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Historical Factors in the Process of Educational Deprivation of Children: The Case of Telangana Region of Nizam's Hyderabad State

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I. Introduction

The present study is looking into the educational deprivation of children where it is defined as the children of school going age group (above 5 to below 15) being deprived of school education¹. In the perspectives of human capital and human development and human rights perspectives the phenomenon of educational deprivation of children has far reaching implications. In spite of the given importance of education to the child, it is not hard to found large number of children in the world especially in the developing countries, are out of school. India's contribution to Asian as well as world in terms deprived children is substantial where India share is 22 per cent in world (Sinha, 1997). Across Indian states there is a widespread variation in the incidence of deprived children. Andhra Pradesh is one of the states with higher incidence and within the state regional disparities are wide spread where the Telangana region reflects the educationally backwardness in the state in general and child schooling in particular. In fact, the educational deprivation of children is not a random event in itself rather it is a structure and an outcome of historical processes.

Thus, the present study explores the historical sources of educational deprivation of children in Telangana region of the Andhra Pradesh during its pre-independence period. Telangana was part of Nizam's Hyderabad state prior to independence and later independent Hyderabad state until it was unified with Andhra and became part of Andhra Pradesh under the States Reorganisation Act 1956. Telangana forms about 55 per cent of the area and 60 per cent of the population with the population density of 249 in Hyderabad state. The Nizam's Hyderabad was one among the princely states in India under the British Paramountacy. Being the most privileged princely state and having relatively more freedom than that of other fellow princely

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states, the state had stood backward in all respects including education. Fellow princely states Travancore, Baroda, Mysore were far better especially social outcomes like education.

Analytical Framework

Here all out-of-school children are defined as *educationally deprived children* where it includes both child labourer (i.e. those who are working) and so-called 'nowhere' children (i.e. neither working nor attending school). The phenomenon of educational deprivation of children is analysed in demand and supply framework where an attempt is made to associate explanatory variables to supply and demand factors with respect to schooling². Here, supply refers to availability of, and access (physical, economic and social) to facilities and quality of schooling. Demand arises from parental decision to send their children to school. It, the demand, is largely based on the opportunity cost and direct cost of schooling and is influenced by socio-economic, political and cultural factors³. Thus one can say that the constraints in both supply and demand factors are responsible for the persistence of the child deprivation⁴.

Data Source

To examine the socio-economic conditions in Hyderabad the material, which is useful, is administrative reports of the state and the Census information. Another set of information comes from the report different committees and commissions set up for the different purposes. For instance, Report on Agricultural Indebtedness (1937), Tenancy Committee Report (1940), Report of the Royal Commission on Jagir Administration and Reform (1947), The Banking Enquiry Committee (1930), and Agrarian Reforms Committee Report (1949). Still another interesting and useful set of information is available from the Economic Investigations/Survey in the state by Keshava Iyengar. In fact these investigations were conducted two points of time, one in 1929-30 and the other in 1949-50. It used the Census data for years 1881-1941 and different year's educational records of Government of (Nizam's) Hyderabad. For the required qualitative and quantitative data the study depends on earlier research studies.

II. Background

Hyderabad was the one of the princely states survived during the colonial regime and ruled by Asafjahi dynasty known as Nizams. Telingana is a Telugua-speaking region of the Nizam's Hyderabad. The region consists of about 55 and 60 per cent of the area and population of the state respectively. The Hyderabad city having status of the state capital and being part of

Telingana region, accommodates large number of population and hence the percentage of population living urban areas was high in Telingana; when exclude the Capital, the share of urban population in the region was relatively lower than the other region of the state (i.e. Marathwada). From the resource point of view, Telingana is disadvantageous especially in terms of agriculture where about 2/5 of geographical area was cultivated; it was 2/3 of geographical are in Marthwada region.

a. Structure of the State

Nizam's state was a typical of its feudal structure of land tenure and agrarian relations. The state always defended the interests of the feudal classes from whom it derived its political power and economic strength. In fact, the state was essentially *raiyyatwari* but the weakening power in the early 19th century led to the spread of revenue farming (CEHI, 1982). It resulted in inefficiency, corruption and extortion from cultivators. During the second half of the 19th century, reforms initiated by Salar Jung I, then the Prime Minister (1853-83), brought in the restructuring of feudal relations and bureaucratic modernisation. Just before the reforms, there was a functional anarchy in agrarian economy (Subbarao, 1991).

Instability in political and economic conditions of the state was the rule rather than exception. The socio-economic conditions of Hyderabad state since its establishment (Asaf Jahi Dynasty) were involved with constant warfare. As a result the country was ruined. In the absence of a settled government, confusion and chaos reigned in the state. Revenue administration was the most corrupted and extortionist in nature. The assessment and collection of revenue was entrusted to contractors and leaseholders. People were harassed and highhandedness of revenue officers (*Taluqdars*) was routine⁵. There was a system of contracting the land revenue to the highest bidder. During the middle of the 19th century, the state was near financial collapse but the Salar Jungs' reforms rescued it. Since late 19th century the changes that under took restored peace and security and law and order in the state compared with its earlier position.

The state did consist of 1/4 of the area and villages and 1/5 of population under non-Diwani area, which is under the control of Jagirdars and other intermediaries⁶. The state had no control over the non-Diwani area. The Hyderabad political system operated through loosely structured patron-client relationship and many kinds of intermediaries were in use. There were many semi-autonomous local rulers, most important were 8 *Samsthanams*. Most of these

Samsthanams were in Telangana area except Sholapur. Most of the rulers these Samsthanams were from peasant castes⁷.

b. Population Growth and Composition

There was a substantial growth in population in Hyderabad in general and Telingana in particular for each decade except during the period 1911-21 which was period of known for epidemics⁸. The growth of population was relatively higher in Telingana compared with the state average growth (see Table 1).

Table 1: Growth of Population in Telingana and Hyderabad: Census, 1881-1951

Year	Population			Growth Index		Compound Growth Rate		
	Hyderabad	Telangana	Per cent	Telangana	Hyderabad	Year	Telangana	Hyderabad
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>
1881	9845594	4460162	45.3	82	88	-	-	-
1891	11537040	5209194	45.2	96	104	1881-91	1.6	1.6
1901	11141142	5455117	49.0	100	100	1891-1901	0.4	-0.4
1911	13374676	6770284	50.6	123	120	1901-11	2.1	1.8
1921	12471770	6461200	51.8	119	112	1911-21	-0.3	-0.7
1931	14436148	7554598	52.3	139	130	1921-31	1.6	1.5
1941	16338534	8711866	53.3	160	147	1931-41	1.4	1.2
1951	18655108	10102773	54.2	187	168	1941-51	1.6	1.3

Note: 1. Percent – the Population share of Telingana in Hyderabad State; 2. For the Index 1901=100.

Source: Census

In the absence of health care facilities and the presence of customs and beliefs and frequent visits of drought, famine and other epidemics the mortality rate was very high. To balance the high mortality rate there was high fertility rate also. The high mortality rates indicate the uncertainty of life itself. Hence, the life expectancy of persons was very low.

c. Literacy Status

Literacy levels in the state were at a very low level. In 1901 only 3 per cent of the population was literate, the rest 97 per cent was illiterate. Over the period literacy levels were increasing albeit with slow momentum. By 1951 the literacy level achieved in the state was 9.2 per cent. The situation is worse in Telugu speaking districts of the state. Except Hyderabad which was being capital of the state, in all other districts of Telingana, the literacy rate was much below the state average (Table 2).

As a matter of fact female literacy rate was very much lower than that of males. Among the major religious groups the literacy rate was higher in Christians community followed by the

Muslim. Literacy rate was lowest in the Hindu community and among them, the literacy rate varied with class-hierarchy where upper castes like Brahmans had the highest literacy rate and in the lower castes particularly SC community, the literacy levels were insignificant and negligible⁹.

Table 2: Literacy Rate in Telingana Districts of Nizams' Hyderabad : 1901-1951

Districts		Literacy Rate (in per cent)					
		1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
<i>1</i>		<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
1	Hyderabad	9.3	8.5	10.4	16.4	19.2	25.2
2	Mahabubnagar	3.4	2.5	3.1	3.2	5.7	6.9
3	Adilabad	0.9	1.3	1.5	2.4	3.5	5.9
4	Nizamabad	2.1	2.0	2.4	3.1	5.9	7.2
5	Medak	2.6	3.1	3.8	3.0	6.2	6.9
6	Karimnagar	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.1	4.8	6.1
7	Warangal	2.8	2.5	2.7	4.2	5.8	8.2
8	Nalgonda	1.9	2.1	2.8	2.6	5.5	6.2
Hyderabad State		3.0	2.8	2.9	4.1	6.8	9.2

Note: 1. Hyderabad States includes both Telingana and Marathwara districts of Nizams' Hyderabad; 2. Hyderabad includes Hyderabad city and Atraf-i-Badla.

Source: Census of India (1951) Hyderabad, Vol. IX, Part I A- Report

d. Child Population: School age Children

In the contemporary discourse the child is defined as child in the school going age i.e. 5-14 years. According to Census data there were around 2.5 million children, in the age group 5-15, comprising 24.5 percent of the 9.8 million total population in Nizams' Hyderabad state in the year 1881 (see Table 3). Whereas in Telingana there were around 1 million children comprises of 24.4 per cent of the 4.5 million total population. By the year 1931 it increased to 1.7 million, around 60 per cent increase is observed in Telangana. Over the period the share of child population to the total population was fluctuating around 25 per cent in Telingana as well as in the state.

Table 3: Child Population (5-15 Age Group) and their Share to Total Population in Telangana and Hyderabad: Census, 1881-1951

Year	Telangana			Hyderabad State		
	All Pop	Child Pop	% of CP	All Popn	Child Popn	% of CP
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
1881	4.46	1.08	24.4	9.84	2.41	24.5
1891	5.20	1.27	24.4	11.53	2.66	23.1
1901	5.45	1.38	25.3	11.14	2.79	25.1
1911	6.77	1.63	24.2	13.37	3.08	23.1
1921	6.46	1.79	27.8	12.47	3.28	26.3
1931	7.55	1.74	23.1	14.43	3.33	23.1
1941	8.71	--	-	16.33	--	-
1951	10.10	2.58	25.6	18.65	4.88	26.3

Note: 1. Child Population for the age group 5-15 for all years except 1951 for which it is 5-14; 2. '- -' not available; 3. Population Figures are given in Millions.

Source: Census of Hyderabad

e. Status of Child Schooling

In the British India, the children in 6 to 12 age group were considered as school going age children, only the primary schooling. The Princely states, which were under the British

Table 4: Percentage of Children in Schools

Year	Per cent
1901	2.4
1911	7.6
1921	9.2
1931	14.1

Note: 1. Figures refer to 6-12 age group; 2. Percentage of children going to school in child population (6-12 age).

Source: Census

paramountacy, also followed the same criterion of school going age children. Therefore, the estimates available for school going children were for this age-group only. Though over the period, the level of schooling for the school-going age was increasing, it was considerably lower (see Table 4) when compared to the norm (of 100 per cent enrolment) or other parts of the British India including other princely state. According the Census of India, in the Hyderabad state, as a whole, there were about 8320 children found to be in elementary schools (both public and private schools) in the year 1881. The enrolment levels increased over the period. It was about 0.26 million (261282) in the year 1921¹⁰. There were approximately 3.2 million children in the age group 5-14 years in the Hyderabad state. If the percentage of children in elementary school to the total child population is measured, it was around 8 per cent in 1921. The estimated 8 percent of children (5-14 age group) were in school is subjected to validation because of the child population and enrolment figures are drawn from different source of data. Hence, the estimated 8 per cent and the figure presented in Table 4 (i.e. 9.2 per cent) for the same year shows a difference.

III. The State and Educational Development: Supply Side Factors

Even a laissez-faire economist Adam Smith says that the education of the common people requires more public attention especially of poor. He said that “The common people have little to spare for education. The parents have scarce resource to afford to maintain their children even in infancy. As soon as they are able to work, they are engaged in work by which they can earn their subsistence”.

He asserts education for the poor children. In his words “Though common people cannot be well instructed as is the case of well-off, the essential parts of education i.e. to read, to write and account (arithmetic) can be given to them in their early years of life. Many of the children of the lowest occupation parents can acquire these essential parts of education before they employed in any occupation”. Since the parents cannot afford education for their children it is the state’s responsibility to provide them. He said ‘The public (i.e. state) can facilitate the acquisition of these essential parts of education to all the common people’¹¹.

And the next successive classical economist J.S. Mill with regard to elementary education, says: “there are certain primary elements and means of knowledge which it is in the highest degree desirable that all human beings born into the community should acquire during childhood”. He emphasises that since the market is by no means test for demand for education, it is the state’s responsibility to provided education, Mills (1987) says:

“education is one thing of worth of which the demand of the market is by no means a test. And it is a thing of which the utility does not consists in serving the daily uses of life. The want of education is least felt where the need is greatest. And those who most need to be educated, usually desire it least, and if they desire it, would be incapable of finding the way to it by their own lights. There is insufficient demand than it supposed to be. Hence, the civilised government of welfare state should be capable of offering better education and better instruction to the people than the actual demand. In a laissez-fair economy, it is admissible in principle that government should provide education to the people. Here, the advocacy of non-inference does not arise.”

It is asserting the state role in educational development. In the modern discourse especially the following period of II World War the role of the state is emphasised in economic development. The classic example is Travancore princely state of present Kearala which demonstrates the state assisted educational development (see Nair, 1978 & 81; Tharakan, 1989).

A. Educational Policy of Hyderabad State

The progress of education in Hyderabad state prior to the period 1850 was very slow. Among the wealthy and well-to-do families, private tuitions were always the rule. The middle class and lower classes, who had the desire to learn, attended the indigenous schools which were few in number. The efforts to the state initiatives began in second half of the 19th century¹². During the period of Salar Jung I, the government took first step towards public instruction in 1854 as part of his reforms. The result was that the establishment of Dar-ul-Uloom which was considered as centre for oriental learning and culture, in Hyderabad City under the Educational Board. In 1859, the government ordered to open two schools in each taluq and district headquarters, one in Persian and other in local language. The gradual development of education made people realise its importance in their changing society. Private schools opened in 1880's later these were given aid. It is to promote education irrespective of caste, creed and religion. In 1893, the middle schools were started in each town having a population of 10,000 and high schools opened in each district.

Special Educational Department was created in 1870 and the status of public instruction raised as major department in 1883. In the occasion the government sanctioned 2.5 lakhs for the department. It resulted in setting up of high schools at the headquarters of each suba (division) and upper and lower middle class schools at large in each district. It was reported the number of primary schools increased to 402 in 1883 from 161 in three years back. In 1910, Arther Mayew was appointed as educational adviser to the government for two years. He suggested for expansion primary and secondary education.

i. Policy Change and its Impact

It is found that prior to 1921 (1330 Fasli) the government of Nizam state followed a policy of rapid expansion of primary education¹³. The result was that both the number of institutions and scholars were more than trebled¹⁴. However, there was an inadequate schooling facility. The relative progress may be attributed to the Arther Mayew's recommendation. But in the subsequent period, the administration of education department cared more for efficiency rather than expansion. The progress of whole substructure was overhauled by closing down unsuccessful and inefficient experimental primary schools and consolidating the remainder¹⁵.

The government imposed restrictions on establishment and funding of private school and denied permissions to voluntary efforts and even if village people come forward to set up

schools¹⁶. The policy impact is that the number of private schools and pupils in those schools fell down to 929 and the pupils were to 25,865 in 1936 from the 4053 with 76,654 pupils in the year 1920. In Warangal Suba, out of 25 taluqs 23 were without a middle school or a high school in 1936.

ii. Growth of Educational Institutions and Scholars

It seems the supply of schooling was not adequately met whatever the demand for schooling was there. As there was a increase in institutions, pupil too increased. For instance between 1911-21 the number of school increased from 2165 to 7888 or by 264 per cent and the number of pupil increase from 76065 to 261282 or by 243 per cent¹⁷. Again there was preference for public school to private ones. Though there were private school higher in number compared to public school, the number of pupil was very high in public schools compared to that of private schools. It is indicating the low affordability of parents and thereby preference for public schools.

In Hyderabad state availability of thereby access to schooling is limited. The number of schools for primary education was sparse. The state, very meagre funds spent on education. The education scene in non-diwani areas was much worse than the diwani areas. Both the government and the local boards managed public schools in the state. The private initiatives in the establishment of education institutions were restricted.

The number of schools was decreased from 561 to 542 by closing 17 schools that were in a sick and declining condition. But number of scholars rose from 41,479 in 1302F to 41,603 in 1303F. There were 41 middle schools and 480 primary schools. Besides these of direct control, there were 2,535 elementary schools with 31,305 scholars in private. Both together, the proportion of scholars to school going age came to 6.5 per cent. For girls, there were 12 middle schools and 56 primary schools. The Muslim population in education is very strong. In spite of their proportion to population is 9.7 per cent, nearly 44 per cent of the total scholars were Muslims in Hyderabad State whereas in India it was only 4.5 per cent and in Punjab 34.9 per cent (p.xix)¹⁸. In 1914, the percentage of boy scholars to total population of school going age is 2.27 per cent. The distribution of schools varies regionally. Aurangabad suba consists of 34 per cent, Medak 22.9 per cent, Gulbarga 21.7 per cent and Warangal 18.7 per cent. In total Telangana area consists of 41.6 per cent of total schools¹⁹.

Census returns for 1921 of Hyderabad reported that taking the population of school going age at 15 per cent of the total population, about 16 per cent of them were under instruction in 1921 whereas it was 5 and 6 per cent respectively in 1911 and 1901. Census took into account pupil under instruction irrespective of type of institution (public or private). Therefore, it was said that the decade of 1911-21 has conspicuous advance in elementary education. During the decade while elementary school were grown by 264 per cent from 2,165 in 1911 to 7,888 in 1921, the pupils under instruction by 264 per cent from 76, 065 to 2,61,282.

Salar Jung I then Prime Minister opened a school in his palace for his and relative's children. It is the institution for nobility and gentry instead of wasting their youth as idleness and dissipates. But, a large number of school age children were still kept out because of high fee and long distance. The education of girls did not kept pace with that of boys. Main obstacles were religious orthodoxy, early marriages and absence of trained women teachers. Though missionaries given education to girls, most of these were Anglo-Indian Christians. In the second half of 19th century, nobility and gentle girls were given education. At the turn of 20th century only steps took to impart education for girls of all castes and communities. The schools through the state were open to children of all castes and creeds without distinction but in practice few of the lower classes availed the facility²⁰. At the primary level, Telugu used as medium of instruction. From the next stage (right from secondary education) Urdu, being the official language, was the medium of instruction. Large section of people's mother tongue Telugu was studied as second language.

Before state's initiation, missionaries started playing role in promotion of education but it was in high school education rather than primary education and the priority is given for European children at the outset and latter to other 'suitable children' who will fit for the state service. Over the time, schools were opened to all children irrespective of class and community distinction²¹. There were few private initiatives in educational development. And these few initiatives were restricted again by the state policy on education. However, there was higher number of private schools to that of public school.

iii. Education in Non-Diwani Areas

Worst of the situation was in Non-Diwani areas which including *Jagirs* consisted 1/3 of the total area of the state and covers 1/4 of the state population. The report of the department of

education observed that in *Jagir* areas there were only 108 schools, which comprised 2.1 per cent of the state (state as a whole had 5131 schools). In *Diwani* areas, one school covers on an average 17 Sq. miles whereas in non-*diwani*, *Jagir*, areas it covers 231 Sq miles. The 1949 review reported that in total 14,000 government-administered villages, covering 50,000 sq. miles, had 5,000 primary schools whereas in 9,000 non-*diwani* villages, covering 33,000 sq. miles, had only 158 primary schools. There was no government's direct control over the non-*diwani* areas. The welfare activities in these areas were neglected. In 1949, 98 per cent of the non-*diwani* villages remained without primary schools²². The Royal Commission on *Jagir* administration and reforms in 1947 recommended the state government to under take the education in the *Jagir* areas. But the overwhelming government preference to feudal noble than interest of the mass of the people, didn't materialise.

Only 41.5 per cent of the schools in the state existed in Telangana region. Most of the children who are forest bounded and in remote areas didn't have access to the primary school. The causative factors were that, it was observed, social environment, which was not conducive to spread of education. Cultural manifestation of society didn't allow their children to government schools. Instead, those who have capacity to do, they send their children to private schools known as *bazar* schools. In this case children were not kept in school for long time. Parents expected their children contribution in the family income, in any form, when the children come to earning capacity.

The employers of the countryside and traders who control rural production and distribution system desired to keep the children of their clients uneducated to the maximum possible extent. It can perpetuate their hegemony. Jagirdars were not interested in education for peasant community. The inadequate infrastructure facilities like transport and communication closed the channels of enlightenment from the outside to the oppressed mass.

Educational Development after Independence

The educational development in the Hyderabad state as whole was very poor during the Nizam's regime. The state spent meagre amounts on education. To overcome there were initiatives in educational development of the state during the post-independent period by the independent government. There were 9,667 schools at the time of independence in the state, and they were increased to 11,196 in 1951. However, still inadequacy of schooling facility was

pertinent. Of 22,600 villages in the state only 8,000 villages had primary schools, for the year 1952. About twenty-one *taluq* headquarters were even without a middle school²³. In the process of implementing the state's five-year plan, about 2275 primary schools were established.

Judged either by the number of educational institutions or by the number of scholars in attendance, Telangana stood as one of the most backward areas. Though there was substantial progress made after 1948. Nevertheless it continued to be backward area. The compulsory primary education was introduced in 1952²⁴. The equalisation of educational development in two regions became one of the special problems facing AP.

IV. Socio-Economic Conditions and the Demand for Education

The educational aspiration of the society depends upon socio-economic well-being of the people, which in turn depends upon the economic development where the distribution of gains through the economic development matters. Poverty, low income levels, low standard of living, socio-economic inequalities were constraints of educational development. Besides, uncertainty of life and livelihood owing to anarchy of law and order, famines, epidemics draughts and so on were also predicaments for economic development as well as educational development.

A. Social Conditions

Child Marriages

Child marriages were common phenomenon in the state as well as in Telangana region. Over the period the incidence of child marriages were increasing between 1911 and 1931 (see Table 5). The incidence was increasing with age, as it was very high in 10-15-age group compared to 5-10 age group and there was gender bias against girl children as it was higher among female children than their male counterparts. In Telangana these were more indicating compared to that of Hyderabad State.

Table 5: The Incidence of Child Marriage in Telangana and Nizam's Hyderabad State: 1911-31

Sex/Age		1911		1921		1931	
		Telingana	State	Telingana	State	Telingana	State
<i>1</i>		<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
Male	5-10	2.9	4.0	3.5	5.1	11.8	14.3
	10-15	11.3	16.1	11.2	15.5	20.3	25.5
	5-15	6.8	9.7	7.3	10.1	15.8	19.6
Female	5-10	17.8	22.5	20.1	21.2	34.1	34.1
	10-15	66.9	67.4	59.3	60.4	65.1	58.6
	5-15	38.5	41.8	36.7	37.8	48.8	45.6
Male& Female	5-10	10.2	13.1	12.2	13.3	22.4	23.8
	10-15	35.9	39.3	32.7	35.9	41.7	41.2
	5-15	21.7	24.9	21.7	23.6	31.5	32.0

Note: 1.Telingana includes Telugu Speaking district of Nizams' Hyderabad; 2. State indicates whole Hyderabad State.

Source: Census of India, Hyderabad, 1911, 1921, and 1931.

One of the social systems for which young girls used to be victimised was Jogin system. It is prevalent in Hyderabad especially in Telangana region. Jogin system gradually converted into concubine by recruiting young girls as women from Scheduled Castes. The mechanism is that of religious superstitions, lack of economic assets makes her marketable commodity in concubine trade, and social weakness as a female increase her vulnerability to coercion²⁵.

False Consciousness on Education

Howell while writing on the progress of education in British India mentioned the false consciousness of education in Indian public. 'The argument that' he said 'education is not only unnecessary to agricultural community but also injurious in the way that man of the pen is incapable of agricultural work is persisted in India. But it has been abandoned long back when it was found in Europe that agriculture as industry required the skill and knowledge that increase production and productivity'²⁶. Saunder, the then Resident of Hyderabad, also emphasised that 'the old idea of the middle ages that gentlemen can do very well without education' has still slight hold on the public mind in Hyderabad²⁷.

B. Economy

Out of the total population in the state of Nizam's Hyderabad, 90.5 per cent were inhabitant of rural areas in 1881. Agriculture was single largest source of livelihoods for the rural population. Land-man ratio indicates land abundance i.e. availability of the operated land for the population. In 1939, net sown area in the state was around 54 per cent of the total geographical area. The major food crops grown in the state were Jawar, Bjra, Wheat, Rice and

other cereals, millets and pulses and non-food crops are cotton, groundnut, castor etc. Only 6 per cent of the area sown was irrigated whereas it was 20 per cent in the rest of India.

Though, majority people were depending on and engaged in agricultural activities either as cultivators or agricultural labourers, the share of workers involved in non-agricultural activities was high in Telangana compared to the rest of Hyderabad or any other state. High land-man ratio means more land is available per person. It is observed that there was high land-man ratio in the state of Nizam's Hyderabad. About 70 per cent of the area sown was under food crops in the state. Though jowar, bajra and ragi were staple food in Telangana and Marathwara, the high market price provoked cultivation of rice in Telangana and wheat and cotton in Marathwara. Since land revenue had to be paid in money, cash crops grown for market. Along with cotton and groundnut, rice was a commercial crop, it was grown for market. Around 12.5 per cent of land cultivated was under cotton cultivation but 81 per cent cotton grown in the state came from Marathwada region. The non-food crops or commercial crops grown in Telangana were of low yielding nature (Qureshi, 1947). In Telangana it was less than the state average. Around 70 per cent of the net sown area was under food crops. The major area occupied by the food crops were 32, 12 and 7 per cent respectively of Jawar, Cereals and pulses and Bajra. Among the non-food crops cotton and groundnut were grown 12.5 and 5 per cent respectively of the new sown area.

As it was common in other parts of India, Hyderabad was also subjected to periodical visits of famines and droughts. During the 19th century, the state experienced eleven times, severe scarcity or famine: that was in 1804, 1813, 1819, 1846, 1854, 1862, 1866, 1871, 1876-77, 1896-97, 1899-1900²⁸. Periodical famines of a more or less severe character were mostly due to insufficient rainfall and because of scarcity of crops due to drought.

Droughts

In 1871 and 1876, there was a famine due to draught and monsoon failure. Grain was imported from Bengal for relief. In 1881-91, regular rainfall led to progress in agriculture and increase in population (17 per cent). In the following decade, due to crop failure, once again famine did hit the people in 1896-97 and 1899-1900. It resulted in large migration to neighbouring British districts. There was plague broke out in 1897. As a consequence the population declined (-3.5 per cent).

The state experienced good health of its economy during the period 1901-1911. During the period, irrigation and railway expansion and increase in textile and mine industry. Agricultural methods were improved and area cultivated advanced (84 per cent increased from 1881 figure). It resulted in increase in population (36 per cent). In 1911-1921, the natural calamity, plague (1911) and influenza epidemic (1918-19) were the main setbacks. Economic depression and unfavourable trade due to impact I world war struck the state economy. However, the area under cultivation in 18 percent at the end of the period against 1911. The disappointed rainfall resulted in restricted cultivation for the period 1921-31. Consequence was cattle loss and people migration. Part of the Telangana declared as famine-stricken and relief rendered²⁹.

Most of the poor farmers who are without capital and reserve stock of their own and labouring class depended on daily wages due to lack of employment opportunity suffered more. The sufferings among the poor were so much intensive that many parents deserted their children and left to perish from starvation. Some children were either freely given or sold to courtesans who misused these children according to their wishes³⁰.

Market Interlocking

The Tenancy Commission appointed in 1937-38 observed that about 1/3 of the agricultural land was transferred to moneylenders. The result was that many of the hereditary agriculturists became tenants-at-will³¹. The 1931 census report reveals that the number of tenants in the villages were about 32 per cent. The tenancy committee found in 1937-38 as 36 per cent. Again, in 1945, another estimation shows that it was 40 per cent. Therefore, during the period, the number of tenants is increasing³². In the state of Nizam's Hyderabad large section of the people were in the clutches of landlords and moneylenders. Besides, there was a high social and economic oppression especially in Telangana region. The fruits of, if any, economic development in terms of commercialisation were, mostly, reaped by landlords and rich peasants and they were not allowed to trickle down.

Indebtedness was due to variety of causes, one in which is heavy rate of compound interest and other is a very low price of agriculture produce. Agricultural working population in the state of Nizam's Hyderabad was over 58 per cent of the total working population. Most of the land is divided into small holdings and was in the hands of cultivating owners or tenants who work on their fields with members of their families and little outside labour was employed except for

transplantation and harvesting purposes. The tenant-at-will have little or no land of their own. They cultivate 7 per cent of patta land. The land tends to concentrate in the hands of moneylenders. The agriculture population is 33 per cent to the total population.

The labourers are principally from the depressed classes. They live on the outskirts of villages in unsanitary surroundings. Agricultural labour wages were higher in Marathwada than in Telangana. And, wages decreased along with decline in prices. Agricultural labourers in certain areas also worked as *bhagelas* or permanent servants. Some of them were hereditary servants for the cultivators advancing money for their marriages. These depressed classes and farm-labourers are living in chronic penury and indebtedness. More than half of the *pattedars* (non-agriculture, moneylender, lawyers, officers, and pensioners) were free from debt. Non-agriculture population owned 1/3rd of the total land cultivated. Over the period of last 15 years since 1922 to 1933 nearly 10 per cent of the occupied areas has gone out of bonafide agriculturists. Telangana more than Marathwada, was the land of small *pattedars*. The main reasons of indebtedness are: small size of holding, insecurity of crop, loss of cattle, extravagant expenditure, litigation, money lender system, and conditional sales³³.

C. Conditions of Labour

Majority people were engaged in agricultural activities either as cultivators or agricultural labourers. Since agriculture is seasonal in nature many of them are forced to take up any supplementary non-farm activity to earn livelihood. There is significant share of population engaged in non-farm activities in Hyderabad State. Major non-farm activities in the state are: textiles, agro-based products industries, mining, etc.,. The second largest group in the rural sector besides agriculture is textile industry. In 1881, 31 per cent of the population engaged in this industry. Since, middle of second half of 19th century *beedi* industry started growing. By religion Hindus were the largest proportions in agriculture. Muslims were majority in the public administration and defense services. Others like Parsis and Jains were engaged in Trade and business. In fact, there was very little possibility of occupational mobility in a social structure strictly followed by traditional occupation. However, the changing socio-economic conditions made people engaged in traditional occupation adjust themselves with changes taking place. It was observed that the occupational mobility especially in case upper castes where Brahmans took up other jobs like administration, trade and business, politics etc. But the scope is limited to lower caste people.

It is observed that there was little incidence of landless labourers with dependence only on wage labour. Every cultivator holds some of his own land and cultivated with the help of the family labour. Small cultivators were partly peasant proprietors and partly agriculture labourer. They used to work for large-scale landowners. But over the period the incidence of landlessness and dependency on wages was increasing. The reasons could be as follows: decay of rural industry and handcraft, decreasing land/man ratio, indebtedness, and decline of joint family and consequent fragmentation of land. It results in down scaling of land holding from large to small and to landlessness. When holding are small, the family labour is sufficient to carry out on the work. Therefore, as the holding becoming small and sufficient enough to family labour, more and more labourers work for wages thrown out of work and are being replaced by the family labour.

Bonded Labour

The *Bhagela* system, the *Balutha*, the *Begas* (involuntary labour), the *Vetti*, the slave labour and bonded labour are different forms of serfdom. It is the characteristics of the feudal society where the Zamindars and Jagirdars claimed a number of petty perquisites from the peasantry and other depressed castes of society. The landlords assumed entitlement to exhort labour services without any remuneration paid or treated it or a compulsory free labour from certain depressed and landless castes of society. Taking the perpetual poverty as the advantage, the depressed castes and other landless community were advanced with petty amounts on usurious loans and they became slave or bonded labour. Women and child labour occupied a high percentage in Nizam's Hyderabad.

The bonded labour system in the form of *Bagela* and *Begari*, known as *vetti*, is most prevalent in the state. Important thing is that these kind of labour especially *Begari*, was extracted by the feudal elements of all sections of society³⁴. Those who are bonded labour, their family also attached to his employer. They don't have economic independence for themselves. For, agricultural labourers and casual labourers the situation was worse. During the first half of the 20th century, wage rates in the state declined³⁵ which resulted in deteriorated economic conditions.

Child Labour

The practice of child labour was very much intensive in feudal Nizam's Hyderabad. Due to poverty, parents sell their children off at a very young age. State was inefficient in taking action. In 1951 it was published in news in 'Indian Nation' that 30,000 children were working as slave labourers in the houses of some of the Jagirdars, Nawabs and Rajas in the state of Hyderabad (see Rao, 1983). Under the *Parwarda* System, most of the Jagirdars and moneyed gentry collected small children, sometimes babies, from the poor families who could not be maintained by their parents due to poverty. These children when grown up were used as domestic servants. This type of working children lost association with their families. Definitely, there was no attention towards health and education of these children. If they did any mistake they were punished cruelly. The 1951 Bhatia Commission brought out all these issues in a detailed note³⁶.

Telangana Region in Hyderabad

It is observed that Telangana is relatively disadvantaged in agriculture output. The new area sown is only 1/5th of the total area in the region. Crop composition shows that millets and pulses are mostly grown crops. The agriculture income to total income is 37 per cent whereas in non-Telangana area, it is 60 per cent. Telangana region's total income is of Rs. 265 crores whereas non-Telangana had Rs. 185 crores in 1953-54. But in terms of per capita income, Rs. 229 and Rs. 247 for Telangana and non-Telangana respectively. Relatively high population level in Telangana hold down the per capita income.

Non-agricultural occupations were relatively more important in Telangana. Income derived from those occupations mostly used to go into the pockets of well-to-do section. Agricultural income is relatively more widely diffused than non-agricultural incomes³⁷. While, small part of total income in Telangana is spread over a relatively large section of the population. Large part of the total income spread over small section of the population. This shows that the income inequalities are very high in Telangana. Again, there are wide regional disparities in income distribution. More than 30 per cent of the workers of organised industry were found in Hyderabad district.

V. A Comparative Perspective

A. Hyderabad and Other Princely states

As it is observed above the conditions of socio-economic development in the Nizam's Hyderabad were worst of the situation in itself and when we compare with the other fellow princely states. Similarly the Nizams' Hyderabad was relatively the most backward especially in terms of education among the contemporary princely states like Travancore, Mysore and Baroda which were performing better. For instance, the literacy level in Hyderabad was relatively well below the any of the fellow princely states (see Table 6). And the growth of literacy rate over the period in Hyderabad was relatively slower than the rest of the states. The level of literacy is a manifestation of low levels of child schooling.

Table 6: A Comparison of literacy levels in Hyderabad with other Princely states and Madras Province: 1901-51

Year	Male					Female				
	Mysore	Baroda	Tranvan	Hyd	Madras	Mysore	Baroda	Tranvan	Hyd	Madras
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>
1901	11.7	19.9	21.5	2.1	13.7	0.8	0.9	3.1	0.5	1.1
1911	11.2	22.9	24.8	5.1	17.1	1.3	2.5	5.0	0.4	2.0
1921	14.3	27.7	-	5.7	17.3	2.2	5.1	-	0.8	2.4
1931	17.4	35.1	40.8	8.5	21.9	3.3	7.9	16.8	1.2	2.5
1941	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1951	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: 1. Tranvan: Travancore-Cochin, Hyd: Hyderabad; 2. '-' not available;

Source: Census, Administration Reports, Report on Public Instruction of Hyderabad.

One of the important factors that would have had significant impact on the development of education is the state policy towards it. The educational policy in other princely states was more pro-active (Narayana, 1967; Tharakan, 1985; Nair, 1975) when compared with that of Hyderabad. Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwad of Baroda had made primary education free and compulsory within the territories of his state in 1906 but in Hyderabad it was made possible only after the independence.

Another important factors was that the Nizam's Hyderabad state was not touched by the threat as the rest of the princely states experienced otherwise they were not following the suggested policies (like land reforms, education development) of colonial government under its paramountcy (Ray, 1989). Due to lack of attention towards the educational development, the expansion of educational facility was very slow and meagre amount financial resources were

allocated to education in Hyderabad. On the whole one may say that the policy attention in educational matters of Hyderabad state was inadequate while allocating financial resources to education and expanding access to schools.

B. Andhra and Telangana

While comparing the condition in the Telugu-speaking regions of Madras Presidency (i.e. Andhra) and that of Nizams' Hyderabad (i.e. Telingana) during the pre-independence period, one can observe that there were pertinent disparities in terms of socio-economic conditions as well as education between these two regions under different regimes. The educational development of a region depends upon the socio-economic conditions of the region particularly conditions at the households within the region and the policy of the state and its patronage. In the policy perspective, these two regions had different policies under different ruling regimes. With respect to the supply of schooling, the state policy of the colonial regime more favourable towards the expansion of schooling facilities when compared with that of the Nizam's rule. The colonial government encouraged the private initiatives while giving them aid whereas the Nizams government literally discouraged private and philanthropic initiatives.

VI. Conclusions

The present paper examined the historical source of the phenomenon of educational deprivation of children in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh in its pre-independence period as the case of analysis. In the above analysis, educational deprived children are those who are not attending schools (including never enrolled and dropouts) in the age group 5-14. Nizam's Telangana being the most privileged princely state under the British paramountcy, it lagged behind its fellow princely states especially in terms of education and schooling. In the demand-supply framework both the factors inflicted the educational deprivation in the Nizam state as a whole and Telangana region too in particular. When compared with other princely states under the British paramountcy, the State of Nizam was categorical and apathetic with respect to promoting education. It did not allow even the private and charity based initiatives for educational development.

On the other hand, demand side, the socio-economic conditions too, in this Nizam's Hyderabad state were not favourable for the educational development. The corrupt and extortionist nature

of the Revenue administration in the state, left people penniless and many times led them into debt traps. The structure of society was such that it did not allow the lower strata to reveal their preferences and imposed a false consciousness that education is not good for the working poor. Nizams' Hyderabad was also seen as a case of the extremely pathetic social conditions like Vetti and other forms of bonded labour, child marriages and *jogin* system. Poverty, low income levels, low standard of living, socio-economic inequalities were constraints of educational development. Besides, uncertainty of life and livelihood owing to anarchy of law and order, famines, epidemics draughts and so on were also predicaments for economic development as well as educational development. Educational development in the Nizams' Hyderabad state was lagging behind fellow princely states in India and neighbouring Telugu speaking Andhra region of Madras Presidency.

* * *

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End Notes

¹ It is observed that the ideal that equality of economic opportunities do not be realised without equality of educational opportunities (Davis and Douglas, 1971). Moreover, it is considered that education is a basic right of children (UN, 1989).

² The access to education is a matter of interaction of supply and demand. As quoted in Little (1999).

³ Education involves both direct cost and indirect cost i.e. opportunity cost so that affordability of parents matters. When education is not free, the direct costs are very high in the form of fee and stationary. On the other hand, in an economy especially agrarian economy where family labour is necessary either to acquire subsistence/augment family income, the labour of the children is utilised. Here, the opportunity cost of schooling is significant. The opportunity cost, i.e. earnings forgone during the schooling time, varies with different social and economic groups. In this way, the economic constraints explain the child deprivation in terms of slow progress in education. Besides, social constraints, which are influenced by cultural and ideological factors, also explain the problem of child deprivation.

⁴ Our analysis will show that the problem of child deprivation can be located in socio-economic, political structure of the society. It is the product of socio-economic deprivation. Also, it is influenced by cultural and ideological factors. Further, the role of the state is also crucial in the elimination of child deprivation.

⁵ Raj, Sheela (1987) Mediaevalism to Modernism : Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Hyderabad, 1869-1911, Sargam New Delhi.

⁶ Hyderabad State was divided into four subhas: Aurangabad, Gulbarga, Warangal and Medak. But in 1922, the division was abolished and proceeded with two main regions : Telangana and Marathwada. However, in 1929 the four divisions of earlier suba system reconstituted. Only changed that took place was that Nizamabad area which was under Medak suba, now shifted to Warangal suba. In this four division system, two divisions, Warangal and Medak covers the Telangana region and other Marathwada region. The Warangal suba covers: Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad and Nizamabad district. The Medak suba covers : Medak, Nalgonda and Mahabubnagar districts. Altogether 15 districts were under government administration. Apart from them, one more district was Atraf-I-Badla, which was considered as Privy Purse of the H E H Nizam. Apart from 16 districts under direct administration of government called as Diwani areas there were non-Diwani areas, which is administered by Jagirdars and other intermediaries. Seventy per cent of area and population, 68 per cent of town and village houses occupied were in Diwani area and rest was in non-diwani areas (Paigah, Jagirs etc.,). (See GOH (1986) History of the Operation of HEH the Nizam's Educational Department for the last 30 years together with a detailed Report and Returns for 1883-84-85, by Motanas Jung.). Also See Ramakrishna Reddy (1987).

⁷ Karen Leonard (1971).

⁸ By religion composition of the population, Hindu religion was the major one where they comprise about 92 per cent of the population and Muslims just 8 per cent, Christianity was emerging one so that its share was at minimal level below 1 per cent.

⁹ Information is based on Census of India (1921) Imperial Tables: Hyderabad State, Vol. XXI, Part II.

¹⁰ Censu of India (1921) Hyderabad State, Part I Report by Mhd. Raahmatulla.

¹¹ This paragraph is observed from Weiner (1994).

¹² The steps to formation of a state educational system taken place.

¹³ It is observed from the 1931 Census report.

¹⁴ Census (1931) HE H The Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad State), Part I -Report.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ramakrishna Reddy (1987).

¹⁷ Chapter VIII-Literacy in Census of India (1921) Hyderabad, Part I Report: P.171

¹⁸ Report of the Administration of H H the Nizam's Dominions for 1303F (1893-94), Government of Hyderabad, Hyderabad-Deccan.

¹⁹ Report on the Administration of HH the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1323F (1913-1914), Hyderabad, 1915.

²⁰ Raj, Sheela (1987) Mediaevalism to Modernism : Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Hyderabad, 1869-1911, Sargam New Delhi.

²¹ Sheela Raj (1987).

²² ibid.

²³ Government of Hyderabad (1953).

²⁴ NCERT(1961) Review of Education in India :1947-61, NCERT, New Delhi.

²⁵ A Note on Jogin/Potharaja, Presented to H E the Government of AP by District Collected, Nizamabad, Andhra Pradesh.

²⁶ GOI (1961) Selections from Educational Records, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²⁷ Raj, Sheela (1987) Mediaevalism to Modernism : Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Hyderabad, 1869-1911, Sargam New Delhi.

²⁸ Sheela Raj (1987).

²⁹ Census of India (1931) H E H The Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad State) : Part I - Report.

³⁰ Sheela Raj (1987).

³¹ Qureshi (1947).

³² ibid.

³³ Bharuch C M (1937) Agricultural Indebtness in H E H Nizams Dominions, G O H, Hyderabad-Deccan.

³⁴ Ramakrishna Reddy (1987)

³⁵ ibid.

³⁶ Bhaskara Rao V (1985)

³⁷ Over the period the nature of organisation of production has not changed in agriculture and small scale industry. The unit of production remained small-scale, labour-intensive and family based labour production in which child labour is part and parcel. There is a decline in land-man ratio, but it is not compensated by either increase in productivity or by diversification to non-agriculture occupations. Decline in land-man

ratio changes the occupational structure where those who have means in the form skills, capital and education moves upward. On the other, those who doesn't have means move either horizontal or downward occupational mobility. Occupational mobility is very much rigid in Indian social structure. In a caste-ridden society, in which high correlation between caste and occupation exists, the ideology that particular castes have particular occupations, restricts the diversification of occupation³⁷. The class barrier on caste lines perpetuates the child deprivation.