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A Barometer of Social Change: Growing Consciousness for Education among Muslim Women of Allahabad University

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In social sciences the second half of the 19th century is generally considered as a period of transition both in social and economic terms. In this context the 1858 is assumed to make a significant divide not only in the sense of a shift in British administrative policies but also a change in the attitude of the subject peoples of the British Empire in India. Again the second half of the 19th century for Natrajan is a period of social reforms.¹ However the general belief of the Muslim Scholar dealing with this period is that there was a growing consciousness among the Hindus for social change.² And in this respect the Indian Muslims were imagined as a lot that chose to remain in a state of backwardness.³ In the second half of the 19th century social awareness for reform is generally gauged by the growing literacy rate amongst Hindu women and vice-versa it is assumed that Indian Muslim Women lagged behind.

The present study is an attempt to review the state of education among women particularly Indian Muslim women in the United Province (now known as Uttar Pradesh). This study attempts to project that like their Hindu counterparts, the Indian Muslim Women also took education. This study accepts that education among Indian Muslim women like the Hindu women was determined by class demarcation in social and economic terms.⁴

The Muslim community in India was a divided lot in the 19th century. It was divided between despair and hope. There was a section of Muslims who saw hope in the Empire. They viewed the Empire in India as a progressive experience and wished to be a part of it without losing their identity as Muslims. This group of Muslims that sought to share the progress promised by the Empire comprised of people who were related either with the landed class or were professionals.⁵ The attitude of despair was represented by a vast section of the people who were dejected with the Empire and sought to pursue an ideal which was apparently unobtainable in the circumstances in the 19th century. This group of Indian Muslims projected the idea of the *Dar-ul Harb*.⁶ In the 19th century whereas the second section of the Indian Muslims started with a dominant stain, soon lost to the other section.

It was in this climate of despair and hope that the Muslim community in India was confronted with issues related with idea of progress. In the 19th century progress, in terms of Empire, meant education particularly the western education.⁷ It was in this context that issues related with education of women were also raised. It is a peculiarity of the present day scholars to evaluate the state of consciousness for reforms in a community by evaluating its response towards education.⁸ The barometer for assessing a progressive consciousness is made on the basis of response of women towards education. It was always assumed that in the 19th century the response of the Muslim community in India towards education was weak. Likewise, it is also assumed that women of that particular community lagged far behind in taking to education.⁹

This paper is an attempt to demonstrate that there was a growing consciousness to receive education among the Indian Muslims. The paper considers mainly the question of education among Indian Muslim women. In our analysis we accept the role of the Christian Missionaries to educate women in India.¹⁰ We have no wish to comment on the moral and religious contents of the Missionaries and only wish to highlight its social content. In the 19th century education among the Indian Muslims ,particularly women, has put in circulation by these agencies- one was the traditional agency where the emphasis was to provide education to the women within the confines of the home, the other was the agency of the missionaries where women were encouraged to move beyond the confines of their homes to receive education.

This paper needs to observe that after 1858 there was a demonstrable change in the attitude and policies of the missionaries. Christian Missionaries wanted to support the cause of education. It may be pointed out that the missionaries of the day felt that Christianity was more rational than any other religion and as such they reasoned in their own way that through education they would be able to get more people towards christianity¹¹ It was in this sense that a failure appeared before the Christian Missionaries. They realised the failure of their approach with regard to higher castes of Indians and therefore had turned their attention to the lower castes.

This paper intends to review the progress of education among Indian Muslim women in the United Provinces (U.P) where the Muslims are 14.3% of the total population of the State.¹² The Muslim population was spread out both in the rural and urban areas.¹³ Their economic position gradually started declining because of decline both in land holding and in government service.¹³

The upsurge of 1857 saw the destruction of several female schools that had been opened under the recommendation of the Wood Dispatch of 1854.¹⁴ The schools run by missionaries were also destroyed. After 1858 the British administration established a concern for education of the native '*zennana*' (womenfolk). The British administration realised the apathy of the people to send their daughter to such schools. The local population indulged in the system of '*purdah*' and therefore they were averse to send their daughters outdoors.¹⁵ The administration also realised the need for appointing female teachers as the local population was averse to the idea that their women could be taught by male teachers. At the time when the government was trying to meet the local challenges, the Christian Missionaries opened a few '*zennana*' schools' in the cities.¹⁶ However the local response to such advances was weak for the local people feared that attending these schools might lead to conversion to Christianity.¹⁷

The debate on issues related with female education continued for a few years and ultimately in 1868 government officers decided to open a normal '*zennana*' school in Lucknow.¹⁸ The main objective of this school was to provide *zennana* teachers for native girls. A European lady Inspector was appointed to supervise these normal schools. The '*zennana*' normal school was set up to train female native teachers for other female schools.¹⁹ Surprisingly, in the normal '*zennana*' school at times only Muslims enrolled.²⁰ In the initial stage the school functioned as an experiment for a year.²¹ A kind of fluctuation was often witnessed in enrollment. In 1868 the number of girls enrolled in the training school was 20.²¹ While in 1881-82 it dropped to just seven, who had passed examination in normal school.²² Soon it reached 19 in 1891.²³

Another '*zennana*' school was opened at Faizabad. Later on this school fragmented in two parts because of some dispute arising among the mistresses of the school. This affected the enrollment of girls in the schools.²⁴ However, despite all shortcomings, the school at Faizabad progressed well because of the individual effort of Miss Reuthor who had a good knowledge of Urdu.²⁵ The school opened in Lucknow had a different experience. It operated there at the mercy of the local population. It faced quite a lot of difficulties in the early stage. There was a demand that the girls would go to that school only in covered palanquin. Another demand was that the girls in the schools should not be inspected by male Inspectors. Surprisingly this demand was also supported by the female teachers of the school.²⁶ It was realised soon, that conveyance to the school was more expensive than tuition fee itself.²⁷ It may be added that while the efforts of the government were commendable the local response in Lucknow was feeble. Even with the provision of the covered palanquin, the attendance

was generally low.²⁸ The government alleged that both Hindu and Muslims deliberately deprived their women to new education for they feared that education might emancipate them from seclusion.²⁹ As a result, the British government policy was changed and it was decided to open such schools in the interior parts of the province i.e. in remote villages. It was also assumed that such schools would be cheaper to maintain.³⁰ At this juncture Handford expressed his astonishment that even a sensible native was inclined to deprive their daughters of enlightenment on such grounds.³¹

It was during this time that a communal divide came to dominate women education in United Provinces. Handford Report suggested that a separate national school for Hindus be set up because for reason of religion, they did not wish to send their daughters to the same school where Muslims were enrolled.³² In this way, he linked the question of nationalism with Hindus while school for Muslim girls was repeatedly described as '*zennana*' school. However, despite the efforts of the government to establish communally segregated female schools, the enrollment of Hindu girls remained low. The enrollment of the Muslim girls showed an increase.

The Normal School did a creditable job for it produced native instructresses. These female instructors could now be engaged to teach such '*pardanasheen*' girls who had never been taught in school.³³ This encouraged some Muslim girls from well-to-do families ('*ashra'f*'/nobility/higher castes groups). These girls from the '*ashra'f*' families required traditional education as well as the new education which until that time was considered appropriate only for the males. There was a change in the curriculum and now it included History, Geography and elementary Maths.³⁴ However, despite these numerous developments, an enquiry committee was set up by the government which expressed discontent with the result. It said that at some schools girls used to continue to learn the alphabet for two to three years, and at times they left school while still in the process of learning alphabets.³⁵

It is interesting to observe that the girls who took admission in such schools were drawn from the lower strata of Muslim society. It was only in Lucknow and Faizabad that *ashraf* (higher class Muslims) girls had a presence. This was largely because covered palanquin was available.³⁶ In the other cities, as this convenience was not available hence girls from only the lower classes (*ajla'f*) enrolled themselves in the schools. The statistics demonstrates that in Faizabad all girls were from '*ashra'f*' families, and only 20 girls from servant class were enrolled.³⁷ Also, after 1870 schools started being opened in other cities besides Lucknow and Faizabad. We have the example of two '*zennana*' school one was in

Nawabganj, district Partabgarh, which was managed by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Munshi Mohammad Husain. In 1878, the number of girls attending school regularly was 13.³⁸ A second school was opened by Munshi Zaka Ullah in Bulandshahar for widows.³⁹ Soon 100 *zennana* schools were opened by 1875, of these 81 were under direct government control, 16 were aided by the government and 3 were privately managed.⁴⁰ It was surprising that enrollment in the government schools dropped by 1875. Government Report suggested that enrollments dropped because of death, resignation and transfer of teachers. The government also suggested that the Indians did not wish to send their daughters to be taught by teachers who were from other areas.⁴¹ As a result after 1875, growing consciousness towards female education started developing among *ashraf* Muslim. Some people of both communities had supported the demand for female education.⁴² Thus people preferred to send their daughters to these non-government schools. The Reports of the Education Department of 1876 accepted that good management of native schools was also an important factor in encouraging larger enrollment. At this time the native Urdu school of Mirajganj of Malihabad was declared as the best school by the education department. At the same time some literary missions were also became active and they extended their activities into the village. These institutes, *maulvis* and *pandits* conducted female schools. However, performance of such schools was not satisfactory.⁴³

The environment related with education amongst female changed by 1880. Several of them discarded the '*pardah*' and had no problem in participating in prize distribution ceremony in schools. They appeared without '*pardah*' before the male Inspector.⁴⁴ In 1876 a need to revise the curriculum for female students was felt.⁴⁵ It was felt that more books in the Vernacular languages be included in the curriculum. As such, the help of Vernacular Society was taken and the curriculum now included books such as '*Mirat-ul Uroos*'⁴⁶ and '*Majalis-un Nisa*'.⁴⁷

In the 1880's a debate on female education started among Muslim Scholars.⁴⁸ At the same time, enrollment of Muslim girls increased in government schools. There was a similar increase in *Islamic Anjumans* too. Progressive Urdu writers started a campaign for education of women.⁴⁹ Also the government invited several prominent Muslim social reformers and educationists to give evidence before the education commission on female education issue. It is astonishing that the most progressive leader of Muslims, Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan demonstrated his reluctance towards education of women and expressed his doubt over its success.⁵⁰ However, despite such apprehensions Muslim women continued to return to education. The growth was rapid among Muslim women.

Again, the issue of curriculum for women was raised both by the government and the reformers. A suggestion was that the curriculum should be same for both boys and girls. For the girls needlework was added along with moral education. However, the Indians wished that moral lessons that could inculcate a spirit of boldness and leadership should not be imparted to women. It was suggested that women should be only 'virtuous'.⁵¹

In 1888-89, 3,088 Muslim girls were enrolled in primary classes but in the following year the number dropped to 2,669. This was probably because a large number of Muslims enrolled in private schools. The number of enrolled in private school was not included in Education Department.⁵²(see Table-I) In 1890 the enrollment of Muslim girls in English Secondary School increased. English Secondary Schools were 19 and there were 524 girls over 64,479 Muslim boys in Vernacular Secondary School. . While in Training School the number of Muslim girls was 19 while 1,281 Muslim girls were enrolled in elementary teaching in the Vernacular language, and 8,627 were there in schools teaching the 'Qura'n', and 212 were enrolled in unspecified classes.⁵³ It is noteworthy that 'ashraf' Muslim girls kept their dominance over *ajlaf* girls and Hindus girls too.(See Table II) By reason of this, 'ashraf' Muslims had benefited since long in United Provinces,⁵⁴ The socio-economic factors of Muslim society had determined the position of their women too. Also, marital condition was favourable to them. Incidence of child-marriage was lesser among them.⁵⁵ Probably this could elucidate why the number of literate Muslim women was greater among 15-20 age group.(See Table III & IV)⁵⁶. Secondly, these *ashraf* Muslims were more urban based.⁵⁷ Thirdly, traditional education was common among them since long, and hence they took to new education too.⁵⁸ Fourthly, all social and religious reform movement was active in western United Province where the Muslims hailed from a good section of the population.⁵⁹ Also 2/5th of the whole Muslim women lived in western United Province and that is why it is startling how a large number of Muslim women were included in the category of illiterate women in the Census Report. The fact was that a large number of Muslim women had traditional education.⁶⁰ At the same time the criterion of literacy was the ability to read and write any language. Then how can they be measured illiterate? As per 1891 census only 0.59% women were literate In this way *ashraf* women did not reach even 1% literacy rate and it was declared that no Muslim women could read or write English language while several evidences are on hand which reveal that they used to write English letters too.⁶¹

Anyway colonial period showed very low literacy rate among women in general, despite of this bare fact that the number of Muslim women had a greater share among

literate women. Also, their literacy growth rate was better than Muslim men.(See Table V & VI) Although, knowledge of English language was not common among women but its occurrence among Muslim women was more than their Hindu counterparts. The number of English knowing Muslim women was 3.8 per 10,000 while it was 2 for Hindu women.⁶²(see Table V)

This may point out that there was regional variation in the literacy rate. In U.P geography, economic and other disparities forces one not to consider U.P as one unit. Regional and local disparity was important. In west U.P Muslims had a different background compared to that of Muslims in central U.P and eastern U.P. In western U.P Muslims were either from landed class or related to the service gentry. In comparison eastern U.P Muslims were mostly poor, landless and were from lower social category.⁶³ In east U.P the social hierarchy was flexible. In the circumstances of poverty government and missionary school were very popular among them. As such, in western U.P the literacy rate was less compared to eastern U.P. as the hierarchal nature of their society restricted them from attending school after a certain age. This probably explained why Muslim women of eastern U.P and Bundelkhand were considered to be more literate.(See Table VI)

As for as district level literacy was concerned it was more in Benares district where they were 61 per 10,000 in 1901⁶⁴ that increased to 250 in 1921.⁶⁵ District Lucknow followed with 80 in 1901 and 150 in 1921. In district Agra there were 56 and 170 respectively and for Allahabad district the number of literate women was 55 and 110 respectively.⁶⁶(see Table VII)

The number of Muslim women who could read and write English augmented from 89⁶⁷ to 313⁶⁸ even as they were only 14.3% of the whole Muslim population.⁶⁹ In 1931, 6.21% Muslim women were literate in English out of the whole English literate women. English knowing women among the Hindus were 33.25% of the whole English literate women.⁷⁰ Muslim women were more prone to learn English at a relatively later age. We may point out that Muslim women were more inclined towards home education where they used to learn English language either from their father, brother or husband or other close male relatives. Also, sometimes they hired a missionary or European lady to learn English.⁷¹(see Table-VIII)¹

Also, they were advancing towards professional education with the traditional and formal education. In 1885, the establishment of Lady Dufryn Fund had cleared the way for women to enter into medical education. Though, there were no women in this province who were considered eligible to get admission for MBBS Degree or some other equivalent

degree. But there were many women in both communities who took two year or three year diploma courses for 'midwife', 'nurse', 'hospital assistant' and 'da'i', at the Agra Medical College and other Medical Colleges. In 1889 there were 8 Muslim women out of the 19 who were studying for diploma course. It is also important to note that there was no woman who belongs to high caste Hindu or Muslim.⁷²(See Table- IX) Further this was almost certainly because high caste families regarded it as a profession that might contaminate their social status. As such, this profession was considered appropriate only for low born women or widows.⁷³

Also, the effort of Aligarh Movement was substantial in this literacy mission. 1890s was that period when MAO College produced a number of Muslim graduates. These Muslim graduates demanded educated wives and this helped in the spread of education among Indian Muslim women of high caste.⁷⁴ Probably this could explain why products of MAO College expressed great concern over ignorance of 'ashraf' women. Also Aparna Basu accepted in her analysis in *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920* that Muslims in this Province were largely urbanized, non- agricultural community, and relatively well to do. They were educationally ahead of Hindus (p-150).

TWO

The second part of this study is concerned with the educational status of Muslim women in the post- independence period. This was the time when Muslim loyalty and identity was over and over again questioned. Hence, a new debate over this issue started. In this way their real issues were overlooked in a generalized way. Thus the question of Muslim identity became a burning issue for several scholars in later part of the 20th century and partition provided it a space. As a result a sense of minorityism was increasing among Muslims. Gender debate was negated and the whole question was centered on issues related to security and increasing communalism instead of female education or rights. It is important to notice that these were Muslim women who themselves made their way and took initiative for higher education after achieving a remarkable level in primary and secondary education. Therefore in the absence of any official data it is not possible to analyse the higher education of the whole province. Consequently, this paper would try to concentrate on Allahabad district specially Allahabad University, the fourth oldest University of India. The study is aware of the general assumption that there was a general decline in the educational status of Muslim women in the decade following independence. This assumption is based on another assumption that partition affected this decline.

This study has come to understanding that although there was a general decline in the educational status of Muslim women that corresponded with a decline in the educational status of Hindu women too. Nevertheless, despite this glaring reality, this study wishes to project that there was a regional variation in the decline. In the Eastern part of U.P. where the migration of Muslim was less, the decline in the educational status of Muslim women was absent. In Western part of the U.P. where Muslim constituted the landed class, the decline was appreciable. This study also wishes to support the earlier conclusions that the decline in the educational status of Muslim men were larger in comparison to women.

This paper after making a brief review of the existing educational standing in the early years after independence concerns itself to the period after 1980. It is apparent that because of several changes, the distinction of the Muslim population in the categories of '*ashra'f*' and '*ajla'f*' was replaced by a division of the Muslim population on the basis of caste. The Gopal Singh Report divided Muslims in 58 categories and of these 21 caste categories were placed in the OBC group.⁷⁵ However, despite the categorized backwardness of the Muslims, decline in the educational status is not evident. A study was conducted by the Education Mission and it made an evaluation of educational status in 12 districts of U.P. till 1983. This study found that at the level of Muslim it was 8.46% while for the whole population it was 20.38%.⁷⁶ However, in the whole province of U.P. the drop out among Muslims was more. It was 90.50% and for others it was 78.59%.⁷⁷ At secondary level the Muslims were 9.72% of the total number receiving education.⁷⁸

THREE

In the third part, the study takes into consideration the situation in one district of U.P.- Allahabad. In Allahabad Muslims constitute 12.96% of whole population. They have a significant presence in local politics. Most of the Muslims in the city are either related to the landed class or engaged in service and business enterprise. They have a presence of 12.82% in the government sector. (See Table-I)

The study related with Allahbad is divided into three phases. The first phase covers the points just before the partition of India and a few years after the partition. The study of the first phase attempts to understand the outcome of the partition on the educational status of the Muslims. In the course of time the first phase begins from 1940 to 1955 (see Table – II). In this phase Allahabad University had a large presence of women drawn from the Anglo-Indian, European and Bengali communities. In the years 1940 to 1947 Muslim women were more in number in the B.A. classes. Although, sometimes their percentage varied slowing , increase or decrease but the average number continued to be the same.⁷⁹ They were 7.18% of

total women enrolled as graduate students . In 1947, a disturbing year, they constituted 5.35% of total women enrolled in graduate classes.⁸⁰ They were also enrolled in post graduate classes. In 1944, 20% Muslim women were enrolled in M.A. Economics, while 50% in M.Ed. classes.⁸¹ This indicates that Muslim women were keener to receive higher education than women from other communities. Surprisingly, in 1949 the number dropped to 2.5%.⁸² This corresponded with a drop in Muslim population in Allahabad.⁸³ It appears that partition affected the Muslims for sometime. Soon after the percentage increased to 4.05% and they maintained their number at 3 out of 74 in 1951.⁸⁴ In 1955 it increased to 25 out of 102.⁸⁵ though there was a go down from 7.18% to 3.76%. However, the total number of Muslim women in higher education increased from 11 to 18.⁸⁶ It is noticeable that a large number of Hindu women were drawn from the Bengali community along with native Christian and Eurasian women.

Outstandingly Muslim women of this period were active in other extra activities, such as cultural programs and debates.⁸⁷ They performed well in political activities too. Some of the outstanding women were Firdaus Fatima Naseer, alumni of A.U., who held a number of administrative posts such as headship in Urdu department. Perhaps she was the first Muslim lady who became a member of executive- council of Allahabad University⁸⁸

Thus in the decade of 40s and 50s total number of graduate Muslim women was 29 out of 478 en rolled. However percentage of Muslim girls was only 5.02%. It seems all Muslim women were drawn from local areas since only 3 Muslim women were identified residing in girls hostels.⁸⁹ Most of the women in the graduate classes were from families related with landed class or Government service.⁹⁰ Study in Science stream was not unfamiliar for them, still their number was negligible.⁹¹

In the phase 1968-78 percentage of Muslim women doubled in comparison to their number during the earlier phase (see Table-III). In the meantime the percentage of European, Eurasian and native Christians dropped rapidly. As a result this phase witnessed an increasing number of women students coming from either Hindu or Muslim families. In 1978 a major change came in education when the percentage of Muslim women dropped swiftly in the main campus of the university. In this year the A.U. recognized 5 more women degree colleges in the city; Hamidiya Degree College was one of them. Therefore, a large number of Muslim women from city went to attend the Hamidiya Degree College. Muslim families residing close to the A.U. campus preferred to send their daughters to the main university campus.⁹²

In the phase after 1978 the enrollment of the Muslim women in degree courses increased considerably because of Hamidiya Degree College and S.S. Khanna Degree College. However, the increase was in local bound women. There was negligible presence of the women from outside Allahabad. This is clear from Table II. In the II phase there were 8.18% of Muslim women in the total female enrollment and women residing in the hostel were negligible.

Most of the women enrolled during the phase I to II, were from the higher class. Greater number of them were '*Shaikhs*', followed by '*saiyid*', '*pathan*' and '*ansarsi*'.⁹³ Sarwar Faruqi opined that 1965 was a turning point in the gender outlook of the university campus. After 1965 man-woman interaction increased appreciably.⁹⁴ Muslim women who were enrolled and belonged to areas outside Allahabad came to attend the university by conveyance on train or they resided at their relative's home in Allahabad.⁹⁵ Probably, this could explain why the number of Muslim women had increased all of a sudden in a decade.

It is surprising at that time there was no question of cultural identity for Muslim women.⁹⁶ Like their counterparts, Muslim women were oriented for a career. They generally prepared for teaching. Although A.U. was civil service oriented, however it was considered male dominated.⁹⁷ A general belief is that Muslim women lagged behind. Conversely this is not true in case of A.U. However enrollment in the Hamidia Degree College and S.S.Khanna Degree College was increasing day by day.⁹⁸ This could create a question whether they were getting conscious towards education or religious identity. It is noteworthy that Hamidiya college is situated in a narrow lane and enclosed with high walls. Perhaps this provided a sense of security to the parents.

The phase of 1980 onwards upto to the present is a crucial stage for Muslim women. In the first instance it appears that Muslim women were lagging behind in this extremely competitive period. This paper has taken 1995 as a dividing line. Though, changes started becoming noticeable after 1980. After 1980 Hamidia Degree College became operational and it took a large chunk of Muslim women from the main university campus(see Table-IV) with the result that enrollment of Muslim women in the main university campus was confined to areas situated close to the campus.⁹⁹ After 1990 Muslim women from the higher classes faced another problem. They failed to qualify in the entrance test put in operation by the university. However, Muslim women from OBC category got admission because of reservation.¹⁰⁰ Also women from the '*ashra'f*' families apparently demonstrated a more conservative outlook and in an attempt to preserve their cultural identity they preferred to go to Hamidia Degree College;it was easier to get admission in the college. However, despite

these hurdles, the total enrollment of Muslim women in the university remained the same. There was no decline in their numbers on the campus. The Muslims maintained their number on the campus because of admission guaranteed under the quota system but they continued to get admission in Urdu, Arabic and Persian courses because of lack of demand for these subjects. One may presume that if this quota is abolished then it would be difficult to find Muslim women in campus. It is surprising why the number of women drawn from 'ashra'f families declined on the main campus?¹⁰¹. In this study the following conclusions have been drawn:

- (a) Enrollment of women from 'ashra'f families declined in Arts faculty;
- (b) Question of cultural identity and conservative outlook, particularly in the 'ashra'f families, was evident. Ashra'f families thought that it was more safe to send their daughter to a college situated nearby. Also the 'ashra'f families suspected the open environment and co-education on the campus and therefore chose to send their daughters to the girls colleges.
- (c) The conservative outlook was evident in the use of 'purda'.¹⁰²
- (d) The study also concluded that a sense of 'minorityism' was developing in Muslim women but by joining the Colleges they were losing out in inculcating a competitive spirit.
- (e) It is true that while in terms of quantity the Muslim women receiving higher education increased, the quality of higher education in Colleges suffered.

It was interesting to observe that Muslim women were not lagging behind in Science faculty. In the first phase their number was negligible and in the second phase the situation was slightly better. It could have occurred because there was no Muslim girl's School in Allahabad where Science was being taught till 1980. After 1990 the scene changed because they started to show their presence in Science stream too. Although the percentage of Muslim women continued to be less but in S.S.Khanna Degree College their enrollment was on the rise.¹⁰³ It is noticeable that S.S.Khanna Degree College is located in Dariabad which is situated in old city of Muslim dominated area. As a result they maintained a good presence in Science classes too. Since 1990 the percentage of pass out students in Science is approx 25% every year. Interestingly after 1990 in the university campus percentage of Muslim women in Science is less but their performance is very good. In the total pass out women, in 2004, 3 women were awarded 1st division, their %-age of marks ranges

between 63.4% to 73.2%. In 2005, again 3 women were awarded 1st division out of 7 and their %-age of marks are between 70.1% to 70.5%.¹⁰⁴(see Table- V)

They are not lagging behind in Commerce faculty too. In 2004 their number is 13 out of 114 women. Soon they increased to 18 out of 141 women in the following year. Also, their performance in Commerce faculty is commendable. In 2004, 3 Muslim women secured first division and their %-age of marks ranges from 61.4% to 63%. As well as 5 women have got first division in 2005 and their %-age of marks is between from 62.7% to 69.26%. (See Table-VI) In this way they constituted 11.4% of whole women students in 2004 and increased to 12.85% in the following year.¹⁰⁵

It appears that decreasing number of *'ashra'f* women in Arts faculty is also due to their preference towards Science, Commerce and other professional courses. Till 1980 they had no option as compared to the period after 1990.¹⁰⁶

At the postgraduate level Muslim women continued to maintain consistency. In the first phase their number was less but in terms of performance, they did well in economics, home science and geography and their number increased. In the traditional stream like Urdu, Persian and Arabic their number remained constant until the third phase.¹⁰⁶ It was surprising that their %-age, in some selected subject was greater but in other subject such as Sanskrit, Hindi, Ancient History, Psychology (at earlier stage) and Philosophy their presence was negligible. The subject popular among Muslim women on PG level were Geography, English, Economics, Med. History and Political Science (see Table VI I).¹⁰⁷ It is remarkable whenever they took other subjects beyond their traditional subjects of Arabic, Urdu and Persian, they performed well.¹⁰⁸

However despite numerous drawbacks, it is obvious that Muslim women at A.U. are more concerned about their career. They take subjects with a view to improve their chances for a job. The period after 1990 does demonstrate that Muslim women show a preference for professional career. Also, there are more Muslim women who opt for competitive exams to get into the civil or judicial services.¹¹⁰ In this way I come to the conclusion that Muslim women are not as backward or uneducated as propagated. It is Muslim men who became victim of time not women. It appears that it is state sponsored backward character that is often imposed on Muslim women.¹¹¹

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Appendix - A

Table-I

No. of Educated Muslim Women in Government School

Year	Europeans&Native Christians		Hindus		Muslims	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
1888-89	916	1,744	5,490	13	3,088	15
1889	1,188	2,275	5,518	17	2,669	18

Source: Home-Education- 1891 (NAI- New Delhi)

Table-II

Percentage of Muslim Women by Caste

Group&Caste	Learning		English		Other Language&Total-1891	
	1921	1891	1921	1891		
RajputMuslim	-	0.02	-	-	0.13	100

Julaha	0.28	0.014	0.003	-	0.043	100
Muslim Artisan & Village Menial	-	0.01	0.00	-	0.03	„
Bhangi	-	0.01	-	-	0.03	„
Non Indian Asiatic Race	3.8	0.14	0.13	-	0.45	„

Source: CR of 1891- p-262

CR of 1921- p-87

Tab III

Literacy rate of women per 100 literate women

Age	Hindu Women				Muslim Women			
	Literate		English		Literate		English	
	1921	1931	1911	1931	1911	1931	1911	1931
All age	51.9	63.2	28.1	33.25	8.7	20.92	3.8	6.21
0-10	55.98	63.44	21.84	33.54	9.7	19.11	3.2	6.6
10-15	55.68	63.9	35.24	36.27	8.97	20.45	3.88	7.49
15-20	64.53	63.87	34.88	36.6	8.45	34.74	4.45	8.88
20 & over	50.19	62.80	25.15	47.38	8.53	20.98	8.53	7.88

Source –CR of 1921: P – 120

CR of 1931: P – 150, Note: all % -age is drawn by myself).

Tab. IV

Education with traditional Language

Age Group	No. in 10,000 Literate			Urdu Only		Hindi Only		Urdu & Hindi knowing Urdu better		Urdu & Hindi knowing Hindi better		Other Language		No. 10,000 Literate in English		Female to 10,000 Muslim Males		
	Total	Male	Female	H	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H	Literate	Lit. in Eng.
0-10	34	59	7	3	5	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1081	191
10-15	238	407	31	15	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	627	33
15-20	417	742	48	29	3	1	5	2	1	1	-	-	3	2	1	1	582	83

					9			5										
20 & over	393	752	33	19	26	1	3	16	1	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	439	67
Total	282	526	27	15	20	1	3	13	1	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	493	69

Source : CR of 1901 P. 162-63 Subsidiary Tab.I

Tab V

Education by Age, Sex & Religion

Religion & Age Period	No per Mille who were literate			No per 10,000 who were literate in English		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
All religion	42	74	7	44	75	10
5-10	9	14	3	7	9	4
10-15	39	162	9	31.5	47.1	10.9
15-20	57	93	12	76.9	124.7	16.3
20 & over	49	90	7	51.3	90	10
Muslims All ages	43	74	8	50	92	3.8
5-10	8	12	3	3	6	0.6
10-15	35	54	10	26.7	14.7	3.0
15-20	54	87	14	83.4	14.7	5.7
20 & over	53	94	9	62.3	117.5	3.0
Hindu All ages	39	70	5	29	53	2
5-10	8	13	3	2	4	5
10-15	37	60	7	21.3	35.7	2.3
15-20	54	89	9	56.3	97.5	4.1
20 & over	46	81	2	33.3	63.1	2.0

Source- CR of 1921 P.120

Tab. VI

Education of women by religion & natural division

Region	1901				1921			
	Total	Male	Female	H. Female	Male	Female	H. Female	
NWP & Oudh	282	527	27	15	74	8	5	
1. Himalaya West	334	552	26	15	100	17	7	
2. Sub Him. West	197	358	24	16	59	7	5	

3. Ind. Gangetic Plain West	231	420	25	17	65	9	7	
4. Ind. Gangetic Plain Central	371	706	36	14	96	9	5	
5. Central India Pateu	495	951	39	10	141	13	4	
6. Sub Him. East	232	448	11	12	42	4	4	
7. Ind. Gangetic Plain East	423	841	41	20	128	15	7	
8. East Satpura	335	644	34	21	101	3	5	
9. Tehri Garhwal	334	653	13	8	38	-	2	
10. Rampur	144	273	14	12	49	5	4	

Source: CR of 1901 P. 165-66 Sub. Tab. II

CR of 1921 P.122

Tab. VII

Literate at per 10,000 for 19 cities in 1901

City	Muslim	Hindu
Agra	96	78
Allahabad	127	236
Bareilly	197	224
Benares	104	260
Cawnpur	136	83
Farukhabad	97	151
Fyzabad	64	98
Gorakhpur	39	286
Hathras	28	32
Jaunpur	53	115
Jhansi	94	95
Koil	33	53
Lucknow	134	110
Meerut	72	27
Marzipan	112	89
Moradabad	71	226
Muttra	29	173

Saharanpur	33	122
Shahjahanpur	189	118

Tab. VIII

	No. of Literate women in 100 women				Literate in English. Per 100 women			
	Hindu		Muslim		Hindu		Muslim	
	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
All	52	62.4	8.7	20.1	2.4	3.9	0.33	0.73
0-10	41.7	63.4	8.12	19.1	1.5	2.7	0.22	0.53
10-15	62	64	9	20.5	2.7	4.9	7	1
15-20	64.5	64	8.5	22.2	3.1	7.2	0.38	1.75
20 & over	50.2	62.8	12.6	21	2.23	4.6	0.32	0.72

Source: CR of 1921 P.72-74

CR of 1931 P.450

Tab. IX

Year	No. who joined the Agra Medical College		
	Hindu	Muslim	Total
1885	7	1	19
1886	17	3	42
1887	3	6	21
1888	3	-	9

Source: The Countess of Dufferin's Fund, Vth Annual report P.157-159

Appendix – B

Table -I

%-age of Muslims in Government Services

State/District	Total			Class-I			Class-II		
	All	Muslim	%	All	Muslim	%	All	Muslim	%
Allahabad	39	5	12.82	-	-	-	4	-	-
U.P.	12,307	925	7.55	134	11	8.21	335	15	4.48
	Class-III			Class- IV			After 2000 in Class-II		
	All	Muslim	%	All	Muslim	%	In Civil	In U.P.	<1%
Allahabad	16	2	12.5	19	3	15.79	Judicial		>6%
U.P.	7,295	550	7.54	4,543	353	7.8			

Source: Report on Minorities, Vol-II, Government of India, 1983 Recent data- Based on result declared in News paper by U.P.Public Service Commission.

Table-1I

No. of Graduate Women During disturbing period of Independence

Year	No. of Muslim Women	Others	%-age of Muslim Women to all Women
1940	1	15	6.67
1945	3	39	7.69
1946	3	39	„
1947	4	60	6.66
1949	1	40	2.5
1951	3	74	4.05
1952	3	111	2.7
1954	6	151	3.97
1955	5	102	4.90
Total	24	478	5.02

Table-III (B.A.)

Year	No. of Muslim Women	Others	%-age of Muslim Women to all women
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1968	28	279	10.03
1969	28	331	8.45
1970	20	350	5.78
1971	32	349	9.16
1972	36	308	11.68
1974	37	357	10.36
1976	32	428	7.47
1978	32	532	6.01
Total	287	3,411	8.414
%-age of Muslim Women in University including Degree Colleges			
Year	Muslim Women	Others	%-age of Muslim Women
1978	93	972	9.56
1984	161	1,370	11.56

Table-IV (B.A.)

No. of Muslim Women at University Campus				Including Degree Colleges		
Year	No. of Muslim Women	Others	%-age of Mus. Women to all women	No. of Mus. Women	Others	%-age of Mus. Women to all women
1995	36	611	5.72	235	2,057	11.42
2004	27	405	6.67	523	2,825	18.51
Total	63	1,016	6.20	758	4,882	15.52

Source: Gazettes of Allahabad University of relevant Years.

Table- V (for B.Sc)

No. of Mus. Women at University Campus				Including Degree Colleges		
Year	No. of Muslim Women	Total Women	%-age of Mus. Women to all women.	No. of Mus. Women	Total Women	%-age of Mus. Women to all women
2004	5	65	7.69	30	277	10.83
2005	7	99	7.07	32	363	8.81
Total	12	164	7.31	62	640	9.68

Source : Gazettes of Allahabad University for 2004 and 2005

Table- VI

No. of Women awarded degree in B.Com. at University Campus

Year	No. of Muslim Women	Total Women	%-age of Mus. Women to all women
2004	13	114	11.4
2005	18	141	12.85
Total	31	255	12.15

Source : Gazettes of Allahabad University for above year

Table- VII

% - age of Muslim Women of whole Women in M.A. Class

Subject	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1976	1978
Med.History	5.9	27.3	20.8	9.7	3.75	18.5	33.3	3.6	30
Mod.History	-	27.3	8.3	-	-	-	-	-	20
Anc.History	7.14	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Geography	7.7	13.0	26.3	5.9	-	23.53	15.8	38.9	-
Economics	5.6	14.3	4.0	11.1	4.5	15.4	4.5	8.3	7
Pol. Science	-	-	-	-	12.0	50.0	10.5	7.1	18.8
English	4.76	13.3	-	7.1	-	10.3	7	2	3.5
Hindi	-	-	1.6	-	-	2.0	2.6	-	-

Sanskrit	-	-	-	-	-	3.8	-	-	-
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Source: Annual Report of Allahabad University

Table – VIII

No. of Post graduate Women in Arts Faculty*

Subjects	1997			2004		
	Mus.Women	Total	%-age of Mus.Women	Mus. Women	Total	%-age of Mus.Women
Med./Mod.History	3	37	8.10	1	22	4.54
Pol. Science	1	26	3.8	1	19	5.26
Psychology	2	31	6.45	-	-	-
Geography	4	13	30.76	-	-	-
Economics	1	29	3.44	1	16	6.25
English	2	21	9.52	14	72	19.44
Total	13	157	8.28	17	136	12.5

Source : Gazettes of Allahabad University

End Notes

¹ Natrajan,S. 1962, A Century of Social Reform in India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

² A close analysis of contemporary literature shows this fear.

³ Saiyid Ahmed Khan's journey to England in 1869 proved to be a milestone in the evolution of his views regarding the religious, educational, social and political problems of the Muslim community in India. See also M.S.Jain, 1965, The Aligarh Movement-1858-1906, Sri Ram Mehra & Co. Agra.

⁴ Unlike their co-brothers Muslims were also divided into two major groups one was *ashra'f* another was *ajla'f*. *Ashra'f* were those who used to claim their descendant from either Arab or other Middle East countries. They consist 36.3% of whole Muslim population in U.P. this group was divided in four sub-caste i.e. *Saiyid, Shaikh, Pathan and Mughal*. While *ajla'f* were from indigenous origin, mostly they were recognized by their profession, again this group too fragmented into 96 sub-caste.

⁵ Robinson, Francis. 1993, Separatism Among Indian Muslims, Oxford University Press, Delhi.p-14-24.

⁷ Selected Documents of Aligarh, ed. Shan Mohammad.

⁸ Female education question became a hot able debate among social reformer in late 1870s. It appears that first generation of Aligarh had prepared and they felt an educated wife therefore raised their voice for female education. But it seems they were only concerned for welfare of *ashra'f* women and never talked about *ajla'f* women. Most prominent among them was Nawab Hasan Khan Bahadur who expressed his fear of social complexities if *ashra'f* women would not be educated. See Saiyid Mehdi Hasan Khan, speech No-79, 28 December 1903, Bombay. Also see Maroof Nawab Saifuddin Hisam-

ul Mulk Md. Saiyid Ali Hasan Khan Bahadu, MAO College Aligarh,ed. Haji Md. Ismail Khan & Md. Wahid Uddin Salim, 1st Ma,1899,p-347

⁹ The Aligarh Movement: Basic Document:1864-1894,Abstract of a letter from a European Lady,p-386-88.See also Aligarh Institute Gazette.18th July,1871.also, all European travelers of that timeshows the educational backwardness in *.zennan*.

¹⁰ Sharma Rajbahadur,1988, Christian Mission in North India-1813-1913, Mittal Publication, Delhi,p-43.

¹¹ Ibid.p-43,162, the vocation of the missionaries was evangelism, whether they opened school or hospital or undertook other social program,conversion of the non- Christians remain their sole aim.

¹² Census Report of India,NWP of Agra and Oudh, 1901 by R.Burn, Government Press, Allahabad,1902.

¹³ Census Report of India NWP of Agra and Oudh, 1891 by D.C.Belly,Governmet Press, Allahabad, 1893.

¹³ Though Francis Robinson analysis shows that Muslim of that time were well off in U.P but at times contemporary Muslim scholars expressed their great concer over deteriorated condition of Muslim, such as Sir Saiyid's analysis in Asbab-e Baghawat Hind.

¹⁴ Development of Female Education in India,ed. Sabsayaachi Bhattaacharya, Joseph Bara.,Rao,Sankhdhar,2001,ed. Krishna Publishing, Delhi.

¹⁵ Report on Public Instruction in the State of Oudh,1877.The purda system is death below to all earnest teaching besides shutting out inspection also; for the Deputy Inspectress can only visit those few schools which are in Lucknow or its neighbourhood. The closing of 7 school in the western circle, and the opening of 3 new ones in the Eastern,reduced net loss to only 4. It is hoped that we may gradually make up this loss;but until the problem as to how efficient teachers, male or female can be trained has been solved, it would be premature to extend present operation.

¹⁶ Development of Women's Education in India,p-131.

¹⁷ Great champion of female education, Haji Md. Ismail Khan disclosed this fear spread in Muslims. The Aligarh Institute Gazzet,13th March, 1894.

¹⁸ Home: Education, 1868,31 Oct. File No.3-4. A normal school had been opened in Lucknow with 20 pupils, costing Rs. 120 per mensem, extracted from W. Handford, Esquir,M.A. Director of Public Instruction, Oude to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude.No.-678 dated Lucknow,3rd September.

¹⁹ Ibid. The Inspectress will have immediate charge of the two normal schools.

²⁰ The normal school at Lucknow never trained any women but Muslim men. Development of Women's Education In India.opcit.p-58.

²¹ Home Department:Education, 678,dated Lucknow,3rd Sep.The scheme was experimental and was accordingly sanctioned in the first instance for one year.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Development of Women's Education in India. Opcit.p-141

²³ Home: Education, General Table,III,1891.

²⁴ Development of Education in India,opcit.p-58.

²⁵ Home Department:Education,678.3rd Sep.1868.

²⁶ Home Dept.: Education,1868,proceeding-31October,File No.3-4. In September 1868 Mr. Handford, submitted a report that the education of girls in Oude is beset with difficulties. Here not only do school mistress object to male inspection even from behind screen. Some say that not only must not seen or examined even from behind a screen, and of whose condition I can form but the faintest idea.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Home : Education,1868 Proceeding,31 Oct.F.N.3-4.from the Chief commissioner of Oude,No.-3843,dated 10th Sep.

²⁹ Development of Women's Education,opcit.p-59

³⁰ Ibid.p-59-61.

³¹Mr Handford says' he really can not see how any sensible native can object to government opening female school'.

³² Home : Education, from W. Handford, Esq., M.A. Director of Public Instruction Oude to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, No.-678, dated Lucknow, the 3rd Sep. 1868.

³³ Ibid. I propose, in first instance to invite respectable natives to select candidate for the national schools, whom they could be willing to admit to their *zennana* to teach their female relatives.

³⁴ Ibid. Excepting the normal school the studies are confined to reading, writing, sewing and little arithmetic... On admission they could barely be read but the first class can now read and write very fairly, are well acquainted with the geography of Asia, know the fair simple and compound rules in arithmetic and Indian history.

³⁵ Development of Women's Education. op.cit. p-69-70. Also see Report of Public Instruction in THE state of Oudh for the year 1876. I visited a considerable number of girls school last year, many of them, more especially those in villages, are taught by old men of local influence, either *maulvis* or *pandits* as the pupils are either Mohamman or Hindu, for the two castes seldom mix in girls schools as they do in boys schools. The teacher can teach nothing but reading and writing, and do not understand management of our methods. Sewing or fancy work is, of course, quite out of their sphere, but the Deputy and Circle Inspector fears to replace them by better teachers, as it was only by influence possessed by these old man that a school could be conducted at all, and if they were now removed and a stranger put in their place, the school would break up.

³⁶ Social status of the pupils; they are principally poor, though in Lucknow and Faizabad belonging to classes who are socially respected. The wealthy hold aloof from movement. Home : Education, from W. Handford, Esq., M.A. director of Public Instruction to the Oude to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, No. 678, dated Lucknow, the 3rd Sep. 1868. Also see A.P. Howell, Education in British India, 1870-71, Calcutta, 1872. I may remark here that at Faizabad, where the palanquin expenditure is the most extravagant, 54+ of the students are the children of government servants, about 27 belongs to the trading classes, and 26 are the children of private servants. I should say that the majority of these girls ought to be able to walk to school.

³⁷ Ibid. it was 20 in 1868 that increased to 26 by 1870.

³⁸ Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh, Vol. III- N-Z, Allahabad, NWP and Oudh Government Press, 1878, p-136.

³⁹ Aligarh Magazine, *khawateen number* 2001, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, ed. p-33.

⁴⁰ Development of Women's Education in India, p-65

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Oudh Akhbar, 28 Jul. 1868. Wali-e Rampur had opened a school for native females. See also Home: Education, 1891, Simla Records, Proceeding: Feb, Nos. 18-52 No. 28 from W.C. Bennett, Esq; Secretary to the government of the NWP of Agra and Oudh. There has been a slight rise in the number of girls at aided schools under private management.

⁴³ Development of Women's Education in India, p-69.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Also see in Report on Public Instruction in the state of Oudh for the year 1876. At the large school in Malihabad the girls were carefully screened from the view of the Deputy Inspector and myself, and no one but the Deputy Inspectress was admitted behind the veil, but as soon as the examination was over, and prizes had been distributed, the girls impatient for their liberty, came out from behind the '*purda*' and passed us without betraying any symptoms of fear. About a year ago, even the Deputy Inspectress, a native lady, was refused admission behind the '*purda*' in some of the school in her circle.

⁴⁵ Ibid. A new program is drawn up, which it is hoped, when the new books and edition are ready, will not be found either beyond the capacities of the most of the teachers or repulsive to the students. History and geography in this prospectus are a most entirely set aside; but arithmetic and writing are both insisted on, especially the latter.

⁴⁶ written by Maulvi Nazir Ahmed in 1869.

⁴⁷ Written by Altaf Husain Hali in 1874.

⁴⁸ Most prominent among them were Nawab Mohsin-ul Mulk, Saiyid Mehdi Hasan Khan, Maulvi Nazir, Altaf Husain Hali, Saiyid Husain Bilgrami, Hji Md. Ismai'l Khan and Mumtaz Ali. All were either the product of Aligarh first generation or product of Delhi School. Besides Urdu News paper

had played very important role to awake Muslims such as Oudh Akhbar, Oudh Panch, Rafiq-e Hind and several others.

⁴⁹ Such as Anjuman Himayat Islam and Mohammadan Educational Conference raised this issue.

⁵⁰ Education Commission: Report by the NWP and Oudh Provincial Committee, with evidence taken before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission, Calcutta, 1884. He raised a question whether the hen or egg first created. See also his lecture delivered in Gurudasapur in 1882 in which he expressed his satisfaction over the present educational condition of '*ashra'f*' Muslim women. It is big allegation against him he never talked about *a'm women i.e. 'ajl'f*'.

⁵¹ Development of Womens Education in India, opcit.p-133.

⁵² Home: Education, 1891, Simla Records, Proceedings: Feb.Nos.18 to 52. No.28 from W.C.Benett.

⁵³ Home : Education,1891, General Table III.

⁵⁴ They hold 35% of whole government service. See Francis Robinson, p-22-23.While they hold 49.1% of whole uncovenanted Civil Services.

⁵⁵ Mohammadan of the better classes usually marry at the age of about 17 or 18 (both sexes) : the poorer class in somewhat earlier, in the neighbourhood of 14. Census Report of India NWP of Agra and Oudh, 1911,ed 1912. Government Press, Allahabad.p-227. while R.Burn in 1901 pointed out that it was more strictly adhered to in the eastern portion of the province than in the western, which is a point worth remarking, for as has beenoften said, the lower caste and lower branches of widespread castes reside in the east.Census Report of India,NWP of Agra and Oudh,1901,Allahabad.

⁵⁶ Data has been extracted from Census Report of 1921 & 1931.

⁵⁷ Census Report of India NWP of Agra and Oudh, 1881. W,White, Allahabad Government Press, Allahabad.p-

⁵⁸ Gail Minaults' analysis discloses this tendency of '*ashra'f*' women. Secluded Scholar,1998, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

⁵⁹ Census Report of India NWP of Agra and Oudh,1901,p-

⁶⁰ Education Commission : Report by the NWP and Oudh Provincial Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission, Calcutta, 1884. It is still a custom among well to do and respected families of Muslims to employ tuitress to get their girls instructed in the Holy Qura'n, and in elementary theological books in the Urdu languages sometimes a father or a brother or some other near kinsman teaches them to write letter in Urdu, and occasionally imparts instruction in Persian Books.

⁶¹ Census Report of India, 1891,ed,1892.p-262.While in 1884 Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan had been given a detail account before Education Commission of traditionally English educated women who can write letter too.

⁶² Census Report of India NWP of Agra and Oudh, 1921,ed. 1923.p-120.

⁶³ Census Report of India NWP of Agra and Oudh, 1901,ed.1902. Allahabad,p-154.

⁶⁴ Ibid,p-154,120,173,Subsidiary Table VIII.

⁶⁵ Census Report of India NWP of Agra and Oudh,1921.Subsidiary Table III, P-122.

⁶⁶ Opcit.

⁶⁷ Ibid. CR of 1901,It was highest in Lucknow (80), Agra (56), Allahabad (55)

⁶⁸ CR of 1921. p-122.

⁶⁹ CR of 1901, p-

⁷⁰ CR of 1931, by A.C Turner, ed Usha Publication,1987.p-450

⁷¹ *Sawan-e Hayat –Begham Abduula*,Shaeikh Abdullah, Begum Abdullah was taught by a European lady in her initial stage of learning.

⁷² Annual Report of Dufirin Fund, Vth annual Report, 1889.(Collected from NAI, New Delhi).p-157-59. See also The Aryaa Darpaan,Jan.1894.

⁷³ The Jami –ul Ulum (Moradabad),28th Feb 1897.

⁷⁴ As a result it was desided to pass a resolution in favour of women section. in late 1890s at Mohammadan Educational Conference to established. Proceeding of Mohammadan Anglo Oriental Educational Conference,1896. (Collected from Maulana Azad Library AMU,Aligarh.

⁷⁵ Such as *darji, bhatiar, quraish, barhai, gaddi, hajjam, julaha, kagsan, kunjra, kisan, manihar, mirasi, momin, kayasth, nudaff, naqqa'l, nat, rangrez, sweeper, faqir, and dafali*. As well as Mandal Report had fragmented more to Muslims.

⁷⁶ Report on Minorities, Vol.- II, Gopal Singh Commission, p-12. At times, it was greater for Allahabad district, the % -age of Muslims at elementary level was 10.48 while they constituted 12.96% of whole population.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p-16.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p-18.

⁷⁹ Minutes of the Allahabad University for the year of 1940 to 1955.

⁸⁰ In this paper all % -age has been drawn by me from Census Report, Home Dept.'s file, Minutes, Annual Reports and Gazettes of Allahabad University.

⁸¹ Minutes of A.U., 1944.

⁸² Minutes of A.U., 1949.

⁸³ Though C.R. of 1951 for U.P. shows less than 1% of Muslims who departed to Pakistan.

⁸⁴ Minutes of A.U. for the year of 1951.

⁸⁵ Minutes of A.U. for the year of 1955.

⁸⁶ This data is just few year before partition and few year after partition.

⁸⁷ Naves Banjo, inmate of S.N.Hostel, had gotten first prize in the Extremepore debate competition. See Minutes, 1952, p-63.

⁸⁸ Minutes of the annual meeting of the Academic Council for the year 1952 on Thursday 27th Nov. She hails from a landlord family and her husband was also head of Dept. of Geography. Later her daughter Shahwar Nasir was elected for general Secretary of A.U. Union in II phase of study.

⁸⁹ Nafees Bano in 1952, Salma Hasan in 1954 and Kishwar Sultan Jalaluddin in 1945.

⁹⁰ This conclusion is based on interview of graduate women of that time.

⁹¹ In 1946 Majida Mehtab was the only women who was enrolled in M.Sc class. And Miss Saira Hashmat had completed her graduation out of 3 women in Bachelor of Science special course for women in 1947.

⁹² Interview of Muslim women, who resided at nearby A.U. had compelled to conclude this. Most prominent among them was Faruqui Sisters of Colonelganj and Khan sister of Colonelganj. I interacted with Faruqui's sister of Colonelganj and concluded that time has changed much than earlier. Now middle class girls had started to come in university. The atmosphere of university campus was very liberal at that time and it was considered that Muslim women were very broad minded, they never felt any hesitation to participate in other campus activities beside education. Miss Shahwar Naseer, daughter of the Firdaus Naseer Fatima was most prominent among them who had been elected for General Seceratory post of Union of A.U.

⁹³ Based on interview of former alumni of A.U.

⁹⁴ My mother, Rehana Zahoor Jafri, who is also an alumni of A.U. often talked about the open atmosphere of A.U.

⁹⁵ My maternal aunt Rabia Zahoor Jafri used to come to University daily from a suburb area of city i.e. 32 k.m. from University Campus.

⁹⁶ They exceptionally used to observe '*burqa*'. Only one woman, my maternal aunt, Rabia Jafri and Rafat Zahoor Jafri used to observe veil strictly at main campus too. Actually it was my grand father Saiyid Zahoor Alam Jafri, who was staunch supporter of higher education with '*purda*'. At the same time my mother also went to University without '*burqa*' because she had got married and my father is very liberal on this question. But later on my grand father changed his opinion on this issue for me and I was permitted to go outside without '*burqa*' while no lady of my family so be it paternal or maternal link is allowed to discard '*purda*'. At last he accepted that '*purda*' is a hurdle in the way of progress. I directly interacted with Muslim women of II- phase of this study, they all have refused to observe *purda* and most of them are working women and gave priority to career over marriage. In government service they preferred to teaching. It is noteworthy that '*sharif*' families of U.P. often regarded it as a respectable job.

⁹⁷ Sarwar Faruqi, who is a retired lecturer from government girls college told me that no women of that time was interested in civil service exams.

⁹⁸ It ranges from 20 to 90 % of whole enrolled women.

⁹⁹ based on my serway.

¹⁰⁰ In B.A.I quota admission, there are 23 female candidates out of which 22 are from OBC Category.

¹⁰¹ In my interaction with 10 girls of B.A. classes 6 hail from '*gaddi*' 2 Muslim *kayasth*, 1 *malik* and 1 from *butcher*. As far as locality is concerned 7 comes from Beilly, 2 from Katra and one from Phulpur.

¹⁰² It became a common phenomenon that women coming from densely populated Muslim areas are either putting head covers or observing '*purda*' in the form of '*burqa*'.

¹⁰³ In 2004, the numbers of Muslim women, who have been awarded B.Sc degree from S.S.Khanna Degree College are 13 out of 51 women. At the same time in C.M.P. Degree College, the number of Muslim women in

B.Sc. class are 30 out of 277 women. While in 2005, S. S. Khanna Degree College has 15 Muslim women out of 61 and in C.M.P.Degree College, it has 32 out of 361.

¹⁰⁴ In University campus, there are 5 Muslim women out of 65 women, who had been awarded B.Sc degree in 2004 while their number increased to 7 out of 99 in 2005.

¹⁰⁵ Most prominent among them is Nazia Abbas Rizwi, who got 69.26% in 2005. At the same time Rooma Siddiqui secured 68.1% while Kaniz Qubra came third with 64.21%.

¹⁰⁶ As told by Sarwar Faruqui that at that time they did not have much option as available today therefore geography, economics and English subject is often considered very scoring as equal to Science subject.

¹⁰⁶ In 2004-5, there were 9 women who were enrolled in M.A. previous class in Arabic while their number is 3 in Persian. It is interesting to note that most of the women enrolled in traditional subjects too are from OBC category.

¹⁰⁷ It appears that the main reason behind their choice was due to liberal attitude of this Department that was often in the grip of leftists. Second, there was no trend of Science and Commerce and these subject are considered very honourable, equal to Science and Commerce subject and also very scoring. All good students often dreamt to take these subjects.

¹⁰⁸ In 1970 Zarina Faruqui was the only Muslim women in Hindi Department, she performed very well in academics and now hold an honourable post in teaching field and married to a prominent *Chishti* family of Dewaria district. Also, their sister in-laws showed an excellent performance in academic field beside several other political activities. Most of her sister- in-laws are former alumni of A.U. In 1973, Km. Farida Nasreen earned 4th position in top ten in Hindi. While in Sanskrit at the same year Km. Kishwar Zabin Nasim secured 6th rank in top ten. Most prominent among them is Km Nasreen, who has gotten 2nd rank in top ten during second phase of study and now hold readership in Sanskrit Department of A.U. Besides this it is fact that Muslim women were very reluctant towards subjects such as Hindi, Sanskrit, Ancient. History, and in Philosophy.

¹¹⁰ One can find several Muslim women who are residing in delegacy in rooms taken on hire for preparing for Civil Services and other competitive exams as their male counterparts do; that was not common in first and second phase of study.

¹¹¹ This is also accepted by Md. Shafiquz Zaman in Problems of Minority Education in India, 2001, Bookligns Corporation, Hyderabad, p- 165.

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