

Note: No Census was conducted in 1951 and 1991 in Jammu and Kashmir State.

It can be discerned from the above figures that female literacy in the State has been rising more appreciably than that of males e.g. In 1961 only 5.05% females were literates but they have doubled more than their proportion i.e. 10.94% in 1971 and it has again showed increase but in the duration is twenty years and not ten years.

As per Census 2001, the total population of Jammu & Kashmir State stands as 10,069,917 with males being 5,300,574 and females forming some 4,769,343. In a total population of 10,069,917 of Jammu & Kashmir, females account for 4,769,343 i.e. 47.36%. By excluding the 0-6 year's population of female children which were total 692,343 in numbers, there comes a female population of 4,077,000. Among this population this there are 1,704,899 female literates or that form 41.82% Compared to male literates in the State which are 65.75%. This suggests that the fair sex has a long way to go on par with their male counterparts⁹⁸.

⁹⁸Census of India, *Literacy of Jammu and Kashmir, 1951-2001*.

The table shown below represents the level of progress and growth in female education onwards 1970 till 1990. The different portions and interpretations of the data is represented graphically which shows the number of annually enrolled students both boys and girls in the above years, it includes year wise information of the number of male and female teachers at primary, secondary and higher level. It shows the total number of institutions established for boys and girls in all these years.

_____The below data is intended to graphically show the status of female education in the state since 1968-1990 by looking over the quantity of intuitions provided to girls at all levels, enrollment of boys and girls and gender wise numbers of female teachers against male teachers in the following years

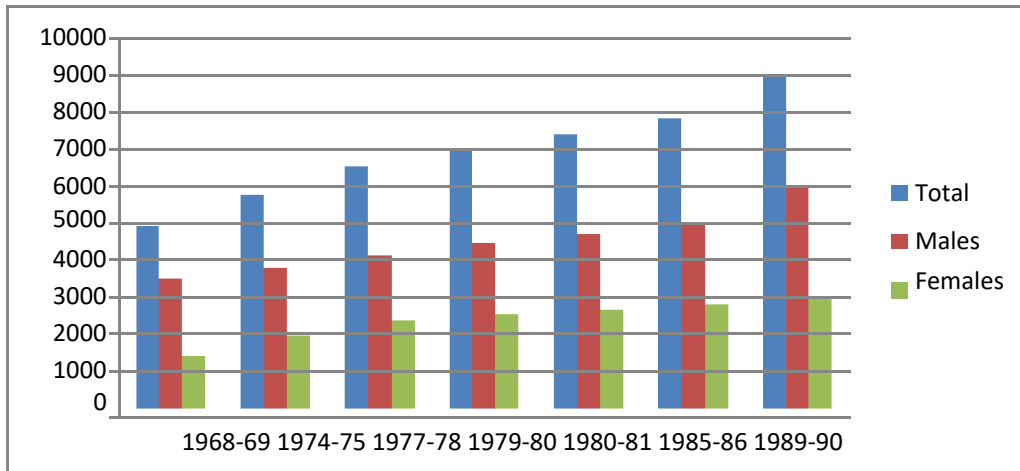
Table 2 9: Total Number of Institutions, enrolled students, number of teachers (1968-1990)

S.No.	Year	Total Numbers of schools			Numbers of students (Lakhs)			Total Numbers of teachers		
		Males	Females	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Males	Females	Total
PRIMARY SCHOOLS										
1.	1968-69	3524	1431	4955	2.59	0.11	2.70	4596	1744	6340
2.	1974-75	3798	1979	5777	2.68	1.39	4.07	5123	3060	8183
3.	1977-78	4153	2391	6544	2.95	1.56	4.51	5331	3265	8596
4.	1979-80	4473	2561	7034	3.35	1.86	5.21	6132	3753	9885
5.	1980-81	4725	2681	7406	3.50	1.99	5.49	6482	4177	10659
6.	1985-86	5033	2827	7860	4.18	2.59	6.77	7072	4898	11970
7.	1989-90	6007	2983	8990	4.60	2.97	6.77	9090	6316	15406

The graphical representation of the above data is mentioned below

Table 2 10: total Numbers of institutions at primary level

Source: Digest of statistics, department of economics and statistics Government of Jammu and Kashmir.



<http://ecostatjk.nic.in/publications/publications.html>

Table 2 11 Number of students on roll at primary level

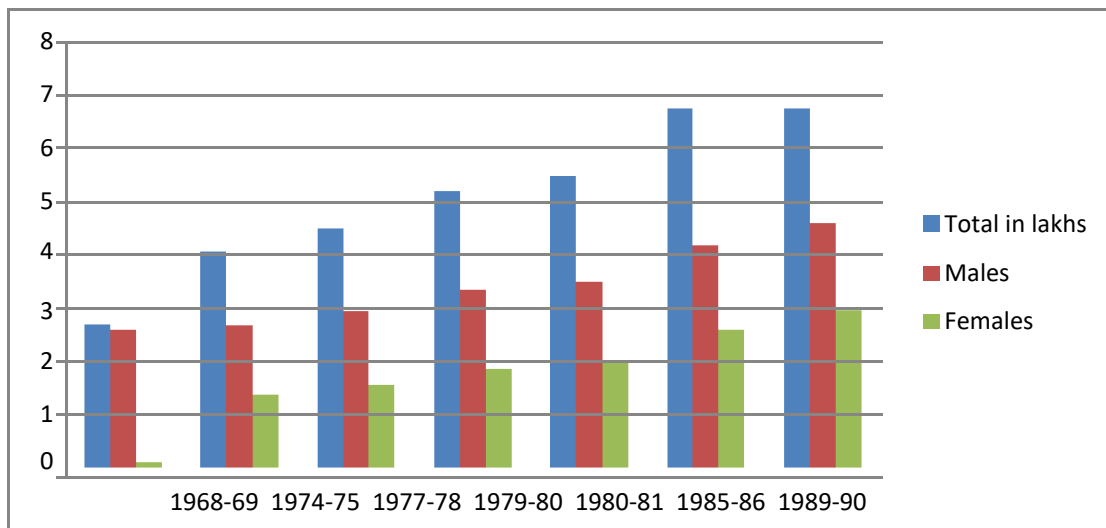


Table 2 12 :Number of Teachers at Primary level

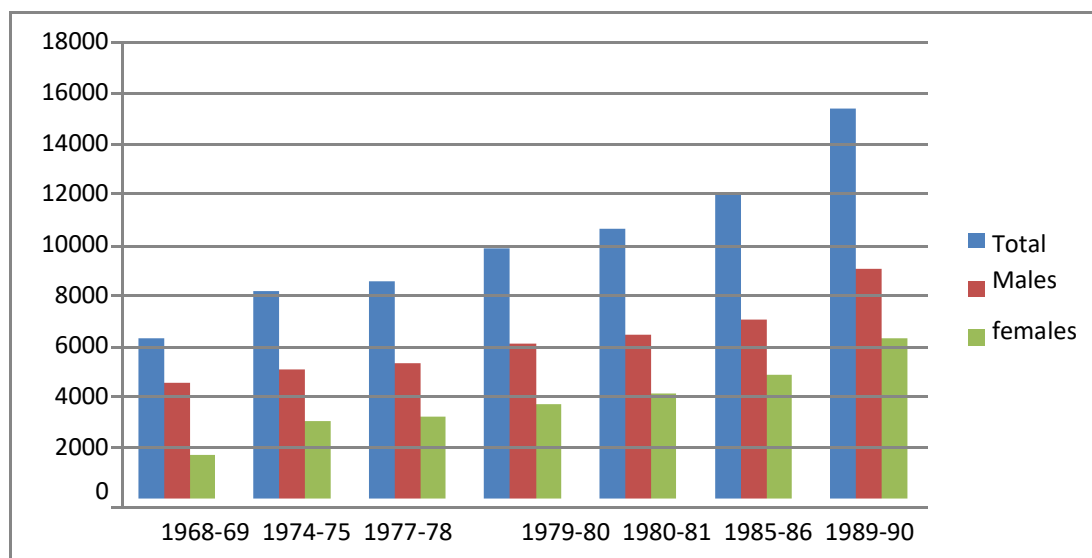


Table: 2.Middle Schools

Table 2 13 Institutions, teachers, and students on roll in middle schools

S.No	Year	Number of institutions			Number of students on roll (Lakhs)			Number of teachers		
		Male	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
MIDDLE SCHOOLS										
1.	1968-69	1017	292	1309	0.75	0.30	1.05	4765	1199	5964
2.	1974-75	1366	476	1842	1.02	0.36	1.38	7268	2994	10262
3.	1977-78	1483	522	2005	1.09	0.43	1.52	7702	3321	11023
4.	1979-80	1465	532	1997	1.10	0.52	1.67	8482	3824	12306
5.	1980-81	1509	537	2046	1.15	0.52	1.67	8779	4449	13228
6.	1985-86	1637	556	2193	1.55	0.78	2.33	1091	5375	16286
7.	1989-90	1799	569	2368	1.95	1.08	3.03	1095	6228	17185

Source: Digest of statistics, department of economics and statistics Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

<http://ecostatjk.nic.in/publications/publications.htm>

Table 2 14 Total Number of middle Schools

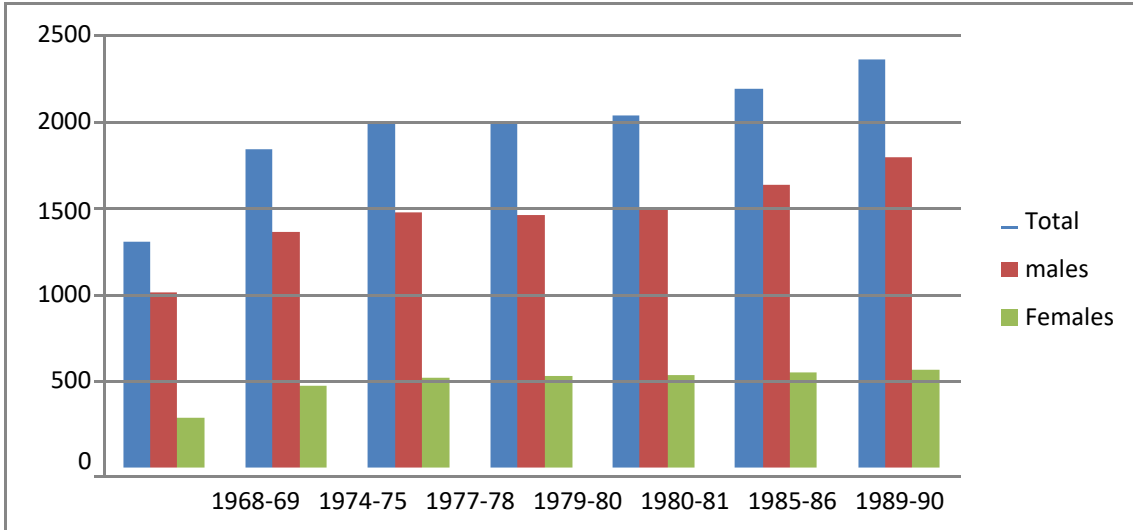


Table 2 15: Number of Students on roll at the middle level

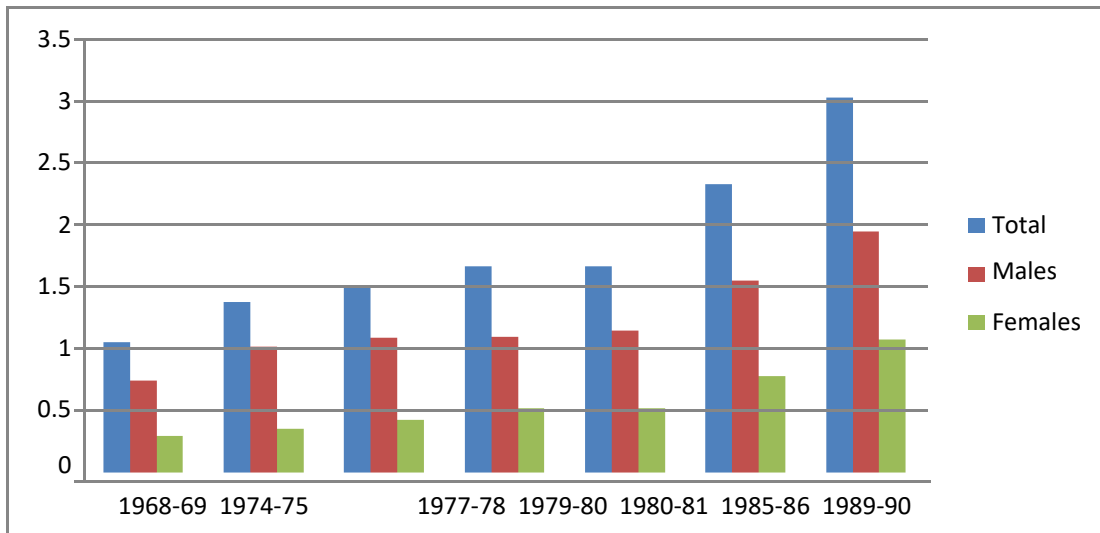


Table 2 16: Number of Teachers at Middle Level

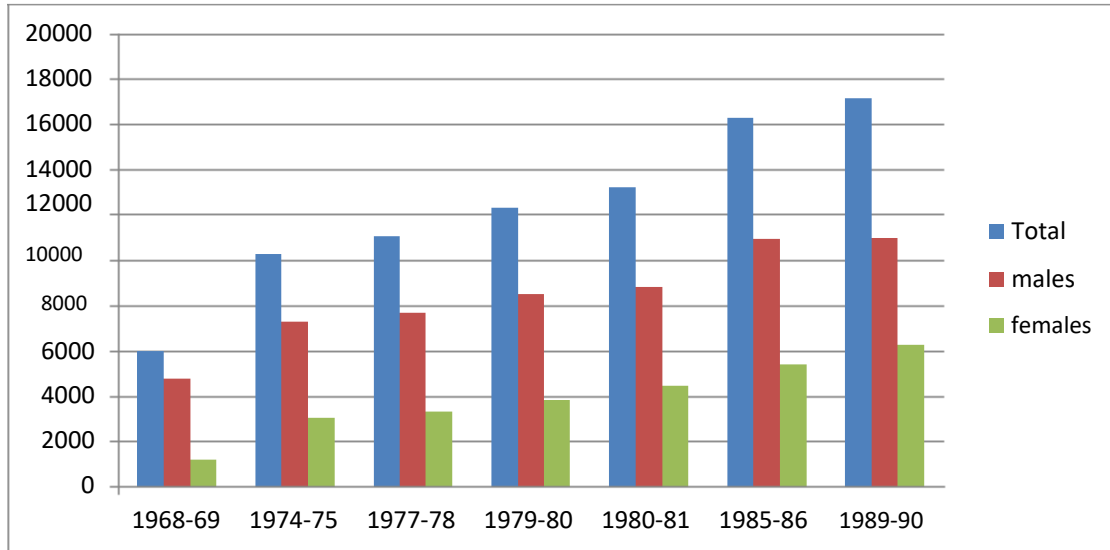


Table 3: Secondary Level

Table 2 17: -Institutions, teachers, and students on roll at secondary level

S.No.	Year	Number of institutions			Number of students on roll (Lakhs)			Number of teachers		
		Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
III. HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOLS										
1.	1968-69	443	108	551	1.23	0.10	0.51	5925	1995	7920
2.	1974-75	567	147	714	0.50	0.17	0.67	8540	3772	1231
3.	1977-78	595	158	753	0.50	0.20	0.67	8996	4018	1301
4.	1979-80	615	169	784	0.54	0.23	0.77	9308	4548	1385
5.	1980-81	640	173	813	0.57	0.26	0.83	10010	4858	1486
6.	1985-86	766	210	976	0.90	0.43	1.33	11392	5537	1692
7.	1989-90	980	222	1202	1.13	0.56	1.69	14620	6484	2110

Source: Digest of statistics, department of economics and statistics Government of Jammu and Kashmir. <http://ecostatjk.nic.in/publications/publications.htm>

Table 2 18: Number of Institutions at Secondary Level

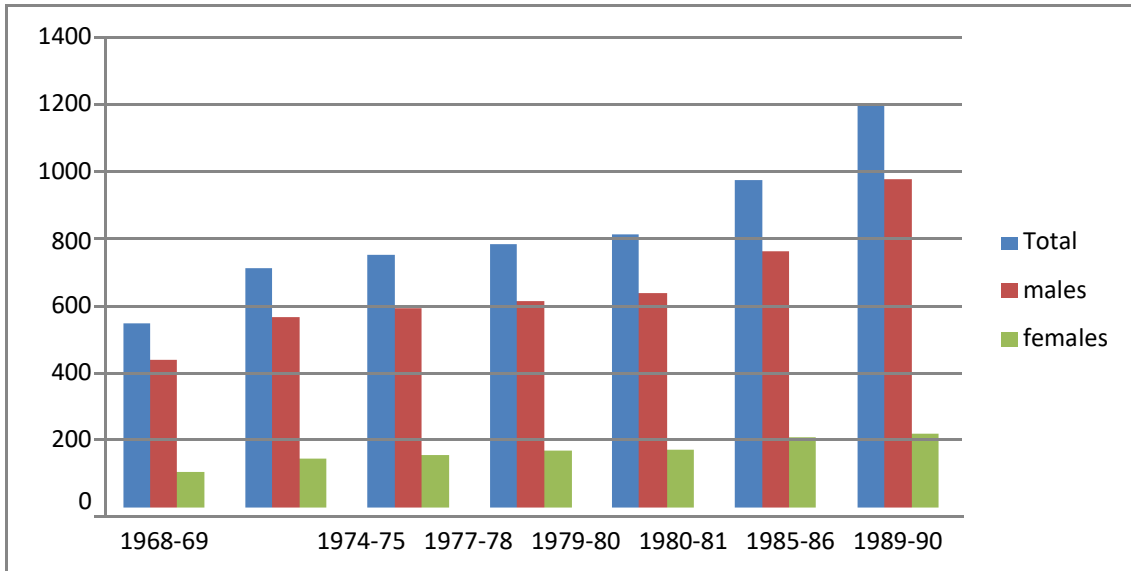


Table 2 19: Number of students on the roll at the secondary level

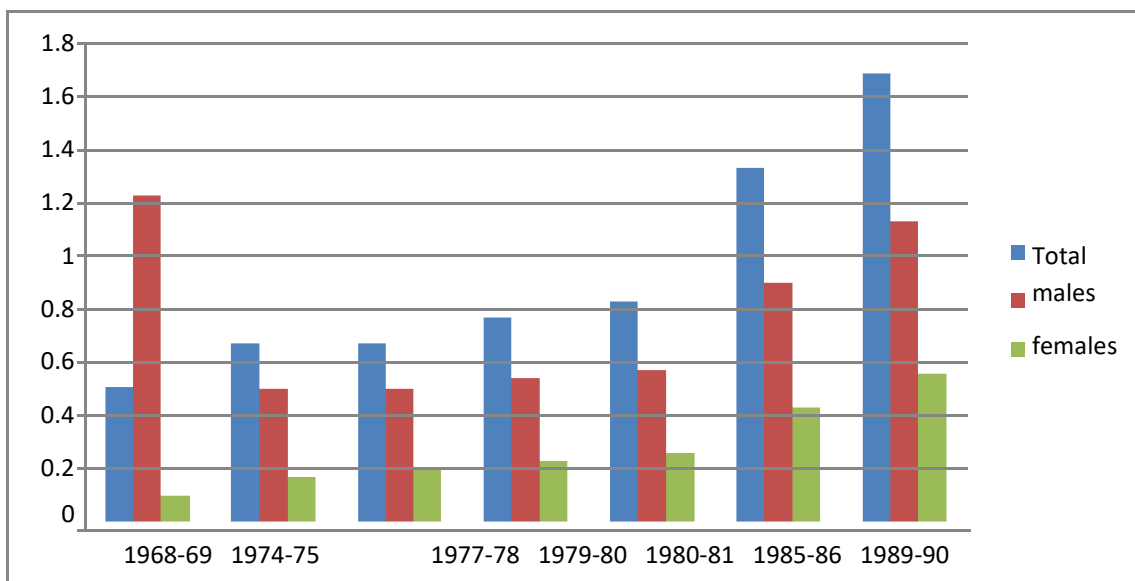
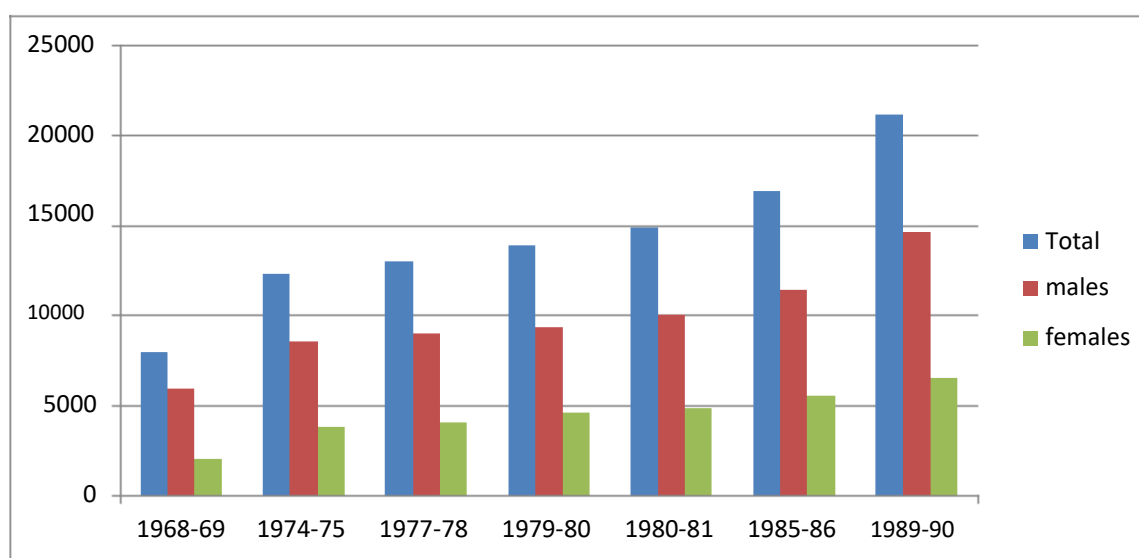


Table 2 20: Number of Teachers at the secondary level



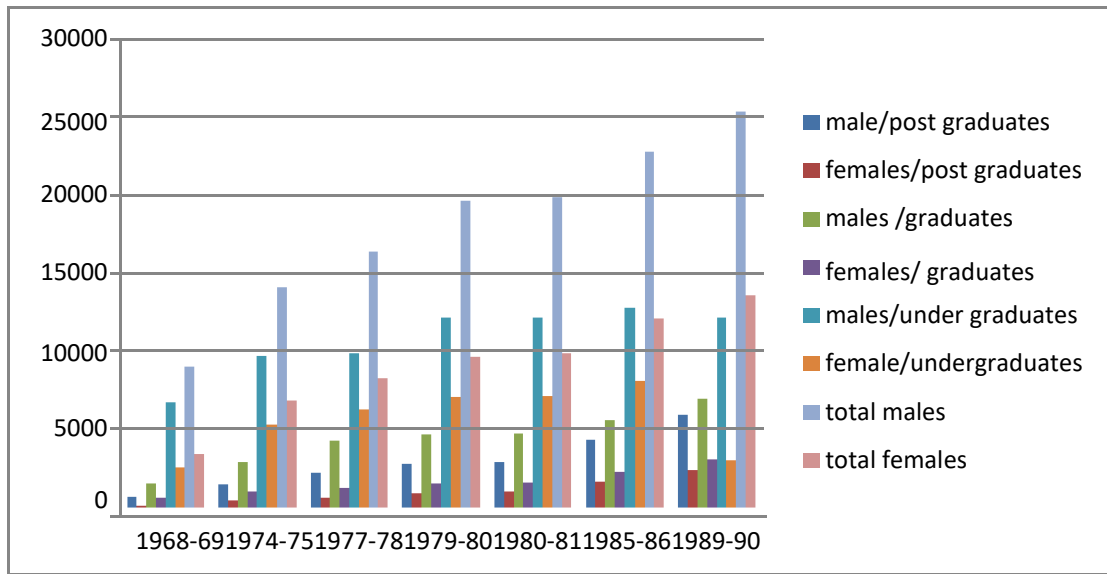
Part 4: Qualification-wise number of trained teachers in all schools

Table 2 21 Qualification-wise number of trained teachers in all schools

S.No.	Year	Post graduates		Graduates		Under Graduates		Total		Grand Total
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1.	1968-69	720	183	1559	620	6763	2627	9042	3430	12472
2.	1974-75	1509	475	2927	1074	9699	5306	14135	6855	20990
3.	1977-78	2257	648	4262	1291	9913	6345	16432	8284	24716
4.	1979-80	2780	977	4706	1557	12145	7097	19631	9631	29262
5.	1980-81	2951	1075	4768	1605	12150	7183	19869	9863	29732
6.	1985-86	4332	1707	5640	2302	12768	8082	22740	12091	34831
7.	1989-90	5965	2417	6985	3084	12165	3051	25319	13607	38926

Source: Digest of statistics, department of economics and statistics Government of Jammu and Kashmir. <http://ecostatjk.nic.in/publications/publications.htm>

Table 2 22:Qualification-wise number of trained teachers in all schools



The major extracts drawn from the data make it transparent that the education in general and women education in particular had developed after 1947 even though its pace was slow. In contrary a huge gap between males and females at all levels of education was observed. These gaps were further seen prevalent among teachers. Moreover the enrollment girls at all levels was seen low compared to boys. The major leap in girl enrollment was observed at primary level. The data represents that many girls after completing primary level education did not participate further as a result dropout rate was seen more at primary level as a result less number of girls have reached to other levels of education

2.9. Conclusion

The chronology of the political events that the state underwent after 1947 like Kabali's infiltration, wars between India and Pakistan, arrest of Sheikh Abdulla, installation of Bakshi's regime and jamatite faction were political turbulences and commotions which have eclipsed and overshadows other urgent issues like education in Kashmir and addressing women issues related to education remained a remote dream.

On the other side the sick social panorama engulfed by dogmatism, conservatism, patriarchy; early marriages and domestic suppression clipped the flight of womenfolk to education and emancipation. *Naya Kashmir's* vision also did little to empower women, since the state got flourished during the government of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad which led a new dawn in the field of women education by its emphasis on implementation of national schemes on women education in Kashmir. Strong stress was laid on the introduction of mother tongue as a medium of instruction in schools, establishment of technical education and opening up of schools and colleges both in urban and rural areas. During the period the education sector in the state witnessed fund flow from the central government which was the first major achievement that gave impetus to the development of education. But the serious step to bridge the gap related to girls' education was not taken properly. Besides turbulent socio-political atmosphere as reflected above also became one of the obstacles and hitch in materializing the dream of the new vision of Kashmir.

The education commissions at the national level after 1947 and the vision incorporated in their reports regarding the development of female education was laudable and praiseworthy as it emphasized encouraging girls to study subjects like math and science, focused on appointment of school mothers, separate schools for girls in rural areas, setting up of the national state council for the development of female education, designing curriculum to cater social and gender barrier related to education, providing long-term financial aids to backward states to address the requirements for implementation of National educational policies on women education. The National Education Policy of 1986 envisaged involvement of girls in vocational education, adult education for women, ECC provision for girl education, and research centers for women studies which had no desired implementation in the state of Jammu and Kashmir related to enrollment of girl students, female teachers and girl schools which reflects the sad and poor state of affairs related to women education in the state from time to time. But as what the study shows, that there has not been proper implementation of education programmes especially in the field of women education in the region. Secondly the disturbed political scenario, sick social panorama, and unawareness among women all together have eclipsed the growth of education in general and women education in particular in the region after 1947.

Chapter III:

Women, Education and Insurgency in Kashmir

3. Introduction

The period from 1990's and onwards in Kashmir is one of the important segments of this study. The series of incidents that took place during this period put behind the society of Kashmir and brought a complex changes within the parameters of society.

In the previous chapter, despite of the developments seen in the field of female education and it also became clear that since independence in 1947 Kashmir has witness a major source of tension between India and Pakistan which had impact on women and education of the state. But since 1990 the region underwent a terrific state of affairs as it got engulfed by violence and bloodshed and the turmoil which left thousands of people dead, injured, and hundreds disappeared whose whereabouts are still unknown. This happened in the backdrop of insurgency and counter insurgency techniques under the proxy war of India and Pakistan. The emergence of the conflict in 1990's is said to be the result of all previous political enactments and ideologies taking ground in the background which got sudden momentum in the valley. The result was emergence of militancy in the state. In contrast to curb the militancy the government of India launched recurring arbitrary measures like arrests, crackdowns, curfews, raids and identity parades. Between India and Pakistan, and their belligerent policies to tackle with the insurgency, the state of Jammu & Kashmir became a victim and thus suffered in all spheres.

Moreover with the emergence of insurgency the local government lost its credibility owing to its failure to curb the uprisings among the people especially among the youth. The new stakeholders had to face a new dimension of the society with a cult of violence. Therefore to curb the insurgency became the chief objective of the government and subsequently the focus on development of people and education and empowerment of women got less attention. It can be said that the education sector in general and women's education in particular assumed a dormant and inert state. for example In 1996 when the local government under the leadership of chief minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah (son of Sheikh Abdulla) was restored to power, the biggest obstacle and challenge for the state government was curbing militancy and restoring law and order rather than imparting education. Therefore it can be regarded as the

period of lull on the part of the government to initiate measures and boost the education sector.

The major impact of such an ongoing turmoiling period was seen as shattering force upon the women who were fragile to face stiff situations. Besides fear psychosis which became dominant in the psyche of Kashmiri women, the violence and lack of proper initiatives has equally diminished her values of emancipation.

In this regard the present chapter aims to investigate the period of insurgency to understand the factors affecting women and their educational process. It is important to recognize the nature of this insurgency in order to find out what changes it has brought to the society of Kashmir. To examine, the chapter divides the period of insurgency into two phases. The first phase of insurgency that started in 1990s and onwards the second phase that started since 2008. The phases are classified on the basis of intensity of conflict, types of violence, and impact on women and their education

3.1. The Incursion of insurgency in Kashmir

The in-depth analysis of the history of Kashmir conflict is outside the scope of this research. But it is important to reflect the situational background and the nature and emergence of insurgency to explore the conditions in which modern Kashmiri women are grown up.

After the Indo Pak war of 1965, the Operation Gibraltar was carried out to infiltrate forces into Jammu & Kashmir to provoke insurgency against Indian rule. But in 1971 towards the end of “Bangladesh liberation War” both India and Pakistan signed the Shimla Agreement a cease-fire line was set as ‘Line of Control’ between two countries. It was agreed by both parties that they will resolve the dispute over Kashmir through bilateral talks. In 1974 when Sheikh Abdulla was released from jail and reinstalled as chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Mirza Afzal Beg, member of National conference signed an accord in which he mentioned the state as a constituent unit of India without considering the terms of 1953 autonomy of the state. Both Sheikh and Afzal died in 1982. After the death of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla his son Dr. Farooq Abdulla was termed as the new Chief Minister of the state. But Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Shah⁹⁹ and other members of the party had

⁹⁹G.M shah was member of National Conference party which headed by sheikh Abdulla; He was son in law of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla.

Ideological defects to form the new government with Farooq Abdullah. Meanwhile New Delhi appointed Jagmohan Malhotra a Hindu nationalist as a governor of Jammu and Kashmir. Soon after his appointed he dismissed Farooq Abdullah and appointed Ghulam Mohammad Shah as chief minister. Protests erupted in different parts of the valley, to suppress these protests Governor Jagmohan Malhotra imposed long-term curfews. On 7 March 1986 Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Shah was dismissed from his post as a result governor Mr. Jagmohan Malhotra assumed full power over the state. According to people under Jagmohan governor raj limited opportunities were provided to Kashmiri's especially Muslim community¹⁰⁰. Under his governance less focus was given to young Muslims, they were provided fewer employments. There came a turnover in the scene when one of the local Muslim parties named 'Muslim United Front (MUF)' contested the state assembly elections in the year 1987. Since the National Conference congress alliance wins the polls but there were widespread allegations that there was poll rigging in the election. A mass uprising erupted in the valley and violent protests were held everywhere against Farooq Abdullah's new unpopular government. It is believed that the government lacked the legitimacy of the election in the eyes of the people. Muslims felt that they there discriminated against their choices since decades. Things changed when in 1989 Kashmiri youth sank into the morass of anger when the gun culture erupted in the society. An armed resistance was raised against Indian rule which was joined by local Muslim men. In contrast to counter this armed resistance India intensified militarization in the valley. Alastair Lamb a diplomat and historian who have authored several books on Indo-Pakistani dispute over Kashmir region. mentions in "*Kashmir, A disputed legacy-(1846-1990)*", that, "The government of India reinforced the (CRPF), Central Reserve Police Force in the state which imposed severe curfews, undertook house searches, arbitrary arrests and punitive destruction of houses, accompanied by rapes and looting common Kashmir's in such situations"¹⁰¹.

Some events and incidents that took place in the initial years of insurgency can provide better insight of the situation. In 1990 two days after the government re-appointed Jagmohan Malhotra as the governor of Jammu and Kashmir. On 21 January; a mass protest rally was carried out by the separatist leaders in the capital city of Srinagar, because there have been reports of wanton arrests and molestation of women during the search operations conducted by CRPF forces. As soon as the rally reached the Gaw-Kadal Bridge, the CRPF troops

¹⁰⁰Ali, T, Roy, Arundati, *Et.al.* "*Kashmir: the Case for Freedom*", Verso, London, 2011, pp.1-5

¹⁰¹Lamb, Alastair, "*Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy: 1846-1990*", Hertingfordbury, Roxford Books, England, 1991, p. 338

opened fire in which more than 50 people were killed and hundreds were injured¹⁰². According to locals more than 150 people were killed. The survivors of this massacre have referred this incident as dooms day.

Days before the Gaw Kadal massacre took place; the valley witnessed a brutal communal violence in a series of killings and attacks against non-Muslims particularly on the Pandith community. The Hindu and Muslim communities that had coexisted for centuries together got stuck into a terrifying outbreak of violence. Kashmiri Pandits felt threatened and insecure in the volatile and turbulent atmosphere in the early 1990s which eventually forced them into migration from the state. as what Nyla Ali Khan mentions that despite the key role played by militant groups it is generally believed that the then Governor of State Jagmohan Malhotra, instead of securing Hindu Pandith community he had encouraged migration for some political interests¹⁰³. It is believed that many Muslims also migrated from the valley at the time due to some economic and political reasons and threat under insurgency¹⁰⁴.

One of the terrified incidents which took place on 6th of January 1993, when a BSF patrol party was attacked by militants in Sopore town of north Kashmir. In retaliation dozens of people both men and women were killed in cross-firing. The Security forces burnt up houses and hundreds of shops were set ablaze inside which many people were locked up and burnt to death¹⁰⁵. The tragic incident is popularly known as the Sopore Massacre.

Such untoward incidents like scores of deaths during cross-firings became perpetual in 1990's and has not seized as on date. Such a violent atmosphere laid an indelible adverse impact upon the psyche of the society of Kashmir. People were seen leading mass protests and agitations. As Balraj puri points in his book "*Kashmir Insurgency and After*" that "protests holding crowds of unprecedented size were seen comprised of men, women, and also children from all sections of society, including government servants, who often moved on the streets of Kashmir and demanded(Azadi) freedom". People felt that they were betrayed. To suppress the revolt long spells of curfews were imposed perhaps these curfews remain the longest in the history of India. Due to restrictions only occasional breaks were

¹⁰² The Kashmir Walla, "*Worst massacre in Kashmir's history*": *What happened on GAW Kadal on this day in 1990*" Srinagar, 2021, Also See, Wani, Arif Shafi. "*GAW Kadal Massacre: Lone Survivor Recounts CRPF Terror*", Greater Kashmir, 2015.

¹⁰³ Khan, Nyla Ali, "*The Parchment of Kashmir: History, Society, And Polity*". The Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012, p.193

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.193

¹⁰⁵ Amnesty International "*Sopore: A Case Study of Extrajudicial Executions in Jammu and Kashmir*", Amnesty , India, p.4 ; Details of the Sopore event that took place on 6th January 1993,

allowed for one or two hours to buy important household necessities like food. Gradually the conflict closed all other avenues of social, occupational, and administrative activities. Development of education also collapsed as educational institutions remained shut most of the time during this period¹⁰⁶.

Kashmiri people had never imagined that this violence will overcast for a long time in which the whole society would get sandwiched. The brutal killings, bomb attacks, and murders became rampant and the dawn of peace as tranquility which was the symbolic feature of Kashmir turned into a remote dream. It affected the people either psychologically, economically or socially but in a real sense, it affected all dimensions.

i. Women in the state of conflict (first phase)

Historically women have usually not taken an active part in waging wars bearing in a few exception cases, but women have always been primary victims of wars and conflicts. Women are affected by the conflict so are the children. Susan McKay says that “women are the primary child caregivers thus the impact of armed conflict on infants and young children is relevant to the impact of conflict on women”. Children are equally suffered when women are affected by war¹⁰⁷. One of the reverberating questions that emerge is what kind of treatment Kashmiri women faced in this conflict? We can say that one of the devastating impacts of this conflict was on women who became the major victims of gun culture. Referring to what Balraj Puri in “*Kashmir: Insurgency and after*” Puri, says that the factor which enraged people during insurgency was molestation and rape of women folk who were used as an instrument of war. Puri points out “There were reports of rape and molestation of women at different places of the valley during search operations by security forces”¹⁰⁸.

Women became victims of war. One such derogatory incident that shocked people took place on the 23rd of February 1991. The security forces entered two villages named Kunan and Poshpora located in the north Kashmir district Kupwara. Both the villages were cordoned off to conduct a search operation against doubt of hidden militants. During the operation they confined the male members of the society outside and beaten them harshly then allegedly

¹⁰⁶Puri, B, “*Kashmir: Insurgency and after*”, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2012, p.71

¹⁰⁷McKay, S. “*The Effects of Armed Conflict on Girls and Women, Peace and Conflict*”, Journal of Peace Psychology, Taylor and Francis, 1998, p.381

¹⁰⁸Puri, B, “*Kashmir: Insurgency and After*”, Op.cit., p.83

entered their homes, ruined everything and raped more than 30 women¹⁰⁹. It was perhaps the high profile gang rape during decades of conflict. The mass rape of women at Kunan and Poshpora shattered the whole society and created shock waves among women folk of the valley. Women felt that the incident was as an onslaught on their identity resulting in emotional turbulence in their mind. The spirit of zeal and enthusiasm of victims to live got shattered and despondency and gloom became pervasive.

On the other side crackdowns in villages and towns against militants began a trend in Kashmir during the first decade of insurgency; the male and female members of the society were ordered to assemble in schoolyards or parks while security forces along with some locals used to search their homes. In many cases molesting or rape was used as an instrument of targeting women whom the security forces or their husbands were accused of having sympathy for militants. For the same reason, security forces, on the other hand, used collective punishment against the male population, by beating or assaulting residents, or by burning their homes¹¹⁰. The present study found that 73.33 percent of girls studying at university level born between 1995 and 2001 had experienced crackdowns which had interrupted their education and school routine. Similarly 59% of girls at higher education also witnessed night raids and patrolling by either security forces or militants in their areas which has affected late night study of students, exam preparations etc

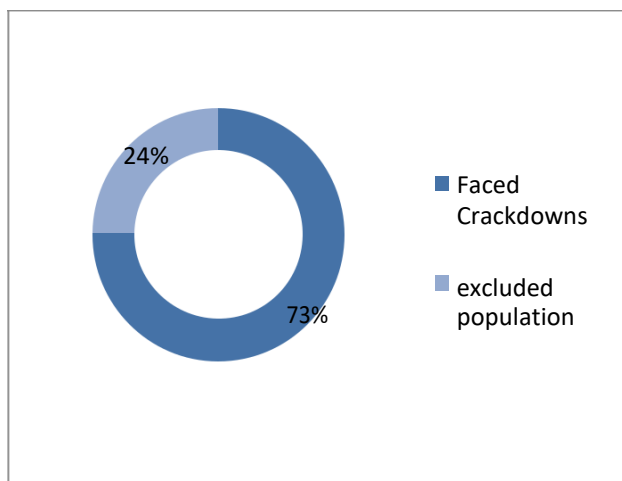


Figure 3.1: Percentage of girls at higher education who have witnessed crackdowns in their areas which has affected their schooling and learning management at home.

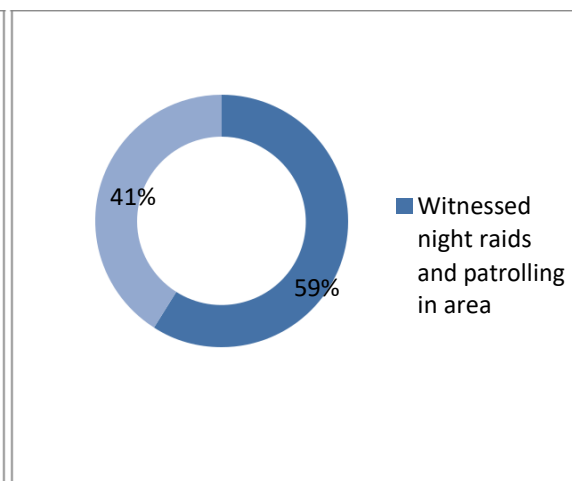


Figure 3.3: Percentage of girls at higher education who have witnessed night raids and patrolling in their areas which has affected their late night studies and other preparations

¹⁰⁹ Amnesty International “Police must effectively investigate long-standing rape allegations against army in Jammu and Kashmir”, India, (2013).

¹¹⁰ Asia Watch, “A division of Human rights watch: “Rape in Kashmir-A Crime of War”, New Delhi, (2015), p.1

Equally was the onslaughts inflicted by militants on women. Killing and kidnapping of the women was also their war strategy. According to the Asia Watch “The militants used their increased military and political power to engage in abuses against the civilian population” they were engaged in a summary of executions, kidnappings, threats, and assaults on civilians¹¹¹. For example in 1989 the 23-year-old daughter of the then Home Minister Mufti Mohammad Syed was kidnapped at gun point by popular militant organization JKLF. Who demanded the release of militants in exchange for the home minister’s daughter¹¹². It was the first high-profile case of kidnapping women in the valley. In 1991 Nahida daughter of another political leader Mr. Saif-u-Din-Soz renounced parliamentary and a member of the National Conference was kidnapped. She was also used as a tool in exchange for the release of militants.

The reports of abuse and molestation were rare in the early years of conflict but onwards 1991 such cases were increased in Kashmir¹¹³. On the other side violent crimes against civilians, including extortion kidnapping, and murder also increased. The early years of insurgency also witnessed some cases where women have been raped and then killed after being abducted by rival militant groups. Women were held as hostages for their male relatives as a punishment or for any kind of demand. In some cases, militants kidnapped women and threatened her family members¹¹⁴. People have generally referred to it as a kind of forced marriage.

Moreover, insurgency witnessed thousands of enforced disappearance cases which were either conducted by military or paramilitary forces, police, or militants. The term “Half Widows” particularly belong to those Kashmir women whose husbands were disappeared in course of insurgency and did not return nor were declared dead. According to the report by Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP) in 2011, “there are tentatively 1500 half widows but the estimated number of such women is more”. As men disappeared, later the condition of their wives and children was worsened. They faced socio-economic problems and emotional insecurities including isolation from society. The trauma and hardships of such women in return deeply affected their children who grew up having

¹¹¹ Asian Watch “*Kashmir Under Siege: Human Rights*” India, 1993, pp.129-155

¹¹² Human Rights Watch, “*Everyone lives in Fear*” “*Patterns of impunity in Jammu and Kashmir*”, 2006, India p. 20

¹¹³ Asia Watch, “*Rape in Kashmir-A Crime of War*”, *Op.cit.*, p.15

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.15

insecurities in life, especially among girls. The education of these children was often suspended due to weak economic conditions as a result they were often discharged from schools¹¹⁵. Moreover, due to gender biases, girls were first to suffer because their education was discontinued before their brothers

ii. Women and Perverted Social Life

We see that the free state of the social life in Kashmir after 1990's got abruptly vanished. Earlier the people of Kashmir used to enjoy life uninterrupted by fear and insecurity. But the insurgency gave a hard blow to this free state of life. Because fear and insecurity during insurgency became dominant and pervasive that gradually restricted the social life of people. For example in markets, there seemed vacuum early in the evening as people would prefer to reach homes in the wake of apprehension that they may face any eventual as gun trotted men 'security forces and militants' were often seen going on nocturnal patrolling. If any male person was noticed walking in the evening he was doubted as a militant or an Upper Ground Worker (OGW). Or if he was caught by militants he doubted as army agent. In both ways, he was caught between deep and devil sea.

The women too got subdued and repressed and got confined to domestic chores, she lost her free state of life enjoyed previously. The fear of losing their husbands and brothers in this conflict chased their minds and they always got preoccupied with these apprehensions. They started living under a whirlpool of strains and tension and sank into a commotional and turbulent life barren of peace. In case their sons or husbands were picked up either by security forces or by militants they would throng along with other female members of the neighborhood or rather of the village to the camps of security forces and start weeping, crying, and chanting slogans for the release of their male members. This protest of aggrieved women would continue till they seek the release of their male members.

The grief diminished the sense of joy. As before insurgency women used to participate in many recreational activities or events like marriages, going to picnics, shrines, and cinemas. Participating in such activities used to have a nature of festivity and mirth. Though these were the only sources of enjoyment and recreation but by virtue of insurgency, women got

¹¹⁵ Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP), "*Half Widow, Half Wife: Responding to Gendered Violence in Kashmir*", the Bund, Amira Kadal Srinagar, 2011. pp. 6-14

deprived of these activities. Theater going which was encouraged earlier also stopped as all the cinema halls in Kashmir were set ablaze. Many people were also killed amid incidents of bomb blasts and firing over cinemas. People at first thought that normalcy would return, but the hustle and bustle of cinema halls never came back. Many cinema halls later got converted into security camps and some into business establishments¹¹⁶. Night patrolling and ambushes led by security forces became common such dormant and docile situations blocked the sense of enthusiasm and desire. Participation of female folk in marriage ceremonies which are usually ceremonized during late-night also got restricted in the wake of fear.

Moreover, in pre insurgency period there used to be a harmonious relationship among all the communities especially between Pandith's and Muslim classes. There used to be a strong heritage that the Muslim women and Hindu counterparts would share the social and cultural ethos equally. It was evident in festivals like Heirat, Janamashtami, Dewali, and on Eid where they would exchange gifts of love. They also had close neighborhood ties. It was found that Pandith men and women were more advance in education. The Pandith women being a member of a highly educated class having strong educational consciousness could have inspired the Muslim women too through exchange of ideas and interactions. But the untoward insurgency and subsequent exodus of Hindu Pandith's in January 1991 broke of this cultural amity which also enhanced the mental agony of Kashmiri women, even though there was no role of Muslim women. The dread and fear was common to both but one community could resist and the other opted for exodus creating a big vacuum of kinship and amity.

With the onset of militancy and deployment of security forces in the 1990s, the criminal elements were also added to atrocities against women. Gender discrimination and domestic violence reflected in cases of, murder, molestation, and torture against women by men. The impact of such developments under insurgency gradually affected women and children. This destitute scenario witnessed a hike in the disorganization of the society which was visible in different aspects of social life. The tense and violent situations imparted two types of behaviors among the youngsters. Nyla Ali Khan in "*The parchment of Kashmir- History Society and Polity*" rightly pointed out that; insurgency developed an abnormal pattern of behavior among youth which resulted in the violation of traditional values. They adopted arrogant elements like abusing elders, teachers, neighbors, or relatives. Secondly, more crimes became evident as they got involved in crimes like thefts; pick pocketing, eve-teasing,

¹¹⁶Roshangar, Rouf.A. "*Cinema Halls Are First Fatality of Militancy in Kashmir*", India Today Magazine-Srinagar, (2018). Retrieved online at <https://www.indiatoday.in/movies/bollywood/story/cinema-halls-are-first-fatality-of-militancy-in-kashmir-1378048-2018-10-29>

cheating, fraud, and other offenses. It was seen that most of the children caught involved in such crimes had no family record of crimes¹¹⁷. Different studies have also concluded that the adoption of such behavioral patterns among Kashmiri youth evolved due to circumstances witnessed under conflict. The impact of violence got reflected in the attitudes and behavior of Kashmiri youngsters especially those of school and college-age groups who got motivated to commit violence both in theory as well as in practice. The view is also supported by sociologist B.A Dabla, Dabla points out that “many youth considered adopting violent way of life and preferred gun culture, even in the family environment”¹¹⁸.

This resulted in the heavy deployment of police and armed persons in the valley to combat the rising social disorder. In the initial phase of militancy and militarization, there were 150,000 estimated soldiers deployed in Kashmir. The number of security forces ranged and multiplied from 150,000 upto 700,000 in recent time's¹¹⁹. Presently the magnitude of militarization is 1/10 that means 1 soldier for every 10 civilians is deployed in the valley. Perhaps in contemporary period the region is ranked as highest militarized zone in the world.

Furthermore the hurdling elements like the presence of army and militant outfits in every nook and corner diminished and shattered the flexibility of the social institutions like family and school. Gradually such impediments raised serious challenges to societal values, gender roles, community bonding, health and peace of people in general and women in particular.

iii. Impact on female education (first phase)

Education is imperative to be given in any conflict as it is of paramount importance to discern the conflict and bring solution. Education rubs off the vicious elements of conflict, refines it, and moderates it within the ambit of democratic spirit and law. Belligerent elements in the conflict must not resort to any misadventure that would subdue education otherwise it gives a messy state of affairs. Particularly women being the central and pivotal force in society can't be abandoned as their education transcends to the future generation. Their education is an instrumental force of change not limited to the family but of society and nation. But the parties of conflict in Kashmir seemed oblivious of the substantial and symbolic nature of

¹¹⁷ Khan, Nyla A, “*The parchment of Kashmir: History, society and polity*”, *Op.cit.*, pp.189-199

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.199

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.197

Education. Though the men folk somewhat managed their education but the women education faced a debacle and fell into a state of deflection.

The girls especially in villages and towns where such obstacles were dominant turned psychogenic because of the fear of violence. The outcomes of constant dread resulted in their reluctance in going to school. This fear got multiplied when many schools were occupied by the security forces and many schools were also burnt by miscreants who wanted to reap the harvest out of this turmoil. The growth of Militancy and militarization has equally contributed in the overall backwardness of education sector. This was evident from reports seeing the decreasing number of girl students especially in rural areas. Most of the parents in those areas have feared to send their girls outside home or school. According to a survey which was conducted in the late 1990s to see the impact of violence on education in and Baramulla and Budgam districts of Kashmir valley found that there had been a significant number of school drop-outs about 40 percent, most of them were girls¹²⁰.

The shutdown of educational institutions for days or even months was a common trend. According to the University Grants Commission which recommended that any educational institution should be open and active at least for a minimum period of 180 days a year. In Kashmir following years 1990 to 1995 when insurgency was at peak the normal function of the educational institutions was completely disrupted. All the institutions including schools and colleges have functioned only for 30 or 40 working days a year¹²¹. This was due to long-term strikes, shutdowns, fear of bomb blasts, fear of cross-firings, crackdowns, arrests, and tortures, etc. During the initial years of insurgency particularly 1990 to 1996 both boys and girls of school-age were negatively affected by the turmoil. A study conducted by Parlow and Anthon shows that girls had upto 3.5 years less schooling. School enrollment at the primary level was found less for both boys and girls in urban areas. At the same time, the completion of primary school level was seen less in both groups¹²². Therefore fewer number of students especially girls could reach to next level.

In rural areas and towns, one of the serious factors that affected women was due to anti-insurgency policies like “crackdowns”. Crackdowns were common almost for one decade.

¹²⁰Khan, Nyla A, “*The Parchment Of Kashmir: History, Society, And Polity*”, *Op.cit.*, p. 195

¹²¹Suri, Kavita “*Impact of Violence on Women’s Education in Kashmir*”, WISCOP, New Delhi, 2013, p.24

¹²² Parlow, A, “*Education and Armed Conflict: the Kashmir Insurgency in the Nineties*”, University Library of Munich, Germany”, 2011, p.19

Although the procedure of holding a crackdown was different from present-day CASO (cordon and search operation) during crackdowns an announcement was made via loudspeakers to gather the male members of the whole village or a part of it. They were assembled at one place usually in school premises or in graveyard grounds. On the other side the security forces would start house-to-house search operations to find the hidden militants. The irony with the women folk was that they could not resist staying alone at home during the search operation. They would prefer going to the place in a group where the male folk was being assembled by the security forces. Both male and female children also formed a group with their mothers. It was a serious trial as staying away from home for hours without food and water was an ordeal especially for children and females. It was difficult to endure because it was an irritating and stressful experience for everyone as people were not accustomed to it. They resisted the pain of hunger and troublesome experience because of the compulsive threat of guns and men in uniform. During crackdowns schools used to be closed. This painful scenario automatically rubbed of the learning inclination among the children. During the search operation, the secrecy of the houses was disarrayed as security forces while having been searching would throw articles of the home into disorder. When women would come back to their homes in the evening it would shock them and make them panic to find their homes in a disordered state with the articles littered inclusive of books and other learning materials of their wards. Many times crackdowns were held during nighttime. The impact of the dread of crackdowns upon children especially on females used to last for days and there was a fear of sending children to schools the next day.

The generation of 1990s both men and women have experienced a great deal of confusion and fear when they were children. The young people of this generation got used to violence and destruction. It restricted their activities as they had never experienced life the way other children had experienced elsewhere. Referring to David Devdas in *'The Generation of Rage'* "David points out that the joy of going out for ice cream in the evening, a weekend picnic, a drive in the countryside, or even the fun and frolic of a family wedding was unknown to this conflict-ridden generation. Parents were often afraid to allow them to go out for play and other social activities. Most of the girls were not allowed to go outdoors except for school or perhaps for religious instruction in Darasgah which was situated a few steps away from home. The sense of social restrictions started developing elements of loneliness among the young folk. During most of that awful decade, they could not even pass the time by chatting with friends over the telephone or discussing with their classmates as of bad Telephone services.

Life had simply been a cage for youngsters that gradually shattered their cognitive level and peace of mind. Living a caged life was one of the main reasons that they could not properly couple up with the educational process. Many Families especially those who were educated and economically sound began to move from rural areas to the outskirts of cities. The kind of migration of people was also witnessed in inner cities in search of a peaceful environment¹²³.

Throughout the first half of the 1990s, most of the time schools remained closed. Even when the schools were opened it was difficult for both teachers and students especially girl students to reach out to their respective institutions. The roads were often seen blocked after activities like militant attacks or due to cordon-and-search operations led by security forces. In certain situations, teachers, as well as students, turned back home on foot. It was observed that the schooling days particularly of a girl child were missed more often than they attended.

Even schools were not considered as a safe place for children. Many times the security forces would cordon and search educational institutions also. Soldiers would sometimes set up camps by the side of school or college. It was only in 2007 when a brave young Delhi-based journalist expressed about occupying schools by security forces and personally motivated Defense Minister to ban the process of occupying schools and colleges by security forces in Kashmir¹²⁴. But it did not halt the scenario as still security camps exist and are located adjacent to many schools and colleges. On the other side the wire fences, bunkers; cross firings, search operations, and bomb blasts continued surrounding the children in the outside atmosphere during the process of education.

Another hitch for women in the first phase of insurgency was frisking. Though frisking was common to all, but it was more fearful for female folk, especially for school-going girls. The burqa-clad school going girls were more vulnerable because security forces often had apparitions that the militants travel in the guise of burqa-clad women. Even though frisking was genuine from the security point of view but on the flipside it was simply an attack on the privacy of girl students and women. This resulted in the virtual blockade of fear for girls to their respective schools and colleges.

¹²³ Devdas, David. *"The Generation of Rage in Kashmir"*, Oxford, New Delhi, 2018, pp.68-69

¹²⁴ Ibid., pp.73-74

Moreover in the mid-nineties, proxy examinees of young age with guns would sit in the examination halls in schools and colleges while authorities had no courage to challenge the identity of the fake examinees because of fear of the gun. When normalcy somewhat prevailed in 1997 the examination scenario got further set back by mass copying and cheating which was the collaborative approach of parents and teachers¹²⁵. This resulted in mushroom growth of illiterate qualified degree holders who could not qualify other competitive exams like medicine, engineering, and computer science. This speaks of the shattered scientific bent of mind in the new generation. Thus the only alternative for most of them was to opt for arts and humanities.

If we cross-check the literacy rate shown in census data of Jammu & Kashmir 2001 in comparison to what is reflected in the afore mentioned data, it seems that the data is based on presumptions as it is evident that the students who have qualified the examinations unfairly have been added in the data which is not logical.

Table 3. 1 Year wise Male/ Female Literacy rates in Jammu and Kashmir
And Male/Female Gap (MFG)

Year	Male	Female	Total	MFG
1961	19.75	5.05	12.95	14.70
1971	31.01	10.94	21.71	20.07
1981	41.46	18.73	30.64	22.73
1991	NA	NA	NA	NA
2001	66.6	43.0	55.5	23.6

Source retrieved from Census of India 2011, part Jammu & Kashmir

Since literacy of womenfolk stands low. It should be noted here that no census was held in 1991 in the valley. In the absence of 1991 census records, all estimates and assumptions regarding women's literacy seem partial. It is visible from the above data that the steps taken by the government to boost literacy had brought considerable progress in the State. We see the percentage of literates has raised from 12.95% percent in 1961 to 55.5% percent in 2001.

But there is a difference between male and female literacy levels. Men are more literate than females in all years. The male literacy rate climbed from 19.75 % in 1961 to 66.6% in 2001. While the literacy rate of females raised from 5.05% in 1961 to 43.0% in 2001. The gap has

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 74

increased from 14.7% in 1961 to 23.6% in 2001. Though there has been considerable progress in the field of female education compared to the previous decades. But it becomes arguable to say that the gender disparity and gender equity in education prevailed.

One of the issues that students faced was due to non-availability of infrastructure and facilities in schools especially for girls. According to the Annual report of educational profile Jammu & Kashmir 2000-2001 there was a dismal position of infrastructural facilities provided in the schools during the period. Although some progress was made by construction of new school buildings even in the remotest areas of the valley but the facilities in most of the existing schools were inadequate. There were about 2500 primary, 650 middle, and 150 High Schools without buildings of their own. In addition, about 1000 additional rooms were required in various high and Higher Secondary schools to fill the gap. To cover such gaps identified in infrastructure the department formulated a project for the construction of primary school buildings including providing some additional accommodation in existing primary schools. It was deemed that the assistance would be provided under “Rural Infrastructural Development Funds” (RIDF) ¹²⁶.

The steps have remained far away from reality. As most of the schools especially in rural areas lacked such features that could facilitate students, especially girls to coup up with education. On the other side turbulence caused by insurgency lowered such investments in education. Compared to the national level, the literacy status of Jammu & Kashmir gave a decimal scenario, particularly in Kashmir province. Despite of the impact of conflict on education the literacy gaps between boys and girls, odd pupil-teacher ratio, high dropout rates and the weak absorption pattern of qualified persons, and gender disparity in the education sector also remained the key indicators of educational backwardness in the valley.

3.2. New Dimensions of insurgency in Kashmir (Second phase)

The insurgency in Kashmir took shift after 2008, the period saw rise in militancy and militarization including public agitations. The events that took place after 2008 shaped new phase of insurgency in the valley. The present study found that most of the girls pursuing education under the age group of 18 to 27 years about 92% are aware about the political disturbances and conflict in the region. Most of the girls at secondary school and college level had become aware about the nature and intensity of insurgency in the state since, 2008, 2010,

¹²⁶ Education Department Planning & Development, “Annual Report on Educational Profile (School stream 2000-2001”, Document No D-11058, Jammu & Kashmir, 2002, pp.1-4

and 2015. The district wise data in this context shows Baramulla 93%, Budgam 90% kulgam 92% Ganderbal 89%.In case of higher education 90% perusing higher education think they have experienced insurgency by observing violence since2008 or 2010 while as more than 10% of girls at university level aged 25-30 have experienced insurgency since its inception in 1990's and onwards.

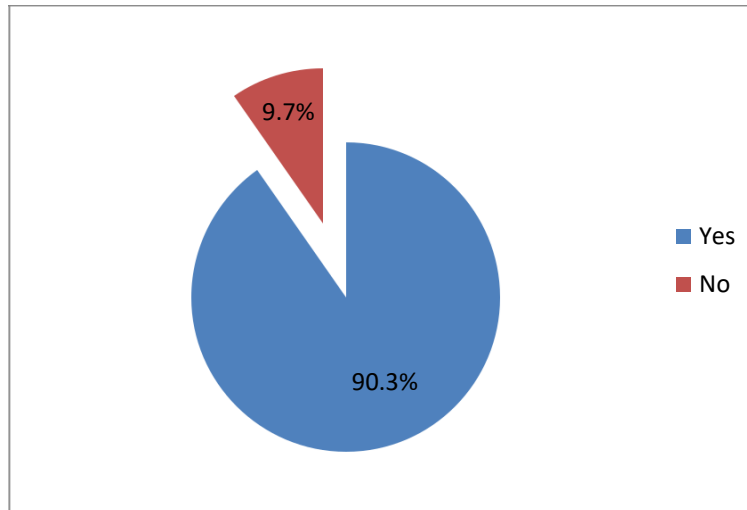


Figure 6. Percentage of girls at all levels who think they have been grown up in politically disturbed region

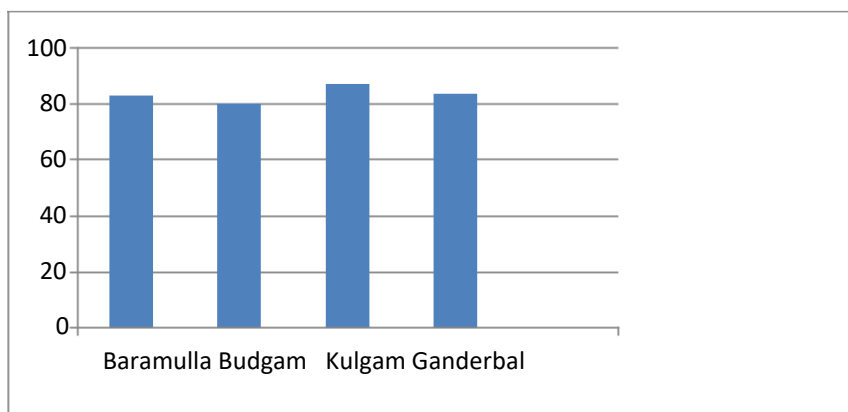
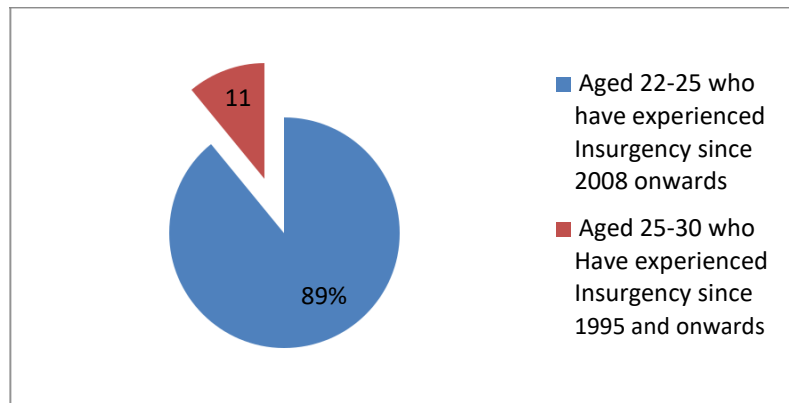


Figure 7. The district wise total number of girls at secondary school and college level experienced insurgency since 2008, 2010 and 2013 onwards.



**Figure 8: total percentage of girls at all levels
Who have experienced insurgency since 1995 and onwards, and since 2008, 2010 and onwards**

The data above shows that almost three literate generations of women have grown up and gone through observing violence and restrictions. It has been observed that insurgency in the retrospective decade's ignited elements of rage and fury especially among youngsters. Although, *The Print* in 2008 that "the security system of the state administration noted decline in the surge of insurgency in the state". As per the data of Home ministry which shows that the number of violent incidents which were in four digits came down to three digits touching the highest 708¹²⁷. Besides peace talks between India and Pakistan at the international level somewhat also subdued the intensity of violence during this period. A commotional phase witnessed when an agreement was signed between the state government of Jammu and Kashmir and Central Government of India regarding transfer of land for "Amaranth"¹²⁸ pilgrimage. The agreement led to massive demonstrations all over the valley. It gave rise to the new and unprecedented trend of public agitations like stone pelting, inflammatory slogans, long term shutdowns, curfews and violence which shook the panorama. The Amaranth land transfer agreement gave a boost to the people particularly to the youth to express their rage and anger by the medium of street battles coupled with stone - pelting and demonstrations. The separatist hawked reaped the harvest out of the rage of the youngsters. To suppress the revolt and repulse the new trend of demonstrations government imposed coercion to curb it which resulted in thousands of casualties, injuries, and traumas.

¹²⁷ Javaid, Azaan, "Is Kashmir militancy beginning to ebb? Last decade trend shows it could be another false dawn", *The Print*, New Delhi. 2020,

¹²⁸ Amaranth Shrine is one of the most sacred pilgrimage sites for Hindu's. The site is located in Pehalgam area of Jammu & Kashmir.

History bears witness to the fact that during disputes and disturbed political exercises, violence is the resultant. Gradually pelting stones on security personals and curfews became a regular feature of life. Particularly the long-term Hartaals and shutdowns over the years created a severe dent to the overall growth of the society. As per reports since 2008 and onwards Kashmir witnessed highest number of strikes and shutdowns (Hartaals). In 2015-16 alone valley was locked down for more than half of the year. These the following years also saw rise in the number of stone-pelting incidents, shutdowns and activities like burning of schools which resulted in the huge loss of the state's economy¹²⁹.

The new phase of militancy also had novelty as it follows a different pattern than the previous one. As David Devdas in his work "*The generation of Rage*" mentions that, "it developed quietly as if wisps of mist were floating in". It drew to its ranks 'students' who had often passed well in examinations and who were highly regarded by their teachers. This generation was in contrast to the militants which dominated the era from 1989 to 2006 who had been educationally backward¹³⁰. After 2008 it was not that every ordinary youth would join the path of violence but even the scholastic bent of mind embarked upon world of militancy.

Bashaarat Masood a correspondent in '*Indian Express*' also justifies the fact that the educated youth from the elite and noble families became passionate to join militancy¹³¹. Burhan Wani is a typical example of that. He belonged to an educated and well-up family. Being an educated militant he casted his impression in the psyche of the youth and became an inspiration. It's a profile that is held by most of the young modern local militants in today's Kashmir. The killing of Burhan Wani in 2016 gave rise to an outburst of the massive involvement of the educated youth attacking bunkers, agitating in colleges/schools, and violent stone-pelting which resulted in casualties and closure of social mobility, businesses, schools, and colleges for more than six months. The uprisings that took place in 2015 and 2016 are perceived to be different from the earlier ones of 1990, 2008, and 2010. Quoting N.K Narayan, the national security advisor of India 'no militants outfit was such operative since the inception of militancy that patronized the influx of educated youth into recruitment and violent incidents like stone pelting and street battles with security forces. He said that the participation of the youth in the violent state of affairs was purely indigenous and homegrown¹³². Though it

¹²⁹ European Foundation for South Asian Studies "*Hartals in Jammu & Kashmir; cause for social, political and economic instability*, (EFSAS), Amsterdam, 2018.

¹³⁰ Devdas, D. "*The Generation of Rage in Kashmir*", *Op.cit*, pp. 44-45.

¹³¹ Masood, B. (July 26, "*Guns 'n' Poses: The New Crop of Militants in Kashmir*", *Indian Express*, 2015.

¹³² Narayanan, M. K. "*Address the 'New Normal' in Kashmir*", *The Hindu*, 2016.

was homegrown but at the same time. Mr. Narayan did not see the flip side of what has motivated both militants and students. Youth were also self motivated. Here we can't deny the results of long term impacts of conflict on them which has timely curbed their educational and social mobility. It was the result of all such disturbances at political level that gained momentum among youngsters.

Mobile and Internet facilities played a vital role in mobilizing the youth from all corners. They were lured by releasing audio and video clips on socio media platforms. To counter the social media campaign by militants and its impending consequences the government found an alternative to impose long term bans on mobile communications. According to the survey on internet blackout in Kashmir, reported that in Kashmir internet blackouts from 2012 upto 2017 remained intermittently disrupted as the government imposed 60 times long term bans on the internet and mobile communications which resulted from disruption of 7767 hours approximately 324 days¹³³. To maintain the law and order situation the government wanted to curb and nip the propaganda of militants by banning the communications. But on the other side, this imposition of the ban harmed the economic activity, education, learning of students and health care system of the state.

The present study finds out that nearly 90% of girls in districts Baramulla, Budgam and Kulgam and Ganderbal studying in secondary schools and colleges have faced severe compulsions in leaning due to communication and internet bans. About 98% girls at University level irrespective of age and areas mentioned that they could not gather information and focus on learning due to internet and communication bans. Most of them have highlighted that they found it difficult to retrieve information and communicate to do self study especially during long term hartals and shutdown of educational institutions.

¹³³Kathuria, Rajat, et.al. "*The Anatomy of an INTERNET BLACKOUT: Measuring the Economic Impact of Internet Shutdowns in India*", (). Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations, 2018, pp.21-22.

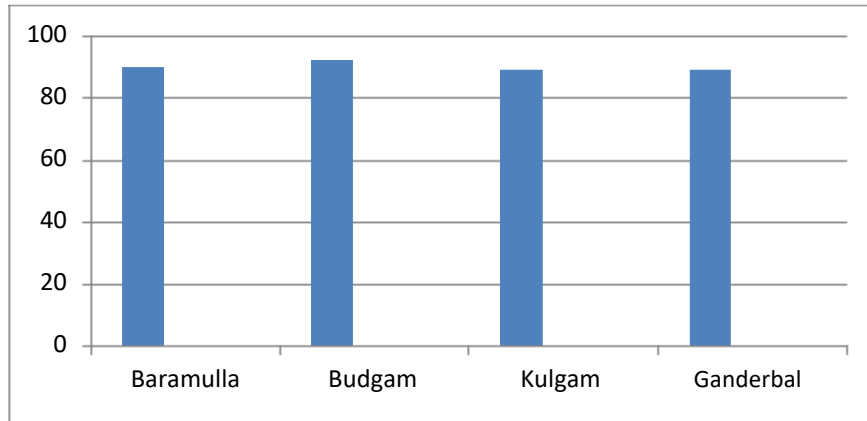


Figure 9 District wise Impact of internet and communication bans on education and learning of girl students at secondary and college level

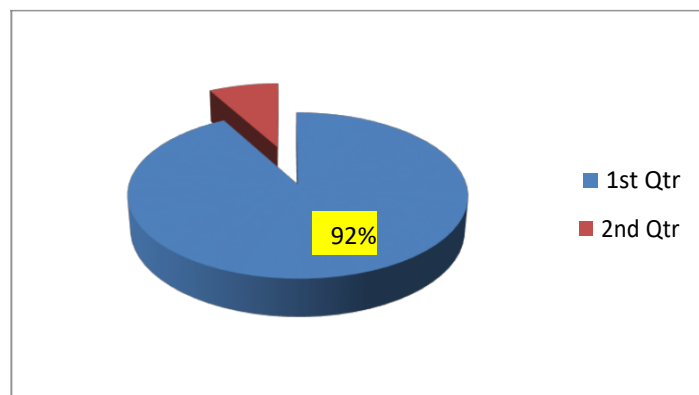


Figure 10: Impact of internet and communication bans on learning of girl students at University level

To put the matter in succinct and in a nutshell the new phase of militancy with its horrible dimensions adversely laid serious implications on the entire picture of the socio-political, educational, health, and economic sphere of the society of Kashmir. Society still longed to have a breath of relief but it got agonized and horrified. Education is symbolic of hope and people could have sustained that hope. But the adverse dimensions of insurgency in the state smashed this symbol of hope to naught. Particularly the womenfolk being silent sufferers again underwent suffering from no promise of hope in the backdrop of such negative change.

i. Changing roles of women

The unresolved conflict of Kashmir for decades has put on women as the worst sufferers under the violence led by state and non-state actors. The number of crimes against women since 1990 bears witness to the fact that women have suffered immensely. Pallavi Sharma

says since the onset of insurgency in Kashmir, the womenfolk had witnessed high rate of violence in general and instances of molestation and rape in particular ¹³⁴.

But the role of Kashmir women in conflict is unique as they have played an active part in both phases of insurgency. In the first phase, their role was confined due to patriarchal ethos and lack of women agencies. Still women folk have showed support to men in family environment and by participating in protests etc. in course of insurgency it gradually defined new gender roles. The agitated social life lived by women under conflict led to the significant statement in present times, insurgency since decades made women equal partners with men. For example the protesting role of women in present times was emerged to express rage and disapproval for being bruised psychologically and socially. Since last two decades they led collective gesture of demonstration as there was social amicability that the grief of one is the grief of all. Onwards 2016 role of women in the conflict began to change they started leading violent protests and pelting stones at security forces, most of them were young school and college going girls.

Women of different age groups participated in large demonstrations for instance during 2008, 2010, and 2016 uprisings women showed equal interest and participation in activities like processions against the government and in violent activities like stone-pelting. Masrat Zehra writes that “The participation of women and young school going girls leading public demonstrations is increasing” As they began to turn up in street protests, rallies and participate in militant funerals in large numbers”¹³⁵. They also joined men folk and seen ready to face lathis, tear-gas, and bullets.

The conflict also became a compulsive force for women to undertake the responsibility for living and sustain her family, especially among the insurgency-affected families. Because this venture somewhat showed a sign of gender equality in contrast to the previous orthodox society where women were restricted to undertake jobs and earn. But in reality, compulsion doesn't mean a liberation or anticipation of women. Thus it was merely an act to make both ends meet. The fear among women to go out of the home began to disperse. But she had unwillingly adopted this change under force, trauma, and economic insecurity.

¹³⁴Sharma, Pallavi. “*Violence against Women on the Rise in Jammu and Kashmir*”, 2007, News Track India, New Delhi.

¹³⁵Zehra, Masrat & Muzamil, S, “*How women's roles are changing in Kashmir's conflict*”, 2020, The New Humanitarian, Srinagar

Women assumed a docile role. Violence resulted in agony and despondency in which women lost their desire to participate in events like International Women's Day and Mother's Day where she could have got better cognizance of her rights. Violence and subsequent grief lead to depression among them. Women especially living in rural areas were known for their physical and manual work but they trend depressive figures and physically fragile. Their health issues and ailments became a major concern in course of insurgency. According to a study "*life in conflict and the characteristics of depression in Kashmir*" conducted in 2009 shows the characteristics of depression in the prevailing conflict. The figures show that depression was seen much higher in rural areas (84.73%) compared to urban areas which was (15.26%). Moreover the level of depression among female folk was seen higher 93.10 % compared to male population (6.8%). Most of such women fell in the age group of 15 to 25 yrs and 26 to 35 years¹³⁶. The severe restrictions; crisis and violence emerged to form mental health issues like traumas and depression among women. A hypothesis which can be drawn here is that the rates of depression especially among women would have increased at present. As according to various medical reports and researches large number of women suffers from Depression, anxiety and PTSD Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in the region.

Moreover insurgency also maximized the crimes against women e.g. Domestic violence, Molestation, Discrimination and Rape. Professor B. A Dabla in the "*Multidimensional problems of women in Kashmir*" reveals that, the already existing problems of women were multiplied and intensified since the emergence of insurgency. Dabla refers them as they got trapped into denegation and backwardness¹³⁷. Professor Dabla denies that the process of emancipation and initiatives taken for the development of women folk had any effect on them.

So far as observed in this study women were caught in paradox previously under conservative society and biased rulers and later due to political conflict and insurgency. Thus women have suffered both qualitatively and quantitatively whether it is education, health, or employment, etc. B. A Dabla makes a statement that such a situation has led to the backwardness of women in all the crucial fields of life. He calls the prevailing situation 'degenerative inferno' in which women are being trapped. Though the government in

¹³⁶ Amin. S, Khan. A. W, "*Life in conflict: Characteristics of Depression in Kashmir*", International journal of health sciences, Vol. 3 (2), 2009, p.3

¹³⁷ Dabla, B.A. "*Multi Dimensional Problems of Women in Kashmir*", Gyan, New Delhi, 2012. pp.9-10

collaboration with civil society members has led timely efforts to protect and improve the conditions of women. But the positive changes are not seen at large because the conflict which stands as an independent variable comes under no control. There seems lack of vision to conflict management and strategies that particularly focus on the emancipation of women.

ii. Impact on female Education

Education leads to holistic development of children especially girls. But the holistic development is beyond the vision of literacy theory and even basic literacy can't be attained in a hostile and conflicting atmosphere. Significantly, real education does count as a substantial force to break the legacy of violence and a hostile atmosphere. The new dynamics of the Kashmir insurgency were more adverse than the previous one. It laid upheavals in the entire strata of the society. Though the total concern of government's seemed concentrated on restoring law and order and other priorities like peace and education got a setback. One of its baffling and intricate features was that no event of turmoil had a short end but it prolonged till it engulfed the entire society. People in enmass had to undergo the worst economic loss which subsequently affected the investments in both male and female children. Due to the prolonged shutdowns, the investment of parents in their children and investments of the government in the education sector got squeezed. This was pervasive in the light of the fact that the parents who had less sources of income or were living below the poverty line could not afford the education of their children. This was adverse particularly for those parents whose wards were studying in the private sector where they had to pay exorbitant fees and other formalities. The researcher found that more than 90% of girl students from secondary upto the University level highlighted that insurgency has a crucial role in affecting their education and social life. It has brought to light that insurgency in recent years has affected curriculum and academic activities e.g., going to schools and colleges, attending routine classes, completing syllabus and scheduling examination on time.

We can see that the hostile atmosphere has created impediments and challenges allied to education in general and women's education in particular. These impediments assumed horrible dimensions and loss to education sector which the educationalists and stakeholders had not anticipated. The elements of insurgency leading major setbacks to education in general and women education in particular are further discussed below.

Women education and prolonged Hartaals/shutdowns

Since the onset of insurgency Hartaals and strikes have remained crucial factors that have laid negative impact on the social economic and education sector. In case of education it has hobbled the development of learner community who had to face irregularity in attending schools and colleges. It caused irreversible loss to students by creating gaps of knowledge in them. Many believed that the youth are been radicalized. But then education remains a crucial tool that could have been used to minimize the radical elements of the society. Unfortunately the state faced hallucinations due to mismanagement in maintaining the link between insurgency and the education sector. As of weak mechanism which could not separate both from each other.

The closure of schools and colleges left the student community stagnant. The survey led by state government of Jammu and Kashmir in 2017 says that the closure and shutdown of schools, has badly affected the academic section. It has caused irreversible loss to education sector particularly to the student community. For example the exams conducted by the (JKBOSE) for 10th and 12th standard found that students have covered only 40-50 percent of the syllabus. The survey found that the contributors which have decreased the quality of education and curriculum include damage to educational infrastructure, fear of sending children to schools, recruitment of youth into militancy and economic impact on households and families”¹³⁸.

Youth who used to participate in violent protests during hartals also supported in force shutdowns by closing markets and roads. According to the survey conducted by the ‘Chinar International’ on “*Education and Kashmir unrest*” found that “Students were well aware that the unrest affects their process of education but despite having such concern there was a substantial support for hartals among the student community. This was widely seen in 2016 unrest. It was found that only 25% of students have denied supporting hartals while as 75% of students have supported shutdowns¹³⁹. This was a paradox situation and therefore it can be concluded that the support for hartals was not only limited and confined to specific groups.

In the recent decade of insurgency students have remained confined to homes for a pretty long time. They left touch with their school curriculums and could not manage with their

¹³⁸European Foundation for South Asian Studies (EFSAS), *Op.cit*, pp.3-4

¹³⁹Riana, Jahangir, “*Education and Unrest in Kashmir a Way Forward*”, Chinar International, Sanat Nagar Srinagar, 2017, p.9, (The report was published for public consultation)

daily social lives. The educational institutions have remained shut till normalcy existed and in case if institutions were opened, parents feared to send their children to schools. Since female students were more fragile to face stiff situations. The present study shows that majority of the girls in recent decade about 92% have occasionally or continuously missed touch with their institutions or for a pretty long period (for weeks or even months). Due to long term shutdown and hartaals it has been difficult for them to attend lectures and to coup up with syllabus and other academic activities. The confined life has emerged as a setback to student’s educational and social life. It affected their intellect and interest towards studies. More than 85% percent of students responded that they lacked focus and interest in learning during long term hartaals. Besides it also had psychological impact on them. About 71% at other levels and 68% of girls at university level during this period have encountered isolation hopelessness and depression, while majority of girls at all level have faced enormous boredom at home. This has gradually affected their concentration, interest towards studies.

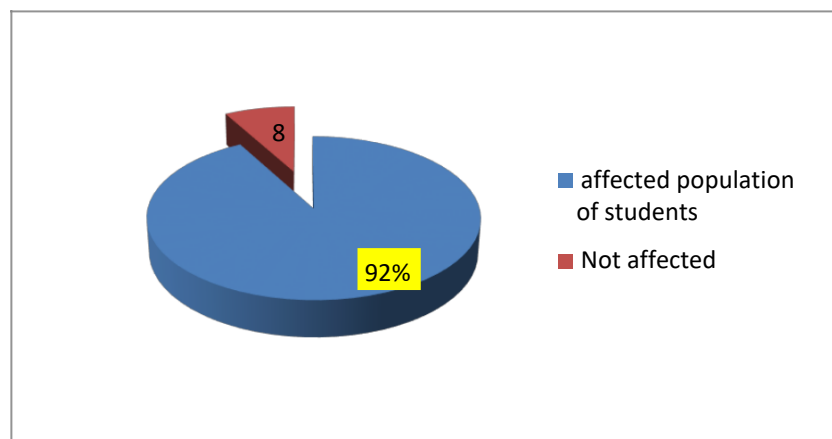


Figure 11: Percentage of students at all levels who think Hartaals and Shutdowns had affected their education

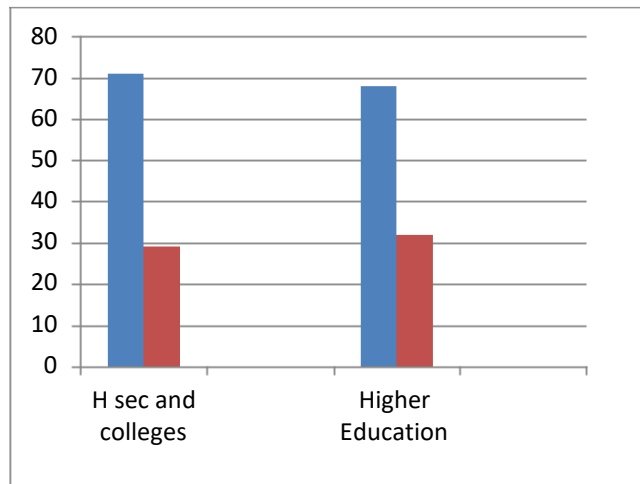


Figure 12: psychological impact of Hartaals and shutdowns on students

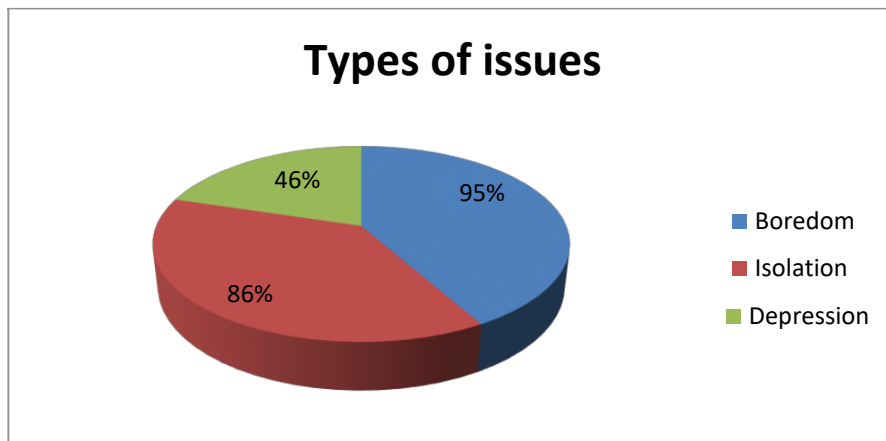


Figure 13 type and level of mental health Issues faced by female students during shutdowns and hartaaals

Prolonged Hartaals and shutdowns had equally affected social life of students. The present study finds out that as they left touch with their friends, relatives and teachers and incase they tried to have a phonic conversation with them; unfortunately, internet and phone calls remained bared. Since communication and internet ban has played a crucial role in affecting the learner community as it has been difficult for them to study and retrieve information due to lengthy internet shutdowns. For learner’s community hartals and communication bans have worked against their intellect.94% of girls at higher secondary, college and 100% of students at university level had remained confined to self study during the period utilizing available resources like books at home. While 96% of students among 550 respondents 528 respondents also reported that they lagged focus and interest in studies and academic activities at home.

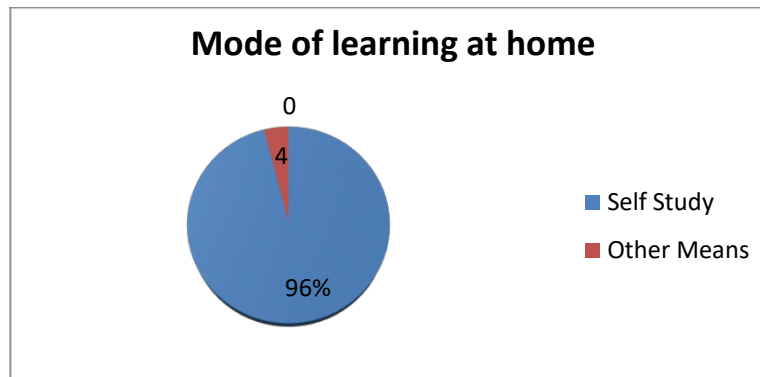


Figure 14: mode of leaning preferred by students

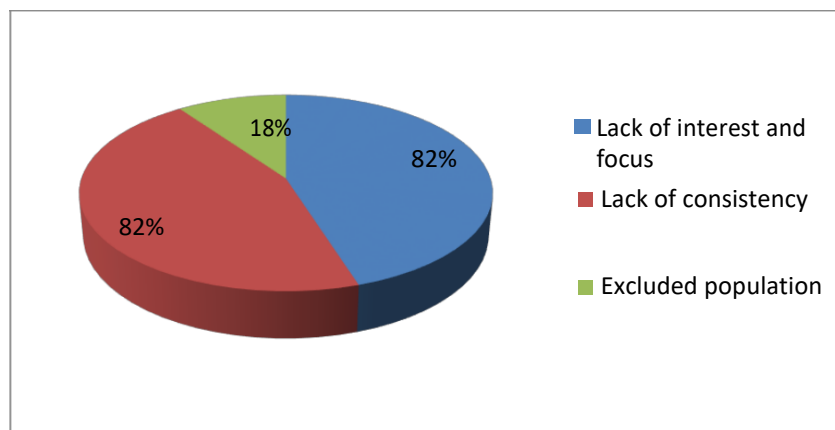


Figure 15: Opponents of learning

Similarly teachers too got rusty as they could not get updated because of the stagnation in their routine teaching work. Both teachers and students got stranded. As a result the disseminating of learning could not take place. Hence the imparting of real knowledge which could have given holistic development to this generation particularly girls could not get materialized into reality.

In the light of above facts it is transparent that restrictions imposed in course of insurgency have contributed to the decimal state of female education. A contrariwise assertion which can be made here is that the prolonged shutdowns and restrictions have affected women education, cutting off the students from educational institutions, restricted social life and on the flipside it had developed psychogenic impact on their mind.

Women Education and Violence

Different types of violence has affected women education be it violent protests, agitations, firings or stone pelting incidents. Stone pelting also termed commonly as 'Kani Jung' refers to the throwing of stones on security forces in order to express anger. Though the pelting of stones on security forces was not much in trend during the first phase of insurgency in Kashmir but this concept gained popularity in its second phase when mass rage especially among youth was observed. Pelting stones on security officials became a trend of leading public agitations since 2010 and from 2015 the valley saw rise in such incidents more youth involved in this practice. In recent decade for the government stone pelting became more serious issue a like militancy because it declined all economic activities and adversely affected the process of education.

The recent phase also saw involvement of girls in this practice and seen taking part in protests and agitations. According to Annie Gowen a renounced international correspondent and chief of Indian bureau said "The teen girls with stones are the new threat to India's Kashmir conflict", "it is a new form of protest because the other gender rather than men are taking part in it"¹⁴⁰. Though stone pelting was so far confined to boys and only in recent times it saw involvement of girls. But the involvement of both genders created an intense negative impact. It not only broke their relationship with educational institutions but developed fear and stress among students in reach out schools and colleges and attending classes.

Though the element of fear has been common for all students but it has been more fearful for female students. During violent protests and stone pelting, it has been difficult for them to reach the destination from home to school and then back to home and coup up with education. The educational institutions which were located nearer to security camps or bunkers catch violence easily than the schools situated in far or in adjoining areas. The study found that about 89% of girl's pursuing higher education and 81% at college and secondary school level have to pass through areas which are occupied by security forces during their journey from home to institution.

¹⁴⁰Gowen, Annie "The teen girls with stones are the new threat to India's Kashmir conflict", , Washington Post, 2017, [online]. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/pnoqZFs>

The survey found that more than 71% of girls at all levels have so far witnessed number of protests and stone pelting incidents near the institution or during their way to school/college or university. More over about 89% of girls have been terrified by public protests and stone pelting and 81% of girls have so far been terrified due to activities lead by security forces near the institution or during the way to school/college/university e.g. security cordons, checking, suppressing protests. The conclusion we can make is that such crisis have introduced female learners to stress and fear which had affected their process of education and quality of learning environment.

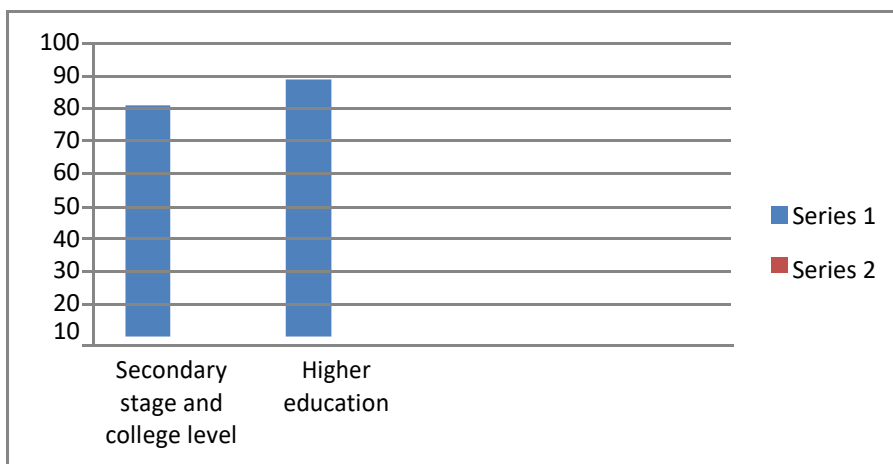


Figure 16: percentage of girls going to school/college/university Who have to pass through areas which are occupied by security forces

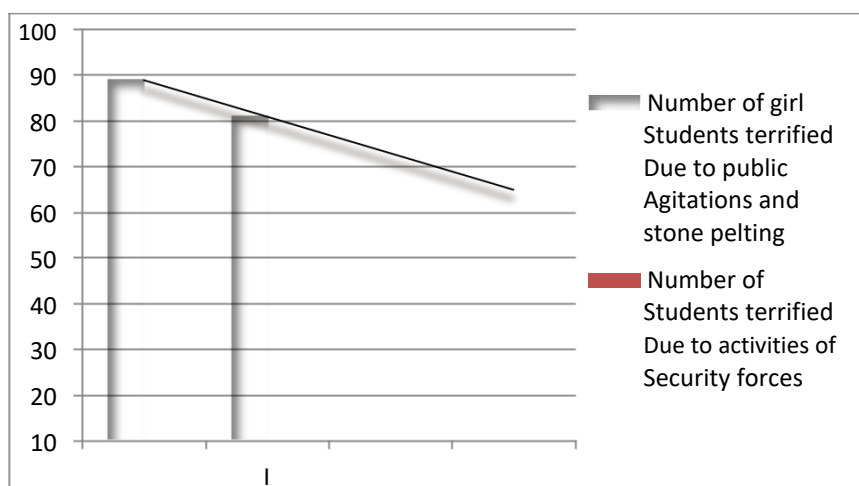


Figure 17: Percentage of girl students you have been terrified by the activities during your way to school/college/university

In course of insurgency it has also been observed that educational institutions have remained unsafe for students especially girls. The survey observed that maximum number of girl students have witnessed protests, stone pelting or cross firings near or in surrounding of institutions. The fear and distress has distracted peaceful learning environment inside and outside School College or university. About 72% of girls presently at university level have observed violence out school or college since their school age. The fear and dread have left them unsafe and distracted inside the institution/classrooms. About 66% of girls at university and college level did not ensure safety inside institution in case of conflict or any emergency in the area. Only 34% of students at college and university level responded that educational institutions are safe in case of any eventuality.

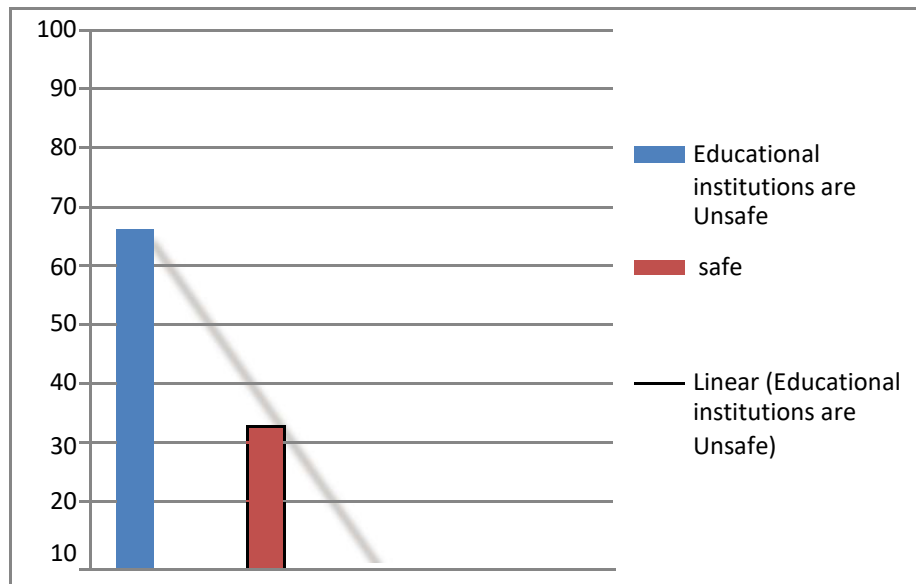


Figure 18: percentage of students who feel safe/unsafe inside classroom
When there has been conflict or any emergency near or in surrounding of institution

In context to women education and violence an incident was also recorded empirically by the researcher in the year 2014. The Sopore town which is in the heart of north Kashmir’s district Baramulla. Near about 4pm at the main gate of Government Degree College Sopore when the folks of students from other intuitions were also up to home after completing their routine class work. A sudden chaos was noticed; when loud noise of firing round of bullets was heard. Suddenly everybody was seen rushing and running. In the mean time the hustle and

Bustle life of the area turned deserted. People including students as of fear took shelter inside shops and streets. People especially women folk were seen rubbing hands, shivering. I also took shelter inside grocery shop. It was already occupied by almost 10 people who also included girl's students. After the matter was subsided it was confirmed that the gun fires was opened over suspicion of militants and stone pelters. The security camp was located opposite to college's entrance where the incident took place. The scene of chaos lasted for an hour, after the matter was subsided everyone fled out of shops, buildings, and street corners. Some students and teachers were stucked inside the college. People in flocks followed each other to flee. In the aftermath many local youth joined by students managed to indulge in another round of pelting stones on security personals. The overall interpretation and analysis that can be drawn from the above observation is that such incidents affect the normalcy to prevail as it developed havoc within the ambit of social environment which affects people in general and learner community in particular.

According to the Hindustan times report, that the officials revealed to the local press that the year and numbers of demonstrations¹⁴¹. Security forces in retaliation used firing and lethal weapons like pellet guns. According to police report about 1,500 such incidents were recorded in the beginning of insurgency. If we compare both the figures and periods it means that the year 2016 alone saw 79% rises in such incidents. Moreover in 2017 about 1,031 incidents of stone-pelting were recorded by police. Since Sabzar Bhatt's killing in 2017 who was a militant commander about 30 incidents of stone-pelting at different places were reported within two days in the valley.

In 2016 and 2017 some sensational videos which got viral on social media platforms depicting speeches of ultras, covering footages of encounters and subsequent processions, etc also ignited rage and fury among young Kashmiris. As a consequence the women especially the school and college girls who had an iota of the previous linkage with stone-pelting and similar activities got passionately involved into frequent protests and marches. Their protests and agitation were subdued and curbed by restrictive measures by the government. The Jammu and Kashmir government apprehending a major disaster owing to the involvement of women in agitations and protests ordered the closure of all schools and colleges. In the new academic session of 2017 schools did open but there was total inertia among the students to

¹⁴¹Athar, P, "Since July 2016, Kashmir's schools and colleges stayed shut on 60% of working days: Violence, coupled with curfews and shutdowns, has repeatedly disrupted education in the Kashmir region", Hindustan Times, New Delhi, 2017. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/6nfsjLa>

go to school. They had lost zeal and enthusiasm to go to schools and colleges. The civil society and stakeholders felt a moral responsibility and initiated hard efforts on social media and other platforms motivating the derailed students to go back to schools. Because the stakeholders were conscious that widening gap of education among the students shall have far-reaching adverse implications in future. The hard measures were taken by the government to bring the students back to schools and colleges by declaring that any student falling short of attendance shall be deprived of examinations. Altaf Bukhari the then education minister justified the hard move in a press conference held on May 18, 2017. Earlier in 2016, an open letter to one of the leading newspapers in Kashmir was issued by education minister Nayeem Akhtar motivating the separatist leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani impressing him by appealing to tell the derailed students to go to schools to keep their future into considerations¹⁴². But the efforts of the education minister ended in futility as the separatist leaders did not budge.

The intensity and clear picture of violence in these years is seen from detailed look at the newspapers of the time. The lead stories in papers showcase events of violence. In the opinion of Miss Roshan Ara who is a teacher at Srinagar College of Education, says that the conflict in 1990s and onwards 2000s resulted in disturbances and violence which deprived the education of two generations. “Educationists are afraid, we *cannot afford more ill-educated generations* “she added¹⁴³.

If we plump deep into this issue we may notice negative construction of the new generation. But ironically these changes have remained unnoticed by the authorities both at state and center. David Devdas in “*The Generation of Rage* “argues that “Various arms of the Indian state were blind to these changes”. And others, steeped in cussed and awkward cynicism, and were unaware of such negative dimensions and dispositions. The new generation, which is shaped under different influences and experiences, did not only want peace and economic opportunities as the way young people had in 2007. David argues that “The Indian state blithely treated the new insurgency as a continuation of the previous one, though it should not”. After 2007 when the young generation demonstrated fearless rage on the streets in 2008 and again in 2010 and 2016, the propagandists of the Indian state had already tried to project it as another phase of insurgency. After 2008 Instead of responding to agitations by winding down the apparatus of counterinsurgency, they created another category of insurgents against

¹⁴² Akhtar, Nayeem, “*Two parables and a condemned man*”, Greater Kashmir, Srinagar, 2016. at <https://www.greaterkashmir.com/news/opinion/two-parables-and-a-condemned-man/>

¹⁴³ Ibid.

the state known as stone-pelters¹⁴⁴. David has rightly pointed out that instead of examining the situations the government entirely focused on maintaining law and order by using repulsive means which generated more rage. They could not exactly recognize changes among youth.

During the period even by a small episode the things could get untoward and would give flip to the emotions of youth. For example when the phenomenon of anger among youth erupted in 2010, three specific incidents of killing by armed forces took place in which five young men believed to have no link with militancy were killed. The incident sparked off the rage. Youth pelted stones on the police and paramilitary forces, even in some areas where there had never been much local militancy got raged up. The repressive action taken by police forces countered using bullets and tear gas shells which killed more than a hundred young men, which stoked fury and tension throughout that summer. Street battles between security forces and young stone pelters became a routine. Referring to David Devdas who says that the rage and repression became a vicious cycle as each firing incident provoked fresh ire¹⁴⁵. It was obvious that the firing had to stop if the cycle was to be broken. But unfortunately, it continued the process.

The fundamentalist and separatist groups played a vital role in these years; they waved the fire by giving shutdown calls. Though their support for such incidents was not openly announced, their role was confined to motivating youth so that it becomes the responsibility of youth itself to take the resistance. This worked like a silent sweet position given to drive the conditions. Education in the whole phenomenon of this rage and violence was seen as a serious victim that failed to anticipate psychogenic elements of this generation. Women on the other hand were caught in a dilemma. They felt as if there's no solution in sight. Their opinions got unrecognized by other group members. As a result, female folk turned stressed, they were caught in violence which adversely affected their educational, professional, and personal lives.

Damage to Educational infrastructure

According to UNESCO “conflicts remain a major impediment in fulfilling EFA and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Especially it hinders the universal completion of

¹⁴⁴Devdas, D. “*The Generation of Rage in Kashmir*”, *Op.cit.*, pp. 30-32

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.30-32

primary education and brings gender inequality in both primary and secondary education. According to UNESCO over half of the world's minor aged children who remain out of school are estimated to live in conflict-affected fragile states"¹⁴⁶. Researchers have exposed many dimensions of the women's educational system that are negatively affected by means of conflict. They have also concluded that during conflict, all the state infrastructures may suffer damage due to firing, bombings, and bloodshed in which centers of learning remain no exception. In a conflict zone like Kashmir, educational institutions remain victims of the conflict. Since the onset of insurgency, different groups have protested and attacked schools including government forces. But in the recent decade for the first time attackers have targeted so many schools at different locations in the state. for example after the killing of militant Commander 'Burhan Wani' in 2016 resulted in mass uprisings, stone pelting and hartaals in the valley in which more than 30 school buildings were burnt down during 115 days of agitations. The increasing number of school burning incidents in the Valley disturbed the learning environment of many students. The series of such incidents directed the law and order to ensure the safety of educational institutions and to unmask such hidden enemies of the education¹⁴⁷. Though various agencies including separatist groups condemned such incidents however the enemy of education remained shrouded in mystery.

There are references where students were seen involved in attacking school buildings, pelting stones and damaging infrastructure. Students saw education as a "dead end". Chinar International a valley-based Non-Governmental Organization that works for the education, empowerment, and improvement of the lives of marginalized children, women, and families in the state, revealed in its latest survey in 2017 that when students were asked about why they attack schools and support hartals, majority of the students have revealed that education was politicized during the unrest as the government repeatedly made attempts to open schools in wired situations. The parents of children on the cause of the burning of schools revealed that education was being politicized and children did not want to return to schools due to fear of gun battles and disinterest in learning due to hartals. Many have supported the view that such acts were criminal acts and are unrelated to education.

146 Global Monitoring Report, "*The Quantitative Impact Of Conflict On Education: The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict And Education*", UNESCO, Paris, 2011, p.4

147 TOI, "*26 Schools Burned In Valley: Unmask Enemies Of Education, High Court Tells J& K Government*" New Delhi, 2016. Retrieved From: <https://bit.ly/3vXGW8z>

In 2016 and 2017 media politicized the issue regarding the conduct of examinations after the long term closure of educational institutions. The collective role played by politicians and media resulted in coercion in which 32 schools were burned to ashes¹⁴⁸. Loss over educational infrastructure had also other variants; aside from the destruction of many schools buildings it includes schools that were burnt down under armed insurgents and encounters. Some educational institutions are still occupied by security forces as camps. The militarization and continued violence across the region caused many schools to go neglected which left many school buildings without proper facilities, sanitation, water facilities, and boundary walls. The increasing levels of shelling and attacks between years 2013 to 2016 saw a decimal scenario in which access to the boundary walls of middle schools fell by 7%¹⁴⁹. Moreover in the secondary and higher education sector, the ease of access to facilitate students also declined. According to another report it was observed that the enrollment of students per classroom in different schools was increased in these years¹⁵⁰. This was observed because many students especially girls moved to other schools where they felt less exposure to violence, tense situations and irregularity in class work.

3.3. Women Education and Social Change

Social change is a complex phenomenon particularly in politically and socially disturbed regions. According to the United States Agency International Development (USAID) “Conflict inflicts suffering on everyone, but women are particularly more affected by its long and short-term impacts”. This leads them to face alienation, isolation, and emotional traumas. Though women are culturally designated as caregivers, supporting their children and family while men are regarded breadwinners¹⁵¹. Since conflict leads to economic compulsions as it lowers the investments and productivity in economic sector. There comes a turning point in gender roles where in many cases women had to become primary providers to their families. This also exposes them to outside atmosphere. In some cases it has been seen that conflict

¹⁴⁸ Riana Jahangir, “*Education and Unrest in Kashmir a Way Forward*”, *Op.cit.*, p.80

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 70-80

¹⁵⁰ Ali, Shehryar, “*The Impact of Explosive Violence on Students and Education in Kashmir*”, Pakistan, 2018. Available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/pakistan/impact-explosive-violence-students-and-education-kashmir>”

¹⁵¹ Elisabeth Kvitashvili, “*Women and Conflict*”, Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), United States, 2007. p.1. available at: <https://www.usaid.gov>

may improve gender relations due to the shift in gender roles e.g. it can make women conscious of their rights and duties. But usually a woman does it unwillingly under compulsions created by the conflict.

Since the emergence of conflict women under stressed environment were prone to build up negative changes which has also surpassed to generations. Numerous scholars, researchers, and educationalists have already recommended quality education as imperative tool for the empowerment of women in conflict areas. Peaceful environment is imperative for the growth, education and development of women. Stress weakens process of the quality of education..

We see that the nature of the Kashmir conflict and its impact has engulfed two important social improvisers which are for the growth of all societies e.g. women and the education sector as already discussed womenfolk in Kashmir have remained confined to certain restraints and limitations since the emergence of insurgency. The present study finds out that more than 90% percent of girls irrespective of age and level of education have experienced that militancy and armed conflict has affected their social life and their role in public sphere. 96% of girls pursuing higher education think that militancy and armed insurgency has affected their social life and social wellbeing. It was found that majority of students have experienced restricted social life as insurgency influenced their day to day activities, including social communication, interactions, travelling etc despite its lead to fear, anxiety and isolation which affected the social environment and life of young and educated girls. Due to prolonged shutdowns, travel restrictions, communication bans, violence and strong presence of militants and security forces strike on their social and physical health. Such perils and circumstances, in fact since 1947 have developed thrust into common minds of the region. It formed a closed society because the memories of violence in past is unforgettable to people. Mishra and Divya in a study on *"Everyday Life in Kashmir: The Maintenance of Normalcy amidst Political Violence"* rightly pointed out that "The violence that characterized the time of the militancy and the behaviors it necessitated continued to inform the way Kashmiri's interact with their environment at present times"¹⁵². The memories of violence and joint experiences of women are evident in the present background. Tarushika Sarvesh professor in Sociology also supports the view that ' the young and educated population of Kashmir is extremely

¹⁵²Mishra, Divya, *"Everyday Life in Kashmir: The Maintenance of Normalcy amidst Political Violence"*, Anthropology Senior Theses, Paper 141, university of Pennsylvania, 2013, p.10. Available at https://repository.upenn.edu/anthro_seniortheses/141

Vulnerable to the shock wave of excessive militarization, fear, suspicion, surveillance and among the Kashmiri society “*The Complex web of repercussions ensnares the lives of women, who have to make peace within the existing imposed socio-political order of the society*”¹⁵³. This strain and tension has forced women to secure their position in society, family, and to walk with the changing dimensions of the society.

Moreover conflict leads to economic deprivation particularly when the management at the political level is weak. But in many cases it has been observed that conflict has also generated economic opportunities for women, especially in the labor market. Keeping the patriarchal outlook of Kashmir into consideration such opportunities in an ongoing conflict are availed by women under various socio-economic repressions. Another reason which has changed their economic dynamics is when educated women folk despite having adequate qualifications face job scarcity due to less government-sponsored opportunities and lack of private sectors. It created a vacuum within the rising demands and needs of women. The changing role of women to withstand with men in the economic sector is quite visible in Kashmir, even if the growth has low pace. The reason for slow growth is due to the limited contribution of women living in rural areas casting majority of the women population. But if we plump deep into women issues we find them as weaker section of the society. Thus in all spheres of life whether social, economic, political or health, etc, they are ranked low. Education in this case remained a vital power to empower them but the picture of dropout rates among girls in the state shows poor utilization of opportunities by them. Therefore due to limited knowledge, skills, and economic compulsions they get engaged to work in unorganized sectors even on low wages. It further degraded their quality of life and also lowers their standards of living.

The leadership skills and political participation of women are one of the indicators which reflect their approach in society. Like other Indian states the participation of Kashmiri women in the political arena of the state has been low. At present Under Global Development Policy the women’s leadership and their participation in local and national politics is an important agenda of development. Unlike other parts of the country the status of Kashmiri women in the political part of the state is still far than unsatisfactory. Until 1972 Kashmiri women did

¹⁵³ Sarvesh, Tarushikha, “*The Burden of Conflict that Women of Kashmir Bear*”, The India Forum, New Delhi, 2021, p.2-3 ; This article is based on an ongoing field study that has begun in 2019 under ICSSR funded project of 2019-2021. Retrieved from: <https://www.theindiaforum.in/article/burden-conflict-upon-kashmiri-women>

not participated in any state assembly elections. After 1972 the percentage of women in the state assembly has not been more than 3 percent¹⁵⁴. The data addressed by Election Commission of India shows the growth of women’s participation in the political arena of the state from 1962 to 2014.

Table 3. 2 Participation of women in state assembly elections

Year	Total seats	Women candidate	Elected women
1962	75	01	00
1967	75	01	00
1972	75	06	04
1977	76	04	01
1983	76	07	00
1987	76	13	01
1996	87	15	02
2002	87	30	02
2008	87	67	03
2014	87	26	02
Total	801	117	16

Source: [Http://eci.nic.in/eci-main1/Electionstatistics.aspx](http://eci.nic.in/eci-main1/Electionstatistics.aspx).

The data shows that the presence of women in the political arena of Jammu & Kashmir has remained low from the beginning. There are many reasons which have restricted them to participate. Firstly there remains a social construct that politics has been majorly dominated by a class of men folk, secondly, women have lacked leadership skills due to unorganized system of female education and lack of training, practices and motivation. Despite there remains less public support to encourage women as a leader. Even though such hindrances with more or less degrees remain same for the women living in other states of India but in Kashmir it is further added with the impact of insurgency which involves elements like fear and threat to women. It is still not risk-free to participate and perform local or state elections in the valley especially for women due to fear of losing life or family. The present study finds out the reasons behind the slow growth and low participation of educated women in the

¹⁵⁴Khurshid, Shafeeqa, “Political Participation and Representation of Women in Jammu and Kashmir Politics”, International Journal of Recent Research in Social Sciences and Humanities, Vol. 2, (1), 2015, pp.59-60 (ISSN: 2349-7831)

political arena. As observed that 91% of educated girls at higher secondary and college level irrespective of age showed lack of interest and lack of enthusiasm in political participations. Moreover 85% of girls at university level would did not like to participate or even wish to become representatives of their local areas. The major factors highlighted by the survey behind the denial of young girls in participating in politics are disinterest, unawareness, and fear of insurgency. Lack of interest remains major factor compared to fear of insurgency. In order to achieve goal of women empowerment in social and political arena, it is thus important to develop interest and leadership qualities among them. In order to direct such qualities, the education sector bears great responsibility.

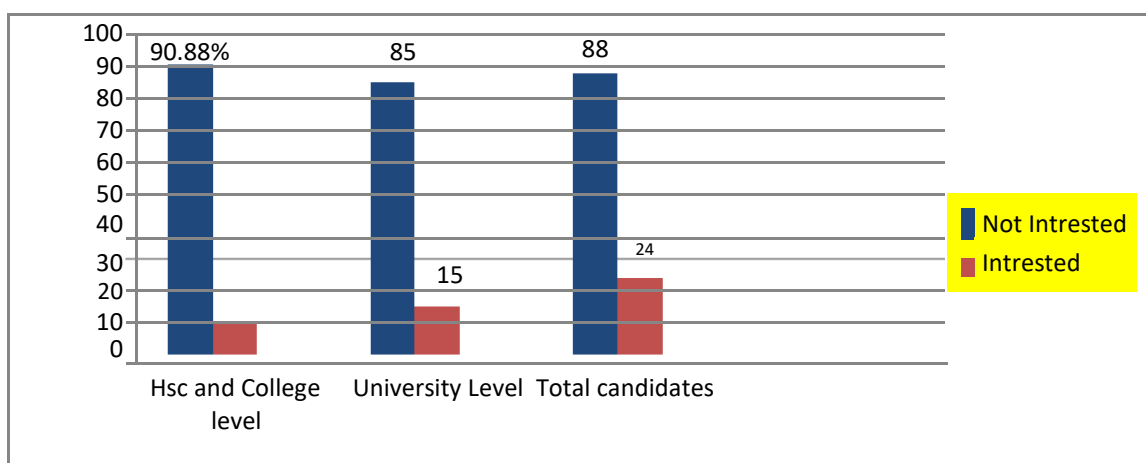


Figure 19: Total numbers of female students interested in participating elections or like to become representatives of local Areas.

The present study also found that about 82% of girls perusing education at secondary schools and colleges did not participate in events like debates or carrying co curricular activities. In case of higher education it was found that 75% of girls do not participate in debates and discussions. Only25% of girls at university level gets involved in debates and discussions over women issues and women empowerment in the state.

It is transparent that in context to the developments related to women proper and quality education remains vital tool to initiate social change and compress gender gaps in different sectors. It is not necessary that women education may solve prevailing problems like insurgency, but quality education can transform society and can make it capable of receiving change. Thompson in his work ‘*Emile Durkheim* ‘says “Education is how society perpetually

re-creates the conditions of its very existence, and it involves a systematic socialization of the young generation”¹⁵⁵.

3.4. Conclusion

The emergence of Insurgency altogether changed the dimension of Kashmir owing to the collapse of law and order and lack of promptness of authorities to tackle this ticklish issue resulting in thwart and push backward of education and subsequently focus on women regarding initiatives to boost them got overshadowed by government’s strategies to tackle insurgency rather than women empowerment. The political upheavals like the dismissal of sheikh and installation of Bakshi and then after the death of sheikh Abdullah installation of Farooq Abdullah, decimal of Farooq Abdullah regime in 1989 elections, putting GH shah as Defector CM and finally governor rile under Jagmohan had proved a shocking blow to the youth and their aspirations.

Within the ambit of conflict, the women have emerged as a tool subject to molestation, rape, and humiliation both at the hands of militants and the armed forces. Though some incidents came to the limelight rest got buried in the conflict. In such a murky state of women, it seems quite evident that concern about education and empowerment of women died down and despondency loomed large on their minds and psyche. Within the phenomenon of fear and dread, they could not outstretch their imaginations and their optimism of hope became a cry in the wilderness with the emergence of insurgency in the valley.

Compared to the confined but uninterrupted social life of the Kashmiri women in the pre-1990, the post-1990s had witnessed a hard blow to the free state of life. It becomes clear that the fear and insecurity had become dominant and pervasive during the period which had negatively affected women and social life. The constant dread and fear particularly among girls resulted in their reluctance in going to school. Incidents like burin god schools, killings, occupying school buildings by armed forces, Hartaals and Crackdowns, had become main elements in the process of militancy and militarization which has contributed to the overall backwardness of education. It is evident from the data that the incursion of insurgency and conflict in the valley had crippled the education and interest of people in general and womenfolk in particular.

¹⁵⁵Thompson, Kenneth. “*Emile Durkheim*”, Tavistock, New York London, 1982, p.161

The second phase of insurgency started from 2008 and onwards. It saw rise in such incidents and also drew more militancy and militarization, the phase saw rise in public agitations and infiltrations. In this phase of insurgency we see that the impact of conflict for almost two decades had ignited fury and rage especially among youngsters. The events after 2008 bear witness and had serious implications upon the overall society, education, and its womenfolk. In the second phase long term Hartaals, Curfews, Insecurity, Communication bans, Violent incidents of stone-pelting, burning of schools and it showed the participation of students both boys and girls, and involvement of women.

The information also makes it clear that the new phase of insurgency followed a different pattern than the previous one especially when we see the changing roles of women who had played an active part in the 1990s due to bloodshed and patriarchal ethos became primary participants with men in the second phase of insurgency which is evident from 2008, 2010, 2016 incidents of uprisings. One of the befitting features of the new phase of insurgency was that no incident and event of turmoil had a short end but it was prolonged and had affect on the psyche of society.

With the rise in a new phase of insurgency, people had gone through a serious economic crisis which had subsequently affected the investment of parents into children and government in the education sector. The violent phase had led to serious implications on the education sector by affecting the mind and life of students especially girls as they are more prone to violent situations. The rigid and hostile atmosphere had also created new problems and challenges to the education sector in general and women education in particular because the presence of horrible dimensions created a void among educationalists, stakeholders, and policymakers, that they have never imagined of.

Chapter IV

Challenges of Women Education in Kashmir

4. Introduction

History bears testimony to the fact that women have survived as the most vulnerable section in the worldwide societies, though the intensity of vulnerability has varied from region to region. The reasons that pushed women at risk was shaped by discrimination, conservative mentality, patriarchal norms, early marriages, post-marriage issues, lack of proper guidance and education, gender inequality and violence over women. Although with the rise of new concepts and modern education considerable progress has been made to fill these age-old gender gaps. It is safe to say that women have come a long way towards empowerment, but all the parts of the world have not yet developed to the same level of equality. It is agonizing to see that in this advanced and civilized world where physical barriers have vanished and the world has come too closer but the gender-based gap and gulf are still present. Despite of the modern education and policies of empowerment, women especially residing in under developing regions are still under the subjugation of historic drama of discrimination, inequality and unawareness. Such factors as specified are repulsive to the illuminative approach of women's education, although the only via media to rectify such bottlenecks is education.

In previous chapter the researcher has thrown light on adverse impact of conflict on Kashmiri women which affects their process of education. But it is also a naked truth that the sick picture of women education in Kashmir has multi aspects. This chapter will particularly analyze other challenges and factors that womenfolk of Kashmir have to bear in perusing education. To begin with it is important to understand the status of women and the changes she has undergone in contemporary times.

4.1. Women in Contemporary Kashmiri Society

Both men and women carry out certain important roles, and these roles are primarily recognized in the social, cultural, religious, economic, and political spheres of their life. Kashmiri women are not exceptional. Historically they have been represented as an important figure in the construction of the society. But nevertheless, before the family and the state could accept that education was a crucial tool to empower womenfolk for the construction of society woefully the role of women was characterized by acute discrimination and sufferings prior to independence and even after. But the status of women has changed and matured in the recent decades. They have realized that the age-old discrimination was not natural to them but was a planned patriarchal approach designed by men and due to the careless rulers who took fewer efforts to raise and assemble the status of women.

The positive changes among women have gained momentum and considerable growth in recent decades. The literacy rate of females which was 5.5 percent earlier in 1961 rose to 43.1% in 2001 and 58.43% in 2011¹⁵⁶. In terms of gender equality according to a report by GHD (Gendering Human Development) which shows significant improvement in the state. Jammu and Kashmir which was listed in the low-quality gender index during 2011-2012 have been placed in the medium quality index in 2017-2018¹⁵⁷. The Kashmiri women folk, in general, have grown interested and motivated to come out of their homes for education, employment¹⁵⁸. In this context the present study has found that compared to past today maximum numbers of girl's have family support and motivation in perusing education, especially studying in university and colleges. The data shows that 96% of girls perusing higher education have supportive families with regard to their education. While as 84% of girls at college level and 74% at secondary school level have family support in pursuing education. Infact, due to the rapid economic competition, the spread of education, concept of urbanization, and due to the developments in the field of communication and transport has not only supported women to figure out their values and be equal to men folk but has also inaugurated new social norms and values to their personal emancipation. Several

¹⁵⁶ Census of India, '*Jammu & Kashmir literacy*', 2011

¹⁵⁷ National Stastical Office Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, "Gender Inequality Index, *Gendering Human Development, Working Paper for Computing HDI, GDI, GII for states of India*", Chapter IV, Government of India, 2018, p.29.

¹⁵⁸ Bilkees. S, "Role and changing status of women in Kashmir", *International Journal of Academic Research and Development*, Vol (3); Issue-5, 2018, p.77. (ISSN: 2455-4197)

Conservative and bigoted societal norms that once restricted the freedom of women folk have changed. For example, their plunge or embarking upon the world of arts, sports, entrepreneurship, activism, broadcasting, and media world is a dashing shift of paradigm in them. It is because of flexibility and liberalism which have come by dint of education. Interestingly their competitive instinct has got an outlet which is seen in the competitive exams of medicine, engineering, law, banking, and in civil services. Notching high in such competitions reflects a drift and a pull from the subdued world of suppression of women under which they had suffered for centuries together.

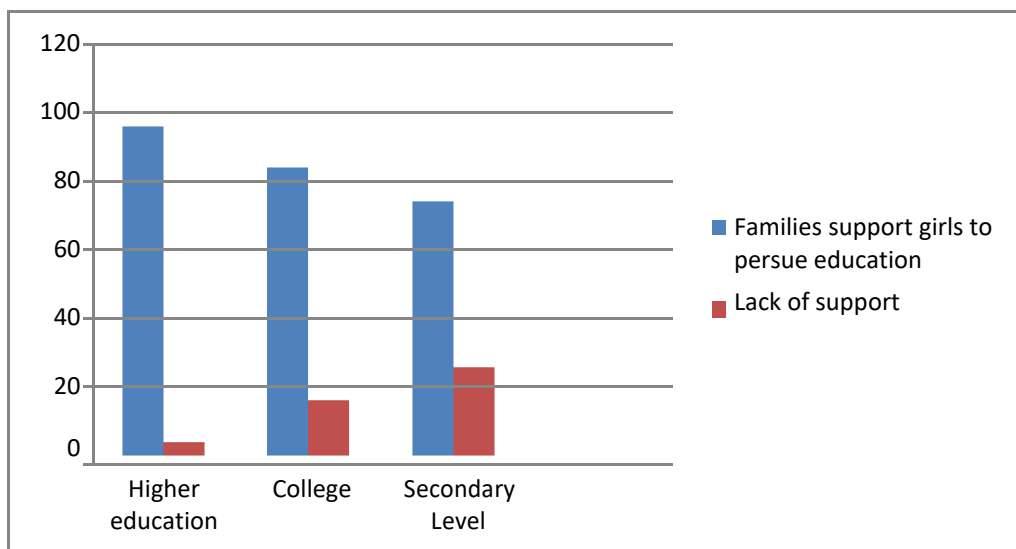


Figure 20: How far has been your family supportive with regard to your education

It is quite discerning that restrictions on women are getting thin. Their exposure to the world around as is reflected in their going to markets, shopping, traveling in vehicles along with men, seeking education in co-education schools and colleges is a manifestation of social change breaking of the bigotic and restrictive social and family shells. Despite the fear and impact of conflicted situations they have come out of the sedentary and domestic shell and undertake professional roles outside the boundaries of their home. Such bold steps have gradually supported them in noticing their self potentialities, valuable qualities and have widened their social outlook.

It is quite discerning that restrictions on women are getting thin. But it is crucial for having true women empowerment in the state. However, all such changes are seen in its budding and state of infancy. The fact that can't be denied is the society of Kashmir is predominantly a patriarchal and male-dominated society and its influence on

Women folk continue even today. Secondly as what Professor 'Dabla' has found that with the emergence of conflict women's issues in the state have multiplied and increased ¹⁵⁹. Therefore despite the existence of new changes among Kashmiri women folk, they still have to face constraints that hamper their development and intellect.

The changes among women are two-faced. On one side they have received positive elements through changing norms of the society, on the other side women's issues in the state are vast and alarming. Amid women issues in the valley different factors are repulsive to the illuminative approach of women education especially in rural and far-flung areas of Kashmir. E.g. domestic issues, gender biases, lack of decision-making among females, rigid practices, lack of proper school environment, proper guidance, and infrastructure etc.

4.2. Gender Disparity

The word 'Gender' is referred to socially constructed roles, status, behaviors, expressions, and identities of people. Gender is a diverse term and not static. It influences how different sexes recognize themselves and how they interact with each other on a social platform. Gender equality is essential. According to the UNICEF "Both women and men, boys and girls must be put into equal conditions, treatment and opportunities for realizing their full potential, their rights and dignity, for contributing to (and benefitting from) economic, social, cultural and political development. Gender equality is, therefore, the equal valuing by society towards the similarities and the differences of women and men, including their roles. It is based on women and men being full partners at home, community, and in the society"¹⁶⁰.

Historically gender inequality has aroused since the formation of ancient societies. Throughout history gender inequality is understood as the period of women suffrage in the world. Even though the lack of data has limited the possibilities to fully explore the historical position of women but the scholastic literature in this field has reflected her position as subordinate in society. In India even today the position of women folk especially in rural India that constitutes the majority of the population suffers inequality. According to the

¹⁵⁹Dabla, B.A, "Multidimensional Problems of Women in Kashmir", *Op.cit.*, p.10

¹⁶⁰UNICEF, 'Gender Equality -Glossary of Terms and Concepts', UNICEF, 2017, p. 3 At: <https://www.unicef.org/rosa/media/1761/file/Gender%20glossary%20of%20terms%20and%20concepts%20.pdf>

Global Human Development Report which measures the nation's health, education, and standard of living listed India in the medium human development index. India's HDI value for 2019 was 0.645% and its average HDI growth was recorded at 1.46% from 1990-2018, the country was ranked at 129 among 189 countries in the world¹⁶¹. In 2021 according to the recent report of the world economic forum, India remains among one of the worst performers in filling the gender gaps. India has filled 62.5% of its gender gaps as on date. The country is ranked as third- low performer among South Asian countries¹⁶². But there are several reasons for slow growth taking the impact of covid 19 which affected development in various sectors. By considering the state-wise gender equality growth in India, as according to the Human Gendering report 2018 the gender equality index score for India has decreased from 0.531 in 2011-12 to 0.462 in 2017-18¹⁶³. Though there is a slight improvement over the years due to the states that fall in the 'Group One' having good gender equality index e.g. Chandigarh, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Mizoram, and Sikkim while as rest of the states fall in the medium or low-quality index. Recently in 2020 as per the report released by the Indian think tank 'Niti Aayog' measuring SDG (Sustainable Development Goals) found that only Chhattisgarh, and Andaman and Nicobar islands remain at top performers while as fourteen states and three UT's fell behind the low aspirant's category scoring below 50%¹⁶⁴.

Predominantly the female folk in the country experiences inequalities in most of the fields of life e.g. health, education, employment, decision making, family and in public spheres. According to the census 2011, the literacy rate for women in overall India stands 65% compared to the males which were 82 percent. Therefore gender *inequality* has been a crucial social issue in *India* for centuries; the country is struggling for it even today. The unfairness, discrimination, and prejudice against women folk are pervasive tools that characterize women in Indian society.

¹⁶¹ Human Development Report, "*Beyond Income, Beyond Averages, Beyond Today: Inequalities in Human Development in the 21st Century*", UNDP, New York, 2019. At: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-2019>"

¹⁶² World Economic Forum, "*Global Gender Gap Report*", WEF, Geneva Switzerland, 2020. at: www.webforum.org/reports

¹⁶³ Ministry of Statistics and programme Implementation, "*Gendering Human Development: A working paper for computing HDI, HGI and GII, for states of India (2017-18)*," Government of India, 2019, pp.21-30. At "http://mospi.nic.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/Report%20on%20Gendering%20Human%20Development.pdf"

¹⁶⁴ Niti Aayog, "*SDG INDIA: Index & Dashboard 2020-21 partnerships in the Decade of Action*" Government of India, 2021, p.102. At: <https://www.niti.gov.in/reports-sdg>

The crown of India, Jammu & Kashmir particularly the Kashmir division is not exceptional to this problem. The state lags in terms of literacy and sex ratio. Women in different areas of the valley lack access to education and their role gets attached to domestics and home chores. Infact, in many areas birth of a son is still celebrated while the birth of a female child is considered a liability. Women from childhood to adulthood bear various inequalities where their rights and decision-making abilities are suppressed. The results drawn from the NSSO survey of 2017 reveal that the people of J&K are being highly conservative towards the emancipation and education of women.

The women of the valley face unequal treatment in different spheres and dimensions of the society which are as discussed below.

1: Gender Inequality in Education: we see that majority of the females students are admitted in the domain of arts and humanities rather than the streams related to logic, mathematics, computers, entrepreneurship, communications, media, art designing, hospitality, tourism, etc. since Dabla in 2010 in his study “Multi Dimensional Problems of Women in Kashmir” found that 74.41% out of 4800 women were illiterate. he also found that majority of females had perused general education compared to professional and technical education¹⁶⁵. Since this pattern is changing and more girls are getting admitted in schools colleges and universities, many are taking professional and technical degrees but still there are variations and gaps in this context. Since the present study finds out that the maximum numbers of girl’s have family support and motivation in continuing their education and in perusing jobs. But it is also true that culturally society expect females to be more submissive, warm, and protective than men. It is a cultural transmission of gender stereotype within social ambit.

Women have an aesthetic taste they glorify beauty and they aspire to a beautiful ambient atmosphere in school where their inner urge for beauty could magnify and flourish. Schools being a society in miniature where both teaching and physical infrastructure does count and are symbolic for her but the stereotype mind of teachers coupled with the poor infrastructure of the school defeats her esthetic yearning. Though it varies in the private sector of education where the infrastructure is lucrative, esthetic in nature, and more availability of the same

¹⁶⁵ Dabla, B. A, “*Multidimensional Problems of Women in Kashmir*”, *Op.cit.*, pp.122-123

gender of teachers where they feel relaxed and get stimulated. In 2010 Professor B.A Dabla finds out ‘that only 60.95 percent females were getting necessary educational facilities in terms of schools, pieces of equipment, quality teachers, etc and 30.14% respondents were not getting the same facilities. This is majorly applied to the rural and far-off villages where neither school buildings nor trained teachers are available.’¹⁶⁶

Gender inequality in the education sector can be further understood from the enrollment of girls in education institutions. The enrollment of girls in schools is not at par with males while their dropout rates are also high compared to boys. There has always been an imbalance showing fewer ratios of females in schools that reflects the gender inequality in education. Dropouts at the school level are the most crucial problem in the education of children, especially at an early age. A detailed survey conducted by professor Dabla finds out that 18.00 percent of total enrollments in schools have dropped at different stages in 2010 and among these dropped out students; girl students are slightly more than boys. It was also observed that dropouts at the primary level are more in comparison with the middle stage. These are followed by dropouts at the matriculation stage¹⁶⁷. Though government and non-government organizations try to control this phenomenon but have not succeeded. According to MHRD, “Educational Statistics at Glance, *Report* (2016) calculating the quantitative figures of dropout rates in Jammu and Kashmir, the dropout rate in the year 2016 -17 was 13.9% at the elementary level and 25.5% at the secondary school level. It is said that the dropout rate of girl students remains 1.6 at the elementary school level and 2.5 at the secondary school level¹⁶⁸. Onwards 2017 it was recorded as 6.9% at an elementary and 17.7% at the secondary level¹⁶⁹. The dropout rates in the year 2019-2020 had jumped to 3.7 in the elementary level and 16.6 in the secondary level.

Moreover, among other factors, it is generally believed that the environment at home affects all the members of a family. B.A Dabla has identified that a significant number of members in the families were found literate in Kashmir. Among 4800 respondents 31.01 % of fathers are educated and only 15.79% remain educated mothers. In the same way, 40.54 percent of brothers are found literate compared to 27.93 percent of sisters. It was found that a very

¹⁶⁶Dabla B.A, “*Multidimensional Problems of Women in Kashmir*”, *Op.cit.*, p. 128

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 129-130

¹⁶⁸MHRD, “*Educational Statistics at Glance*”, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of School Education and Literacy, Government of India, 2016

At: https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/statistics-new/ESG2016.pdf

¹⁶⁹MHRD, “*Educational Statistics at Glance*” Department of School Education and Literacy, Government of India, 2018: at: https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/statistics-new/ESAG-2018.pdf

Significant number of elderly members in the families is literate and they had affected their children proportionately. It was found that more or less the same proportions of children in the families were educated. This is primarily because of the impact of elders, especially parents¹⁷⁰.

It has been observed that gender inequality in education may harm educational outcomes, which in turn will harm economic growth. There are many ways in which this might happen. For example, girls who are in a school system with high inequality might also believe that there will also be inequality in society as a whole, which would mean that they will think there aren't many opportunities for them to be successful in life¹⁷¹. In contrast, this subsequently decreases their motivation and level of performance in the school system.

Gender inequality in education is a matter of serious concern in the state as it is concerned with the rights, duties, opportunities, and freedom of women. It is an essential instrument for sustainable development to create peaceful societies; moreover, it is highly essential for the wellbeing of living individuals.

3: Economic disparity within family: Among many families the head of the family does economic activity by him or along with the other male members of the society, sidelining the rest of the female members. Such families invest more in the education of sons rather than daughters as of having a dogmatic conception that daughters would not carry on progeny and lineage of him like sons can. Thus more stress is given to their marriage rather than education. After marriage, many of the husbands who are ego-ridden also disallow their wives in economic activities.

4: Discrimination against girl child: many times the discrimination against a girl child Has started from her mother's womb, the practice of abortion means to terminate the pregnancy. Although these practices are known since ancient times especially to abort a girl child today it is also a legal procedure for those who need it and who are under serious medical conditions. However, the ancient concept of discrimination against girl children using the procedure of female fetus has still its roots prevalent but has got modified in the current times. It is generally believed that women opt for this inhuman practice non-voluntary. It is held that women do this barbaric job under compulsion. But the actual situation portrays a

¹⁷⁰ Dabla B.A, "*Multidimensional Problems of Women in Kashmir*", *Op.cit.*, pp.124-125

¹⁷¹Sheehan, Kevin, "*Does Gender Inequality in Education Affect Educational Outcomes?*" Honors Thesis, Research Commons, University of Connecticut, United States, p.251 at: https://opencommons.uconn.edu/srhonors_theses/251

different picture. In Kashmir among several undesirable practices performed by women themselves the abortion of female fetus also stands as distinctive practice. Dabla's survey shows that 18.14% of women in Kashmir have favored the abortion practice while 41.02 respondents have opposed the practice based on ethical and on religious grounds. It is important to note that less than 14% of women provide one or the other explanation for doing this inhuman action¹⁷². According to him, it is insignificant to say that women do it under compulsion or pressure on the part of males as well as due to females in the in-laws' family.

4.3. Women Education and Employment

Throughout the globe, finding a job for women is much harder than it is for men and there is a little forecast of improvement in the near future. Even though education gives refinement to human personality but the basic urge of everyone in the field of education is earning and obtaining jobs that can provide them bread, butter and livelihood. As 'Kumar and Tiwari' have rightly pointed out that in India, the serious issues are confronted by the youth both boys and girls of our country like unemployment and underemployment. The cause and reason of the educated unemployment in the country is owing to the mismatch between the aspirants and the availability of opportunity to these educated youth, underemployment refers to the state of being fully unemployed or absolute joblessness¹⁷³. Well, everyone while seeking education has a basic motive to satisfy their needs, urges, and aspirations which are only possible if one gets a job either in the private or government sector. Preferably educationally qualified people desire to have a placement in the government sector. Society too demands that people educate their wards so that they can become bread earners of their families in the future. Hence an educated fellow without a job is not considered a fit member of society. Since women folk have been suffering from economic instability for a long therefore providing her employment after education is a must to raise her status and provide her perfect emotional stability and placement in society. It is the common inclination of parents now to send their daughters to schools, colleges with this intention to view that their daughters after receiving education may get absorbed in the jobs preferably in government sectors. Most of

¹⁷²Dabla B.A, *Op.cit.* pp. 176-177

¹⁷³Kumar J, Pankaj T, "Educated Unemployed: a Challenge before Sustainable Education" International Conference on Sustainable Manufacturing: Issues, Trends and Practices, 2011, p.150

the parents believe that if the government provides a job to the educated girl, she may without being a parasite and be dependent upon her parents to fulfill her liabilities and responsibilities. But the most striking point is that women enter the workforce in a steady move but an ugly social scenario is that they undergo sexual harassment and gender-based violence both at the domestic level and at workplaces.

In the Indian state of Jammu & Kashmir, the unfortunate fact is that compared to the other states it has one of the highest rates of female unemployment and illiteracy.

The shocking state of women's affairs in the state is that their aspirations, yearnings remain just a dream unrealized. This leads to feelings of despondency and hopelessness in them and shatters their emotional equilibrium resulting in frustrations. The state being devoid of private sectors and industries does not offer any alternate job option for the females as is seen in other states where girls after attaining education and get absorbed in companies and industries. Besides that women folk in Kashmir concerning unemployment is since they also undergo different challenges in life, as a result, their employment chances go diminishing. According to Ghulam Sarwer (2017) reflecting the study of Sharma (2015) points that the rate of unemployment in the state was 20.2%, it was much higher than the state of Punjab which had (5.6%), Haryana (4.8%), Delhi (4.3%) and Himachal (2.2%). According to Sarwar' it was much higher than the national average of 3.7 percent¹⁷⁴. This was noticed earlier. As per the Data in 2011 unemployment in Jammu & Kashmir, especially in urban areas, was at 19% but in rural areas, it is at 3%. In 2015-2016, the fifth Annual Unemployment Survey which was compiled by the Ministry of Labour showed that women above the age of 15 in Jammu and Kashmir had an unemployment rate of 25%,¹⁷⁵ the survey made a conclusion that in J&K fewer women had jobs.

There is an interconnection of various factors which can explain the reason for the high rate of unemployment especially among women folk of the state. The chief factor in this context can be attributed to a lack of educational opportunities. The census report of 2011 shows that only 58% of women in Jammu & Kashmir are literate in contrast to this literacy status of women the report shows that 78.28% of men are literate in the state. Literacy is the core access to a

¹⁷⁴Sarwer, Ghulam. "Women empowerment: Issues and challenges in Jammu and Kashmir", International Journal of Social Relevance & Concern, Vol 5 (5), 2017. p.4 (ISSN-2347-9698)

¹⁷⁵Labour Bureau, "The Fifth Annual Employment - Unemployment Survey 2015-16", Vol-1 Available at: http://labourbureau.gov.in/usercontent/eus_5th_1.pdf

job in the present age which is acknowledged by everyone. Besides, various socio-economic reasons cater towards the case of low rate of literacy and lack of educational empowerment in the state. The lack of employment opportunities is also owing to the fact of a perpetual three-decade-long conflict in the region which is not conducive for the development of women in the region. The factors like poverty, un-awareness, and conservative families led many girls to dropout from school. Even though many girls are literate but as they get deprived of employment, they get connected to domestics and household work. Many girls at an early stage of life enter into wedlock. The lack of educational and economic opportunities serves the principal barrier between women's education and economic freedom.

Moreover, the fact that the state of Jammu & Kashmir is economically weak and it is much dependent upon the national budget. It doesn't have strong sources of income because the existing resources like tourism, agriculture, horticulture, and handicraft are not fully equipped. No industry at a large scale in the state serves to generate employment in general and for women in particular. The state must opt for creating new avenues as such ventures would provide employment opportunities at large which will streamline economic disparities among women in the society.

4.4. Development of Immorality

Jammu & Kashmir being dominated by Sufism and mysticism has strong cultural morality. Mystics have always since centuries stressed the moral integrity of society in general and women in particular. Society has cultivated an indelible disposition and cult for decades that the womenfolk must remain symbols of character, pioussness, and symbols of modesty.

Since the 2000s the growing influx of drugs, immorality activities, created a dark shadow of the society which is morality-ridden. The parents feel and have an apprehension that the exposure of girls outside the home may astray them. So they are hesitant and feel that their daughters are safer at home under their vigil and care rather than outside in schools and colleges. This is the adverse implication of immorality on the education of girls. Vicious elements that spread immorality are often seen loitering and wandering around the schools and colleges to lure girls to the world of immorality. The events like rape, molestation, and cases of harassment that have occurred in the last two decades are a manifestation of immorality and evil that has crept in Kashmir subduing/crushing the zeal and enthusiasm of many parents to send their female wards outside the home for schooling.

Kashmir has remained a top conflict zone for the last three decades and the insurgency has also forced many women to seek livelihoods in the sex trade. Although there have been strong Islamic movements in Kashmir since 1990, this period has surprisingly witnessed more Kashmiri women seeking jobs and going out of their homes. Though valley-based customs want to keep women 'pure' but have not stopped prostitution says, Salman Nizami. He adds that the Jammu and Kashmir police make two to three arrests based on prostitution every month. It should be noted that Jammu and Kashmir is the only state in the country where prostitution is legal¹⁷⁶. Even though the majority of the people living in the state strongly oppose it since it prevails secretly due to the social and religious pressure. During recent years several illegal sex rackets and scandals have also gone exposed in the valley.

Moreover in the development of immorality state has witnessed in molestation, harassment, and rape against women/girls both outside and inside family atmosphere. The data released by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) in 2019 revealed that Jammu & Kashmir witnessed 223 rape cases which include young women, girls, and children¹⁷⁷. , Another report by NCRB shows that the crimes against women have witnessed around 11% increase from 3,069 reported cases in 2019 to 3,414 in 2020 including nine in Ladakh. In 2018 nearly 3,437 cases have been registered¹⁷⁸. This shows a shift in the rise of criminal elements with the social ambit of the state. Nevertheless, society usually behaves deaf and dumb over these Issues. But that does not mean they are not aware of such brutal and shameful incidents. Due to such emerging crimes against women parents have started taking serious care of their children especially their daughters. It is a common perception among people that girls are safe at home and not outside. Due to rising immoral cases, many parents somehow feel insecure about their daughters when they go out for school, college, educational trips, picnics, long travels, shopping, etc. In a survey conducted in present study it was found that nearly 44% of girls have witnessed to face immoral activities like eve teasing or harassment inside or outside educational institutions out of which 30% girls revealed that it has hindered smooth process of education. Similarly at higher education it was found that 30% of girls have faced such activities inside or outside educational institutions which had direct or indirect impact on their education.

¹⁷⁶ Nizami S, "*Kashmiri women and the sex trade*", Daily Times, Pakistan, 2016. Available At: "<https://dailytimes.com.pk/89236/kashmiri-women-and-the-sex-trade/>

¹⁷⁷ NCRB, "*(Age Group-wise) Women & Girls Victims of Rape*", Chapter 3, A.3, National Crime Branch Bureau, New Delhi, 2019.

¹⁷⁸, Hussain A, "*Jammu and Kashmir logs 15% jump in criminal cases in 2020*", NCRB highlights, Hindustan Times Srinagar, 2021.

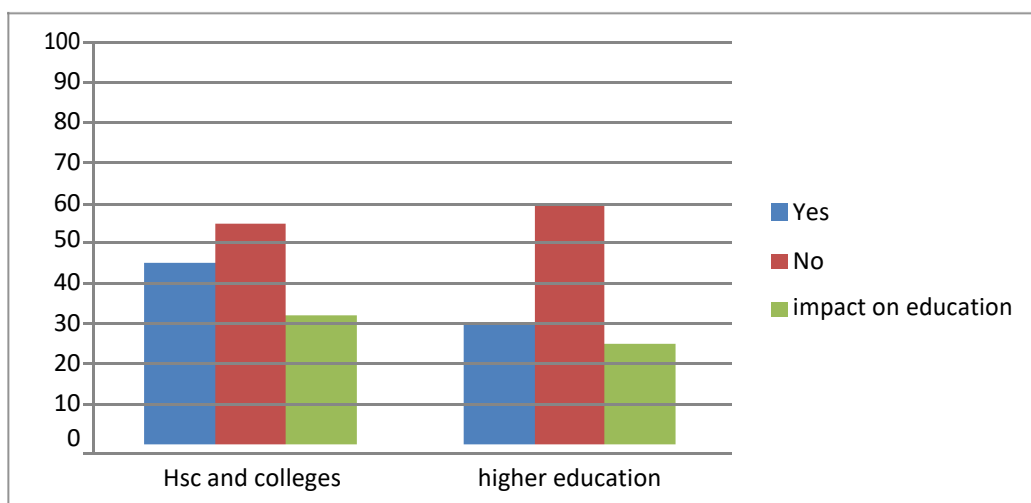


Figure 21 Percentage of girls faced with eve teasing or harassment inside or outside educational institutions.

Moreover, the drug menace which is rising in Jammu and Kashmir and its impact especially on the youth and culture of the state has been negative. According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MoSJE) in February 2019 “600,000 people, which means 4.6 percent of the total population of the state are using opioid drugs, it is further added that nearly 80 percent of the chronic drug addicts in Kashmir use heroin and morphine, etc. besides recently the Excise Commissioner issued a notice to set up “187 liquor shops in the J&K, including 67 in Kashmir”. Though this decision was met with criticism from all the religious groups/leaders and civil society members. Aijaz Wani who is a research fellow working on a project “Kashmir Conflict Managing Perceptions and prospectus for Peace” says that, “the conflict and its collateral damage constitutes the major reason for increasing anxiety and psychological disorders and drug trade, armed insurgency, and long-term conflict go hand in hand, all the stakeholders will have to come together to give peace a chance to prevail”¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁹Wani, Aijaz, “Beyond insurgency: Drugs and social d disruptions in Kashmir”, Expert Speak, Observer Research Foundation [ORF], New Delhi, 2020.

4.5. Geographical Barriers

Weather in Kashmir for teaching and learning process is not conducive. It is always inclement in Jammu & Kashmir particularly in Kashmir valley which is surrounded by towering Himalayan ranges which makes it chilly in winter and the temperature dips down to minus 15 degrees which makes everything frozen. This critical spell of chill remains for five to six month sand in this period constant snow and rainfall disrupt every routine work and schools and colleges become non-functional from November every year till March of the coming year. The centers of learning colleges and schools remain barren of heating and electric facility. The roads get dismantled and many times communication links get inundated. Such factors block and impede educational activities in general and girls in particular.

So far no such literary work has been undertaken to explain the impact of harsh winter's on students and the education sector, particularly in Jammu & Kashmir. There is a scarcity of scholarly literature that could draw out this phenomenon to bring the issues into the limelight. The fact that harsh climate like severe cold and scorching hot temperature in any geographical region adversely affect teaching and learning outcomes of the students of that region. According to Pytel, in a research conducted by Dunn and Dunn¹⁸⁰ found that severity of cold or hot room affects the learning state of students. It was found that it creates upheavals and turbulence in the brain of a student until the required and tolerable temperature of a classroom is maintained. Therefore the thermal stress whether of heat or severe cold affects the memory of the brain which is a strong element of learning. This factor has been widely acknowledged by the United States environmental protection agency EPA which admits that the poor management of indoor temperature and humidity of classroom shall have drastic adverse implications both on the teacher of the classroom as well as on the performance of learner and learning situation¹⁸¹. Other studies have found that a comparatively cold climate impacts teaching and learning more than a hot climate.

¹⁸⁰Pytel B. "Temperature and learning: How hot and cold temperatures affect the Brain", 2006. Available : <http://clearing.house.missouriwestern.edu/manuscripts/306.php> accessed on 21/3/2014

¹⁸¹United States Environmental Protection Agency, "Factors Influencing Indoor Air Quality", 2010. Available: http://www.epa.gov/iaq/largebldg_s/baqtoc.html.accessed 26/6/2014

The northwestern range of the Himalayas is the lap of the valley of Kashmir. The mountain ranges and peaks of the Himalayas touch 5550 meters in the northern –east and in the south; these ranges of mountains go down 2700 meters. The valley has 32022-34043 north latitude and 73052-75042 east longitude¹⁸². Being in a subtropical region the Valley has got sub-Mediterranean climate¹⁸³. The basic feature of such climate is weather fluctuations. The valley of Kashmir is subjected to tender, sensitive, and vulnerable to variations and changes occurring at the continental, regional and global levels of climate.

Professor Shafi, et.al in his study “*Core-Winter Temperature in Kashmir Valley (1950-2010) as an Indicator of Climatic Change*” explored the climate of Kashmir which shows the unprecedented rise of maximum and minimum temperatures. The analysis shows that maximum temperature has doubled to 3.50c-8.60c from the decade of 1950-1960 to 2000-2010. The same is the case with the decrease of minimum temperature showing the levels of decrease from minus 2.30c in 1950-60 to minus 1.60c in the decade of 2000-2010¹⁸⁴.

The present study found that girls at secondary and college level face more problem due to lack of proper heating system and proper environment compared to the girls at higher education. Most of the girls at secondary and college level about 70% of total 450 respondents which is 315 respondents reported that they lack proper heating arrangements and related facilities in their institutions during chilly winters, while as 72.22% of girls at university level 108 students among 150 respondents revealed that their institution provides proper heating arrangements during cold and chilly winters. Only 27% of girls at higher education responded that they are not provided and equipped with such facilities during cold winter.

¹⁸²Hussain, M “Geography of Jammu and Kashmir State, Rajesh Publication, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 11-18.

¹⁸³Mehor Homji, W.M, “Climate of Srinagar and its variability”, Geog. Res. India, , Vol-3 Issue (1). 1971, pp.1-2

¹⁸⁴Shafi M Bhat, Rather J.A, et.al, “*Core-Winter Temperature in Kashmir Valley (1950-2010) as an Indicator of Climatic Change*”, Asian Resonance, Vol.-Iv, Issue-iii, 2015, pp. 152-154. (E.ISSN 2349-9443)

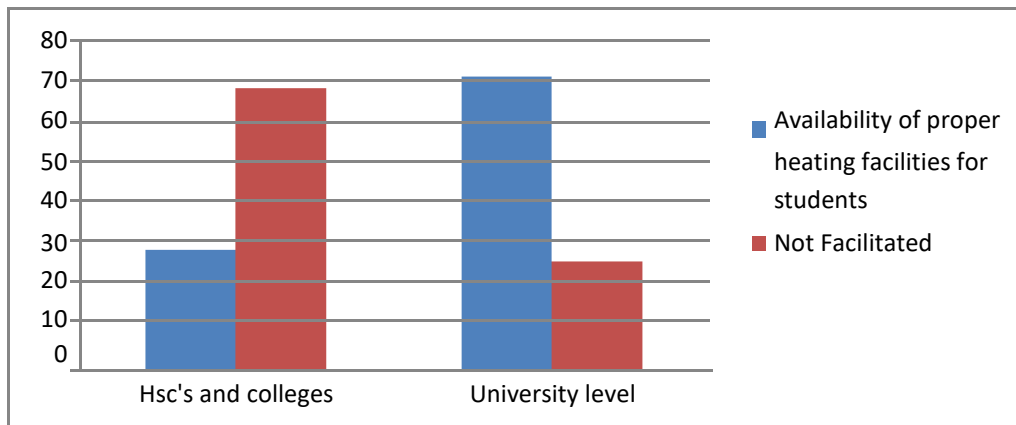


Figure 22 Percentage of students provided with proper facilities during winters in higher H.sc/college and university level

Upon empirical observations the severe chill winter in the Kashmir division brings hardships and miseries for people in general and for womenfolk and learners in particular. Although such a state of suffering and hardship caused by chilly winter has been a recurring phrase for centuries in the region. In context to educational work due to chilly spells, constant snow, gusty winds, and rain, the schools remain closed for months and roundabout fifteen lakh students from primary up to the university level get stranded at homes. This results in the flourishing of the winter tuition industry which provides favorable arrangements in winter tuition centers of which the government sector is helpless as the government sector is devoid of favorable infrastructure in schools and colleges during the winter season. It is evident that schools undergo hardships and the basic slogan of imparting education for the full academic session gets defeated due to prolonged closure of schools due to chilly weather and schools which remain shorn of facilities. But the problem at other levels of education unfortunately, there are no clear-cut regulations and directions designed by the government to keep the educational process active during winters. Banning the private tuitions won't form a panacea to the existing problem. There is a need to recast the winter policy of schools on following points:

1. Scientifically it is not appropriate to teach above and below normal conditions of the temperature in a classroom situation.
2. The loss of education owing to the closure of schools due to the cold climate is a testament of loss to society, as most of the children grew academically deficient in the winter period and its adverse dimensions are seen in the future.

3. There is a need to revamp existing infrastructure to withstand the severe winter at levels of education.
4. To a particular spell of winter, whether conditions chill, rain and snow are not fixed to a period but it is quite clear that shades of winter are seen from mid-October.

During this time there is an urgency to initiate measures at the government level to combat this problem caused by the inclement weather conditions of the state. Schools and colleges need to be equipped with the heating arrangement and classrooms need to be warmed so that the teaching-learning process can get facilitated. Proper electrification of educational institutions can serve the desired goal and use of room heaters rather than burning wood.

5. The policy must ensure transport facilities from home up to the location of school during winters. Because the snow-covered and waterlogged roads especially in rural areas need to be cleared on a priority during winters to facilitate the school going children especially where there is a lack of transport.

4.6. Miscellaneous

1. Poverty and Unawareness:

In Kashmir poverty is the common scenario among women particularly those living in rural and far-flung villages; such women remain mostly dependent on men for their survival. Due to no or less education they lack awareness thus they remain barren of knowing their duties and rights. Inequality and stereotype thinking restrict their right to make decisions in family and society. Thus most of the time they remain confined on the decisions taken by their parents particularly head of the family. Due to such approach, girls in many rural areas lose their interest in studies and prefer to drop out from school at the early stage.

Lack of good schools:

Most of the government schools lack proper orientation like quality of infrastructure, teachers, girl hostels, washrooms and lack of transport facilities in far flung and rural areas.

The issue of Co-Education:

Many parents in rural and far-flung areas deny sending their girls to co-education schools to maintain the moral values due to their religious conception and cultural beliefs. Thus many parents prefer to send their girls to girls-only schools. But this hinders the process of enrollment of girls when such schools don't exist in most of the rural areas.

Social evils

There are different social evils prevalent in the society of Kashmir though some evils have existed here since ages while as some have recently entered into society. The prevailing issues that women face are early marriages, suicides, dowry, domestic violence, harassment, female feticide and female infanticide etc. All such issues have adverse impact on the life and empowerment of women. Such cases prove destructive to the peace and harmony of the society. It restricts the zeal of women to be empowered and also lowers the investments done in female education.

Chapter: V

The Response of Government and Other Agencies

5. Introduction

In contemporary times the world at a global stage discusses the prevailing women issues and shares modern educational techniques and programs to enhance the status of women. But still, there remains a presence of void and gap in different parts of the world. For instance, in the worldwide conflict-ridden zones, women face multi-tire issues that lead to their disempowerment in education. According to UNICEF in 2004 more than 22 million children between 6 to 15 years of age group were found out of school in conflict zones across the world. As per the recent survey in 2018 which shows that about 303 million children remained out of school for many reasons out of which 104 million children were found living in conflict zones, ironically girls were found 2.5 times more likely to be out of school than boys¹⁸⁵. Aside of the impact of conflict on women there are many other reasons e.g. domestic issues, gender discrimination, violence over women, poverty, lack of access to schools, and unregulated facilities for girls etc. Such barriers transgress women to dispirit in the field of education.

In India on one hand, urban areas are combating their weak portions in the female education while on the other hand rural India has not yet seen the clear shine of the day. The scenarios in rural and in border areas are grim and alarming. This is one of the critical moments in the history of this nation that even after 75 years of independence women are still battling for empowerment and equality. As per census 2011 not more than 65% of women are literate in the country. Coming towards the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir as observed in this study women have to bear multidimensional issues. As far as their empowerment through the medium of education is concerned different governments and organizations have taken responsibility from time to timeto combat with the barriers in female education. Various plans and strategies have been implemented timely to overhaul and update the education system in general and women's education in particular. But the education of women in the state still lags behind.

¹⁸⁵UNICEF, *"A future Stolen: Young and Out of School"*, UNICEF, Division of Data, Research And Policy, New York- United States of America, 2018, pp. 2-5

The issue of women illiteracy is among worrying perspectives in the state as it challenges the society. Nevertheless there is a big role and contribution of government and other organizations to provide education and update facilities by time to time. But we have to judge critically the nature of this role and contribution while keeping the conflict scenario of the state into concentration which has been pervasive for decades of which these organizations have been a witness. Besides it needs a keen perusal to see whether their efforts in the field of education have been women-oriented or not.

The present chapter will look over the contemporary role of government and other organizations in the development of women education concerned to basic, intermediate and higher education. This chapter is based on both primary and secondary sources of data. It includes survey, interviews, departmental reports, surveys, evaluation reports, annual progress reports, and census data including encyclopedias, journal articles, research papers and newspapers, etc.

5.1 Right to Education

Before we focus on the role and approach of government and other organizations towards the development of women's education in Kashmir, it is important to understand the citizen's 'Right to Education' in India and why Jammu and Kashmir had been deprived of this right.

Well, the 86th amendment act of 2002 declares education a fundamental right for every child living in the country. The right to education Act (RTE) was passed by the parliament of India on 4 August 2009. Article 21A was inserted in Indian constitution which describes the modalities of the importance of free and compulsory education for every child between 6 to 14 years of age groups. India became one among 135 countries in the world which made education a fundamental right for every child. In India the Act came into force on 1 April 2010.

The bill right to education contains the following features (Department of Education-GOI, 2005)¹⁸⁶:

- Education is a fundamental right of every child.

¹⁸⁶Department of Education, "*The Right to Education Bill*", Government of India, 2005.

- The central government shall provide financial assistance to state governments. The State/Union territories shall decide the need for infrastructure and to determine the location of schools.
- The government shall build schools in locality within next three years. In case of non-availability of location, free transport facilities shall be given.
- The appointment of the teachers in government schools shall be managed by the School Management Committee's (SMC) and the state are responsible for the recruitment.
- All private institutions shall be recognized and registered under state authority.
- It is the duty of the state to evaluate the enrolment status of every child. No children shall be expelled or held back from the school till 8th class.
- All the aspects of elementary education shall be monitored by the NCEE National Commission for Elementary Education
- It is the responsibility of all parents to enroll their child in school who has attained the age of 6 years or above.

The case of Jammu & Kashmir

Formally the Right to Education Act was not directly applicable to Jammu and Kashmir State. It was officially recognized in the state after the abrogation of Article 370 in 2019. Since the article did not violate implementation of the national educational plans in the state. But the government was having an apprehension that it violates the universalization of Education in the state as many private institutions would deny admissions for weaker sections and poor in their schools. To end the monopoly of private schools onwards these schools will Have a 25 percent seat reservations for students of economically weaker section (EWS). It was expected that the new laws of education would be implemented from the academic session of 2020. But as Syed R. Geelani says “All eyes were on the J&K government to implement the Act for the new slot of admissions in schools. Unfortunately, the government failed to implement the Act in the valley¹⁸⁷. The process of implementation faced a setback due to the Hartaals and prolonged shutdowns after the abrogation of article 370. The spread of novel corona virus in 2019 also postponed to officially implement new laws.

¹⁸⁷Rizwan, S.G, “*What Explains the Failure to Implement RTE*” Greater Kashmir, Srinagar, 2020. Source: (<https://www.greaterkashmir.com/todays-paper/what-explains-the-failure-to-implement-rte>)

5.2. Role of Government and Non-government Organizations

To start with the role of government in the development of female education in Kashmir we must take into account that the government of India has launched important national flagship programs to address the major concerns of education in general and female education in particular. Education of downtrodden families and girls remains one of the top priorities of the government. Under these schemes major emphasis has been given to rural areas.

Samarga Shiksha Abhiyan

Earlier Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, the first-ever nationwide program was launched to universalize elementary education and to provide quality education through a school system which was owned by community¹⁸⁸. It was later decided in the Union Budget of 2018-19 that the scheme shall cover all areas from pre-primary to class 12th. In this context, the department launched an integrated scheme for school education called as Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan which is composed of different centrally sponsored schemes like Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA), and Teacher Education (TE)

The integrated scheme was launched in Jammu and Kashmir in the year 2002 to strengthen the education sector and provide free and quality education to eradicate illiteracy. But the assessment of its outcomes particularly in the Kashmir division showed a decimal progress.. According to Geelani, “The SSA scheme which started in 2002-2003 remained a failure under the successive regimes in the Jammu and Kashmir state”¹⁸⁹ though the scheme has yield good results in other parts of India. But it looks in Kashmir the orientation of the scheme was not upto mark as the desired target that shall have covered by these schemes remained a distant dream. Various reports regarding the quality of education given under these schemes have raised concerns over low levels of learning outcomes among students in the state. For example the 2014 report of (NAS) ‘National Achievement Survey’ shows that the students of the 9th grade, in Jammu & Kashmir have scored 56% in the assessment of language and 61% in mathematics. The state was ranked 30th in the country. NAS released another survey report in 2015 which shows that the students of the 10th grade could score

¹⁸⁸Sharma, Shruti, “An Assessment of Girls Education under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan”, Mainstream weekly, Vol II, No 26, 2014, p.1-2, At: <http://www.mainstreamweekly.net/article5000.html>

¹⁸⁹Geelani Rizwan “How Successive Regimes Failed Ssa Scheme In J&K State”, Greater Kashmir: Srinagar Jammu & Kashmir, 2018. (Available at: <https://www.greaterkashmir.com/todays-paper/how-successive-regimes-failed-ssa-scheme-in-jk-state>)

Only 50% marks in the subjects like mathematics, science, and English¹⁹⁰. Moreover, in 2015 the ‘Lakhon Mein Ek’ survey led by one of the largest educational organizations of India known as ‘PRATHAM’, reported that in Kashmir 22% of 8th standard students could not read English books which are meant for 2nd class students, while as 20% of 8th class students have failed to solve basic mathematical problems meant for 2nd or 3rd grade students¹⁹¹. There are several underlying reasons for low level of mental development in children, like quality of education and the way of teaching, lack of reasoning skills among children, and quality teachers etc. one of the main reason remains insufficient funds released by central government to improve the condition of education in the state through SSA scheme. As per the 17th Lok Sabha report the pattern of fund sharing between center and state governments regarding Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan scheme had the ratio of 65:35 from years 2010 to 2015. Except in the year 2015-16 Jammu and Kashmir was identified as one of the Himalayan states along with Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand for which the pattern of funding had ratio of 90:10¹⁹².

Table 5. 1 The pattern of funding and the amount released by center for the development of the scheme in the state from 2012-2017 can be seen below:

SR:NO	Year	Funding Pattern	Funds released by Central Government.
1.	2012-2013	65.35	50805.85
2.	2013-2014	65.35	88391.50
3.	2014-2015	65.35	52028.51
4.	2015-2016	90.10	129980.55
5.	2016-2017	90.10	107250.05

Source: information retrieved from seventeenth Lok Sabha’s 29th report-<https://bit.ly/38iddhj>

The 17th Lok Sabha report also mentions that there has been a delay in receiving audited accounts and annual reports from the ‘Ujala Society, which is the main body implementing these schemes in the state. For example in 2012-13 there has been a delay of 35 months,

¹⁹⁰School Education Department, Review of Policy "No Detention" upto elementary level, Conduct of assessment and evaluation and improved implementation of Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation, Order No. 338-edu, Government of Jammu and Kashmir. 2016. Available at <http://www.jkeducation.gov.in/338%20of%202016.pdf>

¹⁹¹ Pratham’s ‘Lakhon mien ek’ Survey, Pratham, GOI, 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.lakhonmeinek.org/>

¹⁹²Secretariat, Lok Sabha, “Delay in lying of the Annual Reports and Audited Accounts of the Jammu and Kashmir Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan), Ujala Society”, New Delhi, (2020). p.1

Following 2015-2016 a delay of 19th months was recorded and in 2016-2017 reports were not framed and submitted for almost two years. This shows the negligence of the authorities at state level. The Ujala Society Committee somehow evaluated the issue saying that the main reason for the undue delay was due to late approval from the executive committee in printing and translation of the reports, the state government added that due to devastating flood in 2014, and the unrest in the valley and due to tight security scenario led to delay in the finalization of the audit and annual reports¹⁹³.

The quality of teachers remained one of the major issues that left the idea of the scheme paralyzed in the state. The 'TE' (teacher education) part of the SSA scheme aims to provide institutional and infrastructural support to Teacher Education Institutions (TEIs)¹⁹⁴. According to the 2017 evaluation report of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan while measuring the perceptions of students over the quality of teachers in the state revealed that 74% of students have raised serious concerns over the quality of teaching¹⁹⁵. SSA launched another survey in 2017 to evaluate the quality of teachers in training centers and found that only 39.16% of teachers were well trained at the primary level and 52.9% were trained at the upper primary level¹⁹⁶. Quality of teachers and use of capacity-building programs under the scheme has showed less strength at ground level in Jammu & Kashmir.

1. Gender Inclusiveness

The programmes under SSA scheme include gender-inclusive policies and techniques to cater the needs of girl education and women empowerment. Under SSA girl education is taken as an important part in the overall development of education. It includes free education for girls upto senior secondary level, infrastructure and facilities for girls in schools; establishment of girl hostels, parent consultations, and techniques to motivate girls towards education. To fulfill these motives, the government of India Ministry of Education also launched girl oriented schemes in the state.

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV): The scheme was particularly designed for girls' education. The scheme was launched in 2004 to set up residential based girl's schools at

¹⁹³Ibid., p.4

¹⁹⁴See ministry of education GOI (Report *Integrated Scheme for School Education: Merging the Centrally Sponsored Schemes of SSA, RMSA & TE*), 2016-2017: available at: <https://samagra.education.gov.in/update.html>

¹⁹⁵GOI, "Evaluation of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) Final Report" Datamation Consultants, New Delhi, 2017, pp.166

¹⁹⁶Ibid., p.54

the upper primary level. These schools were deemed for access to education for schedule tribes, schedule castes and other minorities. The main objective was to reach out to girls, especially those who were out of school. Later the KGBV's were launched as an important component of the SSA scheme, to provide additional support in enhancing girl's education. The main objective of the scheme is to ensure greater participation of girls in schools, to promote school cum hostel facilities and access to education for girls belonging to disadvantaged groups; it also seeks improvements in providing quality education.

Although the plan of setting up KGBV schools worked well in other states of India however it could not achieve good results in Jammu And Kashmir State. Various reasons remain responsible for its failure but the major drawbacks remain in the basic plan of building up of KGBV centers in the state, especially concerning towards their location, availability of land and safety of girls keeping in view the conflict scenario of the state. Due to the non - availability of land, it was decided that KGBV's shall run in rented or in any available government buildings. It was marked that once the land will be identified suitable school buildings shall be established in the 'EBB' Educationally Backward Blocks of the state. However, the state government could not manage this problem which affected the proper implementation of the scheme.

In 2017 a meeting was held in New Delhi by the members of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan to review the annual plan of the state for the year 2018-2019. As per the minutes of the meeting, the state authorities were rebuked amid failure in the completion of KGBV centers in the state. Among total number of 99 KGBV centers sanctioned to state 30, KGBV buildings did not exist at all while as 53 such centers have remained under construction from the last 7 years¹⁹⁷. According to another survey led by Indian think tank 'Nitti Ayog' in 2015 reflected the gloomy picture of KGBV schools in the state. The survey led serious concerns over the lack of basic facilities provided to girl's and found scarcity of subject-specified teachers in the existing schools. The report also added that 80% of students in the country had received

¹⁹⁷Minutes of meeting, Editor, "*KGBV: A Non Starter in J&K*", Greater Kashmir, 2018. Available online At: <https://bit.ly/3ymCtO7>

computer devices and libraries in such schools except in the states like Jammu & Kashmir and Haryana where neither libraries nor computers were found available¹⁹⁸.

One of the major concerns remained the security and safety of girl students enrolled in KGBV based schools. A survey led by Nitti Ayog in 2015 evaluated that 80% of girls in these schools felt insecure due to non availability of security guards. Infact 20% of girls have reported that insecurity prevails even inside classrooms and hostel rooms due to lack of fences and boundary walls of the school¹⁹⁹. It seems that the plan of establishing KGBV centers for girls and making them feel insecure at the same time is paradoxical. As far as the conflict nature of the state is concerned security of girls should be the first priority. The biggest setback came with the rising dropout rates in these schools, according to the report released by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) in 2017, 37% (2453) seats were seen lying vacant in operational KGBVs schools. Gradually it saw an increase in the number of schools having 'Zero enrolment'. According to the report about 562 seats were found vacant in primary schools and 154 in upper primary level schools; it was also found that about 13% of schools had a single teacher²⁰⁰. Such hindrances led rapid decline in the enrollment of girls in these schools. Although MHRD gave numerous suggestions to the state to increase the enrolment of girls in KGBV schools and also advised them to arrest dropouts at elementary level in all schools²⁰¹. But the state did not budge. The irony of the fact is that in the year 2016-17 the state could not mainstream any child. Because of the violent circumstances students were caught in hartals and bloodshed rather than interested in education.

1. The Midday Meals

The Mid day Meal Scheme is a school program in India designed to provide nutritional benefits to school-age children across the nation. It provides cost-free lunches to children in primary and upper primary levels during working school days. The

¹⁹⁸Niti Ayog, GOI, "Evaluation Study on Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBV)", No.228, NITI AAYOG, Government of India, New Delhi, 2015, p.5 Retrieved at https://www.niti.gov.in/writereaddata/files/document_publication/KGBV-report.pdf

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p.5

²⁰⁰ MHRD, "Minutes of the 251st meeting of the Project Approval Board held on 10-03-2017 to consider the Annual Work Plan & Budget (AWP&B) 2017-18 of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) for the State of Jammu & Kashmir", GOI, Ministry of Human Resource Development Department of School Education and Literacy, New Delhi, 2017, pp. 8

²⁰¹ Ibid., pp.8-9

other feature of this scheme includes innovative education centers and also aims to supply food to registered indigenous schools like Madrasas and Maktabas.

The Scheme was launched in Jammu & Kashmir in September 2004 to boost primary education. Under the directions of the Supreme Court, the J&K School Education Department witnessed to review various issues regarding the implementation of the scheme. The supervision was taken from school management committees, and village education committees. It was further supervised by Chief Education Officers and Zonal Education Officers at the district level who were headed by the Director of School Education²⁰².

Despite of having such organized management, the scheme faced halts in its proper implementation. According to the performance audit report of CAG (Comptroller and Audit General of India) from 2009-2014 the cooked meals were served to students for only 116 days out of 220 working days a year. It was only in 2011-2012 when the meals were served for atleast 217 days a year. The scheme did not get convergence and support from other educational bodies which could have boosted it. A gradual decline in enrolments of students was seen following the years 2009-10 and 2013-14. At national level the decline in the enrollment was majorly seen in states like Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Uttarakhand, Lakshadweep, and Pondicherry²⁰³. But at the same time in Jammu and Kashmir at the same time, enrollment of students in private schools especially at primary and upper primary levels was increased. This shows that the scheme has displayed reverse trends in enrollment process. Because enrolment of students in private schools has increased by 38 percent while as enrollment has declined by 5.58% in Mid Day Meal covered government schools. It was recorded only in 2015 when the scheme prioritized quality education along with food meals to students which drew satisfactory results²⁰⁴.

One such factor which remained setback to the said scheme was the non seriousness of authorities and mismanagement at ground level. As the basic motive of the scheme was to enroll and serve marginalized children of the society however it was found that the department has not properly reviewed the list of children that come under BPL (below

²⁰²Government of India, Ministry of Education, “*National Programme of Mid Day Meal in Schools (MDMS) Annual Work Plan & Budget 2018-19*”, Jammu & Kashmir. Available at : www.mdm.nic.in

²⁰³CAG, “*Performance Audit of Mid Day Meal Scheme 2009-2010 and 2013-2014*”, MHRD, Union Government of India, New Delhi, 2015, pp. 18, 111-118.

²⁰⁴Ibid., p.18

poverty line) category. As a result food grains which cost 17.89 crores were received by children of non-eligible families or non BPL families. The actual beneficiaries were deprived of the benefits. Moreover the scheme has commenced to offer quality education. Therefore department spent 1.50 crores on the construction of school laboratories. But it proved a futile exercise because these laboratories were not fully equipped with instruments nor designed properly. An additional amount of Rs 5.61 crores was also released by the government to install computer devices in schools. Unfortunately the amount was kept unutilized²⁰⁵. Many administrative officials were found untrained in maintaining accounts and in filling financial deficiencies to the MDM scheme. Researchers, Lone and Singh et.al found that most of the teachers lacked the appropriate knowledge even in knowing the objectives of the scheme²⁰⁶. Though as per the guidelines of the scheme every year there remains a 25 days training for all teachers to understand the MDM and SSA schemes.

Despite of the above hindrances it was found that in some areas the scheme has yielded good results. For example a research conducted in 2018 which evaluated Mid-Day Meal scheme in J&K shows that in Anantnag and Udhampur districts about 80% to 90% of students were seen satisfied with the benefits received under MDM scheme²⁰⁷. They had no point of raising queries regarding weaknesses in the implementation of the scheme Another positive factor was that it has improved attendance and regularity of students residing in rural areas. But the quality of education in these schools remained a reverberating question.

Beti Padao Beti Bachao:

In India, the Beti Padao Beti Bachao scheme was launched by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on 22 January 2015. It was decided to curb and control the decline in Child Sex Ratio (CSR) and to protect females. To make this idea holistic several approaches were undertaken to address the issues regarding mode of survival and challenges faced by a girl child in society. Special approaches like giving safe birth to a girl child, preventing gender biased sex

²⁰⁵GOI, "Audit Report-Social, General and Economic Sectors (Non-PSUs) for the year end 31 March 2015", Performance Audit Chapter II, MDM, 2015, p. 1

²⁰⁶Ibid. p.1-2

²⁰⁷Lone, Mohd Syed, et.al, Evaluation of Mid-Day Meal Scheme in Anantnag & Udhampur Districts of J&K, *International Journal of Movement education and Social Science*, Vol 7, (2), 2018, pp.395-397 ISSN (priet): 2278-0793,

selection, and providing them health care and proper education. It was deemed that Anganwadi Centers would take basic responsibility in the implementation of the scheme. According to the report by Ministry of Women and Child Development in which ‘Maneka Gandhi’ a member of Lok Sabha says “Women have historically been left out in making decisions in private and public spheres, the cause for which lies in the culture of discrimination against women and girls²⁰⁸. The initiatives taken under ‘Beti Padao Beti Bachao’ scheme were directed to transform this traditional state of mindset which discriminates women.

The step towards combating conservative mindsets was taken across 161 districts of India including Jammu and Kashmir. As per the census digest of statistics in 2001 Jammu and Kashmir had 892 females per 1000 males. The child sex ratio of 0-6 age group was recorded as 941 girls per 1000 boys. However, the latest census of 2011 showed decline in the overall sex ratio as it recorded 889 females per 1000 males²⁰⁹. As the state witnessed decline in sex ratio over the years. Therefore the BBBP scheme applied a model convergent action plan for Jammu & Kashmir in 2016. At the first stage of its implementation only five districts were selected e.g. Budgam, Pulwama, Anantnag, Jammu, and Kathua²¹⁰. But later more districts were added e.g. Ganderbal, Baramulla, Shopian, Samba, Rajouri, Udhampur, Kupwara, Bandipora, Kulgam, and Srinagar, we see that seven districts were selected from Kashmir and three from Jammu division. Unfortunately the scheme lagged to deliver change. However fewer funds were utilized for the scheme compared to the actual amount of funds released. For instance, in 2015 Rs 216.15 crores was released to the state out of which the government has spent only Rs 141.10 crores. In 2016 Out of Rs 88 crores, the J&K government spent only Rs 52.29 crores. Again in 2017 Rs, 298.62 crores were released by the Centre government in which the state has spent Rs 234.43 crores. The state performed worst in 2018 when only Rs 192.67 crores were utilized out of Rs 422.90 issued by the central government. When the progress of the scheme was measured in the state, it was recorded only 59 percent. The amount of fund lapse in following years shows the non-seriousness of stakeholders. Due to low performance of the scheme in the state the Chairperson of Secretary, (WCD) Women & Child Development organized a video conference to discuss the district action

²⁰⁸Ministry of Women and Child Development “*BETI BACHAO BETI PADHAO*”- *Celebrating The Girl Child & Enabling Her Education Journey So Far*”, Government of India, Ashok Road, New Delhi, 2016.

²⁰⁹Directorate of Economics & Statistics, “*Digest of Statistics (43rd edition)*”, Jammu and Kashmir, 2017-2018, pp.74-75

²¹⁰Ibid., p.25

plans with deputy commissioners (DCs) of Jammu & Kashmir. The conference was also attended by the secretary of social welfare department, DC'S & (CMOs) Chief Medical Officers of Jammu, Pulwama, Kathua, and Budgam & Anantnag. In the minutes of the meeting all the officials vowed over the trend of declining sex ratio in the state, the officials also presented their views over measures to be taken under the BBBP scheme²¹¹.

Though the amount of funds already utilized for the scheme helped to hold many programs and campaigns at district level. Steps were taken to aware the society about the importance of girl child. Many programmes were held to discuss the importance of women empowerment, health care and girl education. Girls from different districts participated in various such programs. According to vital Statistics of India, Ministry of Home Affairs the total number of births with registration in Jammu and Kashmir in the year 2019 were 909 females per 1000 males²¹², according to National Institution of Transforming India (Niti Ayog) earlier in 2013 it had 899 females per thousand males. The comparison shows that over the years there has been partial growth in boosting female's ratio in the state.

Regarding the assessment of schemes under 'Samarga Shiksha Abhiyan' particularly applied to girl education in the valley, a personal interview was conducted with Mr. Shah Rouf who has been working as a Chief Education Officer in eight districts of the valley from 2006 till 2019 and has comprehensively worked on the respective schemes like SSA, MDM, SBM, and KGBV²¹³. Regarding the matter of partial growth of these schemes in the valley the respective officer explores that the vision of the scheme was befitting and appropriate for Kashmir as it was an opportunity to give access to female folk encompassing from primary to secondary level. This gender had submerged into illiteracy because of poverty, insecurity caused by prevailing conflict and social dogmas, and due to fragile organizational setup. Schools, before the launch of Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan, were distantly and far away located causing a hindrance for females to seek education being apprehensive of social dogmas and insecurity caused by conflict. Their social subjugation got dismantled as a new epoch of the dawn of enlightenment began to bloom and shine. Within a furlong opening of schools with

²¹¹See, "Minutes of the Video Conference held under the Chairpersonship of Secretary, Women & Child Development to discuss the District Action Plans for Beti Bachao, Beti Padoo on 13th February, 2015, New Delhi, pp.1-3.

²¹²See Ministry Of Home Affairs, Annual Report, "Vital Statistics Of India Based On The Civil Registration System, Registrar General, India Ministry Of Home Affairs Vital Statistics Division Civil Registration System Section Wing, New Delhi, 2019, p.48.

²¹³Ab Rouf Shah [*Personal Interview*] conducted by Shoaib Mohammad with Chief Education Officer, Budgam Srinagar, 2019

free food, free uniform, and free exposure trips was a dream realized. This could have laid a formative impact on the personality development of the female folk.

“But unfortunately the scheme doesn’t work the way its vision demands particularly regarding female education”. The scheme generated employment by inducting less qualified teachers merely (12th pass), and not subject specified which did not generate scientific temper, and reasoning potentiality among students. This factor created a messy situation defeating the purpose of quality education as per the demand of the fast-emerging trends in education.

“We faced a difficult issue when the community disagreed to provide land for the construction of school buildings which was sanctioned by the MHRD for the respective habitations. Besides, there wasn’t any great financial provision in the scheme by which the department could have purchased land for the respective school buildings. *“Such habitations which are in thousands are still school less”*As a result, thousands of girls got deprived of education because the school could not get opened in their native villages as was envisaged in these schemes.

Besides 90% of KGBV schools have remained day schools bearing some exceptions. Because many female teachers were reluctant to be as wardens as a result girls were hesitant to reside in the respective KGBV hostels owing to the security issue caused by the prevailing conflict. This diminished the real essence of this flagship scheme and subsequently deprived the girls in EBB’s (Economic Backward Blocks) of access to education. The same non-availability of land was also a hindrance in making KGBV’s residential by providing boarding and lodging facilities.

Even the Mid-Day Meal’s implementation structure remains flawed as its three tier structures (Food and Supplies Department, Education Department, and Schools) as a unit lacked coordination. For example, FCI (Food Corporation of India) was supposed to drop the food grains at the school level as envisaged in the scheme while it was dropped at ration stores wherefrom the teacher of the respective school was supposed to lift it. The unit cost of meals in the MDM scheme per student was less than Rs 5 before 2018. It was too meager in contrast to the escalating price index in Jammu and Kashmir. The overall impact of the MDM scheme on the girl child could not prove substantial although it has enhanced the enrollment.

The concept of organized supply systems and well-defined kitchens for cooking, balanced diet, and compensating malnutrition among females has not been up to the mark.

Well it is necessary that during the implementation of education policies the unnecessary influx from the politicians should be less. But one of the important factors mentioned by the officer regarding the overall implementation of these schemes in the state was the political arrogancy shown by local politicians. The unnecessary intervening of the local politicians (MLA's) shattered the real perception of the stakeholders like CEO's and ZEO's who were base officers at the gross root level to implement these schemes. Whatever these base officers plan and design for the educational development of the district was finally disposed of by the politicians as per their will and pleasure. The district plan framed for education which had to be submitted to MHRD was unnecessarily routed through MLA's of the district who would use discretion in accepting or rejecting the district educational proposals and would reshape it according to vote banks of his constituency. This resulted in an ugly scenario of crowded schools, school-less habitations, and favoritism in the recruitment of teachers especially in rural areas. While as MHRD clearly defined the vital role of the Chief Education Officers in the educational plans at the district level rather than the role of a politician.

The administrative flaw also choked the growth. Constant reshuffling of the officers who could have galvanized the scheme towards the desired goal added inconvenience. No zonal education officer, chief education officer, director of education, commissioner secretary to education remained in the office for more than one or two years which resulted in inertness in decision making. *"I have worked under nine directors and eight commissionaires during my tenure of nine years, "Before we could grasp the scheme, its issues and challenges officers were frequently transferred"*. Besides the apex bureaucracy (Directors and Commissioners) were not inducted from the education field, as a result, it took them a lot of time to comprehend all the challenges in implementing the real spirit of the educational schemes.

Shah Rouf laid special stress on the application of conflict management strategy in female education to overcome gaps and inconveniences. History is replete with events reflecting the adverse impact of conflict on education in general and women education in particular. It is pertinent that the adverse impact of conflict on the education sector is noticeable every time but *"Ironically the prevailing conflict is also more or less taken as an excuse to languish Things by the stakeholders"* by showing less zeal to improvise the status of education in

general and female education in particular in the conflict-ridden state. The department lacked a mechanism module to counter the hitches and obstacles caused by the conflict whether the hitches were in the form of hartals, strikes, agitations, stone-pelting, or fear psychosis. As such factors were beyond our command. There is an urgency that there must be a modus operandi module to segregate conflict from the education sector this is only possible if the department designs conflict management strategy with the help of sociologists, psychologists, behaviorists, legal advisors, and clergy class. The above topsy-turvy situation prevailed in the state during the regime of the National Conference and People's Democratic Party who have been at the helm of affairs ruling since the 1980s.

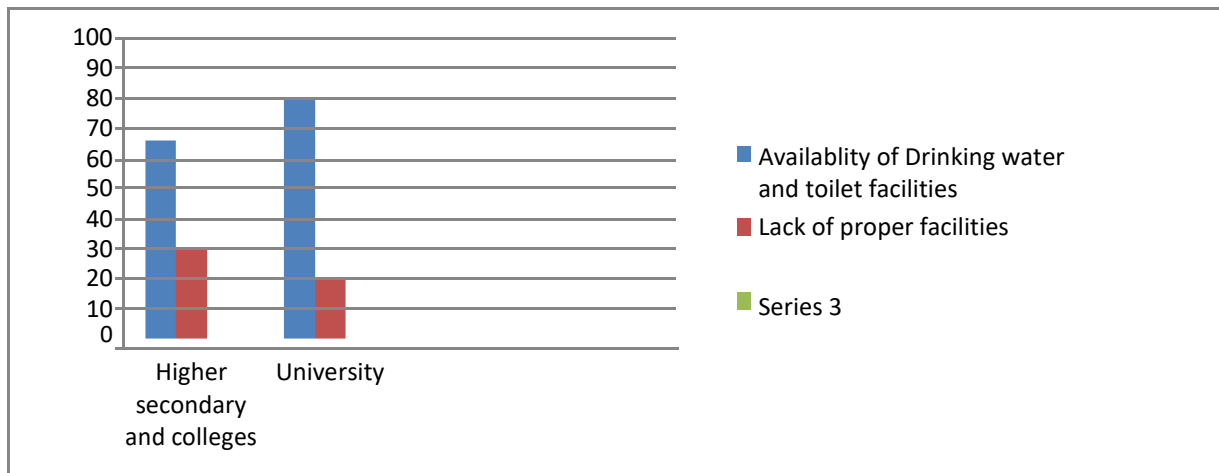
5.3. Secondary and Higher Education

Education is the most important instrument for women to develop their abilities, skills and awareness. Since the Government of India has initiated different programs for the welfare of girls at various levels of education including developments in secondary and higher education. Compare to the past in contemporary substantial number of girls are enrolled in Schools, College and universities. Nevertheless there are set of issues and debates surrounding women education at secondary and higher education. Quality education is of vital importance that leads to growth in female education including infrastecture and facilities for girls. Quality of education can be determined as how well they learn the standard of facilities provided to girls in educational institutions and the extent to which their education translates into a range of personal, social and other developments.

The present study questions about the quality of education and facilities provided to girls at Higher Secondary, College and at University level. The survey which was conducted in selected four districts Baramulla, Budgam, Ganderbal and kulgam found that 82% of girls at university level and 66.2% of girls at college level reported that they have been facilitated with separate washrooms, toilets and drinking water. Since number of girls studying in these institutions also reported that the existing facilities need to be updated E.g. Maintaining proper cleanness and ensuring proper and working facilities and healthy atmosphere E.g. clean drinking water, clean toilets etc Despite most of the girls especially and university reported that they lack well spaced common room, playground for girls and a prayer hall.

Moreover majority of the girls especially at university level about 73% reported that they are provided proper heating facilities during winters but it was reported from other institutions

e.g.70% of students in colleges and secondary schools find that their institution lags proper management during winters or hot summers.



In case of the quality of education provided to students among 150 girls at university level rated total 3.47 stars rating out of five stars regarding the quality of teaching being provided to them. In other institutions at college and secondary school level it was reported that the quality of teaching was nearly 45-50% or nearly 2.6 star ratings for teaching in their institutions. Maximum number of girls at secondary, college and university level mentioned that blackboard teaching and lecture methods are widely used by teachers for instruction. About 106 out of 150 respondents at university level which is nearly 70% of girls at higher education level reported that blackboard teaching and lecture methods are used in class room. Only 20% of girls mentioned that despite lectures other techniques like activity based learning and discussions are used in teaching. However less number of girls reported that they get involved in discussions and activity based learning in their institutions. In this context maximum numbers of girls at secondary, college and university level were found reporting that they have not yet participated in debates or participated in co curricular activities. In case of girls perusing higher education at university level about 72.6% of students reported that they have not participated in debates and co curriculum activities. The above Stastical information can be clearly seen from the graphical representation mentioned below.

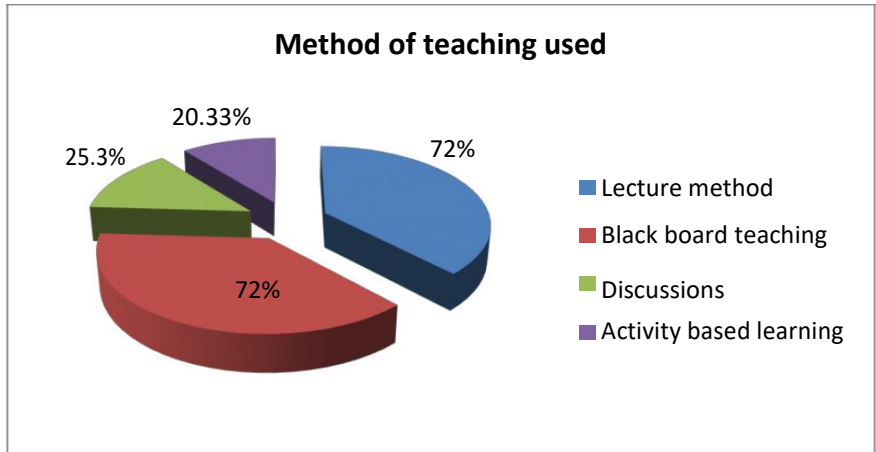


Figure 23: Methods of teaching used in Higher education (University level)

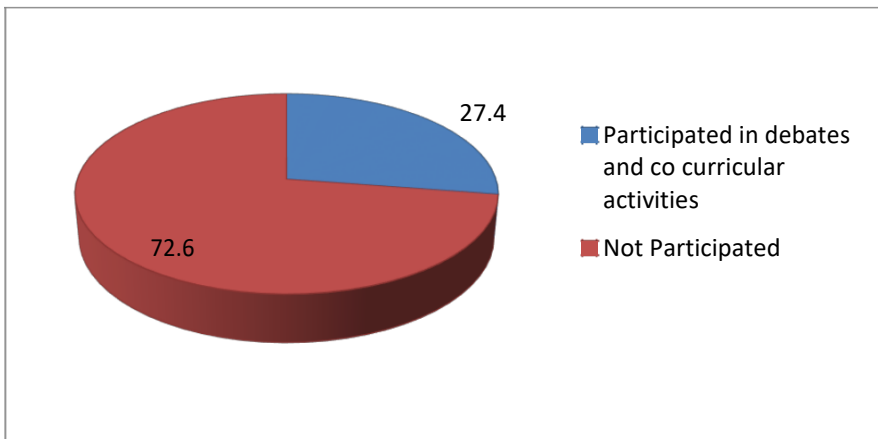


Figure 24: Percentage of girls at university level involved in debates

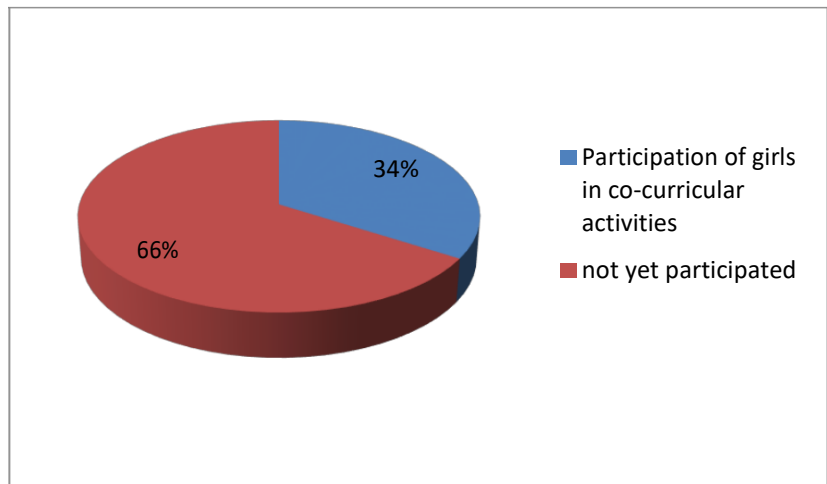


Figure 25: Percentage of girls participated in co-curricular activities

Role of Non-Governmental Organizations

Different non-governmental organizations have been working in Kashmir and at present, there is an enrollment of more individuals and in private organizations that work for the development of the people and bring various issues of the state into the limelight. They mainly work in specific areas especially for the upliftment and betterment of children, education, social awareness, rights, health, peace building, and much more. Besides they have laid special stress on the upliftment of womenfolk especially those living in rural areas²¹⁴. Previously need for NGOs was never felt in the society of Kashmir. But the period after 1990 marked a turning point for NGOs and it was here that its need was greatly felt in Kashmir. Many attempts were taken to relieve common masses, especially womenfolk who have been victims of the Kashmir conflict. As most of the time the state government has been unsuccessful towards the development of women in the state. Therefore the need for volunteer organizations and groups was felt more seriously.

Today sufficient numbers of NGOs work in the Kashmir valley, Though NGOs working for the suffrage, emancipation, and liberation of women folk are relatively few, but the importance of their role cannot be denied towards the welfare of the state. It should be noted that NGOs based in Kashmir are not free from hindrances. Some specific reasons remain Fund patterns and finance, conflict situations, presence of less number of International NGO's support, obstacle in registration of an NGO's are some of the issues faced by the volunteer organizations in the state. Some of the major NGO's in the valley that have paid stress on prevailing women issues and peace building are as follows.

- i. **Chinar International:** Chinar is a nonprofit and non-political organization working in Kashmir. It was launched in the year 2003. Infact this organization was launched in USA Northern Virginia to serve the underprivileged and marginalized sections of their society, its main focus is to provide rehabilitation services for vulnerable children, orphans and to create opportunities for the people living in conflict-ridden areas. In India from 2004 to 2011, the organization cooperated with local non-governmental organization. At first it successfully implemented a pilot project called CHINAR Home (home for 20 orphaned boys and girls) in Indian Kashmir. Meanwhile, CHINAR has also supported regional NGOs both programmatically and financially. In the year 2011 after the evaluation of the pilot

²¹⁴Bhat H.A, Et.al NGOs: "A Key to Women Empowerment in Kashmir", EPRA International Journal Of Multidisciplinary Research (IJMR), Vol-2, Issue (5), 2016, pp. 90-91. ISSN (Online): 2455 – 3662.

project soon the organization got its pace and was restructured with a goal to deliver innovative, sustainable, and impactful solutions to the rising social problems regarding orphans, vulnerable children, and marginalized youth in the conflict-affected state through education, and socio-economic support. The organization took some of the great initiatives in the valley regarding the development of women and girl children. It established skill enhancement and development centers in rural areas, quality education in community learning centers especially in remote areas, child development programs, distributed learning essentials like stationeries to students, provide scholarships and initiated various development programs for young boys and girls. Moreover, the organization uses special monitoring system with the help of researchers to monitor the impact of conflict on women, children, and youth.

- ii. **New Kashmir Women and Child Welfare Society:** The new Kashmir Women and Child Welfare Society is a non-political and non-profit organization, which was formed in the year 1999. The organization works primarily in the domain of education, women empowerment, providing facilities to especially able persons, and Child & Youth development. The organization features awareness programs, skill enhancement, and delivers special training programs to destitute & helpless women and girls. The organization raised Self Help Groups in the society and supports individual entrepreneurs in their mission.

- iii. **J&K Women and Child Development:** is a nonprofit organization established in the year 1992, the organization mainly lays stress on giving education & improving Literacy, girl empowerment, health & nutrition, provides labour & employment, solves issues of minority communities and rural development. The NGO works in promoting sustainable development of the state.

- iv. **Unique Women and Child Development Society:** Unique Women and Child Development Society focuses primarily on development of girl child & youth. It tries to minimize gender inequality, solves tribal issues, and delivers free education. It lays special stress on the empowerment and emancipation of Women and Children by establishing awareness camps and programs on social and economic development; it also aims to provide educational and vocational trainings for girls.

- v. **Valley Women’s Welfare Society:** the NGO was established in the year 1989 and works in the field of Art & Culture, Children, Disability, Civic Issues, Education & Literacy, Health care, awareness on HIV/AIDS, including development in rural areas & eradicating poverty, etc.

- vi. **Nizamat Mahila Mandal Women Welfare Society:** is a non-governmental organization (NGO) working in Jammu and Kashmir. It was established in the year 2000, in the Sopore town of Baramulla district, and works in the areas of women's development & empowerment, relief and rehabilitation to poor, etc. The NGO stresses on promoting sustainable development in the district.

- vii. **Women and Children Welfare Society:** this organization pays interest towards the development in Women's education and Health; it provides vocational trainings, and fights for child rights.

- viii. **Border State Women Educational and Welfare Society:** the organization works for the betterment and upliftment of women living within border areas of the state. It has opened many computer institutions in the twin districts of the border areas to provide better skills to the women folk. Moreover, it has established different ‘vocational institutes and craft centers for women. Besides it supplies computer-related books and study materials, it organizes many women related programmes, moreover providing basic remedies to females remain some of the interests that the organization is working on.

Besides such above mentioned non-governmental organizations, many other organizations also work for the welfare of the people in general and women in particular in the state. Though their aims, motives and process of work differs.

5.4. Role of Social Welfares

The community and social workers play essential role in community development. According to the International Federation of Social Workers, “social work is a practice-based profession and a discipline that promotes social change²¹⁵. It recognizes human rights, social justice, and empowerment. Hence Social work is the profession based on practice that works within the system of welfare of society. Rosalie Ambrosino, et.al in a study of *Social Work and Social Welfare* says that social welfare includes all organized social support that promotes the welfare of a population²¹⁶. It also includes the responsibility to protect women and to help them overcome difficulties in the field of education, health, protection for children etc. role of social works in India regarding the empowerment of women is taken as an important indicator of sustainable development. But specific reasons e.g. lack of policy infrastructure, financial issues and lack of experts in the field are some of the hindrances responsible for the partial growth and development in this field.

Coming towards the point of the Indian state of Jammu & Kashmir, as discussed the social and political scenario in the state is quite different from the rest of Indian states. As far as education of women under the social welfare work is concerned, the global monitoring report on education, says “The conflict-affected areas have some of the world’s worst education indicators where girls are left furthest behind, poverty with security fears over sexual violence and attacks by groups opposed to gender equality in education keeps girls out of school”²¹⁷. Therefore Jammu & Kashmir particularly the Kashmir division demands the involvement of extraordinary social scientists to manage the social panorama and to fill gaps especially in the field of women's education and empowerment. It should include strategic conflict remedies for the welfare of whole society. The government of India in collaboration with the state government of Kashmir has played a vital role in addressing the problems of the weaker and vulnerable sections of the society by helping women and children in distress, facilitating handicapped people, and by facilitating socially & economically deprived sections of the society. The initiatives taken by center and state governments are applied to the state

²¹⁵ IFSW, “*Global Definition of Social Work*”, 2014: Available at: <https://www.ifsw.org/what-is-social-work/global-definition-of-social-work/>

²¹⁶ Ambrosino Rosalie, Et.al, “*Social Work and Social Welfare: An Introduction, Sixth Edition*”, [Chapter 1], Thomson Brooks/Cole, USA, 2008, pp. 5-6. ISBN-13: 978-0-495-09512-5

²¹⁷ UNESCO, “*Education for All Global Monitoring Report the Hidden Crisis: Armed conflict and education, Gender Overview*”, 2011. p.1 (<http://www.en.unesco.org>)

through Social Welfare Departments. The schemes and policies are implemented through various other bodies and corporations affiliated to the department.

The Central and State-Sponsored welfare schemes in the area of Women and Child development highlights the following provisions²¹⁸:

- To empower adolescent girls aged (11-18 years) by providing them health care and education of life skills. To empower marginalized women by providing them financial help and assisting women who are in distress or critical conditions.
- To provide residential facilities for students of underprivileged classes and orphans by establishing hostels, Bal-Ashrams and Nari-Niketans.
- Imparting vocational training to women to enhance their skills for earning a dignified livelihood
- Providing an equitable environment for development, growth, and education of underprivileged classes.

In order to fulfill the above objectives government has framed following major schemes.

- (i) Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls (RGSEAG) -SABLA
- (ii) (ICDS) “Integrated Child Development Services Scheme”
- (iii) Establishment of Social Welfare Centers
- (iv) (IGMSY).”Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojna”

But when we plump deep into issues faced by women in Kashmir and compare it with what should have been done under the efforts of the department over the years, it can be said that government, as well as civil workers, lacked stratagem to tackle the particular issue in an organized way. Take an example of ‘Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls (RGSEAG)’. It is being a pioneering approach by the government of India to empower the adolescent girls across the country. The scheme seeks to enable empowerment of adolescent girls by improving their health and nutrition. It aims to increase awareness among women regarding Adolescent Reproductive and Sexual Health (ARSH), It also aims to improve their life skills and home-management skills.

²¹⁸Department of Social Welfare, “*Citizens Chatter*”, Government of Jammu and Kashmir Civil Secretariat, 2020 At: <https://jksocialwelfare.nic.in/intro.html>

According to the report by the Ministry of Women and Child Development in 2013 reveals that the scheme was implemented only in Anantnag and Kupwara districts of Kashmir division. It is highlighted by the report that in the year 2011-2012 regarding the supply of nutrition to Adolescent Girls target was set to cover 98676 female beneficiaries whereas the scheme has covered 92186 Adolescent Girls. The progress showed decline in 2012 -2013 when only 47509 girls were covered against the target of 65549 girls. In case Health Education in 2012-2013 it covered only 38816 adolescent girl beneficiaries against the target of 102704. In terms of family welfare and child care, the scheme in 2012 -13 had covered 39024 against 65549 Girl's. Regarding the coverage of beneficiaries for life skill education under the scheme, it has covered 20833 beneficiaries against the target of covering 30700 AG's. In order to mainstream girls into the school system, unfortunately zero targets were completed from 2011-2013²¹⁹.

Though the scheme has increased girl enrolments in different schools. As according to the recent study on the evaluation of the scheme in Indian states reveals that in the case of Jammu & Kashmir state showed an effective implementation of the scheme as it showed increase in the enrollment of adolescent girls during 2012 to 2013 but districts like Anantnag and Jammu showed a slight decrease in girl enrolments. However it was found that Jammu & Kashmir and Tripura have not fully utilized funds that were released for the scheme²²⁰.

One of the important schemes that come under social welfare services is ICDS (Integrated Child Development Scheme) The ICDS Scheme was started on an experimental basis during 1975-76 and later expanded in the country. It is the foremost picture of India's commitment to her children. It aims to provide quality pre-school education and eradicate malnutrition to increase learning capacity and reduce morbidity rate among children. It is being one of the world's largest integrated programs for the development of early childhood. It promotes physical and psycho-social and cognitive development of women and child.

In Jammu & Kashmir government empowered "Anangwadi centers" which are part of the ICDS scheme to provide nutrition and health benefits to children. According to the evaluation report on Jammu & Kashmir by the Planning Commission of India in the year 2009, a survey which was conducted to gather the information from 40 ICDS centers. The evaluation

²¹⁹ Report, Women and Child Development, (2013), "Evaluation of SABLA Scheme", A Report Submitted to Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India, Administrative Staff College of India Hyderabad, Pp. 51-75

²²⁰ Goyal Neha, "Effectiveness of SABLA Scheme in Indian States" International Journal of Trend in Scientific Research and Development, Vol-4 (6), 2020, pp.1233-1235, (ISSN NO: 2456-6470)

team has found that the scheme covered all the ICDS blocks in Jammu & Kashmir. It was found that out of 18772 Anangwadi centers sanctioned till March 2007 in which 18043 were operational in the state. But at the same time, some major concerns over ICDS and Anangwadi centers were reported. It was found that out of 120 sanctioned posts of Child Development Project Officers (CDPOs) only 106 were in position and the rest of the posts were seen vacant. In the same way among 529 ICDS supervisors only 135 were in position and rest of 395 posts were found vacant²²¹. The vacant posts have adversely affected the implementation of the scheme.

According to the guidelines of ICDS scheme the space for a Anangwadi center has to be given by the community at any prime location particularly nearer to a primary school but it was found that both the aspects e.g. location, as well as space of such centers, were compromised. It was observed that 45% of Anangwadi Centers were established in semi - pucca houses while as 28 percent have been accommodated in Katcha houses. It was observed that there could be an apprehension of danger to the life of the children. Besides other facilities e.g. separate toilets and washing and drinking area, space for kitchen and dining, ventilation of rooms and space for outdoor activities were also compromised. It was realized that the health check-ups as per the norms of the scheme were not done on regular basis in Anangwadi centers because of the poor coordination between the ICDS functionaries and the department of Health care. In this regard report on health education says that Anangwadi workers have played a limited role only in giving family and health education to women. As it was widely observed under the survey that majority of mothers were not even unaware of the weight of their child.

Moreover pre-schooling remains an important component of the scheme. Though the records available at the Anganwadi centers indicate that they have imparted pre-school education to enrolled children for almost 365 days a year but it was found that schooling service was implemented only when nutrition was available in the center²²². Regarding such issues faced by the scheme many suggestions were given to the department to improve the quality of the workers working in Anangwadi centers. They were advised to make workers and officers knowledgeable about the basic approaches and concepts child education.

²²¹Planning Commission of India, Report “*Evaluation Report On Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) Jammu & Kashmir*”, Programme Evaluation Organization Planning Commission Government of India, New Delhi, 2009. pp. v-ix Available at https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/reports/peoreport/peo/peo_icds.pdf

²²²Ibid., pp.viii-ix

Onwards 2007 certain weaknesses of the department impacted the overall objective of the scheme to develop mother and children. According to the latest 2011 evaluation report by the Planning Commission regarding ICDS Centers, mentioned that the overall percentage of Anganwadi workers in the state recruited by the Government remained 1.3% which was lowest in the country. A recent study conducted in 2019 regarding the evaluation of the Integrated Child Development Services Program in Kashmir in which six ICDS districts of the valley including Kupwara and Baramulla from North Kashmir, Kulgam and Anantnag from South Kashmir, and two districts of central Kashmir namely Budgam and Srinagar were investigated. The total number of 48 such centers was evaluated; the findings have revealed that 100% of the centers were established in private properties. It was found that 75% of lady health visitors and nurses were irregular to duty in Anganwadi centers as they were arranged in an unorganized manner and lacked proper schedule for conducting visits to AWC's. Though in these districts majority of the children about 99.48% were receiving supplementary nutrition but only 31.51% of children received pre-school education. Moreover only 13.54% female beneficiaries have conducted health checkups and only 1.82% of children have been immunized at their respective Anganwadi centers. Infact under the scheme 94.79% of the pregnant and lactating women were to be covered under immunization and health check-ups and to provide them supplementary nutrition, however, it was observed that these benefits were not made available for all pregnant and lactating women covered under the scheme. The children enrolled in the pre- school education system under the scheme also reported of having poor and weak skills in learning compared to the children studying in private crèches²²³. It can be concluded that the coverage of supplementary nutrition to children was almost complete, but all the other services were been promised under the scheme and not managed in an organized way.

Furthermore the government of India in collaboration with the state government of Kashmir regarding the development of women and children launched other programs like (IGMSY) Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojna which was launched by the UPA government in the year 2010; it was implemented under the patronage of Ministry of women and Child Development. In Jammu & Kashmir, the Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojna scheme was launched on a pilot basis in Anantnag & Kathua districts to improve the nutritional as well as the health status of pregnant and lactating women which also include care practices for their

²²³Yasin Tawheeda, Azim Hummara, "Evaluation of Integrated Child Development Services Program in Kashmir", India, International Journal of Tropical Disease & Health, 35(2), 2019, pp. 3-6 ISSN: 2278-1005

young infants. As per the guidelines of the scheme the beneficiary women should fall in the age group of 19 years or above for upto the first two live child births. In 2011 the center government released only 190.20 lakh rupees to the state government of Jammu and Kashmir for the maintenance of the scheme²²⁴. Therefore it could not yield could good results. It was only in 2015 when the government changed funding pattern of the scheme, the ratio of the investment by center and state for the scheme was 90:10²²⁵. The other social welfare initiatives led by the government for the development of women folk in the valley of Kashmir are:

- i) **Bal-Ashrams & Nari Niketans:** The social welfare department established Bal Ashrams and Nari Niketans almost in all districts of J&K. The BA's and NK's are established to provide free education, boarding, lodging, health care facilities, etc for both male and female orphans and include facilities for destitute and downtrodden children. Presently there are total 24 Bal Ashrams and 12 Nari Niketans functioning in the valley which have total intake capacity of 1504. Among the total number of 24 Bal-Ashrams, only 8 are functioning in the different districts of Kashmir division, and among 12 Bal-Niketans only 5 remain functional in the particular districts like Srinagar, Budgam, Anantnag, Baramulla, and Kupwara. Each Ashram has capacity of 25 seats. It can be realized that such initiatives can improve the condition of orphan students especially girls but as seen the number of Bal Ashrams and Nari Niketans particularly in Kashmir division stand low. Moreover the intake capacity of students in these centers is small. Hence the number of such establishments should be increased so that the condition of more such boys and girls could be improved.
- ii) **State Rehabilitation Council for Militancy Victims:** The rehabilitation council was formed on the decision of the State Administrative Council in the year 1996. The council is registered under the Societies Act VI of 1998. It aims to provide rehabilitation of militancy-hit people with a special focus on orphans, widows, handicapped, and old persons. The main motive of the council is to provide psychological, physical, and economical rehabilitation and to provide assistance to the victims of conflict in Jammu and Kashmir. Though such initiatives are good but not enough as the state is dealing

²²⁴ Ministry of Women & Child Development, , "Release of Grants-in-aid to the States during 2011-12", Letter to the Chief Controller of Accounts ,F.No.9-1712011-IGMSY, State Archives, Srinagar, 2011
Available at : <https://wcd.nic.in/paodata/gia/advice2011-12/ADVICE%209/SANCTION%202.pdf>

²²⁵ Department of Social Welfare, "Citizens Charter", *Op.cit.*, p.26

with the impact of conflict from decades thus it demands number of such support organizations and strategies which could handle the concerns of people in the state. It is to be noted that armed conflict and militancy has not only led particular families or people in distress but it has tightened the situation and tormented most of the people living in the state particularly the womenfolk.

- iii) **Watan KO Jano (A Youth Exchange Programme):** The GOI in collaboration with the JK State Affairs funded by the Ministry of Home Affairs decided to make orphans of militancy affected persons and destitute youth aware of the multi-social and cultural diversity of India. Thus government started to conduct exchange programs from 2011 onwards. The government planned to send such youth to other states like Agra, Jaipur, Ajmer, and Chandigarh Delhi for exposure.

- iv) **State Women's Development Corporation:** Jammu and Kashmir State Women's Development Corporation was established in the year 1991 but it started working from the year 1994. The Corporation implemented several schemes to uplift women in social and economic spheres in which special focus was given families living under below poverty line & women belonging to minority communities. Presently the State Women's Development Corporation implements the loan schemes in the state E.g. (1). National Backward Classes Finance & Development Corporation, (2). Empowering skilled young women (3) National Handicapped Finance for conflict victims. Besides providing loan facilities it holds many programmes like vocational training to girls and boys, development of art and Skill, organizes awareness camps, and exhibitions.

- v) **Ladli Beti Scheme:** one of the recent social assistance programs for womenfolk implemented by the government of India is "Ladli Beti" which was started in the year 2015. The scheme is particularly meant for newborn girl child. The approach of the scheme is to address the problems and concerns of girls from birth upto adulthood and to secure them financially in order to create a strong and positive temperament of society towards the girl children. It provides Rs. 1000/- monthly towards the birth of every girl child till she reaches to 14 years of age, then after attaining mature age of 21 years The "Ladli Beti" aims to provide a sum of Rs. 6.50 lacs to girls. Although in Kashmir the scheme was implemented in the selected Districts e.g. Budgam, Pulwama, Anantnag,

Srinagar, the selection of these districts was decided based on having a low sex ratio in the state.

Other schemes having similar objectives include “ASRA” and “**State Marriage Assistance Scheme**”. The ASRA scheme also help the deprived including the breadwinners of families whose total earnings remain less than 75000. The State Marriage Assistance Scheme is meant for those unmarried poor girls living below the poverty line, and who may not find themselves in a position to get married due to difficulties and constraints in financial matters. The scheme provides one-time financial help to such identified girls by assisting them with a sum of 40000 Rs.

- vi) **J&K Protection of Women from Domestic Violence:** An Act which was passed in 2010 by the state government to provide effective protection for the rights of women guaranteed under the constitution, especially for the women who are victims of any kind of violence occurring within the family.

Development of education remains one of the major goals of the social welfare. The social welfare department has implemented many State/Central based Schemes for educational upliftment of students both boys and girls in the state. The government initiated pre-metric scholarships for girls belonging to poor and backward sections of the society. It also allocated hostel facilities for students (Girls/boys) at various places in the state. These hostels are constructed under center/state mutual funds which include lodging and boarding facilities. As per the ‘citizens charter’ of the Department of Social Welfare Jammu & Kashmir, there are 14 such hostels in the state in which 7 are for boys and 7 hostels for girls²²⁶, among the total number of 14 hostels 11 are constructed and the three remain under construction. The number of established hostels for girls seems low therefore the department should increase the number of hostels to accommodate more girls by giving them proper facilities and feasible environment for learning.

Government led other schemes and programs which also contributed in the promotion of girl education and health care. The department distributed Mother and Child protection cards to enable financial assistance and to maintain health and nutrition of village women and children through Anganwadi centers. It also led different awareness programs regarding schemes like ICDS, SABLA, ICPS, and IGMSY etc. The earlier

²²⁶ Department of Social Welfare, ‘Citizens Chatter’, *Op.cit.*, p.40.

discussed centrally sponsored flagship schemes for girl education under Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan also support the motive of the social welfare department in the construction of schools, hostels, infrastructure, and coordinating gender-oriented programs etc.

Pros and Cons of Social Welfare Work

The social welfare work under the banner of center and state government in leading efforts for the empowerment and development of female folk in Jammu & Kashmir can be weighted with negative and positive approaches.

1. Positive approaches:

- i.* The schemes trend to generate employment for women in various sections like Anganwadi centers, schools, and management.
- ii.* It involves care for children and girls by providing them nutrition and learning environment including facilities for newborn girl child.
- iii.* It aims to promote women health and trends to create comfortable atmosphere for the women of deprived section to get educated.
- iv.* It offers rehabilitation to militancy-hit victims, especially young boys, and girls. It utilizes constitutional Acts to protect women dealing with domestic violence.
- v.* The department manages to offer financial assistance to get the poor girls married.

2. Negative Approaches:

- i.* Most of the members working in Anganwadi centers lack basic knowledge and accuracy in implementing ICDS, Child nutrition, and other awareness schemes. Moreover majority of the posts for supervisors and the monitoring team are seen vacant.
- ii.* Most of the established centers lack basic infrastructure and facilities for children especially for girls. The majority of such centers are situated in private houses located far from a school which is against the guidelines of the scheme.

- iii.* The schemes like “SABLA” which is meant for adolescent girls for their empowerment and development of skills has failed to cover the desired targets in most of the years.
- iv.* Fewer initiatives are been taken under the department regarding problems of conflict hit people in the valley particularly women, children, and young girls. It is important to note that the impact of conflict in the valley is not limited to the militancy-hit victims but the majority of the people in general and womenfolk, in particular, are affected. The department needs much more to do in this field by taking the women issues into a much larger surface of planed developments. The department lags in framing policies which could delink the impact of conflict on the education and society in general and women in particular. Moreover as observed in the chapter that most of the schemes for women are designed particularly for downtrodden living in villages while as the rest of women living in other areas having different issues are neglected.
- v.* Most of the schemes provided and framed by government regarding the development of women and their education show focus upon the nutrition of children and enrollment of girls and boys among minorities and backward classes. But at the same time quality members of the society like teachers, social workers, including adequate facilities like infrastructure, teaching-learning atmosphere and standard moves for brining social change in the society seem compromised.
- vi.* The schemes lack proper recruitment and role of social scientists who could survey, design, and implement the scheme at ground level in well-defined manner by keeping the socio-political conditions of the state into consideration.

5.5. Role of Indigenous Religious Groups

Religion and religious organizations have played a vital role in the society of Kashmir. According to census 2011, the total population of the Jammu and Kashmir State is 1.25 crores of which 85.67 lakh constitutes the Muslim population. Taking Muslims of the state into consideration previously they were engulfed into conservative approaches towards the development of society especially in case of women folk. Though the scenario witnessed change after independence.

The religious organizations like Maktabas and Madrasas which had a limited role in empowering women folk previously also saw a shift after independence. As after 1947 different religious organizations emerged in the state to work for the cause of womenfolk. Their role cannot be denied as their contribution remains of vital importance to society. A very fewer number of researchers have focused upon the approach of religious institutions and organizations towards their role in the educational empowerment of women in Kashmir.

It should be noted that Islam gives a right to every women to peruse education and to be empowered, in fact, the Quran (holy book of Muslims) mentions that both men and women are born equal, as they are created from the same source. None of them is superior or inferior to each other. The Prophet 'Muhammad' (PBUH) said: "Verily, women are the twin halves of men"²²⁷. According to him "Acquisition of Knowledge is binding for all Muslims"²²⁸ (Al-Sunan 1.81 §224). One Hadith of Prophet Muhammad states that seeking Knowledge is a duty of every Muslim man and woman. Together the Quran and the Hadith of Prophet Muhammad states to promote education and acquisition of knowledge for all without discrimination. Therefore Islam does not deny or restrict girls from acquiring education.

But historically this belief is not been practiced properly as it should be which is quite visible from therecent status of female literates in majority of Muslim communities in the world. Historically they have not been treated well in society as the patriarchal customs had viewed women as better house wives and mothers in the Muslim world²²⁹. Therefore low literacy and gender gaps in education prevailed among worldwide Muslim communities. The data revealed by CIA world fact book²³⁰ says that Muslim dominated countries like Afghanistan has 52% of male literates and only 24.2% of female literates, in the same way in Pakistan: male 69.5%, female 45.8%; Iran: male 91.2%, female 82.5%, Egypt: male 82.2%, female 65.4%; Iraq: male 85.7%, female 73.7%; Saudi Arabia: male 97%, female 91.1% Malaysia: male 96.2%, female 93.2%; Tunisia: male 89.6%, female 74.2%; and Yemen: male 85.1%, female 55%. The data revealed by the CIA clearly shows that all the mentioned Muslim countries have more or less gender gaps in education. India being a multi-religious and multi-cultural

²²⁷See- Sunan Abu Dawood #234, "Al Tirmidhi", Hadith No -113

²²⁸Abdulai, A. "Education of women in Islam: A critical Islamic interpretation of the Quran". Religious Education, 2014, 109 (1), pp. 4-23. Doi: 10.1080/00344087.2014.868203

²²⁹McDonnell, Jacylinn, "Islam and Educational Equality for Muslim Women", Law School Student Scholarship 906, 2017, pp. 6-9. Retrieved: https://scholarship.shu.edu/student_scholarship/906

²³⁰The World Fact book is a reference resource produced by the Central Intelligence Agency with almanac-style information about the countries of the world.

country is not exceptional. According to the census data of 2011, the total literacy of India stands at 74% of which 82.14% are male literates and 65.46% are females. In terms of literacy by religion particularly of Muslims more than 14 crores of the Muslim population in India is illiterate which means 42% of the total Muslim population, majority of them are females²³¹. Muslims in India constitute highest decimal rate when compared to the literacy rates of other religious communities. Infact the report published by National Statistical Office says that “the literacy of Muslims in India is worse than the minorities of other religions e.g. schedule caste and scheduled tribes”. The literacy rates of Muslim men are equivalent to the literacy rates of the “Dalit community”²³². Though the literacy rate for Muslim women is higher than Dalit women but compared to the women of other groups Muslim women are less literate.

The Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir is predominantly a Muslim majority state. Besides the role played by the government and other agencies to educate and empower women cannot be counted alone as equally is the role played by religious groups in the region. There are many religious organizations and institutions working for the upliftment of women

Role of Religious organizations and institutions

Among the indigenous organizations, the most important contribution towards education came from the organizations like **Jamaat-i-Islamia** in Jammu and Kashmir, which was infact the most organized movement in Kashmir. The Jamaat-i-Islamia of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the earliest non-governmental organizations in Kashmir which has participated in the sphere of education²³³. The Jamatite wanted to bring social revolution in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Many efforts of JMI led in the field of education have contributed in the overall literacy of the state. The organization has established a network of schools where basic subjects including modern disciplines are taught. The first school established by the organization was at Nawabazar located in the heart of Srinagar city. Only five students have got enrolled at that

²³¹Census of India, 2011, State of Literacy, at <https://www.censusindia.gov.in>

²³²Thakur A, “Literacy rate for Muslims worse than SC/STs”, Times of India, 2020. At: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/literacy-rate-for-muslims-worse-than-sc/sts/articleshow/77514868.cms>

²³³Bhat, Khawaja Sonaullah, “Kashmiri Testament “, Translated by Altaf Husain Taq, Bright Publications, Delhi, 1988, p. 8.

time with a single teacher to supervise them. But later the enrollment raised and the already established primary schools were upgraded into middle and high schools. The JMI based Islamic schools have played a great role in the development of female education. Though it established separate schools for boys and girls but in some of its schools co-education was also provided by dividing the sections. In the girl's schools of JMI only women teachers were allowed to teach. But this influx was not prevalent in the teaching and learning process. For example, girls were taught modern as well as Islamic subjects. Home science was a compulsory subject for both boys and girls²³⁴.

Maududi the founder of Jammāt-i- Islamiya writes “Girls education is as important as that of boys and no community can progress if its females remain ignorant” as per Maududi girls should learn the same subjects as boys. He also confirms that the medium of instruction in JMI schools should be mother tongue and English should be taught like other subjects rather than giving it particular importance like most of the elitist schools and colleges do²³⁵. The policy of JMI schools gradually attracted the number of common masses to pursue education.

The Modern JMI schools run through a trust called ‘Falha -i-Aam’ which was established in 1972 under the patronage of Jamaat-i- Islamiya. *The trust aims to provide* education in rural and far-flung areas. The trust has spread education beyond the reach of the government sector from the last 34 to 40 years. It was the uniqueness of the trust that attracted parents, boys, and girls to pursue education in JMI led institutions. From the beginning of the spade work even non Muslims were admired to admit their wards in such schools²³⁶. This was because compared to the schools run by the government the quality of education provided by JMI schools was better. In recent times also the Jammāt schools under Falha -I-Aam trust spreads education despite being dependent on public funds. *At present* 323 schools are run by the trust, of which 307 schools are located in Kashmir valley and 16 schools in the Jammu Division. Muzamil A.D during a field survey on JMI based schools in 2015 found that most of the schools remain well equipped. However some schools located in backward areas lacked proper infrastructure²³⁷.

²³⁴Yoginder, Sikand; “*The Emergence and Development of the Jamaat-i-Islamiya of Jammu and Kashmir (1940-1990)*”, Modern Asian Studies, Cambridge University, 2002, p. 734.

²³⁵ See, Yoginder Sikand ‘*Maududi on Muslim Educational Reform*’, J&K Reporter, Srinagar, 2007, p. 30.

²³⁶Muzamil A.D, Altaf A.D, “*A Comprehensive Study on the Role of ‘Falai Aam Trust’ Imparting Education among Poor Sections of Kashmiri Children*”, "Education India: A Quarterly Refereed Journal of Dialogues on Education", 2015. p.1

²³⁷Ibid., p.1

Presently the total numbers of students enrolled in these schools are 75313 of which 33102 are girls and 42211 are boys. Moreover, 403 non-Muslim students are also enrolled in different schools, especially in the Doda district. Besides that there are more than five thousand orphans and four thousand poor students who are enrolled to receive free education. In addition, the trust provides financial assistance to the needy and destitute women²³⁸. At present, 3661 faculty members are teaching in these schools of which 3043 are males and 618 females. The yearly growth of the enrollment of students in JMI based schools can be seen from the below data²³⁹:

Table 5. 2 Growth of the enrollment in JMI based schools

Year	Number of Students Enrolled
2005	59305
2006	63601
2007	64995
2008	66106
2009	65792
2010	68106
2011	68934
2012	70596
2013	72106
2014	75313

Directorate of Falha-i-Aam, Bemina, Srinagar

However, the organization of Jamaat e Islamia in Kashmir was constantly reminded of having an ideology of bringing separate communal identity of the Muslims, including the Islamic identity of the state and its disputed territory status²⁴⁰. The JMI was banned previously in the 1990s but later the ban was lifted. But in 2017 the Union Home Ministry again banned the Jamaat-e-Islamia in February 2019 upon an allegation that the organization is having “close touch with militants”, many Jamaat-e-Islamia offices were closed and sealed by the government. A notice was also issued to the (FAT) Falah-e-Aam Trust to close its educational

²³⁸ Muzamil A.D, Altaf A.D, *Op.cit.*, p.3

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.3

²⁴⁰ Yoginder Sikand, “*The Emergence and Development of the Jamaat-i-Islamia of Jammu and Kashmir (1940-1990)*”, *Op.cit.*, p.734.

institutions²⁴¹. Mean while, the state government and all the regional political parties including Kashmiri students studying in reputed foreign universities demanded that the center should lift the ban over schools because it will cost irreversible loss to the students, teachers, and to the education sector.

The then Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir Umer Abdullah condemned the decision and said “The government should take some time to review the need to ban JMI, but the government should urgently review and lift the ban over schools and unseal mosques”²⁴² in he added that sealing the schools will risk forcing so many young kids out of school²⁴³. It was later clarified by Rohit Kansal (the spokesman of the J&K Government), that “The schools, orphanages, and mosques will be kept outside the scope of seizure”²⁴⁴. The government issued a clarification that JMI operated schools would not be closed down, However, the ban over JMI and its sub-organization ‘FAT’ continued till date.

Besides JMI there are some other Islamic organizations like **Jamaat Ahl-I-Hadees** and **Islamic Study Circle** which have also played their role in the noble cause of female education. These organizations were formed after 1950s. They have also opened schools at different locations in the state²⁴⁵. Another trust named “**Madrasas Fatima Zahra**” was established by Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Mir in the year 2003 for poor and orphan girls. This trust provides religious as well as secular education to girls and offers them special lodging in the schools. The trust was enrolled with only 20 girls since its inception which have rose to 60 in present times. However the enrollment of girls in the trust stands low. But the already enrolled girls in these schools are found well versed in religious and modern knowledge²⁴⁶.

ii. Dukhtaran-e-Millat: The Dukhtaran-e-Millat: which means ‘Daughters of the Nation’ was Established and founded by Asiya Andrabi in the year 1987. Asiya being a self-proclaimed “Islamic feminist” occupied a central role in the organization. However it believes in

²⁴¹Basharat, M, “*Falah-e-Aam Trust: A trust that runs schools in J&K, in focus amid ban on Jamat-e-Islami*”, The Indian Express. New Delhi, 2019, at: <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/falah-e-aam-trust-schools-jamat-e-islami-jammu-and-kashmir/>

²⁴² Hussain, Aashiq, “*Ban on Jamaat-e-Islami won’t affect affiliated schools, mosques, says govt.*” Hindustan Times, 2019.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵Manzoor, Dildan “*Female Education In Rural Kashmir: A Historical Study Of Block Pulwama (1947-2000)*”, M.Phil Dissertation work, Kashmir University, Knowledge Repository Open Network, Srinagar, 2013. p.72

²⁴⁶Ibid., p.72

adopting hard means to promote the voices of Kashmiri womenfolk. It was in 1990 for the first time Dukhtaran-e-Millat was banned due to the emerging violence in the state, Andrabi had to spend life in isolation and detention over time. But due to her stiffed beliefs and steadfastness the organization continued its ideology. The DEM is run by female fellow members known as “Diktats”, majority of them are ‘soft’ in nature and are confined to traditional roles²⁴⁷. Since the organization does not focus particularly on spreading modern education but it supports traditional Islamic education. The main motive of DEM is to reform and build the society of Kashmir on moral values which Andrabi calls an ‘Islamic Way of life’. The DEM claims to support Kashmiri women to fight for their rights as per the Islamic code of conduct (Sharia). Since its formation many people living in the valley have supported the cause of ‘DEM’ but, many have disagreed with Andrabi’s strategies; for instance, she is known for being involved in sending “burkha-clad activists to ban co-curricular activities like singing and dancing, restraint boasting special seating arrangement for couples, and raiding liquor shops”²⁴⁸. Though selling liquor, intermixing of unmarried couples, etc are un-Islamic and not permissible under Islamic law but her moves in this context are against law of the land (government) which has a different outlook.

DEM enforced restrictions over various social activities especially against women who are not dressed up in a proper Islamic way²⁴⁹. Though veil for women in Islam is recommended as a protection for women to cover their modesty and to save them from evil eyes, but no point in Quran mentions its imposition by force, hurt, or harassment, the Holy Quran [2:256], clearly mentions that “There is no Compulsion in Religion, as truth stands out clear from error”²⁵⁰. The holy Quran justifies the difference between the right way and the wrong way of tackling issues.

In 2018 the National Intelligence Agency of India arrested Asiya Andrabi along with other two associates and charged them under different sections of Indian Penal Codes for performing unlawful activities and supporting separatists in the state²⁵¹. Presently Dukhtaran-i -Millat is enlisted as one of the banned organizations in the country.

²⁴⁷European Foundation for South Asian Studies (EFSAS), “*Islamist Terrorism and ‘Feminist’ Narratives: The Case of Dukhtaran-e-Millat*”, Amsterdam, 2020, p.3

²⁴⁸Parashar, S. “*Gender, Jihad, and Jingoism: Women as Perpetrators, Planners, and Patrons of Militancy in Kashmir*,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol 34 (4), 2011.

²⁴⁹European -Foundation of South Asian Research, *Op.cit.*, p.3,

²⁵⁰, Holy Quran- “*Al Bukhari*”, chapter [2:256]

²⁵¹Times Of India “*Dukhtaran-E-Milat Chief Asiya Andrabi, Two Others Taken Into NIA Custody*”, 2018 Available:http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/64881213.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst

The critical deduction of 'DEM' is that the moral stratagem is meant to create moral resistance and integrity of character within the ambit of religion Islam among the womenfolk which is the need of time. But its inclination towards fanaticism and chauvinism and numbness towards the education of women in the conflict-ridden society of Kashmir is a topsy-turvy of the basic duty and calling of what a female feminist should have projected as a priority.

Role of Religious Institutions

Historically, religious institutions e.g. Maktabas and Madrasas are different than the institutions of higher education. These institutions have existed like basic schools called "Qutab" which only taught the Quran²⁵². Today the term has been used as a collective term by many Western observers to refer to any elementary or secondary school that promotes Islamic curriculum²⁵³. Its concept is centuries old dating back to the 11th century. Gradually these institutions spread throughout the Muslim world by offering food and free education to the students²⁵⁴. Although their curriculum varies from place to place, but these institutions assume the same religious character. The concept of such schools was established to prepare future Islamic religious scholars. India being a multi-religious country serves a network of such religious institutions in the country imparting education. According to the 8th All India School Education Survey (AISES), the total numbers of 96,202 students are pursuing education in modern Maktabas of which 53% are boys and 47% are girls.

In the Indian state of Jammu & Kashmir, there are hundreds of such institutions imparting education to both boys and girls. The J&K 'WAQF' Board (Board of Islamic Institutions) dealing with the upliftment of marginalized sections in the state, also focuses on educational activities.

There are three types of religious educational institutions casted under the supervision of the J&K Muslim Wakf Board.

These include:

i) Schools & Colleges (imparting formal Education)

²⁵² Encyclopedia of Islam, "*Madrasa*" new ed, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965, also see "*Madrasah*," in the Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, New York, Oxford University Press, 1995

²⁵³ Christopher M. Blanchard, "*Islamic Religious Schools, Madrasas Background*", CRS Report For Congress, Congressional Research Service, 2008, p.2

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.2

ii) Dar-ul-Ulooms (formal Residential Educational Institutions)

iii) Madrasas (Non-Formal and non Residential Educational Institutions)

Most of the Waqf schools which impart formal education to Muslim boys and girls are located in urban areas and less in rural areas. The board holds five Dar -ul-Alooms which are residential schools where education is given free to students including free boarding and lodging facilities, and free textbooks are also provided. Besides, there are 60 Madrasas located in different districts registered under the Waqf Board.

Researchers have concluded that the majority of the Islamic schools in the state except a few that are located in city premises face two problems firstly students are not a dequately prepared to compete in the modern job market or entrance to modern university education. Secondly, most of these schools teach Islamic curriculum especially (Quran and Hadith), while as subjects like science, social science; English, math's, are not properly offered²⁵⁵. In order to modernize the education system of religious institutions government started registering institutions like Madrasas under the light of SPQEM, (Scheme for Providing Quality Education in Madrasas) and IDMI (Infrastecture development of Minority Institutions) which are centrally sponsored programs framed by the Government of India to provide modern and basic education through religious educational institutions e.g. "Maktabs and Madrasas". These schemes offer financial help to develop school infrastructure. Besides it also aims to promote educational facilities for girls and children with special needs including those who are being deprived of education. The Department of School Education and Literacy takes responsibility for the implementation of these schemes in the state. But in order to avail the benefits from government sponsored schemes the criteria of registration was kept hard. It is advised that a Madrasa should be formally registered with the state Wakf Board and secondly it should be serving in the state for at least 3 years. Then only it is eligible to apply for SPQEM and IDMI schemes.

According to the 2016 evaluation report of Prime Minister's New 15 Point Programme for Welfare of Minorities, it also evaluated the implementation and impact of Madrasa Education Programmes, the report concluded that the performance of the scheme is poor in the majority of the states in India, in case of Jammu & Kashmir it was found that so far only few Madrasa institutions have been modernized under SPQEM scheme. In the case of the development of

²⁵⁵Showkeen Bilal A.G, "A Study Of Islamic Schools (Dar-Ul-Ulooms) In Jammu And Kashmir And The Role Of Ulama In Reconstructing Islamic Schools As Per Modern Education", Aligarh Muslim University Conference: CPCEMI, 2014, Volume: III, p.2

infrastructure under IDMI that the scheme did not produce desired results as its impact on minorities was not clearly visible²⁵⁶. One of the specific reasons behind the partial development of these schemes in the state is due to the lack of financial assistance. As per the Madrasa Funding Row in 2015, almost all Madrasas suggested by the Jammu and Kashmir government are advised to take financial assistance and to impart quality education. However most of the institutions could not fulfill the basic eligibility criteria to get registered and avail the benefits²⁵⁷. Thus due to lack of financial and organizational support institutions like Madrasas could invest less in the development infrastructure and use of modern educational techniques. Other issues e.g. lack of quality teachers, unorganized curriculum, and non - implementation of modern subjects remained the cause of backwardness among such schools. Moreover, there has been a report of alienation and boredom found among Madrasa students. According to the research findings of 2015 on the “*Assessment of Alienation among the Madrasa Students of Kashmir Valley*” both male and female students are experiencing the feeling of alienation in schools however male students are more prone and slightly higher in percentage than female students²⁵⁸. The researcher deemed that the students are limited to study Islamic education in Madrasas while as little attention is given to modern subjects and in other school activities. The researcher concluded that the scenario of alienation especially among girl students is due to the conservative approach of society and the negative attitude of parents and teachers towards girl education particularly in adopting modern education²⁵⁹.

Well the attitude of society towards girl students studying in government registered or independent religious institutions especially in Darul Aloom and Madrasa remains largely conservative even when the majority of the students in Kashmir are attracted towards modern education for knowledge, job orientation, and social status. But it has been observed that most of the boys and girls found admitted in such religious intuitions belong to the low economic class and a majority of them come from villages and far-flung areas.

²⁵⁶Ministry of Minority Affairs, “*Evaluation of Prime Minister’s new 15 Point Programme for Welfare of Minorities Affairs*”, Centre for Market Research and Social Development, New Delhi, 2018, pp. 64-66. Retrieved at <https://minorityaffairs.gov.in/sites/default/files/EVALUATION%20OF%20PM's%2015%20PP.pdf>

²⁵⁷Greater Kashmir, Madrasa Funding Row, “*No religious school in Valley eligible for grant*”, 2015, at:<https://www.greaterkashmir.com/more/no-religious-school-in-valley-eligible-for-grant>

²⁵⁸ Mohammad A. M, “*Assessment of Alienation among the Madrasa Students of Kashmir Valley*”, *International Journal of Indian Psychology*, Vol-2, (2), 2015, p.119, (ISSN 2348-5396 (e): Paper Id: B003 55V2I22015).

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p.119

Only few such intuitions have shown good excellence in promoting education in the valley. One such is famous and one of the largest Dar-ul-Alooms in the valley which is located in Bandipora district of north Kashmir known as “Dar-ul-Aloom Raheemiyah”. It serves education to more than a thousand children. Its curriculum is based on Deoband pattern therefore it provides both formal education and Islamic knowledge. It provides both boarding and lodging facilities to the students and contains libraries with rare Islamic literature. The institution provides education from elementary level up to higher levels. It has different educational branches and runs more than 300 Maktabas where more than ten thousand students study Islamic knowledge at the elementary level. More than a thousand students are presently enrolled in the Faiz-e-Aam secondary school and in its girl’s wing “Banat” (both are units of Dar-ul-Aloom Raheemiyah where modern subjects are taught to students). The school has shown excellence in its teaching and learning process. In 2017 the result declared by the Jammu & Kashmir State Board of School Education shows that most of the students learning in the Faiz-e-Aam unit of Raheemiyah have qualified the board exams while as among the appeared students 11 students have qualified the exam in the first division and 10 students held distinction. Kashifa Fayaz and Aksa Manzoor the two female students got distinction and topped in the school²⁶⁰.

Table 5. 3 *Faiz-e-Aam Secondary school (Raheemiyah): Source-Raheemiyah Bandipora Official*



²⁶⁰Raheemiyah Bandipora “An Introduction to Dar-ul-Aloom Raheemiyah: An Islamic University coming up on Deoband pattern”, See Official Website: <http://raheemiyah.com/>

Table 5. 4 Students of Raheemiyah Boys/Girls participating in Annual Day program



Source Official website of Raheemiyah



Table 5. 5 Girls Hostel of Darul Aloom Raheemiyah

Many other institutions even at small scale also lead their efforts in educating and empowering women. But it has been noticed that the majority of the religious educational intuitions in the valley are run by men rather than women. There are only few examples of women who lead efforts in the development of female education.

Dr. Mubeena Ramzan from the Sopore town of North Kashmir is one of the examples. Mubeena was listed as one among the 500 most influential personalities in the Muslim world during 2017. Dr. Mubeena is a social and women activist who aims to educate and empower Kashmiri women. She founded the Jamia Islamia Mahdul Muslimat, which has its branches in Sopore, Srinagar, Bandipora, and Tangmarg districts in north Kashmir. The education in these intuitions is given to produce ‘Aalimahs’ or female religious scholars. Mubeena

Established another socio-religious organization known as “Ansar un Nisa” that is designed to supply essentials to needy women like orphans, brides, widows, etc. the organization also runs vocational training centers for females.

In a personal conversation²⁶¹ with Kashmiri feminist who revealed about her survival in patriarchal society and struggle in running the organization. Besides she also highlighted and argued over different issues which hinder the emancipation of women through education. Dr. Mubeena has traveled to many places in Kashmir to see the conditions of women and finally decided to fight against women suffrage. In a personal interview she says that the prompting factors that motivated and tilted her towards the tender issue of female empowerment in Kashmir was after realizing patriarchal social panorama which developed her inner inspiration and longing to reshuffle and reshape patriarchal picture of society by using education as via media to empower women. She holds the view that “Mere sermonic speeches turn futile rather there is a need for practical and pragmatic strategies that are strongly symbolic”. She holds the pathetic tales of some girls who had been derelict by their family as well as by society and later enroll them in her established institutions. The present enrollment of her institution is more than 100 which is somewhat poor owing to infrastructural scarcity.

She is optimistic that practical Islamic ideology can balance and cater to the rising socio-economic demands of modern Kashmiri womenfolk. She strongly believes that the ambit of Islam does not restrict women in preparing them to combat the changing trends in society, “even the wife of Prophet Muhammad was a famous businesswoman” she adds. She believes that people must adhere to the right principles and right approach but not by coercion which is against the basic tenants of Islam. She believes that training females and providing them education is must to befit her in the fast-emerging society. But, most of the religious institutions in the state have failed to provide favorable atmosphere for girl education owing to lack of good schools, untrained teachers, un-updated curriculums and modules, and lack of non-scholastic dimensions of education which are essential for personality development and holistic transcendence.

The ironic part within such intuitions is gender biases and prejudice as they do not join hands with a female religious feminist as they are engulfed by male ego, monopoly, and hegemony, which defeats the noble cause to uplift the women. Dr. Mubeena reflects the agony of various moments where she was avoided and denied for any support from other organizations for

²⁶¹ Dr. Mubeena Ramzan, [*Personal Interview*] Communication, conducted by Shoab Mohammad, Srinagar, 2021.

being a female socio-religious activist²⁶². It seems paradoxical that many religious organizations are shorn of vision to re-evaluate and recast females and put them at par excellence with men folk.

Moreover, she affirms that the turmoil in Kashmir has adversely affected her institutions due to hartaals, strikes, closure of schools, and fear. One of her institution being a boarding school for girls has faced many impediments during conflict situations. But despite these hurdles, her institutions are not hopeless as she sustains her mission. Besides education, she is providing moral support to the victims of domestic violence, harassment, torture, and other kinds of repressions on women by offering counseling and emotional support.

But unfortunately, her vision to offer a holistic dimension of education especially to girls is choked and handicapped by the scarcity of fund flow from general public and by the government. She argues that though the government has launched schemes like SPQEM and IDMI but it has failed to cover all such institutions due to hard criteria of eligibility in getting the institution registered. Therefore the future of religious institutions imparting education seems bleak and dark. Though in a conflict-ridden zone like Kashmir government should have given moderate and flexible eligibility criteria so that all such schools could avail benefits and get encompassed under schemes. Empowering and supporting religious cum educational institutions particularly run by women activists would lead to a keen address of the genuine issue of female education in Kashmir.

Table 5.6 *5th class girl students of Jamia-Islamia Mahdul Muslimat- Source (self captured)*



²⁶²Ibid., Mubeena Ramzan,

Table 5. 7 *Building of Jamia Islamia Mahdul Muslimat* -- Source (self captured)



Table5. 8 *Girls engaged in sewing uniforms for students of the institution* (Source (self captured))



Table5. 9. *Girls learning in Classroom--* Source (self captured)



5.6. Conclusion

Kashmir is a sensitive zone having a unique ethos and fundamental values and pathos (feelings and passions) the race is too tender and vulnerable particularly of the womenfolk. There is no element of aggression in the race which speaks that any uneven event hurts the psyche of the race. But if the native of Kashmir is given a very conducive and ambient tranquil atmosphere the race has the potential to notch better. And if the female folk are nurtured well, they could give a high profile and refine the society without any blemish.

It is observed that the national level policies concerning education need reformation and modification owing to complicacy which such schemes do face in Jammu and Kashmir. They need a supplementary approach to make them oriented at the grass-root level so that the burning issues and challenges could be addressed specifically in women's education.

The common motif or the basic motif of all social organizations is to establish and generate a social change. They are vital significant and paramount but the analytical study of what has happened speaks that schemes are not a well-designed strategy with the element of panacea to block the repercussions of the prevailing conflict. The inference we draw is that this element is missing. It needs a pool of expertise that could comprehend the role of government and other organizations and stabilize it into a stimulating factor. Though other social organizations have contributed yet the desired goal in this context is still unfulfilled. Moreover, it is essential and imperative to give full discretion to the officers in the department of education to generate positivity in the system. Their role is paramount which would create efficacy in the sector of education.

Besides in Kashmir, structural revamping in the school as a basic unit of education is a must within the consideration of education for women folk like establishing capacious rooms, toilet facilities, recreation facilities, and avenues for non-scholastic dimensions of education. Conflict could be a problem but can't be an excuse. It may continue till it's redressed. To bring a formidable change in the minds of decision-makers they must be offered an ambient atmosphere where they could ponder significant ideas and forward-looking based on realistic options.

Chapter VI

6. Conclusion

The study shows that compared to the past there has been shift in the status of women including growth in literacy. The literacy rate of females which was **5.5** percent earlier in **1961** rose to **43.1%** in 2001 and **58.43%** in 2011. In terms of gender equality compared to past the region has also been placed near to the medium quality gender index in 2017-2018. Women folk, in general, have grown interest for education and employment and entrepreneurship. Maximum numbers of girl's have family support and motivation in perusing education, especially studying in university and colleges. Infact, due to the rapid economic competition, the spread of education, concept of urbanization, and due to the developments in the field of communication and transport has not only supported women to figure out their values and be equal to men folk but has also inaugurated new social norms and values to their personal emancipation. Several conservative and bigoted societal norms that once restricted the freedom of women folk have changed. The credit for bringing positivism in this sector goes to the government and non-government organizations, civil society workers including socio religious organizations imparting education and opportunities to the women folk. As a result the positive changes among women have gained considerable growth in last decades. It is quite discerning that restrictions on women are getting thin. But it is crucial for having true women empowerment in the state. However, all such changes were seen in its budding and state of infancy.

Since the socio political dynamics of Kashmir which faced onslaughts since independence owing to conflict-ridden feature of the state and due to social dogmas. This dark state of uncertainty has particularly impeded the empowerment and educational growth of women in the region.

In retrospection to 1947 the study shows that the education in general and women education in particular was purely conventional because of the apathy and non seriousness of early rulers (Dogras). The non-responsiveness of the society was another subsequent setback. However under the helm of later Dogra rulers few advancements and ventures took place but that too lacked enthusiasm as it was shorn of the opportunities for the women folk. With the advent of Christian missionaries in this context, at initial stage they could not find any panacea as the society was more male oriented rather than female oriented. But during their mission they had carried several experiments regarding the education. But woman herself was mute and barren of zeal to revamp her by the process of education. Such rigid elements in the community continued to be opponents of enlightenment for women.

The emancipation of women through education had narrow vent even after independence. As after 1947 the chronology of the events that the state underwent was political turbulences and commotions which eclipsed other important issues like education in Kashmir. On the other side the sick social panorama engulfed by bigotry, dogmatism and conservatism clipped the plight of womenfolk to education and emancipation. But despite of such hindrances women folk have emerged out of such unhealthy situations. The developments in the field of education became visible however the pace of development was slow.

A new chapter was evolved in the history of Kashmir with the emergence of Insurgency. We see that the political commotions after 1947 and the emergence of insurgency from 1990 have altogether changed the dimensions of Kashmir. Due to the collapse of law and order and lack of promptness of authorities to tackle this issue, resulting in thwart which pushed women and education backward. Subsequently focus on empowerment of women was overshadowed.

The study concludes that the women have emerged as a tool of war within the ambit of insurgency. This is evident from the events and cases. The study makes it transparent that the despondency loomed large on their minds, psyche and intellect. Within the scenario of fear And dread, they could not outstretch their imaginations. Therefore the optimism of hope became a cry in the wilderness with the emergence of insurgency in the valley.

The Incidents like occupying school buildings by armed forces, encounters bloodshed and Hartaals, Crackdowns and insecurity has been crucial elements in the process of militancy and militarization which has contributed to the backwardness of women education. The series of such developments had continuity in the whole period; the impact of conflict gradually ignited fury and rage among people, especially among youngsters. The violent events after 2008 led serious implications upon the overall society.

It is transparent that both the phases of insurgency have followed a different which is evident when we examine the changing roles of women. One of the crucial features observed was that no incident and event of turmoil had a short end but it was prolonged therefore it left long-term impact on the education and psyche of the whole society particularly women.

With the rise in the extreme phase of insurgency, people have gone through serious economic crisis which subsequently affected the investment of parents into children and investment of government in the education sector.

The hostile atmosphere created new problems and challenges to the education sector because of the presence of horrible dimensions. Gradually it created a void among educationalists, stakeholders, and policymakers. Conflict leads to economic deprivation particularly when the management at the political level is weak. Although the changing role of women to withstand with men in the economic sector is quite visible in Kashmir, however, the growth of development has a low pace due to the limited contribution of females living in rural areas who cast majority of the women population.

Besides other factors that have led to the decimal state of female education in the valley are high dropout rates among girls, lack of access to education, lack of qualified teachers, gender disparity in the education sector, lack of facilities for girl students, unawareness among womenfolk, etc. Despite of the impact of insurgency on women and education in Kashmir the study shows that Kashmiri women had to bear various other challenges in perusing education. The sick picture of women education in Kashmir has been an age-old challenge which is still emerging in the form of gender inequality, patriarchy, conservative families, and unawareness, prohibition of women to underage jobs, lack of media, geographical barriers and lack of proper guidance.

As we know that the basic motif of all social organizations is to establish and generate social change. They are significant and have paramount importance but the analytical study of what has happened speaks that schemes particularly related to women education do not pertain a well-designed strategy with the element of panacea to block the repercussions of the prevailing conflict. The inference we draw is that this element is missing. It needs a pool of expertise that could comprehend the role of government and other organizations and stabilize it into a stimulating factor. Though other social organizations have contributed yet the desired goal in this context is still unfulfilled. Moreover it is observed that the officers in education are allowed to exercise limited powers in decision and choice making. It is essential and imperative to give full discretion to the officers in the department of education to generate positivity in the system. Their role is paramount which would create efficacy in the sector of education.

It has been widely observed in this study that the national and state level policies concerning education need reformation and modification owing to complicity which women related developments do face in Jammu and Kashmir. They need a supplementary approach to make them oriented at the grass-root level so that the burning issues and challenges could be addressed specifically in women's education.

Besides the structural revamping in the schools lacks quality which is must within the consideration of education for women folk by establishing capacious rooms, toilet facilities for girls, recreation facilities, and to create avenues for non-scholastic dimensions of education. Conflict could be a problem but should not be an excuse. It may continue till it's redressed. To bring a formidable change in the minds of decision-makers they must be offered an ambient atmosphere where they could ponder significant ideas and look forward on realistic options.

Social change is a complex phenomenon as we see in this study that life in Kashmir particularly for womenfolk has been confined to certain restrains and limitations. Such perils and circumstances in fact from 1947 have developed thrust into common minds. The presence of womenfolk in the political arena of Jammu & Kashmir is quite low. Because of the social construct that politics has been majorly dominated by a class of men folk, secondly, women lacked leadership skills due to an unorganized system of female education and improper training and practices. Despite this, there is less public support to encourage women as a leader. Although such hindrances for women with more or fewer degrees remain the same in most of the Indian states but in Kashmir it is further added with the impact of insurgency which involves elements like fear and threat as it is not risk -free to participate and perform local or state elections in the valley especially for women due to violence and threat.

To put it in nutshell the *“women in Kashmir are just like a rolling stone who gathers no moss”*. The importance in transforming society is less concerned as her proper interaction within social institutions seems inverse and narrow. The insurgency-dominated social institutions and patriarchal outlook of the society defines a marginalized structure of the social system where we see deprivation in the quality of educational influence and less importance of women folk in society.

It is important to note that the abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, which granted special and autonomous status to Jammu and Kashmir, has implications for various aspects of governance, including women and education. Although the study shows that the special status has no direct implications for hindering educational developments in general and women education in particular in the region. As all the national level educational policies, schemes and programmes have been timely implemented in the region like other states of the country. It will be appropriate to say that the bondage of women under narrow outlook, lack of proper initiatives and domineering conflict operating since decades has majorly led to stagnancy in a broader social outlook and slow educational growth of women in the region.

Though there are claims that abrogation of the article 370 would bring orientation in educational developments e.g. centralization of education policies and integration with national curriculum. It's important to note that the abrogation of Article 370 remains a topic of ongoing debate, and opinions regarding its impact on education and other areas vary. The actual implementation and long-term consequences of these changes will continue to evolve over time.

Since the valley remained under strict curfews and lockdown for more than three months. The daily movement of the people was clamped down due to transport and communication restrictions. Though people dealt patiently with the situation because of high security measures imposed to maintain law and order. The closure of schools and ban over communication and internet had various implications on different social sectors including education. It is pertinent to say that at present due to strict security measures taken by the government to maintain law and order in the region and due to economic instability faced by the people under conflict in these years accustomed the practices like stone pelting, long term hartaals and shutdown of educational institutions.

Recommendations

Suggestions to improve women education in Kashmir

1. Conflict in Kashmir is an independent phenomenon and no such panacea has been found yet, the system of education must be separated from its impact. The process of education must not be dependent on situations. Educational system must be galvanized keeping the socio-political conditions of the state into consideration. Rectification of female educational policies is highly imperative. It is highly recommended to rectify the schemes making them conflict oriented and suitable for the future circumstances.
2. Proper implementation of the schemes at grassroot which must be dealt with expert monitoring process, surveys and surveillance. Policies at ground level must be handled with a proper and organized man power. For example the quality of education depends upon quality of teachers and resources. Government should stop or modify working on projects that do not qualify the basic criteria for example investing money on buying land for the establishment of schools unless the basic requirements of the schemes are fulfilled rather than booking private buildings which lack proper structure, location, infrastecture and facilities for girls. This is against the policy guidelines.

3. Government should support and modernize indigenous religious organizations especially those collaborating in the development of female education. The process of registration to get financial support from government should be made simple. The religious institutions owned by females need to be registered and encouraged. It is also important to develop uniformity within different religious institutions. Both male and female stakeholders must develop uniformity within their ideologies. Teachers should be qualified and expert in teaching religious ethics and formal education in a classroom atmosphere.
4. The department of social welfare lacks structural orientation and lack of qualified members. There is a need of recruiting specialized social scientists and expert social workers in the field. The implementation of policies at ground level should be monitored by experts. It is equally important to maintain smooth fund flow and man power during the process.
5. Inside schools and colleges different pedagogies of learning and teaching must be applied. For example debates and discussions over Kashmir issue, future issues of the state and discussions over gender inequality, domestic violence and women rights etc should be encouraged. Moreover schools and colleges must be equipped with teaching and learning instruments, well qualified teachers, and proper infrastecture especially for girls.
6. It is highly recommended to minimize the psychological impact of conflict on people in general and women in particular. Schools and colleges need to be setup with proper management of counseling, health checkups, and discussions on peace process etc
7. During conflict and crises one of the biggest threats to female students is the journey to school and back home. It is imperative to make girls feel safe and secure inside and around institutions. Government should avoid establishing schools far from home in such areas. Ensuring that girls feel secure on the way to school is foremost to promote gender equality in crisis situations.
8. Schools should be physically strong and secure. Fortifying of school walls and concrete fences would improve safety of girls inside schools. It is important to ensure security so that insecurity may not affect the enrollment of girls.

9. The incidents like stone pelting and other violent protest particularly near educational institutions must be avoided. It is important to ensure that no military bases and security bunkers shall be established near the school or college. As in case of violent situations such establishments stimulate people especially students to get involved into violence which creates havoc environment for learners.
10. During hartals and shutdowns the process of education must not hinder. It is important to encourage and setting up mobile and community schools to continue the need of education. It is important to maintain that such schools must be well equipped with basic facilities.
11. Despite other challenges of female education in Kashmir like gender disparity must be dealt strategically. A gender sensitive curriculum must be adopted in schools and colleges. Parents should be motivated and trained councilors need to be appointed to council girl students in choosing professional courses. Improvements should be made to regulate basic facilities in schools. Social drives and expert counseling team must be setup to aware and motivate parents and society about the importance of female folk and female education especially in rural areas and far flung regions.
12. Government needs to look keenly into the concerns of unemployed youth. In this regard multi recruitment drives could be encouraged; government must provide opportunities for educated youth especially girls to sustain their life after getting education. This will make them self reliant and self dependent which would also sustain state's economy.
13. The participation of women into the political arena is already low in the state; therefore it is recommended that girls must be encouraged to participate in social debates and classroom discussions to add interest in solving societal problems and to acquire leadership qualities.
14. Keeping the location and climate conditions of the valley in concern government must frame winter policies on education in Kashmir. Educational institutions must be equipped with proper heating arrangements and comfortable seating in schools. Special arrangements should be provided to girl students which should also include transport and cleaning of roads during heavy snowfall. Moreover online learning should be encouraged in certain situations when schools remain closed for months. Such strategies

can end the monopoly and rise of private tuition centers which provide such facilities on high cost.

15. In nutshell, there is an urge of sound decisions made by policymakers. The rational governance of administrators and a good attitude of the common folk can surely help in raising the standard of women in the valley. Major priority needs to be given to education and empowerment rather than war and bloodshed.

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v. ***Interviews Conducted***

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vi. ***Published Thesis***

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List of published papers and conferences attended

Sno.	Title of paper with author names	Name of journal / conference	Published date	Issn no/ vol no, issue no	Indexing in Scopus/ Web of Science/UGC-CARE list
1.	Development of Elementary Education under Central Sponsored Flagship Schemes in Jammu & Kashmir: Issues and Challenges, (Shoaib Mohammad, Dr Tariq Ahmad Sheikh)	'Think India Journal'	2019	ISSN No: 0971-1260, Vol-22, issue 17-2019	UGC-CARE
2.	The Impact of Insurgency on Education Sector in Kashmir: Issues and Concerns (Shoaib Mohammad, Dr Manu Sharma)	International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering (IJRTE)	2019	ISSN No: 2277-3878 Volume-7, Issue-685, Apr-2019	Scopus Indexed
3.	Role of State in the Development of Female education in Kashmir after 1947. (Shoaib Mohammad, & Dr Tariq Ahmad Sheikh)	'International Journal of Special Education'	2022	ISSN No: 0827-3383, Vol 37, Issue 3, 2022	N/A
4.	Women and the Context of Gender Inequality in Different Aspects of Kashmir (Shoaib Mohammad, Dr. Tariq)	International Conference on Multidisciplinary Research in Management, Humanities and Education (IARDO)	2022	ISBN 978-93 91535-32-2	Conference proceeding paper
5.	Neolithic Settlements in Kashmir Valley: An Explanation of Gufkral and Burzohom (Shoaib Mohammad) Ahmad Sheikh)	Quarterly Journal of The Mythic Society	2023	Print ISSN NO: Vol. 114, No. 1 January – March 2023	UGC CARE LISTED

List of Attended Conferences



Conference Name	Paper presented	Attended	ISSN NO
1. International Conference on Multidisciplinary Research in engineering, Management, Humanities and Education(IARDO)	“Women and the Context of Gender Inequality in Different Aspects of Kashmir”	June 2022 Vedic Institute of Engineering and Technology (VGIET)	ISBN N 978- 93 915 35- 32-2
2. International Conference on Re-envisioning Education: Challenges and opportunities	“Insurgency Halt on Education Sector in Kashmir and Adverse Yield”	27 to 28 April, (2018) Lovely Professional University, Punjab	Certificate No: (96750)