

**HIGHER EDUCATION IN KERALA:
THE POST COLONIAL EXPERIENCE,
1947-2000**

Thesis
submitted to the University of Calicut
for the award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

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APRIL 2023

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **HIGHER EDUCATION IN KERALA: THE POST COLONIAL EXPERIENCE, 1947-2000** submitted to the University of Calicut in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in History**, is a bona fide work carried out by **Mujeeb Rahiman K.G.**, under my guidance and supervision. Neither the dissertation nor any part of it has been submitted for the award of any degree, diploma or title before.

Dr. Godwin Samraj D.P.
Controller of Examinations
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University of Calicut
17 .04.2023

DECLARATION

I, **Mujeeb Rahiman K.G.**, do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled **HIGHER EDUCATION IN KERALA: THE POST COLONIAL EXPERIENCE, 1947-2000.** submitted to the University of Calicut in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in History**, is a bonafide work done by me under the guidance of **Dr. GodwinSamraj D.P., Controller of Examinations, University of Calicut**, and that I have not submitted it or any part of it for any degree, diploma or title before.

University of Calicut,
17 .04.2023

Mujeeb Rahiman K.G.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKGCT	:	Association for Kerala Government College Teachers
AKPCTA	:	Association for Kerala Private College Teachers
BEGM	:	Basel Evangelical German Mission
BT	:	Bachelor of Teaching
CABE	:	Central Advisory Board of Education
CAR	:	Cochin Administrative Report
CDS	:	Centre for Development Studies
CMS	:	Church Missionary Society
CUSAT	:	Cochin University of Science and Technology
ESLC	:	Elementary School Leaving Certificate
FA	:	First Examination in Arts
FL	:	First Examination in Law
ICAR	:	Indian Council of Agricultural Research
JDT	:	Jam'iyyathu Daw'a Thabligul Islam
KSHEC	:	Kerala State Higher Education Council
LMS	:	London Missionary Society
LT	:	Licentiate of Teaching
MES	:	Muslim Educational Society
NPE	:	New Policy on Education
PoA	:	Programme of Action
PSP	:	Praja Socialist Party
SFC	:	Self Financing College
SNDP	:	Sree NarayanaGuru Dharma ParipalanaYogam
TAR	:	Travancore Administrative Report
UGC	:	University Grant Commission

INTRODUCTION

Education as part of cultural technology of colonization had played a tremendous role in the subjugation of native cultures. Therefore, it's potential as a tool of transformation was equally substantive in the post-colonial societies wherein vigorous decolonization process was on move. The innovative ideas, methods and skills acquired through education, equips the society to meet the growing and changing demands of the society. Education was an important means by which the colonized subtly subjugated the culture of the colonized. It acted as a tool to nurture common colonial values and, instrumental in responding to the changing agenda in the social, political and economic fields under a colonial structure. Post-colonial society is embedded in a hybrid culture, values and psyche as a result of the legacy of colonization. Transformation in a post-colonial society in any field of culture bears the stamp of colonization. The post-colonial society of Kerala like any other colonized societies involved in the process of invigorating new social ethos and values as part of the decolonization process. The present study *Higher Education in Kerala: The Postcolonial Experience, 1947-2000* explores the transformation of higher education in post-colonial Kerala from the perspective of Post colonialism.

It is often assumed that the higher education system in Kerala has undergone a remarkable transition since independence of India in 1947. The ethos on which higher education in particular rested prior to independence has undergone a drastic change since 1947. The new independent sovereign government of India in a post-colonial setting developed its own vision of education. Education under the British had catered to the vision and mission of colonial ideology. The present study explores the transformation of higher education in a postcolonial scenario.

The proposed study has chosen Kerala as its geographical limit. The state is known for its high literacy among the Indian states. The missionary activities and the initiatives of the wealthy natives under colonialism played a prominent role in the enviable position that Kerala has achieved in terms of literacy. At the time of independence in 1947, the primary and secondary level education in Kerala, had achieved tremendous progress. Naturally the focus after independence was on higher education. The unique achievement in the field of education in Kerala, particularly in the field of primary and secondary level conceals the trajectories of higher education. With its aims and objectives differ from primary and secondary level education, higher education requires a focused study within the peculiar context of Kerala.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The study examines the history of higher education from a postcolonial context. The current higher education system of Kerala has taken shape under the asymmetrical power relations of colonial ideology. Technically, postcolonial scenario has bestowed more space to the once subjugated ‘other’ under the colonizer. But colonization has already enslaved the colonized to a universalized white norm. The consciousness of the colonized is thus alienated under centuries old subjugation. Therefore, the colonized appears donned with white mask in the postcolonial situation. The concepts of decolonization technically have given the necessary background for the formulation of new ethos to the higher education in post-colonial countries; but epidermalized by alien cultural values, the consciousness of the colonized is disfigured. Franz Fanon, one of the prominent writers on post colonialism describes, in his most vivid description of French colonization of Algeria, how the colonizer strips the colonized people away from their indigenous cultures through the introduction of the education system of the colonizer.

Alienated from his own self and masked by the alien cultural values, post colonialism thrown open a difficult juncture to the people of once colonized countries. Therefore, rather than looking at the transformation of higher education from the point of view of linear perspective, the time frame of the present study requires it to be placed in the context of ruptures. The period between 1947 and 2000 places the study within the postcolonial, decolonizing and neo-colonial processes and ideologies. How do the trajectories of higher education in Kerala appear under the parameters of colonialism, post colonialism, decolonization and neocolonialism? The study explains the transformation of higher education in Kerala since independence in relation to the conditions produced under post colonialism, decolonization and neocolonialism.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Higher Education

The term is used in a broad sense in the present study. It includes post-secondary education, such as university education; and general or liberal education in Arts, Science and Commerce at undergraduate and post graduate levels. The technical, medical, legal, and fine arts education didn't include in the study. In the modern parlance at all India level, higher education means the education which comes after 10+2 level. But in Kerala there are colleges catering to post-secondary level and teachers draw U.G.C. scale teaching at this level. Higher secondary level education has become part of school education from 1998 onwards.

Kerala

Kerala is the most literate state in India. The primary and secondary education standard of Kerala secured high position in India. Unlike the other state, the missionaries and native states played an important role for the

spread of education in Kerala. Kerala was one of the most important states which witnessed the presence of colonial education system. Higher education in Kerala has an important role in expansion of knowledge and academic pursuits. Kerala also plays a vital role for the national development. It has been observed by several educationalists and academics that though the number of higher educational institutions has increased by leaps and bounds, the quantitative expansion has been accompanied by qualitative deterioration and the standards have declined enormously. The Keralites who secured high degree of education failed to achieve all India level examinations and securing highest job. The structure of higher education in Kerala is not different from that of the country. When we take hundred educational institutions in NIRF (National Institutional Ranking Framework), the institutions in Kerala is less. Why did it happen?

Post Colonialism

Post colonialism, the historical period or state of affairs representing the aftermath of Western colonialism; the term can also be used to describe the concurrent project to reclaim and rethink the history and agency of people subordinated under various forms of imperialism. Post colonialism is a “study of the effects of colonialism on cultures and societies. It is concerned with both how European nations conquered and controlled "Third World" cultures and how these groups have since responded to and resisted those encroachments.”¹ Post-colonialism is also a study of political and cultural change, has gone and continues to go through three broad stages:

1. an initial awareness of the social, psychological, and cultural inferiority enforced by being in a colonized state
2. the struggle for ethnic, cultural, and political autonomy
3. a growing awareness of cultural overlap and hybridity

¹ <https://www3.dbu.edu/mitchell/postcold.htm>.

Oxford Encyclopedia defines “post colonialism as a critical concept within contemporary cultural studies characterized by attempts to explain the development, conditions, and consequences of the experience of modern colonialism.”² The Post-colonial experience is the study of the cultures of countries and regions, especially in third world countries, whose histories are marked by colonialism, anti-colonial movements, and the transition to independence during the 20th century, and the study of their present-day influence on the societies and cultures of former colonizers.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Post colonialism, a leftover of colonialism and a blossoming ground for decolonization, is a juncture of both desperation and expectations. Legacies of colonialism, particularly in the field of culture, were valued, and to some extent, mellowed the political violence associated with the closure of colonization. The colonized were seemed grateful and proud of being the receptors of modern western education through their erstwhile masters. This euphemism, still shared by many in the colonized countries, camouflaged the colonial intensions and motives in erasing the ‘self’ of the colonized and misguided its developmental plans and programmes. The colonized welcomed the new air of independence with the confidence that western education based on rationalism and science would lead them to progress. S. Radhakrishnan, the first Vice President of Independent India and happened to be the Chairman of University Education Commission appointed after independence pinpointed the need of continuing the tradition of western education for ensuring the future progress of India. Though independent India had witnessed many violent eruptions on the question of language, none of the violence questioned independent India’s recourse and rational in sticking on the modern western education. Moreover, the language controversy

² The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Modern World.

reaffirmed the position of English and it turned out to be the great unifier of India. It is no wonder to read the Tamil students painted slogans during the time when Indian states divided on language issue ‘Hindi never, English ever’. Modern western education and English language did not lose their relevance with independence, though as part of indigenization, English as foreign language was relegated officially to indicate India’s renunciation of its subjugated past. Even during the heyday of India’s struggle for independence and in spite of the strong wave of indigenization had swept across the length and breadth of the country, western education and English language remained safe among those Indians who recognized the prospects of both. R.K.Laxman (1921-2015), the well acclaimed cartoonist, in the preface to his novel *The Hotel Riviera*, reminisced his introduction to English language during his school days. He recalls: failing in subjects such as history, Kannada, or arithmetic was viewed with good humour, but getting a poor rank in English was considered a sign of low mental calibre and of foredoomed career prospects.³ As masters of their own destiny, colonized in the postcolonial situation had the power to frame the nation according to their ideas; but they did not deviate much from their stand on western education and English language. The experience of Nandan Nilekani, the first generation Information Technology Indian and the founder of Infosys, the first IT company of India, also had the same story to share like the one recalled by R.K.Laxman in 1930s. Nandan Nilekani recalled thus: in the late 1960s when I was growing up in Dharwad, I attended a convent school along with most of the neighbourhood kids...in part my parents’ insistence that I study at English medium schools was a result of our family background who were educated and knew where the opportunities lay.⁴ He also added that the role of English

³ R.K.Laxman. Preface to *The Hotel Riviera*, New Delhi: Penguin, 1969, .p.8.

⁴ Nandan Nilekani, *Imagining India. Ideas for the New Century*. New Delhi: Penguin, 2008, p. 92.

as a career language in independent India remained for a long time one of the unspoken truths in our politics, something that Indian legislators were reluctant to admit. Cultural conquest of colonialism was left untreated as legacy and; therefore, continued to influence Indian society in its postcolonial phase, while freedom meant only freedom from political subjugation. The colonized people internalized the cultural ethos of the colonizer through education and for that reason; education remained a major vestige of colonialism in the postcolonial period too. Therefore, education has a key role to play in the decolonization of the postcolonial societies. This is particularly important in the case of Kerala where cultural conquest seemed more profound. Colonialism was instrumental in constructing a firm foundation of education at both primary and secondary levels in Kerala and the higher education sector of Kerala built on the firm foundation of colonial education. The concept of ‘social equity’ which formed the driving force of the Communist Party of Kerala and facilitated it to gain political power after independence rested on the spatial spread of primary education among the socially and economically downtrodden section of Kerala under colonialism. This concept, to some extent, entrapped the ruling governments in the avowed agenda of the further spread of primary and secondary level education without breaking the colonial thread. Moreover, the focus on primary and secondary level education failed the successive governments to give attention to the careful building up of higher education sector. The result is that higher education in postcolonial Kerala lagged behind and, the only task left to governments was to respond to the clamour of the students who passed out from the secondary level education for admissions in higher education institutions. The governments in postcolonial Kerala, as a result, engaged in the process of opening more and more higher education institutions to cater to the needs of the society. It focused more on quantitative increase of higher

education institutions than its quality. Whatever colonial legacy that education inherited under colonialism was carried over to the postcolonial phase too.

SCOPE

The study gives a key to understand better the transformations that Kerala undergone in the last half a century. As education is considered as a factor that is capable to trigger transformation in other fields, it can be taken as a catalyst, and an exploration into the development of higher education would definitely enlarge and equip the vision to look into the whole package of reforms undertaken and undergone in the Kerala society between 1947 and 2000. The scope of the study can be identified as below

Missionary Education

The Missionaries played a crucial role in introducing modern education system replacing the traditional system of education in Kerala. They facilitated education by admitting students irrespective of caste. The officials and missionaries such as Colonel Munro, Ringletab, Thomas Norton, Rev. Henry Baker, Samuel Ridsdale etc had given yeomen service to the spread of education in colonial Kerala. The motives and aims of missionary education are to be analyzed.

Education of Backward Classes

The evolution and trajectories of education of backward castes in Kerala also need to be analyzed. The Ezhavas, Muslims, depressed castes and Scheduled Tribes made tremendous progress in the field of education in colonial period. The colonial officials, missionaries and natives promoted education among them. It opened new opportunities to the Deprived castes in various fields.

Impact of Colonial Motives

Education and colonialism in Kerala is a wide topic to be discussed. There are number of studies conducted in African and Latin American countries in this regard. The colonialism made a far reaching results and impact in Kerala education system. The colonial motives of education especially in higher education system in third world countries and states are to be analyzed.

Decolonization of Education

Decolonization is a powerful tool for deconstructing colonial influences on knowledge and education. It represents a further dismantling of western centered institutions, systems, symbolism and standards within the higher education system. The colonial legacy was taught in the schools and higher education institutions in the form of British contributions to the modernization of India and projected them as the builders or founders of Modern India. Therefore, the colonized country continued to build their postcolonial society on the vestiges of colonialism.

Globalization, Neo Colonialism and Education

Globalization required restructuring of higher education and higher education system in Kerala also involved/engaged in the process of revamping its system accordingly. Public expenditure on higher education in Kerala declined considerably and the recovery of costs of higher education from the students has been an important strategy adopted in the state.

Commissions and Committees on Higher Education in Kerala

The various commissions and committees were appointed in Kerala after independence. Besides these, there are a number of acts related to higher education also passed in the Legislative Assembly. Padmakumar

Commission, Adisheshaiah Committee, Goplan Committee, Samuel Mathai Committee, Commission on Calicut University, various commissions on the question of autonomy etc. recommended changes in the education system in Kerala after independence.

Pressure Groups and Their Activities

Kerala is a land of heterogeneous groups where caste, community, language, and regional differences play a leading role in shaping political system. As a result Kerala political parties in Kerala constituted of these elements. Kerala is a state where religious; caste pressure groups have a major role in making and unmaking governments. Kerala has had unstable politics since independence. The average life of the state's ministries till 1970 was two years. There were changes of ministries which resulted in frequent elections. Thus, Kerala earned the nickname of 'the problem state' in the three decades after its formation. The intervention of pressure groups in Kerala education created a lot of problems and it continued as an unhealthy practice in the system of education.

HYPOTHESIS

The study constructs on the assumption that any cultural transformation in post colonial society embedded deeply in the legacy of colonization. Higher Education system of Kerala obviously underwent transformation between 1947 and 2000. The transformation can be traced to and discussed within the discourses that were set by the politics of colonialism, indigenization, decolonization and post-colonial contexts.

AIM

To study the transformation of higher education in Kerala from the perspective of Post colonialism.

OBJECTIVES

1. To explore the colonial foundation of higher education in Kerala.
2. To discuss the structural transformation of higher education on western lines in syllabi, curriculum, organization of courses'
3. To explain the mindset shaped by colonial values of education.
4. To explain the influence of missionaries.
5. To analyze the decolonization elements in the educational reform packages of Government of Kerala.
6. Trace the tactics and presence of pressure groups as remnants of colonialism.
7. To examine the issues in higher education since independence and how Government of Kerala confronted the situation.
8. To analyze the response in the field of education with the entry of neocolonialism in the form of globalization.

METHODOLOGY

The study applied analytical method throughout. Though Qualitative analysis is the main method sought to reach the conclusion, quantitative data supplemented the information wherever necessary. As education is basically multidisciplinary, a hermeneutical approach is found appropriate. Missionary works on education is examined with imperialist ideology in view. The views expressed by the scholars of education in Kerala are mired by their subjective stance on political ideology. The books on education aspects reflect various ideological stances and qualitative analysis is found the best option to reach the object of a particular text.

SOURCES

Colonial Reports

The present study deals the education of colonial period as an introductory part of the research. The colonial records are extensively used for this purpose. British Reports on Public Instruction, RPIM in various years, Education Code of 1891 and 1909 are some of the primary documents consulted for the purpose.

Missionary Documents and Writings on Missionary Education

Among the various kinds of sources, missionary documents constitute an important primary source for the study. The researcher extensively used sources such as BGEM Report, Proceedings of the CMS in various years, Travancore and Cochin Diocesan Record, CMS mass movement survey in Travancore and Cochin survey etc. Writings on missionary education in the form of secondary sources are also utilized for the study. The works of K.V. Eapen, Robert Eric Frykenberg, Parintha Shetty, Alexander Duff, W.S. Hunt, K.K.N. Kurup etc. immensely helped to understand the role of missionaries in education.

Manuals and Reports

The researcher extensively used different kinds of manuals, reports, acts etc. Travancore State Manuel, Malabar Manual, Travancore Education Committee Report (1933), Report on University Education Commission (1948), Kothari Commission Report (1964-66), Travancore Administrative Reports, Cochin Administrative Reports, Report of the Task Force on Higher Education (1984), Travancore University Act (1938), Kerala University Act (1958,1969,1974), Education Bill of 1957, Padmakumar Commission (1970), Adisheshaiah Committee(1984), Gopalan Committee (1987), Samuel Mathai

Committee (1982), Commission for University of Calicut (1984), various Commissions on autonomous status such as the Report of the Inter University Consultative Council (IUCC,1999), N. R. Madhavamenon Committee (2013) etc. are some of the sources that the researcher used.

Dailies and Magazines

To analyze the present system of education and the socio- economic condition, the dailies and magazines are very important. The researcher went through Mathrubhumi Weekly from 1947 to 2000. It can be useful to know the picture of the contemporary scenario of education. Thayat Sankaran, M.V. Pylee, Madhu Master, R.M. Manakkalath etc. are some of the personalities wrote extensively about education in Mathrubhumi daily. Malayala Manorama daily, The Hindu and Bhashaposhini are also referred for this purpose.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Indian Scenario

The works which dealt with higher education from the all India perspective provide the overall picture of the Indian education scenario in the postcolonial period. Singh (1985) ⁵ an Indian critic of higher education criticizes that the major players in higher education are the government, administrators, politicians, teachers, students, parents, and the society in common. But no one is acting in the manner that high quality higher education demands. What is on the stage is nothing but full of struts and frets and nothing significant. A large number of persons have entered the teaching profession without having the qualifications and the essential qualities and it pauses block on the road of human resources formation in higher education.

⁵ Amrik Singh, *Redeeming Higher Education, Essays on Educational Policy*, Ajantha Publications, New Delhi, 1985.

Loganathan, L. (1981)⁶ in his study, “State and Higher Education: Financing Collegiate Education with Special Reference to Arts and Science Colleges in Tamil Nadu”, establishes that education is to be a free gift to all so that it must be publicly funded. Commercialization of higher education breeds undue interests for it and private hands spread their tentacles on it. The power of private capital in higher education converts it as a tradable commodity and the price of which is determined by market mechanisms. In the quagmire of capitalist power, the quality of higher education is getting deteriorated very much and it challenges the attempts for human resources development through education, says the thesis.

Krishnaraj, R. (1985)⁷ conducted a study on “Organisation Structure, Leadership Behaviour, and Decision Making in Autonomous and Affiliated Colleges in India”. It is narrated in the thesis that the ‘organizational structure of autonomous and affiliated colleges anywhere in India is the same so as to keep the hierarchy. The managerial behaviour and the leadership style are seldom free from the colonial orthodoxy. There is no room for free thought and action for the academics, and the centralized decision making style has paved the way for un-democratic atmosphere in the management of the temples of higher education. It kills the initiative of faculty and the administrative staff in an institution of higher education, and it mars human development in our educational institutions.

⁶ Loganathan, L. *State and Higher Education: Financing Collegiate Education with Special Reference to Arts and Science Colleges in Tamil Nadu*, Published Ph.D. Thesis, Madras University, 1981.

⁷ Krishnaraj, R. *Organisation Structure, Leadership Behaviour, and Decision Making in Autonomous and Affiliated Colleges in India*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Madras University, 1985.

Govindasamy, G. (1999)⁸ argues against constituting or appointing commissions and committees without proper execution of the suggestions and recommendations of them for the benefit of educational sector. “The Historical Development of Education Commissions since 1952”, the doctoral thesis of Govindasamy, reveals that a galaxy of Commissions and Committees were appointed at the central as well as at the states levels in India. India may be the country having appointed so many commissions in its educational sector in the World. The thesis clamours that the respective authorities have not implemented the recommendations and suggestions given by these commissions, hence the problems in the sector of education in the country. The government has not implemented so far the great suggestions of allotting ‘Six per cent of GDP for education’ or constituting an ‘All India Commission for Education’, recommended by Kothari Commission. These suggestions are aimed at the total revolutionary changes educational sector in the country, the thesis narrates.

Higher Education in Changing Scenarios is written by C.R Mitra (2005)⁹ analyses the history of higher education in India and crisis of higher education and its reflections. This book also describes the condition of universities in India and its future. He observes the present system of higher education and predicts the future of higher education in India.

Another interesting study which applies the theories of Gramsci and Bourdieu in modern Indian education is by Alok K. Mukherjee.(2009)¹⁰ He was mainly focusing on the role of ‘English Language Education’ which was effectively used to strengthen the hegemonic agendas of British colonialism

⁸ Govindasamy, G., *The Historical Development of Education Commissions since 1952*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chennai, 1999.

⁹ C.R. Mitra, *Higher Education in Changing Scenarios*, Samskriti, New Delhi, 2005.

¹⁰ Alok K. Mukherjee, *This Gift of English: English Education and the Formation of Alternative Hegemonies in India*, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, 2009.

as well as that of the high caste Hindus. This study follows the principles of deconstruction. He argues that, through English education, British colonial intellectuals hoped to civilize the benighted Indian people and there by perpetuate the colonial rule. High caste Hindus on the other hand saw in English education the possibility of Hindu revivalism. It also examines the pedagogical and the curricular aspects of the colonial education, particularly the English language education. Although his study focuses on the education in the Bengal Presidency, it occasionally refers to the curriculum and examination patterns on Bombay and Madras Presidencies. He profusely uses primary sources like syllabus, content analysis of text books and the question papers to demonstrate that the very objective of the English education imposed by the colonial intellectuals was to perpetuate colonial rule. One of the drawbacks of this study is that it concentrates much on Calcutta Presidency and tries to generalize it for the entire colonial India. For example, unlike in Calcutta, the so called religious renaissance in Kerala was not initiated by the elite Hindus but by the traditional intellectuals of the lower caste. However, Alok's work discusses various pedagogical issues, content of studies, textbooks and the nature of question papers that were taken for granted in the previous studies.

History of Education in Modern India 1757-2007 of Suresh Chandra Ghosh (2010)¹¹ deviates significantly from the previous works as it followed the theoretical frame work of 'New History', a recent trend in historical research. This study is significant because of the use of many unpublished sources and majority of them belongs to the individuals like Warren Hastings, Auckland, Dalhousie, Charles wood, Hunter, Curzon and so on. This includes diaries, memoirs, pamphlets and selections from other records. The book also

¹¹ Satish Chandra Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India 1757-1998*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2010.

mentioned the detailed description of the transition towards the globalization and its impact on education.

Kerala Scenario

Viswanathan, C.N. (2007)¹² narrates the ‘Quality’ aspects of higher education in the state of Kerala in his doctoral thesis entitled “Total Quality Management in Higher Education in Kerala”. According to Viswanathan, the higher education in the state has grown quantity—wise but deteriorated quality-wise. The quality of higher education, to a major extent, depends up on the quality of teachers. There is no shortcut to improve the quality of teachers but we can attain it through HRD practices in educational institutions, suggests the thesis. The HRD Practices, according to the thesis, are ‘Quality Recruitment of teachers, proper Orientation/Refresher courses, FIP Programmes, Sabbatical Leaves for teachers, Awards 35 and Prizes for quality teachers, Performance Appraisal, Pay and Perks in UGC scales and so on.

In the Ph.D thesis, “Role of Academic Bodies with Special Reference to the Academic Programmes in the universities in Kerala, by R.Sushama (1995)¹³ observes that the structure of higher education in Kerala is not different from that of the country as a whole. This state too has laid down high emphasis on quantitative expansion in terms of number of institutions, students and teachers. Deterioration of standards is the main criticism levelled against the system of higher education in Kerala also. The report on higher education by the state high level committee on education and employment has identified many causes for the falling of standards in the sphere of higher

¹² Viswanathan, C.N., *Total Quality Management in Higher Education in Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Mahatma Gandhi University, Kerala, 2007.

¹³ Sushama. R., *Role of Academic Bodies with Special Reference to the Academic Programmes in the universities in Kerala*, Ph.D. Thesis, CUSAT, 1995.

education in the state. Among these, overcrowding in the institutions of higher education owing to unrestricted admission has been identified as the root cause for the phenomenon. With the granting of the facility for private registration for university admission for those students who were unable to get admission to regular courses, the number of students opting for conventional higher education increased greatly. This led to a mushroom growth of coaching institutions called “Parallel Colleges” and the advent of such parallel institutions marred the quality of higher education. According to the thesis, the main evils that afflict our higher education and dismantle the quality are “the poor quality of teaching, indiscipline, and poor motivation among teachers, appointment of teachers in colleges on the basis of donations, instead of merit, politically oriented trade unionism among teachers, qualitatively poor examinations and evaluation systems, meagre infrastructural facilities in universities and colleges, political interference in the autonomy of higher educational institutions, political free-play in the appointment of Vice-Chancellors and other top functionaries, of the universities, poor leadership at the higher levels of administration both in the universities and colleges, and above all the indifference on the part of parents, society, and the government”.

Gangadharan Nair R., (1989)¹⁴ a renowned educationist in Kerala, conducted a study on Higher Educational Institutions in Kerala, in 1989. The objectives of the study, in its gamut and significance, may be qualified as a SWOT Analysis of higher education in Kerala. The study focused 49 on the cultural, social, and economic environments of higher education in the state. The findings of the study, in toto, are very relevant and significant for the present study. The researcher has put up a ‘Functional Model’ for better management of higher educational institutions in the state. This model is

¹⁴ Gangadharan Nair, R., *Management of Higher Educational Institutions in Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, CUSAT, Kochi, 1989.

based on four pillars management principles, viz., 'Planning, Delegation, Participative management, and Management Information System (MIS). Higher education is a social need; and there must be a 'Social Demand Approach' towards it - says the report. Proper planning with effective delegation and consultation, utilization of financial resources by institutions in time and in the manner prescribed, training and opportunities for career improvement for teachers and non-teaching staff, better pay scales in higher education, and sound and steady inter-personal relationship between teachers and students are the crucial areas that the higher education sector must focus on so as to ensure quality of higher education and for human capital formation in higher education — the report emphasizes.

Dr. M.V.Pylee, (1994)¹⁵ the former V.C. of the Cochin University of Science and Technology, Cochin, in his Paper on *Governance of universities* has stated the real crisis of higher education in the country which is very similar to the state as well. Higher educational institutions are to be the 'centres of excellence'. Instead they are becoming the centres of mediocrity, partisan politics, and conflicts"- he opines. For the re-organisation of the present system of governance and to reform and re-vitalise the universities, the learned academic puts forward a series of suggestions. The Governor of the state assuming the chancellorship by virtue of office will do no good for the university and instead an eminent educationist or a well-known professional or public servant shall be appointed as the Chancellor/Visitor. There is no need for a minister as Pro-Chancellor in the university system. Such a post is unnecessarily incorporated to inject additional doze of politics in the governance of universities, which will destroy the quality and merit of administration. Setting up a "National Education Commission"(NEC) by the

¹⁵ Pylee, M.V., Governance of Universities, in *Indian University System : Revitalisation and Reforms Centre for Administrative Change*, Ramesh K. Arora and Meena Sugami, New Delhi, 1994.

union government would help the country to have quality higher educational sector. This Commission should prepare a panel of well qualified persons, from far and wide of the country; fit for the prestigious posts of V.Cs. Dr. Pylee is of the opinion that the Pro-V.C should be a well known educational administrator, who should be appointed in consultation with the V.C. The Senate is unnecessary and should be abolished. What all powers have been exercised by the senate can be given to the syndicate. And the syndicate should be a compact, homogeneous body with representatives from different segments of the university, the government and the public. No room shall be provided in the syndicate for politicians, and hence no elected member or political representatives in the apex body. Deans, professors, and principals of colleges should be chosen for syndicate by rotation. Outside experts from professional bodies, research institutions, industries, and students representatives should be included. Abolition of the affiliating system and the introduction of the system of autonomous colleges are other cardinal recommendations of Dr.Pylee.

Gopinathan Nair and Joseph Thomas (1984)¹⁶ revealed the paradox of increase in private demand for education even in the face of high levels of unemployment. Also according to them, unemployment is acting as a stimulus to private demand for education. While drawing out the education-job market linkage in Kerala they identified the existence of serious mismatch between education and employment in the job market.

In the article *Demand supply imbalances of higher education in Kerala*, Prabhakaran Nair (1985)¹⁷ showed that imbalance in demand and

¹⁶ P.R. Gopinathan Nair and Thomas Joseph, *Paradox of the Market or the educated - A hypothesis about Unemployment Acting as a Stimulant to Private Demand for Education*, CDS working paper No.195, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984.

¹⁷ Prabhakaran Nair, D., *Demand Supply Imbalance of Higher Education in Kerala*, Margin. Vol. 18, No. 1 October, 1985.

supply imposes an increasing cost of higher education in Kerala and that in turn imposes a serious strain on the state economy. The author concludes that the demand for higher education in Kerala - both general and technical - has been very high. He highlights the problem of under employment. According to him the inability of the government to absorb the unemployed as productive manpower creates serious constraints and a heavy burden on the state economy in view of the high cost of higher education.

P.R.Gopinathan Nair (1998)¹⁸ in his work *Dynamics of Emigration from Kerala-Factors, Trends, Patterns and policies* observed that emigration of Keralities is the result of the activities of the British who recruited indentured labour from different parts of India for employment in British Plantations in Singapore, Malaya Ceylon etc. According to him in Kerala which is ridden with chronic problems of overpopulation, unemployment and economic backwardness the large scale migration and exodus of people and massive inflow of money should have brought substantial improvements in the economy. But such expectations have not been realized because consumption is the conspicuous exception in Kerala.

Works on Colonial Ideology

Works which deal with missionary efforts of educating the natives enabled to understand the colonial ideology in practice. C.M. Agur (1903) explores the history of entire Christianity in Kerala starting from the advent of Syrian Christian and up to the beginning of the 20th century. His close association with the missionaries as well the administrative authorities enabled him to procure much valuable information pertaining to the topics discussed. It contains first hand documents and references regarding the

¹⁸ P.R. Gopinathan Nair, Dynamics of Emigration from Kerala- Factors, Trends, Patterns and Policies in *Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries (ed.)*, Ashgate, USA.1998.

formative stage of modern missionary education in Kerala. C .M .Agur worked as an office manager at British Resident's Office, Trivandrum and belonged to the family of Vedamanikkan Maharasan, who invited Ringeltabue, the pioneering missionary of LMS to Travancore. Though the work throws light to colonial ideology, the topic of discussion was centred on primary level of education.

Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala by K. V. Eapen (1985)¹⁹ enriches the information given by C.M.Agur. He examines the contribution of CMS towards Kerala Education. The book is helpful to understand the colonial ideology under operation among the missionaries.

The first scientific attempt to understand the colonial effect upon Kerala traditional education was made by P.R. Gopinathan Nair(1980)²⁰ in his work *Keralathile Vidhyabhyasam..* The study tries to sketch the nature of the indigenous education from historical perspective and examines the consequences of economic policies of colonialism on the prevailing educational sector. His research paper entitled *Education and Socio-economic Change in Kerala, 1793-1947* is also important to understand the construction of colonial ideology in the education sector.²¹

Indian Vidhyabhyasam Nootandukaliloode by Thayattu Sankaran (1982)²² is a popular book on Indian education in Malayalam language. The book is a narrative of the history of education in Kerala and gives a general state of education in Kerala.

¹⁹ K .V. Eapen, *Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala*, Kollet Publication, Kottayam,1985.

²⁰ P. R. Gopinathan Nair, *Keralathile Vidhyabhyasam* (Mal), Thiruvananthapuram, 1980.

²¹ P. R. Gopinathan Nair, *Education and Socio-Economic Changes in Kerala 1793-1947*, Social scientist, Vol. 4, No. 8, March, 1976.

²² Thayattu Sankaran, *Indian Vidhyabhyasam Nootandukaliloode* (Mal), Adhyapakalokam, Trivandrum, 1982.

Cultural Encounters under Colonialism: The Case of Education in Kerala is an article by K. N. Ganesh (2004).²³ It adds to the views expressed by P.R.Gopinathan Nair on colonial ideology in education. The autobiographical accounts that he used prolifically left the mark of authenticity on his writings. His views very well explain the fact that colonialism was not innocent and unravels how colonialism works subtly on Indian youths.

C.D.S Working paper titled *Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development, The Case of 19th Century Travancore* by Michael Tharakan (1984)²⁴ is trying to analyse the socio-economic and political factors contributed to the shaping of education in Travancore. The study compares the progress of education in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.

Keralathile Vdihyabhyasam: Pachathalavum Parivarthanavum is a book by P.S. Sreekala(2009)²⁵ gives a cursory view of the modern education.

Sreejith E. (2016)²⁶ in his *Keralathile Vidhyabhyasavum Charithravum Varthamanavum* makes a different attempt by tracing out many hitherto unexplored sources like inscriptional and archival. This book explores different aspects of Kerala education like the operation of salais of early medieval period and much debated Monitorial system of Kerala, also gives some historical data about the activities of Travancore Text Book Committee under Keralavarma. An attempt was also made to provide some information on the obsolete scripts of Kerala. The contributions of pioneering

²³ K.N. Ganesh (ed.), *Cultural Encounters Under Colonialism*, in *Culture and Modernity: Historical Explorations*, Calicut University, 2004.

²⁴ Michael Tharakan, *Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development, The case of 19th century Travancore*, CDS Working Paper, No. 190, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984.

²⁵ P. S. Sreekala, *Keralathile Vdihyabhyasam: Pachathalavum Parivarthanavum*, Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2009.

²⁶ Sreejith. E, *Keralathile Vidhyabhyasavum Charithravum Varthamanavum*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2016.

educationalists like Hermman Gundert, George Mathan, Frohnmeyer and so on were analyzed in this study. However, since the essays in this work were written on different occasions, the study fails to present the educational history of Kerala in a cause-effect manner.

Karthikeyan Nair (2018)²⁷ makes an attempt to understand the educational history of Kerala based on the nature of class interest and land relations over the period of time. He highlights the two fold function of education, contradicting each other. In the first instance education helps the people to liberate themselves and at the same it is being used by political authorities effectively to tame or enslave the citizens. His work *Bharanakoodavum Vidhyabhyasavum Keralathinte Anubhavangal* is written against the back ground of this assumption. Focus on theoretical side, sometimes caused the neglect of historical facts based on concrete evidences.

K.N. Nair & P.R. Gopinathan Nair (2008)²⁸ edited the work *Higher Education in Kerala: Micro level Perspectives* describe the importance of equity, access, and quality of higher education in Kerala. He conducted a thorough analysis of problems of entry barriers. He observed that the downtrodden people are excluded from higher education in Kerala due to neo liberal policies. He analyzed the causes for the dropout of students from arts and science colleges. He also postulated the exhaustion of engineering education in Kerala.

George Kristoffel Lieten (1977)²⁹ examines through his article *Educational Ideology and Politics in Kerala 1957-59* the condition of

²⁷ Karthikeyan Nair, *Bharanakoodavum Vidhyabhyasavum Keralathinte Anubhavangal*, Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2018.

²⁸ K.N. Nair & P.R. Gopinathan Nair, (eds.) *Higher Education in Kerala: Micro level Perspectives*, Danish Books, New Delhi, 2008.

²⁹ George Kristoffel Lieten, *Educational Ideology and Politics in Kerala 1957-59*, Social Scientist, Vol. 6. No.2, 1977. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3516681>.

education in the said period. He made an attempt to describe the features like communal interest Christian Nair unity against land reform , anti communist crusade, private sector in education and turmoil of political situation in Kerala during this period and how did affect it the educational sector. He also analyses the education bill of 1957.

The article *The Decentralization of Education in Kerala State, India: Rhetoric and Reality* is written by Mullikottu Veetil Mukundan and Mark Bray (2004)³⁰ examines the decentralization aspects of in Kerala in cultural and political context. The observations are based on Kannur district.

*Keralathile Samoohika Parivarthanam (2003)*³¹ is written by Samuel Nellimukal examines the development of education in Kerala and role of missionaries in the chapter *Missionarimarum Aadhunika Vidyabhyasavum (Mal)*. The study examines history of the development of education. It is primarily a study based on quantitative analysis of education in Kerala. He analyses the role of missionary societies like London Missionary Society, CMS and their active participation in the process of development of education.

Joseph Tharamngalam (2006)³² edited the book *Kerala: The Paradoxes of Public Action and Development*. The article on Kerala Education System: An Insider's View, written K.K.Geroge explains that there existed little interaction between educational institutions and the economy productive sectors. Emphasis on traditional arts and science courses still in

³⁰ Mullikottu Veetil Mukundan and Mark Bray, *The Decentralization of Education in Kerala State, India: Rhetoric and Reality* ,Vol.50.No.3/4,July 2004, Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4151597>

³¹ Samuel Nellimukal, *Keralathile Samoohika Parivarthanam (Mal)* , K.S. Books, Kottayam, 2003.

³² Joseph Tharamngalam (ed.), *Kerala: The Paradoxes of Public Action and Development*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2006.

vogue. He also pointed out that there is no relationship between Kerala's higher education system and recent trends of development in the technology and job market.

T. Ramadevi (2002)³³ in her Ph.D. thesis *The Higher Education System and the Structural Disequilibrium in the Job Market for the Educated in Kerala* opined that there is no scope for the higher education system in the present job market and ; curriculum is outmoded and impractical. It is not prepared by looking into the need of the present scenario. She made a statistical analysis of unemployment among the educated youth. The thesis also analyses external influences like globalisation on education .The migration of students for employment is another area she focussed. She concentrated on relationship between job market, employment opportunities and higher education. She failed to analyse the problems of higher education system on the basis of socio-political and communal background.

The Politics of Higher Education in Kerala, A Study of the Policies of Reform (1957- 1987) the Ph. D thesis of Stany Thomas (1993)³⁴ analyses the various educational reforms in Kerala on the base of political background. It discusses the development of higher education in Kerala and role of pressure groups and communal organisations in the higher education. It aslo discusses the role of various ministries and problems they faced in the educational reforms since independence. The educational reforms in Kerala were over toned by the religious and communal organisations.

Documentary History of Higher Education is written by Prof. V.

³³ T. Ramadevi , *The Higher Education System and the Structural Disequilibrium in the Job Market for the Educated in Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Pondicherry University, 2002.

³⁴ Stany Thomas, *The Politics of Higher Education in Kerala, A Study of the Policies of Reform (1957- 1987)*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. M.G. University, Kottayam, 1993.

Karthikeyan Nair (2011)³⁵ analyses the history of the development of higher education in Kerala. The book has various documents and reports and government orders related to higher education from the colonial period. Various acts like Travancore University Act of 1937, Kerala University Act of 1957, Education ACT of 1957, Pre-degree Abolition Act of 1997 etc. documented and explained in the book.

Keralathile Vidyabhyasam: Abhivridhyum Apachayavum is an article written by P. Govindapillai (1988)³⁶ critically analyses the higher education system in Kerala. When implementing education policy Kerala did not consider the recommendations of various education commissions and opinions of experts. He also observed that Kerala followed colonial system of education and didn't link the education with industries and science and technology. The progress in the higher education field diminished.. He exposed the problems confronted by the higher education in Kerala through his article. He indicated several examples of colonial education system which we are following today.

*Kalnootandu (1957)*³⁷ by Cherian Philip analyses twenty five years of history of Kerala since the formation of Kerala. He examined various political, economic and religious issues in Kerala. He described various educational agitations and struggles during this period like Orana Samaram, issues related to education act of 1957, Vimochana samaram etc. He says the text books also changed according to the needs of the government especially

³⁵ Prof. V. Karthikeyan Nair, *Documentary History of Higher Education*, The Kerala State Higher Education Council, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011.

³⁶ P.Govindapillai, *Keralathile Vidyabhyasam: Abhivridhyum Apachayavum* in *Keralathinte Moonnu Dashakangal*, Vijayan N. (ed.), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1988.

³⁷ Cherian Philip, *Kalnootandu*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1984.

the Communist Government. The book gives a vivid picture of socio – political and education issues of the said period.

Colleginte Swarga Kavadathil an article is written by Thayattu Sankaran (1965)³⁸ lamented the higher education situation which prevailed in Kerala. There is lack of opportunities for the students who passed secondary education system in Kerala. He criticizes the policy of government of India that they appointed University education commission at first. It is a head on foot decision because India had to be appointed primary or secondary education commission first. But it occurred only in 1964. He also said that Kerala also followed the colonial mode that the aim of secondary and higher education is to create a group of people who are well versed for administrative services.

Thayattu Sankaran (1965)³⁹ also wrote an article *Vidyabhyasathinnoru Samoohika Lakshyam* in mathrubhoomi Weekly says that there is no relationship between the present education system and social needs. Our education system is not related to life. The most of the people are connecting with agricultural activities unfortunately our education system neglected the agricultural studies in the curriculum. Social consideration should be included our educational system.

Joseph Mundassery (1961)⁴⁰ wrote an article in Mathrubhohmi Weekly *College Vidyabhyasam Prayojanakaramavanamenkil* says that the education system should be changes according to modern science and technology. The western countries like USA, Germany, Japan etc. transformed their education

³⁸ Thayattu Sankaran , *Colleginte Swarga Kavadathil*, Mathrubhoomi, April 18, Book 43, lakkam, 1965.

³⁹ Thayattu Sankaran, *Vidyabhyasathinnoru Samoohika Lakshyam (Mal)* , Mathrubhoomi Weekly, April 25, Book, 43, lakkam, 6, 1965.

⁴⁰ Joseph Mundassery, *College Vidyabhyasam Prayojanakaramavanamenkil (Mal)*, Mathrubhohmi Weekly , 1961, August 27, Book, 39, lakkam, 24, 1961.

system according to their needs and modern technology. Our research activities should develop through the perspective of liberal thinking. Our education system was revolved through examination system. It should be changed.

Finance and Higher Education in Kerala

Not many addressed financial aspects of higher education in Kerala. Nevertheless, the financial management of higher education was a concern of the financial experts as is evident from the publication of works every decade highlighting the financial aspects. One of the earliest studies highlighted the financial condition and how its management affected the higher education was done by C.M.Ramachandran (1987)⁴¹. The period of study was 1957-75. The study revealed that the expenditure on higher education was found to be increasing year after year. At the same time, the growth in fee rates was found to be disproportionately low. As a result, the burden of the government increased substantially. He also opined that the bulk of the public expenditure on higher education was spent for the development of Arts and Science Colleges in the state and that salary constituted the largest component in the total cost of education.

Similar attempts to discuss the financial management of higher education of Kerala followed. E.T. Mathew (1991)⁴² makes an attempt to evaluate the various sources and uses of funds, both public and private for financing private colleges in Kerala in 1947-1953 period. The major share of resources is spent on payment of salary, while the allocations for components like the libraries and laboratories are meagre. Many private educational

⁴¹ Ramachandran C.M., *Problems of Higher Education in India*, Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 1987.

⁴² Mathew, E T. , *Financing Higher Education*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1991.

agencies tried to overcome the inadequacy of government support by accepting 'donations' from teachers, students, parents, and the general public. This pattern of funding and its impact on the quality of education has been examined. The study has brought out that the practice of accepting donations for the appointment of teachers or admission of students has no bearing on the quality of education. He also observes that colleges which hire the best teachers and admit the eligible students without donations can raise funds from the general public and parents to overcome financial crunch. He has also called for a rational restructuring of tuition and other fees with adequate safeguards to protect the interests of the weak.

George K.K. (1995)⁴³ placed the financial crisis of higher education before the structural adjustment programmes initiated in 1991. He notes that the share of public expenditure on education had been coming down over the years as a consequence of a gradual shift in priorities of the government. In terms of plan allocations, the share of higher education has been coming down very drastically. Most of the reasons for the financial crisis in the country and the state are common and are interrelated. But some of the reasons for the crisis are unique to the state. There exist conflicts of priorities between the Central and the state governments. While the centre wishes to provide priority to elementary education and its quantitative expansion, Kerala has been more concerned with higher education and its quality improvement. As a result, the central government agencies like the Finance Commission are not sympathetic to the requirements of the state.

⁴³ George, K K., *Higher Education in Kerala , Financial Crisis Consultation on Financing of Higher Education*, Trivandrum, 1995.

Ph.D. dissertations too contributed to the understanding of financial management of higher education sector of Kerala. Joy K. Kulavelil (2001)⁴⁴ noted in his dissertation that the globalization made a financial crisis in higher education. He conducted a study regarding the financial crisis of universities with special reference to CUSAT and central funding agencies and management. He describes the implications of the newly emerging pattern of funding in self financing colleges and regular engineering colleges.

Articles in Leading Dailies of Kerala

A number of articles published in the dailies and weeklies in circulation in the language of the State called Malayalam immensely helped to prepare a review of literature of the present study. Dailies and weeklies under the leading publication group called Mathrubumi have brought out different aspects of the present study. Articles are published debating on topics on higher education connecting economic development through industrialization. Articles of R.M.Manakhyalath (1964)⁴⁵, P.K.Michael Tharakan (1987)⁴⁶, M.A. Oommen (1987)⁴⁷ and K.Venu (1987)⁴⁸, B. Hridayakumari (1988)⁴⁹ explained the economic dimension of higher education in Kerala. There had been articles examining the nature, aims and the need of higher education to be introduced and executed in Kerala. Joseph

⁴⁴ Joy K. Kulavelil, *Pattern of Funding Higher Education : A Case study of the Situation in Kerala*, Ph.D. thesis , Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, , M.G. University, Kottayam, 2001.

⁴⁵ R.M. Manakhyalath, *Vidhyabysa Smabradayam: Oru Extra Parisodhana* (Mal), Mathrubumi Weekly, Book.42, Lakam, 33, 1964.

⁴⁶ P.K. Michael Tharakan, *Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development: The Case of 19th Century Travancore*, CDS Working paper 190, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984.

⁴⁷ Oommen M.A., *Keralathinte Prathisanthi*, (Mal), Mathrubumi Weekly, June14-20 , 1987.

⁴⁸ Venu K., *Kealathinte Pradisanthi* (Mal), Mathrubumi weekly. April,19-25, 1987.

⁴⁹ B. Hridayakumari, *Upari Vidyabhyasam: Shoshichu Varunna Sarvakalasalakal* (Mal), Mathrubhoomi, April 3-9, Book 66, Lakkam, 4, 1988.

Mundesseri, who happened to be the first minister for education in Kerala has written articles in Mathrubhumi Daily discussing in depth the goals of education envisaged for Kerala. His article titled ‘ Education- How and What For’ (1965)⁵⁰ provided a good picture of the nature of education to be introduced in Kerala by a careful analysis of education reforms across the world. He suggested that Kerala should look into the future needs of the society and envisage a system of education catering to it. He opined that one should strive to bring up education from the status of social service, and transform it into a national asset by looking into the changes to the mode of production.

The same view is expressed by P.T.Bhaskara Pannikkar (1965)⁵¹. He observed that the main weakness of Indian education was the mobility to link social needs with education. He also highlighted the upliftment of deprived section of society through education. The works in the field of higher education of Kerala discussed higher education within the context of change and continuity. It gives a glimpse of the evolution of higher education emphasizing its march towards progress. The education bills passed and implemented after independence has given an impression that education is capable to propel social, economic and cultural transformation. Instead of reading the transformation of higher education from evolutionary perspective, the study attempts to analyze the changes in its fragmented form embedded deeply in the discourses of post colonial society which is entangled in the remnants of colonization and on going decolonization.

⁵⁰ Joseph Mundassery , *Vidyabhyasam, Engine, Enthinu* (Mal), Mathrubuhmi Weekly, Book.43, Lakam, 40, 1965.

⁵¹ P.T. Bhaskara Panikkar, *Vidyabhyasa Punassamvidhanathinte Mukhya Prasnangal*, (Mal), Mathrubhoomi, December, Book 43, Lakkam, 40, 1965.

CHAPTERIZATION

The study is divided into five chapters excluding Introduction and Conclusion. The first chapter **Kerala Society and Western Education 1800-1947** examines how western education in Kerala took shape under colonialism. Missionaries were instrumental in introducing and disseminating western education. The chapter analyses the receptivity of western education among various castes and how this receptivity led to the breakdown of traditional socio-cultural and economic structure of Kerala. It could find that western education propagated by the missionaries was wholeheartedly welcomed by the humpty number of castes labelled 'Untouchables'. The caste Hindus, though initially, had turned their back against the modern western education, soon realized the hard truth that *gurukulas*, an exclusive institution imparting knowledge to them were no longer relevant. The 'Untouchables' left *kudipallikudams* and *ezhuthupallis* for schools opened by the missionaries. These schools not only admitted students irrespective of castes but also taught modern western subjects and English language, the language of the people in power. The chapter explains the revolutionary changes in the native society through the deliberate transition of the native system of education to the one propounded by missionaries. Education acts as a powerful tool in supplanting the native to the colonial way of life.

The missionary focus was on the spread of primary education and they were able to bring all categories of people to their mode of education. Hindus belonged to various castes, Muslims and tribes were brought to their fold under the name of education. Though they could accomplish their primary aim of conversion partially, the modern western education that they spread facilitated colonial subjugation of native cultures.

The second chapter **Colonial Knowledge and Higher Education in Kerala** explains the emergence of higher education in the colonial context. It is significant, not only that higher education had emerged in the colonial period but also it was reared bearing colonial agenda and motives. It was a continuation of the primary education laid down by the missionaries. Education, as cultural tool of the colonizers manifested the values of the colonized in the postcolonial Kerala. The impact of modern western education was reflected on the society, culture and economy of Kerala. It required Kerala to change its traditional caste based values and this in turn, necessitated the restructuring of Kerala society. The fruits of primary education, introduced and spread by the missionaries was visible in the introduction of higher education under the British. The colonial agenda was materialized through education as those natives who acquired primary education clamoured for higher education. No coercion from the colonizers was required to instil the values of the colonizers on the colonized. The subjugation of the native culture was accomplished without bloodshed through the weapon called education. More interestingly, the native who acquired higher education himself spearheaded the changes taking place in his society in favour of modernization based on western values. The chapter also examines the development and spread of higher education in Kerala during colonialism. Missionary education caused the introduction of western ideals of colonial masters; but higher education imprinted those values in the minds of the natives more strongly and consciously.

The third Chapter **Changes and Decolonization in Kerala Higher Education 1947-72** explains the approach and attitude of postcolonial India was reflected amply by the first Education Commission appointed under Dr.S.Radhakrishnan. He summarised the vision of a postcolonial country in

his brilliant report, widely known as the University Education Commission, 1948. He did not favour neither complete decolonization nor complete indigenization. He recommended the retention of English for the development of science and technology in India; at the same time, wanted India to keep its unique cultural identity. Kothari Commission 1964, followed Radhakrishn Commission, recommended indigenization (emboldened by Indian's steady growth after independence). He was more guided by self-reliance than the concept of decolonization.

The Chapter also analyses the decolonization and indigenization processes initiated in the postcolonial Kerala society from 1957-1972. The spurt of decolonization is visible immediately followed by independence from colonial rule. This can be viewed as the immediate effect of the shift in power from the colonizers to the colonized. The working of colonialism is possible only with the association of the colonized. The effect of this collaboration erupted once the British left India. The caste-communal organizations like Christian missionaries, SNDP, and NSS had collaborated with the British for their selfish motive in the education sector. Their prominent position in education continued in postcolonial Kerala too. Dismantling their domination was a challenge to the democratically elected government in Kerala. Reforming the education sector was possible only by removing them from their domination in education. Legislations introduced by the Government of Kerala were thwarted by these caste-communal organizations and even led to the downfall of ministries. The chapter made a profound analysis of Caste-communal-Imperialism nexus which made the socio-political condition in Kerala turbulent.

On line with the recommendations of Kothari Commission, Kerala

made some bold move towards making education development oriented and Kerala self-reliant. CUSAT and Agricultural University were the result of the concept based on self reliance.

The fourth chapter, **Challenges and Possibilities in Higher Education, 1972-1990**, explains the selective issues that influenced the development of education. Political turmoil that very often led to the rise and fall of ministries, Internal emergency (1975) and Rajan murder under police custody were some of the issues that turned the attention of the government away from updating the higher education sector. Other than these political issues, the Period under study is able to take remarkable decisions and identified the need for proper reorientation in the higher education in the overall development of Kerala. The expansion of higher education institutions, particularly arts and science colleges was on surge due to the overcrowding of students. It was the result of the firm foundation of primary and secondary education laid under colonialism; but establishing more higher education institutions anticipating the students who completed secondary education and deploying them in new courses formulated would have been both a decolonizing and indigenization effect. It did not happen. Instead, parallel colleges have come up as the natural offshoot of new development in the field of higher education to lessen the pressure from the student community. Parallel colleges were a temporary solution to a grave crisis confronted in the postcolonial period though relegated as 'teaching shops',. The government has not tried any reform in the primary and secondary education. Its structure and syllabi remained as it was in colonial period. Formation of Pre-degree Board was the first move of an indigenous attempt to change the structure of the education; but was failed due to student agitation. Another significant indigenization move was in giving a hard blow to the

Pressure Groups. They were nurtured and reared under the colonizers and wanted to retain their prominence in the postcolonial period too. But the government in a strong decolonization move locked them with legislation.

The fifth chapter, **Higher education and Globalization: Challenges and Opportunities 1991-2000** explores the state of higher education in the initial years of its introduction in India. The chapter focused mainly on two aspects- one, on the state of higher education of Kerala on the eve of Globalization and second, examine the changes brought by Globalization in the higher education of Kerala. The quantitative expansion of the higher education to which Kerala adhered so far proved obsolete with introduction of globalization. The Quantitative expansion compromised quality. The job market flooded with unskilled human resource with Graduate Degree of arts, science or commerce as their eligibility. At the same time, certain sectors confronted paucity of skilled workers. The reason behind the paradox that Kerala tucked in on the eve of globalization was the lack of proper correlation between economy/development and higher education. Education was not based on the needs of the economy and the human resources are simply left underutilized or unutilized. Another malady of Kerala was the lack of sufficient revenue for financing the higher education. Kerala reached at a stage that it could no longer finance education with public fund. The natural way out of this situation was privatization of education though the public in general was against it. Globalization, with its specific agenda of privatization and liberalization, argued by many scholars, is conducive for Kerala's requirements or the crisis. **Conclusion** sums up the major findings and interpretations of the study.

LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

1. The study is based solely on postcolonial perspective different from the usual way of looking at the linear development of education.
2. Not many studies have been brought out on the history of education from postcolonial perspective and it affected the chances of referring the postcolonial perspective of education in depth.
3. Description on the globalization aspect of education is till the year 2000 and it did not give a chance to discuss the full implication of the globalization on education.
4. Paucity of original curriculum belonged to different period.

CHAPTER I

KERALA SOCIETY AND WESTERN EDUCATION

1800-1947

The traditional education system of Kerala underwent tremendous changes under the influence of the introduction of western education during the colonial period. Privilege of the formal instruction of knowledge in the pre-colonial period was largely confined to the upper caste. Each individual caste instructed their children in their traditional caste occupation. The socio-economic activities of the marginalised were contained within their traditional way. Caste identity perpetuated by the absence of a uniform public instruction system was a feature of the pre-colonial Kerala. The British though apprehensive about the impact of their interference in the caste system did not smash it directly, caused its disruption by the introduction of formal universal education system. This is the medium by which the marginalized cut out a space for their upward mobility and the upper castes tasted fruits of modernity by shedding off the outmoded practices and privileges.

The study examines the circumstances in the colonial period that generated a need for a system of higher education. Access to education was to a great extent depends on the minimum equitable distribution of means of production Feudal Kerala in the pre-colonial period thrived on the labour of underprivileged whose share of the land which was the main source of income and means of production was almost nothing. The initiative taken by the ruler of Travancore, Marthanda Varma in restructuring land relations to ensure income from agriculture provided limited accessibility to a section of peasants in land ownership. This not so hard blow to feudal structure did lead to tremendous changes among the deprived castes that form the tenants and

serves. He removed the traditional families hitherto served the Travancore government and created/recruited a new class of public servants and A.P.Ibrahim Kunju opines that he took such a change in policy when he understood the perilous impact of it on his administration and power.¹ Thus by the time of the arrival of the British, there in Travancore formed a section of people who firmly believed in government agency in reforming the society. The reforms introduced by the native state of Travancore under the instigation of British further scattered the land monopoly. The Pattam proclamation of 1865 conferred full ownership right to sarkar (Government) tenants on the condition of due payment of land revenue to the government. The tenants "holding these may regard them fully as private, heritable, saleable, and otherwise transferable property as per the proclamation."² The number of people who aspire the British presence in Travancore further broke the feudal yoke.

Travancore, from the beginning of the colonial era, had cemented its relationship with the East India Company through treaties. It was one of the earliest native states in India doing so. A treaty of friendship and alliance was signed between Travancore and the East India Company in 1723. It continued unabated under Marthanda Varma and Dharma Raja. 'A formal treaty was also concluded between Travancore and the Company in 1795 according to which the Raja accepted British supremacy.'³ The treaty was revised in 1805 under the reign of Balaramavarma. The revised treaty bestowed the British the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Travancore in case

¹ A.P.Ibrahim Kunju. *Marthandavarma. Adunika Thiruvithamkurtine Udayam*, Department of Cultural Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 1990, p.118.

² K.T. Thomas, The Hidden Agenda in a Welfare Grab: Socio- Economic Reforms in Travancore (19th Century), Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 2005-2006, Vol. 66 (2005-2006), Indian History Congress , pp. 949-957, Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44145909>.

³ K.V.Eapen, *Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala*, Kollet Publications, Kottayam, 1985, p.28.

of rebellion or anything which affect the Kingdom's normal course of life. 'Colonel Macaulay was appointed as the first British Resident in 1800. He showed great interest in the propagation of the Protestant faith in Travancore.'⁴ 'One of the causes for the rebellion of VeluThampi in 1809 was the active efforts of Macaulay on behalf of the Christians.'⁵ Nevertheless his religious spirit had direct bearing on the introduction and spread of a system of public instruction as the spread of Christianity and education went hand in hand.

Missionaries in Education

The colonizers established colonies because of three 'G' s -Gold, Gospel and Glory. As part of this goal they concentrated their attempts in Asia and Africa. The situation was highly favourable in Kerala for their intention. The typical caste based education had marginalised the majority from the mainstream. Using this opportunity, the colonizers tried to interfere in the affairs of the State to establish their supremacy. Missionaries were acted as one of the means to achieve the supremacy.

The Protestants in Kerala are commonly referred as "Anglican Christians" or "C.M.S Christians", "Congregationalist" or "Basel Mission Christians". Colonel Colin Macaulay who was an ardent Evangelist was appointed as the first British Resident in the year 1800. 'He persuaded the two Company chaplains, Richard Kerr of Madras and Claudius Buchanan of Bengal to tour Kerala in 1806.'⁶ British Protestant missionaries started pouring to Kerala on a large scale after 1813. They came close to Jacobite Christians of Kerala. Colonel Munroe made earnest efforts to lure Jacobite

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Robert Eric Frykenberg, (ed.), *Christian and Missionaries in India, Cross-Cultural Communication Since 1500*, Routledge, London, 2003 p.142.

Christians to Protestantism and offered several privileges to them. One of the main goals of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) and London Missionary Society (L.M.S) was the conversion of the untouchables and the Syrian Christians. L.M.S missionaries aimed at the lower castes and C.M.S missionaries carried on their missionary work to convert the Syrian Christians. Nevertheless, both LMS and CMS made tremendous contributions to the educational sphere. Conversion was the chief motive of the missionaries behind their work for introducing and spreading education among the natives. This is demonstrated well in the large scale conversion of lower castes. ‘The circumstances forced the missionaries to establish schools in order to teach those initiated to their faith to read and write, because the reading of the Bible was considered essential for an understanding of the Christian faith.’⁷

It can be observed that the European expansion in India, from the very beginning was accompanied by missionary activities. The first encounter of Kerala with colonialism in the field of English education was through missionaries. In the initial phase of colonialism in India, the British were afraid of accommodating the missionaries in the social and educational field. ‘The British were afraid of an upsurge in case of tampering the religious beliefs of natives and for a long time disallowed any kind of evangelical activity within its territories.’⁸ But, the missionaries were well aware of the hidden motives of the Company rule. As Gouri Viswanathan pointed out thus – ‘Well before any other group, missionaries perceived the East India Company’s secularist policy to be a calculated response to a cultural situation in England in which the secular practice of education had virtually been

⁷ Anima Bose, *Higher Education in India in the 19th Century, The American Involvement, 1883-1889*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1978. p.7.

⁸ Parinitha Shetty, *Missionary Pedagogy and Christianization of the Heathens: The Educational Institutions Introduced by the Basel Mission in Mangalore*, *IESHR*, 45: 4, 2008, pp. 5- 13.

driven underground by the aristocratic and clerical orders.’⁹ “The missionaries suspected that the official policy of secularism in India had been instituted in spirit of experimentation and that India was merely being used as fair and open field for testing the non-religion theory of education.”¹⁰

Modern public education instruction was first introduced by the missionaries in Kerala. They found education integral to the spread of Christianity as the ability to read Bible depends on it. Thus education was utilized by the missionaries as the means to enter the world of Christ. Education introduced and promoted by the missionaries was of elementary nature. This was of two reasons. Only the lower caste poor responded to the call of the missionaries. Lower castes in Kerala were illiterate and were expected to work in the farms or other caste occupations requiring physical labour. They were excluded from the education imparted to higher castes. They were marginalised in the society on the basis their caste. “The low castes (Ezhavas, Kammalas, Mukkuvars) and outcastes (Pulayas, Parayas and Kuravas) were subjected to all kinds of disabilities while the outcastes were ill-treated by others... the low castes and outcastes were denied access to temples, schools and places of public resort and there were even restrictions on their freedom to walk along the public road.”¹¹ In fact, lower castes were the only people available for education offered by the missionaries. Many were lured by the missionaries with the promise of better prospects of life. If they are converted to Christianity, their social status would also be changed. This was not in any way offended the higher castes too as they were not able to find serious threat to the existing social order. Indeed, in course of time, the

⁹ Gouri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2013, p.72.

¹⁰ Alexander Duff, *India and India Missions*, Whitaker and Company and Nisbet and Company, London, 1840, p.429

¹¹ K.V. Eapen, *op.cit.*, p.31.

modern system of public instruction in the form of schools pioneered by the missionaries and promoted by the British government grew into the status of 'factories of Inquilab' as was despised by the higher caste landlords.

Travancore

Different from Cochin and Malabar, the rulers of Travancore had showed a particular interest in education in the beginning of Nineteenth century. The reason could be the enthusiasm of the first two residents, Colonel Macaulay and Colonel Munro who were avowedly in favour of missionaries. Therefore, "a clear-cut education policy was chalked out and implemented in Travancore as early as the opening decades of the Nineteenth century."¹²

It is not surprising that Her Highness Gouri Parvathi Bai issued a proclamation in 1817 under the advice of the then Resident Colonel Munro who was appointed in the post of Resident in 1810. This royal rescript made elementary education the obligation of the government. It reads thus: "The State should defray the whole cost of education of its people in order that there might be no backwardness in the spread of enlightenment among them; that by diffusion of education they might become better subjects and public servants, and that the reputation of the state might be advanced thereby."¹³ This proclamation was considered by many as the beginning of the history of modern education in Travancore.

The inexperience of Rani Lakshmi in administration virtually made Colonel Munro the defacto ruler. Rani had also great faith in the administrative capacity of Munro and with the dismissal of Diwan UmminiThambi in 1810, Colonel Munro was entrusted with the duties of both

¹² *Ibid.*, p.47.

¹³ T.K. Velupillai, *Travancore State Manual Vol.I*, Government of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1940, p. 158.

Diwan and Resident. “Combination of the powers of the Resident and Diwan Munro gave him a free hand to introduce social reforms.”¹⁴ He dispensed his duties as Diwan till 1814. He was also in charge of Cochin from 1812-1818. Though Rani Parvati Bai took up the reigns of Travancore at the age of 13 with the death of Rani Laskhmi Bai in the year 1815, Colonel Munro continued as the well-wisher of the Travancore rulers till he left for England in 1819. “The beginning of missionary educational activity was closely connected with the political situation in Kerala.”¹⁵ “Colonel Munro was instrumental in transforming Travancore to a modern state. His reforms laid the foundation for changing the stagnant social structure of Kerala.”¹⁶

Certain reforms indeed led to a shuffling in the core of the caste society. Munro stopped taxes like *thalavari*¹⁷, *Valayara*¹⁸ etc. imposed exclusively on low caste like Ezhava, Channanr, Vannan, Kavati, Mukkuvar, Parayar and Pulayar. Poll tax fell heavily upon the members of the Ezhava and Nadar communities. Eapen opines that “Owing to oppressive taxes and economic exploitation by the upper castes, the lower castes were suffering very much. Hence, it became necessary for the missionaries to improve the economic condition of the lower strata of society to impart education in the proper way.”¹⁹ The interference of government under the instigation of British in favour of the lower caste was significant as on their own the upper caste would not do anything to change the wretched condition of the deprived. Instead, Munro imposed taxes on the higher caste to compensate the loss of revenue collected from the low caste. His stance was also crucial in

¹⁴ K.V. Eapen, *op.cit.*, p.31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*p.30.

¹⁶ Samuel Nellimukal, *Keralthile Samoohiya Parivarthanam*, (Mal), KS books, Kottayam 2003, p.69.

¹⁷ Poll Tax

¹⁸ Net tax

¹⁹ Samuel Nellimukal, *op.cit.*, p.34.

abolishing slavery in Travancore. Low castes were allowed to tile their houses. Syrian Christians were freed from bonded labour and allowed to engage in trade. They were also appointed as judges in British courts. He made the society of Travancore more mobile and dynamic. The series of reforms no doubt put Travancore on a new place and made the society of Travancore prone to further reforms. Travancore had witnessed social discontent of different castes in the second half of the Nineteenth century itself when other geographical units of Kerala, Malabar and Cochin were in slumber. The reforms and subsequent social spurt facilitated the missionaries to work and achieve their goals.

Missionaries were instrumental in introducing modern education system replacing the traditional system in education in Kerala. Their relentless efforts in spreading education among the natives in fact laid the foundation of modern western education. They made pioneering attempts in school education at primary and secondary levels and higher education of Kerala was built upon the efforts of the missionaries. “Missionaries, in the second half of the eighteenth century opened vernacular schools to spread Christianity among the poor sections of the population.”²⁰ In addition to introducing modern western education, they also facilitated universal education by admitting students irrespective of castes. William Tobias Ringletaube, belongs to London Mission Society, who is hailed as the pioneer of missionary education had been in Travancore since 1806. He came to South Travancore in response to the invitation of Vedamanickam Maharasan, a convert to protestant Christianity²¹. Ringletaube was instrumental in introducing formal western preliminary education in Travancore. J.Hepzi

²⁰ John Desrochers, *Education for Social Change*, Centre for Social Action, St. Paul's Press, Bangalore, 1987, p.24.

²¹ R.J.Hepzi Joy, *History and Development of Education of Women in Kerala*, Seminary Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995, p.60.

writes on his initial efforts in establishing schools thus “In September 1806, he made a request to a friend in London....if possible obtain the sum of \$ 100 for me towards building a church in Travancore and erecting a small building for a seminary.”²² Seminary does not stand exactly a theological institution as elsewhere in the Christendom, in the Kerala context, it meant only a place to impart knowledge or simply meant a school. “Thus he opened an English school at Mylaudy in 1809 which was the first English school in Kerala on a popular education basis.”²³

This school was established primarily for educating Christian men; but men from other castes were also admitted.²⁴ It continued till Ringletaube left in 1816 due to ill health. He admitted students irrespective of castes and creed. This was a revolutionary transformation as far as the history of education in Kerala is concerned. It opened the gates of knowledge and related opportunities for the low castes whose knowledge for long confined to manual labour. It also paved the way for major silent transformation of society from feudal to democratic. If one can believe the observation of Hepzi, by 1815 Ringeltaube could run six schools with 188 students.²⁵ Both LMS and CMS played important role in education of natives. Ringletaube belonged to LMS. They focused more in Nagercoil. CMS was active in Travancore. They were first to launch Malayalam schools and College for higher education in Kerala.²⁶

It was Colonel Munro who encouraged the link between CMS and Syrian Church; and directed them towards education activities in Travancore. CMS was quite sympathetic to the poor standard of life of the Syrian

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.* p.61.

²⁴ Samuel Nellimukal, *op.cit.*, p.100.

²⁵ R.J. Hepzi, *op.cit.*, p.61.

²⁶ Samuel Nellimukal, *op.cit.*, p.100.

Christians in Kerala. Under the initiative of Munro a seminary imparting religious education along with modern knowledge was constructed in 1815. The institution which became known as CMS College started functioning in 1815 with 25 students learning Syriac. Munroe was quite eager to start instruction of English in the seminary and on his request; Rev. Thomas Norton came in 1816. He was more interested in missionary activities and soon established a school in Alappuzha, the place of his residence. On the repeated requests of Munro, CMS sent Benjamin Baily as the principal of CMS College in 1817. Students who don't want to become priests were also admitted in addition to students who aspire priesthood. It is said that in 1818 about 40 students were for priesthood and the rest were enrolled for secular education.²⁷ Food and boarding was free in the seminary.

Munro also entrusted Rev. Henry Baker the responsibility of establishing schools in churches. Church schools were one of the specific features of the particular period. Schools called Pallikkoodams, established by the missionaries were near the churches. So their intention was very clear, missionary activity through education. He started his work in 1819. There was an understanding between the Syrian church in Kerala and missionaries to form primary Malayalam schools under the churches. The expense of running the schools had to be borne by the church.²⁸ Though this decision created problems later, the decision led to the establishment of 10 schools in 1819. Number of schools increased into 35 by 1821. The major problem confronted by the missionaries in this context was the availability of qualified teachers. Traditional teachers called *Asans* were initially appointed in the absence of modern trained teachers. Rev. Baker himself gave training to 12 students to

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.105.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

make the qualified teachers available when he confronted the dearth of teachers.

In spite of the hardships in the way of establishing schools the number increased to 50 in 1822. Teachers were mostly Syrians and Nairs. Samuel finds his rationale thus- “when Nair teachers are appointed Nair students were also entered into schools.”²⁹ “Muslims and high Hindus did not show any interest in these schools. Still the primary education took route in Travancore with 51 schools, 52 teachers and 1333 students by 1824.”³⁰ The problem now emerged was the dearth of printed text books. Henry Baker expressed his concern about this. Another interesting aspect of this phase was the popularization of Sanskrit. “The missionaries wanted converts from the upper castes; therefore, they introduced the language of the upper caste in the curriculum. Sanskrit was compulsory in many schools and grammar schools.”³¹ Thus Samuel opines that the missionaries transformed high caste Sanskrit to a language of the people.

Grammar schools were started in 1818 and these were the earliest English medium schools in Travancore. “30 students were joined in the year of its initiation and the number of students increased to 50 in the very next year.”³² Only talented students were admitted to these schools and that too for Syrian Christians only. English education was not imposed on others by the missionaries. Standard of these schools was high and English, Sanskrit, Malayalam, Science Maths, History and Geography were taught. By 1825 students belonged to higher classes in the grammar schools were started translating English and Sanskrit to English. Free Boarding and food was

²⁹ *Ibid.*,p.117

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*,p.118

³² *Ibid.*

given. Due to caste system Nair students were not entered into these grammar schools. Samuel gives evidence of a Nair student who got admitted to the grammar school as day's scholar in the year 1824. "Many more Nair students entered in 1826 and all of them were day's scholars. By 1828 the number of Nair students increased to 6."³³ Non-Christians in Travancore were mostly made use of the schools run by the protestant missionaries. By 1825 prominent Nairs from Kottayam approached the missionaries to start schools for their children. Two or three schools were started on their request though not many as missionary schools because they do not have sufficient fund.

Rev Thomas Norton, the protestant missionary, focused his missionary work in Alappuzha and established his first school in 1816. Only two students took admission. When he enquired the reason he found that natives are afraid of conversion. Soon he could win over their confidence and in 1819 started another school. In spite of the opposition from the Syrian Catholics he could win over Students of Vellala community. Chetti, Muslim and Araya joined school and their number became 40. In 1821, Norton received a request from the Kongini Brahmains to start a school for their children. Araya leader approached Norton in 1835 to start for school for them. "By 1827 there were 7 schools under Norton. One of the seven was English medium school. Kongini Brahmains, Catholics, protestants, Muslims, sudras, Chogar, valluvar sent their children to the schools. Norton also discarded caste hierarchies in these schools."³⁴

Eapen has of the view that "Thomas Norton (CMS) sphere of work was outside the 'Syrian Mission of Help' and from the beginning; he devoted himself to educational and evangelical activities."³⁵ Norton was very much

³³ *Ibid.*,p.119.

³⁴ *Ibid.*,p.126

³⁵ K.V. Eapen, *op.cit.*, p.57.

disturbed by the discourteous attitude of the Syrian church. Catholic Bishop threatened those who joined their children in the school with excommunication and this antagonistic attitude sometimes emptied his school. Eapen observes “Norton admitted pupils of all castes and creeds in his schools. His compound school consisted of country born, middle class and rather low caste children with some Catholics and Protestants. The Bazar school admitted Bellaly, Chetty and Muslim children.... Thus the various sections of the Christians and castes of the Hindus were educated in the schools of Norton. It was a great innovation in those days of caste and communal barriers.”³⁶

Norton kept the standard of education in all his schools and quite strict in keeping it. Text books in the missionary schools were prepared by the Mission. Norton deserves credit for introducing the modern system of primary education for children of all castes and creeds in and around Alleppy. Eapen observed that “the introduction of a suitable curriculum as well as a proper pay scale for his teachers was some of the unique features of his system of education at that time. By introducing English education and organizing schools for all sections of the people, Norton made innovations in the traditional system of primary education in Kerala.”³⁷ Eapen observes “Owing to the indifference of the children and their parents to education, pupils had to be captured for the school. In order to get children for the parish schools the CMS Corresponding Committee offered Rs.2 or 3 per mensal for anyone who would bring in 30 children to any school and Rs.1, more for every additional 10 children. Moreover, as the school master’s pay was dependent on the regularity of attendance and progress of pupils, they were made responsible for attracting children to school.”³⁸ Eapen observes “the gradual reduction of

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.58

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.62

parish schools. In 1826, there were 29 schools with 770 scholars- 445 Syrians and 325 Non-Christians. Ten years after that, in 1836, at the time of Syrian CMS split, there were only 25 schools with 27 masters and 787 pupils”.³⁹. Mixed schools were started for the first time in Alappuzha in 1818. In 1820 there 40 boys and 13 girls in the school. In 1842 in the rural areas of Kottayam this system was introduced.

“The modern education as introduced by the missionaries became popular in the beginning among Nairs, Christian, Channar, Nadar, Chogar, Arayyar.”⁴⁰ In the opinion of Samuel, “missionaries introduced the first phase of the uniform education system in Kerala”.⁴¹ The mission of unifying the different castes was tried for the first time in the class rooms. Nairs and Syrian Christian sat together and in course of time, missionaries brought in students of other castes to the class room. They all sat together. In 1828-29 the number of schools under Kottayam School was 34 and the students 863 and the next year the number of students rose to 1012. After 1840 mission activities declined and only encouraging factor is that Brahmins started coming to schools. The foundation for a modern school education in Travancore, thus owed to the efforts of the missionaries.

The efforts of missionaries encouraged native rulers like Swati Thirunal to start schools on his own. He started an English School under government for the first time in 1836 and it was known as Rajas Free School. “UthradamThirunal who became the ruler in 1860 after Swati Thiruanl also took keen interest in the propagation of modern western education. He even wore coat and pants. AyilyamThirunal (1860-1880) spoke English fluently.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 128

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 129

ViskahamThirunal (1880- 1885) wrote many articles in English.”⁴² A Vernacular Education Department was formed. Raja’s Free School was developed into a College in 1864 and was affiliated to Madras University in the beginning.

Cochin

Church Mission Society (CMS) in Cochin started schools in 1817; but they were not as successful as in Travancore. Progress in education began with Col. Macaulay. He was the Resident of Travancore since 1800 with supervisory power on Cochin. The British appointed Col.Munro as Dewan in 1812 after the death of Sankthanthampuran alleging failure in administrative machinery. The government of Cochin did not have the tradition of the responsibility of educating its people. The administration of Cochin was reorganised including education with the arrival of Col. Munro as Dewan. He took a firm decision to introduce educational reforms of Cochin. A vernacular school was started through a Proclamation issued in 1818. Missionaries also played an active role in supporting the educational reforms of Col.Munro. Samuel Ridsdale, who belonged to CMS arrived in Cochin 1826 with the purpose of establishing schools. In the beginning Samuel Ridsdale started ten schools,among them six for boys and four for girls. An English School was established at Eranamkulam in 1845 and put the school under a European Headmaster, A.E. Sealy. He has the credit of the initial progress of English education in Cochin. “The institution was raised to the status of a second grade college affiliated to the Madras University in 1875 and later on this became the Maharaja's College. The educational history of Cochin was, till late in the 1880s, one of opening more and more English schools and raising some of the existing one to colleges.”⁴³ The development of education

⁴² *Ibid.*, 156

⁴³ K.V.Eapen, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

brought in higher education institutions in Cochin. It has three Government colleges and two private colleges in 1947. A new State of Travancore-Cochin was formed in 1949 by integrating Cochin and Travancore. Before the formation of Tiru-Cochi State, the higher education institutions of Cochin had affiliation with University of Madras. With the formation of Thiru-Cochi State, private colleges continued under the University of Madras and the government colleges brought under the State authority. These colleges were brought under the University of Kerala in 1956.

Malabar

Basel Evangelical Mission was one of the pioneering missionary agencies in Malabar to impart education and employment to the local people. A small group of Swiss and German *Pietists*⁴⁴ founded the German society with the purpose of the promotion of Christianity in Basel in 1780. “Their involvement brought about changes in the educational and socio-economic realms of Malabar society.”⁴⁵ “The English education helped the people to improve their knowledge of the world and imbibe modern western ideas.”⁴⁶ The spread of education through Basel Mission was one of the main reasons behind the rapid advancements made by the lower castes in society. Students joined the Basel run schools irrespective of castes and this brought changes in the attitude of people towards caste.

The Basel missionaries engaged with the local people at various levels. Their activities in the north Malabar marked the beginning of the organized

⁴⁴ A group of Germans who advocated the revival of the devotional ideal in the Lutheran Church in 17th and 18th century

⁴⁵ P.P. Ummerkoya, *Basel Mission Sabha Malabaril (Mal)*, in Rajeev Paul Nicholas (ed.), *Basel Mission Triple Golden Jubilee Souvenir, (1842-1992)*, CSI North Kerala Diocese, Calicut, 1992, p.66.

⁴⁶ P. Chandramohan, *Growth of Social Reform movements in Kerala* in P.J.Cherian (ed.) *Perspectives of Kerala History, The second Millennium, Kerala Gazatteers Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p.261.*

distribution of individualizing power. The missionaries mainly addressed the question of caste and slavery in terms of cleanliness and upliftment in Malabar. The result of evangelicalism was the shaping of an individuality which submitted itself to a pattern utterly different from that of commonality. BEMS had worked with a clear-cut aim and plan. Their annual report in 1879 gives a detailed explanation of their aims and objectives which were philanthropic, pedagogical, civilizational and financial. The philanthropic attitude of the Mission led them to provide employment and means of subsistence to many newly converted Christians because conversion broke their caste affiliations and job security however menial it was. The Mission gave them training in various fields to enable them to eke out a living on regular and steady basis. This pedagogic service raised them socially and morally.

“The first free school in Tellicherry, the Basel Evangelical Mission High school was started in 1817 by a CMS missionary”.⁴⁷ Subsequently it was handed over to the Basel Mission. On behalf of the Mission, Dr. Herman Gundert took over it on 6 May 1839. It was known as Basel German Mission Parsi High School. “A rich Parsi businessman Darashah had donated a large sum of money; hence the name Parsi was added.”⁴⁸ “The Mission established schools at Cannanore, Chalat, Chovva and Mulil.”⁴⁹

Mission education system attained a kind of stability through categorization and institutional organization by 1850s. In the organisation of missionary schools at the lower level, there were Parochial schools attached to each parish. The secondary levels were secondary schools or grammar

⁴⁷ Murkoth Ramunni, German Influence on the Literature, Society, Culture and Education in Malabar in K.S.Mathew (ed.), *Maritime Malabar and Europeans (1590-1962)*, Hope India Publishers, Hariyana, 2003, p.464.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ R.J .Hepzi Joy, *op. cit.*, p.155.

schools. The final stage was the higher college education. Parochial schools were the first important groups of schools started by the Mission. “From the missionary point of view, the Parochial Schools, the *catechist* and industrial institutions were the most important since they were directly connected to the endeavour of establishing and sustaining an indigenous convert community.”⁵⁰ These schools and their classrooms played an important role in changing the caste hierarchy that the students had exposed outside the classrooms. It was a novel experience to the Malabar society. Another experiment which the missionaries conducted in the field of education was the establishment of infant schools. These schools were started for the children of poor women who had to engage outdoor work during day time for their livelihood. The missionaries engaged them by instructing them in schools. The missionaries established an infant school in Calicut in 1881. By 1894 infant schools were established at Cannanore, Nettur, Tellicherry and Calicut.”⁵¹ The BEM had only one college in the Malabar region that was in Calicut known as Basel German Evangelical Mission College, the only college lower caste students admitted.

Caste was the criterion for learning in the traditional society. The mission schools changed this established norm and gave a new institutional structure to education. The Mission was instrumental in the growth of primary and secondary education of Malabar in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their schools were open to all. Children of different castes were put together under one roof in Mission Schools which was a revolutionary aspect during the period. Educational programme and curriculum prepared by the Mission has provided a hint on their religious and economical motives in Malabar. “The curriculum for the college included

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.151

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

divinity, Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, Syriac, Sanskrit, Malayalam, English grammar, that of India and Rome.”⁵² There was already an existing indigenous curriculum which imparted knowledge in the native culture. Even this was accommodated and the same was instructed in the western model schools. The presence of English language in the syllabus was an indication of the Mission schools links to the colonial educational enterprise. “The teaching of English also made sure that the missionary educational system was not alienated from the colonial educational system.”⁵³

While intervening in the social system of Malabar, the Mission also had a global agenda to fulfil, that was colonial and capital expansion. Their activities were not different from that of colonial practice. “A major part of the financial resources for running the mission institutions in India came from British residents of the region. The Basel Mission Report lists the donors and the donations given by them to the mission.”⁵⁴ “Maintaining cordial relationships with the local British officials was important for the German missionaries, antagonizing them meant the forfeiture of the critical economic and political patronage that was so important at the early stage of the missions stay in India.”⁵⁵

The civilizing mission was virtually taken up by the Basel Mission which gave immense legitimacy to colonialism. The Mission institutions provided much relief to the women community who were suffering from the oppressive caste system and the social regulations imposed by it. Female schools and seminaries were established at several places. Conversion which gave women of the lower castes the opportunity to get educated in mission

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.167

⁵³ Parinitha Shetty, *op.cit.*, p. 529.

⁵⁴ 1462nd *BGEM Report for 1841*, Mangalore, 1842, P.16.

⁵⁵ ParinithaShetty, *op.cit.*, p. 513.

schools and facilitated in entering professions like teaching and nursing in the nineteenth century. “When Miss Carolina Mook, an educational missionary of BEMS arrived, girls’ education in north Malabar especially in Tellicherry was strengthened. She was sent as the first agent for the education of females as school mistress.”⁵⁶

Education of Backward Castes

Mission schools gave the backward castes the opportunity of formal schooling hitherto denied to them. The mission schools provided the lower castes the opportunity of learning the most modern subjects based on the latest knowledge in the respective fields. Subjects such as history, geography, and elementary science were taught; and, in addition to it, instructions were given in basic vocational training. Reading, writing and arithmetic were also taught in the classrooms. It opened new opportunities to the lower castes. This gave the students of the lower castes new modes of expression; it enabled them to participate in the literate public sphere; and strove for social mobility with the confidence that new jobs earned through their education in the mission schools. Missionary schooling was used as a tool of moulding the converts with a new set of values different from that they derived from their traditional caste ridden society. Education was the domain to introduce new habits, patterns of work, social organisation, gender roles and language trained the Christian converts through education. However, the process influenced the lower castes. The castes below Nairs and the Christians received English education and formed the intelligentsia. “The British Government and the Christian priests, who spread that equality was their supreme priority, supported them.”⁵⁷ “But it also did other functions. English

⁵⁶ R.J.Hepzi Joy, *op.cit.*, p.152.

⁵⁷ E.M.S.Nambudiripad, *Keralam Malryalikalude Mathrubhumi* (Mal), Chinthra, Thiruvananthapuram, 1981, pp.67-68.

education in Malabar became instrumental in igniting a national feeling and kindling movements of emancipation or the caste structure.”⁵⁸

Educational institutions called *Kudipallikudams* were the only means by which the untouchable castes including the Nairs who though serve the Nambutiris, being Sudras were excluded from Brahmin system of knowledge, received education. Each caste had *kudipallikudams* of its own in some places and, some *kudipallikudams* are attended by various allied castes. “The Thiyyas also had run the *Ezhuthupallis/Kudipallikudams* and there were pupils among Nairs and other upper castes in them.”⁵⁹ “But such institutions were less in number. There were a number of *Kudippallikkudams* all over Kerala.”⁶⁰ Oral way of teaching and learning was the usual way of instructions followed in the *kudipallikudams*. These institutions were run by the irregular nominal fee in the form of dakshina (gift, food from the parents of students). The lower castes denied the knowledge of *Vedas* and the *Vedangas*; the *Sastras* and the *Kavyas* in Sanskrit were also not meant for the lower castes. The knowledge based on *Vedas* and related literature was intended for Brahmins. Only the old songs and some plays like agricultural folksongs were form part of the curriculum of the people who were placed at the bottom of the caste society. “In the land of Thunchath Ezhuthachan, Kottayam Thampuran and UnnayiWarrier, there lived a vast majority of people who depended entirely on the oral *Pattu* tradition.”⁶¹ “Thunchath Ezhuthachan, a non-Brhamin wrote epics by keeping a bird in front, for the low caste people should not see *Saraswathi* the Goddess of Knowledge.”⁶²

⁵⁸ M.P.Sarojini Amma, *A Study of the History and Development of the N.S.S as a Voluntary Educational Agency in Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calicut, 1996, p.104.

⁵⁹ Moorkoth Ramunni , *op.cit.*, p.27

⁶⁰ M.K.Sanu, *Narayana Guru Swami*, N.B.S.,Kottayam, 1986, p.49.

⁶¹ E.M.S.Nambudiripad, *op. cit.*, pp.52-53.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.53

“The classrooms were also centers of caste evils. The untouchable students were punished in a different way in the *Kudippallikkudam*. They must stretch their arms to the front and the teacher would throw the cane so that the teacher would not be polluted.”⁶³ This traditional learning system created a situation that upper caste which formed trifle of the society numerically had the knowledge of the Sastras, Vedas and Upanishads. The vast number of people who formed the untouchables was left without knowledge about anything.

In the beginning, English education was received by a minuscule minority and its relevance was not felt by the population as much. The social transformation was a slow process among various communities of Malabar. In the initial stage of colonialism, the higher caste people of Malabar were not sympathetic to English education. “ Nambudiris who were the privileged section in the Malabar considered English education an anathema, due to their false notions of aristocracy and social rank.”⁶⁴ They failed to imbibe the spirit of modern education and the corresponding social changes associated with it. “British official reports characterized the Nambudiris as, a section which is famous for its aloofness from the world and its adherence to the old order of things and are largely engaged in priestly duties and temple service.”⁶⁵ “In the Pre-British society, they were the back bone of administrative system and were contemptuous of the upstarts who dominated the new British dominated social order.”⁶⁶ When English education was open to all, they treated it as a *Mlechhabashha*. “Conservatives were beginning to fear that, with younger generation of cobblers, carpenters and others increasingly going in for

⁶³ Thikkodiyar, *Arangu Kanatha Nadan (Mal)*, Current Books, Trichur, 1996, p.24

⁶⁴ P. Radhakrishnan, *Peasant Struggles, Land Reforms and Social Change*, Malabar - 1836- 1982, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1989, p. 75.

⁶⁵ *Census of India*, 1901, Part 1, Vol. XV, Madras, 1902, C/36, RAK, p.203 .

⁶⁶ E.M.S, Nambudiripad, *History, Society and Land Relations: Selected Essays*, Left Word Books, New Delhi, 2012, p.93.

elementary education instead of learning their hereditary trade special classes of people would become utterly extinct.”⁶⁷

Due to their disinclination towards English education, Nambudiris presence in the government service was not so hopeful. The Imperial Census of 1871 suggests that, “total population of Brahmins in Malabar was 22188 and out of which only 169 were in the government service with a total percentage of 0.7.”⁶⁸ Some of the missionary reports indicate the difficulties they had in the field of education because of the stiff opposition from the upper castes. Their reports stated that, many of the higher caste people in north Malabar were afraid of the school. One of the reports said: “Nambudiris who possess so staple and first-hand knowledge of religion, naturally resent being instructed by us.”⁶⁹ It provided various illustrations regarding the attitude taken by the average Hindu family towards a member who intended to accept Christianity and western education. The low caste people who were attracted to the Christian fold had to face stiff opposition from the local *janmi* or landlord. They feared the loss of supremacy in the society if the lower castes had the English education. “Mr. Weisman of Chombala made repeated attempts to induce landlords to allow converts to remain in their rented houses and compounds.”⁷⁰ But their please were often turned down by the landlords. “Though Nair *kanam* tenants had a positive attitude towards English education, in some parts of north Malabar, the Nair weavers had exhibited their dislike towards the new form of education and the activities of Christian missionaries.”⁷¹

⁶⁷ Dilip Menon, *Caste, Nationalism and Communism in South India, Malabar, 1900-1948*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1994, p.144.

⁶⁸ Census of 1871, Vol. II, Madras, 1874, C/28, RAK, P.131.

⁶⁹ 2nd *BGEM Report* for 1911, Mangalore, 1912, p.37 .

⁷⁰ 57th *BGEM Report* for 1896, Mangalore, 1897, p.49

⁷¹ 67th *BGEM Report* for 1906, Mangalore, 1907, p.81.

To the upper castes and especially the *Nairs*, who lost some of their old privileges under the British, the new type of education propounded by the missionaries became a key to jobs, which offered them security without affecting their status and rank. Their caste domination acquired a new form as they established a monopoly in the administrative service in the early years. On the other hand, a civic consciousness was developed among the *avarna* castes as a result of the British reforms and educational advancements. A new spirit of enquiry and criticism developed among the low castes. The lower castes wanted a share in the new opportunities and they were also stirred by new equalitarian winds blowing across India. The movement assumed a particularly vigorous form in peninsular India where the Non-Brahmin castes succeeded in obtaining for themselves concessions and privileges.

Education of Ezhavas

For the higher castes educational advancement was a means by which they could hope establish hold on or representation of political power. For the *avarnas* education meant much more than this; it was the door to a new world. It emancipated them from their social and economic deprivation which was imposed by caste. It was a way to escape from hard and exhausting toil and degrading labour. In subsequent periods the *avarna* community leaders never hesitated to proclaim their loyalty and indebtedness to the British contributions. For instance in Travancore, in 1909, the Sree Narayanaguru Dharma Paripalana Yogam (S.N.D.P) leader C. Krishnan proclaimed his community's extreme loyalty to the British Government. *Vivekodayam*, the official mouthpiece of S.N.D.P. Yogam argued- The peace and freedom that we enjoy now has not been experienced by us under any other dispensation. Education drives away the darkness hidden in the nook and corners of our country and transforms millions who were forced to live like animals into

human beings. The administrative policy of the British has granted us the freedom, which was beyond our reach within the framework of sublime religion. “It has abolished the monstrous practices and corruption and extirpated the fangs of the venomous serpent of the inhuman caste system.”⁷² The contact with the outside world especially through educational and commercial relations opened a world of new experiences to the indigenous people.

Education gave them entry to jobs offered by the British administration and their social and economic status elevated along with that. Children of the innumerable number of untouchable and touchable castes joined the new western schools and they challenged the age old caste ridden culture of Kerala. Those who learnt and qualified for the job, irrespective of the caste they belonged, were respected in the society. “This was the greatest blow that the old Kerala culture received at the hands of the new culture.”⁷³ The eligibility of C.Kesavan, the former chief minister of Tiru-Kochi, to become the bridegroom of the prominent Ezhava family was his education. His poor economic background was overlooked by his future father-in-law, C.V.Kunhiraman (founder of Kaumudi) for his higher educational qualification.

“The Thiyyas of Malabar were a prominent section who best made use of the facilities provided by the Missionaries. At the same time, the lower castes never had the financial stability to attend the modern schools.”⁷⁴ When the B.E.M constituted a network of educational institutions in North Malabar, Thiyyas, an untouchable caste were the first to make use of these institutions.

⁷² Vivekodayam, Vol.V., nos. 7 & 8, 1909, p.3.

⁷³ E.M.S.Nambudiripad, *History, Society and Land Relations: Selected Essays*, op.cit., p.166.

⁷⁴ K.K.N.Kurup, *Athunika Keralam Charithra Gaveshana Prabanthangal (Mal)*, Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995, p.21.

As a result, they were able to acquire position of power like tahsildars, readers, sub judges and lawyers; and some of them rose to the position of Deputy Collectors in British administration “There were two colleges, the Brennen College at Thalasseri and the Zamorin's College at Calicut. But the Thiyyas were denied admission to the Zamorin's College till 1918.”⁷⁵ The chain of schools run by the Basel Mission had left amazing changes in the society particularly among untouchables. “A number of Thiyyas interestingly took part in the process of education there by creating a friendly group in the Kerala society. All castes were allowed to enter the schools.”⁷⁶

“By enrolling themselves into Mission Schools the Thiyya boys and girls acquired new skills required to survive in the age of colonialism and after.”⁷⁷ They got employment in colonial bureaucratic structures which also resulted in the improvement of their social and economic positions. Colonial documents show that by the end of the nineteenth century several bureaucratic positions became a sort of monopoly for the Thiyya community. “When Moorkoth Kumaran joined as teacher in the Base1 Mission School in 1884, Panangadan Raman B.T, was the head master of the school, he was a Thiyya.”⁷⁸ “It would have been impossible or a Thiyya to become a teacher in other schools. Kumaran joined as teacher in the St. Joseph European Boys' school in 1897. He worked there for about two years.”⁷⁹ “The highest post that a native could reach in those days of British administration was that of a Deputy Collector. It was a Tiyya of Tellichery named Churayi Kannan who

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.24.

⁷⁶ K.K.N. Kurup , *Peasantry, Nationalism and Social Change in India*, Chugh Publications, New Delhi,1991, p.108.

⁷⁷ Murkot Kunhappa, Heritage of Basel Mission in Malabar in K.J. John (Ed), *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, Cochin, 1981, p.236.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.37

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.65.

first became a Deputy Collector.”⁸⁰ Thiyyas were also appointed as Tahsildars, subjudges, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and other employees in the colonial government services. The educated Thiyyas were instrumental in beginning journals, both in English and Malayalam, to spread the idea of social reform through education and bureaucratic services. “The '*Malabar Spectator*' later known as '*Westcoast Spectator*' edited by Puvatan Raman Vakil and '*Mitavadi*' by C. Krishnan were well known among them.”⁸¹ The missionaries appointed qualified low caste teachers to impart knowledge to the children in the Basel Mission schools. Some of the English educated teachers renowned for their scholarship were among the members of the Thiyya community. Though education among women was a slow process, the encouragement given to female education by the Missionaries inspired some Thiyya women to go for higher education. The first women doctors of Malabar namely Ayyathan Janaki and Murkoth Madhavi were among a few low caste women who had got basic education at the missionary school i.e. Basel Mission schools. A job in the government service was much desired in Malabar because it removed the caste grievances of an individual who belonged to an inferior community. The educated Thiyyas who constituted an emerging professional group in Malabar had been comparatively well-placed in economic status with a fixed income. “They enjoyed considerable social prestige. Their status and social upliftment was more related to their English education and professions.”⁸² Gradually the people who got freedom and education from the Mission schools started protests against the social evils like caste system and untouchability. They also questioned the domination of upper classes in all fields of the society. “Thus the seeds of English education

⁸⁰ K.K.N. Kurup, *Modern Kerala - Studies in Social and Agrarian Relations*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1988, p.86.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² S. Achuthavarier, *Kerala Samskaram* (Mal), Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2003, p.189.

sown by the Christian missionaries and nurtured by the colonial government began to blossom and bare fruits in the form of open resistance against caste domination and discrimination”⁸³.

Caste-wise Distribution of Students in Indigenous Schools of Malabar District -1822

Caste	No of Students	
	Male	Female
Brahmins	2230	05
Vaishyas	84	15
Sudras	3697	707
Muslims	3196	1122
Other caste	2760	343
Total	11963	2192
Grand Total	14155	
Total Population in Malabar	907575	

Source: P.K.Michael Tharakan, Socio- Economic Factors in Educational Development, Working Paper No. 90, CDS, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984, p.17.

As shown the table, there were 14,155 students studying in the schools, besides the 75 - all Brahmins - attending the college. If we take that one- ninth a of the population of 9,07,575 in Malabar were of school going age then, one out of every 7 children of school going age was attending school in Malabar at that time. From this table we can summarise that Brahmin females were getting education at home; while the higher number of

⁸³ K.K.N. Kurup, *Modern Kerala - Studies in Social and Agrarian Relations, op. cit., p.86.*

Muslim females might have come from Madrassas – traditional Muslim schools.

Caste –Wise Student sStrength in English Schools of Travancore, 1862

Community	No. of Students	Percentage
Tamil Sudras	517	32.75
Malayali Sudras (Nairs)	424	28.85
Christian (All Division)	315	18.95
Tamil Brahmins	266	15.85
Muslims	37	2.34
Namboodiris	1	.06
Others	19	1.20
Total	1579	100

Source: Travancore Administration Report, 1862.

The table shows that the representation of backward castes in English school in Travancore was very pathetic.

The caste Hindu society turned their back against the western education introduced by the missionaries as they thought; the new education system would disrupt the caste structure. Disruption of the caste society would jeopardize their supremacy in the society. Even in the beginning of the twentieth century, there were many numbers of people in the higher community who were cherishing the memory of old educational system and practices. Some of the dissenting notes on English education which appeared in contemporary journals and newspapers are worth inspecting. One of the articles in *Kerala Kesari* said “old type of education has created a large group of eminent personalities like Kalidasa, Patanjali and Harischandra. In the *Gurukula* system there was enough room for the improvement of the mental and moral status of the students. There were strict restrictions in *Gurukula*

schools. Now the pupils are opting *pallikoodams* in place of *Gurukulams*. There is no *brahmacharya*. The time schedule in the modern schools that is between 10 and 4 is not conducive for climatic condition of the countries like India. Students are now seeing dramas, cinemas and engaging in other entertainments. It will diminish the status of education.”⁸⁴ Another article said: “Traditional education is good for the improvement of different communities in Kerala. Thus concerned communities should take special interest in imparting their children an education based on traditional knowledge.....Our children should be born and brought up there. Don’t push them to the speculative world by providing English education.”⁸⁵

Education of Muslims

Mappilas of Malabar also have nursed some apprehensions towards English education. “The British administrative reports in the 19th century show that, Mappilas were apathetic towards western education from the very beginning.”⁸⁶ The percentage of attendance of Muslim students in schools belongs to north Malabar region shows their initial attitude towards western system of education. “In 1854, even after the implementation of Charles Wood Despatch, there was only two Muslims in the provincial school at Calicut where the number of students belong to Hindu community were

⁸⁴ Kannnathodath Velayuda Menon, *Pracheena Vidyabyasatinte Reetiyum Gunavum*,(Mal), *Kerala Kesari*, October-November 1917, 4: 3-4, p.15. See also Karamana K Sivarama Krishna Sastri , *NattubashaVidyabyasam*, *Kerala Kesari*, February -March 1917, 4: 7-8, p.17.

⁸⁵ Anantha Pilla, *NammudeVidyabyasavum Samudayavum*,(Mal), *Kerala Kesari*, July-August 1917, 4: 11-12, p.19.

⁸⁶ *British Reports on Public Instruction, Madras Presidency*. See also *Census of India*, 1891, Vol. XIII, Madras, C/33, RAK, p.34.

108.”⁸⁷ “In Tellicherry School, the ratio between Hindu and Muslim students was 87:9.”⁸⁸

There were number of reasons for the poor turnout of Muslim students in the educational institutions established by the British and the missionaries. Their attitude towards English education was due to political and religious reasons and was connected with global and local issues. The Muslim community in Malabar had certain local issues which caused hatred towards the British. The British revenue policy and their prolonged hostility to the Muslim community in Malabar resulted in a series of uprisings in Malabar. It is observed by Prema Kurien that “the development of the Mappilas as a separate ethnic group (in contrast to being a sub-group within the Hindu society) with a distinct identity and culture began with their migration to the interior. The departure of their Arabian mentors, the loss of their income and occupation, their exodus to the interior, and the struggle to re-establish themselves were experiences that served to weld the group together.”⁸⁹ “Mappilas tasted the fruits of freedom during the short period of Mysorean occupation with the land and special privileges conferred on them. The anti-British attitude, ignorance, poverty and existence of a separate script namely *Arabi Malayalam* were suspicion of western institutions such as secular education, medicine, and bureaucracy some of the difficulties in the spread of western education among the Mappilas.”⁹⁰ Their experience from the British authorities created a deep suspicion of western institutions such as secular education, medicine, and bureaucracy.

⁸⁷ *RPIM, 1856-57, Madras, Appendix A, A/766, RAK, p.27.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Prema Kurien, *Kaleidoscopic Ethnicity”International Migration and the Reconstruction of Community Identities in India*, Rutgers University Press, London, 2002, p.401.

⁹⁰ S.M. Muhammad Koya, *Mappilas of Malabar Studies in Social and Cultural History*, Sandhya Publications, Calicut, 1983, p.77.

Muslim community gained a highly exalted position in the socio-cultural and economic realm of Kerala in Medieval period. During this period the Muslims enjoyed a monopoly on overseas trade and they maintained a healthy relation with the Zamorin of Calicut. “The cordial relation between the Muslims and rulers in Calicut was an important factor for the development of Muslim community in Kerala. With the arrival of the Portuguese, Muslims lost their dominance in trade and they withdrew to inlands.”⁹¹ “However, the land reforms introduced by Tipu Sultan in Malabar brought far reaching impact on the socio-economic life of Muslims in Malabar by giving them *jenmom* rights on the land in which the community felt safety and pride which was the root cause of the hostility between the Hindus and Muslims and the sympathetic Hindu attitude to Muslims was seriously hampered.”⁹² “But the Company redefined the existing agrarian relations by granting full proprietary rights to Hindu land lords which deprived the Muslim agriculturists. The outcome was the communal divergence between Hindu landlords and landless Muslims and the British exploited the situation by adopting the Divide and Rule policy.”⁹³ “Thus the British rule and everything that related to the British were considered as anti- Islamic including secular education and western culture which were the main reasons for the backwardness of Muslims.”⁹⁴ “Moreover, the Ulemas (the religious leaders) opposed any new trends fearing that they may shake the very base of the religious structure of the community.”⁹⁵ The anti- colonial struggle and the consequent state of affairs

⁹¹ K.M. Panicker, *Malabar and Portuguese*, S. Viswanathan Printers and Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Trivandrum, 1981, pp.96-97.

⁹² Stephen Frederic Dale, *Moplas of Malabar 1498-1922*, Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier, Cambridge, 1980, p.110.

⁹³ Innes.C.A, *Malabar and Anjengo, Madras District Gazetteers*, Vol.1, Government Press, Madras, 1951, p.103.

⁹⁴ S.M Muhammed Koya, *op.cit*, P.78.

⁹⁵ Mohamed,U, *Educational Empowerment of Kerala Muslims: A Socio- Cultural Perspective*, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.,2003, p.86.

made their conditions pitiable. Since initial stage, for various reasons, the British had an intention to introduce oriental learning in this region. The Evangelists and missionaries were interested for the promotion of English education as a means for propagating Christianity in Kerala. The British had the thought that English education would provide a positive bond between rulers and the ruled, leading to the stability of the British Raj. Moreover, the British needed the assistance of the local people to run the administration properly and a familiarity with English education was considered as a necessary precondition for administration. "In British India, British education was necessary for getting jobs in British administration and was necessary for transaction in trade and commerce."⁹⁶ All communities except Muslim community welcomed the system of education introduced by the British. The Muslims were hesitant to utilize the opportunities offered by the British because of the apprehension that such an alien education would destroy their religious and cultural values.

During this time the Travancore and Cochin areas had witnessed several radical changes in the social, economic and political fronts. These changes enabled the educational system in these regions to enter into the modern phase. "But the nineteenth century Malabar had witnessed several Mappila outbreaks which continued until their brutal suppression in 1921."⁹⁷ Thus changes taking place in the Travancore-Cochin area did not have any influence in the Malabar region since it remained as a separate entity.

By the end of 19th century and the early part of the 20th century several programs had introduced for the improvement of the educational standards of Muslims in Kerala. In Travancore a special fee concession was

⁹⁶ Robin Jefry, *The Decline of Nayar Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847-1908*, Vikas Publishing House, Trivandrum, 1981, pp.6-7.

⁹⁷ Stephen Frederic Dale, *op. cit.*, pp.119-153.

granted to Muslim students and special schools maintained for them at the primary and secondary stage both under departmental and private management during the period of 1914-15. The Government allowed full salary grants to Muslim Primary schools. “Arabic Munshis were appointed in the elementary schools in 1915-16 to teach Arabic as a second language and Arabic classes were attached with ordinary schools. Six Muslim Vernacular schools for girls were opened in 1923-24.”⁹⁸ “But the community- wise analysis of literacy rate found that the literacy rate for all communities taken together were 40.8 % for male and 16.8 % for female, while it was 21 % for male and 2.4 % for female among Muslims which showed the relative educational backwardness of Muslims during that period.”⁹⁹

Literacy Levels for Different Communities in 1933(in percentage)

Communities	Male	Female	Total
Hindu	39.9	14.2	27.5
Christian	46.0	25.1	35.7
Muslim	25.3	3.0	14.4

Source: Government of Travancore, Report of Travancore Educational Reforms Committee, 1933.

This was the fact that Muslim pupils received encouragement from institutions such as special reserved scholarships. “Consequently in 1935-36 a scheme was sanctioned for securing the co-operation of the Muslim associations in different parts of Travancore by means of a grants-in-aid scheme aimed at attracting Muslim girls to primary schools.”¹⁰⁰ In Cochin, the Muslims occupied the last place in literacy among the different religious groups in the state. “The Census Report of 1901 depicted the observations

⁹⁸ T.K Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Mannual*, Vol.III, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1940, pp. 732-733.

⁹⁹ Census, 1931.

¹⁰⁰ T.K. Velu Pilaai, *Travancore State Mannual*, Vol.III, *op. cit.*, p.19.

regarding the extreme illiteracy levels among the Muslims.”¹⁰¹ The government of Cochin provided special concessions to the Muslim students to overcome deplorable condition. As a part of it, every Muslim girl in the primary classes of English schools granted a monthly stipend of Rs. 2. Later this amount had been reduced to 8 annas for Muslim girls in the lower classes but it had been increased to Rs.3 for upper secondary and Rs. 4.5 for college classes. For Muslim boys a monthly stipend of Rs. 3 was granted in the upper secondary and college classes. In addition to this, the remission of half of the standard rate of fee to Muslim pupils was granted particularly who were too poor to continue their studies. There introduced special scholarship for Muslim students in college classes.

The indigenous system and the Basel Missionaries tried to expand the educational performance of the people from 1848 onwards in Malabar. But it did not produce the desired result. The educational level of the Malabar was much lower than that of Travancore and Cochin. A plan was devised in 1871-72 for improving the education of Mappila children. The Mappilas of Eranad and Valluvanad were officially recognized as backward caste and increased the amount of grants at a rate 75% higher than those of the standard scale provided for them. Aided schools were separated as far as possible from the mosques and freed from the reactionary influence of the Mullas; but the plan was not a success at all due to the inefficiency in the implementation and general aversion of the Muslim community to education. “Moreover the Mappila outbreaks had created an unfavourable atmosphere for the smooth functioning of these types of educational system and the British Government which ruled Malabar had no interest in the educational development of the Muslims until the final suppression of the Mappila Rebellion in 1922.”¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ *The Census Report of 1901*

¹⁰² C.A. Innes, *op. cit.*, p.231.

“After the suppression of the Mappila Rebellion, the government started new programmes to improve the educational standards of Muslims as it was realized that one of the main reasons for the frequent Mappila outbreaks was the educational backwardness of Muslims.”¹⁰³ Thus special schools were established for Mappilas. In 1926 a special assistant to the District Educational Officer was appointed for the promotion of education of Muslims. However, the social intervention efforts since 1870 brought about the development of number of schools and pupils in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar during the British period. “The number of schools during 1870-71-1946-47 increased 21 times in Travancore, 117 times in Cochin and 26 times in Malabar. In respect of the general enrolment, the increase was 108 times in Travancore; 385 times in Cochin and 64 times in Malabar. Even though the performance of Malabar looks dreary in comparison with Travancore and Cochin, it was much better than that all India level.”¹⁰⁴

Literacy rates in Provinces in 1921

No. of persons who are literate (Average) 5 years and above

Provinces	Persons	Male	Female
Cochin	340	460	220
Travancore	288	408	168
Malabar	174	276	75
Delhi	163	226	72
Bengal	120	180	32
Madras	109	188	30

Source: Census of Cochin Report, 1921, p.65 as quoted in Cheriyan. P. J.(ed). In *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Vol.11, part.11, 1999, p.465.

¹⁰³ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Charithram Publications, Trivandrum, 1951, pp.191-199.

¹⁰⁴ P. R. Gopinathan, Nair, *Education and Socio-Economic Change in Kerala, 1793-1947*, Social Scientist, Vol. 4. No.44, New Delhi, 1976, p.28.

According to above Table Malabar was far behind Kochi and Travancore in the field of literacy but comparatively better than the other provinces like Delhi, Bengal and Madras. However, during this period there were a few members of Muslim community who were proficient in Arabi- Malayalam. Mappila poets like MoyankuttyVaider and Pulikkottil Hyder preformed their literary works in this language and their writings helped the community to enrich their culture. “The religious text books followed in the Madrasas were also written in Arabi- Malayalam.”¹⁰⁵ The religious leaders, the social reformers and voluntary organizations have a pivotal role to play for the development of its society. However, during the beginning of 19th century there were no such competent leaders or associations to lead the community into the path of social reforms. “By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, all the depressed classes (such as the Sree Narayana Guru Dharma ParipalanaYogham (SNDP, 1903), the Sadhu Jana ParipalanaSangham (1907) by Ayyankali and the Sahodara Movement (1917) by K. Ayyappan except Muslims had state-wide organizations for providing better facilities in education.”¹⁰⁶ “The leaders of the Muslim community had a very insignificant role in mobilizing its mass for removing their economic and educational backwardness.”¹⁰⁷ Later Muslims started an association in 1922 named the Kerala Aikya Sangam under the leadership of M.P.K. Haji, Seethi Sahib, K.M.Moulavi and others at Kodungallur of Cochin. Arabic teachers were appointed to instruct in religion in the schools in response to the requests of K.M.Moulavi. “In addition, the Sangam started a scholarship scheme in schools and madrassas in different parts of the state. But in 1934 it stopped its

¹⁰⁵ K.M.Bahavudheen, *Kerala Muslimgal Cheruthunilpinte Charithram (Mala)*, Islamic Publishing House, Kozhikode, 1995, p. 158.

¹⁰⁶ Francois Houtart Genevieve Lemercinier , *Socio- religious Movements in Kerala: A reaction to Capitalist Mode of Production*, Social Scientist, Vol.6, No. 11, June, 1978, pp.3-34. <https://dsal.uchicago.edu/books/socialscientist/text.html>

¹⁰⁷ Asgar Ali Engineer, *What have the Muslim Leaders Done?* Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.XIII, No.24, June 17, 1978, pp. 985-986.

activities due to inefficient leadership and the differences of opinion among its members.”¹⁰⁸

“During the end of the colonial period a few orphanages also made certain contributions to the field of Muslim education though the prime aim of these institutions was not the upliftment of education.”¹⁰⁹ For example, the JDT Islam (Jam’iyyathu Daw’a Thabligul Islam) was set up in 1922 to provide institutional care to the orphans and destitute who had lost their parents and close relatives during the Mappila Rebellion but later it started many educational institutions to impart technical and vocational education. Poker Sahib started an orphanage at Thirurangadi in 1943 to rehabilitate the cholera affected of the Eranad Taluk which also took creative efforts to set up educational institutions.

Muslims were left far behind in education compared to other communities in Kerala. They refused to learn Malayalam alleging it as the language of the Hindus. They called English as the language of the hell. The net result of this abstention from dominant trend of knowledge was that it prevented the Muslims from public discourses and from the mainstream society. This also alienated them from the common ancestry. “The standard of the Muslim pupils was also behind the children of the other castes.”¹¹⁰ Moidu Moulavi recalls: "During the period of my education there were very few people in remote villages. Connecting the *Othupallis* there were schools which had classes up to three i.e. today's 4th standard.”¹¹¹ “This kind of schools existed in villages like Maranchery. Before admitting to the schools,

¹⁰⁸ Ahmed Kutty E.K, *Islam and Social reform Movements in Kerala*, Journal of Kerala Studies, December, 1978, pp.439-456.

¹⁰⁹ A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, S. Viswanathan Printers and Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Trivandrum, 1984, p. 460.

¹¹⁰ P.K. Muhammed Kunhi, *Muslimingalum Kerala Samskaravum (Mal)*, Sahitya Academy, Trichur, 1982, p.191.

¹¹¹ E. Moidu Moulavi, *MoulaviyudeAtma Katha, (Mal)*, D.C. Books, Kottayam, 1935, p.11.

they had to learn the Qur-an.”¹¹² As far as the Muslim population was concerned, the ultimate learning centre was the Mosques and the Madrassas attached to them. “The mosques of the state were the centres of religious education. With religion they taught history and geography.”¹¹³ “Attached to each mosque there was a Madrassa, where the Muslim students were initiated in to Arabic language and literature.”¹¹⁴ The study in Madrassa was through Arabi-Malayalam language.

The British started English education among the Muslims of Malabar not with the intention of reforming them. After the Mappila outrages the British government appointed a committee known as T.L. Strange Committee to enquire in to the reasons for violence in the year 1852. The committee gave a report and it pointed out the reasons for the violence and recommendation for solving the burning issues of the *Mappila* Muslims of Malabar. The Reports paved the way for the introduction of modern education.

An important turning point in the history of Muslim education in Kerala was the formation of Kerala Provincial Muslim Educational Association. “It was established to safeguard and protect the interest of education of the Muslims of Kerala. The association was registered under Act 20 of 186.”¹¹⁵ “The association took some resolutions for the improvement of Muslim Education in Kerala. i.e., the association requested to the government to establish at least one industrial school for poor *Mappila* boys.”¹¹⁶ “And it also took arrangements without delay for the introduction of a compulsory

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ P.K. Muhammed Kunhi, *op. cit.*, p.183.

¹¹⁴ *Kerala State Gazetteers, Malappuram*, p.711.

¹¹⁵ *Records from the Kerala Provincial Muslim Educational Conference 1926*, Regional Archives Kozhikkode, G.O.No.1987, pp.7-9.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.6

scheme of elementary education in areas where a large number of indigent *Mappilas* congregated as a first step towards civilizing these areas.”¹¹⁷

Depressed Classes and Missionaries

Thomas Norton, the first C.M.S. Missionary to Kerala, was instrumental in spreading education among the Parayas of Southern Kerala. They are one of the depressed castes in Kerala, marginalized and discriminated being outcastes. Thomas Norton was quite active in evangelising the Parayas in the neighbourhood of Alleppey as early as 1819. “He opened a school in 1835 for these degraded people which he called the 'Pande'. It was the first school for the education of slaves.”¹¹⁸ But the school did not thrive due to the lack of interest on the part of the pupils. Norton admitted all castes' and creeds' children which he called Compound School. The compound school consists of 40 children in the beginning. “They consisted of country-born and rather low caste children with some Catholics. All learned English, Malayalam and Tamil.”¹¹⁹ Children belonged to Bellaly, Chetty castes, Chogen (ezhava) ,Velloovars (Vellalas), Arayans etc. came to school.

A school was built on the Munro Island for the education of the slaves and other lower classes in 1835. Samuel Ridsdale, the C.M.S. Missionary at Cochin (1826-1836) took interest in educating a slave girl. “Joseph Peet a CMS Missionary established schools and churches in places like Poovathur, Kodukulanji, Chengannur, Elanthur, Talawadi, Puthupally (South) Kaneet, Krishnapuram and Kattanam.”¹²⁰ “A large number of Ezhavas were converted

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.7

¹¹⁸ C. I. Abraham, *Education in Travancore*, C.M.S. Triple Jubilee Souvenir, Kottayam: C.M.S. Press, 1966, p. 41.

¹¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1921-22, L.B. Seeley, 169 Fleet Street, London, 1822, p. 156.

¹²⁰ Eira Dalton, *Fellow Workers with God*, Kottayam, O.M.S. Press, 1966, p.22 .

and their children were admitted in these schools along with the high castes. He also built a few schools for the education of the Pulayas. When Peet died at Mavelikara in 1868, his 11 churches had a membership of 2500 converts.”¹²¹ There were 52 village schools in 1878 in Mavelikara District and 15 of them were connected with the Pulayan congregations. In each of these Pulayan schools, the school master acted as the Catechist. “The aim was to help these children to learn the three R's and to read the Bible fluently.”¹²² In course of time, Mavelikara developed, as a centre of English education, and the C.M.S. High School, Mavelikara, admitted pupils of all castes and creeds in the institution. According to a C. M S. Survey in 1917, in the seven pastoral districts of Kerala, there were 213 congregations consisting of 8236 families with a total membership of 36,410 outcastes. “There was a day school for convert children in every station. A strenuous endeavour was made to make elementary education to keep pace with evangelism.”¹²³ The missionary aim of education with conversion was quite successful among the depressed castes.

The education of the slaves as well as their conversion to Christianity angered the high caste people both Christians and Hindus. The converts and their teachers were subjected to diverse persecutions. “The school room where these poor creatures assembled for instruction and worship was more than once set on fire and reduced to ashes.”¹²⁴ The washer man and the barber refused their services to George Mathen¹²⁵ who was a social reformer

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Proceedings of the Church missionary Society 1877-78*, London: Church Missionary society, Salisbury Square, 1878, p.150.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society. 1856-57*, Seeley, Hatchard, Picadilly and J.Nibset and Co. Burners Street, London, 1857, p. 140.

¹²⁵ Rev. George Mathen was a saint and Malayalam grammarian and writer of 19th century

and the members of his congregations because they kept close contact with the slaves. “The Syrians avoided contact with them and refused to admit them in their houses. Complaints were also sent to the government against the missionary and his colleagues.”¹²⁶ Hawksworth,¹²⁷ Slave Schools were established in the other parts of the Tiruvalla District. “For example Kaviyur, Mepral, Perumpturity, Talawadi and Eravipery stations had established schools for the education of the slaves.”¹²⁸ The boys were given manual work and physical work as part of the curriculum in addition to the regular subjects. “A weaving class was opened in the school in order to break down the contempt for manual labour.”¹²⁹ “In the girls' school, in addition to the three R's, cooking, washing, sewing etc. were taught.”¹³⁰ Some upper class day scholars were also admitted in the school and they were allowed to mix freely with the backward caste children in order to break down the caste distinctions.

There are references to the existence of such slave schools in places like Olesha, Vellore, Kumarakam etc. The schools for the depressed castes had certain distinctive features. Outcastes were collected in frail sheds with mud half-walls and bamboo and palm-leaf roofs. They learned the gospel in these sheds at night. “Their children learned the three R's in the same shed during the day time. On Sundays, the same place was used as church for worship.”¹³¹ More durable buildings were built in most places in the course of time.

¹²⁶ W.S.Hunt, *The Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin, Kottayam*, C.M. Press, Vol.I, p. 202.

¹²⁷ A C.M.S. Missionary activist in Thiruvalla

¹²⁸ *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society 1856-57*, op.cit., p.140.

¹²⁹ *Proceeding of the Church Missionary Society*, 1918-19, London, p.113.

¹³⁰ *Travancore and Cochin Diocesan Record 1910*, Vol. XX, No.6, 1910, C.M.S.Press, Kottayam, p. 90.

¹³¹ *C.M.S.Mass Movement Surveys in Travancore and Cochin Survey and Appeal*, S.P.C.K. Press, Madras, 1917, p.10.

Missionary leaders in Cochin State, Rev. Hokes Worth, Rev. George Mathan, Rev. Hentry Harley, mobilized the community of depressed castes and gave them the awareness with which to recover their human rights. Slave castes were not admitted to schools till 1865. These castes of the soil who laboured from dawn to dusk were treated inhumanly by the landlords. No dissent to whatever the land owners said. Land lords opposed to education of slave caste because paddy fields would be declined or field go dry. They believed that it was the granaries of the land lords that the slaves had toiled to till for their generations and also education could cause the erosion of manual labour force. After the abolition of slavery in 1853, the government and the private agencies primarily engaged their attention on the educational expansion of the depressed castes.

The educational status of the population in Kerala in 1899

Community/Religion	Males (%)	Females (%)
Hindus		
Brahmin	51.7	7.2
Nairs	37.5	6.9
Backward Communities		
Ezhava	12.1	0.1
Channar	5.1	0.4
Depressed Class		
Kurava	0.0	0.0
Paraya	2.9	0.3
Pulaya	0.4	0.0
Christians	21.3	3.3
Muslims	11.4	1.7

Source: Census of Travancore 1901

The table shows the pathetic condition of education of depressed class in the last decade of 18th century. The total percentage of the education of depressed class was only 3.3%. Among them no one had from Kurava community.

The publication of Education Code in 1910¹³² was a remarkable step in the history of the outcastes. It laid down that no boy or girl shall ever be refused admission to any recognised school by reason of his caste or religion. The admission of backward class children in common schools caused much opposition and protests leading to riots in many places. After the schools reopened in June, there have been quite a number of strikes in several schools against the admission of Pulayas. The Christians, Nairs, Brahmins and in some places even Ezhavas joined together to oppose the admission of pulayas in the school. The discrimination continued, in spite of the spread of education among them under the missionaries. When K.K Kochukuttan was a student of Mulanthuruthy High School, he and his friend Chandran, who also belonged to depressed caste, used to take tea from a Nair hotel. “Tea was served in the courtyard of the hotel for depressed castes and they had to clean their glasses.”¹³³

The missionary education had created a new social consciousness among the downtrodden sections of the society. The activities of the Christian missionaries have contributed substantially to the educational progress of the state, owing to the caste system and slavery; the missionaries were at first forced to establish separate schools for the education of the depressed castes.

¹³² The Education Code of Travancore in 1910 was a comprehensive measure in the classification, management, accommodation and equipment of schools. It defined the positions of each school in the system of public instruction and improved the efficiency of the managements and teachers. It prescribed the qualifications of teachers and regulated school term fees, text- books and dealt with the rules regarding the recognition and grant in-aid to schools.

¹³³ K. Kochukuttan, *Ente Balyavun Vidyabhasavum (Mal)*, , K. Kochukuttan *Smaranika* , K. Kochukuttan Smaraka Samithi, Trissur, 1988, p. 152.

They took efforts to promote social and economic equality and justice; and to provide equal educational opportunities to all irrespective of caste and class considerations. In course of time, the missionaries threw open the doors of their schools to pupils of all castes and creeds. It caused a great social revolution in Kerala. Census Report of 1891 noted that in Perumanur Kalathil Pulaya School, situated in the Kanayannur Taluk, 17 students belonged to the Pulaya caste had studied. K.K Kochukuttan and K.K. Dakshayani passed the SSLC Examination in 1931 as the first one from depressed castes.¹³⁴

The formation of the Cochin Pulaya Maha Sabha created a new awareness among the Pulayas. It was formed in 1913. The leaders of the Pulayas realized that their petitions and the consequent moderate welfare measures by the government did not improve the condition of the lower castes. They believed that education was an important tool for the emancipation of the community and carried out an intensive campaign among the Pulayas to send their children to school. Pandit Karuppan and K.P.Vallon raised the problems of the depressed castes in the Cochin legislature. Taking this aspect in to consideration the government had adopted a liberal policy in the matter of giving educational concessions to depressed students. They were exempted from payment of fee at all levels of education. The students were given Lump sum grants for the purchase of books, clothes and free meals. Night schools and social welfare centers were opened in the areas where depressed classes

¹³⁴ Kochukuttan completed SSLC from Mulanthuruthy School. In 1931, C.E. he joined the Intermediate class in Maharajas College Ernakulam. His father belonged to the Kochi State and his mother was from Vaikom, in Thiruvithamkur. He studied in the B.A Classes in Maharajas College Ernakulam in the year 1942-44 C.E. *Sirkar* nominated him to the Legislative Council as a representative of the depressed in 1945 C.E. He won the 1948 C.E. election from Arnattukara *Niyajakamandalam* as prajamandalam candidate. He was selected as Deputy Speaker in 1948 C.E. In 1949 C.E. he became Deputy Speaker of Travancore Cochin. In 1952 C.E. election he represented Amballur Constituency and selected as Minister of Local Self Government. He was the first minister from depressed class. In 1954, 1957 and 1960 he won the election from Kunnathunadu, Vadakkanchery and again from Vadakkanchery respectively.

lived in large numbers. A separate department was started for the upliftment of the depressed classes. The government appointed a full time protector V R M Chohan in 1931 to look after the literacy programme meant for the depressed classes. As a result of these steps taken by the government, there was remarkable increase in the number of pupils from depressed classes attending the schools. K.P.Vallon's efforts led to the establishment of a government hostel for depressed castes in Ernamkulam and the government gave free food and accommodation to the students. Spread of education among the lowest strata of the society to obtain government jobs.

Education of the depressed caste was further promoted when the national movement received a new impetus in 1918 under the leadership of Gandhi. It became an inclusive mass movement under the new direction of Gandhi instead of being confined to the educated classes. The leaders exhorted the people to get educated and it alone could bring them out of colonial control. National system of education was formulated with the purpose of promoting the national consciousness among the youth. To achieve this purpose, it was felt that education should be imparted through the language of the people to achieve this purpose. It also emphasized scientific education and scientific research. The leaders realized the need for literacy among the masses. Gandhi himself started adult education, as he realized that the national movement could never succeed without the cooperation and the involvement of the need for education among the lower castes and classes in the urban areas and practically the entire group in the rural areas. The depressed classes realized that only by compulsory education they could achieve progress. These people are completely free from the hold of the caste.

Many difficulties stood in the way of educating the children of the depressed classes. "The laziness of the children, lack of desire for education, ignorance of the parents, and the practice of keeping children to look after the

babies at home, stood in the way of their educational progress.”¹³⁵ All sorts of falsehood and scandals and religious prejudices were spread by vested interests in order to prevent them from attending school. The poverty of the parents and the ill-feelings of the upper classes also caused much difficulty for them.

Education of Hill Tribes

The Scheduled Tribe communities in Kerala are heterogeneous in social customs, conventions, beliefs and practices. It is also possible to demarcate them on the basis of health, education and their physical quality of life. A tribe is a group of people, usually staying in jungle areas, in a small locality, absolutely illiterate poor, hardly clad in clothes, usually dark and frail, fully living within their own community whose marriage always takes place among themselves, engaged in hunting and gathering for roots, shoots and fruits as their veg food and roasted animals as non-veg food, completely oblivious of the country’s political and economic condition, resisting all efforts of development and have a strong dislike for strangers and educated modern community. Education of the tribal children has been an issue of concern and the dearth of it has a deplorable repercussion on the development of tribal people. The elite people considered them as serfs and slaves.

Slaves and Serfs in Travancore used to be bought and sold like cattle and disposed of along with the land on which they worked. They were not allowed to use the highways, public roads, hospitals, common wells and denied permission to enter or even go near the temples. “They had no access to markets. They didn’t have the right to use upper garments to cover their

¹³⁵ *C.M.S.Mass Movement Surveys in Travancore and Cochin, 1917, p.10.*

breasts. They were not allowed to wear valuable ornaments. Education was also denied to them.”¹³⁶

Despite their evangelical agenda, mission schools became an important factor in tribal societies by enabling formal schooling opportunities hitherto excluded groups. These mission schools provided instruction in the three Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic) as well as subjects such as history, geography, elementary science basic vocational training and so on. Through education these people acquired new jobs and new consciousness and finally they opposed the colonial policies. The missionaries had two aims to introduce the education. First the European protestant missionaries moulded a new sense of self amongst their converts by attempting to break down caste markers. Second the education was the domain to introduce new habits, patterns of work, social organisation, gender roles and language for Christian converts.

The British policy towards the tribes of India and Kerala were seemed negative. They tried to isolate them and impose illogical revenue collection. The British brought most of the tribal regions in India under their control for enhancing revenue collection and imposing uniform legal and administrative structure across India. Following the colonial policy, the British kept the tribes in isolation and away from the national mainstream. British policy of isolationism and allowing them to pursue their own socio-economic and cultural life allowed them to remain backward and kept aloof them from the society. During the colonial period, individual and collective efforts were made by many social workers, missionaries and voluntary organizations to bring the tribal people into mainstream. The Christian missionaries like Church Missionary Society (CMS), LMS (London Mission Society) and BEM

¹³⁶ *Census of Cochin 1901*, Volume XX, Part I Report, pp-172-173. Also *Census of Travancore, 1931*, p. 432

(Basel Evangelical Mission) took up development and welfare activities to the tribal people especially in areas of health and education.

The CMS Missionary made the laudable work for the education of the hill tribes. When the government schools and higher caste schools were tightly closed against them, the missionaries admitted these people in their schools with pleasure, educated them. The missionaries brought the light of education to the hill tribes and slave castes in the secluded hilly tracts and remote villages.

The social and economic conditions of the tribal people during the 19th century Travancore were miserable and pitiable. There were existed several inhuman practices like slavery, rigid caste system and untouchability. The missionaries tried to abolish the slave practices and caste system in Kerala. The C.M.S. Missionaries undertook the tedious task of uplifting the depressed classes by converting them to Christianity and by educating them. They wished to make use of education as a powerful tool for enlightening them as well as liberating them from their age-long bondage.

The missionaries took interest in the education of the hill tribes. The most important tribe among them was Hill Arrians who lived in the eastern hills jungles of Travancore. Henry Baker Junior¹³⁷ who worked among the Hill Arrians came to be known as the Apostle of the Hill Arrians. Henry Baker Junior, the son of Henry Baker Senior, who joined the Travancore mission in 1843, heard about the Hill Arrians living on the forest-clad mountains of Eastern Travancore. They were not included in the Hindu caste system but worshipped local deities and traditional beliefs. They seemed to have more affinity with the great group of plain people called Ezhavas. Their villages were often lovely spots, generally in a ravine, inaccessible to

¹³⁷ Henry Baker Junior (1819-1878) was the founder of mission to the Hill Arrians. Known as The Apostle of Hills.

elephants. “Many of their houses were good substantial erections of wood and stone, but, in many cases, they preferred temporary huts of mud, bamboo and grass thatch.”¹³⁸ “Rough mountain paths through dense jungles or over rocks and boulders were the only way for the travellers. They were a race of cultivators interesting in appearance and manners and proverbial throughout the country for their truth and industrious habits.”¹³⁹ They were illiterate/there being no system of education for them. In one of his missionary tours, Henry Baker met a few of them and made an interesting conversation with them. “In 1848, the headmen of these people from the different hills approached him and requested that the advantages of schools and religious instructions might be extended to them and some protection offered to them from the oppression of the petty officials.”¹⁴⁰ He accordingly set out to visit them accompanied by his brother, and after a tedious journey, reached their secluded abodes in the midst of the forest, at Melukavu.

The missionary found them most anxious to receive instruction. The missionary couldn't grasp their language properly. So he sent schoolmasters to them, from Pallom, Puthupally, Olesha and Alleppey, two at a time, to teach these people. “The Arrian leaders co-operated with them in building prayer house and school rooms. Baker frequently visited them and encouraged their activities.”¹⁴¹ As a result, many of them were converted to Christianity and a number of them became literate. But, the missionary and the leaders had to face many difficulties. The presence of wild animals, unpleasant climate and difficulties of travel, are the major obstacles of the

¹³⁸ W.S.Hunt, *op.cit.*, p.182.

¹³⁹ *Church Missionary Intelligence*, Seeley, Fleet Street and T.Richard, Piccadily, Vol.IV, London, 1853, p.87.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ W.S.Hunt, *op.cit.*, p.186.

missionaries. Several of them caught Malaria and two of them died. Even Henry Baker Junior caught fever and suffered much from it.

“As the congregations grew, troubles increased. The converts had to face bitter opposition from their own families, relatives and above all from government-police authorities and village officers.”¹⁴² But they stood firm and continued to receive the benefits of education.

The missionary selected several centres for educating the tribes. The chief centre of Baker's operations was Mundakkayam. In 1849, he lodged in a tree hut, because of wild animals and developed a Mission Centre there. He made a congregation of Hill Arrians at Mundakkayam and other converts. “The establishment of a single room School in 1849 by Henry Baker Junior was the first attempt of the C.M.S. to educate the Hill Arrians”¹⁴³. More schools were built in the hilly region when the evangelical activities increased. In spite of difficulties Henry Baker continued his work among the Hill Arrians. More missionary workers supported him as in different aspects. Sir Henry Lawrence, a supporter of the mission, came to know of his activities and sent him Rs.150/- to build a school at Mundakayam. Miss Osborne, another C.M.S. Missionary, sent him £ 20 promising him to continue the help for training teachers for the Arrian Mission for another five years. The native tribal people also supported the missionaries for educating their own community. “Some young Hill Arrians themselves, offered to work half the day only and give up the other half to learn to be teachers.”¹⁴⁴ Baker also started a Slave School at Mundakayam for the education of the runaway slaves who had taken shelter in the forest. In course of time, the

¹⁴² *Travancore and Cochin Diocesan Record, 1909*, Kottayam: C.M.S.Press, Vol. XIX, No.4, August 1909, p.57.

¹⁴³ *Madras Church Missionary Record 1858*, John Fonseca, Vol. XXV, No.6, Madras, June 1858, p.72.

¹⁴⁴ Eira Dalton, *Baker Family in India*, Kottayam: C.M.S. Press 1963, p.42.

school that Baker started at Mundakkayam developed into a complete primary school and it was upgraded as an English Middle School. In 1939 it became an English High School. This school helped the education of many hilly people and backward classes in addition to the other classes.

Henry Baker also established schools and churches for the education and worship of the Hill Arrians in other parts of the mountain region. He expanded the work in several nearby areas and different parts of Travancore. In the extensive area of Melukavu, he established 11 churches and 27 schools. "All these schools were elementary school. The schools and churches at Mundakayam (1849) Peermade (1850) Koottikal and Melukavu (1852) Erumapra (1851) Kannikkal (1853) Koovapally (1872) and Valakam (1873) were built by him. At the time of his death in 1878, there were about 2000 converts among the Hill Arrians."¹⁴⁵ Henry Baker had divided the Arrian Hill mission into two parts Mundakayam and Melukavu, about 42 Km. from one another.

In 1852 Henry Baker Junior had established a school at Melukavu where the Hill Arrians were given instruction by the teachers deputed by him. The school was conducted in an elementary manner for teaching the converts and their children to read the Bible as well as the three Rs. This school was recognised as a primary school in 1089 M.E. (1913-1914) by the government of Travancore. During the time of John Caley (1871-1905), Dewan T.Madhava Rao visited the School and encouraged the students who were learning English by giving prizes. In 1917, the school was upgraded as a Vernacular Middle School (Classes V - VII added). When the changes occurred in the pattern of education in Travancore, this school was converted into a new type Middle School in 1946. "The crowding of the children in this

¹⁴⁵ P.J. Isaac, *125 years of History of the Melukav Church*, Melukavu, C. S. I. Church, 1977, p. 22.

school as well as their intense desire for higher education compelled the Church Of South India to upgrade the school into a High School in 1968. Eminent headmasters like K.V. Joseph, T.P. Mathew, P.C.Chandy, P.J. John and K.V. Abraham served this institution.”¹⁴⁶ This school has helped the education of many Hill Arrian children. The old students of this school are found in various professions as teachers, government servants, pastors and even as I.A.S. Officer. The Rev. E.J.Joseph, was the first person ordained as a C.M. S. clergyman from this community. Eminent C.S.I. pastors like the Rev. P.D. John and Michael John are the old students of this school.

The missionaries extended their educational work to the other group of tribals. Henry Harley, the C.M.S. Missionary at Trichur, began work among the Nayadis in 1843. “The Nayadis were a tribe of jungle dwellers. He was helped by the Collector of Malabar who built a school and eight houses for them. But they were indolent and idle, so the work was given up in 1845.”¹⁴⁷ As it was in the Malabar territory, the C. M S. did not take much interest in making further attempts. The German Missionaries took interest in it and the people were brought within the educational and evangelical work of the Basel mission. Thus the work of the C.M.S. missionaries gave inspiration to other missionary groups and government to pay attention to the education of the hill tribes.

The governments of Travancore and Cochin were at first indifferent in the matter of educating the backward classes and tribal people. The missionaries in 1875, through a memorandum submitted to the Travancore government sought the permission to impart education among the depressed castes. As a result, a grant was sanctioned to the missionaries for the education of backward classes. Gradually, the government was attracted by

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 171-176.

¹⁴⁷ W.S.Hunt, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.105.

the missionary activities in educating the depressed classes. The government of Travancore started some initial works for the education of depressed classes.

The Education Reforms Report of 1933 stated that “there are no special schools for the depressed castes and all the schools in the State except 12, are reported to be open to the children of the depressed castes.”¹⁴⁸ But, it was difficult for the depressed class children to adjust to the caste pupils in the school, because of their extreme poverty and want of clothing and equipment. After the attainment of Independence more pupils from the backward castes are attending schools and colleges. Lump sum grants and stipends are given to them to promote their education.

The impact of education of the tribes was noteworthy. The first and foremost blessing which resulted from the labours of missionaries among the backward castes was they brought to those who were in darkness, the light of education. A large number of lower caste people gave up their evil customs and tribal conventions due to the influence of the missionaries. “The Christian missionaries made men of these poor creatures who were considered as beasts and were downtrodden by caste Hindus.”¹⁴⁹ The educational activities of the C.M.S. among the backward castes brought about great social changes in Kerala. The missionaries popularised education which was monopolised by the upper castes. As a result, the backward castes and hill tribes got facilities of education. The missionary efforts enabled the slaves to get freedom. They were saved from the prejudices of the high caste people and elevated their social status. The vocational and industrial education enabled the members of the backward castes to find self-employment and jobs. Their level of literacy

¹⁴⁸ *Report of the Travancore Education Reforms Committee*, Trivandrum: Government Press, 1933, p.285.

¹⁴⁹ R.Narayana Panicker, *Kerala Bhasha Sahithiya Charitram*, (Mal), Chalai, Vol. V, Book Depot Trivandrum, 1943, p.804.

increased and superstitious beliefs and practices disappeared from them. Many of them were able to find employment in the Church and State. The Missionary example inspired the government to take interest in the education of the poor.

Even though the impact of tribal education far reached effects, unfortunately there were no social reformers emerged among the tribal people. Kerala witnessed many social reformers who got English education in 19th century and they led many social reform activities within the community and outer community. Such social reformers cannot be seen among the tribal people. Owing to the caste system and slavery, the missionaries were at first forced to establish separate schools for the education of the depressed classes. But, in course of time, the missionaries threw open the doors of their schools to pupils of all castes and creeds. It caused a great social revolution in Kerala.

Impact of Colonial Education

The advent of British and the imposition of colonial power over India led to significant changes in land and juridical and social relations. Among the various reforms introduced by the British, those affecting education are considered to have been the most far reaching. “The educational efforts of the Protestant Missionaries, brought from England by Col.Munro, then the resident of both Travancore and Cochin, are well documented.”¹⁵⁰ “The contribution of the Missionaries to cause of education in the State are significant not in terms of the numbers that they turned out.”¹⁵¹ But in terms of the awareness, that their efforts instilled in the minds of the depressed communities about their social rights and in the minds of the higher ups in

¹⁵⁰ T.K.Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol.III, op.cit., p. 699.

¹⁵¹ P.K.M.Tharakan, *Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development-The Case of Nineteenth Century Travancore*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XIX, No. 45, November 10, 1984, pp.1913-28.

society about the dangers to their social power inherent in giving a free hand to the Missionaries in the field of education who, in the process, tampered with the age-old customs and traditions of the Hindu society. Regarding the apprehensions of the caste Hindus, a CMS Syrian observed that: “Strong fears exist among all class of peoples, that the enlightenment of slaves will be followed by their liberation, and the consequent ruin of the interests of agriculture. We are therefore being regarded as enemies to the best interest of the country”.¹⁵²

The educational efforts of the Missionaries had the indirect effect of convincing the government of the need to 'enlightenment' of the community for making changes in the iniquitous social structure which was then in existence. The government had to think along lines of socio economic change and educational expansion due to a constellation of factors as the modernization of administration, commercialisation of the economy, communal rivalry etc. As a result, the earlier system of hereditary rights to government offices had to be discontinued for administrative efficiency. In the new system introduced, appointments were decided on the basis of educational qualification. In 1866, Dewan Madhava Rao declared that “apart from the intrinsic worth of education, it would be the chief passport to honour and preferment, and so far as the Sirkar was concerned, all important posts under it would be filled by educated men, and, educated men alone, as soon as they became available in the place of the earlier system based on caste and privilege.”¹⁵³

Development occurred in the case of local trade too. In order to facilitate the movement of goods, new public roads were constructed and waterways cleared under a newly formed department of public works. Such

¹⁵² Robin Jeffrey, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.76.

changes in the structure, organisation and functioning of the economy had implications on the educational process. The introduction of a new juridical structure and administrative standards and the spread of western liberal thinking and education, created new attitudes and aspirations in the population of questioning of customs, traditions and belief systems.

One of the most important effects of modern colonialism was the wide popularity attained in the field of women's education. The missionary schools were instrumental in destabilizing the caste and class structure in Kerala. The lower castes that were once neglected were educated in the mission schools. A civic consciousness developed among the *avarna* sections mainly due to the missionary policy of accommodating all sections of people in their educational institutions. It was from the Hindu *avarna* castes that most of the people converted to Christianity. The number of converts from the Hindu *savarnas* was negligible. The *avarna* classes began to demand equal opportunities irrespective of castes and classes due to the exhortations of the missionaries.

The modern ideas of democracy and responsible government, the very centre of western education and culture, opened a new vision of political thought in Kerala, along with the realization of a new sense of personality, self-respect and vitality. "To the socially suppressed classes this foreign influence proved to be a great blessing. It opened a new era of social freedom based on the rule of law."¹⁵⁴ "On the other hand, active consciousness developed among the *avarna* class as a result of the British reforms and

¹⁵⁴ M. J. Koshi, *The History of the Legislative of Travancore and Cochin up to 1956*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1974, p.6.

educational advancements. A new spirit of enquiry and criticism developed among the low castes.”¹⁵⁵

The hierarchy as exhibited by the Hindu society was challenged by the development of this new education system. The concept of social responsibility emerged, domestic ideas developed and people became more and more conscious of their rights. Towards the close of the 19th century, the new elite of all the communities wanted to look forward instead of backwards and embrace the elements of modernization. It widened the contradictions between the *savarna* and *avarna* communities. For the higher castes educational advancement was a means by which they could acquire a share in power which they lost to the British. For the *avarnas* education meant much more than this; it was the door to a new world.. Education was emancipation for them. It was a way to escape from hard and exhausting toil and degrading labour.

¹⁵⁵ M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1972, p.58.

CHAPTER II

COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN KERALA

Education is the carrier of culture mankind and it is as old as the human race. The late Professor F.W. Thomas, one of the greatest Indologists said that “Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic Age to the Bengali Philosopher of the present day there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars.”¹ Colonialism was a crucial phase of cultural transformation in which education played a key role.

Colonialism is a system of rules which assumes the right of one people to impose their ‘will’ upon another. It inevitably leads to a situation of dominance and dependency and it systematically subordinates those governed by it to the imported culture in social, economic and political life. According to Oxford Advanced American Dictionary, “colonialism is the practice by which a powerful country controls another country or other countries.”² In her book *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* novelist Elleke Bohemer interpreted colonialism as: “The consolidation of imperial power, and is manifested in the settlement of territory, the exploitation of resources, and the attempt to govern the indigenous inhabitants of occupied lands often by force.”³ Professor John McLeod claimed: “colonialism is only form of

¹ F.W Thomas, *British Education in India*, George Bells Sons, London, 1891, p.98.

² <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com>

³ Elleke Bohemer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, Oxford University Press, Newyork, 2005, p. 2.

practice which results from the ideology of imperialism, and specifically concerns the settlement of one group of people in a new location.”⁴

Colonialism is not merely political and economic conquest; but cultural conquest. Education, as one of the determining factors of culture, played significant role in the politics of both the colonizer and the colonized. Cultural conquest seemed less coercive and assumed more receptivity among the colonized. Education facilitated this process with less expenditure and minimum resistance from the side of the natives. It was purely intentional and one of the most successful weapons by which the British subjugated the people of India. Replacing the existing native education with British system of education had the effect of destroying the cultural identity of being Indian. The British, in the opinion of Gauri Viswanathan, was producing an image of ideal Englishman through education.⁵

Colonial Motives of Education

The process of colonization implies one nation or territory taking control of another nation or territory either through the use of force or by acquisition. As a product of colonization, the colonizing nation implements its own form of schooling within their colonies. It is defined as an attempt to assist the consolidation of foreign rule. The idea of assimilation is important to colonial education. Assimilation involves the colonized being forced to conform to the cultures and traditions of the colonizers. Gauri Viswanathan points out that “cultural assimilation is the most effective form of political action because cultural domination works by consent and often precedes

⁴ John McLeod, *Beginning Post colonialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2000, p. 7.

⁵ Gouri Viswanathan, *Currying Favor: The Politics of British Educational Policy in India, 1813-1854*, New Delhi, 1988, p.86.

conquest by force.”⁶ After a few years of political conquest, the British in Kerala consolidated their position by introducing public education system. Shift from indigenous system of education to that to the one introduced by the British was fast and at the same time, tumultuous.

Colonizing governments realize that they gain strength not necessarily through physical control, but through mental control. This mental control is implemented through a central intellectual location, the school system, or what Louis Althusser called ‘an ideological state apparatus’. Colonial education strips the colonized people away from their indigenous learning structures and draws them toward the structures of the colonizers. The indigenous history and customs once practiced and observed slowly slipped away. The colonial education system and development had adverse effect on Mappilas of Malabar. A number of Arabic-Malayalam works were produced in a wide variety of subjects on both religious and secular themes. Dictionaries were produced in Arabi-Malayalam. The printing press established by Mappilas in different parts of Malabar. The cultural language of Mappilas had thus developed many of the capacities of a literary language. But the position of this language was reverted by the colonial interventions. The exposition to western culture through learning English had reflected on Malayalam literature. The poets were particularly impressed by the English romantic poetry. Love and liberty formed the ideology of the literati of Malayalam as a consequence of their exposition to English literature. Love is sanctified and considered as the means and goal of mankind against caste system and inhuman evils. The novel *Indulekha* (1889), written by Chandu Menon in Malayalam was an outcome of the exposition of people to western literature and culture. “He sought to combine romantic love with realistic

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.89.

social details and brought a new social realism in Malayalam literature.”⁷ The colonial curriculum (which the missionaries also followed with some modifications) implied a total break in the prevailing concept of what was worth learning. “It was too violent a break to be successfully plastered over by the availability of printed texts and the application of new pedagogies.”⁸

Mathematics became an important part of leisure time activity of the students and others which includes lot of puzzles and riddles and used it in every day life. The poets wrote poems in sometime adhering to the number rules. The formulas in the form of *Karikas* (verses) indicate linguistic and mathematical intelligence of the then Kerala society. But after the colonial education, there was a drastic change in the mathematics education. The colonial education made Pedagogical shifts from traditional mathematics education and it invited certain criticisms from the general public. S. Subrahmanya Aiyyer wrote in an article titled ‘*Manakkanakku*’ opined that “the excess use of slates and modern teaching aids adversely affected the computational ability of the people of Kerala. He mentions that the people educated in traditional way were very excellent in their perceptual speed and in computation, even with big numbers.”⁹ There was a drastic change occurred in the methods of teaching in colonial period. Pre -colonial education was mainly based on the mental ability and through it the students can retain the subjects taught. The teachers inflicted severe punishments to students without considering the features of child behaviour and instinctual tendencies. They believed that strict discipline was an important requirement to attain of the ultimate aim of education- self-realization or self-actualization.

7 <https://www.studocu.com/in/document/mahatma-gandhi-university/social-formations-of-kerala-c-ad1200-1800/structure-and-change-in-kerala/22336733>, p.33.

8 Krishna Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2005,p.66.

9 Subrahmanya Aiyyer, S., *Manakkanakku*, Bhashaposhini, Tulam, 1898.

Many of the students, in their later years, recalled what they had learnt in the past more creatively and divergently. Colonial education supplanted such old methods and practices by introducing new teaching methods and strategies by using printed text books and teaching manuals. The classical Sanskrit and Mathematics lost their earlier importance in colonial curriculum. For example, when Gundert became the school inspector, he discouraged learning of *Sriamodantha* or *Amarakosa* as a pre requisite to Sanskrit studies.

A native in the colonial education system confronts the condition of hybridity. It is formed out of the identities created out of multiple cultural forms, practices, beliefs and power dynamics. Colonial education creates a condition that makes it difficult to differentiate between the new, enforced ideas of the colonizers and the former native practices. Many of the practices which bound the society as it was were tuned to become obsolete due to the incursion of the western values through education. Matrilineal system, joint families, polyandry, rituals related to one own family tradition and native language were looked at with scorn. “The process annihilates a people’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is farthest removed from them.”¹⁰ Not only does colonial education eventually create a desire to disassociate with native heritage, but it affects the individual and his/her sense of self-confidence. It is held that colonial education leaves a sense of inferiority and disempowerment on the collective psyche of a colonized people. It is opined that in order to eliminate the harmful, lasting effects of colonial education, postcolonial

¹⁰ Ngugi wa Thiong o, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, Heinemann Portsmouth, 1981, p.19. Retrieved from <https://www.uibk.ac.at/anglistik/staff/davis/decolonising-the-mind.pdf>.

nations must connect their own experiences of colonialism with other nations' histories.

Malabar region confronted colonialism in the sphere of education with the beginning of missionary activities. The traditional caste based native education system was disrupted. A new education system came into being replacing the traditional system of learning. A new educational structure is evolved under colonialism in the place of indigenous system of education. This should support the hybrid identity created out of the native encounter with the colonizers. "One of the main social activities of the missionaries in North Malabar was the founding of schools for the poor and the children of the oppressed castes like Cherumas, Pulayas and Ezhavas, and also encouraged the education of girls."¹¹ Religion was the prime concern of the missionaries. They knew well that education would prepare the ground work for their main goal that is conversion to Christianity. Moreover, modern education had given them an opportunity to get access to the native society. Modern education would definitely change the traditional values and imitate western culture.

Much of the reasoning that favours such a learning system comes from supremacist ideas of the colonizers. Thomas B. Macaulay asserts his viewpoints about British India in an early nineteenth century speech. Macaulay insists that no reader of literature could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. He continues, stating, it is no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the paltriest abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. Regarding the ultimate

¹¹ Ramachandran,V.K., Kerala's Development Achievements and their Replicability in Govindan Parayil, (ed.), *Kerala Development Experience: Reflections on Sustainability and Replicability*, Zed Books, London, 1988, p.103.

goal of colonial education Macaulay wrote in his Minute, “We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.”¹² While all colonizers may not have shared Macaulay’s lack of respect for the existing systems of the colonized, they do share the idea that education is important in facilitating the colonial conquest through assimilation process.

During the time of the East India Company and later, in the British rule, there seem to have been two motives working in the minds of the rulers: plundering the wealth of the land they conquered and the 'white man's burden' of civilizing the natives (the term used by them to refer to all Indians). British education policies in the Indian Subcontinent, which installed English language as the imperial language, were as a measure to establish British influence and control over the colony.

“Antonio Gramsci has called ‘submission by consent’, in which the subjugated people concur in their own subjectivity and accept their inferiority before the imperial power”.¹³ Domination achieved by combining coercion and acceptance is more effective and lasting because the dominated is willing to cooperate with the colonizer to further the state of affairs. “This ‘hegemony’ to use the term as Gramsci used it in the 1930s, is best achieved by ‘interpellation’ of the native by using such ideological state apparatuses like education, church and the media.”¹⁴ A survey was ordered in 1822 and was conducted by the British district collectors. In the survey it was found

¹² Chand, J., *Education in India during British Period*, Anshah Publishing House, New Delhi, 2007, p.5.

¹³ Quentin Hoare & Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds.), *Selections from Prison Notebook of Antonio Gramsci*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971, p.45. Retrieved from <https://abahlali.org/files/gramsci.pdf>.

¹⁴ Easthope & McGowan, (eds.), *A Critical and Cultural Theory Reader*, Open University Press, Buckingham, pp. 50-57.

that the Bengal presidency had one lakh village schools, in Madras there was not a single village without a school, in Bombay, if the village population was near hundred, and the village had a school. Teachers as well as students of all castes were in these schools. The Brahmins accounted 7% to 48% of the teachers, and the rest of the teachers in any district, came from other castes. Further all children had their education in their mother tongue.

It can be said that the political and hegemonic aims were crucial factors behind the measures that were taken to formulate Britain's Indian education policy. The historians Grover and Alka explained that the hidden policy of the British East India Company was to train the native in oriental languages. Indians well-versed in the classic and vernacular languages could be useful tools for the administrative needs of the Company. In the Judicial Department Indians conversant with Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian were required to sit as assessors with English judges and expound Hindu or Muslim law from Sanskrit or Persian or Arabic books. Besides, the knowledge of Persian and vernaculars was valued in the political department for correspondence with rulers of Indian states. "The clerical staff in the revenue and commercial departments had contacts with uneducated masses and for them knowledge of vernaculars was a must."¹⁵

The caste based traditional education system was broken. Vijay Agnew¹⁶ holds her English education in India and said that the colonial education had effectively cut off from Indian culture. She commented in her autobiography thus:

¹⁵ B.L. Grover & Alka Mehta, *A New Look at Modern India History*, S. Chand Publishing, New Delhi, 2014, p. 257.

¹⁶ Vijay Agnew is a social scientist and Director of the centre for Feminist Research at York University, Toronto. After studying history and law at the University of Bombay in India, she did graduate work at the University of Waterloo and Toronto, Canada.

“I was a product of what we’d now call a “colonial education”. It all but ignored discussion of the various regional cultures, social organizations and religions, such as Hinduism and Islam. I attended, like other children from privilege families, what we called in India a convent school, in my case a school run by Irish Catholic Missionaries. The curriculum in the school didn’t include anything on India. We studied European history and English literature along with the other school subjects such as mathematics and biology. I remember we read Shakespeare, Charles Dickens and Thomas Hardy, but we were not assigned any readings by Indian authors, and none of the books we read had Indian themes. I memorized the gospel of Mathew, Mark, Luke and John, but nothing of the *Ramayana* or the *Mahabharata*, the classic Hindu religious epics.....I had heard the stories from the epics at home, but had read few Indian authors, not even Tagore or Narayan. Although I spoke several Indian languages, I could read and write only a little Hindi.”¹⁷

The Christian missionaries were instrumental in the introduction of modern western education. The British Parliament permitted in 1813 European missionaries to enter the country under the new system of licensing. This permission for mission work eventually opened India for missionary work. Caste system was questioned by these missionaries. Christian values came into conflict with the caste system. The concept of equality and concern for the others in Christianity placed in opposition to the inherent equality enshrined in an individuals’ karma under the caste system. They tried to convince the equality and brotherhood of human beings among the natives. The purpose was obviously to convert natives to Christianity. They spread these principles through education.

¹⁷ Alok K. Mukharjee, *This Gift of English: English Education and the Formation of Alternative Hegemonies in India*, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, 2009, pp.46-47.

Another method applied by the British was the so called Filtration theory. “It means, education is to be filtered to the common people. Drop by drop, the education should go to the common public so that at due time it may take the form of a vast stream which remained watering desert of the society for long times and high class of people should be educated and common people gain influence from it.”¹⁸ According to this famous doctrine, education was to permeate the masses from above. “Drop by drop from the Himalayas of Indian life useful information was to trickle downwards, forming in time a broad and stately stream to irrigate the thirsty plains.”¹⁹ The Nairs of Kerala who belonged to the upper strata of society and few well to do backward families grabbed the opportunity first. The first novel in Malayalam, *Indulekha* (1898) had borne the message that modern western education was the need of the hour. The author of the novel, Chandu Menon, was a magistrate in the British court at Tellicherry and was an admirer of the West. Soori Namboothiri, whose buffoon like character and demeanor in the novel, emanates from the conviction of the author that absence of modern western education turns a man a laughing stock. The book was widely read across Kerala and popularized in a way the advantages of modern western education. The novels published in the same decade like *Saraswati Vijayam*, *Sukumari*, *Parongadiparinayam*, *Lakshmikesavam* etc. projected western education as the panacea for reforming the society. It demonstrates that the motives of the British were well executed by the natives.

The lower castes grabbed the opportunity of education offered by the British through missionaries. They also recognized the significance of modern western education. For them, education was a means to transform their lower caste identity. Sree Narayana Guru, the spiritual Guru of one of the backward

¹⁸ R.N.Sharma & S.K. Sharma, *History of Education in India*, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 2012, p.85.

¹⁹ Arthur Mayhew, *The History of India*, Faber and Gwyer Limited, London, 1928, p.92.

castes called Ezhavas, advised his fellow caste men to establish schools instead of building temples. One of the strong demands of the deprived castes was to remove social barriers in the path of education. They themselves demanded the British to open more schools. It served as sites for the alleviation of caste prejudices of the upper castes and the sense of inferiority of the deprived castes. On its own, caste would not wean. But in the schools, students started mingling without being conscious of their respective caste status. Thus education served two purposes- one to train the socially divided people of Kerala to form a common culture and values which would definitely ease the process of British conquest. Secondly, without aggression, the British could bring Kerala under them.

The section of society which abstained completely from the western education was the Nambuthiris and Muslims .The Nambuthiris, the caste which was placed at the apex of the caste hierarchy clung to the traditional native education system. V.T.Bhattathirpad, the person who initiated reform among the Nambuthiris found that the traditional education system has turned his fellow caste men out dated and decadent. He encouraged them to go to schools. The Muslims abstained from the English education due to their anti-colonial attitude towards the British.

The controversy between the orientalist and the Anglicists had its effect in Travancore-Cochin also. During the first half of the nineteenth century the responsibility of imparting education lay primarily in the hands of the traditional indigenous institutions and the missionaries. “The missionaries devoted more of their attention to spread English education while they ignored in their schools teaching of Malayalam and Sanskrit.”²⁰

²⁰ P.R. Gopinathan Nair, *Universalization of Primary Education in Kerala*, Indian Institute of Education, Bombay, 1986, p.266.

The declaration on 7th March 1835 of Lord Bentinck gave to the educational policy of the English in India a definite form, clear vision and an acknowledged agenda. In Travancore also state support to education took varied forms. One was that of the stipends and liberal allowances to students and teachers. “In 1835, His Highness endowed twenty free scholarships to Nair students in the English school and built a new house for it.”²¹ The same year, the English school at Trivandrum was taken over by the government and given the title 'The Raja Free School'. This premier educational institution later developed in to His Highness the Maharajas' College.

According to J. Chand (2007), “the Wood Despatch visualized India as a market for the supplier of raw materials to Britain and a consumer market for the purchase of finished goods of Britain’s industries. Thus its vocational policy was lopsided.”²² The Despatch of 1854 had its own vibrations and changes in the southern part of the peninsula too. The second half of the nineteenth century laid a strong foundation of rapid and massive educational development in the Princely States of Travancore and Cochin. The educational policy of these two states was based on the promotion of vernacular education and the encouragement of private enterprises. All the qualitative elements of the system, its value system, attitude to knowledge, emphasis on verbal and linguistic skills and content were favourable to the well-to-do classes and unfavourable to the poor mass of toiling workers. Following the Woods Despatch, as a part of the decision of opening government schools and aiding private schools in different parts of the country, the provincial government of Madras decided to open a few vernacular schools in Malabar. “A Government Anglo Vernacular School was established at Calicut in 1855.”²³ The Government introduced a system of

²¹ *Centenary Souvenir Kerala University 1866-1966*, Trivandrum, 1966, p.3.

²² J. Chand, *op.cit.*, p.33.

²³ *RPIM, 1856-57*, Madras, Appendix- A, A/766, RAK, p.27.

Grant in aid to bring schools under the inspection and control of the government. Grant in Aid rules was published to encourage private agencies in the field of education in 1855. “Herman Gundert was appointed as the first inspector of schools of Malabar in 1857.”²⁴ As per the Madras Provincial Report of 1871, “the education status of Malabar was, Primary School 145 (only in private sector), Middle School 38 (35 in private sector), High School total 3 (2 in Private Sector) and one colleges in Government Sector.”²⁵ The data indicates that the progress in the field of education, especially in the higher education sector was very slow. It shows that British government was not interested in the progress of mass education or not willing to take the responsibility of mass education in Malabar. Further, the middle schools and high schools in the government sector were not sufficient to meet the growing educational needs of the society.

The British education focused on three important aspects: the ideological base of colonial education, agencies and social groups who participated in the process of knowledge dissemination and the formation of a new middle class group for different functions of colonial government in Malabar. It clearly understands that the British had a clear agenda while introducing a new knowledge system through the language of English. Colonial educational policies have had a far-reaching negative and positive effect on traditional educational practices and social system. Firstly, colonial powers actively reshaped the linguistic makeup of the region and implemented educational systems that were clearly geared to suit their own needs: who would act as interpreters between the Government and the mass. The British were mainly interested in instilling notions of European morality in their colonial subjects and at forming an easily available and cheap labour

²⁴ Varid K.P., *Dr.Herman Gundert*, National Book Stall, Kottayam. 1973, pp.140-143.

²⁵ *Statement of the Progress of Education, 1854 -1871*, Madras Provincial Report, Madras, p.37.

resource for their economic endeavours. Secondly, during the early period itself British had imposed English language and in the process rode roughshod over the indigenous languages. The colonial processes worked to undermine the language traditions that served as the roots of education for indigenous communities of the region. Because languages embody cultural knowledge and are integral to community identities, shifting to colonial language, British used English language as a powerful form of ontological and epistemological domination over the people of the region. This shows that language policy was always tied in some way to Britain's political and economic interests in the region. Thirdly, the British made little efforts to expand the education system to cover all subjects and to open up all levels of education to all pupils because skilled positions were generally reserved for Europeans. Fourthly, the introduction of modern education was not uniform among the various sections of Malabar society. In the formative phase of the British rule, some of the communities like Mappilas and aboriginal groups of hilly areas and the depressed class were neglected. The government was fully aware of the mass illiteracy of Mappila population and saw the need for making them literate and there by prevent the occurrence of Mappila outbreaks in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Due to the religious taboos, children of Muslim community were generally sent to Arabic schools attached to Mosques, instead of western type of educational institutions. Hence, "the British forced to take some initial steps to improve the educational status of the Mappilas. British administration tried to implement Hunter's suggestions of providing grants in aid to Muslim schools in the region."²⁶ Further, steps were taken on this direction by giving training to Muslim religious instructors and also starting schools in Mappila areas in later period. But much progress was not achieved, due to the aversion of Mappila

²⁶ Lakshmi, C.R.S., *The Malabar Muslims, A Different Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2012, p.111.

population towards the western education. Fifthly, after initial apathy British came in the forefront of educational activities and tried to spread western education, but only a tiny fraction of population came into direct contact with the colonial practices in the region. “There was no drastic change in the existing social setup and the social relations even during the mid of the 19th century. It is fact that Malabar was a neglected part of Madras presidency where the British had spent very little resources beyond the requirement of law and order.”²⁷ Further, “their educational policy was not in favour of structural transformation of the society through industrial development and popular education.”²⁸ Though the policy had helped to increase literacy rates and popularize village schools in the place of *Ezhuthupallis*, the policy did not help to increase educational facilities at the secondary or higher levels or provide professional type of education.

The British educational plan disturbed the indigenous system of “self-help” prevalent in India for centuries, and which suited the genius of the people. “In the same way the British abolished the system of paying the school teacher from the revenue collected from villages, and these funds were diverted to selected government schools in urban areas for providing ‘modern’ education.”²⁹ The British education policy helped in the creation of polarity in Indian society. The British educational system, based on utilitarian objectives, focused on the urban elite and the middle-classes and ignored the masses. Of more significance for this study is the fact that the British education policy favoured elitist patterns that have persisted to this day. It was

²⁷ A. Abdul Salim and Gopinathan Nair P.R., *Educational Development in India*, Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd. New Delhi, 2002, p.8.

²⁸ K.K.N. Kurup, The, Basel Mission and Social Change in Malabar with special reference to Herman Gundert in K.J John and K.K.N Kurup (ed.), *Legacy of Basel Mission and Herman Gundert in Malabar*, Calicut, 1993, p.58.

²⁹ Bakir, F., The Role of NGOs in Education. In Pervez Hoodbhoy (Ed.), *Education and the State*, Karachi: OUP, 1998, pp.177- 98.

primarily designed to act as an instrument of social and political control for the natives, and as a means of providing the government low paid functionaries.

The East India Company in India was not originally interested in promoting any system of education. But as its empire in India expanded, the need arose for officers in the lower rungs of the administration. One of the main items of expenditure was the high salary of English officers and one obvious way of economizing was to employ Indian subordinates. Employment of Indians required their being able to read, write and speak English. Colonial powers perceived a political advantage in educating the natives. The British, for instance, hoped that English education would close the gulf between Indians and English.

Modern western education introduced a method in teaching and learning with prescribed course outlines and printed translations and textbooks. Physics, chemistry and history were taught in the missionary schools and challenged the age old traditional beliefs in Hinduism. The new concepts which were based on scientific experiments were not confined to the four walls of classrooms; on the other hand, it spread informally to the surrounding areas. Thus education became a catalyst in changing the decadent society.

The changes were a blessing to the lower castes as they were excluded from formal knowledge system. Under the pre-colonial system, the lower castes had been excluded from formal learning system. They were compelled to practise the hereditary occupations under the caste system. Thus, they remained illiterate and only the upper castes had the privilege to enter the knowledge system. Under the colonial system, though the lower castes were not excluded from formal education, mass education was not encouraged. They preferred education to the few and those few must educate others. They

subordinated education to political power and sustenance of their authority in a colonized state.

Education can be seen as a tool of colonialism. The colonial influences destroyed and diminished the validity and legitimacy of indigenous education. And replaced and reshaped it with an education complicit with the colonial endeavour. Schooling as a formalised colonial structure served as a vehicle for wilder imperialist ideological objectives.

Hence, the British took recourse to vernacular languages to some extent, so as to use it as a medium of colonial ideological expansion. British taught English as the first language and vernacular as the second language, but large curricular space was provided for English also shows the colonial bend of mind. Vernacular education was encouraged by the British. The purpose was obviously not to cultivate vernacular reading culture or love for vernacular languages; but it was encouraged for colonial interest. To spread the colonial ideology through vernacular. It is fact that Malayalam literature began to develop modern trends after its contacts with the colonial education is indicative of the colonial success. The intervention of British colonialism through epistemological violence on the one hand and the pragmatic agency of education on the other imposed English and normalized the standard Malayalam over the people of Malabar. Further, it is argued that even when the colonial discourse of its pedagogical elaborations aimed to individual subjects, its benefits were appropriated not by all 'individuals' but at best by representatives drawn from all communities.

Structure of Higher Education

There were two phases of school education under the British. The first phase completes with Class VII, otherwise called Third Form. The student who completes Class VII receives Elementary School Leaving Certificate

(ESLC). The certificate makes the candidate eligible for such posts like Primary School Teacher, Police constables or clerk in the secretariat. The second phase of school education could be completed after three years of study, that is class X. The student receives Secondary leaving Certificate and he is eligible to apply for higher posts. Modernization of princely states, expansion of colonial administration, starting of commercial and industrial units and expansion of police and military sectors have opened new opportunities for those who completed their courses. The employment opportunities thus encouraged the expansion and advancement of higher education. But, there were meager opportunities in Kerala for higher education because very few higher education institutions were in operation before independence. Most of the students ended their education at secondary level. To make amend this, Raja's English school was upgraded as a second grade college (University College, Trivandrum). It was affiliated to Madras University in the beginning. SSLC certificate holders were eligible to apply for FA (First Examination in Arts) course in the institution. They were the matriculates of Madras University. FA course was for two years. Those who joined first year of FA are known as Junior FA and those who are in second years were known as senior FA. Admission for the students in the FA batch was in the year 1866 and they appeared for examination conducted by Madras University in the year 1868. Higher education aspirants joined BA course after FA and the first batch of BA course in the university college appeared for the exam in 1870. FA course was the first phase of university education. It was designed for two year course- first year for junior FA and second year as senior FA. Social Sciences and physical education were the subjects offered for FA. English language was taught as the first language and Malayalam as the second language. At the secondary level education, Malayalam was treated as the first language and English as Second language. Disciplines offered for study are broadly divided into Humanities and Sciences. Science

included mathematics, chemistry, chemistry and Life Sciences. History, economics, civics and logics were come under social sciences. FA course was taught till 1905. It was renamed as Intermediate course by the Indian University Act enacted by the Government of India. However, the content of the course remained the same. Like FA course, Intermediate course was also designed for two years- Junior Intermediate and Senior Intermediate. It continued in Kerala for half a century. More subjects were inducted as years advanced. Commerce was introduced as subject.

FA and Intermediate courses are started as part of University education. These courses are considered as the preparatory stage for undergraduate course in the higher education. Soon difference in opinions appeared about the structure of the course and its higher education status. Some argued that FA course be part of the school and could be treated as the terminal course at school level. It could be divided into junior and senior secondary course at school level. Another group of scholars argued that FA course be divided into two- first year as the senior secondary course as terminal course in the school and second year FA course be part of the University education as Pre-university course. Pre University course is mainly treated as the preparatory ground for university education. As opinions polarized on the nature and content of the FA course, the Government of India appointed a Committee under Sir John Sargent in 1945. He was the Chairman of the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) under the Government of India at the time of his appointment as the chairman of the Education Commission. The 21 member commission asked to enquire and report the state of education as a whole in India and recommend the necessary changes to be introduced. The recommendations were quite significant in terms of the improvements and the future course of actions to be taken in the field of education. It recommended free and compulsory education to the children between the age of 6 and 14. He reasoned that future of a nation depends on

the education of its people. He also recommended a separate university commission to study the higher education. He discarded Intermediate Course and replaced it with one year Pre-University Course. The decision unleashed fresh controversy on the termination of Intermediate course. This was mainly due to the fact that many junior colleges were started with Intermediate courses only. The future of these higher education institutions was in trouble with the termination of intermediate course. However, the recommendations were never implemented due to the political turmoil related to the independence of India.

The princely state of Travancore had involved actively in improving the educational status of its people. It appointed a committee to enquire the status of education under Harold C.Papworth. This was a logical conclusion of the initiatives that the Travancore Government had taken since the beginning of 20th century. Travancore Primary Education Act had made preliminary education free and compulsory up to the age of 10. Parents who were reluctant or refused to send their children to school were punished as per the Act. Penalties also imposed on those who employed children. Papworth Committee engaged in its work at a time when heated debates on the termination of Intermediate Course were going on. The Committee recommended the following:

1. Restructuring of school and higher education systems
2. School education is to be eleven years duration
3. Intermediate course is terminated
4. One year Pre-University Course is reinstated
5. Introduced three year undergraduate course
6. Introduction of Pre-professional course for those who aspire professional education.

Pre-University course was started in 1946-47 academic year in the

Government Model High School at Trivandrum. Permission was given to two private owned Colleges. Each one belongs to SNDP at Kollam and NSS at Changanasserry. Recommendations were not implemented as the State was in difficulties due to out of control political issues. Transfer of power to India, Thiru-Cochi union and the establishment of Responsible government in the state were the pressing problems confronted by the government of Kerala. So it went ahead with intermediate course and did not introduce pre-university course. The Pre-University course started in Government Model High School at Trivandrum was discontinued after two years. The courses in the two private owned colleges were permitted to switch over to intermediate course.

The under graduate programme had started in the nineteenth century itself in Kerala under the Madras University. The course is known as Bachelor of Arts (BA) and Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.). It was designed as a two years course as the time of its introduction. Post graduate courses were started in the Maharajas College, Trivandrum in 1914. It is titled as Honours Course. The course was higher than under graduation and lower than post graduate course. Students who clear Honours Degree are eligible to apply for college teachers. Bright students were admitted to the course as failure at any stage would seal the chances of their studies in future. MA and MSc courses were started soon. Undergraduate courses of three year and two year duration were continued in the colleges. Those who completed one year Pre University could join for three year under graduate course and those who completed intermediate course could join two year under graduate course. The subjects in two year and three years courses were different. English Part I, Second language part II and Optional subjects Part III were taught in the two year programme. In the Three year programme one more subject, General Education was also added. The government scrapped the course running parallel for two reasons – 1. Pre-university course was stopped abruptly by Travancore University. And second, two year undergraduate course was

running. After the formation of the state in 1957, Pre-University Course was extended to the whole of Kerala. Three year undergraduate course was renewed with paper general education removed.

Development of Higher Education in Kerala

“Higher Education means education in a college or university which is pursued after successfully completing a course of study in a high school or secondary school.”³⁰ Higher education institutions brought under the control of government with the Charles Wood Despatch in the year 1854. Higher education of India was built on the recommendations of the Charles Wood. He was the President of the Board of Control of the British East India Company. He recommended the introduction and expansion of higher education in India. Higher education institutions were introduced in Kerala under his recommendations. Universities were introduced in India. His important recommendations are as follows-

1. Appointment of a Director of Public Instruction in each British Province
2. Introduction of grants-in aid system
3. Establishment of universities in British provinces and princely states.

Financial aid to private educational institutions played a remarkable role in the spread of education. This was particularly done wonders in the education sector of Kerala where the missionaries utilized the grants in aid for opening primary schools. Universities were established in three British provinces such as Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857. These universities were modelled that of University of London. They are examining universities conducting examinations and giving certificates. Later, colleges were

³⁰ K V. Eapan , *Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala*, Kollett Publication, Kottayam, 1985, p. 122.

established under each university called Presidency colleges. Thus the system of affiliation was also introduced at university level.

In the case of Kerala, higher education started expanding in the second half of the nineteenth century. Travancore witnessed rapid growth of education compared to Malabar and Cochin. The reasons for the unprecedented growth of education Travancore, in the opinion of the education expert, A Mathew, is thus- “The main reason was the visionary rulers’ interest in education. A Vernacular Department of Education was created. The second factor was the policy of social modernisation pursued by the Travancore rulers, as evidenced from the abolition of slavery in 1855, grant of civic rights to lower castes, state interest in education of girls as well as education of lower classes.”³¹ Another factor was the demand for education from the public. People linked educational qualification with jobs in government sector. It made education as an attractive qualification aspiring for government job.

Higher Education in Travancore

Rajas Free School, established in the year 1934 was converted into a College. It became known as His Highness Maharaja’s College, Thiruvananthapuram in 1866. It was affiliated to University of Madras. Classes were divided into junior and senior departments. The first batch of FA students appeared for examination in 1868. The college became eligible to issue undergraduate degree like BA and B.Sc. through its affiliation to University of Madras. The rulers of Travancore supported the growth of the college. When the school building was not giving enough space to accommodate more students for higher education, they reconstructed it suitable for a college. The new building was inaugurated by the then ruler

³¹ A. Mathew, *A History of Educational Development in Kerala*, NIEPA, New Delhi 1987, p. 95.

Ayilyam Thirunal. On the occasion, he said- “In laying the foundation for a College, we are in fact imparting strength and durability to a system of public education of a high order, which cannot fail to exercise a most important influence on the rising generation and on generations yet unborn.”³² The new curriculum for the intermediate was introduced during the academic year 1908-1909 and in the same year additional accommodation was provided for the beginning of science course. The B.A. courses (Honours) in History and English started in 1914-1915 academic year. The college was affiliated to Madras University of the intermediary course Group II in 1920-21 academic year. The Natural science Course also started in the same year. For providing additional facilities for collegiate education in the State, the Government bifurcated the college as The College of Arts and The College of Science in 1924-25 academic year. The Arts sections changed in the new building in the Training College premises. The College of Arts consisted the History and Language department including an English department with Honours courses in English and History, the College of Science consisted the Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics and Natural Science departments together with a department for teaching of English up to the pass B.A. Degree standard. “As a result of this arrangement, the total number of first grade colleges in the State rose from seven in 1923 to eight in 1924 and of students from 1,893 to 2,272.”³³ The H.H. the Maharaja's College of Science was affiliated to the University of Madras in Branch II (Botany Main and Zoology Subsidiary) subject of the B.Sc. Degree course and the Junior B.A. class was started in 1924. H.H. the Maharaja's College of Science was affiliated to the University of Madras in Branch I (Mathematics) of the B.A. Honours course during the academic year 1924-25. “H.H. the Maharaja's College of Arts was

³² *Report on the Administration of the Education Department of Travancore for the year 1869-70, Trivandrum, 1871, p. 90.*

³³ *T.A.R., 1923-24, p.82.*

affiliated to the University of Madras in all the departments of study transferred to that college from the old college and the college was also provisionally affiliated to the University in Group IV of the B.A. course viz., Psychology, Ethics and Logic.”³⁴ The Provision was made in H.H. Maharaja's College of Science for admission of post-graduate students taking up research work during 1932- 33.

Another big leap done in the higher education was in the year 1875. Another big step taken in Higher Education was in 1875. The English judicial system based on Anglo-Saxon and Roman jurisprudence replaced the indigenous judicial system of India. Magistrate and Munsif courts established as part of the introduction of English system judicial administration. But the law commission appointed by the British government enacted legislations which included Indian penal code, Procedural codes , Transfer of property act evidence act which are Indian in content and nature. Though the legal theory was western, the recommendations necessitated the assistance of Indian legal practitioners. It led to the establishment of educational intuitions teaching law and legal procedures. Princely states were also soon switched over to British system of judicial administration introduced in the provinces. Therefore, legal studies were introduced as a subject of study. A course on legal study was introduced in Maharajas College in 1875. The course taught was First Examination in Law (F.L). It was converted into a separate Law college .The college was also affiliated to University of Madras; but students in Travancore got an opportunity to study law systematically and professionally in the nearby college. Dr.W.E.Ormsby, Judge of the Sadar Court of Travancore was appointed as the professor of law in the Law College. It was affiliated to the Madras University in the faculty of law. The college was

³⁴ *TA.R. 1924-25 p.72.*

raised to an independent college and came to be known as His highness the maharaja a's law college, Trivandrum.

Further growth in the higher education was achieved with the appointment of First Indian Education Commissions under William Hunter in 1882. Hunter was asked to enquire the relevance of the extension of education on popular basis. The recommendations submitted in 1883 are as follows:

1. Education was entrusted to local bodies
2. Suggested a gradual transfer of secondary level and higher education from government to private bodies.
3. Grants in aid system followed
4. Emphasis on the need to retain indigenous intuitions.
5. Primary education was entrusted to local boards

The most notable part of the Commission's recommendations was that "it freed the government from the responsibilities of mass education by entrusting these to the local bodies and suggested a gradual transfer of government colleges and secondary schools to efficient private bodies."³⁵ Indian education was made the responsibility of Indians. Hunter recommended that they would be assisted and facilitated by granting aid from the side of the government. As far as college education was concerned, the Commission suggested that "the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its the efficiency of the institution and the wants of the locality."³⁶ The commission suggested the need to create job opportunities and higher studies aboard. It also suggested a comprehensive change in the curricula followed taking into consideration the needs of Indian context. Adult education was also mentioned and night school

³⁵ Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India (1757- 2007)* , Orient Black Swan Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2009, p. 91.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.94.

was suggested by the commission. Proper training for teachers was highlighted. As per the suggestions of the Hunter commission, new colleges were opened in Travancore.

Sanskrit education was also encouraged by the Travancore rulers. It was confined to teaching grammar, aesthetics and poetics. Sanskrit learning continued in the vernacular school, though western education was quite popular at the time. When western model higher educational institutions were introduced and popularised, Travancore rulers thought of starting a college exclusively for Sanskrit learning. The result was the establishment of Sanskrit college in 1889. The courses offered here were entirely different from the western institutions. Sastri and Siromani were the two courses started in the beginning. The certificate issued after the successful completion of the course was eligible for the student to apply teaching position in the vernacular schools. Courses were restructured in 1910 and five year integrated course was started. Upadhyaya and Mahopadhyaya were the courses offered. Mohopadhyaya course was equivalent to post graduation.

Female education was another field encouraged under the British rule. The missionaries offered a pioneering service to female education in Kerala. Their service confined mainly confined in imparting primary level education to girls. The British government opened a school for girls in 1864 known sarkar girls school. It was raised to secondary level school. It was further upgraded into second Grade College in 1897 under the name H.H.Mahara's College for Women. FA course was offered by the college and it was affiliated to university of Madras. Holy Angel's Convent started a school for girls in 1880 and upgraded it as a second grade college later. The institution is the first girls college in the state; but was discontinued.

Christian missionaries played a remarkable role in higher education of Kerala. They opened seminaries, higher educations in Christian theory, for

students. The LMS started a seminary in 1813 at Nagercoil. A seminary was opened by CMS at Kottayam in 1817. These two seminaries were later converted into colleges under the affiliation of University of Madras. These seminaries became well known as CMS College, Kottayam (1892) and Scott Christian College, Nagercoil (1893). Both colleges offered FA course and upgraded into first Grade College. The rulers of Travancore assisted the missionaries with fund and other facilities like building construction and land purchase. Munroe Island in Kollam was leased out in 1829 to the CMS Missionaries for a period of 100 years. The income accrued from it was utilized by CMS. It was beneficial to both as Travancore excelled in education and health under the British and retained the tradition to postcolonial period too. The missionaries were able to convert many. Grant in aid recommended by Wood's Despatch also facilitated the missionaries to spread education.

Training institutions for teachers are found necessary because of the expansion of higher education institutions. There was no tradition of training institutes in Indian system of education. When Science, Social Science and Algebra were introduced in the new western model educational institutions, training is found necessary for the teachers. The candidates after completing a one year course were awarded Licentiate of Teaching (L.T). L.T.Course was for the teachers at primary level. There was a need to upgrade the training for teachers when the standard of secondary level education was also raised. A training college was started in Trivandrum in 1910 with the affiliation of University of Madras. The university awarded certificate, Bachelor of Teaching for those who completed the training. "All these institutions enjoyed a high reputation of their own in South India. The results produced and the reports adjudged by successive Commissions and Committees have

complimented the high standards of college education maintained in the state.”³⁷

Travancore Education Commission recommended the following for the growth of higher education.

1. “Transfer of Intermediate course from Mahahraja’s college of Science, Trivandrum and to Maharaja’s college of arts
2. Transfer of degree course from Maharaja’s college of arts to Mahahraja’s college of Science, Trivandrum’
3. The laying down of a policy for college education which will gradually lead to the disaffiliation of the college in Travancore from the Madras University.³⁸ ...

Travancore government had entered into agreement with Benares Hindu University and Madras government to reserve seats for the students of Travancore in medical and engineering courses. Travancore remitted annual contributions to compensate the expenditure incurred for the study of students.

Growth of a New University

The cultural conquest of colonization was so successful that, the natives themselves asked for the spread of higher education. There was a strong demand for the establishment of a separate university for the Malayalam speaking people of Travancore. “It was also felt that there should be a new university in the Malayalam speaking area drawing nourishment

³⁷ *The Proceedings of the XXII All India Educational Conference And the Fourth All India Adult Educational Conference*, Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1947 p.vi.

³⁸ *Report of the Travancore Education Reforms Commission*, Government of Travancore, 1933, p. 352.

from the culture and tradition of the people.”³⁹ Growing problems of the middle class unemployment and the policy of vigorous and rapid industrialisation also favoured such a demand. Moreover, Indian Education Commission had hinted at the possibilities of Trivandrum becoming the centre of a new University. This point was pressed upon by the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 too. In addition to it, the people of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore confronted difficulties as all their higher education institutions were affiliated to Madras University. Despite the drastic development of higher education in Travancore, the difficulties experienced by the people due to the affiliation of its educational institutions with the University of Madras created a number of practical problems.

“The starting of the educational activities of the state of Travancore was as a result of the Rescript of a far seeing ruler of Travancore issued in 1817.”⁴⁰ “In 1917, the Travancore Government issued an order (No. E 3983, 23rd November, 1917) Constituting a committee consisting of sixteen members with Principal L.C. Hodsson as chairman to consider ways and means of establishing a university for the state.”⁴¹ “A Committee under the chairmanship of R.M. Statham was constituted in 1932 to enquire into the educational system in the state and advise the government the reforms needed.”⁴² “The Committee recommended the establishment of a separate university for Travancore. Sree Chitra Thirunal Balarama Varma, the king of

³⁹ A. Sreedhara Menon, *Social and Cultural History of India – Kerala*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi. 1998, p.300. Also see C.M. Ramachandran, *Problems of Higher Education in India: A case study*, Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 1987, p. 196-97.

⁴⁰ *University of Kerala, Silver Jubilee Volume I.*, Trivandrum, 1963. p.4,

⁴¹ *Travancore University Committee Report*, Trivandrum, 1925, p.147.

⁴² *University of Kerala, Silver Jubilee*, Volume I., *op. cit.* p.2.

Travancore was ably assisted by his Dewan C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer gave strong support to the cause.”⁴³

The Reorganisation of Secondary and Collegiate Education had become an important necessity in view of the actually growing problems of the middle class unemployment and the policy of vigorous and rapid industrialisation initiated by Diwan Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer. C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer explained the ideals and aims of the desired University and also emphasised its political and practical necessity apart from its economic necessity. “In view of the people's demand and the collegiate level institutions in the state, on 1st November 1937, University of Travancore was established and incorporated under the Travancore University Act I of 1937-38.”⁴⁴ Sri ChittiraThirunal Balarama Varma was the Chancellor and he nominated Sethu Parvathi Bai, the Maharani of Travancore (The Queen Mother) as the pro-chancellor. The Diwan of Travancore, C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer was appointed as the vice chancellor. C.P Ramaswamy Iyer tried to make this university as a colonial and western model. He believed that westernization leads the progress and development. He invited the world renowned personality of modern physics, Albert Einstein, to be its first vice-chancellor. But Einstein turned down the offer.

With the opening of the Travancore University the growth of higher education was accelerated in the state. The Kerala University Act of 1957 transformed the character of the erstwhile Travancore University.

Higher Education in Cochin

The achievements of the State of Cochin were not impressive in higher education as that of the State of Travancore. The initiative towards education

⁴³ C.M. Ramachandran, *op.cit.*p.96.

⁴⁴ *University of Kerala, Silver Jubilee Vol. I, op.cit.*, p. 33.

was started giving with the appointment of Colonel Munro as the Diwan. He issued a proclamation in 1818 by which grant-in-aid was introduced in the field of education. This facilitated the Missionaries to start educational institutions in Cochin. An English school was started in 1845 in Ernakulum. This was upgraded to the status of Second Grade College affiliated to Madras University. The college became well known as the Maharajas College later. Many schools were thus converted to higher education institutions after 1880. Private colleges under the managements were given financial aid since 1889. This made the higher education sector in Cochin State mobile and this was achieved mainly through the collaboration of private and government sectors.

Ernakulum Government College was established in 1875 with affiliation of Madras University. Mr. Alfred Forbes Sealy, M.A. took charge as the first principal who was directly responsible to the Diwan for its management. An Education Code was first published in 1911 for the State. “The main object of the Code was to make adequate provision for ensuring continuity of policy and for this purpose all rules and regulations necessary to carry it out had been embodied in the educational institution in the State.”⁴⁵

With the increase in the number of students who aspired to higher University education and the consequent difficulty experienced by many of them securing admission to colleges of standing and reputation outside the State, the need for a first grade college within the state began to be keenly felt. The government appointed a Committee in 1920 to conduct the necessary investigations and to formulate a scheme. The Committee, after a full enquiry, came to the conclusion that the establishment of a government First Grade College, providing instruction in several subjects of the B.A. pass course was an immediate necessity in the existing conditions of Cochin. It also recommended the ultimate transfer of the college to Anappara in the

⁴⁵ C.A.R. 1910- 11, p.15.

neighbourhood of Trichur. Accordingly, the college at Ernakulum was affiliated to the Madras University in Group I (Mathematics), IIA (Physics), IIB (Chemistry), IIIB (Natural Science and Zoology), VA (History with Economics) and VB (Economics with History) and for Sanskrit and Malayalam courses. The Golden Jubilee of the College also came off in the year 1925. The name of the institution was changed to 'The Maharaja's College in memory of the event. Sir C.V. Raman and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan visited the college on this occasion. The senior B.A. class was opened in the succeeding year making the institution a full-fledged first grade college. The raising of the Ernakulum College to the First Grade which had long been engaging the consideration of Government became an accomplished fact during 1925 and the name of the college was affiliated to the Madras University in Group I, II, III B, V (a & b).

The origin of Sri Ramavarma Sanskrit College Thrippanithura can be traced to the *sastra* class offered by the Asthana Pandits of Cochin Palace who were appointed by the Maharajas of Cochin for imparting instruction in various branches of Sanskrit literature in the traditional way. The ruler, Sri Ramavarma constituted a Sanskrit Encouragement Committee. On the basis of the Report of the Committee a Sanskrit College was established. It was formally opened on 1914. Sanction was also accorded for opening a Hostel with provision for free board and lodging for 24 students. The Palace Grantha Library was also transferred to the control of the Managing Committee of the College. The College offered advanced instructions in Nyaya, Vyakarana and Vedanta. The College was not affiliated to any university but students were allowed to appear for the Oriental Title Examination of the University of Madras. The college was transferred in 1919 to the control of the Education Department. The Sanskrit College Committee was constituted in 1921.

“Bhooshana Title and Proficiency Certificate were instituted for award to those who passed the examination conducted by the Committee.”⁴⁶

St. Thomas College was opened in Thrissur in 1889 and from the beginning of academic year 1918-19 affiliated to Madras University. It was founded as an educational institution in 1889 by His Excellency Rt. Rev. Adolphus Medlycott, the Vicar Apostolic of Thrissur. It is the oldest Catholic College in Kerala, and is the first College established by diocesan clergy in India, as old as the formal institution of the earliest of the Catholic Syrian Dioceses in India. As a part of canvassing the college in the press, Prof. Joseph Pettah published articles in an English Weekly of Kerala, emphasizing the need and explaining the feasibility of a College in Thrissur. They accumulated the Funds for the College project were collected initially by the floating of a grand raffle and subsequently by a Diocesan levy to which all the parish churches of the Vicariate of Trissur contributed their one-year's income in six annual instalments. The Commission for local inquiry at the School submitted the report consisting of F. S. Davies Esq., Rev. Fr. Carty S. J., and His Highness Appan Thampuran, the University of Madras gave formal affiliation in Group III in April 1919. The institution was raised to the rank of a Second Grade College in 1919, was the earliest First Grade College in the princely state of Cochin in 1925. The Junior Intermediate class was opened on 8 June 1919 with 96 students and 5 teachers, and in August 1919 the inaugural ceremony of the St. Thomas Second Grade College was held under the presidency of His Highness Sir Sri Rama Varma, the Maharaja of Cochin. The Junior Intermediate class was opened on 8 June 1919 with 96 students and 5 teachers, and in August 1919 the inaugural ceremony of the St. Thomas Second Grade College was held under the presidency of His Highness Sir Sri Rama Varma, the Maharaja of Cochin. Mahatma Gandhi

⁴⁶ C.A.R. 1924-25, pp.10-34.

visited this college on 14th October 1927. The College was affiliated to the University of Kerala in 1957 and to the University of Calicut in 1968.

Union Christian College, Aluva was established on 8th June 1921. The college was founded by four young visionaries – Sri. K.C. Chacko, Sri. A.M. Varki, Shri. C.P. Mathew and Sri. V.M. Ittyerah, who were alumni of Madras Christian College. Providentially inspired by their Christian faith and commitment, these young men envisaged the institution as a centre based on the values of integrity and social commitment, promoting learning and culture. The land was donated by Sri Moolam Thirunal Rama Varma, the then Maharaja of Travancore. The college started in Kacheri Malika - a three-storey building- that used to be a European Bungalow. During the early nineties, it used to be a Zilla court until it was gifted to the college. The Union Christian College started with five members of teaching staff and a junior intermediate class with 64 students. It was affiliated as Second Grade College to the University of Madras.

St. Teresa's College, a pioneering institution in the field of Higher Education was established on 15th June in the year 1925, as the first Women's College of the erstwhile Cochin State and the second in the whole of Kerala by the Congregation of the Carmelite Sisters of St. Teresa. The College started with Sr.Beatrice as its first Principal and Mother Veronica as the first Manager. The student strength was of just 41 in the initial year. The college was affiliated to Madras University. Christian managements showed much interest in school education than in higher education. This is amply indicated in the case of girls' school started by Holy Angel's Convent in 1880. This was upgraded as a second grade college in 1896. The Convent managed to run the college for a decade; after that they discontinued because management was interested in school education. The institution could have claimed the credit of being the first girl's college in the state. In its absence,

College was a second grade Arts College affiliated to the Madras University and offered the Intermediate Course with Ancient History, Modern History and Logic under Part III. The first batch of students appeared for the university examination in 1927 under Madras University. It was raised to the first grade in 1927 by the opening of the Junior B.A. class in Group V (a) of the pass course.

“To facilitate the admission of Cochin students to professional colleges of the Banares Hindu University, a donation of Rs. One lakh and an annual recurring grant of Rs. 6,000 were sanctioned to the University during the year 1929-30.”⁴⁷ In view of the remodelled intermediate course, the S.S.L.C. syllabus was revised in 1930-31. It was finally decided by the Government to locate the Maharaja's College, permanently at Ernakulum.

Higher education in Cochin made rapid progress in Cochin. It had two arts and science colleges under government and three colleges owned by private sector. The higher education institutions were affiliated to Madras University till 1949. Cochin was merged to the State of Travancore in 1949 and the Thiru-Cochi state was formed. “This merger of the two princely states paved way for the formation of democratic government in the state.”⁴⁸ Higher education made rapid progress with the formation of Thiru-Cochi State. The higher education intuitions under the government in the new State were remained under the control of government; but private colleges continued under Madras University. “When the State of Kerala was formed in 1956, these colleges were brought under the Department of Collegiate Education, with their affiliation to the newly formed Kerala University.”⁴⁹

⁴⁷ C.A. R. 1929-30, p.13.

⁴⁸ C.M. Ramachandran, *op.cit.*, p. 102

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.103.

Higher Education in Malabar

Malabar was a part of Madras Presidency, the establishment of Madras University in 1857 had an indirect impact on the collegiate education in Malabar. Madras University was only an examining body. Teaching was left to Individual colleges. As a matter of British policy Private Colleges were encouraged because it was less expensive for the Government. The provincial and Zilla schools were connected with the Madras University by the establishment of scholarships in the latter institution to be competed for by the most advanced students of the provincial schools. In those schools English language was the medium of instruction, and an acquaintance with it, an indispensable qualification for admission. In the first instance such schools were recommended in various parts of Madras Presidency such as Trichinapally, Masulipatanam, Bellary and Calicut for the benefit of the Telugu, Tamil, Canarese and Malayalam. Provincial School was started in 1834. It was raised to a college in 1867. It prepared students for F.A. course of Madras University. Very few students went for collegiate education. In 1873-74, 9 students, 1874-75 15 students and 1875-76 18 students joined in Madras University. The progress of Higher Education in Malabar was not satisfactory. There was no degree college in Malabar. Some students went to Madras University for degree courses “There were only 55 students in Government College for First Arts Calicut, and in 1878 it was 28, in 1879 it was 40, in 1880 it was 43, and in 1881 it was 53 only. The percentage of pass in Government College, Calicut in 1880 was 41.7 % and in 1881 was 34.66 whereas in Kerala Vidyasala (Private) was 30 % in 1880 and 75 % in 1881.”⁵⁰ In 1892 the College Department of the Government College, Calicut, was closed, and the institution was converted to a Training College.

⁵⁰ *REC, Appendix to Education Commission Report, 1882, p.104.*

The history of Higher education commenced in Malabar with the establishment Brennan College in Thalassery. It was a school opened by the Basel Evangelical Mission in 1862 with a donation made by Brennen, Master Attendant at Thalassery who died in 1858. “The institution was managed by Basal Mission till 1872 when it was taken over by the Thalassery Municipality.”⁵¹ It was raised to a Second Grade College in 1890 affiliated to the Madras University. In 1919, it was taken over by the Government and renamed as Government Brennan College.

Government Victoria College, Palakkad was another premium higher education institution in Malabar area under government. It was also opened as a school in 1866 as a Rate school. Because it depended for its finances upon an educational 'rate' which was at the time levied by local government. Local Fund Act came into force in 1871 and educational rates were abolished, the school was taken over by the Local Fund Board in 1877. The school became a Government High School in 1877 and in 1884; it was handed over by the Government to the management of the school. The High School was raised to the rank of a Second Grade College in January 1888 under the administration of Municipality and was affiliated to the University of Madras under the management of Municipal Council, Government undertaking to bear the net cost of the college department. The Municipal Council resolved to work the institution on the salary-grant-system from 1894. The government declared the college to be self-supporting and discontinued the salary grant in 1905. In accordance with the resolution passed at a meeting of Palakkad Municipal Council held in 1917, unanimously requesting the government to take over the management of the college; the institution was taken over by the Government of Madras Presidency in 1919. The college was raised to First Grade in 1925, with provisions for the teaching of History,

⁵¹ A. Sreedhara Menon, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-299.

Philosophy and Mathematics options in B.A classes. All classes below Fourth Form were transferred to the control of the Municipal Council, Palakkad in this year. The college was affiliated for the teaching of Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry as main subjects for B.Sc. Degree Examination and Zoology and Electrical Engineering as subsidiary subjects in 1939. In 1944 Economics was introduced for B.A and Hindi as part II language in all classes. In 1945, Geography was added to the optional in the Intermediate and in 1947, Group V Malayalam for the B.A. As a result of the formation of Linguistic Provinces, the college was affiliated to Kerala University in 1957. In accordance with the resolution passed at a meeting of Palakkad Municipal Council held in December, 1917, the institution was taken over by the Government of Madras with effect from 1st April, 1919. The college was raised to first Grade College with effect from 1st July, 1925 leaving the primary and middle sections of the school to the municipality. The high school section was attached to the college as a feeding school.

Private initiatives also played an important role in the growth of higher education in Malabar; though Missionary activities were not as popular as were in Cochin and Travancore. The nucleus of higher education was laid by the Basal Evangelical Mission, the Protestant missionary group popular in Malabar. Malabar Christian College was the first higher education institution started functioning under the Private enterprise in Malabar. “It was first opened as primary school at Kallayi in 1848 and was shifted to Calicut and raised to a high school in 1909 and later as college.”⁵² The college got affiliation of the University of Madras in 1909 and as a Second Grade College, the first class was opened with 15 students of whom four were women. The Rev. W. Mueller was the first Principal and the college was then

⁵² K.V. Eapen, *op.cit.*, p.248.

called as the Basel German Mission College. It was decided to raise the college to the first-grade level and plans were prepared for more buildings. However, the upgradation plans suffered a setback when the German missionaries were recalled with the outbreak of World War I and the Home Board of the Basel Mission withdrew its missionaries from Malabar in 1919. It was continued under the Madras Christian College from 1919 to 1927 and got its present name Malabar Christian College. It brought back to the administrative control of the Basel Mission after 1927. The Basel Mission transferred the management of the college and school to the Malabar in 1940 and South Canara Christian Education Society registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860. The courses expanded gradually. The subjects taught in intermediary course were English, Malayalam, Sanskrit, Kannada, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Logic. Ancient History and Modern History were taught as the optional subjects. Indian History was added in 1928 and German in 1929.

The Zamorin's College was another higher education institution started under private sector. The English School started in June 1877 to impart English education to the young members of the Zamorin's family marked the beginning of a great educational institution which later played a vital role in shaping the educational and intellectual life of Malabar. The school was started by H.H. Sri.Manavikrama Maharaja Bahadur, the Zamorin of Calicut, on the advice of Mr.Logan, the then Collector of Malabar. The School began to function in the Zamorin's Palace at Tali with Mr. Ceril M. Barrow as Headmaster. The very next year the school was open to Hindu boys of all castes and was given the name as Kerala Vidyasala. In the same year, the Government of Madras, in recognition of the public spirit of the Zamorin

Raja, granted Rs. 1815 to the institution for the purchase of a small library, physical science apparatus and physiological diagrams and models.

The institution was affiliated to the University of Madras as a Second Grade College in February 1879. The name Kerala Vidyasala was given up and the institution was renamed the Zamorin's College in 1890. The Raja himself administered the affairs of the College till 1904. The Zamorin constituted a Board of Management in 1904. Eleven years later, the court of wards took over the Management of the Zamorin's estate and in the same year the college was thrown open to all pupils irrespective of caste, creed and colour. Subsequent on the court of wards relinquishing the management in 1927, the Zamorin constituted a Board of Management consisting seven members. The Guruvayur Devaswam graciously sanctioned an annual grant Rs: 5000/- for the growing needs of the college in 1927. The H.R.E. Board sanctioned from the Guruvayur Devaswam funds a grant of Rs: One lakh for the maintenance of the college in 1951. In the same year a new site "Pokkunnu" covering an area of 92 acres, was bought by the management for the college. In 1952, permission was sanctioned to divert Rs: 5 lakhs from the surplus of the Guruvayur Devaswom funds to the College. The grants from Guruvayoor Devaswam made it possible to raise it as the First Grade College in 1951 and it was renamed again as Guruvayoorappan College. In 1955 the College was shifted to the Pokkunnu campus about 8 k.m. east of the Calicut Railway station. The name of the college was again modified as The Zamorin's Guruvayurappan College in the year 1981.

Malabar did not benefit sufficiently from modern education started by the British. The schools established in Malabar did not get sufficient impetus due to several reasons. One main reason is the Muslim indifference to modern education; and Malabar had the lowest ratio of Christians who took easily to

modern education. Third, Malabar did not have indigenous leadership for competitions in modern education as it was not a princely state. Politically, it was under the direct rule of the British, and whatever the British offered was possibly received. The beneficiaries were the upper castes who knew sufficiently and well the worth of modern English education and they assumed covetable positions with the Government and British companies. However, English education in Malabar became instrumental. Higher education is very important for the development and advancement of the society. It helps for dissemination of knowledge and progress in intellectual pursuits. But in Malabar under the British rule Higher Education didn't develop.

Government needed only a few educated persons to run the government machinery. They could get sufficient number of such persons from towns and cities like Madras. So they did not try to develop educational institutions of higher grade in interior places and remote areas like Malabar. So the progress of higher education was very slow. There were only four colleges in Malabar consisting of the Degree College and the Second Grade Colleges. The conditions of these colleges were unsatisfactory. They had many problems such as lack of funds, absence of proper supervision, poor staff, unsatisfactory teaching, qualified teachers etc. Since colleges were located in towns students had to live in towns. Poor people could not afford the expenses in cities and heavy fees of colleges. "So higher education remained as the privilege of the few in igniting nationalistic conscience and kindling movements of emancipation from the caste structure."⁵³

⁵³ Kurian Cheriyan Thottapuram, *Foundations of Kerala Education: An Investigation Into Selected Historical Roots*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1981, p. 118.

There is a relative difference between higher education institutions under private and government sectors during the period between 1900-1947. “While only two out of a total of eight had been in the private sector during the pre-1900 period, the corresponding proportion for the period 1900-1947 was eleven out of fourteen.”⁵⁴ Aspirants for higher education were also on the rise. Insufficiency of accommodation in the Maharaja's College was forcing students to search for admissions in colleges outside the state. A Commission was appointed by the government to induct more students to the Maharaja's College. The commission recommended the transfer of arts section to Maharaja's Arts College, Trivandrum. Maharaja's arts college, Trivandrum was one of the three colleges opened in Public sector. Sanskrit college, Tripunithura(1914) and Govt college, Chittur (1947) were the other two colleges. . “The domination of the private sector in the field of college education gained for the first time during this period. It was the precursor of an explosion in the field of higher education during the subsequent two decades.”⁵⁵ Eleven colleges were opened under the management in the period between 1900-1947. The oldest institution among these was Malabar Christian College in 1907. St. Thomas College, Trissur was the oldest college started in Cochin region. Union Christian College, Aluva (1921) was the oldest institution in Cochin. St. Berchmans' College, Changanacheny was opened in 1922. St. Teresa's College, Emakulam, the first women's college in private Sector was started in 1925. This period followed a lethargy in the higher education sector. No colleges opened during the period between 1926-1943 as a result of economic recession. Conditions were not favourable for launching new colleges. Demand for admissions increased. These students are

⁵⁴ E.T. Mathew, *Financial Higher Education: Sources and Uses of Funds of Private Colleges in Kerala*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1997, p. 24.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

accommodated in the insittions outside Kerala. Thus education migration to Madras, Trichy, Madurai, Palayamkottah, Benaras, Agra, Lucknow and Bombay took place and this became a regular feature hereafter. Govt was able to establish colleges in the period between 1944 and 1947. “They are the Sacred Heart College, Thevara (1 944), SD College, Alappuzha (1946), St. Albert's College, Ernakulam (1947) and Sree Kerala Varma College, Trichur (1947).”⁵⁶

Curriculum of Higher Education

Text prescribed for F.A. included following subjects. The English language, candidates must appear for examination in English language. Optional languages consist Sanskrit (in Devanagiri character only) Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam, Oriya, French, German and student is supposed to choose one among them. Other papers include- (1) Logic. (2) Mathematics - Algebra, Geometry and Plane Trigonometry. (3) Elements of human physiology. (4) History and Geography (a) the History of England from AD 1485 (b) The History of Greece to its conquest by Rome (c) The History of Rome to the fall of western Empire.

“For B.A. degree examination originally a candidate had to pass in (1) English, (2) optional language, (3) History, (4) Elementary Mathematics, (5) Philosophy and (6) one out of these alternative subjects (a) Mixed Mathematics (b) Logic and Mental Sciences or (c) Physics,

⁵⁶ R. Rarnachandran Nair, *Constitutional Experiments in Kerala*, St. Joseph's press, Trivandrum 1964, p. 30.

Inorganic Chemistry, Philosophy and Physical Geography for B.A Degree Examination.”⁵⁷ It did not allow much specialization.

F.A. was an extension of the Matriculation. The substitution of the intermediate in the place of the F. A. course in 1909 appeared as a part of the educational changes which arose in the wake of the University Act of 1904. The key to the entire scheme of educational re-organisation was formed to encourage specialisation in the field of higher education. The subjects prescribed for the matriculation were English, second language Mathematics, History and Geography. Physics and Chemistry were introduced in 1872 and a combined question paper on both subjects was set for the examination. Arithmetic was removed from the subjects of F.A, and a new subject, Logic was added. Basics of Physics and Chemistry and nearly the whole of Arithmetic were prescribed for Matriculation Course. English and History was added to it. The first examination under this revised curriculum was held in December 1884 in the case of the matriculation and F. A Examination, and in January 1887 in the case of B.A.⁵⁸

Conclusion

The expansion of higher education was limited till 1947 even in the first half of the 20th century. Only 14 arts and science colleges were established in the period between 1900 and 1947. A limited number of higher education institutions were only opened by the British in India under the conviction that those who come out of these higher education institutions

⁵⁷ Sathianathan, *History of Education in Madras Presidency*, Srinivasa Varadachari, Madras, 1894, retrieved from <https://archive.org/details/historyofeducati00sattuoft> p.80.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.198.

would turn themselves as instructors to those aspire to remove their ignorance. Mass education was never part of the agenda of the British. One consequence of this stance of the British was the permission extended to the participation of caste organizations like Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam(S.N.D.P), Nair Service Society(N.S.S), Native Christians in educational activities. A well-knit network of primary and secondary education institutions beaming with students; and higher education institutions for namesake, thus carried over to postcolonial independent Kerala.

CHAPTER III

CHANGES AND DECOLONIZATION IN KERALA HIGHER EDUCATION 1947-72

The last chapter discussed the nature and development of higher education in colonial Kerala. The chapter also explained the colonial motives, structure and curriculum of higher education in colonial Kerala. The colonial authorities not only promoted western education but also disrupted and dislodged the traditional system of education. The present chapter discusses decolonisation processes and efforts of indigenisation in postcolonial Kerala during the period 1947-1972.

Decolonization is a powerful tool for deconstructing colonial influences on knowledge and education. It represents a further dismantling of western centred institutions, systems, symbolism and standards within the higher education system. Political liberation gave a false relief and belief that colonization is terminated. Decolonisation refers the political act of nation states freeing themselves from the repression and brutality of colonialism and to the intentional process of reimagining a future beyond the explicit and implicit vestiges whether physical, psychological and/or socio-cultural of colonial domination. Elder argues, “Decolonization characteristically includes rewriting the curriculum and syllabi, if only to bring about the minimum of changing the ‘law-breaking insurgents’ to the ‘nation’s heroes’ in the struggle for independence.”¹ Decolonization is opposite to colonial ways of thinking and acting. It demands an indigenous starting point and an articulation of what decolonization means for indigenous people. Decolonization can be

¹ Elder, J. W., *The Decolonization of Educational Culture: The Case of India*, Comparative Education Review , Vol. 15, No. 3, 1971, p. 284. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1187130> .

achieved through the resurgence of an indigenous consciousness channelled into contention with colonialism. Decolonization of educational studies not only investigates the legacies of colonialism but also work on strategies towards the decolonization of the minds – on both sides of the colonial divide.

Alcoff argues “Decolonizing education requires first and foremost a thorough and comprehensive critical analysis of colonialism itself, in all its subtle guises.”² The starting point of decolonization is not a rejection of colonialism but by replacing the dominant with the marginalized, or as Fanon puts it, makes it so “the last shall be first and the first last”. The decolonizing approach seeks to redefine and rearticulate power, change, and knowledge through a multiplicity of epistemologies, ontology and axiology. Decolonization cannot take place without contestation. It must necessarily push back against the colonial relations of power that threaten Indigenous ways of being.

Decolonising the curriculum is to reconnect, reorder and reclaim knowledge and teaching methodologies that have been hidden, submerged or marginalised. The educators and researchers should be embracing the decolonising project as one that opens new ways of knowing, of researching and of understanding. For example, in mathematics, there is a job to do to widen the attributions to mathematical theorems to original sources and to reflect on why such information is generally unknown. For example, what is the relationship of the *Kerala School* of Indian scholars with one of the founding principles of modern mathematics: calculus? Why are Isaac Newton and Gottfried Leibnitz often credited with discovering calculus at the end of the 17th century when the Kerala School scholars like Sangamagrama Madhava were exploring these 250 years earlier?

² Alcoff, L. M., *Educating with a (De) colonial consciousness*, p.12. Retrieved from: <http://www.academia.edu/12894297>.

After gaining independence from the colonizers, the erstwhile colonies spent a lot of energy and resources in decolonizing the mind, body and spirit of its people and to instil national pride. These colonies like India also suffered from the strife of the imperial policy of 'Divide and Rule'. The erstwhile colonial countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh now wishing to instil national pride in its citizenry looked up to the education system. The education system also suffered this quagmire as it had been tasked to instil national pride while simultaneously teaching harmony and peaceful relations with neighbouring nations.

Decolonization of curriculum is an important activity in the post-colonial society. Educators need to recognise that the curriculum largely reflects the needs of the society. Decolonising the curriculum is therefore about seeing and appreciating the world – past, present and future – by ensuring that the views and voices of marginalised groups are heard, accepted, acknowledged and appreciated. Such an approach benefits all members of society. Thus, the call to 'decolonize education' is two fold: on the one hand, it seeks to counteract the dehumanisation that colonization, slavery, settler colonialism, imperialism and their vestiges have instilled within communities; on the other, it seeks to reconstitute systems and processes in ways that unearth and advance subjugated knowledge through indigenous and collective forms of learning that are radically humanising for all.

Mahatma Gandhi clearly observes that colonial education is a citadel of slavery that denies learners object lessons in liberty and self-respect. Gandhi's decolonizing process of education aimed to develop a system of education that brings democratic society and economic self-sufficiency. The modern European education and schooling was perceived as empowering and liberating. . The universalism and internationalism popularised by Rabindra

Nath Tagore became redundant with more frequent conflict with neighbouring countries. Gandhi's Nai Talim and Tagore's Internationalism were relegated to the periphery in India's approach to re-modelling education and were left to certain individuals/institutions to conserve them as relic.

Radhakrishnan Commission was the first education commission in the field of higher education, appointed by the Government of India after attainment of independence in 1947. The Commission bore the aspirations and dreams of newly gained freedom of a nation towards progress. Freedom of a colonized country does not mean an altogether a straight path towards progress. A colonized country which is embedded in its colonial past for more than two centuries tumbles on its past often and, an alien path from its colonized past seemed to be improbable and sometimes seemed to be practically impossible. Radhakrishnan Commission manifested it well. It projected both indigenous and colonial elements in its recommendations. It would be impossible to think of an India, Radhakrishnan Commission observed- "where no Mughals ruled, where no Taj was built, where no Macaulay wrote his Minute on education. Indian culture is like a living-organism growing in richness and content. Primitive cultures are marked by extreme conservatism where social groups follow the same path of custom and convention with irrational persistence. Living cultures are dynamic and maintain their cultural pattern by a continuous effort of individual and social discipline."³

The commission also recommended that the curriculum should be based on Indian philosophy and culture. The recommendation is important in view of the curriculum followed under the British rule. Instilling European values and culture was one of the objectives of colonial education system.

³ *The Report of the University Education Commission 1948*, Vol.I, Ministry of Education, Govt of India. 1962.p.48.

Teaching the works of Shakespeare and other British literary stalwarts, history of Greek and Roman civilizations; and modern European history at University level influenced the mind set of youngsters in favour of the British in India.

European achievements in the fields of science and technology and their manifestations in India under the British had a great impact on the Indians already. Radhakrishnan Commission, in its Report has given adequate weight to this fact. The Report recorded thus- "Now that scientific, discoveries and technological applications have altered our physical environment profoundly in the space of a few generations, our social habits and institutions require to be readjusted." ⁴

The commission also discussed the matter of Indigenization in medium of instruction or retention of Colonialism in the educational sector. Aspirations transformed into thoughts based on the need of the situation and the future development of India. Once India gained independence, colonialism as a political issue ceased to exist. Cultural, social and economic issues raised during the struggle for independence were seemed corollary to gain political independence. Independent India seemed more practical in churning out its own vision of development and the values that independent India upholds. It does not seem vociferous in repealing its colonial cultural ethos as was during the time of the struggle for independence. It manifested in the selection of medium of instruction in higher education institutions in India after independence. "English has become so much a part of our national habit that a plunge into an altogether different system seems attended with unusual risks. It appears to us, however, that the plunge is inevitable. English cannot continue to occupy the place of state language as in the past. Use of English as such divides the people into two nations, the few who govern and the many who are governed, the one unable to talk the language of the other and

⁴ *Ibid.*,p. 42.

mutually uncomprehending.”⁵ “But in addition English has supplied us with the key to the fundamental ideas of modern civilization, to modern science and philosophy and, what is even more important, for all practical purposes English will continue to be our principal means of maintaining contact with the outside world. Besides, English is an international language and if catastrophic events do not alter the present posture of world forces it will soon be the world language.”⁶ Radhakrishnan commission said

Radhakrishnan Commission recommended some aspects of colonial ideas. The continuation of three year university education which was recommended already by Calcutta University Commission, practice in colonial India. Constitution of a central University Grants Commission was recommended. “But much before this, on the recommendations of the Sergent Report, University Grants Committee had been set up in 1945 by the Government of India.”⁷

Some recommendations of Radhakrishnan commission are with the intension of indigenious development (rather than decolonizing the education system). Establishment of rural universities is recommended for the industrial, agricultural and all round development of rural India. Junior colleges in the rural areas were also recommended. He said about villagers thus- “They have been broken up. We have to revive them today and, make them. Cottage industries and small co-operatives require to be developed and machines to lighten the labours of men living in cottages.”⁸ Emphasis was suggested to promote native language, Hindi; but the prominence of English as emerging

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.276.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ S.N. Mukerji, *Education in India: Today and Tomorrow*, Acharay I3Gk Depot, Baroda, 1964, p.199.

⁸ *The Report of the University Education Commission. 1948, op. cit.*, p.40.

lingua franca of the world cannot be ignored. Therefore, the Radhakrishnan commission suggested retaining English as the library language.

The Radhakrishnan Commission suggested the Un-Indian character of Education. “One of the serious complaints against the system of education which has prevailed in this country for over a century is that it neglected India’s past, that it did not provide the Indian students with a knowledge of their own culture. It has produced in some cases the feeling that we are without roots, in others, what is worse, that our roots bind up to a world very different from that which surrounds us.”⁹

Kothari Commission (1964-66) was appointed with the vision of reviewing the entire education system since independence. The Commission was appointed almost two decades after Radhakrishnan Commission. As being the first commission on education, Radhakrishnan Commission seemed more setting the goals and specifying the educational needs of a newly born nation. The lofty ideals highlighted by Radhkarishnan commission are befitting to the tradition and culture of India. It is a first-hand reference on how and what should India aspire in the educational sector by keeping our traditional values and cultural identity in tact; at the same time reminding the people the need to imbibing rationalism of the western science and technology for India’s development and progress. It seemed more like a message loaded with profound knowledge on India’s past and a long term vision for India’s future. Befitting to the aspirations of the days of freedom struggle, Radhakrishnan Commission more or less remained as conceptual framework for future India.

Kothari Commission addressed the educational needs for the development of India; set the goals and guidelines in view of the needs of the

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.48.

nation. The Commission was, in fact, formed when India confronted the lack of expertise in many upcoming developmental projects. In the Report of the Kothari Commission, it is mentioned thus- “Towards the end of the Third Five Year Plan, a need was felt to hold a comprehensive review of the educational system with a view to initiating a fresh and more determined effort at educational reconstruction; and the Education Commission (1964-66) was appointed to advise the Government on the national pattern of education and on the general principles and policies for the development of education at all stages and in all aspects.”¹⁰

Kothari commission came up with clear cut decision about the languages to be studied in school and higher education levels. Postcolonial situation hints at the compromises that colonized countries made with their colonial past for the sake of development and future stands in the world scenario. Pragmatically, the colonized countries could not completely do away their cultural acquaintance with the colonizers’ culture as the West continued to be the ‘standard’ in the world politics, economy and culture. Absolute decolonization seemed out of question in this situation. The emphasis on Hindi indeed indicates the wholehearted attempt of the Commission towards national unity through cultural integrity in which language plays an important role. The Commission noted in its Report thus- “In developing Hindi as the link language, due care should be taken to ensure that it will serve, as provided for in Article 351 of the Constitution, as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India.”¹¹

In addition to it, inclusion of Sanskrit and introducing regional

¹⁰ *Report of Education Commission, 1964-66*, National Council of Educational Research and Training, Delhi, p.12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.14.

languages as medium of instruction at university level clearly reflect the decolonial stance of the Commission. At the same time, the colonial past, forced the Commission to include English in the three language formula. The Commission justifies the inclusion of English thus-“World knowledge is growing at a tremendous pace, especially in science and technology. India must not only keep up this growth but should also make her own significant contribution to it. For this purpose, study of English deserves to be specially strengthened.”¹²

The Kothari Commission seemed more pragmatic in its recommendations as the needs of the society were enquired into before putting pen into paper. A large number of people from various walks of life was met and interviewed by the Commission. In the Forward to the Report of the Commission, it mentioned the strenuous efforts taken by the Commission to make the Report as genuine as possible. It read thus- “We spent about one hundred days in going round all the States and some Union Territories. We visited universities, Colleges and schools and held discussions with teachers, educationists, administrators and students. We interviewed men and women distinguished in public life, scientists, industrialists and scholars in different fields and others interested in education. Altogether we interviewed about 9,000 persons.”¹³ The consequence was the establishment of proper link between education and nation’s development plan. In other words, the requirements of the nation and its people were set to be fulfilled by the Commission.

In India, the first two decades of post-independence period witnessed emphasis laid on learning science and technology to help the nation grow. India is probably the only nation which has included the ‘scientific

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.8.

temperament' as one of the directive principles in its constitution. The western economic and social growth model was imitated without a speck of scepticism. The higher learning institutions in science, engineering and technology grew at a rapid pace even at the cost of universalization of primary education. These institutions were hailed as harbingers of modern era. The colonial education frowned the native science/scientific method and compelled to make-shift with respect to colonial science. The indigenous medicinal and health practices were looked upon as crude, orthodoxical and uncouth and the western medicine system alone was hailed as science. The education system of India and other colonies got over-awed by the seemingly progressive uniform pedagogy and evaluation. Anyone who differed from this view was labelled as a crude aboriginal.

When we go through the curriculum of our educational institutions and universities in Kerala and outside Kerala it can be understood that the British presence has not yet completely disappeared from India's educational culture. The text books of our school children during 1960s and 1970s read the stories of Little Red Riding Hood, Sleeping Beauty, Cinderella, and Aesop's Fables. Britain's Greco-Roman heritage lingers in the accounts of the Trojan Horse, Romulus and Remus, the Marathon Race etc. When we learned the legends of Solomon and Santa Claus the Britain's Judeo-Christian heritage is apparent. In the higher education, Indian students are exposed to Jim Corbett's account of a tiger hunt, the candlestick scene from *Les Miserables*, and an abridged version of *The Merchant of Venice*. Bhagaban Prasad Majumdar wrote about the colonial syllabus through his book *First Fruits of English Education 1817-1857*.

An acquaintance with the histories of Rome and Greece, through Goldsmith, and the histories published by the society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and with the help of Niebuhr,; the history of modern

Europe, through Russell; the history of India, through Symonds, Norton and Marshman; and the philosophy of history, through Smyth's lectures.. In natural philosophy, Plane astronomy, through Herschell, optics from the work of the society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and from notes and formulates of the head master, Mr. Powell, Mechanics, Hydrostatics and Pneumatics from the same materials. Chemistry from Mrs. Marcet's work. The elements of political economy from Mrs. Marcet's work. Mental philosophy from Abercrombies work. In Mathematics Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, the first three sections of Newton's Principia, as modelled by the Head Master, and the Ellipse in Conic Sections. Reading in Shakespeare, Milton, Pope and extracts from various authors, published in Chamber's Encyclopaedia of Literature and the Calcutta Reader; besides English composition.¹⁴

Most of the syllabus in the colonial period can be seen during the post-independence period too. This indicates that there is a little attempt was made for the decolonization of education. The Lessons dealing with persons who lived during the same period and stories related to our tradition didn't include in our curriculum since independence. For example, the biographies of various scholars and their achievements like Sangamagrama Madhava, moral stories in *Ramayana and Mahabharata*, *Ramacharithamanasa* of Tulasidas etc. Kerala had long history and traditions from ancient period onwards. The Sangam period and its poets, religious teachers, literary patrons, musicians, and artists-whose main virtues include a denunciation of caste differences and a dedication to the development of learning in general and Tamil culture in any of its forms in particular didn't see our curriculum of the initial decades of independence.

¹⁴ Bhagaban Prasad Majumdar, *First Fruits of English Education 1817-1857*, Bookland, Calcutta, 1973, in *This Gift of English: English Education and the Formation of Alternative Hegemonies in India* by Alok K. Mukharjee, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, 2009, pp.182-183.

The text books deal with foreign heroes, including scientists and inventors Louis Pasteur, Thomas Edison, explorers such as Marco Polo, Magellan, Captain James Cook and Sir Edmund Hillary and literary figures like William Cooper, George Bernard Shaw. The space for Indian scientists, mathematicians and astronomers didn't give proper space in our curriculum. We have Ramanujan, C.V. Raman, Susrutha, Aryabhata, Charaka and our traditional medicinal system Ayurveda etc. A strict content analysis of Lessons provides little evidence for our own contributions in various fields. Aside from several Lessons describing the United Nations Organization, no Lessons deal specifically with India's foreign relations and Non Alignment Movement.

Celebrating indigenous cultures is also an important aspect of decolonization. The text books and syllabus of our schools and colleges doesn't provide ample space for celebrating these indigenous cultures during 1960s and 1970s. Explaining the regional and local cultures and festivals regenerate our nation's pride.

The structures that built up for the purpose of the maintenance and expansion of colonialism remained the same. Cultural relics were not re-examined or re-treated as common folk did not find the change in power affecting/benefiting them much. To give the people the feel of power, the native politicians sat on the same chair, used the same etiquette, expected the same servility from the subordinate officials and encouraged to teach, learn, write and speak English language as was under the British. The western educated middle class who were the drumbeaters of western culture, values and practices during colonialism still bank upon it as the panacea for Indian social and cultural backwardness. Thus the left-over of the British was continued to treat as legacy and a critique of the colonialism did not emerge immediately after independence. The legacy was taught in the schools and

higher education institutions in the form of British contributions to the modernization of India and projected them as the builders or founders of Modern India. Joseph W. Elder commented in his article *The Decolonization of Educational Culture: The Case of India* “Most of the Lessons dealing with scientific or technological phenomena hold up the West implicitly as the place where innovations first occurred. Only later were they borrowed by India. This pattern is repeated in those Lessons describing printing and the printing press, the steam engine, the telegraph and wireless, the airplane, the cinema and film-making, and atomic energy.”¹⁵ Therefore, the colonized country continued to build their postcolonial society on the vestiges of colonialism. Decolonization confined to the recommendations of the education commissions appointed by India such as Radhakrishnan and Kothari commissions. Their recommendations for indigenization mostly applied in the advancement of science and technology. Institutions and courses were started offering in various aspects of science and technology across India. But these institutions began responding to the needs of society only in 70’s and drive towards indigenisation set in motion. Humanities and social sciences did not feel the heat and continued to relish Byron, Shelly and Shakespeare; and the legacies of British administrators.

There was little attempt to come out from the colonial elements of higher education. Madhu Master wrote about the education reforms of first Ministry after the formation of Kerala in the field of education “Joseph Mundassery¹⁶ tried to formulate a clear curriculum in Malayalam Language, but he retained the British system in history and science subjects. History teaching confined to chronicle of rulers in power in syllabus. There was no proper ideology in the historical narration. The universities copied European

¹⁵ Joseph W. Elder, *op.cit.* p. 294.

¹⁶ Joseph Mundassery was a literary critic and remembered as the Education Minister who was behind the controversial Education Bill of the first E.M.S. ministry of 1957.

scientific inventions and theories and adopted traditional scientific methodology which prevailed in Europe.”¹⁷ A perusal of the development process of Kerala during 1957-72 indicates that the link between economy and education is conspicuously absent. To make it more clear, the agenda of education was prepared not looking into the needs of the economy. M.V. Pylee commented on the present education system thus: “The present student Community is part of the system framed by the British. Though the colonial system produced positive result for the time being, it failed to confront the challenges in the post-colonial period.”¹⁸

When Kerala agricultural economy moved predominantly towards the cultivation of commercial crops, education system of Kerala was not prepared to meet the needs of the economy. The article of Thayat Sankaran on education shares the general anxiety on the negligence of the inclusion of education in deciding the parameters of economic development. He opines that 85% of our population depended on agriculture. Another 10% earn their livelihood through spinning, weaving and other allied cottage industries. Modern education has not given enough thought and space in its purview how to incorporate the livelihood pattern of the 95% of population. K.N Ganesh wrote that “our educational system was moulded on colonial framework. The content of national education system was colonial. We failed to address the need of our human resources.”¹⁹

The colleges in Kerala numbered around 123 that come up in 1960s. No attempts were made in the existing colleges to start new courses which

¹⁷ Madhu Master, *Paulo Frierude Vidyabhyasa chinthay um, Samrajyivathinte Hidden Agendayum (Mal)*, in Janavartha, Janavartha Publishers, Kozhikode, p.31.

¹⁸ M.V. Pylee, *Vidyabhyasa Prashnangal:Innu, Innale, Nale (Mal)*, D.C. Books, Kottayam, 2006, p 92.

¹⁹ K.N Ganesh, *Kachavada Sakthikal Kayyeriya Vidybhyasa Rangam (Mal)*, in Janavartha, Jnavartha Publishers, Kozhikode, p.55.

catered to the changing needs of the economy. The observation of R .M.Manakyalath goes very well with the situation created out of the absence of a symbiotic relationship between economy and education. “Our university teaches all subjects under the sun! Twenty six research departments have started functioning in the university. Arts, science, oriental studies, fine arts, law, education, engineering, commerce, medicine, Ayurveda, agriculture and veterinary science are departments we have in our university but University of Kerala is still not able to render a cost accountant to serve the hundred crore capital invested Kerala Electricity Board.”²⁰

But things started changing when educational institutions are established in accordance with the vision expressed in Kothari commission. One such institution established in Kerala was University of Cochin (1971) and Agricultural University (1972). Besides these the Government of Kerala passed several acts and bills during this period. The researcher also analyses the decolonization attempts made by Kerala Government in these bills and acts.

The Education Bill of 1957

Initiative towards decolonization in Kerala too took momentum immediately after independence. It was manifested in the Education Bill introduced by the Government of Kerala in 1957. The new Bill introduced after the formation of Kerala was revolutionary and stirred the Kerala society. It indicated how the natives after throwing the shackles of colonialism away, tried to be assertive to put into practice their aspirations through the government elected by them. The consequence was explicit- decolonization. The Act made a bold move to cut off the age old nexus between the colonial government and the private agencies in the education sector. The private

²⁰ R.M.Manakyalath, *Vidhyabysa Smabradayam: Oru Exrta Parisodhana (Mal)*, Mathrubuhmi Weekly, Book.42, Lakam 33, 1964, Nov.1, p.9.

agencies in the form of caste- communal organizations remained unquestioned masters of education sector under colonialism. These caste-communal organizations were nurtured by the British in the field of education as they wanted only minimal intervention in the welfare of the natives. Their interference was decided by economic motives. They wanted to minimize drain on their wealth. Naturally, they left the private agencies for controlling and managing the education sector. For the imperialists, 'civilizing mission' seemed burdensome once they placed securely on the power. Thus, the education of the natives was no longer attracted them to project themselves as agents of 'progress' and 'civilization'. The private agencies flourished and thrived in the education sector under the passive attitude of the colonial masters. The Education Bill of 1957, therefore, quite significant in the above context and it can be considered as the first indigenisation move from the side of native after the end of (political) colonization.

Kerala state was formed in 1956 (as a result of the re-organisation of states on the basis of language), uniting Travancore-Cochin with Malabar. The first election after the foundation of Kerala state installed a communist government under the leadership of EMS Namboothirippad. Joseph Mundasserry was the Minister for Education. His first effort was the unification of higher education in the state. The Kerala Education Act 1958 and the Kerala Education Rules 1959 were the brilliant pieces of legislation in the state. The Communist Party as promised in their Election Manifesto took steps to reform the educational system. A new legislation the 'Kerala Education Bill 1957', which became subsequently the most important and controversial piece of legislation, was introduced in the Assembly by the Communist Government. It made a lot of noise and raised much heat and debate for and against. The government advanced a number of arguments to justify the introduction of the Bill and the intentions behind it.

The major proposals in the Bill, as stated by the Government were the following.

1. The salary of the teachers in aided school will be paid directly or through the Head master of the institution.
2. The fee collected from the students in the schools should be remitted to the government and , in turn the government would allocate fund for the maintenance of the aided school building
3. It was to be the government's responsibility to maintain a state register of teachers, with teachers in private schools included in the list and managers of private schools could draw teachers required for their schools only from the government prepared list.
4. The conditions of service relating to pensions, provident fund, insurance and age of retirement, applicable to teachers of Government schools will also equally apply to the teachers of aided schools.
5. If the management of any aided school neglects to perform any of the duties placed on it by the Act, the government can take over the management of the school for a period not exceeding five years, with a rent prevailing in the locality.
6. An aided school teacher could not be dismissed or suspended without the prior and written approval of the authorised officer of the government.
7. To constitute a high level of Advisory Board to guide the government in the formation of educational policy and Local Educational Authorities at the district level, consisting of representatives of those

who are interested in education to help the department to discharge its functions in a better manner”²¹

The Education Bill of 1957 gave teachers of private colleges and schools political rights-the right to contest elections and agitate for their demands. Students' parliaments were organised in schools and students' unions in colleges. The most controversial part of the Act was its section '11' which restrained and curbed the powers of the managers of the private schools in the matter of selection and appointment of teachers. Due to pressure tactics, the managements were able to get suspended the operation of the section '11' of the Act by the government through an ordinance.²² Later the ordinance was replaced by an Act called the Kerala Education (Amendment) Act, 1960. The Governor gave his assent to it on 6th July 1960. According to the amendment and the rules framed there under, the managers of private schools were permitted to appoint teachers in their schools and they were also given power to take disciplinary action against teachers, if necessary. “The managers were vested with the power of placing a teacher under suspension for irregularities for a period not exceeding fifteen days without previous permission of the Educational officers.”²³ This amendment created an impression that the government was yielding to the pressures of the private management. The Kerala Education Bill 1957 had intended to make serious attempts to cleanse the educational system and thus bring it under the state control in order to initiate necessary and meaningful changes. But the religio-communal interest groups like those of the Christians and the other caste-based organisations

²¹ S.C.Joseph, *Kerala the Communist State* , The Madras Premier Company, Madras, 1959, pp.156-157.

²² The Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor of the State on 31st May 1960.

²³ *Kerala State Administration Report 1960-1961*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1962, p.92.

opposed the Bill as it intended to undermine their traditional perks and privileges.

Reared under the British patronage, communalization trend in the educational policies continued incessantly under the successive governments too. The major organised force which opposed the Bill was the Christian community, especially the Catholics. From the very beginning, this community was found opposing and agitating against the Bill. Initially the Bill was welcomed by the Ezhavas, Nairs, the PSP (Praja Socialist Party) and the Malabar wing of the Congress Party, in which the Christians had no influence. The communal organisations like the NSS (Nair Service Society), SNDP, etc. came out in support of the Bill. “Mannathu Padmanabhan, the leader of the NSS, even went to the extent of saying that the vested interest of the Christians to sabotage the Communist regime and their attempt to sow the seeds of unrest must be stopped by all means.”²⁴ “The SNDP leader K.R. Narayanan who too applauded the views of the government found that there was no effort to introduce communist ideology in the educational system.”²⁵ The Kerala Education Act was a historical document of far-reaching importance. It was, of course, alleged that the Act was directed against private management. But, it was primarily meant to remedy many of the abuses prevalent in the private sector of education. “Through the Education Bill, Joseph Mundassery unified the education sector in Kerala; the entire Kerala was brought under a single curriculum and fixed salary at reasonable rate to teachers.”²⁶

At a time when the anti-Education Bill agitation was in full swing, the government committed two mistakes in quick succession. This provoked the

²⁴ G.K. Lietaen, *The First Communist Ministry in Kerala 1957-'59*, K.P. Bagchi & company, New Delhi, 1982 p.48.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.45.

²⁶ Madhu Master, *op.cit*, p.31.

whole of upper class Hindus who were till then actively supporting the Bill. “The administrative reforms committee appointed by the government recommended that reservation of posts in government service and seats in educational institutions should be based on economic backwardness of the people concerned and not merely on the labels of caste and community.”²⁷ With the publication of the report, the two communities felt affected, one positively and the other negatively. Nairs welcomed the report but the Ezhava community, who would be badly affected by this report, expressed their reservations on it. Both pleaded for their stakes. This led the Ezhavas to turn against the government, the traditional supporter of the communists. In addition to this, the Kerala Land Reforms Bill introduced by the communist government, antagonised the landlords, especially the high caste Hindus. In short, on the questions of reservation policy and Land Reform Bill, SNDP Yogam and the NSS took diametrically opposite sides. As the government did not yield to the pressures of these interest groups, the latter joined hands with the opposition parties and finally brought about the fall of the Ministry.

Kerala University Act of 1957

The Government took steps to reorganise the University also. The integration of Cochin with Travancore made it necessary to amend the Travancore University Act (1937-38) then in force. As promised in the Election Manifesto, the government introduced the Kerala University Bill of 1957. The objectives of the Bill included that of removing the University from the direct control of government and to reorganise it as an independent autonomous federal-cum-teaching university. “The Bill was enacted as the Kerala University Act of 1957 and it came into force on 30th August 1957.”²⁸

²⁷ *Report of the Administrative Reforms Committee*, 1958, Vol.1, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1961, pp.97-98.

²⁸ *University of Kerala, Silver Jubilee Vol. I*, Trivandrum, 1963, p.50.

The Kerala University Act of 1957 though entrusted university with autonomy got into turmoil and troubles propped up from the very conditions and nature of the act. The change of University of Kerala from a teaching university to affiliating university was widely criticized by the experts. The conditions for government intervention in the administration of the university made the autonomy negligent. The governor of the state is stated as the chancellor, the minister for education would be the pro-vice chancellor and vice-chancellor would be the person suggested by the then ministry. Both the senate and syndicate have sufficient number of government nominated members. As opined by Kainikkara Padmanbhapillai, “University became like any other department under government.”²⁹ This was obvious from the few years of its implementation. Syndicate, the governing body of the university is accused of interfering in the appointment of teaching staff. The public debate followed by the introduction of the Kerala University Act of 1957 amply demonstrated the quality, expectations and nature of the functioning of the university. The arguments and counter arguments expressed about the Act were motivated by political interests and the university seemed to be merely a contesting site for political parties. The role of education as an agent of change is almost forgotten in the entire commotion on the Act. Thus, the first Education Act after the formation of the state of Kerala was not intended to propel any socio-economic changes and the manner the politicians tackled the bill stolen the potential of education as agent of socio-economic change.

The Kerala University Act 1957 replaced the Travancore University Act 1937. Colleges in the whole of Kerala came under its jurisdiction. The

²⁹ Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai, *Communist Bharanam Keralathil (Mal)*, Priyardarsinini Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 1959, p.110.

distinguished economist and former Finance Minister Dr. John Mathai³⁰ became the Vice Chancellor of the university. This Act can be seen as a significant move towards decolonization as under the British, the geographical division of Kerala viz., Travancore, Cochin and Malabar was maintained as came down historically even after independence. This physical barrier was brought to an end by this Act by bringing all the higher education institutions together.

The Kerala University Act of 1969

The Kerala University Bill of 1969 introduced by the Marxist led United Front Ministry in 1967 brought about a serious controversy as it was aimed at increasing the control of government over the University and private colleges in Kerala. The Kerala University Act of 1969 was formulated to rectify the 'mistakes' in the first bill. Therefore the 1969 Act has given clearly defined objectives of safeguarding the rights of the university and govt. on the arbitrary practices of the management in conducting the colleges. The management continued to play a significant role in the education field as was under colonialism. The elected government since independence was determined to curb their power in the field of education. They had a free hand in education till the end of colonialism. The British as part of maintaining their legitimacy in an alien country always encouraged and supported these indigenous elements. At least, the colonial masters could leave the impression on the natives that their own people are governing them. It would also relieve the British from financial burden. For the newly elected government, the role played by the caste-community group in the field of education seemed improper under a democratic government loaded with the egalitarian ideals of equality and justice. Thus any move of the government would lead to remove

³⁰ John Mathai was an economist who served as India's first Railway Minister and subsequently as India's Finance Minister from 1947-1950

the vestiges of colonization. The Kerala University Act of 1969 brought heated debates in the society. Many sections in the educational field were affected by the Bill. Each group like the teachers of private colleges, the managements of private colleges, teachers of government colleges and students resorted to adopt all means from powerful lobbying to agitation to get their demands accommodated in the Bill. The Bill was introduced at the right time because; there existed a long standing conflict between the private college managements and the teachers of private colleges regarding the security of tenure and other service conditions. The political parties in power were much conscious of the unbridled powers of private college managements. “The Bill underwent drastic changes at various stages in the course of its enactment owing to the pressures exerted by political parties and other powerful organisations.”³¹ It entrusted the government the provision of take over the institutions under private management for a period of five years in case of mismanagement. The Act also aimed to bring down the miserable service condition of the teachers in the private management. The aggrieved parties in the form of students, teachers and private college managements had their own grievances and interests to protect. The message from the private colleges was also not encouraging. They were operated according to the whims and fancies of the private management and went to the extent of harassing the teaching staff and students in their institutions. Kerala Private College Management Association which was established in 1961 to protect the interests of the private management was acted as the vanguard of the privileges of the management.

Many defects were pointed out in the Act of 1957, because the government had no voice in the establishment of new colleges and over the appointment of various posts in the Universities. Therefore the question of

³¹ P. Sathyaseelan, *Interest Groups in Higher Education, The AKPCTA: A Case Study*, Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, University of Kerala, 1976, p.22.

amendment had been taken note of as early as 1964. Due to the President's rule, the Bill was introduced only after the establishment of the democratically elected government. The Bill this time was intended to curtail the powers of the syndicate and limit the terms of its members. There were allegations about the vice-chancellor and the members of the syndicate about their partisan considerations in the appointments. Hence there was a strong pressure from the members of the legislature themselves and from the representatives of teachers on the government to revise the law to make provisions for checking maladministration in the University. Some private college managements used to receive 'donations' from those appointed in any post. The vacancies were auctioned by the managements; this led to some sort of commercialisation of Higher Education in the state. Moreover the managements of the private colleges enjoyed full authority over the staff - its appointments, transfer and removal. Several cases were filed in courts against arbitrary dismissals and reversion of teachers. The insecurity and discontent among teachers were mounting, which culminated in the issue of Guruvayoorappan College.³² It was in these circumstances that the private college teachers compelled the government to bring legislation which would ensure the conditions of service. They got support from influential sections of the society also. On the other hand private managements did not want to have any external control in the administration of colleges, especially in regard to appointments of teachers and disciplinary control over them. "These factors motivated the government to revise the University Law. Finally the Bill was

³² The management of Guruvayoorappan College suspended the Principal Madhavan Nambiar on some cooked up charges. As a result of satyagraha by teachers the government convened a conference of the representatives of management, the AKPCTA, and University. According to this agreement reached at the conference the matter was referred to a commission which found most of the allegations were untrue and recommended to ensure maximum punishment. In flagrant violation of the agreement the management dismissed Nambiar from service. The government couldn't succeed in implementing the recommendation of the commission.

published in Gazette extraordinary dated 23rd July 1967.”³³ “The managements of private colleges had to face a hostile government bent upon reducing their power and importance.”³⁴ The proposed Bill clearly sought to reduce the management's representation in the University bodies and to confer on the government more powers to control the administration of private colleges and of the University. The managements could not digest the idea of external control over the administration of colleges especially in regard to appointment of teachers. “The general body of the Kerala Private Management Association expressed their opposition to the Bill.”³⁵ “For maintaining and mobilizing interest of the private management, an organisation called 'Kerala Private College Management's Association' was formed in 1960”³⁶ and it was this organisation which perverted or influenced the government whenever there was an encroachment upon the privileges of the private educational institutions or agencies. The Bill was sent to a select committee. The representatives of the managements' association, teachers' organisation and several other individual managements expressed their views before the select committee. The teachers staked their claim for better service conditions etc. and the managements were against those provisions of the Bill which gave the government a wide range of powers. After the presentation of the report of the select committee in the legislature, the anti-Bill lobby intensified its activities even though the select committee modified clauses objected to by the managements. “But the managements still felt hurt and declared to prepare for making any sacrifice to uphold their rights.”³⁷ The teachers wanted that the Bill should be passed as reported by the select

³³ *Malayala Manorama, Kottayam Edition*, 24th July 1967, p.5.

³⁴ P. Sathyaseelan, op.cit., p.25.

³⁵ *Malayala Manorama, Kottayam*, 15th June 1968, p.1.

³⁶ P. Sathyaseelan, op.cit., p.16.

³⁷ *Malayala Manorama, Kottaya*, 4th November 1968, p.1.

committee. For this purpose they met the Chief Minister and the Education Minister. The notable feature was that the Kerala Congress, which supported the managements, made a valiant effort both in the legislature and in the select committee to protect that interest. “As a logical next step to stall the Bill, the private management’s representatives met the Governor and requested him not to give his assent to the Bill, if it was passed as such.”³⁸ When the Bill was finally passed and assented to by the Governor, the managers took the matter to the Court of Law. Although the High Court of Kerala and the Supreme Court of India struck down certain provisions of the Act as unconstitutional, many important clauses in the Bill were upheld by the Courts. Thus the managements were able to gain some of their demands either through concessions from the government or through the judgements of the judiciary. The Bill was finally passed on the 21st of January 1969, as the Kerala University Act 1969. “It took about 18 months of long discussions, agitations and litigations to frame the same in its final shape.”³⁹ Once again the management succeeded to gain their privileges as in the colonial period and immediate after independence.

Like in the case of the Kerala University Act 1957, the agenda of the education bill of 1969 formulated not looking into the need of neither economy nor society. The curtailment of the privileges enjoyed by the Management of private colleges always a hurdle in reforming the higher education system in Kerala. In spite of the efforts of the government to put axe on the privileges of the private management through the Act of 1969, it was not successful to bring the management under the control of government. “Two-thirds of the schools and eighty per cent of the Arts and Science

³⁸ *Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 23rd November 1968, p.1.*

³⁹ Stany Thomas, *The Politics of Higher Education in Kerala; A Study of the Policies of Reform (1957-1987)*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, M.G. University, Kottayam, p. 266.

colleges in Kerala are under the writ of private agencies. They also own about 132 colleges out of the total 172.”⁴⁰

The practice of detaining students from writing the examinations always created much irritation and discontent among the students. This practice was given up through the Act. “The number of teachers representatives in the University Senate were reduced from 42 to 35 and the students were given representation in the University Senate.”⁴¹ “Free Secondary Education brought further credit to the Marxist led coalition government.”⁴²

Direct Payment System 1972

The general elections held in September 1970 and the United Front won the election with a clear majority. The CPI leader C. Achutha Menon, formed his second Ministry on 4th October 1970, with the support of the Indian National Congress. The Congress didn't join in the ministry in the initial time but later entered in the Ministry in September 1971. Achutha Menon's Ministry, could set a record of completing its full term in office since the formation of the Kerala State, for the first time,. The life of the Ministry was extended thrice because of the declaration of a national emergency by the President of the Republic of India.

Achutha Menon's government made several achievements during its term of office, administrative and political. The government made certain achievements in the educational field also. The students and teachers suffered badly by the maladministration of managements. The managements

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.233.

⁴¹ *Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 13th January 1969.*

⁴² *Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 6th January 1969.*

controlled and made restriction to the teachers and office staff. They didn't give deserved salary to them.

The salary of the staff was the major expense for management in running colleges. Though the salary in recognised private aided school was paid by the state government following the historic Education Bill introduced in 1957, the colleges were not receiving a similar aid. College teachers started demanding proper payment since the formation of the state. It may be noted that the salary scale was unified (on par with that of government college staff) in 1958 itself by the state government. However, colleges struggled to implement it.

When the government passed the Education Act in 1958 and took over the salary distribution of school staff, the newly formed All Kerala Private College Teachers Association (AKPCTA) demanded a similar method be implemented in the higher education sector as well. In 1962, they organised a 'mute rally' in Thiruvananthapuram. In April of that year, the government implemented a grant-in-aid code and provided monetary support to colleges. However, direct payment of salary or implementation of the UGC scheme was not started. Despite the grant-in-aid, several colleges struggled to make the payment on time.

The government was seriously considering introducing certain measures to control the managements of private colleges. Both teachers and students alike agitated against the Management run by the caste-community based organisations. "It was during this time that an agitation began by the private college teachers for the Direct Payment".⁴³ In the wake of this agitation the government came forward in 1971 to introduce certain amount of control over the managements.

⁴³ M.V. Pylee, *Bhashaposhini* (Mal), August-September 1992, p.15.

In September 1971 private college teachers started an indefinite strike demanding the 'Direct Payment' by the government. This crisis posed a great threat to the state government. The higher education in the state came to a standstill. The demand for direct payment was linked with the long standing demand of the students for the unification of tuition fees etc. The concerned parties which involved in the crisis were the Private College Teachers, the Private College Managements, the Students of Private Colleges and the State Government. "The teachers in the private management sector were demanding direct payment of salary by the government, retirement benefits including pension and complete parity in their service conditions with the government college staff."⁴⁴ The Youth Congress, the Congress and the KSU were demanding strict control over the management in matters of admission of students and recruitment of teachers, the main sources from which the managements were allegedly making money through donation and capitation. "In these circumstances on 26 June 1972, government decided to verify the rates of fee of students in the colleges through an Ordinance,"⁴⁵ particularly at the instance of students' unions. But the private managements decided to face the threat of the government by closing down all the private colleges till the government decided to withdraw its order or to enhance the grants in order to implement the unification of fees. The vast majority of the private colleges remained closed even after the beginning of the academic year.

The Youth Congress and the KSU opposed this and started a loud and persistent propaganda against the private college managements. They even wanted an amendment of the Article 30(1) of the Constitution involving minority rights. "The state convention of the Congress party even proposed the nationalisation of education."⁴⁶ The Muslim League, the coalition partner,

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 27th July 1972.*

⁴⁶ P.Sathyaseelan, *op.cit.*, p.34.

was not in favour of the unification of fees and also was against any control over appointments and admissions in the private colleges. “The education minister and the leader of Muslim League C.H. Mohammad Koya warned that if the ruling parties tried to make political capital out of the teachers strike, that might endanger the stability of the Ministry.”⁴⁷ Protection of minority rights at any cost was the firm stand of the Muslim League and announced that the League would not support any move that harmed the rights of the minorities. The government indicated its willingness to take up the responsibility of paying private the management should give up the right of appointing the teaching staff and the selection of students. The managements could not agree with this idea of the government as such. Meanwhile hectic consultations were on between the government and the representatives of the management. The private management sought the intervention of the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi for a negotiated settlement. “The Prime Minister could evolve a solution through the consultations and discussions between the leaders of the government and the representatives of the management. Finally, an agreement was signed on 17th August 1972.”⁴⁸ The following were the terms of the agreement which really deprived the privileges traditionally enjoyed by the managements. The agreement envisaged the unification of fees, reservation of seats for backward classes, remittance of tuition fees collected into the state treasury, payment of teachers and nonteaching staff by the government and a selection committee for appointment of teachers in all private colleges. Direct payment and the selection committee for the appointment of teachers were the bold steps taken by the government. In fact the terms of settlement between the college teachers direct from the state exchequer but on one condition that government and managements were actually beneficial to the private college

⁴⁷ *Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 2nd August 1972.*

⁴⁸ *Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 18th August 1972.*

managements. Introduction of Direct Payment of salaries to the teaching staff of the private colleges put an end to their long suffering burden and improved the conditions in the field of higher education. “The Act as amended in 1972 sought to give the government the right to regulate and coordinate the working of affiliated colleges and give the government a say in the constitution of governing bodies, appointment and service conditions of teachers, choice of subjects and provisions of tutorial, library and laboratory facilities.”⁴⁹

Higher Education Institutions in Kerala (1947-1972)

With the attainment of Independence, the pent-up aspirations and energies of the Indian people were released and found expression also through education. It resulted in the phenomenal growth of educational institutions and enrolment in the country. In this process of expansion, it was University education which grew more rapidly than school education. Rapid expansion of higher education was one of the achievements in the postcolonial education sector of Kerala and it constitutes a prominent feature in the development of higher education of Kerala. As education was the chief means of modernisation and economic development was possible, Governments in the Centre and State promoted spread of education. Three factors contributed to the growth of education immediately after independence- 1. Socio-economic planning embarked in 1950s to focus on the overall development of India. 2. Emphasis on the democratisation of education, and third, was the desire of the people to impart knowledge to their siblings. In addition to it, opportunities should be created for the higher secondary education leavers by opening vocational institutions in the absence of any vocational experience in the primary and secondary levels. People preferred higher education under the impression that university degree would place them into better jobs.

⁴⁹ P.Sathyaseelan, *op.cit.*, p.37.

The development of higher education institutions in Kerala is also as a part of decolonization. Mass education was not the agenda of colonial education policy. Various reforms and acts indicated the separation of masses from education. The filtration theory of Macaulay denied the education to the masses and the poor. In contrary to this there are some attempts started for mass education since independence in Kerala. Through the community development program and other schemes of a similar nature, mass education received some attention. The higher education institutions and courses increased largely during the period from 1947 to 1972.

The growth in university education has been perhaps the fastest and the most pronounced in Kerala. A number of higher education institutions came up in Kerala after independence. The educational scenario was quite live in Kerala already with the private involvement in it unlike in other states of India. Independence in 1947, even though Kerala State was not yet born, gave a fillip to the already lively educational sector. The State remained scattered in three divisions-Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. The independence has given a fillip to the unification of these three territories and the aspirations for progress and development of each of these territories were heightened. Education was looked at as one of the ladders for progress and irrespective of governments of these territories; the reform spurt has given priority to educational development in these territories. However, Travancore was far ahead of the state of Cochin and Malabar in the educational progress.

It is gratifying however to note that the development of higher education in Kerala has taken place only after school education particularly primary education, had reached fairly high levels of expansion. Thus the system in Kerala acquired a fair degree of structural balance unlike in the case of many other states. The years since independence witnessed commendable changes in educational efforts and; the policies on the part of government

introduced with a view to giving proper facilities for higher education. These efforts resulted in the opening of more colleges, sanctioning of more seats and starting of new courses. The period also witnessed the introduction of direct payment to teachers in the private colleges of Kerala.

The magnitude of change that witnessed at national level in the postcolonial period was well understood by the people of Kerala. Many factors contributed to the rapid expansion of higher education in Kerala since 1947. The introduction of the two-year Pre-Degree course in 1964 in the place of the old one year pre-university course has given rise to the need of establishing more higher education institutions. The state confronted a dilemma in 1964 whether the 11th and 12th year classes should be in school or college. It was the year when the new scheme of ten year SSLC reached its final year replacing the old eleven year English school in Kerala. The Senate of the University of Kerala had a heated debate and decided to introduce the two-year Pre-university Course, as part of college education, preparatory to the three year degree course. A large number of junior colleges were established across the state as part of the introduction of two year pre degree at college level. Thirty three junior colleges were opened in 1964 and eighteen in 1965.

The largest number of colleges was started in sixties numbering 79. During the fifties only 39 colleges were started; seventies 23 and eighties 54. The record of the sixties is not yet broken, even though in 1994, at one stroke, 72 colleges were sanctioned, including 27 B.Ed. colleges. With the expansion of number of colleges, the need arose for more universities.

The Education Commission report (1964-66) recognized Kerala's demand for a second university as legitimate. With the encouragement of the then Kerala Chief Minister, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, and .CH Mohammad Koya, who was Minister for Education constituted a twenty two member

committee of experts to examine the question of establishing new universities in the State. The Committee headed by Prof. Samuel Mathai, the Vice-Chancellor of Kerala University, consisted of eminent educationists and public figures such as late K.P. Kesava Menon, late P.P. Hassan Koya, late P.K. Abdul Gafoor, P. Govinda Pillai and late K.C. Chacko. After several rounds of meetings at Calicut, Cochin and Trivandrum, the Committee in its report unanimously recommended the immediate establishment of a University in Calicut to organise post-graduate departments of studies and research and to affiliate all colleges in the northern districts.. Armed with these recommendations, C.H. swung into action and appointed K.C. Chacko, Director of Technical Education as the Special Officer and M. Abdul Rahim, Municipal Commissioner, as Administrative Officer for the formation of the University at Calicut. In the meantime, at the behest of the Kerala Government, the UGC's special commission headed by Dr. P.S. Reddi, the Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University, visited the State to examine its proposal for new universities. Based on the Reddi Commission report, the UGC on July 3, 1968 gave concurrence for the creation of a University at Calicut. C.H, a man of quick action, could not wait for the convening of the State Legislative Assembly to pass legislation for the formation of Calicut University. On July 23, 1968 he got an Ordinance issued creating the University. Thus came into being the University of Calicut. Several other actions followed in quick succession: K.C. Chacko, Special Officer, was appointed the first Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University; the University was formally inaugurated at a public function on August 12, 1968; the Calicut University Bill was passed by the State Legislative Assembly on August 29, 1968; and statutory bodies such as the Senate, Syndicate, Academic Council, Faculties and Boards of Studies were constituted. This was just the beginning. Much more has to be done – developing the University campus with entire infrastructure such as, buildings for teaching departments and administration,

hostels for students, recruiting manpower and more importantly, designing and launching new academic programmes. To carry out these tasks, the need was for a Vice-Chancellor who could guide, develop and lay a firm foundation for the growth of the University. The search led to the most suitable person, Dr. M.M. Ghani, Director, Regional Institute of English, Bangalore. He assumed office as the first Vice-Chancellor on May 31, 1969. While C.H. founded the University, the first Vice-Chancellor Dr. Ghani, an academic administrator par-excellence, devoted every moment of his six year long tenure in giving it a strong foundation, a prerequisite to achieve the goal of spreading higher education in northern Kerala. In his endeavour, he had the wholehearted support of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and the 15-member nominated Syndicate. “The University of Calicut was in a 600 acre campus at Thenjippalam. . Calicut University, the second University in the state which, came into being on 23rd January 1968 was another feather in the Government's cap.”⁵⁰ “The university made notable achievements in academic fields such as syllabus reforms and examination reforms and started new departments like drama, management, and life-science.”⁵¹

The University of Cochin was established in the year 1971 as a response to the demand for post graduate studies. It is a federal university with headquarters in Cochin. It was renamed ‘Cochin University of Science and Technology’ (CUSAT) in the year 1986. The University was for post graduate studies and research only; later under graduate courses were also added with emphasis on varied subjects of applied science. It was, and still a prime institution of Kerala catering to the industrial and technological needs of the society. It added new courses over time related to science and

⁵⁰ *Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 24th July 1968.*

⁵¹ Prof. Jaleel, K.A., *Education in Kerala: The Post Independence Period*, Kerala Calling, Department of Public Relations, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, Vol.17, Aug.1997, p. 50.

technology on applied level. The institution started with conventional courses like applied science, technology, industry and commerce. Later, several new departments like marine engineering, industrial fisheries and ship technology were established taking into account the natural resources available in Kerala. A perusal of the history of the growth of the institution indicates the steady and firm process of decolonization and indigenization. Departments and courses intending industrial, technological, commercial and scientific requirements of the economy, society and for the overall growth of the science and technology in Kerala were established. The institution has proper vision of the development potential of Kerala in various fields and accordingly they tap the resources and; supply the human expertise it needed. Department of Ship Technology was started in 1974 and it is said that the Department was one of the pioneering institutions in the field of naval studies. The Department of Industrial Fisheries (1976) helps Kerala with expertise and skilled persons to make use of the abundant fish resources available. Since Kerala is gifted with long coast line and riverine and inland waterways, CUSAAT facilitates, through its departments and new courses, the proper use of the resources available for commercial purposes. Department of Polymer Science and Rubber Technology (1971), The International School of Photonics(1995), School of Environmental Studies(1983,) and National Centre for Aquatic Animal Health are some of the departments initiated by CUSAAT for producing experts for the society and giving proper direction to the development needs. CUSAAT, under the vision of Kothari Commission, harnessed the native resources and needs for leading the Kerala society to the process of indigenisation which was one of the visions expressed in Kothari Commission. An expert committee recommended that the institution should be developed as a full scale science and technology university. “The university Act was suitably amended in 1986. It is now well known as an

advanced institution in science and technology and has embarked up on new areas of research in collaboration with foreign universities.”⁵²

Kerala economy was basically agricultural and backward. It followed traditional method of cultivation and the small size of holdings made agricultural operations uneconomic. The shift to the cultivation of commercial crops from food crops during this period turned the food security of Kerala in jeopardy and there was no preparation to accept the change in the crop pattern. Absence of irrigation facilities exposed the poor peasants to the ravages of changing climate. . In correspondence with the objectives of third five year plan, the Kothari Commission recommended the establishment of agricultural universities in the states. It recommends at least one agricultural university in a State. For the industrial development of the country, research and technical education has given high priority. It transformed education development oriented. The commission explained its stance like thus- “There should be a continuous review of the agricultural, industrial and other technical manpower needs of the country and efforts should be made continuously to maintain a proper balance between the output of the educational institutions and employment opportunities.”⁵³ “There is, of course, one thing about which we feel no doubt or hesitation: education, science-based and in coherence with Indian culture and values, can alone provide the foundation-as also the instrument-for the nation's progress, security and welfare.”⁵⁴ The statement in affirmative is the crux of the Commission; it cannot be otherwise as it is the predicament in which the colonized placed in the postcolonial condition. Science plus tradition, rational plus spiritual, and Indian plus western became the norm of India in its

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *The Report of Education Commission 1964-66*, op. cit., p.15.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

postcolonial situation. “The reform in education was not free from the norm. Kothari Commission seemed more decolonizing in its approach as it emphasized on practically what India required for the moment and future. It also based its recommendation for education analyzing the nation’s policy on development.”⁵⁵

It is important to look at the Kerala scenario at the time of the publication of the Kothari Commission Report. India had witnessed the green revolution during 1960’s and it promoted various agricultural developments in the states. Kerala also started new initiatives in this regard. The year 1971 bears witness to the birth of another remarkable university, namely, the ‘Kerala Agricultural University’ at Thrissur. Already there was a well-developed agricultural college at Thiruvananthapuram and a veterinary college at Thrissur. “These formed the nucleus of the university together with agricultural research stations in different parts of the state, with liberal support from the state government and Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR), the agricultural university made rapid progress and is known as one of the best in India.”⁵⁶ The university responded to the demands of the farmers. The Information and Sales centre, Mannuthy (1993) under the university helped the farmers with agricultural information, technology, value added products and planting material. It has made remarkable contribution in hybrid seed development in paddy, coconut, and banana, to give a few examples.

Private Agencies

Private agencies played an instrumental role in the emergence and expansion of higher education institutions in Kerala. They had already

⁵⁵ Prof. K.A. Jaleel, *op.cit.*, p.50.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

contributed substantially to the education of primary and secondary education. There was an unprecedented establishment of higher education institutions in the three decades since independence in 1947. Private initiative played a prominent role in this. What is significant in the private initiative in education was the role of caste and communal organizations. This was a left over or continuation of the colonial past. Kerala has three dominant religious groups - the Hindus, the Christians and the Muslims. These communities have organised and formed themselves into compact and well defined sectarian organisations such as the NSS, the SNDP, the Christian organisations and the MES. The caste and communal organizations were quite active in the educational sector in the colonial period and; based on their activities prior to 1947; one can assume that the progress in education that Kerala achieved in a short period owes a lot to the private initiative. They asserted their presence in the education sector in the postcolonial Kerala too. Interestingly, as vestige of the colonial past, postcolonial Kerala witnessed, the influence and impact of their presence in its most action-packed or eventful manner. Their strong presence was evident from the number of colleges emerged in the three decades after independence. From the very beginning, the government recognized the leading role of private agencies in higher education. In token of its recognition, the government of Travancore –Cochin sanctioned 17 private colleges and none in the government sector during 1948-55. After the formation of the State of Kerala, the Travancore University was renamed as Kerala University. During 1956-68 as many as 76 colleges were established. Interestingly out of 93 colleges established during 1948-68 only four were in the government sector. The presence of caste based organisations, representing various castes in Kerala, like Nair Service Society (NSS), Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam(SNDP) in education turned the field malicious. The competition between these caste organisations soon spread to different castes and communities. Nairs, Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims

were often at logger heads in demanding privileges for their communities. Caste influences politics and sometimes decides the power equations in postcolonial India. Major caste and communities are turned vote banks in Kerala. Because of this, political parties cannot ignore their demands. The government also paid attention to the educationally backward district. It also contributed to the expansion of colleges. Another notable development in the postcolonial Kerala was the formation of Muslim Education Society on line with the caste-community organizations like SNDP and NSS. It was founded in the year 1964. The aim of MES is the promotion of higher education among Muslims and the overall purpose was to bring them to the mainstream society. They started colleges and the first college was established at Mampad in Malappuram in 1965. Colleges were established at Mannarkkad (1967), Vemballor and Ponnani (1968). The scenario changed with the increase and sometimes indiscriminate permission to start colleges under pressure from the caste-communal organization. In 1957-58, there was only one university with 46 affiliated colleges.

The arrival of freedom inspired different social groups to set up schools and colleges to promote modern education. The Christian community had already established a large number of schools and colleges, particularly in Travancore and Cochin. On the eve of freedom the Nair Service Society (NSS) set up colleges at Changasnasserry, Pandalom, and Thiruvnanthapuram. The Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP Yogam) set up their first college in 1948 at Kollam. The Muslims also set up their first college in 1948 at Feroke near Kozhikode. “By the year 1950, the number of colleges in Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar rose to 54, registering rapid growth.”⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.48.

Politics in the states of Travancore and Cochin was dominated by groups like the church and the Hindu caste organisations. Like the NSS and the SNDP, they were very powerful in the field of higher learning too. “Most of the educational institutions like schools and colleges in the private sector gradually came under the control of the Christians and the Hindus.”⁵⁸ After the independence these groups have tended to sponsor political parties for their own particular political interests. Whenever their traditional powers in respect of running private educational institutions were affected, they stood united and mobilized their ranks and resources to resist any attempt on the part of the government in curbing their influence, clout or privileges. These organisations may not always be acting political, but they often address themselves to political questions and issues as well. Unlike political parties, they have strong and stable leadership. This stability in leadership has given them prominence in all fields and helped them to gain its present position of strength in Kerala. “These communal organisations are disciplined pressure groups looking after the political, educational and economic interests of their respective communities.”⁵⁹ “The religio-communal nature of politics in Kerala has been responsible in a major way for the instability of the ministries in Kerala. The decline and fall of almost every ministry in Kerala has been due to the maneuvering of one community or another. They have always been trying to put their weight on successive governments and were dictating terms to them.”⁶⁰ The dominance of private sector in the educational field in Kerala

⁵⁸ V.K. Sukumaran Nair, *The Political Development of Kerala*, Seminar conducted by Department of Political Sciences, University of Kerala, 11th & 12th December, 1985, Trivandrum, p.4.

⁵⁹ John P. John, *Coalition Government in Kerala*, The Institute for the study of Public Policy and Management, Trivandrum, 1983, p.40.

⁶⁰ N. Jose Chander, *The Legislative Process in Kerala 1957-'69*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, p.56.

seems to have led to certain undesirable results. The successive governments tried to curb their influence through legislations.

The Government of Kerala was also keen on transforming the feudal social structure to the one based on social equality. Education was taken as the means by which the Government wanted to effect the desired social transformation. As the intension of land reform package of the Government was the transformation of feudal economy, the thought behind the education reform package was to transform the feudal society. The society was based on the feudal ethos of social inequality and hierarchy. Caste system abated this social cleavage even more and the society as a whole appeared to be decadent and outmoded. The third five year plan document of the Indian Planning Commission described education as ‘ the most important single factor in achieving rapid economic development and technological progress and in creating a social order founded on the values of freedom , social justice and equal opportunity. The report of the Kothari Commission also pinpointed the role of education in social transformation. The Commission asserted that for achieving change on a grand scale.... “There is one instrument, one instrument only that can be used: education. It also explained education as the agent of change of all kinds. What is needed is revolution in education which in turn will set in motion the much desired social, economic and Cultural Revolution.”⁶¹

Conclusion

The decolonization initiative in the field of higher education in Kerala during 1947-1972 was not seemed conscious. The forces and issues that

⁶¹ *Report on Third Five Year Plan, The Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1966, Chapter on Education, p.86.*

colonialism reared and ignored for serving its purpose often come up for solution in the form of a crisis in front of the democratically elected government in the post-colonial period. The best example was the role of pressure groups of communal organisations like Christian Management, SNDP, NSS and MES in the higher education sector. They were born and brought up under the aegis of colonialism as the British wanted to reduce their expenditure on native education and encouraged the involvement of these communal organisations in the field of education. These organisations continued as pressure groups and became a headache to both government and student-teaching community in the postcolonial period. The government now and then dealt their issue as and when the issue erupts; but never approached it as part of decolonization process. Higher education was treated as continuation of pre-independence period. In fact, the purpose of colonial and postcolonial education system was different. The continuum should be addressed properly and set the goal for what postcolonial Kerala society required for its development. Therefore, decolonization, even if it initiated in some fields of education, it was not seemed conscious, or rather would like to comment that postcolonial education of Kerala was not conceived and addressed from decolonization perspective. Following steps are necessary for ensuring the native education free of colonial ethos. The steps are a) decolonizing curriculum-more accurate , more inclusive, more intercultural responsive b) Avoid euro centrist in perception c) Read more indigenous writers d) Colonialism is perpetuated by structures of white supremacy and racism and capitalism e) Decolonizing curriculum means deconstructing influence on knowledge and education f) One of the objectives of decolonization is to secure an indigenous future. It necessitates substantive decolonial actions and g) Modernization of indigenous practices.

Considering the above factors, decolonization is a long term process. An examination of the further progress of education in Kerala would reveal how much we achieved in the field of indigenisation through the process of decolonization.

CHAPTER IV

CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION 1972-1990

The period during 1972-1990 witnessed issues which are linked to the previous period in the higher education in Kerala and the chapter also examines the decolonization drives in the issues that surfaced in the said period. The issues under discussion are the expansion of higher education in Kerala and its problems, the emergence of parallel colleges and its impacts, the pressurizing policies of pressure groups, the formation and agitations of pre-degree – board and the problems of curriculum. In addition to it, the political instability of the governments, internal emergency(1975), Rajan's murder (1976)¹, government decisions in the land reform, rise and fall of governments were some of the significant political issues during the period that had left profound impact on the Kerala society.

The land reforms in Kerala influenced the entire Kerala society. Amendments to the Kerala Land Reform Act of 1963, passed in 1969 and 1972, are the result of a series of legislative measures adopted after the formation of the state in 1956. Communist Party has contributed to these measures not only through the mobilization of peasants in the North against oppressive feudal relations and the agricultural workers in the South for better wages and work contracts but also through their parliamentary practice in working out politically feasible solutions. The amendment acts were basically anti-feudal in nature and may be regarded as a compromise package to promote productive forces, but they certainly were negotiated from a position

¹ Rajan case refers to the death of P.Rajan, a student of the Regional Engineering College, Calicut as a result of torture in police custody in Kerala during the nationwide emergency in India in 1976. The mortal remains yet to be recovered.

of strength commanded by the Communists, irrespective of whether they were in power or not so. The reforms in the South led to commercialization of agriculture at rapid pace, through crops like coconut and rubber in the midlands, and high-valued plantation crops in the upper ranges, as well as through the extensions of areas suitable for rice cultivation in the lowlands. The resulting agrarian prosperity, supported to some extent by the state, led to an unprecedented strengthening of capitalist relations in agriculture. The class of farmers that led this transition, constituted by those with large holdings and benefiting from the tenancy reforms began, besides, to get increasingly involved in trading and other service activities related to the growing plantation economy. Alongside, there emerged also a class of small and middle farmers with varying degrees of control over land. They depended on agriculture for subsistence. The land reforms directly affected the growth of higher educational development in Kerala. Nevertheless, the expansion of higher education continued.

There was only one university at the formation of Kerala in 1956; it has increased into four in 1970. There were only 28 arts and science colleges in Kerala in 1956. The number increased to 117 during the period 1970. The expansion of colleges from 1971 to 1990 as given below. See the Table.

Year	Govt.	Aided	Total
1971	12	105	117
1976	23	105	128
1980	27	104	131
1981	34	121	155
1982	36	132	168
1983	36	132	168
1987	40	132	172
1990	40	132	172

Source: Economic Review, State Planning Board, various years

Though it shows the increase in the number of educational institutions, the quality side of higher education, the situation is not satisfactory. Padmakumar Commission has observed as early as 1970, the poor equation between the enrolment of students and the available resources. He observed thus: “Enrolment has not been restricted to availability of resources which led to the lowering of standards in the field of higher education.”² Samuel Mathai Commission also noted the adverse effect of heavy enrolment. He stated in his report thus: “Heavy enrolment of students created problems for proper management of the colleges; and added that, students’ indiscipline and violence affected the smooth functioning of the colleges. Library and lab facilities are weak and the available facilities are under-utilized. Teachers were not dedicated to their works and most of them are antagonistic towards management.”³ The state of higher education in Kerala, thus, presents a dismal picture. A number of new colleges have sprung up like mushrooms in thatched sheds and rented buildings without the needed physical infrastructures, laboratory equipment or library facilities. All the colleges are overcrowded with students to such an extent as to make them unchangeable. Many colleges present a sorry picture with limited classrooms but overcrowded quadrangles during working hours. The teaching standards in regular colleges have reached such low ebb that students normally register in the regular colleges and attend parallel colleges for serious study. “It is argued that the regular colleges apparently act as a convenient forum for fomenting strikes in support of political parties, hooliganism under the guise of leadership training and other undesirable activities.”⁴

² S. Padmakumar, *Report on the Commission of Enquiry*, Government of Kerala, Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1970, p.8.

³ Samuel Mathai, *A Study of the Christian Colleges in Kerala*, Kerala Educational Research Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, 1982, p.16.

⁴ *Report on Higher Education*, State Planning Board, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984, p.9.

Governments sanctioned new colleges under the relentless and inescapable pressure from the communal organizations. The adventurous managements who run the higher education institutions under these organisations exerted inexorable pressure on popular governments to sanction colleges and courses unmindful of the impact it left on the education sector. The number of aided management colleges was sanctioned by the government. In 1970, there were 105 aided colleges and 12 Government colleges in Kerala. The pressure groups demanded more aided schools and colleges. It is a fact, that in Kerala a new college is good business, even if it is bad education. It has become an accepted pattern for management to raise enormous funds through the sale of teaching posts and seats in colleges' courses without any public accountability.

With granting of the facility for private registration for university education in Kerala University in 1971 and Calicut University in 1977 there has been a mushrooming of coaching institutions called parallel colleges. "There were 2,16,777 applicants for Pre-degree course in 1980-81; but various colleges across Kerala admitted only 82,037 students."⁵ The situation indicates the need of parallel colleges in accommodating excess students who sought admission for higher education. Many of them had tutorial colleges before. They offered regular courses as in the government colleges in the subject for which private registration is allowed. The dismal picture in the education system reflects the maladies of the society.

Parallel College

On line with suggestions made by the Education Commission 1964-66,

⁵ Dr. Moosa A. Bakker, *Adishesyya Report. Akavum Puravum (Mal)*, Mathrubhumi Weekly 1985, Oct,20-26, p.8.

the Government, in 1971, sanctioned private registration for Pre-degree and Degree examinations. The education commission 1964-66 observes thus- ". . . a parallel system of education for those who can attend educational institutions only during a few hours they can spare in the evenings or at other convenient times in order to enable them to qualify for the same certificates, diplomas and degree..."⁶ The correspondence courses and private registration started in different universities in India after the recommendation of Kothari Commission. As a result, numerous private unregistered institutions, called 'parallel colleges' coaching private registrants, have emerged in India almost without governmental or other public support.

Parallel colleges are those educational institutions which are not affiliated to any university but offer regular courses for which private registration is allowed. They are called parallel colleges as they conduct classes similar to those in affiliated colleges. Tutorial college is an institution which engages in giving part time tuition to regular going students and private candidates. Parallel colleges emerged to meet the heavy demand for higher education. Private registration has its own hand in increasing the number of the educated. This has led to the mushrooming growth of parallel colleges in the State.

The growth of such institutions during 1970s has been phenomenal in Kerala and they have come to a stage where they play a significant role in the field of higher education in the State. It is observed that "while the enrolment in schools registered an increase of 44% the increase in the enrolment for university education was 268% in 1960s."⁷ Problems arising from the

⁶ *Report of the Education Commission, 1964-66*, NCERT, Government of India, New Delhi, 1970, p.794.

⁷ T. Remadevi, *The Higher Education System and the Structural Disequilibrium in the Job Market for the Educated in Kerala*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Pondicherry University, 2002, p.82.

mushrooming growth of parallel educational institutions in Kerala have already attracted some attention of administrators, educationists and economists. While a few writers like M.A. Oommen and others have labelled these institutions as mere 'teaching shops', others have considered them the 'balancing factor'.

The other two significant developments of the decade were the expansion of 'Evening Colleges' started in 1965-66 and the opening of an Institute for Correspondence courses by the University of Kerala in 1976. Thus the doors of higher education were thrown open to persons who could not avail the facilities of regular college. These parallel colleges along with the large number of tutorial colleges occupy a very important place in the educational sector of Kerala especially in the higher education field. Besides providing higher education to several lakh students who are deprived of the fruits of formal education from affiliated colleges and supplementing the education already given in regular colleges they also provide employment to thousands of educated youngsters as teachers. These institutions thereby provide some relief to the chronic unemployment problem among the educated, especially those with post graduate qualifications. The emergence of parallel colleges in Kerala has been the result of the excess of demand for entry into university education. Over supply of facilities for it in regular colleges and the permission granted by universities and the government to private registrants for appearance in university examinations encouraged mushrooming of parallel colleges across Kerala. Although, parallel colleges are relatively a recent development, tutorial colleges had existed in Kerala from a much earlier period. Tutorial colleges mainly engaged themselves in giving part-time tuition to regular school, or college-going students and fulltime tuition for those appearing for university examinations as private candidates after failure in earlier examinations. Tuition is given in all the three streams: Arts, Commerce and Science. Parallel colleges offer, on the

other hand, regular courses as in regular colleges, in subjects for which private registration is allowed. Usually private registration is allowed for Arts and Commerce subjects only. “During the period 1971-1978, the increase in the number of privately registered candidates has been the highest for the pre-degree examination in Arts and Commerce (1027 per cent), the B.Com (1840 per cent) and the BA degree in Arts (334 per cent) examination.”⁸ In fact, the proportion of private candidates presented for examination to total enrolment in regular colleges has been as high as 34 per cent in pre-degree, 40 per cent in B.Com and 46 per cent in the MA courses.

Private registration has its own hand increasing the number of the educated. This has led to the mushrooming growth of parallel colleges in the state. “Now Kerala has a unique system of parallel colleges which are only teaching shops floated by private enterprises run more by commercial considerations than by educational reasons”⁹-observed M.A. Oommen. “These institutions produce cheap quality graduates adding to the problem of educated unemployment in the state. In the sixties while the enrolment in schools registered an increase of 44% the increase in the enrolment for university education was 268%.”¹⁰ The data regarding private registration in the universities of Kerala from 1971 to 1991 as shown in Table will clarify the intensity of the problem. The index of growth of private registration shows a sharp increase during the period 1971-91. The steadily escalating private registration contributed towards an over supply of arts and science graduates.

⁸ P.R. Gopinathan Nair and D. Ajit, *Parallel Colleges in Kerala: Enrolment, Costs and Employment*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 19, No. 42/43, Oct. 20-27, 1984, p. 1841

⁹ M.A.Oommen, The Acute Unemployment Problem of Kerala - Some Explanatory Hypothesis, in K. Ramachandran Nair (ed.), *Education, Employment and Development in India*, Classic Publishers, 1994, New Delhi, p.86.

¹⁰ *Manpower studies* Vol. 2, 1978, p.86.

Growth of Private Registration in the universities of Kerala (1 971-1991)

Year	Pre-degree	Degree	Post graduate	Total	Index
1971	4342(66.8)	2171(33.4)	-	6503(100)	100
1976	22140(70.3)	6156(19.6)	3172(10.1)	31648(100)	483
1986	66042(65.4)	21870(25.5)	7826(9.1)	85738(100)	1318.4
1991	119205(66.6)	46087(25.8)	13614(7.6)	178906(100)	2751.1

Source : State Planning Board, Economic Review (various years)

The phenomenon of over expansion has resulted in considerable devaluation of education in the state. The expansion of education has necessarily raised the minimum entry qualification for a number of jobs. Educational experts are highly critical of the standard of education imparted in these institutions imparting education as a commodity for the needy. Standard of education lowered but parallel colleges reduced the pressure that might have caused grave response from discontented youths who lost the race for higher education. The expansion of education therefore does not reflect the desire of the students to learn or educate themselves but merely to seek certification for jobs. Correspondingly, the higher education institutions are performing the task of babysitting. “The students want an upgradation of credentials because educational levels previously considered sufficient are becoming inadequate for placement. Thus the more university graduates are available the more jobs are upgraded so as to require a university degree.”¹¹

¹¹ Blaug, M. (etal.), *A Cost Benefit Approach to Educational Planning in Developing Countries*, World Bank, Washington D C., 1967, p.38.

District wise number of Parallel colleges and Tutorial Colleges in 1989

Sl.no	District	No.of Parallel colleges & Tutorial colleges	Parallel courses (institutions offering)	Tutorial courses (institutions offering)
	Thiruvananthapuram	714	259	692
	Kollam	651	167	630
	Pathanamthitta	273	78	261
	Alappuzha	504	129	476
	Kottayam	347	128	327
	Idukki	120	94	111
	Eranakulam	375	129	340
	Thrissur	409	152	342
	Palakkad	252	91	228
	Malappuram	228	73	211
	Kozhikode	349	151	311
	Waynad	51	31	45
	Kannur	268	156	243
	Kasargode	60	31	53
	Total	4601	1649	4270

(Source: Report of the survey on Parallel and Tutorial colleges in Kerala 1989, Dept. of Economics and statistics, TVPM, 1990, p. 6)

“Parallel colleges in Kerala employ a large number of the educated as teachers. Kerala being a state where there is a high degree of unemployment, particularly among the educated, parallel colleges provide some relief to the problem.”¹² Taking into consideration this aspect, the government has decided to sanction parallel colleges in each taluks in the co-operative sector. On an average, a parallel college gave employment to 22 teachers. “If one assumes that the total number of parallel colleges in the state was 5,000, the

¹² *Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy: A Case Study of Selected Issues with Reference to Kerala*, Orient Longman, Madras, 1975, p. 127.

total employment in them would come to about 1.25 lakh persons; 1.1 lakh teachers and the rest, other employees.”¹³

The overcrowding of students aspiring university education was a major issue that the Government of Kerala confronted in the postcolonial period. The emergence of parallel colleges was the direct result of this crisis. The lack of far sightedness from the side of the elected governments in independent Kerala led to such a waste of human resources in the 1970s. The primary and secondary education was already live due to the efforts of the Christian missionaries in the colonial period. The policy makers and the rulers in power in the postcolonial period should have the prudence in confronting the impending crisis by opening more higher education institutions with new courses for accommodating the students who passed secondary education. This would have created a situation wherein the students could have deployed in the higher education institutions offering courses formulated in view of the need of the economy. This opportunity was wasted by the imprudence of rulers in power and the lack of vision of the policy makers as well. Parallel colleges, thus cannot be seen as the makeshift arrangement for dealing with the overcrowding of students in need of higher education. It is the result of the lack of vision and lack of knowledge of the growth and expansion of primary and secondary education. It also revealed the significance of education in formulating developmental goals of Kerala in future.

Formation of Pre- Degree Board 1986-87

The debates and strikes related to the formation of Pre-Degree Board turned the academic atmosphere turbulent. The concept of the need to form a separate Board for Pre-degree was sprouted with the increase in the number of

¹³ E.T. Mathew and P.R. Gopinthan Nair, *Demand for Higher Education: A Socio-Economic Profile of Evening College Students in Kerala*, Journal of Kerala Studies, Vol. VI March-June 1979, p. 244.

students appearing for Pre-Degree examination. The number of students enrolled for pre-Degree in the year 1978 was 33570 and the number of students admitted to the course in 1983 raised to an alarming 65108. In spite of the Shift system introduced with the purpose of accommodating more students to pre-degree, the heavy rush for the course continued. The grave situation was amply demonstrated in the sharp difference between the number of applicants and the actual number of intake to the pre-degree in the academic year 1980-81. 216777 applicants sought admission to pre-degree in the year 1980-81 and only 82037 were admitted to the course. The Universities lost control of the conduct of the examination and malpractices including mark changing seemed rampant. M.P.Menon commission was appointed to look into the issues and problems related to the conduct of Pre-Degree examination. Formation of a separate Exam Board for Pre-Degree Examination was recommended by the Commission.

A Committee under the chairmanship of Malcom Adi Sheshayya¹⁴ was appointed in 1984. One of the suggestions of Commission was the delinking of Pre-Degree from Universities. The Committee recommended many things regarding higher education like UGC qualification should compulsory for appointment of colleges, fixing the salary as per UGC scale, semesterisation of the courses, differentiate the regular stream and parallel stream, introduction of open university etc. But the suggestion of pre-degree delinking became turbulent in academic sphere in Kerala during this time. It could be accommodated to existing schools as higher secondary or separate Junior colleges could be established to run the course. A separate Board called Pre-Degree Board is suggested by Malcom Adi Sheshiah to look after

¹⁴ The Commission was appointed in 1984 to review the higher education under University of Kerala and affiliated colleges from 1975 onwards. The member secretary was sri. M.S.K. Ramaswamy, and other members were Dr. P.T. Chandy and Prof. V.V. John. The Commission submitted its report in 1985.

the matters related to the smooth functioning of the course. Detailed recommendations of Adi Sheshiah Commission are given below:-

- a. Form Pre-degree be part of the schools and retain the teachers who taught the pre degree courses in the colleges they were in.
- b. Teachers who taught pre degree courses and students are to be shifted to Junior colleges together.
- c. Admission to Pre-Degree be restricted by merit and entrance examination could be implemented.¹⁵

The government was keen on implementing the recommendations of the Adi Sheshiah Commission. It was made clear by the then Minister for Education T.M.Jacob that “the school syllabus has been revised thrice in the past 20 years; nothing worthwhile has been done on the university level to improve the pre-degree syllabus.”¹⁶ He also added that higher secondary classes would get more attention and by delinking pre-degree from universities, they would be relieved of over work. Thus the government was firmly in favour of delinking Pre- Degree from universities and adding it to the schools. It also stood for the formation of a separate Board for the conduct of Pre- Degree Courses. The recommendations of the M.P.Menon Commission also stood in favour of the decision of the government. There was yet another commission in Kerala Dr. Gopalan Commission on Autonomous Colleges. “This Commission also favoured the delinking of the Pre-degree from the universities. The commission observed: Kerala continues to have +2 stage of general education in the colleges, thereby giving the false impression that the +2 stage of education belongs to the university. For a variety of reasons it is imperative that the +2 stage of education should be

¹⁵ *Malcom Adi Seshiah Commission Report* , Govt. of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1985, p.111.

¹⁶ Sreedhar Pillai, *India Today*, July 1-15, Bombay, 1986, p.56.

delinked from colleges and no such college should be considered for autonomy.”¹⁷

The decision of the Government sparked a spate of public debate and brought in unprecedented wrath of the students, non-teaching staff and teachers alike. Dr. M.V. Pylee commented on the government decision that “had the government of Kerala made an attempt to learn/ understand the experiences of other states the implementation of delinking Pre degree, the intensity of opposition could have been reduced.”¹⁸ Their apprehensions unleashed strikes, protests and meetings. Teachers were under the impression that the delinking of Pre-Degree would turn them superfluous and affect their service conditions. Association for Kerala Government College Teachers’ (AKGCT), a prominent organization of teachers, raised the alarm of teachers by giving them the facts squarely thus- nearly 6000 teachers teaching in colleges face the threat of losing their job. “The education minister’s assurance that they would be given protection cannot be accepted at face value since the government would have to raise Rs 12 crores annually to keep the excess staff on the rolls.”¹⁹ Prof. J. Prasad said that “the decision of pre degree delinking is without any preparation from the part of government.”²⁰

Students’ agitations disclosed the social and economic injustice of the new move. Their opposition to the formation of the Pre-Degree Board was based on their argument that the poor students would be affected by it. They especially resented the recommendations of Adi Seshiah Commission that facilitated cutting down the number of students joining colleges by increasing

¹⁷ *Malayala Manorama*, Kottayam 8th June 1985.

¹⁸ M.V. Pylee, *Vidyabhyasa Prashnangal: Innu, Innale, Nale (Mal)*, D.C. Books, Kottayam, 2006, p.28.

¹⁹ Sreedhar Pilla, op.cit., p.58.

²⁰ J. Prasad, *Charithra Padhangalil AKGCT*, AKGCT Bhavan, Thiruvananthapuram, 2010, p.112.

fees and selective admission based on entrance examination. They also wanted to retain the democratic constitution of the governing bodies of the universities like Senate and Syndicate against the Commission's recommendation of the exclusion of politicians from the governing bodies. Education requires the involvement of all sections of people- they reasoned. The government announced the introduction of the Pre-Degree Board in May 1986 in the midst of the agitations from all quarters pertained to education. However, the Left Democratic Front Ministry came to power in 1987. The commotion created by the United Democratic Front (UDF) on its decision to form the Pre Degree Board prompted the Left government to scrap it. One of the first decisions of the E.K.Nayanar ministry, the Communist ministry formed after the UDF ministry was the dispersal of the Pre degree Board. "The Education Minister K. Chandrashekhara said that the UDF in the past years has made a mess of the educational system in the state. We intend to clean up the mess."²¹

Naturally the agitation against it died down. But what would have been the viable option remained unanswered. Though the formation of an independent Board seemed an appropriate option for dealing the heavy load of examination, the Government could have modified the existing course curriculum of the Pre-degree so as to make it more skill oriented looking into the demand of the agricultural and industrial sectors of Kerala. That would have lessened the acute unemployment problem confronted by the State. The governments of Kerala since its formation in 1957 did not attempt any reform in the primary and secondary level of education. It remained a colonial left over till the agitation on Pre-degree Board.

²¹ Sreedhar Pillai, *India Today*, May 15, 1987, p.21.

Pressure Groups

A country's political system and its nature invariable influence the learning system. The policy decisions on education had political moorings. This is significant in the view that education is a means to make desired changes in the political and social system. This might have been the reason why any move on reforming the existing education frame or content invited strong protests. The protests imply that the exiting education protects and promotes the interest of the privileged section in the society.

Challenges of Education Document of 1985²² strongly supports this idea and states thus –“Education, like all other systems, has a set of beneficiaries who would lose many of their special or unjustifiable privileges if the education system is changed and its functioning is revamped to secure greater efficiency, equity and objectivity.”²³ It is a fact that reform in any aspect of education would invite wrath from various shades of society and lead to conflicts in the society. Kerala does not seem an exception in this regard. Therefore, the chapter makes an attempt to probe into the political moorings of educational reforms in the state. The chapter tries to unravel the political, religious and communal influences on the reforms in the education sector and examine critically the protests the reforms provoked from various sections in the Kerala society.

The dominance of non-governmental agencies like SNDP, NSS, MES and Christian organizations over the educational sector of Kerala had been and still a powerful factor. “In 1984- 85, 69.3% of the total number of

²² The Government of India reviewed the prevailing education system in 1985 and the policy was articulated in the document “Challenge of Education: A Policy Perspective”

²³ *The Hindu daily*, 28th September 1985, p.19.

educational institutions were owned by private agencies.”²⁴ These communal agencies represent various religious or caste groups active in Kerala society. Social and educational needs motivated their activities in the society though priority was always on the educational progress of their respective communities. But ultimately, it leads to the development of society. Their efforts, naturally led to the development of certain backward regions because their concern was always on the all round development of their community by bringing education to the most disadvantaged section of the community. The communal organization started educational institutions wherever they found them necessary with locally raised funds, most of which was collected from their own wealthy community members. One of the resources was the fee collected from the students. The government also assisted the educational institutions under the communal pressure groups through its fund. Involvement of communal pressure groups in education, in other words privatization did not lead to communalization of education.

Educational development in the State was spearheaded by Christian missionaries, local church, Nair Service Society (NSS), Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP) played a leading role in the educational development of Kerala. Off late, the Muslim Educational Society (MES) also joined the education activities by focussing its attention on the development of Muslims. The role of communal organizations in educational sector instrumental in the education development of Kerala as a whole and their role had direct and indirect result on the economic and social development of Kerala. “It has helped vast sections of the population to liberate themselves from numerous social disabilities from which they had been suffering for

²⁴ *Economic Review 2000*, State Planning Board, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, p.114.

many centuries in the past. Caste and religion which were formidable barriers to social and economic mobility have to a very large extent ceased to be so.”²⁵

The caste and communal organization had their sway in politics too and they influenced the decisions of political parties in policy making related to education. From the very beginning of postcolonial phase in Kerala, they formed a formidable force influencing the political parties in power. As the postcolonial politics was enmeshed, more and more in communal and caste elements; the political parties allied with some or other caste or religious groups to meet their selfish communal interests. Kathleen Gough had brought to light the communal character of the political movements in Kerala way back in 1969. She wrote: “The correlation between caste, rank and party support raises the question ‘casteism’ in Kerala politics... All parties in their efforts to control more seats jockey for influence with one or another communal association, NSS, SNDP, Muslim League and Catholic Church.”²⁶ The whole politics of Kerala came to be dominated by these organizations. They wanted to have complete control of the educational institutions under them and later developed a tussle with the government. They did not however, interference in the curriculum and textbooks prescribed for study in the educational institutions under them as in some other regions of the country. This, to a great extent, reduced the chances of communalization of education.

The educational policies introduced and followed by the various governments in the post-colonial Kerala state, made it conflict ridden. Though Christians had made a pioneering effort in the field of education in Kerala, in course of time, the dominance of the Christian community in the

²⁵ P.R. Gopinathan Nair, *Primary Education, Population Growth and Socio-Economic Change*, Allied Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1981, p.78.

²⁶ Kathleen Gough, *Village Politics in Kerala*, in A. R. Desai (ed.), *Rural Sociology in India*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan., quoted in P.R. Gopinathan Nair, *Primary Education, Population Growth and Socio-Economic Change*, Allied Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1981, p.84.

education sector caused a number of socio-economic and socio-political problems to other communities. As the Christian community dominated the education field in the beginning of the post colonial period, their chances of interference in political and religious life of Kerala was more. They, in fact monopolised the education field. The Christian community used their advantage in education to further their interest in politics and economy of Kerala. The other caste and religious groups were also quite anxious of their educational backwardness but they did not have the strong structure for making an effective upward move towards progress in education. It provoked them against the Christian groups as they could utilize their educational qualifications for achieving employment. This motivated other caste and communal organisations to work for their educational advancement. Their interest and involvement in educational sector soon spread to political activities and maligned the public field of Kerala. These groups became strong since 1970s. Kerala has three religious groups - the Hindus, the Christians and the Muslims. In addition to them, Kerala has community groups representing various castes. These communities are well organised and they have well defined plans too for the progress of their own castes. NSS, the SNDP, the Christian organisations and the MES were such communities formed. One cannot find these organisations involve in political activities always, but they often address certain issues which affects them. They did not interfere in politics, but they addressed political issues if they affect their caste interest. They have strong and stable leadership. Stable leadership has given them prominence in all fields and gained its present position of strength in Kerala. "These communal organisations are disciplined pressure groups looking after the political, educational and economic interests of their respective communities."²⁷ No political party could ignore these caste-

²⁷ John P. John, *Coalition Government in Kerala*, The Institute for the study of Public Policy and Management, Trivandrum, 1983, p.40.

communal organisations because they acted as vote banks of their community. In a small state like Kerala, a small difference in voting pattern affects the success of political parties.

The communal organizations are disciplined pressure groups looking after the political, educational and economic interests of their respective communities. “Their influence varies according to the wealth and numerical strength of their members. These organizations influence not only the political but also all socio-economic activities including the day to day working of the government in the state.”²⁸ Those who dared do otherwise had to face very bitter consequences also. “The religio-communal nature of politics in Kerala has been responsible in a major way for the instability of the ministries in Kerala. The decline and fall of almost every ministry in Kerala has been due to the manoeuvring of one community or another. They have always been trying to put their weight on successive governments and were dictating terms to them.”²⁹ These communal organizations ran majority of the schools and colleges in the postcolonial Kerala and had a tremendous influence in the socio-cultural and educational fields. Their hold on the politics of the State had a negative impact and restricted the political parties in power from formulating policies or enacting legislation in favour of ensuring social equity. They stood strongly against any action which intends to curtail the privileges of the private management. Any change in the education system framed or enacted by the government in power was opposed and stalled collectively by these communal organisations. This stance of the communal organisations had not only produced undesirable consequences but also affected the State in the long run.

²⁸ John P. John, *Challenges of Religious Pressure Groups to the Indian Political System- A Study with Reference to Kerala*, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 38, No. 1 Jan.-March 1977, p.61.

²⁹ N. Jose Chander, *The Legislative Process in Kerala 1957-69*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, p.56.

“The close identification of the Christian community with the Indian National Congress in the first two decades of the post-independence period made it easy for the church leaders to have a say in the higher echelons of politics and administration in the country.”³⁰ A change in the situation was inevitable. The Congress government in 1970s continued its efforts to restrict the free hand of the private agencies; and thus tried to ensure better conditions of service to the teachers. “The Christian community, this time too, vehemently resisted the idea. They organised their protest meetings and there was dissension in the ruling party also. But the Nairs supported the move of the Chief Minister. Nairs were of the view that the Christians were trying to oust the Nair Chief Minister who was then considered safe in the saddle.”³¹

The Government made repeated efforts to curtail the influence of the communal organisations in educational activities through legislations in 1972 and 1974. Legislations in fact, saw the organised move of the pressure groups to thwart the government move from restricting their influence and they designed ways and means to concede the government to submit to their demands. Though it is proved that the pressure groups had the sufficient strength to influence the government policy, they lost their traditional hold on political parties in power. They lost many of the privileges they enjoyed previously. The legislations sealed the undue influence of pressure groups on government and society as a whole. This was one of the strong moves of the postcolonial Kerala Government towards decolonizing the colonial left overs.

Alliances of these communities, especially in the field of education, could bring immense pressure upon the government even after legislations. When the government announced its decision to delink pre-degree from the

³⁰ Cyriac Thomas, *Church and Politics in Kerala, 1947- 1972*, Unpublished Ph.D., University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1977, p.326.

³¹ Stany Thomas, *Politics of Higher education in Kerala, A Study of the Policies of Reform, (1957-1987)*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, M.G. University, 1993, p.292.

University in 1985, the pressure groups resisted it with all their strength. It proved their tremendous influence on even after legislations introduced curbing their presence in the education sector. The occupational groups such as the Teachers' Union, Students' Union, non-teaching staff and the University employees' enbloc protested the government from implementing the scheme. The protesting parties rallied unmindful of their political affiliations. They did not want delinking pre degree from the University as they thought it would degrade their rank. For the first time, occupational groups united as a class for a common cause to protect their class interests. The Kerala Government too is subjected to communal and class pressures. Caste and communal organisations cannot be ignored in the education sector. The Ezhavas, the Nairs, the Christians and the Muslims -- are numerically and politically too powerful communities to be ignored. They control nearly 80% of the schools and colleges in the state through their various organisations and agencies in the postcolonial Kerala. All political parties in Kerala whatever are their ideological orientations had to recognise the political importance of these organisations.

Like the communal groups, the occupational groups are not that powerful; but they are equally selfish and strong in protecting their class interests whenever their interests are affected by government policies and decisions. Though one cannot find their presence tangible in policy making, but they have a restraining influence of both left and right governments. They dictate their terms on government and influence policy decisions even though the political parties had comfortable majority in the legislature. The class and communal pressure groups influence the electoral politics too in Kerala. Their supports to political parties have the potential to tilt the political balance in certain constituencies. Therefore, political parties cannot ignore them. These Pressure groups are a leftover of the British administration and their role in education was and still a decisive factor in the contemporary Kerala.

The Problems in Curriculum Design

A major issue in the field of higher education is that the needs of the economy of the state and the courses offered in the higher education system are not reciprocated. “ There is greater wastage in all forms of education in South Asia, much of it is plain miseducation - given modernization and development as the goals, the wrong type of abilities and wrong attitudes are imparted or preserved.”³² Malcolm S. Adiseshiah Commission was appointed in 1984 to enquire into the working of the University of Kerala and submitted the report in 1985. The Commission identified that some of the departments of the University, largely the science departments, are free to run Masters courses different from those offered in the affiliated colleges, in other departments they feel constrained to carry on with stereotyped and out-of-date syllabi because of political pressures put up by teachers of affiliated colleges and members of Boards of Studies. The Commission reported that this seems most unreasonable and wasteful in view of the highly qualified staff-teams the University Departments can boast of and the better library and laboratory facilities they have. The Commission strongly recommends that a University Department with staff competence and necessary facilities should be given the freedom to vary the courses of study and examination procedures in the interests of academic progress and national needs.

The education system supposed to feed and serve the economy. Courses and curriculum are usually developed in such a way as to serve the needs of the economy. Most of the courses offered in Kerala are not designed according to the need of the society. Therefore, there is mismatch between courses offered and courses required. Kerala Sastra Parishad, a progressive leftist organisation observed that “these courses are not designed to meet the growing complexity of various specializations or to facilitate mobility

³² Myrdal, M.Gunnar, *Asian Drama Vol.11*, Penguin Books, London,1968, p.97.

between courses. Further, they are not integrated practical experience with learning process and the course contents are not related to local, regional and national requirements.”³³ Curricula are out dated and did not adapt to the requirements of the Kerala economy. Students often opt Higher education to qualify for employment. But courses and curricula are not updated on line with employment opportunities. This is significant in the context of changes in employment opportunities in recent years. “Courses with the same structure, content and objectives were introduced in a large number of colleges, and most of the courses, with the possible exception of commerce, were based on subjects taught at the school level. The pattern of the courses also became fixed, with a major subject, subsidiary subjects, and with a language. Any re-orientation of the courses became impossible as it ran counter to social aspirations. The teaching-learning process at the degree level has now become a mechanical exercise, with the teacher reproducing old notes and the student cramming guide-books for passing the examinations.”³⁴ The governments did not give much importance to higher education as like general education. The Education Commission recommendation to combine vocational activity with academic pursuit was not attempted in Kerala. The public has recognized the change in the employment opportunities and they wanted courses which equip their children with knowhow in technology. K.N. Ganesh wrote thus- “our reforms that we followed the colonial system of imparting knowledge instead of imparting our knowledge system. The administrators and educational experts imported the education packages without considering the needs of the society. We started a lot of computer centers without knowing the real purpose.”³⁵

³³ *Report of the Kerala Education Commission*, Kerala Sastra Sahithya Parishad, 1999, p.83

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.84.

³⁵ K.N. Ganesh, *Kachavada Sakthikal Kayyeriya Vidybyhaya Rangam (Mal)*, Janavartha, Jnavartha Publishers, Kozhikode, p.55.

Students' own perception about the subject to be studied and integrating the study with social and economic development was of least concern. Attempts at minimum scale were made in Upgrading knowledge in some science subjects; but it did not make much difference and its value did not last long as the system was examination oriented. Degree education intends creating a sizable part of population trained with new knowledge and skills. These skilled human resources can be utilized to generate new knowledge. They can contribute academically and technically to socio-economic development. They can provide leadership in a given social context too. The education system can make use of the skilled persons thus produced in areas like public health, engineering, communication and education. People who are involved in productive activities can be trained in such a way to develop expertise in them. This seems to be a viable option to link the degree education with social-economic needs. I would indeed make higher education meaningful. "It is clear that the existing degree education is unable to meet any of these objectives. The colonial structure of the civil servant, lawyer and teacher has given way to the technical expert, the manager and the executive."³⁶ There is mismatch between the courses available and courses in demand. This is due to lack of planning. The courses are not designed taking into consider the latest developments in the disciplines or changes in the demand from the job market. Attempts have made occasionally in updating curricula and content of the courses; but it does not make the system of higher education dynamic or flexible. It is a fact that job oriented courses and technical courses started by the government did not make any desired effect. It is mainly due to lack of coordination between social needs and academic planning.

Technical experts, entrepreneurs and managers are the need of a

³⁶ *Report of the Kerala Education Commission. op.cit. p.85.*

growing industrial society. Equally important is the need in the growth of scientific knowledge and development in research. Generation of new knowledge ensures economic development and channelize economic development to new, unexplored areas. “There is need to persist with the existing arts and science courses, for these represent the basic foundations of higher education and research, and have an important role to play in sustaining the development of the highest levels of scholarship, research and pursuit of knowledge. However, these courses need to be updated in order to incorporate the constant advancement of knowledge.”³⁷ Separation of education from the production sectors of the economy has retarded growth. The current system of education stands for catering the few white collar jobs in the market. This created a division between mental and physical labour. People preferred white collar jobs and became an obsession in the society to train their children for white collar jobs only. Manual labour was relegated to the margin. Government of Kerala too failed to nurture a rational attitude among people towards labour. “In the earlier years after independence no conscious effort was made by our planners to encourage interaction between University departments catering to science and technology and industries with a view to involve them in our development activities.”³⁸ Industrial and higher education sectors have no coordination. Industries do not know what is happening or planning at university level. Students who completed their degree course do not have the skill or knowledge to employ them in industries. Here is the main reason for the unemployment of educated.

M.A.Ommen, in his article wrote on the developmental crisis of Kerala observed that “Kerala’s social and political atmosphere is not conducive for

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Sudha Rao K., *Vocationalisation of Higher Education in India - In search of quality*, AIU. New Delhi, 1994, p. 47.

the development of Kerala.”³⁹ The consequence was that both agricultural and industrial sectors did not make any substantial improvement since 1957. The domestic production of agriculture fell from 50% in 1971 to 40% in 1981. Cultivation of paddy and coconut continued without the guidance and support of any government schemes. There was no grand scheme for increasing the production of major crops like paddy or coconut. In fact, there was no incentive or purpose in front of these cultivators to increase the production. The main reason was the absence of industries in Kerala to consume them as raw materials. Kerala remained state producing raw materials. There was no attempt from the side of the government to correlate the growth of industrial and agricultural sector. This was pointed out by K.Venu who discussed in detail in the periodicals the crisis that Kerala confronted in the field of development. He observed that “the uncertainties faced by the coconut cultivators could be solved by growing Kerala’s own industries which utilize them as raw materials.”⁴⁰ The same is the case with the cultivation of commercial crops like tea and coffee. They bring foreign currency through export in the form of industrial raw materials; but they could be made use as raw materials had Kerala own industries. Scant attention has been bestowed on the industrial development. Growth was marginal in industrial sector. Labour intensive industries like handloom and *beedi* were in trouble and due to unfavourable labour atmosphere. Many of these industries migrated to other states. Growth of electricity and road transportation which play a significant role in creating a favourable atmosphere for industries was nominal. One has to examine the nature and kind of education that a state should plan and implement in view of the dismal picture of development. It seems that there was no link existed between education and socio-economic

³⁹ M.A.Ommen, *Keralathinte Prathisanthi*, Mathrubhumi Weekly, 1987, June14-20, p.36.

⁴⁰ K.Venu, *Kealathinte Pradisanthi*, Mathrubumi weekly.1987. April,19-25, p.25.

development of Kerala. Education was not planned to cater to the needs of the development of the state. This was amply demonstrated by M.A.Ommen in his discussion on the development of Kerala. He wrote what “we need is not more universities of the same structure and aim; instead we need training systems which prepare the students to make products of diverse nature.”⁴¹ The significance of M.A. Ommen’s criticism is well placed when one looks at the rampant unemployment among youths in Kerala. “Though educated youths were available in plenty, professionally or vocationally trained youths were not many. Education should be planned in view of the needs and changes of the state’s economy. A vibrant industrial sector with the potential of making diverse products should need workers with technical skill and aptitude. Education and economy should go hand in hand to ensure development. This concerted and combined Public undertaking of Kerala was not the result of any planning, but of political compromises.”⁴²

Vocational courses are introduced at degree level because colleges have only arts, science and commerce as subjects. These courses are not job oriented or utilitarian. But, when vocational courses are decided to introduce at degree level in colleges, they are not linked to the labour market. Therefore, the public did not seem enthusiastic about its introduction and the vocational courses lacked social acceptability. People chose academic courses when both academic and vocational courses are offered. The major reason behind the rejection of vocational courses at Degree level was the lack of opportunities for professional higher learning for those who chose vocational courses at degree level. It is a fact that educational infrastructure should be developed for the acceptance of Vocational education. The vocational courses started with little imagination and poor attracting power go against the purpose. The

⁴¹ M.A. Ommen, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.36.

acceptability of vocational courses is linked with the employability of graduates. The students of vocational courses can find employment if the recruitment rules of the government departments are amended to give preference to the students trained in specific skills. “In Kerala the work is going on but our experiments to combine vocational activity with academic pursuits really did not take off as they were out of tune with the dominant middle class concerns of social advancement.”⁴³ This situation does not anyway lead to socio-economic development as it needs a correlation between supply of skilled human resource and the demand of the economy. The education system under the colonizers was structured to ensure clerks and translators; and the postcolonial system should come out of the colonial structure and it requires changes corresponding to the changes in the society.

Gulf Migration

Mankind has been influx throughout human history. They moved from one place or country to another place or country to settle or sojourn. Migration is, thus, part of the history of mankind. Migration of human beings in search of employment has been on increase due to industrialization and subsequent growth of urban centres. The migration from Kerala to Gulf countries started in mid 1970s and assumed large proportions during 1980s and 1990s. “It had 2.5 lakh gulf migrants in 1979. It increased from 4.5 lakh in 1983 to 6.17 lakh in 1990.”⁴⁴ The flow of migration of Keralaites to Gulf countries was such that 824 crores remitted by the migrant labourers from Kerala during 1980 was equivalent to 21.5% of net domestic production of Kerala. Thus, the income received from the migrant labourers reflected on the income they spent on the education of their children too. The Gulf migration

⁴³ K.K. George, *Kerala's Education System: From Inclusion to Exclusion*, EPW, Vol.41/42, p. 59, 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25663680>.

⁴⁴ B.A.Prakash, *Fifty Years of Kerala's Development (1956-2006), Performance, Problems and Prospects*, University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 2006, p.17.

has helped the migrant households to attain higher levels of income, consumption and acquisition of assets and access of education, resulting in overall reduction of poverty in Kerala. “Migration has provided the single most dynamic factor in the otherwise dismal scenario of Kerala in the last quarter of the 20th Century. It is one of the positive outcomes of the Kerala Model of Development. In Kerala, migration must have contributed more to poverty alleviation than any other factor including agrarian reforms, trade union activities and social welfare legislation.”⁴⁵ The money from the Gulf had a significant impact on income distribution among regions, communities and religious groups in the State. This disparity is due to the fact that more people migrated to Gulf from certain regions of Kerala. It has however made a significant impact on poverty alleviation in the State. The appearance of Gulf countries as labour markets to a great extent influenced the education sector in Kerala.

Gulf migration exerted a remarkable influence on the Kerala society, in particular about the selection of courses and subjects after the completion of secondary education. The migration and the resultant remittances have shifted the employment sector in favour of service sector. The job sector of the Gulf countries are different from the agriculture and industrial sectors. Besides, the State’s education is getting increasingly linked to job markets abroad. The non-formal education system in Kerala played a major role in tailoring education to the markets abroad particularly the Gulf. The antenna of the non-formal educational institutions seems to be more sensitive to the changes in job markets elsewhere. Besides, they have much more flexibility in responding quickly to these changes. Subjects like spoken English, Foreign languages especially Arabic, travel and tourism management, hotel management etc. came to be offered in the non-formal system. Computer education also received a big boost. The special attention may be given to the

⁴⁵ K.C.Zachariah, (etal.), *Socio-Economic and Demographic Consequences of Migration in Kerala*, CDS Working Paper No. 303. Thiruvananthapuram, 2000, p.12.

general and technical education and to provide special training to potential emigrants so as to enable them to compete successfully with their counterparts from other countries. K.N Ganesh wrote in the article *Kachavada Sakthikal Kayyeriya Vidybhyasa Rangam* that the gulf migration started extensively in 1970's. "The migrants were not well educated, and not skilled workers .They have secured only primary education. But they happened to observe and experience the new world and that was entirely different from Kerala situation. They wished to introduce the new world of technology and scientific advancement to their children. But they found that Kerala's higher education system was inadequate to equip with such skill."⁴⁶ There is every justification for introducing Gulf studies in our schools and colleges. Today, we can make out a strong case for our students to learn much more about Gulf geography, Gulf history, Gulf politics and Gulf language.⁴⁷

The development of science and technology in the world has increased the importance and relevance of education sector. Quality of education influences the country's pace of social transformation and development. In this context, education is to be made more purposeful and should be made absorbing the socio-economic aspirations and political changes. Gulf migration has given a unique experience, an experience which the postcolonial government of Kerala witnessed not as a vestige of colonialism. It made the society of Kerala to come out of the colonial agenda of education and convinced them the need to make education capable to respond to the global challenges.

It is worthwhile to discuss some of the problems that higher education confronted at the time and the challenges in front of the education sector. It has problems both at qualitative and quantitative levels. One of the maladies

⁴⁶ K.N Ganesh, *Kachavada Sakthikal Kayyeriya Vidybhyasa Rangam* (Mal), in Janavartha, Jnavartha Publishers, Kozhikode, p.53.

⁴⁷ Zachariah, K. C. and S. Irudaya Rajan, *Gulf Revisited*, CDS Working Paper No. 363. Thiruvananthapuram, 2004, p.13.

that higher education posed quantitatively was that there is no match between the demand and supply of graduates. The standard of education was not up to the global standard and declining day by day. Though educational planners and policy makers envisaged a positive shift in education in 1970s, it did not make any healthy sign of changes. Though purpose of education serves various aims, one of the practical and material aspirations was to get inducted to some employment. But the unemployment rate was on surge every years. It indicates that current educational systems has maladies and are to be cured. Planning in the education system should consult productive forces and the vibrant job markets. Before diversifying the education sector with new programmes, globalization started introducing its agenda which is becoming increasingly knowledge-driven.

Graduates are produced every year unconcerned of the demand from the job market. This generated serious socio-economic problem because the rate of unemployment was also an escalating. This unwanted rise and its chronic character baffled the policy makers too. The post independent government in Kerala required careful planning in dealing the issue as it was the result of the linear expansion of education in Kerala in continuation of the colonial policy and the demand from the society. The number of institutions and enrolment shot up disregarding the needs of the economy and the dynamic changes around the world. Higher education expanded at slow pace till fifties but during the sixties it grew leaps and bounds. “In the sixties while the enrolment in schools registered an increase of 60% the increase in enrolment for University education was 128%.”⁴⁸ The number of arts and science colleges has gone up from 28 in 1956-57 to 186 in 1999. It shows that the spurt in higher education was the direct outcome of the natural expansion of primary and secondary education laid down by the missionaries under colonialism. This unprecedented response in the higher education was

⁴⁸ *Manpower Studies*, Vol II., Govt. of Kerala, Planning Department, 1978, p.73.

not according to the expansion of economy. In fact, the pace of economic development in Kerala during this time was much lower than the development in higher education. The result was that the job market was flooded with job aspirants with UG and PG qualifications; but without desired skills. Instead of saying the expansion of higher education, expansion of unemployment was the result. Continuation of colonialism was seemed to be a burden to the native societies; native societies should have been spent some time for analysing the colonial remnants on post colonialism, at least in its initial decades. But, in the case of Kerala, like any other postcolonial societies did not heed to the remembrance of the colonial past on their fulfilment of long cherished freedom.

Higher education is taken up by the students in search of good job opportunities. But employment opportunities changed according to the changes in socio-economic and technological development across the world. The undue importance, given to general education in Kerala, proceeded on the assumption that academic pursuits are carried out for their own sake. The education commissions were appointed from time to time often reminded the government of the need to encourage vocational activities; but was ignored without much thought. This was a grave mistake committed by the government. Though the change in the employment in the recent decades in favour of technically qualified persons has been widely recognized by the public, there were no higher education institutions to cater to their needs. The government was groping in the dark for a solution as there was a wide mismatch between the courses available and the courses offered. To reduce the mismatch, Government required careful and meticulous study of the colonial hold on the postcolonial education sector and the resultant planning of the human resources and its need to the economic development of the society. Courses should also be updated in view of the developments in the discipline and courses should be designed taking into the consideration of the job market. Curricula and content of the courses also be examined for the

need of the economy. But by and large the system lacks flexibility. Though some efforts towards introducing in vocation courses are made, it was not introduced with a well thought out plan. The result was that those who completed vocational courses became jobless as the vocational courses are not chosen according to the nature of skills wanted in the economy or job market. Paradox of higher education in the state is that even though the extent of unemployment among the educated is more among those coming out of institutions of higher education of a general type, the demand for it is not decreased.

Crises in the economy also reflect on the education sector. The government of Kerala confronted a financial crisis with the advent of 1970s. The crisis was characterized by high rates of inflation and consequential shrinking public budgets for education. At the same time, student enrolment on higher education increased. Extremely inadequate investment in the quality of education, severe distortions in inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral allocation of resources, widening of inter-country and intra-country inequalities in expenditure on education were some of the problems propped up along with economic crisis. Adding fuel to fire, the countries, especially the third world countries are looking at with awe the unfolding of the neoliberal economic reforms in the beginning of the 1980s on line with the instructions of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It required adjustments in the existing economic policies. The underlying philosophy of the neoliberal agenda is that any aspect related to the public sector is inefficient, and any aspect related to the private sector is efficient and desirable. The new economic liberal agenda for the world led to the waning of Keynesianism in the mid-1970s, and paved the way for the entry of free market principles. The free market philosophy stresses individual economic values and gains. Social democratic values and the concept of welfare state were replaced in the 1980s and 1990s with individual freedom and choice/social (or public) choice. “In the extreme form of free market philosophy, there is no meaning to ‘Social

Good’ and ‘Social Welfare’; there is no such thing as society or value to society that is inseparable from individual gains.”⁴⁹ Kerala also had to undergo the shift in theory and practice of economic principles hitherto followed. To say in nutshell, the public sector made way to private sector. Markets, more clearly the private sector, now hold the centre stage. Instead of government, market can do everything for everybody. It is argued increasingly now-a-days that it is not the government, but the market that can do everything for everybody. This philosophy is much hit hard the public funded higher education sector of Kerala.

It is important to examine the standard of universities in Kerala on the eve of the introduction of neo-liberal agenda. The universities in Kerala are not seemed excellent centres of knowledge or learning. Their performances in academic functions are not according to requirements or expectations of the public. Universities became large bureaucratic firms dealing with systems, procedures and structures. University procedures should be simplified and made flexible. That would definitely give life to universities. A decentralised system of functioning is required; so that a vibrant academic community is ensured. There is stagnation in the academic activities because of the unwieldy system. Universities are engaged in myriad activities like development of new course of study, upgradation of current programmes, extension programmes and examination reforms. Universities are incapable of responding to challenges due to the heavy load of administrative responsibilities. A remedy, academic decentralization, both administrative and academic is suggested. Academic autonomy to colleges, which are affiliated to various universities, was the way out of this stagnation of universities. Autonomy would definitely ease the universities as the colleges prepare their own syllabi and evaluate students based on the guidelines of the university. Autonomy to each department under the universities was also under

⁴⁹ Hayek, F.A., *The Road to Serfdom*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1994, p.36.

consideration. The university departments can develop their own academic programmes. “Concurrently, various administrative and academic structures such as the senate, syndicate, academic council, faculty and board of studies must be suitably modified to ensure flexibility and diversity while retaining standards.”⁵⁰

The education sector in the period between 1972-1990 put an end to the prominence of the Pressure Groups legally through the Kerala University Bill 1974 on the basis of the select committee report. Gained strength under the peculiar situation of colonialism, Pressure groups formed as unbridled force in the postcolonial period obstructing any move of government in democratising the education system. The Private College Managements could not tolerate the idea of external interference in the administration of colleges. They staked their claim that the Bill will automatically transform the affiliated colleges into constituent colleges and thereby violated the right of minorities to administer educational institutions of their choice.⁵¹

The Assembly passed the Bill in spite of the protests from the Management. The management had brought some of the coalition partners of the government under its sway. But, the Governor, in turn directed the Bill to the President of India because the Bill had an issue of minority rights. The President referred it to the Supreme Court of India for a decision. “The court upheld the contention of the management that the Act transformed the affiliated colleges into constituent colleges and hence unconstitutional.”⁵² The Government made some modifications as per the verdict of the Supreme Court. The verdict entrusted the Government to take over the mismanaged colleges including those run by the religious minorities. Since C.H. Muhammed Koya who was the Minister for Education represented the

⁵⁰ *Report of the Kerala Education Commission, op.cit., p. 87.*

⁵¹ *The Hindu, 30th April 1974.*

⁵² *The Hindu, 2nd March 1974.*

Muslim minority political party in the ministry, Chief Minister himself took charge of the issue related to the Bill. In spite of the protests from the Private College Management and repeated requests from them, Governor gave his consent to the Bill. “The Bill was finally passed on 19 April 1974 by the Assembly. And thus was enacted the University Bill of 1974.”⁵³ It was for the first time in the history of Kerala that the Government gave in to the pressure and demands of the organised agitation by the students and teachers. The communal forces were also not able to meet their demands. The Government could control the private management as their pressure tactics failed in its agitation against passing the bill. They acted like unbridled force in the society of Kerala especially in the education field. They became more powerful in the postcolonial period taking advantage of the initial difficulties of governments in power immediately after independence. They enjoyed the same privilege they had exerted as an ally of the British under colonialism. “With the help of a total number of twenty four educational enactments the United Front Ministry, under the leadership of C. Achutha Menon, made significant changes in the educational sector”⁵⁴ With the waning of the influence and pressure of the caste-communal forces, Government was free to introduce reforms in the education sector. For the first time after independence, the elected government of Kerala could overpower the colonial vestige in the form of Pressure Groups. Colonialists wanted native allies to maintain their power. Therefore, the caste-communal organizations were left with a free hand in education. Their dominance, as vestige of colonialism, was reduced considerably.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Keralam Annum Innum* (Mal), Government of Kerala, Public Relations Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 1981, pp 42-43.

CHAPTER V

HIGHER EDUCATION AND GLOBALIZATION: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES 1991-2000

Previous chapters discussed the trajectories of higher education in Kerala till the advent of globalization in 1990. Drastic changes occurred in the field of higher education since 1990 with the opening of Indian economy to the dominant worldwide trend of free market economy, otherwise labelled as globalization. Globalization is not only a process of integrating the economy but also the culture, technology and governance. Knowledge production and dissemination is one of the driving forces of globalization and, for that reason, globalization has a profound impact on higher education. Globalization demands expansion of knowledge within countries and across borders as it needed skilled and trained personnel. David & Wildemeersch observe that globalization in every country emerges as part of national policy and, under globalization; the competency of a nation depends on its ability to create new knowledge. Before delve into the paradigmatic shift of Indian/Kerala higher education system to the challenging terrain of globalization, a brief description of the state of higher education in Kerala would help to understand how Kerala is going to receive, adapt and adjust to, and above all, gain from the inevitable process of globalization.

A perusal of the higher education in the postcolonial scenario indicates that Kerala is yet to develop a clear perspective on the objectives of higher education. Embedded in the colonial legacy and entrapped in the postcolonial political turmoil, Kerala failed to vision and accordingly set the goals of higher education. Colonialism had left a thriving tradition of primary and secondary education; Kerala focused on the spatial spread of primary as well

as higher education least considering the needs of its economy. The content of education, especially at the higher education level, was not given much importance. Within fifty years after independence, Kerala was flooded with unskilled human resources seeking employment. Kerala higher education sector loaded with responsibilities of no resultant positive outcomes, lopsided vision and outdated curriculum and courses was gasping for a new direction. An examination of some of the pressing problems would help to catch the nature of transformation that higher education of Kerala confronted and compelled to undergo under the process of globalization.

The pattern of 10+2+3 which leads to Graduate Degree was the minimum eligibility for acquiring white collar employment. It indicates the requirements and expectation of the emerging socio-cultural system. Those who completed school education joined Degree courses under the hopes that they would enter white collar jobs once they complete their course. Naturally registration for degree courses increased. The High Level Committee on Higher Education (HLC on HE) reported low fee structure contributed to the increased number of registration for degree admission. Aspirants for degree courses were attracted by the low fee set for the degree course. Experts in the education field shared the view that Kerala fixed abnormally low fee rate compared to other states. This heavy enrollment ultimately affected the standard of degree courses. The situation was emerged due to the social demand for the expansion of higher education. It has been on increase for the past few decades. The Report of the Education Commission observed that “the prime malady afflicting higher education in Kerala is its failure to maintain standards. Many of the colleges have been established, not in response to the needs of the localities concerned, but under political and communal pressures.”¹ But instead of dispersing the students to new and

¹ *Report of the Education Commission*, Sastra Sahitya Parishat, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p.49.

various fields of knowledge, the government started courses with the same subjects, content and objectives. Arts and science subjects were retained the same form and structure; only commerce was a new subject introduced at degree level. A major subject, subsidiary subjects and language were the pattern followed. “The majority of the courses and programmes offered are not relevant to contemporary or emerging needs. They have not been redesigned to meet the growing complexity of various specialisations or to facilitate mobility between courses.”² No new teaching method was introduced on pace with the heavy rush of students to the degree course. Teaching –learning process became mechanical and sometimes seemed obsolete. While the teachers used the same notes every year, the students mainly depended on guide-book. Teaching-learning method was not upgraded. Course outlines were not updated with latest knowledge in the subjects taught as the Board of Studies in the universities did not make attempts to incorporate the changes in the subject nor are they thought of introducing changes in the teaching-learning method. The entire course and its paraphernalia focused on the examination system as the students were over enthusiastic about the passing the degree course. Thus the entire system seemed to be examination oriented. The evaluation process at degree level also continued without change. “The universities in Kerala continue to follow the annual examination system, which has been a major contributing factor to the poor quality of higher education.”³ Evaluation ignored the analytical skill or their ability to produce new knowledge. The authorities responsible did not consider evaluating how the students relate the subjects taught in the class room with real needs that the society required from them. Limited attempts were made to upgrade knowledge in science. With this state of education, Kerala failed to produce skilled workers or experts to lead changes in the

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p.51.

industrial or agriculture sectors. Local resources or capabilities for productive purposes were not utilized. Graduates who are passed out from the colleges and universities in Kerala had very little to contribute to the existing knowledge or skill. Naturally, this is time considered as the time to reorient the objects, structure and subjects of the higher education and make necessary modifications from Kerala's own context.

Bachelor Degree qualifies a student for its higher level degree named Post graduation. It makes the students eligible for teaching job or research. The purpose of post graduate course was the generation of new knowledge in respective fields; but this intension was ignored in the new social context prevalent in Kerala at the time. At some university centers, the postgraduate centers engaged seriously in training the students to pursue research at an advanced level; but most of the postgraduate programmes are conducted as a ritual. As in the case of curriculum of the Degree courses, the postgraduate curriculum in the higher education sector is also obsolete and irrelevant. "The standards of postgraduate education in universities are found to be deteriorating."⁴ Affiliated colleges offering postgraduate courses are generally not adequately equipped to conduct them.

The Universities are supposed to give lead the entire academic process in higher education. Preparation of curricula and course outlines for graduate and postgraduate courses. Responsibilities like monitoring evaluation organize research and award degrees were also part of their work. In fact the quality of higher education depended on how well the universities excel in their supervision of the higher education sector. "It is now a well-known fact that the universities in Kerala are not performing their academic functions as per requirements or expectations of the society."⁵ "They have become large

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.87.

bureaucratic establishments mired in procedures, systems and structures. There is great need for simplicity and flexibility of procedures and a decentralized system of functioning, so that a vibrant academic community is ensured.⁶ At the same time, one has to bear in mind the fact that universities were overburdened by responsibilities. The higher education system with its affiliation system, developing new courses of study, upgradation of current education programmes, examination reforms and extension programmes have given universities responsibilities incapable of responding to challenges. These responsibilities were the reasons for the current academic stagnation in Kerala. As a solution, experts in education suggested often administrative and academic decentralization of the universities.

The condition of research activities in various universities in Kerala seems to be the same. The purpose of the research is to further the progress of mankind by the application of the knowledge it produced to better daily life. The research facilitates to improve reasoning capabilities among aspirants of research. Though all universities are equipped with research programmes leading to M.Phil. and Ph.D. a few colleges have M.Phil. courses degree. There is part time and full time research programmes in universities at research level. Those who completed postgraduate programmes are eligible to pursue research and a number of students join research after the completion of post graduation. Those who entered teaching fields also join research. But the facilities for doing research in universities are not up to the mark. Students who entered in the research activities have different intensions. Dr. John Kattakkayam has conducted a survey to understand the motives behind the registration for Ph. D. among 50 full time scholars. He found that only “24%

⁶ *Ibid.*

has genuine academic interest particularly in accumulating knowledge in a specified area of their interest.”⁷

The research field confronts uncertainties of various kinds. On getting employment, some research scholars leave their research half the way. Allegations were also raised against the criteria applied to recommend a thesis for award of degree. The standard of research can be upgraded only when universities are being transformed into real knowledge producing centers. They should act as centers of knowledge, debates and novel ideas. Universities did not rise up to the mark and forget that their priority is producing new knowledge as being research centers. Universities as the center for production of knowledge are ultimately committed to society. In order to achieve this, universities should give priority to research and convert its departments into advanced centres of research. Excellence can be achieved by appointing persons with merit in research and by providing sufficient financial assistance and other facilities for the promotion of research. “There is a need for proper screening and evaluation of research programmes undertaken by postgraduate students and research scholars. Much of the research done at present is reported to be mediocre, repetitive and not always relevant.”⁸

The former vice-chancellors, educational administrators, principals, professors, and teachers, and academics and the well-wishers of higher education have commented on the malpractices and deficiencies of the higher educational system in the state. Dr.M.V. Pylee, former Vice Chancellor, and above all an expert on Indian constitution, pointed out thus- Higher education institutions were degraded as centers for recruiting members in political parties. The universities in Kerala failed to contribute dynamism in the higher

⁷ Dr. John Kattakkayam, *Research Work in Crisis: Some Reflections*, p. 116.

⁸ *Report of the Education Commission, op.cit.*, p. 53.

education sector.⁹ He also commented “Poor quality of teaching; indiscipline and poor motivation among teachers, appointment of teachers on the basis of donations, instead of on the basis of merit; politically-oriented trade unionism among teachers; politically oriented trade unionism among students; qualitatively poor examination and evaluation systems; meager infrastructural facilities in universities and colleges; political interference in the autonomy of higher educational institutions; appointment of vice-chancellors and other top functionaries of the universities and colleges on the basis of political influences; political interference in the constitution of different authorities of the universities and colleges; poor leadership at the higher levels of administration both in colleges and universities; and indifference on the part of parents, and the public”.¹⁰

Along with the specific problems analyzed above, the values under which the system worked till the advent of globalization were also at erosion and seemed obsolete. There is no doubt in the fact that higher education was valued in traditional societies much more than in modern societies. Education and knowledge were viewed as great asset. Traditional societies voluntarily spent for education without anticipating any economic benefit. This was the trend until the advent of 1970s. It was held that the benefits of education are fathomless and the investments of government could be recovered through the increased productivity of labour force in future. Therefore no direct action is required to recover the government investments made in education.

Even before the appearance of globalization on the Indian horizons, the higher education system was at the crossroads due to the internal crisis developed around 1970s. It led to the loosening of the values around which

⁹ M.V. Pylee, *Vidyabhyasa Prashnangal: Innu, Innale, Nale*, (Mal), D.C. Books, Kottayam, 2006, p.21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.90-97.

the higher education system spun so far. The advent of the 1970s heralded a continuing financial crisis in education. The crisis was characterized by high rates of inflation, shrinking public budgets for education along with increasing student numbers, declining per student expenditures, extremely inadequate investment in the quality of education, severe distortions in inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral allocation of resources, widening of inter-country and intra-country inequalities in expenditure on education. There is a gradual shift from education being a state responsibility to its privatization.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, modern neo-liberal economic reform policies have been unveiled in several developing countries in the form of stabilization and adjustment reform programs, associated with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. “Privatization has become the most significant agenda of the Bretton Wood Institutions”¹¹. The 1980s and 1990s brought about a complete swing of pendulum in which social democratic values and welfare state concerns were replaced by the free market philosophy that stresses individual economic values and gains. Individual freedom and choice are preferred to social (or public) choice. In the extreme form of free market philosophy, there is no meaning to ‘Social Good’ and ‘Social Welfare’; there is no such thing as society or value to society that is inseparable from individual gains.¹² Markets, more clearly the private sector, now hold the center stage. It is argued increasingly that it is not the government, but the market that can do everything for everybody.

Now with the unveiling of the economic reform policies, the role of higher education is being re-interpreted and re-defined. The market promoting policies everywhere pose serious challenges in higher education. New values,

¹¹ Richardson, R. W and Haralz J.H., *Moving to the Market: The World Bank in Transition*, Overseas Development Council, Washington DC, 1995, p.52.

¹² Hayek, F.A., *The Road to Serfdom*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1994, p.29.

policies and practices replaced traditional and well-established values, concepts and approaches. Social democratic visions are being replaced by market-driven policies. 'Marketization' has become the buzzword. The role of the government is being re-invented. Their traditional functions of production and dissemination of knowledge are under attack. Public subsidization of higher education is being increasingly criticized. Equity in higher education is no more cared for. The modern economic policies or simply called the market reforms that aim at making higher educational institutions responsive to market forces do not distinguish between education and any commercial product. Added to this that knowledge is considered an important driving force for globalization and therefore globalization should have profound impact on knowledge and education.

Globalization

Globalization required a drastic cut in public expenditures in higher education, and promotion of markets in higher education. The experts considered there are six major global trends in higher education, viz., (a) rapid expansion of higher education, (b) decline in public subsidies for higher education, (c) increase in cost-recovery, particularly through student fees and student loans, and generation of funds from corporate sector and other segments of the society (d) neglect of liberal arts, humanities, sciences, and social sciences, (d) adoption of new market modes of higher education that include privatization and commoditization, and (f) internationalization of a new type. In fact, these policies set the tone for drastic reforms in higher education across the globe. As P.J James noted that "commercialization of education and withdrawal of social aims of education are the two important tendencies in globalization of education."¹³

¹³ P.J. James, *Vidybhyasam Vargheeya Sakthikalude Kayyil* (Mal), in Janavartha, Jnavartha Publishers, Kozhikode, p. 71.

Globalization required restructuring of higher education and higher education system in Kerala also involved/engaged in the process of revamping its system accordingly. “The basic assumption underlying the relationship between globalisation and educational changes is that knowledge is considered an important driving force for globalisation and therefore globalisation should have profound impact on knowledge and education.”¹⁴ Public expenditure on higher education in Kerala declined considerably and the recovery of costs of higher education from the students (in the form of high and even full of cost-equivalent fees) has been an important strategy adopted in the state.¹⁵ The lack of resources is the main reason cited for the growth of private higher education in the state. The sprouting of self financing college was the first significant move towards privatization. A self -financing college (SFC) is defined as that regular and affiliated one which does not receive aid from any government agencies for its capital and revenue expenditure. But it does not mean that a self- financing college cannot receive any .financial support from government like subsidies, project funds etc. Self- financing colleges can start by both government and private agencies. Other than the financial aspects, the self -financing colleges enjoy complete freedom in the appointment of teachers and other non-teaching staff. Colleges of these kinds were begun to appear in 1996 in Kerala when the ministry in power gave a green signal for the establishment of self financing college.

The emergence of self financing colleges seemed to be partly the response of higher education to the spread of globalization. Whether the higher education system of Kerala reached a stage to accept the changes in education is a much sought after question among the educationalists of

¹⁴ Carnoy, M. *Globalization and Education Reform: What Planners Need to Know*, UNESCO/IIEP, Paris, 1999, p.32.

¹⁵ The percentage of public spending on education to total government expenditure which was as high as 29.28 percent In 1982-83 declined to 23.17 percent in 1992-93 and to 17.97 percent in 2005-2006.

Kerala. A perusal of the data indicates that the higher education system of Kerala was also looking for a solution to the problems generated out of the inherent growth in the field. Exhausted of financing the education sector, the government of Kerala started showing reluctance in financing the higher education sector. Government was the only source of finance of the universities. It became an established fact in 1990s that government could no longer bear the burden of financing the higher education. It led the education sector to find ways to finance their activities. This situation forced Universities to adopt a market-oriented approach in raising finances. It diverted the attention of universities from pure academic to entrepreneurial role. The result was the birth of self financing colleges in Kerala. It led to the introduction of a new dictum in post colonial that 'education should serve economic purposes'. An entrepreneurial as well as competitive culture has been encouraged through the introduction of self financing colleges. Marketization became the priority in the higher education sector.

Self Financing Colleges

Trend towards privatization hastened with the inability of the government become all the more visible in investing money on education. The government reduced the amount of expenditure for education due to its poor turnout of revenue. This in turn affected the middle class families in Kerala. The tremendous growth of primary and secondary level education has expanded the number of students getting enrolled in the schools. It produced a huge number of aspirants for higher education especially from the middle rung of Kerala society. The flow of people in search of labour outside Kerala and India has bestowed them financial security too to invest money on their children's education. As the government is not able to meet the demands of the newly emerged aspirants for higher education through increasing the capital investment on education, a situation emerged again to rely on private

funded educational institutions. There was a huge flow of students from Kerala to neighboring states like Tamil Nadu and Karnataka in search of opportunities in educational institutions funded by private agencies in the absence of them at Kerala. The capitation fee was quite high in these institutions and the drain of wealth was alarming to Kerala. It prompted many to think in line with establishment of such private funded educational institutions in Kerala itself. Globalization provided the pretext and a conducive logic to introduce self financing colleges in Kerala. They are institutions fully funded and operated by private agencies. The appearance of self financing colleges is an indication of the social transformation undergone by the Kerala society. The main target group of the self financing colleges is the middle class which is ready to make huge investment in educating their children. It gives ample space for an enquiry into the social transformation taken place within short span of four decades since 1957 in addition to providing an opportunity to understand the transformation that higher education sector has undergone.

The people of Kerala begun to get familiarized the concept of self financing colleges in 1990s. Praveena Kodoth in her studies on the impact of globalization on education pointed out that the number of colleges in the public funded sectors (government and aided colleges) has virtually stagnated since mid-1990s- only three were started since 1990s.¹⁶ There were about 25 self financing colleges in Kerala in 1996. Colleges of these kinds were begun to appear in 2001 under the verdict of the High Court of Kerala when the ministry in power gave a green signal for the establishment of self financing colleges. See the table below.

¹⁶ Praveena Kodoth, *Globalization and Higher Education in Kerala: Access, Equity and Quality*, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, p.15.

Universities	1990	1996			2003			2006		
	Total	Govt	Aided	Un-aided	Govt	Aided	Un-aided	Govt	Aided	Un-aided
Kerala		9	37	6	9	37	13	9	37	14
Calicut		22	56	17	16	44	31	17	45	50
MG		7	55	2	7	55	37	7	56	57
Kannur					6	12	19	6	12	46
Total	170	38	148	25	38	148	100	39	150	167

Source: Directorate of Collegiate Education. Govt. of Kerala (Various years)

The table shows the increase in the number of self-financing colleges to 167 within a span of 15 years.

The courses offered are no doubt job oriented and it placed higher education in Kerala on par with the demands of globalization. Self-financing colleges preferred to offer new generation courses. The Universities in Kerala introduced several new courses in self-financing colleges during 2004-2005 period. Kerala University started MFA Sculpture, MPA Music and MD Ayurveda. Mahatma Gandhi University started 21 new courses. M.Tech. Computer aided and structural engineering and industrial engineering, M.Sc. Electronics, Bioinformatics, Microbiology, Aquaculture, Food Science and Quality control etc. Calicut University started BHM (Hotel Management), B.Sc. Psychology, M.Tech., MCA, and MBA. Kannur University started 16 new courses in self-financing colleges. BBM, B.Pharm, BAS, B.Tech., BBA, B.Sc Nursing, M.A. Applied Economics etc. Sree Sankaracharya University started M.A. Psychology, Vedic Studies, MSW etc.¹⁷

Though they do not ensure disciplinary accessibility everywhere the self-financing colleges introduced most of the new generation courses in the

¹⁷ *Economic Review*, Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala, 2005, p. 344.

state. “The rapid growth in self-financing private sector, led to diminution of public sector and public sector displacement in a big way. Number of students in government and government-aided colleges is found to be declining, as the students are shifting to self-financing colleges.”¹⁸ When the under graduate courses offered by different universities in the State analyzed, it is observed that Self –financing colleges were able to ensure the provision of various new generation courses. Detailed analysis shows that at present in the State there are 111 disciplines offered in the graduate level by all Universities and among them conventional courses are offered mainly by public colleges. Do the self financing colleges justify the social equity principle on which the culture of Kerala anchored? Public debate on self financing colleges very well reflect the alarm that people have about the values to be nurtured and added by self financing colleges to the social equity based development culture of Kerala? Over and above, Kerala society was quite apprehensive about the reduction of public funding in education.

The demand for more self- financing colleges stemmed out of the widely prevalent notion that students were the sole beneficiaries of higher education. But in reality, self –financing colleges were deemed as profit making ventures. The self- financing colleges did not make any effort to find out talents from wider circles. The state had many educational institutions that did not have any basic facilities for libraries. In many colleges, appointments are not made as per rules. Admission procedures are not transparent. Most of the teachers are under qualified and appointed are temporarily and hour basis. Almost all colleges adopt different fee and donation structure. The state government had abdicated financing the colleges. The government did not have any interest in regulating the fees.

¹⁸ Jandhyala Tilak, *How is Kerala Doing in Higher Education*, p.4, Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/15336706/How_is_Kerala_doing_in_higher_education

Self financing courses are taught by inexperienced temporarily appointed faculty members.. It is alleged that a good number of of teachers appointed in the self financing colleges are not qualified for the job. The atmosphere of the campus is not something that supports enhancement of teaching competency. Several existing faculties complained that efforts taken by them are hardly considered for rewards. One pathetic situation observed in these colleges is the near absence of non-teaching staff like librarian, lab assistants etc. Other than the security officers, menial job workers, manager, cashier etc., most of the other jobs were performed by regular teachers itself. Citing financial and administrative reasons, new faculties are not appointed at the right time. This increases the job burden of teachers. These private institutions are focusing on short-term market considerations. Even universities began to transform themselves in to ‘entrepreneurial universities and autonomy from the government has become a buzzword. A major trend from the 1990s aggravating exclusionary trends is the proliferation of unaided schools and the growth of self-financing courses and institutions in the higher education and technical education sectors. These institutions try to recover the entire capital and recurring costs from the students as they are considered to be the sole beneficiaries of education. Many of the new breed of educational entrepreneurs is guided largely by commercial or other extraneous considerations. Even the religious and the caste groups which used to finance education partly out of their own resources, are now choosing the easier option of student financing for promoting education. The universities and some of the government agencies and cooperatives floated at the initiative of the government are now starting only self-financing colleges. Most of the job oriented courses like nursing, medical, engineering, management are now in the self-financing sector.

Autonomous Colleges

Enhancing quality of education on par with global standard is one of the targets of higher education. Autonomous colleges are envisaged with the above purpose in view. It primarily focuses on framing global relevant new courses and curricula. In other words, autonomy intends internationalization of courses and curriculum which respond to the requirement of the global market. Globalization hastened the process of autonomy which has been underway quite some time in the higher education system of India.

The concept of 'autonomy' was not new to India. But the idea stemmed from the factors prevailed in India's higher education sector. In the case of India, the idea of conferring autonomy to colleges was motivated by two reasons. The increase in the number of affiliated colleges under the universities became a burden to them in course of time. This kind of a situation refrain Universities from giving adequate care to academic programmes and activities. They were embedded in the non-academic activities like students' admission, examinations and result publication. The increase in the affiliated colleges meant no change in qualitative terms to universities; on the other hand, it found impossible to dispense non-academic activities on time.

“In the first half of the nineteenth century, Even before the establishment of Universities in I, several colleges came into existence with full autonomy such as Hindu College, Calcutta (1817), Agra College (1827), Poona College (1833), Elphinstone College, Bombay (1834), Hoogly College (1836), Patna College (1840), St. Joseph College, Nagapattinam (1844), Hislop College, Nagpur (1844), Bethune College for Women, Calcutta (1849), Madras Christian College (1852), and St. John's College (1853).”¹⁹

¹⁹ Dr. B Iqbal, *Educational Reforms*, Kerala Calling, January, 2008, p.13.

Twenty seven autonomous colleges have come into being in India in the year 1857. These autonomous colleges were affiliated to three universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Common rules were framed for courses, admission, examination and results. Uttar Pradesh Legislature made an attempt to introduce autonomy through Agra University Amendment Act. But University did not favour it and autonomy was postponed. As early as 1964, the Committee on Colleges under the chairmanship of Prof. Mahajani advised UGC to take a decision to frame a general policy in the development of colleges. The Committee on Standards of University Education under the Chairmanship of Prof. S.K.Sidhanta (1965) also recommended introduction of autonomy. The education commissions, appointed for reviewing higher education sector recommended repeatedly for autonomy to facilitate policy making.

The first formal and specific recommendations on college autonomy appeared in the Report of the Education Commission (1964-66) under the chairmanship of Prof. D.S. Kothari. Since 1968 when the first National Policy on Education based on Kothari Commission report was adopted, there has been continued emphasis on changing the affiliation system of colleges. The affiliation system which persisted since 1857 worked well during the early decades when the number of colleges affiliated to the universities was small and the universities had direct interest and close association with the programmes and performance of its affiliated colleges. During the last few decades, however, the number of colleges affiliated to universities has grown to almost unmanageable proportions. The relationship between the universities and affiliated colleges has degraded to perform functions, reducing the status of affiliated colleges to mechanical entities. While evolving new directions for higher education and strengthening its quality and relevance, the various Commissions on education underlined the structural weakness of the affiliation system which inhibited the implementation of their

major recommendations. College autonomy, in a phased manner was, therefore, advocated as a possible solution.

UGC appointed a committee consisting of Dr. D.S. Kothari, Dr.P.B.Gajendragadkar, Dr.A.C.Joshi, Dr.A.L..Mudaliar, Shri.P.N.Kirpal, Dr.B.Malik, Dr.K.L.Shrimali, Dr.R.K.Singh, Shri. J.P.Naik and Shri.K.L.Joshi to find out and report on the feasibility of establishing autonomy. The committee was also asked to seek out the mechanism for implementing the recommendations of the Education Commission (1964-66). Though lots of efforts were put into enquiring the feasibility of autonomy in India, no autonomy was effectively came into being till 1978. Dr.Malcolm Adishesiah, former Vice-Chancellor of Madras University and Former Chairman of the Madras Institute of Development Studies characterized this as follows: “Everybody is in favour of autonomous colleges. Yet they have been non-starters because everyone, including the colleges, is afraid of disturbing the dismal but demanding status quo.”²⁰ An effective move towards autonomy was made in 1978 by Madras University and Madurai Kamaraj University. It introduced autonomy in eight colleges under Madras University and four colleges under Madurai Kamaraj University in 1978. By 1984, across India, 21 autonomous colleges came into being -16 in Tamil Nadu, one in Bihar, two in Andhra Pradesh, one in Gujarat, and one in Madhya Pradesh.

The National Policy of Education (NPE) 1986 suggested autonomy with restriction. Autonomy in matters of selection of students, appointment and promotion of teachers, determination of courses of study and methods of teaching and choice of areas for research and their promotion were recommended by NPE. The Programme of Action (PoA) for NPE-1986

²⁰ *Malcom Adi Seshiah Commission Report* ,Govt. of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1985, p.123.

suggested steady and systematic development of autonomous colleges and autonomous departments within universities on a selective basis. It is proposed by NPE-1986 by seventh plan period, India should have 500 colleges. Universities across India should amend acts or introduce new one for the introduction autonomy in their respective states-suggested UGC. It is decided that UGC would frame guideline for autonomy and financial assistance would be extended. By the time UGC brought forth action plan for the introduction of autonomous colleges, India had 150 universities and 5,000 colleges in the country. In 1990, a Committee chaired by Acharya Ramamurthy reviewed the NPE-1986 in the year 1990. It suggested modifications in the NPE1986 policy for autonomy. It placed its report in 1992. While the NPE-1986 did not undergo any major change in the Review, its PoA (Programme of Action) made a thorough revision. In the year 1992, there were 229 universities and 9,274 colleges in India with an enrolment of 7.1 million students. Acharya Ramamurthy did not suggest any modification on earlier recommendation on autonomous colleges. In fact, it recommended vigorous implementation of the autonomy and increase in the number of autonomous institutions. It suggested the introduction of Council of Autonomous Colleges in every state. It also extended financial assistance to the newly formed autonomous colleges to improve academic standard. UGC issued a set of guidelines for Autonomous Colleges in 2007. The new guidelines which come under 11th plan period, encouraged the States and Universities to give autonomy to their colleges. The Central Government envisaged 10% of the affiliated colleges during 11th plan period and directed UGC to do the needful.

Again, the UGC published another set of guidelines in 2017 in this regard. Recently, the UGC has published a regulation on Autonomous Colleges.²¹

Academic freedom to universities is a long cherished dream of the academicians and students alike. Autonomy is welcomed by academicians with the hope that it meant academic freedom at higher education level. Government of India appointed commissions from time to time to enquire and submit the possible consequences of conferring autonomy to colleges. Kothari Commission, education commission appointed by Government of India, gave a favourable nod to autonomy in its report way back in 1966. Implementation of it naturally brought in commotion in favour and against it. The first-hand experience of its implementation was not encouraging and the dream of academic independence/self-reliance at higher levels of education through autonomy seemed distant. Higher education in the private sector reaped the benefits of the reform package called autonomy at the expense of Government's financial support. What are the future prospects of autonomy in the present scenario of higher education in Kerala? A look into the response of the public would also provide how receptive they are in favour of the idea of autonomy and it would also give an opportunity to understand the popularity of higher education among different classes of social level. An investigation into these questions would definitely disclose not only the growth of higher education but also the nature of its growth among different strata of society.

One of the challenges in front of higher education is to make students "work ready". With the introduction of Globalization, higher education

²¹ *Conferment of Autonomous status upon Colleges and Measures for Maintenance of Standards in Autonomous Colleges Regulations, 2018, p.13.*

requires to be updated to the changes in the global scenario. Higher education has to revise curricula to accommodate the changing needs and ensure quality in education. Preferences and tastes of the students have also changed with liberalization of the society. Therefore, a flexible curriculum is a necessary component of higher education. Through this means, students' preferences could be met. Under the affiliating system, revision of curricula takes time and usually curriculum is changed only occasionally. "Research at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels has always remained poor in India with very few research projects being undertaken and of those being undertaken, fewer add to the existing bank of knowledge."²² The reason for the poor standard of research is lack funds received from universities. Even the survival of the colleges was also a challenge in the wake of the entry of foreign universities to India and the existing poor standard of higher education in India.

Kerala has been praised across the world for its tremendous achievement in education and its attainment of 100% literacy. This admiration erased the problems Kerala confronted and worsened the maladies already crept into the higher education. It is a fact that Kerala excelled in primary and secondary education; but higher education hadn't reached to that level. The education system developed in the postcolonial Kerala was not linked to the production forces. Courses and course outlines are not modified or revised for the changing needs in the economy. Autonomy was suggested as a remedy to the maladies in the higher education sector of postcolonial Kerala.

Government of Kerala appointed a committee of experts under Dr.K.Gopalan in 1987 to enquire into the chances of establishing autonomous colleges in Kerala. This was the first step towards establishing autonomous colleges in the State. The Committee in effect recommended the

²² Deepa, A., *Autonomy Comes Closer but Debates Persists*. India Today, 2006, p. 19.

establishment of autonomous colleges.²³ The committee filed its report in April, 1987. “The report contains mainly the apprehensions of the respondents who were the university employees, teachers, students, educational administrators, representatives of the private management, and the public. The report says:”²⁴

- The government can establish autonomy to colleges in the state provided:
- The teachers should be more responsible
- The college which is given autonomy will not enjoy any kind of privilege
- The regulations which are in vogue in various universities in matters of admission, appointments and the like will be applicable to these colleges also.
- A proper control mechanism will check the misuse of power.
- The report warned against the misusing of power by the private managements, and the teachers which may lead to corruption and victimization of staff and students.
- The report also warned the unholy influence from politicians and communal leaders.

“Autonomous colleges will be considered elitist, enjoying special status and privileges while ordinary colleges classified as of second grade. For ensuring quality of higher education, the Commission recommended strongly

²³ Dr. B Iqbal, *op.cit.* p. 13.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

for de-linking pre-degree course from colleges.”²⁵ No further action was taken by the government on the recommendation of this committee. As Dr. M.V. Pylee said that “neither the government of Kerala nor Universities in Kerala created conducive atmosphere for the introduction of autonomous colleges so far.”²⁶ Report of the task force on Higher Education State Planning Board (1997) recommended that some colleges with fine record of functioning may be granted autonomous status and for that a share of financial resources can be raised from UGC funding. The implications of granting autonomy should be looked at seriously with appropriate agreements with regard to appointments, admissions, and salary payments prepared and signed between government, universities and college managements.²⁷

The Inter University Consultative Council (IUCC) appointed a committee chaired by Dr K.K.N. Kurup²⁸ to study the feasibility of granting autonomous status to affiliated colleges. It looked into the possibilities of granting autonomy to colleges in the State. The Kerala IUCC report recommends the establishment of a committee at the college level with student representation to monitor the functioning of the various activities related to autonomy. It further recommended that the existing staff patterns in the colleges should not be modified without the concurrence of the Government and the Universities. Also it is mentioned that the principle of communal rotation in the appointment of teachers and the enrolment of students should be maintained. “In fact, the committee took a positive stand on granting no objection to eligible colleges in the state to seek Autonomous

²⁵ Viswanathan C. N., *Total Quality Management in Higher Education in Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Mahatma Gandhi University, Priyadarshini Hills P.O. Kottayam, 2007, pp.27-28.

²⁶ M.V. Pylee , *op.cit.*, p.85.

²⁷ *Report of the Task Force on Higher Education*, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala.,Thiruvananthapuram, 1997, p. 14.

²⁸ KKN Kurup the then Vice Chancellor of Calicut University and Dr. Cyriac Thomas the Pro-Vice Chancellor of Kerala University as Convener was appointed in 1999.

status.”²⁹ Though the Committee submitted its report in 2000, further action was not taken.

The Regional Engineering College (REC) in Calicut was granted deemed university status. Efforts were also on the move to elevate REC into National Institute of Technology. Government Engineering College, Trivandrum was also selected to convert to an autonomous institution with the financial assistance of World Bank funded project. A few colleges in Kerala sought autonomous status from UGC in the year 2000. As part of encouraging autonomy among the higher education institutions, UGC granted permission readily subject to the opinion of universities and Government of Kerala. Neither the universities nor the then State Government were in favour of granting permission to autonomy of higher education institutions. The Government made amendments in the University Acts in 2004 so as to empower them to grant autonomous status to the affiliated colleges. N. R. Madhavamenon Committee (2013), constituted by the Government of Kerala submitted its report, voicing its consonance with previous reports and supporting the issuance of no objection certificate to colleges with potential for excellence. Kerala granted the status of autonomy to 9 colleges in 2014-15, 3 colleges in 2015-16 and 7 colleges in 2016-17. Today, Kerala has 19 Autonomous Colleges (18 Aided Colleges and 1 Govt. College) affiliated to three universities-the University of Calicut, Mahatma Gandhi University and the University of Kerala. K.S.H.E.C’s report on Autonomous Colleges in Kerala emphasizes the importance of academic autonomy and emphasizes that autonomy essentially implies academic autonomy as this is the domain of quality. The State followed the UGC guidelines for the selection of colleges deserving conferment of the status of autonomy but decided to refrain from granting status to many colleges, on the ground that there must be further

²⁹ *Report of the Committee on Autonomous Colleges in Kerala*, The Kerala State Higher Education Council, July 2018, p.13.

analysis of the problem before encouraging more colleges to seek autonomy. By and large the State refrained from granting financial autonomy to any college. The academic freedom is very important in autonomous colleges. The colleges can change the curriculum in accordance with global needs. Rev. Dr. P.T. Chandy commented that under autonomy, a teacher truly comes into his own. He will have to challenge and the opportunity to make the courses up-to-date and to keep them moving abreast of the latest developments and advances.³⁰

The educational experts identified the major concerns while implementing the autonomous colleges in Kerala. They suggested the following points need be looked into:

- Education experts agreed unanimously that the employability and academic standard of the graduates coming out of the various universities in Kerala is bleak and poor. Academic stagnation is visible in the higher education sector.
- The University governance system should be made conducive for attaining academic excellence.
- There is a trend visible in the higher education sector that arts and science colleges are neglected at the expense of professional colleges. The result was the poor academic turn out in the form of incompetent graduates.
- It is found that the faculty improvement and training programmes organized by the academic staff colleges under various universities in Kerala are not producing desired results because it did not lead to academic improvement of teaching faculty. They lack modern teaching

³⁰ Rev. Dr. P.T. Chandy, *Higher Education: Expectations, Experiences and Experiments*, p. 92.

methodology as they are not trained properly in pedagogical practices. In this situation a teacher fails to motivate students.

Delinking of Pre- Degree from Colleges

Delinking pre-degree course from the higher education system was a major issue solved when the higher education system is involved in the process of restructuring its values and system in view of globalization. The government decided to delink pre degree from colleges in 1998 and the process is completed in the year 2000. The Task Force on Higher Education Committee (1997-2002) observed that there were 1.5 lakh students in the various pre degree classes in the colleges and an identical number of private registration students³¹. It amply demonstrates the heavy responsibilities of universities at academic and administrative levels when pre-degree course was being run as part of the higher education system. The teacher-student proportion was appalling in the crowded class rooms of pre-degree courses. It was neither beneficial to teachers nor to students. The quality of teaching seemed at low ebb and all parties involved-students, teachers and universities-suffered alike. The delinking of the course from the colleges, to a great extent, was a relief to the higher education, especially at a time when higher education was forced to open for globalization. . It reduced the burden of the universities and colleges at both academic and administrative levels. The delinking increased the efficiency of the higher education institutions; and undoubtedly raised the standard of education. This move indeed facilitated the process of globalization in higher education sector. University could, now focus on framing new courses with a global perspective and equip the higher education institutions at par with global standard. It created the opportunity to start new courses according to the social and economic needs of Kerala.

³¹ *Report of the Task Force on Higher Education, op.cit., p.11.*

Two more universities were started functioning in 1990s. Kannur University was established by the Act 22 of 1996 of Kerala Legislative Assembly. The aim of the Act was the development of higher education in the educationally backward districts like Kannur, Kasargod and certain areas of Wayanad districts. Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanskrit was another university started in the year 1993 by an Act of Kerala State Legislature. The purpose was to encourage and promote Sanskrit language and literature, Indology, Indian Philosophy, Indian Languages and Social Sciences. “Apart from the Main Campus at Kalady, the University offers Programmes at Regional Campuses at Payyannur, Koyilandy, Tirur, Thuravoor, Ettumanoor, Panmana and Thiruvananthapuram. The Sree Sankara university as originally envisaged was to promote Sanskrit education and research. But it has deviated by starting B.Ed. and other courses.”³² A look into the courses offered by these two universities shows that globalization was not taken seriously by the Government of Kerala. Both universities did not deviate from the universities under function in terms of the content of the courses or administration. SSU is a move towards decolonization by emphasizing Indian language and culture; but the courses and content could be framed taking into consideration the dominant trends of globalization. The Kerala society found reluctant to restructure its higher education system from a global perspective. This was quite clear from the recommendations submitted by the Task Force on Higher Education under State Planning Board of Kerala in 1997. It unequivocally stated that educational efforts shouldn’t be commercialised.³³ The two more recommendations from the same Task Force – (1) Diversification of courses and introduction of new multi-disciplinary courses in colleges are essential and facilities should be provided for the college teachers to upgrade adequate training. And (2) The degree and P.G levels may be dechannelized by

³² *Ibid.*, p.7.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.10.

introducing the stream of community polytechnics where a number of skill upgradation course may be offered- seemed to be reflecting the globalized values; but the establishment of Thuchath Ezhuthanchan Malayalam University in 2012 indicates that Government of Kerala did not mean globalization. The courses offered in the university did not deviate from the established pattern. Though the establishment of University could be justified as part of indigenisation by giving due importance to mother tongue, its establishment seems inappropriate in view of the unavoidable threat of the establishment of foreign universities in India as part of the globalization agenda.

Current Issues in Higher Education

The Globalization urges the coming of foreign universities in the State. It, to a great extent relieves the government from investing huge amount in assisting the research activities in science and technology. Kerala society expressed its apprehensions through debates on the issue. The supporters of it said that this would help in exchanges between students and scientists. “If the government wants to help the younger generation in the state, it should throw open the education field to alien universities. Else, students from Kerala would continue to move to other states and foreign countries for quality education. Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Andhra Pradesh in South India are progressing by leaps and bounds only because they sowed the seeds of free education nearly three decades ago.”³⁴ The opponents said that it would affect Kerala’s hitherto followed tradition in education that is - education for all, without any discrimination. The problems such as differences in matters of admissions, fee structure and reservation of seats for different strata in society would be confronted in case Kerala implement the above method was the concern raised by a group of experts. If foreign

³⁴ *The National Sample Survey Data*, Government of India, 2005, p.35.

universities are allowed to operate as part of Globalization agenda some of the age old ethos like equal opportunity for all sections, would be affected. Foreign universities would ensure the students access to information and technology; but its motive of profit making is a concern of the experts. Those who are in favour of globalization argue that it should be seen as an opportunity to change the attitude of the Kerala society in effecting changes in the age old policy followed in education rather than discovering new strategies in resisting the opportunity of globalization.

Kerala has excelled in the primary education. But the same cannot be achieved in the higher education sector. None of the disciplines in the higher education field of Kerala have occupied a position in the list of first twenty at national level. It also indicates the grim chances of the students of Kerala getting into higher education institutions abroad. As an alternative, the universities should restructure the courses by introducing courses in the emerging fields. Traditional courses can be retained by strengthening it. Universities can also attract foreign students to join traditional courses modified and strengthened according to the emerging demand. Universities can promote exchange programmes between universities within and with foreign universities. The government should facilitate the universities in updating the courses according to the demands of globalization. A periodical curriculum review in higher education should be promoted.

Private participation in higher education had been a part of the education system of Kerala since colonial period; it should be enhanced in Globalization context. Colleges are encouraged to opt autonomous status through systematic upgradation of standard. Student priority is important in selecting courses. Teachers, in each institution should design and offer courses.

Higher education sector in Kerala is still slow in catching the spirit of globalization in spite of the introduction of self financing colleges and autonomous colleges. The debate between the two sides, state versus markets, or familiarly known as liberal versus neo-liberal groups, is intensifying in the state in the recent years. A great chunk of academicians are in favour of active state funding, state subsidy, and state control in the field of higher education. It is widely recognized that any withdrawal of public funding, public subsidy or public control would certainly make the system worse, more regressive. They suggest that the higher educational institutions must aim at the holistic development of students, and hence, multiple learning experiences are to be provided along with class-room teaching. The vision and mission of the college is accomplished by providing opportunities for the integral development of students through effective teaching, both theoretical and practical, character formation through regular value education classes, and building competence through skill development programmes. The academic programmes include a blend of basic, applied, job-oriented and professional courses.

Affiliation system does not allow the colleges to frame the curriculum. This is a constraint on the flexibility of designing the curriculum. To overcome this difficulty particularly in the context of challenges under globalization, colleges are encouraged to start value added courses, add on courses, short term certificate courses and soft skill development programmes. Discussions, seminars, assignments and peer teaching are student centered learning method followed in colleges. Learning experiences should include study tours, project work, industry visits and field work. Different strategies should be adopted for those students who are slow learners.

The knowledge produced in higher education institution can be disseminated by various means. Colleges should have research wings to promote research or knowledge production. Publication Divisions can be used for disseminating the findings of the research. The service of the Publication Division can be utilized for publishing the proceedings of the seminars conducted in various disciplines. Endowment lectures conducted each year could also be published through Publication Division. It can direct the consultancy services of the institution. Library with an automated system with enough titles, journals and periodicals is strength to any higher education institution. College can prepare the students for state and national level eligibility test by arranging coaching classes. Higher education institutions should have infrastructure facilities like seminar halls, audiovisual rooms, language and computer labs, auditoriums, cafeteria, hostels, reprographic facilities, network resources, media centers and an open-air theatre would definitely enhance the quality of education. Physical education department has a significant role to play in the college. In addition to preparing the students for competition, it should also ensure the students participation in the Health club in the colleges. Outdoor stadium with playfields for foot-ball, cricket, and other games should be attached to colleges. A regular survey to rate the infrastructure and academic facilities would keep the system intact. Quality management strategies in academic and administrative functions are implemented in colleges to ensure quality education. Internal quality assurance cell, introduction of job-oriented and value-added courses, advance planning for every academic year, student-centered teaching and use of information and communication technologies in class-rooms are some of the strategic initiatives adopted by the colleges. Continuous student evaluation and an academic audit at the end of the academic year would make the system less cumbersome. Community Development programmes involving students and teachers open new vistas for Social accountability can be ensured through

community Development Programme. It should involve both students and teachers.

No country could keep aloof from the dominant trend of globalization, otherwise alleged by Third World countries as neo-colonialism. It permeates every nook and corner of the globe irrespective of the countries' economic, political or cultural status quo. In the case of countries like India which has been undergoing the decolonization process forced to accept globalization all of a sudden. Indigenization is no more relevant under globalization. The countries under decolonization have left with only one choice, that is, adapt to the new culture- globally competent and locally relevant global perspective. While the colonization had crept into and 'accepted' by the colonized mostly unknowingly, neo-colonialism in the form of globalization was not naïve, and the former colonized neither countries nor innocent about it.

CONCLUSION

Education plays a key role in the dissemination of socio-cultural values of a society. Colonialism used education as a tool in subjugating the colonized countries along with political and military conquests. The western values, literature and culture in general were introduced and familiarized among the colonized through education. Political conquest of colonies accompanied cultural conquest – was the dictum followed by the colonizers across the world. Christian missionaries, with the permission of the authorities undertook the task of spreading western education among the colonized. The cultural conquest was thus facilitated by the missionaries. In this way, the subjugation of colonies was achieved by replacing its rulers with their pre-colonial (oriental in the case of Asiatic countries) values and ethos.

The colonial conquest of India was not different from the conquests the colonizers attempted elsewhere in the world. Coming to Kerala, the missionaries did the job of cultural conquest fairly well through establishing a network of educational institutions. They focused on primary and secondary education of the natives. Subjects like geography, mathematics, general science, history and English, the language of the rulers, were taught in the classrooms shared by various castes, though students from lower castes formed the majority. The missionaries, through education supplanted the natives to the western values. The natives received and trained in modern disciplines, the course outlines of which were set scientifically and rationally. Classrooms in the missionary schools were turned practically the testing rooms for natives as they could never imagine sharing the same benches and receiving same knowledge by different castes. The class rooms taught them equality of human beings. It liberated the vast majority of the lower castes from bondage and facilitated further the percolation and penetration of

western values among the natives. An altogether different values and norms set on rolling with the introduction of western education. The response from the people particularly from the lower castes was overwhelming as they found the education as a means to liberate them from caste nexus and other restrictions. A limited number of higher education institutions were only opened by the British in India under the conviction that those who come out of these higher education institutions would turn themselves as instructors to those aspire to remove their ignorance. Mass education was never part of the agenda of the British. One consequence of this stance of the British was the permission extended to the participation of caste organizations like Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam(S.N.D.P), Nair Service Society(N.S.S), Native Christians in educational activities. A well-knit network of primary and secondary education institutions beaming with students; and higher education institutions for namesake, thus carried over to postcolonial independent Kerala.

The huge task of accommodating the students who passed their secondary exams, in the higher education institutions thus became a postcolonial challenge to Kerala. Higher education on mass scale was not the intension of the British. Only limited number of higher education institutions was started during the colonial period. It was not enough to accommodate the students aspiring higher education. Naturally, the focus of postcolonial Kerala was on the spatial development of higher education institutions. In its frantic efforts to accommodate the students, Kerala opened a number of colleges, mainly arts and science colleges within a short span of time. Quality of higher education suffered when the number of colleges increased unabated. Here, one can understand that Postcolonial Kerala was responding to the impact of a colonial condition. No attempt was made to decolonize the education, neither in the content of what to teach nor structurally. The education as introduced and spread in the colonial period virtually carried over to postcolonial period

too. Nevertheless, one cannot say that independent India did not make any initiative of its own in the field of education. Independent India appointed an education commission as early as 1948 under Dr.S.Radhakrishnan with the intension of revamping the education system received from the colonial masters. Dr.Radhakrishnan's predicament was similar to educationalists of any postcolonial country. He could neither suggest absolute decolonization followed by indigenization nor stuck to the continuation of colonial education. He could not ignore the teaching and learning of English, the language of the colonizer; as being a visionary, Radhakrishnan could recognize the importance of English language in the development of science and technology in India. Thus, postcolonial countries could not do away their colonial past as colonialism left deep fissures in the traditions that Indian society followed for centuries. Thus it is the destiny of the postcolonial countries to carry both in body and psyche the imprints of colonialism. Thus a strong decolonization move practically does not seem to be effective even in the initial decades of independence. A middle path was seemed to be the viable option.

Government of Kerala supplanted the primary and secondary education system of the colonial period into the postcolonial period without modification. The firm foundation of primary and secondary education of the colonial period was not utilized for producing further progress in the economy and society of independent Kerala. The students were simply accommodated in the higher education institutions mushrooming each year. Courses and content of the courses remained the same. Kerala required experts in various fields of development. They can be produced through careful planning of the education field. The blind adoration of the colonized about the western system of education introduced by the colonial masters literally annual such an opportunity. Human resources are thus being wasted by not deploying them in various courses according to their aptitude. The need of the economy

should have been taken into consideration while establishing new colleges. Colonizers required only clerks and translators to run the administration. They did not want to produce professionals who can be used for building the nation. Thus their education structure was arranged in such way to cater to their needs. One can say without a second thought that Kerala made a grave mistake by relying on the colonial system and trying to fit its developmental prospects within the colonial structure of education. Thus colonialism hampered development of the colonized countries in the postcolonial period.

Kerala immediately after its formation in 1957 introduced legislations to bring the education system under its control. Education Act 1957, Kerala University Act 1957, Kerala University Act of 1969 and 1974; and Direct Payment Act of 1972 were some of the legislations through which Kerala tried to decolonize and introduce indigenization in the education sector. In addition to it, the caste-communal organizations which had a free hand in the colonial education system strove to retain their status quo in postcolonial period too. They made the postcolonial education system strife ridden and turbulent. Colonialism always allied with caste and communal groups to keep their position safe and threat free in India. To a great extent, colonialism manured these nefarious groups to rear in the education field too. The colonial government never showed interest in investing in native education. Therefore, they let the caste, communal organizations to play a prominent role in the education of the colonized. Their prominence in the society reached to such an extent that ruling political parties were alarmed by their presence. One of the conscious moves made by the postcolonial Kerala was against the caste-communal groups, otherwise known as 'Pressure groups'. Their stronghold was in the education sector and had considerable number of higher education institutions under their control in Kerala. Government of Kerala vociferously tried to decolonize the influence of caste-communal organizations though it met only partial success. The situation left one to ponder on the opinion that

Kerala didn't need these caste-communal organizations in its public sphere. In other words, Kerala shouldn't retain the colonial vestige in the form of pressure groups in education.

Based on the recommendations of the Kothari Commission (1964-66), Kerala explored the chances of indigenization of higher education. Kothari suggested self-reliance than decolonization. Cochin University of Science and Technology (CUSAT,1971) and Kerala Agriculture University(1971) were some of institutions started by Kerala as part of the indigenization move. Deliberate attempt towards indigenization was undertaken between 1972-1990 period. Kerala tried to identify its particular needs in education during the period. And courses and curriculum were modified accordingly. But no attempts were made to effect any structural changes in the education system. The only attempt in terms of structural change was the proposal for the formation of Pre-degree Board. This was not materialized due to the agitation of students against it. Proper channelization of human resource based on their skill was lacking in the Kerala education sector. The main reason behind it is the colonial influence on education. Traditional courses (not skill oriented), outdated curriculum (still under colonial influence) and lack of structural changes by looking into the needs of the indigenous economy are hampering higher education.

When the decolonization drive was halfway, neocolonialism in the form of globalization arrived in India. Kerala was forced to introduce educational reforms as demanded by globalization. In fact, Kerala was struggling to come out of its colonial past by a steady and firm attempt to link its education system with the needs of the economy. At the same time, public funding of education seemed to be a burden for the Government. Thus the introduction of self-financing colleges with job oriented courses and, running the courses with the support of private funding seemed to be a viable solution

to the crisis confronted by the Government in higher education sector. Globalization was set on rolling in Kerala without much resistance either from the public or from the Government. Because the public, especially the emerging middle class wanted new job oriented courses and the Government wanted to get rid of the financial burden. The accessibility of the new job oriented courses with private money is a threat to the age old social equity principle followed by the popular governments in Kerala since the beginning of the postcolonial phase. Being invested their aspirations of better education and job prospects on the government support to education, the bottom castes found the introduction of globalization in education hampering the way to social equality. With globalized agenda in education on move, privatization and liberalization would be in full swing in Kerala. Globalization with its neocolonialist agenda has spread its tentacles of exploitation and set new norms in education and through it, the Kerala society and for that matter any third world country in the world, would undergo the next phase of cultural conquest. When colonialism exploited the ignorance of the natives of the third world and imposed their culture, neocolonialism rears on the helplessness of the third world.

RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Traditional caste ridden educational system has changed into casteless society by the influence of colonial masters, but they were focussed in the general educational system and not given much importance for Higher education system. After Indian independence and formation of united Kerala in 1956, the respective governments try to make some changes in the educational system, most of the changes are mainly focussed on education to all instead of indigenous education. From 1972 onwards the ruling parties try to frame educational system of its own but by the influence of globalisation again they are forced to redesign the system with global perspectives.

A thorough content analysis is required for the text books, the school curriculum; and curriculum and syllabi of various universities in Kerala since 1957. What are the major changes of colonial curriculum from post colonial curriculum of Kerala? What are the colonial vestiges of the present curriculum?

The Kerala Legislative Assembly passed various legislations related to universities and higher education. The Kerala Education Bill of 1958, Kerala University Act of 1958, 1969 and 1974 and University of Calicut Act of 1968 can be analyzed with reference to the political, economic and social background and circumstances of these acts.

Neo colonialism is a reality in the state. How can the higher education system in Kerala cop with neo colonialism? What are the major possibilities of higher education system of Kerala in this context?

Besides the statistical and developmental perspectives, new perspectives have to be emerged to look at the history of higher education in

Kerala. The new perspectives should link the study of the history of higher education with socio, economic and political base.

A serious study should be conducted on the politics of higher education since the formation of modern Kerala.

Community and communal factors are important in the study of educational history of Kerala. They played a vital role in the politics and education development of the State. A number of commissions have appointed related to higher education in postcolonial Kerala. Serious studies have to be done regarding the recommendations of these Commissions and how the Government of Kerala dealt with it. Further studies have to be undertaken to analyze the elements of colonization and decolonization in the recommendations of the commission.

Professional education is an important aspect of higher education in Kerala. After the introduction of neo colonialism, especially since 1990, Kerala witnessed mushrooming growth of professional educational institutions. The socio and economic impact of these professional educational institutions is to be analyzed. Further studies are required to bring into light how these professional courses helped industrial development and growth in particular and Kerala economy in general.

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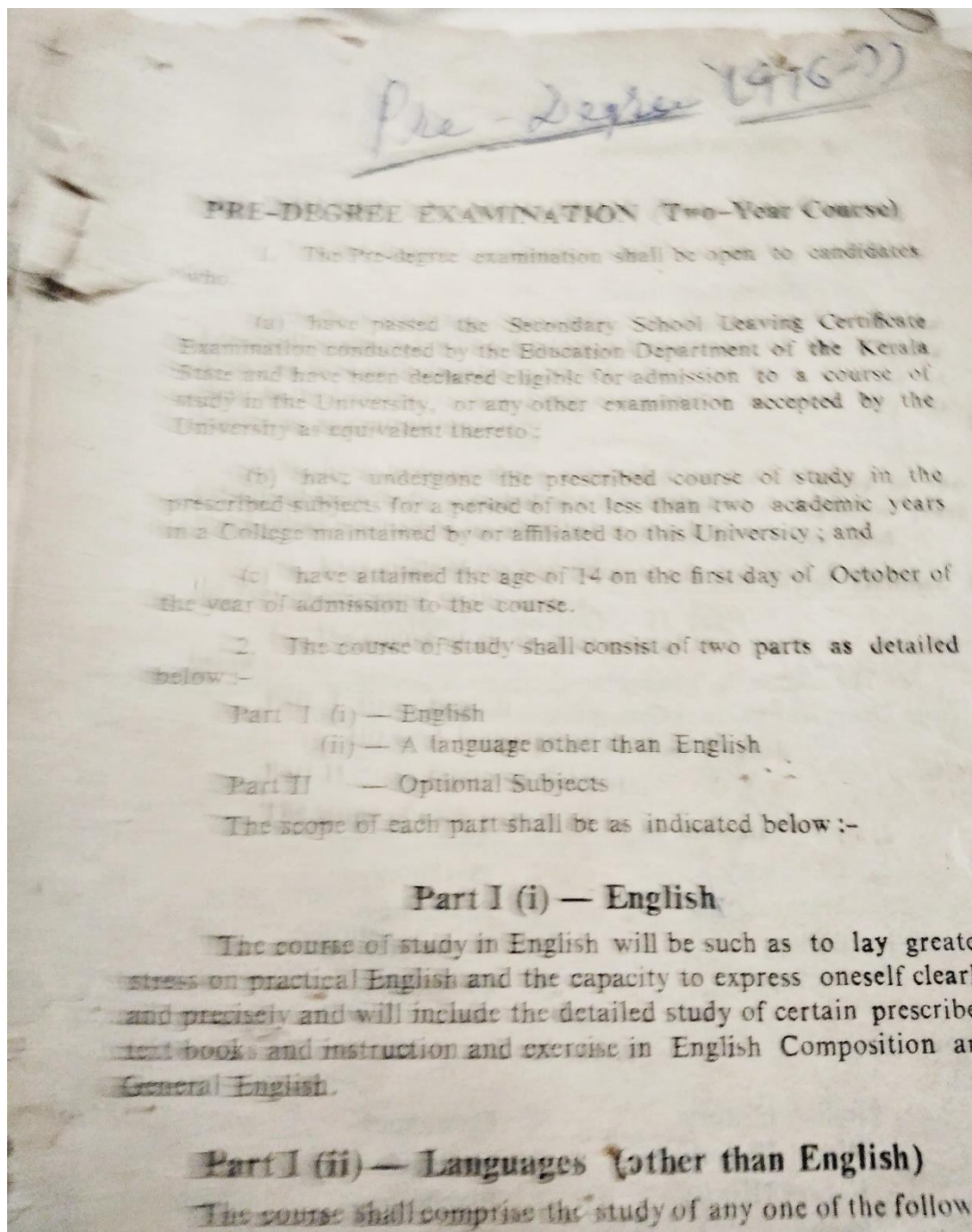
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Appendix I

SYLLABUS OF PRE-DEGREE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA 1976-1977



14. Bringing up Children, Kathleon; English Universities Press Ltd.
15. Your Child from 1 to 6, Nirmala Kher, Vora & Co.
16. An Introduction to Child Development, Nirmala Kher, Vora & Co.
17. The Family, Burgess and Locke, American Book Company
18. Teaching Home Economics, Clive A Hall, Wiley & Co.
19. Better Homes, Needhan and Strong, 1970 revised
20. Text Book of Home Science, R. P. Devadas, I. C. A. R. New Delhi, Revised 1971.
21. Food for All Devadas and Krishnamoorthy, National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, 1968.
22. Food Composition Table of I. C. M. R.
23. Your Food - M. Swaminathan, C. F. T. R. I. Mysore

(10) GEOGRAPHY

(To be prescribed)

Part II — Group (b)

(1) INDIAN HISTORY

(Emphasis shall be laid on India's Freedom Movement)

First year

Paper I

The Geographical features of India and their influence on Indian History.

The Pre-historic period — earliest inhabitants — the Indus Valley Civilisation — the Dravidians — the coming of the Aryans — the Vedic period — Early Aryan Society — Polity and Religion — The Later Vedic period — the Epics — Aryanisation of India.

Religious ferment in the sixth century B. C. — Rise of Buddhism and Jainism.

The chief States of North India — Persian invasion of North West India — Rise and expansion of Magadha — Alexander's invasion — the extent of Greek and Persian influence on India

The Mauryan Empire — Chandragupta — Bindusara — Asoka — Religious progress during the period — Mauryan administration — Literature, Arts and Architecture — Decline of the Mauryan Empire — the Sungas — Brahminical reaction — The Kanvas.

(b) Vijayanagar — Origin, rise, growth and decline — Relations with contemporary States — Krishna Deva Raya — the splendour of Vijayanagar — Administration, Economic and social life, Art and architecture, Religion and Literature.

The Mughals — Northern India on the Mughal conquest — Baber and Humayun — Sher Shah — his career and achievements.

Akbar — his military achievements — his Rajput policy — Social and religious reforms — his Deccan policy — Estimate of Akbar — Jahangir and Nurjahan — Shahjahan — Foreign travellers and their accounts — Aurangzeb — his conquests — religious policy and its consequences — the opposition of the Maharattas to Aurangzeb — Opposition of the Jats, Satnamis and Sikhs — the Rajput wars — Aurangzeb's Deccan Policy — the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire.

Mughal administrative system — Military organisation — Social, economic and religious conditions — Literature, Music, Painting and Architecture.

The rise of the Sikhs — Sikhism as a religious and political institution.

The rise of the Maharattas — Sivaji — his career and achievements — his administrative and military system — the growth of the Maharatta Empire — Rule of the Peshwas — the Third battle of Panipat and after.

The advent of the Europeans — the rise and fall of the Portuguese in India — the Dutch in India — the English East India Company — the coming of the French and Anglo — French struggle — the break up of the French power — Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan — the establishment of English supremacy in South India — the British conquest of Bengal — Robert Clive — Warren Hastings — his reforms — Impeachment of Warren Hastings — The Regulating Act and Pitt's India Act — Cornwallis, his revenue and judicial reforms.

Growth of the British Empire — Work of Wellesley, Hastings, and Dalhousie — Relations of the East India Company with Mysore, the Maharattas, the Sikhs, Burma, Sind and Afghanistan.

Lord William Bentick — His Social, Administrative and Educational reforms.

The Charter Acts of 1793, 1813 and 1833.
 Modernisation of India— Reforms of Dalhousie.
 The upheaval of 1857 — its causes and results — the Act of 1858 — end of Company's rule.

India under the Crown — Influence of European Politics on British Indian administration — North West Frontier policy — Conquest of Burma.

The Crown and the Indian States — Cultural developments — Educational policy — Universities — Local Self Government — the birth of Indian Nationalism — the Indian National Congress and the story of the struggle for freedom.

Revivalist Movements — Ram Mohan Roy — Brahma Samaj — Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda — the Arya-samaj — Rabindranath Tagore — Social Changes — Women's Movement — General cultural development.

Growth of representative institutions — the Indian Council Act, 1861 — The Reforms of 1892 — the Minto-Morley Reforms — India and World War I — the Government of India Act, 1919 — Mahatma Gandhi — Non-Co-operation, Satyagraha — the Government of India Act, 1935 — India and World War II — the attainment of Independence — the partition of India — the integration of States — the establishment of the Indian Republic — and World Affairs.

Books for study :

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. History of India | — | Sinha & Banerjee
(A. Mukherjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta) |
| 2. Indian History | — | A. Sreedhara Menon
(Revised Edition)
S. Viswanathan (Publisher, Chetput
Madras-31) |
| 3. ഇൻഡ്യാചരിത്രം
(ഒന്നാം ഭാഗം) | — | പി. ശ്രീധരമേനോൻ (Published by
S. P. C. S., Kottayam) |
| 4. ഇൻഡ്യാചരിത്രം
രണ്ടാം ഭാഗം | — | -do- |

Books for reference :

1. An Advanced History of India — R. C. Majumdar & others (Macmillan & Co.)
2. മതപുസ്തകങ്ങൾ (മതം ഭാഗം) — K. Kunhipacki & P. K. Muhammed Ali, published by the Kerala Language Institute, Trivandrum.
3. മതപുസ്തകങ്ങൾ (മതം ഭാഗം) — K. Kunhipacki & P. K. Muhammed Ali, published by the Kerala Language Institute, Trivandrum.
4. ചൈനീസ് ചരിത്രം — R. C. Majumdar, H.D. Roy Choudhari and Kalinkar Datha published by the Kerala Language Institute, Trivandrum.
5. മതപുസ്തകങ്ങൾ (മതം ഭാഗം) — Padmavathi Ishak, Published by the Kerala Language Institute, Trivandrum
6. ചൈനീസ് ചരിത്രം — W. H. Morland & Atul Chatterjee — Tr. by P. N. Moosad (Madras University publication)

(2) WORLD HISTORY

(Emphasis shall be laid on the development of culture and civilisation with the political frame-work as the back ground. The details of wars shall be omitted).

First Year**Paper I**

The Pre-historic Age — Palaeolithic Age — Neolithic Age and the Age of Metals — the chief races of mankind — the origin of languages and the development of the art of writing.

The Early Civilisations — importance of River valleys — Egyptian, Mesopotamian (Sumerian, Assyrian, Babylonian and Chaldean) Phoenician, Minoan.

Ancient Chinese Civilisation — its origin — development and special features — the Chou and Tsin dynasties — Confucianism and Taoism and — their influence on Chinese Civilisation.

Ancient Indian civilisations—The Indus Valley, Dravidian and Vedic Civilisation — Rise of Buddhism and Jainism and their influence.

Ancient American Civilisation — The Mayas, the Toltecs, the Aztecs and Incas.

The Hebrews and their contribution to Civilisation.

The Medes and the Persians

The Ancient Greek Civilisation — the Aegean and Mycenaean Civilisation — The Greek City States — their origin, characteristics and political experiments — Sparta and Athens — Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle — Relations between Persia and Greece and the rise of the Athenian Empire — the legacy of Greece to Civilisation — Philip of Macedonia — Alexander the great — his career and achievements — the spread of Hellenistic Civilisation.

Origin and development of the Roman Republic — Constitution of the Roman Republic in the 3rd Century B. C. — Expansion of Rome—Rise and Growth of the Roman Empire — Julius Caeasar—Emperor Augustus and his successors — Contribution of Rome to Civilisation. The Barbarian invasions and the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

Anglo-Saxon England

Rise and spread of Christianity — Growth of the Christian Church—Growth of Empires in India — Mauryas, Kushans — Gupta and Harsha.

The Tamil Kingdoms

South India's contribution to Culture — the spread of Indian Culture abroad.

Rise and expansion of Islam — the Arab Empire — the Delhi Sultanate — Contribution of Islam to culture and civilisation.

Vijayanagar Empire

Development of China in the Han 'T' ang and Sung periods.

Second Year

Paper II

Middle Ages — Charlemagne — The Holy Roman Empire
Papacy Monasticism

Struggle between Empire and Papacy

The Crusades

Growth and expansion of U. S. A. — Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War.

Western Imperialism in Africa and Asia in the 19th Century.

Modern Asia—The British in India—Indian Nationalism—the rise of Japan — the Russo-Japanese War and the expansion of Japan — the awakening of China — East Indies. Indo-China and the Philippines.

Discoveries and Invention of the 19th and 20th Centuries—Mechanical inventions and the factory system — Inventions in medicines — improvements in transport and communications — the exploration of Africa. Australia and Antartica.

The 20th Century — World War I — causes and effects — the Russian Revolution — the League of Nations — Rise of Dictatorship — the Chinese Revolutions and the Sino-Japanese War — World War II and its effects.

Indian Independence — Pakistan — The Free States of Asia — the U. N. O. and its organs the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. as World powers — Resurgent Africa — the Chinese Republic and neo-Chinese imperialism — the World today.

Books for study :

1. An Outline History of Civilisation — F. G. Pearce
2. World History — H. A. Davis
3. The Story of Mankind — Vann Leon
4. World History — Hayes and Moon
5. Glimpses of World History — Jawaharlal Nehru
6. World History — P. S. Velayudhan
7. A Brief History of the World Part II—P. S. Velayudhan
(Published by S. Viswanathan. Printers and Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Madras).

(3) KERALA HISTORY

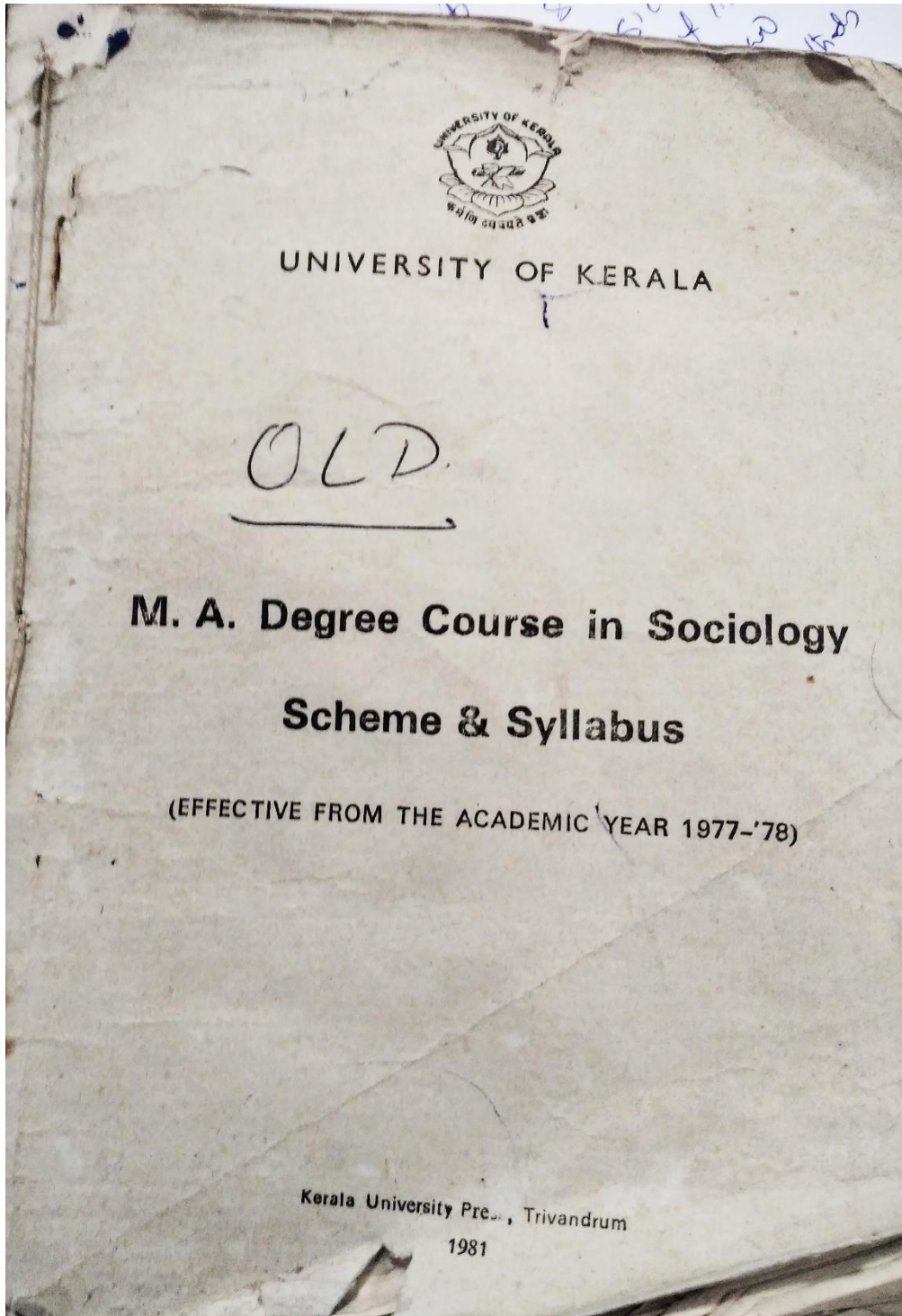
First Year

Paper I

1. Sources of historical information—Foreign and Indian—Ancient, Medieval and Modern.
2. Geographical features and their influence on the history of Kerala.
3. Ancient inhabitants of Kerala and their racial composition.

APPENDIX II

**SYLLABUS OF M A SOCIOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
1977-78**



UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
M. A. DEGREE EXAMINATION IN SOCIOLOGY
 (From the Academic year 1977-'78)

There shall be two public examinations – the M. A. Previous examination at the end of the first year and M. A. Final Examination at the end of the 2nd year.

Scheme of Examination

M. A. PREVIOUS EXAMINATION

Paper	Hours	Marks
Sociological Analysis	3	150
Sociology of Indian Society	3	150
Personality and the Social System	3	150
Research Methods and Statistics	3	150
Total marks		600

M. A. FINAL EXAMINATION

Development of Sociological Theory	3	150
Theoretical Anthropology	3	150
Optional	3	150
Optional	3	150

Papers III and IV to be chosen from the following :

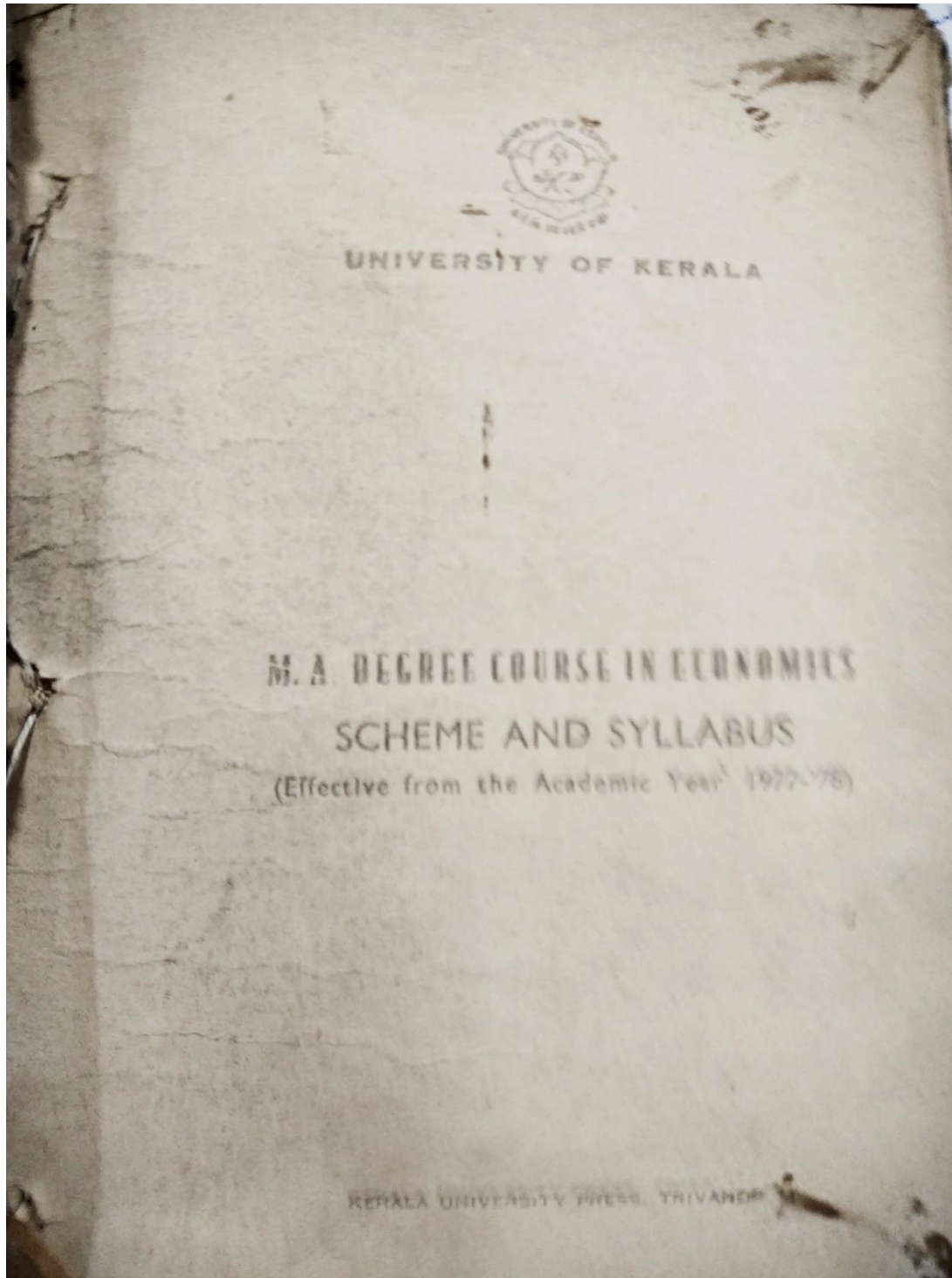
1. Industrial Sociology
2. Social Demography
3. Planned Rural Social Change
4. Political Sociology
5. Sociology of Economic Development
6. Social Planning & Social Welfare
7. Urban Sociology
8. Research Report
9. Sociology of Health

Viva-Voce

	100
Total marks	700
Grand Total (Previous & Final)	1300

APPENDIX III

**SYLLABUS OF M A ECONOMICS UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
1977-78**



UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
Scheme and Syllabus for the M. A. Degree Course
in Economics

(Effective from the Academic year 1977-'78)

I. The subjects of study are classified into:

- I Compulsory (5 papers), and
- II Optionals (3 papers)

The list of subjects is given below:

List of Subjects:

I. Compulsory

- (i) Economic Analysis I
- (ii) Economic Analysis II
- (iii) Economic Development and Growth
- (iv) Planning and Economic Policy with special reference to India
- (v) Statistical Methods for Economic Analysis

II. Optionals

Group A

- (i) Theory and Applications of Econometrics
- (ii) Mathematical Economics
- (iii) Theory and Applications of Statistics

Group B

- (i) Agricultural Economics
- (ii) Industrial Economics
- (iii) Labour Economics and Manpower Planning

Group C

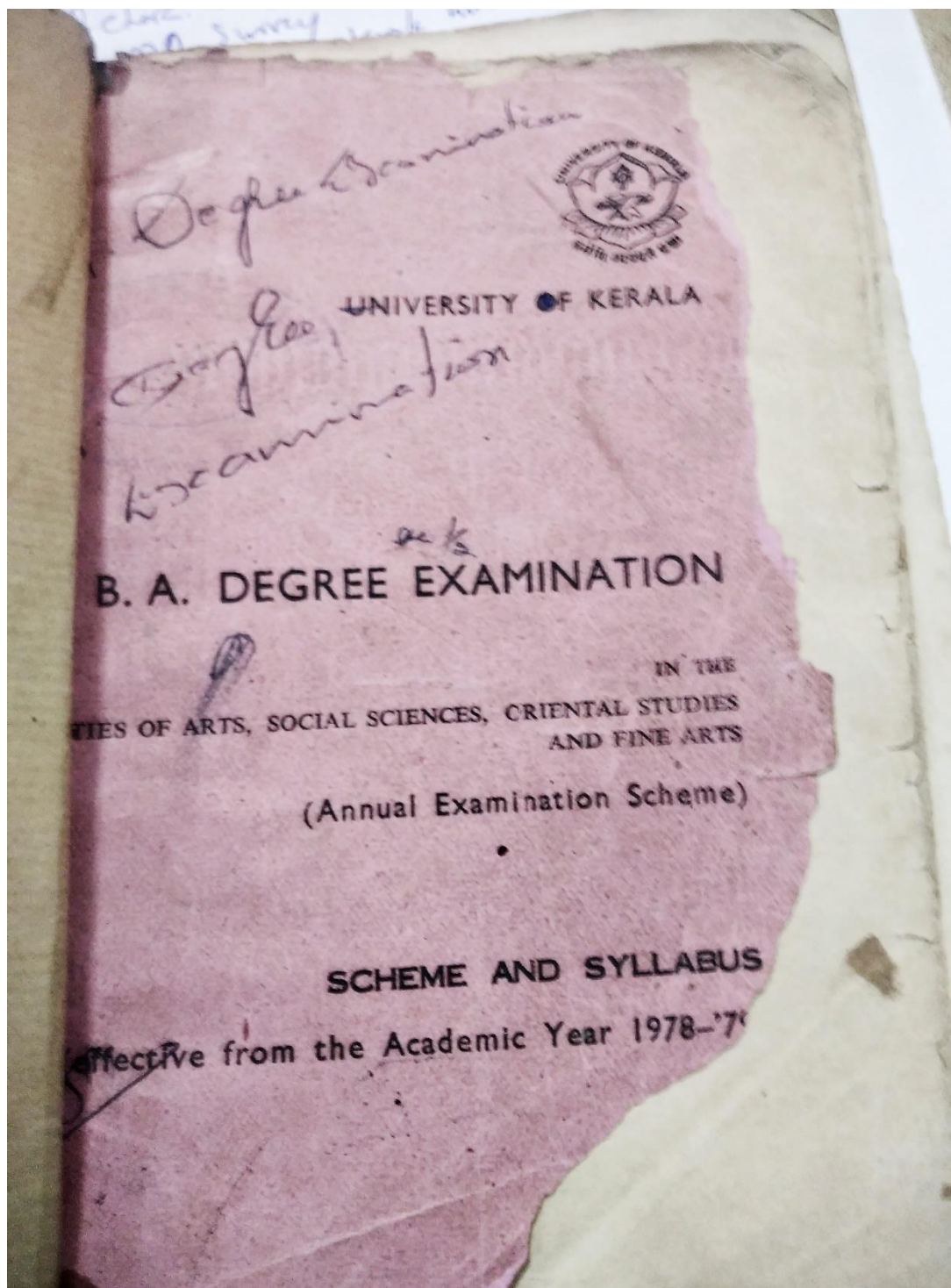
- (i) Public Finance
- (ii) Money and Financial Institutions
- (iii) International Economics

Group D

- (i) Classical Political Economy
- (ii) Political Economy of Socialism
- (iii) Socialist Economic Systems

APPENDIX IV

SYLLABUS OF FACULTY OF ARTS, SOCIAL SCIENCES,
ORIENTAL STUDIES, FINE ARTS UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
1978-79



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B. A. DEGREE EXAMINATION
Faculties of Arts, Social Sciences, Oriental Studies
and Fine Arts
(Annual Examination Scheme)

SCHEME AND SYLLABUS
(effective from the academic year 1978-'79)

PART II — ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE

The course shall extend over two years and comprise the study of any one of the following Classical or Modern Languages according to a syllabus or text books prescribed from time to time : —

Classical Languages :

- (a) Indian — Sanskrit
- (b) Foreign — Arabic
Persian
Hebrew
Syriac
Latin

Modern Languages :

- (a) Indian — Malayalam
Hindi
Tamil
Kannada
Bengali
Urdu
- (b) Foreign — French
German
Russian

Scheme of Examination

		Hrs.	Ma
<i>First year</i>			
	Paper I	3	10
<i>Second year</i>			
	Paper II	3	1
	Paper III	3	1
	Total ...		3

(b) French Language & Literature

<i>Main</i>		<i>Hrs. Marks</i>	
1. Paper	I — History of French Literature from the Renaissance to the end of 19th Century	3	100
2. Paper	II — Prose	3	100
3. Paper	III — Poetry	3	100
4. Paper	IV — Drama	3	100
5. Paper	V — History of French Language	3	100
6. Paper	VI — Translation (unseens)	3	100

Subsidiary

1. Paper	I — History of France	3	100
2. Paper	II — One of the following subjects :-	3	100
	(i) Sociology		
	(ii) Political Science		
	(iii) German		
	(iv) Russian		

(If a language subject is chosen it should not be the same as the language offered under Part II)

Total : 800

(c) German Language & Literature
(To be prescribed)

SYLLABI

Group (i) (a) — HISTORY

Main Paper I — Indian History — Up to 1526 A. D.

The geographical background of Indian History

Pre-Historic India : The earliest inhabitants — the Koles — the Negritos — the Dravidians — The Paleolithic, the Neolithic, and the Chalcolithic Ages — The Indus-valley Civilisation and its relation to the Sumarian, Dravidian and Vedic cultures.

Bhakti Cult — Ramananda, Valiabha, Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak and others — Hindu influence on Islam.

The Deccan : The Chalukyas of Badami — the Rashtrakutas of Malked — the Chalukyas of Vengi and Kalyani — the Yadavas of Devagiri — the Kakatiyas of Warrangal — the Hoysalas of Dwaramudra — Kannada and Telugu literature — Hoysala art and architecture — Religion and culture.

The foundation of the Bhamani Kingdom — Bhamani Sultans — Muhammad Gawan — Bhamani Government and society — the break up of the Bhamani Kingdom — the Sultanates of Bijapur, Ahamadnagar, Golkonda, Bidar and Berar — their cultural contributions.

The Vijayanagar Empire — the Sangama, Saluva and Tuluva Dynasties — Krishna Deva Raya — his conquests, administration and cultural achievements — The Aravidu Dynasty — Rama Raya — the Vijayanagar — Bhamani rivalry — the battle of Talikota and after — the decline of Vijayanagar — The splendour of Vijayanagar — social and economic life — literature — art — architecture — religion.

South India : The great Pandyas — the Imperial Cholas — their contribution to South Indian Culture — Chola Administrative System — Chola-Pandya art and architecture — Muslim invasions — the Madura Sultanate.

Books for Study

1. Majumdar, Raja Chaudri & Dutta — Advanced History of India
2. Nilakanta Sastri K. A. — A History of India, Vols. I and II

Books for consultation

1. Dodwell H. H. — Cambridge shorter History of India — Brought up-to-date by R. R. Sethi.
2. Sathianatha Iyer — A College Text Book of Indian History Vols. I and II.
3. Iswari Prasad — A Short History of Muslim Rule in India.
4. S. Natarajan — Political and Cultural History of India

The Lahore Congress and Poona Swaraj — The Salt Satyagraha — Round Table Conferences — Gandhi-Irwin Pact — The White Paper and the Communal Award — Poona Pact — The Role of Mahatma Gandhi in — Indian History — Congress in office — World War II — Indian Political reactions — War efforts — Ministers resign — Cripps' Proposals — Quit India Movement — Subhas Chandra Bose and the I. N. A. The Cabinet Mission — Interim Government — Constituent Assembly — Mountbatten and Partition — Indian Independence — Integration of Indian States. Role of Netra and Patel.

Growth of representative Institutions - The Indian Councils Act, 1891 - The Reforms of 1892 - The Minto-Morley Reforms 1909 - World War I and its effects - The Act of 1919 - Act of 1935. Independence Act (1947) - Establishment of the Republic (1950). India's Contribution to Modern World Culture - Influence of Gandhian Philosophy - The Sarva Dharma Sammelan - India's role in World Politics.

Books for Study :-

1. Majumdar, Rayachandri & Datta - Advanced History of India.
2. Nilakanta Sastri K. A. - A History of India (Vols. II & III).

Books for Consultation :-

1. Dodwell, H. H. - Cambridge Shorter History of India - Brought up-to-date by R. R. Sethi.
2. Dr. Rungpal - British Rule in India (Asia Publications).
3. Sanyal, Iyer - A College Text Book of Indian History (Vols II & III)
4. Ishwari Prasad - A Short History of Muslim Rule in India.
5. Roberts P. E. History of British Rule.
6. Rawlinson H. G. - India - A Cultural History.
7. History of Freedom Movement - R. C. Majumdar.
8. Subhas Chandra Bose - The Indian Struggle (Asia Publications)
9. Percival Spear - Oxford History of Modern India (Oxford University Press)
10. A. L. Basham - The Wonder that was India.
11. Sharma - Crescent in India.
12. Iswari Prasad and Sabedar - History of Modern India (Indian Press, Allahabad)

4. A Survey of Kerala History: A Sreedhara Menon.
5. Sir Robert Bristow - Cochin Saga, Paico Publishing House, Ernakulam, Cochin-11.
6. L. A. Krishna Aiyer - Social History of Kerala Vol. II - Aspects of Dravidian Culture - The Book Centre, Mount Road, Madras-2.

For consultation :

1. The Zamorins of Calicut : K. V. Krishna Iyer, 9/20 Malaviya Street, Ramnagar, Coimbatore-9.
 2. Kerala and Her People : L. A. Krishna Iyer, Educational Suppliers Depot., Palghat.
 3. Logan's Malabar Manual : Government Press, Madras.
 4. Travancore State Manual : Vol. 2: Kerala Government Publication: Government Press, Trivandrum.
 5. History of Kerala, Vols. 1 to 4 : K. P. Padmanabha Menon.
 6. The Kunjalis of Calicut : O. K. Nambiar - Asia Publishing House, Bombay.
 7. Portrait of the Malabar coast - George Woodcock.
 8. Studies in Kerala History - Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai
- N. B.* The questions for the public examination should be strictly confined to the subject matter found in the six recommended Text-Books.

Main Paper IV - Modern World History from 1500 A. D. to the Present day

The transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age. The renaissance—its influence on art, literature, science and religion.

The geographical discoveries and their effects — Development of oceanic commerce and beginnings of colonisation.

The rise of nation states — Spain, Portugal, France and England — Rise of despotism.

The Reformation and Counter Reformation — The rise of the Dutch Republic — The Thirty Years' War.

Conflict between King and Parliament in England — The Revolution of 1688.

Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Moghuls in India — Akbar — Sivaji and the rise of the Marathas — China under Manchus — Japan in the making — The Ottoman Empire.

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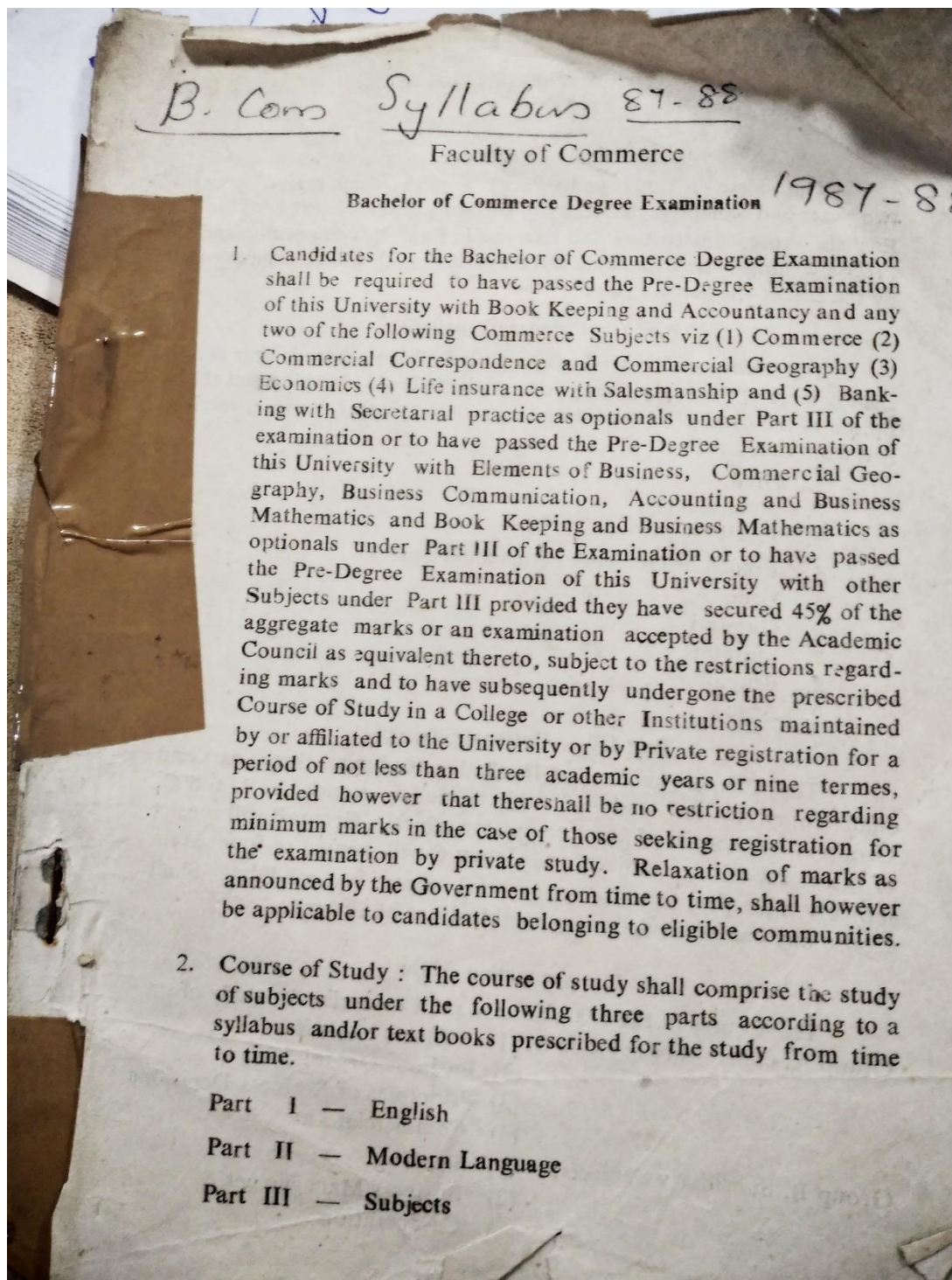
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APPENDIX V

SYLLABUS OF B.Com UNIVERSITY OF KERALA 1987-88



Part I — English

The course of study under Part I English shall extend over two years and comprise the study of certain prescribed text books in English Prose, Instruction and Exercise in English composition and Precise writing. The Examination for Part I English will be completed by the end of the Second year.

Part II — Modern Language

The Course shall extend over a period of one academic year and shall comprise the study of any one of the following languages at the option of the candidate according to a syllabus or text books prescribed from time to time.

1. Hindi
2. Malayalam
3. Tamil
4. French or German or Russian or Spanish
5. Urdu
6. Gujarati
7. Marathi
8. Bengali
9. Arabic

Part III — Optional Subjects

The Course under Part III shall extend over three years and shall comprise the study of subjects under groups A, B, and C. Group A will consist of four compulsory subjects. Group B will consist of three subsidiary subjects and Group C will consist of four Main subjects and practical Record/special paper. A candidate Shall choose any one of the following combinations of Groups.

1. Accounting Main

The Course in the Main Section shall comprise the study of

- Group A. compulsory subjects :
- (1) Business Statistics
 - (2) Business Organisation
 - (3) Principles of Business Decisions
 - (4) Commercial Law
- Group B. Subsidiary Subjects:
- (1) Banking
 - (2) Business Management
 - (3) Co-operation

Group C. Main Subjects :

- (1) Advanced Accounting
- (2) Special Accounting
- (3) Auditing
- (4) Cost Accounting

Practical Record / special paper

2. Banking Main

Group A Compulsory Subjects :

- (1) Business Statistics
- (2) Business Organisation
- (3) Principles of Business Decisions
- (4) Commercial Law

Group B. Subsidiary Subjects :

- (1) Accounting
- (2) Business Management
- (3) Co-operation

Group C. Main Subjects :

- (1) Banking Theory & Practice
- (2) Indian Banking
- (3) Central Banking
- (4) Foreign Exchange

Practical Record /
Special paper

3. Business Management Main

Group A Compulsory Subjects :

- (1) Business Statistics
- (2) Business Organisation
- (3) Principles of Business Decision
- (4) Commercial Law

Group B Subsidiary Subjects :

- (1) Accounting
- (2) Banking
- (3) Co-operation

Group C. Main Subjects :

- (1) Principles of Management
- (2) Production Management
- (3) Personnel Management
- (4) Marketing Management

Practical Record / Special pa

4. Co-operation Main

- Group A Compulsory Subjects :
- (1) Business Statistics
 - (2) Business Organisation
 - (3) Principles of Business Decisions
 - (4) Commercial Law.
- Group B Subsidiary Subject :
- (1) Accounting
 - (2) Banking
 - (3) Business Management
- Group C. Main Subjects :
- (1) Co-operative Sector in
India Paper I
 - (2) Co-operative Sector in
India Paper II
 - (3) Co-operation in Foreign
Countries
 - (4) Legal Frame work of
Co-operative Organisation
Practical Record /
Special paper

Note:- The Practical Record / Special paper Carries 100 Marks. The special paper should be on the area of Specialisation,

3. Scheme of Examination:- There will be three examinations.
- (i) First year B. Com. Examination at the end of the First year
 - (ii) Second year B. Com. Examination at the end of the Second year
 - (iii) Third year B. Com. Examination at the end of the third year

Part I

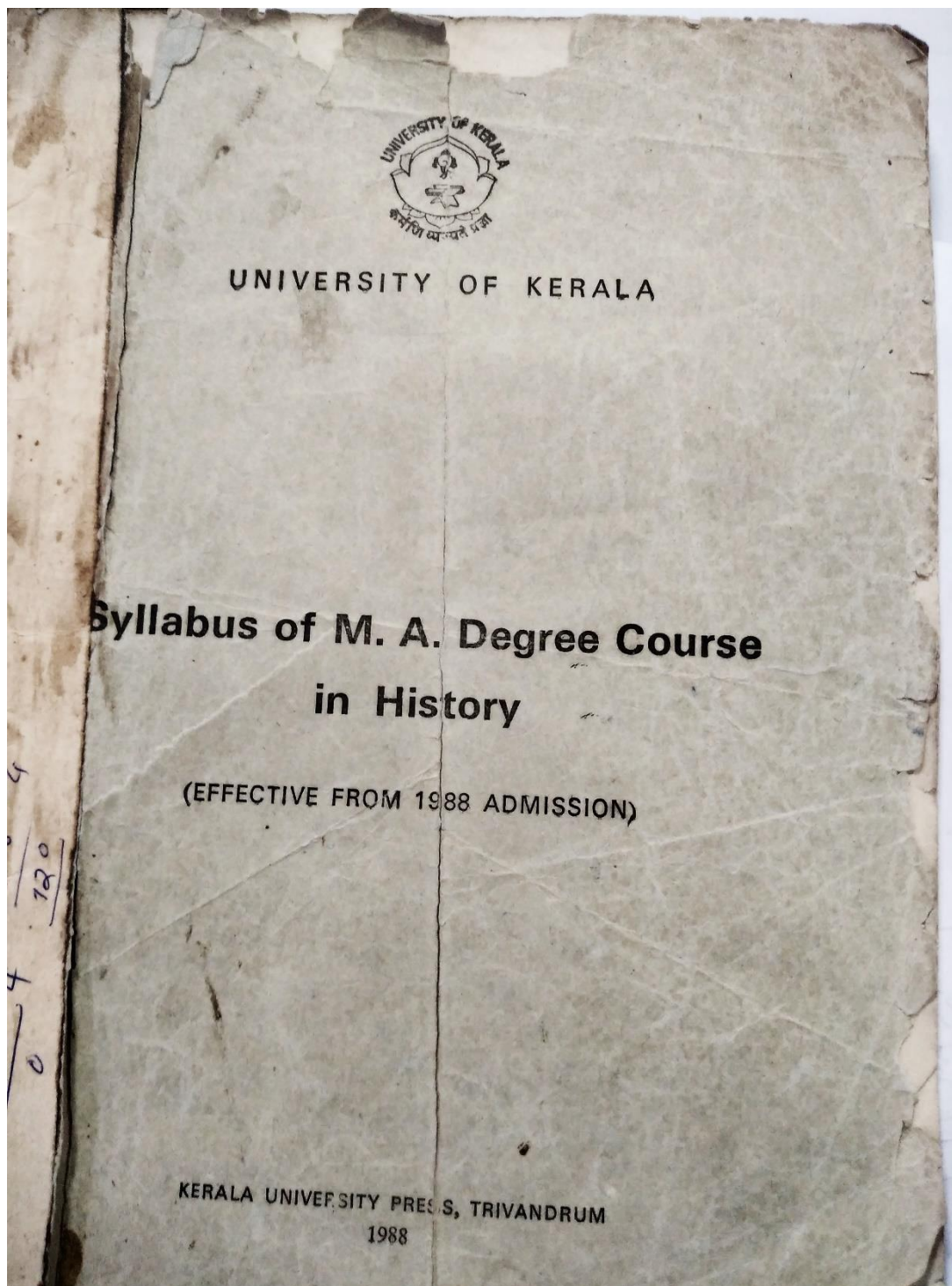
There shall be two papers of three hours duration each carrying a maximum of 100 marks. Examination in Paper I shall be held at the end of the First year and the Examination in Paper II shall be held at the end of the Second year.

Part II

There shall be one paper of three hours duration carrying a maximum of 100 marks. The Examination for Part II shall be held at the end of the First year.

APPENDIX VI

SYLLABUS OF M A HISTORY UNIVERSITY OF KERALA 1988



UNIVERSITY OF KERALA

Syllabus of M. A. Degree Course in History
(Effective from 1988 admissions)

	<i>Hrs.</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Paper I — Historical Method	3	150
Paper II — Select problems in western Civilization	3	150
Paper III — Kerala History since 1498		
OR		
Modern South Indian History	3	150
Paper IV — Historiography	3	150
Paper V — Constitutional History of Britain from 1485 to the present with 20 documents	3	150
Paper VI — Select problems of Indian Civilization	3	150
Paper VII — India since Independence		
OR		
History of the freedom movement in India	3	150
Paper VIII — History of the Far East from 1842 to the present	3	150
OR		
History of the U. S. A. since 1865		
OR		
History of Russia since 1900 A.D.		
OR		
International relations since 1870		
Viva voce examination		100

Grand Total 1300

M. A. HISTORY

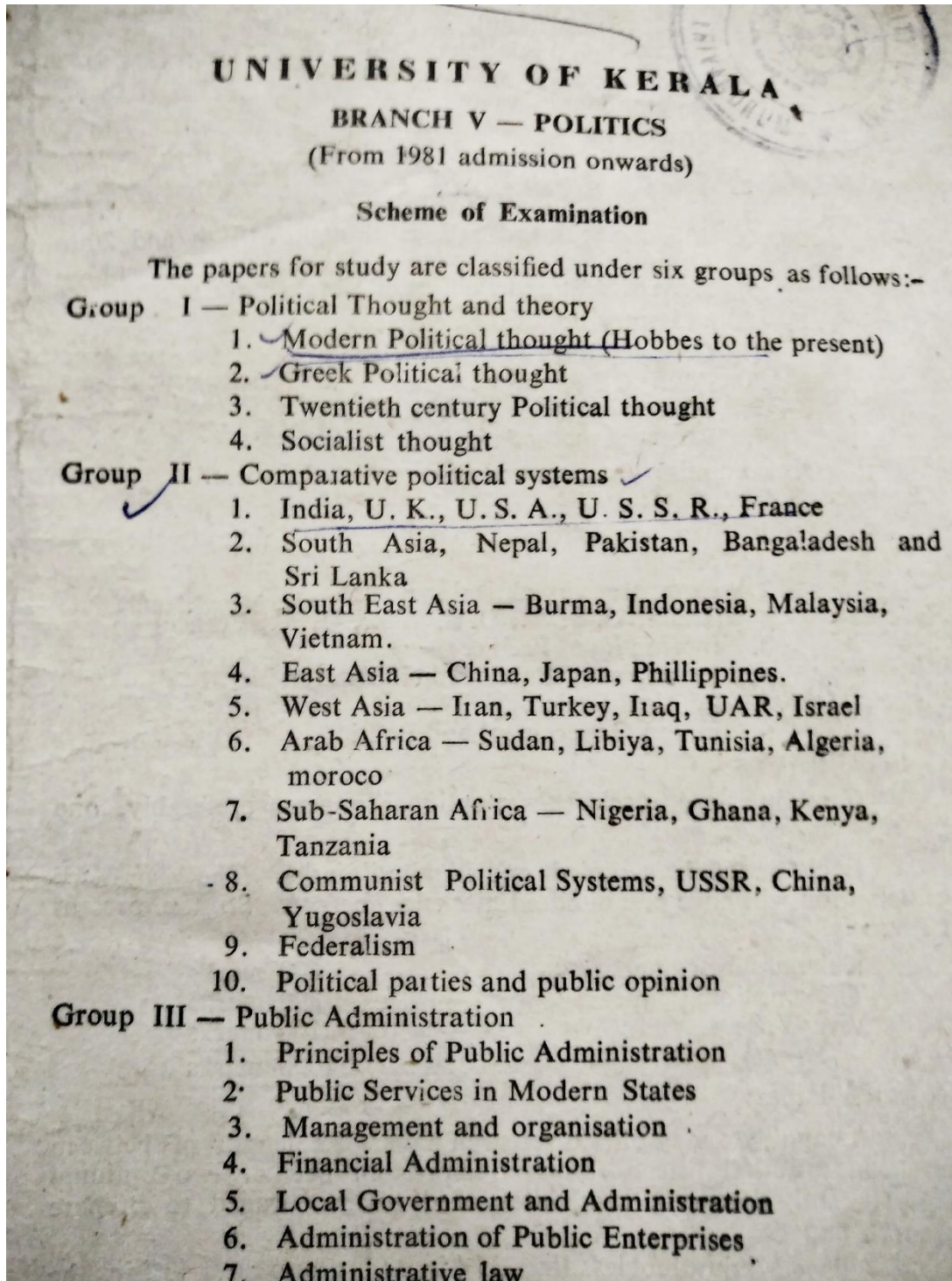
Paper I - Historical Method

- I. Nature of History — Definitions and Scope, Necessity and Value of History

800
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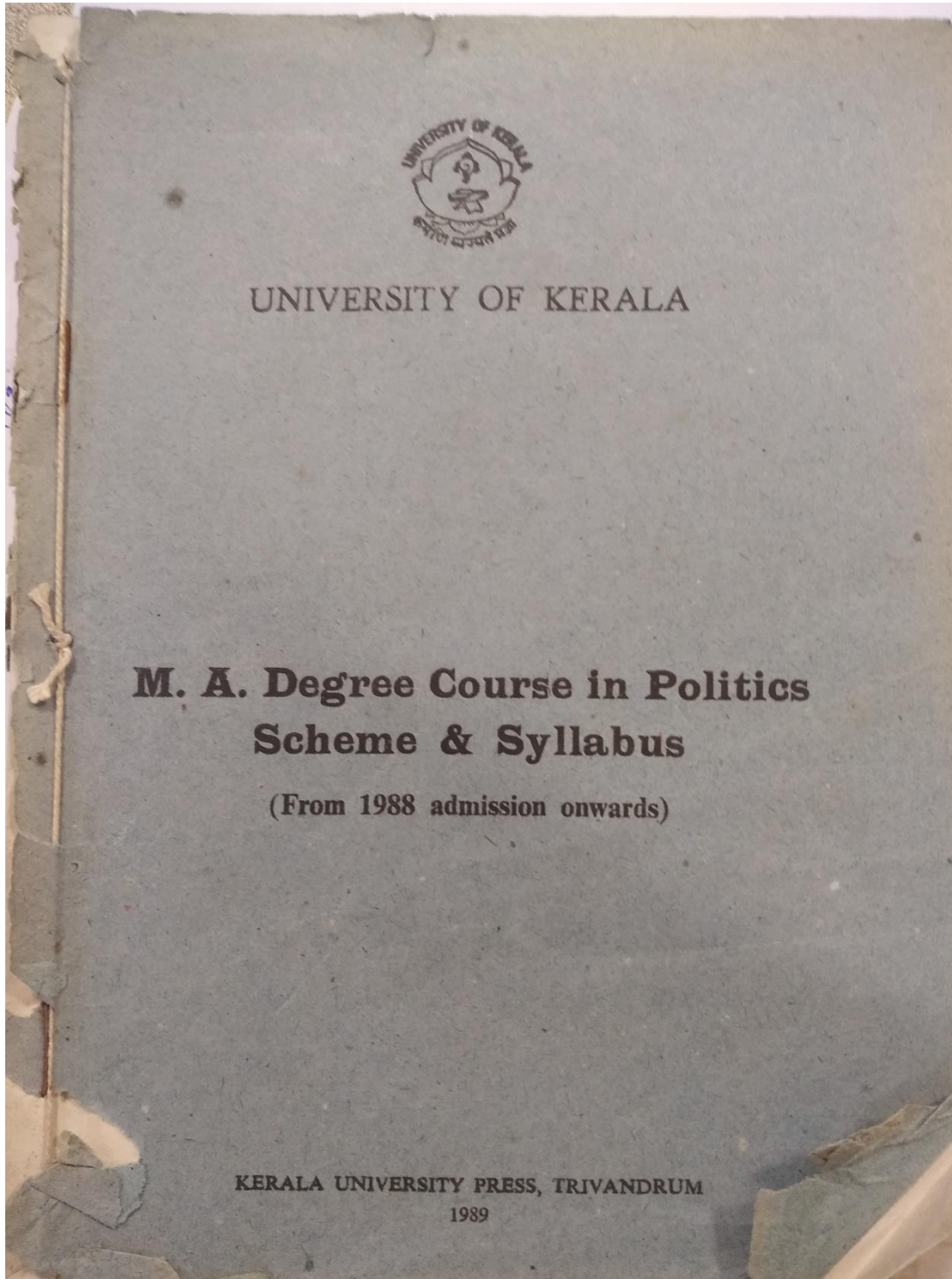
APPENDIX VII

SYLLABUS OF POLITICS UNIVERSITY OF KERALA 1981



APPENDIX VIII

SYLLABUS OF M A POLITICS UNIVERSITY OF KERALA 1988



UNIVERSITY OF KERALA

BRANCH V — POLITICS

(From 1988 admission onwards)

Scheme of Examination

The papers for study are classified under six groups as follows:-

Group I — Political Thought and theory

1. Political thought
2. Greek Political thought
3. Twentieth century Political thought
4. Socialist thought

Group II — Comparative politics

1. India, U. K., U. S. A., U. S. S. R., France
2. South Asia, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka
3. South East Asia — Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam.
4. East Asia — China, Japan, Philippines.
5. West Asia — Iran, Turkey, Iraq, UAR, Israel
6. Arab Africa — Sudan, Libiya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco
7. Sub-Saharan Africa — Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania
8. Communist Political Systems, USSR, China, Yugoslavia
9. Federelism
10. Political parties and public opinion

Group III — Public Administration

1. Principles of Public Administration
2. Public Services in Modern States
3. Management and organisation
4. Financial Administration
5. Local Government and Administration
6. Administration of Public Enterprises
7. Administrative law
8. Development Administration



Group IV — International Studies

1. International Politics
2. International relations
3. International organisation and Administration
4. International Law

Group V — Course on India

1. Indian Government and Politics
2. India's Foreign Policy
3. Ancient Indian Political thought
4. Indian Social and political thought
5. Government and politics of Kerala

Group VI — 20th Century Political Science

1. Contemporary Political Science
2. Political Sociology
3. Modernisation and Development
4. Research methods in Social Science

There are six compulsory papers and three optional papers
Compulsory papers are:

1. Political Thought
2. Comparative politics
(India, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K., France)
3. International Politics
4. Principles of Public Administration
5. Political Sociology
6. Indian Government and Politics

Optional Papers

Candidates are to select three optional papers, preferably, one paper from one group.

Each paper is assigned one hundred marks. The Viva-Voce examination will have one hundred marks as before. So the present pattern is

Six compulsory papers	—	600 marks
Three optional papers	—	300 marks
Viva-Voce	—	100 marks
Total :		1000 marks

Research Paper :

A candidate may offer a research paper of a length of between ten thousand and fifteen thousand words in lieu of two optional papers. Only deserving candidates need be encouraged to prepare research papers.

Pass Minimum not less than 35% in each group and 40% in the aggregate.

APPENDIX IX

**SYLLABUS OF M A ECONOMICS UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
1987-88**



UNIVERSITY OF KERALA

M. A. Degree Course in Economics

SCHEME AND SYLLABUS

(Effective from the Academic year 1987-'88)

**Kerala University Press, Trivandrum
1989**

REFERENCE

UNIVERSITY OF KERALA

Scheme and Syllabus for the M. A. Degree Course
in Economics

(Effective from the Academic year 1987-'88)

I, The subjects of study are classified into :

- I Compulsory (5 papers), and
- II Optionals (3 papers)

The list of subjects is given below :

List of Subjects

I Compulsory

- (i) Economic Analysis I
- (ii) Economic Analysis II
- (iii) Economic Development and Growth
- (iv) Planning and Economic Policy with special reference to India.
- (v) Statistical Methods for Economic Analysis

II Optionals

Group A

- (i) Theory and Applications of Econometrics
- (ii) Mathematical Economics
- (iii) Theory and Applications of Statistics

Group B

- (i) Agricultural Economics
- (ii) Industrial Economics
- (iii) Labour Economics and Manpower Planning

Group C

- (i) Public Finance
- (ii) Money and Financial Institutions
- (iii) International Economics

Group D

- (i) Classical Political Economy
- (ii) Political Economy of Socialism
- (iii) Socialist Economic System

