

**Education and Empowerment:**  
**A Study on Dalits in Nizams Hyderabad State and**  
**Coastal Andhra 1906-56**

A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**IN**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**



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## **DECLARATION**

*I Ramesh Babu Para hereby declare that this thesis entitled "Education and Empowerment: A Study on Dalits in Nizams Hyderabad State and Coastal Andhra 1906-56" submitted by me under the supervision of Dr. K.Y. Ratnam, is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this university or any other university or institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/ INFLIBNET.*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AHSSL	: Adi- Hindu Social Service League
ADEL	: Adi-Dravida Education League
ADMA	: Adi-Dravida Mahajan Association
ADMS	: Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha
AHJS	: Adi-Hindu Jatiyonnnati Sabha
ADS	: Andhra Deenajana Sangam
AJS	: Andhra Jana Sangam
AMS	: Andhra Maha Sabha
ARHSS	: Andhra Rashtriya Harijan Sevak Sangh
AM	: Arundatiya Mahasabha
BWG	: Bhoomanda Swamy Gurumandali
DMS	: Deshiya Mahajana Sabha
VKS	:Vyavasaya Kooli Sangam (Farmers and Workers Association)
VKV	:Vyavasaya Kooli Vudyamam (Agricultural Workers Movement)
HSD	: Harijan Seva Dal
HSS	: Harijana Seva Sangam.
HDJS	: Hyderabad Dalit Jatiya Sangham
MS	: Mahajana Sangam
NL	: Nimnajati League (Untouchable League)
SSS	: Satya Sodhak Samaj
SBS	: Suneethi Bala Samajam
SDYS	: Swastik Dala Yuvajana Sangam
TSSD	: Taluk Swachanda Sevaka Dalamu (Independent Voluntary Force)

YDA : Youngmen's Dravidian Association

YLA : Youth League of Ambedkarities

## ACRONYMS

Aashrama	: A School located in the Hindu Brahmin Monastery
Adi-Andhra	: An out caste social category of Mala and Madigas
Adi-Andhra Vasathi Gruhamu	: Residential for the School going Dalits
Adi-Dravida	: An out caste Dalits from Madras Presidency region
Adi-Hindu	: An out caste Dalits associated with Hinduism
Adi-Karnataka	: An out caste Dalits from Mysore Presidency region
Adi-Shakti	: The power of natives
Agraharam	: Separate residential locality of Brahmin social community living place
Anglo-Vernacular	: Missionary schooling community
Aranyakas	: Ritual sacrifice practice of earlier sections of Vedas.
Arundhati Ashram	: Residential for Dalits school going
Arya Samaj	: An organization for Hindu reform movement
Bastis	: Social living locality of Dalits
Bhajana Mandali	: Popular folk form
Bhakti	: Spiritual reformation
Bhumiputras	: Sons of the soil
Brahma Samaj	: Socio-Religious Organization for Hindu Reform Movement
Burrakatha	: Popular Folk Form
Chandala	: out caste social group referred as Dalits

Charvakas	: Ancient school of Indian Materialism, It is also known as Lokayata and Brhaspatya
Dalit-Bahujan	: The Political term coined by Kanshi Ram founder of Bahujan Samaj Party
Dasabodha	: Spiritual teachings of Ramadasa belongs to Maharashtra
Deenabandhu	: Relative to the destitute community
Devadasi or Jogini	: Temple servants who are forced to dedicate young Dalit girls to the temple service later becomes Prostitutes
Dora	: Landlord
Dwijas	: Twice born Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vishaya Hindu communities
Gram Pramukhs	: Village Revenue Administrators and Elders
Gurukula	: A type of residential school meant for caste-Hindu in India with pupil (Shishya) living near Guru (teacher)
Harijan	: the term used by Gandhi for Dalits which was opposed by the Dalit panthers
Harikatha	: a Specific form of Spiritual Teaching Coupled with Music, Dance and Histrionics.
Jaganmitra Mandali	: First Dalits organization based in Hyderabad
Jagirdars	: form of land tenancy developed during Muslim rule
Khangi	: Indigenous rural school during Nizam period
Magani	: Cultivable Agricultural Wetland
Mala Palli	: Dalits sub-caste living locality
Manya Sangam	: Dalit organization led by Bhagha Reddy Verma in 1911 at Hyderabad
Namasudras	: Dalit sub-caste in Bengal

Nishad	: Sub-caste under Other Backwards Classes (OBC)
Pachanma	: Referred as ex-untouchable community and Dalits.
Paraiyans	: known as Adi-Dravidas
Patels	: Village administrators during Muslim rule in India
Pathasaala	: School located in the Brahmin Agraharas
Patwari	: Village Revenue Administrators community
Payagalu	: the property belongs to Nizam royal family and their matrimonial relations are called Payagalu
Firka	: Revenue division during Muslim Rule
Samstanam	: Hindu Religious royal locality
Sangam	: Organized Community
Shudras	: referred as Dalits
Sishya	: Student
Sufi	: Mainstream Islamic scholarship
Upasana	: Worship or Sitting near
Varnasramadharma	: practice of Hindu mystical traditions
Vetti	: Bonded labour
Wadas	: Dalits and lower castes living habitations
Zamindars	: A Landowner, especially one who leases his land to tenant farmers.

## INTRODUCTION

Education for Dalits<sup>1</sup> empowerment and social justice in pre-independent and early post-independent India has been designed by social position of the communities lived under dominant and resistance praxis. During the early phase, education was dominated by *Dwijas*<sup>2</sup> in the form of the sacred scriptural knowledge. Against this dominated and biased knowledge learning, resistance has emerged from the *Bhumiputras*.<sup>3</sup> As the very name clearly indicates the *Bhumiputras* or sons of the soil supposed to be the working class of the then society demonstrated against *Varnashrama* conception of education developed by *Dwijas*.

It is here that the new space has been created by the egalitarian and materialist thinking that has from the Charvakas,<sup>4</sup> Buddhism and Jainism schools of thought. The arrival of Muslims as rulers in India during medieval period the domination and resistance of education was in the form of secular and feudal praxis. The liberal *Bhakti* cult has its roots from Upanishads period and this trend had advocated serious socio-religious educational equality among the different communities. This has driven forth in establishing new vernacular and village school education during Muslim rule in India. Islamic education has been imposed to its followers as Islam through organized institutions such as *Maktabas* and *Madrasahs* which were endowed either by rulers, their relations, friends and followers as well as wealthy and pious Muslims<sup>5</sup>. In the concrete sense Islamic education focused its attention on practical matters than the spiritual other than *Sufi* philosophy. Furthermore rise of Maratha power had also

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<sup>1</sup>Dalit is a popular term invented by the Dalit Panthers of Maharashtra as a connotation for ex-untouchables and Scheduled castes. The name has a meaning of "Oppressed," "Neglected," and downtrodden. For a detailed account of etymology and evolution of the term Dalit see Omvedt, Gail. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, New Delhi, Sage Publication, Pp. 162-167.

<sup>2</sup>The meaning to *Dwij* is twice-born people in Hinduism and they are Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaisya, caste groups.

<sup>3</sup>The *Bhumiputras* are referred as 'sons of the soil' and powerfully used in *Adi-Andhra* movement as *Adi-Andhra*, *Adi-Dravida*, *Adi-Hindu* and *Namasudras*. See Holt, J. C. (2008). *The Buddhist Visnu: Religious Transformation, Politics and Culture*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>Carvaka is also popular as *Lokayata*. It is to be called as the ancient school of Indian materialism. The founder of this school is known as Brhaspati. For detailed account, look for internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy as <http://www.iep.utm.edu/indmat/#SH3b>.

<sup>5</sup>Ghosh, S.C. (2007). *History of Education in India*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, p.161.



brought new dimensions to Indian schooling and education in general and Dalits in particular.

The Marathi religious reformers popularly known as *Ekanath*, *Tukaram*, *Ramdas* and *Vaman Pandit*,<sup>6</sup> initiated social equality in the Hindu religious practices that has been considered as an education. Especially, Ramadas Samarth, teacher of Shivaji was an influenced saintly personality to many Dalits not only in Maharashtra but also in southern India through his innovation of *Dasabodha*.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to mention here that the Muslim rulers have found interest in this folk form and started practicing Muslim provincial rulers on par with Arabic and Persian languages. Later Muslim rulers found Urdu as language in Bijapur and Golkunda.<sup>8</sup> In North India had not been found any literary expression at the time of Muslim invasions whereas, in south Dravidian languages had its heritage way back to early century A.D. It is interesting to know the social communities engaged in learning through schooling process before the advent of British East India Company. Four major languages has had distinctive scripts and written literature, they are in Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. It was the Brahmin Aryan influence on these languages from 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D onwards with Sankaraharyas religious reformation work. The schooling and education during Buddhist *Vihara*, Hindu *Gurukula*, and Muslim *Madrasa* had no uniformed language in fact they had *Pali* then to *Sanskrit* later Urdu.

However, it is the colonial modernity that has opened new avenues for the Dalits educational opportunities along the lines of secular and nation-state formations. The reinforcement of dominance in educational opportunities continued as caste-class notion of nationalism and secularism. The resistance emerged in the form of social reformation, anti-caste agitations and self-respect movements towards equal educational opportunities and social justice. In this context the main aim of the thesis is to figure out a complicated paradox of Dalits education and empowerment during

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<sup>6</sup> Interview with Ganumal Gnaneshawar, organic intellectual and dalit activist based in Hyderabad, 10<sup>th</sup> February 2010.

<sup>7</sup> *Dasabodha* is composition of religious folk form to inspire the countrymen later this became educational monastery in Marathi language.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.270.

the Deccan Nizam's Hyderabad state and Colonial Coastal Andhra from 1906-1956. More concretely, it seeks to perceive and illustrate the Dalits collective autonomous category of *Adi-Andhra*.<sup>9</sup> The thesis will rest on the claim that the expression and utterances found in the *Adi-Andhra* will invoke a world of shared meaning and values of the time towards the construct and perceived reality known as the 'education'.

The title of the thesis '*Education and Empowerment*' is more of general but the basic objective of the work is to reflect on the system of educational aspirations for the empowerment of the *Adi-Andhra* community as guided by the sources within and outside of Coastal Andhra Pradesh of Madras Presidency and erstwhile Nizam Hyderabad State. The analysis is developed by an interpretative method<sup>10</sup> that is profound to both historical and politico-geographical.<sup>11</sup> It is an attempt to oversight distinctive exploration of erstwhile Coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency and Deccan Nizam Hyderabad State through social knowledge of *Adi-Andhra* movement leaders and data produced by them in the form of leaflets and pamphlets.

The central idea of the thesis is to understand a notion of education and empowerment that is determined on the basis of education, language, ethnicity, class, caste, history or territory.<sup>12</sup> The passion to establish the existentiality of the 'education' came from the Dalit community and its emerging leadership. Its purpose is to confiscation the pattern of the 'empowerment' fairly target on the legitimacy or ignorance of the education as it shows up in the minds of leaders and social reform activists. The system of education as effected in the *Adi-Andhra movement* structures the actual foundation for argument of empowerment.

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<sup>9</sup>The term "Adi-Dravida" was used as counter revolution initiated by Ayotidass in the name of *Adi-Dravida Movement*. It was spread as *Adi-Andhra Movement* in Andhra in 1917, *Adi-Hindu* movement of United Provinces and Deccan Nizam Hyderabad State, *Adi-Dharmi* Movement in Punjab during 1926, *Adi-Kerala*, *Adi-Karnataka* in 1927. These terms are ascertained by Dalit community as Self-resecting identity to against Aryan-Brahminist Hindus imposition of the names like *Asprusya*, *Chandala*, *Panchama*, *Untouchable*, *Harijan* and Scheduled Castes.

<sup>10</sup>Strauss, Anselm. (1987): *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*, Cambridge University Press, He argues that the theory should not be mechanically applied to data.

<sup>11</sup>Historical analysis engages the flowering of progress of experience and geographical analysis engages the untangle of the unanimity of experience

<sup>12</sup>This assumption came up during the course of examination

The other objectives include a survey of erstwhile Madras and Nizams Hyderabad States educational policy, nationalist's predispositions and *Adi-Andhra* people's demands before and after independence, on education and structure of schooling system for Dalits empowerment. Specific attention has been paid to the *caste associations*<sup>13</sup> and *schooling culture*<sup>14</sup> of the early twentieth century history of the erstwhile Coastal Andhra Pradesh of Madras Presidency and Deccan Nizams Hyderabad state so as to establish linkages with the '*Nehruvian Permissive State*' for educational development. The argument is to investigate and to recapture the contemporary history of the competitive politics of the empowerment along with education and school structures for economic and social advancement of the *Adi-Andhra* as a community.

As mentioned before, the study tries to interpret education and empowerment from a position that is inclined to get its 'education' which further linked with the *Adi-Andhra* as community, association, language, territory or history. It is very much relevant to examine the literature that legitimizes such networks, associations. Strong Social knowledge structures got prominence in establishing schools to attain equality and social justice among the hierarchically divided caste based social system. Mahatma Jotirao Phule (1827-1890) was among the first reformer who initiated social equality of opportunities in establishing schooling systems. On the other hand the dominant force as force of nationalism, secularism caste-Hindu social reformers, popularly Mahatma Gandhi, started organizing people for their own political interests.

The engagement of school as an abstract notion and empowerment of the Dalits is a concrete conception for the newly emerged national leadership in unifying the fabricated and hierarchically divided caste groups within nationalism and secularism praxis. The analysis on school from the nationalist, secularist and Ambedkarist perspectives during 1906-1956 reveals a connection between a (abstract) school and a

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<sup>13</sup>Arnold, D., Jeffrey, R., and Manor, J. (1976) 'Caste Associations in South India: A Comparative Analysis'. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 13(3), 353-373. See also, Rodolph, L.I., and Rodolph, S.H. (1960). 'The Political Role of India's Caste Associations', *Pacific Affairs*, 5-22.

<sup>14</sup>Giroux, H. A. (1997). *Pedagogy and the Politics of Hope: Theory, Culture, and Schooling: A Critical Reader*, the University of Michigan, Westview Press, pp. 1-277., Pai, Young and Adler, Susan A. (1997). *Cultural Foundations of Education*, NJ, Merrill, pp. 1-251.

(concrete) empowerment of Dalits in Telugu speaking country. The connection is made with the ideology of empowerment through school development structures.

The dominance of the colonial state and its reinforcement of caste domination can be seen through the resistance emerged from the native leadership under three different directions. The pro-Congress nationalist politics in establishing schools for Dalits advocated as *Harijan Sevak Sanga* under the leadership of M K Gandhi witnessed the caste domination. Similarly, the secularist left and anti-caste, self-respect autonomous movements in the form of class-caste praxis engaged the empowerment process of Dalit education can be seen through “*Adi-Andhra*” schools, more specifically Ambedkar resistance on both colonial state and caste-Hindu reformers in his writings made tremendous contribution for the empowerment process of Dalit education. The empowerment of the Dalits education becomes visible in the form of physical school buildings, teachers appointment, language in the schools and financial resources mobilization. Since the empowerment is a non-linear medium and the events are juxtaposed, it is through an act of imagination that the empowerment of the Dalits in schools is got constituted.

The challenging force for resisting against colonial domination has been reframed as a form of social-religious reformation gave a call under caste Hindu-nationalists. This space over M K Gandhi and his valiant leadership in the name of social integrity of hierarchically divided caste groups to achieve political power he has used school and educational development of Dalits under Congress nationalist mode. Secondly under the Communist secular social integrity was also initiated. At this juncture the Dalits initiated self-respect movement created new scholarship in establishing schools for Dalits. The new form of schools as social structure against the domination of British rule in India on one side and caste based domination on the other hand.

The emergence of new social institutions called schools became abstract social unification as school space and as a concrete empowerment of caste based structural divisions of the community, for colonial domination. The social unifications of

hierarchical caste based social groups are a challenge to the nationalists, secularists to attain political power from the hands of colonial rulers.

The analysis of the educational empowerment in the caste-class praxis reveals a connection between a (abstract) school and a (concrete) empowerment of Dalits. The connection is made through resistance in the form of *Adi-Andhra* schools as an ideology and social development of Dalits. The empowerment of Dalits becomes visible in the form of school buildings, teachers, curriculum, syllabus and language. Since the nationalism, secularism is a non-linear medium and the events are juxtaposed, it is through an act of *Adi-Andhra* imagination that the Dalits and the educational empowerment get constituted.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The present enquiry can be broadly situated in the area of colonial studies. This study focuses to frame education and empowerment as an object of colonial thought and concern.<sup>15</sup> Obviously the point is not to suggest that school has become less real and empowerment has acquired a new salience in the supposedly capacity and capability approach in the globalized contemporary world. In fact, the material for discussion belongs to a period where the national movement is under the process and remarkable influence of British Government on the native people.

In some measure this attempt is made to understand the socio-political practices of schooling in the colonial state for the upliftment of lower strata of the south Indian community. Does it is to allow to self-understanding of erstwhile Nizam Hyderabad State and Coastal Andhra Pradesh as a meaningful and cultural community? Is it a product of *Adi-Andhra* or autonomous independent struggles or Nizams Hyderabad State policies? Though this study engages itself with the colonial period, it is aware that the school in contemporary politics needs to locate historically in the colonial

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<sup>15</sup> Most of the structuralist studies focus on school as a very important object of enquiry

intervention and the structure of anti-colonial responses found in the nationalist narratives; it seems useful to treat school, culture and cosmopolitan development of the modern state.

In a larger sense, this study is an effort to track the path of Dalits education and empowerment process in the colonial context. Again, this is not to completely ally with those who have either totalize the idea of Dalits schooling, culture or absolutely consolidate the notion of education and empowerment. This study is an exploratory exercise in that direction. It is descriptive.

The work of political scientists like Alexis de Tocqueville, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and others in the 1950s and 1960s gave rise to the much-critiqued field known as political behavior of the state. Most luminous works of the 1950s and 1960s were questioned the micro practices of class, religion, race/ethnicity, or education on individual and group based political behavior and these kinds of studies became popular as education and empowerment. Later on in the middle of 1970s the scholarship on education and empowerment increased slowly in concentrating macro issues of political institutions in shaping political outcomes, the basic sources and outputs of such revolutions are studied comparative-historical understanding of nation-state development.

The left has pointed out that not only these political sociological narratives neglect over the colonial history of these third world nations but they also continued to perpetuate a hegemonic North over a marginalized South by exporting an ideology of ‘structural functionalism’, ‘relative deprivation’<sup>16</sup> and other technologies. Alongside,

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<sup>16</sup>Giddens, A. (1979). *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis*, Berkeley, California University press, Pp. 1-294., Walker, I., and Smith, H. J. (2002). *Relative Deprivation: Specification, Development, and Integration*. U. K, Cambridge University Press. Pp.1-351.

the ‘capabilities approach’<sup>17</sup> has not highlighted the disintegration of historically evolved communities and the rampant geopolitical situations caused by Western science and technology on schooling and social systems. Notwithstanding these critiques of education and empowerment, this study seeks to revisit these examinations in a roundabout way.

The unit of analysis for education and empowerment studies in the third world has been neither national level studies nor micro level studies. On the subject of ‘education’ as a concept in social sciences has largely been restricted to the Philosophy. Recent scenario of educational studies gained its momentum after behavioral and social sciences advancement, scholarly works of psychology, economics, sociology and political science recognized the importance of the ‘phenomenon of education’<sup>18</sup> need to study as a concept of interdisciplinary subject of study. It was this end orientations of new scholarship on the ‘concept of education’ has been studied and within the ‘paradigm of school’<sup>19</sup> and its relationships and interactions with the social ‘phenomenon of learning’.<sup>20</sup> Much of the educational studies in social sciences contributed from sociology, very little contribution had made by political science scholars to education as a subject of policy study in general and Dalits in particular.

The ‘Phenomenon of education’<sup>21</sup> was invented by scholars is to develop the elementary state of education for the lower segments of the society. Education and empowerment of Indian educational structures created by Buddhism, Jainism and Islamic *Madarasas*, *Maktabas* were dominated by Caste Hindu model of “*Gurukula*”.<sup>22</sup> It has had constructed certain legitimate safeguards in educational scenario before and after the advent of colonial rule. The new orientation of education was due to

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<sup>17</sup>Brighouse, H., and Robeyns, I. (Eds.). (2010). *Measuring Justice: Primary Goods and Capabilities*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Pp. 1-239.

<sup>18</sup> Shukla (1996), ‘From Pre-Colonial to Post-Colonial Educational Transitions in Southern Asia’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31 (22), Pp. 1344-1349.

<sup>19</sup>Pearson, M. (1995). ‘The Thin End of the Wedge. Medical Relativities as a Paradigm of Early Modern Indian-European Relations’. *Modern Asian Studies*, 29(1), 141-170.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Pp. 1344-1349.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Pp. 1344-1349.

<sup>22</sup> Ghosh, S. C. (2007). *History of Education in India*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, Pp. 1-536.

emergence of social consciousness among all social groups including Dalit's paved way to rethink the *Brahminical Gurukula System* of education during the colonial period with the advent of English education. Social reforms were taken up, caste associations and caste reforms also gained importance. Before it became prominent in all parts of India, education is only restricted to '*Gurukula*, schools in addition to Buddhist *Viharas*, Islamic *Madrasas*, *Maktabas*.

The conceptual framework of education and empowerment of Dalit education through caste associations in Nizams Hyderabad could be interesting phenomenon to understand the overall development of education in India. According to Rudolph and Rudolph caste associations act as 'para-communities' for the pursuit of social mobility, political power, and economic advantage.<sup>23</sup> There is a difference between caste associations and voluntary associations, the difference is that the caste associations are look like numerous traditions and the voluntary associations or interest groups are visible in technologically developed humanities.

The caste associations are additional comparable to the voluntary associations at the organizational level than the old caste structures. The caste based associations has its own office bearers collects the memberships. They have invented a new process of administration and statutory proceedings that have reclined through the regular meetings with its members, the proposed ideas were taken as important accounts for resolving the issues that encounter them. But, unlike the voluntary associations, caste associations are characterized by a shared sense of culture, character and status, which gives it solidarity not found in voluntary associations. The functions of caste associations are diverse. It serves the Indian society by both leveling the sacred and hierarchical caste order and also replacing it. It initiates and manages the efforts of the

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<sup>23</sup> Apte, M. L. (1974). "Voluntary Associations and Problems of Fusion and Fission in a Minority Community in South India", *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, 3(1), 43-48.



lower castes to become twice-born, to do the sacred thread which symbolizes higher ritual rank and culture.<sup>24</sup>

The main role of the caste-associations and their contribution is to vital structural and traditional transformation in Indian society as long as an adaptive tradition in which both the old as well as modern features of society can gamble and vehemence. In order to study education and empowerment for Dalits, it is useful to draw concepts and theoretical perspectives from education and empowerment. Education and empowerment is primarily concerned with family, education system, economy, polity, and relations between these institutions. The concept of culture in sociology of education is primarily used in theories of socialization. The process of socialization is perceived as building of the consciousness of human subjects through internalization of culture.

For the first time in Indian social history focus extensively on Dalits education and empowerment by Jotirao Phule. In 1848 he initiated to establish a school for Dalit girl child in Maharastra. Perhaps it was the first ever school started for Dalits in India.<sup>25</sup> From the state of untouchability to the social consciousness of their social stigma of Dalits was greatly influenced the *Gurukula System of education* right after Phules initiation. Colonial government of Maharastra was forced to take up in establishing schools for Dalit's.

The philosophers and educationalist who, before Phule had never been part of initiating schools for Dalit's. Most of them are associated with *Gurukula system of education*, largely criticized on political economy, social issues but corner stoned

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<sup>24</sup>Note: It is clear in case of Nadars of Tamil Nadu, a low caste of toddy tappers, who through the efforts of their association, the *Jaganmitra Mandali* of 1906 by Adi- *Hindu Social Service League*, who acquired *Arya Samaj* activities in the initial time, the *Nadar Mahajana Sangam* formed in 1910, acquired not only higher status but a modern organization to service their needs. See also Kothari, R. (1970). *Politics in India*, New Delhi, Orient Blackswan p. 24., Apte, M. L. (1974). 'Voluntary Associations and Problems of Fusion and Fission in a Minority Community in South India', *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, 3(1), pp. 43-48.

<sup>25</sup>Kamble, J. R. (1979). *Rise and Awakening of Depressed Classes in India*. New Delhi: National, Pp. 53-54.

Dalits educational development. The societal situation at that time is panic and poverty of the majority appeared as collective and the existing faith in a radical explanation to the struggle amongst the castes. Caste Hindu ideologies were still able to define in the form of Gandhi notion of education is viewed as an individual social realization that has to be counted as Dalit scuffle; within caste Hindu fourfold *Varnasramadharma* principle. On the other side, Ambedkar's declaration of '*annihilation of caste*' is the powerful way forward for the masses and Dalit's in educational pursuit in India. This idea is still relevant even today for the liberation and emancipation of Dalit.

The present study intends to deal with the capacity of caste Hindu ideas on Dalit education to understand it, Jyotirao Phule's demonstration of educational development through '*Satya Sodhak Samaj*' within socially organized notions which found an embodiment of important interactions that are inter dependent on the social statues of an individual. The important schemes laid by the leadership can be seen as fundamental principles, these are the more an ideas are considered perfect. The real validity of an idea deepens on the relation that occurred amongst an agreed concept and experience; one has to note that the elements proposed by the scholars should be incorrect or ideally misappropriation. The serious research intends to take facts are the primary for constructing theory which will be called as hypothesis.

The present work is confined to the situation of the Dalits education and empowerment under the background of *Adi-Andhra* movement that had happened in erstwhile Madras and Nizam Hyderabad States. The Dalit education in the colonial Nizam State of Hyderabad and Coastal Andhra has continued to advance in anger and frustration. The Dalit education is in search of a redefinition of its 'social identity' as a potential mass movement, encompassing all the oppressed masses, while challenging the '*Gurukula System* of educational ideological traditions. There has been an un-presented politicization of these marginalized masses during the 1905 to 1956, making a significant socio-political impact on the educational structures of the state through its new leadership. The emergence of 'social identity' self-respect movements, anti-caste agitations in colonial coastal Andhra Pradesh and Nizam

Hyderabad State has become a subject of social scientific investigation only recently, as a critical educational ideology it has been interpreted variously as collective action and understood from different theoretical paradigms. An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to review briefly the existing theoretical approaches, followed by an explanation of the approach of the present work to the educational ideology of Dalit's in regions under study.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of the present study is to understand the binary positions that the Caste Hindu ideologues were still able to define in the form of Gandhi notion of education and consciousness, within the caste Hindu fourfold *Varnasrama Dharma* principle. On the other side, Ambedkar's declaration of 'annihilation of caste' is the only way forward for the mass Dalit educational development in India.

Other objectives of the proposed study are:

- To understand the historical background of Dalit schooling System, Culture, Identity against the *Varnasrama Dharma* in Nizams Hyderabad and Coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency
- To review the various autonomous social movements to establish schooling structures and Critical Consciousness processes, how did they worked and why did the leadership feel to deal Schooling as an important contribution for Dalits empowerment.
- To study and analyze the pre-independent Dalit Consciousness and educational development under structure and agency praxis, within the caste-class framework for negotiating with the colonial State.
- To study the Varna System (larger perspective) to the particular *Jati or Caste* groups and their educational process can be studied through *Adi-Andhra* self-respect movement and its structures of the education, power, and culture phenomenon.
- To understand how the Dalits associations/ organizations are accumulated to construct educational opportunities under secular, national, capital formations can be studied.

Though the idea of 'education' has its liability on Dalit empowerment associated with its region specific and political geography. The Telugu speaking people lives in erstwhile Nizams Hyderabad state and Coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency constantly shift in relation to language used in the schools, as State impositions versus activists proposition of vernacular language. However, the only terrain on which the entire people of the region become impacted on the people's cultural liberty as imagined in the name of 'empowerment'. As mentioned earlier, this is not to say that the empowerment lacks political geography. But its edges are seemingly less pointed than the other caste and communities specificities like school or language politics. This process of educational empowerment the people in giving up particularities of their folklore and other pristine virtue in the form of '*Varnashrama Dharma*' caste based social school structures.

### **Methodology of the Study**

This study focuses on qualitative strategies in social sciences. This study carried out to physical engagement of data collection by identifying *Adi-Andhra Schools* both in Nizams Hyderabad State and Coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency. It is further, that the identified schools were visited to get hold of available records and data. The researcher found that there are 26 schools that were established by the *Adi-Andhra* movement leaders in Hyderabad. Whereas in Coastal Andhra there were 22 schools recognized by the researcher through published literature, physically verified the existence of all those schools by the researcher and also collected data from those schools. In next step researched conducted face to face interviews to know more about the schools with its peer groups<sup>26</sup> associated historically in establishing schools for Dalits. The opinions of the teachers, family members and organic leaders whoever are associated with *Adi-Andhra Schools* were recorded for the purpose of the study.

The enactment of physical responsibilities informs the concrete activities and vice versa, the need to bring out the peculiarity revenues in educational dialogue and engagement. The physical responsibilities included archival work at State archives

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<sup>26</sup> For details see the annexure for the list of the schools and persons interacted for data collection has been presented.

department, newspaper articles, selecting items for state educational policies for analysis, classifying them according to material availability, preparing notes of the statements, and particularly reconstructing and interrelating cues from within the existed social systems. Also, visiting the *Adi-Andhra* movement leader families for collecting material and oral narrations have been extensively used to sustenance some arguments.

As part of the research work carried out in search of material for supporting the arguments, researchers has also visited Gowthami Libraby at Rajahmundray in East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh for identifying and collecting historical records and documents for supporting the research work on the *Adi-Andhra* leaders and their educational activities. There are three leading Telugu newspapers in those days covered extensively on Dalits and *Adi-Andhra* movement. They are *Andhra Patrika* and *Krishna Patrika* and *Dharmasadhini*, The researcher could not get hold off *Krishna Patrika* but other two are available at Rahahmundra, Vetapalem and Machilipatnam libraries. It is further, that the researcher has also visited to Saraswathi library at Vetapalem, Prakasam district of Andhra Pradesh and State Archives of Tamilnadu, Egmore, Chennai for government orders and educational records. The City Central library, Hyderabad, Srikrishnadevaraya Sahitya Parishad Library, Nampally, Hyderabad, Telangana Saraswatha Parishad's library, for *Golkonka Patrika* and Telangana State Archives and Research Institute, Tarnaka, Hyderabad government orders of erstwhile Nizams Hyderabad State.

The research methods and material for the study has been collected from primary as well as secondary sources. The primary sources comprise government reports, mainly the reports of Nizam Annual Educational Reports, The Caste Associations annual reports and debates and discussions. Books and published articles as also publicity material issued by the caste associations and other anti-caste movement leaders in the state used extensively as the secondary sources. For gathering the resources material extensive survey method with face to face personal interviews were conducted and recorded with anti-caste organic leaders who formed schools and caste associations

along with social activists. The interviews were held in Telugu with the family members of the then anti-caste leaders.

### **Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The broad scope of the study is to cover the pre-independence emergence of Dalit consciousness and development of education in the erstwhile Nizams Hyderabad state and Coastal Andhra under Madras Presidency. The geographical unevenness of the region studied has accounted for the vastly cosmopolitan difference among the communities as a character of political economy and educational change in Nizam Hyderabad. Taking the accounts of these differentiating factors the study analyses the Dalit assertion and educational consciousness in the state. In order to present a better perspective, it does not strictly confine itself to Hyderabad, but compares the Dalit educational development in the state with those of other states, particularly Baroda and Madras Presidency.

### **Scheme of Chapterization**

The Study comprises five chapters, excluding introduction and conclusion. *Chapter One* begins with brief review of literature on the accounts of education and empowerment in general and Dalits in particular. The review of literature divided under three dimensions they are structuralist and functionalist understanding of education. Secondly Neo-Marxist ideas on education and finally highlighted the Ambedkar notions on education. The chapter is also reviewed literature on Indian scholarship on education and empowerment that accounts during aftermath of colonial to the post-independent India.

*Chapter Two* deals with theoretical issues on education and empowerment. The educational experiences of Greek, Rome, Japanese, and European had been analyzed to understand the Dalits notion of education in the erstwhile Nizams Hyderabad State and coastal Andhra of Madras presidency. Further, explained how those philosophical

ideas are helped Dalit intelligentsia for the construction of schooling under *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha* let movement is discussed extensively. The literature produced by the Indian thinkers on education and empowerment are very much helpful in understanding the schooling for Dalits.

*Chapter Three* attempted to understand Ideology and Culture: Construction of Dalit schooling. The ideological and cultural notions of Dalits with an autonomous and self-respect *Adi-Andhra* identity tried hard in negotiating the colonial state for the construction of schooling process has been discussed thoroughly. To do this task, the researcher has begins to study the school from Dalits perspective. How the ideas evolved during the Dalit led *Adi-Andhra* movement initially was in the hands of local Dalits leadership, later on the leadership split into different ideological frameworks. These frameworks are popularly known as Indian National Congress led *Harijan Sevak Sangam* under the leadership of Gandhi, then Pro-Communist and finally Ambedkar's *Scheduled Caste Federation*. The education and empowerment has been viewed from these ideological perspectives with working involvement of Dalits intelligentsia and leadership tried hard in constructing schooling for Dalits. Schooling process involves in interrogating space and schooling systems, budget allocations and teaching staff. How *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha* leadership negotiated and promoted folk forms of *Dasabodha*, *Bhajana Mandali* as an ideology, culture from Maharashtra and schooling in the Dalits localities could be brought out in this chapter.

*Chapter four* focuses on the emergence of *Adi-Andhra* schools in Coastal Andhra and the role of *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha* as a hole how the new leadership and autonomous people's struggles were mobilized as *Adi-Andhra* and *Adi-Hindu* community for the purpose of schooling. The rural leaders took up the cause of Dalits education through social structures like caste associations for establishing educational institutions. It explains how the ancient *Panchayat System* was systematized and established political economy of education as a base to negotiate power relations with the colonial state. It was a new wave of articulation, how it has been responsible for the fundamental questioning of the entire education system and its traditions, how it has been responsible for (a) the new knowledge dialectics of Gandhi and *Ambedkar* notion of

education approach (b) the formation of new schools and for the production of knowledge. This it has done by publishing different propaganda model through organized annual conferences at provincial, district, firka and village level and also used print media extensively in publishing those conference proceedings are interesting to learn the philosophical ideas of Dalits.

*Chapter five* presents a Comprehensive study of autonomous Dalit education/schooling that has produced in the erstwhile Deccan Nizams Hyderabad State during the course of anti-colonial struggle agitations in one side and Dalits autonomous struggles on the other hand. It examines anti-colonial and anti-caste movement creation of new leadership that has emergence as a strong intellectual force among Dalits. This leadership started studying their own social structures and knowledge system associated with then for longer time has brought out in the form of an independent *Adi-Andhra Movement* on par with the Indian National Congress and Communists in the region for the promotion schooling. The movement led leadership and their schooling process in Nizams Hyderabad state is an importance area of the study for understanding education and empowerment. It also discusses the critical school knowledge systems of anti-caste intellectuals; the schooling process is studied as organic historical actors of the time and space.

In conclusion, the success or failure of pre-independent anti-caste movement is evaluated in comparative terms of the education and empowerment of the region. The shift in the schooling process and educational consciousness of Dalits also discussed. In the second part of the conclusion there is a brief overview of the guiding aims of the *Ambedkar's* revolution in critical theory of education and empowerment. Lastly, findings and outcomes of the research work carried out on Education and Empowerment: A Study on Dalits in Nizam Hyderabad and Coastal Andhra Pradesh, 1906-1956 has been presented in the Conclusion.



# CHAPTER ONE

## EDUCATION AND EMPOWERMENT: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The significance of schooling in the development of human civilization is well recognized and articulated. The contentious question is how far the present educational system in India is contributing social empowerment? There is a wide variation in response to this question. The non-committals preferred to say that the system is in a flux on a continuous change. Few others are very enthusiastic of present system and characterized the situation as exciting times more access, private participation, national and global competition and opportunities. There may be partial truth in all these description as the situation from different perspectives. How to hammer out a consensus from these contending views? This leads us to question of what is the more acceptable framework to understand the relevance of present day educational system. Indian scholars have not been much concerned on the historical initiation of Dalit education in India. The ‘phenomenon of education’ investigated by the scholars much to do with the development of the elementary state of education of the society. Much of the literature produced by scholars on education in India has explained general subject matters of education as ‘what it does’ rather than ‘what it is’.

In India, education has traditionally been religious school education until the formation of republican state. Education was monopolized by the Brahmins during the ancient period, the Muslim in medieval period and the British controlled during the colonial period. The provincial and local governments have played larger role in spread of the education in the latter half of the twentieth century. However, apart from religious schools and private schools are also involved in education. This initiation commenced during colonial rule in India in the form of caste associations. Education has been defined as the process of training individual for his or her environment.<sup>27</sup> Durkheim well-defined it as the action applied by the older groups upon persons who are required of him both by his society as a whole and by the milieu for which is

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<sup>27</sup> Pei, Mario. (1963). *The Story of Language*, Verso, London, p 237.

specially destined.<sup>28</sup> The Marxist writers on the other hand, characterized educational system, as an essential part of the “ideological state apparatus” viewed in this context the British educational policy was aimed at the spread of colonial rule to ensure their ideas and interests<sup>29</sup> necessary for the cultural conquest of the Indian mind and thought.<sup>30</sup> To legitimize the imperial system in India, the British needed new framework which could be incorporated the most elite among Indians, through the English Education System. It was this new English education which produced a class of civil servants whose aspirations were shaped in turn with the British vision of Empire and interests.<sup>31</sup> During at the time of framing Indian Constitution, India has recognized the importance of ‘universal education’. Initial framers of Indian social policy makers realized that an informed public was essential to the survival of democracy. Education, therefore, was seen as acute to the founding of the new-fangled democratic government.

The education and social empowerment debate is based on the concept of ‘conscientisation’. This notion brings out the question of pedagogy and its relations to the education and social empowerment process. The prominent scholarship on this lines propagated by the renounced scholar Paulo Freire<sup>32</sup> through his famous work on education. According to him education is the process of conscientisation that motivates the peoples and about their current scenario in the society. Based on their position awareness creation happens between the communities for their own development path up on the actions initiated by them. The collective effort of that society brings out important educational systems for the good society. It is this notion is very much important not only to the Latin American societies but also societies educationally deprived could take this up and work out for their own welfare and development. The educational systems proposed by the author are valid for the social empowerment of the societies. The articulation and experiences of the Latin American societies through oppressed pedagogical relations spoils the entire education growth

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<sup>28</sup> Durkheim, E. (1956). *Education and Sociology: Social Theory*, Paris, Simon and Schuster, p.4.

<sup>29</sup> Kamat, A. (1982). “Education and Social Change: A Conceptual Framework”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 17(31), pp. 1237-1244.

<sup>30</sup> Behram B. K. Boman, (1943). *Educational Controversies in India*, Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala Company, p. 619.

<sup>31</sup> Frekenberg, R. E. (1986). “Modern Education in South India 1754-1854”, *American Historical Review*, Vol,91, no. 1, Feb, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Paulo, F. (1972). *“Pedagogy of the Oppressed”*, U. K, Penguin, p. 1-186.

and development. The students are at great loss in the course of learning knowledge rather than mechanical life.

### **Structural and Functionalism**

The intellectual formations are to be originating in speculative and experiential literatures of education. Largely considered, schooling is disturbed through the collective foundation of supremacy. Cutting-edge this tradition, education deals with patterns of relative deprivation or reference groups and their concerns in social systems. It is single specific method toward the examination of community structures and collective conversion. After evaporation, schooling emphasizes on the structural examination of community networks and community governance for the benefit of the society. Fashionable to this perception the essential of schooling comprises the examination of both formal and as well as informal community governments, by its connections to the state administration, the structures are important at the larger electoral benefits. This method is manifestation of community organized or administrative authority of vision. By way of cultures attempt to convert rationalized and by way of officially controlled instructive organizations converts supplementary and extra governing, it seem problematic toward loud division among the community arrangements and purposeful methods to schooling.

Yet, these outlooks accept determinedly altered origins around the schooling process and remain reproductions of the elementary works of Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis and W. E. Moore has transfer the pervasive view that roles of schooling for the society as a whole and the affiliation among schooling and other parts of the community organization. Durkheim's fundamental contribution is not limited to or even dependent upon certain homogeneity is required of society is to survive.<sup>33</sup> To the contrary, the essential contribution was that he made the study of

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<sup>33</sup> Durkheim, E. (1938), (Trans.). {1977}, as the "Evolution of Education Thought", London, Routledge., Talcott, P. (1959). "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society", *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. Issue. 29, Pp. 297-318., Davis, K. (1953). "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis Reply", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4. Pp. 394-397.

education making to the study of societal structures or micro sociology of child's attitudes, virtues are being shaped at home before entering into school, which are in a way called societal skills of peace and harmony building.

The rational motivation of an autonomous and institutional framework of schooling is the formulation of structuralist understandings. The structuralist notions are based on the historical reformulations of the existed structures based on the events and intellectual criticism. The criticism of the scholarship is more useful in the formation of new structures and institutions were actually targets the ruling classes and evaluate their attitude towards the larger society. In such a critical observations made by the functionalist scholarship on educational theory and knowledge helps in understanding the socio-economic conditions of the communities lived in a particular regions or areas could be an interesting field of study.

To estimate the structuralist and functionalist methods in Indian perspective there remain two significant works that are powerful in the arena of education. They are Altekar, A. S in his popular work entitled as Education in Ancient India has highlighted the teaching methods of the ancient mode of Indian education. The entire education is based on the promotion of Hindu religious rituals and culture. The entire curriculum is based on the Brahmin culture and religious practices of them are well articulated. There is nothing on the production related communities and their schooling related activity that has mention in the study. The other important work entitled *Ancient Indian Education* by Radha Kumud Mookerji<sup>34</sup> brings out educational changes of ancient India. It was a collection of works based on the secondary literature during 1918-20. Most of the published articles in different journals were compiled but they are not in sequence when it compare to Aryan Society. Altogether, the two important works gave an impression that the education and empowerment of Dalits was not focused.

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<sup>34</sup> Mookerji, R. K. (2016). "*Ancient Indian Education: Brahmanical and Buddhist*", Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass publication,

It is important to mention few contributions of Medieval Indian education scenario. The prominent scholarship are consists Narendra Nath Law and S. M. Jaffar. Law in his research entitled, *Promotion of leaning in India during Muhammadan Rule*<sup>35</sup> in 1915. The main focus of the work is on the elevation of learning in protracted form of education among the people was extracted from Muslim rulers, chiefs, and private individuals. S. M Jaffar's<sup>36</sup> contribution to the education is entitled as *Education in Muslim India, 1000-1800 A.D.* In this book Jaffar has highlighted the education of the Muslim concentrated empires during the medieval period. He has not mentioned anything about Dalit schooling and related issues.

There are other important works produced by the scholars during and after independent India focused much on Education. Of these, Erikson and I. P Desai were the prominent scholars who applied this phenomenon of education to study high school students in Pune 1953.<sup>37</sup> While critically evaluating the concept of education in India during 1960s and 1970s the study questions the educational system was not strong-minded on the basis of the individual birth, it has to be counted the age and ability and attitude of an individual. The prominent scholars who has contributed their knowledge under Structural and functional theory are Tawney,<sup>38</sup> Dushkin,<sup>39</sup> N. T Tirtha and M Mukhopadhaya,<sup>40</sup> Suma Chitnis.<sup>41</sup> According to them the structural and functional theory refers to often more satisfactory explanation of the agenesis of social systems, education and social change.

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<sup>35</sup> Law, N. N. (1916). "*Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*", London, Longmans, Green and co., Pp. 1-259.

<sup>36</sup> Jaffar, S. M. (1973). *Education in Muslim India: Being an Inquiry into the State of Education During the Muslim Period of Indian History, 1000-1800*, Delhi, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli Publishers, Pp. 1-261.

<sup>37</sup> Desai, I.P. (1953). High School Students in Poona, Issue 12 of *Deccan College Monographs Series*, Delhi, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Pp. 1-123.

<sup>38</sup> Tawney, R. H. (1950). *Social History and Literature*, London, Cambridge University Press, Pp. 1-45.

<sup>39</sup> Dushkin, A. M. (2016). *Jewish Education in New York City*, New York, F.B and C Publishing limited, Pp. 1-594.

<sup>40</sup> Thirtha, N. V., and Mukhopadhyay, M. (1974). "Sociology of Education: A Trend Report", *Survey of Research in Education*, Baroda: M. S. University, p. 83.

<sup>41</sup> Chitnis, S. and Altbach, P. G. (1993). *Higher Education Reform in India: Experience and Perspectives*, Delhi, Sage Publication, Pp. 1-440.

## Marxist and Neo-Marxist

The Marxist and neo-Marxists (also called the New Left) are argued that education is shaped by the economic infrastructure. Their main concern is that the education produces workforce required by capitalism. It is the education that shapes primarily on the account of the central structural conditions between power, ideology, education and the relations of production linked. It is the material phenomenon rooted in the school process. Prominent scholarship emerged from Louis Althusser's on conception of ideological state and power relations are integral part of the learning process in the schools. According to him the power cannot hold the physical force for long run it is the ideas that work more than the physical force in this process the value of the students are reproduced a workforce suited to the requirements of capitalist society.<sup>42</sup>

Important contribution let to the field of education by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1976),<sup>43</sup> involved an ideological shift in organizing principle objective of their study is on equality of opportunities in the schools based on economic efficiency. According to them the relationship between education and occupational mobility between communities are important standpoint to question the welfare of the labour. Their main arguments is that the schools produce the workers for the capitalist economy, they have explained the authoritative and hierarchical structures of the School organization how they reproduce the workforce for the capitalist economy through studying *Schooling in Capitalist America*. The main conception is that the labour forces are alienated in the fragmented school-based knowledge and fragmented organization of work. Therefore they conclude by saying that the education system is gigantic myth-making machine. This was criticized by Karabel and Halsey by bringing several new dimensions of schooling system and education with Cuba and

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<sup>42</sup> Althusser, L. (2006). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (notes towards an investigation). *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, 9(1), Pp. 86-98

<sup>43</sup> Bowles, S and Gintis, H (1976). *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reforms and the Contradictions of Economic Life*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Pp. 1-350.

Soviet Union experience of socialist states where the authoritarian model of schooling has been highlighted<sup>44</sup>.

Other prominent scholarship outside Marxist perspective was Ivan Illich's. According to him the conception of schooling on par with Marxist ideas is that of alienation conception of *De-schooling Society*. According to him schooling system was miserably failed due to 'futile promises of salvation to the poor of the technological age'.<sup>45</sup> He further, said that the education processes in the schools are critically based on the hidden curriculum which was not useful to the labour force in the society. It also emphasizes that learning *about* the world is more valuable than learning *from* the world. This view was criticized by Bowles and Gintis by way of responding that the root cause of the problem lies in the economic system rather than in schools and De-schooling would only produce 'occupational misfits' and 'job blues' from the experience of Latin America, eminent scholarship on education was produced by Paulo Freire's classical work on education was '*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*' and as Illich rejects the formal schooling system and Freire also rejects formal schooling system.

In this view the orthodox education, he calls as 'the banking concept of education' writes from 'narration sickness' it suppresses creative thought of the child. Freire further said "education...becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat...in banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing".<sup>46</sup> He has invented a new method to educate the poor in Latin America is that the direct involvement of the student in learning process by way of learning everyday words and phrases. The 'critical education' which he proposes is that the

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<sup>44</sup> Karabel, J. and Halsey, A. H. (1977). *Power and Ideology in Education*, New York, Oxford University Press, Pp. 1-670.

<sup>45</sup> Illich, I. (1973). *Deschooling Society*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 1-116. See also Gartner, A., Greer, C. and Riessman, F. (Ed.). (2014). *Consumer Education in the Human Services: Pergamon Policy Studies*, Elsevier, Pp. 1-288.

<sup>46</sup> Freire, P. 1996 (1970). "*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*", London, Penguin, Pp. 1-164.

learning process should be mutual involvement, active and questioning method. In fact this method is transformational, liberating, consistent and empowering the poor children.

Among the Neo-Marxist (new Left) scholarship of the phenomenon of education was to study the 'cultural deprivation' or the perspective of 'compensatory education' which argues that the sub-cultures and value system for the lower classes and certain ethnic groups affects their performance and self-imposed barrier of learning in the schooling system. Perhaps the most powerful contribution to the 'cultural deprivation' is Basil Bernstein, who has produced and differentiated the educational system by way of identifying the links between class difference in speech patterns and educational attainments. Therefore he was popularized his 'new sociology of education' by analyzing the speech patterns of both middle-class and working class children. His study brings out the predicaments of learning difficulties of middle class has advantage in capturing the 'extended codes' and 'restricted codes' than the working class. It remains further accountable to that of the employed class pupil are falling linguistic handicaps than the middle class children.

Bernstein ideas criticized by Labov and Rosen though their scholarly works in New York City among the working class and black children in Harlem. They found that the cultural deprivation theories on education were based on the false evidences. Rosen argued that Bernstein has analyzed his 'elaborated code' in the absence of hard realities of evidences by imposing that middle class was superior than the lower class.<sup>47</sup> Whereas, Labov's famous article entitled 'The Logic of Non-Standard English' explores that black speech patterns are not inferior but simply different, with their own rule and convictions. Furthermore, Boudon's 'positional theory' could be seen more elaborately that the sub-cultural differences are actually based on the individual actual position in the class structure.

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<sup>47</sup> Labov, W. (1973). "The Logic of Non-Standard English", in P.P. Giglioli (Ed.), "Language and Social Context," Harmondsworth, Penguin, Pp. 1-339.



The actual position of the people may be the starting point to understand the educational inequalities based on the class system within the lower classes. He proposes some solutions to his conception of education as a single compulsory curriculum, fewer branching points and abolition of social stratification by proposing this he ends on a suspicious note on education. In France contemporary to Basil Bernstein is that of Pierre Bourdieu has theorized the education system as offender of representative passion, for Bourdieu education is to be pretense of objectivity and impartiality, it is not only reproduces the existing inequality but also produces its own inequalities. The main intention of the education is to produce these kind of reproduction theories on education is to not to see the equality but about inequality.<sup>48</sup>

When there was a contestation on the 'cultural deprivation theories' by Rosen and Labov, by way of questioning education theory it has failed to address 'what is to be education' prominent scholar on sociology of education called M. F. D. Young, expressed that there is no detached way of assessing knowledge and if knowledge is being defined superior on the basis of power relations and thus imposed up on the other. He further said that all knowledge has base of 'socially constructed'. Such kind of knowledge can be applied to middle class teachers and administrators. The phenomenology viewpoint explains that the essential of the 'interactionist approach' is the constriction of the meanings in the process of interaction is more important. Thus the administrators and schools teachers' attitude towards students accounts that of school knowledge. Therefore, the prejudiced of administrators and school teachers towards the disadvantaged children over the issues of language and linguistic handicap is mainly due to governance of one linguistic core over another.

Young's rejection of the arguments designed by Rosen and Labov's scholarship of 'cultural deprivation theories' and established a 'new sociology of education' popularly known as "*Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*" is strong contribution to the phenomenon of education.<sup>49</sup> The traditional

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<sup>48</sup> Bourdieu, P., and Passeron, J. C. (1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Volume 4 of Published in Association With *Theory, Culture and Society*, London, Sage Publication, Pp. 1-254

<sup>49</sup> Young, M. F. D. (1971). "*Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*," London, Collier-Macmillan, Pp. 1-289.

expression of education is that need to serve the purpose of the child's betterment in the life based on their social background rather than a commodity in the market. It was the trend that speaks about 'human capital approach' and it had failed to address the equal educational opportunities for the deprived sections. Thus shifted towards compensatory education, this perspective has brought new dimension of the study on the basis of environment of the child at home is not the determine factor for the education. It is the teacher's attitude towards the education must be changed according to Young and others. According to them teachers must accept the validity of different speech forms and moral codes. Then the trend shifted towards resistance theories, there were many research projects undertook in the US, Canada, Europe, and Australia has highlighted the human tendency and experience in the complex social relation between school and dominant society. The dominant schooling process certainly not ending but challenges the students by oppositional behavior. The central character of this theory covers H. A. Giroux and Peter McLaren, schools are contested terrains marked by the students.<sup>50</sup> The writings of these scholars explain the lived experience of students and existing system of schooling with critical pedagogies. There has been much influence of Bourdieu's 'ideas of creation of schools as public spaces that respects the lived differences between people.'<sup>51</sup>

### **Education and Empowerment: Indian Experience**

Parimala V. Rao, ed., (2014) *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*. This book focuses its attention on the historical educational development in India. The main argument of the book highlights the contradictory notions historical knowledge development basing on the factual information of the locality that has pervaded among the people and their intricate exclusions. The scholarly contribution of the book brings out the historical educational development has been useful for the future manifestation of education. Rao in her introduction proposes that the conventional and new angle with colonial, anti-colonial, post modernists and jingoist falling into old

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<sup>50</sup> Giroux, H., and McLaren, P. (1986). Teacher Education and the Politics of Engagement: The Case for Democratic Schooling. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56 (3), Pp. 213-239.

<sup>51</sup> Bourdieu, P., and Passeron, J. C. (1970): *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, London, Sage Publications, Pp. 1-254

notions, marked by common supposition that the world consists of aptly divided categories of east and west. There is, however, a need to return these clichéd understanding of relationships. For example, Rao contradictory to Krishna Kumar and his conception of constructing colonial states and its citizenship over shaping the moral role of education. Rao completely indicate that within England (given the background of Napoleonic wars) the concepts of Britishness and citizen were being developed<sup>52</sup> was problematic by taking colonial conception of citizen. Furthermore, Kumar's observation about modification in teacher's situation from being sustained by community (in pre-colonial India) to paid retainers of colonial government is questioned. Rao asserts that 'the relationship between the teacher, student and his parents was entirely based on casual reciprocal advantages and would weaken or dissolve with slight disagreement between the two'<sup>53</sup> Further, the supremacy of teacher's position (e.g. Dronacharya) and modesty of the ideal disciple (e.g. Upvalka And Eklavya is also problematized.<sup>54</sup>

Rao indicates that such irrational function with teachers does not seem convincible given the caste, gender and religious diversity among students and teachers. Taking up the example of *Yajnavalka*, she further argues that blind adherence was not the hallmark of the Hindu educational and intellectual tradition.<sup>55</sup> Aggregated facts about education are debated area in the history whether it is significance, fulfilled meaning, desire or application. The diversified ideas, aspects, opinion and activities need to be valued in order to break the uniform section of analytical division, describe, connection, activity and conventional knowledge about the imperial education in India. Rao also focuses that the importance of the education need to focus apart from imperial aftereffect and to view it in relation to conditions and movements in England to refresh our understanding about how colony and coloniser related to each other.

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<sup>52</sup> Parimala V. Rao. (2014). *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, p. 27.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., P. 28

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

Eleanor Zelliot<sup>56</sup> in her research papers emphasized Dalits initiatives in education from 1880-1992. The study brings out efforts made by the non-oppressed classes and oppressed sections. In the articles she argues that the contributions of the oppressed in opening up of the educational institutions ranging from primary to tertiary level. The main focus of the article is that the importance of education identity has been highlighted. Interestingly the analysis extended until contemporary times thereby viewing 1947 not as a watershed event in history of Dalit education but as a continuum.<sup>57</sup>

Jenkins, L. D.<sup>58</sup> study focuses on formal schooling under the globalization era and problems associated with current trends has been brought out. How are the Dalits led institutions mobilized the resource mobilization and provided good working environment is an important area of study. The main intention of the study is to bring out Siddharth and Milind Educational institutions and their educational development contribution is studied extensively. How the students gained confidence, through social networks, groups associated with these cross sections are an important actor of the study.<sup>59</sup> The Indian case, according to Jenkin, has important lessons to offer to other nations these institutions have come up as distinct educational spaces but not envisaged as separate institutions which imply exclusion. Intermingling of students from diverse background thus helps in consciousness rising in the broader society and collaboration with non-Dalit community.<sup>60</sup>

Radha Gayathri's<sup>61</sup> argument is based on works of women from diverse social experiences. They offered a strident account of their destitute situation in society and paired values of ethics. According to Gayathri, these women were 'daughters of

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<sup>56</sup> Zelliot, E. (2014). "Dalit Initiatives in Education, 1880-1992," in Rao, P. V. (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, Pp. 46-67.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 69-71.

<sup>58</sup> Jenkins, L. D. (2014). 'A College of One's Own: An International Perspective on the Value of Historically Dalit Colleges', in Parimala V. Rao. (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, Pp. 68-89

<sup>59</sup> .

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p.76

<sup>61</sup> Gayathri, Radha. (2014). 'Silent Voices: Women's Perceptions about Self and Education in Late Nineteenth-Century India', in Parimala V. Rao. (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, Pp. 90-119.

reform' who voiced their protests, fought for their rights, and challenged prevalent social discourse through various forums.<sup>62</sup> For them education alone could have an ameliorating effect. However, she calls them silent as their outreach was limited and restricted but nevertheless most crucial in understanding their contemporary times.<sup>63</sup>

Manchanda Mahima's<sup>64</sup> 'Contested Domains: Reconstructing Education and Religious Identity in Sikh and Arya Samaj School in Punjab', aims to analyse meaning, content and intention of education for women in two very well-known schools of Punjab set up by reformers the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya and Kanya Mahavidyalaya.<sup>65</sup> Girls from across social background attended the school. With a focus on domestic affairs, education was seen as a medium to equip them for their future role of married wives. In terms of identity, however, the aim was to not only create western educated companionable wives and ideal mothers but also cater to specific Social Scientist demands of Sikh community (distinct from Hinduism) and creation of tat *khalsa* image and Arya Samaj Community.<sup>66</sup>

Parimala Rao's<sup>67</sup> essay on compulsory education takes up several perspectives and explains the variance of views among the inhabited themselves and also among imperial administrators. It breaks the radiance which mantle nationalist understanding in popular dissertation by presenting the close connection between nationalist and medieval, male-controlled, commercial leanings. The debates within political and social arenas regarding educational provision of compulsory education are brought forth and traced from nineteenth century onwards upto Gandhi's basic education and *Nai Taleem*.<sup>68</sup> Rao offers a very different take on Gandhi's basic education calls it favouring the industrial setup rather than modelling on the

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>64</sup> Manchanda, M. (2014). "Contested Domains: Restructuring Education and Religious Identity in Sikh and Arya Samaj Schools in Punjab", in Parimala V. Rao. (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, Pp. 120-150.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., Pp. 123-128.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., Pp. 128-130.

<sup>67</sup> Rao, Parimala. V. (2014). "Compulsory Education and the Political Leadership in Colonial India, 1840-1947", in Parimala V. Rao. (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, Pp. 151-175.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 174.

traditional set up which in fact reversed the logic of traditional *Gurukuls*.<sup>69</sup> Bellonoit's<sup>70</sup> essay emphasis the diversity within the Europeans in India by prominence the differing situations and observations among imperial administrators and missionaries with regard to nationalism in India. Missionaries employed 'pedagogical patriotism' to not only save students from charges of sedition but present a much appreciative picture of emerging Indian nationalism.<sup>71</sup> Bellonoit proceeds the attention onto the students and their strife as an under estimated area of research. The missionaries were not only compassionate, but voiced their opinions categorically. The assumed association and close binding between the fractious and the pinnacle therefore is questioned. Another important contribution to education made by Holzwarth and Oelsner<sup>72</sup> afford comparative examination of Gandhi's strategy regarding vocational education and Peron's work in Argentina in using education to bolster the nation.<sup>73</sup> Their focal point is on the manual labour and their educational development has been analysed. It is further explained the representation related to work and education supported, hindered, or even impeded the establishment of specific models of education and vocational training'.<sup>74</sup>

Suresh Chandra Ghosh<sup>75</sup> looks straight at the administrative arguments concerning Curzon's university changes. The reforms proposed were expansion of university's roles, limiting collective membership to teachers, severer rules for allied colleges. The comebacks to these were diverse and penetrating. The connection of administrative and instructive attention becomes categorical through this work, promising to examine several acquaintances and difficulties which were part of instructive strategy resolution.

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 174.

<sup>70</sup> Bellenott, H. (2014). "Education, Missionaries and the Indian Nation, c. 1880-1920", in Parimala V. Rao. (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, Pp. 176-195.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>72</sup> Holzwarth, S., and Oelsner, V. (2014). "Re-defining Work and Education as a Means to National Self-determination: A Comparative Study of Gandhian India and Peronist Argentina", in Parimala V. Rao. (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, Pp. 196-223.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 197.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 199

<sup>75</sup> Suresh, C. G. (2014). "the Genesis of Curzen's University Reforms, 1899-1909," in Parimala V. Rao. (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, Pp. 224-268.

Another important contribution in the similar lines of thought was by Preeti<sup>76</sup> find out that the varying forms of education in Punjab. According to Preeti that the ways in which colonial state carried around essential, framework, syllabus variations in schooling envisioned for the grassroots. The form of education became consistent and constant tumbling some of the detachments prevailing in native education but instantaneously formed new ones. These included vernacular/Anglo vernacular division, division in terms of pattern primary, middle and high schools; classes; academic success measured through examinations and gender based schools.<sup>77</sup> The positions and inequalities they formed have also changed with varying periods but endure to apparent itself in multitudes of ways. The strange environment of nationalist education has been emphasized which has often been associated in popular insight with reformist, ace publics method. However, if explored profounder into the insights there appears to be a very strong unwillingness in contradiction of western education as it had the possible to make the Indian discontented and resentful with his/ her position in society.<sup>78</sup> This marks to think whether nationalism itself was a dynamic strength for modification in the arena of schooling.

Proposed study in the arena of “Education and Empowerment: a Study on Dalit in Nizam Hyderabad State and Coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency 1906-1965” indulgences the school not only as an externally observable reality encroaching on the individual, as emphasized by Durkheim, but also as a reality being constantly created and recreated in the process of mutual interaction between various actors. While it explores into the power and domination aspects of education underlined by Marxist analysis and scrutinizing the values in educational knowledge through Ambedkar’s methodology of applying caste and realizing question about ‘whose’ values they are, it also addresses the idea of revolution in education and pleads for assigning significance to counter revolution of critical pedagogies and making education an empowerment activity.

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<sup>76</sup> Preeti. (2014). “The Transformation of Schooling in Colonial Punjab, 1854-1900”, in Parimala V. Rao. (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, Delhi, Orient Black Swan, Pp. 269-300.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 279

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 280.

From Indian experience shows that the scholars like Kumar and Bhagavan falls under the neo-Marxist scholarship by way of understanding historical resistance theories of education based on Banaras in the period of 1840-1940. Kumar's work on British control over education and challenges it posed of the accepted and indigenous educational systems of the three occupational groups of pandits, merchants and weavers, and 'creative resistance' presented on the part of the later experience.<sup>79</sup> Whereas Bhagavan's work on British Indian state influence on Baroda and Mysore states could give the direct state influence on political situation and indirect negotiation of social and cultural reforms would be interesting to understand the social phenomenon of education theories in India.<sup>80</sup> In the field of education by applying the symbolic-interactionist approach to understand the educational experience and processes could be seen from Padma Sarangapani's contribution to the 'critical pedagogies' in her popular book '*Constructing School Knowledge: An Ethnography of learning in an Indian Village*' in examining public school system through symbolic-interactionist perspective.<sup>81</sup> Her work critically comments on the school system and knowledge innovation from the children's experience. How the government teachers, dysfunctionality, rote modernization and little learning causing damage to the knowledge innovation.

Krishna Kumar (1991)<sup>82</sup> has tried to give an account of the political agenda of education in India for a period extending over a century. It surprises since the dispatches of the majors of the British East India Company in the 1850s, and then goes on all manners to reports of the Education Commission of the Government of India in the 1960s. His analysis covers various philosophies, epistemic principles, ideologies, and collective goals that shaped educational policies through these hundred odd years. On the colonial side, the principles examined include liberalism of post renaissance Europe, utilitarian ethics of Victorian England, evangelism of

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<sup>79</sup> Kumar, N. (2000). "*Lessons from Schools: The History of Education in Banaras*". New Delhi, Sage Publications, Pp. 1-232.

<sup>80</sup> Bhagavan, M. (2003). "*Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India*", New Delhi, Oxford University Press, Pp. 1-225.

<sup>81</sup> Sarangapani, M. P. (2003). "*Constructing School Knowledge: An Ethnography of Learning in an Indian Village*", New Delhi, Sage Publications, Pp. 1-309.

<sup>82</sup> Kumar, K. (1991). "*The Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*," New Delhi, Sage Publication, Pp. 1-223.



European missionaries, as well as principles debated by the Orientalists versus Anglicists among the British officers. On the Indian side, they include an equally wide range of positions: the Hindu revivalism of Arya Samaj and its Islamic counterpart, the principles of 'Basic Education' based on Gandhian philosophy, and the pro-industrial and secularist views of the National Planning Committee of the Congress party under Nehru.

A relatively easy aspect of analysis of the political agenda in the colonial context is the articulation of conflicting goals of the colonizing and the colonized peoples. It should be obvious, for instance, that while the British wanted education to be a tool of instilling obedience and undermining respect for the indigenous traditions, many Indian leaders wanted it as a means for cultural revival and independence. While Krishna Kumar makes some obvious points such as those just mentioned, he also uncovers the not-so-obvious factors. He points out, for example, that the missionaries wanted to promote science education to help reveal the superstitious character of Hindu beliefs, and yet science was not made part of the school curriculum until well after the beginning of the twentieth century. He goes on to articulate some of the deeper and more abstract principles that defined the ultimate goals for the search for knowledge in the Hindu and European civilizations: spiritual self-development in the former, and 'progress' demarcated in relations of the acquisition of prosperity and authority in the latter. In addition to such 'philosophical' analysis, Krishna Kumar provides a different dimension to his critique, which I might call the 'sociology of education'. Krishna Kumar's studies try to capture the conflicting situations for the pedagogic relations in the schooling process.<sup>83</sup> Krishna Kumar's work highlights the supremacy of the school text book culture in relation to the rote memorization of texts; it further explains the teacher role in the classroom is like dictator. The merit of the student decides through examinations but not on the skills learned by the student. Questions relating to the gender and Caste has been raised in the government led school systems while designing curriculum are based on the colonial and nationalist past agenda.

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.,

In the similar lines Avijit Pathak (2009),<sup>84</sup> try to explain the critical and emancipatory schooling process through private schooling systems and experience from Delhi would be interesting note for understanding pedagogic relations.<sup>85</sup> The book focuses on critical questions, appeals for an instinctive pedagogy, and try to relate culture of learning though moral and philosophical issues. The knowledge dissemination is being explained from school to higher learning, it also talks on text books and classroom practice in relation to pedagogic interventions for creative learning possibilities. Bhattacharya (2002)<sup>86</sup> in his comprehensive study on education and the underprivileged classes focuses on the issue of education and the under-privileged people in India. His major focus is on Dalits and he deals with the various aspects of hierarchy in the society that has hindered educational development of Dalits in India. He builds an argument on three broad areas. One is the 'hierarchical social order', second is 'hegemony' over civil society and finally, development of education. It is further argued that the educational issues relating to access is unequal for the privileged classes and under privileged classes. The unequal educational access has a gap between genders, caste or tribe or class differences are examined.

G. Chakrabarty's (1999)<sup>87</sup> work argues that the welfare of Dalits has many other dimensions than access to income and material wealth. An ideal measure of welfare should reflect these dimensions incorporating all such factors that contribute to welfare. Moreover, the concept of welfare being largely subjective in nature, identification of factors that affect it is fraught with value judgments. The unmanageably long list of such factors compels us to be selective. A pragmatic approach would be to consider only those factors, which are easy to conceptualize and quantify ignoring the other less important factors, despite, the ongoing debate on exclusion and inclusion of certain variables in a compatibles index of welfare. There is little disagreement with the proposition advanced in the Human Development Report (HRD) of the UNDP that People aspire to have access to income and wealth,

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<sup>84</sup> Pathak, A. (2009). *"Recalling the Forgotten: Education and Moral Quest,"* Delhi, Aakar Books, Pp. 1-204.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>86</sup> Bhattacharya, S. (2002). *"Education and the Disprivileged: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century India,"* Delhi, Orient Blackswan, Pp.1-342.

<sup>87</sup> Chakrabarty, G. (1999). "SCs and STs in Rural Andhra Pradesh: Their Education, Health Status and Income", *Journal of Rural Development*, Hyderabad, Vol. 18, Pp. 185-220.

need to have an attired normal existing and aspire to acquire knowledge that can be assured strong social life. This article focuses on the three major areas of social concern identified by the UNDP. Available data disaggregated by population groups have been analyzed here to assess the relative position of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) in rural India and Andhra Pradesh in terms of education, health status and health care facilities, economic opportunities and its distribution, incidence and intensity of poverty.

Geetha B Nambissan's (1996),<sup>88</sup> article argues that the educational backwardness of Dalit communities is due to poverty and environment of ignorance and illiteracy prevailing at home. This article draws attention to the effects that the learning environment within the formal educational system has had on Dalit pupils. It argues that besides poor infrastructural facilities, the lack of effective pedagogic supports to acquire linguistic, numerical and cognitive competences, the schooling of Dalit children is adversely affected. More importantly, despite active encouragement from family members, the apathetic treatment by teachers and school administrators largely shape the learning experience of these socially disadvantaged groups. By creating separate shapes of non-formal education for such groups, the government of late has abdicated its responsibility to generate equity within the formal school system.

Kiran Bhatti's (1998)<sup>89</sup> article deals with the aspect of educational deprivation. This article is constructed on the proceeding examination of empirical inquiries and speaks the subjects of financial constrictions, teaching excellence and parental motivation and possible influences determining the educational decisions inside a domestic and underwriting towards generally schooling inequalities. The scholar discovers an overstated prominence existence assumed toward child labour and insufficient inspiration between deprived parentages to send their children to the school as becomes double difficulties towards achieving universalization of education. Moderately, the schooling fee and other expenses are extra imposed burden to the

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<sup>88</sup> Nambissan, G.B. (1996). 'Equity in Education? Schooling of Dalit Children in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Pp. 1011-1024.

<sup>89</sup> Bhatti, K. (1998). 'Educational Deprivation in India: A Survey of field Investigations', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Pp. 1731-1740.

parents belongs to financially deprived communities. This has to reduce in the state through the implementation of free government education. The various governments have totally failed in implanting the schooling process and reducing the financial burden of the parents belonging to marginalized sections.

Uma Ramaswamy's (1974)<sup>90</sup> article efforts in assessing, with the help of Census records to find out the Scheduled Castes (SCs) education in Andhra Pradesh. How are the government policies benefiting for the advancement of schooling for the deprived sections. The author is concerned with the extent to which the Scheduled Castes have left behind their traditional occupations, be it scavenging, leather work or agricultural labour, and has entered into salaried occupations, particularly government service. She also argues that the policy of preferential treatment to SCs, which has been in practice for over two decades, has barely difficulty with only part of the problem. In rural areas, the Scheduled Castes continue in overwhelmingly member their traditional occupations. Even in urban areas only a fraction of administrative positions filled under the reserved categories. Similarly, they are still steeped in illiteracy and only a few sections of the school going children are attending government school, when it compared to the formal government schooling up to the stage of secondary level is not completing the poor children. Which informs the negative aspect of school drop-out children accounts more than the school completing.

The 'traditional perspective' of education can be attributed to enlightenment, emancipation, reification, criticism, society, communication and theory of practice from pre-Aryan society to the contemporary society. These entire phenomenon have basic assumption of that the Indian society consists of heterogeneous community. These divisions are often considered to be mutually limited, unequal and resistant. The difficulty in representing non-Aryan groups as a reference for the conception culture and schooling. Because of un-certainty in the conceptual framework of schooling under non-Aryan notions an attempt is made to understand the culture from global perspective to draw general educational tendencies.

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<sup>90</sup> Ramaswamy, U. (1974). 'Scheduled Castes in Andhra: Some Aspects of Social Change', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Pp. 1153-1158.

The previous attempts, especially those of the western Marxist and neo-Marxists who adopted the imitation of class approach with in the broad new historical materialism and dialectical nature of education provides rich insights into the Indian social reality of education although has its limitations. The emergence of anti-caste movements itself is a manifestation of the new educational process for Dalits. However, the view that the radicalization of Dalit education and praxis through the synthetization of Ambedkarism and Marxism for the guidance of true radical alteration of caste-class society is at present in its nascent form and needs much greater and complete understanding. Understanding the Dalit education as a perceptive of thought would support in enhancing such useful knowledge.

In the previous explanation to the education and schooling indicates the clarity of 'Dalit theory of education' can be traced through Buddhist practice of brilliance can be brought through educational development of the Dalits. Certainly the 'Dalit theory of education' extolled within the historical crusade aimed at social emancipation, of which Buddha distinct the objectives of education. For Buddha education relates to individual's efforts to break free of the dependence for which he is himself responsible. Dependence is the incapacity to use by oneself, one's individual motive. The Dalits remain accountable to this powerlessness when it does have the courage to reason for the individual self-development. Here is an efficient and ancient characteristic towards the visualization of enlightenment, it is also said as the motion of enlightenment can be seen as an historical time and space that the human thought and free notion of movement has emerged. That can be called freedom of self-control or autonomy over the self. Therefore, the efforts for gaining reason's emancipation have both a philosophical as well as a social character. Buddha saw clearly both aspects of the enlightenment, but his concept of enlightenment is limited because according to Buddha individual capacity to identify inner strength of reasoning must originates from the self-learned and self-experienced on the social conditions based on the circumstances. To the magnitude that the 'Dalit theory of education' stresses the necessity of the grassroots liberty and self-development, it modifies Buddha's prophecy of the emancipator movement of enlightenment.

Ravi Kumar (2006)<sup>91</sup> in his edited book *The Crisis of Elementary Education in India*, article titled “Equality, Quality and Quantity Mapping the Challenges before Elementary Education in India” emphasized on Right to Education and quality issues in elementary education. Ravi Kumar pointed out the inequalities in Indian education system. The Supreme Court of India passed verdict on the issue of right to education act should be seen as the right to life of an individual child. According to this Indian Parliament passed Constitutional Amendment under the 86<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Bill for making education to be included under the Fundamental Rights for the benefit of the children belongs to 6 to 14 years of age. The author also explained the problems in the Right to Education bill for its implementation process.

Ravi Kumar’s study explains further about the emergence of national system of education and post-independence educational development, from the beginning of Radha Krishnan Commission (1949) to 86<sup>th</sup> Amendment of Indian Constitution 2002. Further, Raddha Krishna Commission emphasized on international provisions for the right to free and compulsory elementary education. Article 26<sup>th</sup> of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights emphasized that the education is everyone’s Right to Education “education shall be free at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary shall be compulsory”. According to UNDHR Ravi Kumar says that education is the tool for the social and economic transformation of individual’s overall development. He argues for the educational development and education can empower the human being. And his overall argument is that the free and compulsory primary education for all children belongs to age of school going without varied discrimination trendy for the growth and development of the society.

Vasudha Dhagamwar (2006)<sup>92</sup> in her article “Child Rights to Elementary Education: National and International Provisions”, explained the various provisions of elementary education for child and lack of educational infrastructure in Indian

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<sup>91</sup> Kumar, R. (2006). (Ed.), “*The Crisis of Elementary Education in India*”, New Delhi, Sage Publications, Pp. 9-56.

<sup>92</sup> Dhagamwar, V. (2006). ‘Child Rights to Elementary Education: National and International Provisions’, in a Ravi Kumar (Ed.), *The Crisis of Elementary Education in India*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, Pp. 57-95.

education system. The Directive Principles of State Policy (Article 36-51) are only directives to the state. They are different from Fundamental rights. No one may approach the courts for enforcement of any of the directive principles of state policy. In legal terminology, while fundamental rights are justifiable directive principles are not. It is up to the government of the day to decide when to act upon them. Article 45 of Indian constitution deals with the education of children up to the age of 14 years, which is compulsory. The state shall “endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years”. The recent 86th Constitutional Amendment act of Indian parliament becomes a special provision for “free and compulsory education for 6-14 years of age group”. International instruments ratified by the government of India are in article 26 of UNDHR 1948. India is also part of the convention for the rights of the children under the United National General Assembly in the year 1989. India ratified this convention only on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1992 with National initiatives and educational committees.

Here, she explained some historical statements regarding Indian education, such as D. S. Kothari (Government of India 1971) and J. P. Naik (ICSSR - 1975) reports on primary education. The Supreme Court judgments on primary education are strengthening. “Mohini Jain versus the State of Karnataka”, “Unni Krishnan versus the State of Andhra Pradesh”. Second argument in her article is that public schools are facing low educational infrastructure. Because of that the NGOs like M. Venkataramgaiah Foundation (MVF) in A.P. and CREDA in UP are conducting bridge courses for child labours, providing voluntary teachers to government schools in their vicinity. That is the only way the children can get some teaching. In her observation huge number of children who never enroll in upper primary schools after are class V. The simple truth is that children do not go to upper primary schools because they do not have access. She reminded to policy planners in allocating budget for education from total GDP of country. The records that the goals as stated in the resolutions on the “*National Policy for Education*” (NPE) in 1986 was 6 per cent of the total nationwide revenue should be set aside for education. The goal has been reducing gradually. In 1951-52 it was 0.8 per cent of GNPs. In 1992-93 it rose to 3.3 per cent of GNP and by the 8<sup>th</sup> plan, it was to be 6 per cent. In the 10<sup>th</sup> plan (2004),

the expenditure has reduced to 4 per cent of GNP. Due to limited resources, though government's introduced new policies and programmes for promoting universal education, still the goal of Universalization of Elementary Education has not reached. It is set to be only as a dream of planners.

Sadhana Saxana (2006)<sup>93</sup> in her article "Marginalization of the equity Agenda", she argued on recent trends in elementary education in India and debate on basic education. Recently the central state and governments are showing their interest to provide elementary education for children. In spite of all these programs there is a huge gap between private and public schools. A difficulty in education at the underprivileged people. The main intention of the program is to advocate quality and free education to the children belonging to 6 to 14 year's age group. But the promises of the "District Primary Education Programme" (DPEP) and "Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan" (SSA) are still in a dilemma to reach the goal of Universalisation of elementary Education that is just being dream. Poverty is the main cause for low enrolment in rural areas. Sadhana Saxana says that there is a three tier system of education in Indian society. They are private schools, government schools and alternative arrangements for people who cannot access the regular government schools the state is playing dual role in promoting education. State is giving priority to the liberalization, privatization, globalization and promoting public schooling is creating confusion between the public and private schooling. Hence the Para teachers (Vidya Volunteers) in public school, absenteeism of teaching, low educational infrastructure, etc, have become the obstacles of enrolments in primary schools.

Karuna Chanana (2006)<sup>94</sup> in her article "Education Girls, Prepare them for Life", analysed gender relation between education policy and performance. Her argument is that educational policy is only to demonstrate and it is not working in reality. Creating relationships between male and female is too difficult. The persistent gender gap in education indicates that policies have not been implemented realistically. The

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<sup>93</sup> Saxana, S. (2006). "Marginalization of the Equity Agenda", in a Ravi Kumar (Ed.), *The Crisis of Elementary Education in India*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, Pp. 176-199.

<sup>94</sup> Chanana, K. (2006). 'Educate Girls, Prepare them for Life', in a Ravi Kumar (Ed.), *The Crisis of Elementary Education in India*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, Pp. 200-220.



author feels that social relationship should not be taken away from educational institutions as it should maintain gender balance and not favour to any individual in society.

Jyotsna Jain and Mihir Shah's (2005)<sup>95</sup> article "Antyodaya Anna Yojana and Mid-day-Meals in MP" is based on survey reports in Madhya Pradesh Mid-day-Meal Programme. The main objective of this survey was to assess performance of Ruchikar ("Relishing") Mid-day Meal Scheme (RMDMS) in Madhya Pradesh after 6-12 months of the scheme's introduction. These two authors say that some districts are irregular in provision of providing meal. Study says that 10 per cent parents found the meal bad or very bad and 60 per cent felt it was good or very good. It is also generally gratifying that no teachers cook, and parents complained the serious illness suffered by children after eating mid-day meal. But there is discrimination in appointing Dalit cooks, per cartage of Dalit cooks. The percentage of Dalit cooks is very low in various districts in M.P. there is poor infrastructure kitchens in most schools and cooking is done in a temporary shed or open space inside the school compound or in the cook's house.

Krishnaji (2001)<sup>96</sup> in "Poverty, gender and Schooling: A study of two Districts in A.P.", states that still the educational infrastructure are not improving in backward districts of Andhra Pradesh as well as in India. Poverty and gender discrimination are the major factors for reduction of child enrolment in elementary schools in backward districts of Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh. The data show that Adilabad and Mahaboobnagar have the lowest literacy rates. When one compares the data on SC/STs with the population as a whole, it is remarkable that the literacy rates among SC/ST are strongly correlated to those among the population in general. This is apparently because both sets of rates are influenced to a significant extent by levels of economic prosperity. Indeed, the simple correlation between the value of agricultural

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<sup>95</sup> Jain, J., and Shah, M. (2005). "Antyodaya Anna Yojana and Mid-day-Meals in MP", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. IV, November 26, Pp.5085-5092.

<sup>96</sup> N Krishnaji, (2001). 'Poverty, Gender and Schooling: A Study of Two Districts in Andhra Pradesh' in A. Vidyanathan and P.R. Gopinathan Nair (Ed.), *Elementary Education in Rural India*, New Delhi, Sage Publication, Pp. 131-165.

output per head and the literacy between the value of agricultural output per head and the literacy rates among SC/ST female and males are 0.77 and 0.69 respectively.

The author also argues that the literacy rates among the school going Andhra Pradesh ranks better when it compared to Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Within Andhra Pradesh, Mahaboobnagar and Adilabad are at the very bottom in this respect compared to other districts. Adilabad has a female literacy rate of only 3.4 per cent in 19981 which improved to 7.5 in 1991. Adilabad has incidentally a sizeable ST population (of about 16.6 per cent). Mahaboobnagar's record is somewhat better in terms of literacy rates. His major focus in this article is poverty and gender playing vital roles in schooling of the children from different social groups.

There is link between the Ambedkar notion of consciousness and the neo-Marxist conception of knowledge and interest, which the present study seeks to establish. Of late H.A Giroux and Peter McLaren have developed critical pedagogies theories to education which take into account the lived culture of the students. They have developed this systematic social contextual theory of knowledge. Knowledge, drawing basic ideas from the neo-Marxist theorists of the Frankfurt School of theories such as Gramsci, Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Habermas, Mollenhauer, Blankertz, Lampert and Kalfki, works of the educational process is most prominent to understand the details of critical theory of education. This approach focuses 'upon the process of articulation critical theory of education (cognitive praxis) on the actors taking part in this process (individual self-achievement) and on the contexts of articulation (qualitative difference between theory and practice). For them 'schools are nothing but shared norms and values are basic elements of school life, school life is based on reciprocity, cooperation, consensus'. School life involves commitment, school like is cohesive; school order rests on legitimate authority' they see 'the schools are not merely an institutions or centers of knowledge production but also cultural centers for political learning'.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Giroux, H. A. (1983). *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition*. London, Heinemann Educational Books, Pp. 1-273

There is another important study on education by K.S Chalam (1988)<sup>98</sup> According to him; caste reservations have been available in educational institutions for the Dalits. There is no theoretical framework of equality and inequality access to education. The question of educational advancement among Dalits in India and the related problems faced by the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is explained by him from pre-independence to post-independence in his book 'Education and Weaker Sections'

K.S. Chalam's (1990)<sup>99</sup> article attempts to explain caste reservations that available in educational institutions for the last four decades in India. He looks at the question as to caste reservations are implemented and how they help in the development of education among Dalits in India. For the purpose, Chalam takes up the argument on caste reservation policy. According to him, these policies are not at all effective in bringing up any political and economic changes in the society. He also argues that the amount government has been spending on the Dalits in the name of reservations is not sufficient and that the amount should be increased so that development is possible. To build up his argument Chalam takes caste as a variable, which is looked at in the perspective of the development in the changing circumstances. Different schools and colleges have been taken as variables to study as to whether government policy of reservation has been implemented or not.

K.S Chalam in his article entitled "Social Barriers as impediments of information Flow"<sup>100</sup> traces the reason for educational backwardness. To strengthen the institutional arrangement for elementary education should be achieved universalization. These would also serve as method for decentralization of school administration. The World Bank experts perceived the new institutional arrangement, i.e., the village educational committee as the most cost effective method, the Panchayat Raj institutions have now authority to directly participate in welfare and development activities owing to 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment. A study of the

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<sup>98</sup> Chalam, K.S. (1988). *Education and Weaker Sections*, New Delhi, Inter-India Publications.

<sup>99</sup> Chalam, K.S. (2008). *Modernization and Dalit Education: Ambedkar's Vision*. Jaipur, Rawat Publications. Pp. 1-197.

<sup>100</sup> Chalam, K.S. (2002). "Social Barriers as Impediments of Information Flow: A Study of Communication Channels among Dalits in Andhra Pradesh", *Social Action*, Vol.52 October-December, Pp.413-419.

VEC's shows that VEC are not effective as only 36 per cent of parents of school going children especially the scheduled castes are aware of the village education committee. While the number is much lower in the case of non-school going respondents. The data collected through a DPEP sponsored study is undertaken in 19 rural districts, covering 15 to 20 samples. All the sample households belong to SC category.

Gail Omvedt (1994)<sup>101</sup> looks at the emergence of formal education in coastal Andhra Pradesh during the colonial era. In her book 'Dalits and Democratic Revolution' she argues that the emergence of Dalit consciousness occurred due to the construction of Krishna, Godavari anicuts. Due to these major projects, agricultural advancement took place. This slowly led to the growth of socio economic, educational and cultural development among Dalits in the coastal districts. At the same time, the role of Christian missionaries in India brought certain changes among Dalits who started questioning the Hindu hierarchical structure. She also highlights the socio economic and cultural backwardness of Dalits under British rule.

In an interesting article, Jean Dreze and Aparajitha Goyal<sup>102</sup> published in *Economic and Political Weekly* (2003) reported that the initiative of providing the mid-day meals spurred by a recent Supreme Court order will have a major impact on child nutrition and school attendance besides, social equality. They raised the issue that does the quality concerns relating to education deserve urgent education. The CES survey was conducted in Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Karnataka. Prakash Louis, article "Literacy and Education of Weaker Sections in Bihar in Social change".<sup>103</sup>

The macro study covered all districts of Bihar, which continues to be lagging behind in terms of literacy. Study highlights that the though the new educational policy is

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<sup>101</sup> Omvedt, G. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*. Delhi, Sage Publications, Pp. 1-352.

<sup>102</sup> Dreze, J., and Goyal, A. (2003). 'Future of Mid-Day Meals', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 44, (November 1-7), p. 4673-5001.

<sup>103</sup> Louis, P. (2002). 'Literacy, Education and the Weaker Sections in Bihar in Social Change: Issues and Perspectives', *Social Change*, (September-December), Vol.32, Nos.3 and 4, Pp.73-96.

continuing to include the weaker sections but also it denying equal opportunities. Further, the study noted that though there is relaxation of qualification for SC teachers, the policy document does not see the need for specific kinds of training to sensitize the teaching community to the vulnerability of these groups and create an awareness of that given the nature of social milieu of Bihar where casteism among the teaching community as well as the officials. It needs to be stated that the Bihar education project and the DPEP though are a step in right direction “they too are run at the dictates of international financial co-operators” as raising the level of literacy alone is cited as the goal while there is no agenda for poverty alleviation or access to resources”.

C.L Sapru<sup>104</sup> made an attempt to study the educational wastage and stagnation in India using the rue cohort techniques. The study revealed that the wastage incidence was 75.09 per cent in the case of boys and 84.74 per cent in the case of girls. Another important conclusion drawn from this study was incidence of highest wastage in class-I. This showed on decreasing in subsequent grades. N.R Inamdar's<sup>105</sup> study on lack of adequate number of trained teachers is also another important problem. In a study, it was found that nearly 29.3 per cent English teachers caused the fall in the standards of learning English. In another survey, it was revealed that freedom of choice of their subject added to it, inadequate pool of competent and devoted teachers, poor library facilities, absence of playgrounds and poor physical education program rendered education poor in quality. Jandhyala B.G.Tilak<sup>106</sup> has made a study on the interstate disparities in educational development in India. In order to find out the educational distance among the various states, he constructs two kinds of weighted composite index of educational development: i. constant the data is available. The study shows inequalities in educational development among states in India. While the states like Kerala and Himachal Pradesh are very forward in educational development states like Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh etc., are very backward.

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<sup>104</sup> Sapru, C. L. (1972). 'Educational Wastage and Stagnation in India', New Delhi, NCERT Publications, p.7.

<sup>105</sup> Rajagopal, S. (1972). 'A Critical Study of English Curriculum at the Primary and Secondary Education in Madras State', unpublished Thesis submitted to Annamalai University, p.295.

<sup>106</sup> Jandhyala B. G. Tilak. (1989). 'Center-State Relations in Financing Education in India', *Comparative Education Review*, 33 (4), 450-480.

B. Rajaiah<sup>107</sup> in his study of primary education in Andhra Pradesh has taken into consideration of a number of aspects like enrolment, number of schools, internal efficiency and public expenditure during the period 1956-57 to 1979-80. He has also examined the relationship between expenditure on primary education and other economic variables like state domestic product, Literacy rate and productivity in agriculture. He found that aggregate enrolment of children in primary education rose by 10 per cent during the period. The girl's ratio also increased from 37.1 per cent in 1956-57 to 41.1 per cent in 1979-80. Between the years from 1956-57 to 1960-61, the retention rate in primary education was only 24 per cent and it is increased to 35 per cent in 1979-80. His study shows that in spite of upward trend in enrolment the low retention rates slowed down the progress of primary education which adversely affected the progress of literacy in the state.

Another study conducted by the Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS)<sup>108</sup> indicates the incidence of wastage in the East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. The study is based on micro-level data relating to three selected Mandals in the districts. Factors responsible for drop outs and non-enrolment have been identified by direct interview method with coverage of 490 households spread over 13 villages. The findings of the study indicate that schedule Tribes are subjected to the highest incidence of wastage compared to Schedule Caste and others. During the period 1967-68 to 1976-77, the incidence was high as 76 per cent among the SC's and 72 per cent among the ST's. The study further revealed that during 1980-81 on an average. It is found that 37.5 per cent drop outs at different stages. But the incidence has declined from 74 per cent to 18 per cent as we move from the backward to developed regions in the district. The study conducted by Government Training College, Berhampur<sup>109</sup> for 2,095 students of 44 schools revealed that the students admitted to class I in 1967-68, 635 students passed, 1095 students dropped out before completing class III and

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<sup>107</sup> Rajaiah, B. (1987). *Economics of Education: A Study of Primary Education in Andhra Pradesh*, Mittal Publication, New Delhi, Pp. 21-42.

<sup>108</sup> Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS), Wastage in Primary Education: Study of East Godavari and Hyderabad, December, 1988.

<sup>109</sup> Government Training College, (1973). Berhampur, A Study on Dropouts at Primary Level, Berhampur.

565 students were stagnant. This shows that out of every 100 students entering class I only 30 pass out of three grades in three years, 54 dropouts in the middle of the course and lapse into illiteracy. The remaining 16 trail behind and bear the stigma and stagnation.

Quality of opportunity is a fundamental value in modern world even through equality of opportunity is not a cure for every form of inequality. Between one country and other and even one locality and another there will exit a certain inequality in the conditions of life, while it will be possible to reduce to a minimum but never entirely removed. The contemporary Indian situation is characterized by inequalities in all facets of life between the regions on the one hand and within the region on the other. The directive principle of the constitution of India states that the state shall within the limits of its economic capacity attempt to make effective provision for securing the right to education for all. Yet even after four decades of independence, not less than 20 per cent of the country children have ever been to school of any kind a large portion of this is in rural areas.

Kamat (1968)<sup>110</sup>, studied the achievement of objectives of five year plan documents (i) Universalization of elementary education (ii) eradication of illiteracy (iii) reduction of inequalities between regions, income classes, sex and caste groups. The results of the study show that there exist inter-regional, inter-group and inter-class disparities both in provision and utilization of education facilities. Moonis Raja and H. Ramchandran (1990)<sup>111</sup> conducted a survey of Tamkur district in Karnataka state. Using the survey and correlation approach, they reached at the following conclusions (i) there exists sharp disparities in the educational level between the general and the Schedule Caste and Tribal population. (ii) The general level of education in rural is on the rise and inter strata disparities in educational levels are decreasing. Thus suggesting an upward educational mobility of the weaker sections; (iii) Schedule and non-Schedule Caste disparities are not strong when we consider female education.

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<sup>110</sup> Kamat, A. (1968). 'Estimating Wastage in a Course of Education', *Sankhyā: The Indian Journal of Statistics*, Series B (1960-2002), 30 (1/2), Pp. 5-12

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 7

Raza, M., Ahmed, A., and Nuna, S. C. (1990)<sup>112</sup> has organised a study under the guidelines of National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration. (NIEPA). The study has identified the following inequalities among STs and SCs educational advancement issues on par with the general population. The study probes to examines educational inequalities among the general in rural-urban scenario is differs one state to the other state. The rural-urban inequalities are less in number in the state of Keral in and inequalities are less in the states of Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Gujarat, and West Bengal. Furthermore, the study has been noted the differences bon the gender related issues between male-female disparities basing the rural-urban scenario and found that the inequality rates are more in the rural scenario than the urban localities in India. It is also noted that the inequalities are insignificant in the urban middle schooling and the overall enrolment ratios in the rural schooling seems to be unequal at the secondary state of education.

Jandhyala B.G. Tilak (1984)<sup>113</sup> has also organised a study to understand the rural-urban divergence in Andhra pradesh on educational issues. The study compromised to elementary (Primary and Middle) sections of schooling in the 23 districts in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The analysis purely based on the Census reports of 1971 to 1981. The new method of Sopher's Index has been employed to study the inequality among the schools. Further, the study has also used the interrelational method to find out inequalities based on the socio-economic conditions. The study has come out with interesting outcomes they are (i) the literacy and enrolment rates of the rural poor are much backward when it compares to urban poor. (ii) Educational disparities vary region to regions in Andhra Pradesh especially in the coastal Andhra the rural-urban differences are less when it compared to Telangana region of the then united Andhra Pradesh. (iii) The gender inequalities are more in rural areas than the urban areas. The major finding of the study found that the poverty is the main cause for the lower literacy rates and sex inequality between the rural-urban was because of the illiteracy

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<sup>112</sup> Raza, M., Ahmed, A., and Nuna, S. C. (1990). 'Women and Development' Delhi, NIEPA Publications, p.14.

<sup>113</sup> Tilak, J. B. (1984). 'Political Economy of Investment in Education in South Asia', *International Journal of Educational Development*, 4(2), Pp. 155-166.



among the parents of rural-urban areas. It is further noted that the influence of the local bodies on the income patterns among the rural areas positively contributed for the increase of literacy rates and negatively on the side of inequalities between male and female and income levels.

Tilak (1979)<sup>114</sup> has conducted a study to find out the inter-state differences on the issue of educational growth across India. It is interesting to note that the study deployed two types of index to find out the distance of schooling among the school going in different states that contributed for the educational development, (i) Stable Income index of the parents and (ii) Changing Income index of the parents. The analysis is based on the availability of data for the year 1974-75. The study brought out noticeable discrimination in different states of Indian on education and its growth. When it comes to Kerala and Himachal Pradesh states educational growth to be counted as ahead than other states and states like Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh etc. are educational growth can be seen as backward. Zaidi (1986)<sup>115</sup> has evaluated the regional differences on education and its growth in India and specifically Uttar Pradesh experience to estimate the various regional aspects of the schooling. The study has highlighted on the aspects of education and its inter-state inequalities to estimate the educational growth and development with cross sections of the Uttar Pradesh society.

Nuna (1989)<sup>116</sup> has brought out the educational inequalities at the inter district level as study on inter district disparities in educational development. The study is constructed on field data based with compound directory imitative from huge sampling in thirty districts for analyzing educational development; the data shows the educational

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<sup>114</sup> Tilak, J. B. (1979). 'Inequality in Education in India', *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, Pp. 417-436.

<sup>115</sup> Zaidi, A. N. (1986). 'Educational Planning and Regional Disparities' in Tilak, J.B.G. (Ed.), *Education and Regional Development*, Delhi, Yatah Publication, p. 17. Sited in Babu, J. R. (2009). *Universalisation of Elementary Education: A Study of District Primary Education Programme from South India*, London, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, p. 1-155.

<sup>116</sup> Sited in Babu, J. R. (2009). *Universalisation of Elementary Education: A Study of District Primary Education Programme from South India*, London, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, p. 1-155.

regional disparities. Anita Rampal (2000)<sup>117</sup> The author argues that if the education is really to be a means of reducing social inequalities and redressing the skewed course of development followed in the last few decades, shall have to be reckoned as a sight of struggle for power. The classroom has to relocate the power to critique and change to decide what shall counts as legitimate content for curricula, to choose enabling pedagogies, negotiated when, where and ultimately for what purposes. The educational discourse would need to consciously give voice to the silenced majority and redefined its objectives by valuing their lives on their terms. Based on the recent research evidence on India presented here, it is attempted to show that the general presumption on the weak or negligible role of secondary and higher education in development is not valid and that post elementary education is important for reduction in poverty, in improving infant mortality and life expectancy, and far economic growth.

Though the review of literature covered vast range of education and empowerment related not only Dalits perspective but also other empirical related works also reviewed for overall understand of education. The chapter highlighted the works of the scholars ranging from national to internal on the issue of education and empowerment has been analysed.

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<sup>117</sup> Rampal, A. (2000). Education for Human Development in South Asia, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35 (30), Pp. 2623-2631.

## CHAPTER TWO

### EDUCATION AND EMPOWERMENT: THEORETICAL ISSUES

The present chapter mainly focuses its attention on existing theories on education and empowerment and to understand the social phenomenon of schooling in general and Dalits in particular. There are two major approaches to understand the functioning of education in societal perspective. While one perspective identifies education as an agent of socialization, a channel of mobilization and an instrument of social change, and the other perspectives were instrumental in creating social distinctions and perpetuating oppression under class-caste praxis.<sup>118</sup> Educational theories have been firmly entrenched in the logic of necessity and efficiency and have been mediated through the political discourse of integration and consensus. This becomes clear if it recognized that notions such as conflict and struggle are either down played or ignored in the discourse of traditional educational theory and practice.

This chapter has two sections deals with ‘education and empowerment’ as a disposable category for education at one end and *Adi-Andhra* community’s empowerment at the other end. Thus the first part engaged with education and empowerment as a universal category, the latter part with *Adi-Andhra* as a potential object of intellectual enquiry for achieving equal education.

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<sup>118</sup> See for more details Mukherjee, S. N. (1970). Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, 1815-38. In Leach, E., and Mukherjee, S. N. (Eds.), *Elites in South Asia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Pp. 33-78., Omvedt, G. (1982). *Land, Caste, and Politics in Indian States: A Project of Teaching Politics*, Department of Political Science, Delhi, Delhi University, p. 32. Mohanty, M. (1990). ‘Class, Caste and Dominance in a Backward State Orissa’, in Frankel, F., and Rao, M. S. A. (Eds.) *Dominance and State Power in Modern India: Decline of a Social Order*, Vol. 2, New Delhi, Pp. 321-366., Batliwala, S. (1994). The Meaning of Women’s Empowerment: New Concepts from Action in Sen, G, Germain, A., and Chen, L.C. (Eds.), *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment and Rights*, Boston, M.A, Harvard University Press, Pp. 1-280., Ogbu, J. (1983). Minority Status and Schooling in Plural Societies, *Comparative Education Review*, 27(2), Pp. 168-190.

## Education and Empowerment

The current usage of the category 'education and empowerment' has a meaning of development but it can be applicable to any sought of context. Going by the claim that there existed social category of communities' histories rather than education and empowerment before 19<sup>th</sup> century, according to Vijaya Bharathi explains that in the past geographical Indian history reveals three regional social communities lived in the north of Narmada River, south of the Krishna River and the intervening territories.<sup>119</sup> The idea of 'education and empowerment' is an amalgamation of 'material conceptions' with 'cultural thoughts'.

According to medieval historian Burton Stein expressed that a "major portion of South India can be apprehended as arising from a particular material structure....to gather with contingent political and ideological features and that this set of elements comprised a structure".<sup>120</sup> In the same line of thought that the political category of community as a structure that has been historically developed by Rajni Kothari "The traditional power wielded by the district collector has also succeeded in creating an image of authority, which makes for certainty and dependability in the minds of the people. Any structure of authority, when it gains stability over a long period, articulates many other structures after its own image. Thus, it has happened that owing to its continuity from Mughal to British to post-independent times, the district has become a level at which not only the administration but also political and social communications have crystallized".<sup>121</sup>

According to Rajni Kothari the idea of education and empowerment is different but the reality of his understanding of development through district play crucial role in everyday life of the ordinary people over some centuries. Thus district becomes the central to the commerce, transport, work and education, the understanding of a district is replicated as a 'political category' in the institutional and non-discursive performs

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<sup>119</sup>Bharathi, V. B. (2011). 'Ramayanamlo Kanabade Jaatulu', *Neelijenda*, October 16-3, Pp. 9-10.

<sup>120</sup> See Stein, B. (1977). 'Circulation and the Historical Geography of Tamil Country', *the Journal of Asian Studies*, 37(01), Pp. 7-26.

<sup>121</sup> Sited in Satish Saberwal (1971). 'Regions and their Social Structures', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, No/V, December, p.93.

of contemporary Indians. Historical engagement of 'education and Empowerment' in understanding educational development of particular communities can be views through vernacular languages and consistent cultural formations in India from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards. Further the formation of states based on linguistic principles in the post-independence period legitimized the interests of social scientists in looking at education as an object of empirical and theoretical interest in the decades after independences.

The term education and empowerment is referred in the contemporary phenomenon of academic and political discourses as an important component as used to conjure and fortify many scholars to map totally a new set of rights or fortifying the unaccomplished rights. Yet, the education and empowerment has been read by the academic scholarship focused it as context driven not theory driven.<sup>122</sup> It is here the current research is intended to take up education and empowerment as a context driven and education and empowerment as a theory driven to understand the social phenomenon of educational development among Dalits lived in costal Andhra of Madras presidency and Nizam Hyderabad state.

Furthermore, the terms are subjected to varied explanations and investigations. It has been used progressively for the advancement of educational issues of the disadvantaged and marginalized groups in the post-independent India. The explicit use of education and empowerment through the lines of education as power over powerless or distribution of educational powers and privileges can be attributed for analysis. According to Sen and Batliwala education and empowerment is the inclusion of both control over resources and their ideology.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Beteille, A. (1999). Empowerment, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 6-13 March, p. 590. propounded that Empowerment can be human rights, basic needs, about economic security, about capacity building, about skill formation, or about conditions of a dignified social existence.

<sup>123</sup>Sen, G., and Batliwala, S. (2000). *Empowering Women for Reproductive Rights*, New York, Oxford University Press, Pp. 15-36.

Laying out the principles of limiting education and empowerment, the advocacy of 'capacity building' makes somewhat superficial distinction between the varieties of ways in which an education and empowerment gets demarcate. The 'capabilities approach'<sup>124</sup> has identified that the freedom is an important composition in developing educational advancement of any community and the other two elements of institutionalization and legal framework will come automatically. The 'capacity building' or 'substantial freedom' refers to the existence of a particular educational systems emerged in particular historical context with its folk consciousness. The power over powerless in the process of institutionalization of education refers to deliberately delineating spaces for the purpose of solving caste problems.<sup>125</sup> In the popular construction of costal Andhra of Madras presidency and Nizam Hyderabad State, all these caste structures invoked along with educational development of the different communities. Scholars have tried to explore the educational development of the earliest Hyderabad rule and colonial state in coastal Andhra Pradesh from an extent medieval text. The overlapping education and empowerment has been recovered from *Arya Samaj* and *Brahma Samaj* later *Adi-Andhra* movement of Dalits and *Hindu Mahasabha* of national movement. It happens to be the beginning of Telugu literature of Telugu language. The movement when the vernacular was being chosen for literary and religious purposes. Scholarly engagement of pre-colonial textual production with a variety of interpretations provided to reinvent individual community imagination. Scholarly engagement of Sheldon Pollock 'aims to produce not a unified language for the polity from among competing dialects, but a language qualified for literature.'<sup>126</sup>

The social composition of the costal Andhra of Madras Presidency and Nizam state of Hyderabad, according to Fryer<sup>127</sup> the Brahmins were farmers as well money lenders. He further said that Abuk Hasan, on the advice of his favorite minister, Sayyed

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<sup>124</sup> Sen, A. K., (2009). *The Idea of Justice*, London, Harvard University Press, Pp. 1-467., Allen Lane, explains that the 'capabilities' means 'the abilities to do and to be', he calls 'substantial freedom,' that is a set of opportunities to choose from and to act on.

<sup>125</sup> In the Indian Context, Caste problem is distributed among different communities and their living spaces are examples of Caste Structures. Dalits live in *Bastis*, *Wadas*, and Brahmins live in *Agraharas*.

<sup>126</sup> Pollock, S. (1998). 'The Cosmopolitan Vernacular', *the Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 57 (1), Pp. 21.

<sup>127</sup> Sited in Chandraiah, K. (1998). *Hyderabad, 400 Glorious Years*, Hyderabad, K. Chandraiah memorial Trust, Pp. 1-332.

Muzaffar, borrowed large amounts of money from a Brahmin. Bower says that they had extraordinary influence over the natives. He wrote that “they bear great sway over the Gentues (Telugu) in general, causing all (or most of them) so much of confide in their sorceries and fairy stories as if they only were the true worshipers of a Deity and no other sect to live eternally save their own”.<sup>128</sup>

According to Methwold,<sup>129</sup> the Vaisyas/ Komatis, either directly or through their agents, travelled the country, buying commodities like cloth and selling them for profit in ports to foreign merchants. “others are money changers, where in they have exquisite judgment, and will from a superficial view of piece of gold, distinguish a penny worth of difference”<sup>130</sup> the poorest sort of Vaisyas/ Komatis are plain chandlers (shop keepers), sell only rice, butter, oil, sugar, honey, and such like “belly stuff.” The Shudras, or Kapus, according to him were cultivators in the countryside: in the cities they attended on the lords as servants, and in the forts they served as soldiers. They were the greatest in number. The untouchables lived apart from all others.

### **Education, Empowerment and Community**

The educational and empowerment relations can be viewed different theoretical perspectives. One perspective can be from the *Adi-Andhra* point of a caste and class struggle in which Dalits extract power over non-Dalits. Despite of this viewpoint of empowerment through a caste-class struggle appear grand in its nature, it does not help much in explaining the current reality of education and empowerment.

There are two important scholars who engaged in reading empowerment: Andre Beteille and Manorajan Mohanthy. Beteille<sup>131</sup> says that the empowerment is exercise

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<sup>128</sup> Chandraiah, K. (1998). *Hyderabad, 400 Glorious Years*, Hyderabad, K. Chandraiah Memorial Trust, Pp. 1-332.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p.148.

<sup>131</sup> Beteille, A. (1999). ‘Empowerment’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 48 (Nov. 27 - Dec. 3, 1999), Pp. 3367-3377.

power over the other groups and the other scholar like Manoranjam Mohanthy<sup>132</sup> explained the empowerment mean to achieve particular goals or objectives. In this thesis touch both the aspects with more concretely in understand the approached and relations developed by *Adi-Andhra* leaders of Dalit community along with other national movements leaders in achieving particular goals and objectives of education than on the terms of power exercise over one community to the other.

Although there is an enormous scholarship on Dalit education and the role of state in improving the literacy rate among the Dalits but there is negligible amount of literature on Dalit education in colonial India thus there hitherto have been made inadequate attempts to study the educational system of the Dalits in early 1920 to late 1950s through the institutional/ structural and functional approach of caste associations and educational advancement among Dalits. The sources which have been utilized by the scholars of political sociologists were made use of from educational point of view. The method employed in the use of data is three fold. First of all a method of disciplinal classification of the subject has been adopted and the entire study has been classified in different chapters. The first chapter is aimed at evaluating the general educational setting and socio-economic conditions of society in general and Dalits in particular and retrospective glance at the development of Dalit education have been given with a view to provide a proper background for the study of this aspect of social life of the society. The other observations are (i) theories and ends of education, (ii) syllabi and curricula (iii) institutional organization and (iv) educational leadership. Education and empowerment are alien concepts in India. India's social system, being caste centered, is not democratic. In a caste society, people are graded in accordance with the caste associations to which they belong. Only those at the top of the caste hierarchy were permitted the right to education for centuries. The belief was that it would be defying a divide mandate if some groups acquired education. Since a large section of the population was kept away from

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<sup>132</sup> Mohanty, M. (1995). 'On the Concept of Empowerment', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 30, No. 24 (Jun. 17, 1995), pp. 1434-1436.



participation and education was restricted to the Brahmins, there was no democracy. Both the mass education and democracy therefore were foreign concepts in India.<sup>133</sup>

It is important to understand caste associations if one has to critically analyze the role of education, and how such an education did not permit empowerment of certain marginalized groups. Education is perhaps the single most important means for individuals to improve personal endowments, build capability levels, overcome constraints and, in the process, enlarge their available set of opportunities and choices for a sustained improvement in well-being. More importantly, it is a critical invasive instrument for bringing about social, economic and political inclusion and a durable integration of people, particularly those 'excluded', from the mainstream of any society.

Theoretically, education is one of the agencies of social mobility. Globalization and liberalization have opened up new avenues of education. This has also brought in a wide divide and disparity among the schools. Only those who cannot afford private education are going to government schools. Government schools which once upon a time were regarded the best and provide the elite sections of the society have now become the last choice for people. This change has been very rapid in many parts of the country and due to certain factors this change could not be prevented. We have to think of the alternate ways of benefiting other sections and making education accessible to all.

Among the thinkers, Gramsci and Paulo Freire considered education as the primary tool for emancipation of the oppressed. The contributions of these thinkers gave new direction to understand the concept of education. According to them education is an important agent for social transformation and empowerment of the masses. Gramsci wanted educational and social formations to play a key role in evading counter

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<sup>133</sup> Pinto, A. (2004). Education and Democracy in India: Contribution of the Christian Missionaries', in Anne Vaugier-Chatterjee (Etd.,) *Education and Democracy in India*, Delhi, Manohar Publications, p.15.

hegemonic action. He also indicated the forms in which these actions could be built. He promoted the spirit of equality in adult education spaces in the form of discussion circles, clubs, trade unions, political parties, cultural reviews.<sup>134</sup> Paulo Freire in his classic, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* brought a revolutionary theory of education. He wanted education to be made a liberating exercise rather than a domesticating one. He introduced several new concepts like banking system of education, dialogic to elaborate his pedagogy of the oppressed. He wanted the educator to be on the side of the oppressed and promote learning through dialogue on the basis of the learner's experience with praxis. He insisted that the educator should always be conscious of the culture, class, gender, race of the subject<sup>135</sup>. Writing based on their respective backgrounds, Gramsci as a political analyst and Paulo Freire as an educationalist, both argued for the emancipation of the oppressed using education, particularly adult education as an agency'.<sup>136</sup>

Paulo Freire, who has established the tradition of popular education in Latin America and he is the person who identified the education as a powerful tool for social empowerment. Since the book *Pedagogy of Oppressed* published in 1972, he became an icon of social change through education, especially adult literacy education. In recent times, his critical perspective and actual commitment to adult literacy education is being reinvented in every place that needs democratic transformation through education. This transformation may not be simple development oriented one; it may be much more advanced and may lead to liberation from historical oppression and discrimination.

In order to study education and empowerment, it is important to have a clear definition of the concept of education and empowerment. In Indian expression of education, which shows the beginning of caste hierarchy and cultural inequality, educational system has greatly influenced by its hierarchical traditions, those who are acquainted with caste, the unique system of social stratification that has, since time

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<sup>134</sup> Gramsci, A. (1971). *Prison Notebooks Volume 1* (Vol. 1), London, Lawrence and Wishart International Publishers, Pp. 1-728.

<sup>135</sup> Paulo, F. (1972). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, U. K, Penguin, p. 1-186.

<sup>136</sup> Chalam, K. S. (2008). Education and Social Empowerment in *Education and Social Empowerment in India: Issues, Approaches, Constrains, Restrains*, (Edt.), Chakrapani, G., Delhi, Milind Books, Pp.14-15.

immemorial, operated in India, are probably aware of the fact that the lowest position in this hierarchical system is held by castes referred to as 'shudras' person of low-caste, or Dalits in order to simplify the concept we consider the caste as a stratificatory system based on occupation be described as castes that perform menial tasks like scavenging, sweeping, carrying animal carcasses and curing hides. Higher castes cannot take these occupations. If they do they lose their caste status. Meanwhile, the Dalits are barred from taking up occupations, which are assigned to higher castes. Agriculture is the only upper caste occupation that the Dalits may practice with impunity.

### **Historical Views on Education:**

This section deals with an exploration of the current state of history of education by drawing various experiences of history of education. It is to suggest that history of education is dependent on concerted strategic decisions resulting from institutional change that enriches the methodological and substantive development of the history of education. It is argued that in the history of education the basis of intellectual exchange in a dialogic associational way within networks seems to be more important rather than being a direct outcome of strategic responses. This has resulted in organic growth of particular community education in several ways. Thus pointing to the importance of an historical dimension for bringing contextual understanding to enrich contemporary research on Dalit education and by stressing the need within the discipline for researchers to develop an eye for 'intelligence' and strategic vision to link Dalit community interests and to highlight lacunae in current practice in and for education of Dalits.

The intellectual networks are fluid yet none the less have a core, methodologies for tracing intellectual networks, and theoretical practice as historians of education. Dalit activists cum intellectuals have developed their own practice of networks that have drawn together core members while being unbounded and reaching outward to other networks for establishing educational institutions. Thus an attempt has been made to acknowledge the importance of intellectual networks in the construction of Dalit history of education and across national borders, a position which engenders our

particular orientations to the history of Dalit education and its continued development in what we term moments of organic growth. Organic growth of Dalit education provides the basis of our arguments about the contributions of history of education to the development of education in the future and underpins our recommendations for how future researchers can be produced on Dalits communities.

### **Education and Greek Philosophers**

Greek philosophers like Plato in his book ‘*The Republic*’ talks about the origin and nature of education and the development of the community and classes within the community has been discussed thoroughly. He further said that the education is the ‘redirection of the soul.’<sup>137</sup> The elementary training on music and gymnastics is necessary for the guardians. In the second stage the guardians need to be trained in communistic state where they learn doctrinal forms of dialectics of good. Plato in his famous *The Laws* discusses about two forms of education. They are elementary and secondary education. It is this kind of notions that the education for the *Adi-Andhras* as a community initiated by the *Adi-Andhra* movement leaders is focused under the selected areas for the study.

Aristotle opinions on education can be seen in his works on *Ethics* and *Politics*. In *Ethics*, Aristotle dealt mainly with the individual good and understanding of the practical science that happens around an individual. It further talks about the purpose of the life of an individual that differs from one another. In his *Politics* emphasizes on identifying the practical problems of the community and try to organize the community to realize that good. The purpose of the education is to learn culture and acquire “useful things”<sup>138</sup> as skills to become professional in adult life. In this context one can intimately relate the Aristotle’s conception of education to the very movement of *Adi-Andhra* that led by the Dalits intelligentsia on the prime principle of educating the community towards individual good, which will be learned by their own children at homes that particular personal good and such children come together as a community of learners in the schools will get to learn good knowledge. *Adi-Andhra*

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<sup>137</sup> Curtis S. J., and Boultonwood, M. E. A. (1953). *A Short History of Educational Ideas*, London, University Tutorial Press, Pp. 1-29.

<sup>138</sup> Greek attitude and Aristotle’s perception towards “Useful things,” “professionalism” means 1. Reading and Writing, 2. Gymnastic, 3. Music and, 4. Drawing

leaders had abruptly adopted the *Ethics* and *Politics* proposed by Aristotle to the Greek city state communities.

### **Education and Roman Philosophers**

Likewise the Greeks, Roman scholarship on education were popularized with Quintilian. In his famous work *Institutio Oratoria* explained the importance of education. The main purpose of education is to train the children to acquire knowledge over the “grammar”<sup>139</sup> that should be useful to the Empire. It is important to learn that the curriculum in all types of Roman Schools was not the result of a careful study of the aims of education.<sup>140</sup> The aim of the schooling is designed according to the practical needs and purpose of the public opinion. Quintilian in his *Institutio* wrote that, “It is the perfect orator that we are training and he cannot even exist unless he is a good man. We therefore demand in him not only exceptional powers of eloquence but also every mental excellence”.<sup>141</sup>

Quintilian’s ideas about education can be seen through his distinction between the choice between private tuition and emulation. Quintilian also explained the importance of discipline and punishment. Furthermore, Quintilian explained content and value of the course in the grammar school along with pedagogic relations. The *Adi-Andhra* Movement when the leaders initiated to takes up schooling and education for their own children the first issue they have faced is pedagogy and curriculum. It has been raised that who should be taken as teachers in the *Adi-Andhra* led schools was the prime question that the leaders had. Secondly they had the problem of curriculum and language, what should be the curriculum and in which language that the schools should be taught are major issues before the leadership.

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<sup>139</sup> In Roman sense of ‘Grammar’ is introduced to the Pupil to study the great poets, historians and orators of the past.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>141</sup> Institution, Book I, Introduction, Para. 9.

The work of Gramsci<sup>142</sup> has succinctly put it; intellectuals, i.e. upper sections or the products of the education system are officials of the ruling class for the exercise of subordinate functions of social hegemony and political government. As rightly pointed out by Gramsci during the anti-caste movement the leadership from the bottom of the society existed as a strong force to question the ruling sections of the society on the social hegemony.

### **Education and European Scholarship**

John Amos Comenius popularly known for his book *The Great Didactic* which earned him ‘father of modern education’. Comenius belongs to Moravia (Czech Republic). Comenius has authored more than forty works. Comenius has introduced many new things in education, the pictorial textbooks, gradual learning of comprehensive concepts. Comenius promulgated equal education for poor children and women. Comenius is known for practical and universal education. Comenius period is associated with the reformation period in Europe in the matters of religion especially Greek and Oriental Churches.

Comenius modernized education in three ways: school systems, educational theories, and educational methods. First, Comenius outlined the school system prominently used in America today: kindergarten, elementary school, secondary school, college, and university. Secondly, he created a general theory of education around the idea of education according to nature whereby children learned at a natural pace from simple concepts to challenging theories.<sup>143</sup> Thirdly, he wrote a series of textbooks on educational methods and teaching subject matter. His work included applications for and illustrations of how to teach children. He wanted children to learn in their native language with hands-on activities.<sup>144</sup> However, another critic stated that Comenius falsely believed that “men could be manufactured” by social regeneration in the

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<sup>142</sup> Mayo, P. (1999). *Gramsci, Freire and Adult Education: Possibilities for Transformative Action*. London, Palgrave Macmillan, Pp. 1-211.

<sup>143</sup> Schwarz, G., and Martin., (2012). Comenius: Dead White Guy for Twenty-First Century Education, *Christian Scholar's Review*, 42(1), Pp. 43-56., See also Curtis S. J., and Boultonwood, M.E.A. (1953). *A Short History of Educational Ideas*, University Tutorial Press, London, Pp. 173-205.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, p. 49.

schools.<sup>145</sup> His ideas about education are still relevant to the modern schools. During the anti-caste movement then the *Adi-Andhra* movement felt the need of equal education both to girls and boys. That is why the leadership initiated in establishing girls schools on par with boy's schools both in erstwhile Nizams Hyderabad State and Coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency.

The original contribution to education by John Locke as political philosopher is that the distinction of education from philosophy. The main intervening principle he has introduced is that the crystallization of body and mind. Comenius ideas about child care and schooling further experimented with medical observations in his work on '*Some Thoughts*' on education by Locke. The true principle of education is to gain self-control by the individual. That the immature human beings shall not be sheltered from the physical, mental, and spiritual dangers of environment and society, but should be so carefully introduced to them, and so skillfully induced to reason about them, that he achieves balance and self-control in all aspects of behavior and thought.<sup>146</sup> In *Adi-Andhra* schools the behavior of pupil's physical, mental and spiritual has had focused much than the structured curriculum in the schools.

Emile Durkheim was first to profound education as a 'subject' of study which transmits societal norms and values to the individual'. According to him the subject of education is 'absolutely study of social.' In reality it is considered as *Sui generis*. The phenomenon of education according to political sociology from the Marxist point of view is to study the social groups and for the Neo-Left point of view argues that the education serves to reproduce 'dialectic nature' among the social groups. It is the task of the political sociology to examining 'what education is' has therefore been, by and large left to philosophers of political sociology. From the Chinese philosopher, Confucius in 600 BCE to American pragmatist philosopher John Dewey expressed their views on 'what education is' and 'what it should be.' Most of the pre-colonial and early colonial period has seen school and education a device to reform manners, promote religion and ensure discipline.

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<sup>145</sup> Laurie, S. (1972). *John Amos Comenius: Bishop of the Moravians*, Burt Franklin Reprints, New York, p. 216.

<sup>146</sup> Curtis, S. J., and Boulwood, M. E. A. (1953). *A Short History of Educational Ideas*, University Tutorial Press, London, Pp. 241-243.

John Dewey was an American Philosopher, psychologist, and educational reformer. His thoughts and ideas about education is not only influenced United States of America but around the world. Dewey's approach to education is the basis for George Herbert Mead's educational reform in distinguishing pragmatism and social psychology to produce vocational education and approaches to curriculum development. Dewey is known for his most popular work first published in 1900, *The School and Society*. It is this work earned him to be rational in producing pedagogic approaches as *University Elementary School*. Dewey explains the school and social progress in 1909, in which the natural progress of the individual child is that, the normal physical development, advance in ability to read, write, and figure, the growth in the knowledge of geography and history, improvement in manners, habits of promptness, order, and industry<sup>147</sup> are the standards of school work that can be judged.

The other popular work of Dewey is *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*.<sup>148</sup> The purpose of education is based on certain facts of the birth and death of each individual who are constituted social group determines the necessity of education. The knowledge acquisition process of the child depends on the social group and their custom in one hand, on the other hand physical immunity to learn skill, information, interests from the mature members of the community. The democratic process of education to the new-born children is the responsibility of the elders of the group or community and school system. Ambedkar when started establishing schools for Dalits in Maharashtra followed the principles of John Dewey's pragmatic notions are very much relevant to the Dalits children.

Educational systems, implicitly or explicitly, reflect a philosophical vision. It is most important to understand this from Professor Dewey's perspective whose influence is much on Ambedkar. A philosophy, therefore, which believes that the 'most penetrating' definition of itself identifies it with the philosophy of education and in the end with the philosophy of democracy, is something that demands attention. There are two ways to understand John Dewey's 'Democracy and Education.' Education is

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<sup>147</sup> Dewey, J. (2008). *The School and Society*, Delhi, Aakar Books, Pp. 1-24.

<sup>148</sup> Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*, New York, Macmillan Publications.



the most influential in its character, it is quickly penetrates all conceptions of philosophy which find its origin in a 'pure reason' or a 'pure sentence' and it penetrates all theories of education which are from readymade systems of such philosophy<sup>149</sup>. In this brief notice only the main headlands of the argument can be pointed out. If one can understand Dewey's 'Democracy and Education' rightly, the process of perpetuating life through education, philosophical ideas and theories can be no exception. It is further said that philosophical problems, like the problems of education, are more directly concerned with active 'attitudes' and 'dispositions' than are the sciences which deal with specific fields of nature and society. And the implications of democracy in human association are therefore, as one can see in education and philosophy. Althusser (1970)<sup>150</sup> an eminent French scholarship had worked for the ideological pursuit of the society depends on the most important 'ideological state apparatus' devised by the ruling classes to ensure that society largely conforms to their ideas and interests. During the second phase of *Adi-Andhras* realized the Althusser's notion of ideological pursuit of the society.

Althusser puts it as the most important 'ideological state apparatus' devised by the ruling classes to ensure that society largely conforms to their ideas and interests.<sup>151</sup> Education according to Weber was to provide the privileged classes with a theodicy of their privilege, better than the soteriologies of the hereafter which helped to perpetuate the social order by promising a posthumous subversion of that order, better than a doctrine like that of '*Karma*', which he saw as the masterpiece of social theodicies, since it justified the social quality of each individual within the caste system by his degree of religious qualifications in the transmigration cycle. The school today succeeds, with the ideologies of natural 'gifts' and innate 'tastes' in legitimizing the circular reproduction of social hierarchies and educational hierarchies.<sup>152</sup> So, it is important to remember the relationship between social structure and education is a two-way process, with each effecting and acting upon the other. Furthermore, 'Education is so powerful a factor preserving existing social

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<sup>149</sup> Dewey, J. (1916) *Democracy and Education*, New York, The Macmillan Company, Pp. xii-434.

<sup>150</sup> Althusser, L. (1971). 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes toward an Investigation),' in *Lenis and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Benjamin Brewster, London, New Left Books, Pp. 121-173.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>152</sup> Bourdieu, P. (1977). 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction,' in *Power and Ideology in Education*, (Etd.), Karabel, J and Halsey, A. H., New York, Oxford University Press, Pp. 487-511.

distinctions, that change is always a highly explosive political issue and is always so bitterly resisted and resented.<sup>153</sup>

Another French scholar who had worked extensive on the educational issues as the school today succeeds, with the ideologies of natural 'gifts' and innate 'tastes' in legitimizing the circular reproduction of social hierarchies and educational hierarchies in Bourdieu, (1977).<sup>154</sup> However, the importance of social structure and education is a two-way process, with each effecting and acting upon the other. This has quite true to the *Adi-Andhra* movement in establishing schools and reproducing the social knowledge. Education according to Weber (1991)<sup>155</sup> is to provide the privileged classes with a theodicy of their privilege, better than the soteriology's of the hereafter which helped to perpetuate the social order by promising a posthumous subversion of that order, better than a doctrine like that of '*Karma*', which he saw as the masterpiece of social theodicies, since it justified the social quality of each individual within the caste system by his degree of religious qualifications in the transmigration cycle.

### **Japanese Scholarship on Education**

Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, Japanese reformist educationalist, author and philosopher who has found new conception about education called *Soka Kyoiku Gakkai* (the forerunner of the *Soka Gakkai*) in 1930. He has labored to bring together humanistic, student-centered approach to education. Makiguchi has spent his life time to bring reforms in educational system, his ideas on students are make them to learn education happily then only the individual creativity of the students comes out rather than forcing students to get educated. He intended that the education should make an individual happy rather than the needs of the state. His educational ideas, and his theory of value-creation (Soka), which underlies his pedagogy, are explored in his

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<sup>153</sup> Stone, L. (1969). 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900,' *Past and Present*, No. 42 (Feb., 1969), p. 73.

<sup>154</sup> Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Pp: 487-511.

<sup>155</sup> Weber, M. (1991). 'The Nature of Social Action', in Weber: Selections in translation, (Ed.), Runciman, W. G., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Pp. 3-32.

1930 work *Soka Kyoiku gaku Taikei* (The Theory of Value-Creating Pedagogy). Makiguchi's views completely contradicted the logic of the militarist government, which sought to use education to mold obedient, unquestioning servants of the state.<sup>156</sup>

According to Makiguchi value-creating education would aim at fulfilling the six principles. They are: 1. Purpose in education; 2. Happiness; 3. Creating Value; 4. the nature of learning process and the Training of teachers; 5. the need for a science of education and 6. educational roles of school, home and community<sup>157</sup>.

Harold Rugg, had a comparative study on the educational views of both John Dewey and his contemporary Makiguchi. According to Harold Rugg, both believed that the education held the key to social and economic progress; "the reform of educational policies is the way to revitalize society as a whole" as Makiguchi put it.<sup>158</sup> Both believe in the power and potential of scientific reason to lead to truth and to produce a consensus around the truth that would enable progress. Both sought rationalization of the system of education and centralized planning. In another study, the echoing themes grounded in eastern tradition, desired balance and harmony in life, "the full development of human personality ...mind-body unity-a harmony of part to part and part to whole".<sup>159</sup>

Moreover, like John Dewey, with whose works Makiguchi familiar, sought to ameliorate dualism, the either or type of thinking that reflects dogmatism and blocks mutual understanding and to build schools intimately linked to the community and life. Makiguchi also was grounded classically parting company with John Dewey, he thought that the physical and social universe to be orderly, based upon universal laws quite separate from human cognition; "the application of scientific procedures of observation and classification to the human world reveals an all-encompassing purposive order".<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> <http://www.sgi.org/about-us/founding-presidents/tsunesaburo-makiguchi.html>.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Birnbaum, A. (Trns). Bethel, D.M., (Edt.). (2001). *Education for Creative Living: Ideas and Proposals of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi*, New Delhi, National Book Trust, Pp. 3-12.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, Pp. 3-12.

## Indian Scholarship on Education

One of the most prevalent trends in today's educational scenario in the country is the systematic exclusion of the certain majority of the India's population like women and Dalits. The set of problems relates to social, economic and cultural background of Dalits and psychological problems of the first generation learners belong to the Dalit community one side and social differences based caste hierarchies on the other have to be taken cognizance while problematizing the Dalit education. Ambedkar believed that education would not only enhance the abjuration of traditional values but also inculcate preparation for change.<sup>161</sup> The colonial discourse on education has its roots in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Mahatma Jyotirao Phule and Ambedkar saw education not only as knowledge and power but as a means of intellectual liberation from the tentacles of Brahmanical ideology and social hierarchical system. However, this ideology emphasizes social change in a piecemeal fashion, within the existing framework of social institutions, and prescribes non-violent, constitutional, legal and administrative solutions.

A group of scholarship argued that the education and empowerment process of the Dalits needs to be considered under identity and caste hierarchy. The identity and caste hierarchy was not fixed that can be inclusive though Dalit Movement under Hindu nationalist fold. Education and empowerment can be seen through class downright, they further argue that social identity movements, mobilized Dalits educational consciousness were at times merged with larger identities after 1940s.<sup>162</sup> The educational development of Dalits has been analyzed as the process of sanskritization and Dalits educational consciousness as an identity movements.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Keer, D. (1962). *Dr. Ambedkar: His Life and Mission*, Bombay, Popular, P.144.

<sup>162</sup> Bandyopādhyāya, S. (1997). *Caste, Protest and Identity in Colonial India: The Namasudras of Bengal, 1872-1947*, Routledge, p.12; also see Basu, R. S. (2011). *Nandanar's Children: The Paraiyans' Tryst with Destiny, Tamil Nadu 1850-1956*, Sage Publications, Pp. 19-22. The suppositions made on the issues of assimilation of Dalits identity with mainstream politics has been challenged on the grounds of Dalit identity and investigation of Dalit acceptance in Rawat, R. S. (2003). Making Claims for Power: A New Agenda in Dalit Politics of Uttar Pradesh, 1946-48. *Modern Asian Studies*, 37(03), Pp: 588-89, Sen, D. (2014). Representation, Education and Agrarian Reform: Jogendranath Mandal and the Nature of Scheduled Caste Politics, 1937–1943. *Modern Asian Studies*, 48 (01), p.80.

<sup>163</sup> Basu, S. (2003). *Dynamics of a Caste Movement: the Rajbansis of North Bengal, 1910-1947*. New Delhi: Manohar, P.139.

It is to understand that the works of nationalist and Marxist historiography focuses education and empowerment of Dalits has seen through disruptive notion of nation and false class consciousness, they treated Dalit educational aspects as somehow “less” than modern or dynamic.<sup>164</sup> Other set of scholars purposively responded to prove the validity of Dalits educational consciousness as analyzed ‘one step outside of modernity’.<sup>165</sup> Despite, explaining Dalits education and empowerment ‘less’ than or ‘outside the critique of modernity cannot interpret the uncompromising cradle of modern values of ‘equality and empowerment’ with the social movements background and its critical of caste Hindu hierarchy.

Hence, education and empowerment of Dalits through caste association and *Adi-Andhra*, *Adi-Hindu* movements framework could not simply limited to assimilation identities within Nation and Hindu. The education and empowerment of Dalits needs to be look at the broader range of modernity project under the principle of equality and empowerment by recognizing political and social movements of *Adi-Andhra* and *Adi-Hindu* (Dalits of Andhra) as background to antagonistic to Hindu-Nation. It has to be understood that the simultaneous disagreement and interaction with mainstream education and empowerment.

The nationalist reflection on Dalits education and empowerment is because of socio-religious reformation. The ‘modern’ ideas of equality and empowerment have brought out in the form of ‘nationalism’ and ‘Hindu’ as against colonial masters. As long as this kind of perception in the minds of nationalist leaders, it is reminded that the Dalits participation and collaboration with nationalists on colonialism, Hindu reformation, colonial liberalism, has many constrains and subjective differences, Dalits also disclosed their animosity with nationalist leaders time and again.

In search of above mentioned framework, the current study exemplifies the education and empowerment agenda of *Adi-Andhra* Movement (1917-38) in Coastal Andhra of

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<sup>164</sup> Sarkar, Sumit (1983). *Modern India, 1885–1947*, New Delhi, Macmillan, p.14.

<sup>165</sup> Pandian, M. S. S. (2002). “One Step Outside Modernity: Caste, Identity Politics and Public Sphere”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Pp. 1735-1741; also see, Nigam, A. (2000), “Secularism, Modernity, Nation: Epistemology of the Dalit Critique”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Pp. 4256-4268.

Madras Presidency and *Adi-Hindu* Movement (1906-38) of Deccan Nizam Hyderabad State. Later phase along with this movement Ambedkar's Scheduled Caste Federation played key role for the education and empowerment of Dalits.

To begin with few historical incidents have been highlighted on the subject of education and empowerment for its emergence and growth. Within this praxis, Gail Omvedt perceived *Adi-Andhra* and *Adi-Hindu* movement as autonomous and anti-Hindu nationalistic movement. Though her findings are interest in understanding socio-political changes in the lives of the Dalit people and its leaders, she has missed out many educational and empowerment dynamics. Her claim is that by 1920s Dalits life had not been recorded historically and no written documentation, thus effected for analysis effectively on the accounts of education and empowerment.<sup>166</sup> Few more scholars who have engaged in interpreting *Adi-Andhra* Movement are not able to contribute much knowledge on education and empowerment subject directly or indirectly.<sup>167</sup>

The education and empowerment of the then *Adi-Andhra* community as guided by the sources within and outside of the Telugu speaking Coastal Andhra Pradesh of Madras Presidency and Nizam Deccan Hyderabad State. The analysis is developed by an interpretative method<sup>168</sup> that is profound to both historical and geographical.<sup>169</sup> It is an attempt to oversight idiosyncratic exploration of Deccan Nizam Hyderabad State through social knowledge of *Adi-Andhra* movement leaders and data produced by them in the form of leaflets and pamphlets. The central idea of the thesis is to understand a notion of education and empowerment that is determined on the basis of

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<sup>166</sup> Omvedt, G. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*. India, Sage Publication, Pp. 118-119.

<sup>167</sup> For more details see Satyanarayana, A. (2005). *Dalits and Upper Castes: Essays in Social History*, New Delhi, Kanishka Publications, Pp. 1-260., Chalam, K.S. (2008). *Modernization and Dalit Education: Ambedkar's Vision*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, Pp. 1-197., Yagati, C. R. (2003). *Dalits Struggle for Identity: Andhra and Hyderabad 1900-1950*, New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers, Pp.1-280., Ratnam, K. Y. (1998). *Dalit Movement in AP: A Study of Political Consciousness and Identity*, an unpublished Ph. D. thesis, submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

<sup>168</sup> Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, He argues that the theory should not be mechanically applied to data.

<sup>169</sup> Historical analysis engages the flowering of progress of experience and geographical analysis engages the untangle of the unanimity of experience

language, ethnicity, class, caste, history or territory.<sup>170</sup> The system of education as effected in the *Adi-Andhra* movement structures the actual foundation for argument of education and empowerment emerged.

Educational systems, implicitly or explicitly, reflect a philosophical vision. It is most important to understand this from Professor Dewey's perspective whose influence is much on Ambedkar. A philosophy, therefore, which believes that the 'most penetrating' definition of itself identifies it with the philosophy of education and in the end with the philosophy of democracy, is something that demands attention. There are two ways to understand John Dewey's 'Democracy and Education.' Education is the most influential in its character, it is quickly penetrates all conceptions of philosophy which find its origin in a 'pure reason' or a 'pure sentience' and it penetrates all theories of education which are from readymade systems of such philosophy.<sup>171</sup> In this brief notice only the main headlands of the argument can be pointed out. One can understand Dewey's 'Democracy and Education' rightly; the process of perpetuating life through education, philosophical ideas and theories can be no exception. It is further said that philosophical problems, like the problems of education, are more directly concerned with active 'attitudes' and 'dispositions' than are the sciences which deal with specific fields of nature and society. And the implications of democracy in human association are therefore, as one can see in education and philosophy.

The social process of transmission by which life maintains and develops itself is an education. Education is then no mere 'auxiliary'; it is literally a matter of life or death. The point at which ideas, the capacity for reflection, appear in this process marks a great epoch in its development. It means the inestimable power of remembered successes and failures, and the capacity for utilizing then is future operations. Furthermore, development, it means a theory of education, a deliberately planned inquiry and experimentation. Here is the point at which philosophy gets its identity

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<sup>170</sup> This assumption came up during the course of examination

<sup>171</sup> Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to Philosophy of Education*. London, Macmillan, Pp. xii-434.

with the theory of education, and at which the whole method of Ambedkar treatment appears. Ambedkar's exposition goes on to show 'education merely as a means of livelihood but as a powerful weapon to liberate the Dalits from ignorance and to strengthen their fight against injustice and humiliation'.<sup>172</sup>

In fact Ambedkar considered education as a pre-requisite for any kind of organization and movement of the depressed classes. That is why his slogan "Educate, Agitate and Organize" assumed significance and popular. First, believes that reality is material and governed by laws which can be known by the human mind comes from the early Dalit leadership in Andhra Pradesh in 1906 initiated by Baghya Reddy Verma, later, Arigay Ramaswamy, B. S Venkaraswamy, KusumaDharmmannaetc, can be understood as colonial positivist approach. Later reason is based on sensory data and the mind is a complex of neurological functioning which was established by the state after independence. Facts are what can be known and empirically verified. What cannot be empirically verified or stated as a universal truth is neither truth nor a fact. Development and growth are dependent on the effect of environment and material conditions. This view can broadly be described as being positive.

Colonialism is the inevitable expression of such an epistemology. This may be of territory or of mind (human resource). Even those who oppose political colonization may actually be colonizers of the mind insofar as they absolutism an idea into a rule or law or even a generally desirable behavior in order to allow some to control and subordinate others. The belief that the source of knowledge is the external material world and therefore can be known equally by everyone should actually create opportunities for equal education. But on the contrary, it actually creates a situation of inequalities. Opportunities are never equal. Capabilities are never actually equal. In fact, valorization of particular form of information creates motives for unequal education. Some have a superior set of facts and some only relative beliefs or lowly skills. This creates an unequal social system of superior and inferior cultures

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<sup>172</sup> B. R. Ambedkar and Moon, V. (1992), Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Volume 18, Part 3, in *Ambedkar and Social Justice*, Deluxe (Edt.), New Delhi, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, p. 221.



influenced by the interplay of their own prejudices that resist all legislation on rights and equality. The other epistemological premise asserts the inherent creative principle of the human mind. Knowledge is a construct of sensory data and an inherent formative and interpretative faculty. It is the pre-eminent activity of this faculty that transformation perceptions into knowledge.

These two epistemological frames have certain apparent similarities and certain very vital differences. Both assert the possibility of discovering universal laws that govern the physical world. Both admit that the realm of human experience is not amendable for formulating invariable universal laws. The critical difference is ontological. The positivist approach deeming physical reality to estimate educational reality rejects the relative and the subjective. It constantly seeks universal principles of human action by grounding it only on material reality. The rationalist liberal approach perceives physical reality to be only one kind of reality and engages actively in discovering the meaning and experience and other realities. Therefore, it values the subjective and perceives the relative not as untrue or partially true or something which must be validated by a larger empirically verified universal truth but as significant and meaningful on its own terms as well.

The concept of education as used here is limited to Ambedkar's idea of 'Education, Organize, and Agitate'. This focus creates intellectual problems of considerable magnitude. Despite these limitations there are certain aspects of formal educational system that facilitate focused enquiry into the ways in which they affect, and are in turn affected by other structures and processes in society. In modern societies educational systems tend to be rather clearly differentiated from other social elements, and there is a strong strain within an educational system toward the maximization of its autonomy within the society of which it is a part. Furthermore, these systems engage the lives of large numbers of persons during the formative and impressionable years, in a singularly concentrated way, and for a prolonged period. The caste system survived for centuries because the religious leaders transmitted the Hindu scriptures to

the common people attributing the caste system to divine ordinance.<sup>173</sup> Just as multiple causality and the interrelations of social processes render difficult the abstraction and analysis of “education” as a variable, so do Casteist, teleological bias, and the absence of a single objective measuring rod complicate the conceptualization of “Education and Empowerment.”

In the context of an emerging democratic polity and the ideal of an egalitarian social order, the constitution makers were actually conscious of the hierarchical nature of Indian society, the cumulative disadvantages suffered by certain sections of society and the collective nature of the social affiliations. The colonial discourse on education has its roots in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Phule, Ambedkar saw English education as a means of intellectual liberation from the tentacles of Brahmanical ideology. The policy of positive discrimination in favor of the lower strata is based on the concept of equal opportunity. In the Indian context, ‘equal opportunity’ is usually assumed to be an absolute and reliable expression of the state’s commitment to equality. The policy of positive discrimination as a strategy for social change carries a specific expression of the liberal ideology. However, this ideology emphasizes social change in a piecemeal fashion, within the existing framework of social institutions, and prescribes non-violent, constitutional, legal and administrative solutions.<sup>174</sup>

Dr. B. R Ambedkar saw the Indian caste system as a serious obstacle in the path of democracy, equality and justice. The Caste system is an especially Indian expression of institutionalized inequality and indignity, with elevation for some and degradation for others and untouchability is a curse of the caste structure. The abolition of untouchability was a key Constitutional provision for securing human dignity for Dalits and a significant step towards equality and social justice. It confronted the colonial education system as an agency of cultural domination. Out of this confrontation arose the urge to define India’s educational needs from within India’s own cultural range. India is a multi-linguistic country, where there has been a peculiar

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<sup>173</sup> Lourdeswamy, S. (2005), ‘Toward Empowerment of Dalit Christian: Equal Rights to All Dalits’, New Delhi, *Centre for Dalit/Subaltern Studies*, Pp. 15-35.

<sup>174</sup> Kumar, K. (1991): *Political Agenda of Education; A study of Colonial and Nationalist Ideas*, New Delhi, Sage Publication, p. 103.

kind of competition between regional languages and English as the medium of instruction in the educational system, especially at the stage of higher education.<sup>175</sup> Language and education become the means to evolve a Hindu identity in which the rejection of English in the education. Unlike the struggle for the equality in opportunities for education, the quest for self-identity involved an interest in pedagogy. The relation between education and empowerment can be traced closely. Education is the crucial element for the Dalit empowerment. Through which the early Dalit-Bahujan leadership like Phule, Ambedkar, Periyar (Phule and Periyar are from Backward communities) emerged as a national figures to fight against the Hindu-nationalist on one side and empowerment of self-identity other side. Having suffered exploitation and atrocities, the Dalits have become conscious of their rights and have started to assert themselves through the system of education. Education in India unravels both the contradictory processes that took place during the colonial period. During the early phase, modern education was the exclusive concern of the dominant castes reinforcing their traditional identity. During the later parts, education acted as a catalyst to a gradual change. This was recognized as potential force liberation especially by the nascent Dalit intelligentsia and the lower castes.

During the anti-colonial struggle two major challenges for the Dalit movement one former is internal democratization and another is the unity among Dalits at national as well as state level. The emergence of a few educated Dalits in the civil society as a pressure group helped them to enter public sector jobs. The jobholders have started organizing Scheduled Caste welfare when they started facing discrimination, humiliation and punishment in their places of work. In order to protect their self-respect and constitutional rights in the area of promotion, transfer and appointments of their kin, these groups have slowly formed Ambedkar organizations to incorporate the support of the local Dalits. The formation of Ambedkar associations at the district headquarters along with the employees' organizations helped to form a network of

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<sup>175</sup> In India, there are 18 officially recognized languages. But the Dominance, enjoyed by English during the British rule, continuous to exist. Hindi, spoken by the largest number of people (nearly 50 per cent of the population) is the national language. But English is widely used commercial, official and legal medium. The educational policy in India laid down three language formula, according to which a child is expected to learn three languages- the regional language. But in very few states of the country is the three-language formula really implemented.

Dalits in the state. This helped the Dalit organizations to put forward certain demands before the government.<sup>176</sup>

Caste has long been an important dimension of social articulation and political mobilization in the State. In the domain of electoral politics, caste assumed an active role as the basis of political grouping and the mobilization of electoral support in the State. In terms of caste structure and articulation, the regions display significant variations. The Brahmins, comprising 3 per cent of the population and ritually placed at the top of the caste pyramid, have historically dominated social, cultural and economic life. It is only in the early decades of the 20th Century that we find a serious challenge to their supremacy, manifested in the form of specific caste articulations.

The cultural assertion of the Vaishyas, Kammas, and other caste groups invariably took on an anti-Brahmin form of protest, as the Brahmin was the reference point to the caste order and its hierarchical structure<sup>177</sup>. The opportunities provided by colonial modernity economic, educational and administrative institutions were one catalytic factor that hastened the Brahmin community's move to urban areas and vocations; the 20th Century challenges posed by lower caste assertions and peasant movements to their traditional social position and privileges, were another. It is this process of peasant-caste consolidation and articulation that led to the Brahmins' marginalization in the political field.

Kancha Ilaiah points out that the Dalit liberation involves a comprehensive transformation at the levels of both structure and culture, combating feudal, capitalist and Brahminic institutions and ideas at every level. The contribution of Kothari underlines that there is a continuous process of churning of the caste phenomenon in India. Its basis and its modality of functioning are constantly changing through electoral politics, economic development, cultural change and an evolving egalitarian

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> See also Ramakrishna, V. (1993). "A Background Study to the Emergence of Caste Consciousness in Coastal Andhra Pradesh" in *Caste and Communal Politics in South Asia*, (ed.), Bandopadhyay, S., K.P. Bagchi and Company, Calcutta, Pp. 99-118.

ethos. But many have pointed out that when fight against caste inequality is built into a wider strategy of comprehensive social transformation will oppressed caste and classes have better prospects.<sup>178</sup>

Theoretical foundation upon education and empowerment of Dalits has its parameters. This task, within the notion of Dalits theory of education has a two-fold meaning. First, Dalits theory refers to the legacy of theoretical work developed by certain members of what we can be loosely described as “*Adi-Andhra School*”. What this suggests is that Dalit theory was never a fully articulated philosophy shared unproblematically by all members of the *Adi-Andhra School*. But it must be stressed that while one cannot point to a single universally shared Dalit theory, one can point to the common attempts to assess the newly emerging forms of capitalism along with the changing forms of caste domination that accompanied them.

Similarly, there was an attempt on the part of all the members of the *Adi-Andhra School* to rethink and radically reconstruct the meaning of human emancipates in general and Dalit empowerment in particular, a project that differed considerably from the theoretical baggage of orthodox Hinduism. Specifically, this work argues for the importance of original Dalits theory and the insights it provides for developing a Dalits foundation for a theory of radical pedagogy. In doing so, the researcher intended to focus on the work of Phule and Ambedkar. This seems to be an important concern, especially since so much of the work in the *Adi-Andhras* is being used by scholars focuses almost exclusively on the work of social reformation but not much on education.

Second, the concept of Dalits educational theory refers to the nature of self-consciousness critique and to develop a discourse of social transformation and empowerment that does not cling dogmatically to its own doctrinal assumptions. In other words, Dalit theory refers to its own both a “school of thought” and a process of

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<sup>178</sup>Mohanty, M. (1995). “On the Concept of Empowerment”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Pp. 1434-1436.

critique. It points to a body of thought that is, in researchers view, invaluable for educational theories; it also exemplifies a body of work that both demonstrates and simultaneously calls for the necessity of ongoing critique, one in which the claims of any theory must be confronted with the distinction between the world it examines and portrays, and the world as it actually exists.

The *Adi-Andhra School* took as one of its central values a commitment to penetrate the world of objective appearances to expose the underlying social relationships they often conceal. In other words, penetrating such appearances meant exposing through critical analysis social relationships that took on the status of things or objects. For instance, by examining notions such as money, consumption, distribution, and production, it becomes clear that none of these represents an objective thing or fact, but rather all are historically contingent contexts mediated by relationships of caste domination and subordination.

In adopting such a perspective, the *Adi-Andhra School* not only broke with forms of rationality that wedded science and technology into new forms of domination, it also rejected all forms of rationality that subordinated human consciousness and action to the imperatives of universal laws. Whether it is the legacy of *Gurukula* schools in addition to Madrasa, Technical and secular education was conspicuously absent. The major defects of the traditional education system were the absence of proper standards of teaching, extreme narrowness of the subjects taught and unable to create scientific and critical thinking and the spirit of enquiry among the students. Education was confined to the upper castes.<sup>179</sup>

In general terms, the *Adi-Andhra School* provided a number of valuable insights for studying the relationships between theory and society. In so doing, its members developed a dialectical framework by which to understand the mediations that link the institutions and activities of everyday life with the logic and commanding forces that

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<sup>179</sup>Vaikuntham, Y. (2004). *Studies in Socio-cultural and Political History: Modern Andhra*, Karshak Art Printers, Hyderabad, p.3.

shape the larger social totality. The characteristic nature of the form of social inquiry that emerged from such a framework was articulated by Ambedkar, questioning of traditional Hindu social structures by raising “there will be outcastes as long as there are castes”, challenge to unscientific and irrational religious belief, social inequalities, untouchability, become an emerging paradigm of Dalit assertion in the reconstruction social relationships in modern India. In the same line of thought Gail Omvedt’s question of “secularism or religious pluralism, in India, has been a struggle and an achievement not something that has sprung automatically from the basic values of the dominant religious and caste-class establishments”.<sup>180</sup> The issues raised here by Ambedkar have not lost their importance with time; they still represent both a critique and a challenge to many of the theoretical currents that presently characterizes theories of social education. Educational theory should operate in the interest of law like propositions which are empirically testable. A major assumption here is that theory should contribute to the mastery and control of the environment through a set of deductively derived operations aimed at discovering the regularities that exist among isolated variables under study. In this case, theory becomes enshrined in the logic of the formula, and observation and technique become starting points for theoretical practice.<sup>181</sup>

The common assumption on the role of education is now in question due to the economic, cultural, and social transformation of colonial to post-colonial Indian state. The power of the nation state is threatened by the economic development of society which has removed some of the key instruments to use to control the economic destiny of the nations. Colonial bureaucracy, the form of organization which delivered mass education and caste efficiency, is now considered outmoded and inefficient, while the notion of common culture as the basis for social solidarity is being challenged by various groups asserting the right to educate their children according to their specific religious and cultural values.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Omvedt, G. (2003). “*Pseudo-Secularism*”, I and II., The Hindu, Popular English Daily News Paper, 20-01-2003, 21-01.2003.

<sup>181</sup> Habermas, J. [1971], (1973). *Theory and Practice*, (trans.), J. Viertel, Boston: Beacon Press, Pp. 1-320.

<sup>182</sup> The *Adi-Andhra Movement* of Dalit/non-Dalit conflict after decolonization of India may be held to demonstrate the opposite theories.

The legacy of Hindu intellectual thought through Indian nationalism or the theoretical edifice on education developed by Gandhi's establishment of *Harijan Sevak Sanghs* in support of the Hindu reformation project across the country in his 'Harijan' tours in 1930s. Ambedkar's argued against the suppression 'Small Holdings and their Remedies'. In so doing it articulated a notion of negativity or critique that opposed all theories that celebrated social harmony while leaving unproblematic the basic assumptions of the wider society. In more specific terms, the *Adi-Andhra* ideology stressed the importance of critical thinking by arguing that it is a constructive feature of the struggle for self-emancipation and social change. Moreover, its members argued that it was in the contradictions of society that one could begin to develop forms of social inquiry that analyzed the distinction between *what is* and *what should be*, finally, it strongly supported the assumption that the basis for thought and action should be grounded, as Bhagayreddy Verma argued in his annual meetings of *Adi-Andhras Maha Sabha*.

The Chapter on Education and Empowerment: Theoretical Issues is to identify the notions of Dalit schooling and cultural identity formations. It tries to understand the educational ideals and empowerment process for the Dalits basing on the scholarly foundations laid by the specific subject experts on the matter. Furthermore to demonstrate the schooling of the Dalits education and empowerment in itself is different when it compared to other caste-class, regional, language and gender notions.

### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### **IDENTITY AND CULTURE: CONSTRUCTION OF DALIT SCHOOLING**



The main focus of the chapter is to understand the ideological and culture base of schooling of Dalits taking the case of *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha*. Furthermore, the historical development of education among Dalit groups and to assess the role of various agencies/associations and organizations through which Dalits were organized to challenge the traditional modes of caste based exploitation in schooling system. To do this the researcher has gone into the details of the school from Dalits perspective under interrogating with space and schooling systems, budget allocations and teaching staff of *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha*. Another objective of this chapter is to explain the role of *Adi-Andhra Mahasabha* leadership in negotiating and promoting various forms especially the folk forms of *Bhajana Mandali* and *Dasabodha* as an ideology and culture in the Dalits localities.

The set of problems relates to social, economic and cultural background of Dalits and psychological problems of the first generation learners belong to the Dalit community one side and social differences based caste hierarchies on the other. Ambedkar believed that education would not only enhance the abjuration of traditional values but also inculcate preparation for change.<sup>183</sup> One of the most prevalent trends in today's educational scenario in the country is the systematic exclusion of the certain majority of the India's population like women and Dalits. The colonial discourse on education has its roots in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Phule, Ambedkar, saw education as a means of intellectual liberation from the tentacles of Brahmanical ideology and social hierarchical system. However, this ideology emphasizes social change in a piecemeal fashion, within the existing framework of social institutions, and prescribes non-violent, constitutional, legal and administrative solutions.

The historical and social development of schooling knowingly or unknowingly focused much attention on the religion along with caste to determine in establishing schooling system for Dalits. The Census reports during the colonial period reported that the colonial government, through the provision of providing funds to philanthropists and social policy makers basically on the caste lines. Further the provincial governments and independent states continued to use the old caste categories as the criteria in area of social policy making.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Keer, D. (1961) reprinted in (1995). *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, Bombay, Popular, p. 411.

<sup>184</sup> Sanjay, P., and Pramanshi, J. (2002): *Encyclopedia of Dalits in India, on Education in Volume 10*, Delhi, Kapaz Publications, Pp. 18-19.

As far as historical reports are concerned in Telugu speaking coastal Andhra under provincial Madras Presidency and erstwhile Deccan Nizams Hyderabad Dalits have been identified as the three main caste groups: the *Mala* allied sub-castes, *Madiga* allied sub-castes and *Adi-Andhra* which holds consistently considerable population to that of the general population<sup>185</sup>. To do this task, one has to realize the efforts made by the British officials in the form of Christian missionaries who were engaged interacting and working with Dalits living spaces. This has become an important aspect of change that has taken place over a period of time. On contrary to this, the Dalits have tried to identify with their own identity as an independent and autonomous in the name of *Adi-Andhras* during 1906 to 1956. This becomes an interesting dimension to understand the educational development of Dalits in the context. Furthermore, colonial master's enumeration process through Census reports has an interesting account for analyzing the educational development of Dalits. The Dalit activists, here, for their educational opportunities have contributed importantly by initiating negotiations between the provincial and the princely state governments.

The traditional and existing educational methods before colonial entry in to the Indian scenario were purely sectarian, parochial and non-universal. The methods followed by the various regions headed by the feudal land lords or the princes states are parochial and patriarchal in nature. Though the schooling content appear like universal in its outward looks but inner its hierarchical division of caste that has constructed the knowledge, cultural systems of schooling. On the accounts of schooling epistemologies manufactured were in the lines of religion and caste endogamy to the *Dwijas*. It was the Brahmins who received the highest prestige in the society, the Kshatriya are the great political power, and the Vaishya, the largest share of wealth.<sup>186</sup> Before colonial intervention into education there was no mass education across the caste, gender, regional lines like in Europe.

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<sup>185</sup> Presidential speech delivered by Bhagya Reddy Verma in its *Ananthapur Mandal Adimandhra Mahajana Conference, Andhra Patrika*, 19<sup>th</sup> October, 1925, Pp. 1-4.

<sup>186</sup> Paswan Sanjay and Jaideva Pramanshi (2002): *Encyclopedia of Dalits in India, on Education in Volume 10*, Delhi, Kapaz Publications, P. 93.

The culture, identity of the Dalits can be traced in Marathi literary personality during the *Bhakti* cult of religious reformation in the medieval period popularly known as *Dasabodha* of Ramadasa Samartha. The critical works of a saint Samartha Ramadasa belongs to Maharashtra who was spiritual teacher of Shivaji. Ramadasa has earned popular respect from common man to the clergy. The *Dasabodha* became popular folk form consists of twenty sections. Each section is described as *dasaka* as it consists ten chapters, called *samasas*. The entire book is written in the form of prose-verse but it never becomes common place. Ramadasa acclaims the value of the human body in as much as it forms the wagon for the deliverance of the soul from reincarnation. Man can make his own destiny through self-attaining of god. *Dasabodha* stresses the importance of cultivation of virtuous habits for one who aspires for liberation. It further explains that the *Dasabodha* is the poses according to Ramadasa is that ‘One who takes pleasure in self-aggrandizement, one who undertakes to do a work beyond his capacity, one who has neither learning nor wealth but still remains proud, one who earns wealth by foul means are all ignorant.’<sup>187</sup> The individual morality and moral life should be shaped according to his/her own individual than any others influence.

*Dasabodha* engages in deals with the essentiality of of ‘*upasana*’, adoration and ‘*Kirtan*’. It is not fair for one who has not gone beyond the body idea to ask this question. It is true that everything is illusion but until you have experienced it yourself you have to do worship, do *upasana*, do *kirtan* and in every other way remember God<sup>188</sup>. *Sravana*, hearing, plays a very important part in our spiritual lives, says Ramadasa. *Sravana* should be constantly adhered to. By *sravana* the attraction for worldly objects gets fabled, discrimination awakens; an infatuation disappears and loves of God sprouts forth. The idea that meditation is imagination seems to have been prevalent even during those days and Ramadasa faces this accusation boldly and says, ‘The world itself is an imagination and out of this world you get only disillusionment at the end, then why not try better imagination? Imagine about God, about Brahman; by thinking constantly good thoughts, bad thoughts vanish from the

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<sup>187</sup> Swami Paratparananda, a monk of Ramakrishna Order, was the Editor of *Vedanta Kesari Magazine* from 1962 to 1967.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid. Pp. 2-4.

mind, similarly by thinking about God this world will glide away giving place to the mightiest power, God.’

Ramadasa, however, says that without attaining Brahman, without knowing one's own Nature, it is futile to think that one would get liberation. Brahman is all that exists, all the variety that we see is only due to Maya. Brahman cannot be compared, yet if we have to illustrate we can say it is like the *akasha*, all-pervading but there the comparison ends for the *akasha* is created and destructible whereas Brahman always exists. It is the ‘Only Reality’ in which all gods, even Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara are born. It is very near us and at the same time very far. In this way he goes on to give illustrations most of which we come across in the Upanishads and the Gita.

Dalit leadership during Adi-Andhra phase and Ambedkar himself took up the writings to Ramadasa and propagated *Dasabodha* during Adi-Andhra Mahasabha conferences. It is this laid path in mobilizing Dalit mass. The *Dasabodha* cultural tradition of Maharashtra has its influence among the Dalit leadership in Deccan Nizams Hyderabad state before Ambedkar's innovation of Scheduled Caste Federation in 1942.

The vernacular languages development with regional variation in the schooling system has produced another folk form called *Bhajanamandali* in the form of *Dasabodha* during *Adi-Andhra* conferences on the contrary to this Hindu has their own cultural tradition, Muslims has promoted Islamic tradition including Sufi cult. Christians has introduced another identity as Christians. The Dalits education is a culmination of all these cultural traditions that were prevailed in the society. It is evident that the Dalits constantly involved improving the caste status imposed upon them by the caste-Hindus. The early *Adi-Andhra* leadership felt that the possible way-out is educating their children. This being the primary need of the community can be achieved through caste based associations and organizations.

Bhagya Reddy Verma (1888-1939) was known to be the founding leaders of *Adi-Andhra movement* at coastal Andhra and Deccan Nizams Hyderabad State. He is a learned intellectual and activist based in Hyderabad region initiated in establishing schools for Dalits by giving utmost priority to the Dalit girl child education. The

socio-economic conditions of the Dalits are vulnerable at that time. For the first time Bhagya Reddy Verma felt the need of education and opened school in his Jagan Mitra Mandali office at Easamia Bazar in 1910, later 26 schools were opened by his leadership in the localities of Dalits at Hyderabad region<sup>189</sup> with public funds.

On contrary with the background of adverse poverty, illiteracy and ignorance of Dalits lives initiated the schooling process in Deccan Nizams Hyderabad State had inspired the neighboring coastal Andhra Dalit leadership to take up the cause of schooling as an important means for the development of the Dalit community. In coastal Andhra Adi-Andhra leadership instituted schools and hostels for Dalits on par with Christian missionaries with the Burma factor<sup>190</sup>. Most of the Dalits migrated to Burma for work and earned money and returned back to their native places to support the Dalit movement effectively. Vundru Tatayya (1850-1930), Voguri Veeraiah were some of the Burma returned Dalits social activist leaders earned 300 acres of land in Burma and 150 acres of land in Rajolu Taluk of East Godawari district and established schools and hostels for Dalits education in Ponnamanda, Anaravaram, Allavaram and Modalukunduru villages<sup>191</sup>. Tatayya's had influenced many dalits leaders to take up the cause of dalits educational and social development in the area popularly known as Golla Chondrayya, Kusuma Tatayya, Tadiswamy, Pamula Reddy, Konda Venkanna.

During the 1930's and 1940's, social and political developments at the national level, particularly peasant resistance, Congress's pro-Hindu inclinations, growth of the Communist Party and rise of Ambedkar as the sole leader of the Dalits, were all finding a dramatic center in the politics of the coastal Andhra region as well as in Nizam's Hyderabad. In the previous chapters that the education of Dalits are noted that following the entry of M K Gandhi on the social and political scene of the country, it is witnessed the entry of new contestants in the struggle for establishing political power, Gandhi used education and empowerment of social methods. While

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<sup>189</sup> *Annual Report of Adi-Andhra Social Service League* (1922), Machilipatnam, Ramji Mudraksharalayau, p. 18.

<sup>190</sup> Tarakam, Bojja. (2016). *Charitra Marchina Manishi*, Hyderabad, Hyderabad Book Trust, p. 13.

<sup>191</sup> Sanjay, P., and Pramanshi, J. (2002): *Encyclopedia of Dalits in India, on Education in Volume 10*, Delhi, Kapaz Publications, Pp. 112-113.

earlier, the struggle was confined to the elite and middle classes, now the masses were also drawn into the scene. Further, in what was an astute move by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Congress signed the Lucknow Pact with the Muslim League in 1916, by which the Congress accepted the principle of a separate electorate for Muslims “in the larger interest of forging a united Hindu-Muslim front against colonial rule”.<sup>192</sup>

The force of such mass-based mobilization as well as political unity between the two major religious groups against colonial rule certainly had far-reaching consequences. The British, who were already caught up in the web of economic severities due to the First World War, were further threatened by these new developments. They began to initiate a few measures in order to assuage Indian public opinion. On August 20, 1917, Edwin Montague famously declared that the British government’s objective was to bring about, “the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressively realize a responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire”.<sup>193</sup>

This declaration was followed by the Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919. These reforms though they did not provide for the provision of a separate electorate for the Dalits, they did provide a few nominated seats for them in legislative bodies<sup>194</sup> and thus raised the curtain for intense political activity by the Dalits across the country. For the first time, the Dalit spokesmen were heard in political assemblies and the legislatures took an interest in the problems of the Dalits. The denial of access to Dalits in schools, wells and roads was declared illegal in various legislative resolutions and administrative orders. Yet, such resolutions and orders were, Marc Galanter points out, “honored largely in the breach”.<sup>195</sup> The government, on its part, began to provide land, housing, schooling, and government posts to the Dalits which resulted in the increase of Dalit children in schools and the entry of a few educated

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<sup>192</sup> Bose, S. and A. Jalal., (1998), *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*, London, Routledge, p.129.

<sup>193</sup> Metcalf, R. Thomas. 1997 [1995], *Ideologies of the Raj*, Cambridge, CUP, p. 225.

<sup>194</sup> Galanter, M. (1984), *Law and the Backward Classes in India*, Berkeley, UCP, p. 29.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

Dalits in government services. Thus, by the close of the 1920's, as Eleanor Zelliot observed, "the principle of special attention (for the Dalits) was firmly established".<sup>196</sup>

One particular event that animated all the castes, communities and political parties for a heightened political activity during the end of 1920's was the visit of the Simon Commission in 1928. The Commission was empowered to make recommendations for Round Table Conferences to create a new constitutional framework for India. While all the upper caste and class-based political outfits, including the Congress, Muslim League and Justice Party boycotted the Commission, ostensibly on account of lack of "Indian representation" in it, the Dalits all over India welcomed the Commission by organizing meetings in its support. By this time, Ambedkar had emerged as a powerful voice of the Dalits.

As a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, he introduced Mahar Watan Bill against the forced performance of all forms of free labour, earlier for the so-called *gram pramukhs* (village elders) and now for the British bureaucrats. Ambedkar appeared before the Commission and submitted a long memorandum, which was often described as the "manifesto of untouchable rights",<sup>197</sup> in which he demanded reserved seats for the Dalits in legislative bodies, special educational concessions and recruitment to government jobs; and the Commission in its Report substantially accepted a majority of the demands in the memorandum.<sup>198</sup> But the Report was finally rejected by all the major contenders, including the Congress, Muslim League, Justice Party and Dalits. The British Government, in order to arrive at a possible way out, convened a Round Table Conference in London and invited delegates of all parties and prominent interests groups.

It was precisely at this time that the Dalits, both in Hyderabad and coastal Andhra, turned their attention from their earlier focus of respect and social equality to the question of political representation. But they were not united in their demand. They were, in fact, being pulled in various directions by the major forces in Telugu politics,

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<sup>196</sup> Zelliot, E. (1969), *Dr. Ambedkar and the Mahar Movement*, Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Pennsylvania, quoted in Galanter, M. (1984), *Law and the Backward Classes in India*, Berkeley, UCP, p.28.

<sup>197</sup> Omvedt, Gail. 2004. *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India*. New Delhi, Penguin, p. 36.

<sup>198</sup> Galanter, M. (1984), *Law and the Backward Classes in India*, Berkeley, UCP, p. 30.

either into the communist movement or into a pro-Hindu Congress or pro-Muslim politics of patronage,<sup>199</sup> in addition to a weak but sustained independent activity.

In the following section has analyzed to examine the Dalits education and empowerment through Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha and its activities, both in Hyderabad and Coastal Andhra. Despite internal regional peculiarities, the Dalit activities in the Telugu speaking areas during the 1930's and 1940 can be analyzed as a unit, for developments in one region had their impact on the other.<sup>200</sup> As Dalits education and empowerment and their activities were influenced by three major forces in national and regional dimensions: Gandhi, Communists and Ambedkar, the researcher has examined Dalits educational activity during this period in three sub-sections:(a) Pro-Gandhian educational notions under *Harijan Sevak Sangam*, and (b) Pro-Communist notions (c) Pro-Ambedkarite notions.

### **Pro-Gandhian Education Notions and *Harijan Sevak Sangam***

What is fascinating about the relationship between the Dalits and the Congress in the Telugu region was how the oppressor (the Brahmin) himself came to the rescue of the oppressed (the Dalit). While doing so, the former was able to retain his social hegemony and political domination and, in turn, further subordinate and marginalize the latter. As mentioned above, it was the Brahmins who initiated social reforms among the Dalits and who established schools for educating the Dalit children.

The efforts made by the Dalit leadership have, undoubtedly, benefited a section among the Dalits. Those Dalits who studied in these schools rose to become leaders of the Adi-Andhra movement, and it was from these schools that a number of Dalit literary figures sprang up and enriched Dalit literature and, thereby, Telugu literature. Yet, it was also equally true that these schools became powerful entities in the hands of the Brahmins to contain the force of the emerging Dalit anger against the socio-cultural hegemony of the former. In a sense, it was through these schools that the

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<sup>199</sup> Omvedt, G. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*. Sage Publications India, p.281.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., p.280.



Brahmins were able to capture the talented young Dalits and domesticate them for their own interests.

In its domestication of the Dalit leadership, the Congress, under the leadership of the Brahmins, followed a two-pronged strategy:

- (1) Using the *Aashrama*-educated Dalits to marginalize the Ambedkarites and,
- (2) Diverting the Dalits' attention from the important issues, such as the share in political power, towards immaterial issues, such as temple entry.

Although by the late 1920s, Ambedkar had established himself as a strong Dalit leader, his influence was, however, mostly confined to western India. Dalits in Telugu districts were unaware of his activities, at least, until the conflict between him and Gandhi over separate electorates for the Dalits. When some of the younger members of the *Adi- Andhra* movement came to know about Ambedkar's arguments and the counterarguments by Gandhi and the latter's adamant attitude by resorting to fasting in the Yeravada prison, they began to shift their loyalties towards Ambedkar.

It was during this political heat at the national level that the seventh *Adi-Andhra* Mahajana Sabha conference was organized in Bezwada in August 1932, under the leadership of Vemula Kurmayya another protégé of the Brahmins. The venue of the conference became a battleground between the Ambedkarites and Gandhians. From the outcome of the discussions, it was clear that the issue was not about separate or joint electorates, it was rather about the leadership of Gandhi and Ambedkar and the arguments that these leaders represented. It was also about the issue of legitimacy of caste-Hindu led nationalism and its appeal to the Dalit constituency.

As we have seen in Chapter three, one of the main arguments of Ambedkar in his demand for separate electorate for Dalits was that they were a separate element within Indian society and hence they were entitled for separate electorates. Gandhi refused this by arguing that Dalits were part and parcel of the Hindu society, and the demand for separate electorate was nothing but dividing the Hindu family.

Thus, while Gandhi's fast was seen as an act to protect the unity of Hindus, Ambedkar's demand was an act of separatism. All these arguments and issues found a

centre in the discussions at the conference. The presidential address of Vemula was mostly devoted to the issue of Gandhi's fast. He praised Gandhi for sensitizing the caste-Hindu society on the deplorable conditions of the Dalits, and placing the abolition of untouchability in the Congress agenda. As expected, he vehemently opposed Ambedkar's move for separate electorate, for such a move would alienate them from the caste-Hindu society.

Interestingly, he justified his stand on the basis of the history of the earlier *Adi-Andhra* conferences, in which the Dalits conceived themselves as part of Hindu society rather than outside of it. And he urged the delegates to trust the good judgement of the caste-Hindus, particularly Gandhi on the joint electorates for the Dalits, and asked them to join the Congress in its fight against the British in liberating the country. Despite the young Dalits' protests, the conference ended by declaring Gandhi as their leader and voting in favour of the joint electorate.<sup>201</sup>

Once the question of share in political power was successfully submerged, the next step of the Congress was to divert Dalit energies towards the non-material issues. And Gandhi's *Harijan Sevak Sangh* (HSS) facilitated this diversion. Following the Poona Pact, Gandhi launched the so-called 'Harijan upliftment programme' by establishing the *Harijan Sevak Sangh* and in 1932 Andhra branch of HSS, *Andhra Rashtriya Harijan Sevak Sangh* was established in Vijayawada. The branch had an interesting social representation. While Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, and M. Bapineedu Brahmins were appointed as President and General Secretary, respectively; Vemula Kurmaiah and Naralasetti Devendrudu (both were Malas [Dalits]) were recruited as the Joint Secretaries. The activities of the *Sangam* were mostly confined to cleaning of streets and roads in Dalit localities, digging drinking water wells, and establishing separate schools and hostels for the Dalit students.

One of the important programs that were taken up by the Congress leaders was the issue of temple entry for the Dalits. In several districts they organized *satyagrahas* in the name of Gandhi and secured entry for the Dalits into the temples. Gandhi also made a visit to coastal Andhra to promote the program in 1933. He personally led the

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<sup>201</sup> The details of this conference can be referred to *Andhra Patrika*, 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 1923, Pp.16-17

Dalits into two temples in Siddhantam village in Krishna district.<sup>202</sup> M.B. Gautam, a Dalit activist and chronicler, reported the effect of Gandhi's tour: "During Gandhi's tour, lakhs of rupees were collected from the people in the name of *Harijan biksha* (fund) and he (Gandhi) earmarked funds to each district from the collections for providing for the needs of the boarders admitted into hostels managed by the provincial and district Harijan Sevak Sangh branches".<sup>203</sup>

The *Andhra Harijan Sevak Sangh* was seems to be success in the press reports but it had not impacted any of the Dalits to actively taken up the issue for the social reformation. It had not produced any impact on the community for taking up the cause of social development of the Dalits. The temples that were opened to the Dalits were either already abandoned by the caste-Hindus or in a dilapidated condition. Even those temples that were opened for the Dalits during Gandhi's visit were not only closed soon after he left, purification ceremonies were conducted in a big way to cleanse those temples after that event. Moreover the AHSS activities were concentrated mainly in the town areas and little was done in the rural areas where untouchability and discrimination against the Dalits were practiced as a matter of right by the caste-Hindus. Further, what is most astonishing about this whole facade called temple entry of the Dalits is that it was not just the ordinary members of the caste-Hindus that opposed the entry of Dalits into temples.

Even some of the Congress leaders, who were at the forefront of the program, opposed the Dalits' entry in their local temples. To cite one example, Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, the president of the Andhra *Harijan Sevak Sangam* did not allow the Dalits into the temple at Yalakarru Agraharam, his native place, where members of his family manage the temple<sup>204</sup>. Thus, the pomp of the activities of the AHSS did not necessarily result in an avowed *change of heart* among the caste-Hindus, but had greatly helped the Congress to rope the Dalits into its fold, and use them against Ambedkarites in order to gain ground in the Dalit community.

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<sup>202</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 1933. Pp. 6-9.

<sup>203</sup> Goutham, M. B. (1976), *The Untouchables Movement in Nizam Hyderabad State*, Pp. 71-72, in the selections from secret files, AP State Archives, Hyderabad, P. 2595, also see M. Venkatarangaiah, *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Vol. 4. 82 Ibid., P. 2584., Rao, Y. C. (2015), *Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh A Historical Outline of a Hundred Years*, *Indian Historical Review*, 42(1), Pp. 113-139., Gundimeda, S. (2016). *Dalit Activism in Telugu Country, 1917-30*, *South Asia Research*, 36(3), Pp. 322-342.

<sup>204</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1935, p. 7.

## Education and Pro-Communist Leadership

Since the late 1930's, some of the Dalits in both Hyderabad and coastal Andhra began to take part actively in Communist movements. The main attraction of the communist party is its slogans gave hope to the Dalits towards equal society. The slogans spread the message of 'a classless society'. Nevertheless, in reality, the beliefs of a classless society, as away, endure a paradise concept; indeed, the movement promoted and captured by the Reddy's and Kammas both in Nizam Hyderabad state and Coastal Andhra Pradesh.

Popular leadership emerged were P. Sundarayya, Ravi Narayana Reddy, and Baddam Yella Reddy all of them are belongs to Reddy community. People like Chandra Rajeswara Rao, M. Basava Punnaiah, and C. Vasudevara Rao are among the great leaders from Kamma community. When one observer closely it was the Reddy's that were dominated in the Telangana region and Kammas are more influential in Coastal Andhra region in leading peasant movements and struggles. It was because of these communist movements the minimum wages agricultural labours achieved.

The educational development of the Dalits in coastal Andhra was organized and established schools for their own caste and opened to Dalits also for some extent. In the Nizam dominated Hyderabad state social gatherings and political activity was strictly restricted. The communist groups organized under the *Andhra Jana Sangam*, a literary group for the promotion of Telugu culture and language.<sup>205</sup> This was the base for the formation of *Andhra Maha Sabha* gave place for political organization of Congress, Communists, and Socialist leaders in Deccan Hyderabad. It was this group that started agitations against the Nizam Jagirdars, Payagalu, Samstans.

The national leadership after Round Table Conference in 1932 spilt in to two groups one led by Communists and the other led by the Congress.<sup>206</sup> In Nizam Hyderabad along with Bhagya Reddy Verma intervention and association with Ravi Narayana

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<sup>205</sup> Interview with Jagan Reddy, Writer and Activist based in Hyderabad, 22<sup>nd</sup> February, 2014.

<sup>206</sup> Gary, Hugh (1968). Andhra Pradesh, in Weiner, Myran.ed., State politics in India, Princeton, PUP, pp. 405-06.

Reddy for the abolition of social evils like *Vetti* got support from the *Adi-Hindus* and Dalits. This association continued in fighting for the Khangi schools establishments in the Hyderabad region.<sup>207</sup>

By 1940s under the leadership of Ravi Narayana Reddy and Baddam Yella Reddy mobilized the rural working class agrarian classes in the name of Communist movement against the feudatory castes (*Dora*) and organized *Andhra Maha Sabha* annual conferences outside the Nizam Hyderabad State. Mao Tse-tung's *On the Protracted War* and *Guerilla War* fare became popular references in the Telangana struggle. Mao's slogan *land to the tiller* became the slogan of Telangana.<sup>208</sup> During the Telangana struggle, the Communists established a parallel government in the rural areas of the Nalgonda and Warangal districts. Communists also organized people's courts, which decided cases and punished 'enemies of people' the landlords, *patels* and *patwaris*, informants and government spies'.<sup>209</sup>

During the course of the struggle, a great amount of land belonging to the Brahmin-Karanam, Reddy and Velama *doras* was occupied by the Communists in order to redistribute it among the peasants and landless labourers. It was in the redistribution of the land that the caste-based upper caste bias of the Communists was visibly revealed. In each village a committee called *panch* committee was established for the redistribution. In the name of revolutionaries these committees were primarily occupied by members belonging to Reddy and Kapu upper castes. Dalits were completely denied any role either in the formation of the *panch* committees or any say in the redistribution of the land. "While the lands of the *Doras* were distributed among the Reddy and Kapu farmers and tenants, the common pastures and wastelands became the lot of the landless Dalits and other lower castes".<sup>210</sup>

The Dalit experience with the Communists in coastal Andhra was not so different from their counterparts in the Hyderabad state. By the late 1920's the Kammas in coastal Andhra found themselves at loggerheads with the Brahmins for social equality

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<sup>207</sup> Interview with Jagan Reddy, Writer and Activist based in Hyderabad, 22<sup>nd</sup> February, 2014.

<sup>208</sup> Sheshadri, K. (1967), *The Communist Party in Andhra Pradesh*, in Narain, Iqbal. (edt.), *State Politics in India*, New Delhi, Meenakshi Prakashan, p. 391.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., P.391.

<sup>210</sup> Interview with Jagan Reddy, Activist and Writer belongs to Hyderabad, on 22<sup>nd</sup> February, 2014.

and demanded political power. Interestingly, in their confrontation with the Brahmins, the Kammas were divided into three groups. The first group was constituted largely by rich landlords (*zamindars*). They were fighting against the Brahmins, first as the anti-Brahmins movement and later on by dominating the Justice Party.<sup>211</sup>

The second group was constituted by the Kamma *ryots* and peasants. They associated themselves with N.G. Ranga and struggled for dominance in the Congress. As the N.G. Ranga group was operating within the Congress, their activities among the Dalits were inspired by the Gandhian idea of *Harijan*. During 1934-35 Ranga formed '*Harijan Seva Dal*' with the active support of his wife as well as notable social reformers from among Brahmins, especially Unnava Lakshminarayana, author of *Mala palli* (Mala village), and Guduru Ramachandra Rao.

The third group was constituted by the educated youth of the Kammas. This group, which was inspired by Marxism and the Russian Revolution, was at the forefront in the formation of a Communist Party unit in coastal Andhra. Although the landless Dalits never supported the anti-Brahmin movement, they oscillated between the Congress-based N.G. Ranga group and Communists led by B. Basavapunniah, C. Rajeshwar Rao and others. Both the groups fought against each other for control of the peasant movement and competed to organise landless labourers and Dalits.<sup>212</sup>

By the late 1930's, many young Dalits, such as Guntur Bapaiah, K. Surya Prakash Rao and Nutakki Kotayya, were increasingly becoming impatient with the Congress-led *Harijan* activities. They were inspired by the Communists' mobilization of the agricultural laborers for minimum wages and for wasteland. They joined the Communists and actively participated in their mobilization of the rural landless and agricultural labor. When the Agricultural Labour Union was formed, Guntur Bapaiah and K. Surya Prakash Rao were elected as the Union's general secretary and president, respectively. While the issue of minimum wage pertains to all the agricultural labour - irrespective of caste, the Communists initiated certain specific program for Dalits, which are different from Congress' tokenism towards Dalits. For

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<sup>211</sup> Srinivasulu, K. (2002). Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories, *Overseas Development Institute*, London, p.6

<sup>212</sup> *Anhdhra Patrika*, 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1935, p. 9.

instance, they initiated anti-untouchability measures in rural areas and even supported the temple-entry of the Dalits.

Undoubtedly, the Dalits, along with the other landless agricultural labourers, were the main beneficiaries of the Communists struggle for minimum wages. Yet, their association with the Communists and their movements did not liberate them from the clutches of the caste. The Communist leadership could not provide an ideological alternative to the Congress as Congress was propagating Hindu and nationalism to mobilize the Dalits under social development activity, this has given a space to the Gandhi to introduce the term '*Harijan*' for *Adi-Andhras* as strong opposition against both Ambedkar and Communist. This has created confusion among the working cadre for Scheduled Caste Federation of Ambedkar<sup>213</sup>. The followers of the Gandhi along with Communist leaders started campaigning Scheduled Caste Federation as a 'communal organization'. In fact this kind of propagation divided the local leadership and promoted anti-Ambedkar ideology by both communist leaders and Gandhian leadership.<sup>214</sup>

It can be clearly viewed, in 1944, when the Agricultural Labour Union in one of its resolutions described the Muslim League as a 'political party', but called SCF as a communal organization, K. Surya Prakash Rao left the organization by circulating a dissenting vote against the resolution. In the same note he emphasized the "economic and social degradation of Dalits and the need for unity of the toiling masses, arguing finally that social uplift was even more important than economic betterment".<sup>215</sup> Further, the Communists' involvement in the 'anti-untouchability' campaigns was not undertaken as a part of party policy or theorized as a crucial aspect of the Indian revolution. In a way, their lack of systematic analysis and understanding of the issue of caste and Dalit concerns reveals their blindness to the entirety of the Dalit question.

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<sup>213</sup> Interview with G. Shankar, President, All Indian Scheduled Caste Employees Welfare Association, Hyderabad, 10<sup>th</sup> March 2014.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> Omvedt, G. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*. Sage Publications India, p. 128.

## Pro-Ambedkarite Notions:

The Dalits in Hyderabad and Secundrabad region of Telangana started the autonomous “*Adi-Andhra*” self-respect movement<sup>216</sup> to educate socially, politically, economically and culturally. The founders of the movement were Madari Bhagaiah, popularly known as Bhagya Reddy Verma, Arigay Ramaswamy, and B. S. Venkatrao, these leaders endlessly engaged themselves in mobilized Dalits as their identity and plight as well as establishing new schools. Bhagya Reddy Verma formed a *Jagan Mitra Mandali* in 1906, perhaps the first Dalit popular organization in Andhra Pradesh started by the Dalits<sup>217</sup>. This is a politico cultural and educational propaganda weapon to educate the Dalits through popular folklore. The *Mandali* injected a new awakening among the Dalits<sup>218</sup>. Bhagya Reddy Verma was the founder member of 49 schools in different *Bastis and Wadas* of Hyderabad and Secundrabad. He also started a weekly in Telugu called “*Hyderabad*”, and a fortnight called *Bhagyanagar*, later renamed as the *Adi-Shakti* then to *Adi-Hindu*.<sup>219</sup>

In 1911, Bhagya Reddy Verma started *Manya Sangam*, which was renamed as the *Adi-Hindu Social Service League* in 1921.<sup>220</sup> The objective of the league was to eradicate the social customs that were imposed on the Dalits by Hinduism. To start schools for Dalits, under the league’s auspices another voluntary organization was also sounded, called *Swastik Dala Yuvajana Sangam*. The league published an English monthly, *Panchama*, with J. S. Mathaiah as the editor.<sup>221</sup> Bhagya Reddy Verma’s contribution throughout his life was with the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which made him a natural champion of the Dalits. Verma also formed

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid; Gail Omvedt, (1994). *Dalit and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, Sage Publications India., Kshirsagar, R.K. (1994): *Dalit Movement in India and its Leaders (1857-1956)*, M. D. Publication, New Delhi, Pp.179-81., Venkataswamy, P. R. (1955). *Our Struggle for Emancipation*, the Universal Art Printers, Secundrabad, p. 1-667.

<sup>217</sup> Kshirsagar, R.K. (1994). *Dalit Movement in India and its Leaders (1857-1956)*, M. D. Publication, New Delhi, Pp. 179-91.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid, see also Tarakam (1976), *Telugunadulo Samskaranodhyamam*, (Teugu), Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy, Hyderabad, Katti Padma Rao (1990), “*Social and Philosophical Movements in India: At a Glance*”, Lokayata Prachuranalu, Guntur, Sangiseti Srinivas (2003) “*Shabnavees: History of Telangana Journalism: 1886-1956*”, Kavile, Telangana Research and Referral Centre, Hyderabad, Pp. 80-81., 85-88.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.



another association called *Manya Sangham* which was renamed as the ‘*Adi-Hindu Social League*’ in 1921. The main initiation of the Sangham was to create social awareness among Dalits through folklore (Bhajan Mandali) against the social customs such as *Devadasi* or *Jogini* (dedication of young Dalit girls to the temple).<sup>222</sup>

After the Bhajan’s the leaders used to delivered speeches to the community gathering based on the pamphlets<sup>223</sup>. Important leaders in this association are Vamana Naik, C. Balamukund and Seth Ganeshmulji. Branch of it was started in Secundrabad by Audiah in 1921. In his book entitled “Our Struggle for Emancipation,” P. R Venkataswamy narrated the history of the relentless struggle led by the underprivileged for their legitimate rights and social justice in the “Nizam state of Hyderabad.”<sup>224</sup> Later Bhagay Reddy Verma influenced by Ambedkar and converted in to Buddhism. Then on wards the league started celebrating regularly Buddha Jayanti. Arigay Ramaswamy who hails from Madia community was also part of the league initially. Later Arigay Ramaswamy started his own association for Madigas whose interests were marginalized in the league.

Arigay Ramaswamy stated an organization called Adi-Hindu Jatiyonnnati Sabha. The continuous effort to uplift the marginalized communities Arigay Ramaswamy found Suneethi Bala Samajam in 1912. He started an organization in 1912 with the principle object to perform inter-caste marriages for the poor in the name of ‘Bhoomanda Swamy Gurumandali’ which was named after his spiritual guru Bhoomanda Swamy. They used to celebrate anniversary function every year. The popular leaders of his association were Maddela Malkaiah, Danti Ramaswamy, Taluku Ramaswamy, Boosa

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<sup>222</sup> Sharma B.A.V., and Madusudhan. K. (1982). *Reservation Policy in India*, New Delhi, p.254, Gowtham, M.B. (1976): *The Untouchable Movement in Andhra Pradesh State Harijana Conference*, Hyderabad, April, p.66., Chinnnarao, Y. (2004): *Dalit Movement in India*, Serial Publication, New Delhi, Ratnam, K. Y. (2008): ‘Dalit Movement and Democratization in Andhra Pradesh’, *East West Center*, Washington. D.C, Pp. 1-44.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, and see P.R Venkataswamy “*Our Struggle for Emancipation*” Vol. 1., and 2, the Universal Art Printers, Secundrabad, Pp. 1-667.

Rajarathnam, and Kotturu Raj Gopal<sup>225</sup>. The activities of the Gurumansali are limited to certain places in the city such as Secundrabad and Kummaraguda where he resides.

In 1927 Arigay Ramaswamy decided to change the name of the association name as Adi-Hindu Mahasabha. After changing the name from Jatiyonnati to Mahasabha several small organizations like Adi-Dravida organization by M.V Palayam Pillay and Ethirajan of Youngmen's Dravidian Association merged in to the Adi-Hindu Mahasabha. The association has opened several branches within the city. The Adi-Hindu Mahasaha took up several issues like establishing library and reading room, night schools for boys and adults. They also established youth groups to conduct various socio cultural activities.

In 1931 Arigay Ramaswamy started new organization called *Arundatiya Mahasabha*. The outbreak of the association is due to sub-caste differences between Arigay Ramaswamy and Bhagya Reddy Verma in organizing *Adi-Hindu Social Service League*. In the name of organization Arigay Ramaswamy used to organize meetings of the Sabha to address the local problems of the *Adi-Hindus* generally hailed from Madigas and Malas.<sup>226</sup> Within a short span of the time this association becomes very popular association taking up the several issues relating to social, economic, educational and political aspects of Dalit community.

One of the important developments in this context was the introduction of the word "Dalit" in Nizam state by formation of *Hyderabad Dalit Jatiya Sangham*.<sup>227</sup> These organizations, despite their internal problems and dilemmas, pressed more for the introduction of distributive policies for the educational and political advantage of the

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<sup>225</sup> Sharma, B. A. V., and Madusudhan, K. (1982), *Reservation Policy in India*, New Delhi, p.254, Gowtham, M. B. (1976) 'The Untouchable Movement in Andhra Pradesh State', *State Harijana Conference Souvenir*, Hyderabad, April, p.66., Chinnnarao, Y. (2004) *Dalit Movement in India*, Serial Publication, New Delhi, Ratnam, K. Y. (2008): *Dalit Movement and Democratization in Andhra Pradesh*, East West Center, Washington. D. C., Pp. 1-44.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid

<sup>227</sup> Ibid

depressed Classes.<sup>228</sup> As part of this project many associations came up by the nascent Dalit leaders, prominent among them are *Adi-Dravida Education League* and *Adi-Dravida Mahajan Association* in 1932, *Youth League of Ambedkarities* in 1934 and *Hyderabad State Depressed Class Association* in 1938. Some of the first generation educated Dalit leaders like B. S. Venkat Rao popularly known as ‘Hyderabad Ambedkar’ entered in the political structure. Through him, some of the important lower level positions for Dalits in the Nizam government, particularly in the public work, revenue, railways, defense, and the education department’s.<sup>229</sup> He was also instrument in getting a huge budget of rs.1 crore (10 million rupees) from the Nizam government for the establishment of schools and hostels for the Depressed Classes.<sup>230</sup>

From the early 1900’s onwards Hyderabad and Secunderabad the two urban centers in the Telangana region of the princely state of Hyderabad witnessed small but vigorous Dalit activity, initially for social recognition and social equality and later on, especially since the early 1930’s, for political representation. Three men at the center of this activity were: Madari Bhagya Reddy Varma (1888-1939), Arigay Ramaswamy (1875- 1973) and B.S. Venkatrao, all of whom belonged to the Mala caste.

### ***Adi-Andhras* Folklore and Caste Hindu Reform Model**

The first was the development of the Dalit movement, which underwent a transformation in 1906 with the emergence of *Jagan Mitra Mandali* later in 1911, became *Manya Sangham* and then in 1922 *All India Adi-Hindu Conference* declared as *Adi-Hindu Social Service League*. Though the Hyderabad region was under the indirect rule of British Government, it had independent status of administering the Hyderabad state by Nizams. Telugu did not receive state patronage; instead Urdu was made the language of administration. Hyderabad state under Nizam kept it almost isolated from the progressive trends and modern influences. *Adi-Hindu* Movement is profoundly rooted in the remote part of the Hyderabad tradition itself. The main

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid; See Charlsley, S. (2002). Evaluating Dalits Leadership: P R Venkataswamy and the Hyderabad Examples, *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 28, Pp. 5237-5243.

<sup>229</sup> Ratnam, K. Y. (2008), ‘Dalit Movement and Democratization in Andhra Pradesh’, *East West Center*, Washington. D. C., p.4.

<sup>230</sup> Interview with Surrender, R, grandson of B. S. Venkat Rao, on 18<sup>th</sup> November 2014.

trajectories of the movement is the material conditions that created by the colonial rule, the propagation and proselytization of Christianity and Islam, the mass anti-colonial assertion.

The society of Hyderabad during 1906 to 1934 consisted of two main sections namely the Hindus and Muslims. The agitation was already in existence when Bhagya Reddy Verma began his propagation work through Jagan Mitra Mandali by popular folk forms like Harikatha, Burrakatha as 'Bhajana Mandali' in 1906. Within 14 years that is by 1920s the Hyderabad and Secundrabad experienced widespread openings of schools, and similar occurrences took place in the provinces of Madras, Bombay, and to a lesser extent in the Karnataka.<sup>231</sup> Soon after this, awareness activities in Hyderabad and Secundrabad led to the discovery of caste associations in many of the provinces. In the mentioned period education came to assume a key role in the political economy of caste associations, contributed to the unprecedented sense of economic and social progress that was a hallmark of the political development. Underlying the sense of progress was spectacular period of sustained educational growth. The most noteworthy measure in the year 1917, Madari Bhagyareddy Verman presides over the First Andhra Panchama Conference at Bezwada.

The local government was the creation of a labor department, which was made responsible for the educational progress of Dalits communities. Thus, separate labour department schools were set up throughout Madras presidency. And the total number of public institutions chiefly intended for the Depressed Classes increased gradually. The number of special schools for Untouchable communities increased by 42.2 percent between 1919-1920 and 1936-37, while the strength of depressed class students went up by 180 per cent during the period 1919-20 to 1948-49<sup>232</sup>. Although this appears impressive, it must be remembered that, compared to the total population, only 7.52 per cent of boys and 1.65 per cent of girls belonging to the Untouchable

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<sup>231</sup> Gowtham, M. B. (1991). *Bhaghodayam*, Hyderabad, Adi-Hindu Social Service League publications, Pp. 14-15.

<sup>232</sup> Census of India, (1921), Hyderabad State, Part I Report by Mhd. Rahmatulla., Government of Hyderabad (1953).

communities had the benefit of school education in 1928-1929.<sup>233</sup> In the same year, Scheduled Caste students consisted 11.6 per cent of the total school population. It was also found that the number of male Dalits students tended to decrease as they went up to the higher classes. They constituted 6.6 per cent of total students at the primary level (Class V) but declined to 2.8 per cent, and 0.89 per cent respectively, at the secondary and high school levels in 1928-29. In other words, the number of Scheduled Caste students in the higher classes become quite neglect.<sup>234</sup>

The second factor was the Dr. B R Ambedkar can be viewed in the context as the leader of the depressed classes who raised the issue of universal compulsory education after Jyotirao Phule. Who pressed the government for the adoption of a more liberal policy in India? They criticized the repressive measures being adopted to control the agitations and activities, and government's failure to meet the demands of the more moderate Indian nationalists. On contrary to this, Gandhi's establishment of *Harijan Sevak Sanghs* in support of the Hindu reformation project across the country in his 'Harijan' tours in 1930s. By creating alternative leadership to Dr. Ambedkar, the Congress successfully fostered sharp differences amongst the different Dalit communities and they got widened in the following years.

The third factor was the increasing fear of the establishment of Urdu medium school in the Basti's and Wadas of Dalits spreading to the Islamic culture, complicated by Dalits deteriorating relations with Hinduism. Further, the work attempted to show the influence of different schools of opinion, of official and non-official advisers, on the policy-involving as they did- divergent views about the character of *Adi-Andhra* Movement and its problems, and the future of Nizam and British Government in India.

An attempt was also made to assess the impact of the policy on the character of the government, and to allot responsibility for its different elements between the *Adi-*

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<sup>233</sup> Census (1931), H.E. H. The Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad State), Part I- Report.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

*Andhras* and different sections within the Caste Associations of Dalits in Nizam's Government of India. The Caste Associations have generally been described as one of order and progress, or repression and concession. In my opinion, the concessions were weighted in a particular fashion to try and reduce their real value. Repression, on the other hand, was partly reduced or controlled by *Adi-Andhra Social Service League's* interventions.

The work also challenged the prevalent theory, that the policy retained the character of the state as a benevolent despotism. In my view, the general effect of the policy was an alteration in the character and role of the state in India's evolution, and certain subtle changes in the role of the *Adi-Andhra Social Service League*, leading to repercussions of the relationship between the Hindus, Muslims and *Adi-Andhra* people. The idea of education is investigated by raising questions: what is school, what and how does a school teach and how does school as a major basic institution of education relate to society? These questions are examined through some terms that are almost obsessions with the current educational discourse. These terms are access and structure (what is school), creativity, competency and evaluation (how does a school teach), community and value (how does a school relate to society). These issues enmesh. The way these terms was used depend upon the underlying epistemic premises. It is argued that very often the kind of educational reform desired does not take place because of the epistemic tensions between the different perspectives that bear upon it both internally and it relation to each other.

Although the Dalit leadership in Coastal Andhra region did not show any keen interest in Ambedkar's Depressed Classes Conference of 1930 and issues surrounding the First Round Table Conference, some of the Dalit leaders from Hyderabad did take part in a special session of the Ninth *All-India Adi-Hindu Conference* in Lucknow in 1931.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Gowtham, M. B. (1976) 'The Untouchable Movement in Andhra Pradesh State', *State Harijana Conference Souvenir*, Hyderabad, April, Pp.66-69.

The conference, which was held on the eve of the Second Round Table Conference, was presided over by Bhagya Reddy. One of the most significant and unanimous resolutions of the conference was recognition of Ambedkar as the sole and true representative to speak on behalf of 90 million Dalits.<sup>236</sup> In addition to this, Dalits in Hyderabad submitted numerous memoranda to the Nizam of Hyderabad, demanding political representation. Subsequently, the Nizam announced the formation of a Constitutional Reforms Committee, under the chairmanship of Aravamudu Aiyangar on September 22, 1937, popularly known as Aiyangar Committee.<sup>237</sup> Interestingly, the Committee was constituted exclusively by members drawn from the Muslim and caste- Hindu backgrounds. The Dalits, who constitute 18 percent in the total population of the state, were not included in it.

Angered by such a blatant exclusion, the Dalits took to the streets and demanded the statutory confirmation of the fundamental rights of citizenship by the legislature,<sup>238</sup> and special protection of the rights of the Dalits and other minorities in the state. In a memorandum to the Nizam, they emphasized proportional representation. It was stated that since the Dalits constituted 18 percent of the state's population, 18 per cent of seats should be reserved for them in all the representative bodies of the state. A special representation for the Dalits should be given in the municipal councils, district and taluk boards and other organs of the government. Further, in the event of acceptance of separate electorates by the State, the memorandum stated that there should be separate electorates for the Dalits.<sup>239</sup> It is stated that the Depressed Classes has problems in socio economic aspects and therefore they should get acceptable representation in the council. The majority representation comes from Hindu community which excludes Dalits are confident in getting ten council seats. The distribution of the council seats between 16 districts of the state. When it comes to Depressed Classes they can contest from any constituency of their interest.

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<sup>236</sup> Gowtham, M. B. (1991). *Bhaghodayam*, Hyderabad, Adi-Hindu Social Service League publications, p.32.

<sup>237</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 23<sup>rd</sup> September, 1937, Pp. 7-9.

<sup>238</sup> Report of the Reforms Committee, (1938), (1347 Fasli), Hyderabad Deccan, Government Central Press, p. 138, cited in Yagati, C. R. (2003). *Dalits Struggle for Identity: Andhra and Hyderabad 1900-1950*, New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers, p.146.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

This has given due to Ambedkars round table conference effect and Dalits leadership who are working for the social and educational development in the regional areas started showing interest in political platform. Both in Coastal Andhra and Nizams Hyderabad State Dalit leadership involved in Panchayat boards negotiated with the caste associations to become the council member for the betterment of the community<sup>240</sup>

Although the Aiyangar Committee rejected the Dalits' demand for separate electorates by equating the notion of separate electors with communal representation, it did take note of their concerns: "A demand has been made on behalf of *Harijans* that seats should be reserved and separate electorates formed for them. We cannot endorse the principle, which generally underlies communal representation. But in the social, educational and economic interests of the *Harijans*, we nevertheless consider it necessary that they should be granted representation in the Legislature."<sup>241</sup> Accordingly, it recommended for one elected representative in municipal committees and town committees, one for the district boards and, finally, two elected representatives for legislature.<sup>242</sup>

The next round of Dalit activity took place when Ambedkar declared his decision on conversion. In 1935 at a Bombay Presidency Depressed Classes Conference in Yeola, Ambedkar put forward the idea of moving away from Hinduism and declared, "I was born a Hindu and have suffered the consequences of untouchability. I will not die a Hindu".<sup>243</sup> This declaration, which was described as a "veritable bombshell", triggered off a great debate on the conversion question throughout India.

In the Coastal Andhra region also, some young Dalits, such as Eali Vedappalli (1911-71), organizing secretary of *Adi-Andhra conferences* in East Godavari, and Geddada

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<sup>240</sup> Venkataswamy, P. R. (1955), *Our Struggle for Emancipation*, Hyderabad, Universal Art printers, Pp. 108-09.

<sup>241</sup> Report of the Reforms Committee, (1938), (1347 Fasli), Hyderabad Deccan, Government Central Press, p. 59., cited in Yagati, C. R. (2003). *Dalits Struggle for Identity: Andhra and Hyderabad 1900-1950*, New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers, p.146.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>243</sup> Omvedt, Gail (2004). *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India*. New Delhi, Penguin, p. 61.



Brahmaiah (1912-50)<sup>244</sup> secretary of an *Adi-Andhra Sangham* in 1935, were energized by Ambedkar's declaration. They were joined by Kusuma Dharmanna (1898-1948). Dharmanna was one of the important Dalit poets of his time. We have mentioned earlier that he was the author of the famous song *Maakoddu Nalladoratanam* (we don't want a country ruled by the upper castes). He was also publisher for the *Jayabheri* newspaper. These three leaders became "a sort of mouthpiece for the Ambedkarite group"<sup>245</sup> in coastal Andhra. The Tenth Conference of the *Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha* was organized at Rajahmundry, East Godavari district in 1935.

While Kusuma Venkataramayya was the president of the Conference, Kusuma Dharmanna was its reception committee chairman. This Conference was inaugurated by M. C. Rajah, one of the prominent Dalit leaders of the Madras Presidency. After this Conference, several district-level and two provincial-level Conferences were organized under the leadership of Kusuma Dharmanna in 1936 and 1938. The Twelfth Provincial level Conference that was organized in 1938 was presided over by Bhagya Reddy Varma. The discussions and debates in all these conferences focused on the demand for reserved seats for the *Adi-Andhras* in all representative bodies, sanction against those opposing the presence of the Dalit children into schools, job reservations and a demand for waste land. But the *Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha* could not sustain its activism for a long time and beyond the boundaries of East Godavari district. As the popularity of Gandhi and his Congress began to get augmented in the Telugu districts, a majority of the Dalits began to drift into the *Harijan* fold of Gandhi and the Congress; and thus, *Adi-Andhra* activism could not make a significant impact upon the Dalits in the province.

However, Dalits in Hyderabad were electrified by Ambedkar's declaration. Given the growing communal tensions between the Hindus and Muslims, which were manifested through the dominance of the Arya Samajis over nationalist Hindus, and in the rise of the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul Mussalman politicizing the ordinary Muslims, the

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<sup>244</sup> Brahmaiah edited the *Adi-Andhra Patrika* between 1938-40, for more details see Gowtham, M.B. (1976). *The Untouchable Movement in Andhra Pradesh, Harijana Conference Souvenir*, Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh, P. 71.

<sup>245</sup> Omvedt, G. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*. Sage Publications India, p.289.

excitement among the Dalits was not surprising. For it gave them an opportunity to carve out a separate space for themselves, away from the Hindus and Muslims. But not all of them were eager to grab this new opportunity. They were divided into two major groups opposing each other on Ambedkar's declaration. The pro-Ambedkarite group, which was organized by Venkatrao and Arigay Ramaswamy, was constituted mainly by the young Dalits. The other group, which was led by Bhagya Reddy, continued to believe in internal as well as external reforms.

In 1936 the pro-Ambedkarite group was invited to attend a Maharashtra Untouchable Youth Conference in Poona. As Omvedt notes, they were impressed by the "fire-eating speeches of the Maharashtra leaders",<sup>246</sup> and in their return to Hyderabad, they organized a Youth League of Ambedkarites with Venkatrao as president and Venkataswami as secretary. The main aims of the League were: "to organize the youth; to support Ambedkar in leading untouchables out of the Hindu fold; to enlighten people on the evils of Hinduism, to oppose conversion at present but search for a new democratic religion; and to organized a vigorous campaign on socio-economic disabilities".<sup>247</sup>

Soon the leadership struggle between Venakatrao and Ramaswamy rocked the League, and this, in turn, led to further division of the League. While Venkataswamy formed the Hyderabad State Depressed Classes Association in 1938 and began to lean in a pro- Muslim direction, Ramaswamy went on to revive the Hyderabad State Adi-Hindu Mahasabha. Venkatarao's pro-Islam choice was rather surprising. Until 1938, he never showed any inclination towards Islam. Indeed he never showed any interest towards religious issues. His choice was influenced by his concern for the empowerment of Dalits and a firm belief in the ability of the Hyderabad state, a state that can rescue the Dalits from the clutches of the caste-Hindus and also to provide material benefits to the Dalits.<sup>248</sup> For instance, after Ambedkar's declaration on conversion, the Hyderabad state took several initiatives towards attracting the Dalits into the Islamic fold, such as employing full-time paid Islam preachers and supporting

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<sup>246</sup> Omvedt, G. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*. Sage Publications India, p. 296.

<sup>247</sup> Venkataswamy, P. R ., (1955). *Our Struggle for Emancipation*, Hyderabad, Universal Art Printers, p.122.

<sup>248</sup> Interview with G. Shankar, Scheduled Caste Employees Welfare Association, Hyderabad. 15<sup>th</sup> March 2014.

the Majlis in their conversion campaigns among the Dalits. In addition to these measures, the State also provided Dalits with government jobs. It also made the anti-*vethbegar* legislation, which rescued a great number of Dalits from the virtual slavery of the caste-Hindus. Undoubtedly, all these measures provided the basis for the pro-Islam stance of the Dalits and their leaders in Hyderabad.<sup>249</sup>

Although the divisions among the Dalits continued, they all attended the founding meeting of the Scheduled Caste Federation in Nagpur in 1942. During the meeting, Ambedkar advised them to compromise and organize as the Scheduled Caste Federation without any official affiliation to the all India body. But Venkatrao refused to work with the Adi-Hindu group led by Arigay Ramaswamy, J.H. Subbaiah and Venkataswamy. On their return, the Dalit leaders of Adi-Hindu faction convened a general body meeting, in which they changed the name of their organization as the Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF) and selected J. H. Subbaiah as its president and Venkataswamy as its general secretary. Beyond condemning the Dalits' conversion to Islam,<sup>250</sup> the SCF of Hyderabad could not do anything, both due to the continuous factionalism among the Dalits and the fact that Dalits were divided along caste lines. From Bhagya Reddy Varma to Venkatrao and Arigay Ramaswamy in Hyderabad, Vemula Kurmaiah and Kusuma Dharmanna from Coastal Andhra all the important Dalit leaders came from the Mala caste and focused their activism among the Malas, except Arigay Ramaswamy, who addressed the inter-caste differences among the Dalits specially between the Madigas and Malas – and encouraged inter-caste marriages among them.

In coastal Andhra, a branch of the SCF was formed under the leadership of Buldas, after Ambedkar's visit to Krishna district in 1944.<sup>251</sup> Beyond fighting against atrocities and celebrating Ambedkar's *jayanti*, this branch was not able to affect events very much. Moreover, as Omvedt observes, "In that period of turmoil, with an aroused mass of Dalits, this could not compete with the hard organizing and real economic issues being taken up by the Communists or the patronage and co-opting

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<sup>249</sup> Omvedt, G. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*. Sage Publications India, p. 292.

<sup>250</sup> Interview with the Surendar Rupala, grandson of B. S Venkata Rao, 10<sup>th</sup> February 2010.

<sup>251</sup> Interview with Ghanumala Gnaneshwar, Dalit Activist and Organic intellectual, Hyderabad, 10 March 2014.

facilities offered by the Congress”.<sup>252</sup> Thus, a pro-Ambedkarite Dalit activity was almost in active even before the transfer of educational powers from the British.

The Chapter on Identity and Culture: Construction of Dalit Schooling is a study on the epistemological process of the schooling and culture have brought out through the intervention beyond the socio-religious reformation activities along with the Dalits intelligentsia both in coastal Andhra under the Madras Presidency and Nizams Hyderabad state.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DALIT SCHOOLING IN COASTAL ANDHRA: ROLE OF ADI-ANDHRA MAHA SABHA**

The foregoing chapter is to understand the indigenous efforts and issues relating to ‘Education and Empowerment’ of agrarian and working class *Adi-Andhras* against the dominant Aryan Brahmin nationalists in establishing the schools. It has to be understood within the dominant and resistance praxis than the socio- religious reformation activities<sup>253</sup> under different Dalits upliftment propaganda model. It is

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid., P. 291.

<sup>253</sup> Geetha, V., and Rajadurai, S. V. (1993). Dalits and Non-Brahmin Consciousness in Colonial Tamil Nadu, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Pp. 2091-2098., Constable, P. (1997). Early Dalit Literature and Culture in Late Nineteenth-and Early Twentieth-Century Western India, *Modern Asian Studies*, 31 (02), Pp.317-338., Bhattacharya, S. (2002). *Education and the Disprivileged: Nineteenth and Twentieth*

useful to study *Adi-Andhra* Movement led by Dalit intelligentsia during the early phase of 1917 to 1942 in coastal Andhra Pradesh of Madras Presidency. Dalits mobilization emerged as a self-respect and autonomous movement in its first great provincial conference popularly known as *Pradhama Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha* at Vijayawada.<sup>254</sup> This First Provincial Conference in fact started the process of socio-political consolidation of Dalits. Thus the polarization of scattered Dalits and twenty five allied Dalit castes<sup>255</sup> in Coastal Andhra Pradesh came to one single platform called *Adi-Andhras*.

This Chapter is divided into two sections. The first section examines the growth of *Adi-Andhras* educational consciousness and the agencies that helped to raise that consciousness.

The *Adi-Andhra* groups organized themselves for education empowerment of Dalits under different frameworks. They are: the colonial state and *Adi-Andhras*; *Adi-Andhras* and Christian Missionaries; *Adi-Andhras* and Brahmins; *Adi-Andhras* with Congress; *Adi-Andhras* with Non-Brahmins. The second section examines the *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha*-based Dalit activism in coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency. The autonomous activities of social reformation beyond socio-religious perspective are the Non-Brahmin social network who has worked extensively for Dalits educational development can be viewed as Anti-Caste movement in coastal Andhra Pradesh along with *Adi-Andhra* activists.

## **Education and Empowerment of *Adi-Andhras*: the Colonial State**

The initial push for Dalits education during colonial period came from the colonial state initiated general efforts of its regenerative mechanism. Thus the general educational trends in coastal Andhra can be viewed through East India Company's

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*Century India*, Delhi, Orient Blackswan, P. 1-342., Satyanarayana, A. (1998), Growth of Education among the Dalit-Bahujan Communities in Modern Andhra, 1893-1947, in *Education and the Disprivileged Hyderabad*, Edt., Bhattacharya, S., Delhi, Orient Blackswan, P. 1-342.,

<sup>254</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1917, Pp: 2-4.

<sup>255</sup> Balakrishna P. (1949). *Harijanaabhyudaya*, Routhu book Depo, Rajahmundry, p. 67.

rule as colonial or Company's education system after 1813 Charter Act. The Company simply continued the Aryan Brahmanic Hindu mode of *Varnasharama Dharma* schooling. The Company's rule in India required a section of educated group for their internal administration. Instead of importing the educated intelligentsia, the Company began intervening in engaging them to get educated for their hidden project of local administration. For the first time in India colonial masters passed an act called Charter Act of 1813 which gave rights to the Christian Missionaries on educational philanthropy work in its educational clause. There was one lakh rupees allotted as educational funds for the missionaries and philanthropists.<sup>256</sup>

The institutional school structures were laid foundation after Thomas Munro's submission of minutes on education to the Madras Presidency. Aftermath of Thomas Munro's minute's submission enquiry committee was set up to study the schooling and education system in coastal Andhra under Madras rule. District collector contributed data on existing methods of learning and schooling systems<sup>257</sup>. Following Collector's report on schooling system in coastal Andhra Pradesh, Thomas Munro constituted a committee on public instructions. Under the public instructions department there were 14 district and *thansil* Primary schools were established with government grants and aid.<sup>258</sup> The schools were located in *Adi-Andhra* populated places like Rajahmundry, Kakinada and Narsapuram. This message of opening schools with government grants propagated among the social reformation circles rapidly to engage their work in establishing schools. The curriculums in government schools are taught in vernacular languages and the institutional setup were completely western in style.<sup>259</sup>

There were new changes that brought out in the government primary school education by Lord Macaulay interference through his Minutes to the government of India. Lord Macaulay proposal to the government of India is that the government run schools

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<sup>256</sup> Hemingway, F.R., (1907). Godavari District and Madras District Gazetteer, Madras, *A.P State Archives, Hyderabad*, Part - I, p.157.

<sup>257</sup> Sharp, H. (Edt). (1956). Selections from Educational Records (1881-1839), Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta and *Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad*, Part I., P.51.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., p.157.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., p.51.

must taught in English as main medium of instruction. There was great resistance from the vernacular Telugu medium schools administration consequently led to close down of schools with lack of government aid and funds. In 1836, a new Board was set up with the support of Public Instructions as Committee for Native Education as key functioning in directing, organizing and establishing normal schools. It is this initiation of the government welcomed in opening up of many private educational institutions by Raja of Pitapuram and Zamindar of Vizayanagaram, Raja of Bobbili, Venkatagiri, Parlakimidi, were prominent in establishing private schools with personal, government and public funds.<sup>260</sup>

Apart from the private schools there was another experiment by the district Collector of Kakinada with his Shistadar, Tulasingga Chattiya at Kakinada town in the year 1952 known as Anglo-Vernacular school with government funds and public maintenance<sup>261</sup>. The same formula was adopted by the G. N Taylor throughout the Godavari region and popular as Taylor *Rate Schools*<sup>262</sup> in Godavari region. Furthermore, Taylor wrote a letter to the Madras government to get to introduce more in rural areas with farmers and working classes participation in to the schools. This later made an impact of establishing separate Directorate of Public Instructions in 1855<sup>263</sup> after the Dispatch of Woods in 1854.

After the Woods Dispatch of 1854, the Director of Public Instruction became the Department of Education. There are numerous schools that are found in East Godavari Region called *Rate Schools*. Thomas Munro gave a report to the Madras Presidency in 1822 much before the Dispatch of 1854 and suggested to establish schools for working classes under Public Instruction Department. From the correspondence relating to the Education Dispatch for 19<sup>th</sup> July, 1854 it is learnt that

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<sup>260</sup> Vaikuntam, Y. (1982). *Education and Social Change in South India and Andhra 1880-1920*, New Era Publications, Madras, p.14.

<sup>261</sup> Mangamma, J. (1973). *The Rate Schools of Godavari, Regular Monograph Series of State Archives No.3*, Pp. 1-9.

<sup>262</sup> Richey, J.A. (Edt). (1965). *Selections from education Records 1840-1859, Part II*, Superintendent Government Press, Culcutta, *A.P State Archives, Hyderabad*, Pp. 364-393.

<sup>263</sup> Government of India. (1965). *Collection of Dispatch's Education 1854-1868, A.P State Archives, Hyderabad*, Pp. 3-4.

Mr. Bayar the collector, established three schools one each at Rajahmundry, Kakinada and Narsapur in 1826 for Dalits. Later Pitapuram Rajah has established residential school for *Adi-Andhras* at Kakinada AND Rajahmundry, perhaps this is the first ever residential schools that were established for the Dalits in the region.

## **Education and Empowerment of *Adi-Andhras*: Christian Missionaries**

The association Christian Missionaries involvement in establishing schools in general Dalits were also given admission in to the schools started in Coastal Andhra Pradesh can be traced back to the fifteenth century, when two Jesuit priests began working for the emancipation of Dalits in Chandragiri in Chittoor district.<sup>264</sup> From the early nineteenth century onwards, missionaries started schools for the Dalits throughout Madras Presidency.<sup>265</sup> It was Alexander Duff of the Church of Scotland Mission who spearheaded education among the Dalits in the Telugu-speaking areas. He was primarily interested in evangelism and believed that Western education and values imparted by the missionaries through their schools could be used as an effective instrument for evangelism.<sup>266</sup>

In other words, Duff's motive in opening the schools was to spread evangelism. Yet, the missionaries did not practice any form of discrimination in admission to the schools. They admitted everybody disregarding the pupil's caste and religion. Although Dalits availed of this opportunity by sending their children to these schools, the upper castes did not send their children when they found that Duff was against caste-based segregation of pupils in his schools.<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>264</sup>Ramaswamy, Uma. (1974). Self-Identity among Scheduled Castes: A Study of Andhra. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 9 (48), Pp. 1958-1964.

<sup>265</sup> Dirks, N. B. (2001). *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of British India*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p.137.

It should be recognized here that conversion of Natives into Christian faith had been the main motive of all the missionaries in India. In fact, initially the missionaries aimed at Brahmins, who were supposed to be 'educated and intelligent'. But to their horror, they soon realized the 'insincerity of Brahmins', an insincerity that also extended to their religious beliefs.

<sup>266</sup> Richter, Julius, A. (1908). *A History of Missions in India*, London, Pp. 192-3, cited in Yagati, C.R. 2003. *Dalits' Struggle for Identity: Andhra and Hyderabad 1900-1950*, New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers, p. 67.

<sup>267</sup> Dirks, N. B. (2001). *Castes of Mind*. Colonialism and the Making of British India, P.131.



Interestingly, the non-imposed exclusion of children of the upper castes from the schools was an advantage for the lower caste children, especially Dalits, as they could focus on education without interference by Brahmins and other upper caste pupils and their casteist behavior. By the end of nineteenth century nearly twenty mission societies, both Roman Catholic and Protestant were working for the cause of the Dalits in the Telugu districts. Dalits, who were discriminated against by the upper castes, were naturally attracted to the educational initiatives of the Christian missionaries, and in course of time, a large number of them converted to Christianity.<sup>268</sup>

The Brahmins and other upper caste Hindu were alarmed by this trend: Dalits' education and conversion to Christianity. Although they could not come up with any substantial arguments against Dalits' education, they did question the converting to Christianity. Sneering at converts as the 'rice Christians', they claimed that conversions were motivated by material interests rather than the ideals of Christianity. They even launched the *Crescent* newspaper in 1844 to defend, "rights and privileges of the Hindu community".<sup>269</sup>

Interestingly, the missionaries did not deny that the Dalits converted to Christianity out of material considerations. For instance, Robert Caldwell of Tinnevely mission admitted that the lower castes initially came to Christianity for protection and aid, "the natural outcome of the circumstances in which they are placed".<sup>270</sup> With the strong Christian motivation to covert Dalits is commendable in the lives of Dalits. No one can deny the fact of missionaries work. There are particular incidents like great

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<sup>268</sup> For detailed missionary activities and mass conversion movements in Andhra region, see Fishman, A. T. (1941). *Culture Change and the Underprivileged: A Study of Madigas in South India Under Christian Guidance*. Christian literature Society for India (United Society for Christian literature)., Manor, J. (1971). Testing the Barrier between Caste and Outcaste: The Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church in Guntur District 1920-40'. *Indian Church History Review*, 5(1), Pp: 27-41.; see Dirks, N. B. (2001). *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of British India*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, especially chapter on Caste Conversations and Educational Development, Pp. 127-148.

<sup>269</sup> Suntharalingam, R. (1967). The Madras Native Association: A Study of an Early Indian Political Organization, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 4 (3), p. 237.

<sup>270</sup> Dirks, N. B. (2001). *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of British India*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 135.

famine that had happened during 1876-79 in coastal Andhra under Madras Presidency, Christian missionaries service among Dalits are outstanding.

It was during this time that the Dalits perceived the contrasts in treatment between caste Hindus and the missionaries. While the former treated them worse than animals, the missionaries treated them with dignity, kindness and, most importantly, as equals. Not surprisingly, the Dalits were overwhelmed by the material help and the human dignity accorded to them, and eventually embraced Christianity. According to one estimate, nearly 20 percent of the Dalits in West Godavari, 32 percent in Krishna, and 57 percent in Guntur districts had converted to Christianity in 1931.<sup>271</sup>

The work of Christian missionaries changed the Dalits in three fundamental ways. First, they became aware of their social and economic plights and realized the inequalities in the ritual hierarchy of the Hindus. Second, conversion helped them to reject their lowly place in Hindu society and thus, to shed imposed social identities. As Christians, they affirmed a new social and religious identity. This new identity did not depend on its acceptance and recognition by the caste Hindus. That, in turn, led to significant alterations in behavior, occupation and enhancement of status.<sup>272</sup> Finally, those Dalits that remained within the fold of Hinduism began to realize that the dogma of untouchability which had been used to justify their miserable condition was false and was not upheld by the missionaries or the British government. Moreover, the missionaries' work among the Dalits shamed the colonial rulers and upper castes and focused their attention on the plight of the Dalits.

## **Education and Empowerment of *Adi-Andhras*: Indian National Congress**

Initially, the educational consciousness for the Dalits was initiated under different frameworks. The mass gatherings and the establishment of schools for Dalits in their

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<sup>271</sup> Forrester, Duncan B. (1991). The Depressed Classes and Conversion to Christianity: 1860-1960. In: Oddie, G. A., Edt., *Religion in South Asia: Religious Conversion and Revival Movements in South Asia in Medieval and Modern Times*, New Delhi, Manohar, Pp. 65-93.

<sup>272</sup> Farquhar, J.N. (1915). *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, Macmillan Co., p. 368.

localities had become an important social reformation work among the Aryan Brahmin Hindu Nationalists under two different folds. Primarily, the Brahmin castes with the ideology of Hindu and nationalism supported the *Adi-Andhras* educational and social development by establishing schools in rural areas. The second group within the Brahmin castes with the political interests under the Indian National Congress party initiated educational development for Dalits by extending support to the *Adi-Andhra* leaders.

A group of Hindu nationalist social reformers initiated Depressed Classes Conference and named it as *Nimna Jateeyuddharana Sabha*<sup>273</sup> under the leadership of Bommireddypalli Gangaraju Panthulu at Gudivada on 24<sup>th</sup> April 1916 afternoon. Alluri Ramakrishnamraju, Chilakamarthi Lakshminarasimham Pantulu, Chilukoori Veerabhadrarao Pantulu, Velidanda Srinivasa Rao, Manchiraju Ramabrahmam, Vellanki Krishnamurthy, Mangipudi Venkata Sharma, Ippagunta Subbukrishnaiah, Palaparathi Narasimham are the participant in the conference. In the opening remarks of the conference went on discussing the social stigma of untouchability attached to the Dalits need to changed. It is the responsibility of the Hindu national leaders to work for the upliftment of the Dalits. The social reformation work of Arya Samaj has brought out certain religions reformation among Hindus for treating Dalits. The Hindu *Swadharma* (apostasy) is the prime responsibility to uplift the deprived sections of the society. The outsiders of India like Christians, Mahammadians mingling with Dalits and working for their educational and empowerment without showing any discrimination.

### ***Congress Brahmin Hindu Nationalists and Education***

The Brahmin monopoly over the education system in India began to break down when the colonial rulers introduced Western education through the medium of English, in which the right to education of every individual was firmly affirmed. In their dispatch of 5th May 1854, the Court of Directors argued that “no boy be refused

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<sup>273</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1916, Pp. 12-14.

admission to a Government college or school merely on the grounds of caste”.<sup>274</sup> Although the principle of equal access to education was reiterated by the colonial government on several occasions, such affirmations remained in theory largely.

In reality, the old dominant sections of society managed to monopolize the new opportunities generated by the introduction of English education,<sup>275</sup> and Dalits continued to be excluded from the schools. Moreover, the colonial government succumbed to the pressures of the upper castes and made compromises under the pretext that no principle, however sound, could be forced upon an unwilling society in defiance of social and religious sentiments. Of course, the colonial government initiated a few measures for the education of Dalits when Christian missionaries voiced strong criticism against the government’s apathy towards the downtrodden. For instance, in May 1891 the Madras Missionaries Conference submitted a Memorial to the Governor, in which the missionaries observed that “though Government has proclaimed slavery to be illegal, many Pariahs are living in practical slavery...The *mirasars* systematically oppose the establishment of schools for the education of Pariah children. As a result of centuries of disability and oppression, the Pariahs have now sunk into a condition of helpless degradation and the defects and vices of their social life give to their degradation a rigidity, which makes all improvement appear hopeless if they continue to be left to themselves”.<sup>276</sup>

Following the recommendations of the Hunter Commission of 1882, the colonial government initiated separate schools, popularly referred to as the *Panchama* schools,

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<sup>274</sup> Frykenberg, R.E (1986). Modern Education in South India, 1784-1854: It’s Roots and its Role as a Vehicle of Integration under Company Raj, *The American Historical Review*, 91(1), p. 45.

<sup>275</sup> Nearly all writers on Indian nationalism have consistently noted that groups and communities that reaped the maximum benefits of this new education during the whole of the nineteenth century and a good part of the first quarter of the twentieth century were the upper castes, particularly the Brahmins. Anil Seal mentions this formulation unambiguously. Noting that English education was concentrated in the three coastal presidencies, and here too mainly in the metropolitan centres, Seal describes how in Bengal, ‘it was the Brahmins, Kayasthas, and Baidyas, in Bombay, the Brahmins in solitary, perilous pre-eminence and so too, in Madras, they held the near monopoly of education and that they were not any class but just the same old wine in new bottles’, for ‘yesterday’s scholars of Persian, now became enthusiasts for English’. See, Seal, Anil. (1968). *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, CUP, Pp. 11, 38-97., Brown, Judith. (1984). *Modern India: The Origins of Asian Democracy*, Delhi, OUP, p. 77.

<sup>276</sup> Memorial of the Madras Missionaries Conference to His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor of Fort St. George, dated May 1891, *Revenue Proceedings of the Madras Government*, 30 September 1892, p. 611, quoted in Jangam, C. (2005), *Contesting Hinduism: Emergence of Dalit Paradigms in Telugu Country 1900 – 195*, an unpublished Ph.D thesis submitted to School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London, p. 39.

for the Dalits. It offered financial assistance in the form of grants-in-aid, scholarships for the children and allotment of public land to construct proper schools.<sup>277</sup> Further, in 1893 the Madras government came up with a series of proposals, which were hailed as the *Magna Carta of Panchama education*. Some of the important measures recommended by the government were: establishment of special schools by local boards and municipalities for Dalits in all villages where they were in considerable number; allotment of government wastelands for Dalit schools; opening of night schools for Dalit labourers, special scholarships and provision for slates, books and furniture in grant-in-aid schools, etc.<sup>278</sup> Education for Dalits was further encouraged by the colonial government in 1918- 19.

It instructed that the schools be shifted from *agraharams* (Brahmin localities) to other places which the Dalits could easily access and insisted that no construction of schools was to be undertaken unless it was certified that the locality was accessible to the Dalits.<sup>279</sup> The results of these efforts were tremendous. Between 1919-20 and 1936-37 schools for the Dalits increased by 42.2 percent, while the strength of the students went up by 180 percent. This was an impressive change, and yet it must be noted that, compared to the total population, only 7.52 percent among Dalit boys and 1.65 percent among the Dalit girls benefited from school education.<sup>280</sup>

Whatever the limitations of the colonial state's efforts in promoting education among Dalits, these efforts significantly affected the Dalits forever. Firstly, the Dalits were introduced to the letter which was denied to them by the local state operating on the principles of the Brahmanical caste system. Secondly, for the first time Dalits were introduced to the language of rights (for instance, access to education as a basic right of every individual) and the principles of equality, such as equality before the law. Thus, it legitimized their status as human beings and their entitlement to social respect and dignity in society.

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<sup>277</sup> Vaikuntham, Y. (1982). *Education & Social Change in South India: Andhra, 1880-1920*, Madras, New Era, and p.181.

<sup>278</sup> Yagati, C. R. (2003). *Dalits Struggle for Identity: Andhra and Hyderabad 1900-1950*, New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers Distributors, p. 73.

<sup>279</sup> *Report on Public Instruction for the Madras Presidency for the Year 1918-19*, Vol. 1, p.12.

<sup>280</sup> Figures were cited in Satyanarayana, A. (2005). *Dalits and Upper Castes: Essays in Social History*. New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers, Pp. 63-64.

## **Education and Empowerment of *Adi-Andhras*: Non-Brahmins**

From the late nineteenth century onwards, the caste Hindu society, especially the Brahmins in the Telugu belt began to respond to the criticisms of the Christian missionaries against the Hindu religion and social practices of caste Hindus. Those who responded can broadly be divided into two groups: Reformers belonging to Congress and Non-Brahmin reformers. The Congress reformers stood for the preservation of the caste system and the practice of untouchability as ancient tradition sanctioned by the Holy Scriptures and by divine dispensation.

The reformers, who were influenced by Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj, urged their fellow caste-Hindus to do away with the practice of untouchability and discrimination against the Dalits. Interestingly, they did not advocate annihilation of the caste system—a system which is the root cause for differential treatment and the practice of untouchability. Arya Samaj, in the Coastal Andhra region, besides the Arya Samaj-inspired critique against the caste system, a number of social reformers from the caste Hindu backgrounds persistently attacked the practice of untouchability and caste-based discrimination of the Dalits. They also opened a number of schools and hostels exclusively for Dalit boys and girls.

It was precisely on account of this engagement of caste Hindu reformers with the Dalit issue that the Dalits' critique of upper castes discrimination against them in Coastal Andhra. Importantly, with the upper caste going soft, the Dalits were also co-opted into the Congress and Communist parties as *Harijans*, indirectly setting the ground for dependent politics of the Dalits in the later years. Two people who worked for education of the Dalits in coastal Andhra during the early part of the nineteenth century were Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919),<sup>281</sup> and Raghupathi Venkata Ratnam Naidu (1862-1939).<sup>282</sup> While Naidu concentrated his efforts in Kakinada and

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<sup>281</sup> For a detailed biographical sketch and his activities in Ramakrishna, V. (1983). *Social Reform in Andhra 1848-1919*, New Delhi, Vikas, Pp. 1-241.

<sup>282</sup> Kesava Narayana, B. (1976). *Political and Social Factors in Andhra, 1900-56*, Vijayawada, Navodaya Publishers, Ramakrishna, V. (1993). A Background Study to the Emergence of Caste

Machilipatnam areas, Viresalingam centered his activities in Rajahmundry and Northern Circar districts.

The Maharaja of Pithapuram financially supported Veeresalingam's efforts in promoting education among the Dalits. With the financial assistance from the Maharaja, a high school and two separate hostels for Dalit boys and girls were established in Rajahmundry. The Maharaja also sponsored Ram Manohar Roy Hostel in Kakinada for college-going Dalit students; and it was from these educational institutions sponsored by the Maharaja that the first generation Dalit intellectuals of coastal Andhra emerged.<sup>283</sup> Eventually the foundations laid by Veeresalingam and Naidu for Dalits' education were further strengthened and, in fact, effectively developed by a number of other reformers, particularly since early 1900. For instance, in 1907, *Andhra Deenajana Sangam* was founded in Machilipatnam for the socio-economic and spiritual development of the Dalits through education. By 1924, through this organization, 12 night schools and 9 day schools and one part-time school for girls in and around Machilipatnam were established.<sup>284</sup>

Guduru Ramachandra Rao started *Sevashram* for Dalit children at Gudivada in 1912. S. V. Ramji Rao established *Arundhati ashram* for Dalit girls and *Nandhanar ashram* for the Dalit boys at Machilipatnam in 1912 to spread education among them.<sup>285</sup> Further, under his own editorship Ramji Rao launched *Deenabandhu*, a Telugu weekly that exclusively addressed the problem of untouchability and the issue of socio-economic development of the Dalits in 1918. Nallapati Hanumantha Rao established *Srikrishna Ashramam* in Pedapalem, Guntur district in 1913. The main intention behind this *ashramam* was to reconvert those Dalits who had converted to

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Consciousness in Coastal Andhra Pradesh, in *Caste and Communal Politics in South Asia*, (Edt.), Das, Suranjan and Sekhar Bandopadhyay, Calcutta, K.P. Bagchi and Co, Pp. 1-223.

<sup>283</sup> Abbasayalu, Y.B. (1978). *Scheduled Caste Elite: A Study of Scheduled Castes Elite in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, Department of Sociology, Osmania University, Pp. 51-52., see, also Rammurthy, Pamu. (1976). *Rashtra Harijana Nayakula Jivita Charitra* (Life Histories of Dalit Leaders in Andhra Pradesh), Kakindada, Pp. 1-39.

<sup>284</sup> Ramarao, G, (2010). Vemuri Ramji Rao Pantulu, in *Neeli Zenda*, Aug, 16-31, Pp.3, 5-6.

<sup>285</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 23 March 1918, p. 4.

Christianity back to Hinduism<sup>286</sup> Thallapragada Narasimha Sharma and his wife Viswasundaramma established *Ananda Niketanamu* in Rajahmundry in 1923.<sup>287</sup>

Some of the caste Hindu reformers were so committed in their efforts to ameliorate the sufferings of the Dalits that they were ready to fight with their own caste people for this cause. To take one example, Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao set up a school in Yalakurru Agraharam, his native village in Krishna district. When he began to admit the Dalit children into this school, the entire Agraharam, including some of the sympathizers of the Dalit cause, opposed the move. Kasinadhuni, however, stood up against the opposition and took in the children to the school.

Vemula Kurmaiah, who later went on to become one of the prominent *Adi-Andhra* leaders, and eventually the Congress' *Harijan leader* had received his early education in this school.<sup>288</sup> Having said that, it is important to question why the Brahmins in coastal Andhra were at the forefront in 'reforming' the Dalits. It was during this time anti-Brahmin movements were organized in western India and parts of South India, that is, in Mysore state as well as in the Tamil area of the Madras Presidency. In coastal Andhra also the Reddy's and Kammas took up an anti-Brahmin stance. It was a fall out of the Brahmins' concern for Dalits' education and untouchability. Since the Reddy's and Kammas were landlords and peasants who owned thousands of acres of cultivated land in the villages, their interests lay in perpetuating the caste hierarchy coupled with economic benefits for themselves.

In effect, their ideas were diametrically opposed to the well-being or the uplift of the Dalits. This enmity proved to be a significant factor and explains why the Dalits distanced themselves from the non-Brahmin leaders in coastal Andhra. Further, the non-Brahmin leaders also did not have any cultural and ideological agenda to enlist and assimilate Dalits into their politics. On the other hand, the Brahmins, who were disengaging themselves from agricultural activities, did not have any direct conflict

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<sup>286</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 14 June 1924, p. 3.

<sup>287</sup> 'Ananda Niketanamu', *Krishna Patrika*, 16 March 1935, Pp. 9-10.

<sup>288</sup> Vemula Kurmaiah, after completing his secondary education from National High School in Machilipatnam with a generous scholarship from Ayyadevara Kalaswara Rao, a Brahmin Congress leader, spent two years in Gandhi's Sabaramathi Ashramam before joining Benaras Hindu University. Apparently he was the first Dalit to graduate from that university and Jagjivan Ram was the second to do so.



with the Dalits. Thus, the trajectory of caste dynamics made the Dalits get closer to the reformist Brahmins than the anti-Brahmin, landholding Kammas, Reddy's and Velamas. But what was the context in which Dalit mobilization under the banner of *the Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha* took place is an important that needs a further explanation.

### ***Non-Brahmin Movement and Education***

Two specific events that compelled the Dalits in coastal Andhra to organize themselves as a group were: (a) mushrooming of caste associations, and (b) the emergence of the non-Brahmin movement. From the early 1900s, the Madras Presidency witnessed the growth of caste-based associations and mobilization by the upper castes and lower castes alike. At the heart of these caste associations were the introduction of Census, the growth of Western education and recruitment of the natives to fill up bureaucratic jobs in the colonial government.

Firstly, in 1901, following the British practice of attempting to fix whole caste-clusters in the Brahmanical *Varna* order, a number of the castes felt that they were denied their 'rightful' status. For instance, the wealthier Komatis were outraged by the fact that they were denied Vyshya status. They founded the Arya Vyshya Mahasabha in 1907 and organized many agitations against the decision of the Census Commissioner.<sup>289</sup> Secondly, the political leadership of the Brahmins was, as argued by Arnold, based on their "near-monopoly of Western education and profession", as well as backed by their landed wealth and traditional social authority.<sup>290</sup> The non-Brahmin *ryats* and traders, who were previously disinterested in Western education and profession, were beginning to realize the economic and political advantages in these professions.

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<sup>289</sup> Washbrook, D. (1975). The Development of Caste Organizations in South India 1880-1925. In: Baker, C.J. and D.A. Washbrook. (eds.,) *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change 1880-1940*, Madras: Macmillan, p.154.

<sup>290</sup> Arnold, David. (1977). *The Congress in Tamil Nadu: Nationalist Politics in South India, 1919-1937*, London, Curzon Press, p. 18.

However, it was not easy for the educated non-Brahmins to intrude into these professions. “To succeed in these”, Washbrook argued, “they needed to develop the broader patterns of social linkages which could provide investment for education and contact for preferment...Young educated Kammas or Reddy’s required boosts of patronage and support if they were to get into the professions and senior administration”.<sup>291</sup>

One way of obtaining the required patronage and support was “by appealing back to caste myths and identities and by trying to strengthen their ritual connection with their caste”.<sup>292</sup> Thus, we find the emergence of the *Kamma Mahajana Sabha*, under the leadership of Oxford educated N. G. Ranga in 1910. This association was financed by zamindaris of Chellapalle and Muktiala both belonged to the Kamma caste. The Reddy’s also, under the leadership of Cambridge-educated C. Ramalinga Reddy and London educated K. Koti Reddy, found the *Reddy Mahajana Sabha* in 1914.

This association was funded by the Reddy zamindaris of Wanaparthi and Munagala.<sup>293</sup> Thus, the whole idea behind the mobilization of the non-Brahmins around caste identities was to transform themselves into pressure groups and thereby “win from the government educational concessions, public appointments and nomination to local boards and legislatures”.<sup>294</sup> Secondly, as mentioned earlier the entry of Gandhi into India’s political scenario led to a renewal of the struggle for independence throughout India.

The struggle for independence is, as has been asserted by Aloysius, not only a struggle for the transfer of power from the colonial to the natives, but it is also a struggle for power within the caste Hindus, particularly between the Brahmins and non-Brahmin landed gentry. In south India, particularly in Madras Presidency, while

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<sup>291</sup> The Development of Caste Organizations in South India 1880-1925. In: Baker, C.J. and D.A. Washbrook. (eds.) *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change 1880-1940*, Madras: Macmillan, p. 176.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>294</sup> Some of the other notable caste associations of this time were: the *Agnikula Kshatriya Sangam* of fishermen (formed in 1901); *The All Madras Viswakarma Kuloddharana Sangam* (1903) this was an amalgamation of five artisan castes, which were also known as Panchalas; *the Rajaputra Sangam* of Rajus (1905); *the Gouda Mahajana Sabha* (1907); *the Adi-Velama Mahajana Sabha* (1914) and, *the Telaga Sangam* of Telagas (1914).

the Brahmins were mobilizing around the ideology of nationalism, the non-Brahmins were mobilizing around the ideology of Dravidianism and non-Brahmanism. In Telugu districts specifically, while the Brahmins were organizing around Indian nationalism, the non-Brahmin landed Reddy's, Kammas, Velamas and Rajus despite differences among them united under the ideology of Telugu nationalism against the domination of the Brahmins.<sup>295</sup>

In 1916, when the South Indian Liberal Federation, better known as the Justice Party, was formed, all the non-Brahmin upper castes rallied behind its banner, and claimed to represent the interests of all non-Brahmins in the Presidency, including the Muslims, Christians and Dalits, for it was during that time that the colonial government announced its intention of political representation for the natives. Both the Brahmins and non-Brahmins competed against each other to win the support of the Dalits, and as part of this support-seeking gimmick, they began to condemn the practice of untouchability, and initiated a number of measures to uplift Dalits socially and economically.

They also demanded representation for non-Brahmins, including the Dalits, in all the representative bodies and in public appointments. These relatively radical ideas and assertions of the Justice Party in Brahmin-dominated polity and society attracted many non-Brahmin castes and communities into its fold. Dalit leaders like M.C. Rajah of Madras Presidency also supported the Party. Support from many quarters led to the Party's success in the 1920 municipal elections; and the Party used its position in the Legislative Council in Madras to bring a series of resolutions that aimed to give non-Brahmins a greater proportion of government jobs. Dirks mentions about two Government Orders that were promulgated in 1921 and 1922. While the first Order directed district collectors and other local officials to be attentive to the subject of distribution of appointments among various castes and communities, the second Order echoed the mind of the government in its resolve to give preference to non-Brahmin and other 'backward' communities in its recruitments.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> Harrison, S.S. (1960). *India: The Most Dangerous Decades*. Princeton, N.J, Princeton University Press, Pp. 1-364.

<sup>296</sup> Dirks, N. B. (2001). Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of New India, *From Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*. Site visited April, 4, 2013, p. 242.

Undoubtedly, the Government Orders opened spaces for employment and representation in legislative bodies for the non-Brahmins, a space that had hitherto been occupied and controlled by the Brahmins. But in the name of representation for the unrepresented, the dominant upper castes in the non-Brahmin category, particularly Pillais, Mudaliars, Reddy's, Kammas, Chettiyars and other castes only next to the Brahmins in the traditional caste hierarchy, appropriated positions in government recruitment and in legislative bodies. In other words, the upper caste non-Brahmins replaced Brahmins from positions of power. However, although the Justice Party condemned the practice of untouchability and demanded the representation of Dalits in representative bodies and in public appointments, the reality was that the Party was not genuinely concerned about Dalit issues. The true face of the Justice Party where Dalits were concerned was exposed after its possession of power in the Madras Legislative Council in 1921.

The abolition of the labour department and the refusal by P.T. Chettiyar, one of the main leaders of the Justice Party to support anti-untouchability laws in 1922, provided the evidence that the non-Brahmin movement would neither protect nor would benefit the interests of the Dalits. It was on account of this attitude of the leadership in Justice Party against Dalits and their concerns that the latter distanced themselves from the Party. Criticizing the Brahmanical attitude of the non-Brahmin leaders, M. C. Rajah observed that, "Considered from the stand point of the depressed classes, this (Justice Party) Ministry which seemed to have begun well has been moving backwards under the influence of leaders (who are) more responsible to the vested interests, social pride and aristocratic affectation than to the principles of justice and democratic progress".<sup>297</sup> Thus, the Justice Party took up those issues of justice not for the uplift of the socially and politically marginalized sections but to strengthen their own claim for communal representation and to justify their demands against Brahmins.

It was against this backdrop and the struggle for power between the Brahmins and non-Brahmin upper castes, that the Dalits of all the regions in the Madras Presidency rejected them and began to articulate their concerns independently around the 'Adi' ideology and began to identify themselves as *Adi-Dravidian*, *Adi-Andhra*, *Adi-*

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<sup>297</sup>Saraswathi, S. (1974). *Minorities in Madras State: Group Interests in Modern Politics*. Delhi: Impex India, Pp.117-8.

*Karnataka*. At this juncture, it may not be out of context to note the communication between the Dalit leadership both in the Telugu and Tamil districts in the Madras Presidency.

The rejection of the Dravidian ideology of the non-Brahmin movement and its leadership by the Dalits in both the regions, and a demand for representation of the Dalits in the legislative council and local bodies on the basis of their distinct *Adi identity* shows that the Dalit leaders in both the regions were in touch with each other.<sup>298</sup> In fact, M.C. Rajah, the secretary of the *Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha* in 1916, writes about the Malas and Madigas of the Telugu country, particularly of East Godavari district, in his *The Oppressed Hindus*.<sup>299</sup> The year 1917 saw mobilization of the Dalits in the coastal Andhra districts of the Madras Presidency under the banner of the *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha*. A statement issued in 1917 by B. Venkatapathi Raju and Gangaraju Panthulu organisers of the first provincial-level conference of the Depressed Classes Association testifies Dalits' intention to organize independently on a par with the other castes in the region. As the feeling of nationalism is spreading it is producing diverse movements like Sanathan Dharm movement, Kshatriya, Vyshya, Kapu, Velama and Kamma caste movements; and the recent non-Brahman movements were reflection of that consciousness. It is the same feeling which is urging us to organize *Panchama Maha Sabha*.<sup>300</sup>

The direction of Dalit activism under the leadership of the *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha* could be gauged when Sundru Venkaiah, a Dalit from Krishna district and one of the protégées of Guduru Ramachandra Rao, spoke in the conference in Vijayawada.<sup>301</sup> Interestingly, the communication between the Telugu Dalits and their Tamil counterparts was established not during the emergence of the *Adi* movements in the Madras Presidency. It was established way back in the late nineteenth century on account of their Burma connection. When the whole nation is awakening; we must come out of our slumber and assert that we are also human beings. Like everyone

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<sup>298</sup> *Madras Legislative Council Proceedings*, Vol. II, 1923, p. 2600.

<sup>299</sup> Rajah, M.C. [1925]. *The Oppressed Hindus*. New Delhi, Critical Quest, Pp. 3-5.

<sup>300</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 20 September 1917, p. 6.

<sup>301</sup> Dirks, N. B. (2011). *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton University Press, Pp. 240-41., Satyanarayana, A. (2002). Migration of Telugu Coolies to Colonial Burma, 1871-1947. At *Dr. Garigipati Rudrayya Chowdary Endowment Lecture 9*, 25 February, Ramachandrapuram, East Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh.

else, we also have a soul and body. Like other Hindus, we are also sons of this country. Many organizations are striving for the rights and self-respect of this nation like *Deshiya Mahajana Sabha* and *Andhra Mahajana Sabha*. Along with these organizations, it is our bounden duty to fight for self-respect and development of the Hindu country and also the Andhra belt.<sup>302</sup>

In the above statement one can see an internal as well as an external message. Internally, it is a call to the Dalits to realize that they are *also* human beings as any other caste Hindus and that their right should be asserted. For the caste Hindus, Dalits may be ‘untouchables’, but that does not mean that they are not part of India; and as part and parcel of the country they, along with other sons of the soil, have a duty to fight and restore the lost self-respect and dignity of the country. It has an external message for the caste Hindus as well, that the Dalits are no longer willing to be treated as non-humans by a casteist Hindu society and their rights as human-beings must be respected. Further, they were also informing the caste Hindu society of their willingness to take part in the struggle for India's Independence. It should be noted here that although the above statement came from a Dalit leader, who was trained in the *Sevashram* under the tutelage of a reforms-oriented Brahmin, it was clear that the Dalits were no longer willing to suffer caste discrimination against them by the caste Hindu society and were ready to fight for their rights as human beings. But what were the main concerns and demands of the Dalits put up by the *Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha*. What were the main activities of this association?

### **Education and Empowerment: Autonomous Role of *Adi-Andhras***

Dalits education and empowerment between the early 1920's and the late 1940's focused mainly around three themes/aspects: (1) self-respect, (2) Social Reforms; and (3) establishment of schools, and in the following we shall examine briefly those three themes. Before explaining these themes one needs to understand the socio-economic profile of Dalits in Coastal Andhra in order to have proper grasp of the scenario of Dalits education movement.

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<sup>302</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

### ***Socio-Economic Background of Adi-Andhra***

*The Adi-Andhras* are the largest section of the “untouchables in Coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency. According to 1911 Census Reports, the number of Mala Community is stated as 1,511,312, while the general population constitutes roughly around 15,500,000, when it calculated in terms of percentage that has counted as 10 percentage of total population<sup>303</sup>. It will be seen, that the Madigas another largest section of the population that has not counted in the above mentioned figures. The numerical strength makes an interesting factor that cannot be neglected to study<sup>304</sup>.

As far as social status of Malas and Madigas are concerned, stigma of ‘untouchability’ is imposed upon them by Aryan-Brahmins of Caste Hindus, but culturally majority of them started moving towards Christianity<sup>305</sup>, during later 1890s and early 1901 Census of India recorded carefully their conversation in to Christianity was enumerated as Christians than as Malas and Madigas total. The distributions of the Malas and Madigas are irregular, though they are to be found in considerable numbers in every district. The Mala Population counted as highest in the district of Kistna, with over 300,000. Next comes Godavari with 266,000, Nellore with 168,000 and Guntur with 147,000.<sup>306</sup>

The irrigated landholdings of these districts are largely cultivating rice. It is interesting to note that the majority of the Mala population is found in rive cultivated districts as great number of agricultural laborers in Coastal Andhra Pradesh following rice cultivation, Malas are also constitute heaviest outcaste tribe in black cotton tracts.<sup>307</sup> The literacy rates among the Dalits are recorded in 1911 Census as less than

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<sup>303</sup> See also Nicholson, S. (1926). Social Organization of Malas-An Outcaste Indian People, *The Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 56, Pp. 91.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., P.92.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., P.91.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, p. 91

<sup>307</sup> Ibid, p.91

one percentage<sup>308</sup> and their poverty and untouchability are high when it compared to the other caste groups. Under such social circumstances the education and empowerment of Dalits has seen against the Aryan Brahmin Nationalist leaders in one side and colonial masters on the other side. In Coastal Andhra Pradesh of Madras Presidency the Backward Caste categories are historically recorded in Aryan Brahmin Hindu traditions as *Shudras*. In terms of their social position in the caste hierarchy and the availability of resources, particularly economic resources, there are differences within the *Shudra* category as well.

The *Shudra* category in Coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency essentially divided into two layers of caste groups. The first layer comprises of castes, like Kammas and Reddy's in Andhra Pradesh, Lingayats, Vokkalingayats, and Shetty's in Karnataka, and Reddiyars, Mudaliars, Chettiyars, Pillais in Tamil Nadu. In terms of caste position these castes may be placed below the Brahmins in the social hierarchy, but in terms of their control over the economic resources and domination in the social and political spheres, this category of people are more powerful than the Brahmins or any other castes in the social hierarchy.

The second layer is constituted with service castes like, Yadavas, Kurmis, Gollas, Salees etc. During the colonial as well as the immediate pre-colonial periods, there was not much difference is found among service castes and Dalits, particularly in terms of social status and availability of resources for economic and social development.<sup>309</sup> The dynamics of these differences between the *Shudras* and Dalits have found common interests in protesting against Aryan Brahminism. These movements are complex in nature and the divergent approached has had adopted by the activists for achieving social and educational empowerment. But the point here is that lack of an ample presence of the warrior and merchant castes in Coastal Andhra of Madras Presidency does not occupied and controlled natural resources as occupied by the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in the Aryan Brahmin Hindu nationalists. In other words Dalits category has not hold the natural resources when it compared to Kshyatriyas and VaishyasCastes in Coastal Andhra.

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<sup>308</sup> Government of India. (1911). *Census of India*, p.133.

<sup>309</sup> Aloysius, G. (1998). *Nationalism without a Nation in India*, Oxford University Press, p. 26.



The castes within the non-Brahmin category were divided both vertically and horizontally, they were at variance in their responses against Brahmins and Brahmanism. The castes like Reddy's and Kammas, who have been in positions of privilege within the non-Brahmin category, were not against the Brahmanical caste system. They were simply against the Brahmins, who enjoyed the highest social status and cultural privileges. To put it differently, the privileged non-Brahmin castes were against the privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins, while at the same time aspiring for the same social status and cultural privileges. During the early part of the twentieth century the dislike for Brahmins that the privileged non-Brahmin castes nurtured reached the heights, when jobs in the British government in India were completely taken up by the former. It was against this domination and to stake a claim for a share in the job market that the Dalits launched the non-Brahmin movement.

On the contrary, the aspirations of the Backward Castes within the non-Brahmin category especially the Dalits-with imposed restrictions were completely different from the aspirations of the privileged non-Brahmin castes. Of course, the Dalits, just like the *Adi-Andhras*, also condemned the pre-eminence of the Brahmins during the early phase of Adi-Andhra Movement. Prior to the introduction of western education by colonial rulers; every region in India had its own system of traditional education. The system of *pathasaala* was prevalent in Coastal Andhra region, in which the schools were generally located in *agraharams* (Brahmin areas) and the students were taught by Brahmin teachers. As the location of the schools and social background of the teachers extensively validate, education in these schools was nothing but the oration of *Vedas*, *Upanishads* and other Brahmanical Hindu texts. Moreover, access to these schools was strictly confined to the Brahmins and other caste Hindu children.

The children of working Caste *Shudras*, *Adivasi* communities and Dalits were denied enter in to schools. A survey conducted by Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras Presidency (1820-27) confirms both the ownership of the Brahmins as well as exclusion of the Dalits from *pathasaalas*. According to this survey in the Presidency, there were as many as 12,488 schools and 188,000 students in a population of

12,850,941 roughly 1 school per 1000 persons and 1 student per 67 persons.<sup>310</sup> Further, it was also found that education was completely under the control of the Brahmin teachers. Even among the students, Brahmins comprised 60 to 75 per cent, far out numbering the non-Brahmin castes.<sup>311</sup> The books used in these institutions were either directly derived from the *Vedas*, *Shastras*, *Puranas* or other epic literature.<sup>312</sup>

One of the most striking findings of the survey was the complete exclusion of Dalits and working caste *Shudras*. However, this situation changed with the efforts of the Christian missionaries, the colonial State and Hindu social reformers. A number of schools for Dalit boys and girls were opened throughout the province. Education not only raised the consciousness of the Dalits about their inhuman social conditions and appalling economic situation, but also provided them with new ideas, hopes, employment opportunities and thus, new possibilities. We shall look into the efforts of Christian missionaries, the colonial State and caste Hindu reformers, one after another.

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<sup>310</sup> Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro, March 10, 1826, cited in Dharampal. (1983). *The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth Century*, Biblia Impex, Pp. 248-251.

<sup>311</sup> Frykenberg, E. R. (1986). Modern Education in south India, 1784-1854: Its Roots and Its Role as a Vehicle of Integration under Company Raj. *The American Historical Review*, 91 (1), p. 44.

<sup>312</sup> For instance, in schools and colleges in Rajahmundry the texts used were, in addition to the *Vedas* and *Shastras*, the *Bala Ramayanam*, *Rukmini Kalyanam*, *Krishna Satakam*, *Sumati Satakam*, *Vasu Charitra*, *Manucharitra*, *Bhagavatam*, *Gajedramoksham* etc. For details, see the Report of the Collector, Rajahmundry, submitted to the *Board of Revenue*, September 19, 1823, cited in Yagati, C.R. (2007). *Writing Dalit History and Other Essays*, New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers, p. 47.

### ***Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha and Education***

Dalits activists in Coastal Andhra region popularly known as Chinta Sheshaiah, Rayudu Gangaiah, Attili Suryanarayana, Kusuma Vekatramaiah, Sudreu Venkaiah, Naralasetti Devendrudu, Nutakki Venkateswarlu, Mangalagiri Rahavadasu has organized great first *Adi-Andhra* Conference at Vijayawada on 5<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> November 1917<sup>313</sup> with the support of Liberal Brahmin nationalist leaders known as Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao of Vijayawada, Guduru Ramachandra Rao of Gudivada. In the Conference there were leaders from Indian National Congress Vemuri Ramji, Machipatnam, Mangipudi Venkataswami, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, Mutnuri Krishan Rao, Unnava Lakshminarayana, Nallapati Hanumantha Rao, Yusuf Ali Saheb were also actively presented. Sundru Venkaiah and Ramamchandra Rao chaired the reception committee, and Bhagya Reddy Verma of Hyderabad Deccan presided as Conference President. The main objective of the Conference socio-economic-political and educational Empowerment of Dalits, with the purpose of sending a message to the British deputation secretary of State, Montague, and Viceroy, Chelmsford. It the Royal commission that visiting India to invite proposals from cross sections of the society on the issue of constitutional reforms.<sup>314</sup> The conference commenced for three days. On the day of the conference, Dalit activists from all over coastal Andhra were attended in hundreds, majority of them are belongs to Mala<sup>315</sup> caste performed big rally in the streets of Vijayawada by carrying conference president Bhagya Reddy Verma.

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<sup>313</sup> Ibid, p. 9

<sup>314</sup> Kaleswara Rao, A. (1959). *Naa Jeevithakatha*, Navyandhramu, .p. 212.

<sup>315</sup> Among the *Asprusya* castes Madiga as another major caste groups in Coastal Andhra, they are also invited to the *Adi-Andhra Conference* organizers repeatedly both Madiga and Malas should come together without any difference within these two castes. But the objection of Madiga caste in joining hands with *Adi-Andhras* had not happened, later on Chuttagulla Venkaiah an activist found another organization for Madigas as *Arundhatiya Mahasabha* named after Hindu *Puranas* goddess Arundhathy, with the purpose of Madiga empowerment in 1922 at Pitapuram, for more details see Ramamurthy, Rastra Harijana, P. 18. In the course of time this organization joined with Madras Arundhathiya All India Arundhathiya Mahasabha, interestingly when *Adi-Andhras* and *Ad-Dravidas* presented a memorandum to the Siman Commission these two Madiga organization united. For detailed accounts see Government of India, *Report of Indian Statutory Commission*, Pp. 285-287.

## **The First great Provincial *Adi-Andhra Conference* at Vijayawada, 1917.**

It is interesting to note that the famous Hindu Durga Temple was closedown for three days with in prediction of that the Dalits may forcefully inter in to the Temple on the occasion of *Adi-Andra* Conference. Due to this problem the Brahmin groups planned not to give accommodation in hotels and lodges in the town to the activists and participants who have come from different districts and villages<sup>316</sup>. Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao and Guduru Ramachandra Rao arranged accommodation to the Conference participants. The organizers of the conference and Dalits leaders especially Sundru Venkaiah realized the importance of the *Mahasabha* formation is good initiation for the Adi-Andhras for the education and empowerment of the community from the backwardness and upliftment of the community. In the conference in his opening remarks of the conference expressed that Adi-Andhras are true 'sons of the soil'.<sup>317</sup> Bhagya Reddy Verma in his Presidential Speech is remarkable on the historical accounts of Adi-Andra Community by rejecting Hindu Literature on the disrespected treated towards Dalits. Dalits are referred with degraded names such as *Chandala* and *Asprusya*. Bhagya Reddy Verma roared like a tiger by referring their ancestors as strong personalities but Aryan Brahmin Hindu literature projected them as their enemies.

The personalities like 'Valmiki, Vasishta, Kapila, Mathanga, Vyasa, Parashura, Shaka, Vali, Sugriva, Anjaneya, Guha, Shabari, Sathadevi, Arundhati, Jara Maya, Ghotthkacha, Nanda, Diwakara, Chokamela and Lohidasa' are great leaders of the community. Moreover, Bhagya Reddy Verma claimed that the aboriginals of the country and were living a prosperous life until Aryan-Brahmins corrupted the society.<sup>318</sup> Verma has also spoke on the miserable lives of social stigma of untouchability, poverty, lack of education are the weakness of the community to overcome. The conference passed the following resolutions: We are the children of *Bharata Varsha* (Land of Bharata, i.e., India), therefore it is the right to have certain responsibilities like any other community living in this land, and we have to give up

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<sup>316</sup> Kaleswara Rao, A. (1959). *Naa Jeevitha katha Navyandhramu.*, p.212

<sup>317</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 6 November, 1917, p.2.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, p.3

antagonistic suffixes in our names (de-meaningful names) such as “*gadu*”, “*ga*” and should use esteemed such as “*dasu*” “*swamy*” “*ayya*”, “*anna*” (self-respectful); the Conference proclaimed that the Conference is called *Adi-Andhra Mahasabha* and should be called as *Adi-Andhras*; the demand is that the government should notify the hamlets after the names of saints and legends, but not of *Malas* or *Madigas* in district gazettters.<sup>319</sup>

The major demands of the Conference on socio-religious, economic, political and educational issues like ‘*Adi-Andhras* should be allowed to utilize public places such as wells, tanks, hostels and lodges, and medical facilities should be provided. The traditional Aryan Brahmin imposition of caste practice of untouchability, poverty educated persons in the community accounts less than 1 percentage as reported in 1911 Census.’<sup>320</sup> According to the needs of the community the Conference proposed the government to enact the ‘Free and Compulsory Primary Education Act’ and to establish as many schools as possible, to provide free education at the school and college levels, to sanction scholarships and to establish hostels for Dalits, to close the government schools and government aided schools that are hindering the admission of *Adi-Andhra* student and also appealed to other communities to co-operate in this regard.

The Conference additionally asked the government to incorporate weaving, leather work and carpentry into the school curriculum and to establish industrial schools. The Conference also requested the government ‘to assign cultivable forest and waste lands and house sites for constructing hygienic and comfortable houses; loans at low-interest rates through co-operative societies.’ Moreover, the Conference requested the government to provide them with ‘representation in legislative bodies, municipalities and district boards’ according to the ratio of *Adi-Andhra* population’. Finally the Conference decided to send a deputation, comprising *Adi-Andhra* leaders such as Bhagya Reddy Verma, Chinta Sheshaiah, and Hindu nationalists such as Gooti

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<sup>319</sup> For more details on the Conference Resolutions that are passed in the First Provincial *Adi-Andhra Mahasabha* see Ibid., Pp. 3-4.

<sup>320</sup> *Census of India*, (1911), p.133.

Keshava Pillai, Bhupatiraju Venkatapati Raju and Unnava Lakshminarayana, to meet the Secretary of State, Montague, for achieving their objectives, especially separate representation for Dalits in legislative bodies.<sup>321</sup>

However, the eradication of untouchability by transforming their caste status, bringing out education, land, jobs and political representation were the essential objectives of the *Adi-Andhra Movement* and it desired to accomplish these by interacting with the state and Brahmin-Hindu nationalists and also by adopting the language of equality and empowerment. It is clear from the *Adi-Andhra* leadership that, they did not appropriate antagonistic methods with the Brahmin-Hindu nationalism, mostly adopted negotiation methods to achieve their proposed objectives in the Conference. It is interesting to note that the similar methods were followed by *Chamars* of United Province and *Adi-Dravidas* of Tamil Nadu, *Adi-Hindus* of Nizam Hyderabad, *Adi-Karnatakas* of Mysore for receiving help from the Arya Samaj and Justice Party respectively.<sup>322</sup> The distinctiveness can be seen in case of *Adi-Andhra* was that Dalits has come together with their ritual enemies of Brahmins.

Still, the experience remnants that the Brahmin-Hindu nationalists supported the formation of *Adi-Andhra Mahasabha* with hidden agenda of stopping the Dalits conversion to Christianity and making avert *Adi-Andhra* join in the Brahmin Hindu *Pathashalas*<sup>323</sup> than Christian schools and colleges. Since the late nineteenth century onwards the *Adi-Andhras* conversion to Christianity increased dramatically from 19,132 in 1871 to 222,150 in 1901.<sup>324</sup> This trend has seen the peril to the very existence to the Hinduism by many Hindu intellectuals. It is this fear made them to work for the Dalits education within the Hindu fold. The social reformers belonging to Hindu nationalism and Congress leaders who had helped *Adi-Andhra* movement

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<sup>321</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1917

<sup>322</sup> For the case of *Adi-Dravidas*, see Basu, *Nandanar's Children*, p.237, for the case of *Chamars*, see Rawat, *Reconsidering Untouchability*, p. 137. For the case of *Adi-Karnatakas* see, *Adi-Hindu National Conference Annual Proceedings*, Deccan Hyderabad, 1922. P.

<sup>323</sup> Nicholson, S. (1926). Social Organization of the Malas-An Outcaste Indian People, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 56, Pp: 91-103.

<sup>324</sup> Odde, G. A, (1975): Christian Conversion in to Telugu Country, 1860-1900: A Case of One Protestant movement in Godawari, Krishna Delta, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XII, p. 63., see also Philips, *Outcast's Hope*, Pp. 34-35.

has also organized a Conference and declared that to work for the education and empowerment of Dalits in April 1916 in Gudivada.<sup>325</sup>

But in a society where the Dalits were treated worse than animals, organizing a Dalit Conference was not an easy task. On the day of the Conference the famous *Kanaka Durga* temple, among the biggest in Vijayawada, was closed down as the temple authorities did not want the temple to be polluted by the *Panchamas* and their supporters. The hotel owners refused to provide lodging to nearly 300 delegates comprising both Dalits and caste-Hindus. Even the management of the Town Hall which had earlier agreed to rent out the hall for the Conference refused to open the doors of the hall for the meet. Eventually they did open the doors following the intervention of Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, an influential Brahmin and Congress leader. Despite all these difficulties, the organizers of the Conference conducted their first meeting on the first day of the meet.<sup>326</sup> Interestingly, the Conference was a big success on account of what was being expressed by the Dalits, and also because the issues rose at the Conference were discussed in mainstream newspapers like *Krishna Patrika* and *The Hindu*.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>325</sup>Panthulu, Ganjaraju, (1916): G. Mommireddy Palli Gangaraju Pantulu Inaugural Speech at First Conference of Emancipation of Depressed Classes, Guduvada, 24-4-1916, Eluru, see also, *Andhra Patrika*, 25 April 1916, Pp. 2-3.

<sup>326</sup>Poornachand, G.V. (2000). *Deenajana Bandhavudu Sree Vemula Kurmaiah* (Vemula Kurmaiah: The saviour of the wretched). Vijayawada: Sree Madhulatha publications.

<sup>327</sup>After the success of the first conference in 1917 annual conferences were held practically every year until the late 1930s. For a detailed account of the First Adi-Andhra Conference, see, Ibid.

**Table 3.1: Adi-Andhra Provincial Conferences: 1917-1938.**

<b>S. L No</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Venue</b>	<b>President of the Conference</b>	<b>President of the Reception Committee</b>
1	5 <sup>th</sup> 6 <sup>th</sup> November 1917	Bezawada (Vijayawada)	Bhagya Reddy Verma	Sundru Venkaiah
2	March 1921	Gudivada	Bhagya Reddy Verma	Sundru Venkaiah
3	28 <sup>th</sup> March 1921	Eluru	Bhagya Reddy Verma	Naralasetti Devendrudu
4	25 <sup>th</sup> October 1921	Guntur	Nutakki Venkateswarlu	Kusuma Venkataramaiah
5	25 <sup>th</sup> May 1924	Gudivada	Rayudu Gangaiah	Naralasetti Devendrudu
6	19 <sup>th</sup> October 1925	Ananthapuram	Bhagya Reddy Verma	Nanjundapp,
7	1926	Venkatagiri	Naralasetti Devendrudu	Kamatam Shanmugam
8	4 <sup>th</sup> August 1928	Guntur	Sundru Venkaiah	Mangalagiri Raghavadasu
9	1928	Narasapur	Bhagya Reddy Verma	Gottimukkala Venkanna
10	6 <sup>th</sup> November 1929	Vijayawada	Mangalagiri Chenchudasu, Prattipati Adinarayana	Vemula Kurmaiah
11	1930	Anantapur	Bhagya Reddy Verma	Naralasetti Devendrudu
	1935	Rajahmundry	Bhagya Reddy Verma	Kusuma Venatramaiah
	1936	Vijayanagaram	Bhagya Reddy Verma	Vemula Kurmayya
	1938	Tallanevu, East	Bhagya Reddy Verma	Devendrudu



		Godawari		
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**Note:** Based on news reports in the *Andhra Patrika*, *Golconda Patrika*, *Dharmasadhini*

The *Adi-Andhra* identity was to extricate themselves from the demeaning labels given to them, i.e., caste-based identities of Dalits, such as Madigas and Malas. Between 1921 and 1931 in the Telugu districts there was a striking variation in the number of Malas and Madigas. Around 14,93,000 Malas in 1921 were reduced to 8,39,000 in the 1931 Census. Similarly, 7,37,000 Madigas in 1921 were reduced to 6,12,000 in 1931. In a way, more than 6,65,000 Malas and Madigas had assumed the *Adi-Andhra* identity.<sup>328</sup>

### **Questioning the practice of Untouchability:**

The *Adi-Andhra* leadership was quite critical of caste oppression and the practice of untouchability. They questioned the caste Hindus for discriminating against them and ridiculed them for worshipping dogs and monkeys but refusing to treat fellow human beings with equality and dignity. Interestingly, but not surprising, the Dalit leadership did not question the Hindu religious philosophy, a religion that laid the foundation for the behavior of caste Hindus and their discrimination against the Dalits and it appears that the Dalit leadership firmly believed, though it was not true, that the Hindu *shastras* did not sanction caste inequalities and the practice of untouchability; those evil acts were born from the minds of evil men and justified in the name of religion, they reasoned.

In fact, the Dalit leaders, drawing from their knowledge of the Hindu *shastras*-knowledge acquired during their training in *ashramas*, challenged the orthodox caste Hindus to show evidence in the *shastras* of the word *panchama* or sanction of the practice of untouchability against them. For instance, the usual justification of the caste Hindus for discriminating against the Dalits is the *karma* theory. Contesting that theory as baseless and illogical, Kusuma Dharmanna questions whether God himself practices such differences in his When we (Dalits) ask who is responsible for our

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<sup>328</sup> *Census of India, 1931*, vol. XIV, Madras Part-I, Report, p. 343.

oppression and troubles you might say I am helpless and it is your *karma* (But) what are the differences between you and us? Oh *Sarveshwara*! Tell me, does god *Eswara* the omnipresent differ on the basis of caste? The foolish people humiliate us as Malas Are the blood and flesh of Malas different from the others? What different kind of flesh and blood do those pure (caste Hindus) have? These illogical beliefs only prove their madness.<sup>329</sup> Jala Rangaswamy, another notable leader of the *Adi-Andhra* movement, follows suit and asks: ‘Did any *shastras* mention *panchama*?’<sup>330</sup> Further, he asks the caste Hindus to explain to him what the Dalits have done to deserve the brutal behaviour of the caste Hindus against them:

### **Internal Reformation known as *Mala Shuddhi***

Most of the Dalit leaders were trained in the *ashrama* schools established by the Brahmin reformers. When these Brahmin reformers joined in to Congress party, the Dalit leaders were also went with their teachers were Gandhian influence is much on the leadership. It was the Dalit leadership in coastal Andhra is in confusion whether they want to remain an independent or join hands with Congress or Communists for social, educational and political benefits. Few of the leadership found that the cultural stigma attached to Dalits as an untouchable community need to *purify* themselves to attain political and social needs of the community in brahminical Hindu led Congress.

The Brahmins identified alcohol consumption, eating meat (particularly beef), animal sacrifice and unhygienic habits like not taking bath, or keeping their house clean, the use of obscene language, smoking and illiteracy as the primary evils infesting Dalits. Thus with acceptance by the caste-Hindu society being their motive, the Dalit leadership made concerted efforts to *reform* fellow Dalits from their *evil* and *sinful* habits. They even produced a great body of literature in the form of poetry, songs, *bhajans*, pamphlets and essays condemning the bad habits and practices and urging the Dalits to renounce sinful habits like beef-eating and animal sacrifice.<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Dharmanna, Kusuma. (1933). *Nalla Dorathanamu* (brown lordism). Rajahmundry, p. 4.

<sup>330</sup> Rangaswamy, Jala. (1930). *Antaranivarrevvaroo?* (Who are the Untouchables). Rajahmundry, p. 2.

<sup>331</sup> Dharmanna, Kusuma. (1930). *Madhyapana Nishedhamu* (Prohibiting Alcohol), Rajahmundry, Saraswati Power Press., ----- (1933). *Harijana Shatakamu*. Rajahmundry, Kusuma Kuteeramu, China Venkaiah, Nakka. (1935). *Makoddi Kallu Sara Keerthanalu* (We do not want toddy and arrack).

It appears that the Dalit leadership seemed so obsessed with internal reforms so as to gain acceptance from the caste-Hindu society that they went to the extent of arguing that renouncing beef would be a precondition for asking for rights and equality with others in the Hindu society. It was this that made Jala Rangaswamy to write on *Mala Shuddi* (Cleanliness of Malas). For Rangaswamy, whose ideas and ideals originally came from the Rajahmundry *ashrams*, not bathing daily, not combing one's hair, smoking and chewing tobacco, eating beef, alcohol and sleeping late into the day were degenerative practices among the Dalits. But he did not understand that he was actually humiliating his own people on account of their habits which were the result of illiteracy and poverty and which in turn were an outcome because of their position in the caste hierarchy. Two other important aspects of the *Adi-Andhra* activism were contesting caste-Hindu nationalism and demanding their share in the emerging political power.

Kusuma Dharmanna was the first Dalit intellectual in the Telugu region to challenge the nationalism of the caste-Hindus. It is important to note here that unlike the other Dalit leaders of that time, Kusuma was not a product of the Ashrams sponsored by Brahmin reformers and he was very sharp in his critique of Brahmanical Hinduism and nationalism. While Garimella Satyanarayana, who was a Brahmin, wrote the song denouncing British rule: *Maakodduee Tella Doratanam* (we do not want white *lordism*), Kusuma wrote a powerful and fascinating song, *Maakoddueenall Doratanam* (we do not want black *Lordism*). He unleashed a strong critique against the caste-Hindu nationalist leaders who advocated independence from the British, but refused the same to the Dalits. To quote him "They (the caste Hindus) fight against the government for independence, but they refuse to give same independence to Malas; they do not allow us into temples and public areas. They even do not allow us to draw water from wells. They say Malas do not have rights. If we do not have rights, how can they have *swarajya* (independence)?"<sup>332</sup> By questioning the hypocritical stand of the caste-Hindus, hypocrisy that is a fall out of the Brahmanical ideas, Kusuma laid the foundation for a Dalit vision of freedom, a freedom that contrasts with the freedom espoused by the Brahmins and other caste-Hindus. For the Dalits,

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<sup>332</sup> Dharmanna, K. (1933). *Makoddee Nalla Dorathanamu* (Brown Lordism), Rajahmundry: Lakshminarayanaamma, p.10. See also Sambaiah, G. (2015). *Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*, London, Routledge, Pp. 120-145.

liberation from Brahmanical subjugation is the precondition for Independence, and equality of all human beings is real freedom.

## **Demanding for Educational Developments:**

The publication of Montague-Chelmsford *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* on 2 July, 1918 stirred a debate all over India. In Madras Presidency, Brahmins and non-Brahmins through the Congress Party and Justice Party, respectively, intensified their mobilizing activities to grab emerging political power from the colonial rulers.<sup>333</sup> Although Dalits in the Tamil speaking areas were actively involved in these activities, just like their counterparts in western and northern India, the Dalits in coastal Andhra were silent about political reforms. It may be that they were under the assumption that their caste-Hindu patrons, who were also the leaders of the Congress Party, would take care of their political needs.

However, on two occasions, they demanded their share of representation both in the administration as well as in political bodies. First, on May 11, 1921 the *Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha* of the Krishna district branch at its district-level convention passed two resolutions: (a) it urged the government not to appoint 'non-*panchamas*' (non-Dalits), particularly the Christians and non-Brahmins, as representatives of the *Adi-Andhras*. For such appointments were not only against the very principle of representation, but against their own interests; (b) In representative bodies, such as the legislative council, taluk boards, and labour boards, representatives were selected with education and property as the criteria for selection. Generally, such criteria proved to be a major stumbling block for the illiterate *Adi-Andhras*. So they urged the government to make a special provision that would allow the entry of the Dalits without any financial burdens into representative bodies.

In the context of the constitutional reforms and expanding representative politics, the resolutions of the Krishna district *Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha*, had some significance. This aspect of excluding the Dalits who had converted to Christianity from joining the representative bodies reflected emerging confrontations between the Dalits that subscribed to the broader Hindu social and religious practices and the Dalits that subscribed to Christianity and its way of life. This, of course, in turn

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<sup>333</sup> Eugene, F.I. (1969). *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism, 1916-1929*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Baker, C. J. 1976. *The Politics of South India, 1920-1937*, Cambridge, CUP, Pp. 1-120.

reflected the *Adi- Andhra* leadership's close ties with the caste-Hindus, who were against Christianity and those Dalits who had converted into that religion. That apart, rejection of the idea of non- Brahmins representing Dalits pointed to a radical assertion by the Dalits that they were capable of representing themselves.

Thus, since its foundation in 1917 until the late 1920's, the Dalits under the *Adi- Andhra Mahajana Sabha* had mobilised for social equality with active support from the reformist Brahmin leaders. Yet, they questioned Brahmanical Hinduism and the educational development of the upper castes and demanded their share in the emerging social and educational development continued in different frameworks. Gaddeda Brahmaiah<sup>334</sup> (1912-1950) activist belongs to Amalapuram Taluk of East Godavari district of Adi-Andhra later active in Scheduled Caste Federation. Brahmaiah was born in a small village called *Inapuram* in 1912. Brhamaiah has lost his parents in his childhood and grown up at his father in law (maternity uncle) Kari Ramaiah. Brahmaiah has begun his schooling at Mummadivaram continued till middle schooling. This school was supported Pitapuram Raja. After completion of primary education he went to Pitapuram Raja's *Adi-Andhra* Residential Hostel in 1926 and completed school final from Pitapuram *Adi-Andhra* School.

Brahmaiah has learned leadership qualities during his schooling at *Adi-Andhra* Residential. Brahmaiah found a student organization with his fellow students to do service for the community. These groups decided to tour the *Petas*<sup>335</sup> during the summer vocation to educate the Dalits towards education. After completion of schooling Brahmaiah has joined as a compounder to become medical professional. Soon after his joining in to medical professional as compounder, could not earn to achieve his desire of doing educational service to the community. Brahmaiah found 'Brahma Dharma Pracharak'<sup>336</sup> to do the educational service to the community. Brahmaiah became *Sishya* (student) to great the then *Adi-Andhra* leader Nakka Venkata Reddy. Brhamaiah worked along with his guru for the establishment of *Adi- Andhra* Night schools in the villages of Amalapuram region.

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<sup>334</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, Neelizenda, January 1-16, 2010, p. 8.

<sup>335</sup> Dalit localities in East Godawari are called Petas.

<sup>336</sup> Pamu Ramamurthy (2010) Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, Neelizenda, January 1-16, 2010, p. 8.

Brhamaiah gained good knowledge on social, political problems of the community through reformation activities by taking education become centrality for unification of the local illiterate community. Thus his continuous work of liberation, motivation and education of village community and representation of the local problems at Amalapuram regional level paved his to emerge as an independent leader. The district registered *Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sangha* of 1935 recognized his services in the villages and appointed him as district general secretary position to extend his services at the district level. Under his leadership *Adi-Andhra Conferences* were organized at District level in general and villages at Kottapalli, Kandikuppam, Uppalaguptam, Ananthavaram, Amalapuram, Inavelli, Sanavelli, Lanka.

The district *Adi-Andhra* president Pamu Rama Murthy had initiated to organized *Pirkha* conferences that were organized under the leadership of Geddada Brahmaiah in Kakinada, Ramchandrapuram, Rajahmundry, Rajolu and gave encouraging speeches to enthuse the local leaders. In the *Pirkha* conferences thousands of *Adi-Andhra* delegates participated, these *Pirkha* conferences provided base for organizing ten thousand *Adi-Andhra* populations for the Provincial *Adi-Andhra Conference* organized at Tallarevu in 1937.<sup>337</sup> In this conference Bhagya Reddy Verma of *Adi-Hindu* leader from Hyderabad acted as chairman. The food for such great gathering was arranged by Brahmaiah with the help of Brahmins.

*Adi-Andhra* district leadership continued with Pamu Ramamurthy and Brahmaiah till 1940, however, the new committee was formed in 1942 under the leadership of Eliwadapalli as president and Brahmaiah as secretary to the *Adi-Andhra Sangham*. Brahmaiah took the editorial responsibilities of *Adi-Andhra Masa Patrika* (monthly paper). Brahmaiah became the government District Board member, later became Advisory for the Labour department, when in 1944 Ambedkar toured the district Brahmaiah gave grand welcome to Ambedkar and explained the social, educational and political development of *Adi-Andhras* under the *Adi-Andhra Sangam*. In the year 1946 elections Brahmaiah contested with Scheduled Caste Federation banner for

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<sup>337</sup> Madari, G. B. (1991). Bhagyodayam, Madari Bhagya Reddy Varma (Life Sketch and Mission of Bhagya Reddy Varma). *Hyderabad: Adi-Hindu Social Service League Trust*.

Amalapuram reserved constituency and lost in the elections. Later in 1948, arranged a conference at Brahmaiahs native place Mummadivaram to establish a residential school for Adi-Andhras with the help of Vemula Kurmaiah of Harijana Madras Province leader.

Bojja Appalaswamy<sup>338</sup> (1912-2005) belongs to Kandikuppa of Amalapuram Taluk to based activist and Adi-Andhra and Scheduled Caste Federation leader. Appalaswamy got educated in Pitapuram Raja's residential *Adi-Andhra* school up to SSLC and then passed Higher Grade Training to establish his own Primary school at Kandikuppa village and acted as head master. Appalaswamy became active member in the District Adi-Andhra Sangam led by Pamu Ramamurthy until the formation of Scheduled Caste Federation in 1942. After that Appalaswamy politically very active and contested in election under Scheduled Caste Federation banner in 1951 and then in 1955 from Amalapuram reserved constituency and own. Moka Veeraiah<sup>339</sup> Yanam based *Adi-Andhra* and Scheduled Caste Federation activist and leader. Veeraiah studied at Neelapalli, Tallarevu Primary schools up to 4<sup>th</sup> standard and for high schooling Veeraiah went to Machipatnam's Veemuri Ramji Pantulu's residential hostel till the completion of 6<sup>th</sup> form. Brahma Samaj appointed Veeraiah as Pracharak (Advocator), Veeraiah could not continue this profession for longer time, Veeraiah settled at Elvinpet, Kakinada and to do social service.

During 1937 Adi-Andhra movement in the region was very popular and many of the youth attracted towards this movement and working for the empowerment of the community through various forms. It was this period all the *Pirkhas*, and Taluk level *Adi-Andhra Conferences* are taking place and many of the youth attracted to this movement, Veeraiah also attracted and became the *Adi-Andhra* district *Sanga* member. Veeraiah along with his friend Nandanar Harichandra attended *Adi-Andhra* Provincial Conference in 1938 at Ramachandrapuram. Veeraiah helped *Adi-Andhra*

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<sup>338</sup> Ramamurthy, P (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, *Neelizenda*, January 16-31, p. 7

<sup>339</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu. (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, *Neelizenda*, February 1-16, p. 12.



people residing in Golavanka village of Kakinada Taluk, which was historical in nature.

In the year 1942 when Ambedkars Scheduled Caste Federation was formed in the district, Veeraiah also became the member and when Ambedkar toured Coastal Andhra in 1944 Veeraiah took the responsibility of heading Kakainada *taluk Swachanda Sevaka Dalamu* (Independent Voluntary Force) for leading the procession, and welcomed grandly Ambedkar to the region. Veeraiah from then onwards followed Ambedkar till 1957. Veeraiah's great contribution for education is that was the establishment of residential hostel known as Gowthami *Adi-Andhra Vasathi Gruhamu* at Gandhinagar, Kakinada in 1948. Veeraiah got government funds to Adi-Andhra residential hostel through Vemula Koormaiah of Andhra Harijan Sangam. In the year 1956 Veeraiah also started another residential hostel for girls, he donated his own lands for the construction of residential accommodation to the girls. Government appointed Veeraiah as Second and First class Magistrate at Kakinada. Veeraiah also served as district secretary to *Nimnajati League* (untouchable League) for some time.

Saka Suryachandraraju<sup>340</sup> belongs to Radhalapeta of Pitapuram an activist in Adi-Andhra movement and then gave support to Congress. During the Adi-Andhra *Pirkha* conferences, organizers passed a resolution giving utmost priority in establishing Adi-Andhra Schools at Taluq and village localities of Dalits living habitations with government funds. The local leaders had mobilized the funds for starting night schools to for Dalits children. Suryachandraraju's family professionally engaged in civil contracting works due that profession, the family had financially well off when it compared to other Dalits in the region.

Suryachandraraju is a leaned man who has got introduced through the *Adi-Andhra* leaders on the social and educational development of Pitapuram Raja and started

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<sup>340</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu. (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, Neelizenda, February 1-15, p. 8.

social service activities under Congress Dalit leadership. Though Suryachandraraju likes congress, he has independent ideas for the educational, social and political development of Dalits. Suryachandraraju joined in to *Krushikar Lok Party* in 1951 and contented in election from Kakinada reserved constituency and lost in the elections. From 1956 onwards Suryachandraraju active in politics based in Peddapuram and heading different social and agrarian activists associations like *Vyavasaya Kooli Sangam*, (Farmers and Workers Association) then *Nimnajati League* (Untouchable League), *Harijana Seva Sangam*.

Beera Meeraiah (1915-1970) <sup>341</sup> is a popular leader with communist ideology from Korangi village of Kakinada. In course of time Meeraiah got attracted to *Adi-Andhra* leaders. Later on joined in to Scheduled Caste Federation, completed primary education and went to Burma for some time and returned back to his native place. By the time *Adi-Andhra* movement in the district was very popular in 1938. Veeraiah attracted towards the great movement and took the responsibility of expanding the *Adi-andhra* movement Kakinada rural villages. Veeraiah worked to solve the disputed within the Mala and Madiga agricultural working groups in the villages, later Veeraiah launched *Vyavasaya Kooli Udyamam* (Agricultural Workers Movement) and became prestigious workers leader. In 1942 Veeraiah attracted towards Ambedkar's Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF) within no time became the District Secretary and energetically toured all over the district for the expansion of Ambedkarism and helped political leaders who has contested under Scheduled Caste Federation in the district. Veeraiah maintained good relations with Congress and Communist Party leaders and continued till his life time in the Scheduled Caste Federation.

Pitta Venkatesu (1920 -1960) <sup>342</sup> hailed from Narasingapuram of Pitapuram Taluk very active leader. After Independence he joined the Congress Party. Venkatesu owns lands *Adi-Andhra* in Pitapuram Rajas Estate. For the welfare of the *Adi-Andhras*,

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<sup>341</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu. (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, Neelizenda, February 16-28, p. 11.

<sup>342</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu. (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, *Neelizenda*, March 16-31, p. 6

Pitapuram Raja has had established primary school at Narasingapuram village where Venkatesu studied up to Primary level. Since Venkatesu has owns property, Pitapuram Raja has handed over the responsibility of maintaining the school in the village. Venkatesu started social service activities by helping the poor *Adi-Andhras* education earned him to be popular among the *Adi-Andhra* leaders in the region. Venkatesu toured the district and used to donate money for *Adi-Andhra* conferences and meetings. Venkatesu contested in 1946 elections with the help of Scheduled Caste Federation and lost in the elections later he became the follower of Kala Venkatarao of Congress in 1951 elections.

Geddamm Mahalakshmi<sup>343</sup> is another prominent leader from Tekiseti Palem of Rajavolu Taluk belongs to Dalits landlord family who had worked as Dalit leader for Congress and Communist parties. From the beginning his family is associated with Congress Party thus became the district board vice president and joint secretary to Kakinada *Harijan Sevak Sangam* residential hostel. Mahalakshmi was not only active in implementing educational policy but also active in organizing workers in the district and established trade unions. There was no Communist Party at that time, those who are working as extremist group in the Congress are organized the workers. In his initial political carrier supported Socialist Party later on he was with Congress only. Mahalakshmi condemned the corruption in the *Harijan Sevak Sangam* residential administration management and was acted as district president for *Nimnajati League* (Untouchable League).

Reddy Kamaiah<sup>344</sup> belongs to *Adi-Andhra* leader and worked extensively for Congress from Tallarevu village of Kakinada Taluk and completed his Higher Elementary schooling up to 8<sup>th</sup> class from Tallarevu village *Adi-Andhra* School. Kamaiah passed Higher Grade training and became teacher. Kamaiah showed interest in organizing *Adi-Andhra* in educating not only the children but also spending time in the village community and educating the elders as well. Due to his works in 1937

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<sup>343</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu. (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, *Neelizenda*, April 1-15, p. 5

<sup>344</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu. (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, *Neelizenda*, April 16-30, p. 5

District *Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha* Conference leaders recognized him as social activist and promoted him Korangi Pirka secretary for *Adi-Andhra Sangam*.

In the year 1948 government appointed him to be the District Labour Advisory Committee member, there were complaints against his appointment as District Labour Advisory Committee members by keeping his board school teacher position alive. Kamaiah resigned his teaching position and continued in social activism and started *Harijana Vasathi Gruhamu* (Residential Welfare) at Tallarevu in 1948 with the help of Vemula Koormaiah of Madras Harijana Congress Minister. In 1951 general election Kamaiah gave support to Congress, there was discrepancy between the Scheduled Caste Federation leaders and Kamaiah and his support to Congress. Kamaiah nominated as Andhra Pradesh Legislative Members from Tallarevu reserved constituency in 1955 and continued till 1962.

Penumala Gopalakrishna<sup>345</sup> is another Scheduled Caste Federation activist from Avidi Village of Kottapeta Taluk who had worked for Congress and completed Primary education from his own village. Further education went to Pitapuram Raja's Adi-Andhra Residential School for high schooling and passed SSLC in 1934. Further he continued his college studies at Pitapuram Raja's College and graduated, while Gopalakrishna studying in the college inspired the Adi-Andhra leaders like Pamu Rama Murthy, Kusuma Dharmanna, Bhagya Reddy Verma and Eliwadapalli. Gopalakrishna became the first Andhra untouchable lawyer and started practice at Amalapuram. In 1942, Gopalakrishna joined in to Ambedkar's Scheduled Caste Federation and took the district responsibility. Due to his sincere efforts Rajolu, Kottapeta, Amalapuram taluks strengthened with strong Scheduled Caste Federation. Congress try to capture Gopalakrishna through Kala Venkataram of Congress proposed him to offer Parliament seat.

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<sup>345</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu. (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, *Neelizenda*, April 16-30, p. 5

Gonthi Mark<sup>346</sup> dedicated his life for *Adi-Andhra* movement belongs to Peddapuram Taluk and worked extensively in solving the problems of *Adi-Andhra* agricultural workers in the Taluk. When Kammas and Land lords in Kirlampudi, Ramakrishnapuram villages socially boycotted Dalits and not allowed to work in the fields, Mark went to the village and met the Dalits agricultural labourers families and organized a meeting at the village main center and spoke against the landlords. Mark also initiated in filing the police cases against the landlords. Mark's support to the agricultural labourers gave boost in getting back the compensation from landlords. It was his contribution that many of the working class Dalits sent their children to the *Adi-Andhra* Schools.

Medidhi Narayanamurthy<sup>347</sup> started his activism with *Adi-Andhra* movement leaders and then joined in to Scheduled Caste Federation ended up with Congress party. Narayanamurthy was born in to farmer family and took interest in *Adi-Andhra* social service activity from childhood onwards with the blessings of the founders of *Andhra Adi-Andhra Sangam* in 1939 leaders like Kusuma Dharmanna, Pamu Ramamurthy, Eliwadapalli, Pachipala Ramaswamy, Prathipati Lakshmaiah, Nakka Chinna Venkaiah. In the capacity of State, District level Narayanamurthy took charges in to *Adi-Andhra Sangham*. As part of second world in 1942-43 British government announced to appointed Dalits as honorary voluntary speakers in each taluk. Narayanamurthy elected to the position of Honorary Volunteer Speaker. In this capacity toured villages where Narayanamurthy spoke extensively on untouchability, social evils, and educational opportunities for Dalits. In 1944, when Ambedkar toured *Andhra Pradesh*, Narayanamurthy under the leadership of Nandanar Harichandrudu from Rajahmundry to Visakhapatnam acted as volunteer and got attracted towards Ambedkar's Scheduled Caste Federation from 1946 to 1948 and later joined in to Congress. On 18<sup>th</sup> June 1948, Narayanamurthy found *Harijana Vidyarthi Vasathigruham* (Student Residential Welfare) at Tuni.

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<sup>346</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu. (2010). *Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, Neelizenda*, May 16-31, p. 5

<sup>347</sup> Ramamurthy, Pamu. (2010). *Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, Neelizenda*, June 1-15, p. 5

Pamula Prakasa Rao (1907-1972)<sup>348</sup> started his work with Communists then went to Justice Party. Found interest in Scheduled Caste Federation and became the follower of Ambedkar. Prakasarao belongs to Kadali village of Rajolu taluk. The early days of his childhood attracted towards Communist ideology. Prakasa Rao father owns 6 acres of *Magani* (cultivable agricultural wet land) due to this he could able to study Primary schooling from his own village, Higher Elementary schooling from Nagaram and S.S.L.C from Rajolu taluk. During his school days Dalits were attracted towards Communist ideology, later on *Adi-Andhra* movement developed consciousness among the Mala, Madiga community.

Prakasa Rao elected as Kadali Panchayat President for 15 years unanimously, during his office has taken up land and educational development of the Dalit communities in the village. Prakasa Rao has established good relations with Ambedkar since 1925 onwards along with his brother in law Nandanar Harichandrudu, Bojja Appalaswamy, Neethipudi Ganapathi Rao, Ravuri Ekambaram, Tarapatla Venkata Reddy. The early leadership before Ambedkar's Round Table Conference was in Communist networks. It is Prakasa Rao through his popular folk forms of Burra Katha, Bhajana, Hari Katha spread the Ambedkar's Scheduled Caste Federation in to villages. When Ambedkar become minister for law, a delegation went to Delhi with the financial assistance of Oguri Veeraiah met Ambedkar personally to wish him all the best.

Kandikatla Nagabhushanam (1918-1950)<sup>349</sup> born and brought up in Communist ideology and worked extensively for the Dalits development. It was his intervention in establishing school at Sakinetipalli, Rajolu and proposed alternative modes of education to the teachers and students. To sum up, this chapter has highlighted the role of Dalits intelligentsia in establishing schools for Dalits under three different paradigms popularly *Adi-Andhra* and Scheduled Caste Federation leadership and leadership under Congress led Brahmins and Caste-Hindus and finally Dalits

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<sup>348</sup> Narayanamurthy, Manda. (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, *Neelizenda*, October 1-16, p. 3.

<sup>349</sup> Narayanamurthy, Manda. (2010). Rastra Tolitaram Dalita Udyama Nayakulu, *Neelizenda*, October 16-31, p. 3.

leadership with Communist ideology played crucial role in establishing schools for Dalits at their capacity.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DALIT SCHOOLING IN NIZAMS HYDERABAD STATE**

The roots of schooling systems and education in Deccan Nizam Hyderabad state during 1906-1956 is an interesting case to study within the powerful despotic Nizam state and the untouchable Dalits. How the Dalits intelligentsia negotiated the educational developments with the state and social networking systems is being focused in this chapter. The erstwhile Hyderabad State comprises of Marathi speaking, Kannada and Telugu speaking people respectively. In this erstwhile Nizam Hyderabad State only that the Telugu speaking people initiated mass movement called Adi-Andhra Movement.

However, the areas constituting the present Hyderabad district formed, at one time or another, part of republic kingdoms of Satavahanas, Ikshwakas, Vishtukundians, Vakarakas, Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, Rastrakutas, Chalukyas of Kalyani,

Kanduruchodues, Kakatiyas, Delhi Sultanates, Musuniri Cheifs, Racharla Padmanayakas, Badami Sultanates, Kutubshahis, Royal Representatives of Mughals, Asif Jhahis' are prominent and it can be said that the rules of these dynasties, had the great passion for the tradition of learning. The gradual disappearing of these kingdoms has also witnessed gradual disappearing of the patronage that they extended to the learning. The situation of Dalit's in the historical phase has been changed according to the transcending political shifts of the rules and dynasties but their identity and emergence can be seen all through these traditions in various historical factors and legacies<sup>350</sup>.

There were several historical sources that have found in its social base in Buddhism in ancient Deccan society largely from the merchants, artisans and the untouchable Dalits who took the Buddhism as their own religion.<sup>351</sup> History reveals that the Andhra become absolute rule under four Royal dynasties that expanded their rule basing on these regions, Satavahanas from Kotilingala area of Karimnagar, Vishtupuras from Indrapuri of Nalgonda district, Kakatiyas from Orugallu, Kutubshahi's from Golconda.

There were numerous copper and rock inscriptions found at Nalgonda, Mehaboobnagar, and Karimnagar explaining the social life of the people who lived before the Muslim invasions to South India in general and Deccan in Particular.<sup>352</sup> There were evidences that the language and people can be associated closely with social life. It is clear indication that the language of Pakrit mentioned second rational reasoning prompts to think that many of non-Brahminis and Dalits attracted towards Buddhism. Government Archives department travelled all the districts and collected

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<sup>350</sup> Shastri, B. N. (1994). *Telangana Sashanalu Konnivisheshalu* (Telangana Inscriptions-Some Features) in *Andhra Saraswata Parishad's Golden Jubilee Issue*, also *Gazetteer of Hyderabad District, Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh Publication*, Richard, M. Eaton. (2005). *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300-1761*, Eight Indian Lives, Cambridge University Press, Ratnam, K. Y. (1997). *The Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh: A Study on Consciousness and Identity*, An Unpublished Ph.D thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi. p. 25.

<sup>351</sup> Richard, M. E. Eaton. (2005). *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300-1761*, Eight Indian Lives, Cambridge University Press,

<sup>352</sup> Shastri, B. N. (1994). *Telangana Sashanalu-Konnivisheshalu* (Telangana Inscriptions-Some Features) in *Andhra Saraswata Parishad's Golden Jubilee Issue*, also *Gazetteer of Hyderabad District, Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh Publication*, Pp. 29-38.



hundreds of rock and coppers edicts and found in Sanscrita Andhra, Prakrit, Sanskrit Andhra, Kannada, Urdu, Arabic, Parsees as popular languages that were spoken by the general people.<sup>353</sup>

The present Hyderabad city comprises numerous Iranian populations ever since founding of the city in 1591. It was said that the Mughal dynasty consists Iranians and Turanians as their chief army people. Due to internal conflicts in the army Iranians send to Deccan as Nizam Ul Mulk (Prime Minister) later they declared as Asif Jhahis. Their population is still visible in the city popularly known as Durbar- e- Hussini near Purani Haveli for prayers and religious activities<sup>354</sup>. When it comes to Dalits of the region is that the most of them come to Hyderabad city as workers from Adilabad, Warangal, Mehaboobnagar and Nalgonda as ‘Manyapollu’<sup>355</sup>. Most of them migrated to Golconda subedhar in search of construction labour works and other menial works in the growing cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad. Eventually their habitation localities became Bastis of the current Urabn localities.

The *Adi-Hindu* schools over the first two decades after independence grew at a slack pace in Hyderabad. Given below is a table showing the spread of schools according to the community population for specific Bastis as per language, caste groups enlisted in 1931 census.

**Table 3.1I: Dalits and Allied Caste Groups**

Sl No	Caste	Male	Female	Persons
1	Adi Hindu (Minor Castes Unclassified)	60822	54777	115599
2	Dasari	1693	1527	3220
3	Dher (Mala, Mahar) (A.H)	552632	523907	1076539
4	Mali	51611	50997	102608

<sup>353</sup>Ibid, p.29.

<sup>354</sup>Interview with Ghanumala Gnaneswar and Gnana Prakash Organic Intellectuals and Social Activists of the Hyderabad city, 10<sup>th</sup> September, 2015.

<sup>355</sup>Note: also called present day Malas, they are basically forest agricultural labourer tribes from Adilabad, Mehaboobnagar, Nalgonda and Waranga regions. See also Bhangya Bhukya (2014): Ambedkar and Ambedkarism in Hyderabad State, Hyderabad, Booklet of Ambedkar Memorial Lecture Series- 29, 6<sup>th</sup> December, p.8.

5	Maratha	731082	740476	1491558
6	Marwari	34572	27739	62311
6	Madigu (mochi, Mang, Chambhar)	639197	641895	1281092
7	Total Dalit Castes	2071609	2041318	4132927
	Total Population (All Castes)	7370010	1066138	14436148

Source: Census Reports Nizam Hyderabad State, 1931

It appears that a seemingly cohesive *Adi-Andhra*, community was inaugurated only in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is administered that the growth of *Adi-Andhra* Telugu language and schools suffered due to the special and administrative segregation of the Telugu speaking community. Reflecting on the gradual that came in the way of establishing regional Dalit consciousness, the nationalist historian Madapati Hanumantharao writes:

**Table.3.2: Education among Dalits in Hyderabad Region**

Number of schools	Year	Number students in the schools	Government aid in sanctioned
21	1923	4,994	7,890
40	1928	4,994	5,148
44	1932	6,623	5,622
57	1933	8,642	7,572
66	1938	10,612	8,880
199	1944-46	20,429	2,50,000
188	1946-47	-	1,00,00,000

Sources: School Records of Adi-Andhra Social Service League

As early as 1829, Nawab Fakhru'd-Din-Khan (Shams-ul-Umra II) had established a school known as Madrasa-e-Fakhria in his palace<sup>356</sup>. Theology, Astronomy, Mathematics and Physics were taught in this school. The process of establishing schools was initiated during second half of nineteenth century under the Prime Ministership of Salar Jung I. Initially he has ordered to open oriental learning, then five schools for general public in different parts of Hyderabad in 1853-54.

<sup>356</sup> M.V.S. Prasada Raju (1980): The Gazetteer of the District of Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh district gazetteers, Government of India publication division, Hyderabad

Subsequently, there were wide spread demand for such the establishment of schools in the districts as well. Then in 1859 A.D, orders were issued to the effect that two schools, one Persian and one vernacular, should be established in each taluk and one (either Persian or varnacular) at the headquarters of each district. After this, one Primary school was established at Medchal in this district in A.D 1860. Urdu was declared the official language in place of Persian and put in to force from the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 1884. Public instruction became a major department by about this time.

Bhagya Reddy Verma of Isamia Bazer found an organization called ‘Jagan Mitra Mandali’ in the year 1906. Perhaps this must be the first Dalit organization in Hyderabad and Andhradesa. Through this, he has organized illiterate mass in the popular folk form called Harikatha performances and Bhajanas. He came to know about the vernacular school system at each Taluq of the district headquarters. He started working towards *Pyal Schools*<sup>357</sup> for Dalits. Initially he has found night schools later converted to Pyal schools for Adi-Hindus. According to sources the most prominent Dalit leadership emerged due to working relations with Iranians of Purana Haveli<sup>358</sup>. The daily life of these people starts with Dalits- a milk maid, a lace-maker, artisanal skills motivated Dalits towards self-respect and dignity of their own community.<sup>359</sup> This is how the city of Hyderabad grown up with mixed population along with Nizam rule. The indictment points to the very different histories of biographical writing in the popular and the academic world. In the popular culture, fascination with life-narratives has never diminished. Karl Marx gestured a virtual death sentence for the academic writing of biography. In 1859 he declared “it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary it is their social existence that determines their consciousness”.<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> Note: Payal is a kind of bench or platform about three feet high and three feet broad, which is built against the wall of most houses in South India and has in front a raised pavement or “*Koradu*” means ‘Kurai-adi’ Kurai is the edge if the roof and ‘adi’ means under that. It is the ‘Pancha’ or ‘Chooru’ as it is called some parts of Telugu speaking regions. It is like open Varanda of the house. This ‘Koradu’ or ‘Arugu’ was used for Pyal Schools as the house owners controlled these schools.

<sup>358</sup> Interview with Gnaneswar

<sup>359</sup> Jitendrababu, Kurra (2005). *Nizam Rastrandhra Mahasabhalu*, Hyderabad, Telangana Jagruthi Press, pp. 23-27

<sup>360</sup> Karl Marx (1885, repr. 1918): *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Chicago, Pp. 11-12.

The prominence of Dalits as an untouchable community in Nizam State can be traced in to two main groups based on their language as Marathi and Telugu people of Deccan. Caste system in Deccan could be seen through the social relations based on the ecology, language, religion, modes of production and the political system<sup>361</sup>. One of the prime sources for tracing the social history of the Deccan could be the geopolitics of Telangana in the medieval India and the evidence of the social relations of the lived people. Each region in India dominated by one or two particular castes, not necessarily a Brahmin caste, and the subaltern castes used to adopt different strategies to deal with them.<sup>362</sup>

Majority of Mahars and Mangs of Maharashtra and Madigas and Malas of Andhradesa were subordinated to Peshwars, Raus and Bahaduers of Maharashtra, Reddy Velamas of Andhradesa. Marginalized communities of Deccan acted as subordinator to Velamas of North Narmada River who were in search of their settlements in the Deccan as not only untouchables but also Vetti (free-labour) Bhagela/Jeetham (forced Labour) Jogini (temple girl). Social self-consciousness of these communities in the late nineteenth century erupted several autonomous independent movements in Deccan in general and Hyderabad in particular on par with non-Dalit's agitations against the Nizam State.

In medieval Deccan Hyderabad social disparities among the Muslims can be classified into three categories. First category occupied high positions among the Muslims are Ashrafs comprises Syeds, Shares, Patans, Mughals, Malliks and Mirzas. Second position comprises working groups or agrarian sector are Vilaaf again subdivided into four categories, firstly Firachi, Dakoram, Secondly, Dharji, Jilana, Fhakeer, and Rusiz, thirdly, Darhi, Bariyan, Bik, Churihaar, Dhaai, Taana, Duniya, Gaddhi, Kilkaar, Kasaikula, Kunjoor, Lahari, Mahiparosh, Malla, and Naaliya Nikari,

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<sup>361</sup> Susan Bailey (1999). *Caste, Society and Politics in India: From Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.29.

<sup>362</sup> Aloysius, G. (1997). *Nationalism without a Nation in India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, Pp. 55-78.

and fourthly Abdul, Baako, Beriya, Dhar, Champa, Dhobi, Hazzan, Naagarzi, Vaab and Tutivaa.

The third category known as declined community among Muslims are Aazal covers Bhanaro, Halakhore, Hizri, Kansi, Lalsgi, Mauthga, Mahataak. About all there is despicable community among Muslims are Kaalu or Ethaar were not allowed to Musjid or Mosque they could not even use the burial grounds used by common Muslims.<sup>363</sup> The possibility of social integration of Dalits with Muslims of Deccan has seen through the caste associations, and other social and economic development working relations with the Muslim community of the second and third category particularly and Dalits being service oriented labour community to the first category of the Muslim community.

It was this period that the powerful anti-caste, anti-Brahmin movements of the Deccan came into force with the entry of the Asif Jhahis or Iran. The Deccan region relatively understudied area, partly because it has no enduring political or cultural centers. One finds periodic study of the imperial rule from capital cities like Kalyana under Chalukyas, Bidar under Brahmins or Vijayanagara under its first three dynasties. The dry and undifferentiated upland plateau never possessed a single, perennial political core; no lasting hub of imperial rule finds its dynamism from North or Kaveri delta. Indeed this need interesting to reason that the Dalits who admired Buddhism and attacked by the caste Hindus finds a hiding place before the invention of Asif Jhahis. North Indian popularity conceive Deccan as lying vaguely to the south of the Indo-Gangetic Plain, while the Tamils and Malayalis just as vaguely collage it to the north of their native regions. Political geographers have given precise and sounding definitions by using indices like rainfall, vegetarian, soil type and the like, or by citing prominent natural features such as the Narmada River or the Sahyadri Mounrains (i. e., Westren Ghats).<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> Shankar, G. (2008). Kula Nirmulana (Annihilation of Caste) in *Neelizenda*, fortnight, February 16-19. P.4.

<sup>364</sup> On the problem of defining the geographical boundaries of the Deccan, see S. M. Alam (1975). 'The Historic Deccan- A Geographical Appraisal', in *Aspects of Deccan History*, (edt.), V. K. Bawa, P. 16-31

Muhammad Qasim Firishta (d.1611) popular chronicles explains the importance of the region through his mapping in vernacular language, using for this purpose the metaphor of kinship. One of four sons of India (“Hind”),<sup>365</sup> he further wrote was that the “Dakan” who in turn has three sons: “Marat, Kanhar and Tiling”- that is the areas native to speakers of Marati, Kannada and Telugu. “Presently, there three communities (qaum) reside in the Deccan”<sup>366</sup>. It is here that the indication of the region occupied by three dominant linguistically defined states of Maharashtra, Kannada and Andhra Pradesh (now bifurcated into Telangana and Andhra Pradesh) but still remained the question to learn the social history, due to lacking an enduring geo-political center.

### ***Dalit Education: The influence of North and South***

This section is divided into three main sub-sections. The first one deals with the North Indian Vedic and Sanskrit influence on Telugu country. Secondly, South Indian Indo-Oriental Schools and Anglo-Indian model schools. Thirdly, Native *Adi* folklore along with Caste Hindu Reform model of education.

The concept of education as used here is limited to Ambedkar’s idea of ‘Education, Organize, and Agitate’. This focus creates intellectual problems of considerable magnitude. Despite these limitations there are certain aspects of formal educational system that facilitate focused enquiry into the ways in which they affect, and are in turn affected by other structures and processes in society. In modern societies educational systems tend to be rather clearly differentiated from other social elements,

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<sup>365</sup> On the problem of Varna and Jati or Community as it was mentioned in the Muhammad Qasim Firishta’s division of India as four sons on the basis of language. For more details see S. J Tamiah (1973). *From Varna to Caste through Mixed Unions*, in J. Goody (ed.), *Character of Kinship*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 207., Risley, H. (1915). *The People of India*, (tr.) W. Crooke, Delhi, P.82-83, mentions seven types of ‘castes’ they are; 1. Tribal Castes, 2. Foundational Castes, 3. Sectarian Castes, 4. Castes formed by crossing. 5. National Castes, 6. Caste formed by migration, and 7. Castes formed by change of customs.

<sup>366</sup> *Dakan Bin Hind-ra sih pisar ba vujud amada, Mulk-i-Dakan-ra ba ishan qismat numud. Vasim-I anha Mahat Va Kanhar Va Tiling bud. Va Aknun ki sih qaum dar Dakan manjud- and. Muhammad Qasim Firishta, Tarkikh-I- Firisht (1864-65), Vol.2, Locknow, p.10.*

and there is a strong strain within an educational system toward the maximization of its autonomy within the society of which it is a part. Furthermore, these systems engage the lives of large numbers of persons during the formative and impressionable years, in a singularly concentrated way, and for a prolonged period. The caste system survived for centuries because the religious leaders transmitted the Hindu scriptures to the common people attributing the caste system to divine ordinance.<sup>367</sup> Just as multiple causality and the interrelations of social processes render difficult the abstraction and analysis of “education” as a variable, so do Casteist, teleological bias, and the absence of a single objective measuring rod complicate the conceptualization of “Education and Empowerment.”

In the context of an emerging democratic polity and the ideal of an egalitarian social order, the constitution makers were actually conscious of the hierarchical nature of Indian society, the cumulative disadvantages suffered by certain sections of society and the collective nature of the social affiliations. The colonial discourse on education has its roots in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Phule, Ambedkar saw English education as a means of intellectual liberation from the tentacles of Brahmanical ideology. The policy of positive discrimination in favor of the lower strata is based on the concept of equal opportunity. In the Indian context, ‘equal opportunity’ is usually assumed to be an absolute and reliable expression of the state’s commitment to equality. The policy of positive discrimination as a strategy for social change carries a specific expression of the liberal ideology. However, this ideology emphasizes social change in a piecemeal fashion, within the existing framework of social institutions, and prescribes non-violent, constitutional, legal and administrative solutions.<sup>368</sup>

Ambedkar saw the Indian caste system as a serious obstacle in the path of democracy, equality and justice. The Caste system is an especially Indian expression of institutionalized inequality and indignity, with elevation for some and degradation for others and untouchability is a curse of the caste structure. The abolition of

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<sup>367</sup> Lourduwamy, S. (2005) *Towards Empowerment of Dalit Christians: Equal rights to all Dalits*, Centre for Dalit/ Subaltern Studies, New Delhi, P. 15

<sup>368</sup> Kumar, K. (2005). *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*. Sage Publications India, Pp. 1-223.

untouchability was a key Constitutional provision for securing human dignity for Dalits and a significant step towards equality and social justice. It confronted the colonial education system as an agency of cultural domination. Out of this confrontation arose the urge to define India's educational needs from within India's own cultural range. India is a multi-linguistic country, where there has been a peculiar kind of competition between regional languages and English as the medium of instruction in the educational system, especially at the stage of higher education<sup>369</sup>. Language and education become the means to evolve a Hindu identity in which the rejection of English in the education. Unlike the struggle for the equality in opportunities for education, the quest for self-identity involved an interest in pedagogy.

Having suffered exploitation and atrocities, the Dalits have become conscious of their rights and have started to assert themselves through the system of education. Education in India unravels both the contradictory processes that took place during the colonial period. During the early phase, modern education was the exclusive concern of the dominant castes reinforcing their traditional identity. During the later parts, education acted as a catalyst to a gradual change. This was recognized as potential force liberation especially by the nascent Dalit intelligentsia and the lower castes.

The education during the period under study can be viewed through two regional dimensions. The communities lived in the region and their socio-cultural identities are reflected through their educational institutional frameworks. These communities are divided in to two main categories of knowledge, teaching promotion before it took up its institutional formation. The first set of communities lived in Nizam Hyderabad State are arrived from North India and settle down in Hyderabad are Brahmin, Kshatriyas, Iranians, Kayastas, Khatries of feudatory castes along with working and

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<sup>369</sup> In India, there are 18 officially recognized languages. But the Dominance, enjoyed by English during the British rule, continuous to exist. Hindi, spoken by the largest number of people (nearly 50 per cent of the population) is the national language. But English is widely used commercial, official and legal medium. The educational policy in India laid down three language formula, according to which a child is expected to learn three languages- the regional language. But in very few states of the country is the three-language formula really implemented.



agrarian communities of Marwadies, Parses, Mahar, Mathang, Mangs of servicing communities. The second sets of communities are from South India in origin who have migrated and settled in Hyderabad from different periods of Qutub Shahi and Asaf Jhahi rule are Tamilian Mudaliars, Pariahs.<sup>370</sup>

The Christian Missionaries also played an important role in bringing about a social change in the state of the Dalits in Deccan Hyderabad. In the year 1800 was an agreement between the Nizam of Hyderabad and British Raj on the maintenance of army of British raj in Nizam Hyderabad domain; that became heavy burden on the Nizam by 1851.<sup>371</sup> The Christian missionaries' active only during the nineteenth century. The schooling system before Missionaries arrival to the Deccan Hyderabad were ordinary village schools, where the teaching occurs in simple reading, writing in Sanskrit and *Pali* language with elementary Arthmatics were thought in the schools. The teacher is generally paid in kind, the income of the teacher varying according to the size and importance of the village; these schools are normally located in Brahmin Agraharas.<sup>372</sup>

The first English public school at Hyderabad city was open by St. John's Church in 1834 by a clergyman of the Church of England for both boys and girls, followed shortly after this another school is opened by Roman Catholics by name St. Francis Girls school in 1850. Before that Madrasa-e-Fakhria was established by Nawab Fakhru'd-Din-Khan (Shams-Ul-Umara II) in the year 1829, where theology, astrology, mathematics and physics were taught in this school.<sup>373</sup> There were Christian schools popularly known as protestant Orphanage and Bridge school (mixed institutions) in 1859 and the St. Ann's Convent school in 1971, all these schools were

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<sup>370</sup> Prasad, D. (1986). *Social and Cultural Geography of Hyderabad City: A Historical Perspective*, Hyderabad, Inter-India Publication, p. 64-91.

<sup>371</sup> Note: The letter wrote by Dalhousi to the Nizam on 6<sup>th</sup> June 1851 could give details of the social condition of Nizam state that many of Arabs are in the army and they are creating problem to the local people. Instead of Arab army you have to welcome the British army under your reign. See for more Jothendrababu, p.25.

<sup>372</sup> Interview with Saraswati, Adi-Hindu Girls High School, Bhagya Reddy Verma Memorial School, Isamia Bazar, Chadharghat, Hyderabad on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2010.

<sup>373</sup> Imperial Gazetteer of India (1909): *Provincial Series, Hyderabad State*, Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, Pp. 73-75.

comes under Secundrabad region. In the beginning the education was meant for the education of the European and the Eurasian children and later dominant peasant castes began taking advantage of educational opportunities offered by both Nizam and Christian Missionaries.

School system in South India was popularly known as *Pathashaala* or *Payal Schools*<sup>374</sup> are concentrated mostly at Brahmin Agraharas. At the first attempt deals with Coastal Andhra Pradesh and *Adi-Andhra* Movement in search for a theoretical foundation upon which to understand the historical backdrop of Dalits education. Within the parameters of this task, the notion of Dalits education has two-fold meaning. First, Dalit education refers to the legacy of methodological work developed by certain members of what we can be loosely described as “*Anti-Castes Movement*”. It suggests that the Dalit education was never a fully articulated social philosophy shared unproblematically by all members of the *Anti-Castes Movement*. But it must be stressed that while one cannot point to a single universally shared Dalit education in the form of numerous caste associations and cultural organizations, one can point to the common attempts to assess the newly emerging forms of capitalism along with the changing forms of caste domination that accompanied them. Similarly, there was an attempt on the part of all the members of the *Anti-Castes Movement* to rethink and radically reconstruct the meaning of human emancipation in general and Dalit Empowerment in particular, a project that differed considerably from the theoretical baggage of orthodox Hinduism.

Specifically, this work is on the importance of original Dalit education and the insights it provides for developing a Dalit foundation for an empowerment of radical school as a social structure. In doing so, the researcher intended to focus as starting backdrop of the works of Jyothibha Phule and Ambedkar. This seems to be an important concern, especially since so much of the work in the *Anti-Castes Movement* is being used by scholars focuses almost exclusively on the work of social reformation but not much on Dalit caste associations through education. Second, the

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<sup>374</sup> Mangamma J., (1973). ‘The Rate Schools of Godavari’, *A.P State Archives Monograph*, Hyderabad, Pp. 5-10.

concept of Dalit education refers to the nature of self-consciousness critique and to develop a discourse of social transformation and empowerment through caste associations that does not cling dogmatically to its own doctrinal assumptions. In other words, Dalits education refers to its own both a “school of thought” and a process of analysis. It points to a body of thought that is, in researchers view, invaluable for educational development; it also exemplifies a body of work that both demonstrates and simultaneously calls for the necessity of ongoing analysis, one in which the claims of any method must be confronted with the distinction between the world it examines and portrays, and the world as it actually exists.

The *Anti-Castes Movement* took as one of its central values a commitment to penetrate the world of objective appearances to expose the underlying social relationships they often conceal. In other words, penetrating such appearances meant exposing through critical analysis social relationships that took on the status of things or objects. For instance, by examining notions such as money, consumption, distribution, and production, it becomes clear that none of these represents an objective thing or fact, but rather all are historically contingent contexts mediated by relationships of caste domination and subordination.

In appropriating perspectives of *Anti-Castes Movements* not only broke with forms of rationality that wedded science and technology into new forms of domination, it also rejected all forms of rationality that subordinated human consciousness and action to the imperatives of universal laws. Whether it is the legacy of Gurukula or payal schools in addition to Madrasa, Technical and secular education were conspicuously absent. The major defects of the traditional education system were the absence of proper standards of teaching, extreme narrowness of the subjects taught and unable to create scientific and critical thinking and the spirit of enquiry among the students. Education was confined to the upper castes.<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> Vaikuntham, Y. (2004). *Studies in Socio-Cultural and Political History: Modern Andhra*, Karshak Art Printers, Hyderabad, p. 3.

The legacy of Hindu intellectual thought through Indian nationalism or the theoretical edifice on education developed by Gandhi's establishment of *Harijan Sevak Sanghs* in support of the Hindu reformation project across the country in his 'Harijan' tours in 1930s. In so doing it articulated a notion of negativity or critique that opposed all methodologies that celebrated social harmony while leaving unproblematic the basic assumptions of the wider society. In more specific terms, the *Adi-Andhra* School stressed the importance of analytical thinking by arguing that it is a constructive feature of the struggle for self-emancipation and social change. Moreover, its members argued that it was in the contradictions of society that one could begin to develop forms of social inquiry that analyzed the distinction between *what is* and *what should be*, finally, it strongly supported the assumption that the basis for thought and action should be grounded, as Bhagayreddy Verma argued in his annual meetings of *Adi\_Hindu Conferences*.

In general terms, the *Anti-Castes Movement* provided a number of valuable insights for studying the relationships between theory and society. Its members developed a dialectical framework by which to understand the mediations that link the institutions and activities of everyday life with the logic and commanding forces that shape the larger social totality. The characteristic nature of the form of social inquiry that emerged from such a framework was articulated by Ambedkar, questioning of traditional Hindu social structures by raising "there will be outcastes as long as there are castes", challenge to unscientific and irrational religious belief, social inequalities, untouchability, become an emerging paradigm of Dalit assertion in the reconstruction social relationships in modern India. In the same line of thought Gail Omvedt's question of "secularism or religious pluralism, in India, has been a struggle and an achievement not something that has sprung automatically from the basic values of the dominant religious and caste-class establishments".<sup>376</sup>

The issues raised here by Ambedkar have not lost their importance with time; they still represent both a critique and a challenge to many of the theoretical currents that presently characterize theories of social education. Educational theory should operate

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<sup>376</sup> Gail Omvedt (2003): "Pseudo-Secularism", I and II., *The Hindu*, Popular English Daily News Paper, 20-01-2003, 21-01.2003.

in the interest of law like propositions which are empirically testable. A major assumption here is that theory should contribute to the mastery and control of the environment through a set of deductively derived operations aimed at discovering the regularities that exist among isolated variables under study. In this case, theory becomes enshrined in the logic of the formula, and observation and technique become starting points for theoretical practice.<sup>377</sup>

The common assumption on the role of education is now in question due to the economic, cultural, and social transformation of colonial to post-colonial Indian state. The power of the nation state is threatened by the economic development of society which has removed some of the key instruments to use to control the economic destiny of the nations. Colonial bureaucracy, the form of organization which delivered mass education and caste efficiency, is now considered outmoded and inefficient, while the notion of common culture as the basis for social solidarity is being challenged by various groups asserting the right to educate their children according to their specific religious and cultural values.<sup>378</sup>

Initially there was a great Arya Samaj influence on Bhagya Reddy Verma. At that time Dalits were treated as untouchables and Hindus neglected them because they are untouchables and Muslims neglected them because they were Hindus. It's a double blind alienation of the community. He was thinking seriously to overcome this problem. It was this time Bhagya Reddy Verma wanted to think seriously of his parents Maadaari Rangamaambha and Venkaiah's given name Bhagaiah Maadaari. Exactly at this particular point of time his family guru inculcated his ancestral history by saying that the Malas are '*Redu's*' and *sons of the soil*.<sup>379</sup> They belong to ruling community kings and natives of this land; hence he could give the name of '*Redu*' as suffix to parent's given name that's how he became Bhagya Reddy.

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<sup>377</sup> Habermas, J. (1973). *Theory and Practice*, Beacon Press, Pp. 1-310.

<sup>378</sup> The *AdiAndhra Movement* of Dalit/non-Dalit conflict after decolonization of India may be held to demonstrate the opposite theories.

<sup>379</sup> Interview with Sangiseti Srinivas, Telangana History Society Chairman on 12<sup>th</sup> April, 2015.

There was a leader called Baji Kishan Rao of Hyderabad basically hailed from Maharastra and married widow of Hyderabad and became popular early Arya Samaj leader of Hyderabad, he gave the title of “*Verma*” in a *Dheeksha* to Bhagya Reddy Verma. This title was an honorary to Bhagya Reddy for his innate skills of reciting Hindu ritualistic Yagnaas and Vedas. It this name made him to declare that he is not belongs to particular religion and he is close to all other religious leaders and people. That is why he is very active in early Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj propaganda. There was no opposition to this step of Bhagya Reddy Verma taking two names of Reddy and Verma. In general there was acceptance of change among Dalits to take up Arya Samaj activities, much before that Bhagya Reddy Verma at the age of 18 years started an organization called *Jagan Mitra Mandali* to unite Malas and Madigas under single umbrella to fight against untouchability and educational advancement of these communities. To unite scattered Malas and Madigas he took the help of Savarnas, Marwadies and Syam Sunder of Secunderabad belongs to BC community and founder of Deccan Humanitarian League. He emerged as a leader and gained acceptance for his social emancipation work from other caste groups.

It was very hard to get education for Dalits in those days. He took inspiration from the Shri Krishna Devaraya Basha Nilayam in 1901. Verma participated its inaugural meeting at the age of 13 years boy. Ravichettu Rangarao was the founder of this Nilayam. When it comes to Bhagya Reddy Verma took home education under Ravichettu Rangarao’s residence at king kothi.<sup>380</sup> Verma stayed with them while Verma was student from Isamia Bazar which is close by and they all lived together. Verma was regular to the library and maintained good relations with the members who participated in the inaugural meeting of Basha Nilayam. At this phase of his life started thinking of his own community and eventually led to formation of Jagan Mitra Mandali in 1906, right after five years of Basha Nilayam. His family members close of Bhagra Reddy Verma. The main activity of the *Mandali* is to inculcating and enlightening towards education of their children to the illiterate and working class masses residing in *Bastis* of Hyderabad and Secunderabad regions of Hyderabad State. The main problem Bhagya Reddy Verma faced was the space for organizing

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<sup>380</sup> Interview with Prem Kumar, Dalit Activist and Social Worker from Hyderabad, 18<sup>th</sup> April 2015.

these masses. Verma found *Dasabodha*<sup>381</sup> model of Bhajana Mandali from Mahasastra and started organizing them at the Dalits gathering in the Bastis.

### **Socio-Cultural Composition of Castes and Education**

The socio-economic context of the Dalits during the Nizam period of late nineteenth century was drastic. The administrative locality of the region and social domination of political power was under the control through socio-economic structures of the state. Forty two percent of the territory was under big feudatory castes, popularly known as Jagirs and Payugalu, the agrarian economic structure was let to a highly distorted feudalistic structure under Jagris and intermediaries.<sup>382</sup> This has created a situation of social conflicts and acute poverty among the marginalized communities. The other important influence of socio-economic conditions of the Deccan since its establishment of Asaf Jahi Dynasty was involved with constant warfare between Muslims, Hindu, Maharastrians, British and French for establishment of political power in the region<sup>383</sup>.

The land was under the control of Dafthars divided in to two categories. The former is Dafthar Mal and the latter is Dafthar Diwani. Above these two categories the Prime Minister to Nizam is called Dafthar Insha. The prime minister is the protector of the state records, accounts, and gifted lands of Jagirs, land was never under the direct control of the Nizam. Apart from direct political administration of the state, Nizam has followed loose structure of Patron-Client system which was under the directions of Prime Minister (Dafthar Insha). Under the political administration the main activity

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<sup>381</sup> Opposite sited

<sup>382</sup> Deccan was divided into two main parts: Maharastra and Telanganamu. While Maharastra consists Aurangabad, Beedu, Parbhani, Nanded, Gulburga, Rayachur, Naladurgu, Beddar and Telanganamu covers Induru, Medak, Elagandula, Sirpuru, Tanduru, Orugallu, Mahaboobnagar, Nallagonda. In 1905 Deccan Nizam divided into four subhas subdivided into 17 districts and 104 Talukas, there were two districts which did not joined into Subha are Afraat Balda District and Hyderabad district the farmer comprises, Malpet, Ambarpet, Dharoor and Medchal later covers Hyderabad and Secundarabad. For more information see Jitendrababu (2005), pp.33-34.

<sup>383</sup> Jitendrababu, pp-24.

is to protect the Nizam personal and conceal postal information and communication, maintaining state archives.

The Nizam personal department of political administration was exclusively run by the trust worthies of Iran and north Indian Kayasta community.<sup>384</sup> The officers' appointed to these departments are exclusive personal choice of the Nizam. In the initial period for solving disputes in the state there were three main judicial courts were known as "Dharul Khaza," "Padaaratul Alia" and "Kotwali" first two are the normal revenue judicial practices and last one meant for solving criminal cases of the state capital area. The chief judicial positions are normally given to Maharajas and Raus of Maharastra by Nizam.

The Social condition of the Nizam state by the end of eighteenth century accounts for distinguished aristocracy, tangled to the Nizam's Court, can be eminent. It comprises of different communities recruited from the Mughal Service, from the Maratha Service, and from families traditionally associated with the earlier Deccan Sultanates.<sup>385</sup> The origin of few communities of Nizam is doubtful. Military commands were occupied higher position in the first Nizams period as Mansabdars. They constitute mostly Muslims, with a few Rajputs and Marathas.<sup>386</sup> Good number of Muslims and Rajputs had received their Mansabs and titles directly from the Mughal emperor and retained Jagairs in North India. Other, including the Marathas, had traditional family ties to earlier Deccani rulers or to the Peshwar of the Marathas, and they had continued with Nizam's service as he assumed power in the Deccan.

Raja Rao Rumbha Nimbalkar, the Maratha military commander whose ancestors had served the sultanate at Bijapur is a good account of example. He left the Peshwa's

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<sup>384</sup>Interview with Ghanumala Ganeswar and Gnana Prakash, Social Activists and Organic Intellectuals of the Hyderabad City, 10<sup>th</sup> September 2015.

<sup>385</sup>The transition was often indirect, many moved from the Sultanates of Golconda and Bijapur to the Maratha, Mughal, or even Mysore services before joining the Nizam's Service. Some moved from the Marathas to the Mughals to the Nizam or from the Mughals to the Nawab of Arcot to the Nizam.

<sup>386</sup>This generalization is based on the references throughout Yusuf Hussain Khan, *The First Nizam*, Bombay, 1963.



service when he was offered Rs. 7000 by a Mughal Mansab and then moved into the Nizam's service at the same level<sup>387</sup>. The Arab Shia family of Hyderabad's famous nineteenth century Diwan, Salar Jung, had served at Bijapur also moved into the Nizams service through the Mughal service.<sup>388</sup> Other high Mansabdars were the rulers of the Samsthans, whose relatively nominal noble status was already been pointed out. As military conquest gave way to administration of territory, attendance at the Hyderabad Court and participation in the court culture became an important qualification for nobility.

To understand the education in totality one has to understand the socio-economic conditions of the communities from the geographical point of view lived in the region of Hyderabad State during 1906 to 1956. The foundation of Hyderabad as a state has its strong roots of social relations formed as four Subhas.<sup>389</sup> It is clear indication that the combination of different communicates from different regional ties as their cultural barrier of caste has moved along with them. The education in this Jagirs, Payugalu<sup>390</sup> Samsthanas maintained very badly during 1930s. The situation of education in the *Payugalu* under Nizams was miserable. In fact there was not a single high school established except few primary schools.

The combination with Coastal Andhra and Maratwada's geographically different regions and cultural reality of caste conflicts between the social groups internally for political domination and externally from the British Raj continued in the Deccan of Hyderabad with Muslim rule of Nizams. Domination, subordination, status, humiliation, untouchability, violence, deprivation and hunger are important cultural forms that are deeply associated with the caste system historically.<sup>391</sup> The Sudra Castes particularly Velamas of North Narmada and Reddys of Adhradesa were immigrants to Deccan as military man and continued as local chiefs under the

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<sup>387</sup> See the family history by Yashwant Rao (1311 H): *Tarikh- I- Khandan-I- Rajah Rao Rumbha Jivant Bahadur Nimbhalker*, Hyderabad, (1893-94)

<sup>388</sup> See the account in Ghulam Samdani Khan, *Tuzuk-I- Mahbubiyah*, II (Nobles), pp.235-42.

<sup>389</sup> Opp. Sited.

<sup>390</sup> The lands given to the army maintenance to the family relatives of the Nizams.

<sup>391</sup> Jodhka, S.S. (2012): *Caste*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, p.171.

Kakariyas.<sup>392</sup> After the decline of Kakatiyas, the Velamas and reddy became independent rulers of Rachakonda and Kondaveedu of Telugu speaking regions.<sup>393</sup> Furthermore, they were given the status of ruling aristocracy by Qutb Shahis of Deccan in a way of bringing Hindu-Muslim ways of life. They were given good position and ruling tiles for controlling masses of the region by bringing waste lands under cultivation by creating new village structures<sup>394</sup>. Social category of Malas who were associated with Reddy caste also continued to be the agricultural labour class.<sup>395</sup>

During the course of time these community transformed themselves as landlords (locally called Doras with legitimate rights under rytwari system of Deccan. Thus Velamas and Reddys became Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Mukhtadars by occupying huge lands of Adivasis and diverted as waste lands and brought it under their control to get revenue power over these lands from Nizam. In order to exempt from the revenue taxes maintained and promoted pattas and became village administrative position of Police Patel and Karanams. Sometimes these were given grabbed lands as titles to their work in controlling the masses of the village as village Police Patel and Karanams. Kammas another Shudra Caste from Andhradesa started settling down in Telangana of Deccan in the early twentieth century as they were experts in controlling agrarian masses and named themselves as agricultural experts.<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> Syed Siraj Ul Hassan (1989). *The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H the Nizam's Domination*, New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, Pp. 635-36.

<sup>393</sup> Sherwani, H.K., and Joshi, P.M. (1973). *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. I, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh Govt, Text-Book Press, Pp. 520-22.

<sup>394</sup> Statement in Nizamrastrandhra Mahasabhalu, Jithendrababbu. p.21-45.

<sup>395</sup> Nicholson, S. (1926). Social organization of the Malas: An outcaste Indian People, *the Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 56, Pp. 91-103.

<sup>396</sup> Interview with Ghanumala Gnaneswar, Social Activists and Organic Intellectuals of the Hyderabad City, 10<sup>th</sup> September 2015.

**Table. 5.1. Castes and their Occupation in Nizam Hyderabad State**

S L No	Castes Based on Family Occupation	Male	Female	Persons
1	Bedar (Bender)	119307	118467	237774
2	Bhat (Bhatraj)	9522	7748	17270
3	Bhoi (Besta)	141869	143404	285273
4	Darsi (Simpi)	32220	31411	63631
5	Dher (Mala, Mahar) (A.H)	552632	523907	1076539
6	Dhobi (chakali)	138790	130702	269492
7	Erakala (Kaikadi Korwa) (T)	32002	27170	59172
8	Erakala (Kaikadi) (H)	5040	4987	9986
9	Gosain (Gosavi)	17147	12080	29227
10	Gujarati ((Gurjar)	4893	3170	8063
11	Gurav (Tambli)	15676	14784	30410
12	Hajjam, (Mangala)	88855	75890	159745
13	Julahi (sale, Dewang, Koshti)	211303	195078	406381
14	Kalal (Ediga, Goundla)	220637	206199	426836
15	Kapu (Kunbi)	490183	452737	942920
16	<i>Reddi</i>	86609	77763	164372
17	<i>Kapu</i>	403574	374974	778548
18	Kasab (Arya, Khatik)	42801	88364	81165
19	Kasar (Kanchari)	19086	16694	35780
20	Khumbhar (Kummar)	80919	73229	154148
21	Komati (vaishya)	163432	145479	308911
22	Kshtriya (Rajput)	46256	42178	88434
23	Lingayat (Jangam)	397604	391235	788839
24	Lohar (Kammari)	51865	42095	93460
25	Madigu (mochi, Mang, Chambhar)	639197	641895	1281092
26	Rangrez (Rangari)	14875	11376	26751
27	Satani (Ayyawaz)	30365	24031	54396
28	Sunar (Ausala Kamsala)	72550	65341	137891

29	Sutar (Bade, Wadla)	58274	52076	110350
30	Telaga (Munnur, Mutrasi)	448305	517885	966190
31	Teli (Gandla)	38773	34382	73155
32	Tribal (unclassified)	2426	1802	4228
33	Uppara (Beldar Govandi)	39623	39869	79492
34	Wanjari (Rangari) (H)	38965	31971	70936
35	Yedava (ahir, Golla, Gowli, Dhangar)	471464	456940	928404

Sources: Government of India, Census Report 1931

The Kammas started capturing waste lands of Godawari areas and brought under their cultivable control over the lands. It is thus the rooted Brahminical values were replaced by Velama, Reddy and Kamma communities in Deccan Nizam Hyderabad State. The Dalits as outcastes of society were intentionally kept outside of the village and forced to impose the feudal practices of Vetti, Bhagela/ Jeetham, Begari, Jogini social evil structures.<sup>397</sup>

The caste and social structures of the land forced the Dalits of Nizam Hyderabad State were to follow the feudal practices of untouchability and social evil practices from Velama, Reddy, and Kammas. The cultural form of caste has its regional importance between the caste groups. Each caste groups wanted to dominate the other. It is this background the Basava's Veerasaivism emerged from Deccan as part of anti-caste movement and lived in the twentieth century, started revolted against caste Hindu socio-religious ritual practices and animal sacrifices in the temples.<sup>398</sup> The outcaste Mala, Madiga and Adivasi groups worked as army men to the local chiefs under different independent rulers such as Kadar Jinkanna, an untouchable, became rebellious in Bobbili region, Kannamadau occupied highest ranking military office under Brahmanayudu and played a significant role in capturing Nayakuralu Nagamma, the rival royal feudatory of Nalagama, Sammakka, Sarakka of Kakatiys,

<sup>397</sup> *Adi-Andhra National Conference Report* (1922). Hyderabad Deccan, Hyderabad,

<sup>398</sup> S. Fuches (1965). *Rebellious Prophets: A Study of Messianic Movements in Indian Religions*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, P.258.

Jampanna of Hyderabad State prominent in organizing themselves and worked for independent rulers<sup>399</sup>.

Another branch of Dalits has their roots from Maharastra. These groups began to migrate to the Hyderabad during the end of ninetieth century along with Nizam Muslims administrative class of Raus and Mathurs, social history revealed that the importance of Dalits contribution to their identity of education by way of establishing associations.<sup>400</sup> Dalits started organizing their own social networks and groups systematically with the influence of Basava's Veerasaivism of Karnataka, Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj foundations from Maharastra to Hyderabad, more prominently Jyotirao Phule's social philosophy from Maharastra.<sup>401</sup>

The contradiction between Dalits traditional oral history and cosmopolitan Deccan Nizam Hyderabad population comprising of Iranians, Kayastas of NARTH, Khatri, Parsis, Rau's and Bahadurs of Maharastra, Mudaliars of Tamilnadu began to reform their own castes at the end of nineteenth century and beginning of twentieth century. This paved way to the Cultural Revolution and identity politics for social mobilization has happened. This process of cultural transformation gave space to the Dalits educational development in Hyderabad. The rise of Maratha power introduced an important factor in the Deccan politics during second half of the seventeenth century by the way of socio-religious reforms, Ekanath, Tukaram, Ramdas and Vaman Pandit, preaching through successive centuries, the doctrines of devotion of God and of equality of all men before him, without any distinction of caste or position, and the dignity of action has sown in their lands. This has laid seeds of social renaissance or self-awakening of the communities later became political revolution in the country.

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<sup>399</sup> Verma, B.R. (1934). Trutiyandra Mahasabha, Khammammettu, *Golconda Patrika*, Hyderabad. And also Bhagyodayam, Kshersagar, R.K. (1994). *Dalit Movement in India and its Leaders (1885-1956)*, New Delhi, M D Publications, p.42., Ratnam, K.Y. (1997). *Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh: A Study on Consciousness and Identity*, An unpublished Ph.D Thesis submitted to JNU, New Delhi. P.27. Kancha

<sup>400</sup> Rudolph, L. I. and Rudolf, S. H, (1960). 'The Political Role of India's Caste Associations', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 33. No. 1, Pp. 5-22.

<sup>401</sup> Interview with Gnana Prakash, Current President of *Adi-Hindu Social Service League of Bhagya Reddy Verma*, Bhagya Reddy Marg, Hyderabad on 11<sup>th</sup> November 2015.

The preaching's of Ramdas in the form of *Dasa Bodha*, is popular folk form attracted many Dalits to take up this as their religious form during the reformation period. The devotional folk songs were composed and performed in the Dalits localities are very much alive. These songs were composed in Marathi language and this has become powerful Marathi literature during fifteen and sixteenth centuries.<sup>402</sup> Bhagya Reddy Verma, *Adi-Andhra* leader from Deccan Hyderabad used extensively to promote this folk form in the *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha* conferences as named Bhajana Mandali.<sup>403</sup>

In the year 1886 new change occurred in the place of 1857 Sufate Inaam and brought changes in the 14 departments and included district and Taluq administration into it. As part of this process under the Prime Ministership of Salar Jung a considerable junk of Kayastha population as officers in to judiciary and other departments from north India, particularly from Central Provinces.<sup>404</sup> Kayasths are literate sub-caste community of caste Hindus from North Indian to maintain the civil and criminal powers with functioning of courts and jails under the Nizam control rather than the natives. This led the problem of Mulki (Local) and non-Mulki (non-Local) conflict for official positions of the state. To here were 476 civil officers out of which 52 percentage covers Mulkis and 42 percentage occupied by non-Mulkies and 5 percent was European officials. Local Muslims as well as Hindu Hindus were not prepared to tolerate this act of Salarjung particularly peasant castes, Reddy, Velama and Kapu's wanted to identify themselves with Mulki agenda and make use the advantages from Mulki.<sup>405</sup>

In the year 1875 Sirafte-Inaam was established. According to this land registration needs to be regular proses in the districts and taluqs of Nizam. Apart from this there were 14 departments established comprising 1. Juduciary 2. Home 3. Revenue 4.

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<sup>402</sup> Interview with Ghanumal Gnaneswar, Social Activists and Organic Intellectuals of the Hyderabad City, 10<sup>th</sup> September 2015.

<sup>403</sup> Interview with Ramesh Chandra, Social Activist and Doctor who is associated with Bhagya Reddy Verma Family for long time and he is part of Swastik Dal cultural organization formed by Bhagra Reddy Verma, on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2008.

<sup>404</sup> Prasad, D. (1985). *Social and Cultural Geography of Hyderabad City: A Historical Perspective*, Hyderabad, Pp.64-69.

<sup>405</sup> Leonard, K. (1978). Hyderabad: Mulki- Non-Mulki Conflict, in Robin Jeffery (edt.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States*, Delhi, Pp. 74-75.

Taameeraath Ashaashi (Irrigation) 5. Education 6. Health 7. Municipal Councils 8. Army 9. Department of Economy 10. Postal 11. Rail and Postal 12. Serfekhas 13. Political department and 14. Legislative Department. It was after the establishment of separate department of education there increased the number of schools of Deccan.

### **Nizam Educational Policies**

The situation of education during the Nizam period was initiated during the period under study was noted that the literacy rate of the state was 4.7 per cent in 1891. The total population of the Nizam Hyderabad State accounts for 1,44,36,148 in 1931 Census reports, among the total population Hindus constitutes 1,21,76,727 then followed Muslim population as stated 15,34,666. The people belongs to Andhradesa are 6972534, the Maharashtrians are 3786838 and people belongs to Karnataka are 1620094 people who speak Urdu and Hindi constitutes 1507277. The states income in 1938 is noted that 9, 15, 46,000 and the expenditure in education are only 12419072<sup>406</sup>. The government allocation of educational development is very nominal.

**Table. 5.2**  
**Literacy rates among different communities in Nizam Hyderabad State**

Year	Percentage In 100%	Hindus 100%	Muslims 100%	Expenditure in rupees
1881	3.7	2.98	4.9	229220
1891	4.7	3.37	6.6	303292
1901	3.4	2.5	6.5	748665
1911	3.2	2.3	5.9	1019787
1921	3.3	2.6	8.9	6829907
1931	4.8	3.3	12.4	39077063

Source: Reported in Andhra Patrika, 1941.

<sup>406</sup> Prathapa Reddy, S. (1941) *Andhra Patrika*, Annual Report, p. 66.

For the purpose of educational development in the Nizam Hyderabad State organized Peoples Annual Educational Conferences<sup>407</sup> to estimate the situation of education in the society. The committee passed its resolutions for state educational developments. They are as follows:

- Need to remove the prohibition of private schools in the region
- The government has passed a bill on 1911 stating that the police monitoring in libraries and schools should be removed.
- Need to conduct freely the educational conferences without states interruption in to the matters.
- Need to promote education in Surfkhas,<sup>408</sup> Samstana, Jagirs.
- Need to encourage adult education
- Free and compulsory primary education to all its citizens
- The language taught in the middle and high schools are in Urdu. This should be changed according to the majority speaking needs of the district vernacular languages should be promoted.

### ***Khangi* Schools in Nizam Hyderabad State**

The *Khangi* schools are known as private schools. According to 1334 fassli (Act) of 1924 states that without government permission there should not be any *Khangi* schools in Hyderabad region. In the private schools the admission in to schools are open to all caste categories, it is the discretionary power of the education minister to run the private schools. At any given time the district collector or inspector of police can closedown the *Khangi* schools. It is reported that *Khangi* School before 1334 fassali (act) there were 4053 *Khangi* schools by the time of 1342 fassali (act) the schools are accounts for 776 schools<sup>409</sup>. Many private schools were close down due to government act.

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<sup>407</sup> *Golkonda Patrika*, 1928, 1929, 1930

<sup>408</sup> Surfkahs are the special districts and taluq allocated to Nizam personal activities

<sup>409</sup> Prathap Reddy, S. (1940), *Andhra Patrika*, Pp. 69-70.



**Table. 5.3 Population: Caste, Race and Tribe**

Sl No	Caste	Male	Female	Persons
1	Adi- Hindu (Minor Caste)	60822	54777	115,599
2	Madigu (Mochi, Mang, Chambher)	689197	641895	1281092
3	Dher (Mala, Mahar) (A.H)	552632	523907	1076539

Source: Government of India, Census Reports, 1931

### **Educational Activities of Bhagyareddy Verma**

Bhagyareddy Verma, later on found Many Sangham in 1911, after this became *Adi-Hindu Social Service League* in 1922 at All India *Adi-Hindu Social Service League*. It was this particular point of time Nizam wanted to do something for the deprived communities. Bhagya Reddy Verma made a proposal to Nizam to start schools for Dalits this came into force as *Pasthahq Quam Schools* (*Pasthahq* means backward, deprived, *Quam* means people or Janabha) Vadlagunda Narasimha Rao, great reformer from Hyderabad and Madapati Hanumantha Rao along with Bhagya Reddy Verma took initiation to start 30 to 35 schools for deprived communities situated in Chadharghat, Aliabad of old city, Hyderabad. Later it became heavy burden to the leaders with government intervention all the schools then known as *Adi-Hindu* schools with Telugu as the medium of language at that particular point of time handed over to the Nizam government as special schools. The leaders made a strong resolution and demand that the language and culture which is going on in these *Pasthaq Quam Schools* should be continued as it is. The Nizam Government agreed the terms and conditions proposed by Bhagya Reddy Verma and taken special care both administrative and financially to run the schools.

The main inspiration for starting schools in the Bastis took from M L Audiah of Ghausmandi of Secunderabad. Audiah was an Engineer by profession and working in the P.W.D. of The Hyderabad State. Audiah was an educationist amongst Dalits residing in Secunderabad regions of Hyderabad State. Audiah worked for *Adi-Andhra Maha Sabha*. M L Audiah powerful leaders and great civil engineer who contributed his services in constructing the present High Court of Hyderabad from Ghasmandi of Secunderabad started a school for Dalits, Probably the first school for Dalits. It was ran as William Barton School for some years later it became Audiah Memorial school, even today it is existed as Audiah Memorial High School. Recently it has completed centenary year celebrations. It was his idea of thought Dalits needs feel education is the primary for development and found a school for Dalits in Telugu as the medium of language with his own engineering and funds at Ghasmandi.

Katta Ramakka of 1916 at Secunderabad, even today it is running successfully by next year it will complete centenary. She is a brave Dalit woman who successfully established the school<sup>410</sup>. Valtati Sessaiah of Secunderabad, popularly known for civil contractor and business man of the Dalit community gave food and shelter for a year to all the floods effected people in the year 1908. Even though his house was also lost in the floods he helped out of his generosity.

Right after first National *Adi (Ancient)-Hindu Social Service* Conference at Deccan Nizam Hyderabad on 29<sup>th</sup> to 31<sup>st</sup> March 1922, the participants who attended the conference got inspired and open *Adi-Andhra* girls school with 30 students at Duvvala Chenna Krishnaiah's building near Residential Memorial Guest House on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1922.<sup>411</sup> Another school opened for girls at Lingampally with 20 students. *Adi-Hindu* school is also opened for boys at Narayanaguda with 20 students. Chittaaraiah and Bhasyam Gangaiah of Bollaram had opened a school at Gangaiah's home with 65 boys

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<sup>410</sup> Interview with Pream Kumar, Dalit Activist and Social Worker from Hyderabad, 18<sup>th</sup> April 2015.

<sup>411</sup> *Adi (ancient) Hindu Social Service Conference Report*, (1922). Deccan Hyderabad, Machilipatnam, p. 18

and girls. It was reported that in Maniyaar Patti Basti had got scholarships to run night school and there were 8 boys who has received scholarship for February 1923<sup>412</sup>. There were schools at Isamia Bazar, Boggulakunta, Chenchalaguda, Lingampalli, Chadarghat, Goshamahahal,

All these schools are needed to have Bhajana Mandalies for cultural promotion and educational learning's. Rajarayani Venkara Rangaa Rao Bahadoor, Jamindar of Munagala visited Bhagya Reddy Verma school and addressed to the students about the human rights of the *Adi-Hindus* and children should learn religious spirituality, loyalty to the elders and nationalism. The Raja of Munagala impressed and satisfied the teaching and learning system that Bhagya Reddy Verma promoting in the *Adi-Hindu schools*.<sup>413</sup> The official language of Nizam rule was Urdu and schools are run in Urdu medium. It was very hard to react against Nizam rule to start Telugu Medium schools. Taking the social background of Dalits, Nizam did not impose any restriction on such schools. He owned them all and provided with full funding to the schools and recruited teachers like any other Muslim schools of those time. Government even supported with school uniform and books to the students.

### **First Adi-Hindu Social Reformation Conference**

The Conference is being organized by *Adi-Hindu* leaders at South Hyderabad at Prema Theater on 29<sup>th</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup>, 31st March 1922. The Dalits activists and supports of the conference organizers belongs to Nizam Hyderabad and Belagam are Madari Audeiah, T.J. Papanna of Belgam, B. T Krishna, H.S. Hari Ram, Roy Bal Mukhunda, (Retired High Court Judge), Panditha Kesava Rao (lawyer), Lalji Meghaaji (Jeeva Raksha Gnana Pracharak Mandali), N. G. Valenkhar, Panditha Raghavendra Sharma, T. Dhanakoti

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<sup>412</sup>Ibid. p.18.

<sup>413</sup> Ibid, Pp. 19-20.

Verma, Bhagya Reddy Verma, L.C. Rao Gavay, Nanda Gavay (M.L.C). Delegates of the conference are not only Adi-Andhra community but employees belong to civil, military, trade and commerce. There are people from all over India has participated to the conference. Especially people from Bombay, Pune, Karachi, Akola, Bhoosaval, Amravathi, Nagapuram, Yurathmool, Raypur, Belagam, Gudivada, Rajhundry, Madras, Machilipatnam and Bezawada all these places in modern times located in Central provinces, Mysore, Madras and Coastal Andhra.

The conference organizing and welcoming committee chairman Madari Audeiah, (supervisor H.E.H, the Nizams PWD) the President of *Adi-Hindu Social Service* Society, Sri. B.T. Krishnaiah read out the welcoming address of the conference in English. The conference presidential speech was read out in Hindi by T.J Papanna of Belagam acted as conference presiding chairman. The conference passed nine resolutions for the Dalits development in Deccan Nizam Hyderabad State. They are:

- It is informed that the respected Sree George Sovereignty and Nizam Hyderabad for the help they are rendering for *Adi-Hindu* societies as well individual *Adi-Andhras* development can be thanked extensively
- Without looking scientifically towards *Adi-Andhras*, the present day people are calling themselves what so ever names they may be treated from now on wards as *Adi (Ancient) Hindu*, people living in different territories and regional localities like *Adi-Dravidas*, *Adi-Andhras*, *Adi-Karnatakas*, *Adi-Maharastreya* should be made mandatory to call themselves by using '*Adi*' to their regional localities by this conference onwards.
- As like any other people, community living in India, *Adi-Andhras* should treat themselves respect their own community as *Adi-Andhras*, they should give education to their children both boys and girls. The worldly education and school education immediately. The boys and girls should learn at least 'Pedabala Siksha'
- Industrial related education and skilled education are gaining its momentum in India, so everybody who so ever interested towards small scale skilled persons

should encourage handi-crafts and should also encourage 'Raatnam' (Spinning Yarn) skill to the youngsters.

- The marriage age of boys and girls should be 25, 15 years, it was 20,12. It is mandatory that the marriage age of boys should be at least 25 and girls should be 15 years completed.
- To come out from the poverty, the money spending at the time of marriage should come down. People should not spend much money at the time of marriages
- To strengthen spiritually the *Adi (Ancient) Hindus* should have "*Bhajana Mandalis*" in each village.
- *Adi (Ancient) Hindus* has a tradition of protecting priestly class like Dasari/Jangams, morally they should be strengthened.
- *Adi (Ancient) Hindus* should learn money saving, they should save at least One Paise per day, towards their children's residential school training.

The main objectives of the *Adi (Ancient) Hindu Social Service League* are:

- Rejecting the Panchama, Asprusya names and identifies themselves with *Adi-Hindu* identity depending on the regional specificity like *Adi-Dravida*, *Adi-Andhra*.
- Fight against the social evils of the society and promote religious, Moral, economic and educational development of the community is the birth right of the *Adi-Hindus*.
- To do research on the history of *Adi-Hindus* and publish in "*Adi Hindu Ithihasika Sahitya Pracharaka Grandhamala*" (special literature) and should print in the form of pamphlets. To do this mission one has to establish special news papers
- The *Adi-Andhra* people living in Nizam Hyderabad accounts for 3,25,145. It is important to help those who wish to establish associations, schools, and community halls, *Bhajana Mandalies*, Scouts for *Adi-Hindu* socio-economic and political development.
- The objective of the League is to promote human harmony among social groups and to establish mutual peace among the communities for respectable life.

The Nizam-ruled Hyderabad state was the largest princely state in the Indian subcontinent. It consisted of nine Telugu speaking Telangana districts (Adilabad, Hyderabad,<sup>414</sup> Karimnagar, Khammam, Nalgonda, Warangal, Mehboobnagar, Medak and Nizamabad); five of Marathwada (Beedar, Aurgangabad, Parbhani, Nanded and Osmanabad); and three Kannada speaking districts (Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur). Of these the Telugu speaking districts made up 47 percent of the total state's population and represented the largest linguistic unit. Despite its territorial vastness, the Hyderabad state was economically one of the most backward regions in the sub-continent,<sup>415</sup> and until after the First World War, the region had witnessed little development either of commercial agricultural or industrial in nature.<sup>416</sup> The backwardness of the state was also because of its political structure and relations with its subjects.

For instance, the Nizam's support base- constituted by 'a class of landed gentry',<sup>417</sup> consisted of Muslim *jagirdars* and Hindu *deshmukhs* and *deshpandes*- belonging to the Reddy, Velama and Brahmin castes. While at the top, the state allowed its subjects hardly any civil or political rights, at the lower levels, the landed gentry inflicted untold sufferings upon the rural population, such as illegal eviction of farmers from their fields and the extraction of free goods and labour, which was known as *vetti*-mainly from the Dalits. Thus, Hyderabad state was 'the most feudal'<sup>418</sup> in the sub-continent, a state that denied any kind of dignity and self-respect to its people. While such feudal rule was repressive for all the subjects, the worst hit was the Dalits. In that respect they were caught between traditional, castes and feudal forms of subordination and 'had little opportunities to move into freer forms of industrial or agricultural wage labour'.<sup>419</sup> It

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<sup>414</sup> In recent years the Hyderabad district has bifurcated into the urban district of Hyderabad, and rural district of Rangareddy, and thus the number of districts in Telangana has gone up to ten.

<sup>415</sup> Two of the richer agricultural regions coastal Andhra and Berar (Vidarbha), which earlier had been controlled by the Nizam, were annexed to the British territories. And whatever was left to the Nizam was a combination of rocky and drought-prone area.

<sup>416</sup> Omvedt, Gail. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, Sage Publications India, and p.119.

<sup>418</sup> Srinivasulu, K. (2002). 'Caste, Class and Social Articulations in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories', London, *Overseas Development Institute*, Working Paper No. 179, p. 6.

<sup>419</sup> Omvedt, Gail. (1994). *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, Sage Publications India, and p.119.

should be mentioned here that while the caste-Hindu society in general had been oppressive to the Dalits, the Muslim society was no angel either.

### **Panchayat Committees**

Bhagya Reddy Verma has attended 492 general conferences and 207 special conferences. Verma has organized village conferences in Deccan Hyderabad State at Saidabad, Begam Bazar, Multhani Puram, Dhool Pet, Uppari Dhool Pet, Khairathabad, Narayanagudem, Raikot, Chinthala Basti, Lingampalli, Kudchi Gudem (Kachiguda), Jamalla Basti, Prema theatre, Annaram, Moosaram Thota, Tagala Basti, Malakpet, Chenchela Gudem, Jangam mettu, Kattela Mandi, Gosha Mahal, Nadalbegum Chowni, Golconda, Secun Infantry. After the village conferences in the above mentioned areas in Hyderabad adi-Hindus were organized for their own self-respect and educational development of their children. The night schools were opened in the above mentioned Bastis. The administration of the schools was left to the Panchayat Committees, these committees collect money from the public donations to run the school. The elders of the community can participate in to the schools and teach them Peda Bala Siksha text in Telugu language.<sup>420</sup>

Bhagyanagar Patrika started for the purpose of general public but it was much focused on Dalits issues. The main purpose of the patrika is to promote Dalits literature. In Telugu literature, the first writing was of Bhagya Reddy Verma and it was published in Bhagya Nagar as ‘Vetti Madiga’ in the year 1931. It also practiced social discrimination against the Dalits. In fact, taking advantage of political power, the Muslims also humiliated the Dalits in the worst possible ways. For instance, in the *Devadasi* custom very often the *Basavis* or *Matangis* formed relations with affluent or noble Muslim men. And when the Dalits stepped in to stop this custom, they experienced heightened antagonism from the

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<sup>420</sup>Interview with Saraswathi, Head Mistress of Adi-Hindu Social Service league and wife of M. B. Gowtham on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2008. See also *Annual Adi (Ancient) Hindu Conference Report*, (1923). Deccan Hyderabad, Machilipatnam, Pp 30-33.

Muslim population.<sup>421</sup> It was against this caste and class-based subordination that the Dalits in Hyderabad and Secunderabad launched a small but vigorous movement for social equality and political representation by adopting the Adi-Hindu identity since the early 1900's. But what was the specific context in which Dalit activism in the form of Adi-Hinduism emerged?

Although by the early 1920's the entire Indian sub-continent was occupied in the movement for freedom from British colonial rule, the Hyderabad state stood aloof by effectively repressing any form of political movement in its territory. Even the Congress and Communists could not get a toehold in the state until the late 1930's. Yet people (particularly the non-Muslims), who were charged up politically, found alternative ways of organizing through religious and linguistic movements and became part of the anticolonial struggle, a struggle that had both anti-Nizam and anti-Muslim undertones in the state. For instance, what started as the preservation and promotion of Hindu religion and culture by the Arya Samajis in Hyderabad took on a political colour and fed into the Congress movement to give it a 'Hindu' nationalist tenor.<sup>422</sup> The Muslims, who were threatened by such activities of the Arya Samajis, sought to promote an orthodox Islamic culture. The clamour, both among the Muslims and Hindus, to promote their versions of culture, which had religious overtones, resulted in tearing down the fabric of communal harmony, and by the late 1920's Hyderabad was witnessing frenzied polarization on communal grounds.

Further, although a majority of the people in the Telangana region-excluding the state bureaucrats, landed gentry and the Muslims-spoke Telugu, Urdu language was used not only as the medium of instruction in all educational institutions, but the entire state business was conducted exclusively in that language. The upper castes saw such pervasiveness of Urdu as a form of cultural domination of the Muslims, who were already enjoying political power in the state through the Nizam, a Muslim. In order to promote their language and culture the upper castes initiated a number of measures since

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<sup>421</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>422</sup>Ibid., Pp. 120-121.



the early 1900's. For instance, the Sri Krishna Devaraya Andhra Basha Nilayam- a library, was established in Hyderabad in 1901 under the patronage of the Raja of Munagala. The Sri Raja Raja Narendra Andhra Basha Nilayam was established at Hanumakonda in 1904; the Vignan Chandrika Mandali was established in Hyderabad in 1906 and the Andhra Jana Sangam was established by Madapati Hanumantha Rao in 1921.<sup>423</sup>

By the 1930's these initiatives transformed into an effective mass-based, peasant-oriented forum for the articulation of the demands of the upper castes in the Telangana region. It was at the height of the communal and linguistic politics and tensions that the Dalits began to claim social equality and political representation on the basis of *Adi-Hindu* identity in Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Bhagya Reddy Varma and the *Adi-Hindu Movement*, 1900-1930: As mentioned above, the three men at the Centre of the Dalit activity in Hyderabad and Secunderabad were Bhagya Reddy Varma, Arigay Ramaswamy and B. S. Venkatrao. During the first phase (1900-1930) of Dalit activity while Bhagya Reddy provided the leadership, the other two leaders were at the forefront in the second phase (1930-1950).

Bhagya Reddy Varma, whose original name was Madari Bhagayya, was born into the Mala caste on May 22, 1888 to Madari Venkaiah and Rangamamba. He lost his father at an early age and began working while still a young boy, as butler in a Roman Catholic household in Secunderabad. Francis Xavier Dos Santos, a barrister who had employed Bhagya Reddy was kind to him. In addition to sponsoring Bhagya Reddy's education, Santos also bore all the expenditure on his books and Telugu journals. Through the reading of these journals and books Bhagya Reddy was exposed to contemporary happenings both in India and the world at large. Again through these books he was acquainted with the activities of various social reformers and social movements, and the

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<sup>423</sup> Rao Hanumantha, M. (1950). *Telangana Andhrodhyamam* (Andhra (Telugu) Movement in Telangana), Hyderabad, Andhra Granthamala, Sarojini, Ragani. (1975). *The Movement for the Social and Cultural Revival of Telangana in the Hyderabad State*, in Bawa, V. K., (ed.), *Aspects of Deccan History*. Hyderabad, Institute of Asian Studies., Srinivas, K. (2001). *Rendu Prapancha Yuddhala Madhya Telugu Sahityam: Telangana Sahitya Punarvikasam 1919-1939*. Ph.D. Potti Sri Ramulu Telugu University, Hyderabad.

debate on the questions of Aryan and non-Aryan themes. This exposure made him extremely conscious of his own caste's social standing within the Brahmanical social structure, and the extreme forms of discrimination against the Dalits by the caste-Hindus.

It was this consciousness, claims Gautam the son of Bhagya Reddy that propelled him to work for the people's uplift.<sup>424</sup> Bhagya Reddy began his career as a Dalit social activist by associating with the *Jagan Mitra Mandali*,<sup>425</sup> a Dalit cultural organization. The main function of this organization was to organize the singing of *bhajans* and *harikatha* (folk tales) performances, mainly for the benefit of Dalits, as they were prevented from attending these activities in the Hindu temples. In 1911 *Jagan Mitra Mandali* was renamed first as *Manya Sangam* and later as the *Central Adi-Hindu Social Service League* (the *Adi-Hindu League*), immediately after the Madras government accepted the Dalits' demand for recognizing them as *Adi-Hindus* in 1922.<sup>426</sup> The *Adi-Hindu League* organized the first all India *Adi- Hindu Conference* in Hyderabad in 1922.<sup>427</sup>

### **Jeevarakshaka Gnana Pracharaka Mandali**

Bhagya Reddy Verma instrumental in taking starting an organization called Jeevarakshakha Gnan Pracharakha Mandali which is an organization for the protection of animals. He got support from Marwadies and R S Naik who was High Court Advocate of Nizam State. There are other prominent leaders and followers of Bhagya Reddy Verma are Bathula Syam Sunder who is different from that of Deccan Humanitarian Syam Sunder of Secunderabad. Krishnaswamy Mudiraj, who has written about Bhagya Reddy

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<sup>424</sup> Gautam, M.B. 1991. *Bhagyodayam Madari Bhagya Reddy Varma* (Life Sketch and Mission of Bhagya Reddy Varma). Hyderabad, *Adi-Hindu Social Service League Trust*, Pp. 2-3.

<sup>425</sup> The Jagan Mitra Mandali appears to be one of the earliest organisations founded by the Dalits. Gautam, the son of Bhagya Reddy Varma, claims that the organisation was founded by his father. But it appears, from an account of P.R. Venkataswamy, Varma was merely involved with the organisation's activities since its inception. See Venkataswamy, P. R. (1955). *Our Struggle for Emancipation*, 2 Vols. Secunderabad, Universal Art Printers.

<sup>426</sup> Yagati, C. R. (2003). *Dalits Struggle for Identity: Andhra and Hyderabad 1900-1950*. New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers Distributors, p. 172.

<sup>427</sup> Gautam, M.B. 1991. *Bhagyodayam Madari Bhagya Reddy Varma* (Life Sketch and Mission of Bhagya Reddy Varma). Hyderabad, *Adi-Hindu Social Service League Trust*, Pp. 2-3.

Verma in Pictorials of Hyderabad in 1918, because of his efforts it was known to general public about Bhagya Reddy Verma activities. A medical doctor named Mallanna who worked for Osmania Hospital was good friend of Bhagya Reddy Verma, Mutyala Govindarajulu husband of Sarojini Naidu had very good relations with Bhagya Reddy Verma. When Bhagya Reddy Verma became ill the surgery was undertaken by Govindarajulu's hospital in year 1938.

In the year 1924 he initiated financial cooperation for Dalit women who are working in the construction field. He pays weekly visits to the women cooli workers of construction field and collects money of paise or ana. Yet times everybody thought the contribution may be for the purpose of social reforming work. He will go and collect that money regularly. At the end of the construction of the building after 5 to 6 months period he will purchase gold worth to that money and handover that gold through the husbands of the contributors. This will remain as savings of the small family.

### **Education for Culture and Identity of Dalits as Adi-Hindus**

From the early years of his social activism Bhagya Reddy involved with the caste-Hindu-based religious reform movements in Hyderabad. For instance, he was one of the leading figures both in the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj. In fact, he was one of the founders of the Brahmo Samaj in Hyderabad, along with Aghorinath Chattopadhyaya and N. G. Wellinker.<sup>428</sup> And when the Hyderabad branch of Arya Samaj initiated a campaign against the practice of untouchability, Bhagya Reddy was at its forefront. Interestingly, Bhagya Reddy's involvement was not confined to these religious reform associations. He knocked at the door of every religion, except Christianity and Islam, to gain their confidence and social acceptability for the Dalits. For instance, while organizing the Dalits through the Manya Sangam, he preached Buddhas' teaching and celebrated Buddha's birth anniversary.

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<sup>428</sup> Apparao, D. (1980). *Akhila Bharata Brahma Samajamu: Samkshiptha Charitra* (All India Brahmo Samaj: A Brief History). Hyderabad, p. 542.

Some of the Jain merchants in Hyderabad began to appreciate Bhagya Reddy's efforts to ameliorate the wretched conditions of the Dalits. And they supported his social activities with financial aid. Bhagya Reddy saw this help as the change of heart among the Jains towards the Dalits, and so he wrote several pamphlets urging them to allow the Dalits into their temples. One example of such pamphlets was: *Jaino! Achuthonko Jaina Mandirome Berok Anedho!* (Oh Jains! Let the *panchamas* freely enter the Jain temples). And in order to please the caste-Hindus he urged the Dalits to give up meat eating, perform *bhajans* in the temples and recite the Hindu religious mantras. Bhagya Reddy's involvement with various religious associations, especially with the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj inspired the Dalits and subsequently many Dalits joined these religious associations.<sup>429</sup> Of course, it should be mentioned here that, although Dalits joining these associations were inspired by the presence of their leader, they often had a different aspiration.

As these associations were founded upon the fundamental principle of human equality, they did not recognize any individual on the basis of his/her caste and, thus, the problem of untouchability did not arise. For instance, for the Brahmo Samajists, every individual was a Brahmo. And Dalits felt that by being part of these religious associations they not only escaped the stigma of being untouchables or the social prejudices but, more importantly, gained self-respect and human dignity. But the Dalits' strategy of joining religious associations in order to be given human dignity did not work out that way. Despite becoming Brahmos, they continued to be identified as *panchamas* and thus, continued to be discriminated against. Interestingly, such discrimination against the Dalits was not just by the normal caste-Hindus, but even by those caste-Hindus, who were members of these religious associations. P. R. Venkataswamy observes:

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<sup>429</sup> Abbasayulu, Y.B. (1978). *Scheduled Caste Elite: A Study of Scheduled Caste Elite in Andhra Pradesh*, Department of Sociology, Osmania University, Hyderabad, p. 32.

If a Hindu was asked his caste; the questioner would not feel satisfied with the simple answer Hindu. He would be anxious to know his sub-caste also. Under such circumstances, an untouchable should say either a *Mala* or *Madigas* or some other subcaste. If a member of Brahmo Samaj was asked his caste, he would straightaway say, without fear of stigma, that his caste was Brahmo. As the movement developed, the word Brahmo lost its significance and whoever said that he was a Brahmo was suspected either to be *Mala* or a *Madiga*.<sup>430</sup>

In a way, whether outside the Brahmo Samaj or inside it, Dalits were treated as Dalits by the caste-Hindus, and their dream of a new identity, respect, and social amalgamation was thwarted by the caste prejudices against them by society at large and the caste-Hindu society in particular.

### **Knowledge promotion through Social Integration**

Bhagya Reddy's ideas on social integration of the Dalits with the caste-Hindu society were practical and far ahead in its thinking. He evolved a three pronged strategy: First, he involved some of the key public persons drawn mainly from upper caste and class backgrounds in the by offering *Adi-Hindu League* them some important positions within the organization. For instance, while Justice Rai Balmukund, a retired High Court Judge, was made president of the League; N. G. Wellinker, Justice Keshav Rao and Vaman Ramachandra Naik, prominent public persons in Hyderabad, were made vice-presidents of the League. In addition to this, the League had an executive committee as well as an advisory board. While the former consisted of 12 Dalit members, who were drawn from various Dalit castes, especially from the Mala and Madiga castes, the latter was constituted by members drawn from various religious groups. For instance, during the League's initial years, the Advisory Board had 34 upper-caste Hindus, one Muslim, one Christian, one Parsee and two Jains.<sup>431</sup>

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<sup>430</sup> Venkataswamy, P.R. (1955). *Our Struggle for Emanicipation*, Universal Art printers, secunderabad. p.9.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid.,p. 39.

However, the whole enterprise of integration of the Dalits with the other social communities by means of positions in the League seemed to be an ambitious one, which did not give the expected results. Yet, it had its own benefits. For instance, the presence of the powerful and prominent members of Hyderabad not only gained social recognition and respect for the League, it also secured financial benefits for the continuation of the organization's activities.

For instance, Rai Balmukund not only supported the League financially, but also used his position to secure grants-in-aid to the Adi-Hindu schools from the Nizam.<sup>432</sup> Secondly, Bhagya Reddy, through his writings, in the form of pamphlets and essays in his newspaper, advocated inter-caste marriages between the Dalits and upper-caste Hindus. One of the prominent works of this advocacy was his *Veera Suratha Manjari: Mala Pillanu Raakumarudu Pendliyadi* (Royal Prince Marrying a Mala Girl). It may be interesting to note here that acquiring power, material benefits or social elevation by means of marriage, especially by offering daughters to powerful people, such as kings and feudal lords were not unknown both in Indian history and literature.

So far, however, those articulations were confined exclusively to the upper castes and the literature created by them. But Bhagya Reddy through his fictional work was breaking the stereotype of marriages at that time by effectively asserting that a royal prince can marry even a Mala girl; and that Mala girls are as beautiful as any other upper caste girls and equally capable of attracting the attention of a royal prince. However, it must be pointed out that, despite Bhagya Reddy's claiming of *Adi-Hindu* identity for Dalits, his use of Mala identity rather than the *Adi-Hindu* identity by making his subject in the story a girl from the Mala caste reflected his own biases against the other Dalit castes. As a Mala himself, he always thought that Malas were better than the rest of the Dalit castes.

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<sup>432</sup> The presence of Rai Bahadur Venkata Rami Reddy, the Hyderabad city police commissioner, in the League also secured financial help from numerous business people in the city. See Pratapa Reddy, Suravaram (1939) *Rajah Bahadur Venkata Rami Reddy Jeevitha Charitra* (A Life History of Rajah Bahadur Venkata Rami Reddy), Hyderabad: Reddy Sangam.

What is striking is that we see hardly any presence of the Madigas in Bhagya Reddys' initiatives.

Thirdly, a final strategy in Bhagya Reddys' social integration was his Swasti Dal Voluntary Corps. He established the Swasti Dal in 1912 with 35 volunteers, who were drawn from the Mala caste exclusively. The main objective of the Dal was to provide relief services in times of disasters and calamities. Reports in the *Andhra Patrika* (a newspaper) inform us of the services of the Dal volunteers during times of epidemics. For instance, during the early 1920's, when Hyderabad was struck by plague and cholera, the Dal volunteers helped the victims by distributing medicines, milk and fruits, and also in disposing the unclaimed dead bodies. Interestingly, Sir Ali Imam, president of the executive council of the Nizam's Government, in recognition of the services of the Dal awarded Bhagya Reddy and his team a certificate of appreciation.

In addition to these voluntary services, Bhagya Reddy was also involved as the organizing secretary of the *Jeeva Raksha Gnana Pracharak Mandali*, which was popularly known as the Deccan Humanitarian League. This League was established by Rai Balmukund in 1913 in order to spread the ideals of non-violence and the protection of animals.<sup>433</sup> But what was the significance of these voluntary activities by Bhagya Reddy and his team? As we have noted, Bhagya was influenced by the ideologies of the Brahmo Samaj and Aray Samaj and he came to firmly believe that overcoming caste based restrictions against Dalits and entering the domain, both physical and non-physical, of the caste-Hindus world be by means of good character and deeds. Through these *seva* activities, Bhagya Reddy wanted to prove that Dalits, who were always seen as people at the receiving end of the *seva* by the caste-Hindus, could render services to the caste-Hindus and thus change their behavior and character.

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<sup>433</sup>Ramesan, N. (1957). *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad, Vol. III*, Hyderabad: Govt. of AP, p. 235.

## CONCLUSION

The thesis conceived the education and empowerment as a preeminently historical *Adi-Andhra* movement construct. *Adi-Andhra* movement strategy not only unfolds Dalit cultural. Identity, it is also about general education and empowerment of universal appropriation, deployment and control. Such ideas are among those designed to support and maintain relations of power of resistance. Considered as ideologies, schooling strategies can be seen as articulating the physical-material and mental imaginative aspects of Dalit leadership. In short, successful schooling, strategies are able to take in a durable and ideological credible way, abstract (schooling/education) empowerment to (physically) concrete structural formation *as Adi-Andhra* movement. The education and empowerment in that sense corresponding to both an abstract ideology and concrete cultural reality in a historical given time and place. The process of educational consciousnesses linked the abstract ideology to the cultural reality in Deccan Nizams Hyderabad state and coastal Andhra of Madras presidency. The thesis concludes through the analysis of *Adi Andhra* movement that this lineage was established through scheduled caste federation of Ambedkar ideology of education and empowerment for dalits. *Adi-Andhra* movement and its examination of educational ideologies revealed its congruence with Ambedkar idea of modernity and nation building process through education. The study also associated this ideology and education.

Educational consciousness to the east while Deccan Nizams Hyderabad states desire for building a welfare state based on economic nationalism. This enquiry has identified two types of education and empowerment. Firstly the education as exemplified in the *Adi-Andhra* leadership. Bring forth the educational interests of the community, not objectively linked to colonial late imposed language, culture, tradition. This enquiry has identified two types of education and empowerment ideas. Firstly, education as exemplified in the *Adi-Andhra* leadership bring forth the educational interests of the community, not objectively linked to colonial state imposed language, culture and



tradition. Secondly, the education and empowerment as obtained through the *Adi-Andhra* and then scheduled caste federation identity movements is shown to have instrumental values rather than expressive values.

The education and empowerment of Dalits in the early phase was attracted with the support of Christian Missionaries in both Coastal Andhra region and Deccan Nizams Hyderabad region. In course of time the Dalits leadership fragmented ideologically and continued the spirit of establishing educational institutions and strategies for Dalits empowerment. The living conditions of Dalits during the colonial period was under stereotype social evils and beliefs caste promoted untouchability practices prevailed circumstances education and empowerment of Dalits shaped through uniform *Adi-Andhra* movement let leadership worked for Dalits under State and agency praxis. The educational space created by the Christian Missionaries continued with the independent and autonomous self-respect movement led the leadership in different ideological frameworks they are Pro-Communist, Pro-Gandhi and Pro-Ambedkar.

On par with the political interests of the Communists and Congress as politically led parties took its keen interest in the social development issues. The central to community unification as against to build the national movement, 'education' becomes key function for social relationship and community interaction. In such a situation, the tendency of 'education and empowerment' becomes central thematic issue for both Indian National Congress and Communist Party of India to work on for their political interests. This trend has seen positively for the education and empowerment of the deprived sections of the society. Dalits leadership led by *Adi-Andhras* as 'self' promoted community identity becomes historical and important in its nature for the overall development of the Dalits in general and education in particular.

The aspirations of the *Adi-Andhras* led movement are crystal clear in their expression through annually organized conferences at Provincial, District, Taluq and Village levels. In coastal Andhras under the eminent early leadership of Chintha Sheshaiah, Rayudu Gangaiah, Attili Suryanarayana, Kusuma Venkataramaiah, Sundru Venkaiah, Naralasetti Devendrudu, Nutakki Venkateshwarlu and Mangalagiri Raghavadasu later phase of the movement Kusuma Dharmaan, Elivadapalli, Bojja Appalaswamy continued the spirit of education and empowerment of Dalits. The expression of this leadership is so powerful organizing conferences and negotiating with the state and agencies. The powerful literacy trend continued reinventing the social knowledge of the Dalits community has brought forth in the form of popular folk to reach the mass Dalits population. It is this powerful ideological expression through literature and mass gatherings gave space for the establishment of schools and residential hostels within and outside of the Dalits community. The organized Dalit mass were captured by the Indian National Congress for their political interests through Gandhina *Harijana Sevaka Sanghams*.

Ambedkar has seen this becomes great danger to the Dalits community and planned to mobilize the Dalits mass under *Scheduled Caste Federation* for their own social, political and educational developments. The emergence of Ambedkar led leadership becomes prominent right after the round table conferences held at London. *Adi-Andhra* movement leaders believed the true leadership under Ambedkar and his educational social philosophy gained important emancipatory ideology for the Dalits community.

Similarly in the Deccan Nizams Hyderabad State *Adi-Andhra* led movement leadership become popular in organizing the Dalits under great Hyderabad and Secunderabad leaders like Bhagya Reddy Verma, Arigay Ramaswamy, B. S. Venkatarao, M. L. Audeiah in the early phase of the movement. Leaders like Battula Syam Sunder, P. R. Venkataswamy, M. B. Gowtham, J. H. Subbaiah, Eswari Bhai, T. V. Narayana, Sadalakshmi emerged as prominent literary and political figures among the Dalits. The contributions of M. L. Audeiah in constructing school along with residential accommodation for Dalits children

are remarkable in its nature. It is the Bhabgya Reddy Verma who paved the way to organize the Dalits mass under different social, cultural and political networks. B. S. Venkat Rao become the first education minister and negotiated with the Nizam state in creating one crore rupees of education grants for educational development of the Dalits.

*Adi-Hindu Social Service League* which was established under the eminent leadership of Bhagya Reddy Verma in 1922 is still existed and continuing based in Chadarghat, Hyderabad city as cultural and educational ideologue for Dalits. The Audeiah memorial High School at Ghasmandi, Bhagya Reddy Verma Memorial Girls High School at Chadarghat are memories of the great leadership existed even today. During the national movement Ambedkar and Gandhi visited these schools and met the Dalits leaders.

Education and Empowerment of Dalits could be seen through Pro-communist led leadership in Hyderabad region was under the Ravi Narayana Reddy, Suravaram Prathapa Reddy were supportive to the Dalits leaders in establishing schools at Dalits living *Bastis* (localities). Kattamanchi Ramakka High school was famous in Kummarigudem of Secundrabad still existed in Dalit locality. The education and empowerment in that sense corresponding to both an abstract ideology and concrete cultural reality in a historical given time and place. The process of educational consciousness's linked with the abstract ideology to that of cultural reality in Deccan Nizams Hyderabad state and coastal Andhra of Madras presidency. The thesis concludes through the analysis of *Adi-Andhra* movement that this lineage was established through Scheduled Caste Federation of Ambedkar ideology of education and empowerment for Dalits. *Adi-Andhra* movement and its examination of educational ideologies revealed its congruence with Ambedkar idea of modernity and nation building process through education. The study also associated this ideology and education.

Educational consciousness to the erstwhile Deccan Nizams Hyderabad states desire for building a welfare state based on economic nationalism. This enquiry has identified two types of education and empowerment. Firstly the education as exemplified in the *Adi-Andhra* leadership bring forth the educational interests of the community, not objectively linked to colonial late imposed language, culture, tradition. This enquiry has identified two types of education and empowerment ideas. Firstly, education as exemplified in the *Adi-Andhra* leadership bring forth the educational interests of the community, not objectively linked to colonial state imposed language, culture and tradition. Secondly, the education and empowerment as obtained through the *Adi-Andhra* and then scheduled caste federation identity movements is shown to have instrumental values rather than expressive values.

The structure of education as conceived by Ambedkar is very analytical perusal for the advancement of the weaker sections of the society. His ideals on education were deep in creating the power for strengthening equal environment. All his life experimented that the social and economic development of the weaker sections of the society is only reality when the society gets educated. Ambedkar believed that the society becomes morally strong when the weaker sections get educated and such a society works for the overall human development. According to Ambedkar India is a caste ridden hierarchically divided society which promotes the culture and administration system that has not constructed extreme virtue of the education of an individual. The conditions created to Dalits during the pre-Independence period is experienced the faculty of education through *Adi-Andhra* movement and similar movements across the country for the advancement of the Dalits sections. The existing educational system had never created an opportunity of education to the Dalits until the emergence of self-respect movements which feels the utmost importance of education by the Dalits community itself.

Gandhi involved in working thought out his life towards mankind. No doubt Gandhi is a great social reformer and national leader and stanch believer of truth, non-violence and

Satyagraha are the methods for bringing social and political changes among the Indian people. The path chosen by him was on the lines of *Varnashrama Dharma* (Caste System) as firm believer of a caste-Hindu personality. The proposition of education and empowerment methods of Gandhi protested against the ills of the western civilization and machines in India and promoted the Indian mechanization of caste system. The social philosophy of Gandhi in eradication of untouchability by inventing new name to the scattered depressed classes to *Harijans* is to bringing forth under Shudra Varna of Caste-Hindu system. The Gandhi's intervention in to the matters of education and empowerment of Dalits has pure politics of reinventing traditional caste hierarchy among the cross sections of the society. The idea of education according to Gandhi is to create the tradition of Hinduism mitigated with the principle *Dharma* for communal harmony without leaving once own religion,

The anti-caste movements and self-respected movements feel education is necessary for rights, duties, organization and self-respect. It is this feeling created a situation to establish schooling for the upliftment of the Dalits community. For Ambedkar compulsory education develops the empowerment of the individual economic capacity and that economic society brings social justice and humanity among cross sections of the society. The pre-conceived caste notions will come to an end and an attitude of humanity and moral dignity of an individual develops through persuasion of education. Ambedkar always believed education is will always linked with the empowerment and development of any backward community or society and moves ahead towards humanity and mankind.

It is further that the education and empowerment of the Dalits are based purely personal that is based on the single personal choice that created individual value in the society. That value has to be created by the community through the formation of institutions and good learning environment. According to Ambedkar the subject of education is a policy for the individual character, behavior, organization, experience, feeling and expression of an individual than acquiring the capacities of reading and writing. The Gadhi's invention

of 'basic education' as against the British English education that proclaimed the Hindu cultural tradition of India was not integrated the Dalits overall education and empowerment. His educational philosophy is termed as idealistic in nature, realist in method and spiritual in value.

On the other end Ambedkar as sole representative of the Dalits community believed humanism. The main object of Ambedkars social philosophy is man. The reality of the empirical man has to experience the real life and its existed social conditioned relations. According to him man is the center for existed things in the nature. Dharma is the driving force behind the individual being for the existence and moral philosophy that shapes the man. The educational ideas profound in him was based on the morality of an individual that comes through equal educational opportunities without any pre-conceived prejudice and notions.

Ambedkar was never for the caste or Varna System that could liberate the individual to grow freely. The social philosophy constructed by him was based on the principle of *Dharma* and *Sangha* which promotes equality, liberty, fraternity, education, agitation and organization of the community. The modernity of education and empowerment of Ambedkar is found on the pragmatic approach to education and empowerment which was not like Gandhian message of *Satyagraha* is mere technique but of complexity. For Ambedkar freedom of an individual is more important than the freedom of the nation which is completely opposite to Gandhian thought of education. The secular aspect of education should meet the needs of the people and reflect the greatness of an individual. The modern technology and machines should bring forth in the field of education rather promoting caste hierarchy in the name of tradition and culture. Individual should be given ample free time to think for his/her own development that kind of freedom leads to civilized social development of the society.

Furthermore, Ambedkar believed that the education and empowerment has its great material benefits of an individual personal advancement therefore it should be reached utmost backward sections of the society for the greater development. The basic idea of education according to Ambedkar is an individual should be democratic in nature and rational in outlook with the belief of equality, liberty, fraternity and justice. Although the education was pretentious according to the motion of the society mentality in which conditions of creativity continues to flow towards humanity are occupy primary position for ever. In Indian tradition of education Buddha come first in giving importance towards mass educational development across the caste-class, gender and regionalism. Buddhist pattern of education denied all forms of caste practices that provoked the society. The main propagation of education in Buddha promoted is the uniformity of educational ecosystem. Ambedkar found reality in Buddhist patronage of education that liberates Indian society on the pinnacle of caste hierarchy in three main modern principles that are existed long back in Buddhism are liberty, Equality, and fraternity.

The education and empowerment coordination based on three main principles in Buddhist Prudence (Pragya), Compassion (Karuna) and Equality (Samata) which Ambedkar praised to follow for greater extent is the way forward for the Dalits development. According to Ambedkar neither god nor the soul can save the society from troubles. It is the individual rationality that comes through the virtue of education can judge his/her self towards the progress of humanity. The democratic educational principles provide rational human relationships true to live life of happiness, peace and prosperity.