

Social Context of Educational Development in Malabar region of Kerala: A Sociological Study

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By

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that dissertation entitled “**Social Context of Educational Development in Malabar region of Kerala: A Sociological Study**” submitted by **Jishnudas K S** bearing Reg. No. **20SSHL02** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy in Sociology is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

The thesis has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or institution to award any degree or diploma.

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DECLARATION

I, **Jishnudas K S**, hereby declare that this Dissertation entitled, “**Social Context of Educational Development in Malabar region of Kerala: A Sociological Study**”, submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of **Prof. Nagaraju Gundemeda** is a bonafide research work. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or institution to award any degree or diploma.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Mass education is one of the striking features of the modern state. Aspirations to achieve mass schooling can be observed in virtually all nations and societies. Studies regarding the socio-economic aspects of mass education gained attraction in academia and the public, especially in developing countries like India. Studies looking at the origin and expansion of mass education are one of the most important among them because they let us understand how we arrived here and what to do in the future. This research intends to study the origins and the expansion of mass public primary education in Malabar, a region in Kerala. The uniqueness of Kerala's socio-political atmosphere and educational setting makes this more interesting and challenging.

It is widely argued that Kerala has transformed from a poor state with a highly discriminative caste system and low social indicators like low literacy and high infant mortality rate into a highly literate state where social indicators of development are comparable to many developed countries. It includes the expansion of mass public primary education. Many studies indicate that Kerala has experienced a unique pattern of social and economic changes resulting from efforts from both governmental and non-governmental bodies based on public action (Dreze & Sen, 1998; Parayil, 2000). Some scholars conceptualised Kerala development path as a replicable socio-economic model (Parayil, 2000), famously known as the "Kerala Model". A critical approach to Kerala's development trajectory reveals that it suffers from various policy and structural limitations according to the state of society. Critical perspectives in terms of region, caste and gender pointed out various nuances regarding the educational development of Kerala.

Mass literacy in Kerala as a whole is a recent phenomenon. Kerala state was formed by incorporating erstwhile princely states Travancore and Cochin and colonial district Malabar¹ on 1st November 1956. Social indicators, including the education status of these regions, differed widely. Travancore and Cochin were characterized by high levels of literacy and other educational indicators than Malabar. Social, political, and economic situations, as well as educational policy, appear to be less conducive to educational development in Malabar than in

¹ Malabar district established as a single administrative unit by the 1820s and was directly administered by the British as part of the madras presidency (Nair, 1976).

Travancore and Cochin (Nair, 1976). Class oppression, Gender and Caste discrimination, and other exclusions were there at the ground level in achieving primary education. However, within a few decades after the formation of Kerala, Malabar caught up with other regions of Kerala with a literacy rate of more than 90%, and school dropouts were reduced to extremely low levels. In other words, the state has succeeded in lowering inter-community and socio-economic differences in school enrollment (James, 2004). This is the entry point of this research.

Malabar suffered not only education backwardness but also exclusion from the mainstream imagination of Kerala. Malabar has failed to be part of the mainstream sociological imagination of social scientists of India in general and Kerala in particular. Erstwhile princely states dominated the mainstream imagination of Kerala, Malabar was epistemically excluded. The social composition of Malabar, mostly lower castes and Muslims, may also have contributed to this exclusion. The epistemological formation of Kerala society is suffering from caste and regional specific biases.

No doubt that the educational achievements of Malabar is the outcome of prolonged, conscious mass struggles led by historical progressive reformist movements and post-independent state policies. But the neglect of the untouchable castes and region-specific social dynamics resulted in the failure of recognition and documentation of various factors and events in shaping the discourses around educational development. This study attempts to contribute to efforts by various scholars to bridge this gap. This study investigates various nuances of the origin and expansion of mass public schooling of an excluded region in Kerala.

1.1 Conceptual Framework

Sociologists from India and abroad made systematic attempts to understand the nature of the relationship between public intervention for critical education and human development. Emile Durkheim indicated the need for a sociological approach to the study of education. As a functionalist, his approach primarily looked at education in terms of social fact and its functions in society. He pointed out the socio-cultural relativity of education as well, which means there is no single ideal type of education for all. There will be differences in education systems in different societies in relation to the socio-cultural milieu. In other words, education is not a static phenomenon, it is an ever-changing social process (Jayaram, 2015). Later the school of educational sociology underwent various criticisms in terms of approach and methodology, which led to the rise of a new approach, 'Sociology of education. Brookover and Gottlieb said

that the new branch of sociology, sociology of education, primarily engages with the relationships of the educational system to other aspects of society, the school as a social system and the school and the community matrix (Brookover & Gottlieb, 1964 cited in Jayaram, 2015).

By the early 1970s, sociology of education had undergone further reforms and had progressed to a new stage. The new sociology of education tried to incorporate more theoretical perspectives such as Marxism, symbolic interactionism etc. According to them, schools should not be viewed just as socializing organizations. Rather it should be understood in terms of knowledge processing organizations and as agents of cultural transmission and social control.

Karl Mannheim contributed vastly in theorizing education and developing the discipline of sociology of education. He saw education as a dynamic element in society. Additionally, he argued that education is a social tool and a means of social control. Education can only be understood once we know, for what society and what social position the students are being taught. He showed that educational aims have a historical character. (Jayaram, 2015; Kumar, 2005)

Antonio Gramsci gave a new direction to the Marxist understanding of education by engaging with culture, ideology, social class and oppression. He identified schools as an institution under a capitalistic state that perpetuates the ruling class's domination by reinforcing the ideology of hegemony. On the other hand, he put forward the importance of Intellectuals in the process of emancipation of society. He concludes that education has to be free from both conformity and hegemony. Frankfurt School and British cultural studies developed Gramscian thought and came up with new understandings of education. 'Learning to Labour' (1977) by Paul Willis is an important work among them, discussing working-class cultures and education in capitalist societies. Correspondingly, Pierre Bourdieu made a systematic attempt to understand social and cultural reproduction. He used concepts of social and cultural capital to understand the reproductive functions of ideologies in culture and society. Education helps elites to draw social and cultural capital and propagate an ideology that helps them to subjugate the subordinate class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Brazilian Radical educator and pioneer of Critical pedagogy, Paulo Freire (1973), also identified the reproductive role of education. Freire conceptualized education in the context of colonialism. He argued that the education system is suffering from narration sickness. He called it Banking Method where the teacher leads the student to memorize the narrated content mechanically. All of the narrations were entirely alien to the student's lived experience. The

students are treated as containers to be filled and teachers as someone makes a deposit. It minimizes the student's creative power and serves the oppressors' interests. Without inquiry, apart from the praxis men cannot be truly human. The education system restricts humans from becoming fully grown.

On the other hand, Freire proposed a liberating educational project for the oppressed. This includes organizing oppressed and subsequent political emancipation through a new pedagogy. He posited that, new education, pedagogy of oppressed, as a fundamental part of the decolonization project (Freire, 1973). Different social movements against colonization, racial discrimination and gender inequality worldwide have contributed to the development and popularization of critical education projects.

All these theories agree upon the revolutionary potential and necessity of primary education in Human Development. In short, School education must be understood as two aspects of power dynamics. Firstly, "school as a terrain for reproducing the dominant class interest of making the obedient subjectivities and the other is a platform which works around the causes of social justice and empowerment" (McLaren, 2015).

Different opinions have emerged in the literature regarding the educational history of the Indian sub-continent. The history of the modern educational system in India begins with the history of colonialism. Gandhi's disciple Dharampal argued that the indigenous education system in India was a 'Beautiful Tree' that was perished because of colonial invasion (Dharampal, 1983). Scholars like P. Radhakrishnan have questioned the Gandhian understanding. Borrowing from historical records, he argued that indigenous education had a symbiotic relationship with the prevalent social order, based exclusively on the caste system. Indigenous education in India was very discriminatory in nature. It also had a significant impact on shaping British educational policy in India. That is, British educational policy in India was established upon this Indian Indigenous educational system (Radhakrishnan, 1990).

In western capitalist countries, the development of the national education system marks the emergence of modern schooling. With the introduction of the public schools, education had become a national concern, encompassing all persons and influencing all social classes (Navath, 2014). In nineteenth-century England, the fundamental concept of individual rights, which utilitarianism had crudely projected, grew in strength and legitimacy. However, the concept of equality of educational opportunity was not given much thought; the system was built to provide diversified educational opportunities according to one's social standing.

(Coleman, 2019). In India, the utilitarian dream met with a very different fate. The colonial education system was not meant to establish a production economy but rather to deepen and legitimise administrative control. Expansion of elementary education remained miserably poor.

According to the calculations of Latika Choudhary (2009), In comparison to other colonies and states, British India made very less public investments in education. Furthermore, primary schools received just a little portion of total public education funds. Public expenditures on primary schools average 34.3 per cent (1891 to 1917). In contrast, the United States allocated more than 90 per cent for primary schooling from 1850 to 1890. In 1890 the United Kingdom spent 73 per cent and Japan 84 per cent. And there was a heavier reliance on private funding; public spending on education has always been less than 50 per cent till the 1930s when the Government of India came up with new schemes to expand mass schooling.

Aggregate enrollment rate calculations also show almost the same trend. In 1900 the public primary school enrollment rate was 62.5 per cent in France, 72 per cent in the United Kingdom, 51 per cent in Japan, and 4.7 per cent in British India. But British India had relatively superior performance in secondary school enrollment. British India had a higher proportion of its population enrolled in secondary schools than either France or Japan in 1916/17, and it was only somewhat lower than England and Wales. In short, secondary school enrollment in British India was therefore equivalent to that of industrialised countries, whereas basic education was far lower (Chaudhary, 2009, 2012). Heavier reliance on private funding and misallocation of educational expenditures in favour of secondary schools also indicates how discriminatory British educational policy was. British education policy systematically neglected primary education.

Similarly, Krishna Kumar believed that Colonial education, which is supposed to be based on secularism, failed to pose a threat to some important aspects of the old Brahmanical (indigenous) system of education. Most importantly, the quasi-magical role of the teacher. Earlier, teaching as a vocation was based on a caste system, so teachers were characterized by great autonomy and reverence. Under the colonial education system, the teacher was a lowly government servant with additional duties with low salaries and status. School teaching lost its traditional character but did not evolve into a profession in the modern sense. Teachers became meek dictators of the classroom (Kumar, 2005). But colonialists succeeded in altering the curriculum and the new textbook culture has introduced. Then onwards textbooks dominated the curriculum. Textbooks started symbolizing the authority teacher must accept to work. An important policy that contributed to the formation of textbook culture is the policy of

impersonal, centralized examinations. It also contributed to convince the population that colonial rule was just and with no prejudice (Kumar, 1988).

Colonial education was not simply about establishing imperialist dominance or spreading utilitarian values; it was also the means by which civil society would form. As a result, colonial education served both a direct utilitarian and an indirect egalitarian function (Kumar, 2005). Keeping this in mind, we should look at the demand for educational opportunities by the downtrodden castes, who believed it as a powerful force of intellectual and social liberation. And the other movements demanding educational reforms emerged as part of the independence struggle.

There are many academic works in the context of Kerala that help us understand the education and society of Kerala. Similar to the above arguments, EMS Namboodiripad conceptualized the social system of Malabar as an Oppressive social system in which the ruling class could exert its power politically through the control of political institutions, economically by their monopoly over land and socially by virtue of the high place they had occupied in the caste hierarchy. This system was described as the Jati Jenmi Naduvazhi Medhavitham (Caste Landlord and Chieftain dominance). Indigenous education, which was part of the existing social system, was very exclusionary and discriminatory. It aimed to preserve the monopoly of knowledge to a section of society (Ganesh, 2015; Namboodiripad, 2010, 2012). Historical writings in the context of Malabar indicates that the institutions like caste hierarchy, joint family and customary laws dominated the Malabar region.

When Kerala was formed in 1956, Malabar was far behind Cochin and Travancore in almost every Social development indicator (Chandrasekhar et al., 2001). As we already discussed, many scholars have pointed out the contributions of colonial educational policy in the educational backwardness of Malabar. Even the educational progress of upper castes was stalled in colonial Malabar (Kabir & Krishnan, 1992).

Table 1.1: Percentage of literacy in the age of 9 and above, 1951

Region	District	Percentage of literacy (%)		
		Male	Female	Total
Travancore	Trivandrum	59	36	47
	Quilon	68	46	57
	Kottayam	70	52	61
Cochin	Trissur	61	40	51
Malabar	Malabar	41	21	31

Source: (Kabir & Krishnan, 1992)

P R Gopinathan Nair, who worked extensively on the educational history of Kerala, posited that various factors like mutual animosity between the Britishers and the Muslims, the existence of exploitative land relations and educational policy caused the relative educational backwardness of Malabar. (Nair, 1976). Some argued that missionaries' and cultural factors were the key factors of faster expansion and more widespread diffusion of primary education in the Travancore's and Cochin's educational development. Except for Basel Evangelical Mission, no other missionary worked extensively in Malabar. Basel mission opened only a minimal number of schools. (Mathew, 1999; Menon, 2007). Scholars like Dilip M Menon posited that all reformation efforts in Kerala society could be traced back to the legacy of missionary education.

By the late 1970s, only Malabar achieved mass literacy (Ramachandran, 1997). Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen argued that public action was the decisive factor in the development experience of Malabar. "Public action refers to the activities of the State, but also the 'social actions taken by members of the public, which are both 'collaborative', through 'civic co-operation', and 'adversarial', through 'political opposition and social criticism'. Public action includes actions from above (actions of the State) and below (actions of civil society)" (Drèze & Sen, 1989; Patnaik, 1998).

An increase in public spending alone did not make a significant change in enrolment rates or literacy rates anywhere in India. Even the educational reforms alone did not always translate into mass enrollment and literacy in British India (Chaudhary, 2010). It means there are other factors, including the important role the public played in the educational history of Malabar. Only sociological studies can dig out and help us understand those underlying factors.

It is important to remember, Colonial pedagogy outlasted colonial control in independent India, the current educational system in India is a product of both indigenous pedagogical practices and conditions created by the colonial bureaucracy and modern education (Kumar, 1988). It is totally wrong to argue Malabar has reached perfection in the field of education, but the experience of Malabar should be seen as a better alternative to mainstream India. It is worth studying, including how it excluded a section population while inclusive for a large section of society. Research on the expansion of bureaucratic educational institutions is useful for understanding various sociological questions such as (1) Causes and conditions for educational expansion, (2) penetration of colonial power (or state) into preexisting social structure, (3) engagement of natives with colonial modernity, (4) dreams and aspirations of marginalized

sections under new social order brought by colonial masters, (5) how natives are organized and controlled under bureaucratic frameworks.

A review of the literature reveals an intellectual paucity in mapping the educational development of Malabar. There is no sociological account of the primary schooling experience of marginal communities of Malabar during the colonial and post-colonial periods is available to date. The present study will try to cover up the gap in the literature by engaging with various aspects of educational development.

1.2 Objectives

This research is primarily intended to document and understand what combination of social, cultural, political and economic factors explain the origins and expansion of primary schooling in Malabar. The researcher chose to work on the vernacular history, emphasising marginalised sections and movements because of the identified literature gap and to avoid two problems. Firstly, to avoid the top-down approach from mainstream elite academia, which reproduces the knowledge that legitimates the status quo. Secondly, it helps to transcend the established overpowering narratives within the oppressed from other regions and communities. This study will be restricted until the 1970s since Malabar achieved mass literacy and universal enrollment by the 1970s.

1.To analyze the origin and development of primary schooling in Malabar during the colonial and post-independence periods.

2.To understand role of state and civil society engagement with primary schooling at different historical junctures.

1.3 Study Area

The study is focused on the Malabar region in Kerala state. Malabar situates in the north part of Kerala and is bounded by the western ghats in the east and by the Arabian sea in the west (Logan, 1887). This area came under the direct administrative rule of British colonial authority in 1798 (Treaty of Sreerangapattanam). The area became a district named ‘Malabar’ under Madras presidency. After the formation of Kerala state in 1956, there is no such administrative unit called ‘Malabar’, it is more like a cultural entity. Currently ‘Malabar’ stands for the territory covering districts of Kerala; Palakkad, Kozhikode, Wayanad, Kannur and Kasaragod.

In the present study special reference is given to a small region in northern Malabar, South Taliparamba educational sub-district in the Kannur district. Studies show that a very oppressive

and exploitative system characterized northern Malabar. Historically this area has been inhabited by diverse communities such as Mappilas, Cherumars, Thiyyas and Nambiaris. Additionally, this area has witnessed a few critical social and political events during the colonial period, which are very crucial in the history of Malabar, so the changes in this particular sub-district have a vital role in shaping the development experience of the whole Malabar.

Figure 1.1: Malabar region of Kerala



Figure 1.2: South Taliparamba educational sub-district.



Source; *Urava (school histories of Taliparamba South educational sub district)*, n.d. (2009)

1.4 Methodology

This research is a descriptive historical study, that primarily intended to map the various social and political dimensions of the development and expansion of primary schools. In order to bring out different aspects of educational development in Malabar, a mixed-method is used, where both quantitative and qualitative data were collected for complete and synergic use.

The case study method is used to gather in-depth field observations. The educational history of Malabar's South Taliparamba sub-district in Malabar will be thoroughly examined. This study discusses the educational development of Malabar from colonial times to the 1970s. Primary schools are considered as major units of empirical investigation to bring out various aspects of educational development of the South Taliparamba sub-district. History of each school in the Taliparamba South sub-district, including the formation and nature of schools in terms of their functioning, habitat and composition, are collected and analyzed with the help of school authorities. In 2009, the department of education published a booklet, titled 'Urava' where the histories of all public schools in South Taliparamba are documented. The book was prepared with the help of school authorities and senior historians. Discussion about the development of education in South Taliparamba is largely based on this book.

As part of an in-depth investigation, a quantitative analysis of admission registers of three randomly selected schools is presented. ALPS Kademberi, GUPS Kademberi and AUPS Morazha these schools are marked in red dots in Figure 1.1. Gender, Category (Caste), Occupation, and Reason for dropout are the main focus of the quantitative analysis. Admission registers consist of 23 columns, from the 'name of the student' to 'remarks'². The caste of each student is directly given in the 12th column of the register. The researcher identified each caste name and classified it into three categories Scheduled Castes (SC), Other Backward Castes (OBC) and Upper Castes (UC). The list of SC and OBC from the data is made according to the current constitutionally acknowledged list of scheduled castes and other backward castes. 'Occupation of the guardian' in the 7th column and 'Reason for dropout' in the 18th column are directly given. More than a hundred occupations were there in the register; for ease of analysis, these jobs are categorized into five – Agriculture related jobs, Official jobs, Trade-related jobs, Traditional jobs, Workers and Other jobs³. The gender of each student is identified with the ink used to write their names – red ink is used for girls while black or blue ink is used for boys. Using the above-described data, the researcher examined quantitatively two aspects;

² Refer appendix to see original images of admission registers used for the research.

³ Refer appendix for the list of each occupations in each category.

enrollment and dropouts. The detailed methodology of quantitative analysis and results will be explained in the respective chapter.

State interventions in primary education are analyzed with the help of public records such as colonial records from internet archives, Kerala state legislative assembly documents and Earlier academic works. Sociopolitical movements demanding education and their impact are documented by analyzing literary sources like books, local publishings, and earlier academic works.

Additionally, interviews of individuals who were part of the movements for education and academicians are considered. Purposive and snowball sampling methods were followed for all interviews. Semi-structured interviews of 5 teachers and 3 Union workers at the time of the study were collected. Their experiences in schools and the larger political character of the period of study were expressed in detail. The interview of Mujeeb, son of V Moossan Kutti Master who was the education in charge and vice-president in the Malabar district board in 1954, was an important source of data in documenting the development of public education in Malabar. P V Purushothaman, a veteran school teacher, member of the editorial board of (*Urava (school histories of Taliparamba South educational sub district)*, n.d.) and son of famous early union workers who married by breaking the shackles of caste, contributed immensely in shaping my understanding about the exclusions of caste and various struggles had happened in the study area. Discussions with 4 historians who are aware of educational and local history of the study area, T Gangadharan, O M Sankaran, Dr Usha CK and Dr P Mohandas, helped the researcher to look at the various nuances of history.

This study does not claim to be an exhaustive one, addressing all aspects and decoding the development of primary schooling in Malabar. Rather, this study attempts to identify and document a few major aspects of the origin and expansion of public primary schooling in Malabar. Many aspects of this development experience yet remain unaddressed. With the limited time frame and difficulties created by the COVID pandemic and lockdown, the researcher was forced to restrict the study as follows.

1.5 Outline of the Study

The study has five chapters, including the Introduction. The second chapter, titled ‘Society and Education: Pre-twentieth century Malabar’, discusses various aspects of the social history of education in Malabar until the end of the 19th century. Precolonial Malabar had an indigenous education system that had a symbiotic relationship with the prevalent hierarchical social order,

meaning of education was different for different castes. Most of the people of Malabar did not get any institutional education which has any meaning in their material lives. Women and lower castes were structurally restricted in accessing most forms of knowledge and the process of knowledge-making. Against this backdrop, colonial powers introduced modern schools to Malabar through missionaries and then through government policies. Considering financial risks, the colonial administration chose not to go for mass education. Instead, they focused on the education of propertied classes within natives. Developing a set of trustworthy, influential natives enabled more extraction of profit with a small bureaucratic apparatus. Both material changes and the ideological base behind the establishment of the early colonial educational system in Malabar are addressed in the chapter. The chapter provides a detailed context for the discussions for succeeding chapters.

Third chapter, titled ‘Development of primary schooling and forms of social exclusion in colonial Malabar’, intends to analyze the micro-level experience of the development of primary schools in the first half of the 20th century. Emphasis is given to the expansion of primary schools, and the exclusions worked in accessing primary schools at the ground level, such as Caste, Gender, and Class. The chapter gives some critical insights regarding the nature of the development of colonial education and the engagement of different sections of society with education. And concludes that colonial ideology of education (pedagogy and policies) acted as an exclusion in accessing education along with other preexisting exclusions such as caste, class and gender.

Chapter four, titled ‘Development of public education in Malabar’, attempts to understand and document how primary schooling in Malabar attained public nature and its expansion. The chapter explores through an analysis of enrollment and dropout of students in primary schools in the study area. And social and political developments related to the expansion of education.

In the fifth and concluding chapter, general conclusions of the study are given. It primarily summarises the study and draws important arguments that can be placed in the larger context of existing literature on education.

Chapter 2

SOCIETY AND EDUCATION: PRE-TWENTIETH CENTURY MALABAR

While formulating the education policy of the British colonial state, Director of Public Instruction in Punjab William D. Arnold, wrote that:

“We found a population, with their own idea of the meaning of education, and to that idea thoroughly attached; and to whom our idea of education, being inconsistent with their own, as thoroughly distasteful; as to an Asiatic everything is distasteful which is new.” (Bureau of Education & Richey, 1922) cited in (K. Kumar, 2005).

Above quote reflects two important aspects of Indian educational history. Firstly, the close relationship between the socio-cultural life of Indians and the indigenous education in precolonial times. Secondly, the establishment of the western educational system in India did not happen overnight, there were many hindrances and challenges. Britishers understood the obstacles they faced while trying to superimpose the new educational system as social and cultural in character. As expressed in the above quote, their analysis of the situation and the attitude was based on the self-claimed superiority of western values and knowledge. The educational system that we see today is neither what exactly Britishers envisaged to establish nor the indigenous education system existed before colonialism. But a product formed due to negotiations that happened between the different sections of society and the newly introduced western model of education.

Educational history should not be looked at just in terms of economy but also in terms of socio-cultural factors. In short, this quote tells us that the educational history of Indian society is not linear, it consists of twists, turns, junctures and many disjunctures. A detailed investigation that looks at various nuances of educational history can only help us understand the foundations of our current education system. This chapter seeks to examine the social history of education in Malabar till the end of the 19th century. The intention was to understand the material changes and ideological base behind the establishment of the colonial educational system. The chapter engages with four broad themes: i) Precolonial Society and Indigenous Education, ii) Malabar Society an Overview, iii) Modern Education and iv) Ideology of Education.

2.1 Precolonial Society and Indigenous Education

To develop an understanding of the earlier system of education, it is essential to have a look at the socio-economic atmosphere of pre-colonial Malabar since Indigenous education in India had a “symbiotic relationship with the prevalent social order” (Radhakrishnan, 1990)

As in all medieval societies, there was no definite written code of laws that was enforced by a specific authority; it was the customs ruled society of Malabar (Namboodiripad, 2010). There is no single set of customs per se to study because Indian culture is characterized by artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units, Castes (Ambedkar, 1917). Education was no different; the educational system also had a close relationship with the custom of each caste. Hence the meaning of education was different for different castes.

Even though Each caste “has its own rules and regulations that define the practices of social relations within the group and outside the group” (Ramsheena & Gundemeda, 2015), it is wrong to treat castes as an isolated unit by itself. Practices of each caste and its significance can only be understood in contrast with functioning of whole ‘caste system’.

Malabar's economy has been agrarian in nature. In the pre-colonial period, the region's economic base was totally dictated by its produce and land. Cultivators were not landowners; they did not have the authority to possess or utilise the land as they pleased. The primary function of social and political institutions was to legitimise this economic system. The Brahmins benefitted socially, the Jenmi⁴s benefitted economically, and the Nair castes benefitted administratively from this social arrangement. In addition, it degrades the vast majority of people's social, economic, and political status. Hence it resulted in inaccessibility to knowledge and cultural backwardness of the overwhelming majority of people while giving birth to a handful of scholars, poets, and artists from the top categories (Namboodiripad, 2010).

Restrictions on knowledge production and dissemination were an essential aspect of precolonial Malabar. The mythical story of “Chathambally Visha Kandan”⁵ Theyyam⁶ in the study area gives us some critical insights about the condition of untouchable castes and how

⁴ Landlords in Malabar.

⁵ “Chathambally Visha Kandan” is the Theyyam performed annually once in Chathamballi Kaav in Kolachery, Mayyil Panchayath in Kannur district of Kerala.

⁶ Many of the ritual arts performed in Kerala are strongly connected with the subaltern life of the oppressed mass. Theyyams is a popular ritual art form performed mainly by the untouchable castes in northern Malabar. Hundreds of different Theyyams have been performing in Malabar, which are said to be the revival of the life of untouchable caste heroes who fought and fallen in the battle against those in power.

deep was the restrictions on knowledge in precolonial Malabar. Theyyam is a performative ritual confined to the region of Malabar by hereditary specialist performers assuming imagined shapes of the god and becoming transformed and communicating directly with devotees, resolving their problems (Komath, 2013). Chathamballi Kandan, who belonged to an untouchable caste, Thiyya, studied medicine, philosophy, and grammar in secret from a well-known teacher, Parippankadavu Gurukkal. Even after studying all of these vocations, he had to undertake toddy tapping⁷ for a living due to social disapproval. One day, a woman with a snake bite was brought to the Brahmin local medical practitioner, who was said to be the most effective in treating deadly snake bites. He came to the conclusion that the patient had already died. The patient was then taken to Kandan, who was able to treat the snake bite. The news was too much for the upper caste mercenaries to take, so they killed Kandan and threw his head into a nearby pond. He was killed because a lower caste individual with access to knowledge, which was monopoly of upper caste was a threat to the ideological foundation of the social and economic exploitation of upper castes. Then onwards, the spirit of Kandan started haunting the that Brahmin family. This myth and ritual is an expression of resistance by the oppressed masses and may be a collective memory of the community, this indicates the extent to which knowledge was restricted by upper castes in precolonial Malabar.

To develop an understanding of the caste system of Malabar as a whole, we will be looking at each important caste⁸ as well as the customs which binds them all. Emphasis was given to understand the education profile of different castes. Descriptions about each caste group are primarily drawn from the ethnographic studies and reports by colonial administrators during the early 19th century and earlier academic studies. Some of these reports possess the political and religious biases of the authors. But despite all these flaws, they help us in having a general idea of Kerala Society. It is important to remember; that there are quite different sets of castes in different parts of Malabar, sometimes subdivisions bearing the same name have a different social status in different places. In short, castes in Malabar cannot be classified into four varnas. So, a broad generalization that helps to get an idea of the whole system is offered here.

2.11 Namboodiri

Namboodiri is a Brahmin caste in Malabar that occupies the highest rank in the caste hierarchy. They are primarily landlords who own the lion's share of all the lands in Malabar. Like any

⁷ Traditional job of Thiyyas

⁸ All castes in Malabar is not covered here, only groups which are relevant for further discussion is included

other Brahmin caste in the country, they have special authority to excise priestly jobs and learn Vedas. Namboodiri women are called ‘Antarjanam’ or ‘Agathamma’, which means ‘living inside’, referring to restrictions imposed on the women. If any women are suspected of sexual irregularity are investigated by a caste tribunal (Smarta Vicharam), they will be outcasted if found guilty. All castes below them were untouchables; by the approach of all lower castes except Nairs and temple castes, they get polluted. (Evans F B, 1917)

Similar to other parts of Kerala, Malabar had its own standardized educational system, primary to college level. Brahmins had higher educational institutions called Veda Patasalas and Sabhamatts across Kerala; both institutions often received financial and other support from the state. These institutes provided Sanskrit lessons such as Vedas and Upanishads, verses for astrological calculations and practice, and calendar time reckoning. The knowledge of Malayalam was required, but there was a strong preference for Sanskrit. (Sudheerkumar, 2005).

Among Namboodiris, only male members are allowed to do priestly duties, and the women are considered as ‘polluting agents’ in many ritual ceremonies. So, we can assume that giving education to women was pointless, and they were structurally restricted in accessing indigenous education even though some women were allowed to learn reading and writing (Antharjanam, 1976).

2.12 Nair

The Nair caste includes many sub-castes varying from those who practice temple related jobs to agriculture. Traditionally Nairs were considered as a military class, but there is no historical evidence suggesting all Nair sub-castes were part of any military at any point of time (Ganesh, 2015). A section of Nair's were petty chieftains and landlords, others mainly were part of administrative jobs. Socially and economically, they have always occupied a position just below the Brahmin and other temple related castes. Since a section of Nair's were in administration and accounting, we can assume they were exposed to the knowledge of reading and writing.

Nairs follow the Marumakkathiyam family system, which is based on matrilineal practices. Detailed discussion about Matrilineal practices among Nairs can be seen in colonial records and academic literature (Arunima, 1995; Buchanan, 1807; Evans F B, 1917; Jeffrey, 1992). It is widely argued that Nair women exercised more agency and freedom under matrilineal practices (Jeffrey, 1976).

Rich Nairs and temple castes had their own family tutors. Usually, landlords or other influential persons in the village founded institutions for education called Ezhuthupallis. Even though the intention behind the establishment of Ezhuthupallies is to teach their children, children from other families of the Nair community is also accommodated. Simple arithmetic, astrology, Amara and Siddha were taught (Sudheerkumar, 2005). Cherukad, famous novelist and political activist, describes about Ezhuthupalli in his autobiography: “Krishnan Nair was wealthy. He started an Ezhuthupalli at his Pathayappura⁹. He appointed Gopalan Ezhuthachan as a single teacher. There were about 25 pupils in that School.” (Cherukad, 2003).

The scope of higher education after Ezhuthupallies are not yet clear. One thing is sure that it is very common to stop education after acquiring minimum arithmetic and other skills required for administrative jobs. As we already mentioned, Nair women had more freedom than women in many other castes. However, this freedom did not translate into acquiring knowledge of reading and writing and access to schools. According to the 1891 census figure, only 5.72 percent of Nair women was literate (Tharakan, 1984).

Another important educational institution of Nairs was Kalari. In addition to regular schooling, Kalaris provided martial arts training. Nairs constituted the majority of Kalaris, but other castes such as Thiyyas had access to few of them as well. Women were also given training; legends of many heroic women who practice Kalari can be found in the ballads of northern Malabar¹⁰. Like Ezhuthupallies, most of the Kalaris are attached to houses of affluent families.

2.13 Thiyya

It is widely considered that Thiyyas and Ezhavas are the same castes, but some contest this by pointing out slight ritual differences. Since there is no difference in socio-economic position and similarity in custom practices, we treat it as a single caste. Their traditional occupation is the planting and tapping of the coconut trees but historically many of them were practiced in different occupations, trading, farming etc. They were posited above agrestic slaves and some artisan castes and below all upper castes. They were treated as untouchable and unapproachable by Upper castes. But they exercised control over lower castes through various mechanisms (Evans F B, 1917).

⁹ A warehouse to store grains and other groceries.

¹⁰ Known as Vadakkan Pattukal, which is a collection of Malayalam Ballads of medieval origin.

The vocational training of Thiyyas was handled by the family. However, there were educational institutes known as Kudippallikudams where children from lower castes were taught, similar to Ezhuthupallies but with a focus on Malayalam. Basic arithmetic, reading, and books like Amarakosam were taught in Kudippallikudams (Sudheerkumar, 2005). Since children from other castes were also there, untouchability and other caste practices were practiced inside classrooms. Students usually return to their traditional jobs after completing the studies in Kudippallikudam. The scope of higher education and employment is nowhere discussed in colonial records and existing literature.

2.14 Kaniyan

Kaniyans are also known as Kanisan whose profession is astrology. However, they do other jobs like umbrella making and cultivation at least from second half 18th century. Even though they have a job related to the temple system, they occupy a low rank in the caste hierarchy. “If a Kaniyan comes within 24 feet of Namboodiri, he must purify himself by prayer and ablution. A Nair is defiled by the touch of Kaniyan”. Kaniyan performs certain ceremonies when persons are sick or in trouble additionally, they inform the people about the best time to perform various ceremonies, the proper time to sow seeds etc. They had their own temples where a Kaniyan is a priest, but they used to worship same gods worshipped by upper castes (Buchanan, 1807).

They possessed a set of knowledge, including the details of different ceremonies and ritual calculations regarding fortunate and unfortunate hours. Many of mantras and the processes were kept as secret from other castes. They primarily tried to keep this knowledge exclusively for their own caste, sometimes exclusively for certain families. This secret knowledge is passed to the next generation primarily through the families; there was no institutionalized mechanism like schools for them. Even though the knowledge of their caste and vocational training were handled by the families, many of the Kaniyans were attended Kudippallikoodam. Kanisans were the school masters in many of the Kudippallikudams.

2.15 Muslims

A significant section of Malabar’s population was practicing Islam. They were broadly known as Mappilas. They were both traders and farmers. It is wrong to consider Muslims as a homogenous community, caste division among the community is very evident. The Thangals, claiming descent from the prophet’s daughter Fatima, are at the top. Immigrants and people who claim descent of Arabs and fishermen occupy the middle position while the Ossans, who

are barbers, occupy the bottom position (Buchanan, 1807; Srinivas, 1969). Mosques and Madrassas served as learning centres for Muslims. Musaliars, or religious teachers, taught Arabic and Islamic studies to students at mosques. There was a teacher at Madrassas or Othupallies named Mullakka or Mulla. The teaching style was primarily oral, with Arabi Malayalam¹¹ as the medium of instruction. These institutes also taught history and geography. (Pasha, 1991).

The educational system of the Muslim community was much developed compared to intermediary Hindu castes. They had their primary and higher educational institutions even though they were not widely spread.

2.16 Agrestic Slave Castes

Unlike mainstream India, slavery was prevalent in the caste system of Kerala. “In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, slavery seems to have prevailed from a remote, period... these slaves have all been engaged solely in field work... One of the usual clauses in the deed of transfer of slaves was, you may sell him or kill him” (Mencher, 1974). These are the castes placed at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. “They pollute the high castes at a distance of 64 feet, at certain occasions even their sight is considered as polluting. It was very common to call themselves slave (adiyan) and refer to their rice as chaff. They live in wretched huts and their dress was scantiest and coarsest” (Evans F B, 1917). Unlike slavery in America, in Malabar slaves were never part of household labour since they were untouchable and unapproachable.

Cherumans or Pulayans are the most prominent caste among the slave castes. Their freedom was totally restricted, “When a Pulayan wishes to marry, he applies to his master, who is bound to defray the expense. When a man becomes tired of his wife, and she gives her consent, he may sell her to any other person who will pay back the expense incurred at the marriage.” (Buchanan, 1807). There were three ways of transferring slaves. Firstly, direct sale, where the slave's full value was paid and the property was completely transferred to a different master. Secondly, a mortgage was used to transfer slaves. When the proprietor recovered the loaned cash, he was able to retrieve his property. Thirdly, transferring slaves by rent. (Buchanan, 1807)

Since all these are connected to the social system, they formed as a custom; masters need not use much physical force on the slaves to discipline them. Myths and folk stories regarding the

¹¹ Muslims in Malabar created the script Arabi Malayalam. Where they write Malayalam language using the Arabic script.

origin of Kerala also gives clues to the inextricable ties between the origins of Janmam rights over land and agrestic slavery in Kerala (Saradmoni, 1973). Their gods were regarded as the devil by mainstream Hindus¹². They offer roosters, fruits and liquor to their god on special occasions and ceremonies.

Agrestic slave castes were not entitled to any education other than that which was passed down by word of mouth from generation to generation and was designed to help them only in pursuing their traditional occupations.

2.17 Nayadi

Nayadis were the most degraded caste in Malabar, even under the slaves in the caste hierarchy. They live primarily by begging since they cause pollution to all castes, “they are accustomed to laying out their clothes on the roadside and retire themselves some way off and shout aloud for charity” (Evans F B, 1917). “They had scarcely any clothing, and no peculiar skilled occupation is attached with their tradition” (Buchanan, 1807).

There is nothing wrong in assuming that Nayadis have no education experience other than what they got passed through their families, since they were treated as untouchable, unapproachable, and unseeable to most castes.

2.18 Indigenous education in Malabar an overview

From the above descriptions, it is evident that, Indigenous education in India was exclusionary in nature, Malabar was no different. The meaning of education was different for different castes since the educational system had a symbiotic relationship with prevalent social order. There were no commonly instituted means for education; hereditary specialization of skills was preserved in each caste, sometimes in families, with no scope of mobility.

The Indigenous educational system has always had a religious flavor. Both the education of Brahmins and Muslims were primarily emphasized on the spiritual aspect. They had better developed educational system with higher educational centers, often along with boarding

¹² Colonial records also followed the upper caste portrayal of lower castes as villains and voodoo practitioners. About an agrestic caste Odiyan (Evans F B, 1917) wrote that “They are notorious sorcerers and practitioners of black magic. With the aid of magical oil called pilla thailam (child oil), the principal ingredient in which is derived from a human foetus of 6 months growth, the Odiyan can transform himself into any shape he likes, or render himself invisible, in order to accomplish his purpose of murder or miming.”

About agrestic slave caste Parayan (Evans F B, 1917) “Parayan magic takes is the well-known method of making waxen image of the person whom he desires to harm, and burning it with special rites.”

facilities. In Malabar, not all vernacular schools enjoyed the patronage from the state, it was Sanskrit schools that got most of the financial assistance and patronage¹³. Due to various socio-political reasons, Muslims in Malabar fell into poor economic conditions¹⁴. The spread of literacy and educational institutions' network were miniscule until the 20th century (Logan, 1887).

Brahmins derived their religious and cultural superiority primarily from Vedic knowledge and legitimized the restriction on accessing knowledge, particularly school entry. In the medieval period, efforts of trading and agricultural classes questioned existing social institutions, including the Brahmanical educational system. Buddhism¹⁵ legitimized these actions and brought important changes in the educational system. (Kosambi, 1944; Radhakrishnan, 1990) Primary education was originally envisioned only as a subset of Vedic education; its departure from the latter marked the beginning of village schools during the Buddhist revolution. In the context of Kerala, the origin of Ezhuthupallies and Kudipallikudams can be traced back to the very early Buddhist and Jain influences (Tharakan, 1984).

The word 'Palli' referred to the residence of Buddhist monks. The popular Buddhist textbook *Amara Kosa* was widely used in Kudipallikudams and Ezhuthupallies (Ganesh, 2015). Additionally, the influence of Buddhism altered the personnel of village school teachers as well. "It is to the Buddhist times, in all probability, that we must trace the beginnings of that change under which the village school master is not found to be invariably the village priest and Brahmin, as he certainly was in early Hindu times." (1884) cited in (Radhakrishnan, 1990).

In general, village schools (Ezhuthu pallies, Kudipallikudams) are more secular than Vedic tradition. These schools brought basic educational facilities to castes other than Brahmins. Teachers in these schools were known as Asan's Ezhuthachan and Vadhyars. Usually, these schools were conducted in verandahs of buildings, public places, temples, tree shades or in the houses of teachers themselves. Unlike schools of Brahmins, these schools did not enjoy patronage from the state but were maintained mainly by resources local community (Tharakan,

¹³ Detailed account of patronage distribution in Madras province is explained in (Radhakrishnan, 1990).

¹⁴ A detailed account of the socio-economic atmosphere of Malabar is discussed in the following parts of this chapter.

¹⁵ Most ardent followers of Buddhism were Merchants and Traders. Spread of Buddhism was primarily because its historical usefulness at that point of time. It gave the necessary impetus to (or was the expression of) the craving for a centralized monarchy that would stop the constant, petty warfare and make trade routes safe. Agricultural classes, who were also fell into abject poverty and oppression during the earlier Hindu social order, embraced Buddhism since it seemed emancipatory (Kosambi, 1944).

1984). Students usually return to their traditional jobs after completing the studies in Ezhuthupalli, Kudipallikkudams or Othupalli. Occupations were hereditary, so no or very little education was required. Vocational training of most of the people was taken care of by the family. Hence, the direct relationship between education and economy was minimal while it directly correlated with socio-cultural practices. Kathleen Gough observed that “education and literacy of region was not designed to understand the natural world nor document historical events. But to conserve custom and provide artistic entertainment and religious and philosophical enlightenment to upper castes” (Goody, 1975)

Malabar had a more extensive indigenous education system than most other districts in the Madras Presidency. In 1819, Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, made a comment about Malabar's Indigenous educational system. “compared with that of England, it was even then, higher than that of many European countries at no very distant period” (Pasha, 1991).

Table 2.1: Caste wise Distribution of Students in Indigenous Schools of Malabar District, 1822.

Caste	Number of Students			
	Male		Female	
	In Numbers	Percentage of total students	In Numbers	Percentage of total students
Brahmins	2230	15.7	5	0.03
Vaisyas	84	0.59	15	0.1
Sudras	3697	26.1	707	5
Other Castes	2756	19.5	343	2.4
Muslims	3196	22.6	1122	7.92
Total	11963	84.5	2192	15.5
Grand Total		14155		
Population of Malabar		907575		

Source: P N Chopra, et al, (1979), Vol III, Ch XV, p 223 As Cited in (Tharakan, 1984)

The distribution of the indigenous school system in Malabar is depicted in this table. Comparison of educational opportunities of different castes from this table is nearly impossible because the classification of castes in Kerala to Vaisya and Sudra is illogical; more significantly, different castes had different educational systems. Schools in which Brahmins enrolled and schools in which Sudras and other castes enrolled were very different, from the knowledge content to the mural dimension, so it is not comparable. The discriminatory nature

of indigenous education in terms of gender is very evident in table. The gender gap in enrollment was vast, only 15.5% were females, among Brahmins not even one percent was women (0.22% only). Brahmanical educational system restricted the entry of other castes and the women of their own community¹⁶. Additionally, these figures are clearly against the stereotypical view of Muslims as someone who restricts women's entry to educational institutions. 25.98% of total Muslims enrolled were females, which is higher than the percentage of total female enrollment and of each sub-group represented in the table.

The above described education system with slight regional variations was widespread in Malabar till the second half 19th century. This means that a large section of society belonging to lower castes and women existed outside the purview of institutional education until the 19th century.

2.2 Malabar Society an Overview.

Any discussion about education without looking at its relations with other facets of society is impossible. It is well known that education transmits the necessary skills and ideology specific to that form of social organization. Capitalism (introduced by colonialists) demanded a new set of skills for production and a new ideology for its sustenance. Against the backdrop of this understanding, this section aims to delineate the important socio-economic changes during the colonial invasion.

This section will discuss four important changes that had happened in Malabar, which are important in understanding the decay of indigenous education and the emergence of the modern educational system. i) Land relations, ii) Mappila rebellion, iii) Industrialization and iv) Abolition of slavery.

2.21 Land Relations

Regarding the beginning of the hierarchical social system in Kerala, there are various interpretations and claims. The majority of them believe it dates back to the seventh and eighth century, when Brahmins migrated to Kerala (Gurukkal & Varier, 2018). Everyone agrees to the point that, during this time, the foundations of Kerala's current social and cultural climate

¹⁶ Tharakan (1984) Assumes that a number of Brahmin women may getting education from home. Drawing from colonial reports of Madras and Bombay Radhakrishnan (1990) argues that domestic instruction was "imperfect than school education... it did not extend beyond the writing of the letters of the alphabets and some words." "home education is utter worthless". So, we can assume that, even if Brahmin women got education at home they can be considered as not getting proper education.

was developed. The majority of the people were enslaved and forced into poverty. Brahmins got higher cultural and social status, Pulayar, Parayar, and Thiyyar castes were given untouchable status, while castes like Nayadis were compelled to withdraw from mainstream social and cultural life.

In Pre-colonial Malabar, there was no ownership of land in the modern sense, land relations were based on the customary laws called Kana Janma Maryada. By birth, Jenmis were entitled for a fixed share of the produce of the land. Below Jenmis was Kanakkaran, he was entitled for supervision of all inhabits in that particular land and a fixed share of produce. Then the last tenure, the Verumpattakkaran, who was the original cultivator. He is socially and economically posited subordinate to both Jenmies and Kanakkaaran. Jenmis continued their exploitation of the masses without least opposition from the oppressed classes for a long period.

Jenmi's and Kudiyan's rights were defined by custom and it was commonly accepted. Jenmies did not enjoyed ultimate control over their land, nor did they have the power to dismiss tenants or raise rents at will. No landlord in Malabar could afford to evict a tenant for any reason other than nonpayment of rent or other grounds that society as a whole would justify. Rack renting¹⁷ and arbitrary eviction were not at all in practice. All these practices were facilitated by the oppressive system of caste and Jenmi domination.

“Many Jenmis consider it beneath their dignity to rack-rent or arbitrarily evict their tenants. What was obtained in medieval days was not a legal relationship between one individual and another but a social relationship of members of a social organism. Jenmi was not just a landlord; his duty and privilege were not just receiving rent. He was the centre of the system around whom the locality people gathered to regulate their social conduct. He collected around him a collection of scholars who are the cultural centre for society. They only acted as the judiciary system also. He was also an agent of King in collecting an army for war. In short, Jenmi was the head of the social system based on feudal relationships, which regulated the economic and social, political and cultural life of Malabar” (Namboodiripad, 2010).

Invasion of Malabar by Mysore Sultans had a huge impact on the existing social and economic relations of the region. Tipu sultan gave special emphasis on realtering land relations, more specifically the customary laws Kana Janma Maryada (Sudheerkumar, 2005). Under Arshad Beg Khan, the governor of Malabar, a new revenue collection mechanism Jamahandi was introduced. Under Jamahandi direct cultivators were treated as landowners and direct tax

¹⁷ Land tenure system where peasant has to pay an extortionate rent to intermediary, land lord and colonial government.

collection was practiced (Ganesh, 2015). During this period, Malabar's old Nair and Brahmin Jenmies, who were part of the ruling class, were compelled to abandon the state.

However, by 1792 East India Company invaded Malabar from the Tipu Sultan (1751-1799). Then onwards, Malabar came under the direct rule of the colonial state. The Jamabandi system introduced by Mysore sultans was abolished. The local chieftains and landlords of the Jamahandi period became irrelevant under colonial rule. East India Company sought a mechanism where more profit could be extracted. Old Upper caste Jenmies who fled during the Mysore sultans' invasion were, called back, and the company gave back their wealth and duties. A new Jenmi system arose as a result of the changes brought by the colonial state for more extraction of profit.

The two sections of society characterises the new Jenmi system in Malabar. Jenmi Naduvazhis, who bowed in front of the physical power of the East India Company, and Britishers, who allowed the oppressive and exploitative social and economic system of the Jenmi Naduvazhis to continue. Namboodiripad, (2012) argues that a new Jenmi system in Malabar formed from the Jenmis' and the government's mutual understanding.

The precolonial order of society was not utterly obliterated by British invaders; just a few components of the old system were removed, which hampered colonial administration and business. To ensure colonial dominance over the political and business domains, the native elites were given more duties and responsibilities. All aspects of the Jati Jenmi Naduvazhi system that were not opposed to the British political rule were strengthened. Under the Naduvazhis, the colonisers reorganised the judiciary and bureaucracy in administration and tax collecting. Imposition of bureaucratic framework to the region, especially in revenue collection had huge impact on the socio-political atmosphere of the region. The Naduvazhi domination was superseded by a bureaucratic domination, but unlike the former, the base of latter was not consent of people but by brute force. The social order, which uplifts upper castes socially, the Jenmis economically, and the Nair castes administratively, was never threatened by the bureaucratic dominance. Because most of the bureaucratic framework was constituted by the native elites of precolonial Malabar.

Jenmis possessed overlordship and a part of the harvest in pre-colonial Malabar but no absolute rights over the land. The East India Company developed a new tax and revenue collection system when the British political dominance was institutionally established. Liberal philosophical framework which colonial enterprise functions assumed the total ownership of the

property, recognised by the courts, and enforceable by law. Then, Jenmis should give the land revenue because they are the landowners. The landlords, not the growers, should be the ones to make an agreement. By the 19th century, the Jenmis had acquired private ownership of all of Malabar's land.

From William Logan's writing given below, we can understand the impact of British colonialism in agrarian relations.

“The British Courts backed up by Police and Magistrates, and troops and big guns made the Jenmi's independence complete. The hard terms thus imposed on the Kanakkaran had, of course, the effect of hardening the terms imposed by the Kanakkaran on those below him, the Verumpattakkar. The one-third of the net produce to which the Verumpattakkar was customarily entitled was more and more encroached upon as the terms imposed on the Kanakkaran became harder and harder. A point has now been reached, beyond which further progress in this direction has become impossible in many parts of the grain-producing taluks. The actual cultivators are hopelessly in arrears with their, in many instances, gross rent... the cultivator class is rapidly degenerating into a state of insolvent cottierism” (Logan, 1881).

The establishment of big parasitic landlordism in Malabar was aided by the introduction of the idea of private property and the colonial understanding of traditional land structure. Extreme land monopoly was the fundamental characteristic of the Jenmi system. The majority of peasants did not own land and instead rented it from Jenmis. And this practice of extracting surplus produce by renting out the land was continued for a long time with least opposition.

Verumpattakkaran, who occupied the lowest position in the land tenurial relationship, was most oppressed and exploited. He bore the triple oppression from colonial state, Jenmi and Kanakkaran, respectively. With the imposition of a bureaucratic framework and the concept of private property, Jenmies, the landowners, became responsible for taxes in front of the colonial state. to meet the demands of the colonial government and to increase more share in produce, Jenmis squeezed the Kanakkaran. Similarly, the Kanakkaran tried to acquire more surplus from Verumpattakkaran. As a result, Verumpattakkaran ended up in fulfilling the tax demands of colonial state and intermediaries and cultivating the land.

2.22 Malabar rebellion

Agrarian distress created by the colonial policies led to tenant unrest in nineteenth-century Malabar. It was mainly among the Mappila community since most tenants were Mappilas, and landlords were Hindu upper castes. In 1836 number of Mappilas organised and started a rebellion. Even though the colonial government brutally suppressed it, the core issue and the

fighting spirit of oppressed people remained. The string of protests by Mappilas of Malabar throughout the 19th century continued. The British colonial state's continued failed attempts to control tenant unrest and increased oppression and exploitation resulted in more strong protests in the region. Even one colonial official, the collector of Calicut, Henry Valentine Conolly, was killed. Instead of understanding the root causes and addressing the issues, the colonial government introduced various laws like the Moplah outrages act, 1855, to more effectively suppress the movement through physical means (Panikkar, 2007).

The Famous 1921-22 revolt happened in this background. Eranad and Valluvanad were seized by the revolt and declared independence. But the independence lasted only three months, British military suppressed the revolt brutally. Colonial state described these movements not in terms of agrarian distress or class but in religious terms. They posited that the fanaticism rooted in Islam is the root issue, and it did not require any negotiation or reform but only violence by the colonial state.

Careful material analysis of the movement indicates that it should not be merely understood in terms of class but how class intersects with other social identities like religion and caste. It is wrong to dismiss the religious flavour of many events during the revolt. It is essential to think about why that movement was confined to an area of the Mappila Majority. EMS Namboodirippad explained that it was because Mappila peasants were better organised than Hindu peasants and the emotive power of the Khilafat movement. Additionally, few local-level leaders consisted mainly of Musaliars, Thangals and other priestly Mappilas who thought and spoke solely in terms of religion, drifted the rebellion a little bit into communal interests (Namboodiripad, 2012).

Mutual animosity developed among Mappilas and Britishers, directly and indirectly, affected the educational development of the community. Other than Mappilas, the Malabar rebellion had a significant impact on the social development of Hindu backward groups. Mappila peasant uprisings led Hindu upper castes to fear that the Malabar rebellion may initiate more struggles against caste and gender oppression. After the Malabar rebellion in 1921, landlords of the region called for a joint meeting and passed many resolutions. Resolutions were mainly against a few caste practices and patriarchal marriage systems. They acknowledge that some reforms had to be introduced otherwise, discontent would grow among Hindu castes (Narayanan & Prashad, 2022). These reforms among orthodox Hindu castes were primarily driven by the fear of revolts and hatred toward Muslims.

2.23 Industrialisation

Capitalism brought by colonialists was supposed to destroy the pre-existing social order, but it did not. In earlier sections of this chapter, we have seen how colonialism engaged with earlier social order, which led to the formation of a new system with slight modifications. Precisely, colonialists made compromises with earlier social structures for the political survival. This alliance led to the persistence of many social institutions of the old order and arrested the development of capitalism. Since Malabar was witnessing an arrested development of capitalism, industrialization was prolonged.

In the early stages of colonization, the East India Company did not put effort into the industrialization of Malabar. Basel evangelical mission was first to put efforts into the Industrial development of Malabar. Their emphasis was on the technological development of handicrafts in the manufacturing sector. In the mid-1860s, they established textile factories at Kozhikode and Kannur. Later, new units were set up at Tellichery, Chombala, Codacal, amongst others in South Canara. The introduction of the fly shuttle technology and khaki dye led to increased production, followed by increased demand in the market (Gurukkal & Varier, 2018). Some missionary schools were established along with weaving units, they taught weaving and they practiced the provision of cash wages. It allowed economic mobility for a section of untouchables in Malabar. Eventually, as a response to demand for cotton products, many local weavers also started small weaving units.

In 1873 Basel Mission started a tile factory in Kozhikode (Gurukkal & Varier, 2018). Caste regulations had restricted untouchable communities from tiling their roofs, but with an increasing number of tile factories, roofing houses with tiles also gained popularity. As per the Census Report of 1871, ninety eight percent of houses in Malabar were thatched ones (Kannan, 2012).

These were the beginning of the factory system in Malabar, marking the emergence of a new mode of production. With the growing pauperization and expropriation of the peasantry and the neglect of the colonial government, no further industrial development had happened. It led to the economic stagnation of Malabar.

Even though the industrial development was minuscule in Malabar, it necessitated the liberation of a section of workers from the constraints of old social order.

2.24 Abolition of Slavery

As we already mentioned, in Malabar, a section of society was under the clutches of slavery for centuries. Many early colonial administrators have identified and tried to document the presence of agrestic slavery. In Graeme's report of 1822 wrote that: "the slave in the interior is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature, stunted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather." (Saradamoni, 1973)

Samuel Mateer, a missionary who tried to document the Indian society of his times, observed that there were no cases of running away slaves. He thought that, In Malabar, mountains, forests and sea surrounded them, "So, they sank from generation to generation" (Saradamoni, 1973). A close examination of the Kerala society will tell us this explanation is inadequate in understanding longstanding slavery. Slavery was legitimized, not by physical force or boundaries but by ritual practices and myths. The social system of Malabar based on 'custom' perfectly kept man away from man, and caste from caste, not only ritually but also in social and economic terms. In precolonial Malabar, there is no documented history of forming solidarity among slave castes against the upper caste exploitation. We can assume that the social system is designed to prevent all tendencies that may question the existing social order without any loopholes.

Colonialists questioned the slave system in Malabar, it was totally driven by popular opposition to the slave trade in England (Saradamoni, 1974). By repetitive efforts in the form of reports and letters put by Baber, the Malabar collector and other colonial administrators like Warden managed to get one order from the Madras Board of Revenue in 1819 directing "that the practice of selling slaves for arrears of revenue may be immediately discontinued" (Logan, 1887). The landowners opposed the legislation very strongly. They argued that if the collector did not allow them to sell their slaves in order to recoup income arrears, their fields would go uncultivated, devastating them and their families. The practise of selling slaves was perpetuated by revenue officers. In 1821, the topic was brought before the court. Court stood with the practice of slavery by saying there was a lack of information (Saradamoni, 1974). Even though some colonial officers were against slavery, the dominant ideology among colonial discourse was in favor of slavery. They emphasized slavery's relative harmlessness in Kerala and concluded that it was an essential component of Hindu society (Saradamoni, 1973).

In 1838, as a mean to better the condition of the slaves, collector of Malabar proposed cancellation of accumulated revenue as a reward for kind masters who provide better living

conditions and other opportunities for slaves. According to E. B. Thomas, judge at Calicut in 1842, the number of slaves had increased, and their degrading condition and terms of sale had worsened. He observed that “no gradual extinction of slavery is really going on in Malabar.” (Saradamoni, 1974)

Parallely, anti-slave movements in England strengthened and the House of Commons passed a resolution against slavery, which gave immediate and total emancipation for former slaves. Public demand at home has compelled the Government of India also, hence Act no. V of 1843 was passed. In a practical sense, this act did not make any significant change; clauses included in the Act were inoffensive to masters. Additionally, The Collector of Malabar conveyed to the slave castes that staying with their masters was in their best interests and it was also their duty if they were treated well (Saradamoni, 1974). Even after the legal intervention for the abolition of slavery, colonialists made sure not to disturb the existing social relations directly. They were afraid will it affect the business. But the question remains, what/who freed the slave castes from this regressive practice prevailed in Malabar.

The development of capitalism, demanded new production relations and urban centers, which was instrumental in challenging some aspects old social order like slavery. Brown, a plantation owner, wrote, "The Pulayan has interdicted the highway, as his presence would pollute the houses situated nearby. But towns on the coast were the only exception where Pulayans could be seen on the highway." Cited in (Saradamoni, 1973). Similarly, Graeme, a colonial administrator, noted that: “Slave castes found alternate work without difficulty in the neighbourhood of large towns.” “Slaves in this situation are in finer condition, more intelligent, and more cheerful than they are elsewhere.” Cited in (Saradamoni, 1973).

Slavery was practiced even after the passing of the slavery abolition act. But slowly, the practices of slavery diminished from the society of Malabar. Development of capitalism, which demanded new production relations and urban centers, ended this. Factories, new crops introduced by colonialists, more emphasis on trade and changes in land relations can be considered as the primary reasons. Earlier missionaries and later social movements challenged the ideology of Hindu order which also contributed in the emancipation of slave castes. But it is wrong to think slave castes had achieved complete emancipation, and they continued to lag behind other castes. Extreme poverty, indebtedness and illiteracy and even bonded labour among slave castes persisted for a long period.

We can conclude that in Malabar, one of the most backward versions of Jenmi landlordism prevailed. The agrarian structure was marked by sophisticated types of sub-infeudation of lands, rack-renting, and slavery. The masses were exploited socially and economically under this agrarian regime. Jenmis accounted up barely 2% of Malabar's overall population by the second half of the nineteenth century. The remaining 98 percent of the population were essentially victims of the oppressive Jenmi system. “The most backward forms of unfreedom marked the lives of the people in Colonial Malabar” (Ramakumar, 2006).

2.3 Modern Education

Modern education in India was shaped mostly during the colonial period. To develop a detailed understanding of the same, let's look at the major policies adopted by the colonial state regarding education.

2.31 Colonial policies of Educational Development.

As we already discussed in the previous section, in the initial phase of colonialism, after a few experiences (eg. Pazhassi Revolt), they decided not to antagonize elites in Malabar (as well as in other places under colonial administration) because without their consent peaceful business was not at all possible. Until that time, colonial administration shown very little or no interest in educational initiatives for two reasons. Firstly, they viewed intervention in educational activities as something which could tamper with the religious beliefs of natives. Secondly, the bureaucratic network wasn't very developed so the demand for literate subordinates was very less. First important policy intervention regarding education can be seen in the renewal of Charter act of the east India company in 1813 (K. Kumar, 2005). Charter act of 1813 included a provision that a sum of one lakh rupees was allotted for Education, as an act of accepting the responsibility for the education of the Indian people (Navath, 2014). This money was primarily used to support indigenous Hindu (for Sanskrit and Brahmin) and Muslim (Urdu) educational publications.

Thomas Munroe conducted a detailed study of educational conditions in 1822. He found that, except a few institutions run by European Missionaries, all existing schools were supported and managed by the people themselves. In 1826 a board of public instruction was established; under the board, nearly one hundred schools were opened in the rural districts of Madras (GOI, 1882). In 1836, the Board of Public Instruction in Malabar was reconstituted into a Committee of Native Education which was replaced in 1841 by the University Board.

There was a heated debate in England regarding the educational policy in Colonial states¹⁸. Thomas Babington Macaulay's "Minute on Education," written in 1835 was an important milestone of the debate (Cutts, 1953). Macaulay's Minutes not only proposed to stop spending on oriental education but also made English as medium of instruction. Then onwards, proficiency of English became mandatory for the natives to access western sciences and literature. According to British administrators there was no remarkable progress had made in the field of education in Madras till 1854. Only three schools in Madras in which English was taught were the only result of the efforts of government (GOI, 1882).

Charles Woods Educational Despatch of 1854 finally put an end to the controversy regarding the education policy in India. This policy has given a new organizational structure for the education in India. The despatch proposed for the establishment of the office of Director of Public Instructions in the states along with the abolition of earlier Board of Control for Education. Additionally, in order to ensure the collaboration of private enterprise in education grant in aid system was also introduced. The objective of this detailed scheme is to disseminate knowledge through English and vernacular languages, all while remaining under the control and financial assistance of the government. Because of the comprehensive nature of the proposed scheme, Wood's despatch is often called as Magna Carta of English education in India (Moore, 1965). By Wood's dispatch, education system acquired a final bureaucratic format.

Private parties like Basel Evangelical Mission and some affluent individuals in Malabar made use of new grant in aid policies and established schools. From the Table 2.3 it is very clear that there were no direct efforts were put from colonial administration in order to establish primary schools. While the government invested more on higher education. And the general slow growth of educational initiatives can also be observed here.

¹⁸ Detailed take on the ideological position of colonial education is dealt in the next section of this chapter itself

Table 2.3: Number of educational institutions in Malabar, 1871

Government Sector		Private Sector	
Colleges	1	Colleges	0
High Schools	1	High Schools	2
Middle schools	3	Middle schools	35
Primary Schools	0	Primary Schools	145

Source: Statement of the Progress of Education, 1854 -1871, Madras Provincial Report, cited in (Navath, 2014).

To lessen the financial burden of the provincial government, the Local Fund Act was passed in 1871 by which the responsibility of financing elementary education was delegated to the newly formed Local Boards. Under this scheme number of schools increased dramatically in Madras, new 598 schools were established in between 1871 and 1881 (Navath, 2014).

Lord Rippon, viceroy of India, appointed the first Indian education commission on 1882, popularly known as Hunter commission. Hunter commission came up with a detailed recommendation on almost all levels of education in British India. Commission gave special emphasis for the development of primary schooling. More funds allocated for primary education and decided to put management of indigenous education under local boards. Additionally, the commission has decided to give special attention for the education of backward classes and females (GOI, 1882).

There after Britishers started giving special grants to Mappilas and other backward classes. Grants in Aid system was liberated in 1885, so that grants 50% higher than the general rate was given to teachers on the basis of the number of pupils from these communities. Scholarships were also reserved for this category. Misery of Dalits got special attention with the issue of GOI No 68 on 1 February 1893. It was widely known as the Magnacarta of Panchama education. (Navath, 2014)

2.32 Missionary activities

Ideas of modern western education was introduced to India by Christian missionaries, who came along with European Colonizers. Not only that, the later educational policy of Colonial state (East India Company) was also designed on the basis of the experience of Missionary educational initiatives. Dilip M Menon argued that all efforts of reformation in Kerala society, which was crucial in dissemination of modern education, particularly among lower castes, can be traced back to the legacy of missionary education (Menon, 2007). Similarly, some argue that the higher presence of missionary activities in princely states than the Malabar was the key factor played behind the faster growth and more widespread diffusion of education in the former (Mathew, 1999). From the literature it is very clear that, to understand the educational development of Malabar, it is essential to have a look on the missionary activities along with Colonial policies.

We have already discussed the activities of missionaries which brought changes in social and economic atmosphere of Malabar. In this section, our emphasis will be on the educational activities held by the missionaries. Even though the missionary activities in India was popularized after the second half of 19th century, south India had begun to experience missionary activities long back. In 1706 Ziegenbalg and Plustcho, two Spanish missionaries started their work among the Tamil people on the South East coast at Tanjore. In 1785 the idea of establishing a provincial English school in order to facilitate “the intercourse of the native with the Europeans was suggested by the British resident at Tanjore to a German missionary, Christian Schwartz. (McCully, 1940)

Followers of Evangelist school of thought, who believed superior moral and ethical values of the west manifested in its Christian heritage, did not find enough space in the policies during early period of colonial rule. By the early 19th century, they lobbied British parliament and pushed for evangelization of the British colonies. According to them, introduction of instruction in the English language and European sciences would shake the foundations of Hinduism, which will prepare the ground to Christian conversion. The East India Act of 1813 included a clause which ends the former restrictions on missionary enterprise (McCully, 1940). After the renewal of Charter act of 1833, Missionary works in south India increased dramatically.

German-based Basel Evangelical Mission (BEM) was one of the most prominent among them. Since 1834 they worked in the coastal areas in Malabar and South Canara districts of Madras

Presidency. Through the formation of a carefully structured and disciplined pedagogic community at its mission school, Basel Mission hoped to integrate its version of Protestant Christianity into a society that already had its own well-entrenched religious traditions. (Shetty, 2008). Basel Mission started its stations at Cannanore in 1841, at Calicut in 1857 and at Palakkad in 1858. Later, Basel Mission Schools increased in number and diversified in structure and curriculum.

In Malabar, schools began by Basel Mission was very different from pre-existing educational system. The knowledge content in the curriculum was totally different. They taught Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, Syriac, Sanskrit, Malayalam, English grammar etc. Some of these subjects were taught in some indigenous schools but these schools altered the old approach which was rooted in religious texts. And tried to introduce new teaching methods based on European model of educational system and new textbooks of science, history and geography in vernacular language. They started composing Malayalam prose using simple sentences that followed the English subject-predicate pattern. Herman Gundert, who was the head of Basel Mission in Malabar, was the first to prepare Dictionary and Grammar book in Malayalam. He founded a press at Thalassery in 1838, which resulted increased publication of printed materials. The first newspaper in Malayalam, Rajyasamacharam in 1847 was also an initiative of Basel Mission at Thalassery.

According to the view of missionaries, natives are not civilized enough, so discipline and order were also seriously considered in the pedagogy of Missionaries. Additionally, they gave vocational training like weaving also in schools. Mural dimension of schools were also a new experience for the people of Malabar. Murkoth Kumaran, who was a writer and social reformer active during late 19th century and early 20th century, stressed the importance of the Basel Mission education in the following words:

“They (Basel Mission) swept aside the old shacks that served as school buildings and replaced them by solid, airy, spacious buildings. Where formerly little children squatted on the ground in small mats, woven by their parents from coconut palm leaves, each child bringing his own seat and taking it back with him, they now sat on benches and wrote on desks. Once they wrote with their tender finger in sand spread on the ground, which was also brought by each child in a coconut shell, they now wrote on slates and paper, with pencil, pen and ink” (Murkoth Kumaran’s speech in 1934 on the centenary celebration of BEM, quoted in (Navath, 2014)

In Malabar, Basel Missionaries prioritised the children of poor and oppressed castes, as well as emphasized girls' education (Ramachandran, 2000). Despite the desire to oppose the

Missionary activities, the upper castes could not organise a powerful movement in this direction (Sudheerkumar, 2005). In the backdrop of first world war, Basel mission was classified as 'aliens' under the Trading Act of 1916. They were asked to leave the country immediately. That put an end to the missionary activities in Malabar.

2.4 Ideology of Education.

This chapter discuss about education in two periods, two socio economic and political setting, precolonial and colonial society. Above sections have briefly explained major changes had happened in social, economic and political spheres in relation with education, during precolonial and colonial periods. We understand that education is closely related with other facets of society in many ways, so looking merely at economic functions of school education will not give us the full picture. School education should be viewed as knowledge processing organizations and as agents of cultural transmission and social control (Jayaram, 2015). Ideological aspect of education at different social context should be discussed in detail. New education system introduced in India by the colonial State, constituted not only by alien knowledge system but also a new organizational structure and a new way of functioning. Establishment of new system of education and the decay of existing indigenous education did not happened overnight. And these developments were not a like a straight line, there were twists and turns. It is important to have a look on the ideological base of these developments to make sense of the complexities in the history of education.

Many scholars have attempted in understanding the ideological aspects of school education under colonialism. Study of Krishna Kumar holds an important place among them, which put forward a comprehensive picture of ideology behind the formation of colonial educational system in India.

Colonial education system in India was modelled similar to education system in England. In England, With the industrial revolution, new economic structures outside the household arose, then children began to go for work outside their homes. Subsequently, families lost their welfare function, thus the training received by children came to be the interest of Community. These changes led to the formation of a new concept of education system. Private education grown with the expansion of mercantile class. (Coleman, 2019)

According to liberal social philosophy, the state's purpose was to aid civil society in achieving its aim of safeguarding individual rights, especially the right to own and expand property. They

asserted that the security of one's property allows one to enjoy the means of happy sensation and allows one's mind to increase the sources of such sensations. Indeed, freedom (the ability of a landowner to use his knowledge and abilities to improve his material well-being) became a component of happiness, and the state was expected to support both. The application of reason, or rational behaviour, means turning one's concern for property protection into a desire to support the state's attempts to maintain order. Ignorance was the result of a lack of rationality. This concept was widely disseminated, not as a utopia for the wealthy but as a realistic aspiration for everyone. The dream inspired popular education groups in England, which progressively pushed the state to take responsibility for the poorest children's education. State's role was to protect the ignorant masses. By early nineteenth century public education began to appear in England. (K. Kumar, 2005)

Public education model established in England hardly considered concept of educational opportunity, reflected the class structure. The system was designed to provide differentiated educational opportunity appropriate for one's class position (Coleman, 2019). On the one hand, a strategy for mass moral betterment, and on the other, a distinct kind of provision for the intellectual and aesthetic enrichment of the elites. Ordinary people's children's moral education would concentrate on religious and quasi-religious literature learning to instil values like obedience, modesty, rule-governed behaviour, and acceptance of one's social status. Upper-class children's education would include the study of classical languages and literature and skills in reflection and inquiry (K. Kumar, 2005). In short, new system of education served the purpose of the community's collective need for a trained labour force, and the middle-class individual's interest for a better education (Coleman, 2019). Public education model of England included almost all sections of society, even though it was designed in favor ruling class. It did not happen in India, even the spread of primary education was miniscule. In terms of knowledge content and functioning, colonial education in India and educational system in 19th century England is similar. The primary difference can be seen in central educational policy. Only an investigation towards the ideological base of colonial educational policy can bring out the reason behind this difference.

It is very clear that the rationale behind the educational activities of Christian missionaries¹⁹ moral superiority of westerners and spread of Christianity. Their educational initiatives were directly serving the colonial project in many ways. Many scholars argued that missionaries

¹⁹ Basel mission in case of Malabar

introduced new ideas of order and discipline among natives and they tried to develop a semiskilled working force by breaking the shackles of old social order. Rupa Viswanath in her work on Pariahs in Tamilnadu, explained that western missionaries did not ‘uphold an egalitarian ideology, except insofar as that meant equality before God alone’. And their criticism of Caste was more towards religious aspects than their political, economic and other social aspects (Viswanath, 2014). As we already mentioned in previous section missionaries in Malabar gave special emphasis on educational project and their focus was on prose writing, as a result they introduced modifications even in grammar of Malayalam. ‘Prose also became indispensable in government administrative service, since written orders, communication and other forms of documentation increased’ (Navath, 2014). In short, Missionary education ‘remained hierarchical and casteist in nature’ (A. Kumar, 2019).

Based on Krishna Kumar’s studies of colonial education policy, ideological base of colonial education have three important aspects.

Firstly, “Colonialists depicted India as a sort of sad, sleeping beauty that needed charity and the touch of a new life” (K. Kumar, 2005). Regarding the knowledge in Indian society Macaulay stated that;

“A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia... no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England” (*Minute on Education (1835)* by Thomas Babington Macaulay, n.d.).

Similarly, James mill proposed for the emphasis on ‘useful knowledge’ (European Knowledge) as opposed to ‘Hindu Knowledge’ (Cutts, 1953). Colonialists believed that, it is their responsibility to initiate the native into new ways of acting and thinking. It was similar to adult child relationship, colonizer as adult who know things and native as child who know nothing. (K. Kumar, 2005)

Secondly, in India a commercial institution, English East India Company, became colonial state. Colonialists assumed that the prevalence high number of crimes as one of the main hindrance in doing smooth business. Education was seen as antidote for the prevalence of crimes in Indian society. In 1811 Lord Minto wrote;

“offences against the peace and happiness of society have indeed for the present been materially checked by the vigilance and energy of the police, but it is probably only by

the more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people that the seeds of these evils can be effectively destroyed” (K. Kumar, 2005).

In the context of Mappila rebellion in Malabar, William Logan noted education as one of the main recommendations to put an end to violence and crimes in Malabar (Logan, 1887).

Thirdly, as we already discussed in earlier sections, colonial State wanted to involve the elites of preexisting Indian society in order to make sure frictionless administration which helps them in maximum extraction of resources and labour. Others were not deemed to possess individuality. The labouring classes were perceived as the ‘masses’ among whom it was considered unnecessary to recognize individuals (K. Kumar, 2005). It demanded the creation of new order in the colony, a civil society among natives, in which ‘people’ and ‘citizen’ meant only the men of status or property. Within its coercion had to be replaced by socialization (K. Kumar, 2005). Education was considered as the tool to manufacture the consent of civil society.

First and second assumptions denotes that education as a cultural project was an essential part of colonialism. Third assumption implies the rationale behind the restricted development of primary schooling in India. The use of funds for mass education was questioned within colonial bureaucracy in terms of profit. Moral improvement of masses was abandoned due to financial constraints, lesser profit. Colonialists decided to wait for the rise of public demand (response of colonialists towards the public demand will be discussed in next chapter). James warden argued that “mass education will be expensive without being beneficial’, and that it could be made beneficial by ‘judicious encouragement’ of the better-off sections of Indian society” (Francis Warden’s minute, dated 29 December 1823 cited in (K. Kumar, 2005)). Macaulay wrote “I feel . . . that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to ... convey knowledge to the great mass of the population” (Cutts, 1953).

Colonial masters did not try to establish a new social system rather they tried to take control of existing hierarchical social system, where a large section of population is structurally oppressed and exploited. Using different means, they took control of people who were in the top of preexisting social system in India. Education was considered as the chief agency for taking care of moral agenda of colonialism. Unlike England, development of technology was miniscule in colonial India, as a result at no point of time demand for a large number of skilled

labour force was emerged. Colonial education was essentially a moral programme to mould trustworthy influential natives, which provide legitimation for colonial enterprise.

The character of the ruling class in pre-colonial Malabar and colonial Malabar was very different; hence they had very different agencies to regulate the production and distribution of knowledge. Both indigenous and modern educational systems had very different material and ideological bases. As Marx and Engels rightly observed,

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch, the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force... they rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age; thus, their ideas' are the ruling ideas of the epoch."
(Marx & Engels, 1970)

With the risk of oversimplification, we can say that the former educational system was the manifestation of a pre-colonial hierarchical society and the latter's allegiance was to colonial masters.

2.5 Conclusion

Indigenous education in Malabar was very exclusionary in nature. Educational system had a symbiotic relationship with prevalent hierarchical social order, meaning of education was different for different castes. Brahmins had their own developed educational system which mostly engage with Vedic literature. Mappilas also had their own educational system which was more developed than educational initiatives of the other backward castes. Other backward castes had primary village schools called Ezhuthu pallies and Kudipallikudams. Lower castes received no education except what was being passed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. Irrespective of the caste, women were structurally restricted in accessing education. Vocational training of the most of the people was taken care the by the family, not schools. Hence the direct relationship between school education and economy was minimal while it had a direct relationship with socio cultural practices. There was no commonly instituted means for education, hereditary specialization of skills was preserved in each caste, sometime in families, with no scope of mobility.

Malabar's economy was agrarian in nature, with crops and land constituting the region's economic foundation. Malabar's social system is intricately related to its agrarian system. The land system and caste system were inextricably linked, agrarian relations, and marriage and family systems were also closely related (Ramachandran, 1997).

The colonial invasion heavily impacted Malabar's society. Large parasitic landlordism arose due to new colonial practises and the feudal order that existed in the past. A sizable chunk of the people has fallen into extreme poverty and misery as a result of this landlordism, which was marked by very repressive land relations and caste systems. The suffering of the lower castes was compounded by the oppression of both class and caste. The Mappilas were trapped in poverty by the East India Company's monopoly on trade and modifications of agrarian relations, which culminated in the historic Malabar rebellion. Apart from the oppressive caste system, Malabar was marked by mutual hatred between Mappilas and the East India Company by the second half of the nineteenth century.

Missionaries who came along with colonial masters questioned some aspects of preexisting social order. Provision of cash wage followed by the technological development and factory system provided economic mobility for a very small section of untouchable castes. In the context of condition of Dalits, Sanal mohan noted that, "It was colonial modernity that provided the matrix for the transformation that led to the creation of these new selves" (Mohan, 2005). But the technological development was arrested due to various factors, hence the need of a large number of skilled labours never emerged. Ultimately, missionary education remained hierarchical and castiest in nature. Colonial masters did not try to establish a new social system rather they tried to take control of existing hierarchical social system. Condition of a large section lower castes both socially economically remained almost same as pre-colonial days.

Missionaries was first to introduce modern educational system to Malabar, later colonial state followed the same model with slight modifications. Even though missionaries and colonial state erstwhile East India Company are distinct institutions, they share same ideological framework in the case of education, only exception is that, conversion to Christianity was not mentioned as primary agenda in colonial state policy. Both the colonial state and Missionaries believed that, It is their obligation to implement new ways of acting and thinking to the natives. It was similar to adult child relationship, colonizer as adult and native as child. Primary agenda of colonial education policy was to train the native to become a citizen. Natives who own private property are considered as potential citizen. The working classes were regarded as 'masses' among whom individual recognition was deemed unnecessary.

With the dissemination of western education, colonialists intended to form not only a skilled work force, in fact it wasn't the prime agenda. But a society that takes orders well and does what it is told without question. Colonial trade - which includes the extraction of both the

resources and labour, requires conformity more than it needs innovation. Considering financial risks colonial administration chose not to go for mass education. Rather they focused on the education of propertied classes within natives. Developing a set trustworthy, influential native enabling more extraction of profit with a small bureaucratic apparatus.

During nineteenth century, Malabar was characterized by arrested development of primary education. Vast majority of population stayed outside the educational activities of colonial state, precisely lower castes and women. Colonial education was essentially a moral programme appropriate for a colony, which reached only among the upper classes of natives.

Of course, it is not in the self-interest of colonialists to educate people who can see colonialism for what it is, to think critically about it, and perhaps even do something to change it. But there were unintended effects of education among natives. A detailed discussion on further development of primary education, perception and impact on different sections of natives and other developments will be discussed in next chapter.

Chapter 3

DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY SCHOOLING AND FORMS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN COLONIAL MALABAR

The last chapter has discussed the socio-economic atmosphere and ideology of educational policies during the early colonial period. This chapter intends to analyze the micro-level experience of the development of primary schools in the first half of the 20th century. Emphasis will be given to the development of primary schools and forms social exclusions worked in accessing primary schools at the ground level, such as Caste, Gender, and Class. This chapter is based on the case study of the South Taliparamba sub-district. Histories of public schools currently working in the South Taliparamba sub-district and semi-structured interviews of various individuals are used as the method of data collection.

There are two significant phases in the history of primary education in the South Taliparamba Sub-district. The first is a long time prior to the twentieth century, and the second is the brief period following the second half of the nineteenth century. This research did not collect any data from the earlier period, presuming that the study area's pre-colonial past is nearly identical to Malabar's mainstream educational history, as detailed in the previous chapter. This chapter not only intended to document the history of primary schooling in the study area till independence and but also attempts to develop an understanding of the perception and engagement of different sections of society with modern education. Discussion is primarily intended to outline the various methods of responses of the natives with colonial education. And the nature of the development of colonial education which had profound effects on the current education system.

3.1 Development of Primary Schools

Most of the primary schools in the study area were established during colonial rule. A closer look at the histories of each school reveals that the expansion of schools²⁰ in the area took decades and different factors and social groups played crucial roles at different points of time. Most of the schools were established as the result of the localized public efforts. Initially, the schools were meant only for local elite men and they tried to protect these spaces from the entry

²⁰ Here onwards, the term 'schools' to refer to the schools under the western model of education introduced by the colonial government.

of other sections of society. The emergence of new local leadership as a result of socio-political movements urged public participation in the educational development of each locality.

Table 3.1: Number of Schools started in South Taliparamba Subdistrict during 1891-1960

Year	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1950	1951-1960
No. of Schools Started.	2	12	13	16	8	1	4

Source: The author prepared this table using the data from (*Urava (school histories of Taliparamba South educational sub-district)*, n.d.).

As it is clear from the above table, the pace of development of primary schools has changed by the twentieth century. By that time, the socio-economic setting that the indigenous education system had existed was totally changed. As a result, the material relevance of indigenous institutional education shrunk significantly. New education introduced by the colonialists gained more economic and social relevance. Economic relevance in terms of employment opportunities. Social significance in terms of intellectual liberation from Brahmanical logic and higher social status and moral superiority of educated person in changed social setting.

1891-1900

The very first school in the study area, Morazha West Aided Lower Primary School (ALPS), was founded as an indigenous village school (Kudippallikudam) on the site of the local Siva Temple by an upper caste landlord, Raman Nambiar. A section of upper castes realized the increasing importance of colonial education, then they contacted the officials and converted it to a government-approved school in 1892. The intention of the founders was to exclusively educate children of upper castes. When it officially became a government-approved school, they had to shift it from temple premises to another place. However, no students from lower castes were allowed to take admission. The second school in the study area was formed under the efforts of Thalappan Chathukutti Ezhuthachan, who hails from the caste of traditional tutors. The reason for the school's establishment isn't stated explicitly anywhere. However, since the Morazha Siva temple Devaswom supplied the property and no student of lower caste was admitted, we can deduce that the goal was the same as the previous school. Only two schools started between 1891 and 1900, and both were begun by and for the upper caste, local elites.

1901-1910

Primary schools expanded rapidly during the first decade of the 20th century. In various parts of the Study area, twelve schools were established. Since this decade, there has been a noticeable transition in both elites' and masses' preferences from indigenous education to modern western education. Not all of the schools were recently established. Five of the schools were previously Kudipallikudams, while another two were Ezhuth Pallikudams, and those were part of the indigenous education system until being transformed to modern schools during the colonial period. Most of the schools were continued to be operated by and for the upper castes only. Between 1901 and 1910, almost all schools were established and operated with the approval and support of landlords and upper castes.

The first and most important prerequisite for starting a school was land and infrastructure, not only to ensure a proper modern school setting but also mandatory for the official affiliation and approval from the colonial government. The land was granted by the Jenmis or Devaswom²¹ for all schools except ALPS Kademberi. Except one, all of the schools in the study area were founded by upper caste families and individuals. The intention behind six schools founded by educated upper caste individuals was mentioned as 'to provide education to the children of elites in the locality where no other school is present'. Four schools were started directly by the Jenmi (landlord) families. They intended to educate their people to adapt with the changing socio political and economic atmosphere. The goal of founding ALPS Kuttiattoor school was to instruct exclusively Jenmi's family's children; not even the other children hailing from the same caste were allowed to enroll. ALP Kandakkai school was named after the landlord who started the school; it shows his role and influence in the formation of the school and his position in society.

Demand for education from other sections of societies in the study area started rising during this decade. The attempts to confront the restricted access to schools are also started brewing during the same period. Despite the awareness and aspirations to get educated lower castes could not open schools. Access to material resources like land and opposition from upper castes were the main hindrances. Under the leadership of an educated upper caste individual, one school was started, ALPS Naniyoor, where most untouchable castes except scheduled castes were allowed to enroll. The landlord was disappointed and began a new school nearby to counter this school. Nevertheless, later the school started by the landlord got shut down.

²¹ The ownership of all land was concentrated on Jenmis and Devaswom.

Similarly, Two educated untouchables founded ALPS Kadembari. They contacted the landlord and tenured land as Kuzhikanam²² from Kadembari Devaswom. Before opening the school, they consulted and persuaded the Jenmi and temple authorities, and they were able to gain their cooperation. Except for ALPS Naniyoor, all of the schools in the area began with Jenmis' support and consent. By the end of the decade, most of the schools mentioned above allowed enrollment of lower castes except scheduled castes. However, the students have remained mostly boys from upper caste backgrounds.

Colonial education was more fit for the changed political, social, and economic atmosphere; the elites among natives did not oppose it, and they tried to grab the opportunity soon as possible. Some untouchable castes, like as the Thiyyas also, attempted to create their own schools, but it was possible only with Jenmi's permission. There is no evidence to show the direct influence of any social or political movement in the expansion of schools during this period. However, social reform movements seeking education headed by Sreenarayana guru (1856-1928) and other notable personalities from neighbouring princely states had an indirect influence on negotiations for universal primary education in the study area. The increased importance of education in getting bureaucratic jobs, Government aid given to the schools, and the demand for education from marginalized sections of society who see it as a socio-economic ladder have resulted in converting more indigenous educational institutions to modern schools and the formation of new schools.

1911-1920

Between 1911 and 1920, thirteen schools were established, the number of schools continued to rise at the same rate of previous decade. Only three schools (ALPS Cherupazhassi, ALPS Kodallur, and AUPS Cheleri) were previously been Kudipallikudams and Pathasala; the rest were newly established. Five schools were founded by upper caste families or individuals. ALPS Cherupazhassi was a pathasala established and administered by a Brahmin family; as demand for indigenous education declined, the Pathasala was sold to a local upper caste wealthy individual. He renovated the Pathasala and turned it into a modern primary school. Jenmis of that area directly contributed in the establishment of two schools. ALPS Pavanoor was founded by an educated Nambiar, Jenmi provided property, and the school opened in 1911, but the British authorities did not approve the institution for the next two years. ALPS Mayyil and ALPS Kuttiattoor East were also founded by educated upper caste men. The goal of all of

²² In Malabar 'Kuzhikanam' was the lease characteristic of garden lands, with the land being leased out for a period of 12 years to the tenants.

this is to educate their children and their community. ALPS Morazha south has a bit different history. Understanding the importance of English under the new political leadership, a well-educated Nambiar (upper caste) who also was related to the Jenmis of Morazha, Chandroth family, began a little venture to teach English on the temple grounds, which later converted into a primary school.

Unlike the previous decade, Muslim Managements also established three schools in this decade. GMLPS Cheleri was founded by a wealthy and respected Mappila in the area, and it was the study area's first 'Mappila School.' GLPS Perumacheri was similarly founded by a prominent Mappila, and it was located near a Mosque. The majority of the people in the area were Muslims and Dalits. ALPS Cherupazhassi west was founded in 1920 by a land-owning Mappila family, but the school lasted only few years. Concerned members of the lower castes, especially Thiyyas, persuaded the Nambooduri landlord about the possibility of establishing a new school. ALPS Vesala began with his assistance in terms of land and infrastructure.

This decade also saw the first attempts by scheduled castes to enter the educational sphere. One educated upper caste person established the very first Adidravida school in the study area in 1913 with the support of several parties concerned. However, it ceased working after a few months, and the cause for this is unknown. Plight of scheduled castes was multi-dimensional and deep rooted. As already discussed, firstly, dalits did not have access to material resources to build schools. Secondly, social opposition, primarily from upper castes were too much, as a result even the Adidravida schools began by upper caste individuals and government did not function well for long time.

The number of newly established schools has increased in this decade compared to the previous one, demonstrating the growing demand for and acceptance of western education in society, not just among upper castes but also among untouchable castes and Mappilas. Scheduled castes, on the other hand, were excluded from all of these initiations. Only a single Adidravida school was established, however it was closed down after a short period of time. Ownership and authority of schools continued to be in the hands of landlords of the area.

1921-1930

Between 1921 and 1930, sixteen schools were established in the study area. Throughout the decade, the number of primary schools established reached an all-time high. Previously, the primary goal of establishing schools was to educate the children of the upper castes, but this decade exhibits a completely different pattern. With the support of Jenmis, just five schools

were founded by upper caste persons and families. ALPS Nunjeri began as a Kudipallikudam before evolving into a girls' school. A family from the upper caste founded Kudipallikkudam in Mayyil, later it became the first higher elementary school in the study area. With the assistance of Jenmis of the area, upper caste individuals founded AUPS Kolecheri, ALPS Vesala East, and ALPS Malott. Muslim community leaders and influential persons kept establishing more schools. During this time period, three Muslim-run schools opened. With the assistance of Mappila Youth in the area, one influential Mappila individual founded MLP school Kambil.

Until the previous decade, each school was operated by, and for separate communities, first signs of intermixing all communities under educational institutions can be observed during this period. Kalanthan Haji, a key figure of the Mappila community in the area, founded Pamburuthi Mappila Upper Primary School (AMUPS). However, because the land was provided by several persons and some of it came from the hindu temple wealth, management included Hindus. Hamza master and Anantha Marar master, Muslim and Hindu, founded a school in Malott. The school was known as the Silver Jubilee School Malott, but it closed down just after a few years. AMLPS Cheleri was founded by a well-educated Nambiar with the goal of empowering the Mappila people. Muslim teachers were appointed to attract more children from the Muslim community. ALPS Peruvangoor was similarly founded in a Muslim-populated area by an educated upper caste man. Peruvangoor Mappila elementary school was its original name. ALPS Cherupazhassi was founded with the aid of the public by a lower caste, educated husband and wife. It was sanctioned as a girls' school. ALPS Pazhassi was founded by two educated persons, one from an untouchable caste and the other from an upper caste. All castes were welcomed, and they made conscious efforts to include children from underserved communities. AUPS Parassinikadav was started by the Parassinikadav Temple²³ management. A political activist founded AMUPS Mullakodi after being motivated by the independence movement and choose to educate the public by establishing a one-teacher school in a neighbourhood dominated by scheduled castes and Muslims. During this time, ALPS Maniyoor Central was the only Adidravida school founded in the area. Kannan Gurukkal, a prominent figure of among untouchable castes, established a small Adidravida Pathasala. He had to overcome numerous obstacles in order to obtain government approval. He

²³ Deity and priests of Parassini Kadav temple were Untouchables. During the 1930s, there was a case in court on the ownership of the Temple between Upper caste Jenmi of the area and temple management. Social reformers and National movement leaders supported Temple management.

built a road specifically for the conveyance of education inspectors. It was renamed Maniyoore Adidraida elementary school in 1926.

The objective of most of the schools built during this decade was to educate not just a segment of society, but the entire population. Schools started admitting all castes and gender, and new schools began addressing the historically marginalized communities. The Mappila community's and scheduled castes' educational backwardness was recognized, and various efforts were being made to empower these groups through education from inside and beyond the communities. The progressive attitude of educated people from both upper and lower castes came to the forefront. A new practice of individuals of different communities coming together and opening schools have started. The influence of social movements and political mobilizations based on the national movement led to these individual efforts and the increased participation of the public in the establishment functioning of each school.

1931-1940

Between 1931 and 1940, just nine new schools opened in the study area. In comparison to the previous two decades, the number of schools established during this decade is less. It wasn't because public motivation in promoting education had declined, but rather because practically every village had at least one school by this time. On the other hand, a few isolated locations and marginalised communities were excluded from these developments.

An upper caste family started one school, later it was integrated with Malabar district board and became Government Upper Primary School (GUPS) Morazha. A schoolteacher from a nearby village founded ALPS Kandakkai Krishnavilasam. He recognized a need for a primary school in the village and established ALPS Kandakkai Krishnavilasam in the same location where one Kudipallikudam had previously worked. Kolthuruthi was a small, remote island with limited transportation options. Only a few Kolthuruthi children went to schools that were quite distant. Realizing the area's educational need, Kunjaman Gurukkal established an informal education centre with the support of several educated individuals, which later became ALPS Kolthuruthi. In Maniyoore village, a number of informal schools were established, but practically all of them were closed down after a period of time. Paithal, an educated woman, opened a girl's school, but the education board refused to give official approval, thus it had continued to operate unofficially. Later, the school was approved, and the school renamed as AUPS Radhakrishna Maniyoore. GUPS Kadembari was founded by local leaders of the National Movement. It was first known as Bakkalam Mappila LP School. The school was the

focal point for almost all of Congress's political activities at the time; after a few years, the school relocated to a new location in order to attract more students and renamed to GUPS Kademberi.

Since all schools were under different managements of different communities and interest groups, instances of rivalry between schools can also be observed. One school administration in Kuttittoor village filed a complaint with the Chirakkal taluk education officer against another nearby school. The officer advised that one of the schools be relocated to Kuttiattoor Bazar. In 1938, a school was relocated to Kuttiattoor Bazar and opened as Kuttiattoor Higher Elementary School, afterwards officially changed the name to AUPS Kuttiattoor. Since there was no proper mechanism to integrate schools into a single system thriving for educating all, irrespective of caste, religion, class and gender, each school represented interests of their management.

This decade has witnessed important developments specific to untouchable castes. Scheduled castes were largely located in Paattayam; By tenuring land from Jenmi, schoolmasters in the surrounding area formed ALPS Paattayam, with the goal of educational upliftment of scheduled castes. Kanool Jubilee Memorial School has a history that is identical to that of ALPS Pattayam. There was one unauthorized school like educational facility existed to teach the area's scheduled castes. Some Educated people in the area converted it into a school named Molothum Thadam mixed elementary school, later, the name changed to Kanool Jubilee Memorial school. Chandrothil Ramotti, a wealthy individual from an untouchable caste, founded ALPS Maniyoor Bagavathi Vilasam.

Unlike earlier decades, this period witnessed the development of primary schools specific to historically neglected communities. Attempts to address the educational backwardness of Dalits and girls as in the form of Adidravida schools and girls' schools has increased. More interestingly, for the first time, a woman became a school manager. In general, the betterment of educational access of marginalized communities has happened. By this point of time, primary schooling has become a social responsibility of public, public pressure played a crucial role in most schools. Critical factors played behind this are the social and political movements in Malabar. Significant impacts of social movements (Kanool Jubilee Memorial School and ALPS Maniyoor Bagavathi Vilasam) and political movements (GUPS Kademberi) is plainly obvious.

A new middle class of educated persons of different middle and lower caste communities and upper caste families played an instrumental role in establishing schools. The establishment of

many schools in remote villages of Malabar, was a manifestation of the interests of local elites and community-based organizations or mobilizations.

3.11 Financing Primary Schools

As we have discussed, government's direct involvement in the formation of schools was very less. After the government started giving small financial support, individuals and organisations established schools. But the initial capital required to establish a school acted as hindrance for the dreams of lower castes. After a certain time, because of the impact of socio-political movements and the changed socio-economic atmosphere, demand for “public” schools increased. New middle class formed mainly because of the changed economic and educational factors played a crucial role in establishing schools accessible to most sections of society. Community leaders and organizations also started forming schools.

Most of them acquired land from the public, mostly from upper caste land lords influenced by socio-political movements or wealthy community leaders. With the help of the public, through the fund collected by mobilization drives, they erected buildings and purchased furniture and other equipments. In the initial phase, most of the investment capital of the schools was donations in cash and kind from the public, whereas the important sources of financing their recurring expenditure were fees and endowments (Salim & Nair, 2002).

Expansion of schools to remote areas started only after the active entry of government in education, particularly in the last quadrant of the 19th century. Since the 1870s, local boards have contributed a considerable share to expand primary education. Local boards not only collect funds through local taxes, and subsidies from the government but also make crucial decisions regarding spending and allocation. Data on the Sources of financing education in the Madras presidency, of which Malabar was part, give us better clarity.

Table 3.2: Percentage of the source of education finance in Madras presidency, 1931-1948

Source	Madras Presidency		
	1931-32	1936-37	1947-48
Government	45.1	45.7	50.6
Local Boards	16.0	15.3	18.3
Fees	17.2	18.1	18.3
Other Sources	21.7	20.9	15.2
Total	100	100	100

Source: (Salim & Nair, 2002)

Table 3.1 shows that the government contributed 45-51% of total expenditure on education, while local boards 16% and fees 17-18% during 1931-1948. While government and local board share marginally increased by time, other sources have slightly decreased. With time schools became more financially independent from private hands. Share of fees remained almost unchanged.

3.2 Forms of Exclusion in the Development of Primary Schooling

School histories directly point out various forms of exclusions and barriers to education. Major exclusions identified in the school histories, which acted as a hindrance to educational development of the region are discussed below.

3.21 Caste

As discussed in the last chapter, the caste system has a strong relation with education in pre-colonial society meaning of education was different for different religious and caste groups. Malabar has had the worst forms of untouchability and social restrictions. In Malabar, caste restrictions contained complicated rules on ‘Unapproachability’²⁴ and ‘Unseeability’. People from agrestic slave castes, aboriginal tribes, and middle castes like Ezhava, had no access to public venues, temples, bathing pools, or public roadways. Even though the western education brought by the colonial government was supposedly secular, lower castes were clearly excluded.

In 1901, a significant portion of the lower castes, such as the Thiyya, Pulayan, and Mappila, had relatively low literacy rates. Western educational opportunities were remained as the monopoly of upper castes. Not even one percentage of people in the Pulayan community were able to read and write. And it is important to note that the educational status of the whole of Malabar was inferior; more than half of the topmost literate community, Namboodiris, were illiterate.

²⁴ Distance pollution

Table 3.3: Population and rate of literacy in Malabar, 1901.

Category	Share in total population	Literacy rate
Namboodiri	19035 (0.68 %)	44.73 %
Nair	391118 (14.01 %)	24.38 %
Ezhava / Thiyya	660608 (23.67 %)	7.46 %
Pulayan / Cheruman	241290 (8.64 %)	0.12 %
Muslim / Mappila	832990 (29.85 %)	4.61 %
Christians	51493 (1.84 %)	28.65 %
All	2790231	10.05 %

Source: (Kabir & Krishnan, 1992)

School histories of South Taliparamba shows that caste manifests through multiple ways in educational development. With the assistance of the landlord, upper caste individuals and families established the first primary schools in the study area. These schools were totally physically inaccessible for lower castes, at least in three levels. Firstly, untouchability; the upper castes were unwilling to share the same physical space; because they did not want to be ‘polluted’ by lower castes. Secondly, even if school management and teachers agreed to enroll the lower castes, they could not enter into schools because most of the schools in the early 20th century were in temple premises. Sacred spaces like temples were restricted for lower castes for a long time, even when the direct untouchability practices were diminished from public sphere. Thirdly, those schools were established in upper caste regions that are physically and geographically inaccessible to lower castes. A parent from a lower caste who had no experience with institutionalised education and was unaware of the opportunities available through western education just cannot consider sending a child to a school located far from home. It is clear that the geographical inaccessibility to schools had a caste dimension.

Two schools that began in the first decade of the twentieth century were exceptions; ALPS Naniyoor began in an area thickly populated with Thiyyas. ALPS Kademberi was founded by two individuals from the lower castes, but still the Jenmi assisted them in establishing this school. Because of the increasing public demand and new educational policies, most of the schools soon started allowing pupils from Ezhavas and other castes. However, the scheduled castes and Mappilas were not included.

In the study area, each caste had their own settlement areas. Mappilas were forced to have separate habitation areas from Hindu villages as a result of various socio political developments after Tipu's invasion²⁵ and subsequent Moplah revolt, which lasted until the 1920s. During 1911-1920 few schools started in Mappila populated areas. Before, schools were functioned only in Hindu villages which are physically inaccessible for Mappilas. More schools in the Ezhava settlements also started. By that period pace of urbanization also increased, with the development of urban centers intermixing of settlements also started. Slave castes such as Pulayans and Cherumans resided on the outskirts of every village, they were not even allowed to walk through most public routes, therefore school entry was a utopian dream. Almost all schools during 1921-1930 began in less exclusionary areas.

The colonial state recognised Mappilas' and scheduled castes' educational deficiencies and began allowing special Adiravida and Mappila schools. From 1931 to 1950, the extension of schools into much more rural and accessible locations was encouraged (ALPS Kolthuruthi). All schools relocated from places like temple premises to more inclusive and secular spaces. However, there was no proper transportation system, roads, and bridges to many schools, and it remained inaccessible, particularly during rainy seasons, and attendance in many schools dropped during these times. In short, the physical locations throughout which schools operated in the first quarter of the twentieth century were profoundly exclusionary. However, this issue of inaccessibility was resolved to some extent in the second half of the twentieth century. Two main factors played behind can be identified. Firstly, the commercialization of crops and consequent urbanisation disrupted the exclusionary areas for certain castes. Secondly, efforts of various movements for the universalization of education and subsequent changes in policies.

Upper castes opposed the entry of lower castes into the world of modern education. Many instances of direct confrontation of lower and upper castes can be seen in school histories. As previously stated, most schools in the early years of the twentieth century did not admit students from lower castes. With the impact of socio-political movements, cultural factors, increased need for labour, and the growth of commercialisation, intermediate castes such as Ezhavas gained more mobility. A section of lower castes saw education and state employment as a resource to draw energy to fight against Brahminism. They started enrolling in primary schools and later started their own schools. Upper castes disagreed to send their children to schools that began and were populated by lower castes. No upper caste students enrolled at ALPS Morazha South until 1929, and no Brahmin castes enrolled in ALPS Pazhassi for a long time. Following

²⁵ Refer second chapter for more info on this.

the first quarter of the century, there was a boom in the total number of students enrolled, mostly because of increased enrollment of Thiyyas and other middle castes.

Scheduled castes were not allowed in both these schools; they had to face various kinds of violences. One such instance is that; a few youngsters inspired by national movement against colonialism and evil practices in Indian society like untouchability tried to establish a school for scheduled castes. The landlord opposed it; his upper caste companions went to the houses of students and threatened them. The school building was demolished at one night, management could not rebuild the school and forced to stop functioning. The first scheduled caste student enrolled in the study area in 1913 at AMLPS Cheleri, which began as an Adidravida school. Most schools actually began enrolling scheduled castes, only after the government made it mandatory to do so. However, it was first remained merely in papers and it had not been adequately implemented. Enrollment of scheduled castes in other aided and government schools occurred mostly during the 1930s. Until 1938, ALP School Kuttiattoor East did not even admit scheduled caste students. The inspection report of ALPS Naniyoor 1939, noted the need for more Adidravida students in school.

Scheduled castes students who got into schools also went through many struggles. In AUPS Parassinikadav, one lower caste student was admitted because of the strong recommendation from the education department, but he was not allowed to sit along with other students. Three students from scheduled castes joined in ALPS Kandakkai in 1935 (since the government made it compulsory), but all three students dropped out very shortly. Similar occurrences of dropouts occurred in other schools as well. Many teachers engaged in untouchability and other forms of discriminations. Inside many schools, pupils from lower and upper castes seated apart (ALPS Kambil, ALPS Maniyoor central, ALPS Kolthuruthi).

According to the ALPS educational inspection report, Kodallur “Mappilas and others have separate classes, this kind of discriminatory practices should be stopped” (*Urava (school histories of Taliparamba South educational sub district)*, n.d.). Teachers used to inflict the most severe punishments in schools. Sitting in an imaginary chair, throwing ants in the head, and harshly beating students are a few examples. According to several former students, many kids dropped out of school as a result of these punitive measures. Many teachers coming from upper caste backgrounds teacher practiced untouchability. Many teachers avoided even the direct contact with untouchable students during punishment. As punishment, they used to throw heavy metal keys and sticks at the untouchables. The practise of disciplining untouchables by hurling a stick got a new name: 'Erinjadi.' Because of Erinjadi, the eye of one untouchable

student at ALPS Kambil was seriously wounded. Students from agrestic slave castes and other oppressed castes are likely to have been more harshly punished.

For most marginalized castes, schools were not a space for education or dreams. It was more of a space of physical insecurity. First, they were beaten up by upper caste mercenaries for entering schools. After entering schools, they had to go through various kinds of physical and mental abuses and humiliations inside the classroom. Aspirations and dreams of lower castes were suppressed primarily with physical violence. Among scheduled castes, also an unequal representation in schools can be observed; castes such as Mannan and Peruvannan were mostly enrolled, whereas the Pulaya and Cheruma castes were long excluded. There were no Pulayans enrolled in several schools prior to 1950.

School histories clearly indicate that each student's dress at school premises is also connected to caste. Nambooduris and other temple caste children wore clean white Mundu²⁶; untouchable castes never wore such clothing. In the early decades of the 20th century, children hailing from scheduled castes used to wear just one Kumbola Konakam²⁷. In the inspection report of ALPS Peruvangoor, it is noted that “Dresses worn by Muslims and Dalits are not fit for the atmosphere of the school, it should be addressed soon as possible”. History ALPS Maniyoor mentioned that teachers tried to change the dressing culture of scheduled caste students. Children from upper caste families were not permitted to enter the house soon after returning from school. They must first remove their clothes and place them in the ‘Ayitha Kokka²⁸’ hanger located outside the house. They must then bath and change their clothes. Ayitha Kokka was quite widespread in the study area throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and is noted in most school histories.

The number of teachers from lower castes appointed has always been less. Caste biases and practises were very prominent in the first quarter of the twentieth century, not even one teacher appointed from scheduled caste communities. In fact, just a few people from scheduled castes were given the opportunity to educate and become teachers. Some attempts were undertaken to ensure representative diversity among teachers. Only five schools in the south Taliparamba education sub-district hired teachers from scheduled caste communities in the first half of the twentieth century (AMLPS Cheleri, ALPS Naniyoor Nambram Hindu school, ALPS Maniyoor Central, ALPS Mullakkodi Mappila, ALPS Pattayam). Two of them were Adidravida

²⁶ Dhoti

²⁷ Dress made from the skin and leaves of Areca nut tree

²⁸ Literal translation of Ayitha kokka is untouchability hanger.

institutions; the histories of each of these schools shows that enrollment of Dalits increased following these appointments. Mappila community teachers were also similarly insufficient. Some managements additionally appointed a few Mappila teachers. Sometimes they also teach religion and the Arabic language, which contributed to the increase in Mappila enrollment (AMLPS Cheleri). However, most of the teachers were continued to be from the upper castes.

3.22 Gender

Gender based discrimination and oppression were very visible in the study area as much as in any other place in the sub-continent. Female segregation from schooling and the public realm was common among Namboodiris and Mappilas. Matrilineal practices of inheritance were practiced by Nairs, some Ambalavasi Castes²⁹, few Ezhavas, and some Muslims in Kerala. (Ramachandran, 1997). Still, a large section of female students were excluded from primary schooling. Initially, very few schools allowed girls to enter schools. Recognizing the inadequacies of female enrolment, several deliberate initiatives to address it were made, such as girls' schools (AUPS Kayaralam, ALPS Nunjeri) and special teacher campaigns. The first female student joined at GMLPS Cheleri was only in the 1930s. Female students of the Mappila community enrolled in very little numbers. Mappila female students have only recently begun to enrol in numerous schools (AUPS Perumacheri, ALPS Pavannoor, ALPS Kodallur, LPS Vesala, ALPS Cheru Pazhassi West, ALPS Kolthuruthi). The first Mappila female student enrolled in ALPS Pavannoor in 1963.

Until the 1930s, there were almost no female teachers in t. In 1935, AUPS Perumacheri hired the very first female teacher in the study region. During 1940s, more female teachers were hired to various schools (ALPS Anthoor, ALPS Karayapp, ALPS Naniyoor, etc.). ALPS Kadembari was the last to hire a female teacher, only in 1961. No Muslim or scheduled caste female teachers were employed in Taliparamba south subdistrict during the first part of the twentieth century. The majority of female instructors appointed hailed of upper castes and Ezhavas.

Female students could not attend schools due to a variety of social, cultural, and economic conditions. Girls of downtrodden communities were subjected to both gender and caste discrimination. They were utilised to look after the smaller children while their parents were at work. That was the most common justification provided by family when teachers and others urged for female education. Girls were an important component of the economic lives of

²⁹ Castes of temple servants, who had traditional temple duties.

Malabar's low-income families, opportunity cost of sending a girl to school seemed low for them. Later female enrollment improved tremendously. Reasons behind this change cannot be understood only in terms of employment and opportunity cost. Missionaries and later colonial schools designed a different curriculum for girls based on principles of Victorian morality. Female enrollment had happened because "Special curriculum and treatment of girls struck a familiar chord in both colonial and native popular thinking" (Kumar, 2005). Majority of women who are coming from lower class caste backgrounds entered into schools only after the mass struggles waged by people of Malabar.

3.23 Other Exclusions

Along with caste and gender, there were other constraints at the ground level that hindered enrollment in primary education. Hunger was a major hurdle in the research area. Since of exploitative land relations and the oppressive caste system, a huge section of the Malabar population lived in abject poverty. Furthermore, food policy throughout World War II resulted in a severe food shortage in the Malabar district. Some historians have referred to the food crisis in Malabar in the 1940s as a "famine" situation; at least 1% of Malabar's population died as a result of the food shortage (Ramachandran, 1997; Ramakumar, 2006).

Many references to poverty and hunger of people at various periods are often mentioned in the school histories. Most children never ate lunch at school rather they relied on water to satisfy their hunger. Only a few people who have a residence nearby and come from well-off families have the option to eat lunch every day. School attendance was relatively low during mango season because it was when kids get enough to eat (ALPS Paattayam). One such instance is mentioned in the inspection report of Morazha west LP school. When the education inspector came to the school for unnoticed inspection, most of the teachers and students were absent. They were all gone to attend a nearby place where free food was served on that day (T. Gangadharan, personal communication, November 4, 2019). Food scarcity was at its peak during the Second World War. Students were also required to contribute to the families in order to survive, and education became a luxury of the wealthy. During this period, many children dropped out of school (ALPS Kuttiattoor East).

The functioning of schools was inextricably linked to local culture and agricultural practises. Most schools were given time off to attend festivities at nearby temples. Further, schools used to give leave when agriculture needed human resources. Between 1935 and 1942, three days were designated as holidays at ALPS Kanool Jubilee Memorial School. The reason for these designations was as follows: "plucking out of weeds from the paddy is going on". Between

1935 and 1945, three days were given leave in June for sowing, and three days were allotted in September for harvesting. Youngsters were an important element of the area's agricultural culture; children from agrestic castes had assigned tasks to complete on important days like harvest and sowing.

3.3 Role of State

This section is intended to discuss important interventions of the colonial state in primary education during 20th century in the South Taliparamba subdistrict. The first part will be discussing the important colonial policies of education, the second part is an analysis of how these policies are implemented at the ground using the bureaucratic machinery of state.

3.31 Education Policies

An analysis of the histories of each school enables us to view many aspects of the educational development of the study area. But state policies are somewhat invisible, emphasizing the manifestations and impact of the state of intervention. Important policy interventions in the development of primary schooling are discussed below.

Madras local board act 1834 was the first intervention of the colonial state, which directly affected the fate of primary schooling in the region. As discussed in the last chapter, educational policy underwent tremendous change during the 19th century. The policy central to all these developments was the grants in aid scheme. Most of the schools in the study area began by the private agencies and individuals by the grant in aid scheme; no school has directly initiated by the state. The origin of this scheme, can be traced back to the Wood's despatch of 1854; later Hunter commission of 1882 brought more amendments. According to the government, grants in aid is "a sum of money is annually set apart to be expended under these rules as grants-in-aid of recognized educational institutions under private management with the object of extending and improving secular education" (1964).

As per the code, not more than 50 percent of the amount spent on the school's functioning will be given by the government. By availing of grants in aid, the school has to strictly follow a set of rules beginning from the physical appearance to what to teach and how to teach. Colonizers used grants in aid schemes as a means to convert indigenous schools and bring private schools under the purview of the state. In other words, mainly with this scheme, a bureaucratically controlled education system is imposed on the region. However, by the early twentieth century, expanding market economy constraints, changing social structure of the region, and public

demand for education caused by social and political movements pushed the colonial authorities to change the educational policies to be more equitable.

The colonial state attempted to address these issues by supporting Adidravida and Mappila Schools and instituting scholarships for downtrodden communities. Furthermore, government eliminated the restrictions on enrolling students to school based on caste in 1911-12. (Sudheerkumar, 2005). However, caste practices like discrimination, untouchability and unseeability continued to persist inside and outside schools; these laws mostly remained in papers alone. But it gave a significant boost to the progressive social and political movements, and they started spreading to more regions of the district. The local government reforms in the India Act of 1919's prompted the Madras government to make significant investments on education.

With the passing of the act amount spent on education rose from 9.4 million in 1917-18 to Rs 15.3 million in 1922-23 and 24.2 million in 1932-33 (Navath, 2014). In 1920, the Madras Elementary Education Act was passed, resulting in the creation of the Malabar district board's and district educational council. Even though the colonial state had an exploitative and one-sided relationship with civil society, the formation of an educational council- enabled the natives to take few decisions regarding their educational future. Additionally, this act enabled the district authority to identify and authorize the schools of individuals and private agencies. The district education council handled the grant in aid funds also. Increased number of formation of schools, especially from marginalized communities in study area after 1920s are the expression of increased aspiration of masses and change in policy. Nevertheless, the enrolment of various marginalized communities were continued to be extremely low. In 1922 state, as an experiment, introduced compulsory primary education in Kozhikode and Tellicherry municipals. Later it expanded to other parts of the district. Madras education act in 1929 led to the formation of more schools in rural areas. As an attempt to address marginalized communities, more Mappila and girls' schools were allowed. And schools were labelled as 'inaccessible' if no students from oppressed classes were present on school rolls.

In 1930s, "elementary education was free and compulsory for boys of school age, free but not compulsory for girls" (Sudheerkumar, 2005). Fees was also reduced to half for girls, Mappilas and Adidravidas. In 1936, the rules regarding the naming of schools also changed. Earlier, many schools were named after the dominant community present in the school: Hindu school, Mappila school, and Adidravida school. The board decided to stop using the word Hindu since elementary school belongs to all castes. The girls' schools and Mappila schools remained in

the same name. In 1939 colonial government decided to abolish the district education council, then the charge of disbursement of grant-in-aids funds were transferred to district educational officers.

Nevertheless, grants-in-aid schemes were continued and put the burden of educational development on the shoulders of private efforts. Private agencies and individuals took this opportunity to influence in the community and to gain monetary benefit. It fulfilled the educational needs of upper caste elites of the society, and the schools developed mostly based on communities (began by community leaders as a means to influence), leaving the aspirations and dreams of masses in ignorance.

3.32 Bureaucratic framework

This section will discuss the impact and working of colonial state machinery in the development of education in study area. How the above-mentioned policies worked and impacted at ground level.

As Krishna Kumar (2005) observed, the introduction of the bureaucratic framework through colonial policies changed many characters of education, including the status of teachers and pedagogy. It is important to have an idea of bureaucratic structure to understand the disbursement of funds and the exercise of colonial authority. Top post in the department is the director of public instruction. Under the director, education officer for each district is posted. Deputy inspectors and sub-assistant inspectors are positioned under district education officers

Grants are paid after submitting the report and grant bill for each school by the inspecting officer. Reports and bills are prepared based on the annual inspection of aided schools. After considering the recommendations of the inspecting officers, the inspector shall decide what schools shall be admitted to aid. In determining, he considers the number, character, the financial condition of schools, the locality's educational needs, and the funds available (1924). The inspecting officers may propose for a school a reduction not exceeding 25 percentage or an increase not more than 50% of grants. The fate of the school was reduced to an individual bureaucrat's report. As a result, school managers started finding various methods to please the inspecting officers, instead of making better conditions for schooling. Many such instances are recorded in the school histories. All most every school history document mentioned some memories of annual inspections and inspectors. It is very clear from the narration that annual inspection and inspectors were a nightmare for most of the managers and others in school. The date fixed for annual inspection communicate to management at least seven days beforehand.

By the time of arrival of the inspection officer, the manager makes sure the school is tidy and arrangements to welcome him. They check each class room and registers, to check the academic quality, they ask questions to students, and sometimes they conduct exams also.

Inspections were a site to exercise colonial power over the natives. Many instances described in school histories where native elite try their best to please the colonial bureaucrat. In the history of Cheleri Mappila ALP school it is noted that “Deputy inspectors come till Padappa through boat, there onwards they were carried in palanquin which was arranged by the school management... luxurious treatment was ensured, such as oil, perfumes, hot water and feast in manager’s house” (*Urava (school histories of Taliparamba South educational sub district)*, n.d.). The manager of ALPS Naniyoor Central, built a new road just for the secure transportation of education inspector.

The second point of the introduction chapter of grant in aid code was;

“Grants will ordinarily be withdrawn from a manager if he or any of the teachers employed by him takes part in political agitation directed against the authority of government or inculcates opinions tending to excite feelings of political disloyalty or disaffection among the pupils.” (1924)

Because of this clause managers never forget to showcase their loyalty towards the empire whenever possible. During the inspection, Kanoor jubilee school used to display union jack (British flag) in school. Cheleri Mappila ALPS students used to sing songs praising the British empire during the inspection days. Managers engaged with the colonial representative with fear; they were always under the insecurity of losing the grant.

Since a considerable amount is given as grants for managers, the increased public demand for elementary education enabled the local elites to think in terms of profit (Bhaskaran & Nair, 2006). They saw schools as profitable and as a business with less physical labour with better social status. Mostly the jenmis, businessmen, and other rich influential started establishing schools, their social status in the community also increased. It was portrayed as the benevolence of manager. Many managers influenced or pleased the inspectors (as above mentioned) and submitted exaggerated bills and extracted enough profit. Teachers were exploited systematically, and they never had a job security, manager can fire anyone at any time. Under this fear, many teachers were forced to do even the household chores of the managers (Bhaskaran & Nair, 2006). Some managers appointed their own daughters and sons as teachers and government grant became their family income. Teachers were mostly hailing from

economically insecure upper castes and middle castes, while managers were mostly mediocre landlords.

The bureaucratic way education (schools) were administered was very similar to the land tenurial system of Malabar. Britishers held the top most position in both cases, school managers held a similar position to land lords, both of them lived under the pressure and fear of grant/tax cut. But this class enjoyed social and cultural superiority. Under them, teachers and tenants bore the burden of double oppression by the colonial masters and local elites. Fanon (1961) rightly observed under colonialism; “agents of government speak the language of pure force. The intermediary does not lighten the oppression, nor seek to hide the domination”. Intermediaries, managements and landlords, exploited and oppressed teachers and tenants. Teachers became “meek subordinate of administrative officers” (Kumar, 2005). The social position of teachers and tenants were different; as mentioned, teachers were mostly hailing from economically weaker sections of upper and middle castes. Further, teachers enjoyed better social status than tenant farmers in society.

3.33 Nature of colonial classrooms

Two contradictory views primarily characterize educational development of study area during colonialism. First between colonial master and native, then between lower and upper caste ideologies. The interplay of these dynamics shaped the nature of colonial classroom pedagogy. The system was designed to serve the purposes of dominant forces, colonial masters and the upper caste elite.

As Krishna Kumar (2005) explained, the bureaucratization of education by the colonial government made teachers into meek dictators of the classroom. The teacher became a servant of the colonial master who determined the knowledge and curriculum. He was at the lower end of the hierarchy of bureaucracy, both in terms of monetary benefits and status. He lived under extreme fear, poverty and powerlessness.

The teacher who lived under the pressure of management and meagre salary wore the mask of a dictator in front of students in the classroom. Even though indigenous education lost its economic relevance and disappeared, some characteristics persisted. One of the most important was the Brahmanical concept of guru, the notion of the teacher as supreme and the modesty of the disciple. Paulo Freire, in the context of colonialism in Brazil, theorized that “his (teacher) task is to fill the students with the contents of his narration – contents which are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could give them significance”

(Freire, 1973). More or less same pedagogic practices were followed in indigenous schools of Brahminic tradition. The teacher enjoyed full autonomy and freedom over the knowledge and students. Colonial education took away teacher's right to select knowledge and evaluation process. Everything else done in the classroom by the teacher was more or less the same, the burden of clerical jobs was also increased for teachers. Almost every school history has mentioned about cruel physical abuses carried out by teachers on students in the name of punishment. Students were treated as mere containers or receptacles to be filled by the teacher, "the more meekly the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better students they are" (Freire, 1973).

As we already discussed in earlier sections of the chapter, most of the teachers were solely from upper caste communities. Even though many were under poverty and financial constraints, caste pride and discriminative practices persisted and were reflected inside the classroom. Teachers' bias towards lower caste students can be seen in the history of many schools. In ALPS Kambil, the eye of one untouchable student was severely injured by teacher's punishment. Some teachers punished lower caste students more and sat separately (Balakrishnan, personal communication, May 25, 2019). Student composition in the early colonial classroom is also an important factor in setting the cultural atmosphere of the classroom. Over representation of upper castes and the absence of marginalized communities converted school into a Brahmanical space, even though the curriculum and higher bureaucratic structures were secular. Public nature schools were developed in late colonial period, before schools were exclusionary spaces for women, lower castes and lower classes.

Western education based on secular ideas was supposed to spread among people irrespective of caste, religion and gender. Instead, colonial policies of education and pedagogy aggravated the inequities among communities and served the education only to a minuscule section of people.

3.4 Conclusion

The very first primary school in the South Taliparamba sub-district was established in the late 1800s. The majority of the present primary schools in the study area were founded during first three decades of the twentieth century. Only the upper caste and wealthy sections of Thiyyas benefited from the early phase of school formation. In the beginning, there was organized resistance from upper castes against lower castes' entry into education. Later the entry was allowed, but still they faced a different kind of barriers in schools. However, until 1950, a

significant section of population was left out, and enrolment in primary schools was minimal. Females have also been barred from attending primary school, particularly those from the Mappila and Nambooduri communities.

Grants in aid schemes, the central element of colonial education policy, encouraged the private schools. The government did not directly start a single school in the study area, a few schools were later taken by the government. The government put the burden of the establishment of primary schools to private hands. In the initial phase, the establishment of schools was exclusively a matter of propertied classes since the resource mobilization is impossible for lower classes.

Later a new local leadership emerged, hailing from a new middle class consisting of educated individuals from different communities and activists of socio-political workers. Even though many of them who were communal in their attitudes, played an important role in establishment of schools in remote areas. In the absence of strong attempts to break the social and economic evils present in society, formation of schools also led to the strengthening of caste and religious identities. Upper caste elites and community organizations developed a vested interests in educational activities as a means of influence and monetary benefit. Most of the primary schools in the study area was initiated by affluent class of respective communities. General colonial policies and schemes like grants in aid led to acute communal competition, clear communal colour in the development of education especially in the establishment of schools is evident.

In general, various hurdles at the grassroots level in achieving mass enrollment in primary schools existed. In Malabar, caste, gender, and class oppression were all intertwined with the agrarian system. Children also had duties to perform under this oppressive system. Children from families of lower strata were used to hunt pests like mice and clean the fields. Upper caste children who have enough time free from economic necessity only enrolled in schools. During major agricultural days, schools gave holidays. Hunger and physical inaccessibility to schools were also important factors in impeding Malabar's educational growth. By the last decades of colonial rule, primary schools had expanded all over the study area and some progressive attitude towards education was also formed. But the development of education was not uniform caste, class and gender differences were clearly visible.

From the above analysis, it is clear that the expansion of colonial education has two aspects. Firstly, education is closely related with the economy in terms of employment. Because of

employment and political benefits, upper castes developed interests in education and massively enrolled. Secondly, as we discussed in the last chapter, colonial education opened chances of an intellectual liberation from Brahmanical logic in which pre-colonial society operated. Considering both aspects, families and individuals of middle and lower castes who are progressed in class structure developed a special interest in education.

Pedagogy practiced in colonial classrooms cannot be called purely colonial in nature. No doubt, these classrooms serve the purposes of colonial ideology. However, remnants of earlier indigenous educational practices, specifically from Brahmanical educational tradition, can also be found. Many of the exclusions existed in the indigenous educational system such as caste and gender continued to be present in new classrooms.

Primary school education during colonial days were exclusionary for a large section of society, both in terms of policies and classroom pedagogy. As a result, even after the development of a number of schools across the region, a large number of children were excluded from primary schooling. Colonial ideology, both pedagogy and policies, acted as an exclusion along with other exclusions such as caste, class and gender. It was impossible to imagine mass enrollment in primary schools without addressing these exclusions.

Chapter 4

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MALABAR

This chapter discusses the third phase of the expansion of primary education in Malabar. The discussion develops with the exploration of two critical dimensions of educational development in the study area. Firstly, through looking at social and political developments which led to the development of education in Malabar. Different Socio-political movements and the state policies came as an extension to those which played the most significant role in the educational development will be discussed in detail. Along with those social and political developments in the direction of development of education, regressive elements that continue to persist and act as a hindrance to further development and the historical origin and reasons behind those forces will also be discussed.

Secondly, through a quantitative analysis of enrollment and dropout of students in primary schools in the study area, when and how these social developments are reflected in schools will be discussed in detail

4.1 Public Action and Change

‘Public’ as a term is an abstraction representing the whole. The educational system can be considered truly public only when “the true representation, access and membership, of all sections of society” (Omvedt, 2003) is ensured. The last chapter has discussed various dimensions and the history of the development of primary schools in the study area. Even though many of these schools are supposed to be secular and public, still a vast majority of the population did not enroll to schools, especially lower classes from marginalized communities and females.

It is clear that the expansion of educational institutions alone, which mostly come as the result of acute communal competition, will not always result in mass enrollment. The development of educational institutions and mass enrollment are two different processes. Both are related, but it is wrong to assume both will come from the same social change. Expansion of educational institutions needs resources, so it cannot be possible without the engagement of affluent classes or the state. It did not mean the educational development of Malabar was the result of the benevolent action of elites and the state. The only intention is to indicate the top-down nature of infrastructure development. Prolonged struggles waged by the people of Malabar played the most critical role in the creation of public schools.

Amartya Sen argued that the radical change in education indicators of Kerala is primarily facilitated by public action (Dreze & Sen, 1998). The term 'public action' refers to both state activities and 'social actions taken by members of the public', which can be both 'collaborative' through 'civic cooperation' and 'adversarial' through political opposition and social critique. It is clear that the notion of public action is based on the idea that the public is not merely an entity whose wellbeing demands attention but also the agent whose actions can shape and transform society. In pre-colonial (pre-capitalist) society notion of 'public' itself was absent. As Gail Omvedt noted, caste-ridden society did not fulfil the criteria for the public; "the true representation, access and membership, of all sections of society" (Omvedt, 2003). The development of capitalism introduced the idea of public and public space into Malabar. Anti-caste movements were the most important attempt had happened in the direction of the creation of an effective public sphere. No doubt, analysis and documentation of socio-political movements are essential for understanding how educational institutions of Malabar acquired public nature, and access of marginalized sections to schools is ensured.

4.2 Social movements

Social movements and the expansion of western education were related at least in two ways. Firstly, western education was one of the most critical factors that led to the development of social movements which preach egalitarian ideas and scientific rationality. Secondly, access to education was one of the main slogans raised by all social movements in Kerala. In general, social reformist movements simultaneously fought at two fronts - against the ideological basis of the traditional order on the one hand and against the colonial hegemonies on the other (Panikkar, 1987).

Compared to other parts of Kerala, the impact of the reform movement was limited in Malabar. (E. T. Mathew, 1999). No established socio religious reform movement was there in Malabar for a long period. But Malabar, especially marginalized sections, responded to the ideas of movements in other parts of country. For instance, a group of lower caste youngsters got inspired by the movement of B. R. Ambedkar, and they went to Punjab and converted to Sikhism at a function held under the leadership of Ambedkar. "They included K.C. Kuttan who changed his name to Jai Singh, E. Raghavan (Harnam Singh), S. Ragahvan (Kripal Singh) and C.K. Krishnan (Rajith Singh)" (Navath, 2014).

The most popular and first social movements of Kerala was mostly confined to erstwhile princely states only, but the ripples of these movements were reached to Malabar also. The

material base for the movement was the initial economic mobility achieved by some sections of different communities, especially middle and untouchable castes through education and employment. Ideological base of these constitute of two important streams; firstly, medieval Bhakti movement which engaged with the concept of equality. Secondly, ideas of scientific rationality, concept of democracy and socialism which were disseminated because of new education system brought by colonizers.

It is widely acclaimed that, movement of Ezhavas and Thiyyas led by Sree Narayana Guru changed the social history of Kerala. SNDP movement mobilized large number of downtrodden masses against superstitions and caste oppression in Travancore and Cochin. They laid special emphasis in the expansion of educational and occupational opportunities among lower castes. Guru developed a new discourse of reasonable tradition, a new ideology where 'reason' was imparted in traditional religious practice. Caroline Osella and Filippo Osella noted that " 'One caste, one religion, one God for humanity' a bold scientific insistence upon empirical equality is articulated in Kerala not by a biologist or political activist but by a Guru" (Osella & Osella, 2006).

Guru had a huge impact and large number of followers in Malabar. But the organizational strength of SNDP was weak. Hence the proper dissemination of teachings of Guru and organized efforts for the mobilizations were relatively low in the region of Malabar. For instance, once few Thiyya affluent families renovated a temple in Malabar and invited Guru for the inauguration. Guru came to Malabar but denied to participate in inaugural function when he came to know that the temple does not allow the entry of scheduled castes. These Thiyya individuals were totally unaware of Guru's teaching 'One caste, one religion, one God for humanity' (K. M. Raghavan, personal communication, May 27, 2019).

Guru's impact in educational development is multi-dimensional, his ideology itself was related the dissemination of knowledge. He installed mirrors and lighted lamps as the idol in many temples. According to him it was the symbol of knowledge (Arivu). His impact on educational development of the study area did not come mostly from organization (SNDP) but his personal charisma and ideology. Primary school formation in study area was also had his influence. ALPS Maniyoor Bagavathi Vilasam was started by one wealthy person hailing from Thiyya caste, Chandrothil Ramotti. Once Ramotti met Sree Narayana Guru and discussed about the educational backwardness of downtrodden castes in Malabar, Guru advised him to establish a school in his neighbourhood for the educational upliftment of lower castes. Kunjaaman, his eldest son, was sent to Kannur training school. Kunjaaman returned after higher education

and established ALPS Maniyoor Bagvathi Vilasam. (*Urava (school histories of Taliparamba South educational sub district)*, n.d.).

First movement among Dalits also began in Travancore and Cochin. For them education, specifically access to schools, was an important area of struggle. First-ever labour (agricultural) strike in Kerala was among the Pulaya community under the leadership of Ayyankali (1863-1941), demanding their children's entry into schools. Ayyankali made a brave public announcement that "If you do not allow our children to study, we will not work in your fields. Only weeds will grow in your fields". He stood for the immediate redressal of suffering of slave castes by ensuring admission into schools, right to travel in public roads etc. He rejected many aspects of Hinduism and focused solely on the material prosperity of Dalits. Moreover, he used his body itself as a symbol of protest, and wore turban, ornaments and coats as a message of breaking caste restrictions. His call had wide acceptance among Dalit population and progressive activists across Kerala including Malabar. After the historic call of Ayyankali, Dalits issues entered into the public imagination and a culture of resistance started developing in Malabar. Most of the parallel social and political movements have started accommodating Dalit issues. In 1924, at Kalliasseri (nearby place of study area) a small organization was started Harijan Samaajam. Organization was primarily intended to address the various grievances of Dalits. Similarly, "Kerala Antyajodharana Sangham (KAS) was formed in 1927 under K. Kelappan, C. Krishnan, P.M. Unnikrishnan and O. Koran at Calicut and later it was renamed later as Adi Keralodharana Sangham (AKS). A unit of All India Harijan Sevak Sangham also started functioning in 1930 under the leadership of Kongattil Raman Menon." (Navath, 2014).

Even though Malabar lacked social reforms as much as Travancore and Cochin, there were few reform efforts were initiated by various individuals and agencies. Those movements could not mobilize and organize large number of people but still played a crucial role in shaping various facets of Malabar society including education. Moreover, social reform movements are less discussed in literature and public domain. So, it is important to have detailed understanding and document the social movements of Malabar.

4.21 Brahmananda Swami Sivayogi (1852-1929)

Sivayogi was one of the most prominent social reformer who influenced the educational development of Malabar. His approach was to propagate colonial education without deviating from traditional cultural norms and values. This position is primarily developed and legitimized through his ideology of *Ananda*, which means Happiness. Unlike all other social religious reformers of Kerala, Sivayogi rejected the existence of god, idol worship and other traditional

customs (Madhavan, n.d.). Association with Brahma Samaj and wide circle of friends who are english educated led him in developing a new philosophy of life. Subsequently, he proposed a new religion called *Anandamatha*, with proclaimed aim to unite all humans for happiness. *Anandamatha* was a new view of life based on rationality rooted in tradition and cultural values. He argued that the root cause of all social evils in every society is the existence of different religions, castes and god. But he did not envision a religionless world but developed a reasoning that there is no god other than mind. He did not hesitate ferociously criticize Brahminism as well. He posited that caste system was a creation of upper castes, and society will not get any peace unless it abandons caste system. He questioned the Brahmanical monopoly of ideology and spiritualism and said that temples as centers of ignorance. According to his religion *Anandamatha*, happiness is life's goal for living beings. It comes only by the control mind which can be facilitated by practice of Rajayoga. The ideas of western liberalism, "Samkhya philosophy on nature, the sidha tradition on yoga, the Charvaka philosophy based on reason, the Buddhist and Jainist philosophy and the teachings of the Vedas and Upanishads influenced Sivayogi to preach *Anandamatha*" (Madhavan, n.d.). A close similarity between the basic teachings of *Anandamatha* and Navayana Buddhism can be observed.

He viewed western education as an agent of social change, especially in eradicating social evils and propagating reason. He strongly argued and wrote for women's education. As we discussed in earlier parts women's representation educational institutions were minuscule. So, he strongly argued for more educational institutions for women. According to him it is jealousy and selfishness of man lies behind the gender inequality. Education for women is necessary for the realization freedom, equality and meaningfulness of gender inequality. Sivayogi authored a book solely discussing about women education, titled as *Sthreevidyaposhini* in 1899. In that book he observes that child marriage and early widowhood as the most crucial social evils behind the educational backwardness of women in Malabar. Also, he posited that, only an educated woman can serve her husband and child purposefully. Raising of a healthy new generation with proper understanding of social values are essential for the development of nation. Thus, development of nation directly correlated with education of women. Even though Sivayogi argued for women's social mobility, his ideas were somewhat trapped inside the orthodoxy that women are supposed to do all care work of husband and child. However, we cannot discount his contributions in social mobility of women in Malabar society.

Impact of Sivayogi's thought on Malabar society, especially education was multifaced. Sivayogi himself, under the title of his Ashram, began few educational institutions and hostels

in Malabar where women got more emphasis. His disciple Pandit K N Karuppan “submitted *Jatibhedakhanadanam*, A critique of caste division, a portion of Sivayogi's *Mokshapradeepam* as a memorandum to the Cochin king requesting to permit low caste people to use public roads” (Madhavan, n.d.). Eminent personalities like poetess Lalitambika Antharjanam, Social reformer V T Bhattathirippadu, and Vagbhatanandan acknowledged his influence on their works and world view. Nevertheless, he failed to pull the masses around his philosophy. Majority of people irrespective of caste, were not ready to fully accept his philosophy especially denial of gods and idols. But his thoughts prepared the ground for the later social and political movements in Malabar.

4.22 Vagbhatanandan (1885-1939)

Vagbhatanandan was a spiritual leader, fiery orator and poet who blended together the question of nationalism and education of downtrodden sections of society. Even though he belongs to Thiyya (untouchable) community, since childhood he was trained in reading and interpreting Sanskrit religious texts. In early years he was deeply influenced by the thoughts and reform activities of Brahmananda Sivayogi, especially Sivayogi's position on caste discrimination and idol worship. During youth he became Sivayogi's disciple and delivered speeches across Malabar. Sivayogi was impressed in the activities of new disciple and wrote a “verse by giving the name ‘Vagbhatanandan’ to express his gratitude in defending him against criticism” (Madhavan, n.d.). But later a difference of opinion started developing among Sivayogi and Vagbhatanandan. Vagbhatananda wrote a book titled *Adhyatmayuddham* in which he argued that Sivayogi's *Anandamatha* was immersed in the darkness of ignorance thus a misleading religion. Similar to Sreenarayana guru, Vagbhatanandan also developed his philosophy around *Advaita Vedanta* philosophy. But he differed from all contemporaries of time. He posited that the primary duty of an *Advaita* Philosopher is to confront social and religious evils like caste system and superstitions and to work for a prosperous society. He was a staunch believer of existence of god and a scholar of Hindu texts, still he argued that all religions lead to same ultimate truth. His position on religion can be interpreted as secular. According to him religion should be private affair, so agencies like Arya Samaj which promotes the conversion to Hinduism is problematic to society.

He began his social reformist activities by writing anti caste songs which oppose different customs and practices based on caste discrimination practiced in Malabar. Subsequently under his leadership a musical troupe started and they performed anti caste songs in streets of all main towns in Malabar. He felt that Malabar lacks an organization which can lead the social reform

movement. Then he established '*Atmavidyasangham*' in 1917. Organization believed in secular values and all people across religion, caste and gender became members. Various protest against caste system, rituals and communal rivalry attracted more people towards the organization. Atmavidyasangham got followers even from distant rural villages of Malabar, though most of them hail from Tiyya community. They visited many lower caste households and organized many inter marriages and inter dinings. Marriage of Madhavan Nair and the Tiyya woman, Madhavi, who were teachers of Chalad UP School was one among the famous marriage performed under the supervision of Vagbhatanandan which tampered the caste fabric of Malabar.

Vagbhatanandan played a crucial role in the development of education and literary tradition of Malabar. Firstly, activities of *Atmavidyasangham* against caste discrimination and exploitation (as we mentioned above) and gender discrimination contributed to the expansion of education. Women wing of *Atmavidyasangham* gave special emphasis on access women to educational institutions, they organized number of public meetings, speeches and distributed pamphlets. Secondly, *Atmavidyasangham* was not ready to stick on to mere campaigns they established schools for the people who were denied admission in other schools. Atmavidyasangham L.P. School at Karakkad. The Vagbhatananda Vilasam High School at Chokli, Atmavidyasangham U.P. School at Kolathur, Atmavidyasangham L.P. School at Harippad and Atmaprakasika Girls L.P. school at Karaparamba (Madhavan, n.d.) were few main institutions established by Atmavidyasangham which played a crucial role in giving education to oppressed sections of Malabar society.

Not only schools, they enthusiastically campaigned and established libraries in many rural villages of Northern Malabar. When Upper caste groups opposed anti caste movements by not giving jobs to lower castes, especially to the people who work with social movements, Vagbhatananda organized workers into a cooperative unit. In 1925 the society was registered as 'Uralunkal Labour Contract Cooperative Society' (ULCCS) (*ULCCS LTD*, n.d.). It was the first labour contract society in Kerala, they played a crucial role in building schools, bridges etc. Subsequently, he established a bank, 'Uralunkal Aikyananaya Sangham' and 'Uralunkal Cooperative House Construction and Credit Society'. These institutions not only gave financial independence to the workers but also contributed to the infrastructure developments of the area which reduced the physical inaccessibility to educational institutions.

He took strong stand against colonial exploitation and feudal order of society. He clearly identified and criticized the exploitation of peasants of Malabar by upper caste landlords with

the help of colonial government. He directly supported peasant and labour movements. For instance, once one dalit tile factory labour was beaten to death by authorities. Demanding justice to worker and proper enquiry, hunger strike was began under the leadership of K P Gopalan, a communist leader. Vagbhatananda came to the venue and gave strong speech and registered solidarity with movement. He was an ardent supporter of Gandhi's programmes and urged his followers to be part of civil disobedience movement and quit India movement (Kannan, 2012b).

Unlike all other social reformist movements in Malabar, Vagbhatanandan managed mobilize masses. His arena was not just the spirituality and religion, he actively played an important role in anti-caste, anti-colonial, peasant and workers movement. His impact on educational development was primarily in two ways, firstly, through establishing schools for all. Secondly in challenging the barriers which were acted as hindrance in accessing schools for a large number of people in Malabar.

4.23 Ananda Theerthan (1905-1987)

Ananda Shenoy famously known Swamy Ananda Theerthan was an ascetic who is considered as one of the last reformers from renaissance tradition of Kerala. Last disciple of Sree Narayana guru and a follower of Gandhi. Thus, he led struggle in two fronts; firstly, against caste oppression. Secondly, against the colonial exploitation. In 1926 he completed BA honors in physics with second rank in Madras presidency. During this period, he got acquainted with many congress workers and was attracted to principles of Gandhi. He was keenly observing socio political developments in Kerala as well, Vaikom Satyagraha had a huge impact on him. He came to know that how untouchables of Kerala were denied even the right to use public roads. He decided to work for the upliftment of society and initially joined the Ramakrishna mission. But he felt disappointed because of their soft stand in fighting untouchability. Then he got attracted to the slogans Sree Narayana Guru such as 'Don't ask, tell, or think caste'. He started identifying himself with political programme of Gandhi and social reformist programme of Sree Narayana Guru.

He became an active congress worker and travelled in different parts of Malabar to mobilize people. In 1930 he became 'standard bearer' of a procession led by C Rajagopalachari at Trichinopalli. There he saw untouchables were seated separately from public. Then he opposed this practice and publicly registered his dissent. During the same period 'Kandoth Incident' had happened which deeply influenced Ananda Theerthan. A group of Dalits under the leadership of A. K. Gopalan, K.A. Keralayyan announced a march through the road near Sri

Koormba Bhagavathi temple, Kandoth near Payyannur. Initially the local Congressmen boycotted the march. On the day of march orthodox Thiyyas of the region, few of them were members of Congress, attacked the participants of march with sticks and stones. Most of them including A K Gopalan and Keraleeyan was injured admitted to a hospital. Ananda Theerthan Visited hospital and came to know about the plight of Dalits in Malabar. He criticized congress for not taking the programme of the abolishment of untouchability and upliftment of Dalits seriously. Still he was convinced by the teachings of Gandhi and identified himself as the Gandhian. He identified caste system as the primary problem of our society. And started working with special emphasis on abolishment of untouchability. He decided Malabar as Centre of his activities, where the presence of social reformist movements was less than other parts of Kerala. He worked primarily targeting the eradication of social evils like untouchability and discrimination.

According to him education of younger generation was the most effective mean to achieve emancipation of Dalits. In 1931 he established Sree Narayana Vidyalayam at Payyannur for the educational upliftment of Dalit children. Initially he had to face various problems in establishing this institution, Payyannur was centre of orthodox Hindus and no one was ready to sell their land for a Dalit hostel. Later he managed to buy a piece of land from a Muslim wealthy man of locality and built a proper building. Subsequently he opened branches of Sree Narayana Vidyalaya in other places of Malabar, Pazhayangadi, Koilandy, Tellicherry and Kalliassery (Kannan, 2012a). These institutions had great influence in Dalits all over Malabar and prominent personalities like A K Gopalan, K A Keraleeyan, Vishnu Bharatheeyan, and K P R Gopalan extended their solidarity and support to this initiative. Ananda Theerthan visited even the remote villages of Malabar and recruited Dalits to these institutions. Dalits in Study area was also got benefitted from the activities of Ananda Theerthan. In the History of Kanool jubilee school it is mentioned that, social reformer Ananda Theerthan used to visit the informal education centre in the area and take brilliant students to his school in Payyannur. He attacked the monopoly of uppercastes over institutional education by sending Dalits to schools. There he and his students had to face many obstacles in the journey. He effectively used the judiciary to challenge these hindrances. Filed many cases against upper castes by upholding the constitutional provisions. In 1932, one Dalit child from Sree Narayana Vidyalaya, Prabhakara Sharma³⁰ was attacked by the orthodox Hindus near Subramanya temple Payyannur. Ananda

³⁰ Anand Theerthan started a practice of giving upper caste names for lower caste children as a strategy of challenging caste hegemony. But later this practice was stopped after realizing the difficulties faced by these students for getting caste certificates and availing constitutionally mandated reservation.

Theerthan filed cases against them. In one school near the same area human excreta were put inside classes by upper caste groups, following admission of two Dalit Students. Police ordered to remove those and Dalit students continued to study in same school.

“In 1937, Swami Ananda Theerthan with a few Harijan children went to the Fisheries school at Kavvayi near Payyannur to admit them in the school. The conservative Hindus of the surrounding area prevented and cruelly assaulted him by using deadly weapons. He also faced the physical attack of conservative Hindus when he went with two Harijan children to the Malabar District Board School at Maniyoore in 1939” (Madhavan, n.d.)

He travelled through villages of Malabar and picking up various issues regarding Caste discrimination and tried his best to educationally uplift Dalits who were not benefitted from earlier reform activities. He became honorary inspector of labour schools of Malabar in 1947. His activities during the period resulted in the expansion of educational opportunities of downtrodden masses. He distanced himself from congress after realizing that their programme is incapable of addressing Caste issues. He went on to criticize Congress led agitation for dismissing first ministry of Kerala in 1957.

No doubt, Ananda Theerthan is one of the most prominent personality in the educational history of Malabar. His area work was solely on the section of people who were neglected by the earlier movements and mainstream imagination. He rightly identified caste system as the primary hurdle in the expansion of education. Ananda Theerthan was deeply disappointed by the lack of commitment and inability of Indian national congress in addressing caste question. He rejected the proposal of eradication of caste by changing mindset of upper castes. According to him a struggle led by the untouchables themselves would only bring social change. His engagement with national movement and political parties influenced the direction of later political developments. In other words, Ananda Theerthan played a crucial role in making sure that political discourse of Kerala is upholding the values produced by the social reformist movements of 19th and 20th century. He lived during a period where the social movements were declining and political movements becoming dominant social force. His continuous efforts and struggles in Malabar, as a representative of earlier social reformist movement, in a way forced the political movements continue and develop the dreams of an egalitarian society, especially the struggles to ensure admission of Dalits and against untouchability practices inside schools.

4.24 Muslim Movements

As we discussed Mappilas lagged behind most of the communities in Malabar, regarding modern education. But there were attempts from the colonial government to expand secular

education among Muslims especially in the regions where the rebellion was most affected. As we discussed in earlier chapters, for Britishers colonial education expected to function as a cultural tool, to civilize uncivilized natives in order to decrease number of crimes. But these attempts were totally insufficient to bring large section of Mappilas of Malabar to schools. But some sections of wealthy Muslims were benefitted. Newly educated section of Muslims identified the increasing social and economic status attained by other communities through education. Consequently, educated Mappilas became active participants of Mappila organizations and like “Malabar Muslim Majlis, Himayatul Islam Sabha, The Muhammedan Education Society, The Young Men’s Muslim Association (YMMA), Kannur and Thanveerul Islam Association, Kasargod” (Navath, 2014). These organizations actively demanded for the betterment of Muslim representation in government services and expansion of education. newly educated youth’s main contribution in expanding education was negotiating with the mind set of masses against colonial secular education which was formed during Malabar rebellion. Social reformers like Makthi Tangal and Chalilakath Kunhahammad Haji were the main proponents of reformist ideas. Tangal famously said that “without knowledge there is no pride and without pride there is no modesty” (Navath, 2014). They tried to reset traditional Mappila education, which was part of old indigenous educational institutions, by introducing western instructional practices. Use of print media, active participation in national movement also contributed to the spread of new education system. Even though the direct influence of Muslim reformers were not visible in the study area but the role of wealthy Muslims of locality in establishing schools were very visible.

4.3 Political Developments

British rule in India was not based on any sense of legitimacy, but on the basis of brutal physical force. As we discussed in the second chapter this brutal force was backed up by an ideology rooted in racism, which give right to rule over the inferior. Earlier independence movements did not have any problem with many aspects of colonial ideology, even though they believed in the superiority east. The movement which was dominated by indigenous elites did not have direct problem with brutal force also, what they wanted was more space for themselves within colonial order. But everything started changing when independence movement started reaching out to masses. In order to gain attraction amongst masses, movement started addressing the material needs of masses like socio economic justice, right to lands, higher wages better schooling etc. Programme of anticolonial struggle was broadened from simply critiquing the racial order of government to the practice of democracy and freedom.

Anticolonial struggle acquired the status of a national movement and it started reaching each and every corner of the country. Since the programme of national movement was anti-racism accompanied by social and economic reforms, it easily gained attraction of people of Malabar who has been suffering from deep social and economic injustices. As we already discussed, even prominent religious reformist movements in Malabar aligned with the struggles of national movement. Unlike earlier religious reformist movements national movement mobilized a greater number of people on various issues and led struggles for the betterment of living condition. At the same time national movement attempted to carry forward many values created as a result of reformist movements and struggles for social emancipation. Agenda of national movement was deeply influenced by the reformist movements who argued for the empowerment of lower castes, upliftment status of women in society, and education for all. But it is very important to remember that these were not the fundamental aim or slogans of the movement. However, some activists of national movement, Indian National Congress (INC) gave more emphasis on these slogans.

In Malabar, national movement took access to education for all as one of the main slogans. With the expansion of movement to various part of Malabar, when more people became part of movement, local level leaderships emerged. Who played a crucial role in the establishment of schools across Malabar as we seen in the study area, as described in last chapter. The 'Kalliasseri incident' was a major event that altered the political direction of Malabar's educational development. Upper caste landlords thrashed and threw out two Dalit youngsters, Sukuman and his brother, who had come to Kalliasseri higher elementary school for admission. E P Krishnan Nambiar and other young activists of INC taken up the issue and organized various protest programmes. This struggle gained a lot of attraction across the country and leaders like K Kelappan came to Kalliasseri and stayed for a while. C.F. Andrews, a well-known educator and reformist, also visited Kalliasseri. He even raised the issue in the British parliament. Leaders of socialist fraction of INC, who later became part of communist movement such as A K Gopalan, K A Keraleeyan, Vishnu Bharatheeyan frequently visited and some of them even started staying there. Later Kalliasseri became centre of Communist movement in Malabar. After this incident many upper caste landlords and managers of schools were afraid to put restrictions lower caste entry to schools, even in the south Taliparamba sub district many schools started admitting lower caste children.

4.31 Teachers Movement

National movement influenced almost all sections of society which resulted in various national and local level struggles, consequently various unions also formed. Teachers union was one of the important among them, which played crucial role not only in educational development but also in the general mass struggles led by political parties. Teachers became increasingly active in politics by the 1930s. In Malabar Teachers' started organizing because of mainly four reasons. Firstly, teachers' living conditions at the time were deplorable. The grant-in-aid scheme permitted managers to make any decision they wanted without being questioned. Many teachers barely got salary and they had to work under the pressure of colonial bureaucratic structure (Cherukad, 2003). Secondly, because of the new values formed during the wave of religious reformist movements, public became more democratic in nature. And among teachers, a feeling to do something to change their living condition, started growing. Thirdly, National movement expanded to almost all parts of Malabar. 1928 Conference held at Payyannur, a place near study area, and civil disobedience movement attracted almost all sections of society to activities of national movement.

Teachers' who are being economically exploited by managers and politically and socially exploited by the colonial government, got attracted by the national movement and became active participants. It led them to the realization of the need and potential of union activities. Fourthly, spread of printing made it possible for a "single written message to reach many receivers and thus to increase the potential effectiveness of a few individual communicators" (Joseph, 2008). Political activists especially socialists, largely used this media to propagate their ideas. As a result, importance of unionization and plight of teachers were more discussed in public sphere and influenced teachers. In Malayalam short story literature, a new branch was started during this period known as 'Adhyapaka Kathakal' (Teachers' stories), which primarily discusses the plight of teachers. Short stories like 'Pothichoru' (Lunch Box)³¹ by Karoor had huge impact among school teachers.

First Teacher's union in Kerala was formed in a place called Manappuram in Malabar district. Manappuram aided elementary school teachers' union was formed in 1931. Later many teachers' unions were founded in many parts of Malabar. Chirakkal Taluka Aided Teachers' Union was founded in 1934 near the study area. Malabar Aided Elementary Teachers Union

³¹ Thread of the story is that the protagonist, a school teacher steals a student's lunch box. And consequent developments around this incident. Story describes the hunger and poverty suffered by the school teacher during the period.

was founded in 1936 at a convention held in Vadakara. And it was the first union to work and mobilized teachers of all Malabar under a single umbrella. Agenda of teachers' union was never restricted to the welfare of teachers. Teachers' unions were political, and they did not hesitate to take strong positions on broader political issues. They were ardent anti-imperialists; one essay authored by union general secretary T C Narayanan Nambiar on October 10, 1938, was titled 'Teachers Union: An Anti-Imperialist Movement'. Moreover, they led struggles against caste practices in schools along with the agenda of welfare of teachers. Teachers of primary schools in the study area, south Taliparamba, were directly part of the historic Morazha struggle³². ALPS Morazha West teachers were beaten up by police, while AUPS Morazha Central teachers were arrested and beaten up.. Policed demolished few libraries and schools accusing as centres of political activities.

4.4 Educational Development in Malabar since Independence

End of colonial rule supposed to end colonial education also, a new education system rooted in democratic values was expected emerge. But because of continuation of colonial mentality of indigenous elites who headed nationalist movement, complete restructuring of education system did not happen. But fundamental changes in the functioning of bureaucracy of education department and educational policy in Malabar can be observed. These changes primarily emerged from the change people's attitude and engagement with state. After independence, state machinery became an important tool for public action. Unlike colonial period, attempts to reduce the gap between people's aspiration and state activities under democratically elected government became significant.

4.41 Malabar District Board

Malabar district board gained more emphasis after the independence of the country. Direct educational activities and other factors which contributed in the expansion of primary schooling got special attention in post-colonial period. As we discussed above practice of democracy and public nature political institutions became more prominent. Activities of Malabar District board was instrumental in the expansion of primary schooling. In 1947 K. Kelappan became the president of district board of education in Malabar and appointed Ananda

³² Morazha struggle began on September 15, 1940. The Congress had called for a peasants' conference to be held in Morazha on that day to protest against the Government's decision to participate in World War II, and to demand assistance for the rural poor affected by food shortage and drought. The police employed a brutal lathi-charge to disperse the gathering. Under the leadership of KPR, people resisted. It was in the ensuing clash that Sub- Inspector of Police Kuttikrishna Menon was killed (*RAS / Aspects of the Peasant Movement in Malabar: An Interview with E. K. Nayanar*, n.d.)

Theerthan as honorary inspector in charge of labour schools³³. Ananda Theerthan found the many discrepancies in the functioning of these schools. At ground level the colonial policies were not implemented as they expected. According to government guidelines Dalit students in labour schools should not exceeded 30% of the total strength. But in practice majority of students were upper and middle castes. He found that even in labour schools caste discrimination and untouchability is practiced.

Expansion of education to all sections of society became prime agenda when new president P T Bhaskara Panikkar and V Moossan Kutti Master as education in charge and vice-president elected in 1954. District Board's plan for development considered focus areas as Education, Public Health and Transport. Thousands of public wells and village roads were constructed immediately after coming to power. Another important achievement was setting up of Taluk and village level hospitals in most parts of Malabar. These developments have indirectly contributed to better primary school enrollment and decrease in dropouts. Health was acted as a main barrier in achieving education, especially for marginalized section of society. Physical inaccessibility to schools were solved to an extend when better transportation facilities such as village roads and bridges came.

During this period primary education got attention than ever before in the history. In the beginning of 1954 there was no proper guidelines or laws about matters regarding school development. School related matters were totally in hands of private managers, only duty of state was to incentivize management to do bare minimum things. Hence there was no proper mechanism or guidelines in school matters like appointment of teachers. Moreover, a wide inequality existed in the physical condition of schools. Some schools functioned with proper buildings and facilities like play ground while many schools functioned in small buildings and hut like temporary structures, most schools lacked funds. District board tried to address these issues by allocating more funds. And for the first time in the history, in 1954 Malabar district board introduced guidelines about the appointment of teachers. Earlier, teachers appointments were merely based recommendations and influence. Hence it was totally under the control of manager, most of them chose to use this provision to extract profit. Some schools were even turned to the status of schools into family institutions by appointing their close relatives only as teachers. Because of this practice, caste composition of teachers was also suffered from over representation of upper castes, since most of the school management was under control of upper

³³ These schools were established by Britishers, in order to address the educational needs of scheduled castes and other marginalized communities.

castes. During the period even after completing studies and teachers training, very less people from marginalized communities and women got appointed as teachers. In order to ensure better ground level implementation, district board started working with teacher's unions. Prior being elected to district board both president and vice president was school teachers and active union members. P T Bhaskara Panikkar taught as a school master at Sreekrishnapuram High School, while K V Moossan Kutti Master worked as a school master at various schools in the study area at distinct periods.

After the introduction of institutional framework in the appointment of teachers and collaboration with teachers' union, special consideration and preferences were started to give for the appointment of teachers from marginalized sections of society. Women, Scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes, people from backward areas like Wayanad and other remote villages of Malabar were appointed as teachers (Ajayakumar, 2008). In order to expand primary education to remote villages and the areas which are populated by lower castes, district board established hundreds of single teacher schools as first step. GLPS Perumacheri was stopped functioning after few years of establishment, due to financial constraints. Considering the lack of educational institutions in that locality, District board restarted as a single teacher school.

Similarly, the district board purchased a few aided schools directly from managers that were running in deplorable conditions, then they were transformed into board schools. One of them is GHSS Mayyil in the study area. During the same period, the District Board established GLPS Kodallur. Thousands of primary schools were converted into upper primary schools, whereas upper primary schools were converted into high schools. For example, ALPS Mayyil, GUPS Kadembari, and AUPS Morazha were upgraded in the study area. Additionally, in the history of many schools it is mentioned that with the help of district board they either moved to or built a proper building. Many times, district board did not have enough budget to allocate enough money to provide infrastructural development of educational institutions across Malabar. But they played leading role in mobilizing resources from the public through various methods for the development of schools across Malabar. Creation of public interest and participation of public in the process of educational development was crucial.

In summary, the Malabar district board's significance and accomplishments are as follows. Unlike ever before, a government body gave special attention to most marginalized sections of society. State became more public in nature. Dalits, tribals, members of minority communities, and families of political sufferers, and others, were given special emphasis, and programmes were devised and implemented to better their condition, with not just education but also

occupation and health care. (Ajayakumar, 2008). For the expansion of education district board led a strong mass campaign for education along with setting up schools in remote areas and introduced a better system of transfer and appointment of teachers. Collaboration with teachers' union and cultural organizations helped the board to reach out most of the sections of society. After the formation of Kerala, board schools were taken over by the Kerala state government. District board was completely abolished when Kerala Panchayat Act of 1960 came to existence (Salim & Nair, 2002).

4.42 Formation of Kerala

i) Kerala education Bill of 1957

After the independence, Kerala state was formed on linguistic grounds at 1956 November 1st. The election for the very first Kerala legislative assembly did take place from March 28th to March 11th, 1957. Winning 60 seats out of 126, the Communist Party voted as the leading party in the assembly. The Malabar District Board's performance in 1954-57 was a promotion for the Communist leadership, how they could work in a democratic setting, and moreover foster a democratic, progressive setting. Its benefits were realized in the 1957 Assembly Elections. The Communist Party received a lot of support from the rural districts of northern Malabar, as well as from oppressed castes like the Ezhavas. Kerala's first elected government assumed office on April 5, 1957. Marxist theoretician and leader EMS Namboodirippad as chief minister and an eminent literary critic and activist of teachers and co-operative movement Prof. Joseph Mundassery as education minister.

Just after taking the oath, the chief minister delivered a policy statement in which he particularly mentioned two future initiatives, one concerning land legislation and the other concerning educational reforms. The 14th item of the Governor's Address to the Legislative Assembly, which describes the government's proposed course of action, was educational reform programmes in Kerala. It declared that one of the primary intentions of the government is to introduce an Educational Reform Bill and make primary education accessible and inclusive. Moreover, government acknowledged the comparative backwardness of Malabar and announced special programmes for the expansion of schooling (Governor's Speech in the State Legislative Assembly, Public Relations Dept., Govt. Press, Trivandrum, 1957 (*Kerala Legislative Assembly*, n.d.))

In the wake of formation of Kerala, Malabar was lagged behind other regions in terms of educational indicators. Till that point of time state's role in schooling was restricted in Malabar. Table below give us better picture regarding that.

Table 4.1: Number of schools and student enrollment in Malabar, 1957.

Ownership of Schools	No. of Schools	No. of students Enrolled (in'000)
Government	56 (1.4%)	14.5 (2.10%)
Local Board	1153 (28.1%)	178.3 (24.5)
Private	2889 (70.5%)	533.9 (73.5%)
Total	4098	726.7

Source: Director of public instruction, 1957.

In Malabar, 73.5 percent of students were educated in private schools. The percentage of government schools was only 1.4 percent while enrollment was 2.1percent. However, 24.5 percent of children attended schools run by local boards. The majority of these local board schools were established under the previous Malabar district board council. Before 1957, the state seemed to have no authority over schools in Malabar. As we already mentioned, after a certain point of time, schools were mushroomed for making profit or safeguarding communal and sectarian interests.

In this backdrop the Kerala Education Bill (KEB) of 1957 was introduced to assembly. It was nothing but an invariable sequence to previous attempts to implement reforms in school administration, management and curriculum. This statute has altered not only Kerala's educational history, it even influenced the political history. The EMS ministry's first significant step after assuming to office was to introduce this bill to take entire control and change direction of educational development of the state. The communist government restructured primary education in accordance with Articles 45 and 46 of the Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution. According to which "the imparting of free and compulsory primary education is the responsibility of State government and prescribed penalties to parents, if they fail to send their children to schools" (Samraj, 2011). Primary objective of bill was to ensure the organization of general education on a sounder and more equitable basis (A. Mathew, 1987). Even before the bill was introduced in the assembly, many

people interpreted it more as an attempt of nationalisation. During a media briefing, the education minister explained and discussed about the legislation.

“The bill was simply and purely; a piece of protective legislation intended to secure and safeguard the interests of teachers employed in schools under private management in Kerala. Bill was not concerned about the nationalization on the other hand Government acknowledged with gratitude the services of all agencies, which have been working in the field for the last so many years and which intend to work in the future also with a spirit of service. At a time when the government had not come forward to take up social service activities direct, this role had been fulfilled by charitable institutions. The government activities in such field were restricted to the extension of help to such organizations and institutions. But today, the outlook had changed and it was the duty of the government in a welfare State to take over social service activities under their direct responsibility. The government hoped that the KEB would be the source of encouragement to all sections whose object was selfless service in the field of education” (Press Release of Education Minister, dated 11th July 1957, KSA, Trivandrum (Samraj, 2011))

The draft presented to the legislative assembly was composed of 3 main parts: general, compulsory education, and miscellaneous. Along with teachers' concerns, curriculum standardization, and management roles, the law proposed compulsory free primary schooling up to the age of 14 and free mid-day meals, textbooks, and writing supplies. Under the new law, a State Advisory Board and proper local level educational authorities were to be established to advise the Department of Education on different parts of its work.

The KEB was sent to a Select Committee after such a lengthy debate in the Assembly that stretched almost up to ten hours. The committee examined the bill line by line and reported on August 24, 1957. It altered 19 parts, adding 5 and removing 2. It lowered the manager's punishment for breaking the requirements of the bill associated with the provision of necessary information from a fine or imprisonment to the removal of grant to the school. It had restored the manager's authority to shut his school at any point of time, with one-year prior notice to government. The committee preserved the manager's authority to recruit teachers. He was granted the authority to hire anyone he wanted from a district-by-district list of qualified candidates supplied by the public service commission. On September 2, 1957, the bill was did pass in the assembly. The legislation was then sent to the President of India by Kerala's governor. For the very first time in post - independence era, the president sought the Supreme Court's advice on a legislative question. Following the Supreme Court's opinion, the president handed the bill to the state governor on July 8, 1958. It was then modified and approved on November 28, 1958.

However, the law was met with coordinated opposition from the caste Hindu organisation Nair Service Society (NSS) and Christian churches that monopolised the schools. The Indian national congress backed these attacks, making them more political, mobilising numerous people, and organising several public protests. In 1957, 3000 blue uniformed 'Christophers,' or Christ bearers, paraded around the city and eventually organised a public gathering. Main resolutions passed meeting were demanding the removal of the KEB and requesting the Government of India to take strong and decisive steps to avoid the worsening of law and order in the Kerala. Prominent leaders of Congress, PSP and IUMML organised many protest meetings against KEB across Kerala. Opposition against the education law and land reforms intensified, later these protests are known as the Liberation Struggle. On July 31, 1959, the federal government dissolved the communist ministry and announced direct control by the President of India. This experience, fate of a serious attempt to reform educational system in equitable line, indicate the casteist and communal elements existing in postcolonial Kerala society. Unlike earlier, overlapping of interests of moneyed classes of different caste and religious groups and the formation of an unholy political alliance can also be observed here.

Despite the fact that Kerala's first ministry was overthrown and the first draft of KEB, which envisaged a better educational system, was not implemented. However, the stepping stones they laid had resulted in significant improvements in the sphere of education. Initiatives made by Kerala's first ministry established new terms for educational activities and expenditures for future governments.

ii) Financing Education

After the formation of Kerala educational activities gained further momentum. Even though few attempts which could have made education accessible to all were opposed by caste communal forces, but state continued intervene education by various programmes and policies. Special emphasis on education led to the increase of expenditure on education. This is very evident in from pattern of educational expenditure as shown in the table below.

Table 4.2: Expenditure on School Education in Kerala, 1957/58 – 1995/96 (Rs. Crores)

Year	Expenditure on School Education	Receipt from School Education	Receipt from school education as percent of total school expenditure
1957-58	9.56	1.07	11.2
1960-61	16.22	1.68	10.3
1965-66	25.23	2.28	9.0
1970-71	52.53	1.29	2.5
1975-76	105.69	NA	NA
1980-81	179.69	5.54	3.1
1985-86	329.16	NA	NA
1990-91	626.77	NA	NA

Source: (Salim & Nair, 2002)

Expenditure on school education increased from 9.56 crore in 1957-58 to 52.53 crore in 1970-71 and by 1990-91 it became 626.77 crore. Which means by the 1990s expenditure on education have increased by 549 percent from 1957. Not only continued increase of expenditure, Kerala has witnessed decrease in the receipt from the schools also. Receipts were 11.2 percent of total school expenditure in 1957, it decreased to 2.5 percent of school expenditure by 1970. Which means share of fees in meeting the institutional cost has also been decreasing. The amount of money needs to be spent by a child get educated is continuously decreased. This was nothing but the continuation of agenda set by socio political movements since colonial times. Kerala spends a substantially larger share of overall expenditure on education than the rest of the states combined.

Table 4.3: The proportion of total expenditure spent on education

Year	Kerala	All states
1959/60	37.0	19.6
1960/61	35.1	19.5
1962/63	32.1	19.9
1964/65	33.8	20.2
1965/66	35.4	19.7
1966/67	36.0	19.1
1971/72	36.4	21.9

Source: (Ramachandran, 2000)

Proportion of total expenditure spent on education of all states were always near 20 percent while Kerala always had around 35 percent.

In short, in terms of absolute cost and proportion of expenditure on education to total expenditure has been continuously increasing, way more than national trend. Lion share of expenditure is spent on the development of primary schools and while receipts continued to be in negligible. Because of the public imagination of education created by socio-political movements, it reached point where no government can dare to shed the financial commitments to the educational system handed down to it from past.

iii) Agrarian Change.

As we have discussed already, presence of a tyrannical land ownership system and a tenancy system in which peasants were gradually impoverished (Nair, 1963) was a major hurdle in achieving better enrollment and decreasing dropouts, even after the expansion of schools. Majority of people in Malabar was steeped down in poverty and incapable of sending their children to schools. Since agrarian regime of Malabar is closely connected with the practice of caste and gender, social movements failed to reach their objective of education for all.

Even though there was few 'peasant' rebellions against the authoritative rule of Britain, which were quickly suppressed. No militant agrarian movement was sustained for a long period under British rule. During the period 1926-30 few movements sprout in Malabar demanding legislation addressing land tenure issues of Malabar. This was movement primarily led by the Kanam tenants who utilized it for securing their interests (Radhakrishnan, 1980). As a result, Malabar tenancy act of 1930 was passed. But this act was nothing done to reduce the scale of tenancy, while curbing few rights of traditional landlords it created a new class of landlords (Radhakrishnan, 1980). Since 1930s strong agitations and movements led by verumpattakkar was began in Malabar. In 1935, at the house of peasant leader Vishnu Bharatheeyan 'Karshaka Sangham'³⁴ was formed. Consequently, the act was amended twice, in 1951 and 1954, still it excluded a wide variety of concerns of large section of poor cultivators. After 1950s tenants and labourers were largely mobilized across Malabar by leftists mainly by communist parties. Meanwhile landlords were consolidated under the banner of Indian National Congress. By 1954, Kisan Sangh (CPI) came up with concrete demands as part of the movement demanding land to the tiller. Large number of propaganda meetings, local level agitations were conducted

³⁴ Peasants union in Malabar, later expanded to whole Kerala, which led most powerful struggles in the history of Kerala.

during this period. When communist government of 1957 was elected to power, the ground was well prepared for the radical land reforms. Consequent to widespread protest against education bill and land reforms led by upper caste landlord and communal forces with the help congress, central government dismissed the communist ministry. In 1960, the coalition ministry of the congress and the PSP came in to power and introduced Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, which was very diluted from the original one (Oommon, 1975). One controversial clause in that bill was that

“land belonging to religious, charitable, or educational institutions of public nature and public trusts, were exempted from the purview of the Act; in case the tenants purchased the interests of such landlords, it was provided that an amount equal to the fair rent had to be annually paid in perpetuity by the state to the bodies.” Cited in (Oommon, 1975)

Most of the religious and educational institutions which holds large amount of land was under the Christian and upper caste managements. This clause was nothing but an appeasement to the communal interests who were in the forefront to fight against original land reforms draft. But the struggle for the land to the tillers was continued. Mainly under Kerala Karshaka Sangham and the Kerala State Karshaka Thozhilali union³⁵ launched the militant excess land grab agitation. Consequently, hut dwelling agitations, many conventions and meetings were held. At last, even after the strong opposition from the representative of rural elites, land reforms in Kerala was a moderate success. It was achieved only because of the presence of highly organized rural masses who are capable of fighting for their rights (Radhakrishnan, 1990).

There is a huge literature exists on the socio-economic consequences of land reforms in general and specific to the case of Kerala. Radhakrishnan explained that land reforms caused the loss of status, power and authority of traditionally superior groups and the gain of socio economic status and emancipation for traditional lower groups, “an alteration of the traditional hierarchical socio economic relations into egalitarian relations” (Radhakrishnan, 1983). Similarly, Ramakumar argues that land reform as the most important intervention through public action in Malabar which transformed the standard of living of hired workers in Malabar. He explains in the study of Morazha desam, which is a part of Taliparamba sub district, “Land reforms undermined not only feudal landlordism, but also the traditional economic base of upper caste domination” (Ramakumar, 2006). Further he posits that the long struggle for land reforms was a converging point of resistance against class, caste and gender discriminations. It

³⁵ Agricultural labour union

was also instrumental in the widespread adoption of female literacy and mass enrollment in Malabar. (Ramakumar, 2006). Similarly, few others also pointed out the correlation between the land reforms and educational development. A study, looking at house hold level evidence from West Bengal observed that

“Reform (land reforms) positively impacted the decision to invest in education within the beneficiary households. The size of benefit was modest in first generation, and much larger in second. The second generation does not have a gender bias, allowing women to catch up in their levels of education” (Deininger et al., 2009)

In short, no significant changes in agrarian relations had happened in Malabar before independence. Vast majority was steeped poverty and fetters of caste system. Struggles for land reforms converged the all struggles against various social evils and not only transformed the agrarian relations of the region but also personal freedom and self-dignity of many. It is very clear that educational development of the area was benefitted from land reforms in multiple ways, especially in increasing enrollment of lower castes and classes and females, and decreasing dropouts. It is very important to note that land reforms should not be understood in the isolated context of any legislation but as a historical process.

The development of the public educational system in Malabar started during the colonial period itself. But only after the formation of Kerala did more significant state interventions capable of making schools truly public, where all sections of society can access schools, happened. But all those changes had occurred in Kerala should be looked to be historical continuity of pre-independent Kerala. Not only the tradition of social reforms movements which envisaged a better society is handed over to the post independent Kerala. Communal character of establishment and expansion of schools during colonial period had continued and it acted against state attempts in making education more public in nature.

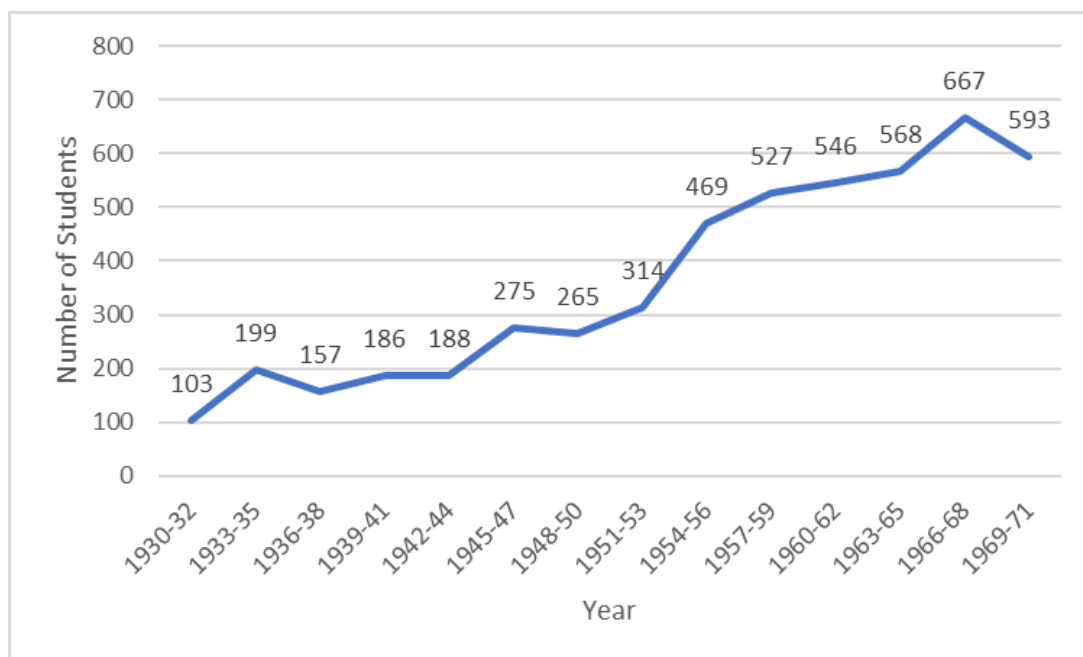
4.5 Public Nature of Schools in South Taliparamaba

We have seen major public interventions and factors which led to the creation of a strong public education system. In last chapter we have seen how schools begun in the study area and how different social and economic factors influenced the development of primary education in the study area. This section will present a detailed quantitative analysis which will let us understand how and when all those above-mentioned interventions really reflected inside schools in the study area. Old admission registrations of three randomly sampled schools in the South Taliparamaba sub-district are analysed in depth to understand the development trajectory and trends from the 1930s to 1970. Admission registers of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi,

and AUPS Morazha are considered here. Data is not analyzed merely from the point of view of phenomenal growth but also from the point of view of caste, gender and occupational categories.

4.51 Change in enrollment

Figure 4.1: Number of Students Enrolled in 1930-1970



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

The number of students who took admission in primary schools has been increasing since 1930, a slight decrease in 1970 is because of missing data³⁶. 648% increase in enrolment had happened in between 1930-32 to 1966-68. It is very evident that enrollment has dramatically increased specifically during post-colonial period. Even after the expansion of primary schools, marginalized sections of society did not enroll. The experience of Malabar suggests to discount the economic deterministic view that the expansion of educational institutions leads to better enrollment.

Total enrollment alone will not help us understand the exclusions and how those are tackled. Without looking at caste and gender aspects, discussion about enrollment is incomplete.

³⁶ Data used for analysis

Gups Kademberi – 1394 students (1933-1973) (data missing 1962-63)

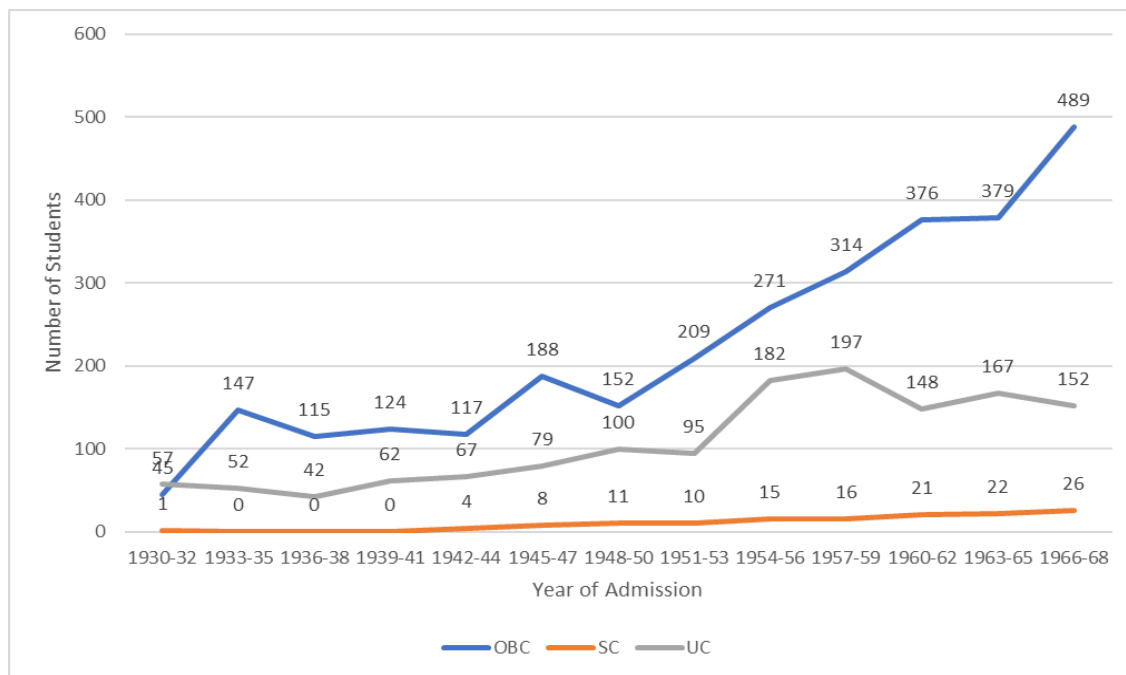
ALPS Kademberi – 1338 students (1942-1973) (data missing in 1942)

AUPS Morazha – 2567 students (1930 – 1970)

Total data size – 5299

Caste

Figure 4.2: Caste wise enrollment



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

The graph describes that all castes have undergone positive growth during the period of study, but the growth rate differed widely.

Enrollment of Upper Castes (UC) was increasing till the mid-1950s. Stagnation in enrollment after the mid-1950s may be mainly because the enrollment of upper castes has reached its saturation level. In other words, almost all children who belong to upper castes have enrolled in schools by the mid-1950s. The dramatic increase in enrollment in total enrollment after the mid-1950s was not because of the rise of upper castes but because of other castes. This trend can be considered as evidence for top down nature expansion primary schools also.

Other backward castes (OBC) underwent positive growth with the highest growth rate compared to other categories. An increased growth rate since independence can be observed. From the graph, it is clear that OBC's benefitted most from the educational developments during the period of study, especially after independence. Among the people who were excluded from education, OBCs were the biggest group in terms of population. So, their entry into educational institutions had a massive impact on total enrollment.

Scheduled Castes were constituted mainly by agrestic slave castes, who have been socially, culturally, and economically backward. Till 1941 only one scheduled caste student got attended

schools. Since 1942 positive growth can be observed, but SCs continued to be under-represented even in 1970.

Table 4.4: Caste wise enrollment in study area

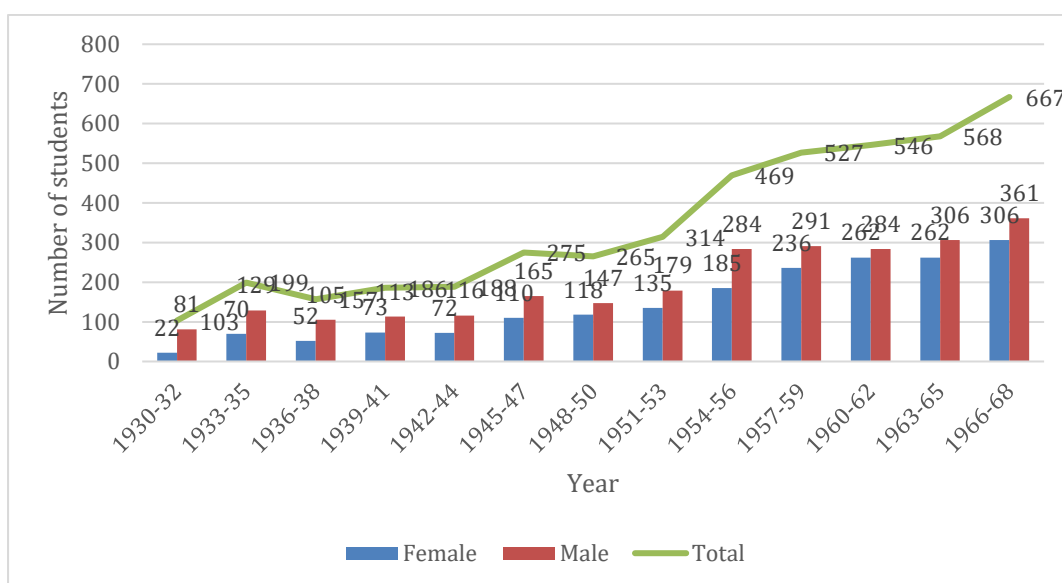
Year	SC	OBC	UC
1930-32	0.97 %	43.68 %	55.33 %
1969-71	4.23 %	73.22 %	22.54 %

Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

More children from all three categories started going to school since independence. A major chunk of OBCs and SCs joined primary schools only after the end of colonial regime, while most upper castes had access to schools during the colonial period itself. Even though the number of Upper caste students were increased, the percent share of upper castes decreased. In absolute terms and in terms of percent share, OBCs and SCs has increased. During 1930s, Scheduled castes were less than one percent of total enrollment, and OBCs were 43 percent. Both the caste groups were underrepresented in schools while Upper castes were overrepresented. With the increase of total enrollment by the 1970s, representation of different communities in school enrollment came close to the population share of the respective communities. One thing is clear that after independence study area was not just witnessed expansion of primary schooling but a development experience in equitable line.

Gender

Figure 4.3: Gender wise enrollment



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

Table 4.5: Gender wise enrollment (percent share) in study area

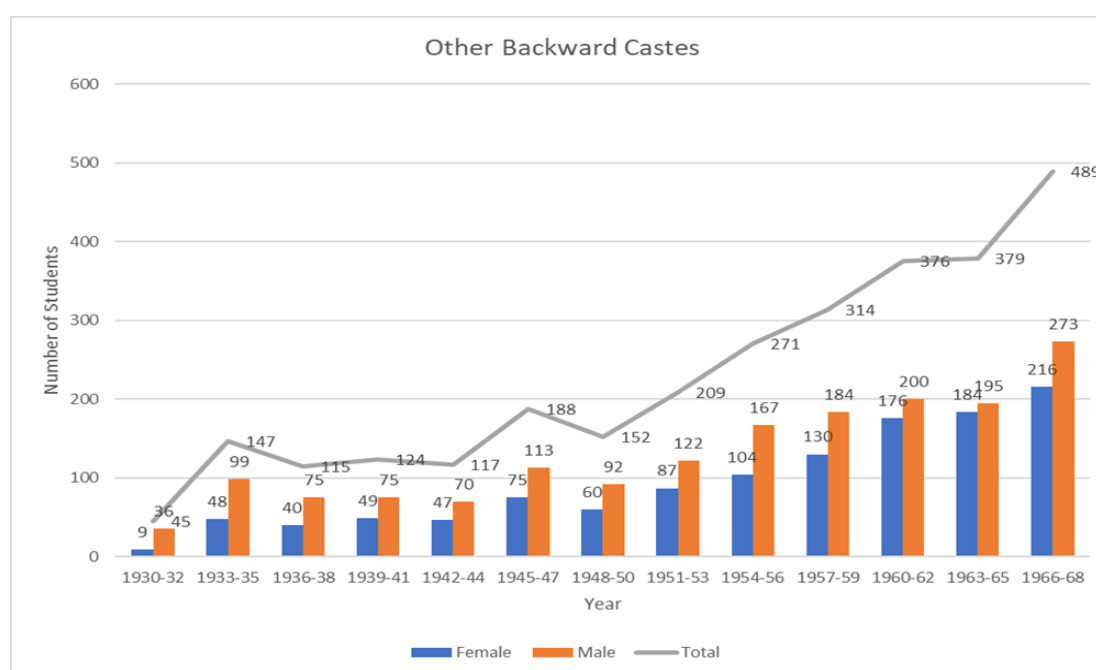
Year	Female	Male
1930-32	21.36 %	78.64 %
1969-71	46.54 %	53.46 %

Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

Female enrolment has historically been lower than male enrollment. However, both male and female enrolment grew dramatically. Because of the higher growth rate, female presence in primary-level schools has significantly improved. The gender gap was vast during 1930; only 21 percent of total enrollment was female. But the gap was narrowed by the 1970s; female enrollment has increased to 46 percent.

To understand the gender character of primary schooling in each community, let us look at the gendered distribution of enrollment in each caste category.

Figure 4.4: Gender wise enrollment of Other Backward Castes



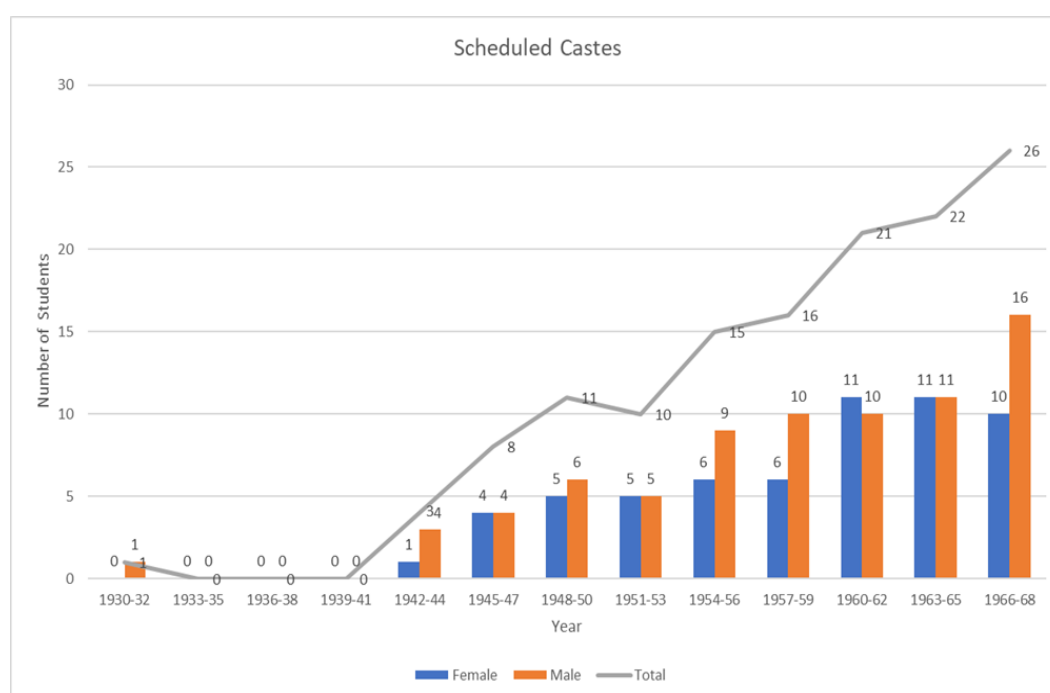
Source: Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

Like total enrollment, among OBCs also fewer females enrolled in primary schools than males. Along with the increase in total enrollment, the gap between males and females narrowed constantly. The share of female OBCs enrollment during 1930-32 was just 20%; by 1966-68

female enrollment of OBCs had increased to 44.17%. With the increased growth rate after independence, many OBC females took admission to schools. Mass enrollment of OBC girls in the post-colonial period was the main contributor to the sudden surge of total female enrollment after 1947.

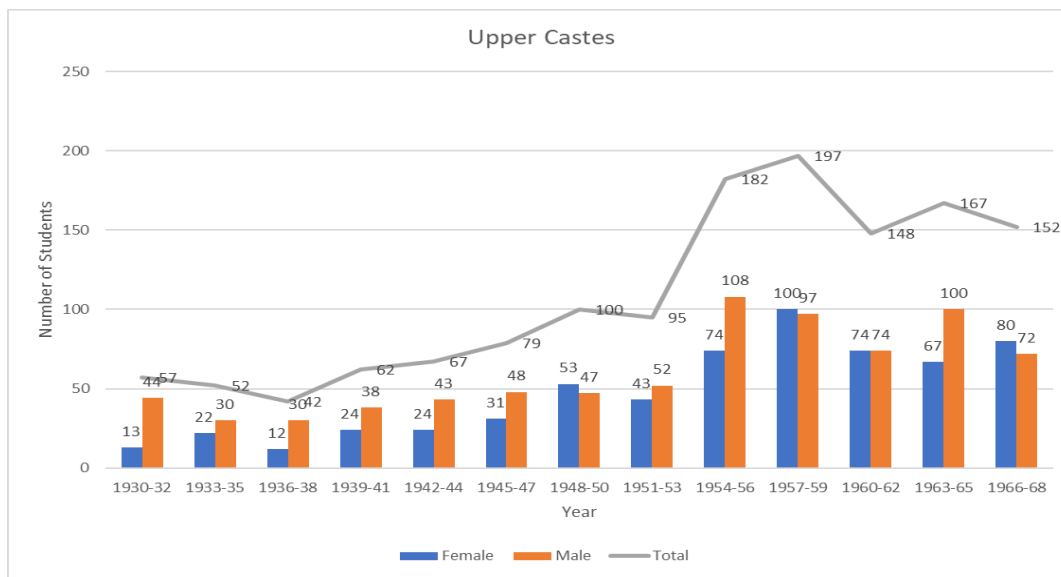
Until the early 1950s, Dalit enrolment was extremely low. Plotting a graph about gender difference among SC's until the 1950s is pointless because only a very small number of enrolled in to schools during, the sample size inadequate to express any proper result in graphs. By the 1950s, there was a clear gender gap in enrolment formed. In general, a minimum number of Scheduled caste girls got into schools only by the second half of the 1960s. In other words, primary education of SC women was neglected since the inception of primary schooling; after independence, decades were taken to mark a notable positive change.

Figure 4.5: Gender wise enrollment of Scheduled Castes



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

Figure 4.6: Gender wise enrollment of Upper Castes



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

Similar to other categories, female enrollment among upper castes were less has always been less than the male counterpart. However, by the late 1940s, the gender gap in enrollment was narrowed. Females of Upper castes have had relatively better access to schools than other caste categories since the colonial period. There was no strong opposition to women's entry to education among Upper castes in Kerala except Namboodiris (Sudheerkumar, 2005). Additionally, a large section of upper castes practiced matriliney, and women had more agency and mobility (Jeffrey, 1992). Even though upper caste women had better access to schools even before independence, a large chunk of upper-caste women took admission to schools in the post-colonial period. An increased rate of enrollment can be seen after the 1950s. Enrollment of upper castes females almost doubled in a short period of a decade after the independence of India³⁷.

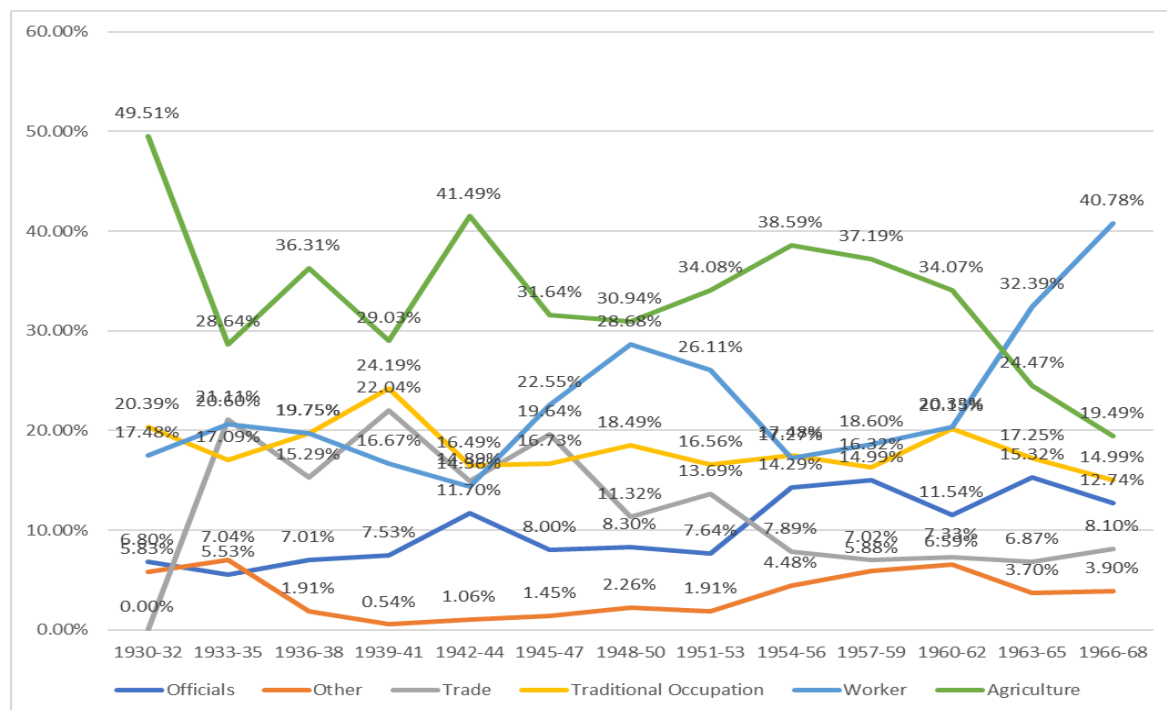
Occupation

Correlation between occupational categories and enrollment will let us understand not only which all groups are leading and lagging but also the extent of the development of capitalism in Malabar and the functioning of class oppression in achieving primary education.

³⁷ There is a dip in female enrollment during the 1960s can be seen, data of one school is missing for those years so that part is not considered for the interpretation.

To ease of the analysis occupations are classified into five categories; Officials, Trade related, Traditional Occupations, Workers, Agriculture and Other³⁸.

Figure 4.7: Occupation wise enrollment (percent share)

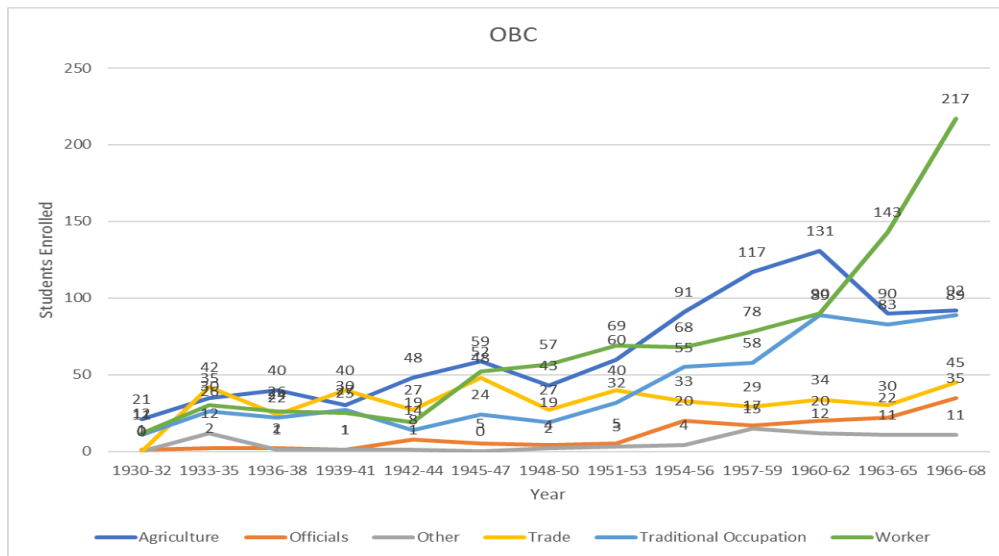


Till the 1960s, most number of children belongs to agricultural occupations category. The percent share of agriculture occupations started decreasing at a constant rate since the mid-1950s, there was no decrease in absolute terms. By the mid-1960s agricultural occupations dropped to 24.47 percent and later declined to 19.49 percent. It happened not merely because of decreased number of children coming to schools from agriculture occupations but also because of the increased number of admissions from other categories, specifically children whose parents are workers. In 1930 only 17.5% were workers, but by 1968 it became 40.78%. A sudden surge of workers can be observed in the post-colonial period, it may be because of increasing importance of wage labourers and factories. Representation of children relied on trade-related occupations, and traditional occupations have decreased over time. Children of officials increased 6.80% in 1930 to 12.74% in 1968. After independence, a sudden surge happened because of increased government job opportunities opened to natives.

An analysis of occupation wise enrollment in each caste will help us in understanding more nuances of enrollment.

³⁸ Occupations in each category and more details are given in Appendix.

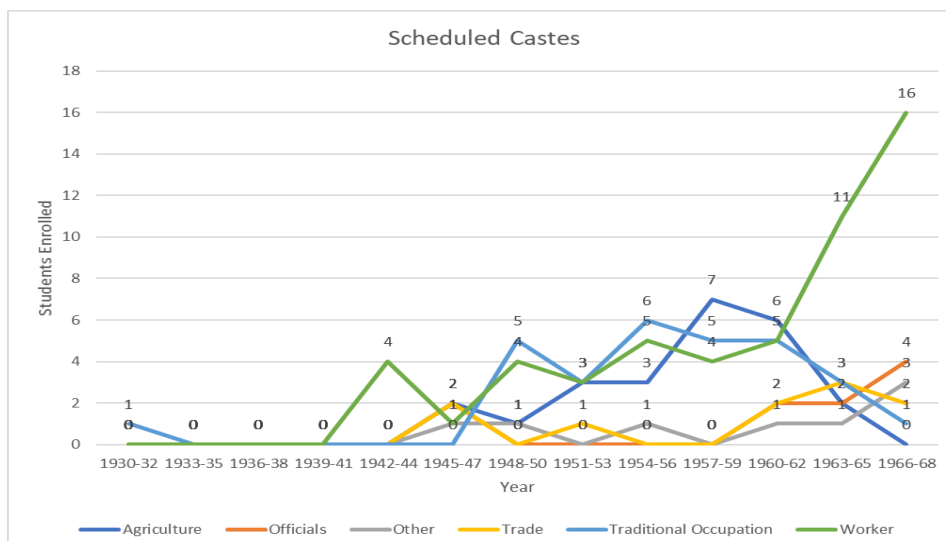
Figure 4.8: Occupation wise enrollment (Other backward castes)



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

In the 1930s, most of the students in schools came from agriculture and trade backgrounds. But by 1968, it changed; most of the children belonged to workers. The number of students coming from all categories has increased over time. Workers and traditional occupations have witnessed phenomenal growth after independence. Officials from the community were minuscule till the late 1940s, but in post-colonial more people from OBCs got official positions. The number of students who relied on trade-related occupations continued to be almost the same (in terms of absolute terms) throughout the study period. This graph speaks not only about the occupation-wise enrollment pattern of other backward castes but also the changing occupational character of OBCs and the socio-economic and political change.

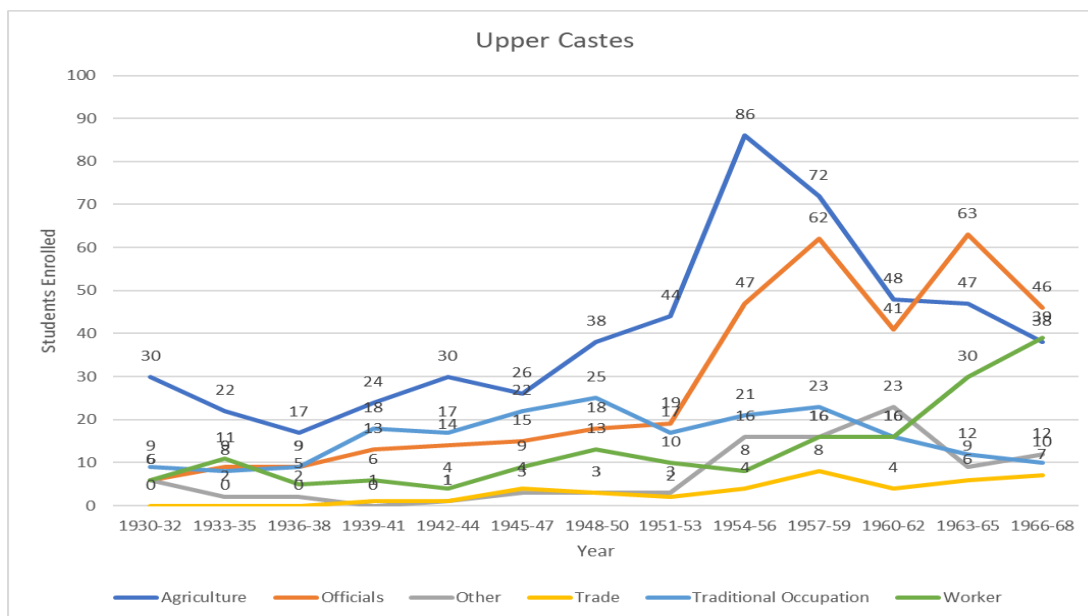
Figure 4.9: Occupation wise enrollment (Scheduled Castes)



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha.

As discussed in earlier sections, scheduled castes had less school access. Since the number of students was significantly smaller, finding patterns and trends is difficult. However, one thing is clear the category 'workers' were the group that enrolled in schools, especially after independence. Scheduled castes started getting official positions only after 1957, which may be because the government official positions, where reservation policies instructed by the constitution were followed, came into existence after the formation of Kerala state in 1957. The development of capitalism and the disintegration of prior feudal relations of productions played a critical role in the entry of marginalized castes into schools. Most students enrolled, and the first set of students enrolled from scheduled castes identified themselves as wage labourers. Entry of scheduled castes into the spheres like trade, which was banned and restricted in earlier periods, in the 1960s can also be observed in the graph.

Figure 4.10: Occupation wise enrollment of Upper Castes



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha

Upper caste students enrolled in schools mostly relied on agriculture. As we explained earlier upper castes enjoyed benefitted a lot from the exploitative agricultural system in Malabar. After the mid-1950s sudden decline in agriculture can be observed because of the increase in officials and workers during the same period. Unlike OBCs and SCs, many upper castes got into Official posts after independence. Mainly because of two reasons the occupational composition of upper castes changed. Firstly, the disintegration of the agricultural system in agriculture and the development of other spheres of the economy resulted in the decrease of the number of

people identifying themselves as part of prior agrarian relations, and more people became wage labourers. Secondly, many people benefitted from acquiring colonial education by getting government jobs just after independence; upper castes only occupied most official positions. In general, the occupational composition of upper castes is very different from the other two groups.

It is evident that the mass enrolment of Malabar's most socially and economically vulnerable groups - lower castes, wage labourers, agriculture-related occupations, and women - resulted in the quick universalization of enrollment in primary schools of Malabar.

4.52 Dropouts

A detailed analysis of dropouts is much needed to understand the inclusive nature of schools. Looking alone at the patterns and trends of enrollment may not give the complete picture. Enrollment of a student does not mean that he/she will complete schooling, data about dropouts will help us to see who all managed complete study after enrolling to schools. Data here used for analysis from registers of three schools, two among them are upper primary, and one school is lower primary. For uniformity, all students who joined the school from 6th standard onwards are removed.

Out of remaining 4791 students, the reason for leaving the school of 1097 students is marked as 'left'; it is not clear whether they are dropouts or completed their studies. Similarly, for 182 students, the column of the reason for leaving is left unfilled. We consider students who have reached the 5th standard as 'completed primary education. For 58 students, neither the reason for leaving nor the class of leaving is left blank; they'll not be considered in the analysis. This method slightly underestimates the number of students who have left school before completing primary education. Still, this method will help us to get a general idea about the situation.

In 1930 only 27.18% completed primary schooling, majority of students left school before completion. But this trend was changed in the mid-1940s, then onwards the number of students who completed primary education was higher than those who left. Still, a large number of students, nearly half, continued to leave school before completing primary education. A slight change in this trend can be observed in the late 1960s.

Table 4.6: Number of students completed and left primary schooling (1930-1970)

Year	Completed primary schooling		Left before completing primary schooling		Missing data	Total
1930-32	28	27.18%	75	72.82%		103
1933-35	42	21.11%	157	78.89%		199
1936-38	71	45.22%	86	54.78%		157
1939-41	78	41.94%	108	58.06%		186
1942-44	92	48.94%	96	51.06%		188
1945-47	195	70.91%	80	29.09%		275
1948-50	189	71.32%	76	28.68%		265
1951-53	182	61.69%	113	38.31%		295
1954-56	209	56.33%	161	43.40%	1	371
1957-59	225	53.96%	189	45.32%	3	417
1960-62	242	51.16%	216	45.67%	15	473
1963-65	298	56.33%	222	41.97%	9	529
1966-68	308	51.85%	273	45.96%	13	594
1969-71	300	57.36%	209	39.96%	14	523

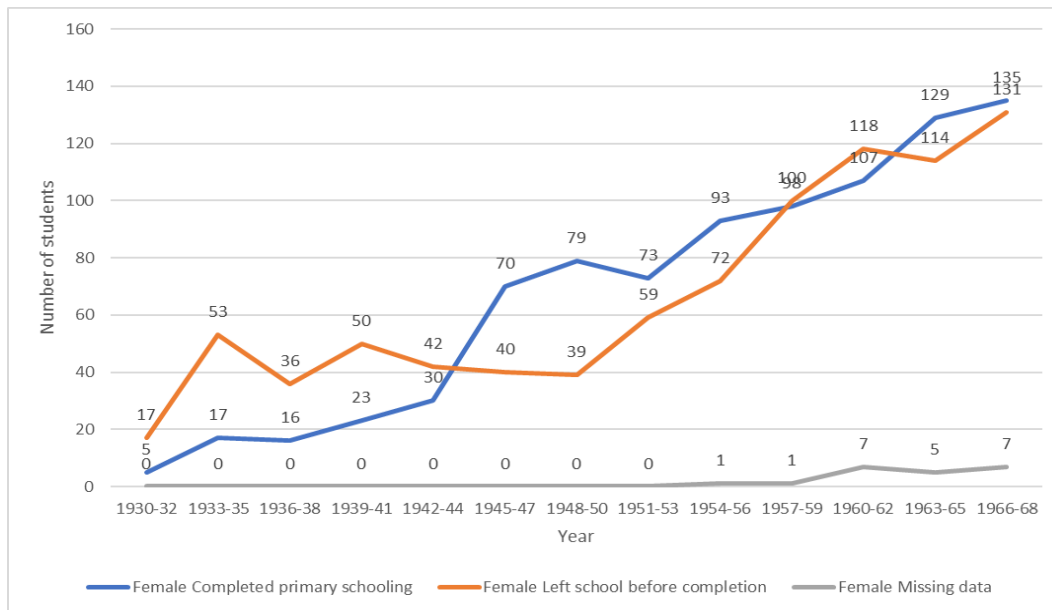
Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha

Gender

Since female enrollment was always significantly less than the male counterpart, it is impossible to graphically represent both male and female data on students who completed primary education. So, we will be plotting separate graphs for males and females, showing the number of students who have completed their studies. And a separate graph is used to compare the percent difference between the genders.

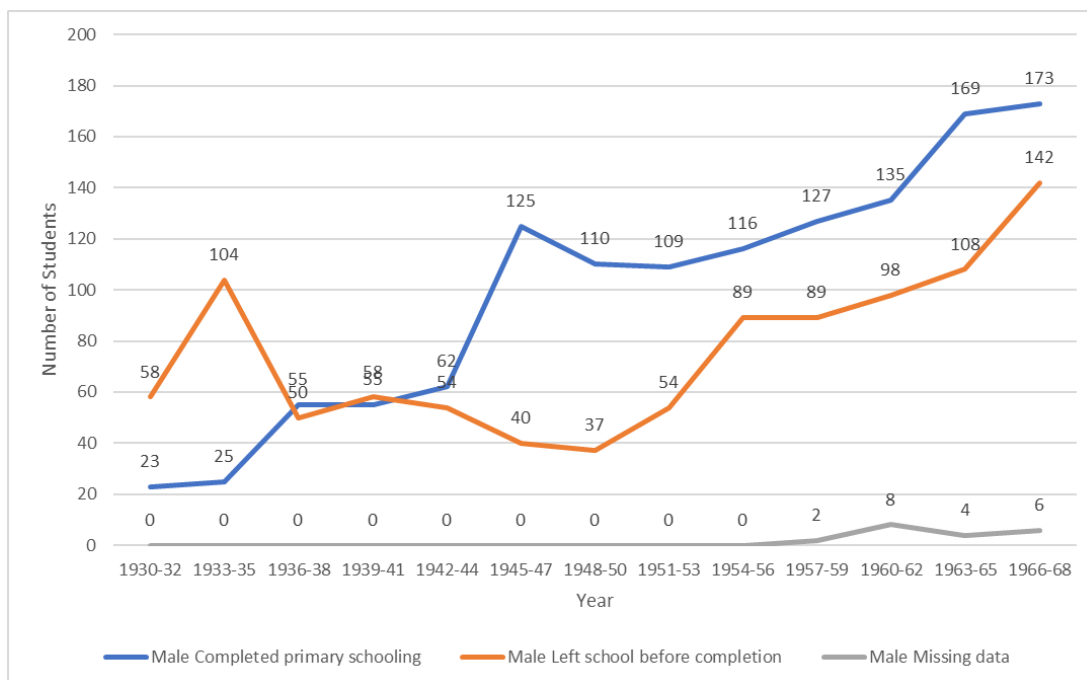
The number of students who completed study was quite less till the 1940s. For the first time in 1945, the number of girls who completed studies became higher than the number of students who left. This trend was continued till 1957, then again, the number of students who left school became higher. But in the 1960s trend changed and came back to the old pattern where more children completed studies than left in between. In general, only half of the enrolled girls completed their studies. Unlike the sudden changes observed in enrollment after independence is not visible in the case of girl dropouts.

Figure 4.11: Number of female students completed and left primary schooling (1930-1970)



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha

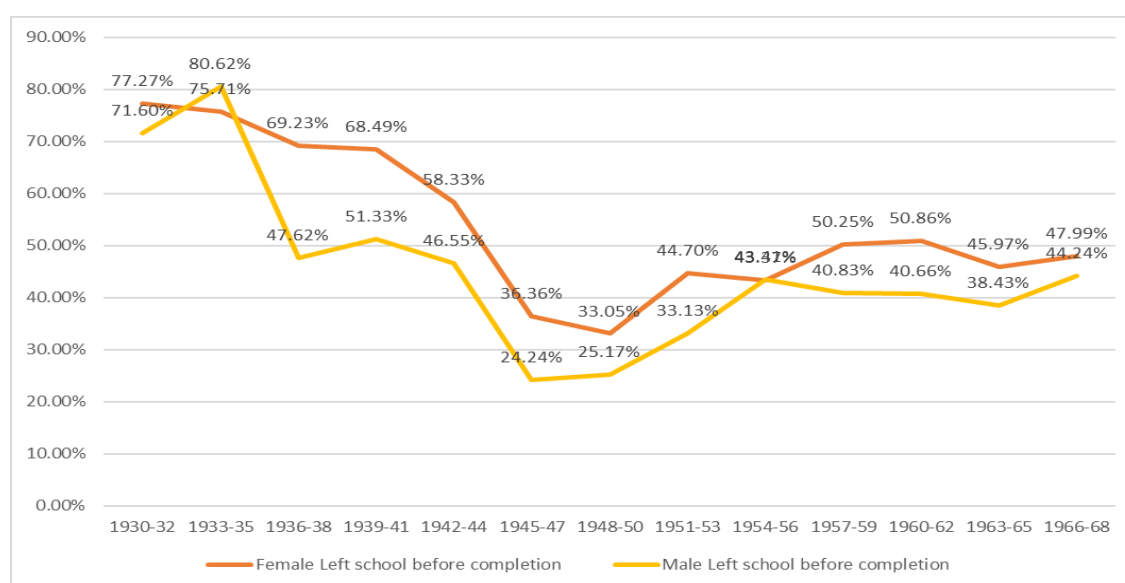
Figure 4.12: Number of male students who completed and left primary schooling (1930-1970)



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha

Till 1936 number of males who completed primary education was higher than the number of people who left. Then onwards, students who left school were always less than those who managed complete studies. Unlike their female counterpart, males were always better positioned to complete studies.

Figure 4.13: Percent share of students who left before completing primary schooling (1930-1970)



As we already mentioned, it is pointless to compare the absolute values of male and female students who left school before completing their studies. Still, a comparison of percent values is possible. Graph of percent share of male and female students who left school before completing primary education help us to see the gender gap in completing studies. Except once in 1933, always female students left school was higher than the male counterpart. In 1968, 48% of female students left school before completion, while only 44% of male students left.

The gender gap in completing studies was primarily because of two reasons. Firstly, the gender gap in educational performance, males perform better in schools³⁹. Chances of dropping out from schools are higher for students who perform lesser in academics; hence, females are vulnerable. Secondly, female students had to face more gender-based exclusions and violence. For example; few students marked the reason for leaving school as 'Household work' and 'Marriage'.

The table 4.7 and table 4.8 show that not even one male student leaves school because of marriage or household work. And these exclusions were always present in all caste groups. Which means there were barriers in completing education exclusively acted on women. Chances of women completing education even after getting admission were continued as low, at least till 1970.

³⁹ Many scholars identified gender as a significant factor in academic achievement, and vast literature regarding various aspects of the same is available (Kingdon, 1996).

Table 4.7: Number of students who left school because of Household work

Year	OBC		UC		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
1948	1	0		0	1
1954	0	0	1	0	1
1955	2	0	3	0	5
1956	1	0	1	0	2
1957	1	0		0	1
1958	1	0		0	1
1959	4	0		0	4
1961	1	0		0	1
1962	1	0		0	1
1963	1	0	1	0	2
Grand Total	13	0	6	0	19

Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha

Table 4.8: Number of students who left school because of Marriage

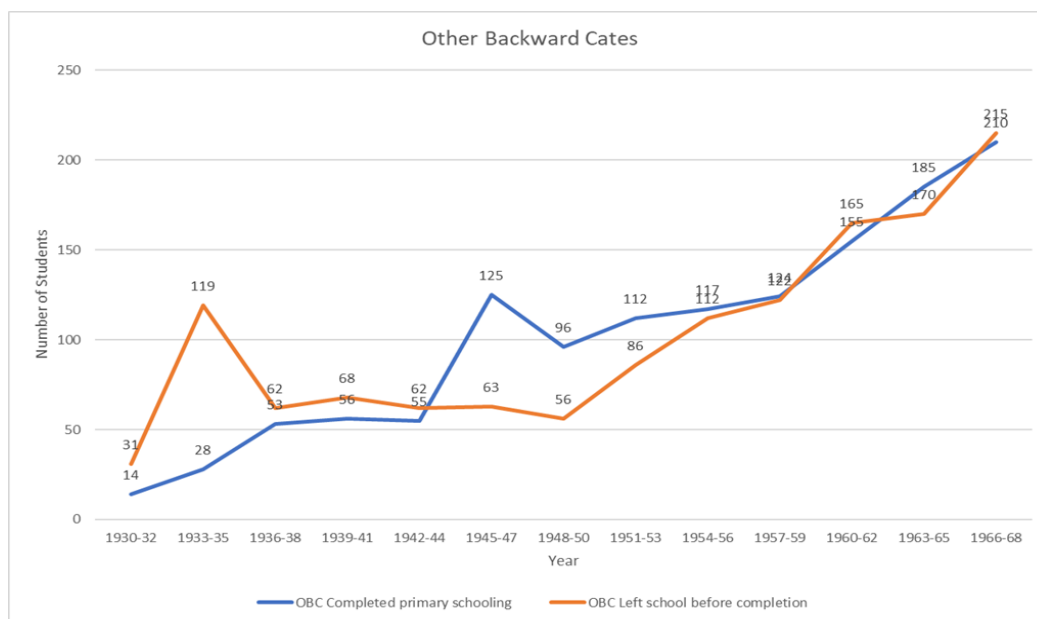
Year	OBC		SC/ST		UC		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
1933	1	0		0		0	1
1942		0		0	1	0	1
1945	1	0		0		0	1
1947	1	0		0		0	1
1948		0	1	0		0	1
1955	1	0	1	0		0	2
1956	3	0		0		0	3
1957		0		0	1	0	1
1959	1	0		0	1	0	2
1960	1	0		0		0	1
1961	2	0		0		0	2
1963	1	0		0		0	1
Grand Total	12	0	2	0	3	0	17

Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha

Caste

We have already seen that caste is one of the most critical factors in the enrollment of children into primary schools. And we have discussed how caste was persisted inside classrooms even after legislations and socio-political movements. Caste practices inside classrooms and new pedagogy, which was greatly influenced by the old Brahmanical system of education, must adversely affect the lower castes. Quantitative data of the people who completed studies and left in between help us understand more about the extent caste worked inside schools.

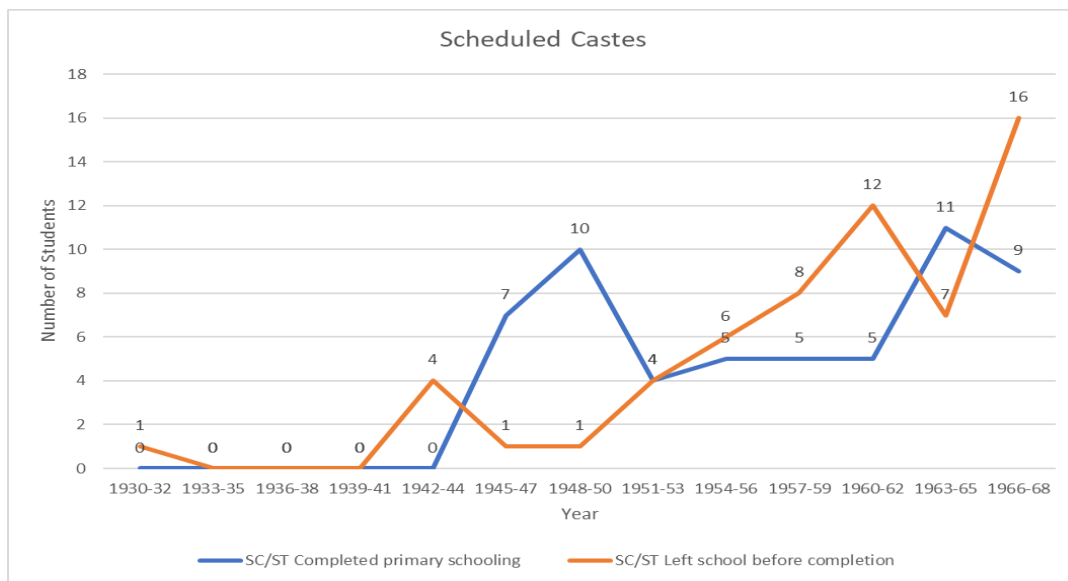
Figure 4.14: Number of OBC students completed and left primary schooling (1930-1970)



Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha

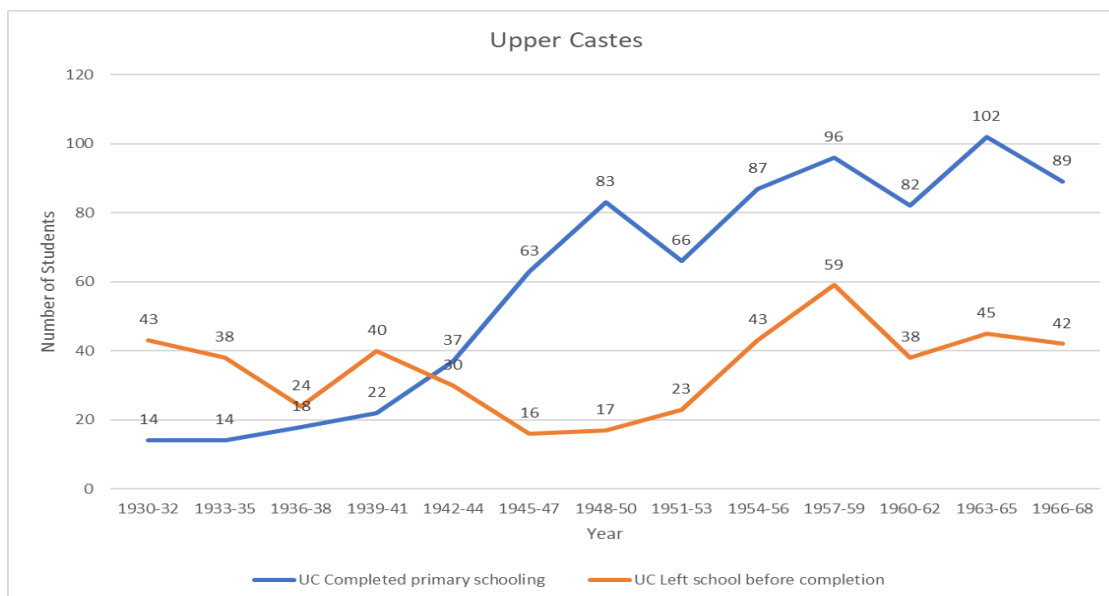
Till 1942 OBC students who left before completing primary education were higher than those who completed studies. Then onwards a higher number of students completed studies than the number students left before completion till 1954. After 1954 the pattern seemed inconsistent; the gap between the number of students completed and left became narrowed, and a few times, the number of people left exceeded the number of students passed out. The number of people leaving school before completion also increased with an enrollment of OBCs, almost at the same rate after mid-1950s.

Figure 4.15: Number of SC students completed and left primary schooling (1930-1970)



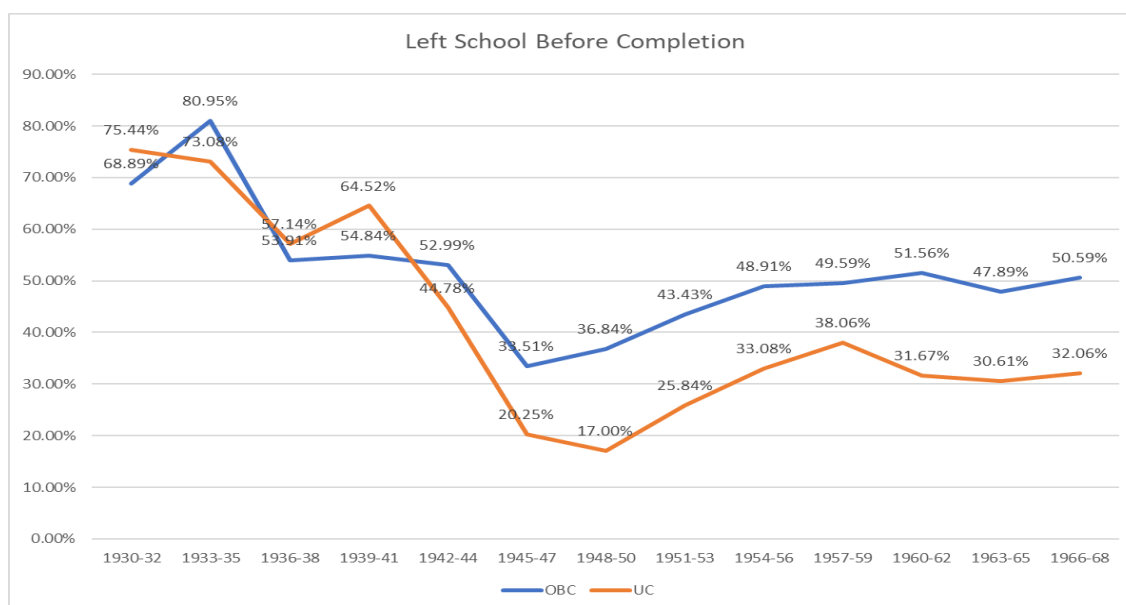
Enrollment of Scheduled caste children was very less till independence. In post-colonial period, except once in 1963, always number students who left before completing school was higher than the students who completed. Scheduled castes were the people who most adversely by the caste practices inside schools.

Figure 4.16: Number of Upper Caste students completed and left primary schooling (1930-1970)



Till 1940s the case of upper castes was also same as OBCs and SCs, only few students managed to complete studies even after getting admission in schools. But after the mid-1940s a greater number of students managed to complete studies than those left studies in between.

Figure 4.17: Percent wise OBC and UC students left primary schooling (1930-1970)



Percent wise graph (Figure 4.16) shows that during 1930s, only one fourth of both OBC and UC students completes primary schooling. But this trend was changed after few years, by 1950s a clear-cut gap between OBCs and UCs was developed. In 1968 only, 32 percent of upper castes left school without completing education while 51 percent of other backward castes left before completing primary education. which means not even half of the OBCs joined school could complete primary schooling.

Table 4.9: Total Number of students completed and left primary schooling (1930-1970)

	OBC			SC/ST			UC		
	Comple ted primary schooli ng	Left school before complet ion	Tot al	Comple ted primary schooli ng	Left school before complet ion	Tot al	Comple ted primary schooli ng	Left school before complet ion	Tot al
No. of students	1546	1489	3035	64	74	138	847	494	1341
In Percent	50.94%	49.06%		46.38%	53.62%		63.16%	36.84%	

Source: Admission records of GUPS Kademberi, ALPS Kademberi, and AUPS Morazha

Caste wise disproportionality among students in completing studies can be observed in data from 1930 to 1968 as in Table 4.9 also. 63.16 percent of total upper caste students enrolled completed primary education, but only 50.94 percent of other backward castes managed to

complete primary schooling. Similarly, only 46.38 percent of scheduled caste children who enrolled in schools complete primary schooling.

In short, above statistical analysis provide Important insights in understanding when and how primary education attained truly public character. Data shows that the number of students who took admission to primary schools has drastically increased from 1930 to 1970, 648% increase in enrolment between 1930-32 to 1966-68. The pace of growth in enrolment was more during the post-independence period. When we look into caste wise enrollment patterns we get more interesting results. Enrollment of upper castes gets stagnated from the mid-1950s, which means by that time everyone who belonged to the potential upper caste population took admission to schools. The dramatic increase in the enrolment of OBCs happened during this period, especially after independence. The case of scheduled caste was different. They were always under-represented in schools, till 1941 only one scheduled caste student took admission. Later a positive growth can be observed but at very a slow pace. With the increase of total enrollment by the 1970s, representation of different communities in school enrollment came close to the population share of the respective communities. Similarly, the gender gap was very wide during 1930-32, 21.36% female enrollment, but it was narrowed significantly by 1970, female enrollment increased to 46.54%. Compared to other categories upper caste girls had better access to schools, still, a large chunk of upper-caste women enrolled on schools only after independence. Most of the females of OBCs did not come to schools for a long time. But a sudden boom after the independence of the country can be observed. The share of female OBCs enrollment during 1930-32 was just 20%; by 1966-68 female enrollment of OBCs had increased to 44.17%. Not even one female student from the scheduled caste enrolled in these schools till 1942. Then there was a positive growth but at a very slow pace, the number of scheduled caste girls became two digits only in 1962. Primary education of SC women was neglected since the inception of primary schooling; after independence, decades were taken to mark a notable positive change.

When we look into the relationship between the enrollment and occupational category, some interesting patterns are visible. Between 1930 to 1970 number of percentage share of children who are relied on agriculture-related and trade-related occupations has significantly decreased, Traditional occupations slightly declined while the number of children relying on Workers increased dramatically, Officials increased slightly. This data indicates that the processes of industrialization and increase of wage labourers are directly related to the development of education. Among scheduled castes and OBCs main trend observable is the same as above

agriculture-related jobs decreased and workers increased by time. But the case of upper castes was different, agriculture-related occupations decreased but number of official increased dramatically, especially after independence. This indicates who occupied increased government positions opened up after independence. In general, the widespread enrolment of Malabar's most economically vulnerable groups - wage labourers, agriculture-related occupations, and factory employees - increased the total enrollment in primary schools of Malabar.

Analysis of dropouts also give us similar results. In 1930 only 27.18% completed primary schooling, majority of students left school before completion but by 1970 it has increased to 57.36%. Gender gap in dropout rates were also very visible, women had to more gender based exclusions and violence. Even in 1968, 48% of female students left school before completion, while only 44% of male students left. Caste wise difference also in dropout rates is very observable. Among total students enrolled in between 1930 to 1970, 53.62% of scheduled castes left school before completion, and 49.06% of OBC students left school before completion. While only 36.84% Upper caste students left school before completion. In general, even after enrolling to school, number of students who complete primary schooling was very less. By 1970s more than half of students enrolled started completing studies. Except upper castes dropout rate was very high even at 1970s.

4.6 Conclusion

By the end of the first half of the 20th century many schools were started as a result of various socio-political movements. Even after the expansion of educational institutions, primary schooling in the study area was characterized by low enrollment rates and high dropouts. This scenario was changed only when schools acquired the nature of public space. The public nature of education was created as a result of various factors. Socio-political movements and state policies came as an extension to those was the most crucial attempt in the process of formation of public education.

Analysis of admission registers of randomly selected schools in the study area helps us to understand trajectory of educational development of study area. It specifically provides some important insights in understanding when and how primary education attained truly public character. It is very clear that the public nature of education is mostly achieved only after independence, and there were few minuscule sections of society who are still forced to stay out of education. Earlier, even though colonial education was technically secular and supposed to

be public, in reality, it was accessible only to a small section of society. No doubt, it was various socio-political movements played a crucial role in the creation of public education. In the changed socio-economic atmosphere religious reform movements which were anti caste in nature influenced the public imagination of Malabar.

All social movements which were popular in Kerala took 'access to education' as one of their fundamental slogans. Popular social reformers like Sree Narayana Guru and Mahatma Ayyankali who were primarily focused on erstwhile princely states of Travancore and Cochin had indirect influence on the educational expansion of the study area. Even though reformist movements in Malabar did not have a popular base as much as in nearby princely states, their contribution in the struggle for the creation of education accessible to all was remarkable. Brahmananda Sivayogi, Vaghbhatanandan, Ananda Theerthan and Muslim reformist movements were the main among them. Malabar lacked strong movements which could mobilize and address lower castes. After a certain period, political movements became more popular in Malabar. Anticolonialism was the primary agenda of the political movements but when it started addressing the material needs and issues of the masses and upholding the new values created by social movements, people's participation in politics increased. Consequently, teachers' unions also formed across Malabar and the study area and waged struggles for social and economic justice. In this backdrop India became independent.

After independence, educational development in Malabar entered a new phase. In the post-independence period along with mobilizations, the state also started playing a crucial role. Most of the slogans raised by various movements started manifesting through legislation. Malabar district board was the first elected body which took expansion of primary education as their primary agenda. Active people's participation and better implementation were ensured by the state's collaboration with teachers' union and local bodies. Apart from the education district board has considerable development in the field of Health and Transportation. In fact, these developments also contributed to educational expansion. The presence of a tyrannical land ownership system and a tenancy system in which tenants were steadily impoverished was a major hurdle in achieving better enrollment and decreasing dropouts, even after the expansion of schools. After independence, movements against land inequality gained more momentum. Since agrarian regime was founded on the unequal distribution of land, was base of hierarchical socio-economic relations of Malabar. The struggle for land reforms became a converging point of resistance against class caste and gender discrimination.

State Kerala was formed on linguistic grounds at 1956 November 1st. The first government introduced two bills which are supposed to bring revolutionary changes to society, specifically to the expansion of education. Instead, it initiated a string of events which exposed the social evils remaining in Kerala society even after the experience of decades long strong social and progressive political movements. Against Kerala Education Bill and Land Reforms, upper caste and communal forces mobilized and conducted militant protest programmes across Kerala. Because of strong opposition against these bills government itself fell down at 1959. Even though the biggest step towards making education 'public' was failed, the stepping stones they laid had resulted in significant improvements in the sphere of education. A lot of new programmes introduced every year, thus, expenditure on education has been increasing. Kerala spends a substantially larger share of overall expenditure on education than the rest of the states in India. Other efforts, including land reform, food security, and health advancements, enabled the rural poor to gain access to school.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

This research primarily intends to document and understand what combination of social, cultural, political and economic factors explain the development of primary schooling in the Malabar region in Kerala. There are two reasons why studying Malabar's educational history is significant. Firstly, the Malabar region, which, unlike other parts of Kerala, was directly ruled by a colonial state, has been excluded from mainstream imagination and educational development literature. Secondly, Malabar has an extraordinary educational experience, with a positive outcome in terms of expanding public primary education in a short period of time. The uniqueness of Malabar's socio-political atmosphere and educational setting makes this study more exciting and challenging. To develop a comprehensive understanding of the educational development experience of Malabar, the researcher examines the development of primary schooling from the state perspective and people's engagement at different points of time.

In order to bring out different aspects of educational development in Malabar, a mixed-method is used, where both quantitative and qualitative data were collected for complete and synergic use. Data is collected from different sources to make sense of educational history in its complexity. Firstly, earlier academic works and literary sources like colonial records, Kerala state legislative assembly documents, books and local publishings related to the education and society of Malabar were analyzed. Secondly, to make detailed observations on ground-level experience, an educational sub-district, south Taliparamba, is studied in detail. Primary schools are considered as major units of empirical. The history of each school in the Taliparamba South sub-district, including the formation, functioning, habitat, and composition of schools, are all collected and analyzed. A quantitative analysis of admission registers of three randomly selected schools is presented as part of an in-depth investigation. Gender, Category (Caste), Occupation, and Reason for dropout are the main focus of the quantitative analysis.

The Indigenous educational system in pre-colonial Malabar had a symbiotic relationship with the prevalent hierarchical social order, meaning of education was different for different castes. Brahmins had their own developed educational system, which primarily dealt with Vedic literature. Muslim communities also had their own educational system, which was more developed than the educational initiatives of the other backward castes. Other backward castes had primary village schools called Ezhuthu Pallies and Kudipallikudams. Lower castes

received no education other than what was passed down through the family by word of mouth. Irrespective of the caste, women were structurally restricted in accessing education. Most of the people's vocational training was taken care of by the family, not schools. Hence, the direct relationship between school education and the economy was minimal, while it directly correlated with socio-cultural practices. There were no commonly instituted means for education; hereditary specialization of skills was preserved in each caste, sometimes in families, with no scope of mobility.

The educational system of Malabar went through significant changes in its meaning and role with the introduction of a new ruling class, the colonizers. The character of the ruling class in pre-colonial Malabar and colonial Malabar was very different; hence they had very different agencies to regulate the production and distribution of knowledge. Both indigenous and modern educational systems had very different material and ideological bases. With the risk of oversimplification, we can say that the former educational system was the manifestation of a pre-colonial hierarchical society and the latter's allegiance was to colonial masters.

Christian Missionaries who came along with colonial masters were the first to introduce the modern educational system to Malabar. Missionaries questioned some aspects of pre-existing social order. But they never envisaged an egalitarian society; they meant equality before God alone. Criticism of caste by missionaries was primarily towards religious aspects than their political, economic and other social aspects. Ultimately, the nature of missionary education remained hierarchical and casteist.

Even though missionaries and colonial state are distinct institutions, they share the same ideological framework in the case of education; the only exception is that conversion to Christianity was not mentioned as the primary agenda in colonial state policy. Both the colonial state and the missionaries believed that it was their duty to bring in new ways of acting and thinking to the natives. It was similar to the adult-child relationship, colonizer as the adult and the native as the child. The primary agenda of colonial education policy was to train the natives to become a citizen. Natives who own private property were only considered as potential citizens. Individual recognition was regarded unnecessary among the working classes, who were viewed as the "masses". Considering financial risks colonial administration chose not to go for mass public education. Instead, they concentrated on the education of propertied classes within natives, developing a trustworthy, influential native, enabling more profit extraction with a small bureaucratic apparatus. Colonial masters did not try to establish a new social system; rather, they tried to take control of the existing hierarchical social system. The

condition of a large section of lower castes, both socially and economically, remained almost the same as in pre-colonial days.

Malabar's primary education development was significantly slow during the nineteenth century. The vast majority of people, specifically lower castes and women, remained outside the colonial state's educational initiatives. Colonial education was essentially a moral programme appropriate for a colony, which reached only among the upper classes of natives.

The case study of the Taliparamba south subdistrict provides us with substantial insights regarding people's engagement with primary education and the role of state machinery in shaping the new educational system. The very first primary school in the South Taliparamba sub-district was established in the late 1800s. The majority of current primary schools in the study region were built within the first 3 decades of the twentieth century. Only the upper caste and affluent groups of Thiyyas gained from the first wave of school formation. In the beginning, there was organized resistance from upper castes against lower castes' entry into education. Later, entry was allowed, but still, they faced different kinds of barriers in schools. However, until 1950, a huge share of the women and lower caste population, was structurally excluded. Hence enrolment in primary schools was low.

The colonial government put the burden of establishing primary schools into private hands. Grants in aid schemes, the central element of colonial education policy, encouraged only private schools. In the initial phase, the establishment of schools was exclusively a matter of propertied classes since resource mobilization was impossible for lower classes. In the absence of solid attempts to break the social and economic evils present in society, the formation of schools also led to the strengthening of caste and religious identities. Upper caste elites and community organizations developed a vested interest in educational activities as a means of influence and monetary benefit. Most of the primary schools in the study area were initiated by affluent classes of respective communities. By the last decades of colonial rule, primary schools had expanded all over the study area, and some progressive attitude toward education was also created. But the development of education was not homogeneous among people; caste, class and gender differences were visible.

Primary school education during colonial days was exclusionary for a large section of society, both in terms of policies and classroom pedagogy. Pedagogy practiced in colonial classrooms cannot be called purely colonial. No doubt, these classrooms fulfil the purposes of colonial ideology. However, remnants of earlier indigenous educational practices, specifically

Brahmanical academic tradition, can be found. Many of the exclusions in the indigenous educational system, such as caste and gender, continued to be present in new colonial classrooms. As a result, even after the development of several schools across the region, a large number of children were excluded from primary schooling. Colonial ideology, both pedagogy and policies, acted as an exclusion along with other exclusions such as caste, class and gender. It is impossible to imagine mass enrollment in primary schools without addressing these exclusions.

The initial phase of the development of schools was exclusionary in terms of caste, class and gender. The transformation of this educational system to a public educational system was a decades-long process. No doubt, socio-political movements played the most critical role in the creation of public education. In the changed socio-economic atmosphere, religious reform movements which were anti-caste in nature influenced the public imagination of Malabar. All social movements popular in Kerala took 'access to education' as one of their fundamental slogans.

Famous social reformers like Sree Narayana Guru and Mahatma Ayyankali, who were primarily focused on the erstwhile princely states of Travancore and Cochin, indirectly influenced the educational expansion of the study area. Even though reformist movements in Malabar did not have a popular base as much as in nearby princely states, their contribution to the struggle to create education accessible to all was remarkable. Brahmananda Sivayogi, Vagbhathanandan, Ananda Theerthan and Muslim reformist movements were the main ones. Malabar lacked strong movements which could mobilize and address lower castes. After a certain period, political movements became more popular in Malabar. Anticolonialism was the primary agenda of political activities. Still, it started addressing the material needs and issues of the masses and upheld the new values created by social movements, and people's participation in politics increased. Consequently, teachers' unions also formed across Malabar and the study area and they waged various social and economic justice struggles.

Analyzing admission registers of randomly selected schools in the study area helps us understand the trajectory of educational development of the study area. Important insights in understanding when and how primary education attained truly public character is drawn from the data. Data shows that the students admitted to primary schools has considerably improved during the period 1930 to 1970. The pace of growth in enrolment was more during the post-independence period. Enrollment of upper castes stagnated from the mid-1950s, which means that everyone who belonged to the potential upper caste population was admitted to schools.

The dramatic increase in the enrolment of OBCs happened during this period, especially after independence. The case of scheduled caste was different. They were always under-represented in schools; till 1941, only one scheduled caste student took admission. Later, positive growth can be observed but at very a slow pace. Similarly, the gender gap was vast during 1930-32, with 21.36% female enrollment, but it was narrowed significantly by 1970; female enrollment increased to 46.54%. Compared to other categories, upper-caste girls had better school access; still, a large chunk of upper-caste women enrolled in schools only after independence. Not even one female student from the scheduled caste enrolled in these schools till 1942. Then there was positive growth, but at a very slow pace, the number of scheduled caste girls became two digits only in 1962. Primary education of SC women was neglected since the inception of primary schooling; after independence, decades were taken to mark a notable positive change.

When we look into the relationship between the enrollment and occupational category, it is clear that the enrollment in primary schools in Malabar was increased by the mass enrollment of the most economically disadvantaged groups of Malabar - Wage labourers and Agriculture related occupations. Analysis of dropouts also gives us similar results. In 1930 only 27.18% completed primary schooling, majority of students left school before completion, but by 1970 it had increased to 57.36%. The gender gap in dropout rates was also evident; women had more gender-based exclusions and violence. In 1968, 48% of female students left school before completion, while only 44% of male students left. The caste-wise difference also in dropout rates is very observable. Among students enrolled between 1930 and 1970, 53.62% of scheduled castes left school before completion, and 49.06% of OBC students left school before completion. In contrast, only 36.84% of Upper caste students left school before completion. In general, even after enrolling in school, the number of students who complete primary schooling was meagre. By the 1970s, more than half of the students enrolled started completing their studies. Except for upper castes dropout rate was very high even in the 1970s.

It is undeniable that the public nature of education was largely established in the post-independence period. In the post-independence period, along with mobilizations, the state also started playing a crucial role. Most of the slogans raised by various movements started manifesting through legislation. State Kerala was formed on linguistic grounds in 1956 November 1st. The first government introduced two bills to bring revolutionary societal changes, specifically by expanding education. Unfortunately, it initiated a string of events which exposed the social evils remaining in Kerala society even after the experience of decades-long strong social and progressive political movements. Upper caste and communal

forces mobilized and conducted militant protest programmes across Kerala against Kerala Education Bill and Land Reforms. Because of strong opposition against these bills, government itself fell in 1959. Even though the most significant step towards making education 'public' failed, the stepping stones they laid had resulted in significant improvements in the sphere of education. Many new programmes are introduced every year; thus, expenditure on education has increased. Kerala spends a substantially larger share of overall expenditure on education than the rest of the states in India. Other efforts, including land reform, food security, and health advancements, enabled the rural poor to gain access to school.

Analysis of history of the education shows that Malabar has witnessed a rapid development of primary schooling, specifically in terms of expanding schools, increasing enrollment and decreasing dropouts. The credit for the educational achievements of Malabar belongs to the state policies and public action shaped by the decades long anti-caste struggles, national movement and later progressive left politics rather than market-led individual or private efforts. Analysis of educational development history also reveals the outliers and shortcomings of the development trajectory of Malabar. In fact, the development path of the Malabar was not purely directed and controlled by progressive politics which tried to accommodate the values created by earlier anti-caste struggles and anti-colonial movements but also influenced by the interests of feudal and emerging market forces. The first phase of educational development, which was highly exclusionary for a large section of the population, was primarily driven by the logic of development through private and individual initiatives. Later, anti-caste movements actively intervened and resulted in further development of education. But those developments were restricted and suppressed since it was during colonial rule - education has remained as exclusionary to many. Being an extension of the anti-caste and anti-colonial movements, the post-independent state led by the left movement attempted to eradicate the colonial remnants in the educational policy. They envisaged removing feudal and market elements in education and ensuring the public nature of schooling. But the upper caste hegemonic society of Kerala defeated these attempts.

Decades-long anti-caste struggles and interventions of later progressive politics managed to abolish the parasitic landlord class but not the whole caste system. Caste had recast in modern terms; caste division of labour, endogamous marriages, various discriminatory practices and caste associations continued to persist in society. Educational development was deeply affected by the persisting hegemony of upper castes - for instance, the 'liberation struggle' in 1958-59 led by upper-caste organizations against education reform bills and land reforms. The

compulsions of the parliamentary democratic system made political parties emphasize the politicization of the causes and issues, which could pay off more votes. Educational reforms bill and radical political mobilization of most oppressed categories became secondary.

As a result of the above developments, the absolute misery of scheduled castes of Malabar declined compared to other parts of the country. Nevertheless, the social indicators, including educational access, continued to be significantly less than the other communities in Malabar. Women and lower occupational categories benefitted considerably from the Malabar educational development path, while Scheduled castes lagged behind. The educational development path of Malabar could not fulfil its agenda of free and public education. The development project formed as an extension of anti-caste struggles failed in foreseeing and dealing with upper-caste hegemony, reactions of upper caste associations and their political manifestations in the post-independent period - under the parliamentary democratic system. As the school histories of the study area and quantitative analysis of admission registers indicate that educational development path of Malabar remained exclusionary till the 1970s for a large section of scheduled castes.

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APPENDIX

List of Castes found in admission registers

Scheduled Castes (SC)

Adi dravida	Kanakkan	Pulluvan
Chakkiliyan	Malayan	Samagara
Converted (Pulayan)	Mannathan	Vallon
Dalit	Perumannan	Vannaan
Harijan	Pulaya	

Other Backward Castes (OBC)

Aashaari	Kathiya	Thiyya
Achaari	Kollan	Thiyya Oorali
Chaliyan	Kshurakan	Thiyyan
Chakkala Nair	Kulala	Vaaniyan
Chetti	Kusavan	Valincha
Chettiyar	Kushavan Nair	Vallinjan
Kaavu Thiyya	Maniyani	Vaniyan Nair
Kaavu Thiyyan	Maniyani nair	Vaniar
Kammala	Mappila	Vannathan
Kammalan	Muslim	Veluthedan
Kanisan	Naavuthiyan	Veluthon
Kaniyan	Naikkans	Vilakkathala
Karmalan	Saliya	Varier
Karuvan	Thattan	Yogi

Upper Castes (UC)

Aandi	Nair	Saamanthan
Brahmin	Nambeeshan	Uaraali Nair
Gurukkal	Nambiar	Varasyar
Kunjan Nair	Namboothiri	Variya
Maarar	Panikkar	
Menon	Paradeshi	

Occupation of Guardian

Hundreds of different occupations were given in the admission registers. The researcher classified them into six categories as follows. Jobs listed below are reproduced as how exactly written in the registers.

1. Agriculture related jobs – Agriculture (*Krishi*)

2. Officials -

Aadharam Writer	Co-operative inspec.	Head clerk sub- register
Administrator	Defence service	office
Agent	Defence service IAF	Head Constable
Air force	Deputy surveyor	Head Master
Amsom Adhikari	Doctor	Health Asst.
Anjalkkaran	Document writer	Homeopathy doctor
Asst. village officer	Engineer	IAF
Attender	Ex Military	Indian Army clerk
Bill Collector	Excise peon	Indian navy
Branch Manager	Writer	Javan
Central govt. employee	Forester	Kaaryanweshanam
Clerk	Govt. Servant	Last Grade
Clerk (Railway)	Head Clerk	Last grade Govt servant
Clerk,NCC	Havildar	LGS
Compounder		Mail

Manager	Postman	Soldier
Military	Process server- Munsif	Sub-Inspector of police
MSP	court	Supervisor
MSP Constable	Prohibition guard	Survey military
Office of AGE, Sub	Railway employee	Survey peon
division	Rajya raksha service	Surveyor
Office work	Retired teacher	UD Clerk
Pension constable	Rtd. Surveyor	Swantha
Pension employee	Rtd.S I of Police	Karyanveshanam
Pension Surveyor	Runner	Taluk surveyor
Pensioner at JDF	S.Clerk	Teacher
Peon	S.I Police	Thahsildar
Petty officer Indian army	School Asst.	Village Assistant
Police	School master	Village officer
Police constable	Shipayi, Survey office	Watchman, railway

3. Trade related Jobs –

Kachavadam	Anadi kachavadam	Storekeeper
Chayakachavadam	Chaya kachavadam	Tea Shop keeper
Nadath kachavadam	Textile business	
Timber business	Malsya kachavadam	

4. Traditional Occupations-

Kazhakam	Carpenter	Griha nirmanam
Laundry worker	Chakkattam	Household work
Aabharana Nirmanam	Cherupp Kuthi	House wife
Aashaari	Chethu thozhilaali	House work
Aattam	Chikilsa	Irumb Pani
Alakku pani	Cook	Jenmi
Artist	Deva pooja	Astrologer
Avil idi	Ercha pani	Kaaryasthan
Barber	Ganitham	Kaavuthiyyan

Kadal thozhilali	Mukri	Theyyam Koott
Kallu Kothu	Musaliar	Theyyattam
Kalppani	Odanjool	Thoothal pani
Karuvan	Pappadam making	Thukal pani
Kolam Aniyal	Perutheri Pani	Toddy taper
Kolam Kettal	Pottery worker	Umbrella making
Kollanppani	Shauram	Vaidheekam
Koppara aattal	Stitching	Vaidhyam
Kshethram Shanthi	Swarna pani	Vedham Padipikkal
Kutta Kettal	Swastham	Velichappad
Maniyani	Tailor	Visha Vaidhyam
Marunn Kachavadam	Temple Priest	Washing
Marunn Nirmanam	Thach Vela	Wizadry
Mathapadanam	Thattan	
Moulavi	Thenga aattal	

5. Worker-

Charkka Thach	Handloom	Radio mechanic
Company worker	Khadi salesman	Spinning mill worker
Coolie	Koolippani	Spinning
Cotton mill worker	Labour	Textiles agent
Domestic industry	Mara company Thozhilali	Thozhilaali
Dying worker	Mill Thozhilali	Timber worker
Factory employee	Tiles company worker	Watch repair
Fitter	Powerloom Neyth	Weaver
General worker	Press worker	Kolpram mills

6. Other jobs-

Bus driver	Driver (Madras)	Nil
Cleaner	Mathrubhumi agent	Salesman
Contractor	Music	Social worker

Admission register sample photos

Appendix 2 Chapter 11.
Register of Admission and Withdrawals
എം.ടി.എസ്.എസ്. സ്കൂൾ

Rule 6)
for use in Elementary Schools.
പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾക്ക് ഉപയോഗിക്കേണ്ട രീതി.

No.	N.A.M.E.	House or Village name.	Name of parent or guardian.	Residence.	Occupation of parent or guardian.	Date of Admission.	Date of birth.	Whether presented for small pox or not.	Religion.	Caste.	Class on admission.	Class on leaving.	Date of leaving.	Number of school leaving certificate.	Old admission No. in case of re-admission.	REMARKS.
21	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	19-6-33	18-5-26	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	III	15-2-34	1		
22	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	9-6-27	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	15-2-34	1		
23	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	17-6-26	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	15-2-34	1		
24	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	10-5-24	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	II	3-8-34	1		
25	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	3-2-23	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	I	30-4-34	1		
26	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	5-6-24	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	10-10-34	1		
27	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	11-4-24	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	30-4-34	1		
28	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	15-5-23	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	30-4-34	1		
29	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	15-6-27	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	30-4-34	1		
30	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	10-7-23	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	16-9-34	1		
31	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	8-4-23	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	30-4-34	1		
32	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	7-6-25	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		
33	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	9-7-27	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		
34	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	3-7-29	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		
35	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	5-6-26	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		
36	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	8-6-24	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		
37	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	2-6-24	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		
38	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	4-5-28	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		
39	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	11-6-27	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		
40	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	7-7-25	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		
41	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	മ. ഗി. ദി.	24-6-33	6-6-23	ഉണ്ട്	ഇസ്ലാം	മുസ്ലിം	I	IV	31-5-34	1		

School Director's Signature: In the case of Indian Christians of backward origin, the case or cases of backward origin should be indicated in brackets.

Head Master.

Admission register of GUP School Kademberi

(Appendix 2. Chapter II. Rule 6).

Register of admissions and withdrawals of എവിമെന്ററി സ്കൂൾ

പ്രവേശന വിട്ടതായ പട്ടിക.

Elementary School.

No.	Name of the pupil	House or Village Name	Year of birth	Sex	Religion	Class	Date of admission	Date of leaving	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1072	ദി. വെ. കു	പാലക്കാട്	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1073	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1074	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1075	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1076	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1077	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1078	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1079	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1080	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1081	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1082	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1083	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1084	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1085	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1086	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1087	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1088	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1089	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1090	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left

Note: (1) In the case of Indian Christians of backward origin, the caste or community to which they originally belonged should be indicated in brackets.

(2) Cols. 14 and 15 should be filled up only in compulsory areas.

No.	Name of the pupil	House or Village Name	Year of birth	Sex	Religion	Class	Date of admission	Date of leaving	Remarks
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1072	ദി. വെ. കു	പാലക്കാട്	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1073	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1074	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1075	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1076	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1077	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1078	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1079	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1080	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1081	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1082	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1083	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1084	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1085	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1086	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1087	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1088	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1089	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left
1090	കു. കു	കു. കു	1934	Male	Christian	1	1-6-34	28-3-39	Left

class to which their families originally belonged should be indicated in brackets.

ദാർശനിക വിഭാഗം: 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1

Admission register of AUP School Morazha

(Appendix 2. Chapter II. Rule 6).

Register of admissions and withdrawals of എവിമെന്ററി സ്കൂൾ

Kalamassery Aided Elementary School. കാലാശ്ശേരി ഹിട്രേഡ് ഷൂൾ.

No. നമ്പർ	Name of the pupil കുട്ടി	House or Village Name വീട്ടുപേര്	Year of birth ജനന വർഷം	Sex ലിംഗം	Religion മതം	Class ക്ലാസ്	Date of admission അഡ്മിഷൻ തീയതി	Date of leaving ലീവിംഗ് തീയതി	Remarks കുറിപ്പുകൾ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1031	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1032	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1033	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1034	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1035	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1036	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1037	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1038	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1039	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1040	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1041	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1042	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1043	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1044	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left
1045	കുട്ടി	കാലാശ്ശേരി	1934	Male	Christian	I	1-6-34	1-6-39	Left

Note: (1) In the case of Indian Christians of backward origin, the caste or community should be indicated in brackets.

(2) Cols. 14 and 15 should be filled up only in compulsory areas.

Religion മതം	Caste കുലം	Class of admission അഡ്മിഷൻ ക്ലാസ്	Date of leaving ലീവിംഗ് തീയതി	Remarks കുറിപ്പുകൾ
11	12	13	14	15
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
Christian	Malabar	I	1-6-39	Left
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Comparative Education Society of India (CESI)

11th Annual International Conference (Online)

Theme: 'Mapping Education in Times of Covid-19'

17-19 December 2021

Certificate

This is to certify that Jishnudas KS presented a research paper titled Culture of Learning in Covid: Understanding Upper Primary Classrooms in Kerala through Bourdieusian framework in the 11th Annual International Conference of the Comparative Education Society of India (CESI) held during 17-19 December, 2021 over virtual mode.

Dr. Jyoti Dalal
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Date 31-Jan-2022

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