

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

#### 4.0. Introduction

Any educational endeavour in a society does not operate in isolation. Social, political and economic undercurrents in the society become powerful determinants in educational enterprise. An attempt has been made to understand the spread of literacy in Ernakulam district, keeping in mind the above mentioned forces operating in the society.

Data collected from various sources have been analysed in this chapter under objective (1) & (2). Objective (1) is given below for reference.

Objective (1) was to study historically the attempts at spread of literacy in Ernakulam district in pre - and post-independence period.

#### 4.1. Ernakulam District

Ernakulam district located between latitudes  $9^{\circ} 47'$  and  $10^{\circ} 17'$  and longitudes  $76^{\circ} 9'$  and  $76^{\circ} 47'$  is bounded on the north by Trichur district, on the east by Idukki district, on the south by Kottayam and Alleppey districts and on the west by the Lakshadweep sea.

Since the district comprised territories which formed part

of the erstwhile princely states of Cochin and Travancore and the Malabar district of the old Madras state, its history represents the history of these three regions. Major portion of Cochin and Kanayannur talukas were part of the former Cochin state, Parur, Alwaye, Kunnathunad, Muvattupuzha and Kothamangalam talukas excluding some villages beyond to the erstwhile Travancore state and Fort Cochin belonged to the old Malabar district of Madras Presidency. However, the history of the district centres mainly on the rise and growth of Cochin and Cochin synchronises with the history of Cochin state <sup>1</sup>.

#### 4.2.0. Cochin State (at the turn of 19th century)

Social, political and economic characteristics of Cochin society, at the turn of 19th century have been analysed here under various sub-heads. The educational enterprise for the period is studied and analysed against this background.

##### 4.2.1. The Political Powershift

The history of Cochin of the modern period begins with the accession to the throne of Rama Varma, the Sakthan Thampuran (1790-1805). Even before his accession to the throne, the power of the Nair nobles in Cochin has been crippled by Paliath Comi Achan (Prime Minister of Cochin). Their powers had been vested in officers directly appointed by the king. The wealthiest of the nobles had been deprived of their property and reduced to abject poverty. The state had been divided into talukas called Kovilakathumvatukkals each of which was under a Karyakar. The village under the Pravarthikar had become the lowest

unit of administration. The Sakthan Thampuran continued the policy of centralisation. While suppressing the power of the feudal nobility Sakthan Thampuran also took steps to cripple the power of the Brahmin clergy. He discontinued the institution of the Yogiathiripads, the ecclesiastical heads of the Vadkkun-nathan and Perumanam Devaswams. The management of these temples<sup>2</sup> was taken over by the government.

The Rajah entered into a treaty with the English East India Company dated 6-1-1791, according to which he agreed to throw off all allegiance to Tippoo Sultan and became a tributary to the Company.<sup>3</sup> Although he was responsible for the conclusion of the treaty, his relation with the English was strained later. After his death, there was political turmoil in Cochin state. The Paliath Achan revolted against the English East India Company in 1809 and was deported to Madras.<sup>4</sup> By a treaty dated 6-5-1809 Cochin became a subsidiary ally of the British and accepted a British force for protection. The Rajah undertook to be guided by the Company's advice in all internal matters.<sup>5</sup> In 1812, Col. Munro, the British Resident took the administration of Cochin in his own hand and became the first Diwan of Cochin state.

#### 4.2.2. A Society Rooted in Casteism

Like elsewhere in India, casteism prevailed in the 19th century Kerala. Cochin society was no exception to this irrational practice. Untouchability and unapproachability (keeping a polluting distance) were fiercely observed

and enforced. Perhaps , the severity of caste observations in Kerala was unparalleled, although caste practices were known to the rest of the country. Ward and Conner who travelled all over the country and conducted a survey of Travancore and Cochin states (1816-1820) observed :

An indelible line here (Travancore-Cochin) separates the different ranks; in no part of India are the unnatural divisions so strongly marked, so anxiously regarded, or the  
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degrading or ennobling associations in such activity.

Nambutiris occupied the highest position on the social rung. They were the land-owning class of the society. But they never cultivated their land. Buchanan visiting Kerala in 1800 made the following comments :

I have already mentioned, that the Namburis pretend to have been possessed of all the landed property of Malayala, ever since its creation ; ... All the remainder, forming by far the greater part, was the Jenm, or property, of the Namburi Brahmans; and this right was, and by them is still considered as unalienable; nor will they allow, that any other person can with propriety be called a Jenmcar, or proprietor of land. As, however, both duty and inclination prevented the Namburis from attending to the management of their lands, they took various means of obtaining an income from the Sudras, to whom they  
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granted a temporary right of occupancy.

At the lower end of the social hierarchy amongst the caste Hindus were the Nairs (Sudras). They were the military class. They also acted as servants and supervisors to the Nambutiri households and land respectively. They were considered the nobility of the society. Although supervisors to the Nambutiri landholdings, Nairs were neither interested in agriculture nor in trade. They seemed to have considered any occupation other than soldiering as degrading.



Buchanan and Day made almost similar observations regarding the Nairs.

Both Nairs and inland Moplas pretend to be soldiers by birth, and disdain all industry. Their chief delight is in parading up and down fully armed. Each man has a firelock and at least one sword; ... As every man walks about with his sword drawn, assassinations are very frequent; which indeed cannot be avoided among a barbarous people with weapons always ready; ... The whole of these Nairs formed the militia of Malayala, directed by the Namburis, and Governed by the Rajahs. Their chief delight is in arms; but they are more inclined to use them for assassination or surprise, than in open field. Their submission to their superiors was great; but they exacted deference from those under them with a cruelty, and arrogance, ... A Nair was expected instantly to cut down a Tiar, or Mucua, who was presumed to defile him by touching his person; and a similar fate awaited a slave, who did not

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turn out of the road as a Nair passed.

The Nairs are a proud and warlike race, arrogant to inferiors, subservient to superiors, profuse in promises,

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and slack in their performance.

What was the social status of the out-caste under the caste canons? The Izhavas, the Pulayas and many other sub-castes comprised the out-caste population of the society. The following accounts will more or less reveal the social condition in which these unfortunate lot lived.

Martyrs to the distinctions of caste, they (Izhavas) are treated by the higher orders with supercilious scorn; too poor to invite their rapacity they are held by them in bondage; at least they are owed into a servitude, mitigated to be sure when contrasted to that of the

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predial slaves.

For the most part of the Tiyans (Izhavas) - slaves of

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Nairs and Nambutiri - lived in one-roomed hut.

The chogans (Izhavas) are a people despised by the higher castes, such as the Nair and Brahmans, who nevertheless in former times whenever they required money, invariably looked to these classes from whence to obtain it. ... Chogans in the Native state, were not permitted to wear any clothing above the waist whether they were males or  
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females.

Most of them (Chovans/Izhavas) are serfs of the Nairs to whom the kings of the country give them in order that their masters may be supported by their labour; and these  
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protect and show favour to these slaves.

Regarding the occupation of the Izhavas, Buchanan and Day made the following observations.

The proper duty of the caste (Izhavas) is to extract the juice from palm trees, to boil it down to Jagory [sic], and to distil it into spirituous liquors; but they are also very diligent as cultivators, porters and cutters of  
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firewood.

... they cultivated dry crops, took care of their (Brahmans, Nairs and Syrians) gardens, and tended cattle; receiving in return, a rather uncertain remuneration. ... They are now mostly known as toddy drawers, this laborious occupation is carried on by the poorer classes, ... They also manufacture coarse sugar (jaggery) from toddy, distil arrack, make country vinegar, act as cultivators: and in jungly places, as collectors of  
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firewood.

Pulayas, the agrestic slaves, could be bought and sold by their masters. Predial slavery existing in Kerala with all its severity had caught the attention of Ward and Conner, who were prompted to say, "Predial slavery is common to a considerable portion of the west coast; but its extend is comparatively greater, and the prejudices of the people renders  
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the degradation it entails more complex".

By far the greater part of the labour in the field is performed by slaves, ... These are the absolute property of their Devarus, or lords, and may be employed in any work that their masters please. They are not attached to the soil, but may be sold or transferred in any manner that the master thinks fit, ... They (slaves) erect for themselves small temporary huts, that are little better than large baskets. These are placed in the rice fields while the crop is on the ground, and near the stacks while

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it is thrashing.

Treated like plague and despised by the upper castes, wrote Ward and Conner, these Pulayas were not allowed to make better huts. Houses of the out-castes were no better than or larger than kennels and baskets which often could not withstand the fury of the nature. According to Ward and Conner although, the pulayas and cattle shared slavery, similar in nature, the social status of them (Pulays) was much lower than these cattle. And their market value was not much higher than these cattle.

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There were caste restrictions to be followed in the building of a house, not only in the case of the out-castes but also for the caste Hindus.

Most of the Nairs even as late as the second half of the 19th century, were too poor to make better houses. Under any circumstance if they tried to improve the condition of their houses, it may have been considered as a crime against the state: for there are certain proclamations bestowing freedom to make better houses. According to the 1817 proclamation by the Rajah of Travancore, all subjects of the state were permitted thereafter to tile the roof of their houses.

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On a similar line, Day observed :

When the Portuguese arrived few Natives were allowed to live in anything but thatched huts, with mud or bamboo leaf walls. Traders such as the Moplahs, were allowed to build stone walls ... in consequence of the risks they were

otherwise exposed to . . . . Whole village could thus easily be burnt down, if the inhabitants refused to pay their taxes, or their evacuation were necessary.

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From Logan's notes, it is seen that houses were known by different names according to the occupant's caste.

The house itself is called by different names according to the occupant's caste. . . . Inferior castes, however, cannot thus speak of their houses in the presence of the autocratic Nambutiri. In lowliness and self-abasement they have, when talking to such an one, to style their houses 'dungheaps' and they and their doings can only be alluded to in phrases every one of which is an abasement and an insult.

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Social life under the caste canons was the focus of the foregoing analysis. Were there any other socially degrading practice existing in the society, outside the caste canons?

One of the horrors of Malabar, which the British first endeavoured to put an end to, was the kidnapping of children, by gangs of Moplahs, who sold them to the supercargoes of European vessels, more especially to the French at Mahe, and the Dutch at Cochin. Numbers of poor innocent children, were thus entrapped, and carried away, to pass the residue of their lives, in hopeless slavery. It was enacted, that all stealers of children, or persons engaged in this traffic, should be scourged and fined : but even this, did not put a stop to this infamous trade. The English Government, then wrote to that of the Dutch in Cochin, requesting them to abolish the practice of buying children for slaves; but they declined, stating that they realized large sums of money by it! When Cochin was taken,

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almost every servant in the place was found to be slaves.

Forbes who stayed in Anjengo (Travancore) for a few years reveals another shocking as well as miserable picture of the society.

Rice is sown at the commencement of the rains ; which do not always fall as expected, and in some instances they have been entirely withheld for a whole season. Should the ground be only partially inundated, the ear droops, and

yields but half a crop. On such occasions the poor wretches are driven by hunger to Anjengo and other sea ports, where you see a youth selling himself for sustenance, a mother offering her infant son for a bag of rice and a desponding father parting with his wife and

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children for forty or fifty rupees.

This trade may not have been unknown to Cochin as it flourished at sea ports and the root cause of which was always hunger. Bishop Middleton's description of Cochin in 1816, does not help to think differently from the above. "... it proved to be in a condition, in all respects, sufficiently miserable" .

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Social life under caste rules was one of deprivation and degradation. Poverty further worsened the situation. To understand the economic life of the people, a brief study of the State economy is needed. How progressive was the State economy ? To what extent did the existing social system play a role in shaping the State economy and there by deciding the economic life of the people ? An attempt has been made in the following section to look into these aspects of the agricultural economy of the society, because Kerala was an agrestic society and it remains so even today.

#### 4.2.3. The Agricultural Economy

It can be seen from data presented under 4.2.2. that land was the monopoly of the Nambutiri Brahmins. But they never cultivated the very land they owned. While duty and inclination kept them away from hardwork, to what extent did they associate themselves with the land ? A quote from Logan, who lived in Malabar for more than two decades (latter half of 19th

century) in different official capacities and knew Kerala society as a native would know, may summarily answer the above questions.

Most of them do not know where much of their property lies, having never even seen it. They do not know the persons who cultivate it, and do not concern themselves as to whether their tenants sublet or not. Most of them care nothing  
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for the welfare of their tenants.

Owned and abandoned by them, how did the Nambutiri Brahmins manage their land ? Was it favourable to the growth of agricultural economy ? An examination into these aspects may help to understand the economic conditions in which this society lived.

An eyewitness account of Buchanan who travelled extensively through Kerala in the year 1800 A.D. is reproduced below.

I now return to the manner in which the Namburi proprietors managed their arable lands; for as I have before mentioned almost the whole of Malayala was the property of these Brahmins. ... A much greater number of the landlords let their lands to farmers called Cudians (tenants), for what was called Vir-Patom, or neat produce. The allowance made to these farmers was very small. They deducted from the gross produce the quantity of seed sown, and an equal quantity, which was the whole granted them for their stock and trouble ; and they gave the remainder to the landlord under the name of Vir-Patom, or neat produce. This was a tenure very unfavourable to agriculture. The farmer had no immediate interest in raising more than two seeds, of which he was always sure and the only check upon him was the fear of being turned away from his farm, which was a very inadequate preventive against indolence, where the reward for industry was so scanty.

By far the greater part of the arable lands, however, had been long mortgaged, or granted on Canum (money received on lease of land) when a man agreed to advance money on a mortgage, the proprietor and he determined upon what was to be considered as the neat produce (vir-patom) of the land to be mortgaged. The person who advanced the money, and who was called Canumcar, took upon himself the management of the estate, and gave a sum of money, the interest of

which, at the usual rate of 10 percent, per annum, was deducted from the neat produce ; and the balance, if any remained, was paid to the proprietor of the estate. Sometimes the balance was fixed in money ; at other times the proprietor was allowed, instead of it, a certain portion of the gross produce in kind, such as a fifth and a tenth. The proprietor always reserved a right of reassuming the estate whenever he pleased, by paying up the sum originally advanced, and no allowance was made for improvements. This tenure also is evidently unfavourable to agriculture ; as no prudent man would lay out money on an estate, of which he might be deprived whenever he had rendered it more valuable ... that this tenure prevented improvement and that agriculture, as an

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art, was at least not progressive .

Under section 4.2.2., it has already been pointed out that agricultural labour was the burden of the agrestic slaves called Pulayas. Caste - subcaste restrictions made it imperative that the Pulaya alone slog with the soil. Most of the supervisors and tenants were Nairs who kept a considerable distance from the Pulayas lest they pollute them (Nair). Hence, it can be easily understood that the responsibility for cultivation fell on the shoulders of these Pulayas whose social condition was one of misery and poverty. There is no reason to believe that agriculture would have been flourishing under these circumstances.

Accounts of Whiteway in 1504, Ralphitch in 1580 and Gollanas in 1748 show that rice produced and stocked in Cochin could not last for the entire season and as a result had to be imported <sup>27</sup>. However, this does not mean that rice distribution was done equally. Rice as the staple food, did not find place in many of the households for more than a few days every year. According to Ward and Conner, people belonging to the low caste could live on rice only for a few

days as their meagre stock got exhausted very soon. They were often found looking for food (tuber etc) in neck-deep water and in the wilderness. To contain hunger, at times they even depended upon creatures like rats<sup>28</sup>. Hunger stricken people selling themselves or their kith and kin for food and rice, we have already seen.

Paddy cultivation seems to have been the only production oriented systematic cultivation taking place in old Kerala. It is only by the beginning of 19th century that coconut farming got established as systematic cultivation. Coconut trees needed to be tended for more than 12 years to yield. The then prevailing tenancy laws of 12 years of lease might have literally prevented coconut farming to get established to systematic cultivation. No tenant would take interest in such cultivation from which he was not sure of even one produce. The increased cultivation of coconut in Kerala, of which 75%, happened during<sup>29</sup> 20th century.

Towards the end of 18th century, Cochin was still clearing land for cultivation. Arable land covered under cultivation was limited and perhaps one of the reasons why Cochin failed to produce sufficient rice.

About the year 1778, large tracts of land were cleared, reclaimed and planted by private persons, in the Cochin State : they holding, the ground rent free, until the trees began to bear, when a small ground rent was imposed. ... This was continued until 1793, ... the Rajah ... on the best means of raising money, to pay his subsidy, placed a tax of 12.5% on the produce of the trees, and 30% on that of rice cultivation. In 1802, money was again urgently required, and the Rajah resumed all these lands, which however owing to the indifference of



the officials, and the damage often wantonly perpetrated, by the late owners, soon again became waste : consequently it was judged advisable, to re-farm them out, at a lower rate than in 1793.

After a time, the Sircar, or Native State, found that it was a loser, by receiving rent in produce, as in the event of bad seasons, it obtained nothing ; so a fixed amount, payable in money, was determined upon, computed according to the productiveness of the land, and the  
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value of the rice.

A few points could be considered here. Both the land and the produce were taxable and the tax on the produce was high. Owners lived under threat of eviction. Rent had to be paid in cash than in produce, computed according to the productiveness of the land, and the value of the rice.

The very social system existed in Cochin (and elsewhere in Kerala) prevented a progressive agricultural economy. Land and labour, crucial components of agricultural economy, were the prerogative of the caste canons . As a result, additional arable lands being cleared for cultivation may not have taken place frequently. This further delimited the scope of agricultural production. The social order prevailed in the society was unfavourable to the growth of agricultural economy.

After examining the political, social and economic characteristics of the society under separate heads, an overview is presented below for immediate reference, taking into consideration all the three aspects and highlighting the main features of the society at the turn of 19th century.

#### 4.2.4. An Overview

Politically, Cochin State was entering into a modern period by 19th century. The Nair nobles were crippled of their power hitherto they enjoyed by virtue of their social status. Rajah's appointees were replacing them in a centrally monitored administration. Curtailing of the power of the Brahmin clergy and the feudal nobility was socially significant too, in the existing social system where caste doctrine was a predeciding factor. The treaty with the British had far reaching effect. A new class of rulers and officials who could run the government machinery was slowly replacing the old. The administration required that these clerks and officials be 'qualified' to do the job irrespective of their social status. Soldiering Nairs were loosing their job as gun powder, cavalry and artillery wings took the place of sword and shield. Consequently, Nairs swelled the rank of the unemployed.

On the political front it looked as though Cochin society at the turn of 19th century was stepping into a modern period. To effect a considerable change the society needed to shake off the shackles of casteism. But it was not to happen so immediately as casteism was deeply rooted in the society. Under section 4.2.2, the social life and status of the Nambutiris, the Nairs, the Izhavas and the 'Pulayas are highlighted. However, it does not imply that Cochin society was comprised of these four communities only. Although there were only about 64 castes when the caste canons were codified, by the time censuses were being conducted, the number seems to have risen to

200 . Hence, it is beyond the scope of this study to describe all of them. Nevertheless, these four communities by and large represent the Kerala Hindu society. Nambutiris kept a sway over the entire society. Every lower caste suffered at the hands of the uppercaste. Prevalence of sub-caste practices brought further suffering from within the caste. The lower one went down on the social ladder, unimaginable was the misery he/she lived in. In the absence of occupational freedom, most of them, especially the low caste people, lived in slavery and abject poverty.

There were very few Kshatriyas and Vaisyas in Cochin. Other constituents of the population were Christians, Muslims and Jews. They formed a minority and were mostly traders. These communities did not follow caste practices as the Hindus did.

Paddy was the main produce of the agricultural sector. The existing tenancy laws and the manner in which the land was managed, went against the interest of a progressive agricultural economy. Most of the people lived in a food gathering economy. Food production and import of rice fell short of meeting the needs of the people. Because, the purchasing power of the common man was very low and the remuneration received in kind (rice) was too little to last long. Attempts to reclaim more land for cultivation seem to have been taking place only at the turn of the century (19th). By the beginning of the 19th century, the government demanded that taxes and rents be paid in cash instead of produce. Thus, cash economy was slowly taking the place of kind economy. The foreign rulers also insisted on

cash economy. With cash economy gaining momentum, demand for account and book-keeping also increased.

In the foregoing pages effort was made to give a sketch of the socio-political and economic background of Cochin society at the turn of 19th century. This exercise was needed to study the educational enterprises in a society at a given time as education is a sub-system in the larger socio-political and economic spectrum of the society. The study of spread of literacy cannot be done without knowing the system of education prevailing in the society at various point of time. It was only in 1818 A.D. that the Government of Cochin intervened in the field of education. A brief account of the system of education prevailed in Cochin society before 1818 A.D follows next.

#### 4.3.1. Education in Cochin (before 1818 A.D)

Cochin state did not show any interest in the education of the people until 1818 A.D.. In the absence of a state run machinery for education, it is interesting to learn about the system of education that catered to the people, till 1818 A.D. The following lines from the Cochin State Manual (1911) give a fairly good picture of the indigenous system of education.

Prior to the administration of Colonel Munro the Government of Cochin did not at any time directly interest itself in the education of the people. The state did not maintain or aid any schools, but left the people to make their own arrangements for the education of their children. There were - most of them are still in existence - several matts where Namburi youths received their board and education free. They were taught the rudiments of knowledge in their own homes till the ceremony of upanayana, or

investiture with the holy thread, after which they resorted to one or another of these matts for their further studies. In these institutions all of them were taught to recite the Vedas, while those who had the inclination for it were also instructed in Sanskrit literature and science. The teachers were learned Namburis who generally resided in the matts and received no remuneration for their services except free board and lodging. As members of other castes were not admitted to these institutions, higher education in Sanskrit was practically monopolised by the Brahmans. The other classes, however, especially the Ambalavasis and Nayars, were not left without education. Most of the well-to-do families had their family tutors, whose occupation was generally hereditary, and the children of the poorer families in the neighbourhood were sent to them for such instruction as they stood in need of and for which they had to pay next to nothing. In the rural parts every village had its own Ezhuttachan, or hereditary school master, who received the pupils in his own house and accepted such payments as the means of their parents admitted of. These masters taught the children reading and writing, the multiplication table and the recitation of Sanskrit hymns, and in some rare instances, Sanskrit poetry, drama and rhetoric were also taught. As children of all standards were taught promiscuously by a single teacher, their progress was necessarily slow ; five to ten years were required for the acquisition of these

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rudiments of knowledge.

The above account explains the manner by which the upper castes arranged for the education of their children. From the data presented and analysed under sections (4.2.2.) & (4.2.3.), we have already seen the despicable condition in which the out-castes lived. In such a casteist society, to what extent education was accessible to them ? Did the upper caste approve of the education of the low-caste people ?

The vedic Brahmans were, of and are still it may be added, the last persons in the world to approve of educating the commonalty, for that would have tended to take from themselves the monopoly of learning they

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so long possessed.

Although Logan made the above observation about the Malabar Nambutiris in the last quarter of the 19th century, it is to be

noted that the people of Kerala belonging to the three political divisions (Malabar, Travancore & Cochin), socially and culturally remained by and large the same.

With the opposition from the upper caste, were they, the out-castes left completely without education ? We have already seen that occupations were based on caste. There was a sub-caste called Kaniyans (astrologers) who belonged to the inferior caste of Izhavs. They seemed to have catered to the educational aspirations of this inferior caste.

The Cunnians, or Astrologer are a low but learned and distinct division of the Chogans (Izhavas). ... They are permitted to read the Yogi Shashtra, which contains no prayers ... the Cunnya Coorcoopoo (Schoolmasters), who are  
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astrologers, who are equal to them (Chogans).

These learned astrologers who belonged to the out-caste shared their occupation (astrology) with the Nambutiris. Some of these astrologers might have been schoolmasters and some perhaps practising only astrology. Knowledge of the 3R's might have been useful in the practice of astrology. Hence it may be true that 3R's were not entirely unknown to this inferior caste (Izhavas). At least a few of them might have been literates among this community.

However, the slave community (Pulayas and many others) seemed to have no such access to education.. Under the existing caste practices, it was nearly impossible that even a school master belonging to the inferior caste, Izhava, would have admitted a Pulaya or any other slave as a student. There is no reason to believe that any one of them might have been a literate

among them.

There were other educational institutions known as 'Pallikudams' or 'Kudipallikudams' catering to popular education all over Kerala. Whether these institutions had its origin in the Buddhist and Jain or Christian and Muslim influences in Kerala is speculative. The word Palli is colloquial which means the place of worship of Christians or Muslims.

Both Buddhist and Jain monks were concerned about popular education and their 'Pallis' or non-Vedic religious centres  
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became centre of popular education as well.

To most Keralites, even today, Pallikudam or Kudipallikudam is a very familiar word which they colloquially use for school. shows the popularity these traditional institutions might have enjoyed. These institutions were, obviously, outside the purview of the caste dogmas. Hence commonalty also might have found place in these institutions.

How wide spread was the indigenous system of education ? How wide spread was literacy among the people at the turn of 19th century ? For want of statistical data one is left to speculate. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there did exist a culturally traditional network of indigenous system of education in this society from a very early period.

The state intervention in popular education began only in 1818 A.D. Government's attempt at popular education is analysed here under.

#### 4.3.2. The State and Popular Education - 19th Century

Government participation in popular education began with the opening of state schools. The following paragraph gives an idea regarding the objective with which these schools were opened and about the instruction which went on in these schools.

In accordance with a proclamation issued in 1818 at the instance of Colonel Munro, thirty-three vernacular schools were established by the Sirkar in that year, one in each Pravritti, with the avowed object of training up young men for state service as writers and accountants. No change was however made in the manner and matter of instruction : each school had only a single teacher, and the curriculum of studies remained the same as that under the old village school masters. Naturally therefore, these schools did not realise the expectations of their founder, and they were consequently considered superfluous, and were abolished in 1832. Three years later, Divan Sankarasubbayya established six vernacular schools, one in each Taluka, but these too, though some what better conducted than the Pravritti schools, were not much of an improvement upon the private indigenous schools. When English schools were established in all the Talukas some years later, they became practically useless, but they long survived

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their usefulness, and were abolished only in 1890.

Ward and Conner reported the total number of schools in Cochin as 70 in their Survey Memoir for the period 1816-1820 (Survey was conducted between July 1816 and the end of 1820).

Table 4.1. shows the number of schools according to districts, population and area.



Table 4.1. Number of Educational Institutions in Cochin, 1816 - 1820.

Name of District	Public Institn. for Education	Total Popul-ation	Area in Square Miles	Population to the Square Mile
Cochee or Cochin	9	43496	62.1	701.5
Trichoowapayoor	10	23939	165.1	145.0
Mukundapuram	5	18648	75.3	245.3
Thullapilly	5	20026	104.0	192.5
Kunneeamur	3	36115	81.0	445.8
Yainamkul	4	15108	60.0	251.8
Chaylayekurray	4	28141	167.1	106.8
Chittoor	25	14196	285.0	49.8
Codacharyree	4	16312	342.3	54.7
Kodungaloor	1	7022	18.1	390.1
Total	70	223003	1360.0	163.97

Source : Ward and Conner : "Dazajadda table of Cochin or particulars connected with its statistics" and "Population table of Cochin or particulars connected with its statistics" pp.49&50.

According to table (4.1), there was one school per 3186 of population and one school per 19.43 square miles in Cochin for the period 1816-1820. Distribution of schools per district is given under the head 'Public Institutions for Education' (col.2) by Ward & Conner. But there were only thirty three schools opened by the government in 1818 A.D. Hence, the rest of the schools (thirty seven) mentioned by Ward and Conner should include the

privately run indigenous schools. From the analysis of the data presented in table (4.1), it becomes clear that even after the intervention of the government began, large majority of people remained outside the portals of these learning institutions.

There were attempts at English education about the same period as the opening of vernacular schools. But in this case the government involvement was only partial.

The first attempts to introduce the study of the English language was made by a missionary, Rev. J. Dawson who opened an English school at Mattancheri in 1818, in aid of which he received a grant from the Sirkar. The school did not thrive and had to be closed for want of pupils within three years. ... another school was established in 1835 in the same place, ... Two years later an English school was opened at Trichur, and another at Tripunitura for the education of the princes and others and one was opened at Ernakulam in 1845. These were purely elementary schools, and continued as such till 1865, when the school at Ernakulam was placed under the charge of an European headmaster, Mr.A.F. Sealy, ... Since his appointment, the number attending the school increased rapidly, and its standard were gradually raised. ... In the meantime district schools were opened in all the Talukas and were in 1877 placed under the direction of Mr.Sealy. These schools steadily rose in numbers and in standard, and most of them were subsequently raised to

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the status of high schools .

Mr. Sealy was vested with the power to inspect all the English schools in the state. This was a step taken towards progress in English education as every school was expected to maintain a certain standard.

The following table 4.2. shows the number of literates in English for the census years 1891 and 1901.

Table 4.2. Number of literates in English by sex (Cochin State) 1891-1901.

Literate in English per 10,000			
1901 All ages		1891 All ages	
Male	Female	Male	Female
108	12	26	3

Source : Subsidiary Table IV (Census, 1911) p.55.

From the above table it can be seen that English education was not so popular among the masses. However, Nairs seem to have been showing interest in English education as can be seen from the 'Report of the Headmaster,' Mr. Sealy.

It will be perceived that the number of Sudra has increased 50% whereas the number of boys belonging to the other classes remain much the same as they were at the end of the year 1865. It appears hence that the sudras are especially foremost in availing themselves of the education offered by the sirkar and from the fact that out of the 66 who have entered the school 5 only have left it (a very small number when compared with others in the column of those who have left) that they also value the education they receive and are steady students.

Effort was on to popularise vernacular education among the masses. A few progressive steps taken by the government to spread elementary education were the introduction of grants-in-aid in 1889 and the organisation of a department of vernacular instruction.

In 1889, a set of rules was framed for giving grants - in - aid of private schools, in consequence of which several schools sprang up under the management of private agencies.

... In 1890, a great impetus was given to the education of the masses by the organisation of a department of vernacular instruction. State schools were opened for boys and girls in most of the Pravrittis, and a large number of indigenous schools were brought into the aided list. In the beginning of 1892 the vernacular and English departments were amalgamated, and placed under the control  
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of a superintendent of education, ...

Although, systematic grants-in-aid provision was begun only in 1889 it is to be believed that there did exist government assistance in some manner, for Day made the following observations regarding schools in Cochin.

The schools in Cochin are rather inferior ; the Protestant free schools, are under the supervision of the Missionary chaplain. There is also a school for boarders, opened in 1859, which contains about twenty boys and girls, the average cost of each, being about fifty rupees a year. The "Free Schools" have a small endowment, arising from an old Church fund and receives Government assistance.

Table 4.3. 'Free Schools' Receiving Government Aid 1853-1857.

Type of school	establi- shed in	No. of Pupils	Govt. aid Rs.	Endow- ment	Subscri- ptions	Fees
Boys	1857	124	384	275	30	92
Girls	1853	46	130	"	119	"
Verna- cular	1856	89	6	"	211	15

Thus it will be seen that the attendance in them is but small, government aid for education in Cochin, which was received during the years under review (the last obtainable  
40  
in Cochin ) was Rs.520 : ...

The years under review correspond to 1859-60, as Day's data were based on 'Report of Director of Public Instruction, for 1859-60.

The above account shows that missionaries were supported financially to some extent by the state in their efforts to spread elementary education. However, attendance in these schools was thin ; indicating modern education was still not popular among the masses or their preference to indigenous schools. Day mentions about 300 private schools in Cochin (during 1860s), other than the six vernacular schools maintained by the state in different talukas and the seven schools run by the protestant mission ; one English school, five vernacular schools for boys and one for girls.

Since 1818, the state had been experimenting with its role in popular education without making much breakthrough for more than six decades. Data available are presented in the following tables to make a comparative study of the educational progress before and after the introduction of grants - in - aid (1889) and the organisation of department of vernacular education (1890).

Table 4.4. No of Schools in Cochin during 1874.

Type of Schools	No. of Schools
The Maharajah's High School (English)	1
District Schools (English)	5
Hebrew School	1
Sanskrit School	1
Vernacular Schools	6
Total	14

Source : Report of Administration, Cochin (RAC) Appendix XI, 1873-74, p.23.

Schools listed in the above table 4.4 were state run schools. Official documents did not record the number of 'Pyal' (Single teacher) schools in the state, run by the people.

The following table shows the type of schools and the number of schools with the strength of pupils for the years 1891 and 1892.

Table 4.5 (1) No. of Schools and No. of Pupils, 1891 & 1892.

Classes of Schools	Number of Schools		Number of pupils	
	1891	1892	1891	1892
Sircar Anglo-vernacular Schools	5	5	845	872
Aided Anglo-vernacular Schools	19	26	1313	1816
Sircar Vernacular Schools	22	36	1409	2111
Aided Vernacular Schools	53	83	3105	5534
Special Schools	1	2	169	127
Total	100	152	6841	10460

Source : RAC, 1892. pp.9-11

It can be seen from tables 4.4 & 4.5 (1) that as a result of the passing of the grants-in-aid rules, several new schools under private management came into existence. Table 4.5.(2) shows by what agencies the advance was made.

Table 4.5.(2) No. of Schools by Managing Agencies 1891-1892.

Managing agencies	1891				1892			
	No. of Schools	Boys	Girls	Total	No. of Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
Edu. Dept.	28	2308	115	2423	42	2774	303	3077
Church Mission Society	14	391	229	620	16	788	286	1074
Native X'stian Priests	20	986	477	1463	37	1322	661	2483
Native Gentlemen	22	1035	411	1446	23	1133	411	1544
Masters themselves	16	737	152	889	34	1674	608	2282
Total	100	5457	1384	6841	152	8191	2269	10460

Source : RAC, 1892. pp.9-11.

There was an increase of 52% in the number of schools and 53% in the number of pupils from 1891 to 1892. The enrolment of female students registered an increase of 64% for the same period 1891-1892. Of all the schools recognised by the department of Education, 72% were managed by private agencies. Hence, the state policy was to engage more and more private agencies in education while retaining a control over it.

Table 4.6 shows the percentage of the school going age population attending school.

Table 4.6. Population Attending School, 1892-1901

No. of Schools				Percentage of pupils to the populn. of school - going age children								
1891	1892	1895	1901	1892			1896			1901		
				Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
100	152	276	1288	15	4.2	9.6	44	15	29.5	49	19	34

\* There were 386 special schools out of the total 1288, where Koran, music etc. were taught.

Source : RAC, 1892 & 1914 and Subsidiary table VII, Census (1911), p.57.

Over a period of 10 years, the total number of schools increased from 100 in 1891 to 902 in 1901 (minus special schools). The percentage of pupils to the population of school-going age increased from 9.6% in 1892 to 34% in 1901. Out of the 1288 schools in 1901, 875 were primary schools. It is to be noted that the returns of 1901 include, while those of 1891 exclude, a large number of schools which had not received the recognition of the department (Education) and of which a good many belonged to the old indigenous type. Nevertheless analysis of data presented in Tables (4.1) & (4.6) show that Cochin had made considerable progress in education, particularly during the last decade of 19th century. At the turn of 20th century (1901), Cochin had one primary school per 928 of population against 3186 of population during 1816-1820. It has already been stated that the state intervention in popular education began with the



objective of training young men for state service as writers and accountants. Obviously, to realise this objective, people needed to be made literates. Educational progress made in primary education helps to spread literacy among the people. The following table shows the progress of literacy in Cochin towards the end of 19th century.

Table 4.7 No. of literates per mille in Cochin, 1881-1901

All ages				15-20		20 and over	
Male		Female		Male	Female	Male	Female
1901	1891	1901	1891	1901	1901	1901	1901
224	246	45	39	282	77	343	56

Note : Out of a population of 600,278 there were 10,752 persons returned as literate in 1881. Figures by sex are not available.

Source : Subsidiary table V, Census (1911), p.55.

In 1881, Cochin registered only 1.8% literacy for the total population. Considering the network of indigenous schools traditionally existed in this society and the governmental efforts to popularise education since 1818 (although often without much success), the above statistics regarding literacy is unimpressive. In census phraseology literacy connoted nothing more than ability to read and write. A sharp decline of indigenous schools and the establishment of state schools not keeping pace with it might have resulted in the low performance of literacy in the state. Literacy made progress from 1.8% in 1881 to 14.3% in 1891. However, a decline was registered in the last

decade of 19th century with 13.5% in 1901. The above cited reason might be valid here too. Figures available for female literacy, however, show an upward trend from 3.9% in 1891 to 4.5% in 1901.

#### 4.3.3. Progress of Education in Cochin : The First Half of 20th Century

The foregoing analysis under section 4.3.2. has dealt with the progress of education in Cochin during 19th century. Towards the closing decades of the 19th century, Cochin showed some progress in education. The high literacy rate prevailed in Cochin during the last decades of 19th century is a significant indicator of this achievement (See table 4.7) Cochin's leading position in literacy in India at the turn of 20th century is demonstrated in table 4.8.

Table 4.8. Literacy rates in some States and Provinces  
in India, 1901

State/Province	Literate persons (per 1000 population)	Literate women (per 1000 women)
Cochin	134	45
Travancore	124	31
Baroda	88	8
Bombay Presidency	70	11
Ajmer-Marwara	67	9
Madras Presidency	63	9
Mysore	51	8
Assam	36	4
Central Provinces	28	2
Gwalior	24	1

Source : PRG Nair (1981), Table 3.1, p.23

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed further expansion of education in Cochin. The main features of the educational development during the period have been analysed here under.

The state policy of grants-in-aid and opening up of more state schools for the spread of primary education continued through the first decade of the present century. As a result, there were 56 state schools and 121 aided schools in 1905 ; of these 42 and 98 were purely vernacular schools. However, a large bulk of schools were in the unaided sector. About 61% of the educational work was done unaided by the Darbar, 25% by the aided agencies and 14% directly by the Education department<sup>41</sup>. By 1908, the state education policy was being reviewed and the then Diwan A.R. Banerji made the following observations in his press communique dated 24.2.1908:

The progress of education in the state since 1891 recorded the fact that the proportion of literates had declined in 10 years ... in spite of the increase in the total number of schools. ... With the introduction of the grant-in-aid system in 1889 and the opening of a separate department in 1890 for the spread of vernacular education an impression began to gain ground that the government had taken the education of the children into its own hands. The village schools gradually began to disappear until at last they have ceased to exist altogether in towns while they continue but as dwindling survivals in rural parts. The levy of fees, strict hours of attendance and a change in the curriculum of studies not familiar to the simple folks of the village brought hardships upon the poor parents, who accustomed to pay their school masters when they could and to send their children to school when they chose, found themselves tied hand and foot by a cut and dried system. ... The more therefore is elementary education left in the hands of the people the better. ... Cochin has been for years noted for the amount of educational activity that has been shown by the people themselves without state aid. As such activity has shown signs of decrease than increase

during the last decade, it is now high time to arrest its decadence and to introduce a system under which it will have every scope for further development. It should therefore be the endeavour of the new Educational Department to hand over the existing sirkar schools to private agency wherever possible and to encourage private individuals by grants to improve the existing schools and to open new ones in all the important villages.

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Touching upon the history of education in Cochin, Diwan Banerji, in his review examined the shortcomings of the existing system and suggested ways to bring Cochin Educational policy to meet the requirements of the people and the time. Such a comprehensive review on educational development in Cochin was not done before. The state responded to the concern voiced by the Diwan and a series of reforms were enunciated in 1908.

#### Educational Development Since 1908.

The department of Education was reorganised in 1908 as recommended by the Diwan. Education for the backward classes as well as for girls in vernacular schools was declared free upto class IV. The concession was by a subsequent departmental order extended without distinction to all girls in primary schools, whether vernacular or Anglo-vernacular, half rates being fixed for girls in the secondary department. Later on, the Darbar resolved to abolish fees in all vernacular elementary schools throughout the state. This step was taken to avail elementary education to all classes. Village schools were to be conducted in a manner suitable for those who do not wish to go beyond that stage.

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To reorganise the department of education on the line indicated by the Diwan and to carry out the reforms, the government had sought the services of a veteran educationist, J.V. Pope as special officer for a period of three years in 1908. He had drawn the education code of Cochin and was introduced in 1911, the main features of which were :

- (1) Schools were divided into vernacular and Anglo-vernacular. Village elementary schools were to be purely vernacular. Education in vernacular schools was made free for the diffusion of primary education among the masses.
- (2) The curricula of the upper and lower secondary and primary schools were revised and curricula for technical and industrial education was drawn up.
- (3) Scholarships were given to a few select pupils (industrial education) who would be trained as teachers to serve the state for three years.
- (4) Night schools were opened for the benefit of the working classes.
- (5) A more liberal grant-in-aid scheme was sanctioned to provide funds for the employment of fully trained teachers in schools under private management, to make good any deficiency in the total income of the school to the extent that it falls short of its legitimate expenditure and to supplement the expenditure on buildings, land, furniture, equipment etc.

- (6) The salary scale of the teachers was revised.
- (7) Training of female teachers in the state training school was started.
- (8) Scholarships were given to poor and deserving students to continue their studies.

These reforms entailed a heavy increase in the annual expenditure on education. The government grant for education rose from Rs.1.2 lakhs in 1905-6 to Rs.3 lakhs in 1911 registering an increase of 150%<sup>44</sup>.

Reforms introduced in 1908 followed by the education Code of 1911 geared up educational activities in Cochin. The policy laid down by the Code promoted primary vernacular education and encouraged more and more private enterprise in education by liberal grants-in-aid. Tables below present some indicators of educational development in Cochin during the first two decades (1901-1921) of the present century.

Table 4.9. Number of Institutions and Pupils 1901-1921.

Class of Institutions	1921		1911		1901	
	Number of Instita. Scholars		Number of Instita. Scholars		Number of Instita. Scholars	
Second Grade Colleges	2	438	1	182	1	57
High Schools	28	2574	13	1246	8	804
Lower Secondary Schools	61	6781	21	2646	19	1696
Primary Schools	1026	79381	969	46550	875	29139
Special Schools such as technical and industrial Schools	21	1041	11	698	386	7904
Total	1138	90215	1015	51322	1289	39600

\* Includes Schools where the Koran, Music, etc., are taught.

Source : Census, 1921, xix, Cochin, Subsidiary table VII p.51.

Table 4.10. Number of literates per mille in Cochin 1891-1921

Male				All ages 10 and over			
				Female			
1921	1911	1901	1891	1921	1911	1901	1891
365	329	302	376	127	79	59	62

Source : Census, 1921, xix, Cochin, Subsidiary table V p.49

The number of primary schools and pupils attending school increased over a period of twenty years. Percentage analysis of data presented in table 4.9 shows that while there was an

increase of 17.2% in the number of primary schools from 1901 to 1921, the increase in the number of pupils attending primary school registered 172% from 1901 to 1921. After two decades of downward trend in literacy, 1921 recorded 24.6% of literacy for all ages (10 and above) against 21.4% in 1891. For two successive census years after 1891, the percentage of literacy declined to 18% in 1901 and 20.4% in 1911 for the same age group (10 and above). Female literacy for this age group, more than doubled from 6.2% in 1891 to 12.7% in 1921.

For a total population of 9,79,080, there were 10,26 primary schools in 1921, i.e., one school for every 954.3 of population. To compare with the case of 1901 (one primary school per 928 of population), the increase in the number of schools did not keep pace with the increase in population. But in the case of accessibility, Cochin showed progress of one primary school per 1.32 sq. miles in 1921 as against one primary school per 1.5 sq. miles in 1901. Hence, there were practically two schools in every village by 1921.

Progress of literacy made by a few selected communities which are numerous among the population, since the education code of 1911, is shown in table 4.11.



Table 4.11. Progress of Literacy by Selected Communities, 1911-1921.

Selected communities	% of literates (all ages)				literate in English (all ages) per 10,000			
	1911		1921		1911		1921	
	Persons	Female	Persons	Female	Persons	Female	Persons	Female
Cochin State	15.1	06.1	18.5	09.9	115	31	185	66
Christians	21.2	11.1	26.2	17.2	116	45	205	101
Izhavas	08.2	01.2	16.6	03.3	14	01	38	07
Nairs	27.1	13.7	31.0	20.0	246	69	396	176
Pulayas	00.5	-	00.9	00.3	-	-	-	-
Muslims	06.9	00.5	09.4	00.95	15	-	39	05

Source : Census, 1911, subsidiary table II, p.54 and Census, 1921, subsidiary tables IV & VI, pp 49-50.

Communities are listed according to the order of their strength among the population. Nairs and Indian Christians (Europeans and anglo - Indians excluded) were leading the other communities in general as well as female literacy. Among the backward classes, Izhavas made substantial progress; from 8.2% in 1911 to 16.6% in 1921. Female literacy too increased from 1.2% in 1911 to 3.3% in 1921 among the Izhavas. By 1921, there were 0.3% literate women among the Pulaya (agrestic slaves) population. Literates in English were very few with Nairs and Christians constituting the major portion of them.

Ten years after the introduction of the Education Code 1911, it was reviewed in 1921. A special committee consisting of

educationists and other leading public men of the state was appointed by the government to examine the provisions of the code in detail and to suggest modifications in the light of the experience gained.

#### Education Code 1921

In accordance with the recommendations of the committee, Education Code 1911 was revised in 1921. The salient features of the new code were :

- (1) Children of depressed classes were exempted from payment of all fees, and those belonging to Muslim, Izhava and other backward classes, were allowed half-fee concessions in English schools.
- (2) The scholarship rules were recast and several special scholarships for girls and for members of Muslim and other backward and depressed communities were instituted.
- (3) The public examination of class IV and form III were abolished and pupils required to be promoted on the basis of their progress throughout the year instead of solely on the results of the annual examinations of the respective classes.
- (4) The vernacular was adopted as the medium of instruction even<sup>46</sup> in English schools up to form III .

The revised code 1921, introduced popular measures to promote primary education among the masses. The provisions introduced by the code were to encourage education among the

depressed and backward classes. For the greater participation of girl students, special scholarships were instituted. Primary education among the masses was given an impetus by the adoption of vernacular as medium even in English medium schools up to form III.

Primary education always received special attention of the government. Since the 1908 reforms decadal reviews were done and measures were taken to improve primary education. In 1931, a special committee was set up to look into the affairs of elementary education.

An elementary education committee was set up in October 1931 to examine the condition of elementary education in Cochin and devise methods for raising its standard in such a way that it may be able to send away our boys and girls who have neither the means nor the opportunities for secondary education equipped with the rudimentary means of self-improvement.<sup>47</sup>

By 1935, on the recommendation of the Vernacular Education Committee, the government began to open libraries in villages so that students who were deprived of secondary education after the elementary level could increase their knowledge. The committee felt that in the absence of such libraries, the very purpose of elementary education would be lost.<sup>48</sup>

Of the various reforms introduced since 1908 to popularise education, the following points need special mention ; female education, education of the depressed and the backward classes and adult education. There were a few steps taken to promote education among these groups main features of which are described in the following paragraphs :

In 1908, education of girls in all primary schools, vernacular as well as Anglo-vernacular was made free. In the secondary department, they were to pay fees at half rates. By 1911, there were 55 girls schools, of which 33 were sirkar, 24 aided and one unaided, the number of girls attending these being 6,563<sup>49</sup>. The new Education Code 1921, instituted several special scholarships for girls. In 1925, there were 50 primary and 4 industrial schools for girls which rose to 68 primary and 10 industrial schools by 1932. Girls were also admitted in boys primary and industrial schools. The percentage of girl pupils to girls of school going age had risen from 20 in 1915 to 66.4 in 1932. The all Cochin Women Teachers Association was entrusted to discuss the various problems connected with girls<sup>50</sup> education and to advise the department in such matters.

Primary education was made free for the backward classes by the reforms introduced in 1908. When the Education Code was revised in 1921, children of depressed classes were exempted from payment of all fees, and those belonging to Muslims Izhava and other backward classes were allowed half-fee concessions in English schools. Several special scholarships for members of Muslim and other backward and depressed communities were instituted.

Pulaya (depressed class) boys and girls were given admission into all government and aided schools. Special schools for Pulaya children were opened. Arrangements were made for supplying at Sirkar cost the children admitted into these schools with books, slate ... and two clothes per head. They were also provided with a mid-day meal on all school days ... These concessions were availed of to such an extent that the allotment for Pulaya education

rose from Rs.13,000 in 1920 to Rs.32,000 in 1921.<sup>51</sup>

In 1927, a new department was constituted and the Director of Public Instruction was appointed as the Protector of the depressed classes. The assistant Protector, belonging to Vala caste (polluting caste), who was a poet and scholar in Sanskrit and Malayalam, worked among the depressed classes inducing them to send their children to school. By 1928, there were 11,915<sup>52</sup> children belonging to the depressed classes in schools.

During 1930-35, aided schools largely attended by the depressed class pupils were taken over to the Sirkar management and new schools opened in places generally inhabited by the depressed classes were taken on to the aided list. About fifty<sup>53</sup> such schools were taken to the aided list during the period.

Education Code 1911, made provisions for night schools for the benefit of the working classes. The curriculum was specially drawn for the purpose. By 1925, there were 14 night schools with a strength of 1,247 pupils. The number rose to 134 with a total enrolment of 10,220 pupils by 1930. The revised syllabus for the night schools provided for the instruction of the illiterates and was intended as an extension course for those who had already completed the old syllabus and to a certain extent for those who had discontinued their studies after passing class IV. To impart and promote adult education, four village libraries were started as an experiment so that the rural population developed a taste<sup>54</sup> for reading.

Although, night schools and libraries were the chief means

employed for the eradication of illiteracy among the adults, some people worked in their personal capacity.

The members of the staff of some of the schools also continued to do their bit in the direction of helping adult education by doing propaganda among the illiterate masses outside school hours. The agricultural teachers also helped forward the education of adult peasants by demonstrating to them the advantages of improved and scientific methods of agriculture.

The foregoing analysis under section 4.3.3. reveals that the educational development in the state during the first half of the present century had its emphasis upon expansion of primary education. The state policy encouraged greater participation of private agencies in primary education and paid special attention to female education, education of the backward and depressed classes and adults.

Educational development and the progress of education achieved during the period 1901-1941 have been furnished in terms of vital educational statistics in the following tables.

Table 4.12. Progress of Primary Education in Cochin, 1901-1941

Year	Total No. of institutions	No. of Primary Schools*	Enrolment in Primary schools	Total Expenditure on Education Rs.
1901	1289	875	39600	99331
1911	1015	969	50337	27900
1921	1138	1026	79381	950000
1931	773	503	121266	1403360
1941	740	528	NA	1897860

\* Excludes the primary classes of the college and of the upper and lower secondary schools.

\*\* Includes the strength of the primary classes of the college

and of the upper and lower secondary schools.  
 NA : Not available.  
 Source : Censuses, 1901-1941.

Table 4.13. Educational Institutions by Class, 1901-1931.

Class of Institution	1931		1921		1911		1901	
	No. of Instn.	No. of Scholars	No. of Instn.	No. of Scholars	No. of Instn.	No. of Scholars	No. of Instn.	No. of Scholars
First Grade Colleges	3	1003	-	-	-	-	-	-
Second Grade Colleges	-	-	2	438	1	182	1	57
High Schools	42	6105*	28	2574	13	1246	8	804
Lower Secondary Schools	60	10701†	61	6781	21	2646	19	1696
Primary Schools	503	121266‡	1026	79381	969	46550	875	29139
Night Schools	111	6099						
Special Schools (Technical Industrial & Religious Schools)	54	3990	21	1041	11	698	386	7904
Total	773	149164	1138	90215	1015	51322	1289	39600

\* Strength of upper secondary classes only.

† Includes the strength of the lower secondary classes (1) of the 60 lower secondary schools and (2) of the 42 High schools.

‡ Includes the strength (1) of the 503 primary schools (2) of the primary classes of the 60 lower secondary schools and (3) of the primary classes of the 42 High schools.

Source : Census, 1931, Table VIII(b), p.213

Table 4.14 Educational Institutions by Agency, 1930-31

Agency	Literary institution		Industrial Institution	
	No.of instn.	Total enrolment	No.of Instn.	Total enrolment
Government	168	44416	22	1910
Church Mission Societies or Protestant Missi- onaries	16	3212	1	35
Roman Catholic Missionaries	17	4979	-	-
Indian Priests	163	32907	11	792
Indian Gentlemen and Ladies	326	55100	8	435
Masters themselves	41	5378	-	-
Total	731	145992	42	3172

Source : Census, 1931 p.212.

Percentage analysis of the figures presented in tables 4.12 & 4.13 shows that 68% of the total number of educational institutions in 1901 was in the primary sector. Corresponding figures for consecutive census years were 1911(95%), 1921(90%), 1931(65%), 1941(71%). These figures do not include the number of primary classes attached to the secondary and college sectors. Obviously, had they been included, the percentage figures would have been even higher. Analysis discloses the fact that major work was being done in the field of primary education compared to other sectors.



Enrolment in primary schools increased gradually. It registered an increase of 141% from 1911 to 1931; i.e., an average 7% increase per year for the period. However, 48.8% of children (42.3% boys & 55.6% girls) aged 6 to 12 years still remained outside the portals of primary education in 1931 and there were incidences of wastage of no less than 45% showed a sample study from 1927-1930<sup>56</sup>.

Over a period of 40 years (1901-1941), expenditure on education increased by several fold. The percentage of expenditure on education to total revenue was 3.6 and to total expenditure 3.9 in 1901. In the financial year 1930-31, more than 16% of the gross revenue and 17.4% of the total expenditure were on education<sup>57</sup>.

Private institutions constituted 77% of the total educational institutions (literary) in the state during 1930-31 (Table 4.14). It has already been mentioned that about 86% of the educational work was done by private agencies (61% unaided and 25% aided) in 1905. About 70% of the total strength of the pupils in educational institutions received their instruction in private institutions. Industrial institutions were equally shared by the government and private agencies. In 1901, all the four industrial schools were run by christian missions. However, by 1931, they seemed to have been gradually withdrawing from it.

The rate of literacy is an indicator of the progress of primary education. Data provided in the following tables show the progress of literacy during 1901-1941.

Table 4.15 Progress of Literacy by Selected Communities, 1901-1941

Selected Communities	% of literates *														
	1941		1931		1921		1911		1901						
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female			
Cochin State	41.0	52.0	30.6	28.2	38.3	18.5	18.5	27.4	09.9	15.1	24.3	06.1	13.4	22.4	04.5
Indian Christians	59.8	68.0	51.7	50.8	61.2	40.7	26.2	35.1	17.2	21.2	31.2	11.1	17.3	27.0	07.2
Izhavas	34.7	50.4	20.5	26.2	42.9	11.1	16.6	18.6	03.3	08.2	15.4	01.2	06.6	12.6	0.69
Nairs	63.2	75.7	52.9	55.7	72.2	42.0	31.0	42.9	20.0	27.1	41.3	13.7	26.6	42.5	11.9
Pulayars	09.8	16.0	03.9	05.3	09.1	01.7	00.9	01.6	00.3	00.5	0.90	-	0.39	0.80	0.01
Muslims	23.2	NA	NA	18.3	30.7	05.2	09.4	17.8	0.95	06.9	13.2	00.5	06.2	11.8	0.50

\* - 1901-1921 include all ages

- 1931 State figure includes all ages while community figures are for 7 years and above

- All figures for 1941, 5 years & above

Source: Census 1901-1941.

Comparison of percentage of literacy with a few other States / Provinces of India has been attempted in Table 4.16

Table 4.16 Progress of Literacy, Comparison with Other States / Provinces 1901-1941.

State/District Province	Number of literates per 1000 population *									
	1941					1921				
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Cochin	410	520	306	337	460	220	185	274	99	151
Travancore	477	NA	NA	289	408	168	241	331	150	149
Baroda	229	328	124	209	331	79	125	210	40	98
Mysore	129	NA	NA	106	174	33	83	143	22	62
Tanjore	NA	NA	NA	161	299	35	136	248	24	117
Malabar	NA	NA	NA	170	273	75	179	209	49	113
Madras City	NA	NA	NA	349	487	194	314	453	174	275
Madras Presidency	130	NA	NA	108	188	30	87	152	21	76

\* - 1901-1921 include all ages

- 1931, 5 years and above

- 1941, 5 years & above for Cochin and all ages for other states

Source: Census 1901-1941, Cochin & Census 1941, Baroda.

Table 4.15 reveals that Nairs and Indian Christians were leading other communities in literacy throughout the period 1901-1941. Female literacy was also high among these two communities compared to others. Izhavas were making considerable progress in literacy by 1941 and with 34.7% they stood third among other communities. By 1941, Pulayas registered 9.8% literacy as against 0.39% in 1901. Both the cases of Izhavas and Pulayas should be looked at against the socio-economic status they were subjected to among the Hindu sect, reference to which has already been made. Muslims were lagging behind Izhavas by 1941 although

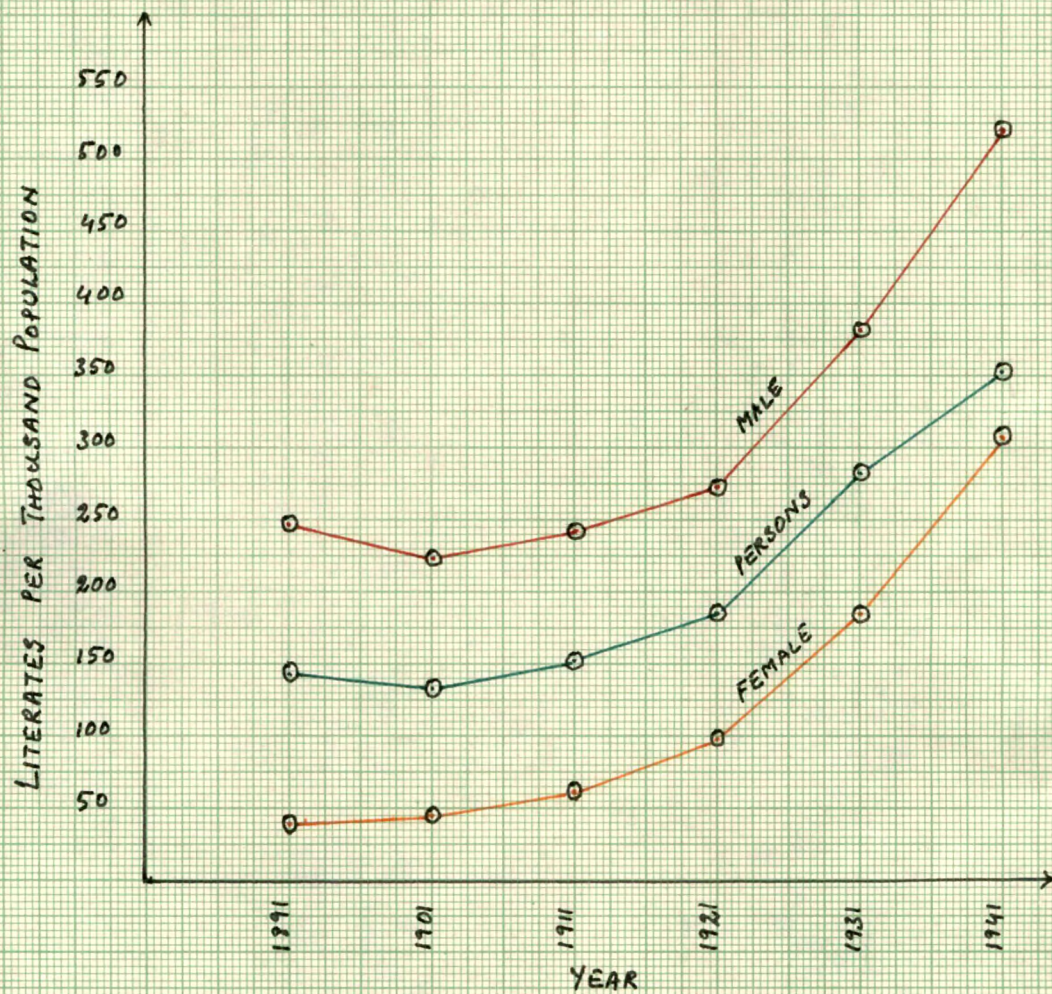
there was not much difference in the literacy status of both the communities in 1901.

Figures from table 4.16 show that Cochin was ahead of others in male as well as female literacy in 1901 except for the city of Madras. Travancore and Malabar were the immediate neighbours of Cochin of which the former was a princely state and the latter a district of Madras Presidency. Mysore and Baroda were two other important Native States in India. Tanjore was one of the most advanced districts of the Madras Presidency. Cochin's leading position continued till 1931. Cochin was not too far behind the city of Madras by 1931 with a literacy rate of 33.7% against Madras' 34.9%. But, in case of female literacy Cochin ranked higher than Madras city. Except for Travancore, the other two Native States, Baroda and Mysore were far behind Cochin in 1941. There was a wide gap between Cochin and the districts of Madras Presidency (Tanjore & Malabar) taken separately and the Presidency as a whole. A noteworthy feature of the progress of literacy made by Cochin is the progress of female literacy.

For further analysis, data have been presented graphically. Graph (i) shows the progress of literacy in Cochin from 1891-1941. Graph (ii) makes a comparative study of the progress of literacy in Cochin against other states / province. Tables G(i) & G(ii), furnish the data for graph (i) & (ii) respectively.



67(i) PROGRESS OF LITERACY IN COCHIN STATE, 1891-1941





# 67(ii) PROGRESS OF LITERACY, COCHIN AGAINST OTHER STATES/PROVINCE

1901-1941

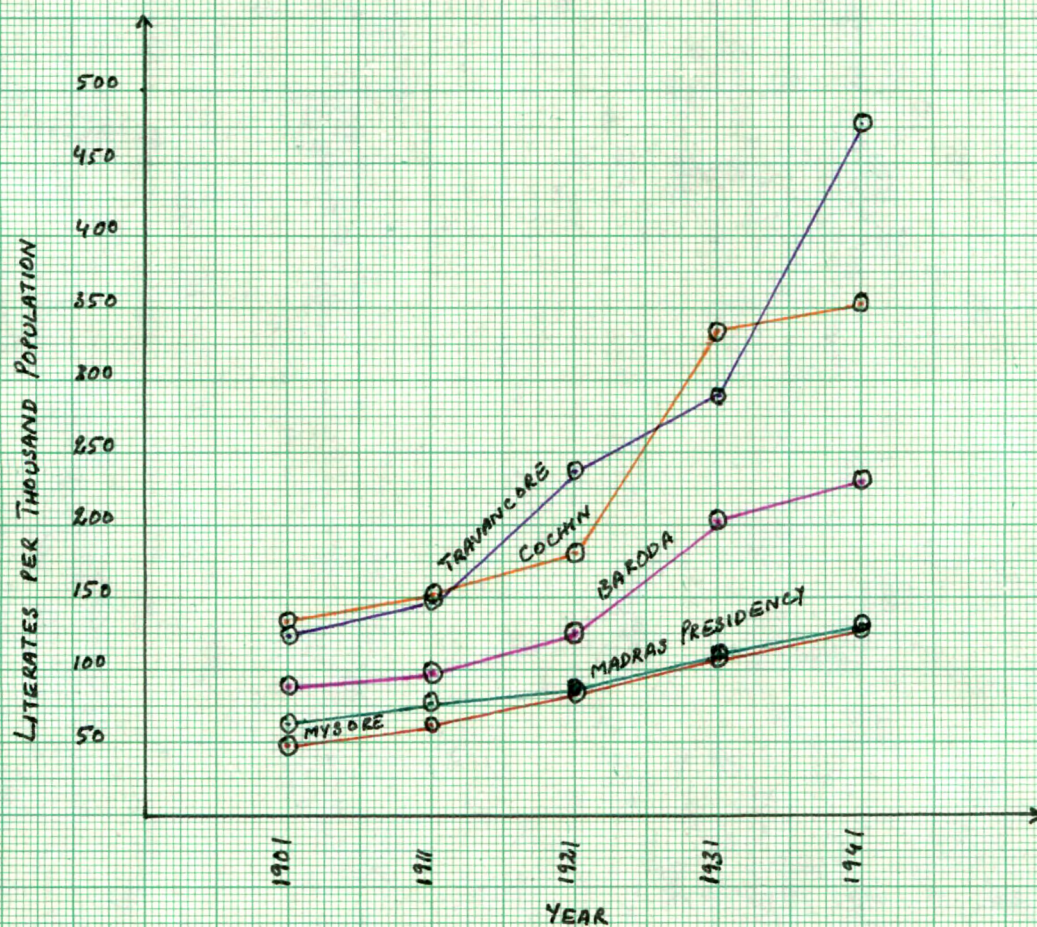




Table G(i), Number of literates in Cochin State per 1000 population (for all ages)

Year	Persons	Male	Female
1891	143	246	39
1901	134	224	45
1911	151	243	61
1921	185	274	99
1931	282	383	185
1941	353	520*	306*

\* Figures for 5 years & above.

Table G(ii), Number of literates per 1000 population (for all ages)

State/Province	1901	1911	1921	1931*	1941
Cochin	134	151	185	337	353
Travancore	124	149	241	289	477
Baroda	88	98	125	209	229
Mysore	48	62	83	106	129
Madras Presidency	63	76	87	108	130

\* 1931 figures for 5 years & above

It can be seen from graph(i) that the wide gap existed between male and female literacy rate in 1891, continued to be so throughout the period 1891-1941. Hence, the growth of literacy was parallel between male and female. A somewhat considerable rise in female literacy was registered during the decade 1921-1931. Although there was a decline recorded in literacy during

the closing decade 1891-1901 of 19th century, female literacy showed some improvement. Graph(ii) shows that the gap between Cochin and other states (except for Travancore) widened by 1931. Cochin was pushed down to the second place by Travancore in 1941.

To a small extent English literacy also existed in Cochin. There was 6.4% of English literacy in Cochin, with 9% for males and 3.9% for females in 1941. 8.2% of Christians, 16% of Nairs and 2.7% of Izhavas were English literates in 1941.

So far the state had been restraining from introducing compulsory primary education. However, by 1948, free compulsory primary education was being introduced in Cochin.

#### **Free Compulsory Primary Education, 1948**

Act XI of 1948, dated 12th March, introduced free compulsory primary education in Cochin. Following were the highlights of the Cochin Free Compulsory Education Act.

According to section 4 of this act an Education Committee was to be appointed by the government for the said area of compulsory primary education. Members were drawn from recognised primary schools, government schools, depressed class, village panchayat or municipalities and a lady member nominated by the government and inspector of schools. Section 6 of this act made it obligatory on guardian to send children to school. Section 9 promised penalty for employment of children on interference with their attendace at school. Section 10(1) provided free primary  
58  
education.



Educational development in Cochin had its focus on primary education ever since the first attempt made in 1818. This policy was pursued decades after decades. Primary education was made free since 1911. By the act of 1948 primary education was not only made free but compulsory too. This was another step taken towards the promotion of primary education. Expansion of primary education continued during the closing decade of the first half of the present century. Some statistical data are presented below to show the educational development in Cochin as in 1948.

Table 4.17 Some Educational Statistics for 1947-48.

Year	No. of Primary Schools	Enrolment in primary schools	Total expenditure on education	Agencies managing education (all level)	
				Govt. %	Private aided) %
1947	675	1,85,656	53,45,558	26.1	73.9
1948	683	1,86,920	63,69,897	25.5	74.9

Source : RAC, 1947-48, pp.63-65.

About 75% of the educational work was being done by private agencies, in 1948. 57% of the total outlay on education was spent on primary education in 1948 as against 44% in 1901. There was a rise of 0.7% in the enrolment of students in primary schools. Total expenditure on education increased by 19% over a period of one year.

From the foregoing analysis under section 4.3.3, it becomes clear that the educational policies of the state was geared to

the spread of primary education. Education of the weaker sections of the society such as women, received the special attention of the state. Another feature of the state educational policy was to encourage private participation. As a result, about three - fourth of the educational work was being done by private agencies. The state was spending some considerable amount of money on education in general and on primary education in particular. As a whole, at the close of the first half of the twentieth century, Cochin had made considerable progress in primary education leading to progress in literacy.

On July 1, 1949 the states of Travancore and Cochin were integrated and the new state of Travancore-Cochin came into existence. Later, Kerala state was formed on November 1, 1956 when the states of the Indian union were being reorganised on linguistic basis. Subsequently, Ernakulam district was formed on 1st April, 1958. Educational development in Ernakulam district, as part of Travancore-Cochin and Kerala State, for the post independence period has been analysed in the following section.

#### 4.3.4 Educational Development - Post Independence Period

The Departments of Public Instruction in Travancore and Cochin functioned independently for the year 1949. Later, a special officer was appointed for the unification of the rules in the Education Codes of Travancore and Cochin. Common courses were adopted for the integrated state in the primary, middle and high school stages. An effort was made to coordinate the different agencies engaged in adult education and an Adult Education Board

was constituted.

The preceding section has dealt with the growth of primary education in Cochin State which resulted in a high rate of literacy. Various measures taken by the state of Kerala, in the post independence period to promote primary education and its features have been studied next.

#### Free and compulsory primary education

Compulsory primary education was in force only in certain areas in the state as the scheme which was introduced in the Travancore-Cochin area could not be implemented owing to lack of funds. (Primary education was made compulsory in certain areas of the erstwhile Travancore State by an Act promulgated for the purpose in the year 1945. Reference has already been made to free compulsory education in erstwhile Cochin State). There were 27 talukas out of 55 talukas of the state where compulsory primary education was in force during the period 59-60. Free education up to standard VII was available throughout the state by 58-59.<sup>59</sup>

Part II of the Kerala Education Act 1958 deals with compulsory primary education. However, the sections relating to compulsory education (section 21-31) of the Act have not been enforced so far. Prior to the introduction of the Kerala Education Act, compulsory education was in force in selected areas in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar by virtue of the Travancore Primary Education Act 1945, the Cochin Free Compulsory Primary Education Act XI of 1948 and the Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920. But those Acts were repealed with

effect from 1.6.1959 by section 39 of the Kerala Education Act, 1958.<sup>60</sup> Therefore virtually no compulsory education is in force in Kerala from 1.6.1959 onwards, though in Article 45 of the Constitution it is stated that the state shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution of India, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.

While a reason cited for the non-implementation of compulsory education as lack of funds, a few sections of Part II relating to compulsory education of Act, 1958 are highlighted for further analysis. It was made obligatory on the part of the guardian to send children to school and once entered the school the child was to be compelled to attend school till it reached the age of fourteen. In case of failure to discharge obligation and interference with the attendance of the child at school, guardians were liable to fine for the offence. Employment of children interfering with their attendance at school was an offence liable to be fined. It is doubtful, if these sections could be successfully implemented, had part II been enforced.

Kerala Education Act, 1958 provided teachers security of service and better conditions of service. It also prescribed definite standard for recruitment for teachers in government and private schools.

### Mid-day meal service

The Cochin state had launched in 1944 a scheme to provide free mid-day meal to all children attending primary schools in the state. Noon-feeding was in vogue in a few talukas of Travancore state also. This practice continued, even after the new state came into existence. The noon-feeding programme introduced in the lower primary schools was kept in abeyance from June 1962, as it was found that the expenditures connected with the programme was too high to be borne by the department. The system of providing feeding to necessitous children of lower primary schools with the help of the CARE organisation of USA which began as a supplement to the noon-feeding programme in 1961 became the main feeding programme in lower primary schools since the academic year 1962-63. The CARE noon feeding scheme continued upto December 1986.

### Medical inspection

The government introduced a scheme to conduct medical inspection of the pupils in every lower primary schools by the academic year 1957-58. The essence of the scheme consisted in the medical examination of the pupils once in a year by a competent medical officer and in the treatment of deserving cases at the nearest government hospital or dispensary. Special medical units were distributed throughout the state for the purpose.

## The shift system

Shift system was followed in majority of primary schools in the Travancore area and in a few schools in the Cochin area. It was mainly operative in standards I to III. During the fourth five year plan period effort was on to abolish shift system in Standard III. Kerala has the largest and the longest experience of shift system in the country. Owing to the involvement of heavy financial outlay, the abolition of shift system in standard III was to be implemented only partially during the fifth five year plan period.

## Education of the underprivileged

Reference has already been made to the educational concessions made available to the depressed classes and backward communities of the erstwhile Cochin state. The educational policy of the state of Kerala further protected their interests. All students belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes were exempted from payment of all kinds of fees at all stages of education for two years in each class without any restriction to the income of their parents. These students were also given lump sum grant to purchase textbooks and other accessories. They were given the benefit of free clothes and food and lodging in residential schools.

## Adult education

Attempts at adult education in Cochin state goes back to the early decades of the present century. It may be referred that

Cochin Education Code 1911. had made provisions for night schools. The adult education programme was carried on by the state of Kerala in the post independence period. An Adult Education Board was constituted during the period 1950-51. An Adult Education Research and Training Centre was started in the Trivandrum city with the object of training workers in right methods of organisation and conduct of Adult Education Centres based on a definite programme of all-round education. Night school teachers and librarians in charge of institutions for backward communities were given preference at the training centre.

A Kerala Literacy Council was registered during early 1970s with the then Chief Minister as its chairman. By 1978, a State Resource Centre was functioning with the objectives of training of workers, preparation of teaching materials, evaluation, research and awareness creation regarding adult education. Kerala University and Calicut University of the state have Department of Adult Education. These Universities have established literacy centres in some colleges with the help of University Grants Commission. A student volunteer at these centres receives an honorarium of Rs.100/- per month. The state Adult Education Officer and District Adult Education Officers were in charge of the adult education centres being run by the Education Department. By the end of 1980s, about 1600 centres were being run in Panchayats by this department. The volunteer teachers were given an honorarium of Rs.100/- per month. After the total literacy programme started, the activities of the Adult Education Department were

almost stopped. The State-Officer and District officers were then working with the State Literacy Council and the District Literacy<sup>61</sup> offices respectively.

#### Reorganisation of the Education Department

The Department of Public Instruction was reorganised during the period 1957-58. The state was divided into 17 educational districts. These educational districts were further divided into 119 sub-districts, with a view to having effective and proper control over the development of primary education. An Assistant Educational Officer was appointed to each sub-district and was in direct charge of all primary schools. By 1987, Kerala had 31 educational districts and 157 sub-districts. There were 14 revenue districts in Kerala for the period. Ernakulam district (revenue) was divided into 4 educational districts with 14 sub-districts. The four educational districts are Ernakulam, Muvattupuzha, Aluva and Kothamangalam.

Having studied the main features of the educational programme offered by the state during the post-independence period, some educational statistics for the state and the district (Ernakulam) have been presented in the following pages. At certain places comparison between major states has also been done.



Table 4.18 Number of Organised Educational Institutions-State-wise-1956-57

Sl. No.	State	Number of Schools			Number of Colleges	Total number of Institutions	Number of Institutions per lakh of population
		General Education	Vocational and special education	Total			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Andhra	30027	2997	33024	92	33116	98
2	Assam	14547	906	15453	29	15482	157
3	Bihar	34104	6400	40504	93	40597	98
4	Bombay	48190	17866	66056	197	66253	125
5	Kerala	9488	409	9897	57	9954	66
6	Madhya Pradesh	24840	3354	28194	95	28289	102
7	Madras	23995	2153	26148	104	26252	80
8	Mysore	23438	4342	27780	100	27880	125
9	Orissa	16095	3695	19790	23	19813	129
10	Punjab	14565	448	15013	109	15122	85
11	Rajasthan	10689	1484	12173	87	12260	70
12	Uttar Pradesh	38677	1906	40583	128	40711	60
13	West Bengal	28772	5067	33839	150	33989	123
14	Jammu & Kashmir	2455	8	2463	25	2488	52
15	Union Territories	4476	1040	5516	46	5562	104
	All-India	324358	52075	376433	1335	377768	97

Source : Economic Review, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala, 1960, p. 136.

Table 4.19 Number of Students in Educational Institutions in India-State-wise-1956-57

Sl. No.	States	Total number of students in Schools			Total number of students in colleges (000s)	Total number of students in schools & colleges (000s)	Number of students per 1000 people	Number of students per institution
		Primary (000s)	Secondary (000s)	Professional (000s)				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1	Andhra	2456	496	20	55	3027	90	91
2	Assam	863	238	6	16	1123	114	73
3	Bihar	1931	465	14	59	2469	60	61
4	Bombay	4421	1485	63	105	6074	113	92
5	Jammu & Kashmir	156	50	1	6	213	44	85
6	Kerala	2068	664	9	38	2779	183	279
7	Madhya Pradesh	1496	290	8	25	1819	66	64
8	Madras	2612	682	49	52	3395	104	129
9	Mysore	1586	516	24	39	2165	101	78
10	Orissa	729	82	5	8	824	54	42
11	Punjab	1319	454	16	48	1837	103	122
12	Rajasthan	612	175	3	23	813	46	66
13	Uttar Pradesh	3007	915	19	186	4127	61	101
14	West Bengal	2347	742	33	119	3241	117	65
15	Union Territories	461	158	3	19	641	119	115
	All-India	26064	7412	273	798	34547	88	92

Source : Economic Review, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala, 1960, P. 137.

Table 4.20 Progress of Lower Primary (I-IV) Education (1950-51) to (1960-61) in Kerala

Year	No. of Lower Primary Schools	Enrolment in L.P.S.			As % of girls enrol. to total enrol.
		Boys	Girls	Total	
1950-51	4018	637839	538915	1176754	45.80
1951-52	4086	648577	561236	1209813	46.39
1952-53	4133	NA	NA	1365295	-
1953-54	4149	758568	614424	1372992	44.75
1954-55	4219	776382	626238	1402620	44.65
1955-56	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1956-57 *	6699	990212	860222	1850434	46.49
1957-58 *	7063	941270	810222	1751492	46.26
1958-59 *	6301	973733	844582	1818315	46.45
1959-60	6282	825779	717815	1543594	46.50
1960-61	6255	829426	736318	1565744	47.03

Notes : From 1950-51 to 1954-55 for Travancore-Cochin States.

- From 1956-57 to 1960-61 for Kerala State (Travancore, Cochin & Malabar)

\* Excluding Lower Primary Schools attached to Upper Primary and High Schools. While the 1957-58 Report shows '7063' as 'excluding', 1958-59 Report shows the same as 'including' L.P.S. attached to U.P.S. & HS. Here, it is accepted as 'including' for the purpose of analysis.

- From 1950-51 to 1954-55 the no. of LPS includes, LPS attached to UPS & HS. For 1959-60 & 1960-61, not specified, hence taken as 'excluding' in line with 1958-59.

Source : Report on the Administration of Travancore-Cochin and Kerala State (1950-51 to 1960-61).

Table 4.21 Progress of Educational Institutions - Lower Primary Schools in Kerala, (1961-62) - (1983-84).

Year	Government	Private	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1961-62	2835	3910	6745
1962-63	2985	3919	6904
1963-64	2928	3991	6919
1964-65	2898	4032	6930
1965-66	2904	4050	6954
1966-67	2801	4072	6933
1967-68	2864	4076	6940
1968-69	2805	4112	6917
1969-70	2805	4123	6928
1970-71	2804	4091	6895
1971-72	2804	4091	6895
1972-73	2798	4089	6887
1973-74	2807	4097	6904
1974-75	2900	4075	6975
1975-76	2910	4065	6975
1976-77	2883	4109	6992
1977-78	2849	4120	6969
1978-79	2846	4124	6970
1979-80	2846	4124	6970
1980-81	2712	4149	6861
1981-82	2657	4150	6807
1982-83	2651	4137	6788
1983-84	2652	4190	6842

Source : Economic Review, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala, 1984, p.167.

Table 4.22 Progress of Enrolment in Primary Stage of School Education in Kerala, (1960-61) - (1982-83).

Year	No. of Students in Primary Stage	Index of Growth
(1)	(2)	(3)
1960-61	2939408	100
1961-62	3041388	103
1962-63	3131503	107
1963-64	3263617	111
1964-65	3424765	117
1965-66	3552693	121
1966-67	3688679	125
1967-68	3784864	129
1968-69	3912830	133
1969-70	3989363	136
1970-71	4074808	139
1971-72	4229533	144
1972-73	4375389	149
1973-74	4404716	150
1974-75	4423247	151
1975-76	4377461	149
1976-77	4350016	148
1977-78	4405592	150
1978-79	4340629	147
1979-80	4318198	147
1980-81	4283995	146
1981-82	4333302	147
1982-83	4330937	147

Source : E.R. State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala, 1983, p.177.

Table 4.23 Percentage of Girls Enrolment to Total Enrolment,  
1978 & 1986.

Sl. No.	State	Classes I-V	
		1978	1986
1	Andhra Pradesh	41.10	47.24
2	Assam	42.13	43.52
3	Bihar	28.94	33.16
4	Gujarat	39.95	43.18
5	Haryana	32.86	41.28
6	Karnataka	43.17	44.90
7	Kerala	48.29	48.79
8	Madhya Pradesh	31.86	38.30
9	Maharashtra	42.56	45.05
10	Orissa	38.30	42.10
11	Punjab	44.68	45.58
12	Rajasthan	24.33	28.02
13	Tamil Nadu	44.87	45.97
14	Uttar Pradesh	30.43	34.21
15	West Bengal	42.02	43.44

Source : Fifth All-India Educational Survey 1986, NCERT, p.68.

Table 4.24 Enrolment in Class I in Kerala and the Percentage of Pupils Reaching Class V (1962-63) to (1986-87)

Year/Enrolment in Class I	Year/Enrolment in Class V	Enrolment in Class V as percent of enrolment in Class I
(1962-93) 657318	(1966-67) 441869	67.22
(1972-73) 686205	(1976-77) 626719	91.33
(1982-83) 626296	(1986-87) 623926	99.62

Source : Economic Review, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala, 1963-1987.

\* 
$$\frac{\text{Enrolment in Class V} \times 100}{\text{Enrolment in Class I}}$$

Table 4.25 Drop-out Rates : Classes I to VI 1986-87.

	Overall literacy rate : 1981 %	Drop-out rates		
		General	Scheduled castes (SC)	Scheduled tribes (ST)
Bihar	32.0	65.4	69.4	73.4
Assam	-	64.2	61.5	73.8
West Bengal	48.6	62.7	58.0	64.7
Andhra Pradesh	35.7	59.6	66.4	72.4
Karnataka	46.2	56.0	53.0	39.4
Orissa	41.0	51.3	55.5	75.5
Rajasthan	30.1	51.1	63.0	75.4
Uttar Pradesh	33.3	45.8	46.6	54.8
Gujarat	52.2	44.5	44.9	62.0
Madhya Pradesh	34.2	42.4	32.4	58.1
Maharashtra	55.8	42.1	49.3	60.2
Punjab	48.1	39.4	51.0	-
Haryana	43.9	29.3	39.1	-
Tamil Nadu	54.4	22.3	29.1	6.9
Kerala	81.6	0.4	14.8	21.5

Source : Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy, CMIE, EIS, 1991, table 2.17.



Table 4.26 Primary Schools According to Teachers in Position

Sl. No.	State	Zero Teacher Schools %	One Teacher Schools %	Two Teacher Schools %	Three Teacher Schools %	Four Teacher Schools %	Five or more Teacher Schools %
1	Andhra Pradesh	1.37	29.37	42.32	9.92	5.33	11.70
2	Assam	0.00	34.41	41.15	12.24	6.00	6.20
3	Bihar	1.47	25.89	45.56	16.07	6.81	4.20
4	Gujarat	1.97	37.64	36.11	9.25	5.01	10.02
5	Haryana	0.87	7.88	38.98	21.20	12.29	18.79
6	Karnataka	0.00	62.33	27.95	4.27	2.32	3.13
7	Kerala	0.00	0.31	1.00	5.17	16.39	77.13
8	Madhya Pradesh	0.20	34.58	33.55	14.50	6.67	10.50
9	Maharashtra	0.51	43.73	24.04	7.10	6.73	17.89
10	Orissa	0.59	41.29	25.59	18.94	6.59	7.00
11	Punjab	1.31	11.35	31.68	17.26	14.41	23.99
12	Rajasthan	0.19	54.63	21.85	7.26	3.98	12.09
13	Tamil Nadu	0.00	9.31	35.59	17.56	10.66	26.89
14	Uttar Pradesh	0.19	11.77	29.18	20.93	13.73	24.20
15	West Bengal	0.00	3.46	29.03	28.88	19.42	19.21

Source : Fifth All-India Educational Survey pp. 82-83

Table 4.27 Statewise Percentage of Rural Population with and without Primary Schools/Sections 1986.

Sl. No.	State	Percentage of Population Served by								
		Within the Habitation	Upto 0.5 Km. but not Within Habitation	0.6 to 1.0 Km	Upto 1.0 Km	1.1 to 1.5 Km	1.6 to 2.0 Km	Upto 2.0 Km	More than 2 Km	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Andhra Pradesh	92.72	5.97	0.48	99.17	0.45	0.13	99.75	0.25	100.00
2	Assam	81.75	5.40	6.43	93.58	3.59	1.89	99.06	0.94	100.00
3	Bihar	78.53	8.99	8.34	95.86	1.65	1.70	99.21	0.79	100.00
4	Gujarat	97.83	0.86	0.76	99.45	0.15	0.20	99.80	0.20	100.00
5	Haryana	96.68	1.62	1.07	99.37	0.15	0.35	99.87	0.13	100.00
6	Karnataka	92.50	2.03	2.71	97.24	0.93	1.10	99.27	0.73	100.00
7	Kerala	87.67	2.59	4.13	94.39	1.51	2.06	97.96	2.04	100.00
8	Madhya Pradesh	81.51	5.26	6.15	92.92	1.37	3.06	97.35	2.65	100.00
9	Maharashtra	92.42	3.28	2.25	97.95	0.51	0.88	99.34	0.66	100.00
10	Orissa	77.08	8.82	6.93	92.83	1.87	2.60	97.30	2.70	100.00
11	Punjab	96.80	2.09	0.71	99.60	0.14	0.18	99.92	0.08	100.00
12	Rajasthan	86.84	1.49	4.57	92.90	0.88	2.90	96.68	3.32	100.00
13	Tamil Nadu	83.92	5.80	6.30	96.02	1.22	1.80	99.04	0.96	100.00
14	Uttar Pradesh	55.69	14.05	18.82	88.56	4.45	5.00	98.01	1.99	100.00
15	West Bengal	79.71	11.47	6.20	97.38	1.07	1.03	99.48	0.52	100.00

Source : Fifth All India Educational Survey, pp.38-39.

Table 4.28 Expenditure on Education by Levels of Education in Kerala State (at Constant Prices) 1960-61 to 1980-81.

(Rs. lakhs)

Year	University	Secondary	Primary	Special
1960-61	86.39	292.64	1088.31	48.66
1961-62	114.30	291.69	1079.80	61.97
1962-63	111.40	336.61	1130.72	74.33
1963-64	118.03	472.32	1130.57	105.86
1964-65	80.70	356.25	1074.89	27.82
1965-66	81.41	381.97	1179.01	25.90
1966-67	175.55	446.19	1341.94	53.70
1967-68	139.69	516.69	1468.00	57.27
1968-69	137.20	567.09	1655.86	60.22
1969-70	148.35	628.14	1773.65	65.02
1970-71	216.83	650.10	1781.75	65.22
1971-72	255.20	741.31	1991.80	72.85
1972-73	375.90	693.90	1872.65	67.41
1973-74	387.33	648.56	1709.20	62.79
1974-75	374.59	886.15	1979.96	20.82
1975-76	510.02	1039.79	2396.11	39.65
1976-77	486.16	1067.37	2415.71	31.11
1977-78	475.00	1070.50	2377.65	29.88
1978-79	476.94	1148.93	2409.61	37.22
1979-80	475.16	1249.28	2501.61	38.79
1980-81	530.01	1414.80	2717.13	40.34

Source : Combined Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Union and State Governments in India : 1960-61 to 1980-81, cited in Saradamoni, 1991, p.83.

Table 4.29 Total and Per Capita State Government Expenditure on Education : 1980-81 to 1989-90  
(Revenue and Capital Accounts Combined)

Total expenditure (Rs. crores)						Per capita (Rs.)						
1980-81	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90		1980-81	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
139	241	256	337	395	570	Punjab	83	130	136	176	203	291
217	425	489	518	584	713	Kerala	85	153	173	180	199	240
382	795	965	1090	1287	1628	Maharashtra	61	114	136	151	176	219
181	476	471	579	693	811	Gujarat	53	126	123	148	175	201
73	155	177	233	273	321	Haryana	57	105	116	150	175	198
242	564	612	699	794	952	Tamil Nadu	50	107	115	129	145	171
173	382	436	574	641	747	Karnataka	47	92	103	134	146	167
231	539	571	695	786	1061	Andhra Pradesh	43	92	95	114	127	168
108	208	266	295	354	510	Orissa	41	72	90	99	116	165
97	221	306	305	339	404	Assam	54	99	134	130	142	165
146	328	377	475	547	710	Rajasthan	43	84	94	115	129	163
247	539	683	723	854	1007	West Bengal	45	89	111	116	134	155
351	787	877	974	1295	2004	Uttar Pradesh	32	64	70	76	99	150
236	538	503	524	862	1139	Bihar	34	69	63	65	104	135
172	388	438	541	652	777	Madhya Pradesh	33	67	74	89	105	123

Source : Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy, 1991, table 2.20.

Table 4.30 Rural Urban Literacy Rates : 1971 &amp; 1981

Rural literate as % of rural population							Urban literates as % of urban population						
Male		Female		Overall			Male		Female		Overall		
1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981		1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	
66	74	53	64	59	69	Kerala	72	80	61	72	66	76	
45	51	19	26	32	39	Tamil Nadu	67	73	45	54	56	63	
43	51	18	25	31	33	Maharashtra	67	72	47	55	58	64	
39	48	17	24	28	36	Gujarat	64	69	45	51	55	60	
35	42	20	28	28	35	Punjab	59	61	45	50	52	56	
36	44	15	22	26	38	West Bengal	62	69	48	55	56	63	
36	45	12	18	24	31	Orissa	60	65	36	43	49	55	
35	42	15	20	25	31	Karnataka	60	65	42	48	51	57	
33	43	9	15	22	30	Haryana	59	65	41	47	51	57	
27	32	11	14	19	23	Andhra Pradesh	57	62	36	42	47	52	
28	35	7	9	18	23	Uttar Pradesh	52	55	33	35	44	46	
28	34	6	10	17	23	Bihar	55	62	32	40	45	52	
27	33	6	9	17	21	Madhya Pradesh	60	64	37	42	50	54	
23	30	4	5	14	18	Rajasthan	56	61	30	34	43	48	
34(a)	-	17(a)	-	26(a)	-	Assam	65(a)	-	51(a)	-	59(a)	-	

(a) includes Mizoram

Source : Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy, 1991, table 2.13

Table 4.31 Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes : Literacy : 1981\*  
(Literates as % of total population inclusive of 0-4 age group)

Scheduled Castes (a)				Scheduled Tribes (b)		
Males	Females	Total		Males	Females	Total
25	10	18	Andhra Pradesh	12	3	8
18	3	10	Bihar	26	8	17
53	26	40	Gujarat	30	12	21
31	7	20	Haryana	(b)	(b)	(b)
29	12	21	Karnataka	30	10	20
62	50	56	Kerala	38	26	32
30	7	19	Madhya Pradesh	18	4	11
49	22	36	Maharashtra	32	12	22
35	9	22	Orissa	23	5	14
31	16	24	Punjab	(b)	(b)	(b)
24	3	14	Rajasthan	19	1	10
41	10	30	Tamil Nadu	27	14	20
25	4	15	Uttar Pradesh	31	9	20
34	14	24	West Bengal	21	5	13

\* Excludes Assam

(b) No Scheduled Tribes in Haryana, and Punjab.

Source : Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy 1991, table 2.14.

Table 4.32 General and Effective Literacy Rates, 1971

State/ Union Territory	Total Rural Urban	Literates and educated persons			General literacy rate			Effective literacy rate		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
India	T	161415010	112043424	49371586	29.45	39.45	18.69	34.45	45.95	21.97
	R	104197234	76057514	28139720	23.73	33.76	13.17	27.89	39.55	15.52
	U	57217776	35985910	21231866	52.44	61.27	42.14	60.22	69.83	48.84
States										
1. Andhra Pradesh	T	10689665	7303297	3386368	24.57	33.18	15.75	28.52	38.43	18.32
	R	6733998	4833560	1900438	19.19	27.31	10.92	22.30	31.68	12.72
	U	3955667	2469737	1485930	47.08	57.30	36.31	54.28	65.92	41.96
2. Assam	T	4295564	2932566	1362998	28.72	37.19	19.27	34.60	44.31	23.52
	R	3516729	2442990	1073739	25.80	34.28	16.51	31.26	41.10	20.23
	U	778835	489576	289259	58.69	64.54	50.89	67.02	72.57	59.35
3. Bihar	T	11237613	8839395	2398218	19.94	30.64	8.72	23.35	35.78	10.24
	R	8707072	7111190	1595882	17.17	27.64	6.39	20.13	32.37	7.50
	U	2530541	1728205	802336	44.92	55.43	31.89	51.82	63.17	37.35
4. Gujarat	T	9555238	6363748	3191490	35.79	46.11	24.75	41.84	53.78	29.00
	R	5439395	3831076	1608319	28.33	38.92	17.19	33.31	45.72	20.23
	U	4115843	2532672	1583171	54.90	63.96	44.77	63.23	73.33	51.81
5. Haryana	T	2699179	2005424	693755	26.89	37.29	14.89	31.91	44.02	17.77
	R	1794925	1439614	355311	21.72	32.57	9.24	25.92	38.66	11.10
	U	904254	565810	338444	51.00	59.12	41.48	58.89	67.98	48.14
6. Himachal Pradesh	T	1105825	763192	342633	31.96	43.19	29.23	37.30	50.32	23.67
	R	959375	670836	288539	29.81	41.19	18.15	34.87	48.15	21.25
	U	146450	92356	54094	60.54	66.76	52.24	68.69	74.73	60.35

contd. 12

State/ Union Territory	Total Rural Urban	Literates and educated persons			General literacy rate			Effective literacy rate		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
7. Jammu & Kashmir	T	857964	657660	200304	18.58	26.75	9.28	21.71	31.01	10.94
	R	530354	442635	87719	14.11	22.17	4.98	16.57	25.82	5.90
	U	327610	215025	112585	38.17	46.60	28.38	43.55	52.93	32.53
8. Kerala	T	12898072	7054096	5843976	60.42	66.62	54.31	69.75	77.13	62.53
	R	10599409	5804787	4794622	59.28	65.57	53.10	86.54	76.06	61.22
	U	2298663	1249309	1049354	66.31	71.99	60.62	75.92	82.50	69.33
9. Madhya Pradesh	T	9233084	7016655	2206429	22.14	32.70	10.92	26.37	38.77	13.08
	R	5861418	4820815	1040603	16.81	27.05	6.10	20.08	32.18	7.32
	U	3361666	2195840	1165826	49.55	60.46	36.98	58.12	70.36	43.77
10. Maharashtra	T	19752608	13331079	6421529	39.18	51.04	26.43	45.77	59.40	31.00
	R	10628699	7556382	3072317	30.63	43.22	17.84	36.09	50.96	21.01
	U	9123909	5774697	3349212	58.07	66.88	47.33	66.56	75.82	54.98
11. Manipur	T	353090	249383	103707	32.91	46.04	19.53	38.47	53.70	22.87
	R	277756	202371	75385	29.83	43.04	16.35	34.94	50.32	19.19
	U	75334	47012	28322	53.24	65.80	40.43	61.31	75.59	46.68
12. Meghalaya	T	298382	177772	120540	29.46	34.12	24.56	35.06	40.44	29.31
	R	202327	122220	80107	23.40	27.68	18.94	28.03	33.11	22.71
	U	95985	55552	40433	65.22	69.93	59.69	74.45	78.83	69.17
13. Mysore	T	9235127	6231363	3003764	31.52	41.62	20.97	36.83	48.51	24.56
	R	5572190	3982775	1589415	25.13	35.40	14.54	29.48	41.48	17.09
	U	3662937	2248588	1414349	51.43	60.40	41.61	59.33	69.32	48.27
14. Nagaland	T	141518	96681	44837	27.40	35.02	18.65	31.32	39.65	21.56
	R	110277	73593	36684	23.71	30.51	16.39	27.11	34.71	18.84
	U	31241	23088	8153	60.79	66.13	49.47	69.33	72.60	61.48



contd...4.32

State/ Union Territory	Total Rural Urban	Literates and educated persons			General literacy rate			Effective literacy rate		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
15. Orissa	T	5745399	4227806	1517593	26.18	38.29	13.92	30.53	44.50	16.29
	R	4841184	3628327	1212857	24.09	36.14	12.06	28.09	42.03	14.10
	U	904215	599479	304736	49.00	59.94	36.05	57.02	68.96	42.53
16. Punjab	T	4562123	2934281	1627842	33.67	40.38	25.90	38.69	46.22	29.91
	R	2873903	1919586	954317	27.81	34.69	19.88	32.02	39.78	22.99
	U	1688220	1014695	673525	52.49	58.55	45.41	59.97	66.62	52.13
17. Rajasthan	T	4914293	3875435	1038858	19.07	28.74	8.46	22.57	33.87	10.06
	R	2939348	2529873	409475	13.85	22.87	4.03	16.44	27.04	4.80
	U	1974945	1345562	629383	43.46	55.52	29.68	50.81	64.53	34.94
18. Sikkim	T	37230	28579	8651	17.74	25.37	8.90	20.22	28.52	10.31
	R	28149	22320	5829	14.80	22.11	6.53	16.86	24.85	7.56
	U	9081	6259	2822	46.17	53.48	35.43	53.03	60.33	41.81
19. Tamil Nadu	T	16256393	10783783	5472610	39.46	51.78	26.86	45.40	59.54	30.92
	R	9231537	6518218	2713369	32.13	45.14	18.90	37.03	52.05	21.87
	U	7024806	4265565	2759241	56.36	66.76	45.42	64.56	76.30	52.16
20. Tripura	T	482082	322017	160065	30.98	40.20	21.19	36.19	46.84	24.84
	R	378149	261261	116888	27.13	36.43	17.27	31.82	42.61	20.32
	U	103933	60756	43177	64.01	72.42	55.03	72.44	81.67	62.51
21. Uttar Pradesh	T	19173970	14812311	4261659	21.70	31.50	10.55	25.44	36.69	12.46
	R	13769262	11269375	2499887	18.13	28.02	6.99	21.29	32.72	8.27
	U	5404708	3542936	1861772	43.63	52.08	33.33	50.53	59.73	39.07
22. West Bengal	T	14711739	10031891	4679848	33.20	42.81	22.42	38.86	49.57	26.56
	R	8577954	6148637	2429317	25.72	35.80	15.02	30.63	42.27	18.05
	U	6133785	3883254	2250531	55.93	62.01	47.84	62.25	68.19	54.11

contd...4.32

State/ Union Territory	Total Rural Urban	Literates and educated persons			General literacy rate			Effective literacy rate		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
UNION TERRITORIES										
1. Andaman & Nicobar Islands	T	50191	36160	14031	43.59	51.64	31.11	51.15	58.82	38.29
	R	34059	24895	9164	38.31	46.80	25.66	45.40	53.88	31.81
	U	16132	11265	4867	61.53	66.93	51.85	69.80	73.74	62.10
2. Arunachal Pradesh	T	52791	44776	8015	11.29	17.82	3.71	13.26	20.63	4.43
	R	44067	37744	6323	9.79	15.77	3.00	11.51	18.29	3.38
	U	8724	7032	1692	50.46	59.28	31.18	57.90	65.37	39.25
3. Chandigarh	T	158371	98495	59876	61.56	66.97	54.35	70.43	75.74	63.15
	R	7422	5610	1812	30.53	38.84	18.36	35.38	44.31	21.79
	U	150949	92885	58064	64.80	70.03	57.89	74.04	79.13	67.13
4. Dadra & Nagar Haveli	T	11105	8188	2917	14.97	22.15	7.84	18.12	26.79	9.50
	R	11105	8188	2917	14.97	22.15	7.84	18.12	26.79	9.50
	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Delhi	T	2301605	1438268	863337	56.61	63.71	47.75	65.08	72.55	55.56
	R	151690	112413	39277	36.23	49.00	20.75	43.29	58.03	25.06
	U	2149915	1325855	824060	58.95	65.37	50.90	67.48	74.12	58.98
6. Goa, Daman & Diu	T	383864	234178	149686	44.75	54.31	35.09	51.48	62.61	40.27
	R	256135	156710	99425	40.59	50.40	31.06	46.81	58.43	35.64
	U	127729	77468	50261	56.32	64.39	47.72	64.34	73.20	54.23
7. Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	T	13889	9081	4808	43.66	56.48	30.56	51.76	67.33	36.03
	R	13889	9081	4808	43.66	56.48	30.56	51.76	67.33	36.03
	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

contd...4.32

State/ Union Territory	Total Rural Urban	Literates and educated persons			General literacy rate			Effective literacy rate		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
8. Pondicherry	T	217058	135851	81207	46.02	57.29	34.62	53.38	66.50	40.14
	R	105553	70465	35088	38.60	51.14	25.87	44.98	59.52	30.17
	U	111505	65386	46119	56.23	65.83	46.60	64.86	76.11	53.62

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, S-9, P-I A & B, pp.125-127.

Table 4.33 Effective Literates by Age Groups, Kerala, 1961-71

Age groups	Number of literates and educated persons		Percentage distribution of literates		Percentage of literates within each age group	
	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971
Total	7919220	12898072	100.00	100.00	55.08	69.75
5-9	750165	1523537	9.47	11.81	30.70	52.97
10-14	1658933	2556746	20.95	19.82	74.22	89.28
15-19	1046245	2032466	13.21	15.76	73.02	86.96
20-24	958180	1637426	12.10	12.70	66.84	82.29
25-34	1437154	1904546	18.15	14.77	60.77	73.33
35+	2066730	3243025	26.10	25.14	46.31	55.66
ANS	1813	326	0.02	N	44.74	36.10

ANS - Age not stated

N - Negligible

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, Part I A & B, p.133.

Table 4.34 Distribution of Literates by Educational Levels in Kerala, 1971

Educational levels		Number			Percentage to total literates		Percentage to total population	
		T	R	U	R	U	R	U
Total literates	P	12898072	10599409	2298663	100.00	100.00	59.28	66.31
	M	7054096	5804787	1249309	100.00	100.00	65.57	71.99
	F	5843976	4794622	1049354	100.00	100.00	53.10	60.62
1. Literates (without educational level)	P	3976966	3413396	563570	32.20	24.52	19.09	16.26
	M	2100869	1811439	289430	31.21	23.17	20.46	16.68
	F	1876097	1601957	274140	33.41	26.12	17.74	15.84
2. Primary	P	5452836	4594175	858661	43.34	37.36	25.69	24.77
	M	2947412	2493915	453497	42.96	36.30	28.17	26.13
	F	2505424	2100260	405164	43.81	38.61	23.26	23.41
3. Middle	P	2176577	1686495	490082	15.91	21.32	9.43	14.14
	M	1214811	942320	272491	16.23	21.81	10.64	15.70
	F	961766	744175	217591	15.52	20.74	8.24	12.57
4. Matriculation or higher secondary	P	998675	708970	289705	6.69	12.60	3.97	8.36
	M	612140	438660	173480	7.56	13.89	4.96	10.00
	F	386535	270310	116225	5.64	11.08	2.99	6.71
5. Non-technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	P	87890	83595	4295	0.79	0.19	0.47	0.12
	M	43814	41826	1988	0.72	0.16	0.47	0.11
	F	44076	41769	2307	0.87	0.22	0.46	0.13
6. Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	P	63558	37978	25580	0.36	1.11	0.21	0.74
	M	36229	23468	12761	0.40	1.02	0.27	0.74
	F	27329	14510	12819	0.30	1.22	0.16	0.74
7. Graduates and above	P	141570	74800	66770	0.71	2.90	0.42	1.93
	M	98821	53159	45662	0.92	3.65	0.60	2.63
	F	42749	21641	21108	0.45	2.01	0.24	1.22

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, Part I A &amp; B, p.137.

Table 4.35 Distribution of SC/ST Literates by Educational Levels 1961-1971

Educational levels	Year	Scheduled castes		Scheduled tribes		General population
		Number	Percentage to total literates	Number	Percentage to total literates	Percentage to total literates
TOTAL LITERATES	1961	350676	100.00	36716	100.00	100.00
	1971	712609	100.00	69270	100.00	100.00
Literates without educational level	1961	266930	76.12	27699	75.44	68.09
	1971	293804	41.23	29608	42.74	30.83
Primary or junior basic	1961	74958	21.37	8445	23.00	25.57
	1971	387486	54.38	37332	53.89	59.15
Matriculation and above	1961	8788	2.51	572	1.56	6.34
	1971	31319	4.39	2330	3.37	10.02

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, Part I A & B, p.237.

#### Interpretation of tables

Although primary education was somewhat wide spread in Cochin state and other parts of Kerala even before independence, a state-wise analysis of number of organised educational institutions (see table : 4.18) in the fifties place Kerala in the third position from the bottom. There was a wide gap between Kerala and most of the other states as Kerala had only 66 educational institutions per lakh of people. However, it is interesting to note that Kerala topped the list of number of students per institution for the same year 1956-57 (See table:4.19). There existed again, a wide gulf between Kerala and other states. In Kerala, there were 279 students per institution whereas Assam, having the largest number of

students per institution. Assam had about 2.4 times more educational institutions per lakh of people than Kerala, but Kerala had about 3.8 times more number of students per institutions than Assam. In the case of Kerala, the large number of students per institution (compared to other states) seemed to have more than compensated for the thin distribution of educational institutions in the state.

Table 4.20 indicates that the progress of lower primary education in Kerala was slow during the early fifties both in terms of number of schools and enrolment. Expansion of lower primary education seemed to have been achieved to a large extent by the concluding years of the fifties in Kerala. It can be seen from table 4.21 that over a period of two decades (1961-62 to 1983-84) the recorded expansion of lower primary schools were 6745 in 1961-62 to 6842 in 1983-84. About 58% of the total number of L.P.S. in 1961-62 were private and by 1983-84 there were more private schools (61%) in Kerala. Enrolment in primary stage of school education for the period 1960-61 to 1982-83 started declining after 1974-75 and remained more or less steady for the rest of the period (see table 4.22). Taking a look at girls enrolment in lower primary school education, table 4.20 & table 4.23, it can be said of Kerala that girls enrolment was not so far behind the enrolment of boys in lower primary schools. Even in 1950-51, girls constituted about 46% of the total enrolment in lower primary schools, a position many other states were yet to reach in 1986.

As can be seen from table 4.24 & table 4.25, retention rate in lower primary schools has been high in Kerala. About 67% of the total students enrolled in std I for the year 1962-63 have entered std V which meant completing the lower primary schooling. Twenty years later in 1986-87 many states in India recorded high drop-out rate ranging from 65% in Bihar to 22% in Tamil Nadu; the drop-out rate in Kerala for the same year being 0.4%. Among the SC/ST students wastage in lower primary education was substantially high even in the case of Kerala during 1986-87. Column 2(table 4.25) seems to suggest that high retention/low drop-out rate in lower primary education results in high literacy rate as the gap between Kerala and other states are wide regarding literacy in 1981.

Availability of teachers is one of the deciding factors in the progress of any educational programme. Teacher availability in primary schools was very high in Kerala compared to other states. About 94% of primary schools in Kerala had four or more teachers attending them. In 1986, most of the primary schools in India (about 59%) had to run on the strength of a single teacher or two teachers (see table 4.26).

Rural population's accessibility to primary schools is shown in table 4.27. Kerala had about 94% of its rural population having access to primary schools within 1km distance. Interestingly, many other states analysed in table 4.27 had higher percentage of their population having access to primary schools within 1km distance than Kerala. For example, Gujarat had about 98% and 99% of rural population having access to

primary schools within the habitation and upto 1km respectively. However, data from table 4.26 for Gujarat & Kerala show a different picture of access to primary 'education' than 'school' with regard to teachers in position.

In 1960-61, about 72% of the total expenditure on education in Kerala was on primary education. Over a period of twenty years, the share of primary education on total expenditure on education came down to 58% in 1980-81 (table 4.28). However, Kerala's per capita expenditure on education remained higher compared to other major states during the 80s with the exception to Punjab topping the list for the two concluding years of the decade of eighty (see table 4.29).

A salient feature of primary education in Kerala has been high retention and thereby low drop-out in lower primary schools coupled with comparably high enrolment ratio for the girls since 1950-51. Another positive aspect of primary education in Kerala is the availability of teachers, about 94% of primary schools in Kerala have four or more teachers in position. Progress of primary education gets reflected in the literacy status of the population. Tables 4.30 & 4.31 show Kerala's leading position in literacy. However, the striking difference between Kerala and other states lies more in the disparities existing between different groups than the overall literacy status. For other states, the gap between male-female and rural-urban literacy was much wider than Kerala. In the case of SC,ST population too, the disparity between male-female literacy was lesser than the rest of the country.



The above analysis shows that literacy growth in Kerala was different in the sense that it was somewhat wide spread among various pockets of the population.

In 1971 census, for analysis of literacy data, the population falling in age group 0-4 was excluded. The rate worked out by excluding the population of 0-4 from the total population is termed as the 'effective literacy' rate. In effective literacy too Kerala stood very different from other states of India in terms of rural-urban and male-female disparity which is evident from table 4.32. Both in 1961 & 1971, the 10-14 age group recorded the highest percentage of literates within a particular age group with 74.22% and 89.28% respectively (table 4.33). Percentage of literates without educational level and with primary level were more in rural areas than in urban areas. But this was different for middle (upper primary) and above levels as their percentage to total literates were more in urban areas. Larger share of the literates came from the primary educated group, both in rural and urban areas (table 4.34). In 1961, 76.12% of SC and 75.44% of ST literates were without any educational level. This scene was different by 1971, 54.38% of SC and 53.89% of ST literates were primary educated.

After having analysed state level data, in the following tables district level data are presented.

Table 4.36 Villages According to Population Range and Educational Amenity, 1981.

Population range	No.of inhabited villages in each range	Number (with percentage) of villages having educational amenity
Total	79	79(100.00)
upto 499	-	-
500-1999	1	1(100.00)
2000-4999	3	3(100.00)
5000+	75	75(100.00)

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, Part XIII A & B, p.64.

Table 4.37 Rural Population and Educational Amenity by Talukas  
1981.

District / Taluka	Total population of inhabited villages in the taluka	Proportion of rural popln served by edl. amenity
Ernakulam	1532402	100.00
Parur	149018	100.00
Alwaye	311982	100.00
Kunnathunad	325104	100.00
Kothamangalam	131613	100.00
Muvattupuzha	252381	100.00
Kanayannur	163127	100.00
Cochin	199177	100.00

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, P.XIII A & B, p.60.

Table 4.38 Distribution of Villages According to the Availability of Educational Amenity.

District / Taluka	No. of inhabited villages	Number (with percentage) of villages having one or more edl. institution
Ernakulam	79	79(100.00)
Parur	5	5(100.00)
Alwaye	12	12(100.00)
Kunnathunad	15	15(100.00)
Kothamangalam	8	8(100.00)
Muvattupuzha	18	18(100.00)
Kanayannur	13	13(100.00)
Cochin	8	8(100.00)

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, P.XIII A & B, p.58.

Table 4.39 Schools per 10,000 Population in Towns, 1981.

Class, name and civic status of town	Number per 10,000 population in towns			
	Higher Secondary/ Inter/PUC Junior college	Secondary/ Matriculation	Junior Second. Middle	Primary
III Alwaye(M)	0	2.37	2.77	6.33
III Angamaly(M)	0	1.06	1.41	4.24
III Chendamangalam(CT)	0	1.16	1.93	5.02
V Cheriakadavu(CT)	0	2.98	8.94	28.30
I Cochin(C)	0.02	0.71	0.76	2.54
III Eloor(CT)	0	1.07	1.92	4.48
III Kalamasserry(CT)	0	0.91	1.37	2.97
III Kothamangalam(M)	0	1.51	1.81	3.92
III Kottuvally(CT)	0	0.98	2.93	4.24
III Maradu(CT)	0	0.35	1.04	2.09
III Mulavucad(CT)	0	0.93	1.87	4.67
III Muvattupuzha(M)	0	1.98	2.37	3.56
III Parur(M)	0	2.28	2.28	7.99
III Perumbavoor(M)	0	1.30	1.73	2.60
III Tripunithura(M)	0	1.15	2.29	3.21
III Vadakkekara(CT)	0	0.47	0.95	4.50

M - Municipal town

CT - Census town

C - Corporation

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, P.XIII A &amp; B, p.72.

Table 4.40 Literacy by Talukas, 1961-1971.

District/Taluka	Percentage of literacy					
	Total		Males		Females	
	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971
Ernakulam district	50.58	65.29	57.80	70.34	43.33	60.15
Alwaye	42.88	60.63	49.80	65.88	35.98	55.35
Parur	46.05	66.76	52.42	71.74	39.82	61.79
Cochin	55.91	67.14	63.36	72.16	48.31	62.02
Kanayannur	55.47	69.46	63.34	74.70	47.51	64.11
Kunnathunad	45.81	61.61	54.17	66.97	37.55	56.19
Muvattupuzha	50.14	63.66	57.32	68.82	42.97	58.46
Thodupuzha	52.91	64.69	58.25	68.65	47.47	60.48

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, P.X A, p.53.

Table 4.41 Rural-Urban Literacy by Talukas, 1971.

District/Taluka	Literacy rate					
	Total		Males		Females	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Ernakulam district	63.68	69.52	68.71	74.53	58.61	64.28
Alwaye	59.25	70.57	64.60	74.89	53.89	66.08
Parur	65.86	71.48	70.80	76.51	60.97	66.19
Cochin	68.10	66.49	72.50	71.93	63.82	60.74
Kanayannur	66.49	72.02	72.32	76.72	60.63	67.16
Kunnathunad	61.17	67.33	66.53	72.44	55.76	61.90
Muvattupuzha	63.22	68.85	68.34	74.45	58.09	62.99
Thodupuzha	64.30	68.78	68.19	73.39	60.17	63.80

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, P.X A, p.53.

Table 4.42 Rural-Urban Literacy Rates by Districts, 1971.

State/District		Literate and educated persons			General literacy rate			Effective literacy rate		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
KERALA	R	10599409	5804787	4794622	59.28	65.57	53.10	68.54	76.06	61.22
	U	2298663	1249309	1049354	66.31	71.99	60.62	75.92	82.50	69.33
Cannanore	R	1101716	631175	470541	54.00	62.46	45.70	62.83	72.92	52.99
	U	195307	109801	85506	60.11	67.87	52.42	68.51	77.75	59.43
Kozhikode	R	850799	498542	352257	55.08	64.23	45.84	64.19	74.96	53.34
	U	354602	197710	156892	63.14	70.22	56.03	72.74	81.08	64.40
Malappuram	R	823319	466420	356899	47.55	55.00	40.40	56.39	65.69	47.59
	U	65909	36715	29194	52.79	59.71	46.07	61.85	70.41	53.65
Palghat	R	656999	375277	281722	44.66	52.59	37.18	51.69	61.23	42.00
	U	129850	72056	57794	60.66	68.02	53.44	69.52	78.12	61.13
Trichur	R	1138176	590418	547758	60.58	65.46	56.06	70.14	76.42	64.43
	U	173467	88213	85254	69.43	72.98	66.10	79.48	84.08	75.23
Ernakulam	R	1099252	594923	504329	63.68	68.71	58.61	73.28	79.07	67.45
	U	456700	250476	206224	69.52	74.53	64.28	79.71	85.17	73.96
Kottayam	R	1253697	673467	580230	66.97	71.11	62.74	77.30	81.96	72.51
	U	158444	83631	74813	74.34	77.56	71.04	84.00	88.10	79.85
Alleppey	R	1245037	654376	590661	70.50	75.22	65.92	80.10	85.52	74.58
	U	252333	134030	118303	70.15	75.27	65.14	79.95	86.11	73.95
Quilon	R	1439974	776470	663504	64.78	69.94	59.63	74.37	80.45	68.34
	U	127558	68688	58870	67.17	71.89	62.39	77.32	82.65	71.90
Trivandrum	R	990440	543719	446721	60.87	67.22	54.60	69.81	77.24	62.49
	U	384493	207989	176504	67.27	72.64	61.88	76.65	82.48	70.76

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, P.I A &amp; B, p.129.

Table 4.43 Literacy Rates by Population Ranges of Villages, 1981

Range of population	No. of villages in each range	General literacy rate
Total	79	75.30
Less than 200	-	-
200--499	-	-
500--1999	1	81.68
2000--4999	3	78.06
5000--9999	8	75.94
10000+	67	75.24

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, P.XIII A & B, p.56.

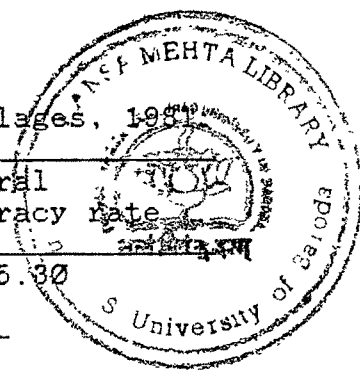


Table 4.44 Literacy Rates for Towns,

1981.

Town	General literacy rate
(in alphabetical order)	
All towns	79.15
Alwaye	82.60
Angamaly	77.83
Chendamangalam	81.89
Cheriyakadavu	80.16
Cochin	79.58
Eloor	81.41
Kalamassery	73.84
Kothamangalam	76.30
Kottuvally	77.52
Maradu	77.07
Mulavucad	80.61
Muvattupuzha	76.68
Parur	80.04
Perumbavoor	76.09
Trippunithura	80.45
Vadakkekkara	78.85

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, P.XIII A & B, p.57.



Table 4.45 Literacy of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1971.

State/District	Total	Scheduled castes		Scheduled tribes		Percentage of literates in general population
	Rural Urban	Number of literates	Percentage to total scheduled castes	Number of literates	Percentage to total scheduled tribes	
KERALA	T	712609	40.21	69270	25.72	60.42
	R	625616	39.09	63864	24.71	59.28
	U	86993	50.72	5406	49.71	66.31
Cannanore	T	14716	25.49	22822	25.23	54.84
	R	12745	23.91	19295	23.08	54.00
	U	1971	44.40	3527	51.41	60.11
Kozhikode	T	31099	40.74	19753	23.24	57.23
	R	22606	38.78	18784	22.60	55.08
	U	8493	47.08	969	51.96	63.14
Malappuram	T	36493	25.91	1215	13.68	47.90
	R	34166	25.25	1100	12.78	47.55
	U	2327	42.00	115	41.67	52.79
Palghat	T	4307	20.41	1826	7.13	46.69
	R	38248	19.48	1590	6.46	44.66
	U	4769	33.02	236	24.13	60.66
Trichur	T	85779	39.67	3352	35.72	61.61
	R	78906	38.97	3220	34.53	60.58
	U	6873	49.90	132	41.25	69.43
Ernakulam	T	87646	45.40	5255	45.12	65.29
	R	71302	43.84	5027	44.17	63.68
	U	16344	53.72	228	85.39	69.52

contd...4.45

State/District	Total	Scheduled castes		Scheduled tribes		Percentage of literate in general popu- lation
	Rural Urban	Number of literate	Percentage to total scheduled castes	Number of literate	Percentage to total scheduled tribes	
Kottayam	T	84754	46.55	8908	38.44	67.72
	R	78184	45.73	8814	38.24	66.97
	U	6570	59.12	94	77.05	74.34
Allepey	T	109226	54.40	261	60.00	70.44
	R	99254	54.09	250	61.12	70.50
	U	9972	57.79	11	42.31	70.15
Quilon	T	119217	42.48	1218	32.59	64.97
	R	112575	42.17	1215	32.57	64.78
	U	6642	48.57	3	42.86	67.17
Trivandrum	T	108662	47.10	4660	42.14	62.54
	R	77630	45.41	4569	41.90	60.87
	U	23032	53.82	91	59.09	67.27

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, P.I A & B, p.236.

Table 4.46 Rural-Urban Literacy Rates 1981.

State/District	Rural			Urban		
	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Total population	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Total population
KERALA	54.75	31.22	69.11	64.75	61.42	76.11
1. Cannanore	42.16	32.99	62.86	70.24	56.91	75.14
2. Wayanad	48.09	20.74	58.33	-	-	-
3. Kozhikode	61.19	21.02	68.59	67.70	35.00	74.22
4. Malappuram	47.13	16.20	60.34	58.40	72.22	62.54
5. Palghat	41.01	11.93	56.54	54.70	56.76	71.00
6. Trichur	57.15	29.77	72.16	64.33	43.75	78.93
7. Ernakulam	61.57	45.18	75.29	67.21	60.73	79.15
8. Idukki	48.53	43.42	67.07	61.16	37.42	75.05
9. Kottayam	71.91	73.71	81.51	70.39	67.05	83.04
10. Alleppey	67.61	50.75	78.47	72.04	63.91	78.83
11. Quilon	57.57	48.40	74.16	58.73	70.79	73.75
12. Trivandrum	57.56	57.24	68.84	64.52	72.66	75.42

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, Paper 4, p.20.

Table 4.47 Literacy Rates, Kerala, 1971.

State/District	Literate and educated persons			General literacy rate			Effective literacy rate		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
KERALA	12898072	7054096	5843976	60.42	66.62	54.31	69.75	77.13	62.53
1. Cannanore	1297023	740976	556047	54.84	63.20	46.62	63.63	73.60	53.89
2. Kozhikode	1205401	696252	509149	57.23	65.82	48.56	66.49	76.61	56.32
3. Malappuram	889228	503135	386093	47.90	55.32	40.78	56.77	66.01	48.00
4. Palghat	786849	447333	339516	46.69	54.58	39.22	53.97	63.44	45.10
5. Trichur	1311643	678631	633012	61.61	66.35	57.23	71.24	77.33	65.70
6. Ernakulam	1555952	845399	710553	65.29	70.34	60.15	75.06	80.78	69.22
7. Kottayam	1412141	757098	655043	67.72	71.77	63.59	78.00	82.60	73.28
8. Alleppey	1497370	788406	708964	70.44	75.22	65.79	80.07	85.87	74.48
9. Quilon	1567532	845158	722374	64.97	70.10	59.84	74.60	80.62	68.61
10. Trivandrum	1374933	751708	623225	62.54	68.64	56.48	71.60	78.63	64.63

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, P.I A &amp; B, p.128.

Table 4.48 Comparative Literacy Rates 1981.

	S.C. Kerala	S.T. Kerala	Total population	
			Kerala state	All India average
Total	55.96	31.79	70.42	36.17
Male	62.33	37.52	75.26	46.74
Female	49.73	26.02	65.73	24.88

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, Paper 4, p.19.

Table 4.49 General Literacy Rates of S.C./S.T. 1981.

State/District	Total literacy (percent)			Male literacy (percent)			Female literacy(percent)		
	S.C.	S.T.	Total population	S.C.	S.T.	Total population	S.C.	S.T.	Total population
KERALA	55.96	31.79	70.42	62.33	37.52	75.26	49.73	26.02	65.73
1. Cannanore	47.06	33.18	65.74	53.82	43.04	72.20	40.29	23.02	59.48
2. Wayanad	48.09	20.74	58.33	55.67	27.30	64.81	39.96	14.24	51.51
3. Kozhikode	62.26	21.45	70.12	69.27	25.95	76.56	55.36	16.91	63.82
4. Malappuram	47.71	16.33	60.50	54.17	19.94	65.93	41.15	12.90	55.34
5. Palghat	41.93	12.04	58.00	49.85	16.02	64.81	34.31	7.97	51.55
6. Trichur	58.16	29.90	73.59	63.52	34.33	77.31	53.02	25.18	70.21
7. Ernakulam	63.10	52.60	76.82	68.89	55.74	80.75	57.34	49.27	72.88
8. Idukki	48.76	43.35	67.44	57.76	47.23	72.15	39.68	39.33	62.55
9. Kottayam	71.79	73.63	81.66	76.29	75.51	83.96	67.24	71.78	79.35
10. Alleppey	67.95	53.71	78.52	73.72	58.67	82.12	62.27	48.75	75.10
11. Quilon	57.67	50.30	74.11	63.69	53.54	78.10	51.75	46.99	70.21
12. Trivandrum	59.01	58.06	70.50	64.41	62.87	75.29	53.84	53.37	65.85

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, Paper 4, p.19.

Table 4.50 Male Literates by Age Groups in Kerala, 1971

State/District		Age group					
		5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35+
KERALA	I	779291	1320605	1021501	865611	1042771	2024084
	II	53.46	91.32	90.63	88.52	83.30	70.16
1. Cannanore	I	83866	140662	105431	88919	111681	210372
	II	49.25	88.64	87.71	85.24	81.04	66.71
2. Kozhikode	I	75038	127286	99693	92780	106632	194768
	II	51.22	91.49	91.09	89.77	84.44	68.56
3. Malappuram	I	57687	100190	74703	63500	73735	125310
	II	42.97	85.22	82.35	79.03	71.68	55.21
4. Palghat	I	54868	89854	65710	50023	63709	123154
	II	48.56	83.43	79.14	72.53	65.31	52.43
5. Trichur	I	79846	135510	100159	77282	89567	196237
	II	54.76	92.79	92.25	82.38	83.11	69.38
6. Ernakulam	I	84956	152476	122443	109085	132266	244146
	II	53.51	94.14	94.69	92.66	88.43	74.19
7. Kottayam	I	78315	130782	105766	95067	116707	230451
	II	55.03	92.94	93.03	93.09	90.18	79.93
8. Alleppey	I	83888	137951	112659	92874	103979	257035
	II	60.92	96.74	96.83	95.55	92.07	82.57
9. Quilon	I	90860	159058	125374	101243	123950	244663
	II	55.26	93.12	93.46	92.12	87.07	74.91
10. Trivandrum	I	89967	138034	109563	94838	120545	197948
	II	62.25	91.66	90.08	88.24	82.99	69.28

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, P.I A &amp; B, p.135.

Table 4.51 Female Literates by Age Groups in Kerala, 1971.

State/District		Age group					
		5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35+
KERALA	I	744246	1236141	1010965	771815	861775	1218941
	II	52.47	87.19	83.54	76.26	64.06	41.44
Cannanore	I	78229	124267	93051	74484	81892	104114
	II	46.72	80.68	74.96	67.03	54.11	32.17
Kozhikode	I	69189	116313	88766	71628	75126	88117
	II	48.82	85.21	78.56	70.73	57.30	31.43
Malappuram	I	53130	98601	68473	53164	55271	57444
	II	41.19	78.63	70.01	60.54	44.59	23.82
Palghat	I	50268	77174	56312	40119	46804	68834
	II	44.67	70.94	62.75	53.19	40.97	27.27
Trichur	I	79437	130933	107547	81922	93550	139553
	II	56.22	91.39	88.36	81.00	69.19	43.50
Ernakulam	I	83589	145551	123831	94397	107756	155405
	II	54.20	93.09	91.50	84.98	73.92	48.01
Kottayam	I	77576	126316	110066	84913	98799	157359
	II	55.66	91.04	90.11	86.68	78.14	58.44
Alleppey	I	79455	133908	120643	92932	100286	181730
	II	60.21	95.94	94.58	89.81	79.60	56.20
Quilon	I	87965	152719	130545	92742	107164	151239
	II	55.10	91.39	89.70	82.80	72.14	47.27
Trivandrum	I	85408	130359	111731	85454	95427	115146
	II	60.51	88.03	83.85	76.93	66.29	40.10

Source : Census 1971, Kerala, Series-9, P.I A &amp; B, pp.135-136.

Table 4.52 Literacy of Ernakulam District - 1981.

District/Taluka	Total Rural Urban	Total Population			Literate population		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons Percentage	Males Percentage	Females Percentage
Ernakulam	T	2535294	1269174	1266120	76.82	80.75	72.88
	R	1532402	766027	766375	75.29	79.48	71.11
	U	1002892	503147	499745	79.15	82.68	75.60
1. Parur	T	320987	159605	161382	77.36	81.06	73.69
	R	149018	74368	74650	74.37	78.62	70.14
	U	171969	85237	86732	79.95	83.20	76.75
2. Alwaye	T	365567	182394	183173	74.32	78.30	70.35
	R	311982	155883	156099	73.33	77.51	69.16
	U	53585	26511	27074	80.08	82.98	77.24
3. Kunnathunad	T	348168	175436	172732	74.46	79.19	69.66
	R	325104	163688	161416	74.35	79.11	69.51
	U	23064	11748	11316	76.09	80.21	71.81
4. Kothamangalam	T	164735	82898	81837	72.31	76.67	67.90
	R	131613	66273	65340	71.31	75.89	66.67
	U	33122	16625	16497	76.30	79.78	72.79
5. Muvattupuzha	T	277694	139163	138531	77.28	80.91	73.64
	R	252381	126379	126002	77.34	80.97	73.70
	U	25313	12784	12529	76.68	80.29	73.01
6. Kanayannur	T	607084	304428	302656	77.91	81.67	74.12
	R	163127	81412	81715	78.25	82.63	73.89
	U	443957	223016	220941	77.78	81.32	74.21
7. Cochin	T	451059	225250	225809	80.18	83.88	76.50
	R	199177	98024	101153	78.23	81.76	74.01
	U	251882	127226	124656	81.72	85.51	77.86

Source : Census 1981, Kerala, Series-10, P.XIII A &amp; B, p.48.



## Interpretation of tables

By 1981, all the villages in Ernakulam district had at least one primary school (see tables 4.36 & 4.37 & 4.38). There were more than 5 primary schools per 10,000 population in Cheriyakadavu, Parur, Alwaye and Chendamangalam towns of Ernakulam district. Overall, at least 2 primary schools were available per 10,000 population in all the towns of the district (see table 4.39). Literacy by Talukas presented in table 4.40 shows, all talukas except Alwaye taluka had male literacy well above 50% in 1961. Female literacy was below 50% in all the taluka for the same census year. By 1971, four talukas had female literacy above 60% and the remaining talukas above 55%, bringing the average figure for the district above 60%. During the decade of sixty, disparity between male-female literacy and between talukas literacy registered some reduction.

Rural-Urban literacy for females showed a wider gap in the case of Alwaye than other talukas and the district average in 1971. Alwaye, Kunnathunad and Muvattupuzha talukas recorded below district average in rural literacy (see table 4.41). Both rural and urban literacy rates for Ernakulam district were above the state average in 1971 as seen from table 4.42.

Villages in Ernakulam district had general literacy rate of 75.30% in 1981, which was above the state average of 70.42%. It can be seen from table 4.43 that lesser the population in a village higher the literacy rate. General literacy rate for all towns remained higher than the literacy rate for villages. All the

towns, except Kalamassery had recorded above 75% literacy in 1981 (table 4.44).

The literacy rates of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in Ernakulam and some other district were higher than the state average for the group 1971 & 1981. Ernakulam had the third position in female literacy among the SC/ST population in 1981. The difference in literacy rates between SC&St in rural areas is more than in urban areas. Literacy rate of SC in Ernakulam district was above the all India average for total population (tables 4.45-4.49).

Male-female literacy by age groups for different districts are shown in tables 4.50 & 4.51. In Ernakulam district male and female literacy were above 90% in 1971 for the age group 10-24 and 10-19 respectively. Considerable difference between male-female literacy was noticeable in the age group 20-24 to 35<sup>+</sup>. Female literacy in the 35<sup>+</sup> age group was much lower than male literacy for the same age group (female literacy : 48.01% and male literacy : 74.19%) in Ernakulam district. This trend was common for all the districts. By 1981, male and female literacy in Ernakulam district were 80.75% and 72.88% respectively (table 4.52).

In 1989, Ernakulam district launched the first ever total literacy campaign in the country to make the age group 5-60, fully literate in one year. The following section gives an account of the mass literacy campaign - the Ernakulam experiment.

#### 4.3.5. The Total Literacy Campaign : Ernakulam District

The total literacy campaign in Ernakulam district was launched in January, 1989, under the auspices of National Literacy Mission. A District Literacy Society was formed and registered with the collector as its chairperson for the implementation of the programme. Literacy committees were formed at various levels; district, local bodies (Corporation, Municipalities, Panchayats) and ward which is the smallest administrative unit of a local body. These committees were in charge of the conduct of classes and were given only some guidelines and instructions about the general approach. The district administration had sought the cooperation of all social and religious organisations in the district. The Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP), a people's science organisation, was entrusted with the Ernakulam district literacy programme. The project was a coordination of the administrative machinery headed by the collector and his colleagues, the full time project machinery headed by the project officers and the people's machinery led by the KSSP.

The total literacy campaign (TLC) launched in Ernakulam was the first of its kind in the country. A brief account of the major activities which led to the successful completion of the TLC in the district is attempted next.

## Environment building and motivation campaign

As an environment building measure, five Aksharajathas (literacy procession) were taken out from five parts of the district on 21st January 1989 which culminated at the venue of the launching of the campaign on 26th January 1989. These Aksharajathas were flagged off by people from various walks of life (political leaders, literary figures, religious scholars, academician, etc.). Each consisted of a padayatra (procession on foot) group and an artists group. They travelled through the local bodies making a call for literacy through street performances and talking to people about the literacy programme which was to be implemented in the district. On the launching day of the campaign, 26th January, 1989, those who assembled at the inaugural function undertook a literacy pledge :

I do hereby solemnly pledge that I will do everything within my capacity to liberate my motherland India from illiteracy and to arm the toiling and suffering millions with the weapon of the LETTER.

A literacy torch "Nehru Saksharatha Jyothi" was lit on 23rd January, 1989 and was maintained throughout the project.

For the successful implementation of the project, public enthusiasm had to be sustained throughout the TLC. Hence a number of activities were taken up to motivate the public. Motivation campaigns were conducted repeatedly to sustain the interest created among the public; literacy workers and illiterates.

20 Kalajatha teams were trained in art forms such as songs and dramas specifically written for literacy campaign. The kalajatha told people the need to become literates, the drawback in remaining illiterate etc. All the Jathas performed for ten days each, from 15th April to 25th April 1989.

Literacy walls were erected in many wards for writing slogans and literacy campaign news. Panchayats, cooperative banks and some prominent individuals of the locality came forward to sponsor the literacy walls in different parts of the district. Even the inauguration of such walls were turned into awareness creating campaigns, giving people opportunity to associate themselves with literacy work in some way.

Banners were exhibited at important places of the district, appealing to the people to join the literacy campaign. Most of these banners were put up by various organisations in the district.

One padayatra was conducted in each and every ward on July 8th, 1989. Altogether 1156 padayatras were conducted on the day. It was to arouse the enthusiasm of the literacy workers and to bring in the remaining illiterates to the literacy classes.

A massive children's rally was organised with the leadership of the teachers on August 10. At the rally children took a literacy pledge - they resolved to make Ernakulam district fully literate.

As a morale boosting exercise, Kalamela for neo-literates and instructors were conducted. Competitions were conducted under two categories (a) in relation to learning and (b) in relation to cultural talents. Competitions were conducted at three levels - Panchayat level, Project area level and District level. These Kalamelas brought in neo-literates and literacy workers in large numbers thereby sharing the common platform of literacy.

There was an equally demanding task at the beginning of the campaign that was to locate the illiterates. The campaign could actually take off only after each and every illiterate person was identified. A literacy survey was undertaken for the purpose.

#### Literacy survey

About 50,000 volunteers in action for a common purpose on a single day, that was how literacy survey in Ernakulam district was conducted to locate illiterates on 18th March, 1989. This massive participation of people in the literacy survey itself amounted to wide publicity as literacy message was taken to more than 80% of the households in the district on a single day. Panchayat squad leaders were trained at area level for the purpose. Direct interviews were conducted to ascertain the literacy status of the people. Political religious and social leaders, prominent citizens, literary figures etc. participated in the survey.

Two other important aspects of the TLC were the preparation of learning and training materials and training the instructors.

## Preparation of learning and training materials

A KSSP team prepared a draft primer with the help of teachers at various levels. A five member committee (with the collector, convenor and representatives of KSSP and KANFED - Kerala Association for Non formal Education and Development; State Resource Centre - as members) at district level and the NLM examined and approved it with some modifications. Discussions were held regarding the methodology of teaching illiterate adults. Influenced by Paulo Friere, it was felt that teachers should involve adult learners in a dialogue and teaching of letters should take place only after sometime. Doubt was raised about the competency of the instructors available to adopt the analytical method effectively and was decided that the primer should be a mix of both the methods (analytical & synthetic). The primer had 37 lessons, divided into four parts - Our Needs, Our Land, The Universe and Our Institutions. With each lesson there were writing exercises and points for discussion. The primer had also songs for the learners and instructors to sing together. A separate workbook in two parts was also prepared for the learners to write letters and words for drilling.

Teaching materials were prepared for the benefit of instructors in the form of a handbook. Instructors could get ideas from the handbook to teach each lesson. Additional books (The World Around Us, Brighter Tomorrow, How Man Became Man, Development and People, etc.) were prepared and distributed among all the instructors. However the volunteers had to be trained as instructors of adult learners.

## Training instructors

About 20,000 instructors were needed to conduct literacy classes as the strength of the class was decided to be reduced to 10 or less. Such a large number of instructors could not be trained by a few teachers. A workshop was conducted to evolve a method of training the instructors. These resource persons who prepared the training module at the workshop were drawn from college and high school teachers, various professionals including engineers, doctors, lawyers, government officials as well as retired persons. With the training module ready, the next task was to train master trainers who were in turn to train the instructors. About 1200 people were trained as master trainers by resource persons at two levels of training. Three day camps were organised in the 20 sub-project areas to train the instructors. As part of the training, instructors were introduced to the philosophy behind this particular literacy campaign, some basic adult psychology and other general topics. Later the primer was introduced to them. The purpose of the four sections and each lesson in the primer were explained followed by discussion as to how to conduct the classes among the different sections of people. The master trainers and instructors were given training twice after the initial training. Experiences could be shared in these training camps and adequate measures were taken to carry out the work more effectively. The analytical method could not be generally employed owing to the limitations of the instructors and the learners anxiety to start writing letters. Hence study through dialogue was minimum.



## Monitoring of classes and evaluation of learners

The level of literacy visualised by this scheme was made known to all instructors during training. Accordingly, a literate person should have acquired the skills in reading, writing, numeracy and general knowledge. Qualitative behavioural change in the day to day life of the learner was also expected. Master trainers and Assistant Project Officers were assigned the monitoring of the progress of the literacy classes. Master trainers were given general guidelines to monitor the progress of the literacy classes in the training camp. They visited literacy classes under their jurisdiction and made reports. Relevant measures to improve the conduct of the classes were taken based on these reports. The evaluation work was entrusted with the instructors. The instructor was to conduct the evaluation only in the presence of an external examiner, the master trainer or convener/joint convener, etc.. Instructors were given special instructions regarding the evaluation process and prescribed evaluation sheets were made available from the project office. Instructors were trained to conduct periodic internal evaluation of their learners. A booklet showing the level of attainments required at various stages was provided for the purpose.

The question booklet (see apendix III), specially designed for this purpose, included questions to assess their ability in reading, writing and numeracy and to estimate their behavioural changes. Only those who scored eighty percent of marks in the evaluation were declared as literates. There was provision to

conduct supplementary evaluation of those who did not qualify in the first round of evaluation.

The first phase of the evaluation of those learners who joined the classes before July 8 began in early October. However, the evaluation process had to be stopped temporarily due to the announcement of Loksabha elections in the middle of October, 1989. The first week of December onwards the evaluation process again started. Due to loss of classes during election, the second phase of evaluation could be done only in January as against the December schedule. The tabulation was done in a centralised camp by a set of voluntary workers. The project was formally declared closed on the 26th January, 1990 registering 96.18% literacy for the age group above five years and 98.34% for the target group 15-60 years.

Table 4.53      Literacy between 5 and 60 years.

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Population in the range 5-60	:	23,82,665
No. of illiterates as per survey	:	1,74,624
Number made literate	:	1,35,254
No. of remaining illiterates	:	39,370
Literates	:	23,43,295
Literacy percentage	:	98.34%

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Source : K.R. Rajan, P.19.

With the objective to develop a model for linking literacy activities with positive action in community health, 100%

immunisation programme was taken up in the district with material assistance from UNICEF, in January 1990. The Ernakulam TLC was determined to achieve the target of total literacy was obvious in the way it faced the problem posed by adult learners in the form of poor eye sight. Eye testing camps were conducted for more than one lakh people and funds were raised to meet the cost of 62,570 spectacles supplied. The Ernakulam experiment became a success story in more than one way.

Section 4.2.1. to 4.2.4. analysed the socio-political and economic characteristics of Cochin society at the turn of the 19th century. Educational developments in Cochin state from 1818 A.D. to the time of independence of India and thereafter Kerala and Ernakulam district are analysed in sections 4.3.1. to 4.3.4. The present section has dealt with the total literacy campaign leading to total literacy in Ernakulam district.

The following section attempts to study and analyse various developments taking place in Cochin society and Kerala, socially politically, economically and culturally, from 19th century through 20th century.

#### 4.4.0 Towards a New Society

18th century was a period of political vicissitude throughout Kerala involving the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Mysoreans (Haider Ali & Tippoo Sultan), the British and the Native rulers. These forces were at war with each other at various point of time. Reference has already been made to the political powershift which happened towards the close of the 18th

century in Cochin State. After certain disturbances during the first two decades, 19th century remained comparatively peaceful.

Sections (4.3.1.) to (4.3.5.) have dealt with the progress of education in Cochin, Kerala and Ernakulam district, leading to the total literacy status of Ernakulam district in January, 1990. For a better understanding of the educational development in Cochin and Kerala, it is imperative to know the socio-economic and political background wherein education progressed. This section briefly accounts the transition that Cochin experienced passing through the 19th and 20th century.

#### 4.4.1. The Political Interlude

In 1812, administration of Cochin State fell into the hand of Col. Munro, the British Resident who became the first Diwan of the State. Six years later, in 1818, the first Diwan (of Cochin Rajah's choice) took over the Diwanship of Cochin from Col. Munro. Administrative reforms initiated by Munro demanded considerable documenting and book-keeping.

For the proper administration of justice, two subordinate courts were established ... in 1812, ... and a Huzur Court... Court fees began to be levied according to a definite scale, and stamped cadjans were introduced for engrossing documents. ... A definite scale of pay was established in the place of the indefinite exactions which the officers had hitherto been authorised to make, and some provision was also made for granting pensions to retired officers. ... An account department was organised and a system of accounts introduced, similar to the one then obtaining in the Company's territories. ... vernacular schools were established, ..., with a view to turn out a number of young men fit to be entertained as writers and accountants under the Sirkar.

'Modern' administration under Munro resulted in organising new departments and expanding the existing ones. A new class of people were emerging on the scene under the 'modern' administration, who could find their place in running the government machinery and be paid for it, on the basis of 'qualification'.

Political consciousness was slowly building up during the early decades of 19th century. In 1834, a representative deputation consisting of several Brahmins, Nairs and Native Christians submitted a memorandum to the governor of Madras in Ooty containing specific charges of corruption and oppression against the then Diwan. An enquiry was conducted and later the Diwan was removed and imprisoned. The desire for good government asserted again in 1859 and people sought the removal of the sitting Diwan who was unpopular. The Diwan was compulsorily retired in 1860.<sup>63</sup>

Town councils were formed under the Municipal Regulation of 1910. Subsequently, village Panchayats were started and entrusted with judicial functions in due course. The first legislative council of Cochin came into existence in 1925. The Council had a non-official majority, 30 out of 45 members being elected on the basis of a wide franchise. By 1937, public demand for responsible government was gaining momentum. Government of Cochin responded<sup>64</sup> by introducing constitutional reforms in 1938.

A popularly elected Minister chosen by majority vote from among the members of the Cochin Legislative Council was given charge of certain Departments of the State Government like

Agriculture, Co-operation, Public Health, Panchayats, Industries etc. The Legislative Council was to consist of 58 members of whom 38 were elected.<sup>65</sup> Later, in 1946, the first popular Ministry of Cochin assumed office with important portfolios under its control.<sup>66</sup>

Both in Cochin and Travancore, important positions in public services were occupied often by outsiders, mostly Tamil Brahmins. Educated class resented the practice. Towards the close of the 19th century educated class in Travancore submitted Malayali Memorial to the Rajah of Travancore. The petition demanded a fare quota of Government appointments in public service for the educated natives. A few years later, Izhavas in Travancore submitted Izhava Memorial to the Travancore Rajah, requesting to confer on them the same rights and privileges which were being enjoyed by those of their caste who had become converts to christianity (Izhavas were then being denied entry into public service). A similar situation prevailed in Cochin too. However, by the early decades of the 20th century Cochin citizens were being given preference in the matter of appointments to the state service. By the 1930's a Staff Selection Board was set up for making recruitment to the state service on the basis of a scheme of communal representation in regard to appointments.

A population demanding service from the government was on the rise. In 1933 the peasants and workers of Cranganore agitated for relief from the burden of indebtedness.<sup>67</sup> People's assertiveness explain the crisis management by Cochin and Travancore during the second world war forcing the government to

ration food and open fair-price-shops, which ultimately diverted a Bengal like famine tragedy. Towards the close of the decade, there was a growing perception among the people that they had a right to demand service from the government and the government knew inaction on its part would not be tolerated by the people.

#### 4.4.2. The Changing Economy

Section 4.2.3. clearly indicates that the agricultural economy in Cochin at the turn of 19th century was not progressive. Cash economy was slowly taking the place of kind economy. Foreign rulers and the native government insisted on cash payment than payment in kind. This section takes a look at the Cochin economy passing through the 19th and 20th century.

The arable lands in Cochin were divided into nilams (land growing paddy) and parambas (land growing coconut or arecanut palms, jack, mango and other trees and all varieties of crop other than paddy). The first organised revenue settlement of parambas was started in 1815 and that of nilams in 1821. Coconut, arecanut, palmyra and jack trees were taxable. Coconut farming and the cultivation of other dry crops were increasing in the first half of the 19th century.

As there had been a steady increase, since the kandezhuttu (records of what was seen-settlement of 1815-. settlement prior to 1815 is known as kettezhuttu meaning records of what was heard. Kettezhuttus were done after oral enquiries and kandezhuttus were done after inspection of the land by officers.) of 1815, in the planting of coconut and arecanut trees and in the cultivation of dry crops, a kandezhuttu of parambas was carried out in 1837 with a view to bring to book the trees newly planted and the parambas newly cleared ... This process was again repeated twenty years later, namely, in 1857. On neither of these occasions was any

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change made in the rates of assessment [tax].

By the end of 19th century, coconut farming was considered profiteering and some paddy lands were being converted into coconut farms.

Of paramba industries, the most extensive and the most valuable is the cultivation of the coconut palm. As the price of coconut has risen immensely in recent years, its cultivation has become very profitable and is rapidly increasing. In the alluvial sandy tracts especially, paddy flats are being converted into coconut plantations ... The products of this tree are the chief articles of export from the state : the ... coconut oil, copra, coir-yarn, matting,

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rope and poonac ...

Attempts were made at cultivating coffee and tea during 19th century and rubber in the beginning of 20th century.

The cultivation of coffee was introduced into Cochin by the Dutch in the first half of the eighteenth century, but it was not then grown to any large extent. The first systematic attempt to cultivate it was made in 1838, when a few coffee plantations were opened by European capitalists. ..., but these were for some reason or other abandoned in a few years. Between 1862 and 1870, ... eighteen plantations were opened by European planters and one by a native. ... The labour employed is almost entirely foreign. ... The plantations were in their most flourishing condition in the eighties of the last century, but towards the end of the century the large increase in the output of Brazilian coffee drove down the price of the article to about one-half of what it was, since which the estates began to decline. ... In the eighties tea began to be grown in four of the coffee estates, and over sixty acres were planted with it. But the industry did not make further progress ... These tea gardens have been practically abandoned in recent years. ... The first (rubber) plantation was opened up in the Palapilli forests in 1905, ... the Darbar decided to lease more forest lands, ... All these estates are owned by Europeans, and no native capitalists have come forward yet to take part in this enterprise, although some native land-holders have

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begun to plant small plots in the plains with rubber.

The Nelliampathi Hills are admirably adapted for the cultivation of most plantation products and it is a welcome



sign that more and more Indians are now taking to  
plantations which were formerly a monopoly of Europeans.<sup>71</sup>

The foregoing analysis indicates that the agricultural sector in Cochin was being expanded with a few other crops and articles finding the place along with paddy during the 19th century. Yet again paddy remained the staple crop of the state even in 20th century.

While expansion in agriculture produce happened during the 19th century, what other reform measures were taken to promote agriculture in general ? Some points are highlighted below.

#### Cadastral survey of 1898

The cadastral survey was started in August, 1898. All lands were divided as before nilams and parambas. This settlement conferred proprietary rights on the pandaravaka verumpattam and kanam holders (pandaravaka are lands over which the state has the proprietary right).

Full property in the soil was conferred upon pandaravaka verumpattam and kanam holders and the settlement was made current for a period of thirty years, during which the assessment was not to be enhanced or interference of any

<sup>72</sup>  
kind permitted for any reason whatever.

According to 1941 census, "Though the term of the settlement was fixed at 30 years a fresh settlement has not yet been taken  
<sup>73</sup>  
up".

Before this settlement, under threat of eviction, it was risky for the tenant to grow coconut and other crops which took longer period of time to bear the first fruit. For example,

coconut tree took about 9-12 years to bear the first fruit. Under 30 years of occupancy, tenants would consider growing crops like coconut as they were sure about a few produce without living in fear of eviction. They could also improve the land and yet again know that they would remain the owners for a given period. However, tenants under private individuals (jenmy) faced threat of eviction.

### Tenancy Act of 1938

To protect the tenants from the land-lord's whimsical evictions, the Tenancy Act of 1915 was passed. There were amendments to this statute to widen the rights of the tenants. Later Tenancy Act of 1938 was passed according to which :

He need not hereafter fear eviction from his holding or arbitrary enhancement of the rent he has to pay. The tenant has been allowed full occupancy right and the rent to be paid by him is fixed not according to the whims and fancies of the land-lord but in proportion to the value of the  
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produce.

Later, in 1941, a proclamation stayed all suits and appeals for eviction of verumpattamdars pending in the courts.

### Irrigation projects

Projects of irrigation were being taken up to improvise the agricultural sector since the 40s of last century. These irrigation projects also brought waste land under cultivation.

It is not possible to say exactly what extent of land was newly brought under cultivation by ... irrigation projects : it must have considerably exceeded thirty thousand acres. The irrigation system at Chittur was extended, while the construction of embankments and drainage canals in the Vaipin island rendered a large extent of land fit for

cultivating paddy or planting coconut trees.

Cochin was making some progress on the agricultural front by the end of 19th century. Did it change the life of the people? We will see a little later in this section.

Cochin had trade relations with other countries of the world since ancient times. Trade practices prevailed in Cochin, however, suggest that direct involvement of common people in these trade activities might have been minimum till 19th century. "On December 20th, 1792, all articles excepting pepper were  
76  
thrown open to public trade".

Since the advent of the Portuguese, pepper and other spices were treated as articles of state monopoly, which could be disposed of by the producers only to the State. The latter  
77  
purchased them at fixed prices and sold them at a profit.

A few articles other than pepppper remained State monopoly even in 19th century. Both Day (1863) and Menon (1911) suggest that tobacco and salt remained state monopoly for greater part of the 19th century. "The largest source of revenue, were the monopolies, consisting of tobacco and salt : the latter of which  
78  
was originated in 1810". According to the Interportal Trade Convention of 1865, "Cochin agreed to abolish all inland customs and the tobacco monopoly, to adopt the British selling price of salt and to raise the rates at inland depots so as to place  
79  
Cochin and British salt on the same footing in the market".

Prior to the 1865 convention, it was in the 1840s that some steps were taken to check practices obstructive to inland trade. Till then, transit duties were levied on all articles at every

station which passed from one place to another. This irksome practice was not only causing financial burden but also delaying the goods from reaching various places.

"... reduced the inland customs at the frontier stations on all goods .... and in the case of rice and other food stuffs ...  
80  
abolished the duties altogether".

"This injudicious tax was abolished and in 1847, the customs  
81  
were exclusively frontier and sea duties : ..."

The importance of communication for the development of trade and commerce was being realised by the middle of the 19th century. Road net working was being developed and new waterways were opened while the existing waterways got improved. By 20th century with the development of Cochin harbour, trade activities on this coast further increased.

Cochin was making some progress in agriculture and trade by second half of 19th century. Perhaps a few more people were getting engaged in agriculture and trade. Was there further possibility in agriculture ? Did the economic condition change for the people ? Were they living a better life at the turn of 20th century ?

The great majority of small farmers and a considerable minority of the labourers are now clothed better, live in better houses and have generally a greater command of the necessities of life, though the margin between bear sustenance and want is still a narrow one. The bulk of the agricultural labourers are emancipated serfs, who are still paid in kind and at the same old rates. Their condition as a class cannot be said to have improved to any appreciable extent, though individuals among them have, by obtaining employment in plantations and gardens, began to earn better

wages in recent years. ... As almost all cultivable lands have already been occupied, there is little scope for the extension of cultivation in Cochin, and the present outturn of food grains is hardly sufficient for the consumption of half the population. .... agriculture is mostly in the hands of petty farmers with no capital, who cultivate five to fifteen acres of land generally sub-let to them by non-cultivating tenants. Within living memory substantial tenants used to farm their own lands, but in recent years they have left their holdings to the care of under-tenants, and have entered government service and the bar through the portals of English schools. These under-tenants are for the most part poor and ignorant and have neither knowledge nor the capital required for effecting agricultural

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improvements.

To what extent people could depend upon land for economic return ? By 1910s, it was obvious that land alone could not fulfil people's expectation. Census 1941, matter-of-factly, described the situation :

The average holding of a person based on the total area of the state is .67 of an acre. But a large extent is not habitable or cultivable and leaving that out, the area per head gets reduced to .36 of an acre. Based on the actually cultivated area it is further reduced to .29 of an acre. It has been computed that an extent of 5 acres is necessary to enable a family to live in reasonable comfort. The insufficient nature of the holding is therefore clear. This may not be true in every case. Many people have extensive areas while others may not have any thing at all and faulty land distribution of this kind can only accentuate agricultural distress. The total extent is certainly not sufficient to maintain the people. Based on the area cultivated with rice, the staple food of the people, which is estimated at about 200,000 acres and the yield derived therefrom, it has been calculated that the rice produced in the state will not be sufficient to sustain the people here

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for more than 7 months in a year at the most.

True, Cochin economy was changing and making some progress from 19th to 20th century. Yet, the economic condition of majority of the people did not change substantially. By 20th century, those who had access to land realised that land alone

could not meet their needs and the others knew that it was nearly impossible that land would assist them to change their economic condition.

#### 4.4.3. Casteism to Temple Entry

Onam, the cultural festival of Kerala, is celebrated by Malayalis every year in August-September. Mahabali, the just and popular ruler, returns to visit his people every year on this day (tiruvonam) : so goes the myth. A popular folksong about the festival sings the glory of this bygone era.

When Mahabali ruled the land  
All people were equal  
There were no lies, no deceit  
Not even a little hypocrisy.<sup>84</sup>

This song seems to suggest that Malayalis were not totally unknown to the ideas of equality. However, Kerala fiercely observed caste canons till not long ago where inequality was the order of the day. How did Kerala struggle through 19th and first half of 20th century towards a new society ? Some significant social developments are analysed here under.

#### Abolition of slavery

Slavery prevailed in Kerala from very early times, reference to which has been already made before. During 19th century various measures were taken to ameliorate the condition of slaves in Cochin.

"Slave owners had hitherto the privilege of punishing their slaves without the intervention of sirkar officers; such<sup>85</sup> punishments were made penal by a proclamation issued in 1821".

Further, a proclamation issued in 1854 abolished slavery and emancipated all slaves in Cochin. Later, in 1870s uzhiyam services (the system of exacting compulsory labour for state purposes) were abolished and the sale and purchase of slaves made a penal offence.

Most of these slaves lived in such ignorance that proclamations alone were not to change their fate for a long time. Day in the 1860s made the following comments :

"It is not improbable, that many of these miserably debased slaves, are still unaware of the change in their condition, and do not understand that they cannot now be legally sold as cattle,<sup>86</sup> or made over with the estate, upon which they work".

Towards the end of 19th century Logan observed :

"The slaves, however, as a caste will never understand what real freedom means until measures are adopted to give them indefeasible rights in the small orchards occupied by them as<sup>87</sup> house sites".

**Shanar agitation**

Caste practices did not permit Shanar/Izhava and inferior caste women to wear anything above the waist. Shanar christian convert women in Travancore started wearing upper clothes

(jacket) on the advice of the missionaries. Obviously, upper caste could not accept the change so easily.

... the Christian females were accustomed and taught to wear a kind of plain loose jacket with short sleeves, devised by one of the missionary ladies. This of itself was displeasing to the Sudra aristocracy. And in addition to the jacket (which is not worn by the Sudra females) some of the Christian women, without the consent of the missionaries, and even in several instances in opposition to their advice, had taken the liberty of wearing an additional cloth or scarf laid over the shoulder called the upper cloth, as worn by the Sudra women, and this the latter interpreted as an  
88  
infringement of their peculiar and exclusive privilege.

The two communities clashed on the issue and caused serious law and order problem. Shanar agitation for same rights to dress went on for a long time. Eventually a royal proclamation in 1859 abolished all restrictions in the matter of covering of the upper parts by shanar women, but was not to imitate the dress of the women of upper castes. Later this stipulation was also removed.

Day's account in 1860s suggest that Cochin continued with this crude practice for some more time. However, Menon writing about Izhavas and other inferior castes women in 1911 found them all clothed.

Social change brought about by Shanar agitation had far reaching effect as a small step towards social equality which further shook the existing social structure. It was also significant as organised struggle by a low caste community, challenged the upper castes and government and forced to recognise their social rights.



## **Brahmin clergy challenged**

Narayana Guru, an Izhava spiritual leader, consecrated shrine in Aruvippuram in 1888 with the idol of Shiva. Brahmin clergy questioned his right to consecrate Shiva idol (caste rules did not permit Izhava to consecrate Shiva idol which was the right of Brahmin). He challenged the angry Brahmins by replying that he consecrated "the Izhava Shiva and not the Brahmin Shiva". He consecrated many shrines in several parts of Kerala. Pulayas and other low caste considered inferior to Izhavas were permitted to worship in all these shrines.

This bold act of Narayana Guru is significant in two ways. Firstly, he questioned the supremacy of Brahmin clergy ; a direct attack on the social structure. Secondly, social mobility among Izhava and other inferior castes community was promoted.

## **Temple entry**

Kerala's social life ailed from untouchability and unapproachability. Practice of unapproachability prevented non-caste Hindus (avarnas) from using approach roads to temples. Vaikam Satyagraha (1924-25), supported by savarnas, marked the long struggle for right to use approach roads to temples. By 1928, approach roads to all temples were opened to all Hindus in Travancore. With the Guruvayur Satyagraha (1931-32) the 1930s witnessed the struggle for temple entry right. Five years later in 1936, a proclamation issued by the Maharaja of Travancore opened all temples to all Hindus. In 1948, Cochin opened temples to all Hindus through a proclamation issued by the Maharaja of

Cochin. Finally, by the end of the first half of 20th century the social structure of old Kerala collapsed.

#### 4.4.4. After Independence

Kerala electorate brought to power both right-wing and left-wing political parties. Agrarian reforms were introduced by these elected governments. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act (1960) and the Kerala Land Reforms Act (1963) fixed a ceiling on the extent of land that could be owned by a family. However, the 1960 Act was struck down by the Kerala High Court in 1962 which resulted in the enactment of 1963 Act. Kerala Land Reforms Act (1963) was amended in 1969 and it abolished the 'Janmi' (landlordism) system in Kerala. Irrespective of the political ideologies the party in power belonged to, none of the elected governments in Kerala could compromise on social welfare policies regarding food, health, education etc. If Human Development Index (HDI) is a reflection on the socio-economic progress made by the population, Kerala tops in HDI among Indian states with a low per capita income (lower than national level in 1990-91), an important indicator of well-being. It is the other two social development indicators which construct HDI along with the economic indicator, education and health (literacy rate & life expectancy at birth) that take Kerala to top in HDI among Indian states.

Table 4.54 Human Development Index for Some Indian States and SAARC-Countries 1987 and 1990.

States	HDI value 1987	Countries (SAARC)	HDI value 1990
Uttarpradesh	0.292	Sri Lanka	0.665
Bihar	0.306	Pakistan	0.311
Madhyapradesh	0.344	India	0.308
Rajasthan	0.347	Bangladesh	0.186
Orissa	0.348	Bhutan	0.159
Assam	0.372	Nepal	0.158
Andhra Pradesh	0.397	Maldives	0.072
Gujarat	0.465		
West Bengal	0.467		
Karnataka	0.475		
Tamil Nadu	0.483		
Haryana	0.514		
Maharashtra	0.532		
Punjab	0.586		
Kerala	0.651		

Sources : Economic Review, Kerala, 1992 p.248 and  
Human Development Report 1991, p.16.

Among the Indian States, HDI value vary from 0.292 in U.P. to 0.651 in Kerala. However, Kerala's per capita income in 1987 was low and ranked 6th from bottom in contrast to Punjab's top position on the per capita income list. When SAARC countries are taken, Sri Lanka shows more or less similar HDI value as Kerala.

#### 4.5.0. Objective 2

To study the achievement of total literacy in Ernakulam district in terms of the role played by

- Voluntary agencies/organisations
- Different cultural, political and educational institutions
- Educationally interested groups, persons
- Government/State department officials.

For the purpose of analysis, data have been presented under different heads. Some of these data may have found mention under objective (1) already which was inevitable due to the nature of the data.

#### 4.5.1. Christian Missionaries and Church

Local tradition suggests that St. Thomas an apostle of Christ, arrived at the ancient harbour of Muziris (also known as Cranganore and Kodungallur) now in Ernakulam district in 52 A.D. and converted high caste Hindus to Christianity and built churches. While the historicity of the event is shrouded in mystery, "... it is known tht Christian churches existed in Kerala from the late third century A.D. long before it spread to many parts of Europe".<sup>89</sup> It may be presumed that christianity had made its roots in Kerala much before the Portuguese reached Kerala in the 15th century.

Roman catholic missionaries were the first to reach Kerala for proselytisation work. Protestant missionaries came towards

the latter half of 18th and the beginning of 19th century. Although conversion to christianity was a common goal for both groups of missionaries, they were different in their educational pursuit. For the Roman catholic missionaries :

One of their major educational concerns was providing religious education for prospective priests and catechists which resulted in the founding of various 'seminaries' and theological colleges. Besides the seminaries, the catholic missionaries also ran some schools for primary education, especially for the fishermen communities among whom they

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worked. These schools were emphasising the imparting of religious knowledge and prayers and hence seem to have been

91

essentially catechism classes.

There is no reason to believe that these seminaries would have promoted 'mass' literacy as the purpose was to prepare priests and religious teachers. Even the primary schools might have catered to a special category (converts to christianity) of pupils only, due to the very nature of the subjects being taught. For catholic missionaries, spread of their religion (which was the primary aim) lay mainly in baptism and teaching the prayers. Hence their educational efforts may not have been too 'mass' literacy oriented.

In Protestantism, reading Bible was important as a practising christian. For the spread of their religion, Protestant missionaries had to teach reading and writing to their clientele. Protestant missionaries entered the field of education in Travancore and Cochin during 19th century. It has been already mentioned in section 4.3.2 that in 1818, Rev.J.Dawson, a missionary, opened the first English school in Cochin. Analysis of data presented under objective (1) shows that the number of

schools run by Protestant or Catholic missionaries were not many (see tables 4.5(2) & 4.14). Going by the statistics presented in these two tables, the catholic missionaries seemed to have entered the education field sometime in the 20th century. While discussing literacy among christians and the different agencies involved with it, census 1901, Cochin records the following :

The Christians forming about a fourth of the population of the state are much better off than the other religionists, as to every church is attached a primary school, which the children of the congregation are easily brought to attend, and where they are taught reading, writing and certain scriptural lessons. The influence exercised by the native clergy in this direction is ably supplemented by the labours  
92  
of missionaries both protestant and Roman catholic.

Census 1911 does not seem to give undue credit to protestant missionaries for the high rate of literacy among native christians.

Protestant missionaries appear to be under the impression that the comparatively high proportion of literates among Native Christians is due to the diffusion of education through their own agency among the protestants converted by them. ... Protestants, their removal from the total number of Christians will not materially affect the position of the whole Christians in regard to literacy. It has also to be remembered that the protestants form only one percent of the  
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Christians of Cochin.

Table 4.55 Literacy Among Christians by Sect, 1911

Sect	No. of literates in 1000		
	Persons	Males	Females
Roman Catholics	210	305	110
Romo-Syrians	214	316	112
Other Syrians	210	315	106
Protestants	250	379	132

Source : Census 1911, Vol. XVIII, Cochin, p.52.

Two decades later in 1931, the influence of Indian clergy and the educational activities of the missionaries enabled christians to retain their position regarding literacy. Table 4.56 shows that by 1931, syrians were leading others in literacy. Table 4.57 shows the progress in literacy from 1901-1931 among christians as compared to the progress of other communities.

Table 4.56 Literacy Among Christians by Sect, 1931.

	Population	Percentage of literates (all ages)		
		Persons	Males	Females
Indian Christians	333,041	40	48	32
Roman Catholics	108,013	39	47	31
Romo-Syrians	183,418			
Syrians (Jacobite Marthoma, Chaldean etc)	36,165	47	56	39
Protestants	5,445	45	48	43

Source : Census 1931, XXI, Cochin, P-I, p.192.

More than 66% of the literate population among christians belonged to the two Syrian sects who were not under the patronage of missionaries. Tables 4.5(2) and 4.14 lend support to data presented in table 4.56. On a similar line, census 1911 reported: "The high proportion of literates among christians is due to the influence of the native clergy and to the existence of primary schoos attached to all the churches".

Table 4.57 Literacy Among Different Religious Communities  
1901-1931

	Year	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	
Proportion percent in the total population	1901	68.3	6.7	24.4	
	1911	67.1	7.0	25.4	
	1921	66.0	7.0	26.8	
	1931	64.8	7.3	27.8	
Proportion percent in the total number of literate	1901	Persons	64.8	3.3	31.6
		Males	65.9	3.8	30.1
		Females	59.7	0.9	39.3
	1911	Persons	60.4	3.4	36.0
		Males	62.4	4.0	33.3
		Females	52.2	0.7	46.9
	1921	Persons	58.7	3.2	37.9
		Males	60.9	4.1	34.9
		Females	52.7	1.1	46.0
	1931	Persons	56.7	3.5	39.6
		Males	59.9	4.6	35.4
		Females	50.4	1.5	47.8
Percentage of literates in each religion (all ages)	1901	12.7	6.7	17.4	
	1911	13.6	7.4	21.5	
	1921	16.5	8.5	26.2	
	1931	24.7	13.7	40.1	

Source : Census 1931, Vol.XXI, Cochin, P-I, p.192.

Table 4.57 is suggestive about the preponderance of christian community in literacy at least since the closing decade of 19th century. In 1931, although christians formed only 27.8% of the state's population, 39.6% of the literate population were from this community. Another revealing fact that 47.8% of the female literates of the state were Indian Christians also points to their pre-eminence in literacy. However, these statistical data (Tables 4.55, 4.56 & 4.57) remain inconclusive regarding the extent of contribution of missionaries or any other agencies to



literacy. For it is quite possible that a few christians were attending schools which belonged to other agency and students of other communities attending christian schools. So, where exactly these missionaries figure in the scene of educational development and spread of literacy?

Low castes Hindu population provided the chief field for labours of Christian missionaries. Under the existing socio-economic conditions, there was nothing surprising that missionaries selected these vulnerable groups for their proselytisation work. These groups were denied education in the prevailing social system. Catechism classes conducted by catholic missionaries, even if not oriented to perfect in literacy skills, may have brought a few of these socially deprived people in contact with 'letters'. As mentioned earlier, protestant missionaries in 19th century had special interest in teaching their clients to read as Gospel reading was very much part of Protestantism. However, these efforts by the missionaries could not have produced mass literacy or wide spread literacy. Nevertheless, had it not been for these missionaries, it would have taken many more decades for letters to reach the fold of these communities. It is in this context that work done by missionaries gain significance, as they 'spread' literacy to those communities who otherwise would have remained outside the portals of 'letters' for many more years to come. In a way, missionaries made the beginning to bridge the social gap existed in the social structure. Through missionary activities, 'culture of letters' was slowly finding place in these communities. It may

be recalled that 'Shanar agitation' had indirectly originated in the missionary camp. Missionaries contribution to 'mass' literacy may be opened to doubt but their contribution to the 'spread' of literacy is socially significant.

Missionaries contribution to printing press and print media are dealt with later.

#### 4.5.2. Communities Organize

Modern education, modern administration, changing economy and Christian missionaries work among low castes, all put together, disturbed the centuries old social structure in Kerala by 19th century.

In the last half of the 19th century a society which had survived fundamentally unchanged for 700 years came unhinged. A movement from inherited to achieved status began, a movement from the interdependence of castes to the competition of individuals, from traditional authority to

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modern bureaucracy.

Under the caste canons, Hindus were never a cohesive group. Socio-economic problems faced by people were different from community to community as caste operated as dividing and deciding factor. Hence, it is not surprising that when people began organising, they did so by community. In the evolving socio-economic and political scene, these communal organisations had two major objectives : firstly to consolidate their position in the society and secondly to effect social reforms within the community. All these organisations considered education as an important tool to achieve those goals.

## Nairs organize

Nairs who belonged to the Savarna (upper castes) were not so badly placed on the social ladder. However, they too felt the pressure under the changing socio-economic and political developments in 19th century.

Nayars did not plunge into the bottom of some social and political sea. But by the beginning of the 20th century, it was apparent that they could no longer regard buoyancy as their birthright ; in future, like christians and avarna

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Hindus, they too would have to swim.

By second half of 19th century, Nairs knew that unless they join the race they could not compete and unless they compete they could not win the race, if at all. They began organising themselves.

In 1880 Nairs formed the Malayali sabha to promote education and to work for social reforms. With the changes in economy and increased educational facilities there was a shift in values. Status was now achieved, not inherited. More importance was attached to money and education than to caste. ... It (Malayali sabha) started a newspaper called 'Malayali' in 1886. The social aims of Malayali sabha were

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centered on Nair community.

Education had a foremost place in the agenda of social aims of the organisation. "Under the auspices of Malayali Sabha a meeting was organised on August 15, 1880 to discuss various socially important issues like education, the plight of women and their education". If in the late 19th century, Nair community organisations were prompting their people to join schools, by the early decades of 20th century, these organisations were building schools. A report submitted before the Nair Maha Sammelanam in 1916 observed, "Most of the Nair Samajams have considered the

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education of the children as their primary function. Many Samajams have already built schools and handed over to the government".<sup>99</sup>

The Nair Service Society (N.S.S.), the community organisation of Nairs today, was founded in 1914. The founders and organisers of the NSS were looking forward to have the sort of organised strength which the christian community enjoyed under the missionaries/parish priests and Bishops. The NSS organisers criticised the extravagance in temples : "... they should take a lesson from the Christian missionaries who devoted church funds largely for purposes of education and religious propaganda".<sup>100</sup> The NSS grew into a large organisation and had more than 1100 schools and 23 colleges by the 1980s.<sup>101</sup>

In Cochin, Nair Samajams or associations "do not function well", wrote the census commissioner in 1931.<sup>102</sup> Nair Samajams in Cochin merged with the NSS in 1949.<sup>103</sup>

#### Izhavas organise

Socio-economic conditions wherein Izhavas had to survive has been dealt with earlier. Unlike Nairs, they were denied social rights. Educational developments in 19th century could not help them much as they were denied admissions in government schools. By the end of 19th century, some educated Izhavas, in Travancore, began to organise the community to assert for their political rights. In 1903, they formed a community organisation, the S.N.D.P. (Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam) under the auspice of Narayana Guru a social reformer and spiritual leader

of Izhavas.

According to census commissioner 1931, an awakening was visible among the Izhavas in Cochin by the second decade of the present century.

The first decade of the 20th century saw the community in its old dormant condition, content to take things lying down and meekly submitting to the social disabilities it was subjected to under the rigours of the Malayali caste system which had branded it with an unapproachability of 36 degrees (36 feet distance). There was no leadership, no organization, no union. But now the Izhavas (Izhavas) are wide awake; and, what is more, they seem to have no idea of going to sleep hereafter. Within the short space of two decades the Izhavas have been transformed into a well-organized community with their samajams or associations successfully working for their social, moral and spiritual uplift and waging war against their social disabilities. At the same time they were setting their own house in order. ... The one force behind these changes and reforms was the unique personality of the late Sri Narayana Guru Swami whose teachings and influence galvanized the dormant community into vigorous activity, and whose enlightened leadership, more than anything else, was responsible for these achievements. ... The Thiyya Mahajana Sabha and other yogams of the Izhavas are now doing active propaganda work. Social  
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reform and uplift of the community are their chief aims.

Narayana Guru, social reformer and spiritual leader of Izhavas considered education as a tool to effect socio-economic changes. He urged men and women alike to take pride in educating themselves.

People should be familiarised about the extraordinary goodness of education and evils in the absence of it. They should be encouraged, man and woman to feel proud and desire for education and none should be there in Izhava community without primary education. People should be encouraged and leaders must take up establishing schools and libraries  
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owned by society or so where it is necessary.

Narayana Guru's attempts at consecrating shrines and challenging the caste system have been mentioned earlier. Later,

he seemed to have changed his course of action and turned more and more to building schools and education. When people approached him to cooperate with the construction of temples, he refused to do so and he said :

... the days of establishing temples are gone, instead of temple, construct a vocational training school for the  
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children. Here after do not encourage the construction of temples. The main temple should be the school. We should attempt to build schools by collecting money through public funds. ... I had a feeling that people can be united irrespective of caste and creed in a public prayer centre and temples would be useful at least for this purpose. But in experience the result is just the opposite. Temples increase the difference in caste and creed. Therefore from now onwards we should try to give education to people.  
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Knowledge alone can change the condition of their lives.

In 1905, when SNDP yogam took up a lecture tour, speakers going from place to place, Narayana Guru instructed the speakers to speak on Religion, Morality, Education and Industry. He insisted the speakers to help people to open schools and libraries and encourage them to take up at least primary education and be proud about it. 'Vivekodayam', the official organ and mouth-piece of SNDP yogam and newspapers like 'Sujananandini' (1891) and 'Kerala Kaumudi' (1911) spread the message of Narayana Guru's social reforms among the masses.

#### Pulayas organize

Socially and economically Pulayas held an unenviable position in the caste ruled society. Like Izhavas they too were kept away from schools. Drowned in the sea of social injustice, deprivation and degradation, Pulayas' condition did not change even at the turn of 20th century. In the first decade of the

present century. Pulayas in Travancore founded a community organisation with the support of Narayana Guru who preached, "one caste, one religion and one God for man".

Sadhu Jana Paripalana Yogam was established in 1907, under the leadership of Ayyankali, an illiterate Pulaya. The major objective of the yogam was to get freedom to go to school and receive education. An appeal was made to the government. Accordingly a decision was taken at the government level in 1907, allowing entry to schools by the untouchables. But schools were not opened to them as the savarna population objected to it. As a result the first ever 'workers strike' took place in Kerala under the leadership of Ayyankali.

In Cochin, Pulaya Mahajana Sabha was established in 1913. By the third decade of 20th century, Pulaya associations seem to have been functioning actively, for the census commissioner wrote:

That the most important sections among the depressed communities have already begun to organize themselves on communal lines and form caste sabhas or samajams for safeguarding their interests and promoting their welfare is not without significance. The populous Pulaya community, for instance, have their Pulaya Mahajana Sabha and other associations functioning actively and doing yeoman service for ... the progress of the community.

While caste canons were under test by 20th century, each community stood in need of reforms from within. Enlightened community leaders knew that people should be helped from ignorance to awareness so that miserable and burdensome social realities could be changed. For the purpose, the immediate hope lay in education, at least primary education. Socio-economic status could not be changed dramatically, community organisers knew it. They also knew that education could make a difference to it, if not change it. Not surprisingly, community organisations

had education as a priority item on the agenda.

#### 4.5.3. The Printing Press and Print Media

Printing and publishing developed in Europe by 16th century and grew into world industry by 17th century beginning. Kerala's printing history may be considered as old as the European printing. Portuguese missionaries were the first to introduce printing press in Kerala.

In 1575, Portuguese missionaries established printing presses in Cochin and Vaipin. Such works as Christiya Matatatwam (Doctrina Christina) and Christiya Vanakkam were printed here, but the types used were Tamil and not Malayalam. The Hortus Malabaricus written in Latin is the earliest work which contains passages in Malayalam types; published from Amsterdam during late 17th century. The third printing press was established in 17th century by a native near Kodungalloor. Samkshepa Vedartham is the first full-fledged Malayalam work printed in the language using Malayalam types. It was published from Rome in 1772. The Church Mission Society (CMS) press established in 1821 by Rev. Benjamin Bailey widened the scope of printing as an industry in Kerala. Works printed and published, during the first half of 19th century, other than christian works include dictionaries and books on grammar. The first newspaper in Malayalam 'Rajyasamacharam' was started by a German missionary Dr. Herman Gundert in June, 1847. Another newspaper Paschimodayam was started in october, 1847 by Dr. Gundert. By the second half of 19th century, Kerala had more than 50 publications in Malayalam



including monthly, weekly, and newspapers. By the end of 19th century, Kerala was producing books, periodicals etc. at a cheaper rate than America.<sup>110</sup>

By the turn of 20th century, print media began to play significant role in the Malayali society. Most of the community organisations had at least one newspaper/or periodical, educating and reaching organisational level messages to their people.

According to the 37th annual report of the Registrar of Newspapers, 'Press in India', Malayala Manorama (daily newspaper in Malayalam) was the largest circulating daily newspaper in India in 1992, with five editions. Among weekly, 'Malayala Manorama Weekly' in Malayalam was the largest selling weekly in any language in India in 1992 with more than one million copies. "In the mid-1980s, though Kerala accounted for only 3.5 percent of India's population, 8.5 percent of all daily newspapers were in Kerala's Malayalam language".<sup>111</sup>

Table 4.58 Daily Newspapers by Language 1981.

Language	Daily Newspaper per thousand speakers 1981	Daily circulations 1984 (000)	Percent of total
English	250	3582	19.3
Malayalam	53	1586	8.5
Gujarati	37	1226	6.6
Marati	27	1417	7.6
Urdu	22	1057	5.7
Kannada	22	627	3.4
Tamil	21	1126	6.1
Hindi	14	5424	29.2
Punjabi	12	387	2.1
Oriya	8	342	1.8
Telugu	8	485	2.6
Assamese	6	123	0.7

Source : Press in India, 1982 and 1985, cited in R.Jeffrey, 1993, p.3

According to table 4.58, in 1981, there were more than 50 daily newspapers for every 1000 Malayalam speakers, more than three times as many as for Hindi speakers. Malayalam ranked third in the number of newspapers produced each day in 1984.

This love for reading seemed to have been there since long. In cochin, census commissioner in 1901 found, "Newspapers and Malayalam books are read by females more widely than they used to be".<sup>112</sup> Three decades later in 1931, "It is not a very uncommon sight to see the Rikshawalla, who waits for his hire in the

street, purchasing a copy of the day's Gomati ..."<sup>113</sup> wrote the census commissioner of Cochin.

Whether Kerala 'tea shop culture' is due to the newspapers and weeklys the shop owner subscribes to or the tea he serves in the shop; can't say. In Kerala, nobody can miss a tea shop, noisy, with a group of people sitting in one corner, reading newspaper loudly and discussing the content; in another corner some others engrossed in weeklys stuffed with sentimental stories and sensational news. Men and women exchanging such periodicals with their neighbours are also a very common scene in Kerala.

By the turn of the present century, if, social reformers and community organisers prompted people to take to literacy skills so that they could interact with the masses and educate them on topics of socio-political importance through print media, a few decades later, print media seemed to reinforce the rudiments of literacy by supplying either serious socio-economic and political issues or romantic fictions/lurid news to read. Widespread literacy needs a reason (personal gain) and regular reinforcement<sup>114</sup> (the printing press); Kerala is flooded with printed material.

#### 4.5.4. The Library Movement

Village libraries are yet another common sight which can hardly escape the eyes of a visitor to rural Kerala. Ivan Illich visiting Kerala in the 1970s noticed that closely in parallel to the fairly widespread formal schooling system, ran a more dynamic and outreaching set up of a village library network. This made Illich to wonder whether Kerala has schools because of libraries<sup>115</sup> or libraries because it has schools.

Village libraries in Kerala have a history of more than seventy years. Public libraries were started in Trivandrum and Cochin in the first and second half of 19th century respectively. As part of the National Movement, libraries and reading rooms began appearing in villages. Speeches of Congress leaders and Mahatma Gandhi were being translated and propagated.

Not only a new generation of dedicated political workers following the Gandhian way of life but a large number of reading rooms and libraries emerged. The theme of the reading materials provided in these libraries was increasingly political, social and economic rather than religious or spiritual. The libraries were looked upon not merely as a treasure house of scholarly works meant for the high-ups but also as disseminating centres of knowledge and information, places where friends get together in the evening and serious discussions take place on social, economic and political issues. In fact libraries and reading rooms attained almost the position occupied by temples in medieval Kerala.<sup>116</sup> A few libraries which began as part of National Movement also functioned as adult education centres. Most of these libraries catered only to newspaper reading and disappeared after independence.<sup>117</sup>

In Cochin, by late 1920s the state had begun village libraries to promote adult education on an experimental basis. For the promotion of adult education the government started four experimental village libraries in the year 1927 which were<sup>118</sup> attached to the government Malayalam primary schools. By 1930s, there were 6 public libraries in the State.

Libraries of all types increased in number since the 1930s. There were 136 libraries in Cochin by 1941 (against 21 libraries in 1931), in addition to the libraries attached to educational institutions, scattered in towns and villages.<sup>119</sup> Five years later in 1941, the number of libraries were on the increase; a total of 243 libraries with 224 village libraries.<sup>120</sup>

#### Grandhasala sangham

Village libraries run by local people were totally maintained by public contribution. Government grants were not available for these libraries. As a result, several of them could not function well for want of financial assistance. Under the circumstances, a Grandhasala Sangham was floated in 1945 in Travancore with 47 libraries scattered over the state, to draw Government's attention to the difficulties and importance of running people's library.<sup>121</sup> In 1948, Thiru Cochi Grandhasala Sangham was formed in Cochin. These Grandhasala Sanghams became, 'Travancore-Cochin Grandhasala Sangham' in 1949 and got its present name Kerala Grandhasla Sangham' in 1956 when Kerala state came into existence.

Grandhasala Sangham grew into a socio-cultural organisation of the people with the following objectives.<sup>122</sup>

- To promote reading habits among the local population
- To make arrangements for daily newspapers reading so that people are kept informed about the day to day happenings around the world.

- To conduct talk and discussion on topics of importance and relevance by experts.
- To encourage and promote fine arts and performing arts by organising them locally.
- To promote adult education and Hindi language learning.
- To conduct night-schools.
- To work towards the socio-cultural and moral progress of the people.
- To fight against ignorance and illiteracy so that people become responsible citizens.
- To prevent neo-literates from relapsing into illiteracy.
- To rise above divisive forces like religion, caste etc. and to build a healthy and culturally rich society.

Kerala Grandhasala Sangham took up two adult education projects as part of the National Adult Education Programme which won the Sangham UNESCO Literacy award. However, Grandhasala Sangham, in late 70s, discontinued its literacy and adult education activities after a decision taken at the Grandhasala Sangham committee level.<sup>123</sup> There were about 4100 libraries registered with the Sangham in 1974, and 165 literacy centres<sup>124</sup> attached to libraries. By 1990, there were more than 5300<sup>125</sup> libraries registered with the Sangham.

Village libraries in Kerala, except for the village libraries run by the princely states, were formed by the people for the people. Not surprisingly these libraries became socio-cultural centres of each village. P.N. Panicker, the driving force behind library movement and one of the founding fathers of

Grandhasala Sangham in Kerala, wrote in 1964 that it was not difficult to find volunteers working in the 3000 odd libraries in Kerala.<sup>125</sup> People who were initiated into reading and writing but could not pursue it further for various reasons must have found these village libraries to keep their literacy skills working. Yet again, the presence of a library in the village may have prompted some others to take to literacy skills. Yes, there is no wonder when Ivan Illich says, Kerala's phenomenal literacy rate has a lot more to do with the network of participatory village libraries than formal schooling system.<sup>127</sup>

#### 4.5.5. University and Adult Education

The department of Adult Education in Calicut University and the Centre for Adult Education and Extension (CAEE) in Kerala University have been running adult education centres directly and in collaboration, with affiliated colleges. These centres also gave leadership in the training of functionaries of various agencies involved in adult education activities.

Another voluntary agency within the university system which was involved with literacy work is the National Service Scheme (NSS). The NSS volunteers have been playing a part in the fight against illiteracy since 1978, with the launching of National Adult Education Programme. However, literacy work at this level was not so popular, probably due to lack of recognition and incentives.<sup>128</sup>

#### 4.5.6. Voluntary Agencies

Two voluntary agencies, KANFED and KSSP are taken for special mention under this head. KANFED is taken for its work in the field of adult literacy and non-formal education for nearly two decades now and its involvement with Ernakulam TLC. The KSSP, a people's science movement, had no such considerable field experience in literacy work, but had been toying with the idea of eradication of illiteracy at conceptual level since 1977. However, as an organisation of people's science movement, KSSP had considerable experience in mobilising people before it was entrusted with the Ernakulam mass literacy project by National Literacy Mission in 1989. From 1973-83 KSSP played a significant role in the "Silent Valley" dam abandonment.

#### KANFED

Pioneers of village libraries and, later, Grandhasala Sangham in Kerala had the cause of literacy always on the agenda. Although there was no organised literacy movement in the early days of library movement, voluntary workers at libraries had been involved in the fight against illiteracy, taking libraries as centres for action. As mentioned earlier, Kerala Grandhasala Sangham directly got involved with literacy movements during early 70s through organised Adult and Functional Literacy Education Projects. By 1977, when government took over the control of Kerala Granhdasala Sangham, the democratic functioning of the rural libraries was affected and those who were behind the literacy activities of the Sangham gave shape to a new



organisation, Kerala Association for Non-Formal Education and Development (KANFED). State and Central Governments recognised KANFED and entrusted it with the responsibility of State Resource Centre (SRC) for non-formal education, in 1978. Since then KANFED has involved in the organisation, conduct, monitoring, evaluation, training of literacy workers, preparation of teaching-learning materials etc. of adult literacy and non-formal education programme.

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KANFED-SRC was a participatory agency in the Ernakulam Total Literacy Campaign, from the beginning when the idea was taking shape to the successful implementation of the project. KANFED-SRC's experience in adult and functional literacy programmes got it involved in the organisational and academic to the grass-root level of Total Literacy Campaign in Ernakulam district.

#### KSSP

The Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP) is a people's science movement engaged in various activities for popularising science and scientific temperament. Though originated as a science writers forum (for the dissemination of scientific information in Malayalam) in early 60s, it later grew into a people's science movement with a following of people from various walks of life. More than half of the members are school teachers.

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KSSP had a brush with illiteracy eradication, way back in 1977. KSSP units and rural science forums, voluntarily took up adult literacy work in villages. However, there was no detailed

plan or programme of action. In December 1977, a working group was formed to study the problems of illiteracy. Later the working group and KSSP's sub-committee on non-formal education prepared a project proposal to eradicate illiteracy in Kerala within five years. In early 1978, KSSP submitted the draft proposal to the state Adult Education Department to be forwarded to the Directorate of Adult Education, Government of India. The proposal was never forwarded and KSSP withdrew from the field.<sup>131</sup> During 1985-86, eradication of illiteracy was, once again, finding a place on the KSSP agenda.<sup>132</sup> In spite of renewed efforts, this time too, the project proposal, "War Against Illiteracy", submitted to the Ministry of Human Resource Development by KSSP in 1986, failed to visualise as how to totally integrate the governmental efforts and the people's efforts into a single planned programme. In 1988, the district collector of Ernakulam (who is a life member and former vice president of KSSP) took the initiative and a detailed project proposal to eradicate illiteracy was prepared with the help of KANFED and KSSP and submitted to the National Literacy Mission. The NLM on accepting, the project, 'Lead Kindly Light' ; entrusted it with KSSP.<sup>133</sup>

KSSP played a leading role in the Ernakulam Total Literacy Campaign. KSSP functioned at all levels - organisational and planning, academic, supervisory and grassroot - during the TLC. As already mentioned in section 4.3.5. KSSP was involved in preparing learning and training materials, organised and participated in the workshop to evolve training module. KSSP workers were at all levels-resource persons, master trainers and

instructors along with thousands of other volunteers. As part of the motivation campaign 20 Kalajatha teams were trained in art forms by KSSP artists. Members of Kalajatha were drawn from different socio-political youth organisations, but majority of the members were from KSSP.<sup>134</sup> In brief, the people's machinery in Ernakulam TLC was led by KSSP to its successful implementation. In the Ernakulam TLC, KSSP was in action from the top to the bottom level, right from the conception of the project to the minute detail of its execution.

#### 4.5.7. The Government Machinery

The KSSP from its past experience had realised that literacy projects could not take off to success, if the government machinery did not integrate with the people's machinery. Experience also showed that government machinery alone could not succeed in the eradication of illiteracy. The Ernakulam mass literacy experiment was unique in this respect. This project was unique as the entire district administration from district to village level, was involved with one single project - the TLC.

K.R. Rajan, the district collector of Ernakulam took the initiative and prepared a tentative out-line for the illiteracy eradication programme. He got KSSP and KANFED involved and a project proposal was submitted to NLM in 1988. When the proposal was approved by the NLM, a District Literacy Society was formed with district collector as its chairman for the implementation of the project. The district collector's enthusiasm geared up the entire district administration to the implementation of the project.

One deputy collector was put in charge of each taluka for co-ordinating all the activities. One Block Development Officer was in charge of the programme in each block. The Tahasildar was in charge of the Municipal area. A few officers were made co-ordinators of each Panchayat. The village officer was in charge of the literacy classes in the village. Some others were given the task to supervise literacy classes (not more than 5 classes).<sup>135</sup> The district machinery functioned as a coordinating and supervising body to the smooth run of various activities related to the project.

#### 4.5.8. The Local Bodies

Literacy committees were formed at the local body level as the actual implementation of the project had to take place at the grass-root level. The Panchayat President, Municipal Chairman and Corporation Mayor were the chairmen of such committees. To reach to the bottom level, literacy committees were formed at the ward level with the ward member, in case of Panchayat, and councillor, in case of Municipalities and Corporation, as its chairman. All these popular committees were represented by people from various walks of life. Thus, in effect, these ward level committees were the actual implementing units of the project. These committees were in charge of the arrangements and conduct of classes, identification and selection of instructors, mobilising the teaching-learning materials, reception to art troupes, arranging meetings, padayatras, competitions in art and cultural events etc.<sup>136</sup>

Popular committees at the ward level as the implementing unit had a better rapport with the people - both instructors and learners. Ward level approach may have brought in some element of competition too as these micro level units are stark geographical realities to each other.

#### 4.5.9. Teachers and Students

On August 10, 1989, more than half a million students and teachers from about 1200 schools in Ernakulam district, took the message of literacy to different parts of the district to celebrate the District Literacy Day. After taking literacy pledge, students and teachers went around the neighbouring areas in procession, singing literacy songs and spreading the message of literacy. Later, teachers addressed students and urged them to bring illiterates in their families and neighbourhood to literacy classes.<sup>137</sup> This motivation campaign was different from other campaigns as it took the message of literacy to almost all the households in the district on a single day.

Teachers were involved with the TLC in various capacities : in the preparation of teaching-learning material, evolving training module, as resource persons, master trainers, instructors, members of popular committees, Assistant Project Officers etc.<sup>138</sup> There was nothing surprising that teachers were participating at all levels as nearly half of the members of the campaign launching organisation, KSSP were teachers.

According to the organisers, students were not encouraged to be long term participant as it would have disturbed their normal routine. However, a few students did participate as instructors.

#### 4.5.10. The Volunteers at Grass-root Level

The Ernakulam TLC, at all levels, was voluntary in nature. However the volunteer instructor at grass-root level stand for special mention. For, had they not volunteered to conduct literacy classes, the efforts of KSSP and District Administration the two major collaborating bodies of the project would have remained yet another saga of planning and non-implementation.

The actual implementation of the project was in the hands of those 20,000 odd volunteer instructors who taught the illiterates for about 6 months. In case any illiterate was not coming to the class the primary responsibility to bring him/her to the class was that of the instructor. Evaluation work was also carried out by instructors.

Majority of the instructors were young people ; many were unemployed and many were girls, many of them had passed school leaving examination or studied up to that level. They were inexperienced, but did not lack enthusiasm. They faced the challenge to teach adult learners, underwent training and led the district to the successful implementation of the project as volunteer instructors.

#### 4.6. People's View

During the course of the study, the investigator met and interviewed a cross-section of people to study their views on literacy movement in Kerala. Data collected were analysed and the emerging points are presented below.

Village school network was widespread and children were sent to these schools. These schools taught them 3R's. This indigenous system of education, even if in a small way, contributed to the growth of literacy.

The advent of modern education in Kerala, gave rise to a new class of intelligentsia. They were soon becoming part of the administration too. Their influence in the administration helped to gear up development of education in 19th century.

Christian missionaries established schools in Kerala during 19th century. These schools were different as it admitted students from all castes. Thus, missionaries opened up a way for low castes to educate their children. Later on, following in the foot steps of missionaries, others took interest in education and began establishing schools. These attempts contributed to the development of education and thereby progress of literacy.

Although there was no organised literacy movement before 1970s, individuals attempt to promote literacy was not so uncommon. Teachers commanded respect in the society. Their influence in the locality often brought children to school. A

Pulaya teacher, retired and old, recalled the old days: going around the locality, urging people (his own community) to send their children to school, persuading those who dropped out to return to school. People respected him as a teacher and would honour his efforts by sending children to school, he said. Many people volunteered their service through village libraries. Books and reading materials were taken to those who could not study further, if they were not coming to the library. These voluntary workers persuaded people to become members of library. Adult learners were taught voluntarily by these library workers. Even if unorganised, these efforts helped in keeping the resonance of literacy.

Another group of people the investigator interacted with was people who were involved with the TLC in Ernakulam district. They included functionaries from the organisational level to the grass-root level.

Campaign organisers and planners perceived eradication of illiteracy as taking up a social cause and working towards the goal. Eradication of illiteracy was a mission and to fulfil it, going through hardships, if necessary even initial failure was acceptable. The goal was clear and the determination to achieve it at any cost was strong. For them TLC was a crusade against illiteracy.

Unlike the masterminds behind the project and campaign, the grass-root level workers whom the investigator met, had no vision of eradicating illiteracy before they joined the TLC. However,



when the call came they joined the movement; some of them felt they could do it, for some it was a satisfying feeling to be socially useful, for some it was an opportunity to do something outside one's home, for some it was a chance to give expression to their latent talents. While going through the training and campaign, they admit, the realization got in and literacy became a 'social cause' worth fighting for. A vibrant Muslim woman, mother of four worked as an instructor during TLC. She was pulled out of school, after she passed the 7th grade for socio-economic reasons. She was heartbroken, wanted to be in the school, singing and dancing and learning. She was married off, later. In her new home and locality too, she could not find sympathisers, except for her husband. He was helpless, says she. When the literacy call came, the pent up feeling surfaced and her husband supported. Against odds, she went around the locality, coaxed illiterates to join literacy class and led them in all related activities. She felt happy to be back in the world of letters singing and dancing with her 'students'. She had always felt that she could lead and now she did it.

There are other stories too. This post graduate teacher, a master trainer, who (thought) was in the campaign for a noble cause, 'volunteered' to join the campaign after the organisers' request came. There was this district official who participated in the campaign because 'sir' (the district collector) wanted him to be there. However, in spite of the varying degree of enthusiasm, these participants did not default in fulfilling their part of the job, the investigator learned from related

sources.

People may have been initiated into the campaign for various reasons. All may not have shared the vision of eradication of illiteracy in the same spirit but the responses were productive to lead the campaign to a success story.

#### 4.7. Objective 3

Having analysed data under objective (1) & (2), in sections 4.2.1. to 4.6., objective 3 is taken up in this section.

Objective 3 : To identify the factors responsible for total literacy in Ernakulam district on the basis of the data regarding objective (1) & (2).

Since detailed analysis of the data have been already done in the foregoing sections, the effort here is to identify those factors responsible for total literacy and present them in brief.

The 19th century political powershift in Cochin gave new shape to the administration. Modern education was looked upon to suit the needs of modern administration and Cochin State entered into the field of education for the first time in 19th century. Under the changed political scenario, qualification decided the entry into government service and the inner circles of power than caste status. Political intervention brought peace and at least Nairs lost their significance as militia class and had to look for other openings. Foreign rulers influence got missionaries invited to establish schools. By the end of 19th century, a new class of intelligentsia, politically conscious, was emerging on

the scene. Till 19th century if the state did not interest itself with popular education, by the early decades of 20th century government was being pressed into welfare services by politically conscious and demanding people and education was a priority item on the agenda. In independent India, popular governments of Kerala, with different political ideologies spent a considerable portion of the budget on popular education.

The indigenous system of education - village schools - explains the cultural background in which modern education began in Kerala in 19th century. Throughout 19th century alongwith modern schools, these village schools existed. Data available do not credit these schools for efficiency. However, the cultural significance of these schools remain in the fact that at least a few people of each village could handle 3R's. The inefficiency of the system may not have produced wide spread literacy, nevertheless, people were not unknown to the culture of literacy even if they could not handle 3R's by themselves. Although social structure did not collapse or change in the 19th century, its credibility was constantly under attack. Missionaries work among the low castes and their attempts to educate them in their schools were making chinks on the social structure. Conversion to christianity brought social freedom to the low castes against the caste system. Once under their fold missionaries tried to educate them. From the fold of missionaries, came out a new class of 'educated' low castes, may be only a few in number. In the latter half of 19th century, social reforms advocated by Narayana Guru and others found place among the educated classes. The existing

social system needed thorough cleansing from within and between communities. Social reformers urged people to take to education to speed up the cleansing process. By the first half of 20th century, communities were in a race and education was considered a commodity to be consumed for the socio-cultural progress, to keep pace with each other. The feeling was strong and community organisations were founding their own schools, is a pointer to the socio-cultural factors behind the educational development since 19th century.

With the expansion of commerce and trade and the shift to cash economy for kind economy, book keeping was in demand. Knowledge of reading and writing and arithmetic could fetch one such a job. These 3R's could be learnt from village school or missionary school/government school offering modern education. Since the foreign rulers insisted on cash economy, a few may have found literacy and numeracy skills useful to make a living and traders may have needed them in increasing numbers. In 19th century, modern education had the attraction of government service hence an economic return. On establishing schools colonel Munro had the objective of training young men for state service as writers and accountants. When power exchanged hands, Nairs age old occupation became redundant and some others in the power house by virtue of caste status got displaced. To make a new living land was not easily available. Under the circumstances, learning 3R's to secure a job may not have been an unusual scene. With the development of education in 20th century, economic returns from 3R's were thin. Educated unemployment was fast

becoming a feature in Kerala. In spite of the agrarian reforms and land reforms all Malayalis did not have sufficient land to support them. Scarcity of job and land forced Malayalis to migrate to different parts of the country and the world in search of job. Malayalis know that even with education life is difficult and without education it is worse.

Growth and progress of literacy is closely the history of the society. As the society evolves historically - politically, socially, culturally and economically - literacy too takes its shape and direction. The foregoing analysis reveal that the cultural, political and socio-economic happenings at various point of time had shaped the growth and progress of literacy, taking the society finally to the total literacy status. It can't be said of Cochin and Ernakulam district that at any given point of time, any single factor operating in isolation has given the shape and direction to literacy as it is today.

A more concrete description of factors is done in the conclusion of the study in chapter V under section 5.9.

Summary, major findings of the study followed by discussion, and conclusions are presented in the next chapter.

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