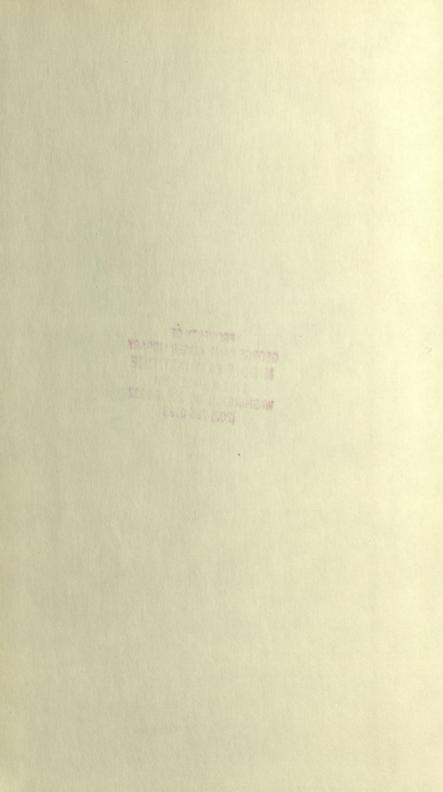
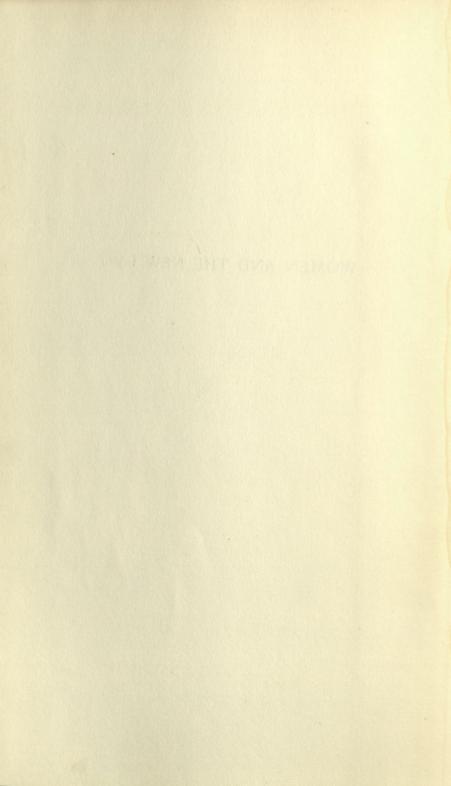


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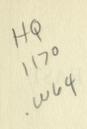
by

RUTH FRANCES WOODSMALL

With a Foreword by

BAYARD DODGE

THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE WASHINGTON, D. C. 1960



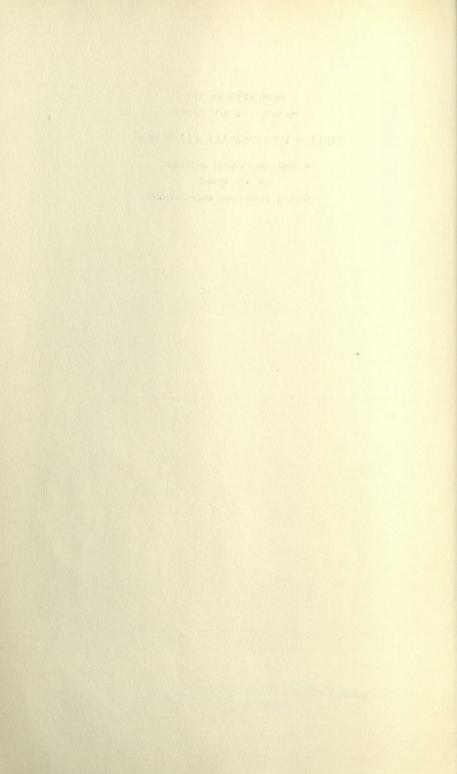
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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF MY SISTER

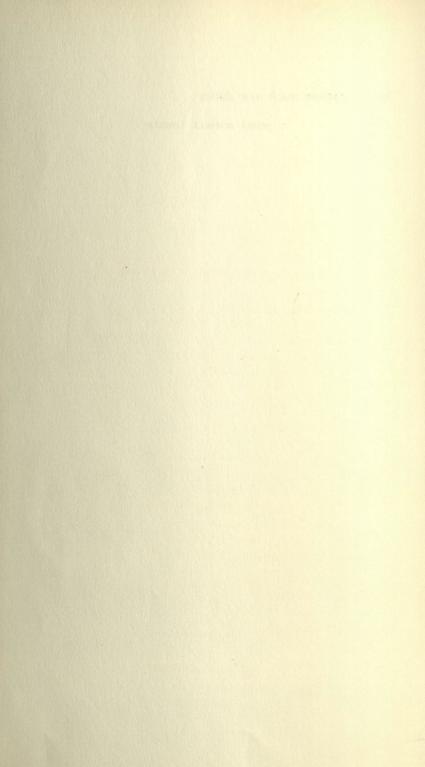
HELEN WOODSMALL ELDREDGE

WHOSE UNFAILING INTEREST IN MY WORK WAS A CONSTANT INSPIRATION



"New occasions teach new duties . . ."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL



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FOREWORD

As it was my good fortune to travel in Java, India and the Ottoman Empire before the First World War and I have recently revisited India, Pakistan and the Arab lands, it has been possible for me to note the changes which have taken place during the past fifty years.

Both the Caliphate of Islam and the Ottoman Empire have come to an end; the European Powers have granted independence to most of their colonies and new governments have taken the place of the old régimes. In the meantime, factories are replacing the craft shops of the bazaars. Science and secular education are causing an intellectual awakening and modern customs are undermining ancient forms of social life.

As I have studied these changes, I have come to believe that the one which will have the greatest effect upon the life of the East is the emancipation of women. In fact, it may not be an exaggeration to say that the most fundamental movement of the twentieth century is the freeing of the women of Asia and Africa from *purdah* and the harem.

The story of the changing status of women is told in this book by Ruth Woodsmall, who is especially well qualified to compare the women of the past with those of the present time.

Miss Woodsmall first came in contact with the women of the Orient in 1916, when she visited India. From 1920 to 1929 she was in charge of the YWCA at Istanbul, with supervision over the branches in Syria and Lebanon and close connections with those of Palestine and Egypt. In the meantime, she was granted a fellowship by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation, to make a study of Moslem women, under the auspices of the American University of Beirut. This project enabled her to visit many countries and to form warm friendships with the girls and women of Moslem lands.

Although the fellowship terminated in 1930, Miss Woodsmall continued to travel abroad on behalf of the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry. At the same time she kept up a lively correspondence with many women about their local problems. In 1936 her book, *Moslem Women Enter a New World*, was pub-

lished in this country by the Round Table Press, giving a very timely and valuable presentation of what she had learned during her years of travel and study.

The year before this book appeared, she entered into the service of the World YWCA, an experience which lasted until 1948.

From 1948 to 1952 Miss Woodsmall was a member of the High Commission for Germany, as chief of women's affairs in the education and reorientation program.

During that period she served as adviser to the United Nations Commission meetings on the status of women and, in 1951, she was a member of the UNESCO Working Party on the Equality of Access of Women to Education.

Because of these long years of experience, the Ford Foundation granted Ruth Woodsmall fellowships to return to the Middle East, so as to note the changes which had taken place since her first study was made a quarter of a century earlier. In 1954 and 1955 she reviewed, jointly with local women's groups, the status of women in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt, a study sponsored by the International Federation of Business and Professional Women. During the two following years she made a study of the women of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Indonesia and India, under the auspices of the Middle East Institute. These years of travel, study and practical experience form the basis of *Women and the New East*.

This book is the crowning achievement of Miss Woodsmall's useful and distinguished career, as she deals with a unique period of history and a subject which has been neglected by other authors. Her study is particularly important, because, instead of being based upon library research, it is the result of personal experience and observation.

Although Miss Woodsmall does not describe the Communist countries and other peoples, one should bear in mind that women are gaining a new freedom in countries other than those dealt with in this book. It is impressive to realize that the customs of two-thirds of the women of the world are changing to a greater extent, in our lifetime, than they have changed during the past two thousand years.

A generation ago, except for the daughters of well-to-do

FOREWORD

families, the girls were uneducated if not entirely illiterate. Marrying in their early teens, they became the mothers of large families before they were thirty years old. Even if they were affectionate and self-sacrificing, what cultural contributions could these mothers give to their children, other than the bigotry and superstition which they themselves had inherited from their ancestors? How could there be progress and improved standards of living when the majority of the women were unable to do their share in promoting education and social welfare?

No wonder a Moslem writer has recently said that a country with veiled women is like a body with only one lung! No wonder each Eastern country in turn has encouraged the liberation of its women, as soon as it has gained its own political independence! As women have gained their freedom, they have taken advantage of the new circumstances to promote urgently needed social reforms. Laws have been passed to give women more rights in connection with marriage, inheritance and divorce, as well as to permit planned parenthood. Coeducation is becoming popular in many places, both in the lower schools and in universities. More and more women are entering the professions, and serve in the legislatures and government offices. Stenographers and typists are transforming the business offices and cinema stars are as popular in some countries as they are in the United States.

In the past the men spent their leisure time together, discussing politics and enjoying their amusements, without the refining influence of their wives. Today the women are rapidly becoming such true companions of their husbands that they share their social life together, finding new pleasure in their intellectual interests, their clubs, sports, music and art.

Formerly young married couples lived with their parents in homes for the extended family. Today, at least in the cities, they are starting life in their own apartments, free from old restraints and responsibilities, but faced with new ones. As many of the young wives continue to work in schools and offices after they are married, they have a new and independent attitude of mind.

The changes are taking place so fast that new developments have occurred, even after Miss Woodsmall's book was completed. In Afghanistan, for instance, permission has been granted for

girls to serve as aeroplane hostesses. What is even more important is the fact that when the King and his military officers attended a public ceremony with their wives, the women for the first time appeared without their veils in the summer of 1959. At her first public appearance, Queen Farah of Iran attended a meeting of the Iranian women's movement and heard a resolution demanding that the rights of women should be equal with those of men.

Needless to say these sweeping changes create many problems. The giving up of the larger family unit, for instance, creates real problems for women, both in the care of the very old and the children. Coeducation is not free from pitfalls, while the employment of girls in business offices, stores and factories requires a new code of personal relations.

At the same time secular education too often causes religious indifference and a seeking after radical new ideas. In one country the women are the principal exponents of Communism, while in another land there is so much spiritual confusion that a friend of mine has organized a society to help young Moslem women to understand Islam in a constructive way, along modern lines.

These people have entered into a new life; a life which will be strengthened and enriched because the women are increasingly able to share responsibilities. One of the most valuable contributions which Miss Woodsmall is making is to explain in a vivid way how the women are meeting the changes of the modern world and doing justice to these new responsibilities.

It is exciting to be alive during such a revolutionary period of history and it is our good fortune to be able to gain a picture of the new womanhood, by reading Ruth Woodsmall's timely book, Women and the New East.

BAYARD DODGE

Princeton, 1960

INTRODUCTION

A Study of the Role of Women in the Moslem East-Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indonesia-and India

1956-1957

The following report gives the results of a study of the Role of Women in the Moslem East and India in 1956-1957, which has included Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indonesia and India, and is closely-related to my study of five Arab countries (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria) made in 1954-1955. These two studies constitute a natural sequence to an earlier research project on the changing status of Moslem women made under a Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fellowship, 1929-1931, which was the basis for the book, *Moslem Women Enter a New World* (Allen and Unwin, London and Round Table Press, New York, 1936). This book is a landmark in the dramatic transition that was being made from the strict observance of Islamic tradition to a more liberal interpretation of the position of Moslem women.

This forward movement of women has steadily continued and been accelerated by tremendous political changes throughout Asia. Today, in the new sovereign nations of Asia, women are playing a role of increasing significance in social, economic, political and cultural life. The accent of the current study is therefore the role of women in the Moslem East, and not the changing status of Moslem women. Two decades ago they were entering a new world. Today they are helping to shape that new world.

Significant also of the advance is the marked decrease in the difference between the status of Moslem and non-Moslem women and the growing integration of the activities of women in each country. For this reason, the two recent studies have not been specifically a study of Moslem women, but of women per se in the cultural framework of Islam. Hence the sub-title of the current study, "The Role of Women in the Moslem East and India." India is obviously not in the Moslem East, as the title indicates, but is included in the current study because of the

Moslem minority of some forty millions, the third largest Moslem population of any country in the world.

The two recent studies covering the role of women in the Moslem East were made under different auspices; both were supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation. The study of the role of women, their activities and organizations in five Arab countries, 1954-1955, was sponsored by the International Federation of Business and Professional Women (New York and London). "The Study of the Role of Women in other countries of the Moslem East and India" was sponsored by the Middle East Institute, (Washington, D. C.).

The same central aim has been carried out in the two studies:

To study and analyze in close association with women leaders in each country the current status and changing role of women —their problems and opportunities, interests and activities; and to evaluate the present impact of their efforts and their potential influence.

These two studies (1954-1957) have both served the common purpose of an up-to-date review of the advance and present status of Moslem women across Asia; and particularly of the development in the role of women as a whole in the Moslem East and India.

The previous study on the changing status of Moslem women (1931) and the book (1936) based on the study included the Middle East (Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and Iran) and India. The two recent studies cover essentially the same area, with certain changes in view of the present political situation. Indonesia, not included before, was added because of its significance today as a dynamic new Islamic force in South East Asia. Afghanistan was also added. Pakistan, formerly studied under India, is now a new Islamic State. Palestine, now divided, was replaced by Jordan in the 1954 study. (Transjordan is now East Jordan and Arab Palestine is West Jordan-the Israeli portion of Jerusalem and the rest of Israel obviously did not belong in the study.) If this total study of the Moslem East were being planned at the present time, two and possibly three Moslem countries of North Africa would have been included-Tunisia and Morocco, where there have been recently evidences of change in the status of women. Libya might have been included, as well as Malaya, which has become an

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independent state since the field work on the study was completed.

Preparation for the current study included varied contacts in the United States, with officials of the embassies of the countries included in the inquiry, with representatives of the United Nations in the sections relevant to the study—the Status of Women, Social Welfare, and Technical Assistance—and with private organizations concerned with Asia. *En route* to the East brief visits were made in Paris with representatives of UNESCO and in Geneva with the World Health Organization and the International Labor Organization. These preliminary interviews were a valuable preparation for the field visits, affording introductions to leaders in the different countries.

The travel and study schedule of about fifteen months included visits to the different countries as follows: Iran, West Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, East Pakistan and Indonesia; on the return, brief visits in Delhi and Karachi; then through the Near East, visits in Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Jerusalem and Cairo, then the period in Turkey, the final country in the field study; and after Turkey, a brief period in Geneva for assembling the material before returning to the U.S.A. The order of the visits proved to be very advantageous for the study. It was a distinct advantage to end the study in Turkey, as it marks a transition from the East to the West—in Asia and also in Europe.

In each country a review of the current situation has been made with respect to social change, educational advance, health and welfare, economic opportunity, the legal, social and political status of women. This review has been primarily a qualitative appraisal of trends rather than a quantitative statistical survey. This general review gives a basis for the interpretation of the current role of women.

The changing role of women has been studied in respect to their contribution in different areas of life—in the home, in business and professions, in social welfare, in community service, in civic affairs, public office and political life. In every country women's organizations have been given particular attention. A special effort has been made to study the life of rural women with reference to evidences of change in their position.

The first step in the study in each country was the selection

of a number of women leaders as advisers on the study as a whole and on specific phases, according to the particular interest of the individual leader. Wherever possible, an informal advisory or consultative group was constituted, which worked effectively in various ways in planning cross-sectional meetings and discussion groups, in preparing memoranda and gathering information. It was not possible to form a group in each country. But the individual advisers were very helpful in making contacts, in giving advice about special interviews, suggesting institutions and projects and interpreting the general situation.

This participation of representative leaders of each area not only had concrete value for the study, but was, I believe, a worthwhile experience for the leaders. It may be that the study has stimulated further collective thinking and action on the role of women.

Specifically, the following methods were used in each area:

1. Interviews with a wide variety of individuals and groups, government officials and men and women leaders, representing various fields of interest; representatives of the United Nations and the special agencies, WHO, UNESCO, UNICEF and FAO; American Embassy officials, representatives of ICA and American voluntary institutions; leaders of women's organizations and individual women in business and professions, civic affairs and political office, in home life, and in rural life; younger women, students and others.

2. Informal meetings and discussion groups of various kinds, planned jointly with women leaders in each country, included: cross-sectional groups to discuss the changing role of women in a period of rapid social change; meetings of business and professional women to discuss their opportunities and problems; and meetings with leaders of women's organizations.

3. National and Regional Gatherings of significance attended included the National Conference on Nursing, Teheran, Iran, September 1956; the All-Pakistan Child Welfare Conference, Karachi, October 1956; the Twenty-sixth All-India Women's Conference, Indore, December 1956; the Ninth Annual Session of the Indian Conference of Social Work, Jaipur, December 28, 1956-January 1, 1957; Regional Ecumenical Conference on Prob-

INTRODUCTION

lems of Rapid Social Change in South East Asia called by the World Council of Churches, Siantar, Sumatra, March 1957.

4. Visits in each country to distinctive institutions for girls and women—schools, hospitals, training centers, women's colleges and universities, and special projects, official and private women's organizations, etc., also village welfare centers.

5. Resource Material: The use of available material on each country on different phases of the study, such as reports of government agencies, of the U.N. special agencies, U.S.A. official agencies such as ICA, and voluntary, national and foreign organizations was limited in the field by the time element. But a careful examination of the resource material was possible later.

6. Questionnaires were not used except for a brief factual inquiry outline on women's organizations in several countries.

7. Outlines on specific phases of the study, i.e., social change, education, health, etc., were used by individuals and groups. During this study of the Role of Women in the Moslem East

During this study of the Role of Women in the Moslem East and India, I have been deeply impressed with the spirit of cooperation and helpfulness of the women leaders with whom I have been closely associated and with a larger circle of women and men, official and private individuals. Without the cooperation and assistance of many different people in each country visited, the study could not have been made. It would be quite impossible to mention all those in each country to whom I am indebted for their active interest and assistance. There are, of course, in each country, some who assumed special responsibility.

course, in each country, some who assumed special responsibility. It was gratifying to realize that a study of the advance of women was of genuine interest, not only to women but also to men in each country, particularly government officials in education, health and welfare and rural reconstruction, responsible leaders, who recognize the national contribution of women and the need for further development, and, in each country, those who realize the retarded position of women due to crippling social customs—*purdah*, polygamy, etc.

the need for further development, and, in each country, those who realize the retarded position of women due to crippling social customs—*purdah*, polygamy, etc. Special interest was frequently expressed in the geographical cross-sectional character of the study—in fact, this was the best justification for having such a study made by a foreigner. This was probably the reason why it did not meet with the "what, another survey?" reaction which can be quite easily understood,

especially in some countries in Asia which have had a succession of studies of all kinds and are overpressed by eager foreign inquirers. Moreover, the basic idea of a study made in close consultation with responsible leaders of each country relieved it of the onus of being a foreign effort.

Obviously the immediate concrete result of the study is the achievement of its central purpose—an up-to-date cross-sectional review of the status and role of women in five of the countries in the Moslem East and India, which, with the study of the five Arab countries, completes the total area of the earlier study and the book on Moslem women (1936). But the completion of the Report is not the final result of the study in the East and West.

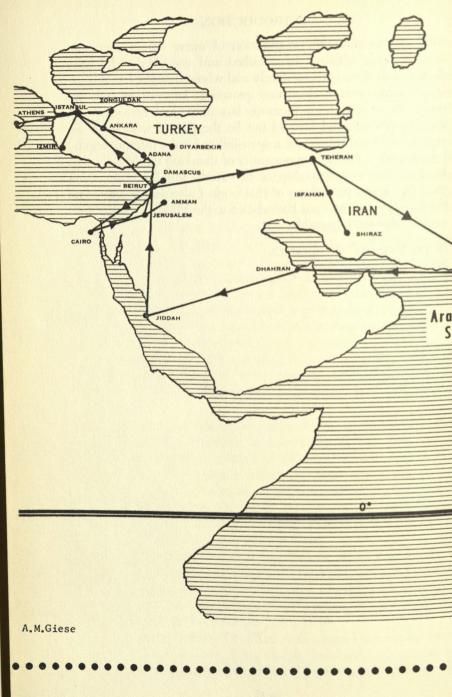
In the East, I believe, it has had already worthwhile results and should have long-range values. Representing, as it did, a composite of contacts, of exchange of ideas with many different people, of participation of women leaders individually in various phases of the study and in discussion groups on the new role of women, this study has undoubtedly stimulated fresh thinking and awakened a new awareness of the current significance of women and their future potential. It is not possible to estimate the long-range effects of fresh currents of thought. But the present soil in the East is fertile for new ideas to germinate and grow.

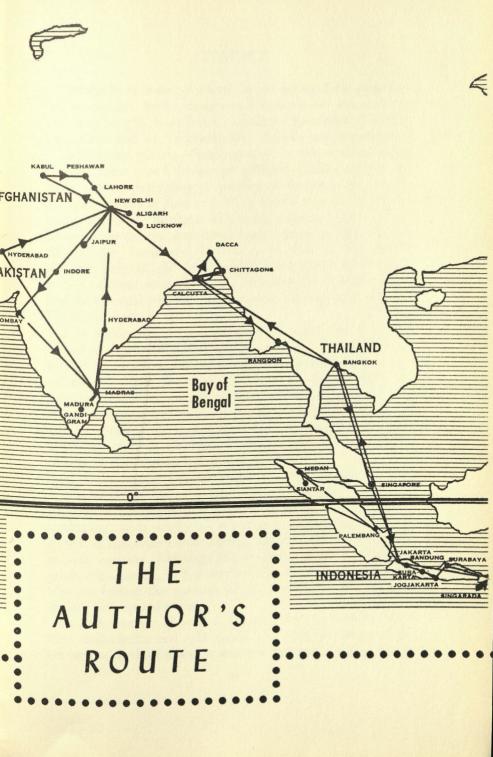
As to the West, the major result of this study should be its contribution to the growth of knowledge in the West of the forward movement of women in Asia and to the development of a better basis for more intelligent understanding, not only of the opportunities but also the problems confronting the women of Asia. Accordingly, the study should lead to more mutual appreciation and more effective cooperation between the women of the East and the women of the West.

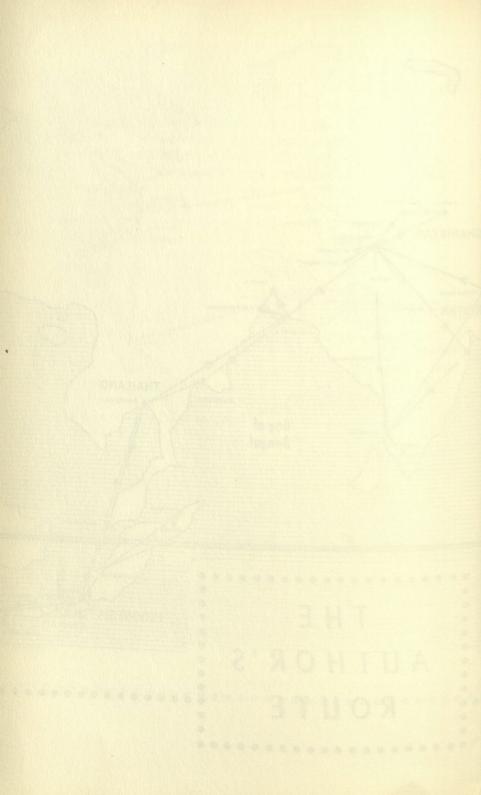
The field work for the study took about fifteen months. Since my return to this country, I have engaged in continuing research and have been in correspondence with women leaders in these six countries, so that the material presented here represents information gathered through June, 1959.

To the many friends in the East with whom I have been closely associated in this study, I am deeply indebted and extend my thanks for their invaluable assistance. I wish to acknowledge also with appreciation the contribution of many others, men and women, with whom I have talked and consulted, who have shared their time with me freely and whose thought has become my own and been used without quotation. To mention each and every one would be a pleasure but individual recognition is scarcely possible and (would not be the part of wisdom, as no one should need to assume responsibility for my interpretation.) I want also to take this opportunity of thanking the Middle East Institute for its sponsorship of this study and for undertaking the editing and publishing of this work. I also deeply appreciate the assistance of the Ford Foundation to the Middle East Institute making this study possible.

RUTH FRANCES WOODSMALL New York City June, 1959







PREFACE

Hundreds of miles of travel by air across Asia, over plains and mountains, barren deserts and fertile lands, seas and rivers and deep jungles, have left a cumulative impression of constant alternation and yet of continuity, without any boundaries, in a single world pattern. Frequent stops in the crowded airports of Asian cities gave kaleidoscopic glimpses of the ceaseless movement and intermingling of peoples of diverse races, religions and nationalities of East and West, drawn together by the unifying force of the airplane. The young hostesses of the different countries on the route of travel from Turkey to Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and Indonesia, whether in the standard Western uniform, the sari, or other characteristic Eastern dress, were a constant reminder of the new freedom of Asian women and the essential part that they are now playing in the changing life of the East.

It is within this wide framework of travel that this study, carried on during 1956-57, has been made. It is a study of women in five countries of Islamic background and in India, and it reflects, as a whole, the transformation of life that is taking place throughout Asia as a result of the ceaseless interplay of world social, economic and political forces, and the growth of the dynamic nationalism of newly independent nations. A central fact in the rapid development of modern Asia is the remarkable change in the position and role of women.

In all the countries under review there is a common synthesis of change in the life of women in all its aspects: a new social freedom in the home and family and society; an educational awakening, with increased educational opportunities; marked growth in economic independence; and to a notable degree, full political equality. Although this is most marked in women of urban communities, it has reached also to women in rural life, who are feeling the currents of social change and responding to their new opportunities.

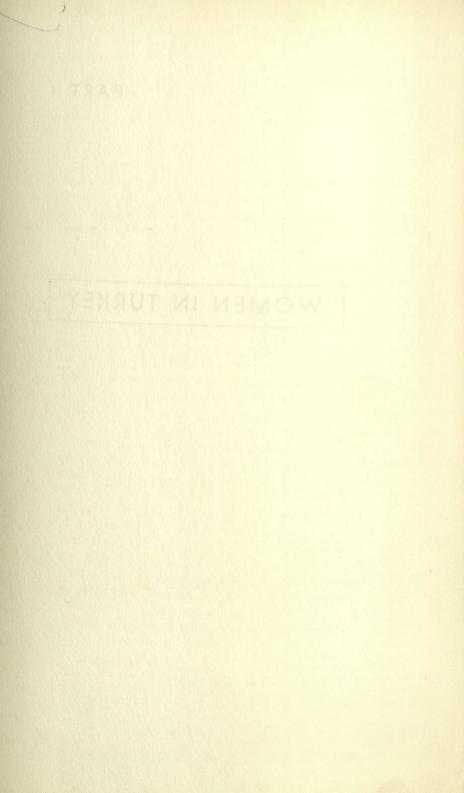
In each country there is a dynamic body of women leaders who, individually and collectively, and with increasing power, are promoting this forward movement of women, and interesting

themselves also in many lines of national development. Among these leaders is a growing number of business and professional women, who illustrate the significant new influence of the educated upper and middle classes. The power of rural women and women of the villages, who constitute the great majority in every country, is still undeveloped but is recognized as a potential national asset.

In order to understand more clearly the specific situation, tempo and extent of change in the position and role of women in the countries included in this study, it has been necessary to consider each country separately.

PART I

WOMEN IN TURKEY



WOMEN IN TURKEY

THE SETTING

Turkish women have moved far since that amazing first decade of the new Republic, when Atatürk made the advance of women a central aim of his social, religious and legal reforms, by means of which he transformed Turkey out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire into a dynamic Western democracy. It was not in the spirit of a philanthropist that Atatürk promoted the liberation of women but as a realist who recognized that women had shared in the life and death struggle in Anatolia—women of the educated upper class like Halide Edib¹ and peasant women bearing ammunition on their shoulders to the front—and had won their freedom. He recognized also the great potential power of women, and had the deep conviction that "they are, and will be, the foundations required to maintain the independence and honor of the new Turkey," as he said in his speech at Izmir in 1924.

To insure the freedom and equality of women, the Swiss Code was enacted in 1926, which made polygamy illegal and gave equal rights of divorce. This is for Turkish women a charter of freedom and equality, one which women in other Moslem countries have long struggled to attain. The adoption of the Swiss Code is the real date-line of the advance of Turkish women.

The granting of political rights in 1933 was the climax of Atatürk's ten years' agenda of progress for Turkish women. In 1935 the Grand National Assembly (the Turkish Parliament) recognized their full political equality, and thirty five women entered Parliament, another milestone which Turkish women passed without effort. No legal obstacles of inequality remained as road blocks to bar their free way to progress. Spared the struggle of the step by step advance, they have moved steadily forward since the social revolution, without debate or opposition.

¹ Halide Edib Adivar served with the national armed forces during the War of Independence as a corporal, sergeant and sergeant major. She is a writer of international distinction, was a professor in the University of Istanbul and in universities in the United States. Through their own hard work, persistent effort and capacity, and often not without personal struggle, they have achieved distinction in their individual fields and are today making outstanding contributions to national development along many lines—in home life, in education, in health services, in professions, in public office and political life, in business and in industry.

The advanced position of women is fully accepted as a reality in Turkish life today. Many women under forty years of age, with no memory of the early days of the Republic or before, naturally do not understand the meaning of their present unquestioned position of equality. To discuss the status of women in Turkey seems irrelevant and even anachronistic in the present normal situation. But women past the middle years still remember with a thrill those opening doors of social opportunity during the early twenties—the lifting of the veil, or the freedom to leave the harem section and sit in the open salon with their husbands on the Bosphorus ferryboat, and many other personal adventures in freedom. These mature Turkish leaders of today understand from their own experience the meaning of their present fully accepted position of equality. For them in a very real sense equality of privilege means equality of responsibility.

Turkish women are well prepared and ably fitted to assume equal responsibility with men in dealing with the national problems that confront modern Turkey. Certainly not the least of these is the tremendous gap between urban and rural life and the need to bring fully within the orbit of social change the eighty per cent or more rural population, the solid background of Turkish life. This need is particularly urgent in respect to rural women. The advance of urban life represents only a partial achievement of the total objective of the social revolution, namely, to transform Turkish society through the development of all its resources, urban and rural. In achieving that ultimate goal of a united Turkey, women leaders of the highly educated urban minority have an important role to play.

EDUCATION

The fact that education for women in Turkey has a long background gives a major reason for the success of Atatürk's swift sequence of drastic reforms in the new Republic. The Çapa elementary school, the first for girls, which later became the first Teachers' Training College, dates from 1870. The first secondary girls' school was started in 1908. The University of Istanbul admitted women in a separate section in 1915 and began full coeducation in 1921. Unveiling as a result of education had already begun before 1920. Discussion over polygamy and equal rights had been carried on earlier in two Islamic magazines edited and written for by women, conservatives and liberals. Because of this period of solid preparation, Atatürk was able to carry out the social revolution with confidence and speed.

To improve and increase the education of the people of Turkey was a basic policy of the new Republic, promoted especially through two bold reforms: the adoption of the Latin script (1928), which made possible the education of the masses and brought Turkey into contact with the Western world; and the secularization of the State (also 1928) through the elimination of the power of the ecclesiastical authorities, which opened the way for the modernization of education. Between 1928 and 1935 two and a half million people learned to read and write at people's classes. Education for girls under the new Republic showed marked growth from 1923 to 1933. The enrollment in primary schools increased almost fourfold; in secondary schools almost five times; and in universities the enrollment was more than trebled. (Table No. 1)

In this dynamic first decade of the Republic the foundation of modern Turkey was laid. Building on this foundation, education in Turkey has developed to a remarkable degree, both quantitatively and qualitatively, as is shown by the increase in schools, increase in number of students in various types of schools on all levels, the greater provision for adults, and in the improvement of facilities. In 1956-1957, approximately 2,500,000 individuals were enrolled in Turkish educational institutions.

Primary education is free, coeducational and compulsory wherever possible for boys six to twelve years, the school age. It cannot yet be enforced because of the shortage of schools. Hence the increase of primary schools is a major objective. In 1956, seventy per cent of the total Ministry of Education budget was allocated to primary education. In 1956-1957, 2,131,148 children were enrolled in about twenty thousand (19,777) primary schools. Five hundred seventy-two new primary schools were added in that year, but still approximately one million children of primary school age were without schools.¹ Many schools have two shifts, sometimes three. Some villages have built their own schools.

Each year shows steady growth in the number of schools and enrollment and in number of teachers. The increase in primary education since the beginning of the Republic has been remarkable. In 1956-1957 there were four times as many schools and six times as many students as there were in 1923. (Table No. 2) The lack of teachers to keep pace with primary school expansion is a serious problem. To meet this problem, 10,000 students were enrolled in normal schools, which brought an increase of 3,500 teachers.² The improvement of teaching is stimulated by seminars and refresher courses and educational conferences held in the different provinces. Six experimental elementary schools are actively developing new programs, new techniques, and new material in preparation for general adoption by the school system.

Secondary education, which, like all Government education is free, includes the middle school (junior high school) and lycée (senior high school), each a three-year course with training in general culture. Specifically, the junior high school prepares students for various vocational schools; the lycée, for higher education. Entrance into the lycée requires a junior high school certificate; the university entrance requires the state lycée examination. The programs of all junior and senior high schools in Turkey are uniform.

In 1956-1957 there were 464 middle schools and ninety-four lycées with a total of 191,240 students and 6,426 regular teachers, plus 1,000 qualified substitute teachers. This represents great progress since 1923, i.e., six times as many middle schools, four times as many lycées, and more than twenty-five times the number of students. (Table No. 2)

The junior high school, like the primary school, is coeducational. Lycées have separate schools for boys and girls as a rule-

¹ Ministry of Education.

² Ibid.

for example, in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. But coeducation is permissible in places with only one lycée, as in provincial cities and towns. The general public seems to prefer the separate lycée, a preference, it is sometimes explained, based not on religious reasons or social conservatism, but on pedagogical judgment. It may also reflect European influence in the early lycée development.

A senior woman educator in a large girls' lycée in Izmir, commenting on coeducation, expressed the opinion that "separate schools above the primary represent a break in natural relations, probably unnecessary in Turkey today." A change could have been made under Atatürk. People would have followed and coeducation would have been established. But change is not probable now in view of the political situation and the fact that the public is predominantly in favor of separate schools. A strong opinion was expressed in favor of coeducation by an educator, a man: "The need for coeducation in the Moslem world is tremendous; it is a basic condition of modern society and essential for boys as well as girls. Separate schools are uneconomic for the nation." This question may become a subject for further discussion.

A trend away from the formal lecture plan to more active methods of student participation is a significant evidence of progress in secondary education. A number of experimental secondary schools are examining the standard program in order to develop more flexible types including elective courses, new methods and activities in certain aspects of student life. Their results will furnish a basis for the reorganization of junior high schools and lycées.

Noteworthy in the field of experimentation is the Atatürk Girls' Lycée in Istanbul, whose principal is a well known woman educator, Bayan Adnan Eseniş. This is a large experimental school of 1,200 students, an outstanding example of a school program based on activity methods, planned and carried out by the students, with self-government and democratic elections. Group counseling and supervised study, citizen education and United Nations education by the project method, vocational guidance, and an active self-directing Parent-Teacher Association are other characteristics. Of special importance in developing new methods in secondary education is the emphasis on seminars, workshops and conferences. Secondary teachers are allowed free time for study workshops in subject fields. During the year 1956-1957, 496 teachers participated in re-training courses, and eighty had an opportunity for observation in other countries. Significant gatherings in 1956-1957 included the Istanbul Conference of more than a hundred lycée directors, the third meeting of its kind since 1930, which considered the major problems of lycées; and a seminar, also in Istanbul, of lycée leaders to discuss experimental secondary education. A group of secondary teachers in experimental schools studied progressive methods in the United States in 1957-58, preparing for further training of teachers in this field.

The Ministry of Education is actively promoting Parent-Teacher Associations in Turkey in order that a closer coordination of the school and the parents on mutual problems may be effectively developed. Practically all schools in Turkey now have Parent-Teacher Associations, some of which have provided educational materials for the schools.

During the Republican era, as a result of the development of the country in social, economic and commercial lines, there has been increased recognition of the necessity for vocational and technical education for boys and men, and for Home Science Institutes for women. In 1956-1957, there were eighty-two Vocational Institutes for men, with 36,422 students enrolled, and seventy-two Home Science Institutes for women, with 12,616 enrolled in the regular program. In the 134 evening courses the enrollment of women and girls was 31,748.³

These Institutes, located throughout Turkey, teach the following subjects: child care, sewing, fashions (women's, children's clothing and hats, all kinds of decorative articles), making men's and women's underwear, artificial flowers, embroidery designs (decorative accessories), cooking and pastry making, household management (ironing, starching, mending, knitting and stain removing), cloth dyeing. The economic value of the Home Science Institutes is fully recognized, as they prepare women for a full- or part-time means of livelihood. Their value, however, is not merely economic; it is also social, especially in rural areas.

3 Ibid.

They teach modern styles, raise women's taste, and encourage more attention to children's clothes. Fashion shows are very popular and create a demand for the production of the schools. The Director of the Institute in Diyarbakir, a conservative town in Eastern Turkey, briefly summed up its influence: "Women make their clothes with more style, dress their children better, know more about child care and food values, and make more attractive and better organized homes." The Turkish Institutes have served also as training centers for Iraq and Iran.

Traveling teachers in the villages have benefited women as well as men. Men have had instruction in blacksmithing, carpentry and masonry for repairing and rebuilding. The traveling women teachers, who stay seven months in each center, have taught women of the nearby villages how to read and write, to sew and cook, to take care of their children and improve their homes. The number of these traveling teacher courses for men and women in 1956-1957 was 834, with a total attendance of 20,000, of whom 5,000 were men and 15,000 were women.⁴

In rural education the Village Institutes have had an important part. Opened in 1940 in rural centers, these coeducational training schools, through a five-year course, prepared village primary graduates, men and women, to teach in villages and lift the level of village life. These men and women came from villages and returned to the village after training. Thousands of village teachers from these Institutes taught literacy and basic education, better health and housing standards, village arts and skills, Turkish culture, community activities and cooperation. In 1951, coeducation was given up. Of the twenty-one Institutes, nineteen were kept for men, only two for women, a serious loss for village women. Later, 1954, the Village Institutes, as such, were closed and merged with the forty-three Normal Schools. These changes, which probably were made for political reasons, did not meet with open opposition, but a number of people have urged a study of the whole Institute idea, with possibly the development of a coeducational plan of basic education in view.

Adult education, which started with the campaign for literacy after the adoption of the Latin letters (ten per cent literacy in 1923, now about fifty per cent literacy), has steadily widened in

⁴ Ibid.

content. The purpose of adult and people's education is to teach reading and writing to men and women and young people above the compulsory school age and give them the essential basic instruction. In 1953-1954, People's Classes were opened, with 32,893 enrolled—30,512 men and 2,381 women.⁵ This program is supported by the Ministries of Education, Defense, and Agriculture. The Director of Adult Education has stressed the need for voluntary agencies to help local societies organize and carry on with local autonomy, which is essential for democracy.

To meet the increasing demand for trained secretarial help, accountants and commercial assistants, commercial junior high schools and lycées have been founded. There are two Colleges of Commerce and Economics and a new Commercial Teacher Training College (November 1955), with men and women students-thirty-eight girls and forty-three boys-and six fulltime women teachers on the staff. The number of women will increase and eventually women students will be two-thirds of the total. The Training College definitely is interested in promoting secretarial training for women. It is a cooperative enterprise of the Ministry of Education, Ankara University, the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), and the Graduate School of Administration of New York University. The training includes Turkish and a foreign language, methods of teaching applied business subjects-typing, stenography, accounting and office practice-and some cultural subjects. This is the only institution fully equipped to train business teachers. (Graduates of the higher school of commerce teach business courses in the commercial lycées but do not train secretarial workers.)

Secretarial training specifically for girls and women is limited. Only one Institute offers this training, the Atatürk Girls Institute in Ankara, a vocational school on the ninth and tenth grade level which gives a two-year post graduate secretarial course. The Commercial Teachers Training College sponsors this course. The Ministry plans to open several other such secretarial training courses. The commercial lycées, coeducational, offer one year of typing and stenography but no secretarial training.

In connection with vocational training for girls, the American Lisan Dersanesi Service Center, an American-Turkish institution

⁵ Education in Turkey, Maarif Basimevi, Ankara, 1955, p. 19.

in Istanbul, established by the American Y.W.C.A. in 1925 and registered with the Ministry of Education since 1926, has carried on an education program of classes for young women in typing, stenography, secretarial training, languages, especially English, and dressmaking. Over a thousand are enrolled each year but the demand always exceeds the available places. A significant part of the Service Center program is the large summer camp (started 1921) on the Bosphorus, which offers the opportunity for education and recreation each year for three hundred or more young women.

The Ministry of Education provides for the training of teachers on all levels as follows:

For primary schools, forty-three Normal Schools, twenty-one outside of cities, for primary school graduates.

For middle schools, three Teachers' Education Institutes for lycée or normal school graduates.

For lycées, the Higher Teaching Training College, Istanbul, and the Gazi Teachers' Training Institute, Ankara.

For vocational and technical schools, two Teachers' Training Colleges in Ankara, one for home economics teachers and the other for trade and technical teachers.

For Imams, fifteen Preacher schools, for primary school graduates; four years culture and general subjects.

The National Educational Association, founded in 1948, with a present membership of 80,000–50,000 women and 30,000 men, comprising teachers on all levels, urban and rural, government and private—represents a tremendous force in Turkish life. The large majority of women members indicates their influence in the teaching profession. The first woman President was elected in 1957, Bayan Vedida Pars,⁶ one of the foremost educators in Turkey. The first Teachers' Association in Turkey, founded in 1925, was later merged into the People's Association, Halk Evi, which lasted during the six year period of the cessation of voluntary association.

The Ankara headquarters of NEA carries on a vital program: continuous correspondence with its wide constituency, study of educational problems and the issues affecting the teaching profession, preparation for national gatherings, publications, and

⁶ Bayan Vedida Pars died in August 1957. She was widely known as the head of the Gazi Institute in Ankara, the leading Teachers' Training School in Turkey, as a writer and educational leader.

action on behalf of teachers through the Bureau of Claims. The Association seeks to develop cooperation among teachers and promote education in Turkey.

The National Education Association is affiliated with the World Education Association.

There were (1956-1957) five universities in Turkey: Istanbul University, Istanbul Technical University, Ankara University, Egge University, Izmir, and the Middle East Technical University, Ankara (established in November 1956). All are coeducational. A sixth, at Erzerum, in East Turkey, which was approved by the Grand National Assembly in May 1957, will be a joint project of the Ministry of Education and ICA, through the University of Nebraska. An extension service will be of special interest to women.

Of the total enrollment of thirty-one thousand Turkish students in universities, one-sixth or slightly over five thousand (Table No. 3) were women. More than three thousand women were in Istanbul University and seventeen hundred in Ankara University. In both the technical universities there were a few women, ninety-five in the Istanbul Technical University and fourteen in the Middle East Technical University in Ankara when it began. Women are represented on all the various faculties, except in theology. In 1953-1954 there were 1,546 professors, associate professors and assistants in the universities, men and women, including 102 foreigners. There are a few women professors and quite a number of women assistant professors. The Dean of the Faculty of Science of the University of Istanbul is Dr. Nimet Gökdögan, Professor of Astronomy. It is interesting to note that there are over a thousand foreign students, of whom a hundred are women.

The five universities in Turkey have the following faculties:

University of Istanbul-Law, Letters, Science, Economy, Forestry.

Istanbul Technical University-Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Architecture, Electrical Engineering and Mining Engineering.

Middle East Technical University, Ankara–Administration, with departments of Industrial Engineering, Business Administration and Public Administration.

Ankara University-Language, History, Geography, Law,

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Science, Medicine, Agriculture, Veterinary, Science, Theology and Political Science.

Egge University in Bornova, Izmir-Agriculture, including Home Economics and Veterinarian Science; Medicine, including Science. Other faculties are to be added.

Atatürk University in Erzerum–Agriculture, Arts, and Science, also Research and Extension Service.

Of signal importance for the future is the steady growth in the number of women students. More lycée graduates each year take the university entrance examinations. The university is not a matter of choice between a career and marriage. Turkish girls expect to be married eventually, but take the examination in order to enter later if not at the time. A good many continue working after marriage.

The concentration of students from all over Turkey in two centers, Istanbul and Ankara, presents a critical problem of housing and normal provision for student life. Three-fifths of the total number of women students for all Turkey (3,298 out of 5,291) were (1956-57) in Istanbul, and 1,700 in Ankara. In both cities there is a large number of students from the Interior, yet there is very little provision for student housing. Students must depend on relatives or friends, hotels or boarding houses. Commenting on the situation in Ankara, Bayan Suzan Alam stressed the fact that in addition to the lack of adequate housing, there is no social provision for students, nothing like a student social center. Conditions of living and study and social life are detrimental to health and general student morale, and the whole situation is particularly difficult for women students.

Several women's groups have shown concern about this problem. The Izmir Lycée Alumnae has a hostel for its members in Istanbul University. The Soroptomist organization of professional women has a small hostel on a cooperative low-cost basis for a group of Ankara University women students and young business women. The Association of University Women is raising funds for a woman's student hostel in Istanbul.

Egge University at Bornova near Izmir is being developed as a resident university with equal dormitory accommodations for men and women students, and a center for student life. When completed this university will be able to demonstrate effectively the full value of university coeducation in Turkey. In the promotion of Turkish Universities a constructive development has been The Turkish-American University Association, founded in 1952, currently under the executive direction of Bayan Sadun Katipoğlu (see Annex 11).

Teaching about the United Nations and its specialized agencies is included in the curriculum at every level, with particular attention to observances of special days—United Nations, Human Rights, NATO, European Council. The programs include lectures, exhibitions and competitive compositions.

A large number of Turkish students are studying abroad on scholarships given by the Government and foreign agencies, or at private expense. The total number, 1956-1957, was 2,950. Turkey has six education offices abroad, in New York City, London, Paris, Bonn, Berne, and Baghdad.

Foreign schools have been influential in Turkish education over a long period. In 1956-1957, there were fifty-eight foreign private schools with a total registration of 9,540. In the education of girls and women, three American institutions have made and are making a noteworthy contribution: Istanbul College for Women (B.A.), affiliated with Robert College in Istanbul, and two lycées—the American Academy for Girls, Uskudar, Istanbul, and the American Girls College, Izmir.

Istanbul College for Women (1890) has been a pioneer in women's higher education. Its 1,602 graduates, B.A. and B.S., are actively represented in many professions and in home and community life. The College is developing a new field of service in child guidance, parent education and social work training.

The American Academy for Girls, Uskudar, Istanbul (1870– at Adapazar until 1921) had 480 students with 183 boarders in 1957, mostly from Asia Minor, ninety per cent Moslems. It emphasizes home economics, prepares for the University, and offers a postgraduate home-making course. Social service through student activity is promoted.

The Girls College, Izmir (1923) had 460 day students in 1957, thirty boarders, the majority of them Moslem. It prepares for homemaking and higher education. Its strong emphasis on English is an asset for NATO secretarial service. It encourages social welfare projects carried on by students.

In the development of education in Turkey a number of agencies including the following have participated through

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technical and financial assistance and fellowships: UNESCO, WHO, ILO, UNICEF, FAO, ICA and the Ford Foundation.

HEALTH

The great buildings of the Ottoman Empire were beautiful mosques built in the service of religion. Among the many fine buildings of Turkey today are the impressive modern hospitals built to serve the physical needs of the Turkish people. Not only in the large cities but all across Asia Minor these new hospitals and health institutions, often in juxtaposition to the mosque, are a striking evidence of Turkey's efforts to modernize her health and medical services.

The contrast in the budget of the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance in 1923 and in 1955 shows the tremendous increase in financing needed to carry on the current total development in this field. In 1923 the budget was 3,038,226 Turkish liras and in 1955, 152,463,226.¹

Less obvious than the external signs of remarkable progress in providing an enlarged and improved hospital service but no less significant has been the advance in public health service. Special attention has been given to maternity and child health; in 1952 a division for this service was established in the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance. Two fully equipped Government Maternal and Child Health Centers (MCH) are currently operating—one in Izmir and the other in Ankara. Also in a number of institutions in Turkey an MCH service is carried on. These various institutions include the following:

Three children's hospitals, twenty-eight maternity and child care homes, two maternity and child health centers and fifty child care and protection institutions. In the health centers and also in general hospitals maternal and child welfare receives special attention.²

The Izmir MCH Center illustrates the character of this service in Turkey, which is fairly uniform. This Center provides a district of 25,000 population with a daily clinic for pregnant women after the third month, and after-care for mothers and children (thirty to fifty children are examined daily); distributes UNICEF milk, layettes and free medicines and gives health

¹ Ministry of Health and Social Assistance, 1955, p. 19.

² Ibid., p. 11.

lectures and food demonstrations to the women. Health visitors regularly make home visits to see whether the women carry out instructions about medicine, vitamins, food and cleanliness. "The idea is not to give mere relief but to teach the women and raise the level of their lives. They show that they can learn," one health visitor explained. Registration figures at the Center indicated 5,000 women in six months.

An important health program for rural areas is provided by 200 or more Rural Health Centers which serve as a resource in areas not within reach of hospitals. Some are fully developed, with consultative service, x-ray, and small maternity hospitals, and are well staffed with doctors, nurses and midwives. Other Centers are merely dispensaries, with limited consultative service. Large or small, these Rural Centers all render valuable service, teaching mothers elemental child care, and the general public disease prevention, cleanliness and sanitation.

A great many health films have been made by the government and by the American Information Service, and the Ministry of Health has a mobile film team that has received help from UNICEF. Turkey has ten health museums and plans to have mobile museums as well.

A national committee for Health Education was formed in 1955, connected with the National Commission for UNESCO. This includes representatives of all bodies concerned with health. The Government has established a Health Education Institute connected with the School of Hygiene, with special divisions for publications, photographs and films, and health education courses for specialists and for training of personnel. The Institute has had a number of foreign consultants for temporary periods— French, Yugoslav and English—but needs a regular full-time staff.

In Turkey, as elsewhere, the health program is conditioned by the quantity and quality of medical and health personnel. That the shortage of personnel is a serious problem is shown by some salient facts:³ In December, 1955, there were only 7,070 doctors—700 women and 6,370 men, which meant one doctor for 3,380 persons (1955 population over twenty-four million); 861 practicing dentists and 1,248 pharmacists; 1,983 practicing

⁸ Ibid., p. 14.

midwives; 1,521 nurses (30,000 are needed); 3,937 city and 1,566 rural sanitarians.

Since the first group of six women students graduated from the University of Istanbul Medical Faculty in 1927 (the University was opened to women in 1921), there has been a steady increase of women in the medical profession. The majority study at Istanbul University; latterly a number at Ankara University (1945), and now a few at the new Izmir University (1955). Women doctors have specialized in various fields. For example, Dr. Müfide Kuley, Clinical Professor at Istanbul Medical Faculty, is one of the best known specialists in Turkey in internal medicine, particularly gastric diseases; Dr. Pakize Tarzi, like Dr. Kuley, a pioneer graduate of Istanbul University, is a noted surgeon-gynecologist, with her own maternity hospital, the only one owned and managed by a woman. Medicine is the profession of first choice by women students, has high status, and is an open field. It will be long before there will be competition, as so many more women doctors are needed.

The Midwifery School in Istanbul University, founded forty or more years ago, is the major source of supply of trained midwives; every year fifty or more graduates enter the field of service. Midwives are also trained in various nursing schools and maternity hospitals. The graduates from these training schools, now more than 1,500, are scattered all over Turkey, replacing the local untrained midwives. In spite of the steady increase, the demand still far exceeds the supply.

Nursing in Turkey dates its inspiration from Florence Nightingale's service in the Soldiers' Hospital at Istanbul during the Crimean War, when Turkish women were brought into voluntary service. Later, in World War I, war emergency training for women volunteers was given and the first voluntary nurse, Bayan Safia Huseyin, now living in Ankara, entered the nursing service.

The opening of the Red Crescent (Red Cross) Training School for nurses in 1925 marked the actual beginning of nurses training in a Turkish institution. Before that time, nurses had been trained in a number of foreign hospitals, especially Mission hospitals, in Asia Minor. The Red Crescent School, which has functioned continuously in Istanbul since 1925, was the only Turkish school until 1945, when the Government opened seven schools. The Red Crescent School had (1956-57) seventy-two students from all over Turkey enrolled in the four-year course, which combines theoretical instruction and practical work in a Government Health Center. The school has lycée recognition, and is a private institution financed by the Red Crescent and under the general supervision of the Ministries of Health and Education.

The Government program includes ten schools of nursing in different hospitals throughout the country; and postgraduate courses of nine months to prepare nurses for positions as nursing instructors, heads of hospitals and public health nurses. The Government schools are free—tuition, room and board and pocket money—on the basis of post-training service assignment. The increase of Moslem students has been significant. A new nursing school in Ankara opened October 1956, a pilot institution perfectly equipped, for 110 students aged fifteen to eighteen years.

The following private agencies are contributing to the training of nurses. All require secondary education for entrance, and grant a diploma equal to that of a lycée but not valid for university entrance. In Ankara a post-basic eight months' course is open to graduates of these basic schools with two years' graduate experience.

The Red Crescent Nurses' Training School, already mentioned. The Verem Savas Tuberculosis Control Association School for Medical Social Work, twenty-six students and capacity for sixty. Free, with three years later service required.

The Child Welfare Association School of Nursing, for child care.

The Admiral Bristol Hospital School of Nursing, Istanbul (founded in 1920; new school and hospital built in 1950) has thirty-one students and sixteen graduate students, mostly Moslems; formerly there were only Christian students. There were 200 graduates as of 1957.

The Florence Nightingale College for Nursing, a private institution for 200 students and a 250 bed training hospital and research center will be established by the Florence Nightingale Foundation in 1960. With the purpose of raising the standard of nursing to the university level, this Foundation was instituted as a memorial to Florence Nightingale in 1954, on the centennial of her arrival in Turkey. The Vice President and active promoter of the Foundation is Bayan Fahrünissa Seden. It has received government recognition, a land site in Istanbul for the institution, financial aid from the Red Crescent Association, and liberal contributions from Turkish individuals.

Through the cooperation of the International Cooperation Administration, and the Division of Nursing Education, Teachers College Columbia University, ten Turkish nurses are being trained in the U. S. in the various fields of nursing education to form the first team of faculty for the future Florence Nightingale College. Five of these women received their B.S. in June 1959. These and five others are working toward the A.M. degree. This technical assistance program of I.C.A. and Columbia will include, in addition to student nurses training in the U.S.A., also the appointment of full-time American professors for the College and temporary consultants in special fields. This modern training hospital organization will be a noteworthy achievement in raising the status of the nursing profession in Turkey.

In the past ten years the status of nursing has changed materially. Before that time, social attitudes were changing slowly. The adverse public opinion toward nursing was deeply rooted, as some of the leading senior Turkish nurses realize from personal experience. To become a nurse in the earlier days required courage and a deep sense of calling. "I could not change my parents' opposition," said the Director of the Red Crescent Nurses Training School, Bayan Bengisu, "nor could I give up my conviction. I could only win by succeeding. Later my mother admitted she was wrong and often said, 'How can you forgive me?'"

The fact that there were, in 1957, about 1,600 Moslem graduate nurses, a major increase in ten years, indicates the change in the attitude of both the public and the parents. In Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, nursing is now accepted as a profession, and increasingly in the interior, as nurses studying in Ankara and Istanbul return to their homes.

Several progressive steps in Government policy have had a helpful effect in upgrading nursing and changing the public attitude: (1) the recognition of nurses as Government employees, not menial workers, which came early in the new regime (1927); (2) grading nurses' schools as equal to lycées (1942); (3) the opening of a large number of new schools all over Turkey (after 1945); (4) the adoption of a Nursing Law which recognized nursing as a profession (1954). These steps have definitely advanced the position of nurses.

For the further development of the profession, there are, according to Mrs. Seden, a number of special needs: a better financial status of nursing; improved living conditions for student nurses; better working conditions for nurses in hospitals; more recognition by doctors of the professional status of nursing.

The Turkish Nursing Association, founded in 1934, was reorganized in 1943 and has about 300 members. It was affiliated with the International Council in 1949.

There is no family planning organization in Turkey as birth control does not accord with the national policy to increase the population. A strict regulation against importation of contraceptives prevents the direct development of a regular advisory service. However, a number of prominent doctors and laymen are interested. A women's study committee has been organized to investigate various details of the question. Advice and instruction is being given in some private clinics. Although a regular family planning organization is not yet possible, still, in cases where the health condition prohibits the pregnancy, the doctor legally has the right to prevent it with whatever contraceptives may be possible.

The following voluntary agencies are carrying on independent programs which have value for their supplementary service in the field of health and social welfare: The Red Crescent, The National Child Welfare Organization, the National Tuberculosis Control Association, the Society for Mental Health, the Yardim Sevenler (Helping Society), the Kadinlar Birligi (Society of Women's Union in Turkey); the societies for the blind, the deaf and the dumb.

In the development of its program the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance has had the cooperation of a number of agencies; the United Nations-WHO, UNICEF and FAO, also the Rockefeller Foundation, ICA and Fulbright Fellowships. The aid has covered technical assistance, education and research, provisions, equipment and funds, also fellowships for study abroad.

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4-K RURAL YOUTH WORK IN TURKEY

Of great importance for the future development of rural Turkey was the inauguration by the Ministry of Agriculture, January 1957, of the 4-K clubs, as part of the extension program. These clubs, the Turkish counterpart of the American 4-H clubs (The Turkish equivalents of Hand, Head, Heart and Health begin with the letter K) are the out-of-school rural program designed to prepare farm youth for their place in agriculture and in their homes, as future Turkish citizens.

It was estimated that there were about two and a half million boys and girls from ten to nineteen years of age on farms in towns of less than 5,000 population.

The 4-K program is coeducational throughout. There are two national directors at the Ankara headquarters, a woman and a man, both of whom have had experience in the United States. The woman Director is Bayan Saadet Bozoglu. Similar joint direction exists in the province and county centers and in the field supervisory staff of both men and women. Equal program emphasis is made for individual and joint projects for girls and boys.

The program began with a training week in Ankara in March 1957, for fifty province and county workers already appointed. The next month, groups were officially organized in eleven provinces, a limited number in order to ensure a firm foundation for the program.

In the first year, 4-K had in these eleven provinces 1,844 members (984 boys and 860 girls) in thirty-six villages, individually working on four projects which the members were free to choose: raising poultry, bookkeeping, vegetable growing, and sewing. The project enrollment showed 397 in poultry, 120 in bookkeeping, 203 in vegetable growing and 456 in sewing. There were eighty-two project leaders chosen in the individual villages and thirty-three local leaders for general group activities. A county agent in each province handles the 4-K work, with a home economist for the girls' program.

The response to the 4-K clubs is shown by the enthusiasm of the parents, the pride of each village in its special project, the full support of province leaders and requests for expansion. The demand for new groups is beyond the supply of trained leadership. For 1958, fifteen more provinces (mostly three groups in each) were added, with an anticipated enrollment of more than 5,000 boys and girls.

Special attention is being given to the training of local volunteer project leaders from the villages, chosen on the basis of "being good" in poultry, clothing, etc., and interested in working with youth. Conducted in various villages, the Achievement Day programs, in October 1957, gave individual certificates to boys and girls for project success and to local leaders for their voluntary assistance. These programs, which were attended by the whole village, by Province Governors, representatives of the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, bank directors and other dignitaries, publicized the 4-K clubs all over Turkey.

The slogan on the initial 4-K promotional leaflet sums up the value of this movement and has engendered its widespread support:

"Today's 4-K members are tomorrow's farm leaders."

This Rural Youth Program of the Agriculture Extension Service in Turkey is being developed with the assistance of ICA.

ECONOMIC STATUS

The participation of women in the economic life of Turkey has long since ceased to have news value for the Turkish public, although it is still a continuing subject of interest in the West. Their contribution to national economic development on all levels—in professional life, in the field of general employment, in trade, business and services, in industry and agriculture—is an unquestioned fact. Modern Turkey represents the free economic participation of women as well as men.

Before the Republic, Turkish women had already entered professional life as teachers. During the first decade of the Republic a few women entered various new professions. Since that pioneering period the number of women in professional life has steadily multiplied. Many have pursued advanced studies at home and abroad and have taken higher degrees. Today, because of their increasing numbers, the diversification of their activities and the impressive achievement of individuals, women in professions in Turkey are playing an increasingly important role in the life of the nation. Figures from the 1955 census show the extent and diversity of their current economic contribution. In public education, on all levels, there were over 15,000 women; in the medical and health professions as a whole, over 5,000; in the legal profession, 595 lawyers and 139 judges and one on the Supreme Court; on university faculties, fourteen full professors, fifty-six assistant professors and 191 assistants; in public works, engineering, sixteen; in the police service, thirty-eight, with nine ranking posts; as veterinary experts, forty-three; and as agricultural experts, eighty. There are five women officers in the land forces and one in the Air Force—Sabiha Gökçen, an adopted daughter of Atatürk. (Table No. 4)

Turkish women have specialized in and are carrying on research and professional activity in diverse fields: astronomy, internal medicine, gynecology and surgery, as already mentioned; in cancer research and treatment there is the noted pathologist, Dr. Perihan Çambel; chemical research for making apparatus glass, nuclear physics and petroleum research. Women are specializing in experimental secondary schools as already noted, in child behavior and pre-school education—a notable example is Bayan Neriman Hizir's nursery school (widely known as Ayşe Abbas)—and in Mental Health and Child Guidance. The first Guidance Clinic in Turkey is in Istanbul, headed by Bayan Tender, a trained psychologist, and Bayan Nebahat Hamid Kaorman, an educator of long experience.

Women manage their own independent enterprises, such as a chemical laboratory, a factory, a radio and photography business. Women are in banking; for example, in two Istanbul banks—one as manager of a branch, another in charge of the foreign exchange division.

Women have had favorable conditions for their economic and professional advance—equal pay for equal work by law and equal eligibility for top posts without discrimination, as appointments are on the basis of ability. A large number of professional women not only have achieved personal economic independence but also carry the partial or complete support of their families. They represent the solid economic base of educated leadership in Turkey.

Women in general employment are fully integrated with the

working life of Turkey, self-supporting and in many cases aiding in family support. In this large body of women who earn their own livelihood are many educated through the middle schools, trade schools or home science institutes; also graduates of lycées and some with higher education in the non-professional field. For instance, in 1957, 118 graduates of Istanbul Women's College were in secretarial service. Many young women, recent graduates, are just beginning to work; there are also women in their thirties, and many of middle age and older, with long experience.

A larger group, with only a primary education, is carrying on the less skilled work. In an inconspicuous way these women are a substantial part of the day by day economic life because of their large numbers and the diversity of their work. The employment opportunities for women have steadily grown as a natural part of the modernization of Turkey, without any artificial division into men's work or women's work. Women are in all kinds of services, as saleswomen in shops both large and small, over 6,000 in Turkey as a whole (1955 census); as dressmakers—hundreds of "little" dressmakers, working in their own homes as well as those in the expensive modern establishments; milliners, also at home and in shops; children's nurses and domestic workers; hairdressers and beauty specialists, in beauty parlors and working independently.

Many women are in the business field as information and reservation clerks in air companies, railway offices, steamship companies and travel agencies; as tourist guides; air hostesses and assistants at airports for varied services and as customs examiners; ticket collectors at theaters; receptionists in doctors' offices; and as Post Office employees (the first women in public work began post office service in 1916).

There is a growing number of women clerical workerstypists, stenographers, private secretaries and managerial assistants in banks, commercial firms and international organizations. There are more than 500 women Government workers in Ankara. In this total category of clerical workers there are over 25,000 women.¹ Here again is a growing field of opportunity with too few women prepared to meet the demand.

This is by no means an inclusive list of the diverse lines of ¹1955 Census.

employment of the rank and file of Turkish women working in urban life, primarily in Istanbul and Ankara and in less degree in Izmir, where a latent conservatism has somewhat retarded the entrance of women of the upper educated non-professional group into public employment. But conservatism is being undermined by economic necessity and the impact of modern life.

In the interior cities women of the middle class are less in evidence in public life and general employment. The pattern and pace of life are different, as is also the social climate. But there are many influences at work, principally the airplane and education—the Home Science Institute already mentioned which affect the economic and social position of women of the middle class. Professional women in the interior—an increasing number function freely—command respect and invite imitation, especially of the younger generation. For example, a young woman graduate pharmacist in Elazig in Eastern Turkey has her own pharmacy, is unmarried and lives independently.

Rural women have always made a major contribution to the agricultural economy of Turkey, the sound basis of Turkish life. According to the 1955 statistics, they constitute fifty-three per cent of the agricultural labor forces (this includes forestry, hunting, fishing). (Table No. 5) Specifically, this means 4,976,604 women in comparison to 4,340,977 men. It also means that out of the total active female population, fifteen to sixty-five years of age, estimated at 5,225,161, there were 4,976,604 rural women in agriculture, compared to 248,557 women in all other forms of work. This points up the significance of rural women in the Turkish economy. There is no idea of the economic independence of women in rural life; they do not receive wages and are not included in Social Security.

Women in industry may be an important economic potential for the future industrialization of Turkey but do not, as yet, have numerical significance. They are employed primarily in textiles, cigarette factories, and in the processing of nuts, raisins and figs, and in workshops for military tailoring.

There are 248,557 women industrial workers in a total of one and a half million workers in industry; 121,825 women textile workers, or 16.8 per cent of all textile workers; 61,582 women in service, or twelve per cent. (Tables Nos. 5 and 6)

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

In the ten years from 1945 to 1955 there was an increase for both men and women in about the same ratio in a number of major industries. The increase in women's labor has been marked in all fields but especially in textiles and services. The total increase for women was from 143,315 (1945) to 205,992 (1955); for men, 673,377 (1945) to 1,800,543 (1955). (Table No. 7)

Labor legislation in Turkey, which conforms to International Labor Office (ILO) standards, provides for an eight-hour day and a forty-eight-hour week; overtime pay not to exceed ninety days a year; half pay for week-ends and national holidays under the Labor Act; equal pay for equal work (usually women do not perform the same work, hence are paid less); protective provision against dangerous machinery.

Other regulations concerning women and young persons are: prohibition of night work and work in mines and dangerous occupations (males up to eighteen years); minimum age for entry, twelve, and, from twelve to eighteen years, a health examination before admission; eight hours' work daytime under sixteen years, and allowance for school attendance, if necessary; maternity leave, forty days, with protective regulation of hours of work and medical examination during and after pregnancy, time allowed for nursing infants, provision of crèches; inclusion of women in Social Security and maternity leave payment in establishments where the Labor Law applies.

ILO standards in regard to adequate light and ventilation, cleanliness, drinking water, toilet facilities, warm shower baths for certain types of work, etc., obviously cannot be enforced until the ramshackle sheds and old factories are replaced by modern factories with good buildings and adequate facilities such as those of the Basma textile factory in Adana with 1,000 workers, the largest textile factory in Turkey. The regulations represent the goal for modern Turkish industry.

Membership in labor syndicates is open to women. (There are no statistics on the number of women members in the total syndicate membership of 285,000 in 385 syndicates.) A number of women are officials of syndicates.

There is growing interest in cottage industry as a means of free-time supplementary earning for rural workers. Home industries include textile and carpet weaving, wicker baskets, fish-

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ing nets, and special types of women's home work—embroidery on silk, cotton, wool; also mixed work with men, making silver cutlery and toys. The employment office of the Ministry of Labor has set up courses in homework in tailoring, sewing and carpetweaving and has given advice to employers in regard to types of training courses needed to improve women's skill. Since 1946, 6,000 workers have become qualified workers through these courses.²

Turkey has no specialized Government service dealing with the economic and social problems affecting the female labor force. A Woman's Bureau apparently is not considered necessary, since the principle of equality is accepted and in general carried out. There is no prejudice against women in respect to their access to employment, whether married or single, equality of wages (technically, if not practically), Social Security privileges, participation in labor syndicates and need for protective legislation on the basis of biological difference.

Several women leaders, however, have expressed concern that there is not more active interest in the implementation of labor regulations and welfare provisions. It has not yet been recognized that special attention should be given to the needs of women workers in a period of rapid social and industrial change. Voluntary effort in promoting industrial welfare is lacking. Women's organizations particularly have an important contribution to make in creating an informed public opinion in regard to the human welfare problems involved in modern industrialization, specifically in reference to women and youth.

POLITICAL STATUS

Turkish women have had full political rights since 1935. In 1930 they were appointed to Municipal Councils, before the vote was given either to men or women. In 1933 equal suffrage was granted. Women were eligible to present their names for election and appeared before their constituencies. Finally, a one-party ticket was presented and elected—a means of starting democracy by a paternalistic method, not a dictatorship. In 1935, nineteen women were chosen as candidates and elected to the Grand National Assembly (Parliament). This marked the climax of

² Ministry of Labor.

Atatürk's reform in the status of Turkish women. The first election evoked great enthusiasm. Many older women as well as younger went to the polls. In that first group of women members were a number of teachers from various parts of Turkey, who assumed their parliamentary position in a spirit of dedicated national service.

In later elections the number of women decreased. The change to the two party system in 1945 altered the preferential system of choice of women for elections. From that time women have had to compete with men in an open campaign. This has naturally meant that the number of women entering the election campaign has decreased as has the number of women in Parliament. Between 1954 and 1957 there were four; in September 1957, eight were elected to Parliament. The fact that this is double the number in the election four years ago may be taken as a hopeful sign for the future.

That this decrease in the number of women in Parliament in the last decade does not mean a denial of their political rights or a change in the public attitude toward the full participation of women in Parliament, is the opinion expressed by an experienced woman member during this period, Bayan Nimet Taşkiran. "Women have always been accepted as equal colleagues, appointed on major committees, not limited to specific so-called women's interests but representing national interests as a whole." Her own career illustrated the fact that the public has recognized that women in Parliament have established a high level of service. With the last election she ended her third term in Parliament, having served on many important committees and missions abroad. Another unusually able woman member, Bayan Nazli Tlabar, was re-elected in 1957 for a third term.

Naturally, the decline in the number of women in Parliament has raised the question as to whether this means a loss in their political influence. The *Kadinlar Birligi*, the women's movement, sent a request, virtually a demand, to the Government that women be given half the seats in the Grand National Assembly. Evidently this was not taken seriously, as there was no reply.

A number of thoughtful Turkish women expressed their opinion that this action was unrealistic, not based on serious thought or knowledge. The primary responsibility for Parliamentary representation rests with women themselves. The twoparty system, with the normal election method of individual campaigns, means real advance. The number of women in the Grand National Assembly is not a final criterion of progress. The election of eight women after hard personal campaigns, according to Bayan Tlabar, indicates more advance than the election of sixteen women through the special selection basis of the former one-party system.

Slowly the number of women in Parliament will increase. Women now hesitate to undertake a campaign, as Bayan Taşkiran explained, because of the long arduous effort and expense and the lack of experience. "Turkish women," she said, "were spared the struggle for political rights and did not gain the experience that comes only through struggle."

In discussing the present situation, Bayan Fitmat Saltung, President of the Izmir Republican Women's Association, emphasized the growing interest in the vote shown by women of all classes, especially the less educated, who converse freely on the issues and do not blindly follow the husband's lead. Even in rural areas women are beginning to be very politically conscious. In spite of the fact that men try to discourage them, eighty per cent of the women vote in village elections. Vigorous partisan education is carried on in rural areas before elections by women connected with the party organization. What is needed is a sustained non-partisan program for women, not merely at the time of an election.

In 1957 the founding of a Woman's Party was announced publicly, after some months of preparation, together with a statement of an ambitious platform, which includes educational reforms, an economic campaign against the black market, promotion of local industry, social reform and elimination of the white slave traffic, and a vigorous campaign for village welfare. At the next election the party will present the claims for women for half of the Assembly seats. It is too early to judge the significance of this development, which introduces for the first time a note of feminism in the political activity of Turkish women.

THE LEGAL SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN

The Swiss Code (made law on February 17, 1926) established social equality in respect to polygamy, divorce, guardianship, etc. But the application of the law, especially as it concerns polygamy, is a serious question. Surëyya Agaoğlu, the noted woman lawyer, stresses the fact that plural marriage is illegal, that the second wife and her children have no legal right of inheritance, and that the law can be enforced if brought before the court—but there is seldom a court case on polygamy. In rural areas, since a second wife is an economic asset, polygamy has not ceased. Village women have no knowledge of the law. If the husband repudiates his wife or dies, the children are disinherited. Hundreds of children are dependent on relatives or the State.

Legal protection in marriage was secured by Atatürk through the establishment of civil marriage, which became immediately the regular practice in the cities. Large marriage halls were provided; officials functioned continuously; often large receptions were held in connection with the official marriage, which replaced the former religious ceremonials. In rural areas the institution of civil marriage has grown as fast as the news has reached them through traveling teachers and through village girls returning from schools outside. Unfortunately, women in remote villages often have no knowledge of the necessity for civil marriage and often cannot reach the civil authorities, who are too far distant. The second wife may have a religious marriage, but her children nevertheless are technically illegitimate. Village women, especially young girls, are ignorant of the law and easily exploited. The need of education in the law is obvious. This is a subject of serious concern for individual women leaders and is recognized specifically by the Association of University Women as a field for special action.

THE STATUS OF ISLAM IN MODERN TURKEY

Important in the life of Turkey today is the official reestablishment of religion and the religious renewal of the Turkish people. After a long period of silence, during which Islam was relegated to the background of life, it has again become a focus of national interest. Through an official policy, politically motivated, reinstating Islam, a definite increase in religious interest has been stimulated. This Islamic revival has made possible a spontaneous religious movement of the people, released from the past three decades of religious inhibitions caused by the devaluation of Islam. The present official promotion of religion, whatever may be the objective, has opened the way for more freedom of religious expression.

Religion was re-established officially in a declaration in favor of the freedom of religious expression, which was made (Konya, January 1956) by the Prime Minister in an opening campaign election speech, as a special bid for popular favor and particularly for the mosque vote. The progressive promotion of religion followed. Restrictions concerning the clergy were removed. The clerical garb was reinstated. The training of Imams (heads of congregations) was introduced (there had been no official training of Imams for perhaps twenty-five years). The "Night of Power" celebration was promoted on a very large scale in Suleyman Mosque (formerly at Sancta Sophia, until discontinued when the mosque was made into a museum), with a tremendous gathering. Thousands were unable to enter; the ceremony was broadcast all over Turkey. Most important in the promotion of Islam was the introduction of religious education in the middle schools.

These outward evidences of the official revival of Islam are meeting with a generally favorable response. There may be less interest shown by the young adult generation, which has grown up under the Atatürk regime without Islamic teaching or contact. The older generation has responded to the renewal of religion, as has also the middle-aged generation of the middle class. The well-educated upper group has shown less concern. Present-day youth in the middle schools will doubtless be most affected.

Attendance at the Friday Mosque of Eyoub leaves a vivid impression of this current revival of interest. The large outer mosque enclosure teems with men, women and children, business men and peasants, the poor and the prosperous; the inside enclosure and the mosque itself are already filled, but worshipers still crowd in to find a space for a prayer mat; women with heads covered in Islamic fashion crowd at the side and in the rear; and little boys join their fathers doing the *Namaz* (the prayers). In striking contrast to this crowded, colorful Eyoub Friday Mosque, were the deserted, practically empty mosques of only a few years ago, when attendance had all but ceased, as it was not considered modern and "the thing to do." In progressive Turkey today, mosques on Friday are frequented by all kinds of people and are well-filled.

There are many other external evidences of renewed interest: the repairing and building of mosques; the discussions, among all classes, of the new religious situation; the volume of books, pamphlets and magazines on Islamic subjects written and published for all types of readers, and easily available in bookshops, kiosks and even from itinerant venders; and, especially, the daily coverage in the press. Thirty years ago the disestablishment of religion was front-page news; today the re-establishment of religion claims a central place of interest.

Turkish women are essentially in sympathy with the revival of Islam. However, it raises a question of immediate concern to them—what will be the effect of this official promotion of Islam on social change and reform in rural areas; concretely, on the possible increase of the veil among rural women? The veil has never entirely disappeared, since women were not forced to unveil, and Imams are now bringing pressure on women to resume it, appealing to superstition and ignorance by asserting "that the veil is necessary to ensure entrance to paradise."* This fanatical teaching probably will not have any social effect on the middle and younger generation but the Imam will undoubtedly exert considerable power over the simple village women. The propaganda of the Imams shows clearly the danger of confusing social change with true religious belief and the need, therefore, for more education for village women.

Also of vital interest in relation to the current re-establishment of religion is the question of religious education, which is a subject of earnest discussion among teachers and parents. Religious education is recognized as an urgent need in modern Turkey. When the former religious institutions were closed, religious education was taken out of the schools and discontinued in many homes.

The current feeling of a good many thoughtful parents is * See Appendix, "Koranic Teachings."

WOMEN IN TURKEY

reflected in the comments on religious education by Bayan Sevin Saka, a civic leader, the mother of a son and daughter in college. She stressed the fact that a whole generation has grown up without real knowledge of its own religion. Hence the need for religious education is clear. But the content of the teaching is a serious matter. A return to the formalistic religious instruction of the past, she feared, will be not only without value but harmful, as it may help to reinstate conservatism. The teaching of formal religion will alienate modern Turkish young people.

Grave concern was expressed by the late Vedida Pars over the lack of understanding and definition of the essential meaning of religious education. There is no understanding of the ethical and moral values to be embodied in a religious education program. Moreover, since this subject has received no attention in recent years, there have been no Turkish specialists working in this field. This is, in her opinion, the real problem inherent in the development of religious education. "It cannot be promoted," she said, "without adequate preparation and understanding of the basis of Islamic teaching and its dynamic of living."

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

To understand the development of women's organizations in Turkey, a reference to the past is important.

In 1930 Atatürk re-established the *Kadinlar Birligi* (Women's Union), since a woman's organization seemed to be a natural part of Western progress. This organization, first established before 1920, had ceased to function after the social revolution. Suffrage was granted in 1933. The leaders of *Kadinlar Birligi* developed the society, made international contacts, and, in 1935, at its invitation, the International Suffrage Alliance was held at Yildiz Palace, thus giving the world a demonstration of a successful Turkish women's movement. The day after the Conference the *Kadinlar Birligi* was dissolved, as being no longer necessary!

"Women have all their rights now," Atatürk said. "There is no need to have a woman's organization."

After 1935 all voluntary organizations were discontinued and mixed associations under Government guidance became the accepted pattern for welfare service and made a special appeal to women as being modern, a natural reaction against the segregation system of the past.

The dissolution of independent voluntary activity was accepted without resistance. As far as women were concerned, there was no sense of need for collective action. They moved ahead individually. General social progress steadily continued, as has been explained elsewhere.

In 1941, as the result of political changes, voluntary organizations were again allowed. This marked the beginning of the present development of women's organizations. Four societies that had existed before were re-established: the *Kadinlar Birligi*, the *Yardim Sevenler*, originally a part of the Society for the Protection of Children and a separate charitable society after 1928, the Nurses' Association in 1934, and the Izmir Girls' Lycée Alumnae, 1931.

The further development of women's organizations has followed rather slowly. It is not difficult to understand the lack of urge to organize women's activities. The preceding period created a negative atmosphere, without dynamics for voluntary activity. The general attitude about women's organizations was affected by the legacy of assumptions left by the period from 1935: the idea that women's organizations exist only to gain rights and are not necessary otherwise, that there is no need for advance beyond equality of status, and that only mixed organizations are needed—in fact, that separate organizations are a backward step, also the concept that initiative for social and political action rests with the Government not with individuals.

Present organizations with the purpose and program of each are listed in the Appendix. Following are brief comments.

Two national associations, although very different from each other, have a common significance as they are the only women's movements which reach the women of the interior of Turkey, even in villages, and include them as members. They are: the *Kadinlar Birligi*, the Women's Union, a society for the protection of women's rights—Bayan Nazli Tlabar, President—and the *Yardim Sevenler*, a charitable society for the welfare of women and children and general relief—Dr. Melahat Edem, President.

The four associations of professional women-the Nurses Association, the Women Lawyers' Association, the Association of University Women, Soroptomist Clubs of professional women-are making an essential contribution in strengthening the basis of the professional life of women and carrying on special projects.

The alumnae associations—Istanbul Women's College Alumnae, two in Istanbul and one in Ankara, and the Izmir Girls' Lycée—are assisting in the support of their institutions and in the development of the leadership of well trained women for various types of community service. These associations are also carrying on special cultural and social service projects.

Four other interesting societies are the following: The Society for Research in the Social Status of Women; the founder and President is Dr. Afet Inan, Professor at Ankara University and another adopted daughter of Atatürk. The Society includes a number of male members, has special significance for the further development of Turkish women. The Turkish-American Society offers an opportunity for cultural and social interchange, and a joint service to the community. The Handicraft Society has a combined cultural and economic value. The Friends of Children Society, a Home for Working Boys, is an outstanding example of personal service in meeting a special human need, under the leadership of Bayan Surëyya Agaoğlu and Bayan Nimet Salem, an Administrative Assistant in the Socony Oil Company.

Many Turkish women have identified themselves with mixed organizations: Children's Organizations for the protection of children; Health Societies for preventive service; Education Societies; and the Red Crescent Society, general emergency relief and welfare. A capable young Turkish volunteer, after studying mixed activities in Ankara, made the comment "that mixed organizations are largely feminine in composition but men usually occupy the prestige jobs."

A major part of women's welfare activity in Turkey, as elsewhere, is personal service of various kinds. Women volunteers play a large part as individuals in meeting human need. Their service is very often not channelled through organizations. The needs of children especially inspire personal services. A current appeal is Children's Clubs for some of the many homeless, underprivileged children. For example, a busy young married woman leader in Ankara, Mrs. Nermine Streeter, each summer carries on a Vacation Club on the outskirts of the old city for the school children in that very poor area. She has converted an empty school with very meager equipment into a happy Children's Center for informal education and creative recreational activity.

Similar in its purpose and service, on a larger scale, is a summer Children's Club in a large school in a crowded area of Istanbul, organized by a leading woman professor of Istanbul University, Dr. Rafia Çemin, with her student helpers for the children of working mothers. The success of this project, carried on for three years, has demonstrated the need for a Children's Center after school hours, open all the year. For this it is hoped the municipality may give a building. This Children's Club is a special project of the University Women, which owes its success to the service of an individual.

The fact that women's organizations have a relatively limited place in the general social pattern in Turkey is a subject of real concern to some of the thoughtful women leaders. The late Ulviye Isvan,¹ while a member of the Municipal Council of Istanbul, expressed her conviction of the urgent need to interpret the real function of women's organizations in terms of social responsibility; and to clarify the whole question of mixed and separate organizations, showing that it is not a question of either—or, but that both types are needed and have special values.

She stressed the value of voluntary collective activity, especially women's organizations, in the development of democracy. Individual leaders working alone may be sufficient for certain types of life, but the higher standards of democratic society cannot be achieved by unrelated individuals.

There are three main areas of special need for collective effort that claim the attention of women's organizations: the education of women voters, i.e., political enlightenment; the social education of rural women to protect them against the exploitation of conservatism; and the welfare needs of women and children in industry in the present period of rapid industrialization.

Turkey offers an exceptional field for the further development of effective women's organizations-a remarkably free social

¹Ulviye Isvan died in 1958. She was a woman of wide interests in public affairs and a leader in cultural, social and moral welfare.

atmosphere, a high status of women and recognition not only of their equality but also their full capacity, and an unusual number of well-educated and capable women leaders. In Turkey there is a paramount need for specific social training, both for volunteer and professional workers, and particularly toward this goal a hopeful beginning has been made.

At the request of the government to the United Nations a social policy adviser visited Turkey for a brief period in 1953, to confer on government plans for a social assistance program and the necessary legislation. Subsequently a United Nations social welfare adviser was appointed at the Turkish government's request and began to work with the several ministries concerned with national development and with voluntary agencies.

A National Coordinating Committee of social agencies has been formed. A summary of social organizations in Istanbul has been completed, which comprises forty-nine Turkish, eighty-one Greek, nineteen Armenian and eleven Jewish agencies. Plans were being made to hold the first National Conference of Social Work in Turkey in 1959.* Recent Turkish legislation provides for the beginning of a National Social Welfare program and the establishment of social work training.

The international relationships of Turkish women are increasing through the contact with inter-governmental organizations and international voluntary organizations.

The inter-governmental relationship includes:

Delegates at the United Nations Assembly 1947 and 1958 Delegate at the Status of Women Commission 1947-1949, the period of Turkey's membership

Delegate at the UNESCO General Conference 1948 Representative from Turkey at the World Health Organization

Conferences

Turkish women members of the United Nations Secretarial staff-four (two of professional status, two in general service) Contact with international voluntary organizations through attendance at international conferences:

World Conferences of international women's organizations as national affiliates or as fraternal delegates; and at regional

* The First National Conference of Social Work in Turkey was held in Ankara, December 27-29, 1959. United Nations cooperation with the Turkish government in the social program now includes the General Social Welfare Advisor and Advisors for Training in Social Work and Family Welfare. women's conferences-Middle Eastern Women's Congress at Stockholm 1946 and the Asian-African Conference at Colombo 1958.

Conferences of mixed international organizations-The League of Red Cross Societies, International Social Work Conferences, World Education Association, World Mental Health Association, International Health Education, The Union of Child Welfare, International Astronomical.

Visits abroad for study and observation fellowships through the Turkish government, United Nations, foreign governments and private foundations.

International contacts in Istanbul and Ankara with representatives of international agencies and with the various international gatherings held in Turkey.

APPENDIX

Women's Organizations in Turkey

KADINLAR BIRLIGI-Women's Union-National, 1949. Founded by Atatürk 1930, dissolved 1935, began again 1941 and fully re-established 1949 as a national organization. Branches in 41 vilayets. Numbers over 10,000.

Purpose:

- (a) To protect women's rights given by Turkish law and help to develop them further.
- (b) To raise the standard of Turkish women by working for the solution of social and educational problems.
- (c) To develop the full social status of women.

Affiliated with the International Alliance of Women. 1949.

YARDIMSEVENLER DERNEGI-The Philanthropic Society-National, 1941. Founded 1928 as a branch of the Society of the Protection of Children, adopted present name 1938, recognized by Government Dernek status June 22, 1941.

More than 100 branches in 44 vilayets.

All who pay one lira are members.

Purpose:

- (a) To give help to students and provide student housing; to give relief to needy people, the aged and sick and provide free medical care.
- (b) To provide women with work in workshops of all kinds.
- (c) To do rehabilitation work and general social welfare in cooperation with the Ministry of Hygiene.

YOKSULAR YARDIN DERNEGI-Aid to the Indigent-Istanbul. Purpose:

- (a) To build a home for working women and give general help to women workers.
- (b) To help students, through loan funds and other kinds of needed

TURK SANATLARIN TANITMA DERNEGI-TURkish Handicraft Society-Ankara, 1952.

Purpose:

- (a) To make Turkish handicraft known at home and abroad, promote its sale; to collect and exhibit available specimens.
- (b) To improve available handicrafts by cooperating with individuals or institutions and by analyzing national and local customs.
- (c) To maintain a permanent shop for the sale of new pieces; put old handicraft into modern use.

TURKISH-AMERICAN WOMEN'S CULTURAL SOCIETY-Ankara, 1951. Membership, 202 Turkish and 152 American members. Application made for affiliation with General Federation of Women's Clubs, U.S.A.

Purpose:

- (a) To further the cultural ties between American and Turkish women and provide opportunities for exchange of ideas.
- (b) To provide scholarships for women students; regularly two for lycée and two for university students; also a number of others each year.
- (c) To provide study rooms and libraries for two primary schools in Ankara, with the gift of 1,400 books for a lending library in each school.

ALUMNAE ASSOCIATION OF THE AMERICAN COLLEGE FOR GIRLS-Istanbul and Ankara.

Purpose:

- (a) To give moral and financial aid to the American College for Girls.
- (b) To promote the cultural and intellectual development of the alumnae as a group.
- (c) To render social and civic service to the community.

WOMEN'S LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION-National. Purpose:

To develop the legal profession for women. Affiliated with the International Federation of Women Lawyers. 1952.

ALUMNAE ASSOCIATION OF IZMIR GIRLS LYCÉE-IZMIR, 1931. Purpose:

- (a) To carry on a scholarship program for higher education of lycée graduates.
- (b) To support hostel in Istanbul for the Izmir lycée alumnae studying in Istanbul.
- FRIENDS OF CHILDREN-Kadikoy.

Responsibility for the Society's project of a boys' home is carried by two people with a small executive group that assists in fund raising and a very large finance-supporting constituency.

Purpose:

To provide a home for a group of 35 homeless boys-six in school, 29 earning full support. The home is a project of family care and guidance.

TURK-KADINININ SOSYAL DURUMUNU TATKIK KURUMU-Society for Research on the Social Status of Women-Ankara, 1950.

About 100 members, including a few men.

Purpose:

- (a) To survey and analyze scientifically the conditions of the life of Turkish women from the standpoint of customs, law, economic life and culture movements; and to publish the results of the research studies. (Three books already published)
- (b) To develop the social status of women on the principle of "respect of the individual."
- (c) To undertake the financial and moral responsibility for individual students.

(d) To raise the standard of life and intellectual level of women.

TURKISH NURSES' ASSOCIATION—National, 1934. Reorganized 1943. About 300 members.

Purpose:

To promote the interests of nurses and the status of the nursing profession in Turkey.

Affiliated with International Council of Nurses, 1949.

SOROPTOMIST CLUBS-Three centers: Istanbul two centers, Ankara one. Purpose:

To promote the interests of business and professional womenusually some special project, such as the Ankara 1956-1957 project

of a self-management hostel for women students in Ankara.

Affiliated with International Soroptomist.

AMERIKAN LISAN VE SANAT DERSANESI-American Service Centers-Istanbul, 1921. About 1,500 members, Turkish staff, American Director, International committee, community support.

- Purpose
- (a) General purpose, to promote the educational, social and economic cultural and character development of girls and young women.
- (b) Specific purpose, to provide vocational education (stenography, languages, dressmaking and domestic science); interest groups, summer camp; small hostel; social welfare activity and a summer kinder-

Affiliation in liqison with the World YWCA, not affiliated directly, but linked to the Foreign Division of the YWCA of the United States.

Association of University Women-Istanbul-National, 1949. Membership about 160.

Purpose:

- (a) To promote the welfare of university women students through providing dormitories, sponsorship of individual women students and
 (b) To promote the welfare of university women students and
- (b) To develop cultural relations among the alumnae of the university and other institutions of higher education.

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WOMEN IN TURKEY

(c) To promote friendship, understanding and mutual help between Istanbul University and universities of other countries.

Affiliated with International Federation of University Women, 1955.

THE RED CRESCENT—National, 1877. (Women's section)

Affiliated with: League of Red Cross Societies, 1930.

THE TURKISH SOCIETY FOR CHILD WELFARE-National, 1910. Coçuk Esirgeme Kurumu-Society for the Protection of Children.

Affiliated with the International Union for Child Welfare. 1920.

THE TURKISH ASSOCIATON FOR MENTAL HEALTH—Istanbul area, 1930. Child guidance clinic, the first in Turkey. Istanbul.

Affiliated with the World Federation for Mental Health.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION Association for Teachers-National, 1948.

80,000 members (50,000 women, 30,000 men)

Affiliated with the World Education Association.

THE TURKISH-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY ASSOCIATION—National, 1952. Membership about 200, comprising senior faculty members of Turkish universities and American colleges, younger university graduates, visiting American professors, business and professional men and women.

Purpose:

- (a) To establish contact between educators and people from academic circles of the two countries.
- (b) To encourage research activities-humanities in Turkey.
- (c) To act as a public service organization through sponsoring lectures, art exhibits and concerts, also English and Turkish language courses and films for adult interest groups.

TABLE No. 1

GROWTH IN THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS

1	1923-1924	1933-1934
Primary	62,954	205,922
Secondary	2,072	11,376
Lycée	612 (1924-25)	2,321
University	285	933
Vocational School	592	990
Normal School for Primary Teachers	782	2,537

Source: Moslem Women Enter a New World, Ruth F. Woodsmall. Allen and Unwin, London 1936, p. 219.

TABLE No. 2

GROWTH IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AND ENROLLMENT

1923-1924 - 1956-1957

	Primary Schools	Enrollment	Secondary Schools Enrollment
1923-24 ¹	4,894	350,000	Middle School 72 95 7,146 Lycée 23 95
1956-57 ²	19,777	2,131,148	$\begin{array}{c c} Lycce & 23 \\ \hline Middle School 464 \\ Lycée & 95 \\ \end{array} $

Source: ¹ Education in Turkey, Maarif Basimevi, Ankara 1955, pp. 12 and 14. ² Ministry of Education.

TABLE No. 3

ENROLLMENT IN TURKISH UNIVERSITIES 1956-1957

	Students				
	Turkish			Foreig	n
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Total
Ankara University		10,668		174	12,615
Istanbula University	3,298	12,284	90	687	16,359
Istanbul Technical University Egge University Middle East Technical University	95	2,470	5	196	2,766
	123	263	X	13	399
	14	51	Х	3	68
Total	5,291	25,736	107	1,073	32,207

Source: Ministry of Education.

WOMEN IN TURKEY

TABLE No. 4

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ECONOMIC LIFE

Public Education		Police	
Schoolteachers 15	,309	Chiefs of Section	1
and the second sec	,309	Police Station Chiefs Deputy Chiefs Police Agents	4 4 29
Justice–Legal Profession Supreme Court State Council, Chairman	12	Communications	
General Accounting Office Lawyers	1 595	State Railways, Assistar General Manager	1
Judges	139	Fine Arts	2,080
Universities		Technical Experts	20,096
Professors	14	Commercial Enterprises	24,547
Assistant Professors Assistants	56 191	Workers	162,379
Public Works		Saleswomen	5,930
Engineers (Ministry of Public Works	16	Rural Workers	4,976,604
Agriculture Experts	80		
Veterinary Experts	43		

Out of a total of 11,873,374 women (1955 census), only 1,618,056 were not working. Of the total, 4,584,215 were at an age between 0 and 14 years, and 445,942 disabled. According to the 1927 census, working women amounted to only 1,703,482 of a total of 7,084,391 women. The majority of the 1,703,482 women were working in agriculture; a few hundred of them were school teachers.

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WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

TABLE No. 5

0%

POPULATION BY MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUPS (10% SAMPLE) 1955 POPULATION CENSUS

				70
	Male	Female	Total	Female
Population 15 years old and o	ver			
Agriculture, forestry,				
hunting, fishing	4,340,977	4,976,604	9,317,581	53.4
Mining, quarrying	56,812	830	57,642	1.4
Manufacturing	604,280	121,823	726,103	0
Construction	193,135	1,790	194,925	
Electricity, gas, water,	170,100	1,100	12 .,-=-	
sanitary services	12,778	340	13,118	2.6
Commerce	311,519	14,428	325,947	
Transport, storage,	511,515	11,120	525,511	
communication	172,198	5,199	177,397	2.9
Services	449,821	61,582	511,403	
Activities not adequately	112,021	01,902	511,105	
described*	671,771	42,565	714,336	5.9
Active population	6,813,291	5,225,161	12,038,452	10.1
Inactive population	395,988	2,063,998	2,459,986	
Population under 15 years	5,039,125	4,584,215	9,623,340	/
Total Population	12 249 404			100
Total Population	12,248,404	11,873,374	24,121,778	49.2
* Includes Armed Forces.				

Source: Publication of Statistics (1955 Census), Ankara 1957.

TABLE No. 6

NUMBER OF WOMEN WORKERS IN CERTAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Industry Groups

Mining and quarrying	830
Manufacturing	030
Construction	121,045
	1,790
Electricity, gas and water	340
Commerce	
Commerce	14,428
Services	5,199
Services	61,582
Activities not adequately described	
Activities not adequately described.	42,565
Total	
Source: Publication of Statistic Gloss a	248,557
Source: Publication of Statistic Grant -	

urce: Publication of Statistics (1955 Census) No. 372, Ankara 1957.

. . .

WOMEN IN TURKEY

TABLE NO. 7

RESULTS OF POPULATION CENSUS BY MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUPS

	1945		1	1955	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Mining, quarrying	34,084	308	56,812	830	
Manufacturing	492,596	81,588	604,280	121,823	
Construction	61,291	241	193,135	1,790	
Electricity, gas, water,					
sanitary services	4,057	171	12,778	340	
Commerce	268,692	11,006	311,519	14,428	
Transport, storage	136,541	3,298	172,198	5,199	
Services	676,116	46,703	449,821	61,582	
Total	1,673,377	143,315	1,800,543	205,992	
Same 1055 C					

Source: 1955 Census.

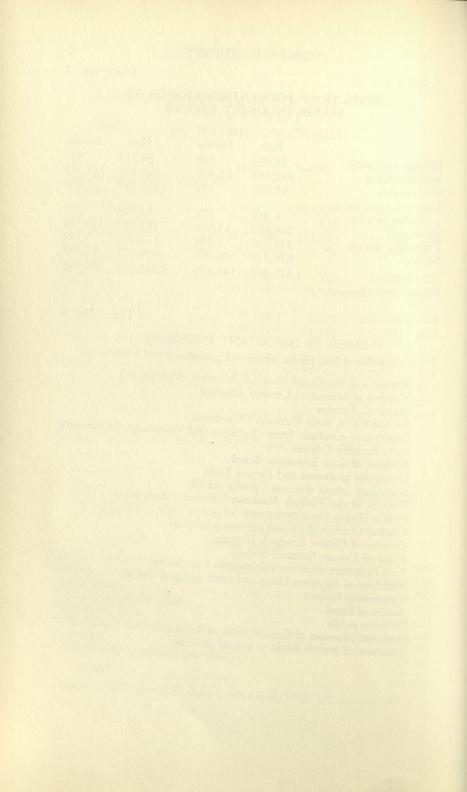
TABLE NO. 8

WOMEN IN IMPORTANT POSITIONS . . .

in political life, public offices and professions and business

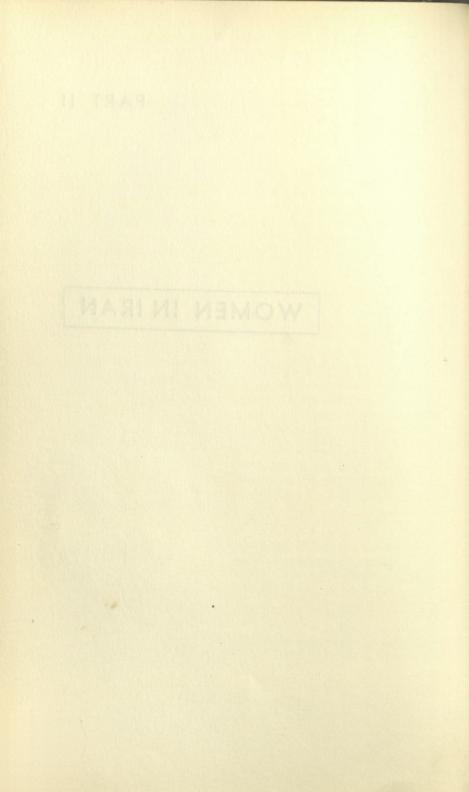
Members of the Grand National Assembly (Parliament) Member of Municipal Council, Istanbul Mayor of Mersine Section Chief, State Railways Department Supervisory positions, State Highways and Waterways Departments State Security Officers Member of State Education Board University professors and Faculty Dean Secondary school directors (public school) Director of the Turkish American University Association Public Health Department staff Clinical Chief in State and university hospitals Director of Cancer Research Hospital Head of Cancer Research Society Vice President, Florence Nightingale Foundation Members of Supreme Court and other juridical bodies Corporation lawyers Justice of Peace Notaries public Assistant Manager of Central Bank of Turkey Directors of branch banks or special divisions

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PART II

WOMEN IN IRAN



WOMEN IN IRAN

THE SETTING

The compulsory unveiling of women decreed in 1935 by Riza Shah marks the dateline of change from the traditional segregation and seclusion of Iranian women to the beginning of a new social pattern.

Accomplished by police action overnight, the passing of the chaddur (the Moslem woman's outer garment) has now become an accepted fact, though not without some setbacks. After the abdication of Riza Shah in 1941, the power of the mullahs immediately reasserted itself. Women were accused of being immoral if they went without the chaddur. The reaction was serious and there was a certain retrogression. The chaddur reappeared among the conservatives and those who had bitterly resented compulsory unveiling as a violation of personal rights. But since freedom to wear the chaddur was recognized, it ceased to be a symbol, became a matter of choice, and the broad current of social change moved on. Today one can walk through the main business and shopping areas, or drive along the spacious avenues of Teheran and see only an occasional woman wearing the chaddur as a long-accustomed garment. In the poorer quarters and crowded older city the chaddur is still worn because of its economy as a multi-purpose garment, a protection from the crowd, or simply as a matter of convenience.

In other cities—Isfahan and Shiraz—the force of conservatism is still strong. "The majority wear the *chaddur*," was the concensus of a small discussion group of educated women in Isfahan, all unveiled. "There may be only half a dozen who never wear the *chaddur* but there is no fear of its return. The boundary has been moved." In Shiraz the situation appears somewhat freer. There are few educated women who are veiled. "It is no longer a subject for discussion or a cause of anxiety. Let women who want to wear the *chaddur* keep it," is the view. On the other hand, in shrine cities such as Meshhed, the women are practically all veiled, even women who never veil in Teheran. For the youth of Iran the *chaddur* has no meaning; the new generation has grown up without it.

The significance of Riza Shah's drastic reform is fully recognized by thoughtful leaders. "Riza Shah was of tremendous value. Social reform would not have taken place if it had not been for him. He is now recognized as a great leader and his reputation will probably grow in the future," was the seasoned judgment of a widely known British Mission leader, who had spent many years in Iran.

A similar opinion was expressed by an American senior missionary. "If Riza Shah could have continued another five or ten years there would have been no violent reaction. The total reform would have been stabilized."

A pioneer woman educator for over thirty years in Isfahan, now principal of a girls' secondary high school, Mrs. Mansouri, deplored the abdication of Riza Shah. "If he could have continued, it would have made a tremendous difference in promoting the idea of education." The comment of a conservative by nature, a Government interpreter, is interesting. "Riza Shah made much progress, but went too fast. Persia needed a dictator, it was already too late to go slowly. There was too much to do. People were angry in their hearts, but they had to advance. You can't go back to the place where you were."

As a result of the passing of the *chaddur*, the social climate has changed. Social freedom finds expression in many ways in the free movement of women everywhere—on the streets, in shops, in beauty parlors, in places of amusement, in public gatherings; as well as in the number of uncovered arms, the absence of hats, the attention paid to dress and to fashion.

Aside from these external evidences of change there are the deeper effects of social freedom. The change in the home was pointed out by the mayor of Isfahan. "The main change is in our homes. Our wives no longer believe in us as they formerly did; no longer take as 'gospel' what we say. Formerly women were blind and dumb. Now they can see and hear things for themselves. They are interested in newspapers and critical of things that happen in the city and even nationally. They know more about babies' care and food. Women had no regular habits—

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no sense of time. They tended to be casual and slack, and did not know how to manage their lives. Now it is very different."

While the new climate of freedom has had its effect on the whole context of life in widening the activities and interests of women, certain traditional restrictive social customs and legal inequalities, always adverse to women in Iran, are still a basic challenge to their social freedom and equal social status with men. Polygamy and temporary marriage, a form of polygamy peculiar to the Shia' sect, are legally endorsed. Temporary marriage, a common practice in shrine cities, must be legitimitized, it is believed; not to do so is a sin. Except in the shrine cities, temporary marriage and polygamy have definitely decreased among the educated upper class but are still prevalent in the middle and lower classes. Unilateral divorce, i.e. the right of repudiation by the husband, inequality of inheritance and of guardianship, gives legal sanction to a lower social status for women. The fact that there will be no social security for women without some kind of legislation is recognized by Iranian women. As a young woman of the upper-educated group in Shiraz, speaking of polygamy, said, "It may not affect us personally but as long as it keeps women unprotected, it is our job. You can't expect men to work for legislation against polygamy unless we take the lead."

EDUCATION

Of marked significance in the advance of women in Iran today is the educational progress that has been taking place for a number of years. Even before Riza Shah's abolition of the *chaddur*, girls' education had been recognized as a national necessity, shown by the increase in the number of girls' schools and the number of girls in primary and secondary schools, as well as certain liberal trends in the curriculum, such as physical education classes. Undoubtedly the further promotion of education for girls was on the unfinished agenda of Riza Shah when he was forced to abdicate. The steady advance in girls' education was the cumulative result of a long period of Mission schools for girls, as well as the courageous efforts of the pioneer Iranian woman educator, Sadigeh Khanum Doulatabadee, who started the first girls' school in Iran in Isfahan.

The following years of political confusion and nationalistic

policies were not conducive to growth. In that period the closing of the missionary schools and colleges was a distinct loss to education and especially was it so for girls. Formerly the only private secondary schools were the Alborz for boys and Nurbakush for girls. During the last decade, however, there has been again steady growth in the number of schools for girls, from the elementary through the university, the latter having been made coeducational immediately after the abolition of the *chaddur*.

There were three times as many girls in school in 1956 as in 1949, compared with an increase of only twice as many boys in the same period. (1949 figures are the result of the survey made at the request of the Shah in 1948.) (Table No. 1) In the past decade there has been a marked increase in the enrollment of girls on the different levels of education: three times as many in primary schools and three times as many in secondary schools in 1956 as there were on these same levels in 1946. (Table No. 1)

The budget for education represents twenty-one per cent of the total Government budget.¹

The major aim of Government education, as explained by an Education Ministry official, is to enforce compulsory primary education, which, it is felt, can be achieved only by reducing the number who receive free secondary education and shifting a large part of the burden to subsidized private schools such as Alborz and Nurbakush, which still use the names they had as Mission schools. The Government will still provide free primary and secondary education for the poorer class. Under the new plan there will be a number more. A reduction in secondary education will be effected by increasing vocational education in primary schools in the fifth year and in secondary schools in the sixth. The increased emphasis on vocational education is in line with the Seven Year Plan, which is allocating large amounts of money to this field as a means of contributing to its special aim of general economic development.

The University of Teheran, coeducational since 1940, provides higher education for women in liberal arts and professional fields, including law, public administration, medicine, dentistry, ¹Ministry of Education. pharmacy, veterinary science, engineering and teaching. Agriculture is as yet open to women for short courses only. In the regular courses of all departments except theology and agriculture, in 1956, the University registration was 7,299 men students, 801 women. (Table No. 2) There has been remarkable growth in the number of women students: from 1,397 in 1957-58 to 1,912 in 1958-59.

A signal advance in the higher education of women was the appointment of the first Dean of Women of the University of Teheran in 1958, Dr. Parvin Birjandi, a specialist of note in the field of educational psychology, well equipped to meet a major need for student counselling.

An important cultural trend which affects the University especially in a marked shift from French to English as a second language and the desire to study in the United States. The United States Operations Mission, employing a large number of Iranians and providing opportunities for study in America, has been a major factor in the increased use of English.

In developing its program, the University has had technical assistance along several lines: the Institute of Public Administration established by ICA on contract with the University of California, Los Angeles, two technical assistants for Government employees and regular students; Fulbright Fellowships and United States consultants requested in dramatics, American literature and journalism; also a technical assistant from the United Nations to develop training in social work.

The basic problem of education in Iran is not the development of the University, however important it may be. The major concern is the national necessity to reduce illiteracy through the primary schools, already discussed, and through adult education both urban and rural. The extent of the adult education effort and response is shown by the increase in the enrollment in adult literacy classes from 469 in 1946 to 24,718 in 1956.²

In 1953 an unusual adult literacy program, the Gendarmerie Literacy Training Program, was planned as a cooperative enterprise by the Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie, the United States Gendarme Mission, and the USOM (also known as Point IV). Through this program (carried out from August 1954 to Decem-

² Ministry of Education.

ber 1955) the whole country was covered; 15,500 illiterate gendarmes, the local police of Iran, were taught by their commanding officers in a six-months course to read and write sufficiently to carry out their essential duties—reading orders and writing reports. Four civilian teachers taught 100 officers how to teach the illiterate gendarmes, who in turn taught 4,000 more of their number. The initial cost was \$2.97 for each gendarme taught. A permanent division for this basic training in literacy has been set up.

A good many of the gendarmes taught their wives on their own initiative. One of the gendarmes, when getting his certificate, asked for one for his wife. He had taught her in order to end their constant argument about her house. After she learned how to read and write and post her accounts, all was peaceful.

Educational advance for girls is measured not only quantitatively by the increase in school enrollment on all levels from the primary through the university, but qualitatively in new emphases and enriched curriculum content. The establishment of twelve Demonstration Schools in different areas has introduced modern methods and helped to raise standards. Home economics courses in elementary and secondary schools—20,000 enrollment in 1955-56—have added to the traditional sewing and cooking classes, home-making courses in family relations, nutrition, health and childhood development. "We need more of these domestic science courses," was the comment of the Director of Education in Isfahan.

Supplementary training of women teachers through summer courses in different areas, and three-month courses in practice centers located where there is a Demonstration School, are helping to solve the lack of trained women teachers, a major difficulty in promoting education for girls. The number of teachers has been doubled in the last three or four years. Half the elementary school teachers are women but many more are needed, and economics teaching.

Miss Soghra Nemazee, a woman leader in Shiraz and a teacher of long experience, commented on the advance of women teachers. They are accepted, she said, even in schools attended by boys. Women teachers have equal status, equal access to normal schools, equal employment possibilities and an equal salary scale with men, on a fixed basis.

Social conservatism has lost ground in regard to education for girls. The test is not in Teheran but in the provincial cities and towns. To quote from the Director of Education in Isfahan, "There is no question about the response of the public. Children are eager for school; they cannot wait for the summer holiday to end." This attitude is widespread in Iran today except in the shrine cities, the stronghold of fanaticism. Another official, this one from Shiraz, said, "The promotion of girls' schools is the best thing we can do. It may cause the *chaddur* in Isfahan to disappear. Education behind the veil is a false substitute. The veil must go. I would like to double the number of girls' schools. My policy is to give twice as much to girls' as to boys' education."

Obviously, this vigorous policy is exceptional. But both public opinion and official policy are favorable to girls' education. In one respect, however, there has been little change. The hard core of conservatism remains in regard to coeducation. It is permitted only in kindergarten and college without question, is accepted in the elementary schools if necessary, but from the sixth grade to the twelfth meets absolute opposition. Coeducation is the main obstacle to compulsory free primary education and the free advance of girls' education.

Camps and clubs for girls and young women are a distinctive development in Teheran in extra curricular informal education. The first camp in Iran was organized at Ramsar on the Caspian Sea in 1953 under the leadership of Miss Latifeh Alvieh as Counselor. The camp was initiated by a voluntary group with official support from the Crown Lands Department, the Ministry of Education and USOM. Sponsored by the former Queen, it was widely publicized and has served as a model for the successive annual Soraya camps. Combining recreation and education, these camps give girls and young women experience in democratic living, stress the dignity of labor-the girls do all the work except the cooking-and offer training in citizenship. The camps are attended by junior and senior high school girls and some university students, practically all from Teheran, but a few, in steadily growing number, from the provinces. By 1956 over four hundred girls had been in camps.

The growth of camps specifically for women university students is an important recent development, one of the direct results of the appointment of the dean of women for the University. These student camps, which are supported by the Ministry of Education, are an essential part of the creative extra curricular program that is being carried on throughout the year. In 1958 over one hundred and fifty women students had a ten day camp experience on the Caspian Sea.

After the first Soraya camp, girls' clubs were organized in Teheran. They were composed primarily of the former campers, but were also open to other girls and held after school, usually in vacant school buildings. The program included varied group activities and civic education. These self-governing clubs of about twenty-five members, each with its own volunteer leader, has steadily grown since 1956, but expansion has been limited by lack of funds and facilities. A gift of land and money for a building from an individual donor in 1958 has made possible the development in Teheran of a permanent club center. The Soraya camp and club program for girls is sponsored and administered by a group of volunteers. Some of their members form the feminine group of the Iranian Youth Activities Organization, which represents official and voluntary efforts to promote the welfare of youth—both boys and girls.

An extensive program of boys' camps on the Caspian Sea has also been developed by the Ministry of Education for the past few years.

A unique project in tribal education was successfully carried out in the Shiraz area by the USOM and then taken over by the Government. The tribal people are nomadic, illiterate, living off the land, traveling in quest of water and pasturage. During the winter they come down from the high land and in the summer return. In the lowland period of semi-settled abode a simple education plan was possible. So the yellow tent of the school appeared among the black tents of the nomad encampment.

The school is simply organized, with easily movable equipment. The teacher of sixth grade education belonging to the tribe moves with the tribe, and girls and boys study together. Coeducation is normal, as they live and work and play together.

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The moral code is rigid. The children have keen minds, and average twice the progress of the "settled" town children, who have stable classrooms and a fixed schedule, was the opinion expressed by Miss Soghra Nemazee. The parents are eager to have their children go to school. Started about four years ago by USOM, these tribal schools have now been transferred to the Government and are a regular part of the program.

The main needs for the future of education for girls, with coeducation heading the list, include:

- 1. Increased emphasis on literacy and rural education.
- 2. Promotion of vocational training, admission of women to new business schools.
- 3. Development of closer relationship of the school with the community and the home. (Parent-Teacher Associations are desirable.)
- 4. Adequate provision for the special needs of women students in the University-housing, social and vocational guidance.

In the development of its education program the Iranian government has received material aid and technical assistance in Iran and also fellowships for students and leaders to study abroad from a number of agencies. These cooperating agencies include the United Nations—UNESCO and other specialized agencies, the United States Operations Missions (ICA) and private organizations such as the Near East Foundation and the Ford Foundation, as well as an American university. The assistance to the Government has been given in the whole field of education—primary, secondary, rural and fundamental education, and in the University of Teheran, with technical experts in these different areas and scholarships granted for study and training accordingly.

HEALTH

The development of a Government health program in Iran did not begin with the post-war period of World War II, but rather in Riza Shah's regime; and not through a spectacular frontal attack on conservatism, as in the abolition of the *chaddur*, but through the steady promotion of better health conditions. Country-wide inoculation, a forward step in view of the opposition of the masses; the beginning of material and child health care; a woman's hospital with a training school for medical assistants; the beginning of women's public health service and training of midwives; and the opening of the first nurses training center outside mission hospitals, to encourage Moslem girls to enter the nursing field—this was the prelude to the new era of the present Shah.

After the tragic war years of political and economic upheaval, poverty and famine, disease and death, the new Shah, Mohammed Riza Shah Pahlevi, and the Iranian Government faced the burden of rebuilding the life of the nation. A sevenyear plan of development was decided upon.

In developing this extensive health program, the Iranian Government has had the material and technical assistance of the United Nations and the specialized agencies WHO, UNICEF, UNESCO and FAO; and of the USOM.

The main aim of the Government program in all its phases is the same, namely, to implant in Iran the positive concept of public health and overcome the traditional belief that to change the life expectancy is to tamper with the will of Allah. The program for women and children includes maternal and child health; training of public health personnel—nurses, midwives, public health assistants; health education and nutrition; development of rural health service.

The lack of trained women personnel was the major problem to be solved in the promotion of health service for women and children. In 1949 the estimated total number of nurses in the nurses training schools in Iran, less than ten in number at that time, was 360 for a population of approximately eighteen millions. The mission hospitals, American and British, had on their staffs Iranian nurses they had trained themselves. Many other hospitals did not have a single nurse, only poorly trained men workers, mostly uneducated, many of them illiterate. Aside from the 360 trained nurses, there were no trained women health workers.

To train women workers as rapidly as possible for public health service was, therefore, an obvious priority for the program of MCH clinics and health centers needed to improve the conditions of women and children. Two types of training of supplementary workers were carried out: auxiliary workers, or nurses' aides, and midwives. Fifty-five trained nurses were recruited for the training of auxiliary aides. In four and a half years this corps of nurses gave 125 auxiliary workers a year's course in the principles of public health.

Auxiliary Workers-Nurses' Aides. The course was divided into two periods of six months each; the first period combined theory with demonstration of technique and observation of practical activities; the second period covered work in the maternal and child health (MCH) clinics under professional staff supervision. At the end of the year these nurses' aides were employed under a nurse supervisor. They constituted a basic corps of auxiliary workers for the MCH clinics.

Village Midwifery. Village girls with school qualification from the sixth to ninth grade are given a two year course as midwifery workers for villages of less than 10,000. Then they work alone in the villages but are connected with a near-by town or large village. Social custom does not permit their living alone and they have to make arrangements with families for residence. Aside from the training of the nurses' aide, auxiliary worker and the young village midwife, short courses have been given for the untrained village midwives, mostly older women but some of them younger, many practically illiterate, who have often been a menace to the lives of mothers and babies. The classes for these traditional midwives might have been resented, but instead were welcomed by the women chosen. Others begged to be admitted. Their certificate and bag of midwifery equipment given at the end of the course are objects of pride in their community. The nurses supervise the midwives at their required weekly visit to the Center and withdraw their bags and certificates if they fail to practice what they have been taught. An effective incentive is the fact that the village women now will accept only the midwife with a certificate. Six hundred of these village midwives have had training. The MCH Centers are used for their instruction, where they can see the importance of cleanliness before, during and after the birth of the child. At a weekly inspection visit, a group of these former untrained midwives gathered around the nurse, proudly displaying their kits, clean and in good order, are a wonderful example of "grass roots" health training which is like a life insurance policy for many village women.

The MCH Centers program includes clinics for pre-natal and

post-natal care of mothers and pre-school children, classes for mothers in daily care and feeding of the infant, and distribution of surplus milk from America, which not only meets the children's need for milk but affords an opportunity to teach the mothers about nutrition.

Visits to any one of the MCH Centers, always filled with women and children, many expectant mothers sitting in the pleasant anteroom waiting their turn in an atmosphere of quiet comfort, leaves no doubt in one's mind that the women use and appreciate this MCH service. These centers are well distributed throughout the country, serving, in rural areas, the simple village women, and in the towns and cities, women of the lower middle and lower class. The Center is always an attractive, friendly place, however plain it may be, with trained Iranian staff that win confidence.

A talk with the Iranian nurse in charge in Shiraz, a graduate of the American University of Beirut, gave an inside glimpse of the success of the Center. She quickly summed up evidences of change: "They bathe the baby every two or three days; have given up using mascara on the eyes to keep away the evil spirit, and give the baby milk instead of butter or *ghee*; the mothers eat more fruit, come regularly to the clinic to ask for help, and follow instructions; they even come in spite of a mother-in-law who opposes it."

The regional USOM Director in Shiraz, in speaking of progress, stressed the appreciation of the public and the official requests for new Centers and more instruction for untrained midwives. A letter from a flood area thanked her for the nursemidwife who talked to the women about health so that "they forgot their troubles. If someone had talked like this before, they could have lived like people in the cities and not like villagers."

She commented also on the fact that a very conservative community had accepted without question the independent flood relief action of a group of young health workers. "Their nurses' uniform commands respect," she said. "In their uniforms they can go even into the bazaar alone." But social custom presents a serious living problem for young health workers. The well-trained young Iranian nurse in charge of the MCH Center lives alone in her own apartment, a real pioneering venture. She has had to meet criticism but has maintained her position with dignity.

Raising of the standards and status of nursing has been a subject of concern since 1949, but the promotion of public health has claimed priority and the consideration of nursing has been deferred. Since 1953, however, the question of nursing has been in the foreground. The better recognition of nursing was the first step. The Division of Nursing, USOM, was made a Department of the Ministry, a Chief Nurse was appointed, with supervisory responsibility, and three nurse-consultants. A survey of existing nursing schools has been made as a basis for work on proper standards.

The nursing schools before 1949—all except one, perhaps were below full nursing standards. Since 1949, new schools have been developed. The number as of September 1956 was thirteen. The Red Lion and Sun (1948)¹ and the Nemazee (1953) schools have Government recognition. The Princess Ashraf School, which has university recognition, will doubtless be accredited by the Government.

An interesting change in the nursing situation is the fact that before Riza Shah there were practically no Moslem nurses. For example, the Church Missionary Society Hospital in Shiraz in 1947 had only two Moslem nurses, and in 1955-56, twentyfive. The number of Moslem applicants is growing. Welleducated young Moslem women are now choosing nursing as their career.

To consider the whole question of nursing standards in Iran, a National Nursing Conference was called by the Minister of Health in August 1956 under the patronage of their Royal Highnesses and supported by USOM. It was attended by the Middle East USOM Nursing Directors and by international guests from WHO and the International Council of Nursing, whose conference in May 1956 had inspired the Teheran meeting. The attendance of nurses from all over Iran and other countries and their very free discussion gave the conference recommendations special meaning. The three main recommendations have been accepted. These are:

Training of two types of nurses, the professional nurse and the ¹ The Red Cross counterpart in Iran. practical nurse, with the entrance requirement of twelfth grade and ninth grade elementary education respectively.

Establishment of schools for practical nurses with Plan Organization Funds.

A Nurse Practice Act as a legal requirement for qualified nurses.

This first "Grand Conference on Nursing" (the official name) has raised the status of nursing in Iran and will undoubtedly have significance for other countries in the Middle East, which also face the problem of improving the standards and status of nursing.

The growing emphasis on public health is indicated by a budget allowance of one-quarter of the total for curative programs and three-quarters for preventive public health provisions. The Deputy Chief of Public Health Education, Mrs. Shukooh, is meeting a special need for more health education material.

The question of planned parenthood is being dealt with in Iran by a Committee called the Guide to Family Health, which works in close cooperation with the Women's Auxiliary of the Municipality, and through a daily clinic held in one of the largest women's hospitals. A visiting nurse, in the Public Health Service, also cooperates by giving advice as to safe methods of spacing children. This she does while visiting in the homes of patients. This inconspicuous service in family planning reflects the growing concern of the educated minority in a basic health problem.

IMPROVEMENT OF VILLAGE LIFE

The general pattern of rural life and rural need in Iran does not differ materially from village to village. Certain generalizations can be safely made on the 44,000 villages in which eighty per cent of the people of Iran live. Illiteracy, disease and poverty are the common characteristics of village life, which show their cumulative effects in the lives of women and children: a higher illiteracy of women and less school opportunity for girls; greater hazards of health—early marriage, and frequent pregnancy; the double burden of women's endless work in the home and fields. Village women do not veil, but a certain veil psychology within the village debars them from normal relationships and recreation. They live on a lower social level, under the absolute authority of their fathers or husbands. Their lives are dominated by ignorance, superstitious fears and beliefs. This bare outline of the life of village women in Iran is a dreary picture of cumulative misery and tremendous need. It would be a hopeless picture if efforts were not being made to promote the welfare of women as an integral part in plans for village improvement.

Projects directly affecting the position of village women are being developed by several Government Ministries with the cooperation of USOM. Two notable examples are the Fundamental Education Program, already mentioned in connection with the Gendarmes Literacy project, and the Woman's Program in the Near East Foundation's Varamin Plain pilot project.

The Fundamental Education Program for illiterate men, women and youth, officially established by the Ministry of Education in 1953 with USOM assistance, has been widely spread throughout Iran. Within a year, it made remarkable progress—107 province and district leaders—forty-six women, and eighteen married couples; forty-four of the total 104 districts were carrying on Fundamental Education with 11,000 persons enrolled, of whom one-fifth were women.

Fundamental Education is concerned with the whole community beyond the primary school, including also youth not in school who must work during the day. Although not specifically a woman's program, Fundamental Education meets the needs of women effectively. The program is designed to reduce illiteracy, with teaching closely related to the life interests and needs of village people—for farmers, an emphasis on farming; for the women, cooking, sewing, child care, etc. The final objective is better homes and better villages. The Fundamental Education classes taught by the village teachers are held in the late afternoon or evening. The men meet in the school building; the women usually in a home, since most village women avoid going to public places.

Important in the development of the program have been the mixed training courses for men and women. The man-wife team is logical and has special value. It helps to solve the immediate social problem of securing women personnel and may help toward the freer use of unmarried women for village welfare service, who are needed for the further development of the program. A married couple working in a village is an example of equal partnership of men and women, raises the status of village women in public opinion and encourages them to take a more active part in community life.

The most hopeful result of the Fundamental Education Program is the growing spirit of self-help and initiative of village people in promoting better conditions. Examples of this are the collective efforts in making a new road, building a one-room mud-walled library, opening a girls' school with a woman teacher, adding a woman teacher to the school that has only a man, so that girls can attend the classes being held for women, and efforts to provide some village recreation to break the dull monotony of village life.

The Home and Family Welfare Program of the Near East Foundation was started (1952) as part of its Varamin Plain project, about an hour and a half from Teheran by car. Since 1946 the Foundation had been carrying on pilot projects in agriculture, sanitation and education, which are now related through USOM to several Ministries. Home and Family Welfare is the woman's program. As a basis for the village program, Mrs. Mariam Mengis, of the Near East Foundation staff, made a survey of three Crown Land villages. The welfare project began with literacy as its primary aim; this has been widened to include home economics and other subjects related to family living.

The plan of the project was such that a body of village leaders was recruited and trained while the program was in process:

The choice of a village leader to work from the Project headquarters in several villages, on setting up literacy classes; and the selection in each village of an adequate meeting place for classes, and for a woman's center, organized in a simple way—"sit in a circle on the floor."

The addition of other village workers, varying in education from the sixth grade to the university, all willing to live and work in the village, each regularly visiting three other villages by bicycle. "In-service training" day conferences and workshops, individual consultations, and regular monthly meetings of workers; preparation of outlines of methods; demonstrations of practical lines of work and instruction in the use of films.

Establishment of a Village Teacher Training School, a crucial need, as the lack of women teachers is the most serious obstacle to girls attending schools.

The program in the village centers has included literacy classes

and homemaking subjects—cooking, sewing and child care taught in a very practical way. Regular home visits have been an important means of informal education for which the women teachers were prepared by special lessons in homemaking problems.

In the informal atmosphere of a sewing class in one of the villages, where the skillful teacher, a former dressmaker, was showing the women how to remodel a coat, they seemed glad to discuss what the center meant to them, when the question was asked.

One answered, "It has made a great change for me. I can sew my own clothes, can mend and can meet other women."

A young woman pointed to a little girl beside her, "My sister," she said proudly. "I made her dress. The center makes me feel I can do something. I never thought I could."

Another said, "I like a friendly place to talk and meet others. My husband lets me come—so I do."

Another suggested, "This center doesn't belong to us only. It belongs to the village."

The conversation was brief but illuminating. Back of the easy atmosphere were months of quiet effort by the village worker to break down the hesitation of some of this group and the unwillingness of their husbands to accept something new.

The four years' achievement of the Home and Family Welfare program can be briefly summarized: an extension service in thirty villages reaching more than 500 women; a body of young women given "in-service training," ten of whom are at work in three villages each; an increase in coeducation, in the number of girls enrolled (girls are one-third the number of boys) and in women teachers (fifty-five women in twenty-nine schools); and the establishment of a Village Women's Training School, financed by the Ministry of Education with sixty-nine graduates teaching in the Varamin Plain.¹

The Home Extension Service of the Ministry of Agriculture

¹ The Near East Foundation ceased as of March 1958 to operate the Home and Family Welfare Program directly and assumed an advisory relationship to the program through an American specialist in Home Economics, Welfare and Home Extension, appointed and financed by the Foundation. This trained worker acts as advisor jointly to the two Ministries—Education and Agriculture in the further refinement and extension of the program. is another effective program for women, which is carried out by women extension agents especially trained to meet the needs of village women. Centers have been located in villages without schools to avoid duplication with other agencies. The countrywide program is developed by a Chief of Extension Service, Chief of Home Economics, a specialist in Methods at the Teheran headquarters, and in each province (twelve) a Supervisor and four Extension Agents for the work in the villages.

Training programs for the Extension Agents are held in a central place with a village atmosphere for not less than six months, at government expense, with a four-year contract. The training course includes extension methods and philosophy and rural sociology, village organization, community leadership; and home economics—making clothes, sanitation, food, nutrition, storage, child care, home nursing, home care and furnishing.

At the beginning of the Home Economics program a pilot project near Isfahan was developed by two capable Iranian leaders, Home Extension Agents, Mrs. Malek Erfan and Miss Turan Ilkhan Bakhtiar, in a village without a school or other social agency, where the women were interested in literacy and sewing. The workers gained the women's confidence, learned their needs and desires and developed the program accordingly. The success of the project was shown by the efforts of the village women for better sanitation, their response to literacy classes, progress in sewing and in growing vegetables and willingness to have inoculation. The women's program has influenced the whole village. This project is typical of the Home Extension Service as a whole. The Extension Agent is the key to its success. She is respected and called upon to help in many ways, a welcome member of the village community.

Cooperation is a basic principle of the Home Extension Service. The Chief of the Extension Service, Mrs. Ezzat Aghevli, works very closely with the National Supervisors of Agriculture and Youth and also with any organization which works in rural areas and in villages. The lines of cooperation are carried out by the provincial Supervisors and Home Extension Agents. The aim of the whole program is to raise the level of living in rural areas. Steady progress is evident but to quote the National Home Extension Supervisor, "It is a slow process, since we try to change attitudes and teach and help people to help themselves."

As already explained, the rural welfare programs of the different Ministries have been developed in cooperation with foreign agencies—USOM and others. The Ministries, in reference to their funds for rural development, are closely connected with the community development organization called the Community Development *Bongah* which is directly responsible to the Ministry of the Interior, but operates independently. It was created to carry out former Prime Minister Mossadegh's "farmer's fair share" regulation, a decree providing that ten per cent be spent from the landlord's income for improving living conditions in the villages and ten per cent paid to the Village Council—actually a tax on the land.

The function of the *Bongah* is two fold: the administration of the Village Councils and the coordination of rural development carried on by the various Ministries. The *Bongah* was created to help the ministers carry out their technical action program in their respective fields at village level. The *Bongah* therefore has considerable influence on the policies and programs of the different Ministries and on the various cooperative projects.

The method of the *Bongah* is as follows: The country is divided into blocks—a group of villages—with a block officer in charge coordinating the work of the ministers in the community development program. In each block is a representative of the Ministries of Health, Education and Agriculture and Home Economic Extension Service in some blocks, only a few since this is a new program. Eventually home agents will be assigned to the blocks. The technical representatives work with the young village workers, boys and girls employed by the *Bongah*. The Director of Personnel for the plan organization is a woman, Mrs. Effet Mahavi.

The Block Program has a staff organization—regional, district, county, and down to the village council. There is a special emphasis on work with village women in which twenty-seven girls are working as multi-purpose workers under the National Director of Women's Activities in the Community Development Program, Mrs. Ozra Ziai.

The interest in village improvement is steadily growing but

rural welfare efforts are far below the need. This is especially true in respect to welfare programs for women. The various agencies, official and voluntary, working for village improvement differ in their specific methods and immediate objectives, not in their basic principles. To quote from the Home Extension Program, these principles are: "Start where the people are, with their interests, gain their confidence and have something to give."

Of special interest in the village program is the Sarabandan Village Project of Miss Najmeh Najafi, which was made possible by American financial support. Her village home, where she lived with three young teachers of near-by village schools, was a center for women's classes in literacy, weaving, sewing and crafts, a dispensary and small clinic. It was also a friendly informal gathering place where the Mayor and other village leaders came to discuss their needs and problems. Miss Najafi helped the village secure a public health clinic, a new bath, a new teacher, etc., through various agencies. This individual village effort, which was carried on for about a year, has illustrated an informal, highly individual approach to village welfare. An evaluation has been made by a competent Iranian social scientist to determine how much of this personal service project is "rooted down" into the life of the village so that it is discernible a year after the project ended.

A number of international and foreign agencies have given assistance in the village improvement program through the several Ministries—Health, Education and Agriculture—including the United Nations, WHO, UNICEF, UNESCO, ICA, Near East Foundation, and the Ford Foundation.

WOMEN IN ECONOMIC LIFE

In a discussion of women in economic life in Iran today, it is necessary to differentiate between the women in professional life in the educated middle and upper level of society, women in the lower middle and lower class in general employment and industry, and women in rural life, who constitute the great majority of the population.

The number of women in professional life leading toward independence has steadily increased since 1940. Although the door into professional opportunity was opened when the veil was lifted in 1935, the real advance in professions began only with the beginning of coeducation in Teheran University in 1940. Since then the number of women entering professional life has steadily increased. It has not been a spectacular advance from one year to another but a matter of normal growth.

To illustrate from medicine, the number of medical graduates in the decade 1944-1954 was seventy-four. Each year the number of women graduates increased; in 1943-44 there were two graduates; in 1954-55, twenty. The growth in the medical profession is significant as the advance of a profession based on the highest standards of professional preparation. Among the women doctors in Teheran are two noteworthy gynecologists: Dr. Soghra Azarmie and Dr. Kechkinnan Kazami, both with special higher training in the United States, who carry on a clinical practice in maternal and child welfare.

Also of significance is the increase in the number of teachers on all levels, from the kindergarten to the university, in the eight years from 1948 to 1955, i.e., from 6,498 to 10,459.¹ This increase is an evidence of the concentration of effort to meet the tremendous need for women teachers in order to promote education for girls. Two teachers in Teheran who have had marked influence on schools and parents are Mrs. Fahry Nourhalchsh, the principal of a secondary demonstration school, and Mrs. Homeyrun, for twenty years the principal of an elementary school. The advance in nursing is primarily an advance toward full professional status. Although the number of trained nurses is increasing it is far below the need. These three professions—medicine, teaching and nursing—are the solid foundation on which the professional life of women in Iran has been built.

Women are also represented in many new fields. A meeting of professional women in Teheran in the late summer of 1956 brought together a cross-section group which would not have been possible earlier, including specialists in various fields of education, science, medicine, veterinary science, public health, music. Most of the group were in their thirties, and over half were married.

The afternoon's discussion was a revelation of the development ¹ USOM Teheran Report 1955-1956. of the professional life of Iranian women. It gave personal glimpses of the experience of individuals, the impelling reasons for choosing a career, the social problem of unmarried women and the generally more favorable social position of married women (but also the problem of the family attitude). It showed the favorable factors in the situation—the new opportunities, the encouragement of some Iranian leaders, the steady growth in public understanding, and left a clear impression of the sense of economic and social obligation of a representative group of professional women. As a result of their training and experience women are steadily gaining distinction in professional life and government service. (See Table 1)

The prospect for the continued increase of women in professions seems hopeful in view of the registration of the women students in the University of Teheran 1955-56, by faculties, which shows: teaching 420 and medicine 104 as the priorities, then law thirty-nine, dentistry twenty-two, pharmacy twenty-one, veterinarian sixteen and technical engineering eleven; liberal arts about the same as teaching.

The omission of social work from this list is indicative of the fact that it was not yet a profession in Iran.² However, the development of professional social work can be anticipated for the immediate future. A request was made by the Government of Iran (1956) to the United Nations for technical assistance in the training of social welfare personnel. The request was granted, and a social welfare training expert from Canada was assigned in Iran in 1957 to develop the training plans. This marks the beginning of a new professional opportunity for both men and women, but is of special interest to young women as a new channel for their contribution to social and economic development in Iran.

In Teheran there is no longer any serious debate about the participation of professional women in economic life. In the provincial cities women do not yet have an open opportunity for professions because of the social climate, except in the four traditional callings. But today in Teheran, perhaps, may mean tomorrow in Shiraz or Isfahan.

² There was only one trained Iranian social worker, Miss Farmanfarmaian, technical assistant of the United Nations (1956), stationed in Iraq.

In the general field of employment the number of women is increasing in the city of Teheran but not in other cities. Women of the middle and lower class who constitute the great bulk of employed women in the West are, as yet, an unrealized potential in Iran. A great number of jobs normally held by women, or men and women, are held only by men in Iran. In the clerical and secretarial field the need for trained educated young women is urgent. Technical training for this field is a necessity.

The steady social advance and increase in education for girls in Iran should make possible increasing economic opportunities for the large cross-sectional body of women in the middle level of society, which represents the emerging middle class.

Women in rural life, who constitute at least half of the eighty per cent rural majority in the population of Iran, have always been an economic asset. They carry more than half the burden of agriculture but are not independent wage-earners, hence do not have any measure of economic independence. The increasing technical development of agriculture, it is believed, will eventually affect rural labor considerably. Today agriculture employs eighty-five per cent of the people. It is estimated that in twenty years it will be only fifty per cent. This raises the serious question as to the effect of this change in the rural labor situation on the economic position of village women and the allied question as to the constructive lines of preparation needed to aid in the economic and social readjustment.

Women in industry in Iran represent several different types: unskilled, illiterate older workers of the lower class; semi-skilled workers, many of them younger women, married and unmarried, whose number and skills are growing with the growth of modern industry; and skilled women workers, particularly in the rug industry, employed both in modern factories and also in the small handloom places which antedate modern industry. In these small rug factories one skilled woman weaver works at each loom, directing the half-dozen children under her, some scarcely six years old, the majority near ten years.

A handloom rug factory visited in Isfahan in August 1956 illustrated the tragic violation of the rights of childhood. In an unsanitary, cold, dark, shed-like building the children were crowded at the rows of looms, crouched on plank scaffolding, which was moved up as the work progressed. They were lifted down at the end of the long work-period. The situation as to child labor seems the same as that of twenty years ago, when the writer visited a similar handloom factory. Today, by law, child labor is prohibited but the law is not enforced, since there is no pressure of public opinion. The situation seems to be considered inevitable. Rug making is a function of the economy of scarcity. The beautiful Isfahan rugs cannot meet the market competition of machine made rugs. Home production has gone far below the human standard of a modern country. The handmade rug industry today is produced by the fingers of little children.

Women are employed in modern rug-weaving, textile and spinning factories, in factories for matches, glass and cardboard boxes, in tea factories, cotton cleaning and gunny sack factories and in the embroidery industry. Statistics are not available for factory employment.

There is, however, a growing awareness of the needs of women workers, as is shown by the modern labor legislation according to ILO standards. This includes a law for equal pay for equal work, prohibition against night work for women, social security legislation for the wife and children of workers (a second or third wife does not have any rights). Under social insurance 180,000 families are now insured, which means some 800,000 people; provision for adult literacy is now required by law for men and women, and child labor under twelve years of age is prohibited, though this is not enforced, as already indicated. How far this modern labor code is enforced will depend largely on the public. Labor standards have at least been established by law.

There are special protective regulations and welfare measures for women workers. Inspectors who visit factories check up on welfare facilities, especially a rest room, and the required adult literacy classes to be provided by the employer. The value of literacy is recognized by a five per cent increase in wages, according to a Labor Ministry regulation.

To help in the promotion of the welfare of women and children in the labor field, the Minister of Labor in 1956 started a Welfare Council for Women and Children established under the King's Statute. Thirty-five representative women were directly appointed and also the Chairman of the Women's Welfare Council, Mrs. Hadjar Tarbieh-Khanegah, a pioneer woman leader. More members will be added later by the Council itself. The Council is operated through ten committees—education, health, recreation, books, information, propaganda, and others. The functions of the Council include assistance in the formation of classes for industrial women, and general advisory service on conditions in industry affecting women.

The appointment of the Women's Welfare Council was a practical expression of the Minister's belief that "women have special value in the labor field and exert a constructive influence. They have initiative and good ideas. It is an absolute necessity that they should be represented in each field of effort." This Council has given to the women leaders in Teheran an instrument through which to promote the industrial welfare of women and children and help to build an informed public opinion on the problems of industry, with special reference to women. But the development of an adequate industrial welfare program through the Women's Council, which is such an urgent need, has as yet been scarcely begun.

The potential contribution of Iranian women to industry and to economic life as a whole is realized by relatively few. The full economic contribution of women is needed for the present and future national development of Iran.

TOWARD POLITICAL EQUALITY

The status of women has changed or is changing in reference to social advance, educational progress, and economic participation. But in one essential aspect, political status, there is very little sign of change. Women in Iran are still disqualified as citizens, without the right to vote. Technically they have municipal rights. Six years ago the word "women" under the restricted clause was omitted. By omitting any reference to women, the door was left open. But, practically, women are not appointed to municipal or judiciary jobs.

The struggle for political equality has been carried on actively by a small group of women since 1942, when the National Council of Women was formed "to secure the vote for women." The Council President and prime mover, Mrs. Safiyeh Firouz, is widely known throughout Iran and has considerable influence. With two or three others she has promoted a vigorous and varied program directed toward the single aim of political equality. This has included press and radio propaganda, soon given up as ineffective since women are ninety per cent illiterate; then an adult literacy program for women, which was later assumed by the Government; constant pressure on Government officials for the vote, through memoranda and protest meetings; direct approach to the Shah and each new Government with suffrage petitions. "The Council is always on the doorstep," was the comment of one of the committee.

The Central Committee had an audience on April 11, 1956, with the Shah, who was impressed with their request for political rights and promised three seats in the municipal council. Immediately a delegation of over eighty mullahs warned His Majesty against taking any favorable action for the women, saying: "If you act, you may not be here to carry out the action." The Shah did not act.

The National Council of Women has no further detailed plan at the present. The inner executive group will be on the alert and continue their active public interpretation of women's rights, basing their demand for suffrage on the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and on the achievement of women since Riza Shah abolished the veil.

The Council has a large general membership which can be mobilized for effective emergency action under executive leadership. The small group of leaders has demonstrated marked capacity for sustained effort over a long period. A well-known defense lawyer, Mrs. Mehranguiz Manoochehrian, is legal advisor for the Council.

The National Council of Women is affiliated with the International Alliance of Women.

A new element in the situation is a second suffrage movement, the New Path, *Rah-i-No*, which is primarily a young women's movement with an active program promoted by the founder and first President, Dr. Mehranguiz Doulatshahi. It has the same general objectives as the National Council—to advance the status of women, rural, urban and middle class—but it is also a multipurpose movement, working for prison reform, encouraging study and research, and leadership training, especially for young women. The membership is one hundred, with twenty men, a new approach, "since men can help in numerous ways to secure the vote for women," as one member explained.

In 1957 one of the new political parties, *Mardom*, made an effort to include women in the party, urging them to join and promising them equal rights. Whatever may be the significance of this development, it indicates that the political power of women is not underestimated.

The problem of women's suffrage is definitely related to the mullah influence in politics. It is doubtful whether any Prime Minister or high official would endorse the vote in the face of this religious opposition. The comments of the Prime Minister (in August 1956) explain the situation. "The active urge for equality on the part of women is understandable—the basis of the women's appeal before the election for the right to vote and stand for office is sound. Why should women not have the same rights as ignorant men, who all vote?" He also expressed the opinion that "women are a force for stability; not politically self-seeking, eager for social advance and for national security. Their participation in political life would be an advantage. The majority of men would not oppose it. It will eventually be granted."

But the conservatism of the mullahs all over Iran evidently makes it unwise to grant full equality to women at this time. It is to the interest of the mullah to keep the people ignorant. "Women without equality remain under the power of religion. Emancipated women become a danger." It is commonly believed that political equality is not probable in the near future.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN

The legal status of Iranian women can be summed up as follows:

Citizenship is acquired by application to the Council of Government. Married women have the citizenship of their husbands. Political status—women have no right of suffrage and no right of election to the Legislative Assembly.

The civil status of women is based on Islamic law. Polygamy is permitted—even a temporary wife for a brief period. Divorce by repudiation of the wife by the husband is practised. The minimum age of marriage is sixteen years for women, eighteen for men. The woman has guardianship of the daughter only up to seven years and of the son up to two years. The daughter inherits one third—i.e. half the son's part; the woman has full property rights.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Riza Shah's social reforms opened the door to the full development of women's organizations in Iran. Before that time the stirring behind the veil had already begun. Several associations had been formed: two alumnae associations, the Midwifery Association, Armenian and Zoroastrian Women's Charitable Societies, and the first women's club, the Vatan Khahan, a women's center for the education and advance of women.

During the next decade, other women's organizations were started, including the Iranian Women's Council and the women's section of the Red Lion and the Sun. In 1950 a rapid development began. The list of the associations and committees-twenty or more in 1956-shows the wide variety of women's interests and activities. Included are religious and charitable societies; societies and associations for relief and general welfare, orphanages, homes for the aged and unemployed; education serviceschool classes and adult literacy, sewing classes, etc.; clinics for maternal and child care and family planning; a Woman's Welfare Council under the Labor Ministry; a Woman's Cooperative in Teheran and Resht; a mixed Youth Activities Organization planning programs for boys and girls separately; a Woman's Activities Seminar on the Status of Women; two associations for political and social equality; two alumnae associations and three professional societies. These constitute the major activities of the women's organizations in Teheran and in Iran as a whole.

The composite of women's organized activity in Iran, especially in Teheran, represents a considerable amount of social services rendered by volunteers. There are two main types of volunteers.

The fairly large number of women of the leisure, well-to-do upper class, mostly over fifty years of age, without special training, pioneer leaders in women's rights and in the Government aid programs. The bulk of the remedial service and direct social service program in Teheran is carried by this group of volunteers. A body of younger women between thirty and forty-five, mostly in professions, well-educated, a number with Anglo-Saxon educational background, university graduates and some with training abroad. They are primarily concerned in preventive programs, social research and social education, and youth programs. Their interests and services are specialized and are based on study of actual situation with the program planned accordingly.

In general, these two types of volunteer workers, because of difference in their primary interests, background and age, carry on independently but with sympathetic understanding. There is, however, an intermingling of service in the welfare programs of the different groups and unity of effort in connection with disaster relief—flood, earthquake and famine—usually organized by the Red Lion and Sun, which in emergencies immediately mobilizes women in voluntary service. A large number of women participate in the Soraya Charity, the most widespread social welfare society in Iran directly supported by the Shah.¹

The women's organizations in Iran before 1956 had very little inter-organizational contact. There were no general women's conferences and very few meetings to bring women together on common interests except for united relief action. In September 1956, during the writer's visit in Teheran, a number of women leaders, at the suggestion of the Minister of Labor, planned a mass meeting of all the women's organizations to discuss the role of women, a noteworthy event widely publicized, since this was the first time such an over-all women's gathering had been held.

Early in 1957 a Federation of Women's Organizations was formed at Teheran, comprising fourteen organizations with two members from each on the Executive Board, which met weekly and planned the monthly general gathering. The Federation served as the center of contact for exchange of information, joint planning of lectures, meetings with visiting women leaders and consultants. The Federation offered the possibility of joint study and program coordination, which are needed for the promotion of a sound National Movement of Women in Iran as elsewhere.

The program of the Federation developed steadily for about a year. In December 1958 the High Council of Women, sponsored by the Shah's sister, Princess Ashraf, was founded. As all

¹ The name of the Society was changed to Soraya Society (1958).

of the women's organizations are members of this High Council, the Federation, although not officially dissolved, is no longer functioning actively.

A study of the women's organizations in Teheran, with some glimpses of development in provincial cities, leaves the total impression of the great vitality of women's interests and activities and an increasing growth of women's organizations there, in numbers and in scope, but as yet very limited organizational development outside of Teheran; little contact between Teheran and the other cities; and until recently a lack of inter-organizational contact in Teheran.

Thoughtful leaders in Iran are deeply interested in the present problems and future possibilities of women's organizations. An active leader in women's organizations in Teheran, Mrs. Nayereh Samii, gave a clear appraisal of the situation, based on a study (October 1956) that she made of the Teheran organizations.

"We have several serious weaknesses in the program—too little contact with rural areas, little effort to develop in provincial cities; also a serious lack of counseling service for girls and young married women. The first and obvious need of every organization is self study to determine whether the program is meeting basic needs. The majority are carrying on relief. Has anyone asked, "Why so much relief?' Has anyone launched out on a positive preventive campaign? We are always repairing, never building. Coordination of the efforts within an organization and also between organizations is rare, and necessary to avoid duplication and cut out unnecessary programs."

She stressed the necessity of volunteers for training and study of the methods of democratic organizations, development of membership, and raising of funds; and for skilled advisers to help coordinate the work of the volunteers. "As volunteers we can give only a certain number of hours from our homes and other responsibilities; an adviser could help us fit all the hours together in such a way as to make them mean something worthwhile." Since this thoughtful analysis was made by the Teheran leader, there has been a hopeful development in the situation in reference to social work and women's organizations.

The United Nations Social Welfare Training expert, re-

quested by the Government² of Iran, gave a period of advisory service (1954-1958) in Iran. In consultation with government officials and personal contact with the leaders of voluntary social welfare agencies and women's organizations, the social situation was studied and a curriculum for a school of social work was outlined. An informal program of lectures and discussion seminars and advisory contact with various welfare activities and institutions helped to create a new concept of social welfare and lay the foundation for modern social work. Following this technical assistance service the Government of Iran appointed the trained Iranian social worker formerly in United Nations service in Iraq,³ Miss Farmanfarmaian, to assume responsibility for further training plans in social work.

Subsequently (1958) a pre-college training-school for men and women was opened. The United Nations, in response to a request for technical assistance in the development of the new school, appointed a Social Training advisor (June 1959).

The situation in Iran is strategic for continued growth in social welfare and offers an unusual opportunity for collective effort. There is much latent interest that can be stimulated and given constructive direction. There has been considerable economic advisory assistance from abroad but hitherto a minimum of social guidance. Moreover, the rapid development of philanthropic social welfare programs in recent years, financially promoted by royal funds, presents a growing need for trained social workers and training for women in voluntary service. The Shah's support of welfare has given to women an expanding field and increased social responsibility.

The outlook for the future of women's organizations in Teheram is hopeful. The soil is fertile; the opportunity apparent. Women's organizations have won official recognition for their national service and are held in high esteem. The greatest asset, however, for the future of women's organizations is the splendid body of women, professional and volunteers, who are inspired by ideals of service, courageous in promoting social change and eager for the training that is necessary to give their service its maximum value. They represent a dynamic element in the life of Iran.

² Reference "Women in Economic Life," p. 85.

³ Ibid., p. 85.

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The international contacts of Iranian women include the following:

Relationship to the United Nations

Delegate to the Status of Women Commission 1952-55-the

period of Iran's membership on the Commission

Attendance at WHO Conferences

United Nations Secretariat-two (one general service and one guide).

Contacts with international voluntary organizations

Attendance at world conferences of international women's organizations, as national affiliate delegates or fraternal delegate—and regional conferences of women's organizations—the Asian-African Conference in Colombo 1957 (eighteen countries)

Attendance at conferences of international mixed conferences, men and women-League of Red Cross Societies, International Union of Child Welfare.

Foreign fellowships and visits abroad for study and observation through various channels—Iran Government, United Nations, foreign governments and private agencies.

Contact with the representatives of the technical assistance programs of the United Nations-and foreign organizations, official and private, working in Iran.

The following women's organizations in Iran have international affiliations:

Organization Women's Council of Iran Rah-i-No (New Path or Way) Zoroastrian Women's Organization The Iranian Nurses Association Iranian Women's-Medical Association

Red Lion and Sun

Affiliation

International Alliance of Women International Alliance of Women International Alliance of Women International Council of Nurses International Association of Medical Women League of Red Cross Societies

APPENDIX

(a)

Women's Organizations in Iran

IRAN BETHEL ALUMNAE Association—Teheran, May 1915. Purpose:

To promote fellowship among the graduates and work for the progress of women in Iran.

ARMENIAN WOMEN'S CHARITY ORGANIZATION-Teheran, 1927.

To give aid to the Armenian agencies of Teheran.

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ZOROASTRIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION-Teheran, 1951. Purpose:

To educate women and increase their interest in family, social, and political affairs.

Affiliated with the International Alliance of Women, 1954.

TEACHERS' COLLEGE ALUMNAE ASSOCIATION Purpose:

To raise professional status of Secondary School Teachers and to keep abreast of current trends.

THE MIDWIFERY SYNDICATE OF IRAN-August, 1934. Purpose:

To encourage midwives and to keep united for better understanding of their work; to have a common goal; to improve their condition.

WOMEN'S CENTER-1935.

Purpose:

To enlighten women as to their social rights and responsibilities.

RED LION AND THE SUN (Red Cross)-National, 1922. Women's section, 1940.

Purpose:

(As stated in the constitution or other official statement.) Affiliated with the League of Red Cross Societies, 1929.

IRANIAN WOMEN'S COUNCIL-Teheran, 1943.

Purpose:

To establish equality between men and women, prohibit polygamy, safeguard mothers' health in rearing children, raise education standards for women, teach child care.

Affiliated with the International Alliance of Women, 1947.

THE LADIES ASSOCIATION OF MUNICIPAL AID-1945. Purpose:

To assist the Municipal Agencies in welfare activities.

IRANIAN JEWISH LADIES COMMITTEE (ORGANIZATION)-JUNE 1947. Purpose:

To carry on welfare services in general; to raise the standard of health and education, particularly that of women and children.

WOMEN'S ART COMMITTEE-1950.

Purpose:

To promote art and industry among youth.

17TH OF DEY SOCIETY-Teheran, 1957.

Commemorates the Emancipation of Iranian Women, 17th of Dey 1314, Islamic Calendar-January 7, 1936.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CLUB OF IRAN—Teheran, 1951. Purpose:

To promote friendship, sympathy and understanding between the women of all nations represented in Iran; to teach the poor and help them to a better way of life.

CHARITY Association of Soraya Pahlevi-1952.

Purpose:

To inquire into the living conditions of the poor classes and to improve health and education.

IRANIAN NURSES ASSOCIATION—1953. Purpose:

To raise the standard of nursing and nursing education in Iran; to create an *esprit de corps* among all the nurses.

Affiliated with the International Council of Nurses, 1957.

IRANIAN WOMEN'S MEDICAL ASSOCIATION-1953.

Purpose:

To promote the interests of women physicians in Iran; to further public health; to maintain relationships with women physicians in other parts of the world; to educate Iranians on matters of public health.

Affiliated with the International Association of Medical Women, 1957.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES SEMINAR-Teheran, 1954. Purpose:

To enlighten members on women's status, possibilities and responsibilities in Iran; to study, initiate, and promote interest in different fields of activities which are or may be undertaken by women in Iran

today. Soraya Club—Teheran, 1954.

Purpose:

To promote physical, social and vocational training, and character development of Iranian girls, to emphasize learning cooperation in work and play.

Rah-I-No (New Path or Way)—Teheran, 1955. Purpose:

To raise the educational and social status of women.

Affiliated with the International Alliance of Women, 1958.

Welfare Council for Women and Children-Teheran, 1956. Purpose:

To improve labor conditions for women and children through the avenues of law, social welfare and health.

THE WOMEN'S COOPERATIVE—Teheran and Resht, 1956. Purpose:

To give economic assistance to needy women.

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WOMEN'S ATHLETIC COUNCIL—1956 Purpose:

To promote the physical development of young girls.

FEDERATION OF IRANIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS—National, 1957. Comprises fourteen member organizations with a board of directors representing the different organizations.

Purpose:

- (a) To coordinate the activities of the member organizations and promote cooperation in carrying out their common goal.
- (b) To raise the standard of culture and education and improve the social, economic, and health conditions of women.

Women in Important Positions in government service and professional life

Head of Department of Personnel in the Government Planning Organization

Director of Women's Activities in the Community Development Program

Head of Home Economics Department in the Ministry of Education

Head of Home Economics Extension Program in the Ministry of Agriculture

Deputy Chief of Public Health Education

Chairman of the Welfare Council for Women and Children in the Ministry of Labor

Dean of Women, University of Teheran

Professors in the University of Teheran

Principals of girls' secondary schools

Principals of elementary schools

Doctors in responsible administrative positions in hospitals

A defense lawyer, widely known

Director of Teheran School of Social Work (men and women students)

TABLE No. 1

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF IRANIAN EDUCATION

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Source: USOM-Education Division, Teheran, 1956.

TABLE No. 2

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF IRANIAN EDUCATION

University of Teheran

1955-56 1333-1334

	v	vo	OM	EN	1	IN	I	R/	IN	I								85
Instructors	Women																13	
	Men																103	
	Women																1	
Asst. Prof.	Men	TANA															95	
Prof.																	237	
Total			1,194	2,200	2,00,2		844	605	239	283	303	165	1	215		I	8,100	ıst 1956.
Students Girls			420	150	39		101	11	1	١	41	16		23		١	801	eheran, Augu
Students Rovs	alar		774	2,050	2,013		743	594	239	283	262	149		192		۱	. 7,299	n Division, T
Colordo			Literature	Medical	Law	Science and	Teachers College	F.noineering	Aoriculture	Theology	Fine Arts	Veterinary	Teachers College	1st Year	Ashraf Pahlavi	Nursing School	Total 7,299	Source: USOM-Education Division, Teheran, August 1956.

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List of Photographs of Women and Women's Activities in Turkey and Iran

Halide Edib Adivar Memorial Statue in Ankara Dr. Pakize Tarzi Mrs. Nuzhet Gökdoğan Mrs. Nazli Tlabar Mrs. Tezer Taşkiran Mrs. Fahrünissa Seden A group of Nurses, Turkey A commercial lycée, Turkey Women workers in a cigarette factory, Turkey Sabiha Gökçen Girls' sports, Turkey

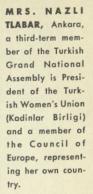
Mrs. Mehranguiz Manoochehrian Dr. Soghra Azarmie Mrs. Safia Firouz Mrs. Parvin Birjandi Miss Latifeh Alvieh Mrs. Nayereh Samii Village midwives, Iran Mrs. Ezzat Aghevli Princess Shahnaz at a nurses' graduation Training of girls in statistics, Iran Camp Soraya, Ramsar, Iran Child rug weavers, Isfahan

HALIDE EDIB ADIVAR, famed leader in the army during the War of Independence, as she appeared in the 20's. Now retired, she is a writer of international distinction, a former professor at the University of Istanbul and guest professor in the U.S. and India.

Memorial Statue in Ankara's Public Square to the Turkish peasant women who helped win the War of Independence, 1919-1923. —TURKISH INFORMATION OFFICE DR. PAKIZE TARZI, M.D., Istanbul, one of the first women graduates of the Medical Faculty, University of Istanbul, gynecologist and surgeon, has her own private maternity hospital, carries on maternal and child health welfare work.



MRS. NUZHET GOKDO-GAN, Ph.D., Director of the Observatory and Chairman of the Department of Astronomy at the University of Istanbul is President of the Turkish Astronomical Society and a Council member of the International Federation of University Women.



MRS. TEZER TASKIRAN, of Istanbul, educator, former Principal of the Women's Normal School, has been in the Turkish Parliament 12 years, is also a member of the Executive Board, Turkish University Women's Association.

-TURKISH INFORMATION OFFICE



MRS. FAHRUNISSA SEDEN, of Istanbul, Vice-President of the Florence Nightingale Foundation which is promoting a University Nursing school and Hospital, Istanbul.

▼ A group of four nurses and a nutrition specialist, graduates from Columbia University's Teachers College with B.S. and M.A. These (and five others) under an ICA project are training for the faculty of the Florence Nightingale Nursing School to be opened in late 1960.





▲ Boys and girls in commercial lycee—junior high school grade—learn typing and bookkeeping; formerly only boys studied bookkeeping. —TURKISH INFORMATION OFFICE

▼ Girls over 16 years (the legal minimum age) form the majority of women workers in Istanbul and Izmir cigarette factories. The number of married women is increasing and nurseries are provided. Such employment of women is encouraged. —TURKISH INFORMATION OFFICE





SABIHA GOKCEN, pioneer Turkish aviatrix, who trained military pilots during World War II and women civilian pilots.

▼ Girls in a mass demonstration at Ankara Stadium during the May 19 Annual Bayram celebration of parades, games, and sports all over Turkey.

-TURKISH INFORMATION OFFICE





MRS. MEHRANGUIZ MA-NOOCHEHRIAN, Teheran, a practicing criminal lawyer and authority on the constitutional rights of women and children, has promoted the establishment of a juvenile court in Teheran, is also a vigorous advocate of suffrage; member of International Federation of Women Lawyers.

DR. SOGHRA AZARMIE, M.D., a leading gynecologist in private practice, also assists in clinics of the American Presbyterian Mission and the Cancer Institute.





MRS. SAFIA FIROUZ, of Teheran, pioneer suffrage leader, Founder and President of the National Council of Women and a Vice-President of the International Alliance of Women.

MRS. PARVIN BIRJANDI,

Ph.D., is Dean of Women, and professor of clinical psychology at the University of Teheran. MISS LATIFEH ALVIEH, Teheran, cultural advisor to the United States Information Service in its foreign leaders program, and leader in girls' clubs and camps.





MRS. NAYEREH SAMII, of Teheran, teacher of English in International Community School and Girls High School and a leader in women's organizations.



A group of village midwives make their required weekly visit to the health center for inspection of their highly prized equipment kits.

MRS. EZZAT AGHEVLI, National Supervisor of Home Economics Extension Service of the Ministry of Agriculture, instructs provincial home extension agents in nutrition education classes. -1.c.A.



In a ceremony at the Nemazee Hospital in Shiraz, Princess Shahnaz Pahlavi (wife of Iran's current Ambassador to the U. S.) caps new nurses who have completed their training. — U.S.1.S.

Modern training in statistics work attracts girls to a class equipped with electronic calculators.



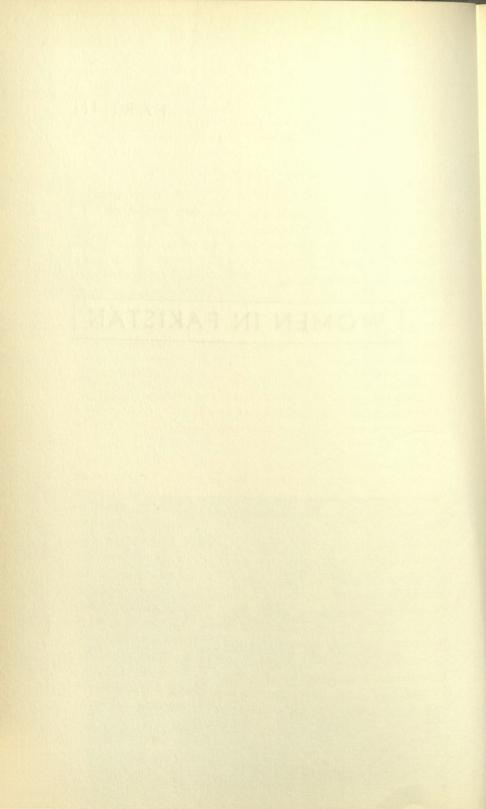


Iranian school girls and university students enjoy summer recreations at Camp Soraya at Ramsar on the Caspian Sea. Three typical child weavers — less carefree than the group above work long hours with skill and patience day after day to produce a beautiful Isfahan carpet.



PART III

WOMEN IN PAKISTAN



WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

THE SETTING

The partition of India and Pakistan, with its aftermath of tragedy and terror, confusion and lawlessness in the uprooting of seven million people, had tremendous impact on women of all classes in Pakistan. For the women of the masses, victims in the wholesale evacuation of Moslems from India, the Partition meant a violent disruption of their lives, often personal danger, and utter helplessness. For the women of the educated upper class, whether themselves also refugees from India or those who were already established in Pakistan, as in Lahore, partition meant a sudden unparalleled opportunity to meet tragic human need and serve their new nation.

Inspired by the challenge to service, they assumed the growing burden of refugee relief; they collected and distributed food and clothing; they opened dispensaries and tended the sick in crowded hospitals. For their self-appointed task these volunteer leaders mobilized all their resources and energies.

In order to give the widespread desire of girls and women for voluntary service definite channels for useful expression, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, wife of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, initiated (1947) two national movements—the Pakistan Women's National Guard, a reserve force to assist the medical and welfare services, and the Pakistan Women's Naval Reserve for Civil Defense. Both were voluntary services organized on military lines.

Later, in 1949, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan founded the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), an "over-all" organization for varied lines of national welfare. This association, widely known as APWA, has become a national force through which women are rendering service in all fields of national development.

With the same spirit of service, with no less enthusiasm, but an enthusiasm tempered by experience, the women leaders of Pakistan have passed from that dramatic period of travail in the birth of the nation into the crucial years of building the sound

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

foundation of the new Islamic State. Today they are vitally identified with the complex forces of national life—social and economic change, educational advance and political development. Affected by their national problems, they are creatively sharing in their solutions.

SOCIAL CHANGE

Restrictive social customs in the East have a determinative effect on the life of Moslem women. This is peculiarly so in Pakistan, as an Islamic state in which the religious social system is a basic principle and the question of social change is a matter of vital significance. The key to social change in relation to custom is *purdah*;¹ in relation to law, polygamy is of primary importance.

"Purdah is undoubtedly losing ground, but too slowly," was the comment of Lady Abdul Qadir, the great pioneer leader, who over thirty-five years ago discarded the *burqa*.² In the educated upper class today it has practically disappeared, except in the Northwest provinces and possibly a few other *purdah* pockets. This body of unveiled women of education and position—many in professions, some in public life, some in voluntary service—is giving a commendable example of social freedom and useful activity. Younger women of the educated class have not and will not adopt *purdah* except in certain very conservative areas.

But in the lower middle and lower class, *purdah* is still a major fact of life for the great majority. A goodly number of these women during the confusion of the Partition exodus lost their *burqas*, which were wrenched from them by force. Some have remained out of *purdah* because of economic necessity or preference. Others as soon as possible bought a *burqa* and reestablished their status above the poorest level, which cannot afford *purdah*.

Women of the rural population, some eighty per cent of the total, have never worn the *burqa*, but the *purdah* psychology of segregation has prevailed and conservatism, which dominates the life of village girls and women, is a positive force.

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¹ Purdah, meaning curtain, describes the Islamic custom of segregation of women.

² The *burqa* is a tent-like garment enveloping the figure, with no suggestion of the face except a narrow piece of drawn-work before the eyes.

Of signal importance for the future is the question of the effect of *purdah* on girls of high school age (the middle and secondary schools). A study of 155 families with girls in high school in Karachi, Lahore, Dacca and Peshawar, reveals that fifty per cent of the families observe *purdah* and forty per cent of girls over ten years of age wear the *burqa* for reasons of religion, safety, tradition and public opinion.

Women attend the universities—all now open to women either with or without *burqas*. In the Punjab University at Lahore the girls mostly wear the *burqa* but take it off before entering the classroom. In Dacca University women are without *burqas*. In Sind University they always wear it and observe *purdah*, for which adequate arrangement is made in the classes.

Judging by several discussions with men students, they agree that *purdah* is illogical but there is hesitancy, often an attitude of "without the *burqa* may be all right in general but not for my sister," also an uneasy feeling of competition if women students are completely free. Among men in general, there is no active public endorsement of the elimination of *purdah*. There are undoubtedly many men with a liberal point of view, but political implications prevent active promotion, which would be unpopular with the religious forces.

"Purdah is becoming a sign of backwardness in educated groups. The increase in 'bike'-minded girls and more of them earning their living certainly means the decline of *purdah*," the comment of a psychology professor at Punjab University, reflects the usual opinion of the educated level. The decrease and ultimate passing of *purdah* in the middle and lower middle classes is generally accepted as a question of time. On the whole there is relatively little discussion about it.

But among thoughtful leaders concerned with plans for national development there is a growing realization that *purdah*, particularly in the middle and lower middle classes, is a serious obstacle to the development of girls and women and their full social and economic contribution to the country.

It is a generally accepted fact, though there are no valid statistics, that polygamy is steadily decreasing in the educated upper class because of enlightened public opinion, and in the urban middle and lower class because of economic necessity, but probably not in rural life, where polygamy is an economic asset. But whether decreasing or not, polygamy is always a primary problem for every Moslem woman, an ultimate threat to her security.

Polygamy became a burning question for women leaders in Pakistan (1954-55) when the then Prime Minister took a second wife, giving her social preference over the first. APWA took the leadership in the expression of disapproval through the press and radio and social boycott, and also carried out a constructive campaign for permanent reform in marriage laws. It issued an open letter to the Prime Minister, requesting the appointment of a Commission on Marriage Reform Laws; it called a conference (February 22, 1955) on the Status of Women, attended by 400 women from all over Pakistan, which passed resolutions for reforms in marriage laws; and it has continued agitation throughout Pakistan.

In answer to these united demands, the Government of Pakistan appointed a Family Laws Commission, of four men and three women, Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Anwar Ahmed, and Begum Shamsunnihar-Mahmood (Commission met October 1955-June 1956). The Commission issued a questionnaire to which all the women's organizations replied.

The Family Laws Commission Report to the Government of Pakistan was submitted in June 1956. The Report was unanimous except for the dissenting opinion of the religious member on three questions, which was submitted as a Vote of Dissent.

The salient points of the Report are as follows: standard forms for marriage contracts required; registration of marriage (*Nikahnamas*) and divorce compulsory; minimum age of marriage —boys not under eighteen, girls not under sixteen; polygamy allowed only through court consent, with just reason for a second wife and adequate provision for the first wife and her children before permission is granted for a second wife; divorce through the Court required, and recognized only when dower money and maintenance are settled.

The Government has taken no action on the Report and may not unless there is continued public pressure. The Report called forth a great deal of press and radio comment. Religious conservatives vigorously opposed it as being against the spirit of Islam. Some sharply criticized it as being a compromise with conservatism, maintaining that the Commission has suggested merely remedial measures concerning polygamy but does not attack the basic question of its validity. This seems to be a minority view. In general the APWA leaders and others promoting the reform accept that fact that a frontal attack on polygamy was precluded by the terms of reference of the Commission—to make the study "according to the fundamentals of Islam." They feel that the Family and Marriage Law Commission has served an important purpose in enlightening the public and laying the basis for continued work and pressure for the official endorsement of the Report. It has remained the priority objective of women leaders.

The Family Law Commission Report was translated into Urdu and widely circulated in West Pakistan. Legal advice is provided for women on marriage questions, divorce and inheritance. Since the new government was established, a draft has been prepared by women leaders and presented to the government. A number of clauses in this draft have been accepted by the Law Commission set up by the government. Leaders of women's organizations are studying the Report to assess the possibility of further action.*

EDUCATION

A vital part of the total task of education in Pakistan, the education of girls, has presented a tremendous problem and a challenge to the new State since its beginning. In 1947 there were nine million children of school age (six to eleven years) of whom only about three million were in school. About one in five were girls; only about sixteen per cent of the girls were in school. (Table No. 1)

Through the vigorous campaign for primary education of the next five years, inspired by the Independence awakening, 600,000 children were added by 1951 to the primary schools, of whom 70,000 were girls. Of the total number of primary schools, eightyseven per cent were boys' schools and thirteen per cent were for girls.

* It was announced officially on March 15, 1960, that the Government of Pakistan has accepted the recommendations of the Commission on Marriage and Family Law. This marked inequality between girls' and boys' primary education was accentuated by the serious wastage of girls' education within two or three years because of the social and economic obstacles—*purdah* at ten years of age, the girls' burden of work and early marriage. (Table No. 2)

The First Five Year Plan, 1955-1960, recognized the imperative need for more emphasis on primary education for girls as follows:

"Facilities for the education of girls are very inadequate. It is important that girls have equal opportunity for primary education, yet adequate provision for them has not been made. This must be done if the goal of free, compulsory, universal education can be achieved. Existing primary schools should be thrown open to girls wherever possible. In other cases it will be necessary to construct new schools for them."¹

The situation in secondary education for girls in 1951 showed also a marked disparity in reference to that of boys. Secondary girls' schools were ten per cent of the total and the enrollment of girls in secondary schools only 8.4 per cent of the total enrollment. (Table No. 3)

In the First Five Year Plan it is stated that "there are four times as many secondary schools for boys as for girls, and more than four times as many boys in the secondary schools." The disproportionately small number of girls' schools is attributed in part to the fact that the secondary education is chiefly financed by private societies, by local bodies, such as municipalities, and by religious organizations.²

As to teacher training for women, there has been less provision for the training of women than for men in both primary and secondary fields. In 1951 the Training Colleges for women primary teachers were thirteen per cent of the total number of Primary Teacher Training Colleges and the enrollment of women was eleven per cent of the total enrollment. (Table No. 4) There were eleven Training Colleges for secondary teachers, including four women's colleges. The enrollment of women was thirty-five per cent of the total enrollment in these colleges.

The need for women teachers in primary and secondary schools is crucial because of *purdah*. In the primary schools a large

¹ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, Karachi, May 1956, para. 32, p. 404.

² Ibid., para. 51, p. 408.

proportion of the teachers must be women, since men teachers are not acceptable for girls beyond the third class. In the secondary schools the effect of the shortage of women teachers is shown by the fact that the low proportion of girls in secondary schools is in direct ratio to the lack of women teachers.

In the First Five Year Plan, specific reference is made to the need for a much larger number of women teachers. "Many more Normal Schools for women must be opened; at least one-half of the twenty-five new schools should be for women."³ Recognition of the importance of girls' schools does not, unfortunately, provide funds for practical implementation.

As has been shown, the development of girls' education from the primary school through the teacher training college is a marked illustration of disparity in the education of girls in reference to that of boys. The promotion of girls' education inevitably lags behind because it entails the high price of conservatism. The Government must carry the double burden of a separate system of girls' education from the third primary class through the teachers college. Coeducation would be an obvious solution, at least in the primary grades, but there is currently in Pakistan little if any discussion of coeducation. However, the First Five Year Plan has implicitly endorsed coeducation in determining that all primary schools should be open to girls. Privately, a leading official stated: "Purdah and segregation make full compulsory education impossible."

But in spite of restrictive social customs the education of girls has shown a steady upward curve: in the number in primary schools (1955-1956), 355,364 girls (total enrollment 3,911,543), and in secondary schools 84,000 girls (enrollment 1¹/₄ million). The number of high schools for girls increased from fifty-five at partition to seventy-six by 1956. Karachi in 1947 had only one girls' high school; in 1957 there were ten.⁴

However, the increase in facilities for girls' education is still far below the demand, especially in urban areas. A visit to any one of the girls' high schools in East or West Pakistan-for instance, the Jacob Line High School in Karachi or Begum Noon's in Dacca-leaves an impression of the eager response of

³ Ibid., para. 108, p. 422.

⁴ Interview, Chairman First Five Year Plan, Dr. Zahid Husain, October 1956.

a body of attractive, keen, young Pakistani girls, mostly in *purdah*, reaching beyond their *purdah* environment. The school, in spite of its curtained entrance, is for them the open door to an active life, perhaps, for many, a job, or possibly a freer home life. The Principal, Miss Suraiya Tahir-uddin, commented on the wakened urge for education which she feels in the crowded Jacob Line two-session school (7:30-12:00 and 12:30 to 5:00), with 950 girls in one session and 700 in the other, in spite of the shortage of teachers and lack of equipment.

"Open a school today and it is full tomorrow," was the succinct comment of the Chief Inspectress of Girls' Schools in East Pakistan.

Significant also is the response of the public. To quote from the former Chairman of the Government Planning Board, the late Dr. Zahid Husain, "There is a wave of public demand like a tide sweeping forward. The public desire for girls' education is an unquestionable proof of a new judgment as to the value of girls' schools. It presents an opportunity and the necessity for a fresh appraisal of the role of secondary education in preparing girls of the middle class cross-section of urban life for their future, whatever it may be. Of paramount importance is vocational guidance in the schools and a study of vocational possibilities for girls."⁵

The First Five Year Plan gives a basic suggestion for the consideration of this important question of girls' secondary education.

Its role in relation to vocational education should be to prepare boys and girls in the knowledge and skills which will widen their opportunities for more particularized vocational or professional training, in special or higher institutions, or in employment.⁶

In the field of higher education there has been a marked increase in the number of women's colleges and universities, and in the eagerness of women for higher training. Before partition there were only three private women's colleges in the area of India that is now Pakistan—Kinnaird College and Lahore College for Women in Lahore, and Eden College in Dacca. There were

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ First Five Year Plan, p. 410.

two universities, the Punjab University, Lahore (founded 1882), and Dacca University (1921).

The post-partition list of Government colleges for women and universities today includes: the Central Government Women's College, Karachi; thirteen Women's Colleges established by Government; two Women's Home Science Colleges, Karachi and Lahore; and five universities.

Since partition there has also been an increase in private women's colleges. In 1957 they included, among others, two new colleges in Lahore, four in Karachi, one at Peshawar, and one at Rabwah.

Women students take their undergraduate courses at the Women's Colleges; their B.A. examination and degrees are given by the university. The post-graduate courses for the M.D. degree and Law degree are taken in the university. There are five Law Faculties in Pakistan, all open to women graduates but only a small number of women study law, as there is little opportunity for qualified women lawyers in public life. (The total number of women lawyers in Pakistan was under twenty in 1957.) In some of the universities women students have their classes with men and mingle normally in general activities—for example, in Punjab and Dacca Universities. In the others the women students keep *purdah* and attend classes in the *burqa*, for example, in Peshawar and Sind Universities.

An important new trend is the great interest of women students in science. Formerly few women's colleges taught science; now most of them are establishing science courses, though with difficulty. Dr. Amina Rahman, a biochemist and atomic research scientist, expressed the opinion that "the desire of women students to study for science careers is symptomatic of the widening and deepening of the interests of women, their urge to exercise their capacities in every direction."

The two Home Science Colleges, in Karachi and Lahore, which are affiliated with the Universities of Karachi and the Punjab, Lahore, give training in home science on a college level and along modern lines, thus developing a new concept of scientific preparation for creative home and family life. The courses, which are B.A. and post-graduate M.A. have a two-fold purpose, as defined by the Principal in Karachi, Mrs. Henry Lall: to prepare the students for effective family life, and to give them the foundation for a professional career in the teaching of home science on a modern basis in the high schools of Pakistan. As home economics is a new field, a number of well equipped students from both colleges were given a preparatory period of specialized training in the U.S.A. Each college has a model nursery school for practice teaching and guidance for parents. These two colleges represent the cooperative enterprise of the Government and the Ford Foundation through a grant to APWA, which initiated the request and grants from the Pakistan Government.

In East Pakistan home economics is being advanced on the college level with a well-equipped new (1958) home economics building, Eden College, Dacca, and two faculty members with post graduate degrees, at the Dacca and Mymensingh Colleges, who have recently returned from the United States on the Inter-College Exchange Program.

The Pakistan Home Economics Association was founded in 1954, with Dr. Zahida Amjad Ali as the first President, and in 1956 affiliated with the International Home Economics Federation.

The Department of Social Work in the Punjab University, started in 1955, under the direction of Dr. Riffat Rashid, Director of Training for Social Work, represents the beginning of a new professional field for men as well as women. The two-year course leads to an M.A. degree. Students are enrolled from all over Pakistan.

The growing facilities for higher education for girls are more than matched by the increasing number of students eager for the coveted opportunity to attend college. "Higher education is no longer the privilege of the élite," was the comment of Begum Zeenat Rashid Ahmed, Principal of the Central Government College for Women in Karachi. "This college," she explained, "with its 600 students, who represent largely the middle or lower middle class—daughters of clerical workers, physicians, government workers and men in small business, with a few of the upper class—is a striking illustration of the new democracy in higher education." Although the college is practically free—only fifteen rupees (\$3.50) a month for incidentals,⁷ this means a real sacrifice for a parent earning only rupees 150-200 a month, but the sacrifice is gladly made. Today parents of both the middle class and the upper class realize the social and economic value of education for girls. The girls find in the college the fulfillment of a desire for a career, perhaps as a doctor, and a way to economic independence, the best social security against inequality of divorce. An illustration of the tremendous increase in women's interest in higher education was the enrollment of women students in 1955-1956 in ten colleges in Lahore, not including the University. The total number was 4,130.

"The remarkable growth in higher education for women is the most revolutionary change in Pakistan today," was the opinion expressed by the Principal of Kinnaird College, Miss P. Mangat Rai, from her pre-partition experience. "It will be long," she said, "before we can assess the full social impact of this growth." The demand for higher education for women is a most significant evidence of the general educational awakening.8

Illustrative of this widespread urge for women's higher education is the rapid growth in the purdah-conscious area of Sind of the Zubeida Government Women's College in Hyderabad (founded in 1953 with fifty students; 1958 enrollment, 600), and also the steady development of coeducation in the University of Sind.9

A brief summary of the result of the total effort of the Government of Pakistan to provide for the educational needs and desires of the people indicates an impressive achievement. (Table Nos. 5 & 6.) It included in 1955-1956, about 45,000 primary schools, 7,400 secondary schools, and five universities, with a total enrollment of 73,000, and about 200 general colleges and training institutions of various kinds. This was the result of the concentrated and vigorous effort of less than a decade.

A number of women's organizations have carried on various types of educational services which in 1959 include the following: APWA-fifty schools, covering primary, secondary and

7 Interview, Dr. Husain.

⁸ Annual Report of Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, Miss P. Mangat Rai, 1955-1956.

⁹ The College is named for the original sponsor and promoter, Begum Zubeida Rahimtoola, wife of the former Commissioner of Sind.

higher education, a B.A. College in Karachi and two Home Science Colleges, Karachi and Lahore, as well as an adult literacy program, home courses and industrial training for women and mobile library services; *The Association of University Women*, Dacca, a project for a Central College for women, and a series of welfare courses for home makers; the Y.W.C.A.—courses in typing, stenography and secretarial training, courses in homemaking, also cultural courses and lectures for women; Girl *Guides*—training for guide leaders, adult education and literacy classes for women.

In the development of its educational program the Government of Pakistan has received assistance from a number of agencies: the United Nations—since 1952, continued assistance in the Social Welfare Project in Karachi, the establishment of Social Work, Punjab University in Lahore, and in-training and social administration both in Karachi and throughout East and West Pakistan; ICA—Inter-College Exchange Project among twentytwo Pakistan and American universities, equipment, consultants and fellowships; Technical Cooperation Scheme of the Colombo Plan—financial assistance and expert services in establishing technical boys' high schools; Ford Foundation—assistance in the founding and support of the two women's Home Science Colleges, equipment, consultants and fellowships; Asia Foundation travel grants and varied projects; and the British Council.

HEALTH

With the beginning of the new nation the builders of Pakistan faced a situation of extraordinary difficulty in the matter of health. The magnitude of the task can be measured by the partition losses: the evacuation of the entire non-Moslem staff, which comprised the bulk of the technical and medical services; the loss of the British members of the Indian Medical Service, i.e., the senior administrative posts; the loss of a number of central public health institutions, including the College of Nursing at New Delhi. Notwithstanding this very great deficit in essentials, Pakistan began laying the foundation for her public health system.

In the period of basic organization and unification under a Director General of Health, a Social Uplift grant of eighty-five million rupees was allocated by the Central Government for provincial public health development and for securing international assistance in combating prevalent diseases—malaria, tuberculosis, cholera and venereal diseases.

At this time also the concentrated effort began to solve the major immediate problem—the shortage of health and medical personnel. This has been a main objective. To quote from the Director General of Health, Lt. Col. Jafar: "The principal problem in Pakistan is shortage of medical personnel; to concentrate on recruiting and training of personnel is the major need. There is no use in multiplying institutional services beyond the possibilities of staff."

Since 1947 the re-establishment and development of women's professional services in health and medicine have had a major place in the general health program. The nursing situation was especially serious and claimed immediate attention. In the first decade, 1947-1957, the Government took the following constructive measures to promote the training of nurses and nursing services: forty-four girls were sent to the United Kingdom (1947) for training; three training centers were started in 1950-Dacca, Lahore and Karachi-by the Central Government, each admitting forty students; the Pakistan Nursing Council was organized (1949) to establish standards of training for nurses, midwives, and health visitors; the nursing school at the Dacca Medical College set up a three-year program to improve teaching and practice facilities, which was carried out with the help of WHO technical assistance (personnel and fellowships) and of UNICEF (teaching equipment and supplies). A nursing advisor was assigned in 1954 at the Government's request by the WHO to the Directorate, to improve the all-Pakistan facilities for nurses training; and a postgraduate College of Nursing was started by the Government in cooperation with the ICA by giving a small well-qualified group further training adequate for the teaching of nursing in the training schools. The college offers a one-year course in teaching and administration to nurses and midwives.

The increase in registered nurses almost trebled in six years. In 1948 the total number of registered nurses was 370 (after seventy-five per cent of the pre-Pakistan nurses had been evacuated). In 1954 the number of registered nurses was estimated at 1,076, including about 106 male nurses.¹ The training of male nurses was discouraged as detrimental to the development of a women's nursing service. Only one Government and two Mission hospitals trained male nurses in 1956.

The fact that there were only 1,600 registered nurses in Pakistan in 1956, in comparison to six thousand doctors, indicates the stage of nursing development. According to the Chief of the Health Visitors School in Karachi, there should be from three to five times as many nurses as doctors.

The number of nurses employed in Government hospitals in 1956 was far below the number needed. Most hospitals in rural areas had no nursing staff.

There are thirteen Government schools of nursing and several private institutions, mostly Missions in the Seventh Day Adventist Hospitals and the United Christian College Hospital in Lahore. The entrance requirement for these schools is middle school certificate or matriculation. The First Five Year Plan allowed for an increase in nurses' training schools. The number of vacancies for student nurses was 694 in thirteen schools but the actual number in training was 397. Matriculation or the equivalent is required for nurses. The course for a general trained nurse is three years after matriculation.

"The present schools of nursing should be given assistance to raise their standards of education," was the opinion expressed by the Principal of the new Post Graduate College of Nursing, Miss K. Hardeman. "More nurses should be sent abroad for post-graduate training to be able to work as supervisors in the schools. A separate school of nursing is needed to produce nurses not only to care for the sick but to provide leadership in nursing education, administration and legislation."

The serious problem in the promotion of nursing, Miss Hardeman pointed out, is its low status in public opinion, which makes it difficult to secure well-educated Moslem girls of good family for training. Nursing stands low in the students' choice of careers and often meets with strong family opposition, if a girl decides to enter training. "A midwife has a higher status

¹ The Postgraduate College of Nursing, Karachi, Wazir Begum, Memorandum dated 1956.

and would be preferred," was the opinion expressed by one of the nurses in the Karachi Health Center, who spoke from her own personal experience. "Individual nurses who have been able to persist in their choice of nursing as a career," she said, "are undoubtedly having an influence in changing public opinion toward nursing. But the change is very gradual.

The basic reasons for the continuing low status of nursing were summed up by Miss Hardeman as follows: the unfavorable attitude of the doctors, adverse living conditions in hospitals, the unregulated working hours, the lack of the full official status of a "gazetted" officer (an upper grade) and lack of appreciation in the community, as well as a lack of professional and legal protection, because the existing law is not enforced. A change in these conditions is an urgent necessity in order to raise the status of nursing.² The Pakistan Nursing Council was established in 1947 as was a Council in each Province, but lack of central guidance prevents effective registration of nurses.

The Trained Nurses Association (1949), which numbers over one hundred full members (only registered nurses are eligible), was affiliated in 1953 with the International Council of Nursing.

Midwifery service since partition has been developed along the following lines: increase in the number of trained midwives and of training facilities; standards of training; and plan of training for rural service.

In 1947 there were eight Government training institutions for midwives-five for midwifery only and three attached to hospitals. In 1956 there were eleven training hospitals. The number of places for midwifery trainees increased from 109 to 139. Moslems are in the majority. In 1954, according to the Five Year Plan, there were 1,040 midwives.3

The midwifery service includes three types of workers: the nurse midwife, the midwife, and the community health visitor. The recognized standard of midwifery training is twelve months for the registered nurse, eighteen months for the midwife, and twenty-seven months for the community health visitor.

The status of midwives in rural areas is high. The villagers

² Miss K. Hardeman, Principal, Postgraduate College of Nursing, 1956.

³ Information on Midwifery, Mrs. Imtiaz Kamal, Secretary, Trained Nurses Association, Pakistan, 1956.

look to her for guidance in many things besides midwifery. But in the upper middle urban class and above, the word "midwife" is objected to.

According to WHO leaders, the midwifery service needs improvement, especially along the following lines: better financial basis and better living conditions; higher standard of training institutes and midwifery colleges; and especially, more educated young women entering midwifery service.

The Community Health Visitor service was organized after partition to meet the need for the expansion of maternity and child services by recruiting and training personnel of a high standard for a combined service as Midwife Health Visitor. The name was changed later to Maternity and Child Health Visitor, which accurately describes the character of the service.

These community health visitors are of matriculation standard and are trained in public health and midwifery. The training has a twofold purpose: (1) to give the student a basic knowledge of the social structure of her work—public health organization and administration, and the basic sciences needed for practice of midwifery and health visiting, and (2) assist the student to develop attitudes and skills that are essential in giving effective maternal and midwifery care to individuals, and in promoting family and community health for infants and children under five years of age.

Four training centers were established by 1957 through the combined assistance of WHO (personnel and fellowships) and UNICEF (necessary equipment and supplies) at Lahore, Karachi, Dacca and Peshawar, with international personnel and Pakistan counterparts to ensure the permanence of the service.

The community health visitor has a high status, free from the stigma of nursing or midwifery, and with recognized educational and social position—she is sometimes called the Lady Health Visitor. The service is not prejudicial to marriage and the compensation is higher than that of the other services.

Rural midwifery service has presented a special problem. After 1951, efforts were made to give untrained village midwives, the *dais*, some training in connection with the Maternity and Child Health Centers. But because of lack of teachers and transport difficulties, also unwillingness of the *dais* to admit need of help,

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the plan was given up. Effort has been concentrated on teaching and training students for rural service, either in a maternity hospital or health center for twelve to eighteen months or even two years, after which they work under the health visitor.

The concentrated effort since partition to increase the number of trained women personnel for health services has resulted in remarkable growth. In 1949 there were only 500 available health workers.⁴ The urgent need to increase the number of trained medical personnel for the health welfare of women and children was strikingly evident, as of 1956, in the ratio of medical workers to the total population as shown by the following:⁵

		Approximate
Medical	Estimated	Ratio to
Personnel	Numbers	Population
Doctors	6,000	1 : 13,500
Nurses	1,600	1 : 50,700
Health Visitors	1,040	1 :406,000
Trained Midwives	1,040	1 : 78,000

The Pakistan Family Planning Association, which began with the Lahore Association, the headquarters, organized in 1953, carries on family planning guidance clinics with the cooperation of several health officials. The program later expanded into Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Dacca. The Family Planning Association in Karachi, which was organized January 1955, under the leadership of a well-known gynecologist, Dr. Zarina Fazelbhoy, a voluntary society with fifty members organized without official assistance, is a representative group of doctors, nurses, teachers and businessmen. The Association has had financial assistance from Rotary, is endorsed by APWA, and has the support of a growing enlightened public opinion.

Although family planning was not officially endorsed because of opposition on religious grounds, in 1957 a grant was made by the Government of 500,000 rupees for research in maternal health and experimentation methods. This has affected favorably the further development of the Family Planning Association.

The Pakistan Family Planning Association is affiliated with the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

⁵ UNICEF Pakistan Representative, Memorandum, December 1956.

⁴ Director General of Health, Pakistan, Colonel Jaffar, 1956.

Of outstanding importance to the health and medical program in Pakistan is the growth in medicine as a profession for women. The promotion of medical careers for women is one of the major achievements of Miss Jinnah. No on can visit the Fatimah Jinnah Medical College for Women at Lahore, and see the fine student body of vital young Moslem women from all over Pakistan (two from Afghanistan in 1956) and fail to realize that the future of the medical career for Pakistan women is assured. Before partition there were only fifty women doctors in all India including present Pakistan. In the Fatimah Jinnah College, there were more than 600 students in 1956. These potential women doctors of the future are one of the most dramatic evidences of the new status of women in Pakistan.

The increase in medical education has made possible this marked growth in the medical profession for women in Pakistan since partition. In 1948, medical training was given in only three places in Pakistan, the three Universities of Karachi, Lahore and Dacca. Now there are six colleges giving a four-year course. All the men's colleges and universities are open to women, who constitute about ten percent of the enrollment. The general percentage of women doctors is increasing and is estimated to be about ten percent of the total.⁶

Although the number is increasing, it is still far below the need. Women doctors have an unusual opportunity in a country where *purdah* prevails, since only a woman can meet the needs of women in *purdah*. Formerly the conservatives were hesitant about entering hospitals or using medical facilities, and especially fearful of surgery. Today they are keen to accept whatever is offered, even surgery. In Pakistan, as in other *purdah* countries, there is an unusual field for women surgeons, and a growing number who are gaining distinction.

In view of the tremendous need and opportunity for women doctors, it is not strange that medicine is the preferred career of the present student generation. Ask any girl student in a school or college in Pakistan, "What is your first choice of a profession?" and the answer is invariably "Medicine." Whether the question is asked in the Forman Mission High School in the old city of Lahore, in the Frontier College of Peshawar, or

⁶ Director General of Health.

in Eden College in Dacca, there is the common response which shows the urge for a medical career. It is a serious urge and a carefully considered choice of a career, as is shown by the comment about medical students by Colonel Jafar, the Director General of Health. "Women medical students show excellent results. They compare very favorably with boys and are very serious about their work."

A brief conversation with a group of the Jinnah College students at a recreation period in the compound showed their clear motivation. The question of why they had chosen medicine invited the immediate obvious reply, "Because we want to be doctors," which was followed by several short clearcut comments: "We know the country needs doctors"—"It will be a satisfying service"—"We are sure that our service will be appreciated"— "Of course, it will be difficult but it will be worthwhile."

The profession of medicine for women has high prestige. Women doctors are fully accepted by men as colleagues and welcomed because of their unique position. There is no question of competition and little probability of it for a long time, with the present special need for women's services and the general lack of doctors.

The hopeful trends in the general development of Health Service, as summed up briefly by the Director General of Health in 1956 were the successful promotion of public health through the assistance of WHO and UNICEF, a growth in preventive medical staff and in preventive medical service, the increase in MCH clinics and the slow improvement in nursing equipment and facilities for work. Progress was not spectacular but growth was steady.

The Ministry of Public Health has had cooperation and technical assistance from the international and national foreign agencies as follows: WHO and UNICEF in personnel, equipment and material for various lines of health prevention and especially for the MCH service; the ICA in equipment for the anti-malarial campaign and in personnel for nursing and maternal and child health, particularly in rural health service; and the Rockefeller, Ford and Asia Foundations.

Women's voluntary organizations carry on a variety of health activities. As of 1947, these programs included: The APWA work in refugee camps—child welfare centers, two dispensaries, twelve clinics, a seventy-bed maternity hospital, training of hospital aides, family planning and TB campaign and care in individual cases; the YWCA, a clinic in the Old Haji refugee camp in Karachi, assisted by voluntary doctors, midwives, and nurses; The Women's Voluntary Social Service in Dacca, training in medical social work, distribution of milk and clothing, and a blood transfusion service, and the Family Planning Association, medical advice on family planning and lectures on rearing healthy babies. The Red Cross National Committee provides maternity and child welfare centers and training in midwifery, also special service in national emergencies in which women's organizations cooperate fully.

VILLAGE AID

Village Aid has had a high priority in national development plans. Eighty-five percent of the people of Pakistan live in the 100,000 villages. The greatest asset of Pakistan is its people, whose welfare is of primary importance. The agricultural economy of Pakistan is underdeveloped, as are also the village people. The progress and welfare of the people and the improvement of agriculture are interdependent. The Agricultural Industrial Development Program (V.AID) is designed to "harness the manpower of the rural communities and the agricultural resources of the country for reconstructing village life."¹

V.AID is based on belief in the latent power of the village and is therefore a self-help program through which village people are enabled to determine their needs and share actively in meeting them.

In order to train village-level workers for the development of the program, eleven Village Institutes were established (1953-1957), six in West Pakistan and five in East Pakistan, where 780 men and 100 women are being trained annually. (Table No. 7)

The Village Institutes provide an intensive one year's course, followed later by short refresher courses to improve old techniques and learn new ones. The course includes agriculture, sanitation

¹ Article, Social Welfare in Pakistan, Sept. 1956, "V.AID Marches Forward," Pir Ahsanuddin, Joint Secretary, Ministry for Economic Affairs, p. 9. and health, education, cottage industries, home economics, extension methods, communication, cooperation, and social activity. It combines theory with practical work and is given jointly for men and women, with special subjects for each.

The workers-in-training, who are mostly between twenty and thirty years of age, must be physically fit, matriculates or at least middle-passed, and from a village, with some knowledge of agricultural life and the desire to live in a village and improve village life.

The V.AID plan of organization is as follows:

Thirty Development Areas of about 4,000 Villages with 3,500,000 people. Each Development Area has 150 villages with a Head and two supervisors. Each village worker has five villages in West Pakistan, and seven in East Pakistan.²

The Five Year V.AID Plan provided for 172 Development Areas (25,800 villages, about one-fourth of Pakistan) and for training about 5,160 village workers by 1960 (estimated cost, rupees 62 million).³

Of special importance is the status of the village workers. They are the link between the village and the Government Departments (Education, Health, etc.). Although employed by the Government, the village worker is not an official, but a "worker," with no authority save the force of persuasion.

In respect to training, the married couple plan has proved very sound. The choice of the couple is based on special ability of either the husband or wife; often the wife determines the choice. Noteworthy is the social effect of the mixed training on the women. On arrival all wear the *burqa*, are shy and passive. But they lose their shyness in the easy freedom of the Institute. Under the skillful director's influence they become absorbed in the discussions, participate and mingle freely with other students and any guests. Often the husbands are more conservative than the wives; the women were eager to use bicycles for their village work but the husbands vigorously opposed it. But the women prevailed.

The mixed training has ensured continuity and concentrated work. Moreover, having a man and his wife has helped, as in Iran, to break down conservatism and demonstrate an effective

² Ibid., p. 11.

³ Social Welfare in Pakistan-Editorial, Sept. 1956.

partnership. But single women and widows are also needed, as the program cannot be developed by married couples alone.

A major problem for the unattached village woman worker is the difficulty of living alone in a village. Often the only solution is for her to live in the nearest town and commute by bicycle. But a hotel for women must be provided in the town, or at a nearby institute for women village workers—as in Dacca for the women of the Institute five miles away.

In the program for village women, ICA technical assistants, all trained home economists, are carrying major responsibility in training village women workers, in teaching at the Training Institutes and in planning the program. The ICA specialists included in 1956 two advisors in West Pakistan; one in East Pakistan; one for All-Pakistan; four more were expected.

The program for village women has developed rather slowly. During the first years, women village workers were not included in training. In 1956, eighty-one women, a number of them married, were working in villages. Eighty-seven more began in June 1957. More top positions for women in V.AID service, as supervisors of village workers and also in regional positions, as counterparts of the American advisors, are needed. Educated Pakistani women in these responsible positions would give the women's program more status.

Since the approach to village women can be made only by a woman, the woman worker has a unique opportunity. Her approach, however, must be made carefully. The village woman, although not in *purdah*, lives a closed life with little outside contact, and views with uncertainty, if not suspicion, the newcomer, even though a Pakistani woman. The village worker quietly makes friends with the village women, gains their confidence, and discovers their individual and common needs. She helps them form homemaking clubs, and classes in literacy; she teaches them simple home economics, sewing and cooking, child care and handicrafts to give them new skills and, perhaps, to add to the family earning. For this varied program the worker secures the help of specialists in Education and Health and other Government departments.

Progress in this village work can scarcely be realized in brief visits to villages, since the visitor has no vardstick of change. But a conversation with the village women workers gathered at Lalamusa for a refresher course left no doubt that there is basic progress. The question, what change is there among village women? brought a ready response. Their answers were very practical, as summed up by their supervisor, Miss Nazeem Akhtar:

When the work began the drains were dirtier and no trained midwives were used. The *chulas* (small open stoves) were smoking all the time; the dust bins were full. Now the women separate their kitchens from the rest of the house, use smokeless *chulas*, want trained midwives, make an effort to clean the drains, ask for better latrines.

Others mentioned also the eagerness of village women to learn how to cook better food, how to make jelly and jam, and especially their new attitude about educating girls. It seemed unnecessary before, but now the women are pressing for a girls' school in the village.

The question of why the workers had entered village service seemed to be of special interest. Several gave the same reply:

Village work is one of the best ways to serve our country. We know we are needed and the village women appreciate what we do. But we don't know enough. We need more courses like this, longer if possible, but one day helps.

Even brief contacts with village women workers revealed the importance of their role in V.AID and the great need for further development of the women's program. The woman worker in the village is the key to the *development* of village women and village women are the key to the *improvement* of the village.

Woman's organizations have a growing concern to develop village services. A growing number of their local branches are in direct contact with village life, engaged in conducting classes in literacy, improving homemaking skills and child care, encouraging cottage industries and in the training of village leaders. These voluntary efforts to improve the life of rural women are based on cooperation with the Village Aid program. A number of organizations, such as the Girl Guides and YWCA, are able to make a specific contribution to the program of village improvement. APWA illustrates the over-all development in this field with rural branches established in East and West Pakistan, some in close relationship with the V.AID training centers, as at Lalamusa and Lyallpur. There are also joint projects of the district branches and three joint pilot project village centersnear Karachi and at Ratodero in West Pakistan and near Dacca in East Pakistan.

ECONOMIC POSITION OF WOMEN

A brief review of a study of women in business and professions, made in 1950 by the Editor of the *Mirror*, Begum Zeb-un-Nissa Hamidullah, will give a post-partition background of the professional life of Pakistan women today.

The large majority of professional women in 1950 were engaged in the four major professions—teaching, nursing, midwifery and medicine. These constituted then, as today, their major contribution to the economic life of Pakistan.

But the opening of a wider outlook in women's professional life was shown by the list of other professions in which women were engaged in 1950. It included law, practicing and at the Bar as a magistrate, journalism, press reporting and editorial writing, radio broadcasting, economic research on national developments—and an agricultural credit officer. In some of these new professional fields there were perhaps only one or two individuals; nevertheless, the list indicated the diversity of women's interests, as well as the beginning of new professional opportunities. It represents a break with the traditional idea of "professions for women" and shows that professional life has entered a new era.

In the business field, rather new in 1950, were ticket collectors, insurance agents, owners of independent businesses, and managers of employment exchanges; in each field only a token number, but an important indication of change. In the clerical field and service fields were about six hundred and fifty, including stenographers, private secretaries and typists, telephone operators, receptionists, ground air hostesses (later employed in the flight services). (Table No. 8)

The cross-section 1950 view of the economic participation of women indicated a significant beginning. Since then the professional life of women has rapidly advanced. All professions are open to women except foreign service abroad as a career. Women have taken advantage of the varied professional opportunities in increasing numbers. Growth is evident, not only

numerically but in the increase in specialization. In the medical professions are gynecologists, pediatricians, surgeons, also pharmacists, dentists, laboratory technicians, dermatologists. There has been similar specialization in other professions. Women lawyers, very few in number, hold important positionsadvocates of High Courts in Karachi, Magistrates in Lahore, Treasurer of the All-Pakistan Bar Association and Administrator of the All-Pakistan Legal Center at Lahore. Few women in Pakistan have entered journalism as a career because of the lack of regular, full-time employment. The daily press, however, encourages women free-lance contributors, and feature writers. They are paid on an equal basis with men. Training for journalism is open to women and men alike-both the Lahore and the Karachi universities have diploma courses. The number of women studying journalism is increasing. Individual women journalists have won distinction: for example, a woman editor Begum Ali Khan, of the Examiner, a leading Dacca newspaper in English; and the Editor-Proprietor of the Mirror, mentioned above, a monthly social magazine in Karachi, widely circulated in both East and West Pakistan.

An unmistakable sign of progress is the presence of a few well-trained professional women in the financial and management fields and in independent business. A woman industrialist in Karachi, Mrs. Razia Ghulamali, owns and manages a cement factory. She and Begum Hamidullah are officers of the Federation of Business and Professional Women, demonstrating and working for the higher economic status of women.

Another evidence of advance is the development and recognition of social work as a full profession, for men and women, with an increasing number of women. (This is discussed in the following section.)

Noteworthy evidence of the growth in the professional consciousness of women is the organization of several national associations of professional women-nurses, midwives, home economists, university women and business and professional women. These organizations represent collectively a substantial body of trained women leaders identified with the economic development of Pakistan. Thus, in the post-partition period, women have moved steadily forward toward economic independence and full participation in economic life. They have a growing realization of their power and responsibility and are recognized as a dynamic national force.

The development of the private secretarial and stenographic fields, except in Karachi, is retarded by the prevailing atmosphere of conservatism, particularly since it involves the problem of direct personal relationships with men. However, because of the urgent need for women in secretarial service, there is a marked increase in the number of educated young women entering this field who have genuine desire for careers; some are motivated as well by the need to aid in family support and ensure their own economic independence.

In Karachi, a city of three million people, where a freer atmosphere than elsewhere and more foreign influence prevail, it is estimated that about a thousand young Moslem women in 1956 were in secretarial positions. The field is fully open, but even in Karachi the social situation is difficult. To quote a young Moslem secretary, a college graduate, "There is certainly a great opportunity in stenographic service, but in commercial firms and government offices the male attitude toward Moslem girls is definitely immature and embarrassing. They can work best in cultural offices, embassies and foreign firms."

In other cities, conservative social attitudes present a more serious handicap, as explained by a secretary in Lahore, "One of the major obstacles in our work is the narrow-mindedness of a conservative group of men, which affects public opinion. They have not adapted to the changing conditions. Such people think that unmarried girls leave their homes to work only for excitement. Young women in their office work must meet this situation, maintain a grave dignity and keep conversation strictly above the personal level."

This illustrates the personal difficulty of the situation and explains why young Moslem women in Pakistan, outside of Karachi, often hesitate to enter secretarial work. But the steady impact of economic necessity and the normal process of social change are opening up this field more fully for Moslems, which formerly was occupied almost entirely by young women of the Christian community. In Lahore, especially, the growing number

of well-educated Moslem women gives assurance of continued increase of their services in the secretarial field.

The absence of women from the work usually performed by the rank and file of employed women in most countries is striking evidence of the economic liability of *purdah*. There are practically no Pakistan women in large or small shops, restaurants and cafes, pharmacies, hotels, at ticket windows, in cinemas and places of amusement, and in beauty parlors, but there are women in domestic service in private homes, *ayahs*—child nurses and personal maids, etc. *Purdah*, as a matter of prestige, begins far down in the lower middle class, thus excluding a great number of women from wage-earning. As long as this system of sex segregation persists to such a marked degree in the urban lower middle class, Pakistan will be deprived of the necessary economic contribution to daily life of a large body of women and girls, and women will be an economic liability.

On the lowest economic level of urban life, including the refugee population, there is no question of *purdah*. Women must work to live. Poverty makes no distinction of types or conditions of work. Freedom from *purdah* is a strange compensation of poverty.

Technical training for women is limited. The Department of Industry in Lahore does have several technical schools primarily for widows, with courses in tailoring, sewing and embroidery, also dry-cleaning, making sweets, pastry, etc.

Women in rural life are making, as they always have made, a considerable contribution to the agricultural economy of Pakistan. In the total labor force of just over 1¼ million, somewhat under one million (983,000) are in agriculture, forestry and fisheries.¹ They work unveiled in the fields, share the work of men freely, sow, cut and harvest the crops. In contrast to this freedom in the field is their segregated life in the village. Village women contribute their labor but are entirely dependent, with no opportunity for earning or economic independence.

The seasonal character of the rural economy should offer possibilities for training in some lines of work and wage earning,

¹ Report to the Governments of Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand on conditions of women's work in seven Asian countries.

but because of their segregation, village women have little likelihood of being included in government labor plans. How-ever, V.AID, which has already been discussed, is bringing forces for improvement that may vitally affect the social and economic position of village women.

As to women in industry, Pakistan has here a latent labor potential of women that will be greatly needed in the further national industrial development. The present women's labor force is estimated at one and a quarter million, of which one million are engaged in agriculture. In 1951 the official statistics indicated that 190,872 persons were in organized factory industry. On a daily average, about 11,865 of these were adult women, twenty-two were female adolescents, and thirty-eight were girls-negligible numbers, and showing the absence of women from industry. The majority of the women who worked as wage earners were on tea plantations and in construction work, mostly carrying building materials; some were in cotton ginning, jute and rice.

The government of Pakistan has ratified a number of international labor conventions for the benefit of women and young workers, which includes: minimum age and medical examination of young persons, prohibition of night work and underground work of women and young persons, and hours of work. These conventions, with others (a total of twenty-four through 1957) represent the legislative goal for better national labor standards. There is a trend especially toward the establishment of clinics and crèches for young children of the married women workers, and also toward the provision of adequate social services in health, education, housing and outside activity for all workers.

A number of women were in cottage industries. For these no statistics are available.2 The current promotion of cottage industries by Government and private agencies has benefited both urban and rural women, as they are considered suitable for women in purdah. Cottage industries include two types:

Local industries to improve village household equipment and amenities. Village women are trained by V.AID women workers.

Arts and Crafts industries for local sale or export. Voluntary

² Report of the ILO Survey Mission on Labor Problems in Pakistan (August 1952-February 1953) Section on Women Workers, pp. 69-76.

agencies train many women in *purdah*. The Government Design Institute, Lahore, trains a small skilled group for export trade. Goods are sold in Government and private shops.

A review of the position of women in urban and rural economic life on all levels leads to the conclusion that the great majority of women in Pakistan are an unrealized economic potential because of the retarding influence of *purdah*. It is the determining factor in the utilization of the woman power of Pakistan. The improvement of the social position of women is the basic necessity for their economic progress. The small minority of socially free women in business and professions is playing a highly important economic role in the national life. But Pakistan needs the unrestricted participation of women of all classes for its full development as a modern state.

The contribution of women's organizations to the improvement of the economic position of women includes the following: APWA, throughout Pakistan, provides training in cottage industry, in classes, workshops and industrial homes, teaching embroidery, sewing, weaving and crafts and promotes the Raána Liaquat Craftsmen's Colony, run by the Pakistan Cottage Industries, affiliated to APWA. The display and sale centers provide a market. The Women's Volunteer Association, Dacca, encourages the production of mats, cane furniture, hand-loom fabrics and operates a sales center. The YWCA program in Karachi and Lahore includes secretarial training, employment guidance and placement and residences for young business women.

The Pakistan government has had technical assistance in the economic development of women through the cooperation of official and private agencies—the United Nations, UNESCO, ILO, the Colombo Plan, ICA and the Ford and Asia Foundations.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Remarkable development in the field of social welfare has been achieved through the combined effort of the Government of Pakistan and United Nations Technical Assistance. This development began in 1952, in Karachi, with the Pakistan-United Nations Social Welfare Project under the leadership of Miss Elmina Lucke, senior member of the United Nations team of consultants. Ten technical consultants of seven nationalities participated in the project from 1952 to 1957, in Karachi, Lahore, and Dacca. Technical assistance has continued, especially in the field of training and social administration, with consultant teams in Karachi and members in East and West Pakistan.

For the first three years, training courses were held for immediate needs in community services, combining practical experience in the initiation of social services with instruction in the theory of social work—its basic principles, techniques and standards in relation to the problems of Pakistan. Through these courses, 124 persons, men and women, were shown new goals for social welfare and gained respect for its professional requirements, as they prepared for leadership in social work either as volunteers or, with further intensive training, as professional social workers. At first, the majority of the students were men, as is common in Asia, but almost equal numbers of men and women were enrolled in the later courses.

The further development includes:

In academic recognition of the professions-

The first Pakistani post-graduate diploma course in social work, instituted in the University of the Punjab.

Consultant services in planning a course in applied Social Science requested by the University of Dacca.

In Government recognition and action in regard to social welfare, by the establishment of-

The National Council of Social Welfare attached first to the Ministry of Works, later to the Directorate General of Health. Councils of Social Welfare for local governments – West Pakistan and East Pakistan.

The Ministry of Social Welfare for the Punjab, later for West Pakistan.

An office for Urban Community Development in the Secretariat of the Government of Pakistan in Karachi.

A Social Division in the Pakistan Planning Board. Inclusion of a Chapter on Social Welfare in the Constitution, based on modern concepts.

In collective organization for improvement of voluntary social welfare-

The National Conference of Social Work

The Pakistan Association of Social Workers

The Karachi and Dacca Social Services Coordinating Councils Pakistan Council for Child Welfare

Better coordination of social services and the general improve-

ment of voluntary agencies standards—such as, improved training for specialized services, more successful fund raising, better planning.

Women have been on the executive committee or held one of the offices of each of these ventures to improve social conditions. The participation of women is noteworthy in view of their previous lack of experience in public life. However, their leadership was based on their pre-partition sound education and their remarkable service in the partition period in meeting primary human needs. The small group of very thoughtful women leaders in Lahore secured advice and guidance through the YWCA school of Social Work in Delhi, for the training of voluntary workers in a six-week course on committee organization, responsibility and procedure.

Since that time, this group of trained volunteers from the United Nations course have continued their social training in numerous ways. Some have taken full courses for higher degrees in England or America; a number have had Government grants for social study abroad or other foreign fellowships; some attended the International Conference of Social Work at Munich (half of the Pakistan delegation were women), and other similar conferences. A number of these leaders have held or hold responsible posts in the social welfare field: To mention a few: Begum K. S. Wajid Khan, Secretary General of the Pakistan Council of Child Welfare; Mrs. Gool K. Minwalla, Chairman of the National Council of Social Welfare; Begum Tazeen Faridi, Secretary General of APWA and former Executive Member of the Planning Board; Mrs. Beatrice Caleb Menezzes, Administrative Assistant of UNICEF; Miss Shareen Ghulamali, Executive of the United Nations Social Welfare Project and Mrs. Laura Diaz, Secretary of the Red Cross, Karachi.

To sum up briefly the achievement in social welfare since 1952, it includes the reorientation of the concept of social welfare from that of charitable works to that of self-help as the basis of human welfare; recognition of social welfare as a profession and the trained social workers as a necessity; provision for the advanced training of social workers; government recognition of the importance of social welfare and of trained social workers and official planning; collective action of social workers and

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voluntary agencies for the improvement of social welfare, especially the growth of public understanding of social needs.

THE POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN

The women of Pakistan were granted their full political rights as the result of their complete identification with the new State in the crucial post-partition period. Their political equality with men covers adult suffrage and the right to stand for election to any office and to contest any seat in the Provincial or Central Governments or local bodies. The application and development of women's political participation has been divided into two periods—the Parliamentary regime, which ended with the dissolution of Parliament in October 1958, and the present period of temporary suspension of political life during the preparation for the establishment of Basic Democracy, the new structure of government.

Early in the Parliamentary period women began to exercise their equal rights. There were to be reserved seats for women in all zonal assemblies, District Boards and the Central Parliament for ten years from the date of the Constitution, March 23, 1957. The reserved seats in Central Government—five each from East and West Pakistan—were to be filled at the General Election by women voters. The provision of reserved seats was made in order to ensure the full participation of women from the beginning. The election of the reserved seats by women voters was felt to be desirable in order to encourage their independent voting.

In the Provincial Elections, held in West Pakistan in 1951 and East Pakistan in 1954, women participated actively. In the election in the former Punjab, which is now a part of West Pakistan, fourteen women contested the five reserved seats. In spite of conservatism, women went to the polls in large numbers, many of them in the *burqa*. Twelve per cent more women than men voted. Two of the backward *purdah* provinces, the Northwest Frontier and Bahawalpur, won two legislators each.

In 1957 there were eleven women members of Parliament in West Pakistan, twelve in East Pakistan, none in the Central Government pending the General Election. The West Pakistan Cabinet then had a woman Deputy Minister of Social Welfare, Begum G. Ahmed Khan.

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Women were represented on local bodies. There were, for example, five women councillors in the Lahore Corporation. Women pressed for more representation, and through the Annual Conference of the Local Bodies Institute gained a decision of twenty-five per cent of the seats for women in Corporations and ten percent in the Municipal Committees. They participated in the Constituent Assembly, in Parliament Committees, in government delegations, and the Government Family and Marriage Laws Commission, which had three women members and four men.

Women played an important role in political parties: The Pakistan Muslim League and the Punjab Muslim League had women members and a considerable number of councillors. In a very short time women of the educated minority rapidly came forward in political affairs and in public life, ably assuming increased responsibility and exerting growing influence through significant positions in national life and notable representation of Pakistan abroad, for example, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, Ambassador in the Netherlands and Princess Abida Sultan, Ambassador in Brazil.

But the political power of women cannot be measured by this very small enlightend minority. The large majority of women are potential voting support that can be easily exploited by political parties. Women's organizations have recognized this as a challenge to educate women for the vote, not only the great number of illiterates but the considerable number who are not uneducated but are politically uninformed and indifferent to their franchise. APWA and other organizations carried on general programs of citizenship education for women, but their leaders were increasingly aware of the vital importance of specific emphasis on the preparation of women for the vote, since they knew political rights for women, unless independently and intelligently exercised, would be meaningless, if not actually harmful. The sense of necessity to educate women voters was heightened by the fact that the General Election would expose women all over Pakistan to rival political propaganda. Since they constituted half of the electorate, to win their vote would be the primary aim of all parties. To meet the urgent need for objective political

education of women, a joint non-partisan effort was recognized as imperative.

Full political equality gave women in Pakistan leverage in lifting their status, which they have used effectively. But some of the thoughtful women leaders feared that because political equality came without any effort, many women did not understand its full significance and the need to safeguard its practical application and to be constantly on the alert to maintain the constitutional recognition of their full rights.

The leaders in political affairs seriously considered the major issues of concern to women in reference to the General Election in 1957. Of primary importance, they felt, was the promotion of the Family and Marriage Laws Commission, which had been too long postponed, and should be an election issue for women's votes. The election offered them an opportunity also to promote equality in such matters as girls' education, economic opportunity, and social freedom, where there is technically an equality in law, but not in practice.

These women leaders in political life and public affairs showed unusual maturity of judgment and clear thinking, and moved easily into policy-forming positions. Women leaders in Parliament were willing to sponsor unpopular causes and sustained their position with courage and conviction. Commenting on the difficulty of securing support for the proposal of the Family Laws Commission, a woman member of Parliament in Lahore, Begum Fida Hassan, said, "Many people stick to their seats for fear of losing them. But I believe we were not elected to protect our seats. We must be ready to leave them and stand for liberal ideas. Pakistan is on the move. We must move forward and not be afraid of progress."

During the period of suspended political activity since the dissolution of Parliament, draft legislation has been prepared for the establishment of Basic Democracy, grown from the grassroots representation of the different levels of society. The fundamental purpose of Basic Democracy, as defined by the President, is to prepare a base on which "the upward pyramid of a sound political system can be developed." The plan provides for the formation of Union Panchayats (Councils) and Councils on the Tahsil, District and Divisional levels of East and West Pakistan.

The keystone of the Basic Democracy structure is the Union Panchayat, which contains one elected representative for every 1000 to 1500 people, and in each council has ten members elected by universal suffrage, and five nominated members without vote, chosen as advisors to ensure the representation of "certain special interests like women or agriculture, etc." The other councils will comprise officials and non-officials. The election of the councils was to take place during late 1959. The ultimate association of this total representative body of citizens of different economic and social levels, it is believed, will help to bring about a unity of outlook and awaken political consciousness and a sense of responsibility in Pakistan.

The full participation of women is assumed, as Basic Democracy is predicated on universal suffrage and equal rights of election. Women leaders through their experience in the parliamentary régime in both East and West Pakistan have been prepared for continued effective cooperation in building, on the new foundation of Basic Democracy, the material and spiritual welfare of the nation.*

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Women's organizations have been of central importance in the first decade of Pakistan history. Their outstanding service began immediately after the partition, under the wise guidance of Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, the wife of the former Prime Minister. The All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) has done a conspicuous service. Organized in 1949, it is a nonpartisan, non-sectarian movement pledged to work for relief and welfare wherever needed, and to promote both national and international betterment of social, economic, educational and cultural conditions, with special reference to women and children.

The leadership of APWA, which has carried out this mission, has comprised a remarkable group of well-educated women

^{*} First elections under Basic Democracy took place in December 1959. A large village vote was polled. Women at all levels participated and some were elected to the Councils.

volunteers of leisure and wealth, with unusual commitment to service and an innate capacity, some with marked competence in a special field; as a whole, a group of women of considerable influence as wives of men prominent in government, business and public life.

These leaders, keeping in mind the multi-purpose objective of APWA, have developed a welfare movement of women throughout Pakistan. From the main centers in Karachi, Lahore and Dacca, it has reached smaller, remote places, inspiring to service not only the socially free but women still in *purdah*. APWA has entered all fields of service, "wherever there was need," in education, health, industry as described above and has developed a program with vision, speed and flexibility to meet the emergency needs of different areas. "The APWA school may be found under a tree in Lahore, under a railway bridge in Karachi, or in an overcrowded *bustie* (a slum) in Dacca."¹

The total volume of service carried on by APWA through its many branches is an impressive contribution of women to national welfare. The movement reflects the same spirit of service, whether expressed in a simple one-room school or clinic or in well-developed service institutions, as in Karachi. Its leadership commands public respect and official confidence, as is shown by the continuing Government subsidies and the financial assistance of the public.

APWA services represent a number of substantial business enterprises—schools, health institutions, clinics, cottage industries, workshops and sales centers—for which the Government has given large subsidies. At the headquarters in Karachi is a solid core of disciplined, hard working volunteers. "This is a full-time job," said Begum Jafar, explaining her APWA service as supervisor of the Craftsman's Colony and Treasurer of the Handicraft Shop.

The planning of the APWA program has been carried on largely by the headquarters group. The membership is kept fully informed and encouraged to act. The organization, especially in the earlier period, necessarily reflected a state of emergency, but the building up of the association along broader, more democratic lines has been recognized as a special need. To include

¹Secretary General's Report, April 1, 1956, Begum Tazeen Faridi.

in active participation in APWA more of a cross-section of women-rural women and Parent-Teacher Association members, for instance-is a constant objective which is being achieved.

After the initial emergency period, APWA was able to strengthen the basis of its national organization in a number of ways. It established administrative headquarters in Karachi, added a technical staff and increased committee work, gave attention to the better branch organization necessary in a large national movement. There were twenty-five branches in West Pakistan and fourteen in East Pakistan in 1957. APWA has stressed membership development and training of leadership through workshops and conferences for program study and planning.

APWA received technical assistance from the United Nations -a six weeks visit from the Chief of the Status of Women Commission in 1954 to help in basic organization and in the general analysis of the movement with reference to future development.

Since its inception APWA has steadily sought to carry out its purpose as a woman's movement, that, is to promote the equal status of women, social, political, educational and economic, and protect and interpret their constitutional rights. The Government appointment of the Family Laws Commission, with three women members, was largely due to the efficient work of APWA, which was followed by promotion throughout the movement. APWA gives special emphasis to citizenship education, particularly the education of women voters, in regard to their rights and responsibilities as citizens.

In this program of social and political education and action, APWA acts officially only in its own capacity, as it is not a federation of organizations but an individual multi-purpose movement. Many individual women of all organizations do, however, participate actively in various phases of the APWA program and the various women's organizations often join with APWA officially in collective action toward common objectives.

There are a considerable number of women's organizations of a specialized character (see list of women's organizations). Of particular significance are the several associations of professional women (see section on Economic Position of Women), each of which is having a direct influence on a specific area of professional life. The Nurses' Association was organized with the objective of giving nursing more recognition as a profession. The Home Economics Association represents an important new professional constituency. The Association of University Women has a special opportunity of expansion in view of the increasing number of young women graduates from colleges and universities each year. The Business and Professional Women's Clubs in Karachi and Lahore, composed of members from different professions, are a cross-section of the professional life of women in Pakistan and offer a resource on economic problems and a convincing demonstration of economic independence.

In the field of youth work two organizations are making a distinctive contribution—the Girl Guides and the YWCA, both dating from the pioneer period of women's organizations in undivided India. They were reconstituted with Pakistani leaders and are carrying on their special programs, adjusted to the current needs of girls and young women—social and economic, physical and spiritual. Their primary objective is character development and training of leadership.

The growing interest and concern in the field of young children and adolescents is notably shown by the unusual development of the Pakistan Child Welfare Council, which was organized after the All-Pakistan Child Welfare Conference in Karachi, 1956. Headquarters are in Karachi and there are several centers in West Pakistan and East Pakistan. The primary emphasis of the Council is on preventive measures against juvenile delinquency. Supervised recreation in parks and public playgrounds is being successfully promoted and the training of future leaders is a special feature of the program. The Council has inaugurated a Foundling Home with voluntary medical and nursing service, and is developing an adoption plan with supervised after care.

Cooperation among the voluntary organizations has been stimulated by the United Nations Social Welfare Project referred to above. Women are a cogent force in all of these cooperative efforts, as also in other mixed organizations, such as the Pakistan Child Welfare Council and Red Cross. The close inter-organizational relationship of voluntary agencies in Pakistan has led as well to their effective cooperation with the various agencies of the United Nations. A notable illustration was the UNESCO—APWA Seminar held in Karachi in October 1958 on the timely subject "The Role of Women in the Preservation and Development of Cultures in the Community." The "Exhibition of Handicrafts in the Home" demonstrated the functional use and value of indigenous products in preserving traditional arts and crafts in modern life. The Seminar was attended by delegates and observers from Ceylon, Indonesia, Iran, India, Malaya and Pakistan, with observers invited from various international organizations and foreign agencies. Although of primary interest to women, this Seminar, representing the joint initiative of Pakistan and UNESCO, was a significant milestone in regional international relations.

In the decade since partition there has been a rapid development in international relationships, primarily through contact with the inter-governmental organizations and voluntary international associations.

The inter-governmental relationships include:

Delegate at the United Nations General Assembly since 1952 (sometimes two women).

Delegate at the Status of Women Commission meetings, 1952-1958. In 1952 the Pakistan delegate was Rapporteur and again in 1958.

Representative at ECOSOC meetings.

Representative at UNESCO and World Health Organization conferences and UNICEF meetings.

Participant at the United Nations Regional Seminar in Bangkok, August 1957, on the Civic Responsibilities of Asian Women.² Participant for Pakistan at the UNESCO Seminar in New Delhi, December 1952, on the Status of Women in South Asia.³ United Nations Secretarial Staff—two (one general service, one guide).

International Labor Organization Secretariat-one professional staff member.

Contact with international voluntary organizations includes: Attendance at World Conferences of international women's organizations as national affiliates and fraternal delegates, and at regional women's conferences: The Pan Pacific South East Asia

² United Nations Regional Seminar Bangkok, August 1957, on "The Civic Responsibilities and Increased Participation of Asian Women in Public Life."

³Regional Seminar in New Delhi, December 1952, on "The Contribution of the Social Sciences to Studies on the Status of Women in South Asia," arranged by the Asian Relations Organization under the auspices of UNESCO. Women's Association conferences; Asian-African Conference (eighteen countries) Ceylon, 1958.

Attendance at international conferences of mixed organizations, men and women-League of Red Cross Societies, Planned Parenthood Federation, International Conferences of Social Work, International Union of Child Welfare, international conferences of non-governmental organizations.

Fellowships and visits abroad for study and observation through various channels—Pakistan Government, United Nations, foreign governments and private agencies.

Contact with the representatives of the technical assistance programs of the United Nations and foreign organizations, official and private, working in Pakistan.

The following women's organizations in Pakistan have affiliation with the corresponding international organizations:

Organization⁴ All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA)

Affiliation

International Alliance of Women International Council of Women Country Women of the World General Federation of American

- Women's Clubs
- Consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Category B, and with UNICEF
- WAY–World Association of Youth (through APWA)
- International Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs

International Federation of University Women

World YWCA

International Council of Nurses International Federation of Home Economics World Bureau of Girl Guides League of Red Cross Societies International Planned Parenthood Federation International Union of Child Welfare International Conference of Social Work

⁴ A Pakistan woman lawyer is a Vice President of The International Federation of Women Lawyers. There is no Women Lawyers Association in Pakistan, since they are members of the Bar Association.

Pakistan National Youth Council Business and Professional

Women's Clubs—Karachi and Lahore (Karachi— Affiliated as associate)

Pakistan Federation of

University Women

Pakistan Young Women's

Christian Association

Pakistan Trained Nurses Assn. Pakistan Home Economics Assn.

Pakistan Girl Guides Pakistan Red Cross Pakistan Family Planning Assn.

Pakistan Child Welfare Council Pakistan Conference of Social Work

APPENDIX

Women's Organizations in Pakistan

THE ALL-PAKISTAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION (APWA)—National, 1949. Purpose:

To work for both national and international betterment of social, economic, educational and cultural conditions, with special reference to women and children.

Affiliated with International Council of Women—1953 International Alliance of Women —1952 Associated Country Women of the World —1952 General Federation of American Women's Clubs World Association of Youth —1955

Consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Category B. and with UNICEF.

THE BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS

Two Clubs-Karachi and Lahore. Not a national association. Purpose:

- (a) To raise the standard and promote the interest of women in business and professions.
- (b) To promote a spirit of cooperation between the business and professional women of Pakistan and other parts of the world.

Affiliated with the International Federation of Business and Professional Women. Karachi club as an associate member, 1955.

The Pakistan Federation of University Women-National, 1953. Purpose:

- (a) To raise the standard of university education in the country and encourage its development, particularly for women.
- (b) To promote understanding the friendship between the university women in Pakistan and between them and the university women of the world.

Affiliated with the International Federation of University Women, 1955.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YWCA)—National, 1951. Formerly part of India national organization including India, Burma and Ceylon. (Lahore and Karachi YWCA started 1899.) Pakistan YWCA separated from India 1947 and formed national organization, 1951. Membership includes varied religious, racial backgrounds and nationalities.

Purpose:

- (a) To help women and girls understand and follow the Christian way of life.
- (b) To promote high ideals of character and service, social understanding and friendship, irrespective of race, class, or creed.
- (c) To develop practical ways of furthering material and moral welfare.

(d) To unite women and girls in a world wide fellowship. Affiliated with the World YWCA, 1951.

PAKISTAN GIRL GUIDES ASSOCIATION—National, 1947, pre-partition, part of Indian organization.

Purpose:

To foster friendship that knows no boundaries of race, creed, caste or color, and to encourage self-help, self-respect and good fellow-feeling. Affiliated with World Bureau of Girl Guides, 1948.

THE TRAINED NURSES ASSOCIATION—National, 1949. Purpose:

To raise the status of nursing and secure better conditions of service in Pakistan.

Affiliated with the International Council of Nurses, 1953.

PAKISTAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION—National, 1954. Purpose:

To prepare students for creative family living and for teaching home science as a profession.

Affiliated with International Federation of Home Economics, 1956.

PAKISTAN WOMEN'S NAVAL RESERVE—National, 1947. Purpose:

To give nursing, first aid, A.R.P. and civil defense training. Affiliated with APWA.

PAKISTAN WOMEN'S NATIONAL GUARDS-1947. Purpose:

To assist the Pakistan Medical Welfare Service at times of emergency. Affiliated with APWA.

PAKISTAN RED CROSS SOCIETY-National, 1948.

Purpose:

(a) To render emergency relief as needed.

(b) To give mothers free advice and care during pre-natal and post-natal periods.

Affiliated with League of Red Cross Societies, 1948.

WOMEN'S COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION Purpose:

> To promote the moral and material welfare of women and to aid them in raising their standard of living.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL CLUB-Karachi, 1949.

450 members of all nationalities. The president is always a Pakistani, the vice president of another nationality.

Purpose:

To promote international understanding through the exchange of ideas, cultures and problems between Pakistan and other countries. Affiliated with APWA.

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WOMEN'S VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATION (WVA)-Dacca, 1953.

An international club, about 150 members, first organized for emergency relief, later became a permanent club for welfare and social activity. Chairman alternates—American and Pakistani.

Purpose:

(a) To carry on relief if needed.

- (b) To promote arts and crafts and develop cottage industries, particularly to train women, provide employment and sell their products.
- (c) To promote social activities and recreation and foster international relations.

BEGUM CLUB-Chittagong.

Purpose:

To foster literary and cultural activities among the women of East Pakistan.

FAMILY PLANNING ASSOCIATION-National-in Lahore, founded 1953; Karachi, 1955.

Purpose:

- (a) To encourage families to have children, provided the parents have the health and means to give them reasonable chance in life so that they become an asset to the nation.
- (b) To advocate and promote known scientific methods by which people may space their families, thus avoiding the evils of under-feeding, and over-crowding or limit their families where further pregnancies involve risks to the mother.

Affiliated with the International Planned Parenthood Federation-Lahore, 1954, Karachi, 1955.

PAKISTAN NATIONAL YOUTH COUNCIL-National (Mixed).

Purpose:

To promote peace.

Affiliated with International World Assembly of Youth.

PAKISTAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS-National (Mixed), 1953. Purpose:

To promote higher standards of training and social work.

PARISTAN NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK-(Mixed), 1955. Purpose:

To promote the national development of social work.

Affiliated with the International Conference of Social Work, 1956.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL WELFARE-(Mixed), 1956. Purpose:

To evaluate social welfare progress and help to formulate national social welfare policy and provide consultative and financial aid to voluntary agencies. THE PAKISTAN COUNCIL OF CHILD WELFARE-National (Mixed), 1956. Purpose:

To promote the physical, moral and mental well being of the children in Pakistan.

Affiliated with International Union for Child Welfare, 1957.

PAKISTAN BANAT FEDERATION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS-Lahore. Purpose:

To promote the rights of women and especially legal social reforms, by all constitutional means.

WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY SOCIAL WORKERS ORGANIZATION-Karachi.

A home women's organization.

Purpose:

To render first aid through home centers in various locations.

IDARA-I-KHAWATEEN-National.

Purpose:

- (a) To impart religious instructions to women and educate them regarding their problems.
- (b) To give training in sewing and embroidery to poor girl students and help support widows and orphans.

Affiliated with the Jamaat-i-Islami.

THE KHOJA (ISLAMIC) WOMEN'S WELFARE ASSOCIATION-All-Pakistan. Purpose:

To carry on relief and welfare for women and children.

THE MENON (ISLAMIC) WOMEN'S WELFARE ASSOCIATION—All-Pakistan. Purpose:

To carry on relief and welfare for women and children.

BANAT-I-PAKISTAN

The women's organization of the Muslim League.

TABLE No. 1

GROWTH OF PUPIL ENROLLMENT IN THE PRIMARY STAGE IN PAKISTAN

Enrollment Pakistan Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1947-1948	2,435,204	704,588	3,139,792
1951-1952	2,981,048	774,616	3,755,664
School-age children (6-11) 1950-1951			9,361,080
Source: Compulsory Educa	5,099,561	4,261,519	9,561,000
	tion in Pakistan,	UNESCO, Muhamr	ned Shamsul

Huq, July 1953, p. 147.

TABLE No. 2

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY CLASSES

KARACHI GIRLS' SCHOOLS

Year	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1949-1950	2,581	1.127	675	367
1950-1951	2.822	1,233	825	392
1951-1952	3.008	1,245	709	483
1952-1953	2,847	1,380	864	448

Source: Compulsory Education in Pakistan, UNESCO, Muhammed Shamsul Huq, July 1953, p. 49.

TABLE No. 3

SECONDARY EDUCATION SHOWS GIRLS' EDUCATION IN RELATION TO THE TOTAL 1951-1952

Schools		Enrollment
6,486 664 Education in r. Irma Salas,	10% Pakistan,	1,164,142 97,737 8.4% UNESCO, 1953; Unpublished

TABLE No. 4

TRAINING COLLEGES 1951-1952 WITH WOMEN'S TRAINING IN RELATION TO THE TOTAL

Institutions	Enrollment	Institutions	Enrollment
Total Men's & Women's 125 Women's 16 13% Source: Women's Education Report, Dr. Irma Sala		11 4 NESCO, 195	785 276 35% 3; Unpublished

TABLE No. 5

TOTAL NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN PAKISTAN 1955-1956

Primary Schools	44,645
Timary Schools	7,405
Secondary Schools	11
Technical High Schools	
General Colleges	136
Professional Colleges	31
Polytechnic Colleges	2
Colleges of Domestic Science	2
Teachers Training Institutes	9
Commerce	2
Universities	,
Source: Pakistan 1955-1956, Pakistan Publications, p. 267.	

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

TABLE	
ENROLLMENT IN GOVERNMENT UNIVERSITIES	5
IN PAKISTAN 1955-1956	
Dacca	22,889
Karachi	12,160
Peshawar	3,948
Punjab	30,244
Sind	3,827
Source: Pakistan 1955-1956, Pakistan Publications, p. 267.	NIA 7
TABLE	110. /
VILLAGE AID TRAINING INSTITUTES, PRESENT AND PLANNED	
Annual Capacity Trainees	L 10
	Planned 1,235
	1,255
Women	
Source: Five Year Plan–Village Aid, published by Village Aid Admini Ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan Press, J	Karachi,
1956, p. 38.	
TABLE	No. 8
NUMBER OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOM	EN
WORKING IN PAKISTAN-UP TO 1950	
Health	
Female Doctors	55
Female Nurses	154
Midwives/Dais	69
Matron	12
Nursing Superintendents	8
Probationary Nurses	3
Hospital Superintendent	••
Ward Dispensers	
Female Compounders	
Health Visitors	
Education Total	. 544
	. 17
Head Mistress Principals	
Vice Principals	. 3
Assistant Teachers	326
Domestic Science Teachers.	. 1
P.T. Instructors	. 2
Spinning Mistress	. 1
Female Lecturers	. 19
Demonstrators	. 4
Laboratory Assistants	. 4
Inspectress (Schools)	. 4
Total	. 388

Cler	ical and General Service	
	Female Secretary	13
	Female Stenos	217
	Female Typists	
	Female Clerks	
	Female Accountants	. 1
	Telephone Monitors	
	Telephone Operators	54
	Female Assistants	12
	Receptionists	
	Ground Hostesses	3
	Proof Reader	
	Total	
Mise	cellaneous	
	Insurance Agents	4
	Business Women	10
	Assistant News Editor	1
	Assistant Research Officer (Information)	1
	Assistant: Accountant General of Pakistan Revenues	1
	Agricultural Credit Officer	1
	Female News Reader	1
	Women Ticket Collectors/Examiners	22
	Women Assistant: Manager of Employment Exchanges	2
	Industrialists	1
	Total	44

United Nations Regional Seminar, Bangkok, August 1957, on "The Source: Civic Responsibilities and Increased Participation of Asian Women in Public Life". Pakistan representative; Begum Zeb-un-Nissa Hamidullah, Editor of the Mirror.

TABLE No. 9

WOMEN IN IMPORTANT POSITIONS

IN THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

Central Government Ambassador to the Netherlands

Ambassador to Brazil (resigned 1955)

West Pakistan and East Pakistan

Members of Legislative Assembly (under former government) West Pakistan-eleven members

East Pakistan-twelve members

Deputy Minister of Social Affairs-West Pakistan (former government)

Ministry of Finance-West Pakistan-Under-Secretary and one Research Officer

Ministry of Information and Broadcasting-West Pakistan Deputy Assistant Director and Information Officer

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

- Ministry of Labor-West Pakistan-two officers in charge of Regional Employment Exchange
- Ministry of Education-Head of Elementary Education and Women's Education for West Pakistan
- Councillors in the Lahore Corporation-five
- Central Government Planning Board-Chief of Social Planning (formerly)
- Central Government Family Laws Commission-three women and four men

IN PROFESSIONAL LIFE AND BUSINESS

Head of Karachi Hospital (formerly)

Head of Woman's Medical College and several arts colleges Radiologist in Hospital, Lahore

Atomic scientist-private research, professor in Dacca University

Head of Department of Social Work, Punjab University, Lahore Head of Fine Arts Department, Punjab University

Chairman of Council of Social Welfare-West Pakistan

Vice President of the East Pakistan Conference of Social Work

Joint Secretary Council of Social Welfare, West Pakistan

Executive of Child Welfare Council

Director of Welfare Development of West Pakistan

Treasurer of the All-Pakistan Bar Association

Editor of the Mirror, a leading magazine of Pakistan, (East and West) in English

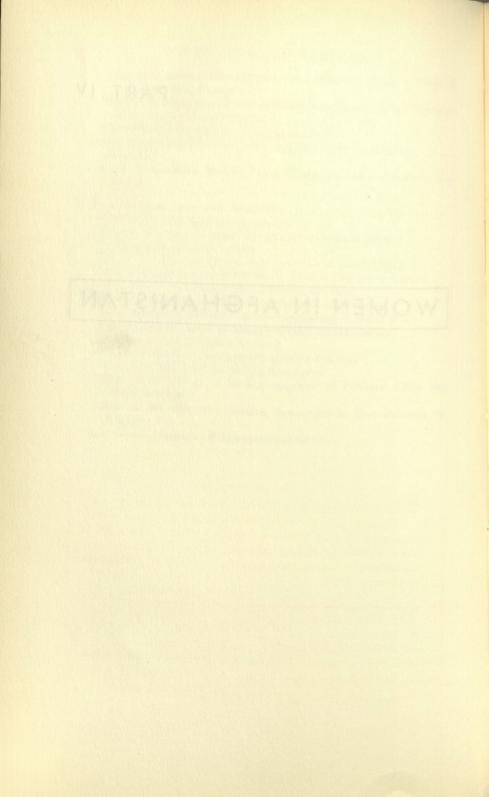
Editor of the Examiner, leading newspaper in East Pakistan, in English

Owner and organizer-Pakistan cement factory

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PART IV

WOMEN IN AFGHANISTAN



WOMEN IN AFGHANISTAN

THE BEGINNING OF AN ERA

This study of the women of Afghanistan bears the final dateline June, 1959, and records the unbroken régime of the veil and *purdah* in the long period since the compulsory re-veiling of women in 1928, after the ill-fated effort of King Amanullah to emancipate women. It portrays their restricted but continuous advance behind the veil.

August 31, 1959, brought overnight the sudden unveiling of women, permissive and not compulsory, which marks the beginning of a new era. The announcement to the world is contained in the following Kabul press release:

Afghan Women Unveil . . .

Kabul, August 31. Afghanistan ended its independence celebration Sunday night with many women unveiling themselves in public for the first time as a symbol of their growing emancipation. Indian and Pakistan dancers and Indian football teams and UAR hockey teams were imported for the occasion.

* * * *

This announcement of freedom from the veil came with no preliminary notice. Afghan women, however, were being prepared for this event for over thirty years, as is shown by the following account, which antedates this momentous occasion, and might be called A Prelude to Unveiling.

THE SETTING

The women of Afghanistan paid a heavy price for their sudden and brief unveiling by King Amanullah in 1928. Inspired during his visit to Turkey by the social revolution of Atatürk, the King on his return to Kabul immediately instituted a number of bold reforms for modernization of the country. He changed the administrative system, promoted coeducational primary schools, enforced the adoption of Western dress for men and issued an edict for unveiling. This was carried out first by the Royal Family and by the families of the Cabinet and officials, and then unveiling was required of all.

Freedom from the veil was welcomed. Many women discarded the *chaderi*¹ and appeared unveiled in Western dress. Some, more conservative, continued to wear the Iranian *chaddur*, which is similar to the Afghan garment but with the face uncovered. They moved about freely on the streets, enjoyed the cinemas and other public amusements. Life in Kabul was completely changed.

But Amanullah, in following the example of Atatürk, had failed to realize that Turkey and Afghanistan were not only hundreds of miles but decades apart. Turkey, closely linked with the Western world, a dynamic new republic, with a body of educated men and women leaders, was prepared for social reforms. Afghanistan, in the heart of Asia, aloof and isolated for over a hundred years, a buffer state between two great empires, could ill afford the danger of sudden, drastic change.

The period of reform lasted less than a year. The opposition of political forces and especially the reactionary elements, the mullahs, aroused by the unveiling of women, led to a revolution in 1929 which ended in the downfall of the throne and the flight of Amanullah into exile.

Nadir Shah, who, after overthrowing a bandit ruler, became King, immediately rescinded the social reforms. Girls' schools were closed. Heavy veiling was again prescribed, and strict *purdah* re-established. This has continued for the past thirty years. The brief adventure in freedom in 1928 is but a cherished memory of only a few. Today the veil is the ever-present reality in the life of the women of Afghanistan.

Women in Kabul, Kandahar and other cities all wear the

¹ Chaderi, an all-enveloping garment which falls in pleated folds from the crown of the head to the feet, covering the face but with a latticed opening before the eyes, so that the wearer can see but be unseen. It may be of different colors—rust, dark brown, powder blue, green, mauve, purple. The word "veil" is commonly used for the general idea of the *chaderi*, and *purdah*, literally "curtain," means the system of segregation of women.

chaderi. It is a distinctive mark of city women. Only the lowest economic class in cities go unveiled. The village women as well, because of their needed freedom for work in the fields, do not veil, nor to the Mongols (the *Hazarahs*) from central Afghanistan and the nomads (the *Koochis*).

The first impression of Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, is that it is a city of men. Moving about Kabul, one sees only the faces of women of the lower class or of the nomads, mostly in crowded bazaars. Veiled figures on the streets suggest that women are only in the background.

The streets of Kabul seem lacking in normal city life. The women, shrouded in their *chaderis*, produce an atmosphere of monotony and impersonality. The monotony is somewhat relieved by the varied colors of the *chaderis* and occasionally the *chaderi* is thin enough to reveal a touch of personality in the outline of the figure, or short enough to afford a glimpse of high heels or low flat slippers, an indication of the social and economic status of the wearer. But on the whole the anonymity of the wearer is complete.

The movements and activities of women are very limited. According to the comments of a foreign resident in Kabul, however, there are indications of a movement toward a less restricted life. Women today, though veiled, are seen throughout the city alone or in groups, walking or riding in the small *ghadis* (hired carriages) or in buses. But the buses, which are always full and uncomfortable, are used mostly by the middle or lower class. Women from the Women's Welfare Society crowd into the bus at noon or in the late afternoon, and school girls, always veiled, ride to and from school in the bus, not on bicycles. Many women of the upper class have their own cars, often curtained from the public view. The decisive factor in transportation seems to be economic rather than social.

There is some provision in the cities for women's recreation under *purdah* conditions. As women do not attend public cinemas, three of the cinemas in Kabul are reserved for women; two commercial theaters off the main street have special days reserved for women, and there is a private cinema in the compound of the Women's Welfare Society, a splendid new building which is much better than the commercial houses. One of the parks on the outskirts of the city is exclusively for women and is frequented by middle and lower class women, with their children, and is occasionally used for some special women's event.

Shopping shows interesting variation according to the social and economic differences and degrees of conservatism. The colorful bazaars in the heart of Kabul are crowded with the simpler people, unveiled village women and nomads, and veiled urban women of the lower classes. Women of the middle class also sometimes shop at the bazaar for silk or jewelry, carefully guarding the veil and, rarely, a few of the upper class, who, although concealed by the *chaderi*, can be easily detected by their shoes. But the women of the upper class, if they shop at all, go to the Indian silk bazaar, where they can have more privacy, to look through their lattice eye-shades and select colors, or perhaps furtively draw aside the *chaderi* and examine the quality of the material.

Women of the upper class who wear Western clothes have a special problem of contact with a man tailor, for there are no women dressmakers or tailors. The majority solve the problem by having their women servants shuttle back and forth, taking the tailor the measurements and the design, often a picture from an American magazine, and bringing back the garment for the fitting after it has been fitted on a model. This "by proxy" method of fittings seems to be successful, judging by the result. Some women do go directly to the tailors. A small inner circle of the élite use a French tailor connected with the Court and a fair number of women doubtless make their own clothes. Afghan women are very style conscious. Their clothes are up-to-date and distinctive.

Women of the inner aristocratic circle have worn Western style clothes for a long time, even before Amanullah, as a result of the influence of French governesses and the European contacts of the Court. Now Western dress is quite generally adopted by the educated upper and middle classes.

Many women of the upper and middle classes do not shop for themselves and their children. They depend on their women servants to do this and on their husbands. The husbands buy the family clothing and also purchase the food supplies, a daily routine, since there is no refrigeration. The traditional *purdah* system, under which the great number of less privileged women live, includes early marriage, usually by seventeen years of age. Such a marriage is arranged by the parents, largely on the basis of the best dowry offer, and the bride's consent is taken for granted. An engagement contract is made perhaps a year in advance of the wedding, but the bridal couple do not meet before the wedding. After marriage the bride becomes identified with the husband's family. The women of the household are segregated and social contacts are strictly within the limited family relationship.

These women carry on a ceaseless round of domestic duties, bear and rear their children, serve their husbands, have little recreation or free time except for the observance of major life events of births, weddings, and funerals. The great majority are illiterate, since the education of girls has traditionally been considered unnecessary, if not undesirable. Occasionally, an educated husband, perhaps a Government employe, tries to teach his wife to read and write, but this is the exception, rather than the rule and is a matter of some difficulty because of family opinion and the wife's busy daily routine.

For women of the lower middle class there is little contact with the outside life and they are unaffected by Western influence. They wear typical Afghan clothes — the *pantelones* (trousers) and *chemise* (loose over-garment) with a white veil over the head indoors and the *chaderi* outdoors. They lead simple lives, make few demands, are scarcely conscious of their restrictions and accept without question whatever comes as "the will of Allah."

Different from the typical life of the women of the uneducated middle and lower classes is that of the small but growing minority of educated Afghan women and girls, primarily in Kabul. The *purdah* frame of life is the same; the veil and segregation are the dominant facts of daily living. Yet, as has been said, there are evidences of some modification of Islamic customs and a relaxation of the rigidity of *purdah*. The steady infiltration of new ideas is gradually changing the life of the educated minority. The marriage age tends to be older, a direct result of increased education. (A recently married Deputy Principal of a girls' lycée was twenty-five years old.) Today there are more young unmarried women—marriage is no longer the only possibility. It is still arranged by parents but there is some allowance for consultation with the bride; also other factors than the dowry may determine the choice. A meeting of the bridal couple at the time of the engagement and some limited acquaintance before the wedding may be possible. The betrothal in more advanced families may be made a social occasion for a group of family and close friends.

The patriarchal home, the established pattern for economic as well as social reasons, offers little opportunity for independent family living, but the need for it is recognized, especially among the modern younger generation. The higher up in the social and economic scale and the more educated, the greater is the number of separate families, each with its own compound. But whether there are separate homes or not, the feeling for the large family group remains and the dominant position of the head of the family is an accepted fact. Yet, though the traditional authority of the husband may not in general be questioned, educated women have considerable influence in family affairs and there is a growing sense of partnership in marriage which is the natural result of mutual interests through education.

Social life is also reaching beyond the narrow limits of the immediate family to include the ramifications of the larger family relationship, and even the broader circle of close friends. The degree of social intermingling varies with individual families.

A number of young married couples who are quite advanced and Westernized meet regularly for small social gatherings in their homes. These normal social groups of young married couples, though numerically negligible, represent a significant departure from the traditional social segregation required by the veil, and are an example for other liberal groups. The members are usually those who studied in Europe and America and most of them are in educational or Government service, or young business men with their wives, who may have been in the United States.

Of basic concern to educated Afghan women, as to Moslem women elsewhere, are the two related problems of polygamy and divorce. The uneducated women accept fatalistically whatever comes. The small educated minority is aware of social injustice and legal inequality, but as a whole makes no vocal protest. Some returned students seriously discuss polygamy and voice an adverse opinion. Polygamy is said to be declining, but it still occurs in all classes and is accepted as standard practice if a man is without a son. The usual apology for four wives—"all are treated equally"—is made. A government official in Kabul demonstrated this principle by building four identical good-looking brick houses on a main street for his four wives. Unilateral divorce is a major threat to the security of women, irrespective of class, but the uneducated are more vulnerable.

Modern Afghan women living in the atmosphere of *purdah*, constantly restricted by the veil, are at the same time living outside the *purdah* system in the ideas of a modern world. They are called upon to develop the ability to live in two worlds, accepting the requirements of *purdah* as long as necessary, but at the same time becoming oriented to a modern way of life. For the typical uneducated woman behind the veil, life is simple—a single pattern in her clothing, relationships and way of life. The educated Afghan woman faces the constant problem of adjusting to two different ways of life, both in the home and in her growing outside relationships.

A concrete evidence of the ability of the Afghan woman to adapt herself to two techniques of living is shown in the practical matter of dress—the Western dress adopted some years ago for outside activities, social relations and general purposes, and the Afghanistan costume worn to meet the desire for comfort in the home. The problems involved in Western clothes, as already indicated, are met resourcefully, with taste and distinctive style. Dress is only an external detail of living in the present complicated pattern of life. But dress is an important part of the total orientation to modern life, where the successful adoption of modern modes and mores may have special value in preparing for the more basic changes later when the veil is ultimately discarded. The stylish Western costume under the *chaderi* is a striking illustration of the two different techniques of living that typify the life of modern Afghan women.

EDUCATION

A few bare facts point up the necessity of promoting education in Afghanistan on all levels, especially the education of girls. The general illiteracy is estimated to be over ninety per cent and female illiteracy over ninety-five per cent. With a population of about twelve million, Afghanistan in 1954-55 had only 114,266 students enrolled in all schools, not including the University. This was about four per cent of the estimated 2,400,000 population of school age children and youth. (Table No. 1)

Separate schools for girls, both primary and secondary, are required because of *purdah*. In 1954-55, of a total of 290 primary schools, there were only thirteen for girls. Seven of the thirteen were in Kabul, out of a total of twenty-one Kabul primary schools. Five provinces had no primary education for girls. The number of girls in Afghanistan enrolled in primary schools was 4,615, and of boys, 80,000, or about eighteen boys for every girl. (Table No. 1) There were no girls in the village schools; the 338 three-year boys' primary schools had 12,500 boys enrolled.

In secondary education there were fifteen lycées for boys and two for girls in Kabul. The disparity between the number of lycées and the lycée enrollment of boys and girls is the major problem of education on all levels in Afghanistan one which will continue to grow under the present *purdah* conditions.

This brief view of the present situation in respect to education makes clear two basic facts: first, the urgent need of increased promotion of education in general; second, the marked disparity between girls' and boys' education, which is the inevitable result of the *purdah* system requiring separate schools for girls from the first grade to the University. The Government of Afghanistan in its effort to promote equal educational opportunity for both girls and boys, the desirable and ultimate goal, is confronted with the exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, problem of developing and supporting a dual system of primary and secondary education.

The present stage in the development of education of girls, measured in the flat reality of statistics, presents a discouraging picture of tremendous needs and problems. However, viewed in the perspective of the thirty-five years since the beginning of girls' education in Afghanistan, the present situation shows evidence of progress and promise for future growth.

The first school for girls in Afghanistan was opened in 1921 in Kabul, the *Malalai*; the first boys' school, the *Habibia*, had been started in 1903. For the first decade the Malalai had a rather checkered career. Under the Amanullah régime, until 1928, it developed slowly; then, in the brief reform period, there was marked progress. After the violent revolution and downfall of the King, the Malalai, with all other schools, was closed. It was re-established by Nadir Shah, the new ruler, as soon as order was restored. At first, to avoid the possible opposition of the mullahs, Malalai was promoted as a special school for nurses and midwives. Then it was operated as a regular school, developing from the primary to the full twelve-year lycée. (The first graduate was in 1955).

At the outbreak of World War II, all educational activities in Afghanistan suffered seriously from shortage of supplies and financial support, but in spite of difficulties and with considerable sacrifice, the schools were maintained. During this period, primary education was lengthened to six years. The Malalai, under French women teachers, advanced through various stages to the ninth grade. French was the medium of instruction and was taught as a foreign language.

In 1947 the plan for the training of qualified Afghan women teachers was begun. Girls' education was raised to the level of the eleventh grade and the Women's Teachers' Training High School section was established in Malalai lycée with lessons given by male professors and lecturers. The graduates of this course were appointed teachers and eventually replaced the French teaching staff.

Because of the growing demand for girls' education, a second Kabul lycée, the Zargunah, was established before 1950. It served primarily the middle or lower middle economic class. In 1956 a third lycée for girls, the Rabia Balkhi, was opened in Carta Char, a suburb of Kabul.

Girls schools follow with only minor changes the same program as that of boys' schools.

After the ninth grade, girls may enroll in one of three sections: the regular lycée section, where they continue through the twelfth year and then enter the Faculty of the University of Kabul; the Women's Teacher Training section for a two-year course, in which girls prepare for teaching in girls' primary schools; and the Home Management section, designed primarily to prepare young women for marriage and home-making. This, naturally, is the best attended section.

In 1955 another type of training was introduced on an experimental basis; this offers girls who have the primary school certificate a three-year course similar to the Home Management section but with special emphasis on drawing, handicraft, sew ing, knitting, cooking, literacy and arithmetic. All regular subjects except foreign languages are now taught by Afghan teachers. The home economics practical courses are given in a special section of Malalai, known as the Home Economics Practice House. This has a kitchen, small living and dining area, library and nursery, which create an atmosphere especially suited for practical studies in child care, nutrition, cooking and home-making.

The Malalai and Zargunah lycées were first assisted in developing Home Management courses by a home economics specialist from the United State ICA for two years. Later two home economics specialists appointed by UNESCO for a similar period helped prepare Afghan teachers in this field. Six girls have studied home economics up to the eleventh grade and have received elementary teacher training in nutrition, child care, sanitation, care of the sick, first aid, knowledge of fabrics, dressmaking, with some instruction in the psychology and methods of teaching. These girls were the first teachers trained to teach elementary home economics along modern lines.

The Report of the UNESCO Mission on Education in Afghanistan, in 1949, devoted an initial chapter to the crucial importance of education for girls and women, concluding with four special recommendations. These were: the promotion of adult education for women; the opening of two normal schools for women, one for the Pashtu language and the other for Persian; access of women to the University of Kabul, especially to the Faculties of Pedagogy and Medicine and to other Faculties in which women can be prepared gradually to take their position in Afghan society; sending young women of capacity abroad for further study.¹

These recommendations started a program of action for the development of education of girls and women. The training of

¹UNESCO, Rapport de la Mission en Afghanistan, Paris, 1952, page 17.

women primary teachers is a major objective. As yet no provision for a normal school has been made. To consider training as well as other problems of girls' education, the Ministry of Education established, 1954-55, a Commission on Secondary Education for Women composed of five leading women educators in Kabul, including the Director of the Malalai lycée, Miss Kubra Nourzay; the assistant director of Malalai, Miss Sahlia Etemadi; the assistant director of the Zarghuna lycée, Mrs. Zareen; a staff member of Zarghuna, Mrs. Terry Anseri; the Director of Girls' Primary Schools, Miss Alia Popol, and the member of the Columbia University Teachers Education Team, Professor Mildred Fairchild, as chairman.²

The Commission made a number of specific suggestions: an experimental junior high school for girls with emphasis on social and economic studies, guidance in homemaking, child-care, teaching, nursing and other occupational opportunities for women, better materials, in-service training, and continued study of the education of Afghan girls, including primary schools.

The Commission set up a seminar for head mistresses of primary schools and teachers of secondary schools, to discuss the teacher education program. Consultations between parents and teachers were arranged, which had practical value in developing a relationship between these two groups. The Secondary Education Commission created a favorable climate for free discussion of the needs of girls' schools and laid the basis for real improvement. As an immediate result of the Commission a fulltime specialist for women's education was appointed to the Teachers Education Team of Columbia University Teachers College (1956). Another concrete result of the Commission has been the establishment of a junior high school for girls.

Perhaps the most significant advance in girls' education was marked by the opening of two Faculties of the University of Kabul, the Faculty of Arts in 1950 and of Medicine in 1951, to women students. Women's preparation for entrance into the Faculties was made possible by upgrading the girls' lycées progressively over a few years from the ninth to the twelfth grade.

² The United States International Cooperation Administration (ICA) since 1954 has cooperated with the Royal Afghan Ministry of Education on a Teacher Education Project. This is being carried out by the Columbia University Teachers College Team on contract with ICA. The number of girls enrolled in the Faculties in 1956 was sixtythree and the total number of women graduates up to that date was forty-six (Table No. 2), all from the Faculty of Arts, compared with 692 men graduates up to the same date. In 1956, twenty-five girls passed the twelfth grade examination and started medical studies. The first group will become the first women doctors trained in Afghanistan. The next stage in the advance of higher education of women will doubtless be the opening of other Faculties to them.

The University of Kabul is decentralized and widely scattered, with only a few courses—science, medicine, agriculture and engineering—held in a central place. The instruction for women is not given in university buildings but in special classes in Malalai, because of the necessity for *purdah*. It is interesting, however, that there is no restriction against having male instructors. For several years the Faculty courses were held in the afternoon in the ordinary classrooms. Recently a new building, near the Malalai lycée, was provided especially for the Faculty and Miss Kubra Nourzay was appointed President.

The small classes of women in the Malalai classrooms, visited in 1956, lacked the atmosphere of a university and the stimulus of academic contact. But the eager desire of the students compensated for the uninspiring environment. Their keen interest, disciplined capacity for hard work, and genuine ability, called forth most appreciative comments from their professors who felt that the women students compared very favorably with the men. This small body of pioneers in women's higher education was laying the foundations for the professional life of women in Afghanistan.

The growth in higher education for women has increased the natural desire and need for advanced study abroad. It has been contrary to Government policy for women to travel and study in foreign countries unless accompanied by a husband, a brother or other male relative. Accordingly, young women students have not been able to benefit from foreign scholarships for independent study. The first exception was the tour made by two young women teachers from Kabul, Mrs. Homaira Hamidi and Miss Mariam Shah, under an American Department of State International Exchange Service Grant, April-May, 1959. Relatively

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few wives have accompanied their husbands who had received foreign scholarships for study either in Europe or America, as the expense was practically prohibitive.

An interesting new development is that of a married couple who are now (1959) studying in the United States on individual scholarships in their specific fields. The husband, A. Wardakee, a nuclear physicist, is carrying on special research, and his wife, a teacher in a Kabul lycée, is taking a two-year course at the National College of Education, Evanston, for an M.A. degree in teacher training for girls' primary schools. This plan of scholarships for married couples on the basis of individual selection has potential professional and social values that merit further development. However, such a joint scheme does not make it possible for qualified women, married or unmarried, to have the independent opportunity for foreign study.

Sending men students abroad for higher training has been a definite policy of the Government for more than thirty years. Since 1944, more than 800 Afghan men students have studied in universities in the United States, West Germany, Switzerland, France, the United Kingdom and India, and the American University of Beirut.³ The steady increase of foreign scholarships for men over a long period has had an incalculable influence in the development of education and the various professions in Afghanistan.

The present lack of foreign scholarships for women and the limitation of their opportunity for advanced study abroad are a serious handicap in their professional preparation for future service. There is urgent need in Afghanistan for highly trained women: teachers in various fields of education, women in the medical profession, specializing in pediatrics, gynecology, surgery, etc., and women trained in nursing and public health, also specialists in other fields of service.

The Women's Welfare Society is making a distinctive contribution to education through its program for post-school-age girls and adult women. This institution was established in 1946 by the Ministry of Finance, with the cooperation of a few cul-

³ Unpublished Report–Dr. William Wrinkle, Education Consultant on Special Assignment, United States, Operations Mission to Afghanistan. June 17-December 19, 1956. tivated women, to promote the development of women through a twofold program:

- 1. Classes in literacy, sewing, cooking, knitting.
- Commercial courses and handwork classes in weaving, sewing, embroidery, cutting and tailoring, to help women toward economic support.

An ICA specialist in arts and crafts and a Japanese expert in weaving have given technical assistance. The Society publishes a regular periodical, *Meran*, a women's journal with articles on women's interests such as home and child care, beauty, fiction and pictures of women.

A branch of the Women's Welfare Society has been organized in Kabul in an area of special economic need. Establishing branches in the various provinces is contemplated if funds can be secured. The Society is now under the Ministry of Education.

The growth of this Society has been noteworthy-from one room in 1946 to an important institution in a spacious compound, with a large main building and a new cinema and general assembly hall; and from a small group of students at the beginning, to over 500 younger and older women registered today. Many non-members share in the social program of cinemas and special events. The Government has steadily increased its financial support. Women of all ages appreciate the opportunities that the center offers. Many others find in the Welfare Society welcome outlets from a home monotony that offers no recreation, no social life, and no chance to meet other women. The unusual development of the Women's Welfare Society was in large measure due to the efficient leadership of Miss Zeinab Seraj, President of the Society from its foundation until her death in 1959. The new President is Homaira Nourzay.

The Afghanistan Government, as has been said, recognizes the necessity of promoting general adult education in Afghanistan because of the very high illiteracy. The Ministry of Education has compiled special textbooks on the pattern developed by Dr. Laubach. Courses were begun in Kabul and later carried on in the provinces under trained supervision.⁴ The Ministry of Information has conducted courses for factory workers, office

⁴ Education in Afghanistan, Royal Afghan Ministry of Education, 1955.

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workers, and Government employees; attendance was obligatory, and each year more than five thousand persons were enrolled. The Afghan Army also has made an effort to reduce illiteracy. Some ten thousand soldiers annually have learned to read and write.

Adult education through the radio and cinema is provided by the Ministry of Information. In 1949 there were perhaps several thousand receiving sets. Since 1949 the number of private radios has greatly increased. Many family compounds have a radio, as do individual middle class families, especially teachers and often villagers. But in rural Afghanistan the people are without radios. Cinemas are always crowded and exert considerable influence, especially the Indian and American films. Rural people are as yet scarcely reached by the cinema but a mobile cinema service under the Ministry of Education tours certain areas for use in schools and rural communities.

As the *purdah* system debars women from normal contacts and influences, they can benefit only to a limited degree from a general adult education program. Accordingly, a special program of adult education for women is needed in urban and, especially, rural areas.

Viewed in the perspective of three and a half decades since its beginning, the education of girls and women in Afghanistan shows unmistakable signs of progress. These are not only measured by statistics of growth in numbers of girls' schools and the enrollment of girls, but also by other significant evidences of change: the advance of girls' education from the elementary school to the University; the broadening of the base of girls' secondary education; the growing emphasis on training women teachers; the increasing demand of the public for girls' education; and above all else, the increasing number of well-trained effective women leaders. These evidences of advance do not, however, blur the fact of the growing disparity between the education of girls and that of boys. This will continue as long as there are segregated school for boys and girls.

In developing national education the Government of Afghanistan has received material aid and technical assistance in Afghanistan and scholarships for study abroad from several sources: the United Nations, UNESCO and International Labor Office; International Cooperative Administration-subcontracts with Columbia University Teachers College, Wyoming University Agricultural Department and the Near East Foundation; the United States Information Service; the Asia Foundation and British Council. The Governments of India, Germany and France have also given scholarships.

HEALTH CONDITIONS

In promoting its national health program for the Afghan people the Government has had the effective cooperation of the World Health Organization and the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), WHO contributing the international technical staff of nurses and doctors; UNICEF provided the equipment for clinics and hospitals, and for teaching as well as expendable supplies and transport. Two areas of effort that have especially affected the health of women and children have been the campaign against disease—malaria, typhus and tuberculosis—and the inclusion of maternal and child welfare in the general public health service.

The Maternal and Child Health program, which began in 1950 as a tri-partite agreement between the Government, WHO and UNICEF, has shown steady advance. The program was started in Kabul, then in 1954 spread to the provinces—first in Kandahar, and by 1956, in six provincial towns.

The pattern of the MCH program is uniform: establishment of a MCH Center, starting a domiciliary midwifery service as soon as possible with the clientele of the Center, improvement of hospital maternity and pediatric facilities, and initiation of a training program for auxiliary nurse midwives. This full program has been developed in Kabul but only in varying degrees in the provincial centers.¹

The Kabul program shows the following concrete results since 1950: establishment of three pre-natal clinics and three child welfare centers, each with 2,000 cases a month; increase of Shararah's Hospital from thirty to sixty-six beds; opening of Mastoorat Training School for Nurses, the first in Afghanistan, and the completion of the first postgraduate midwifery course.

¹United Nations Children's Fund, Report of the Executive Board. October-November 1956.

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The public acceptance and appreciation of domiciliary midwifery has grown. The home visits of the midwives have attracted the interest of relatives and neighbors. The plan is to enlarge the present centers in Kabul and to open four new centers, each one of which will develop domiciliary service.

In the provinces also, steady progress has been made. In Kandahar a MCH clinic started early in 1954. The first year, mothers brought their children regularly for check up; in the two years the 2,000th child was registered, and the number of domiciliary cases increased from two to seven a month. The Women's Hospital in Kandahar was reconditioned and developed into an MCH Center. A training class for nurse-midwife aides was started in 1955. The WHO nurses were assisted by several keen young students, selected from a group of school girls. Other provincial centers also show active development; Jelalabad, Ghazni and Baghlan now have women's hospitals with the services of an obstetrician for each.²

Progress in the maternal and child health service has been made against heavy odds. To understand the real achievement one must read between the lines of a bare summary of specific accomplishments and visualize the time and the pioneer work involved to overcome tradition, fatalism and opposition. The attendance of women at the MCH Center, their entrance into the maternity hospital for confinement, their acceptance of midwifery service in the homes, depend upon the agreement of their families and, above all, on the consent of husbands. Often husbands discourage their wives from consulting the midwife for any service and particularly oppose their entering the hospital. To win the confidence of the public, which is usually reluctant to accept anything new, especially modern health service, is a basic necessity for success.

That this is being achieved is shown by the increasing demand for service in the MCH Centers and in hospitals, a service which cannot now expand further because of the limited number of trained health workers. The key to the further development of the MCH service is the trained Afghan worker, as WHO gives only temporary assistance, to initiate the project and train

² United Nations Technical Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNTAM) -Kabul, 1956, pp. 12-13. national workers who will continue after the withdrawal of WHO experts.

In discussing the MCH service, one of the WHO nurses stressed the tremendous need and their sense of urgency because of the excessive maternal and infant mortality. There is no compulsory registration of births and deaths, but statistics are not needed to realize the obvious fact that "far too many women and children die. Family planning is not discussed but certainly is needed," as one Afghan nurse said.

The hopeful element in the situation is the response of the women. The clinics are always crowded. Many are eager to learn about food and want all the help possible for their children. A new spirit is stirring within them.

Mrs. Anahida Kiramuddin, Director of the Nursing School and Maternity Hospital, commented on the need for volunteers to assist in the MCH Centers and in hospital service. "There are no women volunteers in the health field, no sewing groups or personal service groups, and no women's voluntary associations." Two societies were mentioned—The Rosenthon Society, Government-controlled but with some volunteers, which has a Welfare Clinic for primary school children; and the Maristoon Society for orphans and destitutes, with mostly women volunteers, which has primarily a school program.

Midwifery has had unusual prestige since the opening of the midwifery school in 1950 in Kabul, because the daughter of the Prime Minister was one of the first students. A number of other well-educated young women of the upper class also entered midwifery. This group of higher class women were impelled by a deep sense of the desperate need of women and children and the desire to help them. Their continued sacrificial service has inspired other women and gained for midwifery well-merited respect as a profession.

But the number of educated women available for midwifery is very limited. The steady expansion of midwifery service, so urgently needed, demands an increasing number of young women of the average education of the middle class.

A primary problem in midwifery training is the necessity to provide training facilities in each new area. Kabul cannot serve as a training center for the entire nation, since social conserva-

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tism prevents Afghan women from attending training courses away from home. Women in *purdah* cannot live apart from their families. Hence the MCH provincial centers opened since 1954 have faced the problem of making provision for midwifery training. Because of lack of funds, it has been possible to provide training in only two provincial centers—Kandahar for training of midwives and nurse assistants, and Herat, for student midwife helpers.

Essentially the same problem of *purdah* adversely affects the placement of the Afghan-trained staff, as their service is practically limited to their own home towns. This restriction of movement has hampered seriously the development of the MCH program as a whole.

The domiciliary midwifery service in Kabul has been developed with difficulty, also because of social conservatism. At first, November 1955, it was necessary for the girls to get special permission from parents to enter the homes of persons not related to them, and to be on the streets at night. Permission was granted reluctantly only if the midwife were accompanied by the international midwife and an old Afghan bodyguard, especially appointed, and if driven to and from the homes in UNICEF car. However, the public soon accepted the service and recognized its value, and in a few months midwifery graduates could make their home visits freely in pairs, with monthly passes for a local government bus service. The home service averaged a delivery and five visits daily. (Relatives and neighbors gather when the midwives visit and listen with great interest to their teaching.)

A special difficulty in the domiciliary service, related to physical conditions, is the fact that the streets are unnamed and the houses unnumbered. The patriarchal family system adds to this complexity of locating individuals.

Modern midwifery training and service are still in the pioneering stage. Formerly midwifery was against the law; the deliveries were the family prerogative of the oldest member and no training was considered necessary. Today midwifery is promoted by the Government, which provides free training and free service. The entrance requirement for midwifery is the ninth grade passed. The length of the course is two years, with a short course of nine months for the nurse assistant midwife.

Nursing as a profession was started by the Royal Family. A hospital was opened and a French woman began a training school for nurses. The nurses were of a good type but of the lower middle class. WHO, in 1952, started a modern type of nurses' training, and gave the former nurses a refresher course. The present school offers a three-year course; two classes, had been graduated in 1957; a third will soon start, with an English tutor from WHO in charge. A short-term course of nine months is given to meet emergencies, as in Kandahar, for the training of nurse-midwives. The entrance requirement is the ninth grade passed, the same as for midwifery. The salary for nursing is comparable to that of midwifery.

The major problem of nursing is the same as that of midwifery, namely, the lack of educated young women to enter the services. Nursing has a lower status than midwifery. The term *para*, a Persian word for nurse, is not used, because of its derogatory meaning. For the nurse, "hemshire," meaning sister, is used, and for the director, or head, the word "mudire", which implies respect.

Another problem connected with nursing, which was stressed by Mrs. Kiramuddin, is that of night duty. "It is very difficult," she said, "to find nurses for regular night work. Sometimes they will take two nights; a small nucleus is willing at all times. This is primarily a problem because about ninety-nine per cent of the nurses and also of midwives are married."

The Government has a favorable attitude toward nurses and midwives in regard to maternity provision. The regulations provide for six weeks' leave before and six weeks' leave after maternity; three months' part-time is allowed, and there is exemption from night duty. Nurseries have to be provided where the married nurses and midwives can care for their children. The Ministry of Health has developed four kindergartens in Kabul in the last three or four years.

In less than a decade, under the leadership of the WHO, midwifery and nursing in Afghanistan have been established on a sound basis and raised to real professional status. Much credit is due to the fine group of Afghan women who have entered the

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services and won respect for their capacity, endurance in meeting physical and social handicaps inherent in the situation, and their spirit of service. The appreciation expressed by the Resident Representative of the United Nations in Kabul is well deserved: "The female nurses and midwives are to be congratulated on the standard of and interest in the work and service they render to the people."³

RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The population of Afghanistan, it is estimated (there are no census statistics), is less than five per cent urban, seventy per cent rural, and twenty-five per cent nomadic. National development as a whole is conditioned by the seventy per cent rural population. To promote the economic and social welfare of its largely rural and agricultural people is a major concern of the Government. Rural community service has as its objective to help villagers help themselves in meeting their needs in the major areas of health, education and agricultural development, and to this end encourages handicrafts, cooperatives and social welfare.

The Government, in its First Five Year Plan, begun in 1957, outlined a community development program with simultaneous emphasis on the major needs, organized in "blocks" of about sixty villages, each block containing around 50,000 population. In this program of rural community development the Afghanistan Government has the cooperation and assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and also of the ICA in connection with the Near East Foundation.

The United Nations and the specialized agencies are developing in an area near Kabul a demonstration research and evaluation project, including the training of village level workers, community leaders (primary school teachers) and other rural specialists required for the program. A community development adviser for over-all planning of the program nationally, representing the United Nations, acts as liaison between the advisers of the different agencies in the project villages of this demonstration.

A social welfare expert, a woman, to assist in organizing social

³ Ibid., p. 13.

welfare activities in the villages was appointed by the United Nations at the request of the Government in 1955. Three Welfare Centers for women, girls and children were organized (1956) in the project villages and are being developed as centers for the multipurpose training of rural workers.

The ultimate aim of these Centers is to lift the level of the life of village women by helping them to improve their homes and take their part in the life of the community. The multipurpose program includes a variety of classes: reading and writing, sewing and handwork, home economics and home making, weaving and basketry. It has the benefit of other lines of training carried on by women specialists, such as MCH and public health specialists and the ICA specialist in textiles and handicraft.

The employment of women in village work presents serious problems in recruiting and training for local service because of rural conservatism. Although not in *purdah*, village women do not mingle freely in the life of the village, and, in the beginning, village conservatism will doubtless prevent them from freely sharing in a social welfare program. The development of the Women's Welfare Centers is coming slowly but there is little doubt of the eventual response of the women and of the acceptance by the community.

The United Nations Agencies in this project include:

The WHO Public Health and Sanitation and MCH Centers, two in 1956 with domiciliary service; UNESCO Rural Education Team, training primary school teachers for community leaders in rural areas and village level workers; Food and Agriculture Organization, agricultural demonstrations and sericulture.

On the basis of this United Nations inter-agency demonstration and research project the Government Five Year Plan allocated 166 million Afghanis¹ to the program in 1956 and will extend it to 2,200 villages.

The Near East Foundation, under a contract with ICA, carried on a rural development program in the Logar Valley, (1955-1957), working through the Afghan Government with other technical agencies, especially those of the United Nations to assist in organizing a field staff in order to implement the Rural Development Program. The staff was so organized that the Gov-

¹ UNTAM, 1956, p. 7.

ernment could expand it throughout the country after the Near East Foundation terminated its period of service.²

The area of this project embraced about 200 square miles along the Logar Valley, with seventy villages and 7,000 people. The main program emphases were adult literacy and more primary schools, sanitation and disease prevention by inoculations and vaccinations, and improved methods of farming, taught according to the local problems. There was no program for women, as conditions were not yet ripe for its development. The basic aim of the Logar Valley project was to help the villagers help themselves.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The economic life of women in Afghanistan is limited as yet to those in professions. Of great significance during the past decade has been the development of the professional life of Afghan women, to which reference has been made in previous sections in some detail. Ten years ago there were already teachers and nurses, as there had been for some years. Teaching has been highly regarded in Afghanistan as in other Moslem countries; nursing has had little status. These two professions are a necessity, since women in *purdah* can be served only by women.

The teaching profession for Afghan women was accorded a higher status in 1946, when the French teachers in the Malalai lycée were replaced by Afghan women teachers, and training was provided for them. The up-grading of nursing was carried out after 1950 by WHO. Also since 1950, there has been the WHO development of the midwifery profession. The fine corps of Afghan women who responded to the humanitarian appeal to midwifery will have a marked influence on its further development.

The entrance of Afghan women into the medical profession is only a matter of time. A young Afghan graduate of the Fatimah Jinnah Women's College in Lahore, Dr. Mahgul Ali, since 1957 has been taking a post-graduate course in surgery and gynecology in the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia and internship in a Boston hospital and will soon return to Kabul to begin her medical career, fully prepared for her pioneering

² USOM Afghanistan, Kabul, Near East Foundation Rural Development Project, August 1955, pp. 1 and 3. service as the first woman doctor in Afghanistan. Young Afghan women students now in the third year of the Medical Faculty will be the first Afghan women to graduate in Afghanistan. The need for doctors in a *purdah* country like Afghanistan is urgent; one doctor for every seventy thousand is the present estimated number.

From 1951 through 1956, six Afghan women have been trained as dental assistants for the dental clinic of the City Laboratory in Kabul, to treat women patients.

A new field of current interest for women is radio broadcasting. The pioneer in this field is a young woman of the upper class, educated in a convent in India, a trained midwife, married to a Government official who is a liberal. When the post as radio announcer of Radio Kabul was offered to her, a family council was necessary before she could accept. The mother-in-law was opposed, the husband was in favor. She finally accepted and has a regular fifteen minute evening broadcast – reading announcements and news bulletins—to which her family, especially the children, listen with pride. Riding to and from the studio in the Radio Kabul jeep, she wears the *chaderi* but discards it in the privacy of the studio.

Her successful example has led the way for other women broadcasters among them several lycée teachers They broadcast on educational subjects, such as health and sanitation, and read the news. Broadcasting by women has not met with opposition; on the contrary, it has been favorably received by the public. It is very well paid, more so than other professions. As in other, more "advanced" countries, the pedestrian professions cannot compete with the radio.

To a small number of the educated upper class with fluency in foreign languages, the foreign and international organizations operating in Kabul offer professional opportunities for service as translators and interpreters, secretaries and typists. But the secretarial field is limited to service in foreign institutions and very few have entered it.

In the development of the professional life of Afghan women, men have had a determinative influence as elsewhere in the East, either negative or positive. The entrance of every Afghan woman into a profession (it is safe to generalize) is conditioned by the consent of a male member of her family. For the married woman this means that the consent or refusal rests with her husband. The increasing number of married women in professional life is evidence of the present favorable trend in the attitude of educated men toward their wives' carrying on a profession. This attitude has developed as a result of the large number of Afghan men who have studied abroad and realize the desirability of having an educated wife, perhaps even in a career. The idea of married women in professions is no longer unusual. It has gained more ground with the increased cost of living and the desire for a better standard of life. The acceptance of the support of the family as a joint responsibility is a natural development.

Married women constitute a majority in the professions but there are many unmarried women also in teaching and the health field. Their position is more difficult than that of the married woman. The *purdah* is more limiting, social conditions are more difficult in respect to living and working, especially in rural areas. There is less independence in professional contacts. Nevertheless, unmarried women are playing an influential role in the professions. As already mentioned, the unmarried women may not travel and study abroad unless accompanied by a male relative or male member of the family.

The major incentive for women to take up activity outside the home has been the urge for better social conditions. Their primary motivation has been social welfare rather than personal economic betterment. This group of pioneers in professions has been dominated by a strong service motive and commitment to a cause. As the cost of living increases there is accordingly a stronger economic motivation, but this does not change the spirit of altruistic service characteristic of professional women in Afghanistan.

The steady development of the professional life of Afghan women during these recent years has unusual meaning because of the fact that it has taken place within the restrictions of *purdah*—the daily physical handicaps that curtail the free practice of an independent profession, and the social restrictions that cut women off from full participation with men colleagues in policy and planning. In spite of these restrictions, women leaders of the vanguard have functioned with unusual capacity and stamina and have demonstrated their ability to capitalize fully on their present limited measure of freedom.

Government policy has been favorable to the development of the professions for women which can be carried on within the *purdah* pattern and are recognized as a necessary service. In the non-professional general employment field of work for women in the middle class, there has been as yet practically no progress. There are many young women of secondary education ready for occupational opportunity when the veil is lifted. The Government has shown, however, active interest in promoting wageearning at home for women needing to support themselves and their families. (See the section on the Women's Welfare Society above.)

An official development in the employment of a small number of women outside the home is the Women's Handicraft Center, established in 1955 by the Cottage Industries Bank to protect and promote needlework in Afghanistan and create work for a number of needy women. The center began with three sections —Kandahari needlework, embroidery and knitted goods—and steadily expanded to include tailoring orders for men's and women's clothes; and elementary six-month course in cutting and tailoring; the making of children's clothes; a handloom textile section making cotton, rayon and silk materials. Later courses in handicrafts, toys and handbag production were added; also a textile printing section making skirts, curtains, etc., and an order section for mass production contracts were included.

The Women's Handicraft Center, under the direction of Miss Mahlika Seraj, has grown from about 30 members to 130 (1955-1959), and is a successful business enterprise well-promoted in Kabul and also abroad in Europe and the United States.

The project of training village women workers for rural welfare service carried on by the United Nations woman welfare supervisor already mentioned, marks the opening of a new field of employment and service for women that may have future importance to Afghanistan in the promotion of rural improvement. Women rural welfare workers will be a necessity for any work with village women.

In the past decade a significant advance has been made toward

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economic independence within the *purdah* by women in professions. But the main movement of women into economic life has not yet begun. Education is giving the basic preparation needed for the economic advance of women which will come with more favorable social conditions.

TRANSITION

Although apparently unchanged as far as outward appearances go, the life behind the veil in Afghanistan, especially in Kabul, is undergoing a vital process of change. This has been evident from the preceding account of the steady growth in education, progressive developments in health, and the beginning of rural welfare work. The increasing participation of women in professional life, changes in the pattern of life in the home, and, especially, in the development of a social life in a very selected circle are further evidence.

In the general life of Afghanistan there are signs that indicate a relaxation of restrictive tabus. There is an increase in social relations of Afghan women with the foreign community, more occasional tea visits and evidences of change in regard to large social occasions for women. The annual gathering of the Women's Welfare Society, 1957, was held in the women's park in Kabul; the Crown Princess was the guest of honor and over three hundred Afghan women and a number of foreign guests attended. Another recent event, significant of change, (January 1958) was the "Atoms for Peace" two days exhibit at the Habibia School under the auspices of the Women's Welfare Society and planned by the USIS. It was preceded by an invitational premier tea, attended by three hundred and fifty leading Afghan women including a group of eight from the Royal family and the wives of the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

There are no voluntary women's organizations in Afghanistan. The Women's Welfare Society, it should be noted, is not a voluntary society but an official Welfare Society for women carried on very efficiently by women under government direction. Women participate in the Red Crescent program, especially emergency relief. There is no women's section of the Red Crescent. Afghan women as individuals carry on charitable work but have not developed voluntary group activities. The women of Afghanistan have had practically no contacts with international organizations. A significant development, therefore, in the field of international relations was the attendance of a delegation of four outstanding Afghan women at the Asian-African Women's Conference at Colombo in February 1958. They were: Mrs. Humaira Saljooki, wife of the Afghan Minister to Egypt; Miss Kubra Nourzay, Director of the Malalai Girls Lycée, Kabul; Mrs. Anahida Kiramuddin, Director of the Nursing School and Maternity Hospital and Miss Ayesha Mohammad Ali, Teacher of Mathematics, Malalai Lycée. This was the first time women were sent abroad as government representatives and also the first time that Afghan women participated in an international women's conference.

Also highly significant was the fact that the Afghan delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in 1958 included, for the first time, a woman member, Mrs. Maboola Ahmad Ali Sulaiman, wife of the Minister of the Court.

A visit in Afghanistan with an opportunity for contact with various individuals and different phases of work leaves the impression of life in a country on the edge of the future. Among educated women there is an atmosphere of expectancy, of waiting for a special event or for the answer to a specific question, "When and how will it happen?" The question clearly refers to unveiling.

Among the educated class the desire to unveil is general, perhaps universal. There is common agreement that it will not come without Government action but that it should not be compulsory. The experience of thirty years ago is a living memory. A permissive endorsement of unveiling might be the answer. If people knew that it would be allowed, it might happen overnight. Those who wish to unveil would do so immediately; the others might follow later. There are constant rumors that come and go; nothing happens but there is always anticipation.

Many men of the educated class are in favor of unveiling, especially returned students, but political and religious precaution prevents action. There is a small number of women who are filled with a sense of injustice and who might make active resistance if action is too long delayed. Some women have voiced their protest against the veil over the radio. No action resulted

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but the lack of opposition to the protest was a hopeful sign. Collective action of women seems impossible; there are too few active resisters. It is reported that in one of the girls' schools the *chaderis* in a cloakroom were all burned. It caused a good deal of excitement, but no one was punished—the girls merely had to wait till *chaderis* were brought to them before they could go home.

Some people feel that the unveiling may not come for ten or fifteen years but that it is inevitable, will come eventually, and meanwhile there is nothing to do but wait. Others insist that action is urgent. "Afghanistan can ill afford waiting," they say, "for women to be educated before they are unveiled. The question of unveiling is not merely a women's question but a national question of vital importance."

POSTSCRIPT TO UNVEILING

Unveiling was not instituted by law to force women to unveil but was an example set by the high authorities. The Prime Minister and Foreign Minister and also the other Ministers, and high ranking military officers with their wives, unveiled, came ot the Kabul stadium on Independence day. Each day an increasing number of Afghan ladies appear in public without chaderis wearing a scarf over their heads and a loose coat. Some women, particularly the more conservative and older women, retain their chaderis, since unveiling is not compulsory. But Kabul now has the appearance of a normal city with women as well as men in evidence. In the provinces the movement of unveiling is proceeding slowly, retarded by religious opposition and by ingrained conservatism. But the weight of compulsory purdah has been lifted.

Afghan girls are now working in some offices and factories and in the telephone service. The Ariana Afghan Airlines has five charming air hostesses. "This step," according to one of the high officials, "has great significance in the social uplift and progress of the country, half of whose population were paralyzed since the women were not able to share work with men."

The formal dinner given for Indian Prime Minister Nehru at the magnificent Chilistoon Palace in September 1959, which was attended by the leading Afghan women unveiled, inaugurated the new régime of social freedom with high official sanction. Since then social life in Kabul is developing freely along normal lines. A new atmosphere is being created in a previously closed city.

WOMEN IN AFGHANISTAN

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS, TEACHERS, AND BOY AND GIRL STUDENTS IN 1954

Categories of	Number of Schools		Numb Teac		Number of Students			
Schools	Boys	Girls	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Village Primary Middle Secondary Vocational	338 227 7 15 26	- 13 1 2 -	334 2,491 53 303 274		12,762 80,000 1,112 6,965 4,712	4,615 602 3,408		
Total	663	16	3,455	248	105,641	8,625		

Note: Foreign teachers serving in secondary schools are included. Faculties have been left out.

Source: Education in Afghanistan, Royal Afghan Ministry of Education, 1955, p. 91.

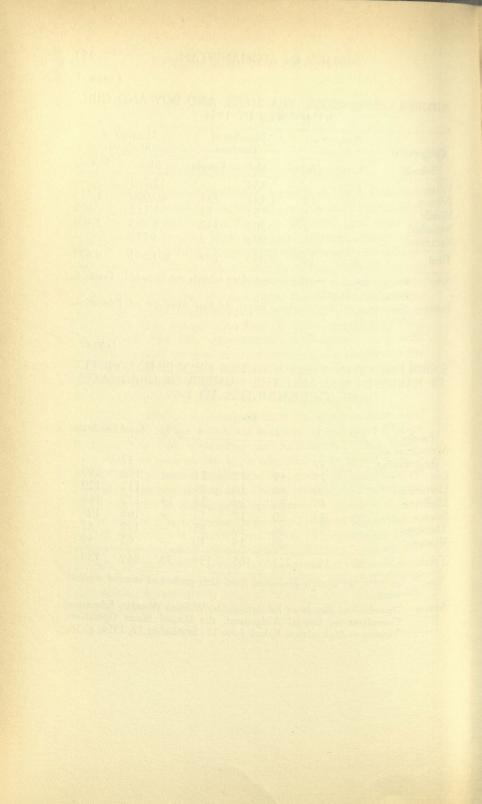
TABLE 2

ENROLLMENT IN THE FACULTIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KABUL IN 1956 AND THE NUMBER OF GRADUATES OF THE FACULTIES TO 1956

Faculty of	Pre-	1	2	Years: 3	4	5	Total C	Graduates
Agriculture and Engineering Law Literature Medicine Science Theology Women	 80 80	37 75 30 44 34 22 -	45 46 36 20 36 28 211	42 16 29 17 36 25 165	21 25 35 12 35 10 138	 	37 183 117 177 163 129 63 869	250 120 168 107 47 46 738
Totals	00	414					1	Indial

Note: In 1956, 25 women graduated from 12th grade and entered medical

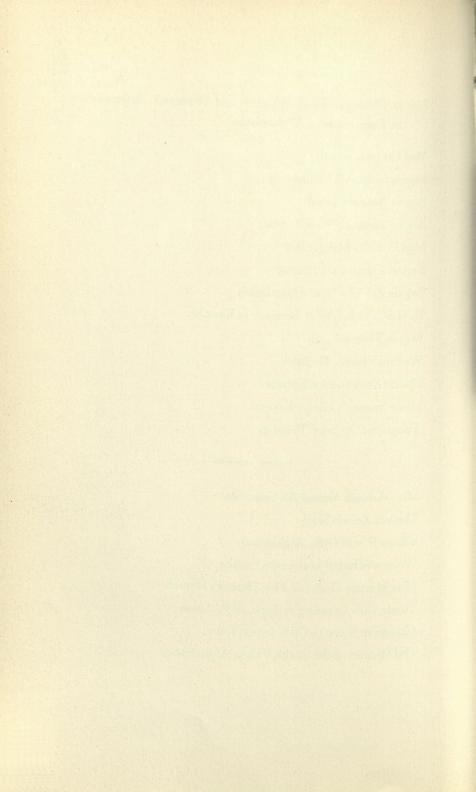
Source: Unpublished Report on Education, Dr. William Wrinkle, Education Consultant on Special Assignment, the United States Operations Mission to Afghanistan, Kabul, June 19 - September 19, 1956, p. 18.



List of Photographs of Women and Women's Activities in Pakistan and Afghanistan

Miss Fatimah Jinnah Begum Liaquat Ali Khan Begum Anwar Ahmed Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz Miss Priobola Mangat Rai Begum Zeenat Fida Hassan Begum Zeb-Un-Nissa Hamidullah UNESCO—A.P.W.A. Seminar in Karachi Begum Tazeen Faridi Welfare Visitors, Pakistan Children's Activities, Karachi Home Science College, Karachi Telephone Operator, Pakistan

Mrs. Maboola Ahmad Ali Sulaiman The late Zeinab Seraj Village School Girls, Afghanistan Women at Kabul University Faculty Miss Mariam Shah and Mrs. Homaira Hamidi Young Girls Learning to Type, Afghanistan Classroom Scene in Girls' Lycée, Kabul Old Woman of the Shakh Valley, Afghanistan



Miss FATIMAH JINNAH, often called meter-imillat—"mother of the nation," leading political figure, sister of the late founder of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, and founder of Jinnah Women's Medical College, Lahore.

BEGUM LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, The Hague, Pakistani Ambassador to the Netherlands since 1954, widow of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. Founder of All Pakistan Women's Association and Founder of Home Science College, Karachi. -EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN, WASHINGTON

BEGUM ANWAR AH-MED, member of the Government Family Laws Commission, Founder Member of A. P. W. A., President of the Pakistan Conference of Social Work; Board Member, International Alliance of Women and Chairman of the UN Status of Women Commission, 1958.

-BLACKSTONE STUDIOS

BEGUM JAHANARA SHAH NAWAZ, before Partition, member of Lahore Legislative Assembly and Parliamentary Secretary; after 1947, member of Lahore Assembly and Vice President of the Constituent Assembly in Karachi until 1958. Also a leader in A.P.W.A. and the Muslim League.

-S. ROLLO, KARACHI

MISS PRIOBOLA MANGAT RAI, Principal of Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, since 1950 and before that for 16 years professor of history at Kinnaird.



BEGUM ZEB-UN-NISSA HAMIDUL-LAH, Karachi, Editor and publisher of the Mirror, pictorial monthly, a daily columnist, poet, short story writer and Founder Member of Karachi Business and Professional Women's Club.







▲ UNESCO—A.P.W.A. SEMINAR in Karachi, October 1958, was attended by national delegates from Pakistan, India, Iran, Ceylon, Berma, and Thailand and observers from international agencies as invited guests. Their subject: "The Role of Women in the Preservation and Development of Cultures in the Community." —ALL PAKISTAN WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION



BEGUM TAZEEN FARIDI, Karachi, Secretary General of A.P.W.A., Director Small Industries Corporation, member of Pakistan National Commission of UNESCO and Ministry of Education Committee.



▲ Wives in the village aid teams of married couples make their welfare visits now by bicycle instead of on foot; conservative husbands opposed the change until convinced the bicycles had doubled their wives' service. -1.c.A.

The ferris wheel is a major attraction of the annual one-week children's *melas* in different parts of Karachi, organized in 1957 by the Pakistan Council for Child Welfare.



▲ Students from all over Pakistan at Karachi's Home Science College honor their founder, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan. -1.C.A.

▼ Telephone service offers a special field of employment for young women from both conservative and socially more advanced families. —INFO. DEPT. GOVT. OF PAKISTAN





MRS. MABOOLA AH-MAD ALI SULAIMAN, Kabul, member of the Afghan delegation to the 13th Sessions of the UN Assembly, 1958, is first Afghan woman to represent her country abroad.



THE LATE ZEINAB SERAJ, President of the Women's Welfare Society, Kabul, from 1950 until her death in 1958; pioneer leader of Afghan women in education and social advance. ICA, UN, and Afghan officials talk with girls in a village school in the Charasia area in Afghanistan. This is one of the first village schools started for girls in Afghanistan.—I.c.A.



▼ Women at Kabul University Medical Faculty meet separately from men students because of purdah but have male professors. These students of the first class in medicine which started in 1956, will on graduation comprise the country's pioneer women doctors. — AFGHAN TOURIST ORGANIZATION



▲ MISS MARIAM SHAH (left) and MRS. HOMAIRA HA-MIDI, two Kabul lycee teachers, were the first Afghan women to visit — unaccompanied by a relative — the USA on the Foreign Leaders Exchange program. Mrs. Hamidi now edits the only Afghan women's magazine.

Young girls learning to type at the Women's Welfare Society gain useful experience for earning their livelihood in a growing field of employment.





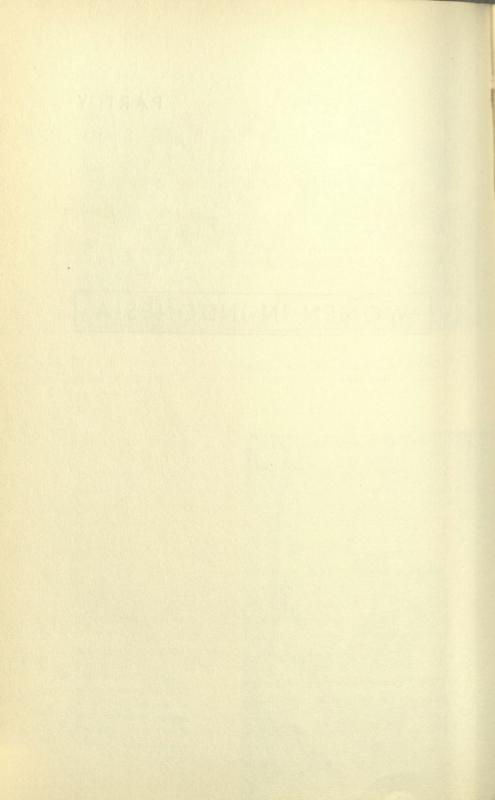
Class room scene in Girls Lycée at Kabul.



Old woman of the Shakh valley weaving a small carpet. Such weaving, the most important cottage industry, is a family affair. — AFGHANISTAN NEWS

PART V

WOMEN IN INDONESIA



WOMEN IN INDONESIA

THE SETTING

No one who visits Indonesia, a casual tourist for a few days or a thoughtful student of Indonesian affairs for several months, can fail to realize that the women of Indonesia, of all classes, are able to participate fully in every phase of national development. Their very presence in the normal flow of life—everywhere in evidence on the streets, walking or riding, in the shops and offices, in the hotels, in cinemas and public gatherings—is an indication of the basic fact that the full strength of Indonesian women is available for service.

Indonesian women have never known the restrictive social customs of Islam—the veil and segregation. Political freedom in other countries has brought increasing social freedom for women. But women of Indonesia have experienced no special social change as the result of Independence. Men and women alike have felt a dynamic difference in the whole setting of life, and the challenge of independence has awakened a sense of responsibility and inspired a new spirit of self-confidence.

Socially free Indonesian women of all levels of society constitute a conscious creative force in the new Republic. They shared fully the hardship of the World War years, the pressure of the Japanese occupation and the prolonged struggle for independence. They bring now a seasoned experience and disciplined courage to the less dramatic and perhaps more arduous tasks of reconstruction. Indonesia has no greater asset in building a new nation than the combined power of her men and women united freely in a common cause.

EDUCATION

Of the many reconstruction needs of the new Republic, education has had the top priority. Immediately after Independence, in the midst of the political and military confusion, the promotion of education began. The Government faced an almost insuperable task. There was ninety per cent illiteracy in a 65,000,000 population (1940 statistics); 10,000,000 children were of school age, six to twelve years, with only 18,000 primary schools and 40,000 teachers and only 144 secondary schools with 1,600 teachers. Five higher education institutions had a total of 1,700 students. (Table No. 1) In these bare facts the urgency of a national campaign for education was obvious, as were also its major objectives.

These aims were immediately defined: first, compulsory primary education from six to twelve years by 1961 (education was already free), as the major target, and second, the abolition of illiteracy (thirteen to forty-five years), a basic necessity for responsible citizenship. Multiplication of schools and training of teachers as rapidly as possible were both imperative in order to achieve compulsory primary education, and to extend education on all levels.

The construction of schools cannot possibly keep pace with the insistent demand of an awakened people, hungry for education. All existing schools are used daily in two and often three shifts. All kinds of makeshift quarters serve as schools until proper buildings can be secured. For this drive to achieve compulsory primary education and provide literacy for all, the entire population has been mobilized. Individuals, private societies, Parent-Teacher Associations, women's organizations, youth groups, religious societies—all have joined in this country-wide campaign to educate the nation.

Amazing results have been achieved. From 1940 to 1955, illiteracy was reduced from ninety per cent to 40.8 per cent; attendance in primary schools trebled, in secondary schools it increased almost fifteenfold, in higher education it increased elevenfold. The number of elementary teachers was increased two and a half times; the number of secondary teachers four times. In adult literacy, two and a half million men and women passed the examination. (Tables No. 1 and No. 2)

About sixteen per cent of the Government budget has been allocated to the promotion of education. It is quite apparent that the concentration of national attention on quantitative development has meant a neglect of emphasis on qualitative values, such as new curriculum plans, improvement in teacher training, more emphasis on vocational and technical education. Educational authorities fully recognize that the price of extending education may be a loss in quality. Although this is accepted as a necessity, it does not mean a disregard of quality. As explained by one of the officials, "The State has an obligation to give to all the people the basic right provided in the Constitution: "That each citizen is entitled to education.' The Indonesian people are now aware of this right and demand it. The revolution was won by the whole people; the rank and file must enjoy the results of the revolution. Moreover, a true democracy can be achieved only at a high cost; it cannot function if the people are illiterate." It is interesting to note that all political parties have provisions for free compulsory primary education in their programs.

Immediately after independence the Government initiated the program to abolish illiteracy by establishing the Mass Education Division, with a special section for women, under the direction of Mrs. Timi Tambunan. This Division aroused the interest of the public and stimulated the leaders in the villages to assume responsibility for the program. With the help of the Mass Education Staff, but under village initiative, the work took shape and developed steadily. Illiteracy classes and other educational programs were promoted, libraries for the people established, and activities organized by women's societies, sports clubs and youth movements. The promotion of women's literacy by voluntary effort is noteworthy. In 1952 women's anti-illiteracy courses numbered 9,000 with about 350,000 students throughout Indonesia; in 1953 the number of such courses grew to 12,000 with about 450,000 students, an increase of thirty per cent.¹

The rapid expansion of literacy in rural Indonesia has been largely due to the work of volunteers. Excessive illiteracy among females demanded special emphasis on a women's program, and women teachers in large numbers were essential. Local committees of village women leaders have met this need, carrying on an effective and steadily expanding program. This includes literacy classes in homes for small groups and in the *medrassah* after the evening gatherings for the reading and interpretation of the Koran, always attended by Moslem women; home meetings for teaching home skills combined with literacy classes; the distribution of aids to literacy in the form of booklets from house to house and in the markets. The number of teachers has grown

¹ Ministry of Education, Mass Education Report, p. 40.

steadily with the increase in the number of new literates through this person-to-person method. The use of Latin letters instead of Arabic has aided rapidity of progress in literacy.

The Mass Education Government representatives encourage and help support financially all voluntary effort. The villages have committees specifically for the abolition of illiteracy, working under the Government Inspectorates. The illiteracy program has two stages—the course for teaching reading and writing, and the follow-up methods to furnish reading material for the new literates. Two magazines dealing with agriculture, sanitation, etc. are issued. One of them is largely in the form of bulletins. The circulation in 1957 was 50,000 and 250,000 respectively. Courses at primary and secondary schools afford further regular education for the literates. An emphasis on citizenship is included, to unify the people. It is estimated that literacy can be achieved in ten years, with four and a half million persons a year completing the courses, for which certificates are given.²

As equality of educational rights is provided in the Constitution, coeducation is and has been for many years the established Government system from the primary school through the university. Girls are admitted to all schools on all levels. The curriculum is the same for boys and girls in all essential subjects, with some special subjects for each sex—for girls, sewing, needlework, etc., and for boys, crafts subjects. The vocational schools for girls have a special program to prepare for child care, homemaking and home arts. These subjects are not elective for boys.

The Government provision for teacher training (1956) included the following: 500 Primary Teacher Training Schools, a four-year Secondary School course; sixty Primary Teacher Training Schools, entrance after junior high school; three Teachers' Colleges; schools for teachers of the handicapped and the blind; Home Economics Schools for women teachers, under the direction of Mrs. Kajatoen Wasito; a School for Social Welfare Work, under the Ministry of Education, Miss Soekartini, Director, a four-year course after junior high school;³ and a Training School for village nutrition, under the Ministry of Health (see section

² UNESCO, Compulsory Education in Indonesia, 1954, pp. 72-74.

³ Government of Indonesia, Ministry of Education.

on Improvement of Rural Life), a new field of special interest to women, whose Director is Miss Soekartijah Martoatmodjo.

These training schools are for men and women and fairly evenly divided, except in home economics, as indicated above. Statistics of the number of women in each field are difficult to secure. The increase of girls in business courses and in technical training is noted. As already mentioned, all vocational schools except a few distinctly for men's types of work are open to girls and women. There is recognized need for special emphasis on vocational training for girls which should be based on a study of their vocational possibilities.

The Home Economics Program in Indonesia, which dates from 1928, was widely developed until the war years by the Dutch Chief Inspectress of the whole area. During the years of reconstruction the work has rapidly gone forward under the unusual leadership of the Director and a well-trained headquarters staff, some of whom had already had considerable experience in home economics (See Table No. 3 on Home Economics expansion), since the former régime.

The curriculum is being revised. Formerly it comprised only dressmaking, needlecraft, cooking, child care and some homemaking. It now includes nutrition for the rural home, canning, poultry raising, dairying, gardening, arts and crafts, batik, weaving, tie-and-dye work and bead work, according to the crafts of the area. Child development, with psychological education and help to parents, and home-making with emphasis on home management are stressed, according to the Chief Inspectress in Home Economics, Mrs. Djajadiningrat-Soetoto. In the future, more specialized Home Science Schools on a higher level after the tenth grade will be developed as a kind of vocational school. Eventually, it is hoped, home economics courses may be established on the university level. Home economics is being steadily expanded into rural areas. Visits at Home Economics Schools in different centers in Java and in North and South Sumatra left the cumulative impression of a fine body of well-trained teachers and a program built on a sound foundation, steadily developing along progressive lines.

The Home Economics Association was established March 23, 1957, with 110 members, all living in Djakarta. It will be ex-

tended later into other areas. It is affiliated with the American Home Economics Association (1958).

The training of social workers, which was started in 1946 by the Ministry of Social Affairs with Dr. Maria Ullfah Santoso as the Minister, has been developed along two main lines to prepare trained personnel for the welfare programs of the various ministries: (1) a four-year Mass Education Course under the Ministry of Education for training middle class workers of the junior high school level under the leadership of Miss Soekartini and (2) two service courses of the Ministry of Social Affairs—a junior high school grade, one-year course, and a two-year course for senior high school graduates. There are three schools of Social Work—in Djakarta, Solo and Malang. Five hundred men and women, the larger number of them men, had completed training as of 1958 and entered government employment in the different Ministries—Agriculture, Labor, Education, Justice and others.

The social services in the field include assistance in the MCH clinics, housing and relief, training for various technical jobs, problems of social readjustment, etc. Aside from the social workers trained in Indonesia, about fifty social workers have had training abroad.

Several voluntary organizations carry on social welfare training. The Red Cross gives frequent courses for volunteers; the Protestant Women's organization gives two years' training for senior high school graduates for church social work; and the Kongres Wanita Indonesia offers four month courses at Jogjakarta for village women preparing for rural community welfare.

Although social work as a profession offers an expanding field for women, it has not yet attracted a large number. There are several deterrents, according to Miss Parmita Abdoerachman, the Secretary General of the Red Cross: the low salaries, lower than teaching; the prevailing concept of social work as charity, not requiring the specialized training of a profession, and therefore the lack of professional status for social workers. There are, however, hopeful factors for the further development of social work—the growing relationship between voluntary and professional social workers and especially the increasing number of trained young women of the middle class in social work.

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Library training for schools and general libraries is being developed on a coeducational basis with the help of two technical assistants from UNESCO. It is hoped that a Library School on the university level may be established later in the University of Djakarta.

The teaching profession offers complete equality for men and women, with equal opportunities and standards for training, very often in co-educational schools; equal salaries for men and women on more or less the same level as that of other professions under the Government; and equality of opportunity for advance for men and women teachers. The status of women in the University is equal to that of men but there are relatively few women teachers. The Dean of the Law Faculty in Medan is a woman, Dr. Ani Abbas Manoppo, the first woman graduate in law in Indonesia.

The general public has a high regard for the teaching profession. The demand for teachers far exceeds the supply, even though the numbers have steadily multiplied since 1949, when it was estimated that 25,000 new teachers were needed each year. There are more men than women teachers but the number of women is increasing. "The need for more married women teachers is especially recognized," was the comment made by Mrs. Montrea Hutasoit, wife of the former Secretary General of the Ministry of Education, a woman leader and a former teacher. There is a great need for private instruction of adults, because of the tremendous desire for education, hence many teachers augment their Government salaries in private teaching. Women teachers are particularly needed. The attitude toward married women is very favorable, which explains the liberal maternity provision of three months-a month and a half before and after confinement.

The Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia (United Teachers of the Republic) is the national professional organization open to men and women on an equal basis. The total membership in 1956 was 95,605 (76,602 men and 19,003 women. (Table No. 4)

Of great importance in the whole educational development of the new Republic of Indonesia has been the remarkable growth of university education, to which reference has already been made, namely from five institutions and 1,700 students in 1940 to twenty-three institutions and 25,000 students in 1955. The urgent need for higher education in Indonesia was shown by the lack of educated leadership at the time of Independence. In a nation of eighty million people, it is estimated that there were only 1,200 doctors, 400 lawyers, 150 qualified engineers and fifteen trained economists.⁴ The twenty-three universities now in Indonesia are each year steadily increasing the number of leaders, men and women, trained in practically every profession. This new leadership fully represents Indonesia, all areas and all classes, especially the emerging middle class.

Women have full opportunity for university education and are registered in all professions—medicine, law, economics, teaching, agriculture, engineering. As yet, however, they constitute a relatively small proportion. According to the university enrollment in 1954, the registration of women students was about 2,750 and of men 16,000, according to a study of university registrations made by Miss Samiati Alisjahbana (see Table No. 5). The small percentage of women does not indicate inequality of access but disparity in the previous preparation for university entrance, and probably the adverse result of serious economic conditions. Regardless of the percentage of women in the university, it is of great significance that 2,750 women were studying in the university at that time. Since then the number has steadily increased.

The equal educational opportunity of girls and women in Indonesia today is the fulfillment of the vision of equality in education of the youthful Javanese princess Kadeng Ajeng Kartini, the daughter of a regent, whose youthful pioneering efforts more than fifty years ago (1879-1905), to achieve equality for girls' education is a continuing inspiration for Indonesian women.

So completely is the equality of women accepted that any special question in regard to women in the university seems irrelevant. Also the idea of special differentiation in the problems of men and women in the university seems unnatural. "The student problems are the same for men and women," was the comment of the President of the Gadjah Mada University in

4 "Tensions in Indonesia," by G. Alisjahbana. Atlantic Monthly, June 1955.

Jogjakarta, Dr. Sardjito. "The problems of the University affect all alike." The President's summary of the needs and problems of Gadjah Mada University may be regarded as typical of other universities in Indonesia in this period of excessive pressure. He stressed the lack of buildings—a crowded palace may be picturesque but is not suitable for a university; the lack of teachers —many on part-time service; lack of books and equipment; need for technical assistance in sociology, economics and pedagogy; shortage of housing—dormitories for perhaps 3,000 where there is an enrollment of over 9,000.

But there is no lack of enthusiasm of the students and no lack of vision of the purpose of this University, which the President clearly defined: "We have a new type of student—a mixed group, sons and daughters of office workers, shopkeepers, clerks, and also sons of intellectuals and of people of wealth—all classes and no class distinction or special privilege. We must give the opportunity for university education to all and provide for common needs in order to build Indonesia on a democratic basis."

To help meet the crucial housing problem of women students in Gadjah Mada University, the Association of Wives of the Faculty has raised the money and built a splendid hostel, which furnishes a real home for a hundred young women from all over Indonesia.

During this first decade of the new Republic, individual women and women's organizations played an impressive role throughout Indonesia in the campaign to promote literacy, especially by increasing the number of schools. They have established schools on all levels-kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, teacher training colleges, and have set up adult literacy evening classes in many villages. Schools and classes have been held wherever space was available-in private dwellings, garages, on verandahs, in rented buildings and in new school buildings erected with private funds by public campaigns. Women have served as teachers, as members of official and private committees, and as chairmen of finance drives. Women's organizations have also established, in a number of cities, boarding homes for girl students away from home-from Bali, Sumatra, Celebes and elsewhere. An outstanding illustration of individual initiative in the promotion of literacy are the Mothers' Schools–Jajasan Ibu–created by Mrs. Mary Saleh in Bandung, to give teacher training to literate mothers of the middle class. Inspired by her example, women in other parts of Java started similar Mothers' Schools and came to Bandung for training.

Women's groups in a number of cities have established homes for secondary school girls of poor parents, such as two homes in Surabaja carried on by a committee with Mrs. Samardikoen, the Governor's wife, as chairman. The Kongres Wanita Indonesia (Women's Federation) has set up the Seri Derma Foundation to grant scholarships to girls in the vocational high schools.

All women shared in this national educational effort—the women's religious and political organizations, and especially Perwari, the national non-partisan women's federation, with over 200 branches, under the national chairmanship of Mrs. Sujatin Kartowijono, and with able regional leaders such as Mrs. G. Bangoes Oka in Bali, wife of the Deputy Governor of Nusa Tenggara Province. In various centers, which were visited throughout Indonesia, in Java, Sumatra and Bali, the Perwari schools were always found filled with bright-eyed, alert, young Indonesian girls aglow with enthusiasm, or with women eagerly pursuing their studies. The national women's organizations' many local groups and individuals have made a noteworthy contribution to the promotion of education.

A brief view of the combined educational program in Indonesia, carried on since Independence by the Government and by voluntary effort, from the kindergarten through the university and including adult education, leaves the cumulative impression of a great united effort to educate the people of the nation.

The Indonesian Government, in the development of its educational program, has had the cooperation of the following agencies: the United Nations, through UNESCO and FAO, the Colombo Plan, the ICA, the Ford Foundation and the Asia Foundation. The technical assistance of these agencies has included help in teacher training, vocational education, health education, domestic science education, fundamental education, community development, nutrition, English teaching and librarianship. Some of these organizations have carried on an exchange program which has given opportunity for further training to a considerable number of Indonesian leaders.

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HEALTH

As a result of the years of Japanese occupation and the revolution, Indonesia was confronted with serious difficulties in establishing public health services for the new Republic. Many buildings, hospitals, polyclinics, research institutions, were damaged or destroyed. Medical equipment had been neglected or had disappeared. Even more serious was the shortage of doctors and technicians, particularly grave after the Dutch doctors withdrew. A few facts indicate the gravity of the situation. For a population of eighty million there were 60,000 hospital beds, or eight beds for every 10,000 people; 1,200 doctors, 150 dentists, 3,500 nurses, 1,446 midwives. Specifically, this meant one doctor for every 60,000 people, one dentist for every 480,000, one nurse for every 20,000, and one midwife for every 50,000.¹

During that period, as well, general health conditions had materially deteriorated. The people were badly undernourished, the ready victims of the traditional enemies of health—ignorance, disease and poverty. The country was suffering seriously under the rapid spread of contagious diseases—typhus, cholera, smallpox, dysentery and plague—and the increase of common endemic diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis and yaws.

The Ministry of Health, confronted with tremendous human needs, a minimum of materials and facilities, and a shortage of personnel, began its task of providing a higher standard of health for the people. Through the assistance of WHO and UNICEF, the Ministry was enabled to meet the urgent need for vigorous campaigns against some of the most serious prevalent diseases, particularly malaria and yaws. In the yaws' campaign, the largest in any country, the disease was reduced from fifteen per cent to two per cent of the population affected. Ten million cases were treated by a few doctors and technical experts with a large number of medical aides and village assistants. Malaria has practically been eliminated; only a few infected areas remain. Formerly thirty per cent of the population was affected; now perhaps one per cent.²

The problem of the shortage of doctors is being solved slowly in the five universities with medical faculties. Medicine has

¹ Indonesia in Brief, by Susi Prawirawinata, 1955, p. 45.

² Director of UNICEF in Indonesia, Djakarta.

top priority in the enrollment of students, both men and women. It is noteworthy that at present 626 women are studying medicine in the three main Medical Universities (Djakarta 166, Gadjah Mada 274, Airlangga 186). (Table No. 5) Progress is being made, but with the estimated rate of from fifty to one hundred new doctors from the universities each year, foreign doctors will be needed in Indonesia for a considerable period.³

The problem of the shortage of health personnel-nurses, midwives, public health visitors-has also received major attention, as the general health and welfare program is dependent on these workers, especially in rural life and in the care of women and children. The number of such workers was, in 1957, 15,640-9,529 men and 6,111 women.⁴ Steady progress is being made, not measured in statistics, in the recruiting and training of auxiliary health workers throughout Indonesia from Bali to Bukittingi. In Bali a well-trained young midwife, Miss Augustine Mambu, covers an extensive area supervising thirtythree MCH Centers in that island and twice a year makes a supervisory tour of the Lesser Sunda islands. In Bukittingi a pioneer woman physician, Dr. Yusif Thomas, has, for many years, through her hospital, served the health needs of a wide community and through her continuous training of nurses and midwives has multiplied the number of well trained health workers now in service all over Sumatra.

In the nursing profession there is about an equal number of men and women. The present situation is favorable for the increase of women nurses, was the opinion expressed by Mrs. Admiral, Field Director of the post-graduate School of Nursing in Bandung, since the public regards nursing as a natural profession for women. However, the training schools are flooded with applications from men desiring employment, and since it is considered more important for men to be employed than women, men are often given preference. Women, therefore, may take up midwifery instead of nursing. There are about 2,000 nurses, of whom the large majority are men.

Moslem and non-Moslem women nurses are approximately the same in number, which indicates a change from the pre-

³ Indonesia in Brief, p. 45.

⁴ Ministry of Health, Indonesian Government.

war period, when the only nurses were Christians. They have been trained in mission hospitals for many years. This has laid the basis for the present development of nursing in Indonesia. Since the Japanese occupation there has been a steady increase of both Moslem and non-Moslem women in nurses' training, but especially of Moslems.

Secondary education is required for the regular training in nursing, which is a three-year course given in hospitals and in a number of training schools. The financial status of nursing is the same for men and women, and lower for Government service under contract than for private nursing. Government salaries, however, are increasing. The fact that training at Government expense makes service obligatory wherever the nurse is assigned, tends to deter women from entering the profession, since rural placement is probable and rural living and social conditions are very difficult. Girls in training from rural areas are rarely willing to return. There is a marked interest in becoming public health nurses or nurse teachers in training schools.

This interest in public health nursing is undoubtedly the result of the excellent postgraduate School of Nursing in Bandung, carried on by WHO (started in 1953 by ICA and WHO), which gives a correlated course in public health and midwifery and prepares students to direct training schools of nursing and midwifery. In 1957 the school had fifty students, men and women, with more women, including two Christians, graduates of mission schools. It has been said this indicates the significant change in public opinion in regard to Moslem women in the nursing profession. The situation now is fairly favorable except in some areas where women are still not allowed to nurse male patients.

The nurses in Indonesia have a weak association, but plans are under way to form a new organization which may meet the requirements for membership in the International Council of Nurses. The organization formed under the Colonial régime is still in existence but has only about a hundred active members.

There are twenty-eight midwifery schools in which, from 1950 to 1954, 528 students were trained, mostly Moslems.⁵ There are two grades of training. The first is for students with

⁵ Ministry of Health, Indonesia.

junior high school education, a three year course including training in a nursing school and a general hospital, with two years of work as pupil midwives. The second grade of training is for students with elementary school education, a four-year course, one year of which is general education, a lower grade of training to meet the emergency need. The addition of health education and public health emphasis has greatly improved midwifery training.

Training is given also to the *dukons* (village midwives—in Indonesia mostly men)—a six-month course (a year in Bali), with primary emphasis on disease prevention and the necessity for calling a trained midwife in abnormal cases. Eventually the *dukons* will be replaced by the assistant midwives, who have a two-year course of training and are posted for at least a year in one area. These two types of health workers are very important in rural areas, which often have no other health or medical service.

An important addition to the regular midwifery training is the refresher course of six weeks, held in different areas by midwives experienced in both hospital and village service. This is usually attended by a group of about twenty women, meeting in an informal atmosphere for lectures and discussions with specialists in various fields. These courses have distinct value in raising the standard of midwifery.

Trained midwives and nurses in Government service have the same salary for equal training. Government service is less remunerative than private practice, and the latter is therefore preferred, especially by midwives, who have more opportunity than nurses for private practice. The status of trained midwives is fairly good, as the training is comparable with that of the general trained nurse. The attitude toward midwifery, the Director of the refresher course near Jogjakarta, Miss Samiarti Martosewojo, explained, has definitely changed since 1945, when it was considered a menial service, not a profession for girls of good Moslem families. There are now many applicants for midwifery training, even girls of good families and secondary education, since the trained midwife can earn a very satisfactory income from private practice. The number of applicants with the required standard of education (see above) is at present inadequate for the need, but with the advance in education, more applicants will be able to meet the requirements.

The graduate midwives have a good organization of about a thousand members, for all Indonesia, with many local branches.

The steady progress in the training of midwives, nurses and village health workers has materially affected rural health welfare and the development of the maternal and child health program. The infant mortality rate has dropped from 155-300 per thousand in 1951, to about ninety-seven per thousand in 1955, while the maternal mortality rate has dropped from twelve to sixteen per thousand in 1951 to about five per thousand in 1955.6 The MCH program, which started in 1945, in 1957 had 1,6507 registered centers, widely scattered all over Indonesia. The continued rapid extension is made possible by the assistance of WHO and UNICEF. In 1952 a special Maternal and Child Welfare Section, with Dr. Julie Sulianti as Director, was established in the Ministry of Health to coordinate the Government and private centers in rural areas, of which there are a great many. Dr. Sulianti, the only woman on the Planning Board of the Ministry, is the Chairman.

A Rural Health Program, drafted in 1950, is being steadily developed under the direction of Dr. Sulianti to cover the total community needs for health service, with a strong emphasis on preventive medicine and education. The ultimate goal is a trained midwife and sanitary engineer for every 5000 persons in rural areas. The immediate goal is twenty centers with twenty-two doctors trained in public health, twenty health educators and twenty nurses with public health training, to head up this program in the 180 regencies or counties. Eventually, for each county there will be a public health nurse and sanitary engineer. Continuous progress is being made toward these goals. The program as outlined by the Director of Public Health Education, Dr. Hurustiati Subandrio, includes the establishment of consultation bureaus for expectant mothers; and also an emphasis on health needs-housing, sanitation and safe drinking water. The number of general village workers is growing. There are 600 in the anti-plague section and 1,000 health educators.

⁶ UN Seminar on Civic Responsibilities . . ., Bangkok, 1957. ⁷ Ibid. To promote the health program, the people of a village are stimulated to help themselves. A pilot project in Central Java to secure village support in improving the water supply is a good illustration of self-help. The first year, three communities assumed partial support, the second year fifteen, and the third year eighteen carried their support with only ten per cent Government assistance.

According to various health workers—midwives in rural service and MCH Centers and the male nurses, *mentri* nurses, in charge of roadside polyclinics — there are definite signs of advance. Women are less shy, more willing to receive service from male health workers, request trained midwives instead of the local midwife. They come more regularly to the free medical clinics, have more confidence in treatments, owing to the increased use of antibiotics, and want modern methods. "Everybody wants injections," was the comment of a male nurse in a polyclinic. The village population as a whole is becoming health conscious and learns from the health propaganda given over the radio, in the press, in schools, as is shown by health campaigns. They have a growing appreciation of health standards in sanitation and housing.

A Family Planning Association has been established but is not yet endorsed by the Government. The members of the Association are carrying on a clinic in the Central Hospital and the Municipal Health Center, Djakarta, for consultation and advisory service, mostly to the upper educated group. It is the official opinion that family planning has to be approached in a cautious way so as not to be opposed by the religious parties, and therefore there is no Government program. Private doctors give advisory service; and medical officers (doctors and midwives) are very helpful in giving assistance to all who need it. More and more, the idea of family planning is gaining ground. Leaders have been lecturing before audiences of hundreds of people throughout Indonesia at the request of women's organizations. The educated leadership of Indonesia, men and women, recognize the necessity of family planning in view of the high birth rate in Indonesia, thirty per 1,000. For a population of eighty million this means some two and a half million births a year. Lately the Government, including the President, are showing concern about the rapid growth of population. It is believed that, within a limited period, family planning may be included in the Government program.

Women's organizations are taking an active part in the Government health and welfare program. They have organized a large number of the 1,650 Maternal and Child Health Centers with Government subsidy; carried on food and nutrition programs; helped in the training of home visitors and midwives; promoted health education programs among parents and teachers; organized health service and camps for underprivileged children; established the Child Welfare and the Crippled Children's Foundations, and worked effectively in the Community Development Health Program of the Government. They carry on their programs in close cooperation with the Government and receive financial and technical assistance from it, but operate independently.

Individual women have initiated and carried out effectively special types of health services. The most notable example of these is the home and clinic for crippled children, many of them victims of polio, in Solo, initiated by Mrs. Soekarso, with the encouragement and under the guidance of her husband, Dr. R. Soekarso, the founder and Head of the internationally known rehabilitation center for the physically handicapped. Inspired by Mrs. Soekarso's successful effort, private individuals and small groups in Djakarta, Surabaja and elsewhere have undertaken a similar service. The Indonesian Society for the Care of Crippled Children has been formed with headquarters in Solo as one of the Foundations of Kongres Wanita Indonesia, the Jajasan Penelikaraan Anok Tjatjat (JPAT).

The Ministry of Health in Indonesia in all its program training of Medical and Health personnel, Maternal and Child Health and the highly successful campaigns against yaws, malaria and tuberculosis, has had the competent assistance and cooperation of a number of agencies, especially WHO, UNICEF, ICA, and FAO.

IMPROVEMENT OF RURAL LIFE

The improvement of rural life is a common concern of the various Government Ministries, the cooperating official intergovernmental and foreign agencies, and the voluntary organizations—foreign and Indonesian. The common objective is to lift the level of rural life as a whole through coordinating the varied lines of specific services.

The Indonesian Government Planning Committee outlined a projected program (1956) of Rural Community Development in the 40,000 or more villages under its purview. Sixteen pilot projects were chosen for government development, in which to demonstrate better methods of living, housing and sanitation, better types of village stoves, nutrition and home economics teaching for women, help in farm problems, in cottage industries, etc. The plan includes a training course for village teachers and village level workers. The sixteen project areas have ten village level area workers who cover the various subjects neededhealth, agriculture, and religious teaching may be included. There were in 1957 about 150 trained workers available for service. The full implementation of the pilot project was not yet possible in 1957 because of lack of funds. This Community Development as planned is only the beginning of comprehensive planning for the improvement of all phases of rural life, an urgent need in Indonesia.

Noteworthy progress in rural improvement is being made in the allied fields of home economics, nutrition and health under the Ministries of Agriculture, Education and Health.

To promote home economics extension the Ministry of Agriculture established a training center at Pasar Minggu, Java, in 1955 under the direction of a number of home economics leaders with special training in the USA with an ICA home economics advisor. At this Center graduates from Agricultural or General High Schools are being prepared to organize home economics programs for rural families and help with the training of village volunteers. As of 1958, provincial Home Economics Centers had been established in eighteen areas to train leaders for village work. Twenty youth groups have been organized into clubs which are comparable to the American 4H Homemaking clubs (ten in West Java and ten in Sumatra). The Mass Education rural literacy plan is developing widespread homemaking programs for women, which require an increasing number of leaders in home economics. The ultimate goal of the Home Economics Extension work is to function in every province and every village and in ten Agricultural High Schools with a college program for leaders. Steady progress is being made toward this goal.

The Home Economics Extension development is closely related to a nutrition program for rural areas under the Ministry of Health. A Training School of village nutrition workers was established in 1952 at Pasar Minggu in an agricultural area near Djakarta to prepare annually some fifty young men and women workers, mostly women, to teach village people nutrition and diet, especially the proper diet for babies and pregnant women. The training course of one and a half years is open to graduates of the Ministry of Education Home Economics Schools who are at least eighteen years of age and who have had two years of teaching experience. It includes basic theory and varied practical experience in home skills, such as cooking, sewing and housewifery, gardening, fruit and vegetable growing, the breeding and care of farm animals, and fish culture.

A higher nutrition training school, opened in 1950 at Bogur, prepares men and women on the college level. Most of the students are men. An effort is made to broaden the understanding of home and family living and give guidance on how to live and work. Nutrition graduates from these two training schools (twenty-five senior dietitians and one hundred and twenty junior workers in 1957) are helping in the WHO mother and child care centers and the training centers for midwives on diet and its relations to health.

The improvement of family living standards is being promoted by the Nutrition Institute, which was established in 1947 by the Ministry of Health to carry on public education in nutrition and research. Low cost food supplements of cassava leaves and soy beans are being developed to enrich in protein the customary diet of rice, maize and sago and thus help solve the malnutrition problem, particularly of the rural population. UNICEF helps in providing food containers and distributing. The education of the public in food values on How to Keep Well is being promoted through annual exhibits and programs on World Health Day and the annual National Food Day.

The FAO gives technical assistance in various phases of the nutrition program-teaching, practical help in homemaking, im-

provement of stoves and kitchens, and education of the public.

A three months' training course in community development was held at a village near Pasar Minggu, 1957, under the joint leadership of UNESCO and the Mass Education staff of the Ministry of Education. The first group of trainees included thirty experienced workers from the various islands.

The training of rural workers has also been carried on by the Social Welfare Ministry, a smaller number than those trained for the urban program. The common social urban and rural problems are migration, broken families, juvenile delinquency, mentally handicapped children and divorce.

Significant of the close coordination and collective effort of all agencies working for the improvement of rural family life was the week-long Seminar on Home Economics which was organized by the Nutrition Institute at the Training School for Nutrition Workers at Bogur, Java, September 1957. This gathering of sixty men and women, in about equal numbers, comprised representatives of the different ministries, the Army and Navy, the Police, regional housing groups, international technical assistance agencies and voluntary organizations. The Seminar program was based on the working papers of the participants, which covered various current social programs, special needs and problems of home and family life. As a result of the week's intensive discussion, long range future plans were formulated for family welfare and rural improvement and a committee was formed to follow up the recommendations of the seminar.

In various phases of rural welfare, women's organizations for a number of years have played a significant part, supporting the government programs in education, health, agriculture and Home Economics Extension and also carrying on independent lines of effort. A notable example is the nationwide, non-partisan organization, Perwari, which has carried on rural schools, adult literacy classes, homemaking programs, clinics for mothers and children, and training of leaders for village work.

WOMEN IN ECONOMIC LIFE

The remarkable participation of women in the economic life of Indonesia today is the outcome of general economic and political conditions, rather than social change in the status

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of women. As already explained, Indonesia, unlike other Moslem countries, has not had restrictive social-religious customs such as the veil, which affect the free participation of women in economic life. A brief review of the background of the current development before the beginning of the new Republic may be helpful.

In the colonial régime, as also today, a large majority of rural women were engaged in agriculture Out of three and a half million, the total women's labor force, two and a half million were agricultural workers (1930 census), working either in their family groups or in plantation groups, picking coffee or tea. Women of the middle class were employed in weaving and in the *batik* trade, mostly home industries, a few in small cigarette factories and textile mills, very few in large factories. A number worked as domestic servants. In the professional fields there were women teachers and nurses, mostly Christians, and a few doctors.

During the war and particularly under the Japanese occupation, the serious economic situation forced women to seek employment of all kinds. Moreover, all employable men and women were utilized by the authorities to replace the former Dutch workers in textile mills, in home industries, in ceramics factories, as telephone operators, as waitresses in restaurants, as clerks in shops, as nurses in hospitals and in Red Cross service, as school teachers, as Government typists and clerks, as controllers for forced labor on plantations, as radio announcers, even as travelling actresses. The Japanese occupation did not appoint women to high positions and women received only eighty per cent of the wages of men.

This school of adversity under the military occupation gave women valuable training and experience for their present unlimited economic role in the new nation. One of the major assets in Indonesia today is the high potential of woman power in all fields and the growing sense of responsibility among women to make that power available. Political independence has brought to many women an urge to be actively identified in the development of the nation through creative work. There is no question of the need of women's contribution in many fields. Moreover, the economic necessity of life gives little opportunity for an idle leisure class of women.

The general employment field, which was promoted by the Japanese, has expanded and become more diversified in the new atmosphere of freedom. In this general field a large number of women and girls in urban life find normal employment in all lines of work (statistics are not available) which make up the life of a city, from domestic service to clerks in shops and general service occupations. In addition to the wage-earners there are many women self-employed, in dress-making and tailoring (no milliners, as Indonesian women do not wear hats), in their own shops, in beauty parlors and flower shops—often in their own homes; two businesses formerly carried on by foreigners. Some women have made money as dealers in scrap iron, employing men as their collectors.

Two women in Bandung have shown unusual initiative and ability in setting up individual enterprises. One, a "ceramist," has a small ceramics studio-factory in her garage, employing several skilled workers and doing a good order business. The other, a highly educated young research chemist, has set up a small anodized aluminum plant in a converted stable, where she is making colorful bowls, trays, etc., and earning a living for her family.

Women have entered a number of new types of employment, as air hostesses, printers, editors and translators in publishing firms, bookkeepers in commercial firms, and a growing number of clerical workers. Women typists and stenographic secretaries are in great demand in Government bureaus and business, and for foreign firms, particularly those who know English. Opportunities for training are badly needed.

A significant trend is the entrance of women into independent business and finance. There are several women Directors of companies or factories: the sales manager of the Fatma Sewing Machine Company, Mrs. Theodora Walandouw Tumbuan, and Directors of Women's Cooperative Banks. In this field a voluntary leader is Mrs. Emma Poeradiredia, the head of the Labor and Social Welfare Department of the Indonesian Railways. Banking is a unique economic development of women in Indonesia. The original Women's Bank in Bandung, which was

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started twenty-seven years ago with an initial deposit of about one rupiah, in 1957 had over 1,500,000 rupiahs as a revolving fund, over 1,200 members and 17 branches. Further extension was planned. Djakarta has thirteen women's banks, including the one operated by the Kongres Wanita Indonesia. Women's banks are usually located in residences and carried on as a cooperative service project by volunteers. They are operated on a credit union basis for savings and investments and provide business counselling and help to arrange emergency loans for small business enterprises carried on by women. The main purpose of the women's banks is to teach women how to save and to manage their own affairs efficiently.

At the beginning of the new Republic there were already a number of well trained professional women in education, law and medicine, and perhaps a few in other professions who could immediately assume leadership and who have continued in various responsible posts. The past decade has brought a steady increase in the number of professionally trained women from the Indonesian universities, many also with further training abroad. The increase in different professions, particularly in education (now over 100,000 teachers) and health, gives great hope for the future in these major fields of national need.

In the legal profession there has been a marked development in the different fields of law, as women have become judges, attorneys, jurists, and notaries (a high rating, different from a notary in the West). The first woman lawyer in Indonesia, who had studied in Europe, was admitted to the bar before the war; the first from a university in Indonesia, in 1949. A juvenile delinquency service is being planned with women judges.

While not professional, and only indirectly related to the law, it may be worth noting that women matrons and superintendents are in charge of women's prisons. Also that the women police service, at present ten in Djakarta with special training, represents a new career.

The widening range of the current professions of women and for which students are preparing is shown by the following brief summary. A woman engineer is on the Technical Faculty of Bandung University. A woman agriculture engineer is supervising agricultural sectors; a mechanical engineer is studying in the USA; women analysts are working in laboratories and chemical establishments; women economists are assistants on the Faculty of Economics, Djakarta University. Among the professions for which students are preparing are, in addition to medicine and law, also agriculture, economics, engineering, dentistry, veterinary science, and literature. There is one ordained woman pastor of the Reformed Church in Djakarta, Mrs. John Lie. Already well established in their professions are women artists, musicians and film stars, noted women writers, and several wellknown journalists and editors of newspapers and magazines. Among the latter is Mrs. Herawati Diah, the editor of the English newspaper, *The Observer*, and the family magazine called *Keluarge*.

In Government service Indonesian women have already proved their ability. There have been two women Cabinet Ministers, Mrs. Maria Ullfah Santoso, of Social Affairs, 1946-1947, already mentioned, and Mrs. S. K. Trimurty, of Labor, 1947-1948. Mrs. Santoso has been for a number of years Director of the Cabinet of the Prime Minister, the highest post held by an Indonesian woman. Miss Laili Roesad, appointed Minister to Belgium in 1959, is the first Indonesian woman to be a representative of the Republic in a high diplomatic post. A number of other important positions in Government and public life, as already indicated, are held by women (see Table No. 7).

In the Civil Service women constitute seven per cent and men ninety-three per cent of the members. The low percentage of women is not relative to their importance. All jobs are open to women on the basis of equal pay for equal work. There is some tendency to decrease the number of women in Civil Service, because of the difficulty in assigning them to remote places, owing to family and community attitudes. However, women in health services, especially doctors and home visitors, are preferred to men for work in rural communities. Married women who have been in civil service for at least one year get maternity leave of one and a half months before and after confinement, with full salary, but on condition that they return to work after leave is up (1951 regulation). Women are in all branches of Civil Service under the different Ministries—Education, Health, Social Affairs, Labor, and Justice. The extent of their service

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is an evidence of the integration of women's professional contribution with the economic life of Indonesia. (Table No. 4)

The preceding account of the marked economic development of Indonesian women has been concerned only with women in urban life, ten to fifteen per cent of Indonesian life as a whole. The great rural majority have been unaffected. They have always made and continue to make a major contribution to the agrarian economy of Indonesia, as farmers on the land and as small traders.

As previously noted, of the total three and a half million labor force of women (1930 census), two and a half million were in agriculture, working independently, not employed in enterprises. Women constitute a little over one third of the total labor force (men and women) in enterprises with more than ten workers. Women were divided about equally between agriculture, working on plantations in groups, and cottage industry. (Table No. 6) These two forms of women's employment are in line with the Government's special program for reconstruction. In 1956 the Government began to work out a plan to restore agriculture and stimulate trade and industry. Women's labor is being utilized toward that end. Women of the middle class in Central Java have been active in building up the batik trade and cottage industry. A considerable number of married women living in villages work in small factories in nearby centers, usually part time, in batik industries, cigarette, tea and sweets factories.

Labor legislation affecting women and young workers in industry includes provision for the following: hours of work-seven hours a day, forty hours a week; minimum age for child labor, fourteen years; prohibition of night work for women and children; maternity leave, one and a half months before and after childbirth or miscarriage (Labor Act of 1948, effective 1950). These legal provisions represent the acceptance of established standards and goals, which are not yet fully achieved. It may be noted that there is a tendency in Indonesia, as elsewhere, not to employ women workers because of their special protective rights.

Women's organizations are trying to protect the rights of women already allowed, to have these rights implemented, and to improve the unsatisfactory conditions of labor. They work closely and in harmony with the Government objective, which has three specific aims: to promote migration to islands outside Java and Madura; to establish more cottage industries; and to increase production through cooperative societies. These Government aims form the background of the economic program of the women's organizations.

Women's organizations have included in their program a definite emphasis on improving the economic status of women and increasing their participation in economic life. They have encouraged cottage industries, organized cooperatives, especially in West Java, and established Women's Banks (see above). The constant objective of these varied efforts is to furnish ways and means for women to help improve the economic standard of their own families and thus the general standard of living.

Notable efforts are being made by individuals and local groups to promote the gainful activity and economic independence of young women. For example, in Singarada, Bali, a group of employed women teachers, nurses, etc. under Mrs. Oka's leadership, have raised a scholarship fund for the vocational training of four young girls through a general campaign and monthly gifts from their own salaries. "Bali will eventually have," said Mrs. Oka, "a thick layer of economically independent young women."

Graduates from the home economic schools are encouraged to use their ability to do private catering, set up small restaurants, food and clothing shops and be free from dependence on Government for employment. "A country is only free," Mrs. Oka explained, "if there are a number of enterprising people in private business."

There is no doubt that women in Indonesia are participating actively in economic life on all levels—in general employment, in professional life, both independently and in the Government service, and, in rural life, primarily through agriculture and cottage industries, developing individual independence and contributing freely to the general economic betterment of the country.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN

Indonesian women were granted suffrage and equal rights with men to vote and hold public office by the Provisional Con-

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stitution of the Republic of Indonesia. They voted in the first General Election for Parliament, September 1955, and for the Constituent Assembly, December 1955, which framed the Constitution and guaranteed to women their full political rights.

In the Provisional Parliament (February 1950-March 1956) there were nine women among 225 members. In the present Parliament (elected 1955, convened March 1956) there are nineteen women and 252 men in a total of 271 members. In the Constituent Assembly there are twenty-five women and 463 men in a total of 488 members. Women take an active part both in the Parliament and in the Constituent Assembly, serving on various committees, some in quite important positions. The Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee is a woman, Mrs. Supeni-Pudjobuntoro. She was also Chairman of the Planning Committee for the first general election.*

As representatives of the political parties at the election, women helped in the registration of the mass of voters, more than half of them illiterate, and taught the people the party picture-symbols. The interest of the women voters was amazing. Large numbers, men and women, voted by the symbols. This first nation-wide election marked the beginning of political consciousness in Indonesia.

The political interest of women leaders is evident in the devel-

* Basic changes were made in the government structure of the Republic of Indonesia in July 1959. The President by proclamation, July 5, dissolved the Constituent Assembly and announced the reapplication of the 1945 Constitution. The Parliament was recessed. The President is the head of the government and independent of Parliament. The Committees of Parliament continue to function. A new cabinet was chosen by the President, who assumed the function of the Prime Minister. The First Minister carried the direction of the Inner Cabinet; the other Ministers are the heads of the Departments and assistants to the President.

Two new organs of government, the Supreme Advisory Council and the National Planning Council, were established by the President and their members were officially installed by taking the oath of office August 15, 1959. The Supreme Advisory Council already provided for in the 1945 Constitution and appointed by the President, is a cross-sectional body representing various groups and regions with 45 members including two women. The National Planning Council also appointed by the government, also cross-sectional in character, has 77 members with five women. To provide for the election of the President according to the 1945 Constitution every five years, a People's Legislative Assembly will be appointed from various regions.

These changes in government structure are based on the full readjustment to the former constitution as a means to achieve "guided democracy." opment of women's organizations along party lines. Seven of these are affiliated with political parties and have branches throughout Indonesia. They actively promote partisan political education for women. There is an obvious need for the education of women voters on non-partisan lines. The general civic education of women, however, is carried on effectively by the Kongres Wanita Indonesia—a widely representative non-partisan organization—and the Perwari (see Women's Organizations).

The unsatisfactory civil status of women in regard to marriage, polygamy and divorce, has long been a problem of serious concern for Indonesian women. Under the new regime, which has offered the possibility of parliamentary action, women's organizations have concentrated on legal reform in marriage regulations as a major target for united action.

The situation in Indonesia can be briefly summed up:¹ The basis for marriage regulations for Christians is monogamy. The basis for marriage regulations for Moslems is the customary law, *Adat*, which is unwritten and has been influenced by Islamic law, especially in reference to marriage and divorce:

- (a) child marriage is allowed and also forced marriage on certain conditions;
- (b) polygamy is practiced without restrictions;
- (c) divorce is unequal; repudiation (*talak*) of the wife by the husband is common practice.

To deal with the inequity in civil status, the leaders in the women's organizations pressed upon the Government the legal necessity for a Marriage Act. The Government accordingly appointed a committee to formulate a Draft Marriage Proposal, which presented in 1952 a unified Marriage Law Bill for the different religious communities. As this was opposed by some, a second Marriage Bill, for Moslems only, was presented to the Ministry of Religion in 1954. The main provisions are: minimum marriage age of fifteen years for women, eighteen for men; marriage concluded only with full consent of both parties; polygamy allowed only by consent of the first wife and husband's agreement to treat his wives equally, with proof of his capacity

¹Mrs. Nani Soewondo, lawyer and President of the Association of University Women, has written an authoritative book on the legal and social status of Indonesian women-Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia. Unfortunately, this work has not been translated into English.

to maintain more than one family; divorce allowed for certain stipulated reasons.

The draft also suggested a Court of Consent to evaluate the basis of agreement before the second marriage and to allow for divorce on a basis of equality, thus eliminating the unilateral divorce and the arbitrary taking of a second wife without consideration of the reasons. The Court of Consent has been functioning in reference to divorce. It is reported that divorce has decreased and repudiation has ceased, though probably not in rural areas.

A number of women leaders with legal training worked effectively on the study and formulation of the Draft Marriage Bill and its interpretation. Especially active were Mrs. Maria Ullfah Santoso and Mrs. Harahap, a member of the Constituent Assembly and Professor of Law in the University of Djakarta, Mrs. Roesial Sarjono, in the Constitutional Division of the Ministry of Justice and Mrs. Nani Soewondo, author, *Legal and Social Status of Women*. No action on the draft was taken. The Ministry of Religion studied it several years, then submitted it to the Cabinet in 1956, with the statement that amendments would follow. "The opposition is too strong," one of the former members of the Ministry Committee is quoted as saying. "Within thirty years a change in the civil law is not likely."

In February 1958 another draft reform law was presented in the Parliament by Mrs. Soemario, a member, and by the PXN-Nationalist Party. This second proposal is more progressive than the draft marriage law of the committee functioning under the Ministry of Religion. The basis of Mrs. Soemario's proposed draft is monogamous marriage and would be binding upon everyone who marries under its provisions. The proposal was submitted to Parliament recently, but no action was taken. Both draft marriage reforms are still pending.

Meanwhile the women's organizations continue active watchful waiting. The steady education of the public, it is felt, must be carried on through a program of persistent promotion. The subject has been kept before the public through large meetings such as one in Djakarta, March 1957, at the Women's Center addressed by a High Court judge with discussion and questions, and widely publicized. Women's organizations are on the alert for any infringement on the rights of women. They vigorously protested a Pension Proposal which provided pensions to more than one widow and thus made polygamy easier. The Government promised to reconsider the proposal but no action has been taken.

In promoting the Draft Marriage Bill, the women's organizations have followed a well-worked-out plan. Moslem and non-Moslem organizations alike have supported the movement for reform, except those related to Moslem political parties which are opposed to legal reform. For a number of years special appeals have been made to the Government for action: a large demonstration, December 1953, by Perwari before the President, Prime Minister and Parliament; appeals by individual organizations; an approach to the Constituent Assembly to include Article 16 of the United Nations Charter in the new Constitution and the latest appeal to the Parliament, March 1957, by the Kongres Wanita Indonesia.

Concrete efforts to improve the present situation have included work in the Marriage Councils set up by the Government throughout Indonesia, by which divorce is being decreased, and arranging courses with the Ministry of Religion to prepare women to become members of the Religious Courts. The inclusion of women members of the Moslem Courts, which has been accomplished by women's organizations, is a marked departure from the traditional Sharia² Court. Moslem and non-Moslem women are taking the courses. Twenty-seven have passed the examination but are not yet assigned. The right to include women is a recognition that they can qualify as experts in the Sharia law. This could scarcely happen in a Moslem country where the veil had been traditional.

Women members of Parliament have vigorously advocated the Marriage Act, and staged concerted action to urge that it should be officially considered by the Parliament. One of the women members of the Constituent Assembly, a Christian, Mrs. Julia Sarumpaet-Hutabarat, made a strong appeal for full consideration of the question of legal reform in drafting the new Constitution.

The Christian community, as Mrs. Harahap explained, is not ² Sharia-religious court which applies the Islamic law.

legally affected by the proposed marriage law. Christians have their own marriage law in Indonesia, and in other places the basis of marriage among Christians is monogamy and divorce practically impossible, as among Catholics. *Adat* (customary practice and tradition) has no legal force as far as marriage is concerned. In some parts *Adat* has legal force for Christians as well, at least in matters of inheritance. Indonesian women, Christians as well as Moslems, have a common concern to secure legal social equality.

Polygamy is said to have increased during the past five years in the upper middle, not the lower classes. Most people, it is believed, are opposed to polygamy. The plural marriage of the President of Indonesia brought the question into the full limelight of public opinion. The fearless protest of the women's organizations and of individual women gave the question national significance. The women's concern for and active work on marriage reforms, however, began before the President's action.

Indonesian women are working realistically within the framework of Islam. Most of them do not now demand legal abolition of polygamy but regulation and control of the current practices, which, it is claimed, are contrary to the spirit of the Koran. The proposed Marriage Law is based on the principle of legal social security to protect the rights of women and to ensure home and family life.

In reference to the marriage draft proposal of Mrs. Soemario, a woman's committee has been formed to work out a compromise between the two proposals. Some form of compromise is at least a possibility, as there is agreement on monogamy as the common goal. It is interesting to note that the opinion was expressed in 1957 by an official in the Ministry of Religion that the trend of women's thinking is definitely toward making marriage and divorce subject to the decision of a secular state, outside the religious law. This will not be achieved immediately but the Draft Marriage Law may lead in that direction.

³ "Women under the Adat (customary law)," by Julia Sarumpaet-Hutabarat. Reprinted from Lutheran World, Vol. 2, no. 2, Summer 1955, by courtesy of the Lutheran World Federation.

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Women's organizations, which are today one of the most vital forces in the life of Indonesia, have had a long period of development. On December 22, 1928, a group of leaders in Jogjakarta called the first Indonesian Women's Conference of representative women from all over the country, a date now celebrated annually as Hari Ibu (Mother's Day) as the birth of the women's movement in Indonesia. Between 1928 and the Second World War several Women's Congresses were held, to discuss subjects of vital interest to women, such as the legal marriage status of women, suffrage, illiteracy, and the position of women workers. Women's organizations were also actively interested in the national movement for a Parliament elected by the people.

Under the Japanese occupation, 1942-1945, the women's organizations ceased to function. All women's activities were centered in the Japanese Government's Women's Organization, the Fujinkai, which carried on a welfare program of literacy, public kitchens, etc.

Following the proclamation of Independence, August 17, 1945, the women held a conference at Klaten, Central Java, and shortly afterward organized a federation of all Indonesian women's organizations—Kongres Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), known as *Kowani*. This organization carried on, until 1949, various lines of welfare work: first, public kitchens, food and clothing supplies, and first-aid posts for the army in cooperation with the Red Cross; later, refugee services —food, clothing, shelter and medicine for the homeless people.

After the Inter-Indonesian Conference was held in July 1949, by the Republic of Indonesia and the States created by the Dutch, the Kowani felt that it needed contact with women's organizations in other areas, called an Inter-Indonesian Women's Conference at Jogjakarta, August 1949, and set up a Contact Body. Later, Kowani and the Contact Body held a joint conference (December 1950), both bodies were disbanded, and a new federation was established, the present Kongres Wanita Indonesia (National Women's Congress). Thus, through careful planning, the continuity of the women's movement in Indonesia since its inception in 1928 has not been broken, largely due in recent years to the remarkable leadership of Mrs. Santoso, who has carried it through the difficult periods of war, occupation and revolution.

The Kongres Wanita Indonesia today represents a wide expansion of women's organizations and the considerable diversity of women's interests in Indonesia, organized according to political parties, religious affiliations—Christian and Moslem—husbands' interests, regional interests—Sumatra, Celebes, etc., and women's interests and activities.

Since its inception, this organization has worked toward a twofold objective of promoting social welfare in all phases of national life—education, health, economic advance, and community development; and futhering social reform and legal equality in the status of Indonesian women. The concrete program of Kongres Wanita Indonesia is defined as follows by Mrs. Santoso: "Stimulating organizations to take part in general elections; urging Government to pass a Marriage Act which gives protection to women and children; founding consultation bureaus for marriage and divorce cases; concentrating on adult education among women laborers; organizing Health Weeks; founding day nurseries, child welfare and health centers."

To provide for special types of programs, the Kongress Wanita Indonesia has established a number of Foundations, for children's welfare, training centers in home economics, scholarships for girls in vocational schools, women's cooperative banks, women's education in legal rights. It also established the Jajasan Daya Wanita, Women's Foundation, to finance the national program in cooperation with thirty-seven affiliated organizations. The headquarters of the Congress is at Jogjakarta in the Gedung Persatuan Wanita, United Women's Building, which was completed in 1956 and later enlarged with more classrooms and living quarters for the women's training courses in rural welfare. Forty women are given four-month courses of instruction in homemaking, methods of agriculture, and religion, and are prepared for leadership in village life.

The member organizations in the Congress are autonomous, make their own policy and contribute in their specific fields to the over-all program of the Federation. It does not assume executive direction of the member organizations but does have certain central functions and is recognized as the voice of the women's movement in Indonesia.

In this composite of women's organizations are several that are similar to or counterparts of organizations in other countries. The Perwari is a highly significant cross-sectional, non-partisan, all-Indonesian women's organization, with a well-organized multi-purpose welfare program and a constant concern for the advance of women. The Perwari is similar to the general type of women's organizations in other countries but with a more comprehensive program.

The three professional associations of Nursing, Midwifery and Home Economics have counterparts in most countries. The Association of University Women has international affiliation. With its cross-section membership of university graduates, many of them in professional life, it is exerting considerable influence, notably in the steady advancement of higher education for women and in the promotion of equal legal status in marriage and divorce.

In the past decade there has been a remarkable growth in Indonesian women's organizations nationally, also the significant development of the participation of individual Indonesian women in international affairs and steady increase in international contacts as follows:

Contact with inter-governmental organizations:

Delegate at the United Nations General Assembly (sometimes more than one woman)

Delegate to the Status of Women Commission meetings (1955-1958), since Indonesia's membership began

Participant for Indonesia at the UNESCO Seminar in New Delhi, December 1952, on the Status of Women¹

Membership on a UN Survey Committee on Community Development Program in Africa

Attendance at ECOSOC Meetings

Attendance at UNESCO and World Health Organization Conferences and UNICEF meetings

Participant for Indonesia at the United Nations Seminar Bangkok 1957, on Asian Women's Civic Responsibilities²

¹Regional Seminar in New Delhi, December 1952, on "The Contribution of the Social Sciences to Studies on the Status of Women in South Asia," arranged by the Asian Relations Organization under the auspices of UNESCO.

² United Nations Regional Seminar, Bangkok, August 1957, on "The Civic Responsibilities and Increased Participation of Asian Women in Public Life."

Contact with international voluntary organizations:

Attendance at World Conferences of international women's organizations, as national affiliates or as fraternal delegates, and at regional conferences—the Pan Pacific Southeast Asia Women's Association Conferences and the Asian-African Conference 1958 at Colombo, Ceylon (19 countries)

Attendance at Mixed Organization Conferences-League of Red Cross Societies, International Union of Child Welfare, Planned Parenthood Federation

Visits for study and observation on fellowships abroad-Indonesian Government, United Nations, foreign governments, and private agencies.

Contact with the representatives of the technical assistance programs of the United Nations and foreign organizations, official and private, working in Indonesia.

The following national women's organizations in Indonesia have international affiliations:

Organization

- The Indonesian Association of University Women
- The Indonesian Home Economics Association
- The Indonesian Association of Nurses
- The Indonesian Red Cross (Indonesian women actively participate)

Affiliation

The International Federation of University Women

The American Home Economic Association

The International Council of Nurses

League of Red Cross Societies

APPENDIX

Women's Organizations in Indonesia

The aims and purposes of women's organizations in the Kongres Wanita Indonesia are in the field of health and education, in community development and in implementing the rights already given by law to Indonesian women.

List of member organizations of the Kongres Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), divided into four groups:

I. AFFILIATED WITH POLITICAL PARTIES

WANITA DEMORRAT INDONESIA Affiliated with the Partai Nasional Indonesia. Has 350 branches. GERWANI Affiliated with the Partai Komunis Indonesia. Has 182 branches. GERAKAN WANITA SOSIALIS (GWS) Affiliated with Partai Sosialis Indonesia. Has 115 branches. PERWAMU (Persatuan Wanita Murba) Affiliated with the Partai Murba. WANITA NASIONAL

Affiliated with the Partai Rakjat Nasional. Has 90 branches.

WANITA INDONESIA

Affiliated with the Partai Indonesia Raya.

PARKIWA

Affiliated with the Partai Kebangsaan Indonesia. Has 15 branches.

II. AFFILIATED WITH RELIGIOUS PARTIES

MUSLIMAAT

Affiliated with the Masjumi. Has 249 branches.

PSII-WANITA

Affiliated with the Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia.

GPII-PUTERI

Affiliated with the Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia.

AISJAH

Affiliated with the Muhammadijah.

PERSATUAN WANITA KERISTEN (PWKI)

Affiliated with the Parkindo-The Indonesian Protestant Party.

WANITA KATHOLIK

Affiliated with the Partai Katholik.

III. GROUPS ACCORDING TO HUSBANDS' POSITION

PERSIT (Persatuan Isteri Tentara)

Association of Wives of Army Officers.

BHAYANGKARI

Association of Wives of Officials of the Police Force. PERTIWI

Association of Wives of the Ministry of Home Affairs. PERWALI

Association of Wives of Officials of the Shipping Department. PIKT (Persatuan Isteri Kaum Tehnik)

Association of wives of engineers and other technicians.

PERSATUAN WANITA UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA

Association of wives of officials of the Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta.

IV. INDEPENDENT GROUPS

Regional groups PARTAI WANITA RAKJAT During general election had its own list of candidates. BUDI ISTERI Organization in Priangan, West Java. PUTERI NARPO WANDOWO Organization in Solo, Mid-Java. PIKAT Organization in Sulawesi. PUTERI BUDI SEDJATI Organization in Surabaja.

SAHATI

Organization in Djakarta of which members are from Sulawesi.

Specific women's groups

PERWARI (Persatuan Wanita Indonesia)-National, widely spread, 214 branches.

Purpose:

To promote the general welfare of women-social, educational and economic-and their status as equal citizens of Indonesia.

PEMUDA PUTERI INDONESIA (PPI)-National

Young Women's Association. Has 60 branches.

ARISAN RUKUN IBU (housewives' groups)

IKATAN PERAWAT WANITA INDONESIA—Indonesian Midwives Association—National

Purpose:

To promote the midwifery profession.

IKATAN PERAWAT WANITA INDONESIA-Association of Nurses-National, 1951

Purpose:

To promote the status of the nursing profession. Not yet affiliated with the International Council of Nurses.

WANITA UNIVERSITAS INDONESIA-National, May 1956.

Indonesian Association of University Women.

Purpose:

To promote the understanding and cooperation between University women in Indonesia and abroad, irrespective of race, religion or political opinion.

To widen knowledge and research for the benefit of the Indonesian people in general and the women's movement in particular.

Affiliated with the International Federation of University Women, August 1956.

PERKUMPULAR MUNUDJU-National, 1957

Home Economics Association. The name literally means the promotion of family welfare.

Purpose:

To improve the welfare of the family and the needs of the community and bring about a closer relationship between the family and the community in various ways.

Affiliated with the American Home Economics Association, 1957.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL CLUB (WIC)-National, 1950

Foundations of the Kongres Wanita Indonesia

JAJASAN KESEDJAHTERAAN ANAK

Child Welfare Foundation

JAJASAN HARI IBU

Mother's Day Foundation, aiming at the economic independence of women by organizing training centers in home economics, community development, etc. JAJASAN SERI DERMA Gives bursaries to girls attending vocational schools. BANK KOPERASI WANITA Women's Cooperative Bank Komisi Hukum (Law Section) Organizes courses to inform women of their rights given by law.

			WOMEN		NDUNE	SIA	
TABLE No. 1		Pupils	29,629 104,214 6,316,233 1,525 7,810 385,365 23 1,159 19,063	TABLE No. 2	Youth Centers	112 154 155	the Ministry
TAB	1955	Number Teachers	104,214 7,810 1,159	TAI	Adult Educ. Courses	464 927 1,105	General of 1
S		Number	29,629 1,525 23		Courses of General Knowledge	1,130 874 1,062	t, Secretary
INCREASE IN SCHOOLS, TEACHERS AND PUPILS		Pupils	24,755 83,060 4,977,304 964 6,500 138,668 17 435 5,293	V 954	People's Libraries	12,825 10,173 10,077	Article "Education in Indonesia Before and After Independence," by Mr. M. Hutasoit, Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. From Report on Indonesia, December 1956.
ACHERS	1951	Number Teachers Pupils	83,060 6,500 435	ILLITERACY CAMPAIGN MASS EDUCATION IN 1954	gn Pupils	2,694,031 2,440,434 2,325,764	lence," by I nesia, Decer
OLS, TE.		Number	24,755 964 17	RACY CI	icy Campai; chers	77,777 2 67,563 2 62,993 2	r Independ t on Indor
E IN SCHO		Pupils	18,091 40,583 2,021,990 144 1,607 26,535 5 149 1,693	ILLITE MASS EI	Anti-Illiteracy Campaign Courses Teachers Pu	83,082 77, 71,260 67, 67,245 62,	Article "Education in Indonesia Before and After Independence," by Mr. M. Hu of Education and Cultural Affairs. From Report on Indonesia, December 1956.
NCREAS	1940	Number Teachers Pupils	40,583 1,607 149		Illiterates (13 years and over) (46.4% 8 43.1% 7 40.8%	Indonesia ltural Affai
Ι		Number	18,091 144 5		Illit (13 and		ucation in n and Cul
		States Inte	Primary School Secondary School Higher Educ. Inst.		Population	78,388.7 79,000.0 79,134.1	Article "Education of Education
		- and a second	Primary School Secondary Scho Higher Educ. I	1924	P	1952 1953 1954	Source:

WOMEN IN INDONESIA

	GROWTH OF	GROWTH OF HOME ECONOMICS INSTRUCTION	OMICS IN	STRUCTION	TAI	TABLE No. 3 §
	Teach	Teacher Training	140 HOA	Š	Secondary Schools	OM
1945	Schools	Teachers	Enrollment	Schools	Teachers Enrollment	nrollment
Government	1	4	100	4	43	772
Private	1	no figures		12	no figures	
1957						IL .
Government	6	166	1,600	96	1,209	15,280
Private	18	206	2,000	103	1,156	13,048
Source: Special Report on Home Economics in Indonesia by Miss Soeratine, Principal of B-1 School of Home Economics, Djakarta, and Miss Virginia Cutler, Technical Assistant, ICA.	le Economics in ginia Cutler, Tec	Indonesia by Mis hnical Assistant,]	s Soeratine, ICA.	Principal of B-1	l School of Home	Economics,

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WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

WOMEN IN INDONESIA 237

TABLE No. 4

WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT CIVIL SERVICE

	Number	Male	Female
Government Civil Servants	565,000	93%	7%
Autonomous Provinces included	800,000		
(1) PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE (Cab	inet of the Pri	me Ministe	r)
Director of the Cabinet of the Pr	ime Minister		
(2) MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS			
Deputy Head of the Department,	United Nation	is and Inter	national
Organizations			
Second Secretary Attachés in Indonesian Embassies	and Legations		
(3) MINISTRY OF INFORMATION	and Legations		
Head of Foreign Relations Depart	ment		
Women Officials at Radio Departm	nent a.o.		
(4) MINISTRY OF JUSTICE			
15 Women Judges			
1 Woman Attorney			11
1 Deputy Head of Civil Law De	partment		
14 (law baccalaureates) Women	Deputy Judges		
5 (law baccalaureates) Assistant	Attorneys		
At the Ministry of Justice—total m a. Jurists 102—ma	de 85		
	nale 17		
b. Law Baccalaureates 78-ma			
	nale 19		
Total number of Woman Jurists-	55		
(5) MINISTRY OF EDUCATION	ng ng ng ng ng ng		
Dean, Faculty of Law, University	Medan	multir of Eco	momics
Women economists working as ass	Istants on the Facul	ty Bandung	r
Woman engineer working on the Women assistants on Faculty of Li	terature	cy, Dundang	,
Assistant professors on the Medica	Faculty		
Head of Department of Girls' Edu	cation		
Women Inspectors			
Head of a section of Bureau UNE	SCO		
Head of School for Domestic Scien	ice		
Secretary to Minister; Archeologist	Joursian Te	chers' Asso	ociation
Number of members of the I	Lindonesia) -9	5,605	
(PGRI–Persatuan Guru Republi In 1956: 76,602 male teachers; 1	9.003 female t	eachers	
Total number of teachers at the en	d of 1956:		
Male200,138			
Female 47,258			
Total247,396			

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

(6)	MINISTRY OF HEALTH	
	Head of Department of Community Health	
	Head of Department of Health Education	
	Assistant Professors at Medical Faculty	
	a. Doctors working at Ministry of Health	
	(Statistics, April 1957)	922 – female 62
	b. Dental Doctors (Statistics, April 1957)	
	Ministry of Health	84 – female 25
	Ministry of Education	18 - female 5
	Ministry of Defense	
	Army	31 - female 3
	Navy	15 - female 4
	Air Force	3 - female 1
	and the second sec	151 6 1 20
	Directo	151 - female 38
	Private	105 – female 22
	Total number Dental Doctors	256 - female 60
	Midwives	
	At the Ministry of Health	1545
	Perawat with nurses training	
	Djururawat with nurses training of a higher grade	
(7)	MINISTRY OF LABOR	
	Woman Inspector of Labor	
	Total number Women Officials – 414	
(8)	MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS	
	Women Inspectors Social Work	
	Head of Bureau, prostitute problems	
	Head of Orphanages	
	Head of Hostels	
Sour	rce: U. N. Seminar on Civic Responsibilities and Inc	reased Participation
	of Asian Women in Public Life. Bangkok, Tha	iland, August 5-17.
	LOFF WA A STATE AND A SHORE DURING NOR, I HU	and a second second second

of Asian Women in Public Life. Bangkok, Thailand, August 5-17, 1957: "Activities of Women and Women's Organizations in Indonesia." Dr. Maria Ullfah Santoso, the Indonesian Representative.

		WOMEN	IN INI	JONESIA		237	ż
TABLE No. 5	irlangga aia ollment 492 (W) Women 186 123			162			ucation and Ur
	Univ. of Airlangga Surabaia Total Enrollment 2,309 (M) 492 (W) Men Wome 1,226 186 764 123			199		langadi. 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	ana, Higher Ed
PROPORTION OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS – (1954) UNIVERSITIES	idjah Mada karta rollment 1,009 (W) Women 274	393 282	8 1	51			Samiati Alisjahb
VOMEN STU SITIES	Univ. of Gadjah Mada Jogjakarta Total Enrollment 6,407 (M) 1,009 (W) Men Women 1,019 274	3,422 354	414 146	1,052 Women	21 39	2,744 (W) 37	n, made by Miss
MEN AND WOMEI UNIVERSITIES	donesia tta 1,109 (W) Women 166 314	147	119 14 8	50 Men	120	185 744 (W) 16,053 (M) 2,744 (W) 18,797	ligher Education
ORTION OF	Univ. of Indonesia Djakarta Total Enrollment 6,938 (M) 1,109 (W) Men Women 855 166 1.258 314	108	1,182 420 220	2,114		1	of Students in F ry of Education.
PROPO		Law, Economics, Social { Science, Politics } terature Literature, Pedagogy, }	cience	School {	Teachers' Training College (Malang, Airlangga) Teachers' Training College (Banusanokar, Sumatra)	Teachers' Training College (Bandung) GRAND TOTAL Total M & W	Study of Enrollment of Students in Higher Education, made by Miss Samiati Alisjahbana, Higher Education and University Section, Ministry of Education.
	Medicine	Law, Economics Science, Politics Literature Literature, Peda	Philosophy Economics Agriculture Veterinary Science	Engineeríng, School of Art Teachers Engineering Dentistry	Teachers' Training Col (Malang, Airlangga) Teachers' Training Co (Bantsanokar, Sumatu	Teachers' T (Bandung) GRAND Total M &	Source: S

WOMEN IN INDONESIA

		Number	Labor	ers
	Enterprises	Enterprises	Male	Female
1.	Agriculture Cattle-breeding, forestry, hunting, and fishery	1,337	336,540 65%	195,716 35%
	Mining Industries	86	50,689 97%	1,343 3%
5.	Cottage Industries included	16,389	390,769 65%	209,614 35%
4.	Building	633	34,852 97%	1,119 3%
5.	Gas and Electricity	139	10,257 98%	164 2%
6.	Trade, Banking and Insurance	3,257	66,423 80%	17,085 20%
7.	Transport and communication	4,181	87,671 98%	1,900 2%
8.	Government Enterprises	1,713	28,155 80%	7,168 20%
	Allowed Streams	27,735	1,035,356	434,109

NUMBERS OF ENTERPRISES AND LABORERS UP TO DECEMBER 31, 1956, AND THE PERCENTAGE MALE AND FEMALE LABORERS

The enterprises registered above have ten laborers or more.

Women about 34 per cent of the total. Agriculture 195,416 Cottage 209,614

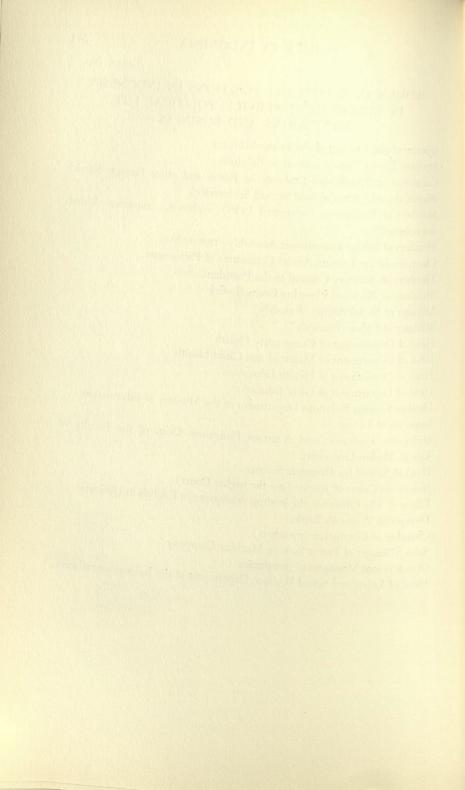
Source: United Nations Seminar on Civic Responsibilities and Increased Participation of Asian Women in Public Life. Bangkok, Thailand, August 5-17, 1957. "Activities of Women and Women's Organizations in Indonesia." Dr. Maria Ullfah Santoso, the Indonesian representative.

WOMEN IN INDONESIA

TABLE No. 7

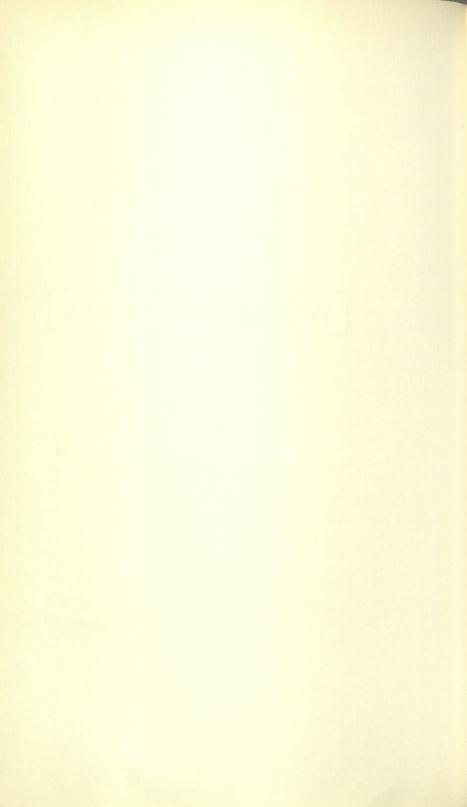
WOMEN IN IMPORTANT POSITIONS IN INDONESIA, IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE, POLITICAL LIFE, PROFESSIONS AND BUSINESS

Director of the Cabinet of the Prime Minister Minister, Envoy Plenipotentiary to Belgium Counsellor at Indonesian Embassy in Rome and other Foreign Service officials abroad (Attaches and Second Secretaries) Members of Parliament (convened 1956)-eighteen. (nineteen elected, one resigned) Members of former Constituent Assembly-twenty-five Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament Members of Advisory Council to the President-two Members of National Planning Council-five Minister of Social Affairs (formerly) Minister of Labor (formerly) Head of Department of Community Health Head of Department of Maternal and Child Health Head of Department of Health Education Head of Department of Girls' Education Head of Foreign Relations Department of the Ministry of Information Inspector of Labor University Professors and Assistant Professors; Dean of the Faculty of Law in Medan University Head of School for Domestic Science Judges-at Court of Justice (not the higher Court) Editor of The Observer, the leading newspaper in English in Djakarta Director of Women's Banks Chamber of Commerce (members) Sales Manager of Fatma Sewing Machine Company Directors and Managers of companies Head of Labor and Social Welfare Department of the Indonesian railways



PART VI

WOMEN IN INDIA



WOMEN IN INDIA

THE SETTING

Women in India today have legal equality with men in political and civil rights. Of all the revolutionary changes in modern India, it is safe to say that nothing will have more far-reaching significance than this change in the legal status of women.

Political equality for women was written into the new Constitution of India (November 26, 1949), as the natural result of the tremendous service of women in the struggle for independence. Equality in civil rights was gained in 1955, when the Hindu Reform Code bill was passed, eradicating the traditional inequities affecting women in respect to marriage, guardianship, adoption and maintenance. This basic social legislation, for which women had worked over a long period and which was vigorously supported by the Prime Minister himself, will stand as a major achievement of the first Parliament of the Republic of India.

The new status of Indian women is the consummation of over a hundred years of individual and collective effort on the part of Indian social reformers and educational pioneers, liberal religious movements of India, and Christian Missions—all deeply concerned in the advance of Indian women. The final impetus to this effort was given by the passive resistance movement for Indian Independence, under the great leader of India, Mahatma Gandhi, who called women out of their sheltered lives, imbued them with the spirit of sacrificial service and showed them the way of non-violence. Inspired by Gandhi's example and his message of passive resistance, women responded to his call. At first a core of deeply committed leaders, then thousands of women of all classes, young and older, shared hardship and imprisonment in the common sacrifice for freedom. "Theirs was a key role," wrote one of the great leaders, Sarojini Naidu.

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

"Without their help, the movement could never have been a success."1

Gandhi's call to national service inspired women not only to active political participation in the national struggle but also to social welfare service. In order to promote the social and educational advance of women, a number of women leaders from the different religious communities organized (1926) the first All-India Women's Conference, a widely representative gathering of women, which has been a remarkably effective instrument of national service.

Through the widespread efforts of the All-India Women's Conference, and under the leadership of Dr. Muthulakshimi Reddi, the notable Child Marriage Restraint Act, commonly called the Sarda Act, was passed in April 1930. In the preliminary referendum of public opinion, made by a Government Commission that included two women members, men and women of all classes, even women just out of *purdah*, fearlessly registered their protest against child marriage and urged legislation.

These years of active participation in the Independence Movement and in the political campaigns and campaigns for social welfare and reform prepared the women throughout India in a remarkable way to share in the building of the new State. Immediately after partition, women leaders in Delhi were called upon to assume major responsibility for the refugees from Pakistan, spreading like a tidal wave over North India. A body of devoted, efficient volunteers and trained social workers, in close association with the Minister of Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, for two and a half years carried on a well-organized camp service for thousands of refugees and later helped to develop rehabilitation plans for the refugee population.

During this first decade of the Republic multiple social services for women and children were carried on by individual leaders and organizations in order to sustain and promote national welfare. Noteworthy in this impressive development of national welfare are several main trends: promotion of rural welfare; training women for social work of various kinds, especially for

¹Women of India, published by the Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, January 1958, Tara Ali Baig, Editor. "The Struggle for Freedom," Kamaladevi Chattopedhyay, p. 29.

rural welfare, and cooperation in social welfare between the Government and voluntary social agencies.

As already mentioned the full participation of women in political life is of signal importance in the total development of India today. With equal status, women are enabled to assume responsibility and materially affect legislative decisions, in the whole gamut of political issues, national and international. The Deputy Foreign Minister today is a woman, and the rights and responsibilities of women so freely accorded by the Constitution are fully recognized and further promoted. Their complete political equality with men and their recognized capacity have given women a position of unusually strategic influence.

Also of great importance for India today is the fact that not only the educated minority of Indian women have political equality but the great illiterate masses as well. The two elections (1952 and 1957) held on the basis of universal suffrage were a dramatic evidence of the political awakening of the Indian people. This awakening of India's former voiceless millions has incalculable meaning for the future of India, as the basis of a potential free democracy.

The atmosphere of India today is vibrant with opportunity and the sense of freedom. As one travels widely one sees women and girls actively taking part in the new life and work of the nation—girls at school in classes and at sports, Girl Guides, clerks in government bureaus and in railway stations and travel offices, airplane hostesses, women in professions, women in the fields, in factories and in cottage industries. And everywhere are women volunteers in social welfare. These Indian women, older and younger, are the leaders of today and tomorrow, and evidence of the new freedom and new status of women in India.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

Immediately after Independence, India assumed the tremendous task of establishing a new system of education, based on the long past but reoriented to the needs of a new democratic society. At the beginning of the new State, barely thirty per cent of the children in India were in school. With a sense of urgency, and in the midst of the vast upheaval of partition, a program of vigorous expansion of education was immediately begun.

The record of results is impressive, as shown in the Government summary of accomplishments. From 1948-1954, the number of primary schools in all the major provinces (the Part A States after Independence)1 increased by 37,000 and the enrollment to 4.6 millions. For all India the total number of primary schools was 221,082 and the number of pupils 19,296,840. (Table No. 1) With the continued expansion of primary education, it was estimated that by 1955-56 fifty per cent of school age children had school privileges. Based on this, the Second Five Year Plan has allowed for sixty-three per cent of school-going children by 1961 and hopes to reach eight million in the major provinces by that time.

Progress has been made in literacy since Independence, from 14.6 in 1941 (omitting the 0-5 years group) to 18.3 per cent in 1951, the latest census. Since then there has been steady advance.2

Remarkable advance has also been made toward compulsory primary education. The number of areas in which primary education is compulsory has risen from 224 towns and 10,010 villages in 1948, to 598 towns and 21,260 villages in 1953. These figures reveal the willingness of the villagers to accept the economic sacrifice necessary to have their children benefit from compulsory schooling. Parents give up the small potential earnings of their children so that they may attend school. The villagers in many areas have given labor, land and money freely for building their own village schools.

The expansion in secondary education has also been extraordinary. The increase in the number of secondary schools (middle schools and higher) in the first six years of the new Republic, 1947 to 1954, was nearly fifty per cent, and for high schools, seventy-seven per cent. The increase in the enrollment was also arresting-in the middle schools an increase of thirty per cent and in high (higher secondary) schools an increase of more than sixty per cent. The number of students who took the

"Part A" states are the original provinces with which neighboring princely states were merged until 1953, when India was organized into fourteen states. ² Seven Years of Freedom, Ministry of Education, Government of India,

1954, ed., Humayun Kabir, Educational Adviser of India, pp. 1-3.

School Leaving Certificate more than doubled between 1948 and 1953. (Table No. 2)

In this vigorous expansion of education, the importance of promoting the education of girls and women is widely recognized because of their essential contribution to the life of India. The difficulties of achieving comparable numerical results in girls' education, on all levels, are inherent in the situation, because of the lack of a unified system of boys' and girls' schools. But the obligation of the State to realize in practice the constitutional legal equality is accepted. Moreover, the urgent necessity for a country like India, that has universal suffrage, to educate the female population (female literacy, 9.3 per cent, 1951 census) is not debated.

In 1950 the total number of girls enrolled in secondary schools was 700,000; by 1953 the enrollment in middle schools alone was 774,148, and in high schools, 256,456.³ The increase in enrollment of girls in secondary education indicates the collective effort of the State Governments to promote girls' education beyond the primary level, and also the awakened desire of girls for further educational opportunity. The opening of certain professional careers—nursing, medicine and teacher training—to secondary school graduates has met an economic need. Attendance at middle schools and high schools has been encouraged by free transportation, hostel accommodations, and financial assistance and scholarships. In certain less progressive areas, some scholarships are allocated for girls starting from the primary grade and continuing into the university, in order to build up educated women leaders for the backward community life.

The total advance in women's education in less than a decade from 1947-48 to 1953-54 is an illustration of the successful effort to equalize educational opportunities of women and men, an essential part of the basic goal of democratizing education. The over-all summary of women's education, at all stages, points up the remarkable progress that characterizes India as a whole, but particularly in some seven States. Statistics show an increase of 4,000 separate institutions for girls; 3,000,000 enrolled, double the number three years earlier; and a budget increase of

³Women of India, "Education," Muriel Wasi, Assistant Education Adviser, p. 159. 67,000,000 rupees over the period. (4.75 rupees=\$1.00-see Table No. 3)

Progress in the education of girls and women is also evident in the increasing proportion in the total enrollment of students at all stages, from the primary school through the university. During the period from 1950 to 1955 the total number of girls in all educational institutions increased from 6.1 million to 8.1 million. (Table No. 4)

This marked progress in girls' education during less than a decade, however, when compared with the advance in boys' education, presents clearly the major problem of disparity between girls' education and that of boys. Two-thirds of all boys (six to eleven years) are in primary schools and only one-third of all girls. Only three per cent of girls go to secondary schools. The problem of disparity is obviously the result of the segregated system of girls' education. It is not a new problem in India. But today the problem is being attacked in India in a new spirit of determination, with the conviction that the disparity is not inevitable but can and must be solved. The new nation cannot be built on the present adverse ratio of educated women to educated men, roughly one to five.

That the disparity is being reduced is indicated in an educational survey of 1954-55. A comparison of the total enrollment for two years (1953-55) of men and women students, including all categories of teaching institutions, shows that women students increased approximately ten per cent and men students slightly more than five per cent. This is a hopeful trend for the future.⁴

The adoption of coeducation would undoubtedly have a material effect on the solution of the problem of disparity. According to an official report, coeducation has been discussed and the position generally adopted that "there should be common schools for boys and girls at the elementary stage, but that schools should be separated at the secondary stage."⁵

A growing trend toward coeducation is apparent in the number of State Governments that have already adopted the system, especially in the primary schools. In 1953, there were eight states that had coeducation. Since then, doubtless, others have also

⁴ Ibid., "Our Own Times," the late Mrs. Hannah Sen, p. 46.

⁵ Quinquennial Review 1947-1952, p. 158.

endorsed it for the primary schools, and some for secondary schools on a voluntary basis. Coeducation is a subject of discussion among educators, who have clear convictions on coeducation, both for and against, based on their educational experience.

The advance in primary and secondary education during this period has been evident not merely quantitatively, but qualitatively in the changing pattern and new content of education itself. Two aims have been steadily related and are being carried out: to give educational opportunity to all, in accordance with constitutional equality, and to reconstruct the educational system to meet the needs of the new nation.

For primary schools, the principles of Basic Education have been adopted as offering the right type of education for young children. New primary schools on the Basic Education pattern are being built as rapidly as possible. Meanwhile the present schools are being improved and the content enriched by introducing crafts and creative activities, and better text books.⁶ The change to the Basic Education pattern for primary schools was accepted by the States of the Union in 1948 and in spite of difficulties, financial and otherwise, the number of such schools has steadily increased.

The chief difficulties are the dearth of trained teachers and the special training needed for "Basic" schools. To meet this need, a large scale, brief in-service training was carried out in 1957. This required primarily an intensive training in crafts, as the schools are craft-centered and aim to harmonize the regular school work with crafts chosen in relation to the children's background. The general objective of Basic Education is to promote a better standard of life and to lead to some earning. The joyous atmosphere of freedom and creative activity of these schools is evidence of the value of this method, which, it is hoped, will eventually be the general pattern of primary education in India.

The plans for reconstruction in the secondary field were made by a Commission appointed by the Central Government (1952). The major recommendations stressed the need "for varying educational courses to suit different aptitudes, and to enable the

⁶ Seven Years of Freedom, p. 2.

large majority of persons to fit into some vocation after completing their school career. A large number of multi-purpose high schools are therefore needed, where encouragement may be given in particular to agriculture and allied activities and to cottage and small-scale industries."⁷ Improvements are being made in the current curriculum through new courses in civics, music, and home science. Training courses in recreation activities and voluntary social service are offered, as well as vocational guidance.

Women educators consider that the diversified courses in the multiple high school will have great practical value for many girls and young women, in directing them into useful employment and in offering opportunities for vocational training and guidance. Such courses, it is felt, will result in stimulating the desire of secondary school graduates to enter certain courses not requiring university professional preparation in fields in which there is special need and opportunity for well-trained workers. This body of young women from the secondary schools constitute a very large potential for a number of national services, such as health visitors, of whom there are only 800 in all India. The plan would also serve the needs of young women for a general education and prepare them to take their places as citizens in their own home towns and in society.

Three hundred and thirty-four multi-purpose schools were established by 1956. The Second Five Year Plan will add about four times that number (1271). A group of experimental Teacher Training Colleges have set up extension services to help secondary teachers improve methods and curricula.⁸

The need for vocational guidance and training seems to be widely felt. A young Moslem student in Osmania University expressed a keen desire for guidance and her feeling of futility in not having a sense of direction in planning for a career. The Principal of the Women's College of Aligarh University, speaking especially of Moslem young women, stressed the need for more vocational direction of students still in secondary school. "There are always," she said, "a number of young women for

⁷ The First Five Year Plan-Summary, Government of India Planning Commission, p. 113.

⁸ The New India, pp. 84 and 336.

whom useful careers along non-academic lines should and could be found." She emphasized also the lack of available resources for vocational guidance for the use of student advisers.

Since Independence the pressure for higher education has steadily increased. Before partition there were twenty-one universities in India; after partition two were transferred (Lahore and Dacca) to Pakistan. The number in India in 1957 was thirty-two. During the First Five Year Plan (1950-51–1955-56) the enrollment in the universities increased from 396,745 to 720,000; the number of State colleges from 695 to 965.⁹

At the beginning of this new period of rapid expansion, the Government of India appointed an Indian University Commission to make an exhaustive survey of university situations under changed conditions. Some of the suggestions were: the establishment of a University Grants Commission to allocate funds and promote better standards; more emphasis on agricultural education and on higher education in rural areas; a better examination system; changing the system of recruitment for public service to one of competitive examination without requirement of a degree and raising the status of teachers.

The Second Five Year Plan includes provision for seven new universities, and new buildings—libraries, laboratories and hostels —for the present institutions; also the development of a new Rural University specializing in citizenship training, research on rural problems, and village extension service.¹⁰

Broadening the life of the universities has been the growth in extra-curricular activities. Universities and colleges have promoted training in the National Cadet Corps for both men and women, in close relationship to the regular university program and under university control. Extra-curricular activities are planned also by the students themselves, and have included all the activities common to universities elsewhere. Inter-university debates and oratorical contests of men and women students are popular. Student information and travel bureaus have carried on useful service in counselling on courses of study in India and available scholarships, as well as in promoting overseas contacts and study. Students have international contacts with the

⁹ Review of the First Five Year Plan, 1957, p. 256.

¹⁰ The New India, pp. 337-338.

World University Service, the Delhi Student Committee being the liaison center for India with the World Organization in Geneva.

In the First Five Year Plan, women's higher education received special consideration, not only assurance of equal opportunity with men but provision for their particular interests, opportunities for private study and for taking necessary examinations as private candidates. Short-term courses in general education were also set up for women.¹¹

All universities are open to women as a constitutional right. Present statistics on the enrollment of women university students are not available, but in 1957 they were 13.6 per cent of the total number registered.¹² (Table No. 4) Of the thirty-two universities in India, all but one have general education courses with women students enrolled. The Thompson College of Civil Engineering, the Roorkie, the only engineering institution in India (established over a hundred years ago and since 1948 a residential institution) is primarily a men's college but women are free to attend. The response of women to higher education opportunities is shown by the fact that 4900 were completing courses in 1955-56 in certain professional fields – education, medicine, law, commerce, music and fine arts, and library science. (Table No. 5)

Independent women's colleges have made and are making a noteworthy contribution to women's higher education. Especially significant are the pioneering professional colleges—Christian Medical College, Ludhiana (1894), Principal, Dr. Eileen R. B. Snow; The Lady Hardinge Government Medical College for Women (1916), Principal, Dr. H. Patil, and the Christian Medical College, Vellore (1918), Founder Principal, Dr. Ida Scudder, present Director, Dr. John Carman. They have exerted a marked influence on the medical profession for women for many years and without which a number of young women of conservative families, especially Moslems in *purdah*, could not have studied medicine. Noteworthy also is the Lady Irwin College for Home Science in New Delhi, founded by The All-India Women's Conference (1932) with University affiliation, which

¹¹ First Five Year Plan, Summary, p. 115.

¹² Review of First Five Year Plan, p. 260.

has given training in home science the status of a profession under the leadership of the first Principal, the late Mrs. Hannah Sen, for more than twenty years, and of the present Principal, Mrs. Bijur Tara Bai. The Higher Schools of nursing in Delhi and Vellore, founded later, are successfully raising the professional status of nursing.

The development of the general field of higher education for women is also intimately associated with a number of pioneering women's colleges for general education, each worthy of special mention. (Table No. 6) These colleges exemplify modern scientific education for women, liberal culture and general education and especially character training for leadership. The founders and leaders of these institutions represent different cultural and religious backgrounds, mostly Indian, some foreign, all united in promoting the advance of women through higher education. Throughout the years trained women of all communities have gone out from these colleges as teachers, doctors, homemakers, social workers, civic leaders, and women prominent in political life to serve India at home and abroad.

Since Independence the number of women's colleges has increased in all areas. These new women's colleges, together with the colleges of long standing and distinction, form today a solid basis for the continued impressive educational development of Indian women. The thousands of women students today in the colleges and universities of India, enjoying without effort the atmosphere of freedom and educational opportunity, are scarcely aware of the vision and long-sustained struggle of the pioneer leaders who made this possible.

The record of progress in the education of girls and women in India from the primary school through the University naturally does not indicate the specific educational advance of the different religious communities. As a secular state India offers equal opportunities for education to all alike and is concerned primarily with the total unified result. The advance of Moslem girls in education is an integral part of the total advance and cannot be measured separately by statistics. Prior to 1947 there was a special chapter on Moslem Education in the Report of the Director of Public Instruction; it has since been discontinued. If there were still statistical material available, it would show that Moslem girls are in a retarded situation as compared with others, but that the gap is undoubtedly narrowing. Hopeful development in the field of education for Moslem girls and women is, therefore, worth special attention.

Of primary significance is the fact that the conservative attitude of many Moslem parents toward girls' education is changing. A growing number of conservative parents are now willing to send their daughters to school and some to college, as girls have started earning their livelihood and helping the family. Education for girls is now increasingly recognized as an economic asset to their parents or husbands, as the case may be. This change is now apparent in the usually conservative middle class. Although indifference and apathy and conservatism characterize the Moslem community in respect to girls' education, the more liberal trend in public opinion is without doubt gaining ground, girls' education is being recognized and the provision of more girls' schools is being urged.

An obvious evidence of change is the decline of the *purdah* system and decrease of the *burqa* in many areas, especially for the younger generation. This progressive trend will increase the number of Moslem girls who can enter mixed primary schools and take full advantage of the government's opportunities for education and will mean a basic change in the extent and freedom of the educational development of Moslem girls.

The most hopeful sign of advance is the eagerness of Moslem girls to have their full opportunity of primary and secondary schools and college. Their urge for education reflects a sense of need to be prepared to play their part in the new India. Moslem youth, girls as well as boys, share with all Indian youth the common desire to be identified with the new development of national life. Educational urge and the newly awakened spirit of patriotism are closely related in the minds of youth. For Moslem girls this fact has special meaning for their future.

In the education of Indian girls as a whole, including Moslem girls, private schools of Indian and foreign agencies, for many years have made an important contribution. In almost every large city the Moslem community, long before the partition, had organized Moslem educational institutions, both for girls and boys, to give Moslem children Urdu and religious culture. In various areas Moslem girls' schools, some of long standing, are being carried on by individual Moslem effort and by organizations, to meet particularly the needs of girls in *purdah* communities. Strict *purdah* observance, as has been said, is diminishing but the covered conveyances—curtained carts, *tongas*, and motor cars at the entrance of a Moslem private girls' school in a crowded street in Lucknow illustrate the continuing need for private schools for the *purdanashin* (girls in *purdah*). This school, started by Begum Habibullah in 1930 as a pioneer elementary girls' school, and now with a partial junior college program, has served a special continuing need. Many Moslem girls of conservative families would be deprived of education if *purdah* arrangements were not safeguarded and an atmosphere of seclusion assured.

These Moslem private girls' schools, because of the current serious economic situation, face great financial difficulties. They can receive government subsidies if they meet the standards of a secular state and are on a non-communal basis. As many Moslem private schools desire to maintain their communal basis, they must depend on non-governmental financial support.

A noteworthy contribution to Moslem education is being made by two Moslem foundations in Bombay. The Diamond Jubilee Trust Foundation established by the late Aga Khan III provides for an extensive program of boys' and girls' primary and secondary schools, including domestic science schools and industrial classes for women; and also scholarships for secondary and college education and vocational training for girls as well as boys (800 scholarships of all kinds in 1957-58). The major responsibility of the Diamond Jubilee Trust Foundation is carried by the Honorary General Secretary, Mrs. Zarina Currimbhoy.

The Anjuman-I-Islam Trust, which is supported by individual subscriptions and contributions from Moslems and non-Moslems, also has a comprehensive education system of boys' and girls' schools on all levels. One of the well-known institutions of this Foundation in Bombay is the Anjuman-I-Islam Girls' High School, which has a full academic modern program, and also emphasis on home-training, physical education and extracurricular activities. As the principal, Mrs. Simpson noted, its growth in twenty years (founded in 1936 with three students;

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

1956 enrollment, fourteen hundred) is a significant illustration of the response of Moslem girls to modern educational opportunities.

The majority of Moslem parents prefer Moslem primary and secondary schools for girls, as already indicated, to preserve purdah conditions. The more liberal Moslem public also prefers separate Moslem girls primary schools. The question does not arise in secondary school as there is little public secondary coeducation. The preference for Moslem education in general, boys as well as girls, is based on the desire to maintain Urdu as the medium of instruction and preserve Islamic tradition and culture. The question of language is a major problem especially for some areas. In the government schools Hindi is the prevailing language of instruction. The choice of government schools with the use of Hindi, it is feared by some Moslem parents, may mean a loss of Urdu and a decline of Moslem culture. Others, however, feel that Moslem students without a knowledge of Hindi may be handicapped economically and remain without relationship to national development.

Currently, however, the Moslem schools as well as other private primary and secondary schools, are needed and desired and apparently will be, in the foreseeable future, in view of the lack of public educational facilities and the increasing pressure of demand which the government is financially unable to meet. The provision of universal, free and compulsory education up to fourteen years of age (Constitution of India, Art. 45) is obviously not yet possible but is an ultimate goal.

The higher education of Moslem girls has been slowly but steadily developing for over thirty years in women's colleges in India (see Table No. 6). In 1925 two Moslem students of Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow in *burqas* were awarded their degrees at the Convocation of Lucknow University and in 1928 three Moslem women on the same platform, unveiled, received degrees with the other women and men students. Since Independence the number of Moslem women students in colleges has greatly increased. Today Moslem women are entering coeducation universities all over India, primarily for graduate study.

A private, purdah college, such as the Muslim Women's College, Lucknow, which has a well-known Principal – Kumari

Roshin Jahon-faces a difficult problem because of the decreasing need for strict purdah on the college level and serious decline of Moslem landlord wealth since partition. The price of conservatism is too high. The Women's College, Muslim University, Aligarh, is a pioneer effort in Moslem women's education, which began as a high school in 1907 and became a B.A. college in 1939. Under the leadership of Begum Mumtaz Haidar, the Principal, it has, for more than twenty years, had a major influence in promoting higher education for women of conservative as well as of liberal Moslem families. The student body, which has grown steadily since partition, has a Moslem majority, but always has a number of non-Moslem students. Urdu and English are used as well as Hindi. The College combines studies in Islamic culture with modern education along various lines, including special emphasis on science, to give women pre-medical training in preparation for the Medical Faculty of the University.

The students attend classes for the B.A. degree in the College; and for higher degrees, in the University. At the University Convocation in 1957 eighty Moslem women appeared for degrees, of whom twelve were in *burqas*, and remained veiled throughout the awarding of degrees. One mounted the platform twice to receive high science awards. Some wore the characteristic Islamic white head veil and a number were entirely unveiled. Aligarh College graduates often pursue further studies in science or higher mathematics and sometimes continue post-graduate study after marriage. Important teaching positions are held by graduates of the Women's College throughout India and also, especially, in women's colleges in Pakistan.

Two women's colleges in Hyderabad contribute especially to Moslem women's education. The Hyderabad Women's College, affiliated with Osmania University, has a mixed student body of Moslems, Hindus, Christians and Parsis. In 1957 one-half of the enrollment of 1250 were Moslems. The medium of instruction, originally Urdu, is now English, which is in great demand, and Hindi is also used. A relatively small number of Moslem students take M.A. courses at Osmania University. The Nizam College, closely connected with Osmania University, has always been coeducational and uses English as the medium of instruction. The staff includes both men and women. The college, which is open to all religious communities, caters to a liberal public. A considerable number of Moslem women students enter the University for M.A. courses.

The most recent advance in higher education for Moslem women is the new Women's College at Madras, founded in June 1955 by the Southern India Education Trust, and started in July of that year with eighty students. Provisional affiliation with Madras University was secured. The College is steadily expanding; an institution for possibly a thousand students is envisaged in the plans. The Southern India Education Trust's (SIET) Women's College will benefit, primarily, Moslem women, because of their special need but is open to women of all religious communities in accordance with the non-communal objectives of SIET. It will serve not only Madras but a wide area, including Moslem communities in Southeast Asia which have liberally contributed to its establishment and support. Closely associated in promoting the SIET college project is the South India Moslem Education Association in Madras, which has vigorously campaigned for Moslem and non-Moslem donors and shares in the College administration. Moslem women leaders are actively participating in this Association, especially in raising funds for the College.

The new Women's College at Madras will materially advance the future development of Moslem women's education not only in Madras but in all of Southern India. The presence of Prime Minister Nehru and the late Education Minister of India, Maulana Azad, at the Foundation Ceremony of the College was an evidence of the concern of the leaders of India for the advancement of the education of Moslem women.

The Prime Minister's strong endorsement of the SIET Women's College confirmed the confidence of the public in his support. "If a country is going to make progress," he said, "as we are determined to do, it is quite essential that education should be widespread among men and women." From the status, position and education of women in a country, one could draw a sure deduction about the rest of the country.¹³

The Education Minister in his address stressed the basic ¹³ The Southern India Education Trust, Madras. Reports for the years 1954-55. Appendix F. p. 3.

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objective of the College "to serve all sections of the population without distinction of religion, community or caste" and expressed the hope that the promotion of education in this liberal spirit would "bring about among women irrespective of religion a true awakening to their role in society and in the building of the nation."¹⁴

In the total educational program of the Government of India, social education has claimed major attention, since a literate population is an urgent necessity for national development. Social education, the new term used instead of adult education, includes in addition to literacy, the central objective, general education in health, home life and recreation, economic activity and citizenship training, with special emphasis on women.¹⁵ "The importance of social education of women," as expressed by Mrs. Durgabai Deshmuk, Chairman of the Central Social Welfare Board, "is tantamount to education of two generations of a community, because educating the women amounts to educating the whole family and this work can most effectively be carried out by women workers."

The success of the Social Education Program depends upon the cooperation of the people. Its expansion, as pointed out in the Second Five Year Plan, will be conditioned by the joint efforts of all local groups in rural life—the cooperatives and labor groups, the village *panchayats* (councils), the village cooperatives, and village education centers.¹⁶

The program of social education, which has been promoted directly by the Ministry of Education during the first plan, included setting up community centers and libraries, wide distribution to the State Governments of adult education pamphlets (10,000 produced by the Adult Education Department of Jamia Millia University near Delhi), a planning conference of experts on audio-visual education, and the establishment of Social Education Department in the State Governments. The Ministry of Labor promoted a literacy program among industrial workers and the Defense Forces, a successful two-year program which

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁵ Second Five Year Plan, p. 517.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 517.

reduced the number of illiterates in these groups from 19,344 in 1949 to 5,780 in 1951.¹⁷

Two very interesting social education projects were carried out in a rural area in Delhi State—an intensive literacy campaign and a social education caravan project. The first was a concentrated effort to liquidate the illiteracy of 124,000 persons in a chosen area through primary and secondary schools and teachertraining institutes for men and women.

The Caravan Project comprised several jeeps, a mobile stage, a library, an exhibition van and a projector. The caravan settled temporarily in a central village, presented an exhibition of health, agriculture, etc., staged a dramatic performance with local talent, using educational propaganda and puppets for the themes, organized athletic contests and general village recreation. Soon the whole village was a part of the project. Then literacy classes were organized, local leaders recruited and eventually the caravan moved on.

The concentrated social education program, which has been carried on since 1947, is bearing results. General literacy, which was 12.2 per cent in 1941, was 16.6 per cent in 1951; the female literacy, 9.6 per cent in 1951, marks an increase over earlier estimate of under eight per cent. The 1951 census gives the latest measure of progress. Noteworthy in this advance is the growth in the number of educational centers for adult women, and the eager response of women to the opportunities offered them.¹⁸

For the further development of social education the Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961) suggests expansion of facilities on all levels: (1) for the State programs, the opening of more Social Education Centers, training of social education organizers, publication of literature, audio-visual education and founding of Rural Institutes; (2) the establishing of an education center for training social education organizers and for research in social education problems.

An interesting voluntary project is Literacy Village, a literacyplus program, at Saksharta Niketan near Lucknow. It is widely known as a unique social education center for training in literacy,

¹⁷ Seven Years of Freedom, pp. 16-17.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 25.

techniques and research, and for the production of reading materials for new literates. The trainees-teachers, village workers, men and women, but mostly men-come from all over India. Hundreds have had the four-week course. Puppets and Khaddargraph (like the Western flannelgraph) are successfully used. The book distribution covers all parts of India.19

Voluntary effort has made an inestimable contribution to the promotion of literacy and adult education. It is impossible to enumerate the countless services of individuals and groups working independently, especially women with literacy classes for women. In every area of India there are illustrations of voluntary personal service. To mention only one-the remarkable adult education program for illiterate women in the crowded Bombay tenements, carried on for thirty years by Mrs. Kulsum Sayani, a Moslem leader.

The crucial problem of education in India is the shortage of teachers. 2.8 million teachers were needed in 1947 for compulsory education; only 560,000 primary teachers were available and of these only 58.2 per cent were trained.20 Women teachers in 1953-54 were only seventeen per cent of the total number of teachers in primary and secondary schools.²¹ Substantial progress was made under the First Five Year Plan but the number of trained teachers is still far from adequate. (Table No. 7) This lack of women teachers is a major deterrent to the attendance of girls at school and keeps village women away from the Social Education Centers, as rural women can be reached only by women. Without women teachers it will be impossible to expand girls' primary education. To this end, the maximum age limit for recruitment has been raised from forty to forty-five and the minimum educational qualification has been reduced. The utilization of women teachers for village work presents two main problems: lack of living quarters and the need to arrange for part-time service of married women.

The training of more women teachers is an immediate necessity because the Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) will give priority to women's education. A wide-scale, quick, in-service

¹⁹ Literacy Village is supported by World Literacy, Inc., New York, through the India Literacy Board, Singar Nagar, Lucknow, U.P.

²⁰ Seven Years of Freedom, p. 13.

²¹ Second Five Year Plan, p. 504.

plan was carried out in 1957 by various colleges with Teacher Training Departments. In some cases mobile training squads gave courses in different centers for groups of local leaders. The in-service training plan has been welcomed by the colleges that have participated. The Director of Teacher Training at Isabella Thoburn College, Miss Doris Wilson, in a personal letter wrote with enthusiasm about the invigorating effect of this plan of national service.

A number of Training Institutes²² have been set up in the States for training in Basic Education; some with experimentation in village relations to serve the villages nearby and train village leaders; others as experimental centers, combining Basic Education and the conventional program and studying the distinctive principles of both types.

Preparation is being made for the specific emphasis on women's education under the Third Five Year Plan. At the suggestion of the Education Panel of the Planning Commission, the Government set up a National Committee on Women's Education in 1958, made up of highly representative leaders—educators in schools and colleges and specialists in social education, editors, social workers and others—under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Durgabai Deshmuk. The Committee has wide terms of reference to investigate the major problems of education of girls, the need for increase in vocational and social education, the contribution of voluntary organizations, etc., and to recommend the necessary measures to expand and improve education for girls and women.

An over-all view of education in India since Independence leaves an impression of great progress. There has been remarkable expansion on all levels, and at the same time a steady adaptation of methods to meet the changing needs of modern India. New ideas have become dynamic in action, as is evident from the spread of social education, nation-wide; the extension of education to all classes; the training of thousands of teachers and village workers, many of them women, for health and rural welfare; and marked advance in the education of girls and women, with plans for its wide and carefully considered promotion in the next Five Year Plan. All these developments have been made possible through the cooperation and eager response of the Indian people

²² Seven Years of Freedom, pp. 13-14.

themselves, and especially through the efforts of women. Education in this period has steadily advanced toward the achievement of the major objective—to equalize the educational opportunity for all classes in order to build a democratic society in free India.

Women's organizations and voluntary groups-local, state and national-have made a marked contribution to educational advance in India, especially the education of women and girls, both in rural and urban areas. Women's organized effort has been evident on all levels: primary, secondary, and higher education; social education-literacy, general training of women for home and family life; vocational education, training for clerical service and industrial employment; and citizenship education through lectures, seminars, conferences. The scope and volume of the voluntary educational activities of women in India make a detailed enumeration of the specialized services of individual organizations impossible. The national organizations play a considerable part in the general educational program, stimulating the voluntary effort of their local branches, interpreting the national education plans of the government and promoting effective cooperation.

A number of official and private agencies have cooperated with the Indian Government in the development of its extensive national programs in education through material aid and technical assistance in India and scholarships and fellowships for study abroad. These participating agencies include the United Nations-UNESCO and ILO; the Colombo Powers (the members of the Commonwealth); the Technical Cooperation Mission of the U. S.; the U. S. Education Foundation in India (the joint Indian and American administration of the Fulbright fellowship program); and private philanthropic groups such as the Ford, Rockefeller and Asia Foundations, American Friends Committee, and the British Council. The sum total of the contribution in material and technical assistance of these various agencies represents a considerable volume of fruitful international cooperation.

HEALTH PROGRAM IN INDIA

An hour with the Minister of Health in India, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, in 1957, left an impression of the overwhelming health needs of India, a dark picture but one with highlights of hopeful change. To establish the new health program of India was and still is a tremendous task, two-fold in character and aimto intensify the fight against communicable disease, and continue the long-range effort to build a sound foundation for national health.

Remarkable progress has been made in eliminating several of the major enemies of India. Two hundred million Indians live in malarial areas. One-half have been protected by a mass-scale campaign against malaria, probably the largest in the world, which will continue until all have been reached.1 In the fight against tuberculosis, eighty-two million persons have been tested and over twenty-eight million vaccinated. There are 2.5 million active cases of tuberculosis; one-half million die each year. The Second Five Year Plan proposes to open new training centers and clinics and to reach the entire susceptible population under twenty-five years of age.² Leprosy is a menace to another million and a half in India. Already, through research and teaching, advance has been made. The Second Five Year Plan will provide eighty-eight more subsidiary centers, as well as isolation care and rehabilitation.

The struggle against disease is accompanied by an active · campaign to eradicate the causes - contaminated water, improper waste disposal, poor housing, low standards of sanitation and of public health. Only six per cent of the population have protected water and three per cent protected sewage.

Progress was made during the First Five Year Plan in sanitation in certain selected areas; 100,000 drinking water wells were built or renovated, and thousands of feet of drains constructed.3 To improve the environment, sanitation must be taught, which means that training facilities for public health engineers, sanitary inspectors and other workers must be provided.4

Along with this continuing campaign against disease and a

¹ UNICEF Planning Commission, Report of Executive Board, p. 56, Oct. & Nov. 1956.

² Government of India, The New India: "Progress Through Democracy," 1958, p. 347. ³ Ibid., p. 348.

⁴ Government of India, Second Five Year Plan, p. 551.

low sanitary standard, a Positive Health Program for rural India was steadily promoted during the First Five Year Plan, and continues to be a central objective. A network of Health Centers or units, 725 in all, a part of the Community Development Block Plan, was established. One health unit is located in each "block" of 100 villages, called a "National Extension Service Block," of which it is planned to have, eventually, 5,000.⁵

These health units are the center for the curative and preventive health services in the various areas, and will meet the need until the full medical care of hospitals can be extended to reach the 500,000 villages. The Second Five-Year Plan proposes to add more than 3,000 health units in national extension and community projects and in other areas, serving some 60,000 persons in each area. A number of mobile teams will carry out the over-all program—maternal and child health work, sanitation, preventive inoculation and health education.

A central necessity in the intensive rural health development is promotion of the Maternal and Child Health Program (MCH). During the period of the First Five Year Plan a hopeful index of change in the health situation was the decrease in infant mortality from 127 per 1,000 births in 1950 to 113 in 1954. Maternal mortality likewise decreased.⁶ This is encouraging, yet at the same time it points up the appallingly high infant mortality, and emphasizes the need for continuing effort to provide maternal and child care. The number of MCH Centers was increased from 1,651 to 1,790. In this number are 136 centers in the backward areas of sixteen States.

In solving the difficult problem of recruiting and training health workers such as nurses, midwives, health visitors, and auxiliary nurse midwives, the Government midwifery service has had the full cooperation and assistance of WHO and UNICEF—material help to the schools and stipends for women medical officers and midwives taking refresher courses, and considerable financial aid from UNICEF in addition, in establishing the widely known Maternal and Child Health Training Center at the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in

⁵ United Nations Children's Fund, Report of Executive Board, October and November 1956, p. 56.

⁶ The New India: "Progress through Democracy," p. 344.

Calcutta. This Institute provides training for MCH personnel, not only from India but the whole of South East Asia. The courses include both academic and field training in maternal and child health work, public health nursing, public health education and related fields. A number of fellowships have been established.

In discussing their MCH service, the nurses and midwives always stress both the decline in traditional attitudes toward modern health care and the slow but steady growth in the active interest of the village people. Many Centers have been built with the financial help and labor of the village people themselves, women bearing their share. The eager response of village women to MCH care and also their urgent needs are evident from the waiting rooms in any of the MCH Centers or Clinics, which are always filled with mothers and their children, patiently waiting their turn for the service of the overpressed staff.

The multiplication of MCH Centers and an increase in health workers are interdependent and urgently needed. The Second Five Year Plan provided for 2,100 more MCH Centers, to be directly attached to the rural units.⁷

The work for mothers and children provided for pre-natal care, domiciliary midwifery, post-natal follow-up and care of the child during its first year. Thirty-six thousand local hereditary midwives, *dais*, were to be trained; five centers for pediatric training were to be set up for instruction of health workers in regular and refresher courses. These workers would give both ante-natal and obstetrical service in MCH Centers, and teach health education in the elementary schools.

Nutrition teaching in the use of protective foods, especially for children and expectant mothers, has been an important part of the MCH program in rural areas, where the low standard of living is the result not only of poverty but of ignorance.

Family planning in India is being vigorously promoted as a central government policy related to the basic problems of food, health and general welfare. The limitation of population is regarded as both a primary health service in safeguarding the life of both mother and child, and a national necessity, in order to stabilize population on a level in balance with national economy. The Government promotion of family planning repre-

⁷ Second Five Year Plan, p. 552.

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sents the fruition of the efforts of individuals and agencies for many years to awaken concern on birth control. The All-India Women's Conference, held in Trivandrum in 1936, called the attention of women especially to this problem.

The First Five Year Plan began the family planning program with an allocation of sixty-five *lakhs* (100,000 rupees=1 lakh; 65 lakhs=6,500,000) for research on basic problems, field experiments in different methods and financial assistance to voluntary agencies for family planning. Through the Family Planning Section of the Ministry of Health the Government has carried on an enormous education program through broadcasts and visual aids, pamphlets, exhibits, demonstration centers with distribution of free materials. By 1957 every city in India had at least one clinic; some ten to thirty. By 1961 the Second Five Year Plan expects to set up 2,000 rural and 300 urban centers.⁸ Family Planning is the core around which other health programs are being built or developed for the social and economic well being of India. The fact that the present increase in the birth rate is 4.5 million each year makes Family Planning imperative.⁹

The Family Planning Association, with men and women members, established in 1949 under the Chairmanship of Lady Dhanvanti Rama Rau, is cooperating closely in its thirteen branches throughout India with the government program. With financial assistance, the Association is able to develop effectively an extensive program of welfare services and carries on valuable research in relation to the basic problems of population control. The program includes family planning clinics, parents classes and guidance centers, widespread education and research in specific Indian problems. The Association publishes the bimonthly Journal of Family Welfare (Editor, Mrs. Awabai Wadia) and sponsors the Family Welfare Bureau, financed by the Government. It exerts wide regional influence through contacts and national conferences. The Family Planning Association in India is affiliated with the International Planned Parenthood Federation, which held its first meeting in Bombay in 1952. (Table No. 12) The Federation met in New Delhi in 1959.

The most serious problem in the development of the health

⁹ Women of India, p. 263, Durgabai Deshmukh.

⁸ Ibid., p. 554.

program in India, particularly in rural areas, is, as has been said, the shortage of trained medical and health personnel.

At the beginning of the First Five Year Plan there were 59,000 doctors, or about one to every 6,200 population; in rural areas one to about every 15,000 persons, because of the concentration of doctors in cities. By 1956 there were 70,000 qualified doctors in India; 12,500 more will qualify by 1960. (Table No. 8) The number of medical colleges increased during the First Five Year Plan from thirty to forty-two and the annual admissions from 2,500 to 3,500.¹⁰

The Second Five Year Plan will provide for more colleges, the upgrading of certain of them for graduate training and research, establishment of preventive medicine and psychiatric departments in several colleges, and an All-India Institute of Medical Science.¹¹

The number of women doctors in 1950 (1951 census) was 4,552 (medical graduates 2,214, medical licentiates 2,338). The number of women doctors in 1958 was 7,299 out of a total of 69,605.¹²

Women students consider medicine a priority profession because of its prestige and professional opportunity, and because of its strong service appeal. They have equality of access to all medical colleges and universities, but the number of women applicants for entrance exceeds the possibilities of admission. There are three well-known, long-established women's colleges, Lady Hardinge and the two Christian medical colleges-Ludhiana Medical School and Christian Medical College, Vellore (Table No. 6), both of which now admit men. Currently there is a marked trend toward coeducation, as is shown by the growing number of women in coeducational medical schools. The Central Government, after long consideration, adopted the policy of coeducation for medical training. However, the specific government proposal to convert the Lady Hardinge Medical College into a coeducational institution met with such vigorous opposition by the Association of Medical Women and other women's organizations that the College has been allowed to con-

¹⁰ Second Five Year Plan, p. 536.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 536.

¹² Correspondence, October 1958, with the Directorate General of Health, New Delhi.

tinue exclusively for women. The opposition of the women's organizations was made on the basis that the discontinuance of Lady Hardinge College "was a premature step, as social conditions had not changed overnight with the acquisition of Independence."13 The Association of Medical Women in India is affiliated with the International Association of Medical Women.

India has some 600-700 qualified dental surgeons and six dental colleges. The Second Five Year Plan will add four colleges, double the admissions and raise the standards. This is another profession in which the number of women might be increased.14 Women are very much needed.

During the First Five Year Plan marked advance was made in the training of health personnel of all categories-nurses, midwives, health visitors and nurse-dais. The number of nurses increased from 17,000 to 22,000; midwives from 18,000 to 26,000; health visitors from 600 to 800 and nurse-dais or midwives from 4,000 to 6,800. The goals for 1960 for the several categories increased, respectively, for nurses to 31,000, midwives to 32,000, and health visitors to 2,500. (Table No. 8)

The training centers for nurses increased from 141 to 324 and for midwives from 156 to 259 and for health visitors eight other institutions in addition to the Lady Reading Health School at Delhi were expanded. In 1955 there were in training 2,030 nurses, 2,170 midwives, 2,070 dais and 600 auxiliary nurse midwives.15

The minimum education requirement for nurses' training is matriculation (high school education), which is not yet enforced in some States. The three-year course, plus six months midwifery, combines nursing care and domiciliary service with public health instruction and village work-a special emphasis in the States' training program. The Director of the New Delhi College of Nursing in 1957, Miss Margaretta Craig, stressed the hopeful trend in nursing away from merely bedside care of the sick: "Today," she said, "nursing is a service to maintain positive health," of body, mind and spirit-a great challenge to nurses' training." For many years the training of nurses was largely given in

¹³ Journal of the Association of Medical Women in India, November 1957, p. 123.

14 Second Five Year Plan, p. 537.

¹⁵ Review of First Five Year Plan, Bombay, 1957, p. 278.

Christian hospitals. Nurses' training today is a major Government responsibility.

There are two higher schools of nursing in India, in New Delhi and Vellore. The New Delhi College of Nursing is affiliated with the University of Delhi; the School of Nursing in the Vellore Christian Medical College is accredited for the B.S. degree in nursing by the Medical College of the University of Madras. The Dean of the School of Nursing is Miss Florence Taylor. Both New Delhi and Vellore require a minimum of two years of intermediate college (some students have had four years of college) for entrance to the four-year integrated college course of regular nursing and full public health instruction. A new post-graduate course for nursing administration and teaching, open to experienced registered nurses, leads to the certificate issued by the Ministry of Health. The demand for entrance to the two colleges far exceeds their capacity, which is limited because of lack of hostel space. As Government colleges, all of their admissions are by examination.

The financial status of nurses in hospitals is low but the basic pay—100-185 rupees per month, plus allowances for board and room, uniform and laundry—may equal the earning of the average level of teaching. There are very few private nurses with independent earnings, mostly in large cities.

The attitude toward nursing has been steadily changing, especially since Independence. The general loosening of fixed social lines has helped to lessen the prejudice against it, and the two Colleges of Nursing are raising the status of nursing to the University level with other professions. Thus nursing can attract the type of woman needed for the increased responsibility envisaged by the Second Five Year Plan. The changing attitude toward nursing is reflected in the enrollment of these two nonsectarian colleges, which include a large Hindi majority, many Christians and a few Moslems. The marked increase in Hindus and the attendance of even a few Moslems mark hopeful advance.

The Trained Nurses' Association of India is affiliated with the International Council of Nursing.

The entrance requirement for midwifery training is seven years of schooling. The two-year course includes, in addition to the usual training, some elementary nursing and more hygiene,

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to prepare the midwives in rural areas for simple nursing duties as required. Also, experience will be provided in organizing and conducting ante-natal clinics in order to improve preventive service.

"Midwifery does not have the status of an independent profession," as explained by Miss T. K. Adranvala, Chief Nursing Superintendent, Ministry of Health, probably because it has been traditionally practiced by untrained women of low social standing. Most women nurses are qualified midwives but very few practice midwifery except in their hospital service. Upper class women prefer to use the hospital, a maternity home, or call a doctor. Training in midwifery alone is often selected by candidates not eligible for nurses' training. The Second Five Year Plan of increasing the number of trained midwives should lift the level of midwifery as an independent career service.

Trained midwives are used largely in maternal and child welfare clinics and in domiciliary service in limited areas. Only the untrained local *dais*—the traditional hereditary midwives, the Sairy Gamps—are available for the midwifery needs of the great mass of village women. The Second Five Year Plan provides for the training of 36,000 *dais* in a six-month course prescribed by the Indian Council of Nursing, to be given by the public health nurses or health visitors qualified in nursing, with supervision in their service by health visitors and trained midwives. Untrained *dais* attend eighty-five per cent of total yearly births (eight million).¹⁶

The health visitor service has contributed effectively to the development of the maternity and child welfare program in India. It was started by the Lady Reading Health School, originally under the Red Cross, and later a Government institution. There are now ten other Health Visitor Schools in India, either Red Cross or Government State schools.

Matriculation is required for the health visitor training. The three-year course—eighteen months in midwifery and eighteen months in public health—prepares for work with children up to five years, in ante-natal and post-natal clinics, home nursing and midwifery; and since 1955 with an integrated course in mid-

¹⁶ Journal of the Association of Medical Women in India, November 1956, p. 73.

wifery and public health. Health visitors receive the same salary as trained nurses, without the nurses' allowances for living, uniforms, etc.

The career of the health visitor, according to Miss M. Korah, Director of the Lady Reading Health Service, is preferred by most parents and young women to that of nursing for various reasons: higher social status, freedom from the régime of hospital living, and more freedom to work after marriage, as the health visitor has a daytime schedule. Moreover, the profession of health visitor is a new profession and free from any inherited prejudice. In the further development of the Maternal and Child Health Program, Dr. S. Bhatia, Advisor on Maternity and Child Welfare, Ministry of Health, stressed the need to utilize more fully the MCH officers for technical advice in institutions, consultation and training services, help in administrative problems in the MCH, and for participation in the school health service.

Securing women personnel for health service in rural communities presents the familiar problem of the shortage of women candidates willing to enter service in rural areas, in view of prevailing social conservatism. All candidates, in varying degrees, face the same difficulties in living conditions and a generally adverse social climate, especially for unmarried women. In order to achieve the goal of greatly increased numbers of women in rural health service, the official promotion of a change in social conditions is a necessity.

The crucial need of health personnel is evident in the 1951 census: one nurse for 43,000 population, one health visitor for 400,000, one midwife for 60,000. In 1956, health personnel (other than doctors), in spite of progress, was only twenty-five per cent of the number needed. In 1961 it will be forty per cent,¹⁷ in view of the increased provision for health personnel in the Second Five Year Plan, which envisions steady progress toward a still distant goal.

Builders of the health program face with realism these tremendous difficulties but are nonetheless encouraged by the signs of hope. To quote from an address to the YWCA International Seminar (1956) by the Minister of Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, "Until ignorance and poverty are overcome, health stand-

¹⁷ The New India, p. 109.

WOMEN IN INDIA

ards will remain below the optimum. However, the efforts we have put in during the last few years have been rewarded with results which give us hope and confidence that we will in due course find a place among the healthy nations of the world."¹⁸

The Government health program has been capably promoted by women's organizations and mixed voluntary agencies. Various national organizations—the Red Cross, All-India Women's Conference, National Council of Women, Family Planning Association, National Association of Medical Women and the YWCA—have carried on varied nationwide health services through their branches in cities and towns and particularly in rural areas. The composite of health welfare comprises child welfare clinics, maternity welfare centers, dispensaries, mobile medical vans, voluntary hospital care, and distribution of vitamin tablets and milk powder from UNICEF, and training of women rural welfare workers. The various welfare programs are carried out cooperatively and in close relationship to the over-all government plan.

The following international and foreign agencies have cooperated with the Government of India in developing the health program: WHO, UNICEF, FAO, the Colombo Plan, Technical Cooperation Mission, and the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations.

RURAL WELFARE

In the rural development program, the welfare of women and children has claimed the major attention of the Government and also of voluntary agencies. After the community development program was inaugurated, it became evident that village women would have a determinative influence on its success, and, moreover, that it would be impossible to raise the level of family living, a major objective, without the cooperation of women. A development program for village women was obviously necessary, as were also women workers, since the men workers in the community development program had no contact with village women.

The National Home Science Extension Program, accordingly, was set up in 1954 in the Food and Agriculture Ministry, to train rural women workers and the training program was started

¹⁸ Seminar organized in relation with the Sixth UNESCO Conference, New Delhi, November 1956.

in 1955 under the direction of Dr. Rajammal P. Devadas, Chief Home Economist of the Ministry of Agriculture. Twenty-five training centers—home economics wings—were established and at the same time an extension bureau to supervise these centers the first National Home Science Bureau in India.¹ By 1956, two home science extension training centers had been established, and within a year (November 1957) these centers had all been staffed, each with three trained home economists, to a total of eighty-one. In each center twenty women annually have had a one year training course and then been assigned to village service in the development Block, two workers in each Block of 100 villages. The gramsevikas (village workers) select a few villages at a time for their service. By December 1961, it is hoped to have 3,300 trained gramsevikas to supply two per Block in about 1,650 Blocks.²

The one-year training course includes food and nutrition, clothing for the family, mother and child care, health and sanitation, handicraft and cottage industries, agriculture, cooperatives, civics, community recreation and psychology. Agriculture and handicrafts have special emphasis. Practical field work includes kitchen gardening, bee keeping, dairying, poultry raising, farming and horticulture. This course is the basis for the work with the village women in helping them in their home and family life and in the community.

The major requirements for admission to the course are: age, between eighteen and thirty-five; education, ten years of school; a village background, and special desire to work in rural India.

The Home Science Wings throughout India are located usually in the general training centers of the National Extension Services, where various types of training are given, or in an Agricultural Extension Center, as at Sarojini Nagar at Lucknow. Wherever located, these Home Science Wings are developed along the same lines. A visit to Sarojini Nagar with the social welfare adviser from Lucknow gave a clear idea of the general training plan—a group of young trainees and teachers living

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¹ The New India, "Progress Toward Democracy," p. 174.

² Rajammal Devadas, Government of India Memorandum, November 20, 1956, and 1957 correspondence.

and working together as a family in a fairly large Center, recently built, which combines living quarters and rooms for teaching.

This group of eighteen young women, all from villages, was made up of Hindus, the majority, Christians, and six Moslems. (The number of Moslems was noted as unusual since relatively few enter rural service.) Several in the group were married. The trainees were responsible for the housekeeping, which was considered an essential part of their training. The staff was the usual number—a director, an experienced older woman who was a university graduate with a number of years in Government work, and three associates, well-trained younger women.

Temporarily the Center was having the assistance of a mobile team for one week, to train in fruit preservation. The regular program had been changed to concentrate on this special subject. Other teams teaching embroidery, tailoring, horticulture, and medical care, frequently "service" the Center. Specialists from the Agricultural Center are also available for technical assistance.

The day's schedule at the Training Center, from 5.00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m., is very full. There are household duties (classes beginning at 8:00 a.m.), field work, recreation, study and rest periods, crafts, prayer time, and the evening free for reading and discussion. The Training Center gave the impression of a well-organized program and a well-adjusted group living and working together. The gramsevikas seemed to enjoy their full, disciplined life and the free atmosphere of the center. One could easily envisage this group in village service later.

After the training course the gramsevikas begin their village work. In their training it has been emphasized that they must move slowly, get acquainted with the women in their homes, learn their needs and interests, and let the program gradually take shape. Through their contacts and the various classes the gramsevikas are able slowly to improve home practices, food habits, sanitation, and the basic standards of living.

Special effort is made to develop in the village woman a sense of economic responsibility for the family and for the community as a co-partner with her husband in agriculture and food production, helping to raise the economic standards of rural life. The objective is to break down the segregation of women in the village, and encourage them to take part as responsible citizens in community life.

One of the leaders summed up the response of the village women to the help of the gramsevika. "Village women are eager to know modern techniques and apply them in their homes, provided they are profitable to them and do not violate their cultural background and religious belief. The gramsevikas are inspired by the response of the village women."

Women social education organizers contribute to the village welfare program for women in connection with literacy and increased participation of women in village life. Their work with village women is part of the general social education program carried on jointly by men and women workers. The women social education organizers are college or university graduates, usually with teaching or social work experience. Training for social education in the villages is coeducational, and includes theoretical subjects—psychology, sociology, etc.—and practical preparation for general community activities—recreation, group work, and civic education.

Estimates of the Second Five Year Plan are that 200,000 workers of all types of village service are needed. Provision is being made to cover the large-scale training requirements by the increase of extension training centers from forty-three to sixty-one (1956-61).³

In order to mobilize and develop the nation-wide social welfare resources of voluntary agencies, the Government set up the Central Social Welfare Board as part of the First Five Year Plan, to assist them to carry on their welfare program for women, children and handicapped persons. The work of the Central Board of Social Welfare, under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, covers all of India—but the beginning period was concerned primarily with rural India. In cooperation with the State Governments, the Central Board has set up State Social Welfare Boards throughout India. These Boards are composed largely of non-officials, all women, with much experience in voluntary welfare work. The Central Board is empowered with large funds and a great deal of administrative

³ Second Five Year Plan, Government of India, Planning Commission, 1956, pp. 240-241.

authority to implement its expanding program and the welfare network of the State Boards.⁴

In the first Five Year Plan the Central Social Welfare Board assisted 2,128 private welfare organizations—grants for general welfare about one-third, women's welfare a little less than a third, and the remainder for children and institutions for the handicapped. The grants of the Central Social Welfare Board, which covered the whole country, were made to existing voluntary organizations to consolidate their activities, and to new organizations to help them begin their program on sound lines. The general purpose is to facilitate the establishment of voluntary organizations throughout India.

The Central Social Welfare Board, in addition to the grants to voluntary agencies, has also launched a program of Welfare Extension Projects or extension areas, one in each District with twenty-five villages to each extension area. In 1956 there were 291 of these Welfare Extension Projects. By 1961, under the Second Five Year Plan, there will be 1,320, four in each district, the total reaching 50,000 villages with welfare services for women and children. The program, which is carried on largely by local women welfare workers, volunteers and officials in the welfare field, includes nurseries and nursery schools, maternity and child health services, social education for arts and crafts, recreation and cultural activities. For the Welfare Extension Projects it is estimated that 6,600 gramsevika village welfare workers will be needed by the end of 1961.⁵

To meet these multiple needs for trained women workers the Central Social Welfare Board has organized and carried out large scale training schemes with the cooperation and assistance of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust, the pioneer agency in rural welfare training.

By the end of 1961, through Government and private agencies, 400,000 villages will have the services of trained village-level workers, home science and social education organizers—an impressive body of trained women united in the community development of rural life.

The Central Social Welfare Board, in its over-all organization

⁵ Women of India, "Women in Planning," Mrs. Deshmukh, pp. 265, 266.

with the network of State Branches and tireless individual members promoting the welfare services of hundreds of local leaders in remote centers all over India, represents graphically the remarkable expansion of social welfare through voluntary effort.

But beyond its concrete success, in terms of national social welfare expansion, the Central Social Welfare Board has unusual meaning for India. It marks the recognition by the Government of the essential necessity of women's voluntary agencies in promoting national welfare and is an evidence of official confidence in women's ability to plan and administer large financial enterprises. The Board is evidence also of the basic value of cooperation and partnership between Government and voluntary agencies. Furthermore, it clearly illustrates the integral relationship in community development between social and economic progress and specifically demonstrates that social advance in the life of village women is the key to change in the life of the homes and village, and rural life as a whole.

Associated with the Chairman of the Central Social Welfare Board, Mrs. Deshmukh, are a number of outstanding national leaders including Mrs. Achamma Matthai, Begum Ali Zahir, Mrs. Mary Clubwalla Jadhav, Mrs. P. N. Haksar, Mrs. Currimbhoy, Mrs. Sengupta and Lady Rama Rau.

Of distinct value in the welfare program for village women are the student vacation camps of girls and young women from schools and colleges, which the Bharat Sevak Samaj (Indian Service Union) is conducting as a part of the Youth Camp Program. From April 1954 to March 1957, the camp organization included 185 girls' camps (attended by 9,560 campers) compared to 904 boys' camps (attended by 75,000 campers.⁶ The disparity in numbers reflects the effect of social conditions. However, as the number of girls' camps indicates, the difficulties are being overcome.

The over-all objective of the youth camps of both sexes is to promote national reconstruction and the spirit of service through definite lines of work. The boys' camps help in building roads and schools, in slum clearance and sanitation, and in other lines of reconstruction. The main objectives of the girls' camps are to help change village conditions and to improve the

⁶ Report of T. Ramachandra, Chief Camp Organizer, Bharat Sevak Samaj.

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personal well-being of village women-their home and family life, and life in the community. Better homes, and brighter villages are the goal. The program of the girls' camps, a brief period of only two or three weeks, is planned closely with the other village workers, home economics workers, social education organizers and health workers, so that the campers can successfully supplement the regular services.

At the beginning the villagers are somewhat aloof, but after the campers have made contacts with the village elders and with women in their homes, the entire community responds, and regrets the campers' leaving, as youth brings new life to the village.

The Government allotted considerable funds during the First Five Year Plan for camps organized by the National Cadet Corps and Auxiliary Cadet Corps, State Governments, the Bharat Sevak Samaj and other voluntary agencies.7

Cooperating with the organizers of these girls' camps for rural reconstruction in the recruiting and training of leaders are two national organizations that have had long experience in this field -The Girl Guides, headed by Mrs. Lakshmi Mazumdar, Chief Guide Commissioner of India, and the YWCA, of which Miss Ivy Khan is National General Secretary.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Of the present number of social welfare agencies and institutions in India, estimated at 10,000,1 women's agencies form a large part, as women have always been concerned, especially from religious motives, with charity and relief. During the past forty years since the social awakening of women began, the volume of social welfare activities has steadily grown, and since Independence, under the pressure of growing needs and opportunities, the voluntary activities of women have increased even more, and new types of work and new emphases have been developed.

There has been a special increase in child welfare services and a fresh approach to the needs of children, as illustrated by a number of pioneer projects, such as-to mention only a few-

⁷ Review of First Five Year Plan, May 1957, p. 261.

¹ Women of India, "Voluntary Social Service," by Freda Bedi, p. 217.

a children's recreation center (Bal Bhaven) and a children's cooperative (Bal Sahyog) for street boys and destitutes, in Delhi; children's vacation libraries and recreation outings in Bombay; and the model Seva Samajam Boys' and Girls' Home in Madras. In these varied child welfare agencies the problem of juvenile delinquency is a common concern, either in preventive or rehabilitation services. The organization of Child Welfare Services was promoted by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur as Health Minister in 1947 through the Indian National Committee of the United Nations Committeee for Children (UNAC). This was later developed under the vital leadership of the late Hannah Sen and Indira Gandhi into the Indian Council for Child Welfare, which was registered in 1952 and, in 1953, affiliated with the International Union of Child Welfare. The Council stimulates and coordinates the various voluntary child welfare efforts throughout India.

Emphasis is being given by Government and voluntary agencies to special welfare services for Harijans (outcasts), the socalled depressed classes, and physically and mentally handicapped children. The majority of institutions for the handicapped are run by private agencies with Government aid.² The Second Five Year Plan provides for increased facilities, some model schools, and scholarships. Noteworthy service is being carried on by individual women leaders for handicapped children in several fields-the mentally retarded, the blind, the crippled children. A widely known example is the result of the long pioneering effort of Begum Fatima Ismail for the rehabilitation of her own child, a victim of polio, which inspired the promotion of clinical and hospital care of all children stricken with polio and finally brought the achievement of the Children's Orthopaedic Hospital in Bombay, the only one of its kind in India.

Among the problems frequently discussed by women leaders in India is the social evil of prostitution, which has long been a subject of major concern for women's organizations, specifically the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene. This long sus-

² There are at present in India sixty schools for the blind, forty-four for deafmutes, nine for the crippled and five for the mentally handicapped. Second Five Year Plan, p. 603.

tained effort gained fresh impetus three years ago through the Report of a Study of Prostitution, its cause and the present situation, made by a women's committee which was appointed by the Central Social Welfare Board (1955-56). Through this report public attention was sharply focused on the dangers of this social vice and the necessity for legislation. The Association of Moral and Social Hygiene led a vigorous campaign for drastic control of prostitution. A comprehensive new law supported by women Parliament members was presented to the Parliament but is not yet passed. The active promotion by women in Parliament of legislative social reform gives assurance of future success in eradicating social evils.

Attention is being given to the aftercare services for men and women released from correctional institutions and needing homes and rehabilitation assistance. A Women's Advisory Committee appointed by the Central Board of Social Welfare has helped to plan the aftercare provision for women, for which Government funds have been provided. Homes and care for three types of women will be provided: for women needing a long period of social and environmental adjustment before vocational training is possible; for women discharged from correctional institutions, and for women from non-correctional and care institutions for short rehabilitation periods. The aftercare program opens a new field of social work for which special training is needed.3

Economic help to home women in urban areas is being provided by the Family Welfare Service, a voluntary society started in 1955 by the Central Social Welfare Board and the Ministry of Industry. It arranges for home employment, on a part-time basis, through contact with neighboring factories that can use home labor. A committee of volunteers is the liaison between the factory and the workers. The Family Welfare Service, which provides not only home work but home welfare, child care, medical aid, and family counseling, has become a popular movement with prospects for further growth.4

Unique in the various voluntary activities for national welfare has been the work of the Women's Savings Campaign, a

³ Women of India, "Women in Planning," Durgabai Deshmukh, p. 267.

⁴ Ibid., "Our Own Times," by Mrs. Hanna Sen, p. 49.

scheme to increase Government funds for the Five Year Plans by promoting thrift among women and the investment of their savings in the natioual cause. Under the remarkable leadership of the late Hannah Sen, 188 women's organizations have helped to carry out the plan, and 681 volunteer workers have been appointed as "agents" of the Government. The sales figures for eight months—October 1956 to May 1957—were 203 lakhs of rupees.⁵

Social welfare leaders call attention to the marked development in coordination and cooperation among welfare agencies, which is recognized as a necessity in order to meet the increasing pressure of social needs. The Madras Guild of Service is a unique example of the efficient coordination of more than one hundred social welfare agencies under the dynamic chairmanship of Mrs. Mary Clubwalla Jadhav. The Guild was established over thirty years ago and has greatly increased its activities since 1948. It represents a wide cross section—men and women's organizations and Indian and foreign representatives of voluntary and governmental agencies for the welfare of women and children. Its over-all functions include administration of emergency relief programs, social planning and supervision of projects, information and public education.

Madras is the only city with a central coordinating body like the Guild of Service. In other cities there are many different types of cooperation and coordination of activities—interorganizational relations, group councils on special interests such as child welfare and youth problems, joint studies and surveys, training projects, etc. Similar types of cooperation are developed on national lines through All-India organizations. Among voluntary organizations there is an important new field of cooperation in respect to their relationship with Government planning.

An excellent illustration is the Seminar on the Role of Voluntary Organizations in the Second Five Year Plan, which was held May 16-20, 1957, at Anandigiri Ootacamund, the YWCA Summer Conference Grounds. It was attended by representatives of seventeen voluntary organizations, a number of Government officials and two coordinators—the Field Director of the Delhi School of Social Work. Mr. Meher Nanavatty, and

⁵ Ibid., "Women in Planning," Durgabai Deshmukh, p. 262.

the Social Welfare Adviser, Technical Cooperation Administration, Miss Evelyn Hersey. The Seminar was organized jointly by the YWCA and YMCA with the assistance of the National Social Welfare Organization in Delhi and the active support of Mr. L. R. Nair, Adviser, Five Year Plan Publicity, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The program comprised the presentation by Government officials of the Second Five Year Plan in main outline and specific phases—Education, Health, Social Welfare, Community Development; and the discussion by seminar groups of the Second Five Year Plan in reference to the role of voluntary agencies.

A major development in social welfare since Independence has been the establishment of six new schools of social work, making now a total of seven. The Tata Institute of Social Science, founded in 1936, was the first in India. The Delhi School of Social Work was the second, founded in 1946 and affiliated in 1948 to the University of Delhi. The present list of schools of social work is as follows:

The Tata Institute of Social Science, Bombay

The Delhi School of Social Work, affiliated with Delhi University

Baroda University, Department of Social Work

Lucknow University, Department of Social Work

Calcutta University, Department of Social Work

Madras School of Social Work

Indore Christian College, School of Social Work

Benares College, a course in social work given in Hindi.

The Tata Institute gives a diploma in Social Service Administration and the Schools of Social Work, related to the Universities, give an M.A. degree. The other Schools are on the college level.

An increasing number of trained social workers, men and women, from these schools are carrying on outstanding social work throughout India. In a brief period the profession of social work has become firmly established and widely recognized. Commenting on the outlook (1957) for social work Mr. M. S. Gore, Principal of the Delhi School of Social Work, expressed the view that "the development of new programs for general welfare and the growing recognition of the need for professionally trained social workers give hope for increased job opportunities for those who are properly equipped." Education and training in one of the accredited schools is now required by the Government for employment as labor welfare officers and medical social workers, and also by the Central Social Welfare Board for work in the field of aftercare services and moral and social hygiene. Social workers hold positions of high responsibility and have influence in social planning.

With the School of Social Work has come an awakening to the sense of need among voluntary social welfare leaders for professional training and for knowledge of the scientific principles of social welfare. The tremendous plans of India as a Welfare State require reorientation in the concept of social welfare from the idea of charity to that of service based on selfhelp. This means a redirection of social policy from curative to preventive social services.

To quote from Mrs. Hansaben Mehta, the President of the Indian Conference of Social Work: "Social security consists of providing preventive measures for social health. The focus of preventive social policy should be to provide against the social insecurity of people—we must realize that social service is not a form of patronage. Social security is the birthright of a welfare state. Social justice and social security have to be transformed into concrete realities. This requires a large body of qualified welfare workers. who can utilize limited resources to the best advantage."⁶

Commenting in personal conversation on future trends, Mrs. P. Parjatham Naidu, Deputy Director, Social Services, in the Planning Commission of the Government of India, expressed the opinion that "one of the most hopeful elements in the social situation is the growing measure of understanding and cooperation between professional and voluntary social workers. This is the natural result of their common need for training, their mutual appreciation and unity of purpose in the service of India." And Mrs. Naidu added, "We [in the Government] are making more attempts to bring official and non-official agencies closer still, because we have realized in the light of our experi-

⁶Ninth Indian Conference of Social Work, Jaipur, December 28, 1956, Presidential address by Mrs. Hansaben Mehta.

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ence in these two Five Year Plans that this intimate collaboration is most essential in the field of social services."

In the development of social welfare in India, the Indian Conference of Social Work has been a potent force. Bringing together each year five hundred or more professional and volunteer social workers, men and women of different communities, it provides a free forum for an exchange of information and experience, and for social planning. Through the Conference, social problems and needs are studied. All-India Expositions are held, seminars and symposiums on various aspects of social welfare are planned—nation-wide and regionally and also internationally, as for example, the International Conference of Social Work held in Madras in 1953. Women are playing an important part in the development of the Indian Conference of Social Work. Mrs. Mehta has been its President for several years.

The Indian Conference of Social Work is affiliated with the International Conference of Social Work, which has set up a permanent South East Asia Regional Office in Bombay.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Of tremendous importance in the development of Indian democracy is the new economic position of women.¹ Women of all classes are today participating in the economic life of India. (Table No. 9)

For women in professional life, independence has not meant a radical change, as they have been well established and long recognized as a national asset. It has brought them, however, an increased sense of responsibility and the inspiration of new demands and opportunities.

Nor for women in industry and rural life has there been marked change in their economic position. Women in rural life have always carried a heavy burden in the rural economy, helping in the family support with no idea of economic independence.

But to the women of the urban middle class the decade of Independence has brought a radical change. The urge toward economic independence has been awakened, and also economic

¹ 1951 census recorded 5,000,000 women self-supporting; 800,000 engaged in production, half a million in commerce.

necessity has led them into public employment of various kinds. Their presence is an accepted fact. They move about with a sense of assurance, working easily with men, enjoying their equal rights and responsibilities.

The economic position of women of all classes rests on the sound foundation of equality, as defined in the Constitution, which provides for equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters of employment, stating that "no citizen shall on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence, or any of them, be ineligible for or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State."²

In addition to this full charter of equality accorded in the Constitution, women have also the strength and confidence that comes from the Prime Minister's recognition of their value to the State. His liberal plans for women's training and education and employment are a constant incentive toward action. *Professional Life*

The professional life of women in India before Independence included four professions-teaching, medicine, law and nursing. Since Independence there has been marked development in these professions and rapid progress in opening new ones for women. The opening of teaching to women over one hundred years ago (1837) was the first step toward their economic independence. In 1957, about twenty per cent of the total number of teachers were women. Women occupy major positions in the field of education, as inspectresses, principals of girls' schools and colleges, and specialists in various fields. There are two women Vice-Chancellors of Universities, Mrs. Hansaben Mehta, of Baroda University and Mrs. Sarada Mehta, of the Indian Women's University in Poona, also a woman Principal of a men's college in Madras, Mrs. S. Parthasarathy. In 1957 there were 2,083 women members of university faculties, out of a total of 23,920.3

Women entered the medical profession more than fifty years ago. In 1928 one-fourteenth of the total number of medical

³Quinquennial Review, "Progress of Education in India", 1947-1952, p-116.

² Article 15, Constitution of India, November 26, 1949.

students in India were women (683 women-8,937 men).⁴ There were in 1957 over 7,000 women doctors in India, as heads of hospitals, university professors, in private practice and carrying on research. There are many well-known women specialists, particularly in the diseases of women and children. The women's medical profession has had a marked influence on social reforms affecting the life of women.

The law profession for Indian women had a difficult beginning. The first woman was graduated in law in 1894, Miss Cornelia Sorabji; the second in 1916. Women were not allowed to practice in the Courts until 1923. In 1956 there were only seventyeight women in a total of 5,755 advocates from Bombay University. (There are no statistics covering all India.) Women lawyers today have full rights to plead and preside as barristers, magistrates, judges, members of special tribunals. Women lawyers are needed as specialists in labor legislation affecting women and family law.

The nursing service has now a key position in the wide program of rural welfare through the Maternal and Child Health Centers and the extensive training of health workers. In 1956 there were 22,386 registered nurses.

Allied with the medical and health fields are several professions which have only recently been entered by women: dentistry, in which women are needed for women in conservative areas and for children in preventive and corrective work; physiotherapy, women physiotherapists (probably not more than thirty in India) are needed for children's hospitals, visiting service, and care of the handicapped; pharmacy, for regular service and for employment as assistant chemists or analysts in pharmaceutical factories, hospitals, and in the manufacture of cosmetics, confectionery and plastics.⁵

Social work is a promising new field. Women have equal opportunity with men in the various lines of social work: labor welfare, medical and psychiatric social work, as social education organizers in community projects, case workers in family

⁴ Fact Finders Report, Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, Volume on India, Harpers, 1933, Chapter on Women, Ruth Woodsmall, p. 504.

⁵ All-India Women's Conference Seminar on Careers for Women, Convenor, Mrs. Mithan J. Lam, December 17-29, 1956. Published by All-India Women's Conference, New Delhi.

and child welfare, and in administrative service. As yet the employment of social workers depends almost entirely on the Government. Few private organizations have paid staff. The financial status of the social worker is comparable to that of a well-trained teacher.

Vocational guidance, one of the newest professions in India, offers a special field for women. The one-year course in scientific techniques for teachers is given in universities or Government departments. The Bureau of Vocational Guidance includes on its staff testers of aptitudes, disseminators of occupational information, and counsellors. The Director of one bureau is a woman.

Journalism is a developing field for women. There are many women reporters and feature writers; editors of the women's sections on most papers and journals are women. Women's newspaper work is usually limited to women's affairs. They are rarely used as sub-editors "because of the night hours, till two or three a.m." Training in journalism is available at most universities and in the School of Journalism sponsored by the United States Information Service. Women's magazines and journals employ a large number of women in responsible posts as well as young girls. There are some women business managers. A number of women are free lance writers for the radio and newspapers, both English and Indian.

Architecture has attracted a few women, who are working in private firms or teaching, though one is assistant director in the National Buildings Organization. In interior decoration there are also a few women of artistic ability. Advertising offers promising careers for women with special skills in imaginative and attractive layout and copy.

Many women are in the radio field as broadcasters, script and feature writers and news commentators, and also in the technical services. A young woman graduate in telecommunications is in the control room in the maintenance section of one company, and the wireless engineer of the Calcutta transmitter is a woman. Women also are in charge of large stations. A woman holds the highest administrative post in the All-India Radio, Miss Mehra Masani, Director of External Services, covering a worldwide network in twenty-three languages. Before assuming her present high administrative post she had already organized and developed the foreign program.

A few women have entered engineering. A mechanical engineer, formerly assistant foreman at the Ordnance Factory at Dehra Dun, is now a lecturer at the Delhi Polytechnic. A civil engineer studied concrete bridge building in Germany; a hydraulic engineer studied flood relief in the United States. Writes one: "The patience and perseverance that a woman generally has can, after training, be applied to prepare the minute details of structures; creative talent is very essential to the advancement of engineering. Women will find this profession very interesting and revealing."⁶

An Indian woman aviator has achieved national and international distinction. She now has her license as pilot and navigator and her radio license, but she was refused the pilot's license for civil aviation because of lack of public confidence.

The question of the films as a career for women is still debatable. "It is considered to be below the dignity of a decent woman to work in the films and few are prepared to consider films in the light of a career," is one comment. A second comment is also interesting: "A great deal is said about moral standards in the industry. Those who wish to work with dignity can do so. It is the harder way but worth while. Because of the limelight in which the actors live, everything good or bad is grossly exaggerated."⁷ A number of women of the upper class have entered the films and are breaking down tradition.

In the development of the professional life of women in India since Independence, a marked evidence of fundamental social and economic change is the steady increase in the number of Moslem women who are entering professions. Even more noteworthy is the increasing number of professions which Moslem women have entered for full-time careers.

This important development is the result of the fact that Moslem women as well as those of the other minorities are an integral part of the advance of women in India. The rapid growth of higher education, the expanding social freedom, the

7 Ibid., Paper by Miss Durga Khota, p. 95.

⁶Seminars on Careers for Women, All-India Women's Conference, Indore, December 1956–Paper by Kum Shakuntala Joshi, B.E. (Civil).

increasing economic independence of women and recognition of the value of the economic contribution of Indian women and its urgent necessity—this composite of progressive influences in the life of Indian women has especially benefited Moslem women.

The statistics of women in professions and in all lines of economic employment are not differentiated by the religious communities. Moslem women are included in the total body of professional women and represented in practically all professions—in education and medicine (the two long-established professions always considered suitable for Moslem women), in various lines of urban and social welfare work, journalism, broadcasting, and law—to a limited degree. Moslem women in the professions are a small but growing numerical minority. The number in teaching has rapidly grown in the past decade, both in general and in various specialized fields.

The medical career has a high priority among Moslem women students, as also among other students. The demand for medical training, however, exceeds the present government facilities. Entrance into the medical profession is severely limited by examination and competition is very keen. Moslem women are handicapped by their lack of educational background and experience. Increase of medical training opportunities for Moslem women is of special concern to the Women's College of Aligarh University. A new medical faculty, coeducational and noncommunal, is now (1959) being promoted. The new faculty will benefit especially Moslem women students.

General Employment

Women of the middle class entered employment rapidly after Independence, as the natural result of several factors: the influence of the Women's Army Corps of India (WACI), the National War Service Body of over 10,000 young women, mostly of the middle class; the awakened urge of women to be actively identified with national life; and increased economic pressure, which made economic independence of women a necessity. The question was no longer whether to work but what to do.

Today thousands of women are employed in business as receptionists, stenographers and clerks in firms and private offices, large and small, all over India. Statistics are not available, but a

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view of the crowded streets in any of the large cities in the morning, at noon, or in the evening, when young women stream out of their offices, is convincing evidence of the number of women engaged in business life.

The whole field of clerical service is the major source of income for women earning their own living or adding to family support. Many are employed in the main public services, namely telephone 2,623, postal 2,047, telegraph 416, wireless 67. (Table No. 9)

Large numbers are also in Government service – the Central Government, the State Governments and in the municipalities in large numbers, the non-professional category as well as a considerable number of women of professional rank. In the Central Government, 20,668 women were employed in 1957. In six of the Ministries (Railways, Defense, Production, External Affairs, Information and Broadcasting, Food and Agriculture) the total number of women employed was 13,998, include both professional and non-professional categories. Thirty women held highranking secretarial jobs.⁸ In the Ministry of Transport, which is not included in the list above, more women than men were employed. A number of women held responsible posts. There were four managers of large regional offices, seven of smaller offices.

All careers in the Administrative Services are open to women on a competitive examination basis. In 1959 there were seven in the IAS (Indian Administrative Service), six in the Foreign Service, a Deputy Commissioner in Simla, five district or assistant district magistrates and five deputy secretaries in the Central Secretariat.

A woman was Director of the Indian tourist office in London. The tourist and travel business offer special employment opportunities for women, in the regular customer service as well as clerical. Young women serve as registered guides after a training course given by the tourist bureau. A young woman working with a travel agency has developed a Tour Guide Service, conducting foreign groups through India. The Air India Hostess Service has opened up an attractive career for young women, carefully planned by Air India—a temporary flight period with

⁸ Women of India, "In Trades and Professions", Padmini Sengupta, p. 246.

an age limit followed by ground service. Knowledge of English is required.

The rapidity of increase of women of the middle class seeking employment is shown by the Employment Exchanges' registry. The number applying for assistance rose from 1,500 in 1948 to 4,500 in 1951 and to 40,000 in 1957.⁹ This graphically indicates the growing necessity and desire of women to earn theirlivelihood and gain economic independence. It also highlights the serious problem of the "educated" unemployed, the term used for those with high school education or more.

The present number of educated unemployed is estimated to be a half-million men and women; in five years another one and a half million will be educated and needing jobs.¹⁰ The solution of this problem through training and recruitment for new fields of employment is a major emphasis in the Second Five-Year Plan. The urban training and employment plan, similar to the current plan which is being carried out in rural India, will provide employment and useful careers for a large number of these. Of the twelve million jobs which will be provided in the plan, Shrimati Lakshmi Menon, the Deputy Foreign Minister has urged that four million be allocated to women.

The number of women running their own business is increasing. In the cities women have their own tailoring shops, food shops, beauty parlors and various miscellaneous concerns. There are also women in responsible business positions as directors of shops or housekeepers in hotels. On the higher business level, in the executive category and independent enterprises, a growing number of women have achieved success, as directors of publicity and business promotion, of public relations and personnel management in factories and large business concerns.

An illustration of the business capacity of women is the establishment of a chain of inexpensive restaurants—called Anapoorna from the name of the Hindu Goddess of Plenty. These restaurants were organized by the Woman's Food Council whose chairman is Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, a member of Parliament. They operate in the large cities and also have a catering service on

⁹ Ibid., p. 248.
 ¹⁰ The New India, p. 100.

trains. These are non-profit public services and a very successful business enterprise as well.

In the revival of cottage industries and handicrafts, women hold important positions, which require business ability and technical skill; for example, in departments of design, in the promotion of production, in export marketing, and in the management of exhibitions, especially abroad. The All-India Handloom Society and the National Small Industries Organizations have women directors. The Cottage Industries Emporium in New Delhi has a woman manager and the staff and board are for the most part women.

Many women of the less educated group are in miscellaneous lines of employment: as saleswomen in all kinds of shops, in hotels, restaurants, beauty parlors, as caretakers in schools and household employees. The number of women seeking these various types of employment, either for part-time or full-time, is steadily growing with the increased economic necessity. The shortage of jobs is shown by the fact that there were over a thousand applications in reply to an advertisement for the position of caretaker of a municipal school.11

Women in Rural Life

In the countryside women are an economic asset. Over seventy per cent of the population of India lives in villages (1951 census: population 367 million, 325 million of them villagers). Indian economy is primarily agricultural and women have always shared equally with men in agricultural production. Accordingly, agriculture is quantitatively the most important occupation of Indian women. Twelve and a half million women are reported as supporting themselves by agricultural work, with wages as hired labor on part-time and full-time work, and twenty million as "earning dependents" on their own land, and over 39 million non-earning dependents.12

But the participation of women in agriculture is not uniform throughout India. For example, the percentage of female agricultural workers varies from thirty per cent of the total in

¹² Report to the Governments of Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, The Philippines and Thailand on Conditions of Women's Work in Seven Asian countries, ILO Geneva, 1958.

¹¹ Women of India, Padmini Sengupta, p. 247.

Madras, to less than ten per cent in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, and was 2.33 per cent around Delhi-predominantly Moslem areas under the control of *purdah*.¹³ Economic necessity and social conservatism are here in conflict.

Rural women carry the double burden of the home and family and the daily toil in the fields, sharing with men the usual farm tasks—planting and weeding, irrigating, manuring, harvesting and threshing. Men do the heavy work of ploughing. A special problem of many village women is the separation from husbands who have migrated to the city to enter industry, leaving the women behind to maintain the farm. Village women are thus the stable factor in the rural economy which helps to make possible industrialization in India.

The idea of economic independence of women has had no meaning for the village woman. Typically, she is a part of a family unit—more than seventy per cent are married and ninetythree per cent are, if one counts the widowed or divorced. She works by the day for the support of the family on a margin of low subsistance, perhaps with meager savings and no security against famine or other disasters. Yet throughout the years these underdeveloped and untrained village women have been a sustaining force in the economy of India. Today the village woman is being trained for a better level of living through the community development program with all of its resources to which reference has already been made. Her latent power is being developed for her home and family, her community, and especially for her fuller contribution to the economic life of her country. *Industry*

The number of women employed in factories was 280,947 (1949-50 figures), or 11.33 per cent of the total labor force in factory work. Most of them were textile workers (cotton and jute), workers in tobacco, in ginning and presses, food and chemical products. The largest number of women employed in any one occupation was on tea, coffee and rubber plantations, 479,983 or 43.53 per cent of a total labor force of 1,102,686. Women are also working in mines—coal, manganese and iron ore. (Table No. 10)

Most of the women employed in the factories do manual or ¹³ Women of India, Padmini Sengupta, p 237.

semi-skilled work. In the textile factories they do mostly winding and reeling; in the jute industries, batching, preparing and sack sewing; an the mines, loading the surface wagons; on the plantations, plucking the leaves and carrying loads of tea from one place to another. They are in road work and in building construction, where they carry heavy loads.

The basic wages of women are fixed at a rate lower than men's wages, but on piece work the rate is the same. Equal basic rates for certain industries have been fixed in some large centers, i.e., Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Under the standardization scheme, certain tribunals now have set basic wages. Extra facilities, such as maternity benefits and crèches, are provided for women workers.

As in agricultural work, there is little idea of personal economic independence. The workers, husband and wife, or the members of a family, coming from the same village, try to get work together, the women supplementing the men's work. Sometimes the group receives a joint wage. These groups retain their relationship to their original village, often contributing to its support. Their employment is regarded as temporary or migratory.

The difference in the employment of women in different areas of India, concentration in some and lack of women in others, indicates the cultural and religious variations in India, which is not a homogeneous country. For example, in Moslem areas women, because of *purdah*, do not work in factories.

In recent years there has been a progressive diminution in the percentage of women employed in textile and other mills. In 1939, women in textile factories were thirteen per cent of the total labor force; in 1950 only nine per cent. According to labor inspectors, officers and social workers, the reasons were: (1) the statutory obligations imposed upon employees, namely, the protective legislation and welfare provisions for women, and standardization schemes for wages, thus reducing possible exploitation of women's cheap wages; (2) nationalization of industries, and (3) new machines which have eliminated manual tasks hitherto performed by women.¹⁴

Since Independence the Government has taken legislative and other measures for the protection of women workers, as follows:

14 Ibid., p. 240.

- The ratification of the International Labor Organization Conventions, prohibiting the employment of women underground and in night work.
- 2. The Factories Act (1948), limiting women to nine hours' work per day, between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. in factories, mines and on plantations, and the Mines Act (1951), prohibiting the employment of women underground.
- 3. A law forbidding the lifting of heavy weights in excess of 65 pounds for adult women, 45 pounds for adolescents, and excluding women from dangerous operations.
- 4. Welfare facilities, i.e., improved sanitation, maintenance of crèches for children under six years in factories employing more than 80 women or even where any women are employed (as in the Mines Act), and providing rest periods for mothers to feed their babies.
- Maternity benefits are now being absorbed in the nationwide Employers' State Insurance Schemes.¹⁵

The main difficulties in enforcing the legislation outlined above are the paucity of trained personnel, especially in remote places like plantations and mines, and the lack of payment adequate to secure an efficient inspectoral staff.

There is an encouraging increase in the effort to introduce welfare activities for all workers, especially for women.

Village and small industries, as yet an undeveloped asset, are being promoted and strengthened because of their potential value to Indian economy. Eleven and a half million people, twenty-nine per cent of all those working outside agriculture, are engaged in small enterprises. They produce about one-twelfth (eight per cent) of all of India's goods and services, which about equals the total production of the large and medium-sized industries.¹⁶

Village industries are being encouraged to produce more goods and more jobs in the next five years in order to help rural people earn a better livelihood. Village craftsmen are being mobilized to improve their skills and to learn modern techniques and the use of modern machinery. The Second Five Year Plan will allot four times the amount allowed for the First Five Year Plan. No special attention apparently is given to the training and employment of women in these small industries.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 239. ¹⁶ The New India, p. 285.

Hand and cottage industries have a long history in India, some dating back, it is said, five thousand years. In these industries women have always had an essential part since the working unit is the family. Some of the handicrafts by tradition have been carried on exclusively by women. Today, thousands of women are engaged in these—traditional hand and cottage industries which include: hand-loom cloth from mill-made yarn and khaki cloth handwoven from home-spun yarn; silk and sericulture, handicraft (art metal work, toys, ivory, carving, *bidri* ware, decorative ceramics). Other "village" industries are hand pounding rice, pressing vegetable oils, manufacturing raw sugar and matches, canning and shoe making.

Handicrafts will be further developed (1956-1961) through training centers, craft museums, art schools with scholarships, internal sale and export trade. Cottage industries and handicraft are being promoted by the All-India Khadi Board, the All-India Handloom Board, the All-India Handicraft Board and the Indian Co-operative Union. Women serve on all these Boards.¹⁷ The Chairman of the All-India Handicraft Board and also of the Indian Co-operative Union is Mrs. Kamaledevi Chattopadhyay. The Honorary Director of the All-India Handloom Board is Mrs. Pupul Jayakar.

POLITICAL LIFE

A glance at the past gives meaning to the present full participation of Indian women in political life. The agitation for equal political rights for women began more than forty years ago, in 1917, when a women's deputation of fourteen members, led by Sarojini Naidu, met Mr. Montagu, the Secretary for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, and formally requested that women be given equal representation with men when the franchise was granted.¹ They also asked for more educational opportunities for girls and more medical colleges and referred to their political equality in the Indian National Congress since 1885.

The "Constitutional" reforms, when announced, did not mention women. However, the request was referred to the pro-

17 Ibid., pp. 285-286.

¹ Women of India, "In Political Life", Frank Moraes, p. 90.

vincial legislatures with statutory authority to grant suffrage to women.

The women's organizations gained the support of public opinion in favor of women's suffrage in one province after another. Madras in 1921 endorsed women's equal rights of election to municipal councils and the legislatures. Other provinces followed this example. By 1926, women in all the provinces had the right to vote on the same basis as men—property and educational qualification—but because of the limited property rights of women under the Hindu law, few women could qualify for voting. Between 1921 and 1933, only 315,651 women were enfranchised, in contrast to 6.8 million men. After political rights were granted in the provinces, the number of women entering political life as members of the legislative assemblies and as magistrates steadily grew.

In 1930 the leaders of the women's organizations were actively concerned with the work of the Franchise Committee headed by Lord Lothian, which was appointed to extend the current franchise, especially to include more women, and also to formulate a basis for the franchise under a new Constitution of India. The women's organizations presented their views to the Lothian Committee, urging adult suffrage equal for men and women, and opposing communal electorates and the preferential basis with reserved places for women. Three outstanding women leaders-Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi and Begum Hamid Ali, of different faiths-gave evidence to the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee of the Round Table Conference in London, opposing the idea of communal electorates. Their views, however, were not incorporated into the Parliamentary Report, and therefore did not influence the franchise basis of the new Constitution.

A memorandum of protest was sent jointly from the All-India Women's Conference, the Women's Indian Association and the National Council of Women to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The substance of the protest was that the preferential suffrage basis favored certain classes and vested interests, and that sex equality had not been granted. The memorandum closes with the statement:

We wish to make it quite clear that even if we had secured

for ourselves all that we have wished to secure and if, at the same time, we felt that the recommendations as a whole were not in the true interest of India, we would as women, feel it our bounden duty to deny all privileges for ourselves, for the sake of the common good.²

While protesting the basis of suffrage, the Conference urged women to use their vote.

The Government of India Act (1935), which instituted the new Constitution, increased the number of enfranchised from 8,744,000 under the Montagu Reforms, to 35,000,000. The act also increased the proportional suffrage rights of women by a ratio of one woman to six men instead of one woman to twenty men, and admitted women to the Federal Assembly, with six places reserved for women in the Upper House, and nine in the Lower House. Two of these seats were reserved for Moslem women and one for a Christian.

Women took an active part in the new elections (1937) for the Provincial legislatures and the Central Legislative Assembly. Eight women were elected to the Lower Houses from the general constituencies; forty-two elected from the reserved constituencies, and five nominated to Upper Houses. The first woman Minister of a provincial government was elected, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, as Minister of Local Self-Government and Public Health in the United Provinces, which marked the beginning of a brilliant national and international career. Five other women took office as Deputy Speakers and Parliamentary Secretaries. A number of well-known women were elected to the Central Legislative Assembly.

After Independence, twelve women were chosen to the Constituent Assembly set up by the Interim Government after Partition to frame the Constitution for independent India, and there were eleven women members out of a total of 313 in the Provisional Parliament, which was dissolved before the first election.³

With the final adoption of the Constitution on November 26, 1949, the goal of full equality of rights of all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed or sex (Article 15) was achieved.

² Women's Conference January 1935, quoted from my Moslem Women Enter a New World. Allen and Unwin, London, 1936, p. 369.

⁸ United Nations Seminar on Civic Responsibilities of Asian Women in Public Life, Bangkok, Thailand, Aug. 1957, Sucheta Kripelani.

The world's two largest elections, which were held in 1952 and 1957, were a massive demonstration of democracy in action. A free election of 193 million persons (the estimated number of the second election)⁴ with perhaps eighty-five per cent of them illiterate, covering a sub-continent and extending over a period from February 4 to March 26, 1957, may well be considered a world phenomenon. Observers commented on the orderliness of the elections, the interest and intelligence of the people.

In the second election there was a marked increase in the number of women voters. In Uttar Pradesh women outnumbered the men in some constituencies. Many Moslem women in *burqas* went to the polls. There were many polling stations for women only, and women were the polling clerks.

Also, in the 1957 election more women candidates actively campaigned than in 1952. They traveled constantly, covering wide rural areas, making countless speeches-a hard job but a necessity. Women candidates competed with men as well as with other women. They were very well informed, keenly interested in all welfare problems-refugees, mothers and children, education and health. "Women politicians inspire confidence," was the comment made by Mrs. Renuka Ray, the Minister of Rehabilitation in Bengal and a successful candidate in 1957 for the Federal Parliament. "They attract huge crowds, especially in rural areas, as the community development programs have greatly increased the political consciousness of village people. There is doubtless conservatism in some areas about women in politics, but women are always well received." A large number were successful in their strenuous campaign efforts. The fact that some were, of course, defeated was not interpreted by them as any derogation of the position of women in politics. Their presence is an accepted fact as is also their public campaigning.

The results of the second election, compared with the first show the following increase: in the Lok Sabha (House of the People, or Lower House), from twenty-three women in 1952 to twenty-seven in 1957; in the Rajya Sabha (Upper House), from nineteen in 1952 to twenty-three in 1957. In the State

⁴ Women of India, p. 101.

WOMEN IN INDIA

Assemblies, which total 2,906 members, 195 women were elected of the 342 women who stood for election.⁵

Women members of Parliament participate ably in all fields, not merely in social legislation affecting general welfare, relief, and women and children, but in a wide range of interests including finance, defense and labor. Women naturally have specialized knowledge and experience in social questions, contribute impressively in this field, and are an active force for reform, as was evident in their vigorous and successful support of the Hindu Code Bill and in the continuing struggle to control prostitution. There are some excellent women speakers. An observer commented, however, that women in Parliament contribute more by action than by speaking. They are held in high esteem by the general public as a body of thoughtful, serious citizens genuinely concerned in the national welfare.

Indian women political leaders are active in their political parties. There are women members of the Congress Working Party and a strong Women's Section; women members of the Communist Party (none on the Politburo); women members of the National Executive of the Socialist Party.

To meet the needs of women members of Parliament, training seminars for legislators, conducted by prominent women political leaders in high parliamentary positions, were initiated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister's daughter, then Head of the Women's Section of the Congress Party. She was elected President of the Party in February 1959 and has demonstrated her ability as a dynamic national leader.

Women are represented today on elected and appointed bodies on all levels—the village councils (*panchayats*), local and district boards, state and federal legislative bodies. One village in south India elected a *panchayat* made up entirely of women members in order to bring harmony to the village, as the city fathers had always failed to agree.

Women have also received unusual recognition in political life in municipal, state and central government. Begum Khadija Tyabji was for many years an elected member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. Delhi had a women mayor in 1957-58, Mrs. Asaf Ali; Bombay has a woman sheriff (but not for the first

⁵ Ibid., p. 101.

time), Mrs. Gulistan Billmoria, appointed in 1957; Madras also has a woman sheriff appointed in the same year, Mrs. Clubwalla Jadhav. In State service two distinguished examples are Dr. Sushila Nayar, formerly Health Minister of Delhi State and Speaker of the Delhi State Legislature, and Mrs. Renuka Ray, formerly Minister of Rehabilitation, West Bengal, and since 1957 a member of Parliament. Two women governors have been appointed: Sarojini Naidu to the United Provinces immediately after Independence and Padmanja Naidu, the daughter of Sarojini Naidu, appointed the Governor of Bengal in 1956. Distinguished examples of women in high positions in the Central Government are Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the former Health Minister (1952-1957), and Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, the present Deputy Minister of External Affairs, both already mentioned, and Mrs. Violet Alva, the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs. A woman now has the highest ranking Indian diplomatic post, as present High Commissioner to the United Kingdom in London, Vijayalakshmi Pandit. She is also Ambassador to Ireland and Spain and was formerly Ambassador in Washington and Moscow. Indian women have served on many international missions and one or more are usually appointed to the Indian delegation at the United Nations.

The steady campaign for political equality carried on by Indian women in the years before Independence was unusually free from any sense of conflict or sharp feminist struggle, in the usual sense of the word. Women knew that they were not alone in their campaign but supported by liberal leaders among the men, who worked with them and for them. Their political emancipation was regarded as an integral part of the total movement for freedom. Suffrage was not a goal in itself.

"The vote was never looked upon as a yardstick of progress or emancipation," said Lakshmi Menon. "It was important, of course, in the eyes of the law that women should get the vote. It enabled both sexes to work in cordial cooperation in the framing of the Constitution in 1950, and in implementing the political and social legislation that has followed since."⁶

Because of this atmosphere of cooperation and freedom from sex conflict, Indian women were able to enter political life with

⁶ Ibid., "Women in India and Abroad," Lakshmi Menon, p. 65.

an immediate sense of confidence, free from any feeling of inferiority or necessity for self-assertion. Women leaders in India appreciate their advantage. To quote again from Lakshmi Menon, "The relative ease with which women came to their present position is due to the successful termination of the struggle in progressive countries of the West, where women acquired these opportunities the hard way."7

This comment illustrates the growing sense of relationship of women leaders in India with leaders in other countries and the realization of mutual benefits in their common aspiration toward the full participation of women in national life.

LEGAL SOCIAL STATUS

The Hindu Code legislation, the landmark of legal social equality of women, represents the achievement of fifteen years of concentrated effort by a legal committee appointed by the Government in 1941, to improve the status of Hindu women in respect to property rights (Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act 1937). This involved eventually drafting a comprehensive Hindu Code of Law, which was presented to the Provincial Parliament in 1948, but was not passed.1 The different Acts were then taken up separately and passed after prolonged struggle by the first Parliament of the Republic of India, 1956.

The Hindu Code Bill comprises four separate bills: The Special Marriage Bill, 1954, the Hindu Marriage Bill, 1955, the Hindu Succession Bill, 1956, and the Adoption and Maintenance Bill, 1956.²

The legal social status of Hindu women under the Hindu Code Bill is as follows:

Monogamy-enforced, polygamy outlawed and punishable by fine and imprisonment;

Marriage age-minimum is fifteen for girls, eighteen for boys; Divorce-equal basis for both sexes through the Courts;

Inheritance rights for women-absolute control of her property and rights of the daughter and her children to succeed equally with the son and his children to the property of either parent; Adoption-right of both parents to adopt, son or daughter; Alimony-regulated by law and paid to both sexes.

7 Ibid., p. 63.

Women of India, "The Law as it Affects Women," Renu Chakravarthy, pp. 72-73.

² Ibid., p. 79, and "In Our Times," Hannah Sen, pp. 43-44.

The serious inequities in social law and custom suffered by Hindu women before the Hindu Code Bill indicate the revolutionary significance of the reform. Child marriage and the dowry system prevailed. Polygamy existed. No divorce was allowed. Women could not inherit property, except that a widow might use personally money left to her by her husband or son, but without the right of disposal. Women had no right of adoption and girls could not be adopted.³

The most vital reform in the Hindu Code Bill was the recognition of and provision for divorce through the Courts. This represented a radical change in the Hindu concept of marriage, affecting both men and women. Other Code Bills provide specifically for the equal rights of women. The Hindu Code, as a whole, is based on a new attitude toward women. Legally no longer dependents, their equal rights bring also equal duties.

Women leaders in India realize that the achievement of legal social equality is not the end of their effort to lift the status of women. They stress the fact that the new legislation now makes possible tremendous social change but laws are not automatically translated into practice. Social custom is stronger than law where conservatism and ignorance prevail. The Hindu Code presents to educated women the urgent need and the opportunity to inform and enlighten Indian women as a whole on their legal social equality and new responsibility.

The Hindu Code does not apply to the religious minorities, which have their own family and marriage laws. However, if desired they may adopt the Code, as it was formulated on a nonreligious basis so that it might serve as a uniform Code for all citizens which is a primary objective of the new India as a secular state. But the principle of religious liberty protects the minorities in maintaining their own codes.

The Hindu Code reforms are not relevant in respect to legal social equality of women in the Christian and Parsi communities. The Christian law is based on monogamy and equality of divorce, as is also the Parsi law. Islamic law, the Sharia, gives permission for four wives at the same time, under the Prophet's injunction of equal treatment for each.⁴ If the Hindu Code,

³ Ibid., "The Law as it Affects Women," Renu Chakravarthy, p. 73. ⁴ Ibid., pp. 87-88. which outlaws polygamy, were applicable to the Moslem community, the major barrier for the legal social equality of Moslem women would be removed.

Legal Social Status of Moslem Women

Polygamy is definitely decreasing in urban life particularly in the middle class because of economic pressure and in the educated upper class because of the adverse opinion of the enlightened public regarding polygamy. The spread of education has steadily undermined the institution. A new leverage against polygamy is the Government policy, adopted since the Hindu Code Reforms, that Moslems who choose to take a second wife are debarred (or disqualify themselves) from government employment. The Moslem legal right of polygamy is not questioned. The responsibility rests with the individual.

The decline of polygamy in the younger and middle generation is evident. In the urban lower classes polygamy persists, in spite of adverse economic conditions. In rural life polygamy is prevalent, as it has always been. An additional wife is an economic asset, not a liability, and also has a certain prestige value.

There is currently no agitation against polygamy and no movement among Moslems for legislative modification of Islamic law and practice regarding polygamy. The legal inequity of the social status of Moslem women is a cause of deep concern among Moslem women leaders but any Moslem legislative reform seems improbable. Some liberals believe the only desirable solution would be the unification of law in a secular state, which is now made possible by the Hindu Code. But while desirable and logical as a reform for social injustice, this solution is far from simple. "You cannot," to quote from a Bombay woman leader, "force this upon the ignorant and unwilling masses. Education for change is a time-consuming process. We must work towards this goal."

Social equality, for Moslem women, is being steadily advanced by the decline of *purdah* and the discarding of the *burqa*. Tremendous social changes have taken place in the past ten or fifteen years. Through the pressure of external events the restrictions of *purdah* have been loosened. A large number of young Moslem women of orthodox middle class families during the war years were drawn into the public services of the Women's Army Corps of India. This marked a total break with their traditional way of life and opened a new future. In the upheaval of the partition many sheltered *purdah* women were uprooted from their homes, and forced out of their seclusion. Often they lost their *burqas* in the confusion, and found themselves with hundreds of other women in the pitiless publicity of relief camps. Some of the older women, after the shock of partition, were able to return to their secluded lives. But many Moslem women, formerly under the restraint of *purdah*, after Independence were forced by economic necessity to earn a livelihood and became a part of the general working force of women. An increasing number of younger women without awareness of restraint have advanced with full equality of government higher education into the widening field of professional life. Many Moslem women today have moved outside the framework of *purdah*.

The steady movement toward social equality in the life of Moslem women is an evident fact in cities all over India. *Purdah* and the *burqa* are the symbols of a passing way of life and no longer primary questions for debate and agitation. To gauge the totality of change is impossible. Centers of conservatism and *purdah* pockets persist in certain cities and the influence of conservatism dominates particularly in rural areas, which are always the stronghold of orthodoxy and tradition.

But "*purdah* is bound to lose ground; eventually, it will disappear. There will probably be no direct attack against polygamy, no legal regulation," was the opinion expressed by Begum Qudsia Zaidi, a leader in contact with the student generation and with modern cultural movements in India. "Gradually the changing social climate of a secular state and the strong influence of the Government, as well as economic forces, will cause the practice of polygamy to cease." Liberal Moslem leaders share this opinion and realize that the future of Moslems will depend on their adaptation to the new way of life in modern India.

Women's Organizations in India

The development of women's organizations in India began about 1900. Already before this, however, as indicated in an earlier section, women were actively engaged in various welfare activities as a result of the influence of certain liberal Indian

social movements and Christian Missions. The inspiring example of Pandita Ramabai, who founded the first Hindu widow's home, Sharada Sadan, in 1899, gave impetus to women's voluntary welfare service for the social uplift of women and the care of children, which steadily developed after that time.

Between 1895 and 1920 a number of national women's organizations with international affiliations were founded by women leaders from Great Britain, the USA, and India, including the YWCA, the National Council of Women, the Association of University Women, the Medical Women's Association, the Trained Nurses Association and the Girl Guides, each with its specific purpose to promote the advance of Indian women and girls; and the Women's Indian Association in Madras, a special advocate of social and political equality with an all-India outreach through its magazine, *Stri Dharma*.

In 1926 the All-India Women's Conference was established by some of the leaders in the women's organizations (Hindu, Christian, Moslem and Parsee) as an instrument to promote their common aim of social and educational advance. The immediate impulse for the establishment of the All-India Women's Conference was an appeal made by the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal to the women of India "to say with one voice what they wanted and to keep on saying it until they got what they wanted." Following this appeal, a conference of representative women leaders from all over India was called in Poona, 1927, by Mrs. Margaret Cousins and a small group of leaders. At that gathering the All-India Conference was established.

Since its inception the All-India Women's Conference (AICW) has become recognized as the voice of the forward movement of Indian women and has helped to develop friendship and understanding among women of widely different groups. "The AICW," as interpreted by one of the leaders, "is neither a political nor a feminist organization but a small attempt to organize the women of our vast society, and to educate them to a realization of their duties and responsibilities." This organization has had a tremendous educational influence on public opinion in regard to women. The leaders of the Conference, during the period before Independence, each year presented to the Government of India, on behalf of the All-India Women's Conference, the pressing needs of Indian women and the necessity for Government action. Since Independence the annual Conferences have interpreted to the Government of India the curernt specific problems of Indian women, as a guide for Government planning and action. It has also interpreted to the women the specific needs of the Government for their support in its far-reaching plans for national welfare.

The resolutions passed at the annual Conferences (twentysix were held between 1927 and 1956) cover a wide range of women's concerns and reforms needed; such as increased facilities for girls' education, maternal and child health, abolition of child marriage (The Marriage Restraint Act), abolition of *purdah* and polygamy and of traffic in women and children, political equality and improvement of rural life.

The promotion of these various concerns has been carried on by special committees in education, social welfare, medical relief, industrial training and legal affairs. A number of practical projects have been promoted through the cooperation of the various branches. Notable among them is the Village Medical Relief scheme, with eight centers equipped with mobile vans. Each of the local branches has had its own social and educational projects, carried on in cooperation with the States' welfare program. The All-India Women's Conference with 54,000 members, thirty-nine main branches and 250 constituent branches, is well organized for collective effort throughout India.

For the women's organizations as a whole, the All-India Women's Conference has been and is a most effective instrument for promoting collectively the advance of women in India. It is an impressive mass education movement. For hundreds of women it has been the main channel of their social education and has prepared many for intelligent citizenship in the new India. To an unusual degree the All-India Women's Conference represents not only the work of individuals but the collective cooperation of the national organizations of the different religious communities.

The development of women's organizations has been greatly increased since Independence, the natural results of the widening of women's interests and the realization of the need for combined effort. The scope of this women's organizational activity is evident from a study of the varied purposes of the national organizations listed in Table 11. There is no registry of women's organizations, and this list may not be complete. The national organizations are widely representative of all India, through their local branches. The varied purposes of the organization in the list, reflect as a composite the following concerns: promotion of the professions-medicine, nursing, home-science, social work; training of voluntary workers; education and social development of rural women; training of rural welfare workers; family planning; moral and social hygiene; family and child welfare; housing for young women; refugee relief service; youth interests-student camps for boys and girls; care of juvenile delinquents; industrial welfare of women; promotion of cottage industry; food conservation; financial support for government welfare schemes; citizenship education and the promotion of peace. A number of the organizations are multi-purpose but the increase in specialization is evident. (Table No. 12)

In the development of women's organizations in India a change has occurred since partition in the voluntary dissolution of the All-India Muslim Women's organization formerly a strong movement with a number of outstanding leaders. This association from its inception (1929) was actively connected with the All-India Women's Conference and also worked independently for the advance of Moslem women. The cessation of the National Muslim Association seems to be the result of the new trend away from centralized Moslem activities.

The continuing concern of Moslem women leaders for the welfare of Moslem women is being carried on in various centers by special local Moslem welfare societies; for example, homes for abandoned or abducted women, the victims of partition; as in Calcutta (the All-Bengal Women's Association), in Lucknow (The Women's Home) in Bombay (a Home and Muslim Orphanage), also in Delhi (*Purdah* Home) and elsewhere in orphanages and other Moslem welfare institutions.

The Muslim Women's Association in Madras, a regional organization (founded in 1927 as the Madras Presidency Ladies Association), which recently celebrated its Silver Jubilee, has a long, distinguished record for emergency relief, promotion of girls' schools and higher education, and general social advance. This Association in Madras has continued to carry on what seems the normal program of an effective Moslem minority.

From various parts of India at the time of partition a certain number of leaders migrated into Pakistan—to East Pakistan from Calcutta and Lucknow, to West Pakistan from Lucknow and Delhi particularly and also from Hyderabad, Bombay and elsewhere. Since Independence Moslem women leaders remaining in India have participated actively as before in several previously established All-India organizations, in new women's organizations, joint women's committees, notably the Central Social Welfare Board program for Community Development and on State Boards.

An outstanding example is Begum Anis Kidwai, an unassuming member of Parliament, with multiple responsibilities in social welfare, especially for women and children; in the executive of the Congress' Women's Committee; the Jamia Millia Islam Rural Welfare Project; and in Lucknow as Trustee of the Muslim Girls' College and the founder and sponsor of the Recovery Home for Moslem Women.

Two examples of leadership in Hyderabad may be mentioned—the well-known Begum Hussain Ali Khan, a member of the State Legislative Assembly, recently elected against keen Communist competition and a leader in civic welfare; and a young Moslem women, Mrs. Munir Zuhire, with varied national interests—a State Girl Guide Commissioner, active in the Indian Conference of Social Work and representative of the All-India Women's Conference.

In Madras are a number of women leaders in civic and educational affairs and Moslem welfare, who are associated with the Muslim Women's Association—the pioneer leader, Begum Nazir Hussein, President of the Association, formerly President of the AIWC (1930); Begum Shah Khaleeli, Honorary Secretary of the Association, and Begum Bashir Ahmed Sayed, the first Moslem woman member of the Madras University Senate.

Women in India generally participate actively in mixed organizations, for example, The Indian Child Welfare Council, Indian Conference of Social Work, the Cottage Industry Organizations, the Red Cross, etc. In these various organizations women work along with men on the basis of an equal partnership of common interests, mutual recognition and equal responsibility. Women as well as men are elected or appointed to high policy-planning positions. This does not mean necessarily equal number of leaders but equal sharing by women in the responsibilities of the organizations. Of special interest is the development of women's organized effort in direct support of the Government, for example, the Women's Small Savings Campaign. The Family Planning Association and All-India Food Council also in different ways illustrate the close relationship between Government policy and voluntary activity. The Central Social Welfare Board, with the fourteen State Boards, assisting voluntary agencies throughout India to assume increased welfare responsibility, is a unique demonstration of the value of the partnership of government and voluntary effort. This represents a new social welfare pattern characteristic of a democratic welfare state.

International Relationships

International contacts of women in India have multiplied since Independence primarily through two main channels-intergovernmental relationships and contacts with international voluntary organizations as follows:

Relationship to the inter-governmental organizations has included:

Delegate at the United Nations' General Assembly each year since 1946 with a woman head of the India delegation 1946-1953, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, who was President of the Assembly, 1953.

Delegate to the Status of Women Commission, 1945-1951, the period of India's membership on the Commission.

Delegate to the Economic and Social Council.

Delegate to the UNESCO in 1946.

Delegate to the World Health Assembly and President of the Assembly, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, 1950.

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Participant at FAO, UNESCO and UNICEF Conferences.

- Participant for India at the UNESCO Regional Seminar in New Delhi on the Status of Women in South Asia, December 1952.
- Participant for India at the United Nations Seminar, Bangkok, August 1957, on Civic Responsibilities of Asian Women.⁵
- Members of the United Nations Secretariat, thirteen, (seven with professional status, two in general services, four guides) (1958), The Chief of Section, Status of Women Commission, (1951-1952) Shrimati Lakshmi Menon.

Contact with international voluntary organizations through international conferences includes:

- Attendance at World Conferences of international women's organizations, as national affiliates and as fraternal delegates, a large number; and at regional women's conferences—The Pan-Pacific South East Asia Women's Association Conferences, and Asian-African Conference (nineteen countries) in 1958, at Colombo.
- Attendance at conferences of international mixed organizations-League of Red Cross Societies, International Planned Parenthood Federation, International Conferences of Social Work, non-governmental organization conferences, etc.
- Fellowships for study and observation visits abroad through the Indian Government, United Nations, foreign government sources and private agencies.

Contacts with the many representatives of technical assistance programs of the United Nations, and foreign agencies in India, both official and private, and participation in numerous international conferences held in New Delhi.

The following national women's organizations and mixed organizations have international affiliations:

Organization	Affiliation	
The National Council of Women Young Women's Christian Associa- tion	International Council of World Y.W.C.A.	Women
Federation of University Women	International Federation versity Women	of Uni-

Indian Association of Rural Women

- Indian Girl Guides
- Women's League for Peace and Freedom
- National Federation of Indian Women
- Association of Medical Women in India
- Trained Nurses' Association of India
- The Home Science Association of India
- Family Planning Association of India
- Indian Council for Child Welfare (men and women)
- Indian Conference of Social Work (men and women)
- All-India Women's Conference

- Associated Country Women of the World
- World Bureau of Girl Guides
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- International Federation of Democratic Women
- International Association of Medical Women
- The International Federation of Nurses
- International Federation of Home Economics
- International Planned Parenthood Federation
- International Union for Child Welfare
- International Conference of Social Work

Consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations

TABLE No. 1

GROWTH IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION In the Major Provinces of India (Part A States)*

Primary Education

	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils
1948	140,121	11,000,964
1953	177,285	15,665,056
Increase	37,164	4,665,092

* Part A States are the original provinces with which neighboring princely states were merged until 1953, when India was organized into fourteen States.

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

GROWTH IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION In the Major Provinces of India (Part A States)*

	Seconday Education		Middle Schools High & Higher Secondary		
	Number of Schools Middle & High Scho		Number of I Middle Schools	Pupils High & Higher	
1948	High School alone Middle School alone	3,995 8,698			
1953	Middle & High High School alone Middle School alone	12,693 7,062 11,435	1,167,283	1,786,712	
Increase	Middle & High	18,497 5,804	1,521,903 354,620	2,912,232 1,125,520	

Source for Tables Nos. 1 and 2: Seven Years of Freedom, Ministry of Education 1954, pp. 1-2 and 4-5.

TABLE No. 3

ADVANCE IN WOMEN'S EDUCATION

at all stages

Between 1947-1948 and 1953-1954

In Seven States

		Total Enrollment	
	No. of Institutions	for Girl Students	Expenditure on
	Reserved	in Institutions	Institutions
	for Women	of All Kinds	for Women
1947-48	16,951	3,550,503	1947 Rs. 76,566,300
1953-54	21,617	6,633,234	1954 Rs. 144,045,034

Source: Seven Years of Freedom, Ministry of Education, p. 25.

TABLE No. 4

INCREASE IN THE PERCENTAGE ENROLLMENT OF GIRLS TO THE TOTAL ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS

	Primary and	Secondary	Colleges and
	Middle Classes	High and Higher	Universities
1950-1951	26.0%	13.9%	12.4%
1954-1955	28.2%	16.0%	13.6%

Source: Review of the First Five Year Plan, Government of India Planning Commission, May 1957, p. 260.

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TABLE NO. 5

BESULTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN IN INDIA IN SELECTED PROFESSIONAL COURSES 1955-1956

	Graduates	Diploma	Total
Education (Teacher's Training)	2,865	927	3,792
Medicine	567	80	647
Law		Channell .	121
Commerce	53	1. 1. 1- 1940	53
Music and Fine Arts		245	245
Library Science	10000-	46	46
	()		
	3,606	1,298	4,904

Source: Mrs. Muriel Wasi, Assistant Educational Advisor and Editor, Cultural Forum, Ministry of Scientific and Cultural Affairs.

TABLE No. 6

LIST OF WOMEN'S COLLEGES IN INDIA Founded Before Independence

Bethune College-Calcutta-1849.

Founded by J. E. D. Bethune, Law Member-Executive Council of the Governor General, The first women's college in India-a well-known institution.

Isabella Thoburn College-Lucknow-1886.

Founded by Methodist Women's Missionary Society, USA. Affiliated with Lucknow University. Well-developed department of teacher training. Enrollment limited to about 400, many more applicants. Student body comprises Christians, Hindus, Moslems. Interesting social service project, a cooperative faculty-student venture. Graduates all over India and Pakistan.

Women's Missionary Medical School-Ludhiana, Punjab-1894.

Christian Medical College in Ludhiana since 1953. Men were admitted to the College in 1953. This is the pioneer women's medical school in India, with a nursing school and hospital. Affiliated with the University of the Punjab.

Muslim Girls' College-Lucknow-1912.

Founded under the sponsorship of the British Residency for wealthy Moslem girls of the landowner class. Originally B.A., now pre-B.A. Strict purdah, no male teachers, no extra curricular outside activities. About 340 students, very large number of them non-Moslem, formerly all Moslem. Steady loss of Moslem financial support.

Queen Mary's College-Madras-1914.

First known as Madras College for Women, in 1917 name changed to Queen Mary's College for Women. Affiliated with Madras University. Special courses in Home Science and Nutrition. 730 students. Many graduates prominent in public life.

Lady Hardinge Medical College and Hospital for Women-New Delhi -1916.

Government College. Affiliated with Delhi University. Major influence in promoting medical education for women throughout India, especially *purdah* women.

Women's Christian College-Madras-1915.

Supoprted by a United Board of seven Missionary Societies of USA and Great Britain. Affiliated with Madras University. Expanded Home Science Department, nutrition courses with research and extension, several urban and rural service projects. Student body—Christian, Hindus and Moslems. Number limited to 350. International faculty, 66 members.

Christian Medical College in Vellore-1918.

Founded as Missionary Medical College for Women. Name changed in 1945 when men students were admitted. Affiliated with Madras University. A nurses training school started in 1909. Now the Nursing School, Vellore Christian Medical College, accredited as part of the College with Madras University. Four year course, Bachelor of Science in nursing degree. 253 students in the nursing school. Pioneer in roadside dispensary work. Widely known throughout India for the first mobile dispensaries.

Shrinathi Nathebai Darmodhar Thackerse (S.N.D.T.) University-Bombay-1949.

Founded by All-India organization to provide inexpensive education for women, 1917. Chartered University 1949, the only women's university in India. B.T. degree Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad and Baroda. Nursing Faculty, B.Sc. Degree. Courses in Hindi and Marathi languages.

The Hyderabad Women's College-Hyderabad, Deccan-1926.

Arts College, B.A. and B.S. degree, affiliated with Osmania University for graduate study and M.A. degree. Student body, 1250, comprises Moslems-about one-half, Hindus, Christians and Parsees. Faculty, 90. Urdu and English are the medium of instruction. Hindi is also used.

Kinnaird College for Women-Lahore-1931.

Supported by United Board of seven Missionary Societies of USA and Great Britain. Since Partition a leading women's college in Pakistan.

Lady Irwin Home Science College for Women-New Delhi-1932.

Founded by All-India Womens' Conference for teaching Home Science. Pioneer in home science higher education. Affiliated with Delhi University. Student body 500, always many more applicants. Teachers' training diploma course, one year, B.Ed. Home Science Diploma Course, two years, full B.Sc. Women's College Muslim University-Aligarh-1939.

Pioneer College for Moslem women in India. B.A. and M.A. degrees granted by Aligarh University. Aligarh Girls' High School founded 1909. Student body—majority Moslem; also includes other faiths. Emphasis on Islamic culture, liberal modern education, strong emphasis on science. Many graduates in West Pakistan. Students take M.A. and B.Sc. courses in the University. English and Urdu are used, also Hindi.

Sarah Tucker College-Palamcottah-1938.

High School of Church Missionary Society. Founded in 1896. Student enrollment about 230 with 125 in residence. Student body comprises fifty per cent Christians, Hindus and Moslems. Faculty about 30. Emphasis on extra-curricular activities, and social service activities in two villages.

Lady Brabourne College-Calcutta-1939.

Founded as a Government College for Moslem women. Now nonsectarian. Student enrollment before Independence–150 (Mostly Moslems), 1956–700 (very few Moslems). Many graduates in East Pakistan.

New Delhi College of Nursing-founded by the Government of India-1946.

Affiliated with Delhi University. Four years B.Sc. (Honors), integrated course of regular nursing and public health. Post-graduate course in nursing administration and teaching with Certificate from the Ministry of Health. Student body of 90, limited by hostel accommodation, comprises Hindus, Christians, Parsees and Moslems.

Founded Since Independence

Lady Doak College-Madura-1948.

Founded by the American Board of Foreign Missions, one of the first colleges founded after Independence. Affiliated with Madras University. Purpose to give to students of all creeds a liberal Christian education. Enrollment, 420 with 200 in residence-maximum, 450. Christian, 50%, Hindu, 47% and Moslem, 3%.

Southern India Education Trust Women's College-Madras-1955.

Founded by the SIET in 1955. Financed by the SIET, the South India Muslim Education Association in Madras and individual Moslem and non-Moslem donors. Student body at present is 250, will eventually be from 600 to 1,000. College admits all classes, castes and religious faiths. B.A. standard degree. Special courses in foreign languages, including Russian. Affiliated with Madras University.

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

No. 7

TABLE

	Percentage of Training Teachers of the Total Pri. Sec. 59% 64% 56%
	Annual Enrollment in Training Colleges Secondary Sch. 5,585 12,000
EACHERS	Number Training Colleges 53 102 7, p. 259.
IN TRAINING OF TEACHERS	y Training Annual Number Y Training In Training Training Schools Schools Colleges 782 70,063 53 915 91,330 102 dia Planning Commission, 1957, p. 259.
IN TRAIN	Number Training Schools 782 915 Planning Cor
ADVANCE	Secondary Teachers 58,000 92,000 ment of India F
	Total Teachers 685,000 932,000 932,000
	Total Teachers 1950-51 685,000 1955-56 932,000 Source: First Five Year Plan, Govern

WOMEN IN INDIA

TABLE No. 8

MEDICAL AND HEALTH PERSONNEL NEEDS IN INDIA

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	No. Needed, According to Plan
Doctors	59,000	70,000	82,000	90,000
Nurses	17,000	22,000	31,000	80,000
Midwives	18,000	26,000	32,000	80,000
Health Visitors	600	800	2,500	20,000
Nurse-dais and Dais	4,000	6,000	41,000	80,000
Health Assistants and Sanitary Inspectors	3,500	4,000	7,000	20,000
C. C. 1 T. T.	DI	F20		

Source: Second Five Year Plan, p. 538.

TABLE No. 9

WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT

From the Times of India Year Book 1957

			Chall tim	Independent
Industry	Total	Employers	Employees	Workers
Stock Raising	70,178	1,813	10,743	57,622
Plantation Industries	403,971	1,107	382,605	20,259
Forestry & Woodcutting	38,043	357	5,748	31,938
Fishing	37,936	1,143	2,919	33,874
Mining & Quarrying	101,903	426	82,290	19,187
Coal Mining	63,063	114	61,383	1,566
Iron Ore Mining	2,877	6	2,789	82
Metal Mining (except Iron Ore)	7,247	23	4,440	2,784
Crude Pertoleum & Natural Gas	200	13	50	137
Stone-quarrying, Clay & Sand				0.530
Pits	15,718	198	5,981	9,539
Mica	6,632	19	4,896	1,717
Salt, Saltpetre & Saline		~ ~ ~	002	1 022
Substances	2,742	26	883	1,833 32,316
Vegetable Oil & Dairy Products	38,452	1,354	4,782	4,404
Sugar Industries	7,417	200	2,813	4,404
Beverages	6,257	351	1,267 23,154	43,134
Tobacco	67,898	1,610	79,968	143,307
Cotton Textiles	227,994	4,719	19,900	145,507
Wearing Apparel & Made-up	51 225	1,592	6,003	43,630
Textiles	51,225	1,552	0,000	
Textile Industries otherwise	162,661	1,142	82,631	78,888
unclassified	102,001	-,	to eden (1) -	atheres
Leather, Leather Products & Footwear	36,780	898	4,143	31,739
rootwear	22,102			

	IL IIII I	ALAN E	131	
Processing and Manufacture-				
Metals, Chemicals & prod-				
ucts thereof	52 465	1,398	21.020	07 020
Manufacture of Metal Products	52,105	1,390	24,028	27,039
otherwise unclassified	27,997	017		
Iron & Steel (basic manufacture		817	- ,	
Non-Forrous Matala (1) 7,479	71	6,533	875
Non-Ferrous Metals (basic				
manufacture)	246	7	76	163
Transport Equipment	3,270	108	2,717	895
Electrical Machinery & Apparat	us 773	8	535	230
Machinery (other than Electrica	1			100
Machinery)	2,291	84	1,816	391
Basic Industrial Chemicals,	_,	0.	1,010	391
Fertilizers & Power Alcohol	1,111	31	695	205
Medical & Pharmaceutical	1,111	51	095	385
Preparations	715	17	10.7	
Manufacturing Industries	715	17	481	217
otherwise unclassified	00.150			
Products of Petroleum & Coal	22,173	692	5,198	16,283
Bricks, Tiles & other	745	13	247	485
Structurel Cl D				
Structural Clay Products	29,391	392	14,207	14,792
Cement, Pipes & other Cement			and the second second	,
Products	2,992	24	1,901	1,067
Non-metallic Mineral Products	59,991	1,429	5,258	53,304
Rubber Products	508	23	306	179
Wood & Wood Products other	200	45	300	179
than Furniture & Fixtures	102,594	1,765	0.070	00.051
Furniture & Fixtures	2,494		9,878	90,951
Paper & Paper Products		159	478	1,857
Printing & Allied Industries	2,075	55	1,256	764
Construction & Utilities	2,877	199	1,614	1,064
Construction & Maintenance-	269,811	2,072	114,658	153,081
Buildings				
Construction & Maintenance-	87,395	1,114	29,700	56,581
Boads Bridges & all				
Roads, Bridges & other				
Transport Works	21,105	240	9,579	11,286
Construction & Maintenance-			- ,	
Telegraph & Telephone Lines	558	2	316	240
Construction & Maintenance			510	
Operations-Irrigation & other				
Agricultural Works	18,167	83	10,457	7,622
Works & Services-Electrical	10,107	05	10,437	7,022
Power & Gas Supply	1 470	10		211
Works & Services-Domestic &	1,479	10	1,243	266
Industrial Water Supply	14.045			lazal
Sanitary Works & Services	14,861	293	5,357	9,211
(Including C.				
(including Scavengers)	112,611	228	53,774	58,609
				'

Commerce 561,975 30,732 48,228 482,	955
Retail Trades otherwise	
unclassified 175,383 10,818 16,517 148,	048
Retail Trade in Foodstuffs	
(including Beverages &	
Narcotics) 289,616 12,382 17,405 259,	829
Retail Trade in Fuel	100
(including Petrol) 34,855 1,750 2,922 30,	183
Retail Trade in Textile &	121
Leather Goods	431
Wholesale I rade in Foodstull's 11,770 022	567
Wholesale Trade in Commodities	686
other than roodstums 11,050 010	710
hear Estate	904
Insurance 1,647 167 666	504
Money-lending, Banking & other Financial Business 12,435 1.333 2,505 8,	597
Timalicial Dusiness	
Transport, Storage & 62,964 3,606 36,557 22,	801
Communications 02,904 5,000 EC,104	
Transport & Communications	
otherwise unclassified & 2,986 68 1,378 1,5	540
incidental Services	917
Transport by Road)13
Transport by Water 295 11 263	21
Transport by All	163
Tansport 20 711	139
Storage & Warehousing 938 28 711 Postal Services 2,047 - 2,043	4
Telegraph Services 416 - 415	1
Telegraph Services416-+17Telephone Services2,623-2,620	3
Wireless Service 67 - 67	-
Hoolth Education & Dublic	
Administration 272,483 2,608 234,129 35,7	46
Medical & Other Health	50
Medical & Other Health Services 79,625 1,383 50,283 27,9	229
Educational Services & 76	36
Research 118,491 1,221 109,031 1,0	
Police (other than Village 4 129 - 4,129	-
Watchmen)	
Village Officers & Servants (including Village Watchmen) 5,433 4 5,278 1	51
(including vinage viewee)	
HIMPIONAGE OF MUITICIDAITIES (
Employees of Municipalities &	
Employees of Municipalities & Local Boards (persons not classifiable under any other division) 25,839 - 25,839	_

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

Employees of State Gov'ts.				
(persons not classifiable un-				
der any other division)	26,340	-	26,340	- 11
Employees of non-Indian				
Governments	762	-	762	- (101
Services not elsewhere specified	1,451,528	13,755	644,870	792,903
Services otherwise unclassified	786,483	5,941	271,563	508,879
Domestic Services	391,075	906	324,300	65,869
Barber & Beauty Shops	30,401	607	3,607	26,187
Laundries & Laundry Services	125,506	2,087	14,367	109,052
Hotels, Restaurants & Eating				
Houses	33,348	2,820	8,801	21,727
Recreation Services	32,780	445	5,027	27,308
Legal & Business Services	8,959	185	5,596	3,178
Arts, Letters & Journalism	1,720	112	464	1,144
Religious Charitable & Welfare				
Services	41,256	652	11,145	29,459
Source: Women of India, chapter	on "Trades	and Profe	ssions," Mrs	s. Padmini

Sengupta.

TABLE No. 10

Percentage

NUMBER OF WOMEN WORKING IN FACTORIES, PLANTATIONS AND MINES: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE

Industry	Number of Women	of Total Labor Force
Plantations	479,983	43.53
Tea Plantations	397,546	42.40
Coffee Plantations	70,910	40.00
l extiles	102,033	9.99
Food	58,048	18.26
Tobacco	43,033	40.37
Ginning and Pressing	35,019	41.87
Chemical Products (Factories)	_	13.36
Coal Mines	57,390	16.50
Manganese	11,000	45.90
Sources: Women of India, chapter on "Trades a	nd Professions.	" Mrs. Padmini

Sengupta, p. 238, also Women in India, brochure, Mrs. Mithan Lam, 1952, pp. 3-8.

WOMEN IN INDIA

TABLE No. 11

WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT POSITIONS AND PUBLIC LIFE

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND STATE GOVERNMENTS

Central Government Appointments

High Commissioner in London to the United Kingdom and Ambasador to Ireland and Spain
Governor of Bengal
Governor of Uttar Pradesh (formerly under the Provisional Government)
Minister of Health (1947-1957)
Deputy Minister for External Affairs
Deputy Minister of Finance
Deputy Minister of Home Affairs

Central Government-Other Positions

Deputy Secretaries in the Ministries—in External Affairs, Home Ministry, Education and Commerce Advisers in Education and Health Assistant Chief Social Welfare Officer Chairman Central Social Welfare Board Director Botanical Survey

STATE GOVERNMENT-MINISTERS AND DEPUTY MINISTERS

Minister of Revenue and Prohibition Minister of Public Health Minister of Local Administration and Fisheries Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation Deputy Minister of Social Welfare and Rural Development Deputy Minister of Social Welfare—three States Deputy Minister of Education Deputy Minister of Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation in two States

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION SERVICE

16 District or Assistant District Magistrates

FOREIGN SERVICE

Five in embassies abroad

OTHER POSITIONS IN OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC LIFE

Mayor of Delhi Mayor of Madras Sheriff of Bombay Sheriff of Madras Vice Chancellors of two Universities—Baroda University and Poona Women's Indian University President Indian Conference of Social Work

President of Indian Council of Child Welfare

President of the Indian Red Cross

President, the Family Planning Association of India

Chairman of the Board of All-India Medical Institute

Chairman of the Indian Cooperative Union

Chairman of All-India Handicrafts Board

Chairman of State Advisory Board Woman's Savings Campaign

Honorary Secretary of the Diamond Jubilee Trust Fund of the Aga Khan

TABLE No. 12

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN INDIA (List Compiled in 1958)

The All-India Women's Conference (AIWC)-National, 1926.

Purpose:

- (a) To work for a society based on the principles of social justice, personal integrity and equal opportunities for all.
- (b) To secure recognition of the inherent right of every human being to work and to the essentials of life, such as food, clothing, education, social amenities and security, in the belief that these should not be determined by accident of birth or sex but by planned social distribution.
- (c) To support the claim of every citizen to the right to enjoy basic civil liberties.
- (d) To stand against all separatist tendencies and to promote greater national integration and unity.
- (e) To work actively for the general progress and welfare of women and children and to help women to utilize to the fullest the Fundamental Rights conferred on them by the Constitution of the Indian Union.
- (f) To cooperate with peoples and organizations of the world for the implementation of these principles, which alone can assure permanent international amity and peace.

Granted consultative status to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, 1947.

The National Council of Women in India-National, 1915.

Purpose:

- (a) To associate women of all communities in India for the promotion of the social, civic, moral and educational welfare of women and children.
- (b) To coordinate the work of national and local organizations in harmony with these purposes.
- (c) To work for the removal of all disabilities of women, whether legal, economic, social, and to promote such conditions of life as will assure to every child an opportunity for full and free development.

WOMEN IN INDIA

Affiliated with the International Council of Women, 1925.

Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)-National, 1875. Purpose:

- (a) To unite women and girls in a fellowship worldwide in scope, which is rooted in the desire to follow Jesus Christ and to work for His Kingdom.
- (b) To promote the physical, mental and spiritual development of its members and encourage and train them in ways of service.
- (c) To include in the field of its activities young women of every class, creed, race, and nationality, uniting them in fellowship and mutual service for their spiritual, intellectual, social, and physical development.
- (d) To strengthen all forces working for the promotion of peace and better understanding between classes, creeds, nations, and races.

Affiliated with World Young Women's Christian Association, 1897.

The Federation of University Women in India-National, 1915.

Purpose:

- (a) To stimulate the interest of university women in academic, cultural and civic life.
- (b) To promote understanding and friendship among university women throughout the world.

Affiliated with International Federation of University Women, 1921.

Association of Medical Women in India-National, 1907.

Purpose:

- (a) To band medical women together and work for better conditions of service.
- (b) To strive for wider opportunities for service to the country, particularly those related to the health and welfare of women and children.
- (c) To keep medical women, particularly in remote areas, abreast of medical progress through the Journal and by offering opportunities for post-graduate and refresher courses, as also by holding periodical conferences.

Affiliated with the International Association of Medical Women, 1924.

The Trained Nurses Association-National, 1908.

Purpose:

- (a) To uphold in every way the dignity and honor of the nursing profession.
- (b) To promote the sense of esprit de corps among all nurses.
- (c) To enable members to take counsel together on matters relating to this profession.
- (d) To elevate nursing education and effect a more uniform system of education and examination, certification and registration.
- (e) To aid any institution in, or outside, India connected with nursing.

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(f) To promote welfare and provide relief as the association may think fit.

Affiliated with the International Council of Nurses, 1912.

The Home Science Association of India-National, 1952.

Purpose:

(a) To raise the standard of the teaching and the training of Home Science.

(b) To promote the status of Home Science as a profession.

Affiliated with the International Federation of Home Economics, 1956. Indian Association of Rural Women (Bharat Gramin Mahila Sangha)-

National, 1955.

Purpose:

(a) To promote the advance of farm women in India in education, health and general welfare.

Affiliated with the Country Women of the World, 1956.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom - National, founded before Independence.

Purpose:

(a) "To bring together women of different politcial and philosophical tendencies united in their determination to study, make known and abolish the political, social, economic and psychological causes of war, and to work for a constructive peace."

Affiliated with the International League for Peace and Freedom, 1956.

The Family Planning Association (Men and Women Members-National, 1949, Registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860. Purpose:

- (a) To impress upon the public the necessity for family planning and give guidance on reliable methods of achieving it. (b) To work for the establishment of centers where married couples
- can get advice on family planning problems.
- (c) To endeavor wherever possible to supply the necessary contraceptive appliances to married couples of low and middle income groups at as low a cost as possible.
- (d) To collect information and statistics relating to family planning.
- (e) To foster and develop contacts with organizations engaged in a similar type of work in India and abroad.

Affiliated with the International Federation of Planned Parenthood, 1953. The Indian Girl Guides-National, 1911

The Girl Guides are now merged with the Bharat (Indian) Scouts and Guides, (1950).

Purpose:

- (a) To promote the character development of girls and young women through the Guide Program.
- (b) To build a fellowship in India and with the Guides in other countries free from barriers of race, class and creed.

WOMEN IN INDIA

Affiliated with the World Bureau of Girl Guides, 1953.

Business and Professional Women in New Delhi, December 1956.

An autonomous club in the YWCA in New Delhi with a membership of representatives of various professions.

Purpose:

To promote the development of women in business and professional life, and to create a fellowship among them in New Delhi.

National Federation of Indian Women-National, 1956. Affiliated with the International Democratic Federation of Women.

The Indian Council for Child Welfare-National, 1952.

A Council which comprises men and women members, developed from the Indian National Committee of the United Nations Associations of Children (UNAC), 1947.

- (a) To promote child welfare in India through interpreting the needs and interests of children.
- (b) To coordinate the nation-wide voluntary child welfare activities through the State Councils for Child Welfare.

Affiliated with the International Union for Child Welfare, 1953.

The Indian Conference of Social Work-National, 1947.

- (a) To stimulate public interest in social work and social needs and secure community support for the existing welfare efforts in India.
- (b) To provide a center of information on all matters concerning social
- (c) To serve as a forum for the exchange of information and experience on various social questions.
- Affiliated with the International Conference of Social Work, 1948.

Indian Red Cross-National, 1919.

Established as an Indian Committee of the British Red Cross. This organization, one of the oldest in India, was reconstituted after Independence. Women participate in Red Coss actively. A woman is President of the Red Cross.

Purpose:

- (a) To organize and render emergency relief.
- (b) To assist in the promotion of maternal and child health through the training of workers and a network of child welfare centers.
- (c) To promote the training of nurses.

Affiliated with the League of Red Cross Societies, 1920.

The Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust-National, 1944.

(a) To conduct and promote such charitable activities as would conduce to the general welfare of needy women and children in rural areas in India.

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

- (b) To establish and maintain welfare institutions for them.
- (c) To train women workers for rural areas and to promote the welfare of rural women and children in all possible ways.

The Women's Indian Association-National.

One of the pioneer women's associations in the development of the forward movement of women of India. After 1935 merged with the All-India Women's Conference.

Purpose:

- (a) To promote the advance of Indian women in all fields-specifically social legislative reform and political equality.
- (b) To educate women and the public in general in the needs and rights of women through the magazine Stri Dharma.

Central Social Welfare Board-National.

A woman's board, constituted (First Five Year Plan-1951-1956) by the Central Government, with State Social Welfare Boards of Women appointed to carry out the welfare program with voluntary women workers throughout India.

Purpose:

- (a) To coordinate, help and develop with financial assistance, existing voluntary groups and organizations in rural and urban India, especially those working for women and handicapped children.
- (b) To increase social welfare in rural India by training a large number of village workers and opening welfare centers in new areas.

The Association of Moral and Social Hygiene-National, 1928.

Purpose:

- (a) To educate public opinion against prostitution as a national danger and promote sex education in schools and colleges.
- (b) To promote the control of prostitution through registration, licensing and inspection of homes for women and children.
- (c) To promote revision of existing legislation and legislative reform in the control of prostitution in all forms.

Affiliated with the Internationalist Abolitionist Federation, Geneva.

The Women's Army Corps in India (WACI)-National, 1941.

This body of women, 10,000 or more, who were recruited for war service and are now demobilized and not functioning, represents a trained potential for emergency service, if needed.

All-India Food Council-National, 1950.

Purpose:

- (a) To develop new food habits and a common taste for rice and wheat (North India eats only wheat; South India, only rice) in order to meet the problem of frequent scarcity of each; and also to promote a salad taste for general health.
- (b) To promote and popularize balanced cheap non-cereal meals served cafeteria style.

Women's Small Savings Campaign-National, 1954.

Purpose:

To strengthen the governmental effort to secure funds for the Five Year Plans by promoting among women thrift and the investment of savings in the National cause. The programs, administered by a Central Board and properly constituted by State Boards, have been carried out by women's welfare organizations and women volunteer workers as authorized sales investment "agents" of the government.

The Family Welfare Service-National, 1954.

A voluntary service inaugurated by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in cooperation with the Central Social Welfare Board.

Purpose:

- (a) To secure employment for women in factory work which can be carried on at home. (The processes of certain factories-matches, hosiery and garments-can be easily learned and decentralized.)
- (b) To provide welfare services, such as medical aid, child care, family counselling, etc.

The Indian Service Society (Bharat Sevak Samaj)-National, 1953.

A society of men and women for voluntary service, irrespective of caste, creed, or political alliance.

Purpose:

- (a) To develop avenues of voluntary service to promote national sufficiency, build up economic strength and social well-being.
- (b) To draw out unused time, energy and other resources of the people and direct them into social and economic activity.

Muslim Women's Association-Madras, 1927.

The original association was reconstituted after Independence and registered 1952.

Purpose:

- (a) To promote education for girls through scholarships in elementary and secondary schools; and promote the development of the Southern India Education Trust Women's College with financial support, scholarships, etc.
- (b) To spread adult education among Moslem women, teach hygiene and sanitation and uproot unnecessary social customs and practices.
- (c) To promote friendship and understanding between the Moslem women and women of other communities.

Affiliated with the All-India Women's Conference.

The South India Muslim Education Association – Regional (Madras Headquarters)

An association with a number of women members, a mixed board, men and women,-Moslems, sixty per cent and non-Moslems. Purpose:

- (a) To promote the education of Moslem boys and girls.
- (b) To promote a college for Moslem women in cooperation with the Southern India Education Trust with Urdu as the Language. Open for Moslems and non-Moslems.

The Handloom Board, the All-India Handicrafts Board, the All-India Khadi Board, the Indian Cooperative Union-National.

These All-India organizations with men and women members have a common purpose and related programs.

Purpose:

(a) To protect, revive and promote cottage industries.

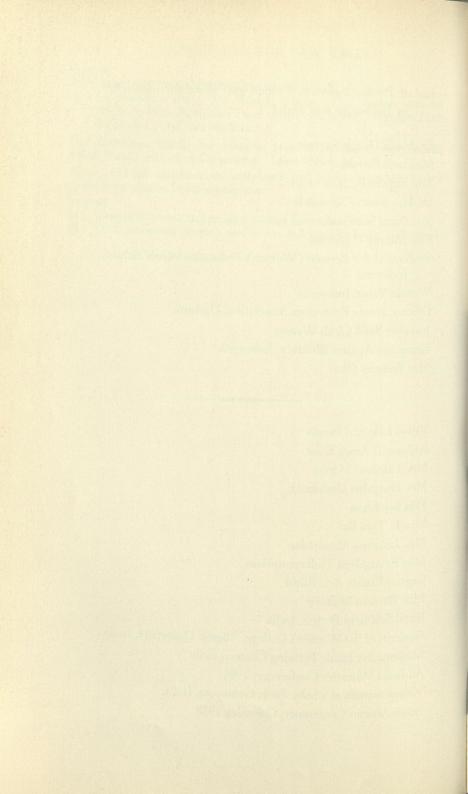
(b) To improve and develop production and sales in India and abroad.

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List of Photographs of Women and Women's Activities in Indonesia and India

Dr. Maria Ullfah Santoso Miss Laili Roesad Mrs. Supeni-Pudjobontoro Dr. Hurustiati Soebandrio Mrs. Nani Soewando Mrs. Montrea Hutasoit Students of the *Perwari* (Women's Federation) Girls' School, Indonesia Woman Voter, Indonesia Officers, Home Economics Association, Djakarta Javanese *Batik* Cloth Weaver Campaign Against Illiteracy, Indonesia Mrs. Bangoes Oka

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Rajkumari Amrit Kaur Mrs. Lakshmi Menon Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh Miss Ivy Khan Mrs. B. Tara Bai Mrs. Lakshmi Mazumdar Miss Evangeline Thillayampalam Gegum Kudsia Aziz Rasul Miss Renuka Mukerji Rural Self-help Project, India Students of the Women's College, Aligarh University, India Students in Health Training Centers, India All-India Women's Conference, 1956 Village women at a baby show, Gobrapota, India Asian-African Conference, Colombo, 1958



DR. MARIA ULLFAH SANTOSO,

Ph.D., Director of the Prime Minister's Office and Chairman, All Indonesian Women's Congress (Kongress Wanita), Chairman of Film Censor Board, and former Minister of Social Affairs.





MISS LAILI ROESAD, Brussels, Minister to Belgium and Luxembourg, former Acting Chief of the Directorate of UN Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



MRS. HURUSTIATI SOE-BANDRIO, M.D., Djakarta, member, National Planning Council, Director of Public Health Education, President, the Association of University Women and the Family Planning Association.

-AUSTRALIAN NEWS INT'L.



MRS. SUPENI - PUDJOBUN-TORO, of Djakarta, Member of Parliament and Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Director and Chairman Djakarta Election Committee.

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MRS. NANI SOEWONDO, Djakarta, Founder Member and former President of the Association of University Women, is a recognized authority on the legal status of Indonesian women.



MRS. MONTREA HUTASOIT, Djakarta, Chairman, Education Section of Perwari, Chairman, Ministry of Education Women's Association, leader in other women's organizations. ▲ Students of the Perwari (Women's Federation) Girls' School—which is now being expanded—gather for their portrait.



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For this young mother voting is a serious business. She has doubtless carried her baby a long way. Since she is probably illiterate she is voting by a "symbol" ballot.

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Officers elected at the inaugural sessions of the Home Economics Association, Djakarta, March 1957. All are graduates of Home Economics Teacher Training Schools.

▼ A typical Javanese woman working on batik cloth. Women constitute a large percentage of workers in the batik industries.





A combined class of adults and children taught by one of the many voluntary teachers mobilized in the campaign against illiteracy.

MRS. BANGOES OKA, of Singarada Bali, is the principal of the coeducation high school, a civil welfare leader, and a home-maker; six children.



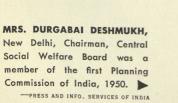
VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT,

High Commissioner from India to the United Kingdom, Ambassador to Spain and Ireland, former Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and to the U.S.A., and President of the 8th Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR, of New Delhi, is a former Minister of Health, a former President of the World Health Organization and President of Indian Red Cross.

-PRESS AND INFO. SERVICES OF INDIA

MRS. LAKSHMI MENON, is Deputy Minister of External Affairs, a former Chief of United Nations Section of Status of Women and a former President of the All India Women's Conference.





MISS IVY KHAN, National General Secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association, member of the World YWCA Council.



MRS. B. TARA BAI, Directress of Lady Irwin College, New Delhi, member, All India Central Food Council, and President, Home Science Association of India.





MRS. LAKSHMI MA-ZUMDAR, Chief Commissioner of Girl Guides of India and member of World Committee of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts.





MISS EVANGELINE THILLA-YAMPALAM, Ph.D., Principal of Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, is a former exchange lecturer in zoology at Wellesley College, active participant in the Association of University Women and the Y.W.C.A.



▲ BEGUM KUDSIA AIZIZ RASUL, Lucknow, member of Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradesh, is President of the Uttar Pradesh branch of the All India Women's Conference, and Vice President of the Indian Red Cross.

MISS RENUKA MUKERJI, is Principal of the Women's Christian College, Madras, President of the National Student Christian Movement, member, World Council of Churches Committee on Cooperation between Men and Women in Society.

> ASSOC. BD., WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, MADRAS

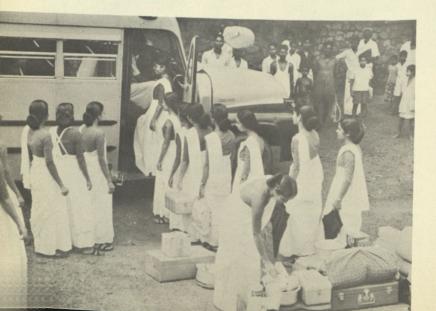


▲ A brigade of village women, carrying baskets of earth for the building of a new school makes its vigorous contribution to a rural selfhelp project. —press AND INFO. SERVICES OF INDIA



▲ Students from the Women's College of the Aligarh Muslim University —members of a class in biology—represent the current desire of young women to prepare for a medical career. —press AND INFO. SERVICES OF INDIA

Students in health training centers combine headquarters work with field trip experience for observation and service.





▲ The All India Women's Conference 26th Annual Session at Indore, Dec. 25-29, 1956, a non-partisan, non-sectarian body of women from all over India. Major subject considered at this session was careers for women.

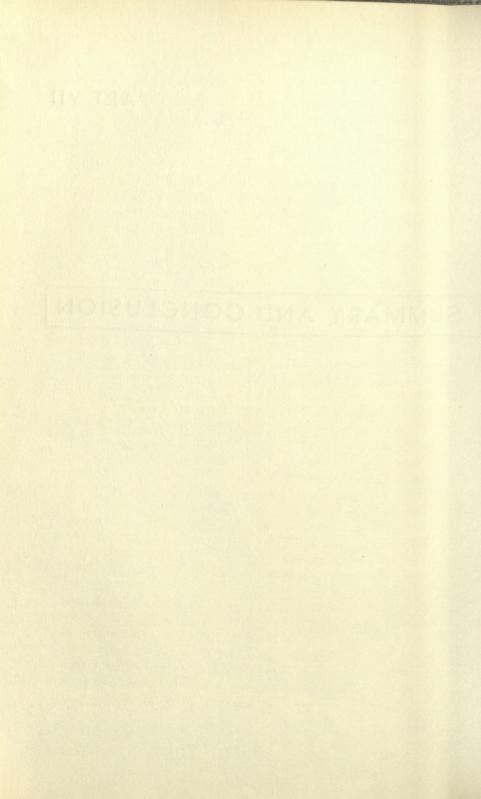
▼ Village women at a baby show celebration, Republic Day 1956 at Gobrapota, Center of the Nadia Project, proudly present their healthy offspring to Mrs. Haksar, Chairman of the State Welfare Board on a tour of supervision from Calcutta. — BALLAV STUDIO





PART VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The point of departure for the current study of the role of women in the Moslem East and India is the author's earlier book, Moslem Women Enter a New World (New York: Round Table Press, 1936). These two books together picture the steady change in the life of Moslem women, which has been rapidly accelerated in the twenty-four years since publication of the former work. Closely related as they are, the two studies have a marked difference in focus. This is the natural result of widespread political and social changes throughout the East in this period. The earlier work was focused on the changing status of Moslem women as the title of the book indicated. The focus of the current book is the role of women as a whole in the Moslem East and India-women of the different religious communities, Moslem and non-Moslem, with the accent on changing roles as the result of changing status. Twenty years ago a study on Moslem women alone was natural and a practical necessity in all countries except Turkey. Today, a study of Moslem women alone would be an anachronism, unrealistic and out of harmony with general national movements, if not contrary to national policies.

Of the five Islamic countries in this study, four have very large Moslem majorities and a small Christian minority. Afghanistan is entirely Moslem. India, which is predominantly Hindu, has a Moslem minority of over forty million and almost twelve million Christians. Yet today it is possible, as it would not have been possible twenty years ago, to study the activities, interests and developments of women as a whole rather than as separated groups, as members of different religious faiths entirely divided in their efforts.

Today, for all women alike, the major concern is equality of status as a basic necessity for their equal responsibility in society. *Moslem Women Enter a New World* offers a sound base in respect both to Moslem women and to women of other faiths for the general appraisal of their advance since 1936, but it does not offer criteria for detailed comparison in specific areas of change. The earlier book has, however, given the author a useful yardstick for measuring the remarkable change in the total role of women.

These current studies of the role of women in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and Indonesia have resulted in a unified impression of the power of women leaders in each country. Individually and through their organized activities, the women leaders of these countries have become a dynamic social force, helping to transform the life of their lands. The growing power of women in five widely diversified Moslem countries and India may be considered as representative of the remarkable forward movement of women in the entire East. Essentially the same currents of change-economic and technological, political and cultural-are transforming the life of the entire East. Women in all countries are vitally affected by the rapidly changing environment and are themselves playing a creative part along many lines in Eastern life. It was for this reason that the inclusive title Women and the New East was chosen for this work.

Working and talking with many representative women in each country make it clear that in the diversity of their activities there is a remarkable unity of purpose and sense of direction. They are confronted by the common needs and problems of the East and are working toward a common goal. Women are actively participating in many phases of civic welfare and in the varied collective efforts to build national life on a sound basis. They are, however, concerned primarily with the specific needs of women and girls and are contributing their knowledge and special experience in all areas of life—the home and social welfare, business and professions, political life and public office—to the total advancement of women.

Certain major trends of change and advance may be summed up in general terms applicable to all or several countries. But comparison between countries is not possible, nor is it desirable. They represent very different stages of development. To introduce comparison into each country study would be invidious, since the development of women as participants in each society ranges across the complete spectrum of change. Of essential interest are the common problems and needs and common lines of progress. It will be noted that some of the general statements

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

may not be applicable to Afghanistan at the present stage of its advance. However, trends of progress in regard to women are unmistakable in all areas.

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The governments of these countries have made great progress in the education of girls, the basis for any advance of women, increasing on all levels the facilities for an enrollment of girls and women in primary, secondary, higher education and university education for professional training, on the basis of equality of access with men; and in social education in terms of literacy and home-making for adult women, a necessity in order to achieve the goal of national literacy.

Women leaders, women's organizations, and other voluntary agencies of these countries have worked steadily and effectively to promote this expansion by establishing many primary and secondary schools for girls, colleges and training institutions for women, and a widespread program of social education—a truly impressive total of voluntary education effort.

The governments in the East, under the pressure to achieve universal literacy as rapidly as possible and provide educational facilities for their people, have given high priority to quantity rather than quality and have concentrated their efforts on the expansion of education as the immediate goal. Leading educators in each country, while recognizing the continuing necessity for the major emphasis on expansion, realize the importance of special development along a number of lines.

More adequate provision for vocational education of girls and women is generally recognized as a growing need in each country, in view of the increasing social freedom of women and the economic necessity to work. There is marked disparity between the government provision for the technical training of boys and that of girls. Because of technological pressures the governments are steadily increasing the vocational training of boys—in some countries in a great diversity of skills. For girls, only a meager amount of vocational education is available, limited for the most part to domestic arts—sewing, embroidery and dress making with very small wage-earning possibility, and with practically no provisions for technical training to meet business requirements for earning a livelihood. An increasing number of young women of the middle class with average education, and not a few of the educated upper classes, also need to earn a livelihood and are eager for the necessary technical training.

Because of their recognized capacity in this field, secretarial service offers many opportunities to trained and educated young women who must be self-supporting. There is a growing demand in government agencies at all levels and in foreign business firms for trained secretarial and clerical service. Yet the entrance of women into this especially favorable field of work is curtailed by lack of training facilities and by the fact that it is traditionally a male occupation. There are a growing number of commercial courses for typing and stenography on the medium standard, i.e., ninth or tenth grade, in girls' schools and also courses on a commercial basis in large cities. But in each country there is special need for professional secretarial training on a higher level. Coeducation is a possibility since secretarial service is a field both for men and women. However, the lack of adequately trained teachers precludes the provision of such training. A notable development of a teacher training plan is the Commercial Teachers Training College at Ankara, a cooperative project of the Turkish Government and the International Cooperation Administration with New York University, which has men and women teachers and a student ratio of two-thirds women and one-third men.

The closely related needs for vocational guidance and for studies of the occupational field in general are the concern of a number of women in different countries—individual leaders, especially interested in promoting the economic development of women; teachers in girls' high schools and colleges, leaders of youth organizations interested in concrete problems, guidance and training; and young college graduates needing information and guidance.

Studies on the occupational field of women offer women's organizations unusual opportuntities for special educational service. Relatively little has been done and is available along this line but of special interest are two illustrations from India and Turkey:

The Seminar on Careers for Women, All-India Women's Conference, Indore, 1956. Convenor, Mrs. Mithan J. Lam. A Study of the Economic Role of Business Women and Clerical Workers, (largely in Government service), made for the Society for the Status of Women (Ankara) by Dr. Hamide Topçuoğlu, 1957.

Studies of this character, aside from their direct value for the women of these countries, furnish the government with valuable information on current economic contributions of women and suggest their further potential development and their better utilization in economic life.

A successful effort is being made in several countries in the East by leading educators to promote more creative citizenship education through Government programs. This development is a natural result of the widespread renaissance of nationalism in the East today, highlighted in countries that have recently acquired independence and have established universal suffrage. Creative citizenship education stresses the development of individual civic responsibility through independent initiative in action.

Traditional methods of teaching civics according to the learning by rote have been changed, or are being changed, from mere textbook study about constitution and governmental processes to the practices of good citizenship in the concrete relationships of home, school and community. Evidences of new vitality in teaching citizenship are apparent in varying degree in each country — in student-directed school service projects, increased interest in parent-teachers associations and extra-curricular activities of the school related to the community in mutual service. The keen response of students and teachers, parents and the general community to the development of practical citizenship clearly indicates success.

Various voluntary organizations are actively supporting and helping to promote citizenship education. Particularly to be mentioned for their vital influence in citizenship education and training are various youth organizations – several voluntary national movements of long standing and some more recently established, sponsored by the government.

A distinct advance has been made in the development of home science education in each country through the government program, as is shown by increased facilities and marked extension of educational opportunity and also by a new emphasis in home science and new methods. Home science is being reinterpreted as creative homemaking and not merely the teaching of traditional home skills by routine methods. This reinterpretation has required a greatly enriched program with specialized teaching methods, and particularly the readjustment of home science curriculum content planned along modern lines to Eastern customs and needs-in food, clothing, social manners, mores, etc. The reorientation of home science teaching is being achieved in each country by the intimate collaboration of Eastern leaders trained in home science with specialists from abroad. The emphasis on creative homemaking in the teaching of home science will give the present students-future homemakers and teachers-a basis for developing clearer understanding and closer relationship between the home and society. Women leaders in each country and foreign technical assistants are having a formative influence in the development of home science teaching in schools and colleges, helping to rainse it to full professional status.

A major need in the education of girls and women in all these countries is the rethinking of the role of education in relation to the rapid social changes that are transforming the way of life of women. The transfer from the extended family pattern of patriarchal authority with the security of the large family group to the single unit family with the independence of the individual and the sense of economic insecurity; from marriage by parental choice to marriage by individual choice; from daily restriction of individual action to daily choice in all the details of living; from social segregation to social intermingling and from complete economic dependence of women to the opportunity and often necessity for self-support—these are the two worlds of the old and new patterns of life in the East. All this means inevitable conflict in family relationships. Parents and children alike face serious psychological tension between old and new values.

Constructive educational and social solutions are being sought -special family counselling and youth guidance services, more development of parent-teachers associations, and other lines of social welfare, public service and, especially, home life. The social and educational efforts to promote the adjustment to the new conditions of life. Many forces in each country are concerned with this problem of adjustment: educators responsible for planning and policy, teachers dealing with the daily situations resulting from conflict, parents and youth most vitally involved in the effects of change, men and women leaders in social welfare, and civic affairs, and volunteer agencies. All these together can form an enlightened public opinion.

In the development of the education of girls and women in the East Christian missions have made a distinctive contribution. During the early period the Mission school was often the first school for girls in the area. Women's mission colleges were pioneers in higher education and through the years have rendered valuable service in preparing educated women leaders for professions—especially teaching, medicine and nursing—and for all the other agencies of social welfare. The part played by Christian missions in the education of girls and women is recognized with appreciation by many women leaders in the East. The work of missions is carried on in close relationship with the educational program of the national governments.

Governments in the East, in their promotion of national education in this new era, have had a major asset in the growing technical cooperation of the United Nations and the special inter-governmental agencies-UNESCO, WHO, FAO and others, as well as foreign official agencies, private foundations and voluntary organizations. The education of women and girls in each country gives evidence of the immediate and also farreaching permanent benefits of this cooperative program of international assistance along many lines-home science, nursery schools, vocational training, fundamental education, teacher training and training of village workers. Eastern women educators through close association with women specialists from other countries have gained new concepts and modern techniques of education and fresh insights into Eastern educational problems seen in the context of world problems. Specialists in various fields from other countries sharing their knowledge and skills with Eastern colleagues have been able to enter intimately into the life of the East, understand and interpret its values.

A marked development in each country has been the increasing number of women students and leaders who have the opportunity for study and training abroad in preparation for their full leadership in various fields. The increase of foreign fellowships for women is especially urgent in order to develop a more balanced Eastern society and provide more trained professional women needed in all fields.

Foreign influence has long played an important role throughout the East in the development of education. Today the free interplay of educational influence through technical cooperation is shaping a new pattern in education as in other areas of life. The various United Nations agencies and foreign organizations offer the governments of the East a multiplicity of international opportunities for cultural and technical assistance. It is important that women are actively participating in this daily transfer of skills and knowledge and interchange of cultural values. The concrete immediate plans in technical cooperation throughout the East will have widespread results in building international relationships and understanding.

Although there is obviously great diversity in the development of the national programs of health, specifically for women and children, there are, as in the field of education, a number of problems and needs common to all these countries. There are similar indications of progress and primarily the same motivation in all countries—to build their nations on modern foundations, of which national health is an obvious essential.

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In each country an increasing number of trained health workers are carrying on a wide range of services towards the goal of improved health conditions. Inoculation campaigns to combat disease and concentrated efforts on a program of better sanitation are everywhere apparent. In a few countries in the East modern health programs were initiated forty or fifty years ago. In others the programs are much more recent. During the past two decades efforts to improve maternal and child health have been greatly accelerated throughout the East. The present record of progress is visible in the numerous clinics crowded with expectant mothers awaiting treatments or attending classes in child care, nutrition, and home sanitation. Increasing response to the home visitors service and the insistent demand for more service than the government can supply clearly reflect the marked expansion of women's freedom. Twenty years ago the needs were as great, or even greater, and the desire for help was already being awakened. This freedom of movement for many women, especially Moslems, was, however, still severely curtailed.

Social conservatism still persists among the illiterate majority in all countries, naturally in *purdah*-bound areas, and is a major deterrent to the improvement of women's and children's health, preventing them from taking full advantage of government services. But the MCH program is steadily overcoming the handicaps of socio-religious customs through the collective effort of government officials and trained health workers, especially women. In some countries, notably in India, there is a growing number of women rural health workers, and many voluntary women leaders committed to welfare service for women and children.

Family planning is a subject of vital concern to a growing number of the educated minority, both men and women, but particularly to women doctors who have, in all countries of the East, been the pioneer force in this controversial field. Two countries are still in the pioneering stage: there is no family planning organization, but there are informal, inconspicuous groups of keenly interested leaders, promoting the idea persistently, quietly, without overt publicity, since family planning is not in accord with Government policy. In Indonesia the Government has not officially endorsed family planning but has recently (1959) shown concern about the rapid growth of population. An informal family planning association, aided by doctors and midwives, is promoting the program by giving advice and assistance to individuals and lecturing before hundreds of people on the request of women's organizations. More and more the idea of family planning is gaining ground.

In Pakistan and India the governments are promoting family planning as a national necessity. Pakistan in 1959 established a government program of extension of services and research and also endorses and supports (since 1957) the Pakistan Family Planning Association, an expanding movement of men and women with strong public support, which carries responsibility for educating the people and assists the Government in its plans. In 1959 the Government assumed the total responsibility of

WOMEN AND THE NEW EAST

population control activities. The demand for funds and services is steadily increasing. The Government of India is vigorously promoting the limitation of population, both as a safeguard to the lives of mothers and children and as an economic necessity in order to stabilize the population at a level in balance with the national economy. The program is one of nationwide educational propaganda and expanded family welfare service, including subsidizing voluntary agencies. A well-established voluntary Family Planning Association of men and women, under the leadership of a prominent woman, cooperates closely with the Government in promoting this program of public education and in setting up clinics and family planning centers for training and service, education and research.

The development of family planning in these countries has taken place in less than a decade, except for India. The Trivandrum All-India Women's Conference of 1936, which was attended by Mrs. Margaret Sanger as a special guest, issued a call for the nationwide promotion of birth control. The subsequent promotion of birth control through private efforts, the vigorous government program and the effective promotion of the Family Planning Association of India, have widely influenced the growth of family planning throughout the East. The change in name has given a basis for more fundamental education and interpretation and has undoubtedly had a psychological effect in breaking down the opposition of some religious elements in the East.*

The major problem in the development of the health program as a whole in the East is the shortage of trained health personnel. More women doctors, nurses, nurses' aides, medical social workers, trained midwives as well as the traditional village midwife, are everywhere needed.

In recruiting and training women health personnel all countries face essentially the same difficulty of the prejudicial social attitude toward midwifery and nursing. The lack of recognition of nursing as a profession makes it particularly difficult to recruit

^{*} The term "birth control" was used first in 1914 in the United States by Mrs. Sanger. "Family Planning" was adopted by Sweden in 1946; in India in 1947. The term "Planned Parenthood" was chosen in 1952 at the conference in Bombay, when the International Planned Parenthood Federation was established.

educated young women for this most important career. Twenty years ago there were few nurses other than Christian in the Moslem East, except in Turkey. The past decade shows marked progress in raising the status of nursing. The educational standards of nurses' training in all countries are being raised and increased opportunities for training provided. Postgraduate courses in several countries with full university recognition have been established. A number of highly trained nurses are holding supervisory posts. Public understanding and appreciation of the essential value of the trained nurse are steadily growing and nursing is gaining its rightful social and professional status.

An essential element in the total national development of modern health programs in each country during the past decade has been the remarkably effective cooperation of foreign and international official and private agencies with the national governments. These cooperative relationships have made possible the basic formation and extension of health services in a remarkably short period.

In the past, Christian medical missions played a large part in the development of modern health programs. They did pioneer service along several lines: general medical services; women's and coeducational medical colleges; training of nurses and midwives and maternal and child care. Medical missions continue to cooperate with governments in the health field by performing valuable specialized services.

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Rural reconstruction for the development of agriculture and improvement of village life is a major emphasis in national planning in every country. The key importance of rural women for the successful promotion of rural reconstruction is recognized, as they constitute over half the agricultural labor force in each country, and in addition to their economic value have a determinative influence in their home and family life in regard to social change. Village women are mostly illiterate, traditionally conservative, and bound by social-religious customs.

To raise the status of village women and thus lift the level of village life is the primary objective of the program now being actively promoted by the several Governments in connection with the Community Development Program. This welfare program for village women is a composite of the technical resources of the Ministries of Health and Welfare, Education, Agriculture and various others in each country. The government plans for the utilization and coordination of these resources differ according to the situation in each country, but the main lines of service and of methods are very similar, since the needs of rural women are essentially the same—homemaking and child care, social education, maternal and child health, cottage industries, instruction of farming skills and community activities. The assistance and cooperation of voluntary agencies in this program is of paramount importance.

For this comprehensive village welfare service throughout the East many women of rural background, eager for rural service, have been recruited and trained—teachers, nurses, midwives, fundamental education workers, social organizers for community activities, women's groups and youth clubs. In India there have been hundreds of these. Not only women rural workers in great numbers but men as well are being trained for village welfare and technical services.

The joint training for men and women, married couples in Iran and Pakistan, and in India the coeducational training of young men and women social workers has been unusually successful. This joint training and service of men and women together are helping to break down village conservatism and are demonstrating the natural partnership of men and women in national service. It is giving prestige to village service and raising the social status of village women in their homes and in the community. It has undoubtedly helped to stimulate the very active participation of village women in joint community life, such as self help projects in building a new school or installing a well.

A cross sectional view of the village welfare program for women in the East leaves an impression of cooperative governmental and voluntary efforts directed toward meeting the multiple needs of village women. Trained Eastern women, along with some specialists from abroad, and an increasing number of women village level workers and various voluntary agencies, contribute their special services. Cooperating with the governments in the women's welfare programs are the international and foreign agencies concerned with economics and rural reconstruction. The growing responses of village women to these opportunities and their participation in community activities and self-help village projects give sound evidence of the success of the welfare programs for village women.

This program viewed in the context of the total reconstruction program has special long range values. The concentrated emphasis in each country on the advance of women, because of their potential influence on rural reconstruction and central importance in rural life, is giving women a new status and is laying the basis for total village improvement. The increasing volume of trained women rural welfare workers in each country means the wide extension of social work and the entrance of many women of the middle class into varied national services. The awakening of Governments and educated leaders in each country to the urgent national necessity of rural welfare and the awakening of the rural masses to the realization of their relationship to national life show significant progress in bridging the gap between the educated urban minority and the rural masses—the major problem of the East.

The presence of women in economic life in constantly increasing numbers and in different types of activities is convincing evidence of the reality of educational and social advance in each country. The growth of education and the expanding social freedom have made possible the remarkable development of the professional life of women and their forward movement toward economic independence, which in turn have been a major factor in changing the status of women.

There is wide variation in the stage of economic development in the area studied, from Turkey to Indonesia, but in this diversity there are again common lines of direction. In all the countries, women's economic life began with the entrance of a few women of the educated minority into the two basic professions of teaching and medicine. A few also entered nursing which only slowly gained recognition, and midwifery, even more slowly. These fields of service were promoted officially and also by voluntary effort as a necessity for women in *purdah* areas.

During the past two decades the number of women in professions has rapidly multiplied and opportunities have widened, until today women are entering not only teaching and medicine, but science, law, architecture, public administration, journalism, agriculture, engineering and social work—in fact, practically all professional fields.

The professions having to do with the care of women and children have particular need for women specialists. They will always offer a special field and attract the great majority. Few women, probably, will enter the so-called men's professions, such as engineering, but equality of access to all professions is recognized in principle and safeguarded in order that women with special aptitudes and gifts may have full opportunity for pioneering.

Social work is a new field for both men and women, but will have special and increasing interest to the latter. Professional training for social work as yet is established on the university level only in Pakistan and India. There is in Indonesia a belowthe-university training for Government Social service. In Iran a pre-college school of social work was established in 1958 through United Nations technical assistance and advisory service is being continued. Turkey is also currently (1959) receiving technical aid from the United Nations in preparation for establishing training in social work.

Women in professional life, a small, highly educated, socially free minority, have great influence on women of the middle class who are now moving toward economic independence. The degree of free economic participation of women in the middle class in each country is directly related to the social freedom of women of that country. Where *purdah* prevails, their economic activities are severely limited.

Yet even in the most conservative areas, social restrictions on the freedom of women to work are breaking down under the pressure of economic necessity. In urban centers especially, the number of women who work is steadily growing. In Turkey and Indonesia, women of the middle classes are actively engaged in all phases of business life, as they are in India, except in conservative *purdah* areas. In Pakistan, save in a few main centers, *purdah* is an obvious deterrent to the employment of women in the middle class. In Iran there is relatively little economic activity in this class, but this stems from tradition rather than restric tive social and religious custom. In every country, the lower classes have the social freedom of poverty-freedom to work.

Among the employed women in the different countries are a growing number of self-supporting young unmarried women, many married women and widows. The primary motivation of these women is economic—to earn a livelihood, to help support their families, and to gain security for the future. The latter is a special incentive to Moslem married women in view of the ever-present danger of unilateral divorce.

With the steady increase in the number of women seeking employment, the lack of job opportunities has become a problem in some countries. In India, where the situation is especially serious, the Government is endeavoring to meet this new problem of the "educated unemployed," both young women and young men, through a plan of wide-scale intensive training and recruitment for new types of jobs or in fields where more workers are needed, such as health and social services in rural and urban areas.

Other vocational needs of women are vocational guidance and placement bureaus, and, as already mentioned, research in occupational opportunities. Official action in these fields is being stimulated by leaders in various professions and by women's organizations. Widespread interest in vocational training is evidenced by the many voluntary training projects for women in both urban and rural areas—for instance, work in shops and industrial centers in India, Pakistan, and in Indonesia.

Women in economic life in the several countries face problems common to all and inherent in the present transitional period of social change. The specific problems of unmarried and married women reflect the different effects of this change.

The basic underlying problem of young unmarried women in all countries of the East, even the most socially advanced, is social conservatism of the family. The highly protective attitude of the family toward the unmarried daughter severely limits the freedom of movement necessary for her present economic independence and her capacity to carry full responsibility for her job. For example, a well-trained young unmarried woman social worker in one of the large Eastern cities cannot carry out an evening responsibility unaccompanied. Social family conservatism also practically precludes the idea of taking a job in another city.

Many unmarried women who need or wish to live away from home face the practical problem of where and how to live. For a young woman to live independently represents a radical change in the traditional idea of the position of the single woman in the family and society, and one that public opinion has not yet accepted. Moreover, adequate physical arrangements for such independent living scarcely exist; therefore, provisions of housing under suitable conditions is an urgent need. Some voluntary agencies (for example, the YWCA in India and Pakistan) are providing hostel accommodations and social facilities for business and professional women. Living accommodations for the increasing number of women rural welfare workers are arranged by the several governments promoting community development.

The number of unmarried women earning their livelihood both in rural and urban employment is steadily increasing by individual initiative or special recruitment. Economic necessity and opportunity for young unmarried women are slowly overcoming family conservatism and uncertain or adverse public opinion. Unmarried women themselves through their own achievements have gained or are gaining public recognition and creating a favorable social climate. The gap between economic freedom and social conservatism is being lessened.

The rapid increase of unmarried women in professional life is a major future trend throughout the East today—the natural result of social and educational advance and economic development. The question is often raised as to whether a counter ideal to marriage is being set up. Without doubt, marriage has ceased to be the only and immediate outlet for women. Preparation for a profession today is considered a normal part of education and a growing necessity, or at least a matter of wisdom for girls to be prepared for self support, if necessary. Moreover, many educated young Eastern women take training for a career as a desirable outlet for self-expression, and have a strong service impulse. A career, however, is rarely regarded as an alternative to marriage. Rather, it is considered as a preliminary to marriage and a further useful part of one's life. There does not seem to be real competition between marriage and a career in the East. In the opinion of a thoughtful Indian woman educator, "Most Indian girls, whatever education they may have received, still look forward to getting married and employing themselves in that way." A similar view is expressed by women educators from Turkey, Iran and elsewhere. Marriage is the ultimate goal, something eventually to be expected in life and an asset for a continued career. Many married women are carrying on a career after marriage. They constitute a considerable proportion of professional women in the East and have enviable prestige.

The steady increase in the numbers of unmarried women in the future can scarcely be interpreted as a conscious trend away from marriage because of preference for a career, but as the direct effect on the younger generation of the changing family pattern —the shift from the extended family to the single family units of parents and children, based on individual economic responsibility and freedom of choice in marriage. This very factor of choice, however, does imply that there will be a growing number of unmarried women simply because of the lack of parental arrangement, which means the loss of certainty of marriage for the daughter.

The major problem of married women in the middle and lower income groups is how to combine responsibility for their work outside the home with the care of their children and home. In some countries the passing of the joint family has meant for working women the loss of the former home help of women relatives. Women of the lower income group who have no servant carry inevitably a double burden. Day nurseries would help in the child care problem, and voluntary agencies carry on some projects along this line; a nursery for children of the market women in a daily market in Solokarta, Indonesia, is an example. Provision of part time work for married women workers of the middle and lower income levels, especially for women in their homes, is an obvious need in a number of places. However, the physical demands of a double burden are accepted by women as a necessity and their responsibility for both the job and the home are carried out without too great conflict of loyalties. The traditional idea of the dependent position of women in the home becomes an anachronism when women are supporting themselves and their families. Married women workers inevitably have a dual loyalty.

Women in professional life, on the higher income level, have the same basic problem of twofold responsibility but with certain advantages. They usually have one or two servants and can generally rely on an elderly relative to help with the home and care for the children. Baby sitters as such are not known, and not yet necessary in the Eastern home pattern. A married woman college principal in Pakistan expressed great sympathy for American married professional women whose dual role seemed to her more difficult than her own. "With our even rather casual and, from Western standards, inefficient servants we have more of a margin of leisure than Western women have with their gadgetequipped kitchens and baby sitters by the hour at a high price. Gadgets are not a substitute for servants. They can't serve a cup of tea."

However, a trend in the decrease of available servants is beginning to appear and Eastern women realize they may eventually have to face difficulties similar to those of Western women. It is to be hoped that they may be able to maintain their present high degree of mobility in their professional and political life and voluntary welfare service, which, for not a few, is like a career. A number of married women with children have been able to take advantage of the opportunity for study abroad and special observation. The dual responsibility and pressure of a life divided between careers and the home are perhaps basically the same for women of the professional and middle class of the East as in the West, however different the specific situation may be.

The primary motive of professional women has always been to contribute service through their special skills; the economic motive is secondary. Twenty years ago, women entered professions especially medicine as a social service in the spirit of pioneering adventure. Although the economic consideration today is a necessity the spirit of service is still paramount.

The favorable public attitude toward married women in professional life and their high prestige are distinct assets for their successful adjustment in the East to their dual roles. The social atmosphere on the whole is conducive to the development of normal relationships of married women in the home and in professional life.

Undoubtedly, the husband's cooperative attitude has been a determinative factor in the effective public activities of many women in the East. Each country offers interesting illustrations of the support and cooperation of husbands, which is not merely a *laissez-faire* attitude, or lack of resistance to a *fait accompli*, but positive encouragement to the wife and pride in her achievement. A number of illustrations from different countries could be quoted. One of the significant examples comes to mind: that of a young magistrate in India, who, summing up her husband's attitude toward her public career said, "But for him, I would not be here."

Very rare indeed are the women in the East who have succeeded in professional careers against the opposition of their husbands. There is, of course, no way of knowing how many more wives might have carried on effectively in public life, if their husbands had not opposed this. The same question in regard to the West would be relevant and the answer would, if available, offer interesting material for comparison.

The number of married women of the educated upper class in economic life is steadily growing throughout the East, already a majority in some places. This is evidence not only of a marked social change in public attitude but an indication of the economic necessity in modern Eastern life for educated women to share in the economic responsibility of the family.

Women in factory employment are a labor potential that is not being promoted as an important factor in national economy except in Turkey, where skilled and semi-skilled women workers in factories are recognized as necessary to the industrialization of the country. In India there are many skilled workers but their numbers are decreasing. The large number of unemployed men in India means that women's skilled factory labor is not needed. Increase in factory employment for women in the near future seems unlikely. Furthermore, increasing technological advance, with consequent automation of industry, will reduce in numbers women's opportunity for factory labor. Because of restrictive social customs women's factory labor in Pakistan and in the Moslem areas of India is severely curtailed. Women factory workers in these two countries are mostly illiterate; the majority of married women usually work with their husbands, as part of a joint family group. There are practically no single women working independently. In other countries, except Turkey, almost all women in factories carry on unskilled manual labor. In Iran, although the majority are unskilled, there are some skilled older women weavers in the hand labor oriental carpet factories, who supervise child labor. Some skilled women also work in modern carpet factories.

In Indonesia a considerable number of married women living in villages work in small factories in nearby centers, usually part time, in the *batik* and tea industries, in cigarette and sweets factories. There is a strong trend toward migration of rural women with their husbands to the cities; in Indonesia to Djakarta, in India to large urban centers and in Turkey from Asia Minor to Istanbul. The latter is not, however, a new trend. This movement toward the cities has created serious economic and social problems, in the East as it has in the West. In all countries where this urbanization is taking place there is evidence of increasing social concern among leaders for the welfare of industrial workers, especially women and children, and the realization of the inseparable relationship of social welfare and national economic advance.

Laws for the protection of women workers have been passed in several countries, governing minimum wage, hours of work, night and underground work, maternity benefits, equal pay for equal work, conditions of work and welfare facilities. Law enforcement is difficult because of lack of inspection and a sufficiently enlightened public opinion; yet this progressive legislation is significant as a goal. Membership in the ILO has stimulated acceptance of the ILO objective in regard to womento give them "full opportunity to develop their qualifications freely and to play a full and effective part in social and economic life." Cottage industries are being effectively promoted in several of these countries through Government programs and voluntary efforts on the part of mixed organizations and women's organizations, working in close cooperation with the Government. The varied programs have a common economic aim: to raise the standard of living through development of home industries and

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the improvement of home arts and crafts, and promotion of production, leading to increase of income. The training program in cottage industries has particularly benefited women, both urban and rural, even though many of them are still in *purdah*, helping them to acquire skills for home earning and gain the satisfaction of at least partial self-support.

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Political equality of men and women is a reality in Turkey, India, Indonesia and Pakistan. In Turkey, women's political rights began in 1933; in the other three countries universal suffrage has been obtained within the last decade. India has had qualified suffrage since 1935. The vote in these four countries was the natural result of the identification of women in the national struggle. Their political equality was earned and recognized without question in the adoption of universal suffrage. Spared the struggle for equal rights, they have had the advantage of political equality as the basis for the promotion of their further social and economic advance. In Iran women have carried on a long sustained campaign for suffrage without success against the opposition of strongly entrenched religious forces with political power. But the effort of women for political equality still continues. In Afghanistan political rights for women and for men as well are a question of the future.

After suffrage was granted, a small educated minority in each country became active in public life and assumed political responsibility along many lines. They stood for Parliament and this often required arduous campaigning; they became active members of political parties; they promoted legislation for social reform; they held public office and were members of missions to other countries abroad.

Women members of Parliament now carry responsibility in a wide range of national affairs, finance, public works, and foreign relations, and are not limited to specific concerns of health, education and welfare and social reforms affecting women and children.

Though the number of women who enter politics is relatively small, many women of the educated minority are politically conscious and actively identified with local and national affairs. They have a growing influence on public opinion as individuals, and collectively through women's organizations.

But this small enlightened minority in every country does not represent the full measure of women's political power through universal suffrage. Millions of village women, in Indonesia and India, have voted for the first time during the last decade, many of them walking miles to put their mark on the ballots at their chosen symbol. Many Moslem women in India came to the polls in *burqas*, as they did in Pakistan.

This vast electorate of women, mostly illiterate, confronts the educated minority in every country with the challenging problem of preparing women for the vote. Women leaders realize that suffrage in itself has no meaning but is a necessary means to an end—the instrument of power for the common good. The major problem in most countries in the East is no longer the acquisition of equal rights for women, but the full utilization of rights already gained, and the understanding of political equality.

Women political leaders realize that rights and privileges guaranteed by law may be lost by default to custom, as social custom in the East is stronger than law. They feel their special responsibility to safeguard the equal rights of women provided in the constitution. "We must protest against any abrogation of our rights," as one woman in political office explained, "because the guarantees given in the constitution should be respected. The enlightened minority must guard the interests of the uninformed majority." The keynote of the political activity of women in the East is a spirit of genuine concern for the advance of women and national welfare. Social reform has been and is the primary motivation for political rights. Over the years women, individually and through their organizations, have promoted basic welfare on a broad scale and worked steadily to advance the position of women in all aspects-social, educational, economic and political. Women have been in the vanguard of a liberating movement for the advance of women and the common good rather than a "woman's movement" promoting a single cause, such as suffrage. Today Eastern women with political power are promoting directly the same basic long range goals-human

rights and human welfare and the total advance of women with equal rights and responsibilities.

The term "feminism," in the traditional disparaging sense, which has an old fashioned ring, an echo of some fifty years ago, is obviously not applicable to the current political activity of Eastern women. Feminism in the East is recognized as the promotion of the advance of women, which is their primary responsibility but is also considered as a major national concern. Used in this sense, feminism requires no apology, invites respect and carries with it the prestige of outstanding leadership. Eastern feminism is essentially in harmony with the current evolution in the life and thought of the new East.

Personal contact with women leaders in the political field in each country leaves the impression of their clear sense of direction, commitment and confidence. Their assurance is not based on self-centered claims to power but is inspired by their conviction in the potential collective force of women, which is available for national action. These leaders in political life, some of them in prominent positions, regard these early years of universal suffrage as a testing period for women. "We must be on our toes," the comment of one widely known political leader, expresses the concern of others who have a high sense of responsibility. They are aware of the fact that women in official positions are judged not merely as individuals but as representatives of their sex in their contribution to political life.

Education for the vote is therefore an important part of the program of citizenship education for women, a fact widely recognized both by the Government and by voluntary organizations. Women's voluntary organizations are a major influence in developing the sense of civic responsibility among a broad cross-section of women in these countries. Especially noteworthy are the three widely representative national movements in India, Pakistan, and Indonesia, which cover the entire range of local and national interests and reforms. The result of their collective efforts is a growing number of socially conscious women, including many of the middle and upper middle class, who are active in civic improvement and national progress.

An increase in the number of leaders is the present major need. In each country there are resources for new leadership among educated women of the middle class not active in women's organizations, more absorbed in affairs of the home, who do have leisure for outside activities, and young professional women not yet identified with voluntary welfare and civic projects. The discovery and effective use of these resources could be a major means for the further development of the citizenship education program for women.

Two other special program emphases for women's organization should be mentioned: adult education for women and youth camps. The Government program of adult or social education is designed for illiterate or barely literate women. Adult education, in the broader meaning of cultural and educational development, and particularly of citizenship education, is recognized as a distinctive field for women's organization.

More youth camps for girls and young women are especially needed in these Asian countries and offer a singular opportunity for voluntary organizations. There are a few noteworthy examples. The Girl Guides and YWCA have regular camps in several countries and in Iran the Youth Activities Organization maintains separate camps for boys and girls. There are also the Soraya Girls Camps and the Teheran University Camps for Women Students. These camps for girls, of different social classes and religious faiths, which combine recreation and training for leadership, have great value in character building and are a stabilizing influence in each country. In India, the Youth Work Camps of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, which provide practical training in rural welfare for young women and men, have unusual influence in stimulating these young people to undertake voluntary rural service.

The present program of women's organizations of these countries shows an increasing emphasis on social action and reform through legislative measures, with special reference to juvenile delinquency, control of prostitution, implementation of social and industrial legislation affecting women and children, and reform in the legal status of women in family law.

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Legal social equality under the family law has always been of deepest concern to women leaders of all these countries. Specifically, this means protection against the injustice of polygamy and unilateral divorce, a concern of more vital importance to them than political equality, since legal social inequality is a threat to all other rights. This threat affects all classes of women, educated and uneducated alike, endangers the security of the home and curtails all of women's potential contributions to national life.

In three of the five Islamic countries of this study, Iran, Pakistan, and Indonesia, Moslem women are engaged in a sustained effort to achieve social reforms in family law. In Turkey, women achieved full legal social equality when the Swiss Code was adopted under Atatürk in 1926. In Afghanistan, the opposite extreme to Turkey, women have no collective voice for social equality. Women leaders in Iran have carried on a prolonged struggle for equal political rights and legal social equality against the politically powerful forces of religious conservatism. The two Islamic countries of Pakistan and Indonesia differ materially in the social customs affecting women: *purdah* and seclusion are traditional in Pakistan; there is no veil in Indonesia, but both countries have the problem of social inequality in the family law.

The campaign for legislative reform in both countries is being promoted within the framework of Islamic law and not against it. Women have shown initiative and intellectual capacity in their work with legal experts in framing the draft proposal to regulate the practice of polygamy and unilateral divorce in accord with the true meaning of the Koran: in neither country have there been conclusive results, though some progress is evident. However, the struggle for legislative reform is not determined by the likelihood of immediate success. Women have the courage of their convictions and will undoubtedly continue this struggle as long as inequity in the family law exists.

Women's organizations as a whole are promoting these reforms in the family law, and non-Moslem women leaders are taking an active interest in the question. The non-Moslem minorities have their own codes of family law but social inequality in the Moslem family law inevitably affects the general social climate and freedom of women in Islamic countries.

In India the Hindu Code legislation (1955-1956), among other reform measures, outlawed polygamy and gave men and women equal rights of divorce. Compulsory for Hindus only, as the religious minorities are subject only to their own codes, the Hindu Code was formulated for a secular state to be applicable to the minorities if and when desired by them. Its acceptance by the religious minorities is improbable in any near future, but the code is exerting widespread influence in India, not only on Hindus, but also on the Moslem community and on Moslem reform movements in other countries.

The rapid growth in the number of women's organizations and in the number and extent of their services has been a reflection of the current process of rapid change throughout Asia. There has been a sense of urgency to keep pace with growing needs that has made long-range planning difficult. Nevertheless, these organizations have moved with a clear sense of direction in carrying out a dual role; first, direct social service in meeting human needs, and second, an effort to influence public opinion and to promote social public policy and legislative action. Leaders of women's organizations realize that the period of rapid expansion of services is passing and that the new period requires careful joint planning among themselves and with other organizations for conservation of effort, in order to cope with increasing demands and the complexity of the situation.

Women's participation in organizations composed of both men and women is increasing. Mixed organizations make possible joint planning and integrated efforts toward solving social problems of local and national importance and effecting social reform. Women are participating on equal terms in these organizations and, in some countries, not infrequently hold positions of leadership. A number of women prefer mixed organizations to women's organizations as their field of activity, holding the view that women's organizations are not, or should not be, necessary in a modern society based on the equality of women with men. Other leaders, long identified with women's organizations and active as well in organizations of men and women, consider both types of organizations necessary in view of the many kinds of services required and the pressure of the total need. Women's organizations are to them an obvious necessity for the further advance of women and there is no question of alternatives.

The fact that only a relatively small number of young women

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are active in women's organizations is a matter of general concern to the leaders of women's organizations. Possibly some young women prefer to work in organizations with men. There is a distinct interest in professional training for social work. Younger women, it is said, do not yet seem to be greatly interested in voluntary service. For the future of women's organizations, the participation of younger women is essential. The present leaders are alert to the need for a careful study of all women's organizations in reference to their aims, present trends and future outlook.

This study leaves a clear impression of the growing inter-relationship of women of the different religions in each country in respect to their interests and activities and a trend toward common lines of effort.

During the past decade political and social changes have brought new opportunities and demands for national service and a new sense of unity in national interests. This has found natural expression on various levels of life among women of the different religious communities. Though situations have differed greatly in the individual countries, women leaders of the various religious faiths have made a united response to national needs. The merging of the activities of women on a broad inter-cultural national basis has been effectively achieved in several countries, as already mentioned, through organizations both cross-sectional and nationwide. Through many kinds of collective effort, women leaders have unified their activities toward a common goal. However, the united efforts of women of different cultural backgrounds and religious faiths have not supplanted or diminished their endeavors to carry out their distinctive religious or cultural objectives. In fact, the growing awareness of need for unity of effort is an incentive for the increased development of the specific services of religious and cultural associations. These have contributed the value of diversity to the unity of national life. Generalizations on a complex subject such as the interrelationships of women leaders of the different religious faiths are subject to many variations. These merit careful study, but the variations do not invalidate the reality of the present advance. This study of the role of women as a whole rather than as separate religious groups, is significant of the total advance of women and the progress toward national unity in each country.

The rapid growth of the international relations of Eastern women leaders and women's organizations in the past decade and a half is the natural result of the change in the international position of the East since the second World War and the spread of independence. In the preceding period there was already among women a widening outlook from national to international interests, a steady growth in international, educational and cultural contacts through foreign study and travel, and the increasing affiliations of national women's organizations with international movements. During this recent period the international relationships of women have multiplied through two main channels, international women's organizations and other voluntary associations and inter-governmental organizations—the United Nations and its subsidiary agencies.

The increasing number of national women's associations in the East with international affiliations constitutes a growing world force in the international women's movement and increases its world influences. The national affiliates participate actively in the life and work of their corresponding organizations; attend the world conferences as voting members, carry major responsibility in policy and program planning and hold important positions as elected officers and members of Boards, attend conferences of other international women's organizations and cooperate with various international organizations of men and women, as, for example, the International Union on Child Welfare, International Planned Parenthood Federation and International Conference on Social Work. The increase in the number of individual Eastern leaders active in international organizations is in striking contrast to the earlier period when few women were available and often the same leader repeatedly represented the East in international gatherings. National and international organizations alike benefit from the great increase in individual participation.

The participation of Eastern women in intergovernmental affairs began soon after the United Nations was established. Since that time various governments in the East have appointed women as members of the national delegations at the United Nations Assembly and also as official representatives at the meetings of the specialized agencies. They have entered fully into the work of the United Nations, carrying responsibility on various committees and special commissions—Human Rights, Status of Women, Social, Political, Trusteeship, Financial—as members, and occasionally as rapporteurs and chairmen. High positions have been accorded to them.

A number of Eastern women are members of the United Nations secretariat. They are well-trained for professional service along special lines and are contributing to the formation of a unique international civil service. The presence of Eastern women in various capacities in intergovernmental service is the logical sequence of the steady advance in the status of women in the East as elsewhere. Their participation with women of other nations enhances the meaning of the United Nations as a world body representing the corporate endeavor of men and women to make the United Nations a more effective instrument in building world peace.

These relationships of the women of Eastern countries have been widened by new developments in their own lands. A growing number of world conferences are now held in Asian cities by the United Nations, UNESCO and WHO, and by international voluntary organizations. There is a flow of life from West to East through the technical assistance programs and a two-way flow through exchange of students and leaders. Women are a part of all these new developments.

Important also in international relations is the growing inter-Asian consciousness among women leaders and organizations. Regional contacts are now being developed through informal inter-country meetings of leaders, for general consultations; through attendance at the national conferences of women's organizations in the other countries; conferences for leaders in special fields, such as home economics, child welfare and family planning and wide regional gatherings for an interchange of experience and mutual help. The UNESCO Seminar of New Delhi in 1953 and the United Nations Status of Women Seminar in Bangkok on Civic Responsibility of Women in 1957 are examples of this trend.

In the growth of international relationships a development of

future importance is the expansion of contacts between the women of Asia and of Africa, which was highlighted by the Asian-African Conference in Ceylon in January 1958. Planned by a joint inter-Asian group of outstanding women leaders, it was attended by 120 women from eighteen countries, from Japan to Ghana, from Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Women from the six countries covered in this study participated in the program and discussions. Afghanistan was, for the first time, represented at an international women's conference.

The objective of the conference, as explained by a member of the organizing committee, was to promote a closer relationship among under-developed countries and build better understanding. "The women of Asia," she said, "know more about the West than about Asia as a whole or Africa." Between Asia and Africa there is no general cultural bond but there are bonds of common experience. There is the background of a colonial régime in most parts of both continents, a recent acquisition of independence with all its problems, including entrance into the drama of the modern world of new nations and the common urge to move rapidly forward. If these contacts are developed on the non-political lines planned by the present leaders, this interchange will be of value not only to the women of Asia and Africa, but to women of other countries also, by bringing about a better understanding of Africa in the larger world relationship.

Eastern women, in the brief span of a few decades, have gone far in their steady movement from the quiet, protected environment of a family-centered life into the wide ranges and pressure of life in the East today. In the earlier period, through the impact of technological, economic and political forces, and especially through the far-reaching influence of rapid social change, a new world of opportunity was opened to women for social freedom, education, economic independence and equality of rights and duties. Women made this world their own and through their advance in many fields they became primary factors in promoting general social advance in the East. The radii of their activities and concerns, starting from the home, lengthened steadily so that the periphery of women's life now includes the whole area of civic and national interests and international relationships.

In the new East women leaders are exerting a dynamic influence on society through many channels—their own homes, now becoming centers of social consciousness, community life, social welfare, professions and business, political life and public office. In these fields women are carrying on a multiplicity of distinctive roles. But they represent a composite role with unity of aim and influence.

Individually, women are conserving the rich values of the past in the emerging new social pattern that they are helping to shape. They are seeking to harmonize the old and the new in order to lessen conflict and the inevitable shock of change, and to mediate differences between the older and younger generations. This latter is often the difference not merely of decades but of centuries. New values are gradually being assimilated and merged into the new East which becomes, not a Westernized East which has discarded old values, but a modernized East representing the old and new alike and in consonance with the needs of twentieth century life. Because of their intimate contact with life in the home and their many outside relationships, especially their own personal experience of values and change, women have a unique preparation and competence to carry out their major creative role.

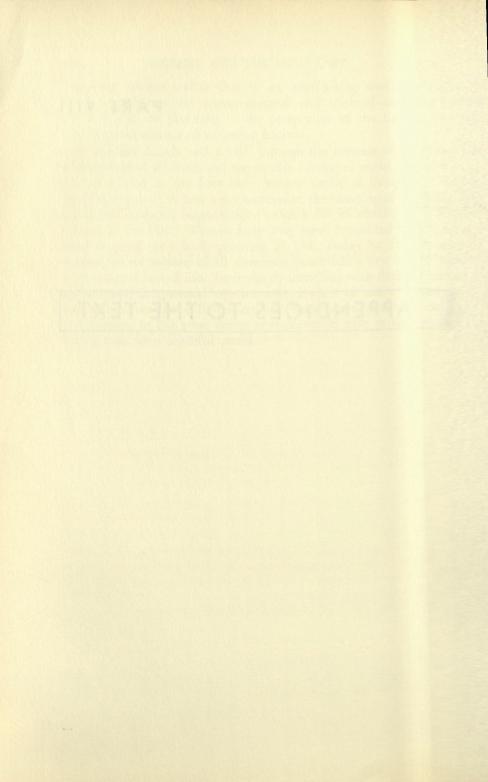
In this era of revolutionary social transition women are essentially an evolutionary force, stabilizing advance but steadily promoting progress. The unbroken advance of women with increasing initiative in the midst of rapid, often drastic, social change has contributed continuity to Eastern life.

Eastern women leaders face with realism and vision, and with a growing sense of their power and responsibility, their future tasks. Their planning includes increased service in meeting basic national needs in education and health, economic development and rural reconstruction and more concentrated attention to fundamental moral and spiritual needs. Moral and social welfare—specifically the guidance of youth and protection of women—in each country in the East are recognized as urgent necessities. To safeguard and undergird the moral and spiritual foundation of national life is a common aim and is accepted as an inescapable responsibility of women. Eastern leaders realize that in an interlocking world basic national problems and needs—material and spiritual—have no frontiers and are planning in the perspective of the East but with a growing sense of widening horizon.

In the last decade and a half, through the increase of world relationships of all kinds and responsible sharing in world affairs, women leaders in the East have become aware of living in a world dimension. A new consciousness of the meaning of world peace and women's responsibility to work for its attainment is vibrant in the East. Women have long been committed to the ideal of peace as a basic principle of life. Today for Eastern women, as for women of all countries, peace has a new reality as the central fact of life. Increasingly identified with their own nations and in personal contact with leaders of many other nations, women of the East share with these other leaders, men and women, in the great common endeavor to help to lay the foundations for a peaceful world.

PART VIII

APPENDICES TO THE TEXT



APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

TURKEY

Halide Edib Adivar, Istanbul

b. 1884, Istanbul; widow of Adnan Adivar.

EDUCATION

At home, and graduated American Girls College, Istanbul, 1901.

CAREER

During Ottoman régime, supervisor of girls education in Syria; served with national armed forces in Asia Minor during War for Independence as corporal, sergeant and sergeant major; after the war, a frequent speaker at large public gatherings; guest professor of literature, Columbia University, 1931-1932; guest professor in India, 1935, at Muslim University, Delhi, Benares and Calcutta Universities; first woman professor in University of Istanbul. Retired 1952, now engaged in literary work. Lecture tour, USA, 1928-29.

PUBLICATIONS

The Turkish Ordeal, Memoirs, Turkey Faces West, The Clown and His Daughter, and a number of other works.

Many of her short stories have been translated into English and other European languages, as well as into Arabic.

Sabiha Gökcen, Ankara

b. 1920; adopted by Atatürk at age of five; m. air force officer, 1940; widowed.

EDUCATION

Small private school; as young girl, visited National Aviation Exhibition and became interested in flying; received private parachute and theoretical training; was enrolled by Atatürk as first woman student in Civil Education School, 1935; received pilot's license and teaching certificate; first woman pilot in Turkey; made several tours abroad.

CAREER

Enrolled in Military Aviation School; appointed Lieutenant in Air Regiment during World War II; trained men and women for service and teaching; decorated for courage. Now retired from military service, but acts as consultant in aviation matters. Nuzhet Gökdoğan, İstanbul

b. 1910, Istanbul; m. Professor Mukbil Gökdoğan in 1938, two children.

EDUCATION

Turkish lycée, Erenboy; won government scholarship, 1928, University of Lyon; later at the Sorbonne, studied Mathematics and Physics; graduated Licenciée en Sciences in Mathematics and diplôme in astronomy; worked as stagière at observatory in Paris, Ph.D. in Astronomy, University of Istanbul, 1937.

CAREER

Assistant professor of astronomy, University of Istanbul, 1934, also taught analytical geometry at Technical University, Istanbul, 1935-1945; associate professor, University of Istanbul, 1948; university travel grant for six months research at Ann Arbor, 1951; dean of studies, Faculty of Sciences, Istanbul University, 1954-1956; member University Senate, 1952-1958; Director, Istanbul University observatory and chairman, department of astronomy 1958 to date.

ACTIVITIES

President, Turkish Astronomical Society; member, German Astronomical Society (Astronomische Gesellschaft); member, Soroptomist Club; member and former President, Turkish University Women's Association.

Fahrunissa Seden, Istanbul

b. 1906, Istanbul; m. Suleyman Seden; three children.

EDUCATION

American College for Girls, BA, 1926; Henry Ford Hospital School of Nursing, 1926-1929, diploma; postgraduate course in operating room technique, Henry Ford Hospital, certificate 1930 and Detroit State Board examination certificate, 1930; Teachers College, Columbia University, MA, 1956.

CAREER

Published children's magazine 1932-1945. Attended International Council of Nursing, Atlantic City in 1947 and on return to Istanbul was appointed Nurse Assistant Haydar Paşa Hospital. Organized the Florence Nightingale Foundation to establish a University School of Nursing as a Centennial Memorial of Florence Nightingale's arrival in Istanbul, 1854. Returned to America in 1954 for study and helped establish the cooperative project of ICA and Teacher's College, Columbia University to prepare trained faculty for the University School of Nursing and Hospital. Currently Vice President, Florence Nightingale Foundation.

Doctor Pakize Izzet Tarzi, Istanbul

m. 1935 to Sardar Fattah Tarzi, member of Afghan royal family; three children.

EDUCATION

At French school and American lycée in Bursa; among the first to take

state examination for university entrance; six-year medical course, University of Istanbul, MD, 1926.

CAREER

Assistant on medical faculty, Istanbul; two years as assistant in gynecology and surgery, University of Rome; assistant professor of cystology, University of Istanbul.

Later established her own maternity hospital, still the only private maternity hospital in Istanbul, where her husband is business manager and treasurer; carries on public clinic and consultative voluntary service in maternal and child health.

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b. 1905; m. to chief surgeon, Haydar Pasa Hospital; two children.

EDUCATION

Primary and secondary schools, lycée and Istanbul University, Faculty of Philosophy, 1925.

CAREER

Teacher of philosophy and principal of lycées at Ankara and Istanbul and at normal schools until 1943. Deputy of Grand National Assembly from Kars, 1943-54; executive member, University Women's Association; member, Society of Pedagogy and member, several charitable organizations.

PUBLICATIONS

Now writing historical account of Turkish women's rights; textbooks on logic and civics, *Life of Stuart Mill for Young People* and children's stories.

Nazli Tlabar, Ankara

EDUCATION

Six years preparatory school and American College for Girls, Istanbul; two years French convent school; two years study of philosophy in Germany.

CAREER

Parliamentary service 1945 to date; re-elected for third term as Deputy from Istanbul, 1957; member, Foreign Affairs Committee; official representative of Turkish government at Inter-Parliamentary Union Conferences at Istanbul, Washington and Rio de Janeiro; Council of Europe, Vice President of the Council and member of Economic Committee; special missions to Far East, Southeast Asia and Arab countries. Fulbright grant to USA, speaking on Cyprus issue.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

President Turkish Women's Union (Kadinlar Birligi); attended Asian-African Conference, Ceylon, 1958.

IRAN

Mrs. Ezzat Aghevli, Teheran

b. 1924, Tabriz; m. Ardeshir Binesh Aghevli, Head of Central Audit Dept., National Iranian Oil Company, three sons.

EDUCATION

Graduate of American Mission Girls' School, Teheran; studied languages in the University of Teheran.

CAREER

Work for four years in Near East Foundation Demonstration Women's Welfare Program as Interpreter and Village Welfare Supervisor in the Varamin plain project near Teheran. Now National Supervisor of Home Extension Service, Ministry of Agriculture, which helps village women in home management, child care, nutrition, handicrafts and animal husbandry.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

1957-Study in Greece for one month for Near East Foundation Extension Service.

1958–USA, New York Committee of Correspondence Workshop; Study Home Extension Service under ICA for four months in Pennsylvania, Washington and Arizona.

Miss Latifeh Alvieh, Teheran

EDUCATION

Attended American School for Girls, Teheran.

CAREER

Cultural adviser, from 1956 to date, in United States Information Service, principally in leader grant program, both in selection of grantees and follow-up activities. Major avocation in youth work: member of Youth Activities Organization; organizer of summer camps for school girls and students; director of the first camp under the sponsorship of Queen Soraya at Ramsar, Caspian Sea, 1952; counsellor for Shahnaz Girls' Club and Center in Teheran (formerly called Soraya Clubs); organizer of leaders' training camp for camp counsellors and leader of the first Youth Conference in Iran.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

A year of study and observation of youth work and women's activities in Europe and the USA on a leader grant from the Department of State. Visited institutions and work shops, programs and courses. Attended various conferences of youth and women in the USA, the World Assembly of Youth, Berlin, 1957 and Asian-African Women's Conference, Ceylon, 1958.

PUBLICATIONS

Articles in Persian and English and a book for children, Life in Other Lands.

Dr. Soghra Azarmie, Teheran

EDUCATION

Learned to read and write Persian at home; attended government primary and secondary schools, one of the first girls to take the sixth, ninth and eleventh certificates; one of the first girls to receive BA at Alborz College; Medical School of Teheran (the second class with girls) MD, 1947.

CAREER

Internship at Women and Children's Hospital, Chicago, Illinois; carries on private practice in Teheran. Assists American Presbyterian Mission Welfare in work at Hope Clinic, South Teheran, and at Iran Bethel Clinic; works at Cancer Institute of Iran; member of Women's Activities Seminar and Iranian Women's Medical Association.

Dr. Parvin Birjandi, Teheran

b. 1920; m. Amir Birjandi, Ministry of Interior, 1940; two daughters.

EDUCATION

Elementary, Zoroastrian School, Teheran; high school at American Presbyterian School, Teheran, and College for Boys (four girls graduated in 1940); Fulbright Scholarship, graduate study University of Denver, MA (1954) and Ph.D (1955) in clinical psychology with honors; research on the psychological factors leading to tobacco addiction.

CAREER

Graduate Assistant, University of Wisconsin, taught psychological testing and had practical experience in the Wisconsin General Hospital Psychiatric Clinic; director of the psychological service for children, University of Denver; appointed mental health advisor, Ministry of Health, Teheran; later professor of abnormal psychology, University of Teheran, and Dean of Women, 1958 to date.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

Women's Education Association, Women's Activities Seminar on the Status and Responsibilities of Women, Women's International Club.

PUBLICATIONS

A Rorschach Study of the Psychoanalytic Proposals on Cigarette Smoking, Denver, 1955. Mrs. Safiyeh Firouz, Teheran

b. 1908, Hong Kong; m. General Mohamed Hossein Mirza Firouz; two sons.

EDUCATION

Privately and at the Italian Convent, Hong Kong.

ACTIVITY IN SOCIAL WELFARE AND WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Health Clinic, Teheran 1943-44; member, Central Committee of the Red Lion and Sun, 1940; founder member of Social Service Section of the Red Lion and Sun, 1940; Social Service Committee of the Municipal Council, Teheran 1946 and of the Council for the Welfare of Women Workers, attached to the Ministry of Labor 1955; vice president of Prisoner's Protection and Reform Society.

Founded the Council of Women in Iran, 1943; and president since its inception; Chairman, International Committee of High Council Women, 1959; vice president, International Alliance of Women; represented Iran on the Status of Women Commission, Beirut, 1949 and Geneva, 1952.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

General Conferences-Red Cross, 1946; Inter-Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi, 1947; World Federation of UN Associations, Bangkok, 1955. Women's Conferences-International Assembly of Women, South Cortright, (N.Y.), 1946; *Femme et la Paix*, Paris, 1949; International Alliance of Women, Amsterdam, 1949, Colombo, 1955 and Athens, 1958; board member, UN Association of Iran; chairman of Commission on Community Organizations, Iranian Society of World Brotherhood.

Mrs. Mehranguiz Manoochehrian, Teheran

EDUCATION

University of Teheran and Law College, Judicial Section-Degree of Doctor in Criminal Law; post graduate study, juvenile delinquency and children's courts, Europe and USA.

CAREER

Professor in psychology and philosophy, University of Teheran, 1931-1954 and 1947 to date, Attorney at Law, Teheran.

AFFILIATIONS

Association of Jurists, Iran; International Academy of Law of the Hague; International Federation of Women Lawyers; Association of University Law Graduates, High Council of Women, Iran; Women's International Club of Teheran; member, Judicial Committee, *Mardom* party.

PUBLICATIONS

A Criticism of the Constitutional, Civil and Criminal Law of Iran in Regard to Women, and others on juvenile delinquency and courts for children in Iran, an interpretation of the Bill of Human Rights, and a work on crimes perpetrated against children.

Mrs. Nayereh E. Samii, Teheran

m. Ebtihaj Samii, 1932; two sons.

EDUCATION

Elementary education at American Girls School in Resht; high school, Iran Bethel American Mission School, Teheran, graduated, 1932. Lived fourteen years in the provinces, returned ot Teheran, attended the University and took BA, 1955.

CAREER

Teaching at International Community School, Presbyterian Mission, Teheran, and Girls' High School, Kanoum Banovan.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

Iran Bethel Alumnae; Board of Shahnaz Girls' Clubs; Council of Women.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Committee on Correspondence Workshop on Women's Organizations, New York, 1958; spent total of three months in USA.

H.I.H. Princess Shahnaz, Washington

b. 1941, Teheran; daughter of Shah Muhammad Riza Pahlevi; m., 1957, to Ardeshir Zahedi, now Iranian Ambassador to the United States; one daughter.

Princess Shahnaz was educated in Switzerland, California and Belgium. In 1956 she was chosen President of the Young Iranian Sportswomen's Association and the same year she received the highest Iranian award in physical education.

PAKISTAN

Begum Anwar G. Ahmed, Karachi

b. Amritsar, 1916; m. A. G. Ahmed, Director, General Planning Board, Government of Pakistan: two children.

EDUCATION

Educated at the Ayrcliff School in Simla.

Before Partition served on Delhi branch Women's Muslim League; subcommittee 1946; organized nurses voluntary corps Karachi 1948; foundermember APWA, Karachi branch, 1951; vice chairman, Central APWA executive; Founder-President, Adult Blind Center and Crippled Children Rehabilitation Center; chairman, National Council Social Welfare, 1957.

Has attended official international gatherings and international women's conferences-the International Alliance of Women (executive board), Red Cross, Social Work.

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PUBLIC SERVICE

Member, Family Laws Commission 1955-56; represented government, UN Commission on Status of Women, 1953-59; elected 1st Vice Chairman of Commission, 1957 and Chairman, 1958.

PUBLICATIONS

Two brochures: Government by the People and Social Rights of Women.

Begum Liaquat Ali Khan

Residence: The Hague, as Pakistani Ambassador; m. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, 1933; widowed.

EDUCATION

Isabella Thoburn High School and College, BA; Lucknow University in Economics, MA; Calcutta University, BT.

CAREER

Professor of Economics, Indra Prastha College, Delhi, one and one half years. After 1947 carried on personal relief, recruited women for national service and organized their efforts; was one of her husband's (then Prime Minister) principal associates at home and abroad until his assassination in 1951; has founded a number of service organizations: The Pakistan Women's National Guard; Pakistan Women's National Reserve; All-Pakistan Women's Association; Pakistan Cottage Industries, Karachi and the Gul-i-Ra'ana Nusrat Industrial Home, Karachi; also

the University Women's Association and the International Club. President of the Liaquat National Hospital Committee and a member of many societies-the Red Cross, St. Johns Ambulance Society, British Empire Leprosy Society, Mental Health Society, International Montessori, and Vice President and life member of the Pakistan Society of the United Kingdom. Appointed delegate from Pakistan to the UN General Assembly, 1952; member of ILO Committee of Experts. From 1954 to date, has represented Pakistan as Ambassador in the Netherlands.

AWARDS

Mother of Pakistan Medal, 1950; Jane Adams Medal, 1951, USA; Woman of Achievement Medal, 1951, USA.

Begum Tazeen Faridi, Karachi b. Lucknow; married; three children.

EDUCATION

Lucknow University, MA in philosophy, 1941; post graduate diploma, advanced applied psychology and research fellowship, 1941-43.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

Voluntary activities in undivided India before 1947-Red Cross and women's agencies; Secretary General APWA, 1955 to date; former chief, Social Welfare Planning Board; member, National UNESCO Commis-

sion; director, Small Industries Corporation; member, Mental Health Association; member, Board World Brotherhood; former member, National Council Social Welfare of Pakistan.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Non-Governmental agencies conference, Geneva, 1957; non-governmental conference, Ceylon, 1958; studied women's organization abroad on grant from British Council, Great Britain, 1952; Pan-Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Conference, Manila, 1955; International Alliance of Women Conferences, Naples 1952, Ceylon 1955 and Athens 1958; Committee of Correspondence Workshop Seminar, USA, 1957.

PUBLICATIONS

Paper on Role of Women of Pakistan, for Conference of Brussels Institute of Differing Cultures, 1958.

Begum Zeb-un-Nissa Hamidullah, b. Calcutta, father a noted Bengali writer; m.; two daughters. Karachi

CAREER

Editor and publisher of Mirror, the most popular monthly magazine in Pakistan, founded by her in 1951; her column "Through a Woman's Eyes" comments on civic and political affairs in Dawn, a Karachi daily with wide circulation.

AFFILIATIONS

Member, Governing Body of Pakistan Editors; member, Central Board of Film Censors; member and former President, Business and Professional Women's Club, Karachi; founder, Pakistan-American Cultural Club.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

UN Status of Women Seminar, Bangkok, 1957; Member, Pakistan press delegation to the Netherlands, 1952; to Egypt, 1953; to Germany, 1954; study visit to USA on foreign leader's grant of the Department of State, 1956; attended Asian-African Women's Conference, Ceylon, 1958; Congress of International Federation of Business and Professional Women, Paris, 1959.

PUBLICATIONS

Began writing poems at twelve years of age, published several poems in magazines in her teens. Two books of poems, Lotus Leaves and Indian Bouquet; a travel book, Sixty Days in America, The Young Wife and other stories.

Begum Zeenat Fida Hassan

m. 1934 to S. Fida Hassan, C.S.F., Chief Secretary to Punjab Government.

EDUCATION

Lahore, Kinnaird College for Women, BA, and Government College, MA, 1934.

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CAREER

Elected 1951 member of Provincial Legislature, re-elected 1955 member of Legislature of West Pakistan; promoted legislation requiring inspection of private educational institutions (law of 1953). Appointed Honorary Adviser to the Punjab Government on Women's and Children's health and welfare, 1953; Deputy Minister for Education, 1957, a post held until the October 1958 change of régime; represented the government on the UN Status of Women Commission, Geneva, 1952. Has participated in the organization and expansion of APWA; elected President, Punjab branch, 1954 and currently President, West Pakistan APWA.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Switzerland and England. Has accompanied husband abroad on visits of Pakistan cricket team.

Fatimah Jinnah, Karachi

b. 1894, Karachi; younger sister of Qaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Founder of Pakistan.

EDUCATION

Convent School, Bombay; Diploma in Dental Surgery, Calcutta.

ACTIVITIES

Practiced dentistry for one year. Accompanied her brother to the First Round Table Conference, London, 1930; toured the Continent and returned to India in 1935; active in the Muslim League Women's Section before Partition.

After Partition, her brother's hostess at Governor General's House; first lady of Pakistan until his death. Founder of the Fatimah Jinnah Women's Medical College, Lahore, and the Karachi Women Refugee Relief Committee; Chairman of the Pakistan Committee of United Appeal for Children; active in Kashmir relief work and many other social services for women. She is often referred to as *Meter-i-Millat*, "Mother of the Country."

Miss P. Mangat Rai, Lahore

b. 1911.

EDUCATION

St. Denys High School, Murree, 1923-27; Kinnaird College, Lahore, 1928-32, BA; Government College for Men, 1932-34, MA; Lahore University, 1934; Harvard University and Radcliffe College, MA in history, 1948; Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, 1945-46; Dorothy Cadbury Fellowship, Seely Oak, Birmingham, England, 1952-53.

CAREER

Joined staff of Kinnaird College, 1934; Principal of Kinnaird, 1950 to date.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Visited USA three months, 1955-56, sponsored by churches supporting Kinnaird College; attended United Church Women's Assembly, Cleveland, 1955.

Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz,

b. 1893; m. Mian Shah Nawaz; three children.

EDUCATION

At Queen Mary College Lahore and at home by her father, Sir Mohammed Shafi, in social and political affairs.

CAREER

Lahore

Early identified with women's advance, active in the Lahore Purdah Club (now called Lahore Ladies Club); charter member of Lahore branch, All India Women's Conference. Began public service as member, Lahore Municipality. Attended First Round Table Conference, London, 1930, as her father's private secretary; also the Second and Third Round Table Conferences, 1931 and 1932, as one of three women delegates and represented the women's view of Home Rule. Was elected, after 1935, one of three women members, Lahore Legislative Assembly; appointed Parliamentary Secretary. During Second World War held government position; also travelled and lectured in the USA. After Partition, 1947, member, both of Lahore Assembly and of Constituent Assembly, Karachi; elected Vice President of the latter and served on various important committees.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

Muslim League, APWA and Muslim Women's organization.

AFGHANISTAN

Mrs. Homaira Hamidi, Kabul

b. Kabul, 1934.

EDUCATION

Malalai Girls' Lycée and graduate of the University of Kabul.

CAREER

Translator from English and French to Persian; head teacher of Malalai Girls' Lycée and teacher of classes in Persian and geography, currently editor of *Mehra*, magazine of the Women's Welfare Society, Kabul.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

A brief trip to India, visit to the USA for observation and study of American elementary and secondary schools administration under a foreign leader's grant, Department of State, for two months, 1959.

PUBLICATIONS

Translations of novels and lectures on social questions.

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Zeinab Seraj

b. Kabul, 1912; d. in Berlin, 1959; member of the Afghan royal family.

EDUCATION

In the first Afghan girls' school, established by her uncle King Amanullah. Continued her studies in exile in Tehran with her family, 1929-49.

ACTIVITY

After her return to Kabul, 1949, appointed President of the Women's Welfare Society, 1950; developed the Society's center in Kabul, and active in the Society's projects until her death.

Miss Mariam Shah, Kabul

b. Kabul, 1936.

EDUCATION

Malalai Girls' Lycée, and graduate of the University of Kabul, major in science.

CAREER

Translator Persian into English, teacher of Home Economics, Zarghuna Lycée, Kabul.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Visited India and Pakistan 1946-47; visited USA for observation and study of home economics and family relations courses under foreign leader's grant, Department of State, for two months, 1959.

PUBLICATIONS

Translations of lectures on social questions.

Mrs. Maboola Ahmad Ali Sulaiman, Kabul m. H. E. Sardar Ahmad Ali Khan, Minister of the Court.

EDUCATION In London.

CAREER

Lived in London during the war where her husband was then Minister to England. Honorary member of the Women's Welfare Society, government sponsored industrial education and cultural social center. Attended Asian-African Women's Conference, Ceylon, 1958; represented the government of the Afghan delegation to the UN Assembly, 1958, the first Afghan woman appointed to the UN.

INDONESIA

Mrs. Montrea Hutasoit, Djakarta

b. 1921, Bandung; m. to Secretary General, National Planning Council; six children.

EDUCATION

Graduate of Teacher's College, Salatiga (Central Java), 1930.

CAREER

Taught elementary school in Tjimahi (Java), 1930-34 and Principal of girls' school, 1934-35; active in social welfare work and especially women's organization and education; member of Board, Indonesian Red Cross; adviser to Crippled Children's Foundation; chairman, Ministry of Education's Women's Association; chairman, Education Section Perwari, former President, Women's International Club; former Editor WIC Journal; member, National Film Censor Board.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Europe, Pakistan and USA for observation and study three months on a foreign leader's grant, State Department, USA, 1955. Accompanied her husband on a visit to the USA, on a private foundation grant, 1958.

Mrs. Bangoes Oka, Singarada, Bali

m. to Deputy Governor, Nusa Tenggara Province; six sons.

EDUCATION

In high-caste Balinese home and elementary school. Attended high school in Jogjakarta, Java, at thirteen, living with the family of a Dutch professor. Attended training college, graduated with teaching qualification just before Japanese occupation; after marriage took English certificate and qualified for secondary instruction.

CAREER

Two years of compulsory teaching under Japanese; now carries on dual responsibility of homemaking and official life; teacher of English in Singarada High School, headmistress in 1959; advisor, Midwifery Health Center; supervisor, Perwari kindergarten; organizer, informal social education, recreation and camps for young people; promoter of vocational training and scholarship loan plan for young women; assists her husband in promoting a private Balinese Hindu foundation for rural education and economic welfare through a self-support farm school for boys.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Spent several months 1953 in study and observation of rural education in the USA, on a foreign leader's grant, Department of State.

Miss Laili Roesad

b. Padang, Sumatra, daughter of government official.

EDUCATION

Secondary school; Law College, University of Djakarta, legal degree. Post graduate work, two years in international law, University College, London.

CAREER

Court of Justice, Padang; Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jogjakarta and

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Djarkarta; Technical Adviser, Indonesian Delegation U.N. General Assembly, 1952; representative of Indonesia to the Commission on the Status of Women; adviser on Legal and Trusteeship Affairs of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the U.N. (rank of Counsellor of Embassy); later Acting Chief of Directorate of UN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Djakarta and now Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Indonesia to Belgium and Luxembourg.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES

Member of Consultation Bureau on marriage and inheritance cases during period of legal study at Djakarta University; member of Women's Association, Djakarta; former chairman, Indonesian Women's Association, Padang.

Dr. Maria Ullfah Santoso,

b. 1911, Serang Banten, West Java.

Djakarta

EDUCATION

Primary and high school, Serang; University of Leiden, Faculty of Law, graduated 1933.

CAREER

Began public life as a city council official in Tjirebon (West Java) for a brief period, taught eight years in high school and teacher training college. During Japanese occupation—1942-45—was senior official, Department of Justice. Under the Indonesian Republic has held a number of government posts: senior official in Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Minister of Social Affairs 1946-47; Secretary to Prime Minister and Secretary of the Council of Ministers 1947-1955 and Director of the Prime Minister's Office 1955 to date. Has had a number of other government appointments—member, Central National Committee, 1945; member, Central Election Committee, 1947-50; Government delegation, Inter-Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi, 1947; chairman, Film Censor Board, 1950 to date; vice chairman, Good Will Delegation to Burma, 1952; Delegation, Afro-Asian Conference, Bandung, 1951. Sent abroad by the Government to the USA and other countries to study public administration, 1957.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

Participated in women's movement since 1935; attended Indonesian Women's Congress and was elected on Board to fight illiteracy, 1935; advisor on women's organizations set up by the Japanese occupation; vice chairman, Indonesian Women's Congress, 1945; became first Secretary (Head of Office) All-Indonesia Women's Congress (Kongres Wanita Indonesia); appointed member of Commission to draft a marriage regulation concerning polygamy, 1951; attended United Nations Status of Women Commission Seminar, Bangkok, 1957 and leader of Indonesian delegation, Asian-African Women's Conference, Ceylon, 1958.

Mrs. Nani Soewondo, Djakarta

m.; four children.

EDUCATION

Graduated, Faculty of Law, Djakarta, shortly before Japanese occupation in 1942.

CAREER

Worked with Department of Justice, later called Ministry of Justice, 1942-47; on Secretariat, Indonesian Delegation during Dutch negotiations until 1948; member of Governmental Committee to draft the Marriage Bill.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

Edited Indonesian women's magazine Karya (Labor) 1948-51 and WIC Journal (Women's International Club) 1956. Positions held: Vice President, Indonesian Women's Congress; Chairman, Legal Section Committee of *Perwari* (Indonesian Women's Organization) Chairman of Preparatory Committee to establish Indonesian University Women's Association and its first President; Second Vice President, Planned Parenthood Association.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Attended one month Seminar, Committee of Correspondence, New York, 1956 and Asian-African Conference, Ceylon, 1958; was granted a fellowship by the Elin Wagner Foundation, Sweden, for research in Indonesia on the status of women, 1959.

PUBLICATIONS

Book on the legal status of the Indonesian woman and her place in the community; contributed a paper on Role of Women in Indonesia to the Conference of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations, Brussels, 1958.

Dr. Hurustiati Subandrio, Diakarta

m. to present Foreign Minister of Indonesia; one son.

EDUCATION

University of Djakarta, MD, and post graduate work; London University, degree in anthropology, 1954.

CAREER

Director of Public Health Education, Ministry of Health, 1956 to date; active in family planning lecturing and guidance clinic; member, National Planning Council, 1959 (total 77 members, 5 women); chairman, Cultural Section, Council for Five Year Plan, to be submitted to People's Council, 1961.

Participation in women's movements: President, University Women's Association; President, Family Planning Association.

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INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Delegate, Asian-African Women's Conference, Ceylon, 1958; closely associated with the career of her husband, Ambassador to London, 1950-54, to Moscow, 1954-56.

PUBLICATIONS

Several works in medicine and anthropology.

Mrs. Supeni-Pudjobuntoro, Djakarta

b. 1917 at Tuban, Bodjonegoro, East Java.

EDUCATION

Secondary school and Teachers College.

CAREER

Joined Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist Party, founded by Soekarno) 1946 and held various offices—member Party Council, 1950; chairman, Djakarta Election Committee, 1953; member, Central Executive Committee, 1955; member of Parliament and Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee, 1956.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

Indonesian Muda (Young Indonesian Society) East Java, 1932; Chairman, Women's Association of Indonesia (Perwari), Madium, East Java, 1945; Central Board, 1949; vice chairman and later chairman of All Indonesia Women's Conference (Kowani), Jogjakarta, 1946-1950; member, Editorial Board magazine Wanita, 1956; director, National Press Concern, 1953.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Studied Indian election, 1951-52; election procedures in West Europe and USA under foreign leader's grant, Department of State, 1951-52; tour of Middle East-Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iran-as Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament, 1956; visited People's Republic of China, 1954.

INDIA

Durgabai Deshmukh, New Delhi b. 1909, Rajahmundry; m. Chintamani Deshmukh, well-known politician and administrator, 1953.

EDUCATION

Of orthodox *zamindar* family and had no school opportunity; mastered Hindi with the help of a family friend before 12 years of age; then started a school for women.

CAREER

Trained 600 women volunteers to help when National Congress met at Kakinada, 1923. Went with her mother, the Secretary of Congress

Committee in Kakinada, to various meetings and observed satyagraha leaders; was nominated as "Second Dictator" for Madras, 1930 (at 21). Started the satyagraha campaign against the salt monopoly, was arrested and imprisoned for one year. Within three months after release, was again arrested and sentenced to prison in Bombay. During her second imprisonment, started to learn English from a co-prisoner and also determined to study law on account of her conviction that law "shapes the destiny of prisoners." After release, secured a law scholarship, appeared for Benares University Examination in 1934, but was refused admission at Vizagnatam University because there were no living accommodations for women students; solved the difficulty by starting women's hostels herself; completed a political science course. Passed BA (hon) with distinction, then studied law, took BL degree with distinction, 1942. Began to practice law in Madras, 1942. During this period constantly promoted projects to establish homes for needy and foresaken women. In 1946, when practicing before the Supreme Court, was invited to participate in framing the Constitution. Joined the Planning Commission in 1950 and made Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board, 1953. A major force in promoting the welfare of village women and rural reconstruction.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Visit to People's Republic of China, 1952, and good will mission to USA and Switzerland, 1954.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit

Residence: London, as High Commissioner. b. 1900, Allahabad; m. Ranjit Pandit, 1921; three daughters.

EDUCATION

At home by an English governess from age of five, for more than ten years; later by private tutors.

PUBLIC LIFE, 1931-1945

Identified from early youth with the Independence movement; imprisoned three times (two and a half years total) 1932-1935; again four months, 1941, eleven months, 1942; elected Allahabad Municipal Board and appointed chairman Education Committee, 1935-37; participated in general election under 1935 Government of India Act, 1936; elected to the U.P. Legislative Assembly; appointed Minister of Local Self Government and Health, 1937; President, All-India Women's Conference, 1940.

PUBLIC LIFE SINCE 1945

Attended San Francisco meeting convened to write the UN Charter, 1945; returned to India and elected unopposed to United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) Legislative Assembly, again appointed Minister; headed Indian Delegation to the UN General Assembly, 1946; Ambassador to

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the USSR, 1947-49; headed Indian Delegation to the UN in 1947 and 1948; appointed Ambassador to the US and Mexico, 1949; headed Indian delegation to the UN, 1949, 1950, 1951; returned to India, participated in general election under new constitution and elected to House of the People, 1951; leader of goodwill tour to China at invitation of Chinese government; headed Indian delegation to the UN and elected president of the General Assembly of the UN, 1953; High Commissioner to UK and Ambassador to Ireland, 1954 to date; since 1955 Ambassador to Spain.

Awards

Numerous honorary degrees from universities in England, USA, Germany, Canada and other countries.

Begum Kudsia Aizaz Rasul,	b. Lahore; m. 1929 to Nawab Syed
Lucknow	Aizaz Rasul and unveiled after mar-
	riage.

EDUCATION

Sent away from home, to Jesus and Mary Convent at Simla, contrary to Moslem tradition; attended Queen Mary College in *burqa*; continued education as private secretary to her father; toured India with him as a member of the Simon Commission, meeting many women leaders.

POLITICAL CAREER

Involved in political life before and after Independence; elected to Legislative Assembly, U.P., in first election after Act of India, 1935; from 1937 to 1952 as member of the U.P. Legislature occupied the position of Deputy Speaker; after partition remained in India and became a member of Constituent Assembly. At the first election after the new Constitution, elected to the upper house (*Rajya Sabha*) of Parliament, on the Congress Party ticket; member of External Affairs, Finance, Commerce and Industry and Education Committees and to the Central Hajj Committee for welfare of Mecca pilgrims, 1952. Promoted Hindu Code legislation.

ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

Trustee of two Moslem Women's Colleges, Aligarh and Lucknow; Vice President of the Indian Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance; member of executive of Lucknow University, of State Child Welfare Council and of the Dufferin Fund, and President of the U.P. branch of All-India Women's Conference.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Represented the Government on several missions abroad; Japan, on invitation of the Foreign Minister, 1953; Parliamentary delegation to Turkey, 1954; to Arab countries on the same mission; visited Indonesia, Burma and Thailand, 1955; conducted an Indian women's hockey team to Australia, 1956.

APPENDICES

Mrs. Bijur Tara Bai, New Delhi

b. Mangalore.

EDUCATION

Queen Mary's College, Madras, BA in Chemistry; Lady Willingdon's College in Madras, Licientiate in Teaching; King's College, London (now Queen Elizabeth's College), graduated Household Arts and Social Sciences, 1939.

CAREER

Taught in the Seva Sudan, Madras (voluntary service institution); in the Lady Irvin Home Science College, New Delhi, 1933-37; Assistant Directress of Lady Irvin College, 1939 and Directress, 1947 to date.

ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

President, Home Science Association of India ;All-India Women's Conference, in various offices; All-India Women's Central Food Council; Education Board and University Committee on Home Science Courses; Bharat Scouts and Guides (honorary member); Blind Relief Association, New Delhi.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Visited Europe and USA during summer vacation from King's College, 1938; spent four months, 1956, in USA on a foreign leader's grant from the Department of State in study and observation of home economics programs and attended home economics conferences.

Miss Evangeline Thillayampalam,

b. 1895, Jaffna, Ceylon.

Lucknow

EDUCATION

Primary and secondary schools, Jaffna; Isabella Thoburn College; Lucknow University, B.Sc.; Allahabad University, M.Sc.; Columbia University, M.A. and Ph.D.; Bishop Fisher Fellowship for post graduate study in USA.

CAREER

Reader in Zoology, Lucknow University; head of the Department of Biology, Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow; exchange lecturer in zoology, Wellesley College; Principal, Chundi Ruli Girls College, Jaffna, Ceylon; Lady Doak College, Madura, South India; now Principal, Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, U.P., India.

AFFILIATIONS

Member of India Zoological Society, Young Women's Christian Association, Federation of University Women, Kodai Kanal Branch.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Visits to Europe, UK, USA and Canada, Burma, Malaya, China and Japan.

PUBLICATIONS

Scoliodon-Shark of the Indian Sea; Indian Zoological Memoirs, Vol II (four eds.); Introduction to Biology (1. Story of Plant Life, 2. Story of Animal Life).

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, New Delhi

EDUCATION

At home by an English governess from age of five, for more than ten in England, at the Sherborne School for Girls and at Oxford and in France.

CAREER

Identified with All-India Women's Conference over long period-a founding member, Social Section secretary, an early President; chairman, All-India Education Fund Association, member of delegation which presented women's united demands for equal rights to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in London, 1933; actively concerned many years with YWCA, National Vice President; connected with All-India Anti-TB Association, Village Industries Associations and the Harajan Sevak Sangh. As private secretary to Mahatma Gandhi for fifteen years contributed personal work at the heart of the struggle for Independence and was closely associated with the spread of the Khadi movement and village reconstruction.

PUBLIC SERVICE

Served on the Jullundhur Municipality, 1934-36; member of Advisory Board of Education from its inception until resignation in protest, 1942; Minister for Health, 1947-57; organized Pakistan Refugee Rehabilitation, promoted training and status of nursing; sponsored Nursing Council Act, program of maternal and child health and the formation of Indian Council of Child Welfare; former President, St. John's Ambulance Association; member, Managing Body, Indian Red Cross; delegate to UNESCO, London Conference, 1945, elected Vice-President UNESCO, Paris, 1946; delegate WHO World Health Assembly, Rome, 1949; elected President of Assembly, Geneva, 1950.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Traveled widely in Europe, USA, Australia and New Zealand.

PUBLICATIONS

To Women and Challenge to Women.

Ivy Khan, New Delhi

b. 1917, Calcutta.

EDUCATION

Diocesan School, Scottish Church College, Calcutta, B.A. 1937; Calcutta University, M.A. in English language and literature, 1940.

CAREER

YWCA Calcutta program secretary 1940-1948, General Secretary 1948-1956; YWCA of India, National General Secretary 1956 to date; World

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YWCA Youth Secretary, Geneva Headquarters 1946-1947; World YWCA Council member, 1956 to date.

ORGANIZATION RELATIONSHIPS

As YWCA representative participates in numerous cooperative efforts with other volunteer agencies: AIWC, National Council of Women, YMCA and Student Christian Movement; Bharat Scouts and Guides; Delhi School of Social Work; International Conference of Social Work; refugee relief.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Traveled widely in YWCA service in Europe, USA, Canada, Latin America, Middle East, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, South East Asia, Australia and China. Attended World YWCA Council meetings-Lebanon 1951, England 1955, Mexico 1959; World Student Christian Conference, Switzerland, 1946; World Conference of Christian Youth, Oslo, 1957.

Mrs. Lakshmi Mazumdar, New Delhi

b. Calcutta, 1912.

EDUCATION

In Calcutta; graduated in mathematics, University of Calcutta, 1931.

CAREER

Began Girl Guide activities at school; District Commissioner in Calcutta Division, 1937; appointed State Commissioner Delhi, 1947; member of General Council and Executive Committee, All-India Guides. Participated in reorganization-merger Girl Guides with Scouts; member of National Council Bharat (India) Scouts and Guides, on Executive Committee and Deputy Chief Commissioner of India; maintains close relations with the Guide Movement in the United Kingdom and the USA; Member of World Bureau, Girl Guides and Girl Scouts.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Studied Girl Guides USA, two months, 1952 and attended regional conferences; attended the Commonwealth Commissioner's Conference in England 1954 and Fifteenth World Conference in Holland, 1954.

Lakshmi N. Menon, Delhi

b. Trivandrum, 1899; m. Prof. V. K. N. Menon, 1930.

EDUCATION

H. H. Maharajah's School and College for Women and H. H. Maharajah Arts College, Trivandrum; Lady Willingdon Training College, Madras University, MA and LT; Maria Gray Training College, Teaching Diploma, London.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Queen Mary's College, Madras, 1922-25; Gokhale Girls School, Calcutta, 1928-30; Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, 1930-33; principal, Women's Training College, Patna, 1951-53.

PUBLIC CAREER

General Assembly, UN, alternate delegate in 1946, 1950, 1953 and 1954; UN Commission on the Status of Women, Beirut, 1949; UN Secretariat as chief, section on the Status of Women in the Human Rights Division, 1949-50. Member of *Rajya Sabha*, 1952, re-elected, 1954; Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, 1952-57, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, 1957 to date.

PARTICIPATION IN WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

In AIWC as member and office holder since 1928, Secretary General, Editor of AIWC Journal, *Roshni*, and President, 1955-59. Former President, Association of University Women, State Commissioner in Bihar, Girl Guides; leader of Indian Women's Delegation, Asian-African Women's Conference, Ceylon, 1958.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Visited People's Republic of China as a member of the Parliamentary Delegation, 1956; member of UN working group on Status of Women Seminar, Bangkok, 1956; has visited Australia and New Zealand as guest of the governments; to Malaya and Burma in 1957.

PUBLICATIONS

The Position of Women and numerous magazine articles on women's rights, educational problems and current affairs.

Miss Renuka Mukerji, Lucknow

b. Lucknow, 1920.

EDUCATION

Attended Queen Victoria Girls High School C.M.S. (Church Missionary Society), Agra; Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, BA; Agra University; Aligarh University, MA in geography, 1946; studied theology two terms at Oxford, 1956.

CAREER

Taught at American Presbyterian School, Dehra Dun Teacher Training College, Agra, 1944; nine years at Isabella Thoburn College as geography teacher and adviser to student government and the Student Christian Movement; appointed principal-elect Women's Christian College, Madras, 1955; assumed position June, 1956; President of the National Student Christian Movement.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Attended Consultation of Asian Christian University Professors held under SCM at Bandung, Indonesia, 1950; SCM Triennial Conference, Perudeniya, Ceylon, 1954; visited churches abroad supporting the Madras Women's Christian College in UK, Canada, and USA and attended the United Church Women's Assembly at Cleveland, 1955; served with National YWCA in Germany, 1955-56, in Bible study and youth groups; attended the meeting of Working Committee, World Council of Churches, Department on Cooperation of Men and Women in Church and Society, Odense, Denmark, 1958.

APPENDIX

STATISTICS CONCERNING WORLD OF ISLAM

Statistical accuracy in many countries of the world today is almost impossible because of the unregistered mass, the millions of villagers and the wandering nomads. The following estimates of the number of Moslems in the world today are based on a comparative appraisal of the figures given in a recent publication of the XXth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism, under the series Je sais - Je crois, entitled "Connaître Islam" and the 1957 publication of Djambatan, Holland, entitled A Concise History of Islam. The estimates regarding Christians and other religions are based on the World Christian Handbook, 1957.

Tracy Strong, former General Secretary, World YMCA

TOTAL ESTIMATE OF MOSLEMS ACCORDING TO SIGNIFICANT AREAS

	French Source	Dutch Source
Arab World in West Asia, including Egypt	43,437,000	41,000,000
Non-Arab in West Asia-Turkey, Iran	38,000,000	36,000,000
Moslem Countries in East Asia	147,688,000	152,000,000
East Asia Countries with large Moslem minorities Africa-N.E. & N.W., excluding Egypt	43,000,000 28,345,000	42,750,000 27,500,000
Africa–South Sahara, West, East, Central, South	30,801,400	27,500,000 31,000,000
USSR and China Europe and America	35,000,000 4,103,500	3,250,000
Europe and America	370 374,900	360,500,000

Estimated Totals in the World Today 370,374,900 360,500,00

SPECIAL INFORMATION ON CERTAIN COUNTRIES

TURKEY	20,800,000
Moslems	,000
Roman Catholic	,000
Protestants	,200
Total Christians	130,200 69,800
Jews, 60,000 and Others 9,800	21,000,000
Estimated population	21,000,000

IRAN		
Moslems-Estimated number of Shi'i	17,700,000 1,100,000	
Among Kurds in N.W. many Sunnis	1,100,000	18,800,000
Total number of Moslems		10,000,000
Christians: Armenian 50,000, Nestrorian	70.000	
20,000 Roman Catholic—Chaldeans	70,000 20,000	
Protestants	10,000	
Total number of Christians		100,000
Jews 80,000 and Others 20,000		100,000
Estimated population		19,000,000
UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC		
Estimated population of UAR		
Egypt	23,620,000	
Syria	4,145,000	
Egypt	27,765,000	
Moslems: 92% of the population are		
Sunni Moslems		21,720,000
Christians: Estimates vary from 2 to 3 million but I have used estimates from		
several sources; Orthodox – Copts		
1,300,000; Protestant Copts 100,000;	1,500,000	
Other Orthodox, 100,000. Total Estimated Roman Catholics	200,000	
Protestants not including Copts, above	110,000	
Estimated number of Christians		1,810,000
Estimated number of Jews 63,000 and Others 27,000		90,000
Total		23,620,000
Syria		
Moslems: Population predominately Sun- nis with important Shi'i minority and		
97,000 Druzes		3,597,000
Christians:		
Eastern and Orthodox Churches in-		
cluding Greek Orthodox, Syrian Jacob-		
ites, Armenian Gregorians as follows: Greek 173,000; Syrian 53,000 Arme-		
nian 112,000.		
Total	338,000	

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Roman Catholics including Maronites, Greek Catholic, Armenian Catholic & Syrian Catholic. Total Estimated number of Protestants Total number of Christians Estimated number of Jews 5,000 and Others 80,000 Total	115,000 10,000	463,000 85,000 4,145,000
LEBANON Christians: Catholic: Maronites 359,182; Greek and Roman 73,147 Orthodox: Greek 123,219: Armenian	432,332 200,716 12,010	645,058 557,207 97,735 1,300,000
JORDAN The estimated number of Moslems, 1,330,- 000; Christians 100,000—Total IRAQ Moslems: Estimated number of Shi'i 2,800,- 000 and Sunnis 1,900,000—Total Christians: Estimated number of Assyrian Orthodox 40,000; Syrian, Chaldean, Ar- menian Orthodox 70,000—Total Roman Catholic and Chaldeans Protestants Total number of Christians Jews, 10,000 and Others 110,000 Estimated population	110,000 50,000 20,000	1,430,000 4,700,000 180,000 120,000 5,000,000
PAKISTAN East Pakistan 42,000,000; West Pakistan 35,100,000 Moslems Christians: Catholics Protestants Total	241,822 272,166	77,100,000 65,188,000 513,988

	9,770,734	
Buddhists	319,631	
Parsees	5,435	
Total of Other Religions		10,095,800
Estimated population		76,797,788

AFGHANISTAN

The total population is Moslem, estimated from 10- to 12,000,000.

INDONESIA

Moslems: often referred to by themselves as 40% "White" (faithful) Moslems and 60% Moslems (Statistical) Buddhists Christians: Roman Catholics, referred to as Cath- olics Protestants, referred to as Christians Estimated total number of Christians Estimated population	1,000,000 3,000,000	70,000,000 1,000,000 4,000,000 75,000,000
INDIA		
Moslems		40,000,000
Christians: Roman Catholic	5,000,000	
Syrian Orthodox	1,267,000	
Protestants	6,000,000	10 0 (7 000
Total Christians		12,267,000
Hindus	(010 124	303,186,986
Other Religions: Sikhs	6,219,134	
Jains Zoroastrians	1,618,406 111,791	
Buddhists	180,767	
Total Other	100,707	8,130,098
Estimated population		363,584,084
population		500,000,000,000

APPENDIX

KORANIC TEACHINGS

The principal teachings of Islamic faith concerning women are contained in the following passages from the Koran:

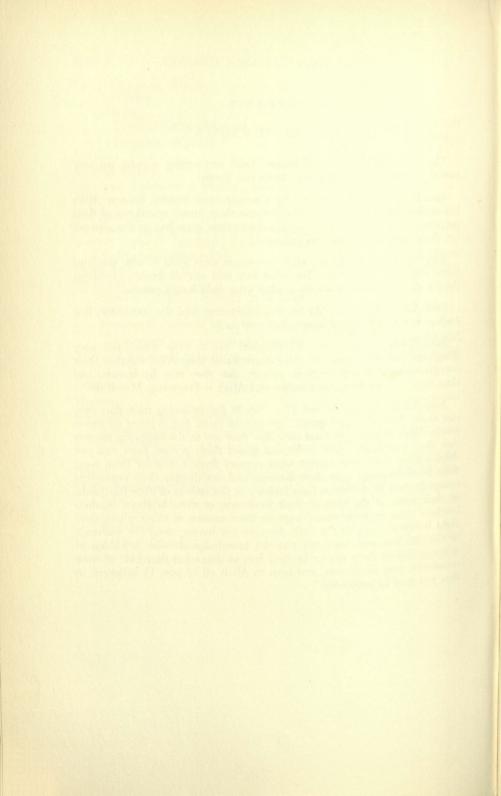
Sura IV, Verse 34. "Men are the maintainers of women, because Allah has made some to excel others and because they (men) spend out of their property. The good women are therefore pious, guarding in the absence (of their men) what God has ordained."

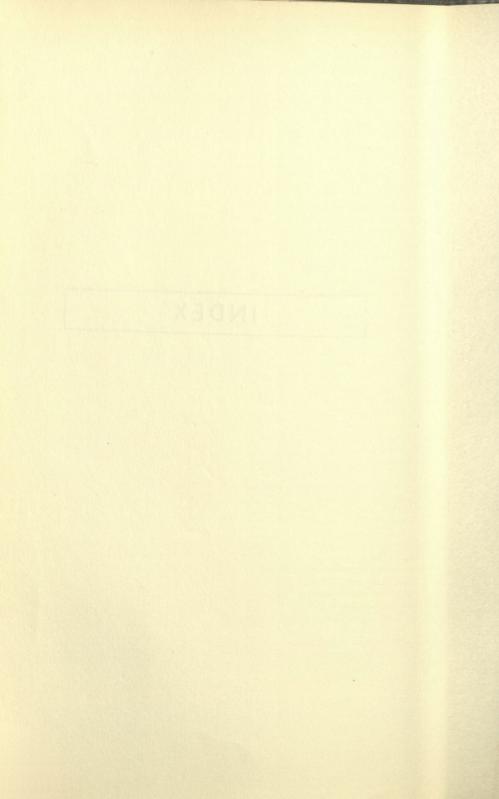
Sura IV, Verse 3. "Marry such women as seem good to you, two and three and four; but if you fear that you will not do justice (between them), then (marry) only one or what your right hands possess."

Sura XXIV, Verse 2. "As for the fornicatress and the fornicator, flog each of them, (giving) a hundred stripes . . ."

Sura XXXIII, Verse 59. "O Prophet! say to your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers that they draw together their overgarments; this will be more proper, that they may be known, and thus they will not be given trouble; and Allah is Forgiving, Merciful."

Sura XXIV, Verses 30 and 31. "Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely Allah is aware of what they do. And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to Allah all of you, O believers! so





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