

Working Paper No. 148  
CESS-RSEPPG Working Paper No.2  
October 2024

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Begumpet, Hyderabad - 500 016



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### **Activities:**

- To organize seminars, workshops, discussions and conferences on topical issues related to Education;
- To conduct research studies focusing on education policy, funding, and governance;
- To conduct assessment and evaluation studies on initiatives and programmes with respect to education development; and
- To bring out research reports, policy briefs, and working papers along with research publications

### **CESS-RSEPPG (Research Cell on Education)**

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# Contours of Educational Development in Telangana (1850-2021)<sup>1#</sup>

Venkatanarayana Motkuri<sup>2\*</sup>

## Abstract

The current paper analyses and examines the contours of progress in educational development against the backdrop of historical events, sources, factors and processes in different phases such as educational backwardness and development in Telangana during the pre- and post-independence period till the recent past. It covers a period of 170 years, between 1850 and 2021. While focussing on Telangana, the study covers the states as part of and as a region, till it attained statehood in 2014. The objective of the study is to examine and understand factors and process that contributed to the pace of progress in education development in different phases of historical times. While documenting the evolution of educational policy and implementation of the same under different political regimes, educational development is examined taking into account the changing socioeconomic conditions of the population.

**Keywords:** Education, School Education, Schooling, Educational Development, Hyderabad State, Telangana.

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1 \* Paper is developed for *Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav* (AKAM) lecture series at Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS), Hyderabad and presented, as part of series, on 28 September 2022.

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**Acknowledgment:** Author acknowledges with thanks comments and suggestions of Shri Bharat Bhushan Mamidi as a discussant and reviewer.

## I. Context

Telangana, once considered as an educationally backward region, has now become a progressive State in the domain. Almost all of its 6-14 years-age children are attending schools, indicating near universalization. According to the author's estimate based on the unit-record data of the latest Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS-V) 2021-22, nearly 99.5% of children in the state in the 6-14 age-group are attending schools; it is in fact 3.5% higher than the national average. About 92% among those of 15-17 years-age group in the state are also attending schools, almost 10 percentage-points higher than the national average. Further, among the college-age (18-23 years) population in Telangana, more than half (51%) are attending educational institutions; it is almost 12 percentage-points higher than the national average. The latest All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE) 2021-22 corroborates that the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of Telangana in tertiary/higher education, at 40% is 11.5 percentage points higher than the national average (28.5%). The latest annual rounds of UDISE (2021-22) and AISHE (201-22) indicate that gender parity is achieved in the State in school as well as in higher education. Social group and regional disparities are minimised to the least ever. Correspondingly, education infrastructure i.e. number of schools and colleges available for the population, is found to be relatively better in Telangana compared to other states in India. Although quality education remains a cause of concern in India and the Telangana State, the current progress in the State is far better in terms of quantitative expansion and the reach out to school and higher education to the most disadvantaged section of the society (Motkuri, 2022).

However, the hard fact is that illiteracy rate in Telangana is higher than not only that of national average but also that of many other States in the country; in fact it is one of the highest among Indian States. An estimate based on the PLFS-5 (2021-22) shows that 28.5% of Telangana population 7 years and above age, still remains illiterate, while the all-India average is 21.2%. It is nearly seven percentage-points higher in the State compared to the national average. Further, illiteracy rate in Telangana is higher than States considered backward against other parameters, namely, Madhya Pradesh (23.3%), Odisha (23.9%), Uttar Pradesh (26.2%), Bihar (27.5%) and Rajasthan (28.3%). It might appear paradoxical that an educationally progressive state (in current times) is having a high illiteracy rate. It is possible to observe co-existence of such opposites when one views the progress in education in terms of current attendance of school and college age population enrolled in educational institutions (schools and/or colleges) which is in fact faster in the recent past, while illiteracy rate is a cumulative outcome of historical

neglect of primary education over a long period. A birth cohort of population which once missed the first chance during their early years of school-age to attend formal schooling and attain primary education, they are deprived from overcoming the loss thereafter and hence remain illiterate throughout their lifetime while the generation younger to them are able to access schooling and literacy owing to improvements in educational policies in the course of time. In Telangana, it is haunting the illiteracy of the surviving birth cohorts of the past (especially those prior to 1990s) who missed and lost their chance to attain primary education when they were in their school-age, owing to different reasons (related to demand and supply factors of education).

It is true in case of Telangana and other states that high illiteracy rate is a burden of history as a result of neglect of primary education for a long period in the past owing to such factors including State policy, resource allocations and socio-economic conditions of the historical times. Much of the progress in educational development in the present State of Telangana is witnessed during the last three decades period. Although most of the States in India made progress during this period, it was faster in Telangana. Though till early 1990s, progress in education development was slow in the Telangana region, it is not to be construed that slow progress in education development is largely a regional specificity of Telangana. It prevailed in the whole State - where Telangana region was part of: Hyderabad State before 1956 and thereafter the undivided Andhra Pradesh.

Telangana as a region was part of Nizam's Hyderabad State prior to Independence and subsequently an independent Hyderabad State (1948-56) until it was separated and unified/merged with Andhra and became part of the undivided Andhra Pradesh following the States' Reorganisation Act 1956. The Nizam's Hyderabad was one among the largest princely states in India under British paramountcy. It was the most privileged princely State in British India and having relatively more autonomy than that of other fellow princely States (Ray, 1988). On the culture, modernity, industrial development and richness of the State, Nizam's Hyderabad was ahead of the other Princely States (Hydari, 1936; Raj, 1987; Bawa, 1991; Bhukya, 2013). However, it appears that such development characteristics of the State, proved to be advantageous for and benefited only the ruling elite and aristocrats. As regards the majority and the mass and the rural population in respect of their social and economic development including education, Nizam's Hyderabad was considered to be lagging (De, 1911; Iyengar, 1927; 1929a&b; Bharuch, 1937; GoH, 1940; Qureshi, 1947; Reddy, 1947; Sundarayya, Narayana, 1960; 1972; Bobbili, 1988; Vaikuntam, 2002). Fellow princely States Travancore-Cochin, Kolhapur, Baroda and Mysore were far better especially in terms of social

outcomes like education. The undivided state of Andhra Pradesh was formed in the year 1956 combining the Andhra State which was carved out in 1953 from the Telugu-speaking districts of erstwhile Madras State and the Telugu-speaking region/districts (Telangana) from Hyderabad State. These two regions had been under two different political regimes and travelled different educational and socio-economic developmental paths.

Telangana and Andhra (including Rayalaseema) had at that time different levels of educational development. For three and half decades after 1956, the undivided state as a whole experienced slow progress in education and the regional disparities in levels of educational development continued to persist. Current attendance rates of children in undivided Andhra Pradesh were lower than the national average until 1980s. As the undivided Andhra Pradesh had witnessed a turnaround during 1990s in its progress in educational development with reference to current attendance status of school and college age population which was outpacing the national average, narrowing, or bringing down regional disparities in the subsequent decade. During last two decades, Telangana performed remarkably, outpacing Andhra in terms of attendance rates, and stood among the top five in respect of current attendance rate.

In this backdrop, this paper attempts to examine the contours of progress in educational development covering historical events, sources, factors and processes in different phases of such educational backwardness or development in Telangana during the pre- and post-independence period till the recent past. Overall temporal stretch of the investigation covers a period of 17 decades (or 170 years) from 1850 to 2021 while the spatial stretch of the investigation focusses on Telangana, covers the States of which it was part of as a region, till it attained statehood in 2014. It is to examine and understand factors and processes that contributed to the pace of progress in education development in different historical phases. While documenting the evolution of educational policy and its implementation under different political regimes, educational development is examined taking into account the socio-economic conditions of the population.

The paper is organised in four sections. Methodology consisting of analytical framework and data sources is presented in the second section. While the third section discusses performance and progress in the area of educational development in different phases prevalent during the period under study, the fourth section examines the state policy under different regimes and supply factors contributing to such progress. The fifth section describes how diverse socio-economic conditions produced differentials in



educational performance throughout the period under investigation. The final section contains the concluding remarks..

## II. Analytical Framework and Data Sources

In this paper, progress in educational development is measured in terms of enrolment or gross enrolment ratio (GER), school and college current attendance rates (CAR), completion rates by levels of education (primary, middle, secondary, graduation) and/or literacy rate. One may view that while the GER and current attendance rate are process indicators, the completion rate and literacy rate are the outcome indicators of educational development, affected by past performance. Such a progress in educational development is analysed within the demand and supply framework where an attempt is made to associate explanatory variables to supply and demand factors with respect to schooling and higher education (Little, 1999).

Supply refers to availability, access (physical, economic and social) and quality of schooling which includes human and financial resources along with infrastructural facilities. Demand for education is largely dependent upon the perceived value of education, opportunity & direct costs of child schooling, and willingness of parents to send the child to school. Socio-economic, political and cultural aspects influence all these factors. Economic factors like poverty, low standards of living and socio-economic inequalities were the 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 obstacles on the way for economic as well as educational development. Thus, one can say that the constraints in both supply and demand factors are responsible for the persistence of educational under-development.

Demand for education and its supply is viewed through the standard mainstream economics framework wherein the demand, depending on individuals' wants or desires consist of willingness and purchasing power (affordability) (Thweatt, 1983). Desire and willingness for a good/service is affected by the perceived value of its usefulness in satisfying the want/desire/wish. A *latent demand* is a potential demand that is unmet and dormant due to lack of affordability (but consisting of willingness), non-availability of the commodity/service (lack of supply), or lack of awareness (information) on its availability. Conversely, an *effective demand* is the manifested one as it is met or realised. While the latent demand for education is constrained by its (low) perceived value, translating the latent demand into an effective one is affected by affordability (implicit/indirect and explicit/direct costs of education), supply or information. There

exists opportunity (implicit) cost of schooling that is the child labour. Schooling decisions are not made by the agency of the child; it is the parental/household decision. Assuming rational behaviour and altruism in parental decision demand for schooling/education depends on their perceived value of it and affordability<sup>1</sup>.

In respect of supply factors of schooling, one may engage a relevant analogy of J.B. Say's *law of market* that is '**supply creates demand**'. The availability of school in a location while creating a latent demand through demonstration effect in the neighbourhood community, latent demand thus far constrained with the lack of facility is transformed into an effective one. Market economy is in general, equilibrating the supply and demand through price mechanism. Classical economists, particularly Adam Smith and J.S. Mill, realised that education is a public good, supply of which may not be determined by the market and its price mechanism because demand for it is not realised as it requires (Smith, 1776; Mill, 1886). Effective role of the State in supplying enough educational facilities has become crucial. Externalities of education recognised by classical economists and the social returns established by later-economists, justified the public good nature of it and thereby, the public/social investment for it. Beyond the supply of schooling, the State also has a larger role in ensuring child schooling through enforcement (legislation against child labour and for compulsory and free schooling) and enabling mechanism (larger social and welfare policy).

As observed in the literature, industrial development in western countries and commercialisation of economy in general and agriculture in particular in developing countries had certain positive impact on social, economic and educational development (West, 1975; Goldin, 1979; Goldin and Katz, 2000&2003; Davin, 1982). In the western country context, economic and policy historians have examined the impact of state enforcement mechanism through legislation along with that of economic development (Landes and Soloman, 1972; Humphries, 1977; Edwards, 1978; Weiner, 1993). An inference one could draw from the western countries' experience is that complementarity of enforcement and enabling mechanism of the (welfare) State, along with economic and social development have a positive impact on its educational development.

Economic historians who examined the process of commercialisation of agriculture in British India and its impact on the social and economic change contributed to debate on whether it was positive and negative (Morris, 1968; Washbrook, 1973; Rao, 1985). Downward filtration/penetration (trickle-down) of the benefits of economic

development owing to such commercialisation of economy were restrained by the social stratification of rural society wherein the rich/elite have captured most of it, leaving the rest to remain grappling with poverty and backward economic conditions (Washbrook, 1973). Nevertheless, researchers who examined contours of educational development during pre- or post-independence period had associated the increase in demand for education with the process of commercialisation of economy and that of agriculture (Mangamma, 1976; Nair, 1978&1981; Tharakan, 1984; Tharakan and Issac, 1986; Upendranath; 1994). Such educational development however, was dependent on the participation base of the commercialisation process.

Taking forward the commercialisation hypothesis/conjecture along with pro-active State role we extrapolate it forward and backward while explaining the demand supply factors contributed to educational development in Telangana during the pre- and post-independence period. **Commercialisation** as a phenomenon in general and in agriculture in particular refers to households **connecting to market forces** wherein there are certain non-pecuniary advantages along with pecuniary benefit which are in fact uncertain, depending on the market conditions. Non-pecuniary advantage is that market transactions facilitate exchange of ideas, individuals' exposure to new information and knowledge, new ways of life and new consumption habits and socio-cultural practices. Commercialisation of economic activities however, depends on market penetration which in turn depends on the road, transport and communication facilities which also makes easy the mobility of people and labour. Although, those who participate would benefit from such non-pecuniary advantages, uncertainty of market conditions does not ensure pecuniary benefits all the time. When pecuniary benefits are positive, household living conditions would improve and thereby its welfare.

People when exposed to habits and practices which are new but found to be beneficial, they may adopt such habits and practices. Economists and Sociologists have made their point that demonstration effect results in imitation, emulation and/or social learning<sup>2</sup>. In fact, during the industrial revolution period the working-class movement in Europe, the labouring-class, while demanding for family-wages, had adopted norms and ideal notions of childhood meant for education not for child labour (Davin, 1982; Humphries, 1977). However, in the Indian context, social stratification and inequality along with hegemonic power relations would resist penetration of any such progressive changes down the line to lower social and economic strata and it may perpetuate **false consciousness** that it may not be advantageous for them<sup>3</sup>. As a majority of the population lives in rural areas and are dependent on agriculture, conditions in the

rural agrarian economy are crucial for demand for education to thrive (Motkuri, 2016; 2004). *Commercialisation of rural agrarian economy and expansion of the participation base* is a key factor in demand for education.

With the analytical framework just mentioned, the period of analysis covering 170 years is divided into two major phases: pre-independence period stretch from 1850 to 1948 and the post-independence period from 1948 to 2021. Further, pre-independence period covered can be phased into two: second-half of 19<sup>th</sup> century and first-half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, the post-independence period is divided into three sub-phases: Independence till 1990s, to the period after that till bifurcation of undivided Andhra Pradesh in 2014 and State formation, and since 2014 when Telangana has attained statehood to 2021.

As regards the investigation related to pre-independence period, the present exercise relies primarily upon available earlier research for qualitative and quantitative data. In addition, it makes use of the Census data for the period 1881-1941 of the Madras Presidency and the Nizam's Hyderabad State along with the annual educational records of the Government of (Nizam's) Hyderabad State particularly the Report of Public Instruction along with the Report of Administration. For the Post-Independence period, the analysis in the paper has utilised the Census data, NSSO Employment and Unemployment surveys and the recent Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS). Available literature related to studies on education development in princely States of British India and that of post-independent India on Andhra Pradesh and India was used.

### **III. Educational Development: Slow Progress with Disparities**

The progress in education development in Telangana is viewed in terms of enrolment, attendance and completion rates along with literacy rates. Such progress in education development is examined in two historically important phases during the period between 1850 and 2021: pre and post-independence period (1850 to 1948 and 1948 to 2021). The following section presents observations and analysis in this respect.

#### ***Progress in Educational Development in Hyderabad State: Pre-Independence Period***

As a prelude to progress in education development in Telangana during pre-independence period, a brief description of Telangana region and Hyderabad State, structure, demography, socio-economic conditions is needed. Hyderabad State, ruled by Asafjahi dynasty known as Nizams, was one of the Princely States that survived through the colonial regime of British India. Telangana is a Telugu-speaking region

of the Nizam's Hyderabad forming about 55% of the area and population with the population density of 249. Marathwada was the other region consisted of 45% of the area and population. State capital, Hyderabad city, being part of Telangana region accommodated large urban population of the state. Hence the percentage of population living in urban areas was high in Telangana<sup>4</sup>.

There was a substantial decadal growth in population in Hyderabad State in general and Telangana region in particular except during the period 1911-21 which was the period affected by an epidemic. The growth of population was relatively higher in Telangana compared with the State average (Table-A1). In the absence of health care facilities and the prevalence 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. From the agricultural resources point of view, Telangana is disadvantageous in that, only about 2/5<sup>th</sup> of geographical area was cultivated; 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of geographical area was in Marathwada. In such disadvantageous demographic and socio-economic conditions, educational development in the state of Hyderabad and in the Telangana region was constrained.

### *Literacy Levels*

Literacy and schooling levels are often used as indicators of the educational status of a society. Literacy rate is an outcome of educational process and hence can be viewed as an indicator of educational development. There exists a high correlation (0.88) between levels of literacy and current attendance rates (schooling) across districts in the undivided Andhra Pradesh (Krishnaji, 2000; Motkuri, 2004). Disparities in literacy rates across States, regions or districts would in fact reflect such disparities in school participation or attendance rates or the levels of educational development.

**Table-1: Literacy levels in Hyderabad State and that of the other Princely states and Madras Province: 1901-51**

Year	Male					Female				
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Hyderabad	5.1	5.1	5.7	8.5	15.1	0.5	0.4	0.8	1.2	3.0
Telangana	7.8	7.6	7.9	11.9	-	0.7	0.7	1.3	1.7	-
Marathwada	5.9	5.8	5.0	6.7	-	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.7	-
Baroda	19.9	22.9	27.7	36.1	-	0.9	2.5	5.1	8.0	-
Mysore	11.7	11.2	14.3	17.4	30.3	0.8	1.3	2.2	3.3	10.3
Travancore	21.5	24.8	-	40.8	55.2	3.1	5.0	-	16.8	37.7
Madras Province	13.7	17.1	17.3	21.9	28.6	1.1	2.0	2.4	2.5	10.0
<b>India</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>10.6</b>	<b>12.2</b>	<b>15.6</b>	<b>21.16</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>8.86</b>

*Note: 1. '-' not available;*

*Source: Census of India, Administration Reports, Report on Public Instruction of Hyderabad for Various Years.*

The performance of Hyderabad State and Telangana region in Literacy rate (literacy rate of male and female) was far below the Literacy rate based on the Census information and in comparison with the other Princely States (Table-1). Travancore had exceptionally high male literacy rate followed by Baroda and Mysore. Available information indicates that there was marginally better position in literacy rate of the Telangana region within Hyderabad State. It is because of a distinctively higher literacy rate in Hyderabad district consisting of capital city of the State (Table-2). But when compared to the All-India average and that of Madras Province/State, the Hyderabad State and Telangana region were quite low.

One has to appreciate the Registrar General of India in 1960s, and his Census staff who were responsible for the massive task of realigning important district level information of the previous Censuses along the lines of districts formed by the time of 1961 Census. Accordingly, Telugu districts (Telangana region) of Hyderabad State and Andhra region in Madras Province/State were realigned to make them comparable with the districts formed in the newly formed State of Andhra Pradesh. As per this realignment, the literacy rate in 1961 across districts is comparable with districts of the same geography in the previous Censuses.

**Table-1: Literacy (%) Levels in British India, Hyderabad State and across Districts in Telangana: 1901-61**

Districts	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	Change
<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>
India	5.3	5.9	7.2	9.5	16.1	18.3	28.3	23.0
Madras Province/State	6.3	7.5	8.6	9.3	14.4	19.3	-	13.0
Hyderabad State	3.0	2.8	2.9	4.1	6.8	9.2	-	6.2
<b>Telangana Region</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>11.1</b>	-	<b>7.7</b>
<i>Districts in Telangana</i>								
Hyderabad	10.6	9.7	11.7	19.2	23.5	29.0	40.8	30.2
Warangal	3.2	2.9	3.1	5.0	7.3	9.6	18.0	14.7
Khammam	3.2	2.9	3.1	5.0	7.3	9.6	18.0	14.7
Nizamabad	2.4	2.3	2.7	3.6	7.4	8.4	16.6	14.2
Nalgonda	2.1	2.5	3.2	3.2	5.5	7.4	16.5	14.4
Medak	2.0	3.6	4.3	3.1	6.3	8.1	16.3	14.3
Mahabubnagar	3.8	2.9	3.5	3.8	6.3	8.3	15.8	12.0
Karimnagar	2.0	2.4	2.1	2.6	6.0	7.1	15.1	13.1
Adilabad	1.0	1.5	1.8	2.9	6.0	6.5	13.8	12.8
<i>Districts in Andhra</i>								
Srikakulam	4.4	5.2	7.6	6.2	7.7	10.7	18.2	13.8
Visakhapatnam	2.3	3.1	5.3	3.5	7.7	10.2	19.6	17.3
East Godavari	5.2	6.3	8.6	8.1	14.2	20.8	30.0	24.8
West Godavari	5.2	6.3	8.6	10.5	18.2	24.1	35.6	30.4
Krishna	5.8	7.5	8.3	11.0	17.0	24.5	36.1	30.3
Guntur	5.7	6.9	7.8	8.6	13.8	19.4	31.9	26.2
Nellore	5.4	5.7	6.3	5.8	10.3	14.2	24.5	19.1
Chittoor	7.2	6.1	7.4	6.4	10.4	14.1	24.3	17.1
Cuddapah	4.8	6.1	6.7	7.5	11.3	16.0	25.2	20.4
Anantapur	4.7	5.4	6.7	7.2	10.7	16.4	24.2	19.4
Kurnool	4.8	5.9	6.8	6.0	11.2	17.4	25.2	20.4

**Notes:** 1. Rangareddy district in Telangana and Vijayanagaram district in Andhra are missing in the list because they were formed in 1970s; 2. Literacy rate for 5 years and above population.

**Source:** Census of India 1961.

Based on such realigned district level Census information, literacy was better in Andhra districts as compared to the Telangana districts (Table-2). Though inter-district differences exist within the Andhra region in respect of literacy levels, the attainment of the region is, on the whole, far higher than that of the districts in Telangana region,

except Hyderabad city. The literacy rates in Telangana districts (except Hyderabad) and the two northern districts of Coastal Andhra, as per the 1951 Census estimates, were below 9 percent and around 10 percent respectively. On the other hand, the literacy rates were above 20% and between 15-20 percent for the Southern districts of coastal Andhra and the districts of Rayalaseema respectively. Corresponding differences existed also in educational attainments since the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, changes in literacy rates were relatively higher in particular areas like the south Coastal Andhra.

There is an argument as regards the *Literary Movement of Hyderabad State* and the debate in 1930s resulted in publication of *Golconda Kavula Sanchika* in 1936 by Suravaram Pratap Reddy, it proved<sup>5</sup> that the State has considerable number of literary persons or poets. However, it does not stand to prove against the Census-based estimate of low literacy rate for Hyderabad state<sup>6</sup>.

### *Schooling and Enrolment*

Accurate historical data on the attendance and/or completion rates are not readily available for the Hyderabad State or Telangana region prior to Independence and for period immediately after independence. Literacy level can be used as a proxy measure of educational development especially the completion of primary schooling. An analysis of child schooling, particularly enrolment rates, are presented below based on information available in historical records of Reports of Administration and Reports on Public Instruction.

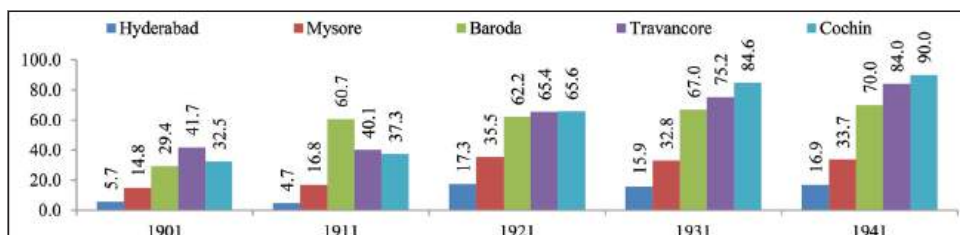
Child of school-going-age in the contemporary discourse is defined as one in the 6-14 years of age population. According to Census, there were around 2.5 million children, in the age group 5-15, comprising 24.5 percent of the 9.8 million total population in Hyderabad State in the year 1881 (Table-A1). In Telangana, there were around one million children comprising 24.4 percent of the total population of 4.5 million in the region. By the year 1931 it increased to 1.7 million, around 60 percent increase is observed in Telangana. Over the period the share of child population to the total population was fluctuating around 25 percent in Telangana as well as in the State. In British India, 6-12 years was considered the school-going age. It was a general practice that such school-age population was derived based on a normative standard or rule of thumb of 15% of total population. The procedure followed in British India, in Provinces as well as in Princely States for computing the GER was same in the present times; enrolment as a percentage of school-age population. Instead of present parlance



GER, they used to refer it as *scholar as a percentage of school-age population*. The Princely States, which were under the British Paramountcy, followed the same criterion that the British followed in the Presidencies under their direct rule, with regard to children of the school-age<sup>7</sup> and GER.

As it was a practice, we considered the school-age population as those in the 6-12 years age group and such population estimation was derived at 15% of total population. Following their practice of estimating the GER, enrolment as a percent of school-age population, a very crude estimate of gross enrolment ratio (GER) is derived. It is to get an indicative trend of overall GER for the Hyderabad and other Princely States during the pre-independence period. In other words, it is simply a ratio of total enrolment in educational institutions (all levels: primary to college) to school-age (6-12) population (Figure-1). A separate estimate of GER is derived based on the enrolment in recognised (private and public) institutions along with that of enrolment in all types of institutions (recognised and unrecognised) for the Hyderabad state (Figure-2).

**Figure-1: Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of Hyderabad and the other Princely States**



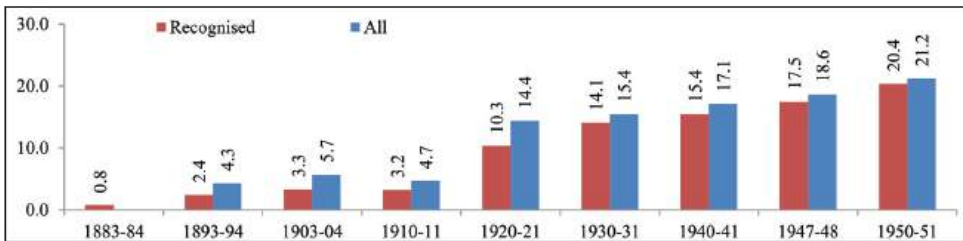
**Note:** GER – total enrolment in all levels and types of educational institutions as a percent of 6-12 years-age population.

**Source:** Author's estimates based on population (Census) and enrolment figures gathered from Reports of Administration of the respective princely states.

Such an estimate has shown us that the enrolment (GER) in all educational institutions as a percent of school-going-age (6-12 years) population in Hyderabad State was far below the other Princely States, such as Mysore, Baroda, Travancore and Cochin (Figure-1). Although these four Princely States were relatively smaller in size of population and area when compared to Hyderabad state, they were sizeable ones among all the Princely States under the British paramountcy. Gap in GER between Hyderabad and these Princely States had increased far wider during the four decades period during first-half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Hyderabad State it was less than one percent (<1%) till 1880s, subsequently in a decade, GER of formal education (recognised institutions) was doubled (Figure-2). Otherwise, there was four-fold increase in overall GER

(including unrecognised institutions). However, other Princely States were far ahead at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The trend in GER in Hyderabad is indicating an impressive progress during the decade 1911-21 as it had a conspicuous advancement in elementary education in Hyderabad state over its past. GER shot up from nearly 5% in 1910-11 to 15% in 1920-21, a ten percentage-points increase<sup>8</sup>.

**Figure-2: Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Hyderabad State :  
Percentage of Enrolment to School-Age Child (6-12 years) Population**



*Notes:* 1. School-age population refers to 6-12 years-age children; 2. Recognised - Enrolment in formal education system i.e. in the recognised institutions (private and public) while excluding enrolment in all unrecognised private institutions.

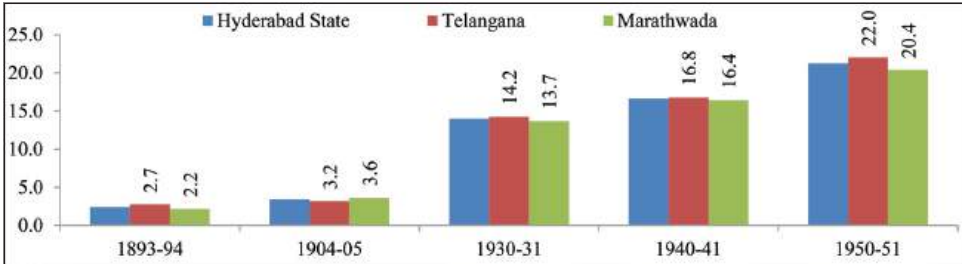
*Sources:* Authors' estimate based on Census of India, Nizam's Hyderabad State for population and Report on the Administration along with Reports of Public Instruction for enrolment.

Although there was such an improvement noted for GER over a period in Hyderabad, more impressively during mid-1880s to early-1890s and 1910s, the achievement of the State was not only far short of the norm (of 100% enrolment) but it was also far below the achievements in other parts of the British India including the other Princely States. Such a fact was indicatively acknowledged in most of the official reports of Hyderabad State government<sup>9</sup>.

The performance of Telangana region in the Hyderabad State was not much different from the state average. GER in Telangana region was almost equivalent to the Hyderabad State average (Figure-3). Telangana average appears to have GER marginally higher than that of the Hyderabad State; it was because Hyderabad city was commanding distinctively high percentage. It is explicit that except Hyderabad city area and a couple of districts, all the other districts in the Telangana region had very low percentage of enrolment to the school-age (6-12 years) population. The performance of Telangana as compared to Marthwada in the Hyderabad state was marginally better<sup>10</sup>.

**Figure-3: Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Telangana and Marathwada Regions of Hyderabad State**

*(Percentage of enrolled in educational institutions to 6-12 years-age children)*



**Notes:** Referring to 6-12 years-age children: percentage of children enrolled in elementary classes to 6-12 years age population.

**Source:** Reports of the Administration of the HH the Nizam's Dominions

There were differences in the levels of schooling among different social and economic classes within the state (Motkuri, 2016; 2006). It is observed that by nature of employment or economic activity, the socio-economic classes that engaged in trade activity and that had employment in the state sector along with those in urban areas had disproportionately high representation (share in enrolment was high compared to share in population) among those enrolled in educational institutions<sup>11</sup>. Although Muslims constitute about 10% of the total population in State, they account for about 44% of the total children enrolled in educational institutions. It indicates the over representation of ruling class community in the education system. It could be due to the fact that considerably high percentage of Muslims was living in urban areas and were engaged in State employment and trade activity. The level of schooling of children in rural areas and of agricultural classes especially the agriculture labour, 'Panchama' and aborigines remained extremely low. On the gender aspect, though the girls' participation was very low during the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, it improved during the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Still girls' enrolment was one-fifth of the boys' enrolment.

### **Post-Independence**

Post-independence period in general had improvements in both the school attendance rate of children and literacy rate in population. Although the progress in these areas still remained slow, it was better than that of pre-independence (Table-3 and Table-4). First-half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed 13 percentage points increase in literacy rate from 5% in 1901 to 18% in 1951 for India, whereas for Hyderabad State it was only six percentage points from 3% to 9%. In the post-independence period during second-

half of the century, India witnessed 47 percentage point increase in the literacy rate. It is almost four times higher than the increase in literacy rate witnessed during the first half of the 20th century. Both the undivided Andhra Pradesh State and the Telangana region had such a similar experience in the post-independence period.

**Table-3: Literacy Rate (%) Telangana in the post-Independence**

State	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2019-20
<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>
India	18.3	28.3	34.5	43.6	52.2	64.8	73.0	78.8
Undivided Andhra Pradesh	15.3	21.2	24.6	29.9	41.3	60.5	67.7	-
<i>Residual Andhra Pradesh</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>69.4</i>
Telangana	11.1	17.3	20.7	26.5	41.3	58.0	66.5	71.5

*Note:* Literacy Rate since 1991 is for 7 years and above; prior to that it is for 5 years above population; 2. Figures for the year 1951 for undivided Andhra Pradesh derived based on regional averages of Andhra State (Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema).

*Source:* 1. Census of India for 1951 to 2011; 2. Author's estimate based on PLFS-3 for 2019-20.

The increase in literacy rate in Telangana was just 15 percentage points during the first three decades after independence (1950s, 1960s and 1970s) (Table-3). For the next two decades (1980s and 1990s), singularly same magnitude of increase (15 percentage-points) for each decade was witnessed in Telangana. Such a rapid progress in literacy rate during the last two decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century was experienced at the national level and undivided Andhra Pradesh as well. Recently, Telangana has outpaced the literacy rate of residual Andhra Pradesh. However, despite such a progress achieved in literacy rate, Telangana still remained below the national average and many other States in India.

**Table-4: Attendance Rates (%) among School-going-age Children (5-14 years) in India and undivided Andhra Pradesh along with its Regions, 1951 to 2011-12**

State/Region	1961	1983	1993-94	1999-2000	2004-05	2011-12	2019-20
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>
India	30.4	49.2	68.1	72.4	81.8	90.3	96.0
Andhra Pradesh	27.7	50.3	65.2	76.7	87.6	95.4	97.8
<i>Coastal Andhra</i>	32.0	53.6	64.3	76.5	87.0	95.6	-
<i>Rayalaseema</i>	27.3	52.0	67.6	73.8	86.4	91.9	-
Telangana	22.8	45.8	66.7	76.6	89.9	96.6	99.5

*Note:* percentage among 5-14 years age children attending educational institutions (schools).

*Source:* Motkuri (2016) based on Census and NSSO-EUS.

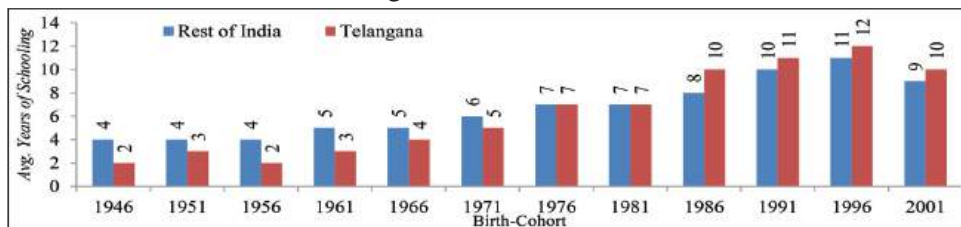
During the interlude/interim period<sup>12</sup> (post-independence period before the reorganisation), although school enrolment has improved in Hyderabad State, it continued to lag behind the then States of Indian union. For instance, the gross enrolment ratio (GER) in primary, middle and secondary education in Hyderabad State was one of the lowest (Table-A4).

At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century (1893-94), only 3.6% of school-age (6-12 years) children were attending schools in Telangana (Figure-3). After a century, in 1999-2000, three-fourths (76.6%) of its school-age (5-14 years) population was attending schools (Table-4). Till Independence, it was less than 20% of school-age children in Telangana who were attending schools. Much of the progress witnessed in this regard took place during the Post-Independence period, especially since the mid-1980s. Second-half of 20<sup>th</sup> Century witnessed more than 50 percentage-points increase in school attendee rate of school-age (5-14 years) children in Telangana. The last one-and-half decade of the century (mid-1980s and 1990s) witnessed more than 25 percentage-points increase in the state. The progress in school attendance rate in Telangana had outpaced Coastal Andhra by early 1990s and the national average by late-1990s.

*The 1980 Birth-Cohort of Telangana that Shifted the Educational Attainment in the state*

An analysis<sup>13</sup> of the performance of different birth cohorts (5-year cohort) of Telangana State in terms of their educational attainment or completion rate, indicate that the birth cohort of 1980s in the State have witnessed a dramatic change and shift in educational attainment (completion rate). The performance of this birth cohort has had a shift in their progress in all the levels of education (Figure-4 and 5a to 5g). Average years of schooling for birth cohorts before 1980s was lower in Telangana when compared to the rest of India but the 1980s birth cohorts in Telangana experienced a turnaround. This birth cohort of Telangana State has outperformed their counterpart (same cohort) at the national level.

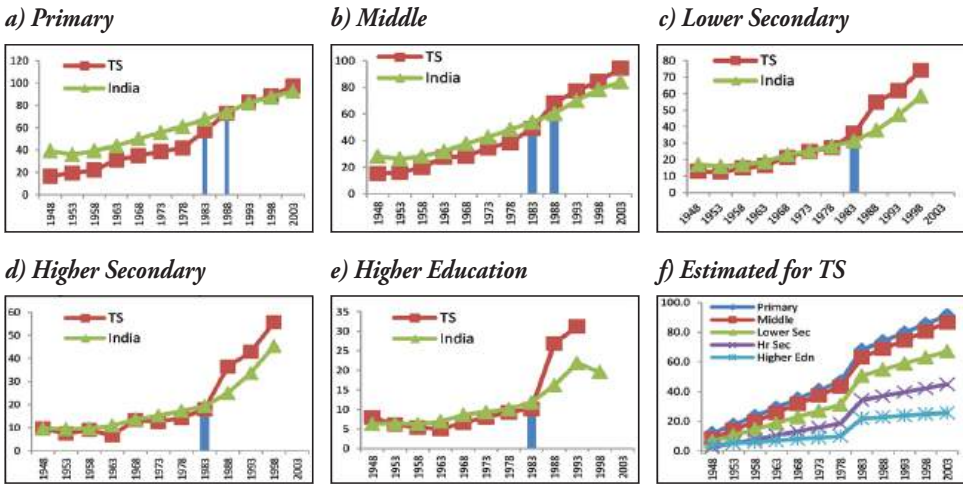
**Figure-4: Longitudinal Trend in Average Years of Schooling by Birth-Cohorts in Telangana and Rest of India**



Source: Author's estimate based on the PLFS-3 (2019-20) unit record data.

Figures 5a to 5e are author's estimates based on the PLFS survey data. Figure 5f is linear estimations for the State of Telangana, based on the estimates of the survey. The figure 5f clearly exhibits the shift in completion rates across levels of education for the 1980s birth cohort in the Telangana state. The analysis corroborates the turnaround situation of Telangana state in respect of progression in its educational development since 1990s.

**Figure-5: Completion Rates by Level of Education across different Birth Cohorts in India and Telangana State**

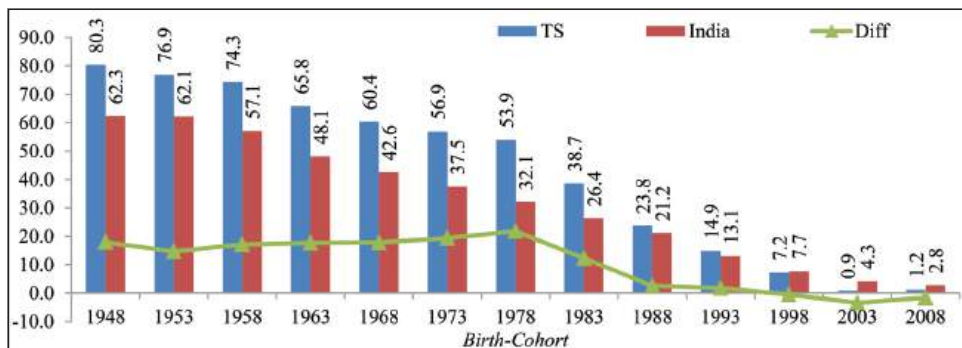


**Notes:** Year is to indicate the children born during five year interval period ending the year

**Source:** Authors' Calculation based on PLFS-1 (2017-18) unit record data.

Illiteracy rate or percentage of illiterates by birth-cohorts indicates the phenomenon that one observed in the performance of Telangana outpacing the national average in respect of current attendance rate in primary and elementary education that began with the 1980s birth-cohorts and later ones; it is reflected in its performance in reducing the illiteracy rate (Figure-6). Illiteracy rate is the least (<1%) among the younger birth-cohort (2003 and 2008) in Telangana and it is considerably high (>75%) among the older ones (1953 and 1948 birth-cohorts). A remarkable performance in current attendance rate of the 1980s birth-cohorts and later ones in the State, have drastically reduced the gap (difference) in illiteracy rate between Telangana and the national average. Youngest three birth-cohorts (1998, 2003 and 2008) in Telangana performed better than their peer-birth-cohorts in rest of India. However, illiteracy rate of *surviving birth-cohorts* of those who were born before 1990s and/or 1980s in Telangana continue to have higher illiteracy rate than national average of the corresponding birth-cohorts.

**Figure-6: Illiteracy rate (%) by Birth-Cohorts in Telangana and India**



*Notes:* Year is to indicate the children born during five year interval period ending the year; Diff – difference between Telangana and national average (All India).

*Source:* Authors' Calculation based on PLFS-1 (2017-18) unit record data.

On the whole, Telangana had a long-past history of slow progress in its educational development during pre-independence period under the Nizam regime and subsequently, post-independence period in the undivided Andhra Pradesh. However, Telangana has leveraged the remarkably fast progress made during the two decades before bifurcation of undivided Andhra Pradesh. Telangana as a State at present has in fact outpaced the national average and its companion State of Andhra Pradesh in respect of the progress in current (school) attendance rate of children. The State is *on the verge of near universalisation* especially of attendance rate among the 6-14 years-age population (Motkuri and Revathi, 2021; Motkuri, 2021). Its progress and achievement in school and college attendance rates are relatively much better and its standing is better among the Indian States in this regard.

*Yet Relatively High Illiteracy because....*

In terms of literacy rate although Telangana State has outpaced its companion State (Andhra Pradesh), it is still below the national average and standing below the achievement of BiMARU States of India. It is so because the burden of history in terms of historically slow progress in school enrolment/attendance rate in the past (till a few decades-ago) continues to haunt Telangana's standing among the Indian States in respect of educational development viewed in terms of literacy rate. A very high percentage of *surviving birth-cohorts born before 1980s* who had lost their first chance of formal schooling during their school-age (enrolling for and completing at least primary level), continue to remain illiterate for the rest of their life. They could not get a second chance to acquire literacy skills during their adult-life. Despite certain improvements over a

period, the relatively low adult literacy in the State continues. Impact of adult literacy programmes in improving literacy among adults all over the country is negligible, it is so also in Telangana (Motkuri and Ravi, 2013; Motkuri, 2015). Our estimate based on PLFS-6 (2022-23) indicates that while more than 99% among the literates in India and Telangana have become literates through formal schooling, those who have acquired literacy skills through adult literacy programmes is negligible.

A high current attendance rate of schooling in a birth-cohort during their school-age may immediately be translated to an increase in literacy rate of that cohort, but does not impact the average of whole population comprising many other birth-cohorts born before and who had low school enrolment/attendance rate, resulting in low literacy rate. Literacy rate of each birth-cohort depends on the school attendance rate of that cohort during their school-age. Every successive birth-cohort that attained sustainably high attendance and literacy rate would contribute in reducing the average illiteracy rate of population. Any such achievement of these successive birth-cohorts would reflect in the population over a period, with the transit of surviving birth-cohort from their school-age to adult life and beyond and end-up with being the oldest surviving birth-cohort. Therefore, to translate remarkably high attendance rate and thereby the literacy rate in Telangana among the younger-age birth-cohort into higher literacy rate of the whole population of the State, it takes a few more decades. These younger-age birth-cohorts that achieved such a feat have to transit through the remainder of their life cycle. The only short-cut to improve the literacy rate among the illiterates of any birth-cohorts in a short period of time, is the intervention of the State through adult literacy programmes which have high a potential in transforming all the illiterate adults into neo-literates by acquiring literacy skills.

To reduce adult illiteracy, literacy programmes in non-formal modes have been considered as most viable for those who have missed their chance of acquiring literacy skills through formal schooling during their school-age and their transit already crossed that age-cohort. Indeed, recognising this, there have been attempts at the national level to implement such adult literacy programmes initiated selectively in British India on the eve of Independence. Post-independence, it was a little more intense<sup>14</sup> but still to a limited extent, until the mass-based National Literacy Mission (NLM) of 1988 which was reaching out to every corner of the country. But the country's experience has shown that implementation of NLM could not yield the expected outcome of liquidating adult illiteracy (Karlekar, 2004; Motkuri and Ravi, 2013; Motkuri, 2015). Subsequent rechristened programmes (Sakshara Bharat 2009 and Pradan Mantri Padhana-Likhna



Abhiyan 2017) initiated for the purpose also have not yielded much result. At the State-level, Telangana State government, while implementing all the national programmes concerned with adult literacy through State Literacy Mission (SLM), has recently started an initiative for the purpose called *each-one-teach-one*, pursuing the goal of education to each an illiterate, surveying and mapping adult illiterates as part of its *Palle and Pattana Pragathi* programme. However, an intense strategic action at the grassroots level is missing. It is possible that aiming at universalisation of adult literacy as a policy priority of the State government, rolled out with an appropriate strategy and action plan at the ground level may yield a positive outcome in reducing the illiteracy rate among adults in the State.

#### **IV. 'The State' and the Educational Development**

We now turn to an exploration of the factors underlying the slow progress in educational performance of Hyderabad and undivided Andhra Pradesh State in general and Telangana region in particular. It is observed that it was primarily due to two historical factors namely, educational policies and efforts in terms of State interventions and initiatives of spreading education to the mass and disadvantaged sections of the society. A broad sketch characterising the Nizam State has already been delineated in the beginning of previous section.

##### ***Educational Policy and Development: Pre-Independence Period***

The demand for education shifted from the ruling class, aristocratic or elitist one, to mass education with the onset of the industrial revolution and development in Western countries and consequent working class movements and spread with the efforts of Christian missionaries and State intervention in these countries (West, 1975; Goldin, 1979; Humphries, 1977; Davin, 1982). Industrial development necessitated the workers to have minimum levels of education. The ideals and notions of childhood meant for instruction, not for work and against child labour which was thus far limited to elite and the aristocratic, now spread across with the working class movement (Aries, 1962; Zelizer, 1975; Davin, 1982). Although not replicative of Western country situation, the British Government in India also required educated natives serving them in ruling the country (Naik and Nurullah, 1974; Government of India, 1966). Native traditional system of education was limited to a few sections of society and not considered helpful in serving their interests (Frykenberg, 1986). Hence they initiated the modern and mass education<sup>15</sup>.

Introduction of the modern educational system in India may be traced almost entirely to the Colonial State (Naik and Nurullah, 1974; Basu, 1971&82; Ghosh, 1995; Latika, 2007). During the colonial period, attempts were made to start educational institutions, which were open to all irrespective of difference in socio-economic status. Priority however, went to higher education and education for the upper classes; there were limited funds allocated for education and elementary or mass education, therefore, was by and large, neglected. While the Macaulay Minute (1835) was set at resolving *Oriental-Occidental* debate, its *downward filtration theory* was a reflection of this lopsided idea (Naik and Nurullah, 1974). During the early phase of the Colonial period, the East India Company was not interested in taking up the responsibility of educational development in India; but Missionaries and the Charities took the initiative. However, by the 1813 Charter Act, the Company took charge under pressing circumstances, by providing aid to indigenous institutions. The educational policy of the Company began with its 1813 Charter followed by the Macaulay Minute (1835). Subsequently, the British Indian Government under Crown reign took-up and continued the same. Following were the major initiatives in this regard: Woods Dispatch of 1854; The Indian Education Commission 1882, Curzon Policy 1902, Gokhale Bill 1913, Rule of Dyarchy 1919, Hartog Report 1929, Basic Education Scheme 1935 and Post-war Educational Policy, or Sargent Report 1942 (Naik and Nurullah, 1974). However, the slow progress in educational development during the colonial rule was affected by socio-economic conditions prevailing at the time, along with shortcomings of the policy (Latika, 2007; Basu, 1971&82).

Native Princely States also made efforts to adopt such mass education policies. Some of the Princely States like Travancore-Cochin, Baroda and Kolhapur were very progressive in modern and mass education, while Mysore was progressive only to some extent. Many other native Princely States were not so progressive; Hyderabad State was one among them. While Hyderabad State had developed from *Mughal subha* or Province of the *Deccan*, it did not represent mere continuation of the Mughal administration. Rather it represented, by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a new political system, with a new set of participants where it operated through a loosely structured patron-client relationship (Leonard, 1971). Nizam's State was typical of its feudal structure of land tenure and agrarian relation. Many kinds of intermediaries were in existence. About 1/4<sup>th</sup> of the area and villages and 1/5<sup>th</sup> of population were covered by the non-Diwani area, which was under the control of Jagirdars and other intermediaries. The State had no control over these non-Diwani areas. There were many semi-autonomous local rulers<sup>16</sup>.

The State always defended the interests of the feudal classes from whom it derived its political power and economic strength<sup>17</sup>. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, reforms initiated by Salar-Jung-I, the then Prime Minister (1853-83), brought in the restructuring of feudal relations and bureaucratic modernisation. Before the reforms, there was a functional anarchy in agrarian economy (Subbarao, 1991; Vaikuntam, 2002). Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the changes that took place restored peace and security and law and order in the State but it could not rescue the people from their adversities.

### *Policy and Growth of Educational Institutions in Hyderabad State*

The progress of education in Hyderabad State was found to be insignificant prior to 1850, the period corresponding with regimes of first three Nizams. There had been no specific policy for the educational development of the State but for a few indigenous and missionary schools. Among the wealthy and the well-to-do families, private tuitions were in practice. The middle class and the lower classes who had also been desirous of learning attended indigenous schools which charged fees on students.

State initiatives began in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. During the reign of fourth Nizam (Mir Farqunda Khan/Nasir-ud-Daila), as part of Administrative Reforms initiated by Salar-Jung-I during 1850s, the government took the first step towards a formal public instruction (in 1854). Initially it was intended to train required personnel at various levels of restructured and reformed administration of the state. Very often, in the Mulki vs Non-Mulki conflict, the latter's induction into government service was justified on the ground that there were no qualified Mulkis in the State (Leonard, 1978). The State initiative had begun with the establishment of *Dar-ul-Uloom* (i.e. Centre for Oriental Learning and Culture) in the Hyderabad City under the Educational Board. Two years after the fifth Nizam (Mir Tahniyath Ali Khan/Afzal-ud-Daula) ascended to throne in 1857, i.e., in 1859 the government ordered opening of two schools in each Taluq and district headquarters<sup>18</sup>. Thereafter, for a decade (1860-70), Hyderabad State did not witness any significant initiatives. Two decades after Mir Mahbub Ali Khan's ascension as the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad state in 1869, certain initiatives saw impressive progress in education particularly during the late-1880s and early 1890s.

Although a minor, but separate Education Department<sup>19</sup> was created in 1870, education in the districts remained under the Revenue authority till the Department of Public Instruction was established in 1875 and Deputy Inspectors of Education were appointed to supervise district schools. Payment of fee in district schools was

made compulsory in 1878. ***Public Instruction was raised to a major department in 1883.*** At this instance State government had doubled the education expenditure and sanctioned an amount of Rs. 2.5 lakh for the Department of Public Instruction in that year. Syed Hussain Bilgrami served for one-and-half decade (1887-1903) as a Director of Public Instruction made certain efforts in this regard. The State also initiated setting up of upper and lower middle class schools in each Suba (division) and high schools in each district besides the existing ones. There was a policy intended to promote education irrespective of caste, creed and religion but in practice, the policy proved to be ineffective. Private schools were allowed to open during the 1880's and grants-in-aid were introduced for the recognised schools in 1887. Middle schools were started in 1893 in each town having a population of 10,000 and High schools were opened in all the districts<sup>20</sup>. As a result 4 High schools and 13 Middle schools were added between 1887-88 and 1893-94. Altogether there were 63 towns<sup>21</sup> in 1881 and they increased to 76 in 1891. But the towns having population of more than 10,000 were only 20 in 1891. Some of these towns, being District or *Taluq* Headquarters already had such provision as a result of previous initiatives, but this particular initiative brought schools to other towns which were not District or *Taluq* Headquarters.

By 1872, there were 125 vernacular schools in the districts and 16 schools in Hyderabad City. Altogether there were 147 public and recognised educational institutions in Hyderabad State during the early-1870s and they had increased to 192 in a decade, i.e., by early-1880s (Table-5). Primary schools in the State had an impressive increase within a short-span; from 165 in 1883 to 402 by 1886. For higher education, Nizam College was established in the same year and another college in Aurangabad during the period. There was an impressive progress in educational institutions in Hyderabad State with a three-fold increase between 1883-84 and 1893-94. But the slowed down progress during the next two decades dissipated such a momentum, wherein, between 1893-94 and 1910-11 the number of public and recognised institutions in the State increased just two-fold (Table-5). The number of schools (recognised) available per lakh population in Hyderabad State was two in 1883-84, it increased to five in 1893-94, seven in 1902-03 and eight in 1910-11.

Numerous private unrecognised institutions; most of them primary schools with single teachers were initiated in villages or area of towns by interested individuals and supported (financially) by parents and the community. These private unrecognised institutions did not in any way comply with a standard curriculum, syllabus and pedagogy of a formal system, nor the procedures, rules and regulations of the Education Department but

were imparting basic literacy and numeracy skills for those attending them. Therefore the State acted upon controlling these institutions. The number of such institutions reported was based on education department survey, hence depended on the coverage.

During the last-five-decades of 19<sup>th</sup> Century (1850-1900) although there had been certain measures and initiatives resulting in impressive progress in quantitative spread at the end, the overall progress of education in Hyderabad can be considered very slow. The initial policy in 1859 of opening two schools in each *Taluq* and District headquarters took three decades to materialise, and was achieved by late-1880s. Hyderabad State consisted of four divisions (*subas*), 16 districts and 108 *taluqs*<sup>22</sup>, according to which there should have been at least 248 schools in addition to those in the Hyderabad City. However, there were altogether 192 education institutions (public and recognised) in 1883 which increased to 443 by 1887. Most of the institutions are concentrated in urban centres including Headquarters of capital City (Hyderabad), districts and *taluqs* along with other commercial towns. Around 65 educational institutions were located in the Hyderabad City in 1893-94.

**Table-5: Educational Institutions (Public and Private) in Hyderabad State**

Year	Schools/Colleges				Scholars (Enrolment)			
	Recognised & Public	Private Unrecognised	Total	% Recog & Public	Recognised & Public	Private Unrecognised	Total	% Recog & Public
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1873-74	147	-	147	-	5255	-	5255	-
1883-84	192	-	192	-	11669	-	11669	-
1893-94	542	2560	3102	17.5	41603	32994	74597	55.8
1898-99	841	1740	2581	32.6	47235	37554	84789	55.7
1902-03	861	1806	2667	32.3	57942	38067	96009	60.4
1910-11	1052	1259	2311	45.5	65104	28475	93579	69.6
1920-21	4365	4053	8418	51.9	197808	76654	323882	76.3
1925-26	4186	1311	5497	76.2	271837	32282	304119	89.4
1930-31	4510	1046	5556	81.2	314587	29720	344307	91.4
1935-36	4811	872	5683	84.7	367768	24837	392605	93.7
1940-41	5256	1498	6754	77.8	373884	40360	414244	90.3
1947-48	7043	1211	8254	85.3	529611	34700	564311	93.9
1949-50	9027	871	9898	91.2	642198	25553	667751	96.2

*Notes:* Public are largely recognised institutions and Private are mostly unrecognised ones (schools); Recognised private institutions are very few and are included in the Public which also includes the aided institutions.

*Source:* Reports on the Administration of Hyderabad State and Statistical Year Book, for various years.

This slow progress in Hyderabad State continued in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1902-03, there were altogether 2667 educational institutions (schools and colleges) providing different levels and types of education and 94979 scholars (enrolment) in these institutions<sup>23</sup> (De, 1911). One-third of institutions holding two-thirds of scholars were in the category of public and recognised institutions (including that of State or local government, Sarf-i-Khas and aided) and the rest were private unrecognised institutions. There were very few private recognised institutions. In comparison with the other Princely States such as Baroda and Mysore, the progress of educational development in Hyderabad State was lagging behind (De, 1911; Pandya, 1915).

There was, however, a remarkable progress in the State's educational development between 1910 and 1920). This was during the reign of Mir Osman Ali Khan who became the seventh and also the last Nizam in 1911. The government of Hyderabad State had implemented a policy of rapid expansion of primary education during the decade. Arther Mayew who was the Education Advisor, made a constructive plan for expansion of primary and secondary education in 1910. A critical role was also played by Sir Akbar Hydari, Home Secretary, during that period. Most importantly, the Osmania University was established in 1918 and feeder colleges to the university were opened during the early 1920s (eg. City College in 1921). Along with normal schools, a class of Experimental Schools were introduced in the State during this decade. In addition to these there was a phenomenal growth in the number of private unrecognised schools. The aggregate result of this was that the number of institutions and scholars increased fourfold during the decade (Table-5).

Total number of schools in Hyderabad (Princely) State had increased from 2311 in 1910-11 to 8418 in 1920-21, while public schools increased from 1051 to 4365 and private school from 1259 to 4053 during the period (Table-5). Number of schools (Recognised and Public) available per lakh population in the state had shot-up from just eight in 1910-11 to 35 in 1920-21. However, for the subsequent two decades, schools available per lakh population did not show any increase in the State. Educational policy of Hyderabad State underwent a major change during the 1920s in the reverse direction. Education Department became more concerned with efficiency rather than expansion. It overhauled the whole substructure by closing down unsuccessful and inefficient experimental primary schools and consolidating the remainder alongside closure of private unrecognised schools. As a result, total number of institutions declined to 5497 by mid-1920s (1925-26) which included 4186 public institutions and 1311 private institutions (Table-5). Decline in the number of public institutions

was largely due to the closure of 285 experimental primary schools during 1922-23. Accordingly, the number of scholars in these institutions also declined. Notwithstanding the above, a few colleges were opened in Hyderabad city as feeder institutions to the Osmania University, during the period. There was also an effort in 1922 to provide free primary education but not on compulsory basis.

In the decade of 1930, McKenzie and Khan Sub-Committee report in 1935 on Reorganising the Education and Abott Committee report on Vocational Education resulted in certain policy initiatives. Board of Secondary Education was constituted and Department of Vocational and Technical Education was created. It formulated an education-cycle lasting for fourteen-years consisting of primary (4+1 years), secondary (4 years) and high school (2 years) along with 3 years of college-education (under-graduation). School education was to complete with High School Leaving Examination (HSLE). On the vocational front, it was to introduce agriculture high schools and post-primary industrial schools. In 1937, a policy-decision was made that a school should be there for every village having more than 1000 population. Consequently, by 1941, 269 villages had a government primary school. Besides, 1235 local body schools were converted to government schools and 1133 local fund experimental schools were converted into aided schools. Nevertheless through the decade of 1930 only 750 education institutions were added in the whole state.

Apart from the decade of 1910s, there was another decade (since 1850 in longer span and since 1900 in shorter span) that Hyderabad State witnessed such a rapid progress in expansion of education (Table-5). Hyderabad State witnessed considerable progress during 1940s with the total addition of 3500 schools where nearly 1800 schools were added in this decade before integration of Hyderabad State into India and another 2000 thereafter, but within that decadal span. At the fag-end of the Nizam regime, Hyderabad State had introduced compulsory education in 10 selected areas of the state<sup>24</sup> in June 1947. Number of schools (Recognised and Public) available per lakh population in the State had declined during 1920s and 30s but shot-up from 32 in 1940-41 to 48 in 1950-51.

On the whole, there was an increase in number of schools and scholars/enrolment in the state. Growth of institutions and consequently, scholars, was slow during the period (1850 to 1950), except the decade between mid-1880 and 1890s, decade of 1910s and last decade of the Nizam period (1940s) that had an impressive growth. Most of the schools were located in towns or big villages while villages in remote areas and those

small in size, did not receive any attention. The impressive performance noted above that occurred during the period of the last two Nizams was so within the State context only when compared with its past or previous regimes and periods. Relatively speaking, Hyderabad State standing was low on progress in educational development especially in the context of British India (comparing with the Provinces and other Princely States).

Further, the education of girls did not keep pace with that of boys. There was no public school for girls till 1880. Though Missionaries had made some provision for the education of girls, most of them were ear-marked for girls of the Anglo-Indian Christian community. There were non-missionary efforts especially that of Agoranath Chattopadhyay's Hindu Anglo-Vernacular school for girls and another one by Syed Hussain Bilgrami in 1880s (Rani, 2015). In the second half of the 19th century, girls of the nobility and the gentile were given education. At the turn of the 20th century, there was a policy concern to impart education for girls of all castes and communities; in practice, it was, however, minimal. There were 14 schools (1 secondary, 13 primary) for girls having only thousand students during mid-1880s and they increased to 66 (56 primary, 7 middle and 3 secondary) with an enrolment of 3700 by 1893-94. Such schools increased to 92 in 1903-04, and surged to around 700 by mid-1930s. Yet the enrolment of girls was 20 percent that of boys'. In other words boys' enrolment was five times higher than girls'.

**Table-6: Educational Institutions in Telangana Region**

Year	Schools	Enrolment
1931	1866	130582
1941	3451	198000
1947	4454	275000
1951	5709	371000

*Note: including private unorganised institutions, Source: Reports of the Administration.*

Further, there were regional disparities as well: Aurangabad suba of Marathwada region had accounted for 35 percent of schools in the Hyderabad State for the year 1904-05 and 28.7 percent of enrolment in the State, while the other suba in the same region, Gulbarga accounts for 23.8 and 25.6 percent of schools and enrolment respectively. Two subas of Telangana region, Medak (20.8% and 17.5%) and Warangal (12.1% and 12.3%) along with Hyderabad capital city (8.3% and 15.9%) had less percentage of schools and enrolment in the State when compared with its population share. Telangana region, while accounting for more than 50% of population in the State, had 41.2% of schools and 45.3% of enrolment in 1904-05. It was underrepresentation when it



was having only 41.6 per cent of total schools in spite of having a share of more than 50 per cent of the population (Motkuri, 2016). Moreover, considerable proportion of institutions located in Telangana region concentrated in Hyderabad City. However, during the last two decades of the Nizam period, Telangana region could overcome such disadvantageous position of having disproportionately less number of institutions. But progress in educational development of Telangana region was not so distinct from the State average which itself was lagging behind when compared to most of the Provinces and/or States in the rest of British India.

As regards the pattern of financing the education in Hyderabad State, it consisted of government budget grants, grant-in-aid to aided institution and education cess (two *paise*) as part of Local Fund (one *anna*) raised on each rupee of the assessed Land Revenue, and fee paid by students or their parents along with funds mobilised (charity/philanthropy, fee and other sources) by aided and unaided institutions. While meeting the planning expenditure of public schools along with grand-in-aid to aided ones, the amount of fee collected and education cess raised would be deducted and the rest would be contributed from State tax revenue. To derive the expenditure on education, the resources mobilised and spent by aided and unaided institutions would be added. The expenditure on education is primarily for direction and inspection, university and general (secondary, middle, and primary) education, grants-in-aid, scholarships, buildings and furniture, examinations, state library and others. An estimate indicate that till the end of first-decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century, less than two percent of the State service expenditure was spent for education while subsequently, during the next two decades it was raised to 8% to 10%. When compared with other Princely States, it is quite low, especially considering that the Travancore State was spending nearly 20% of its State revenue on education.

#### *Education in Non-Diwani Areas*

The condition of the non-Diwani areas on the education front was the worst. The non-Diwani area covered about one-third of the total area and had one-fourth of the State population. Administration under the non-Diwani areas was notorious for corruption, extortion and exploitation of the subjects. Educational development in these areas was very poor with meagre access to school; little was spent by way of public expenditure for education either from the State exchequer or the local administration.

The Report of the Department of Education observed that there were only 108 schools in Jagir areas, which constituted 2.10 per cent of the total number of schools in the

State (State as a whole had 5,131 schools). In *Diwani* areas, one school covered on an average 17 square miles whereas in *non-diwani* areas it covered 231 square miles. According to Hyderabad State Statistical Year Book (1954 Fasli) there were less than 200 educational institutions in *Jagir* areas of the state. Review for the year 1949 reported that of the 14,000 government-administered villages, covering 50,000 square miles, there were, in all, 5,000 primary schools whereas the 9,000 *non-Diwani* villages, covering 33,000 square miles, had only 158 primary schools. The State government had little direct control over the *non-Diwani* areas. The welfare activities in these areas remained grossly neglected. In 1949, 98 per cent of the *non-Diwani* villages remained without Primary schools. For the education of their own children, all the heads of *Samsthanams* formed a Society and established a school in Hyderabad City which is now known as Hyderabad Public School. The Royal Commission on *Jagir* Administration and Reforms recommended in 1947 that the State government should take up the task of education in the *Jagir* areas. But the overwhelming government preference was the protection of the interest of the feudal lords than that of the masses.

#### *Policy and Action of Other Princely States and Shortcomings of the Hyderabad*

The educational policy in the other Princely States was more pro-active than in Hyderabad. For instance, Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda had made primary education free and compulsory, on experimental basis selectively in a few villages of Amreili district, as early as in 1893. It was scaled-up to one entire *talug* of the district in 1901 and extended it to whole State in 1906 (Pandya, 1915; GoB, 1934; Narayana, 1967; Hardiman, 1978) but in Hyderabad it was made possible only after Independence. For Higher education, Baroda College<sup>25</sup> was established in 1881; it was so at the time when Nizam College in Hyderabad was opened. One could observe the impact of compulsory primary education initiative in Baroda resulting in sharp increase in its GER during the first decade 20<sup>th</sup> century (Figure-1). Another classic case is that of Cochin and Travancore where educational development was ahead of all Princely States and all the British provinces in India (GoT, 1934; Tharakan, 1985; Nair, 1978; Koji, 1994). These States, while establishing government schools, also encouraged missionaries and private entrepreneurs by giving them aid (Nair, 1975; Tharakan, 1985; Koji, 1994). More than two-thirds of schools in Travancore were under private management but aided by the Government (GoT, 1934). One can observe the relatively better performance of these three Princely States (Travancore and Baroda) during pre-independence period. The number of schools available per lakh population and gross enrolment ratio (GER) of Baroda and Travancore<sup>26</sup> State were much higher than that of

Hyderabad (Table-7). Owing to lack of policy prioritisation and the meagre allocation of financial resources towards educational development, the educational facilities remained low in Hyderabad. Unlike other Princely States, the Nizam's Hyderabad State was not touched by the threat to submerge it, in case of not following the suggested policies (like land reforms, education development) of the Colonial government (Ray, 1989).

**Table-7: Educational Development (Institutions and Enrolment) in three Princely States (Hyderabad, Baroda and Travancore), 1931-32**

S No	Details	Hyderabad	Mysore	Baroda	Travancore	% Mysore	% Baroda	% Travancore
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Area (Sq. Miles)	82698	29326	8164	7625	35.5	9.9	9.2
2	Population	14436148	6557302	2443007	5095973	45.4	16.9	35.3
3	Density (Persons per Sq. Mile)	175	224	299	668	(1.3)	(1.7)	(3.8)
4	Total Educational Institutions	5556	7914	2828	3500	142.4	50.9	63.0
5	Educational Institutions per lakh Population	38	121	116	69	(3.1)	(3.0)	(1.8)
6	Total Enrolment	344307	323046	246148	575113	93.8	71.5	167.0
7	Average Strength (Enrolment) per School	62	41	87	164	(0.7)	(1.4)	(2.7)
8	6-12 Years-age Population	2165422	983595	366451	764396	45.4	16.9	35.3
9	GER (%)	15.9	32.8	67.2	75.2	(2.1)	(4.2)	(4.7)

*Note: Figures in parenthesis are ratios.*

*Source: Compiled and Calculated by the Author based on Census data and Reports of Administration.*

While there were undoubtedly initiatives and certain progress, education was still not accorded that much priority in the policy matters of the Hyderabad State. The supply of schooling facilities was not adequate even to meet the demand of the masses in those days. Whenever the number of institutions increased, it created a latent demand and/or translated the same into an effective demand. As it is observed enrolment had gone up with increase in institutions. For instance, during 1911-21 the number of schools increased from 2165 to 7888 or by 264%; the number of pupils increased from 76065 to 261282 or by 243% during the period. Again, Public schools were preferred over

private ones. Although the number of private schools was higher than the number of Public schools, the total number of pupils was high in Public schools. It indicates the low affordability of parents since the costs of education were higher in private schools. As the government policy contained stringent conditions for granting aid to private schools, they had to resort to fee collections to run their schools. The government also imposed restrictions on the establishment and funding of private schools and denied permission to voluntary efforts at establishing village schools. Above 80% of the Primary schools were run by the Government itself. The burden of the government for running educational institutions might have been a severe constraint on the expansion of education.

Further, language of the people and medium of instruction were different for a majority in the State. The medium of instruction in vernacular was marginalised and Urdu, which was claimed as an official language of the State, was given privilege over the vernacular. Only about 5 per cent of the population was Urdu-speaking in the Hyderabad State as a whole and most of them lived in Hyderabad City itself and in a few other towns. The generosity of Nizam was such that instead of developing educational facilities within the State, the Nizam used to financially support the *Aligarh Muslim University* and made contributions (financial) even to *Banaras Hindu University* and *Shantiniketan* establishment and few others institutions outside the Hyderabad State. To sum up it is obvious that supply was the one of the constraints on the increase in demand.

### ***Post-Independence Educational Development: Telangana in Undivided Andhra Pradesh***

Educational development in Telangana region when it was part of the pre-independence Nizam's Hyderabad State was relatively lagging but on par with the State average. The poor educational development in the State as a whole had resulted in the entire regions' educational backwardness. Perhaps Telangana as a region had not been neglected in the pre-independence Hyderabad State. ***Post-integration, 8-year interlude period*** (1948 to 1956) before bifurcation of Hyderabad state in 1956, there was a policy attention of both the *military and political regimes* of the state on its educational development and a rapid pace of improvement in educational infrastructure, especially in the number of schools, which doubled. A legislative action ***Hyderabad Compulsory Primary Education Act 1952*** (Act 40 of 1952) was made for free and compulsory primary education in the State (Motkuri 2016; 2009). It was intended in the legislation that universal, free and compulsory primary education through a definite programme of

progressive expansion should be made available. Post-reorganisation (after 1956) Telangana as a region with relatively low educational development could not stand equal, on par with the other regions in the united Andhra Pradesh and it continued to lag behind for the next four decades till the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Educational development, inherited under the policy of British colonial regime, was relatively better in the Andhra region which comprised Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema sub-regions which were part of the pre-independence Madras Presidency. Further, the post-independence **9-year interlude period** for Andhra (1947-56), *6-years as part of combined Madras state* (1947-53) and *3-years as a separate Andhra State* (1953-56), facilitated further development of its educational infrastructure (Upendranath, 1994). The **Madras Elementary Education Act 1920, amended in 1935** was in force in *Andhra as a separate State* and *as a region* in united-AP till it was *repealed and replaced in 1961*.

In 1956, just before the bifurcation of Hyderabad and reorganisation of united-AP, Andhra as a separate state had GER at 68.4% for Primary school enrolment as a ratio of children in 6-11 years-age; it was fifth highest among 18 major Indian States of the time. The primary-GER at 34.5% for Hyderabad State was half the mark of Andhra State; it was the sixth lowest across States (GoAP, 1961; see Table-A4&5). Andhra GER was slightly lower than that of its parent state i.e. Madras (69.5%). Assuming GER of Telangana region did not differ much from the parent (Hyderabad) state's average in 1956, the difference between Telangana and Andhra was about 34 percentage-points. Post-reorganisation, the united-AP's primary-GER was 56.7% in 1956; it was the average of Andhra and Telangana. It was almost 11 percentage-points lower than the GER of Andhra State just before reorganisation. The drop-down in GER of united-AP was largely due to low GER of Telangana which brought down the State average. Such was the unequal footing of the Telangana region with reference to the level of educational development while merging with Andhra.

*Gentlemen agreement* of State reorganisation while combining Telangana and Andhra and forming the united-AP, had promised a policy level attention and action for regionally balanced development, prioritising the backward Telangana region. However, the performance of united Andhra Pradesh as a whole in the area of educational development in the subsequent decades was in fact lagging behind, in comparison with other Indian states. The scenario by early-1990s was such that incidence of child-labour and educational deprivation of children between 6-14 years was one of the highest in the united-AP, next to BiMaRU States. Again within the State, Telangana was bearing

the burden of educational deprivation (Motkuri, 2016; 2004). However, there was a turnaround in educational development of united-AP and Telangana region since the turn of 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Immediately upon the State reorganisation, the *Andhra Pradesh Educational Institutions (Requisitioning and Acquisition) Act 1956* (36 of 1956) was enacted to convert existing private/ aided institutions into Government institutions. Subsequently, the *Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Act 1961* (11 of 1961) was enacted repealing all the previous legislatures concerned with primary education in Andhra and Telangana that were respectively inherited from Madras Presidency and Hyderabad State. It was to provide free and compulsory primary education for children, 6-15 year-age group in the State. The *Andhra Pradesh Recognised Private Educational Institutions (Control) Act, 1975* (11 of 1975) was a regulatory legislation on private institutions and the service conditions of their teachers. Subsequently, repealing all the previous legislations till then, the *Andhra Pradesh Education Act 1982*<sup>27</sup> which was *amended in 1987 and 1993* was insisting on free and compulsory education for children in 6-14 years-age group. Such legislative measures did not yield much immediately, in terms of expected educational outcomes and development in the State. Moreover, these legislative actions concerned with State as a whole but were quiet on regionally equitable distribution of educational development.

Post-reorganisation, policy attention and priorities of the united-AP State government was, however, more towards energy and irrigation which largely benefited coastal Andhra and less towards education that further affected Telangana (Dev *et al.*, 2009; Motkuri, 2016; 2004). Any policy-induced action creating educational infrastructure including establishment of new educational institutions (schools/ colleges) in the State was not on equity-based regional distribution. The distribution of educational institutions newly established in the state across three regions (Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana) was based on either an equal-distribution principle or proportionate to population distribution. Had it been the balanced regional-development policy of the State, it would have required a positively discriminatory equity-based distribution wherein backward regions could get unequally higher share. It has been contended that the inequitable regional distribution of educational institutions and development of the related infrastructure were made through public investment. It is evident with the uneven number of schools available per lakh population across regions and Telangana has been bearing such burden of deprivation (Table-8).

Hyderabad State at the time of integration with the Indian-Union had nearly 8,250 educational institutions while the Telangana region had 4500 such institutions. Immediately two-years after integration, the number of institutions increased to nearly 10000 in Hyderabad State by 1951 and to about 5200 in Telangana region. By the time of State's reorganisation in 1956, Telangana region had doubled the number of institutions to nearly 10900 (Table-A7). Immediately after integration, the Government of Hyderabad had shown certain inclination towards the indigenous Basic Education system (Junior and Senior Basic), but latter moved towards the normal system introduced by the British (Primary, Middle, and Secondary). The progress in the area of educational institutions/ infrastructure in Telangana region was remarkable during the *post-independence interlude period* (till mid-1950s). However the region stood far below as compared to other parts of the country. The progress was insufficient in achieving the desired goal of universalisation of primary education as mandated in the Indian Constitution.

At the time of state-reorganisation in 1956, the number of institutions in Telangana was less than half of what the Andhra region had inherited or made (nearly 24700) (Table-A7). Immediately after reorganisation and during the second five-year-plan, the progress in entire united-AP regarding its educational development was almost negligible. Again, the progress in Telangana was little detrimental as it rather witnessed, instead of expected increase, a decline in its educational institutions as a consequence of the State legislation (Act 36 of 1956) on requisition/acquisition of educational institutions. Telangana had lost 1000 institutions at the end of the second Five-Year Plan while Andhra region added 500 more institutions (Table-A7). Based on the united-AP State policy to cut down aided institutions, they converted (or at least replaced some of such institutions in the Andhra region to either Government or Board schools whereas in Telangana they closed down some of the aided schools.

In 1959, Telangana region accounted for disproportionately lower share of schools (27.8%) and enrolment (22%) in united-AP than the region's share (>40%) in the State population (Table-A8). Number of schools and enrolment in Andhra region in 1959 were, respectively, 2.6 and 3.6 times higher than that of Telangana. Hence, Telangana was under-representing in the united-AP in terms of schools and enrolment. Such regional disparity between Andhra and Telangana that prevailed in access to education had continued in the subsequent decades. Between 1960s till 2011-12, the number of schools (with primary classes) available per lakh population has consistently been lower in Telangana compared to the Coastal and Rayalaseema regions of Andhra in

the united-AP (Table-8). Sparsely populated regions like Telangana and Rayalaseema needed more number of schools per lakh population than that of densely populated costal Andhra region. While Rayalaseem's need was fulfilled, Telangana's was not met (Table-8). It indicates the deprivation of school infrastructure and thereby access to schooling in the region.

**Table-8: Schools per lakh population across Regions in Andhra Pradesh**

Regions	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1990-91	2000-01	2008-09	2011-12
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Coastal Andhra	87.3	99.7	89.8	86.1	95.8	92.7	97
Rayalaseema	106.2	108.6	102.6	104.3	113.1	106.3	107
Telangana	73.2	76.1	69.9	71.4	87.2	89.9	92

*Note:* Number of Schools with Primary Classes; To get schools with primary classes, we combined primary and upper primary schools (as most of which have primary classes in the state).

*Source:* Motkuri (2016).

During the first 30 years (between 1957 and 1986) after the State formation, the united-AP State as a whole had added more than 20000 schools with Primary sections. Further, during the subsequent 25-years (i.e., between 1986 and 2011-12) another 25000 schools were added. However, the growth in number of schools was commensurate with the growth in population and thereby the number of schools available per lakh population remained almost stable till early-1990s (Table-8). From mid-1990s, growth in schools exceeded that of population and hence the number of schools per lakh population increased thereafter. Population growth in fact started decelerating owing to demographic transition associated with fertility decline that was witnessed during 1990s in the united-AP and other parts of the country. Such a demographic transition has become an advantageous condition for the State in improving access to education since 1990s.

**Table-9: Growth in Number of Institutions available for Elementary Education in undivided Andhra Pradesh**

Section Class	1957	1965	1973	1978	1986	1993	2002	2009	2011-12
	I-AIES	II-AIES	III-AIES	IV-AIES	V-AIES	VI-AIES	VII-AIES	VI-II-AIES	DISE
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Primary	29013	40354	40629	45122	51076	61007	76976	79516	83383
Middle	2753	4876	6851	7949	10763	13340	27622	32935	35715

*Note:* AISE – All India Survey on Education which was periodical and discontinued after eighth survey in 2009; DISE – District Information on School Education which is annual series.

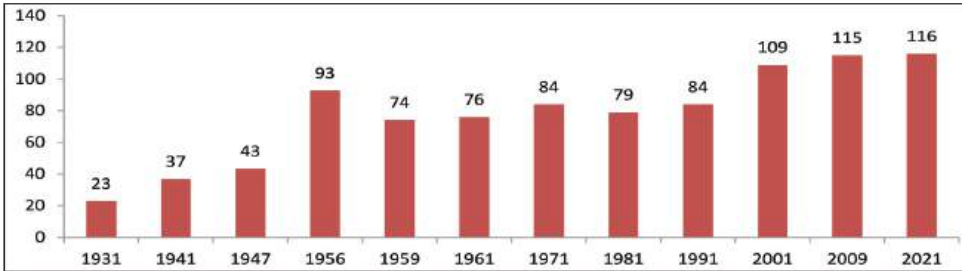
*Source:* AIES and DISE.



Legislative action (Act 1 of 1982) and the policy impetus (NEP-1986 and PoA-1992) followed by other initiatives especially since 1980s led a momentum in school education in the united-AP. During 1980s, following the *AP Education Act 1982*, there was the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project<sup>28</sup> (APPEP) Phase-1 of 1984-87 followed by a *bridging program* (1987-89) and Phase-2 (1989-96). The 1982 Act initiated *Abhyudaya Prathamik Pathshalas* and *Residential Schools* with a quality imperative while establishing separate registered society<sup>29</sup> for their management. Again, united-AP was the State which was focussed for all the Government of India's intervention programmes following the NEP-1986; particular the centrally sponsored Operation Black Board (OBB) in 1987, and an externally aided District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) phase-1 in 1994 and phase-2 in 1997. Subsequent Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS) Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) in 2001 for Elementary education and Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) in 2008 for Secondary education were decisive and made impressive progress all over India, including united-AP and Telangana.

Following the Tamil Nadu's initiative, the united-AP State government introduced the *Mid-day-meals* programme initiated only in *Abhyudaya* schools in 1982, which however, it could not sustain due to financial constraints. Again the Government of India's *Mid-day-meals*<sup>30</sup> programme initiated in 1995 was implemented in the State. Further, along with SSA initiatives and Supreme Court directives in the previous decades, the *Mid-day-meals* scheme was again initiated in 2001, expanded and subsequently universalised. The *campaign against child-labour* since late 1990s along with *residential and non-residential bridge schools* (RBSs/NRBSs) for the drop-outs and never enrolled, while rehabilitating the child-labourers at the turn of 21<sup>st</sup> century had its impact on improving school attendance rate in the State and in the region. Again, quality improvement initiatives such as Children's Language Improvement Programme (CLIP) and Children Learning Acceleration Programmes for Sustainability (CLAPS) during mid-2000s added to the initiatives for educational development in the State (Motkuri, 2016).

**Figure-7: Number of Schools Available per Lakh Population in Telangana**



*Note: All types of Schools (primary/middle/higher) and managements (public/private).*

*Source: 1. Author's Compilation and calculation based on different sources of data: Reports of Administration and Statistical Year Book of Hyderabad State and Statistical Abstract of Andhra Pradesh; 2. GoI (2010).*

The number of schools available per lakh population saw a sharp increase in Telangana from 23 in 1931 to 43 in 1947. It had added twenty more schools per lakh population in the region during the *last 17-years of pre-independence* Hyderabad State. Further increase to 93 in 1956 during the *8-year interlude period* post-integration had added 50 more schools per lakh population. As discussed above, the number of schools in Telangana doubled during the interlude period and declined during the second five-year plan (between 1956 and 1959) and there was a sort of revival during 1960s. Though there was an improvement in schools available per lakh population during 1960s, it was not sustained for the next two decades. Regional disparities continued to persist in the united-AP till early 1990s and Telangana bearing the burden of deprivation in terms the number of education institutions available in the region. However, there is revival since 1990s wherein an increase in schools per lakh population from 84 in 1991 to 109 in 2001 added 23 more schools in Telangana during the decade of the '90s. Such an increase is sustained and further improved during the next two decades (Table-8 and Figure-7). We observed from the UDISE data (2021-22) that more than 50% of all-management schools and 40% of Government schools currently functioning in Telangana are established during the last three decades, since 1991.

Further, a distinctive characteristic of the Telangana region in united-AP was that the share of private unaided institutions, enrolment and teachers was higher when compared to Coastal-Andhra and Rayalaseema (Motkuri, 2016; 2009; 2004; GoI, 2010; Table-10). Deficit or shortage of public/government education institutions and infrastructure meeting the growing social demand for education in the Telangana region resulted in the growth of private sector, meeting such excess demand in the region since mid-1990s (Motkuri, 2016).

**Table-10: % Private Schools, Enrolment and Teachers across Regions in United-AP, 2005-06**

Region	% of Public			% of Aided (A)			% of Unaided (UA)			% of Private (A&UA)		
	Sch	Enr	Teach	Sch	Enr	Teach	Sch	Enr	Teach	Sch	Enr	Teach
<i>I</i>	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>Primary</b>												
Andhra	90.0	75.7	72.5	6.25	11.07	7.40	3.73	13.3	11.3	10.0	24.3	18.7
Telangana	84.3	56.5	57.5	1.87	5.03	3.77	13.9	38.5	38.7	15.7	43.5	42.5
Rayalaseema	91.0	69.6	75.4	1.99	4.73	2.97	7.02	25.6	19.3	9.0	30.4	22.3
State	88.0	65.4	66.4	3.66	7.06	4.96	8.37	27.5	25.0	12.0	34.6	29.9
<b>Upper Primary</b>												
Andhra	78.6	71.6	66.8	3.8	6.3	4.8	17.9	22.1	28.5	21.7	28.4	33.2
Telangana	63.6	56.6	17.1	1.7	2.2	1.9	34.7	41.3	50.7	36.4	43.4	52.6
Rayalaseema	69.6	61.8	50.8	1.9	3	2.5	28.6	35.2	46.8	30.4	38.2	49.2
State	70.0	62.7	54.5	2.5	3.7	3	27.5	33.6	42.5	30.0	37.3	45.5
<b>High School</b>												
Andhra	71.5	71.5	64.9	7.99	10.1	10.1	20.5	18.4	25.1	28.5	28.5	35.1
Telangana	55.2	56.8	44.8	4.06	4.92	4.99	40.7	38.3	50.2	44.8	43.2	55.2
Rayalaseema	63.9	69.3	56.8	4.8	6.24	6.23	31.3	24.5	37.0	36.1	30.7	43.2
State	61.9	64.1	53.2	5.38	6.97	6.82	33.0	28.9	40.0	38.4	35.9	46.8

**Notes:** 1. Sch – Schools; Enr – Enrolment; Teach – Teachers; 2. % of Private – is total contribution of private aided (A) and unaided (UA) management schools.  
**Source:** Motkuri (2009), Statistical Abstract: Andhra Pradesh, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Hyderabad.

The share of private schools in Telangana's total school enrolment and teachers was double that of coastal-Andhra (Table-10). Correspondingly, there was a higher level of private out-of-pocket household expenditure on education in Telangana as compared to the other regions in the united-AP (Table-11). The low share of public/government schools implies that the number of government educational institutions available per lakh population was further low in Telangana compared to the other regions in united-AP (Motkuri, 2016). It indicates that Telangana has experienced a disproportionate disadvantage in availing an equity-based regional distribution of State public investment in its educational development. With parents bearing the burden of private investment in education of their children, private sector had begun occupying the space left or unfulfilled by the public in the region.

At present in the Telangana State, as per UDISE (2020-21) data, private (unaided) share is nearly 60 percent of total school enrolment in the State. For higher education it is even higher at more than 80 percent of total enrolment and Telangana stands as one of the highest in this respect (AISHE). Private phenomenon is not particular to urban areas but it has been spreading across rural areas. Rural road infrastructure, along with public and private transportation facilities came as an advantage for the private sector. Increasing parental choice towards private schools and shrinking enrolment in government school resulted in closure of the latter under the rationalisation process.

**Table-11: Private Expenditure on Education across Regions in united-Andhra Pradesh, 2004-05**

Region	All the Household			Household with non-zero Education Expenditure			
	MPCE	Edn. Expr.		MPCE	Education Expenditure		
		Monthly	Yearly		Monthly	Yearly	% in MPCE
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>
Andhra	745.5	10.9	130.8	955.6	35.2	422	3.7
Telangana	687.9	15.6	187.2	900.1	45.2	542	5.0
Rayalaseema	576.5	9.8	117.6	614.4	25.6	307	4.2
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	<b>693.4</b>	<b>14.2</b>	<b>148.8</b>	<b>861.8</b>	<b>36.9</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>4.3</b>

*Notes: 1. Figures presented (in col. 2 to 6) are in Rupees (in current prices); 2. Per capita budget (government) expenditure in Andhra Pradesh for the 2004-05 financial year is Rs. 2128; in Social Sector it is Rs. 823; on Education it is Rs. 312.*

*Source: Motkuri (009) based on NSS 61st (2004-05) Round Consumer Expenditure Survey unit record data.*

There were only 4500 schools in Telangana at the time of integration of Hyderabad State with Indian union in 1947. According to the recent UDISE+ report (2020-21), there were 42000 schools in the State that comprise 12000 Secondary schools and 1000

residential school (social/tribal/BC/Minority-welfare). Private schools are about 11000 and they hold nearly 60 percent of total enrolment in the State. Further, in 1947, there was only one university and a few colleges in Telangana (altogether there were 11 colleges in Hyderabad). In contrast, as per the AISHE report of 2021-22 there were 31 universities and around 1800 colleges for higher education, along with 400 standalone institutions for higher education in the Telangana state. There are around 132 day-scholar and 53 welfare residential government degree colleges (GDCs and WRDCs) offering conventional Under-Graduation (UG) programmes. Besides these, there are about 800 such colleges under private management. For professional education as well, there are enough number of such colleges for Engineering (180), Management (300), Pharmacy (100), Medicine (56), Teacher Training (200), Law (20) and others. The AISHE report also indicated that the number of colleges available per lakh population in the State at 53 is the second highest among the Indian States, next to Karnataka with 59. Therefore, on account of quantitative expansion, required in terms of the number of educational institutions and enrolment, Telangana State has more or less achieved it. The concern however, that still remains is with the quality of education. This needs to be strengthened in the existing institutions to deliver quality education.

## **V. Socio-Economic Conditions and the Demand for Education**

Supply factors with respect to schooling are necessary but not sufficient, as on the demand-side, socio-economic conditions at the household, community and regional levels too are paramount. These socio-economic conditions are dependent, among other things, upon the resource base, social and production relations within the society along with the State policy in governing these relations. Thus, it becomes imperative to look into how far the socio-economic and political conditions that were witnessed in Telangana explain the pace of progress in educational development in different phases of historical times.

### ***Socio-Economic Conditions and Educational Development: Pre-independence Period***

Factual evidence with respect to socio-economic conditions prior to Colonial rule in the Telugu-speaking region<sup>31</sup> in South India under the rule of different dynasties including Moghuls and early Nizams, was scant. During the Colonial rule there were attempts to document the socio-economic conditions of the people: Administration Reports, Reports of different Commissions/ Committees on various aspects of society and economy, travellers' account of the people's living, and finally Census Reports provided information on demographic as well as socio-economic conditions.

Economic historians like Morris D. Morris argued that the Indian economy, in the Pre-colonial period was functioning through a social structure in which the access to economic resources was inclined towards the socially privileged sections. There prevailed anarchism in law and order along with social, political and economic disturbances (Morriss, 1968). Life and livelihood was insecure under such an insecure political set-up. Hence, it might not have provided enough opportunity to the masses at the lower rungs of the social order to develop their educational capabilities. With the advent of Colonial rule, there took place changes in the socio-economic conditions. The direction of this change had been debated (Roy, 2002). The left-nationalist thesis argued that the socio-economic conditions deteriorated further and it held the Colonial regime responsible for this. This view was opposed by the alternative (Cambridge-bound) thesis which argued that Colonial regime had, in fact, stabilised the economic and political conditions and restored law and order (Morris, 1968). Moreover, it argued that the low rate of economic growth during the period was solely due to the in-built constraints embedded in the Indian society.

The agrarian organisation, according to rural magnate model, is such that resource (land) rich peasants (who could withstand vagaries of crop cultivation and commodity market) extend their economic and political dominance to rest of the village economy through their leverage over credit and commodity markets and that sustained, leaving the poor in backward conditions in its wake and subverting any economic growth benefits to themselves (Washbrook, 1973). According to this model, the Colonial government compromisingly facilitated such a system despite their intention and definitive efforts made, to reorganise the agrarian economy. One of the important contributions that the British administration made during their regime was the development of infrastructure like irrigation, transportation (road and rail), communications, and commercialisation of agriculture which had their impact on the educational front also. The system of modern education was introduced and it spread in a relatively more secular form. However, in a stratified society and economy, rural oligarchy controlled the downward filtration of benefits of social and economic change. The pattern of development or under-development was not uniform across the territories. The Princely States in particular as they were indirectly ruled, did not receive much direct benefit out of any development activities of the British-India Government; rather they had to undertake their own development initiatives. Around half the area and one-third of the population during the colonial rule was under the rule of native Princes. Some of the Princely States like Cochin-Travancore did exceptionally well in enhancing socio-economic development whereas Hyderabad along with few other in this respect was lagging behind.

There are different views characterising the State and its developmental priorities in Hyderabad State under the reign of Asafjahis/Nizams during the pre-Independence period. The traditional nationalist and left view is that semi-feudal kind of agrarian relations and its adverse impact had retained the agrarian economy as backward (for instance, Bharuch, 1937; Narayana, 1960; Champakalaxmi, 1969; Sundarayya, 1972; Bobbili, 1988; Vaikuntam, 2002;). The political conditions were not conducive for any positive changes to occur in the society especially in the rural areas (Leonard, 1971). The socio-economic conditions under the Nizam's rule were different. In a comparative perspective, the economic conditions of rural populations in Nizams' Hyderabad were more adverse than in the other Princely States (especially Travancore-Cochin, Baroda, and Mysore) and any of the Provinces of British India.

The opposite view is about modernistic Hyderabad State or its transition to modernity and the autonomy it retained against the British paramountcy unlike the other Princely States (for instance, Hydari, 1936; Khalidi, 1985; Raj, 1987; Ray 1988; Bawa, 1991; Bhukya, 2013). In fact, among the Princely States in British India, Hyderabad State was the richest by state income and considered to be modern in terms of its industrial development. Contrarian to modernity, a concern however be raised that whether such modernity and its benefits reached out to a majority especially the rural poor, or restricted to a minority elite/rich and aristocratic strata of the society/economy. Perhaps, one may characterise the Hyderabad State as consisting of a *dual nature of the State* and its governance system (prevalence of urban elite/aristocratic modernity along with rural and majority under the feudal system).

Over 90 percent of the population in Hyderabad State was living in rural areas. Agriculture was the single largest source of livelihood in the State. Agrarian population consists of cultivators and agricultural labour. There appeared certain traditional non-agricultural activities too in the rural life but they were connected, in one way or the other, to the agrarian economy. The State consisted of two natural regions - Telangana and Marathwada. Telangana region consisted of more than half of the geographical area and population of the State. The share of urban population in this region was high largely because of the capital-city<sup>32</sup> (Hyderabad). From the resource point of view, Telangana region was relatively at a disadvantage in comparison to Marathwada region especially with respect to agrarian economy. First of all, the share of cultivable and cultivated areas to its geographical area was very low in Telangana (about 2/5<sup>th</sup> of the geographical areas) compared with the State average as well as with Marathwada (about 2/3<sup>rd</sup>). The density of population per square mile of geographical area in Telangana

region was the lowest within the Hyderabad State but the population per square mile of cultivable or cultivated land was the highest. In other words, the land-man ratio was the highest in Telangana. Unlike the uniform *ryotwari* land settlement and taxation (land-revenue) for Marathwada, Telangana had a differential system for it either for the irrigated or dry land. Further, it prevailed in Hyderabad State that among other factors, the possession of cultivable land depends on the ability to pay taxes while inability to pay land-revenue caused seizing and transferring the same land to those who could pay. Exemptions were in principle made for crop failures owing to vagaries of nature including draught and floods it could not rescue the affected farmer but benefitted the tax-collection agent or middle-men.

### *Society, Economy and the Demand for Education: Hyderabad State*

During Nizam's regime, the socio-economic conditions in Hyderabad State were not so conducive for educational development. The perceptions of the people on the value of education were not at an appreciable level; if at all they were found to be negative. Saunder, the then Resident of Hyderabad, observed that 'the old idea of the Middle ages that gentlemen can do very well without education' has still remained in the public mind in Hyderabad. Child marriages were a common phenomenon in the State as well as in Telangana region. Over the period, the incidence of child marriages was increasing. It was increasing with age, as it was very high in 10-15 age-group compared to 5-10 age-group. Gender bias against girl children was very high where child-marriages were higher among female children than their male counterparts. In Telangana these conditions were more appalling than the rest of the State (Motkuri, 2005; 2016). Another kind of social system that was prevalent in the State was *jogini* system for which young girls were victimised. It prevailed in the Telangana region of the State. One must, however, note that all the backwardness characteristic mentioned above or below might not be specific or unique to Hyderabad State and Telangana region but prevailed in backward regions all over the country. Perhaps its intensity might be little higher in the State. Factors constraining the demand for education combined with supply constraints could have caused the low performance of Hyderabad State in its educational development.

The practice of child labour was very much in operation in feudal Nizam's Hyderabad. Due to poverty, parents sell-off their children at a very young-age. State was inefficient in taking any action. In 1951, it was published in news of '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 (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 bring up their children due to poverty. These children served as domestic servants when they grew up. Such working children lost connection with their families. Definitely, there was no attention towards health and education of these children; rather they were punished cruelly in case they did any mistake. The 1951 Bhatia Commission brought out all these issues in a detailed note. The bonded labour system in the form of *Bagela* and *Begari*, known as *Vetti*, was widely prevalent in the State (Sundarayya, 1973). Almost all the feudal sections of the society used to extract this kind of labour especially *Begari*. The families of the bonded labour also used to be attached with the employer. They did not have economic independence. The situation was worse for agricultural and casual labourers. During the first half of the 20th century, there was a decline in the wage rates in the State and as a consequence, their economic conditions deteriorated further. Casual or agricultural labourers were principally from the depressed classes and they lived mostly on the outskirts of villages, usually in unhygienic surroundings.

External factors like the frequent visits of droughts and famines and economic depression and the World Wars ravaged the State's economy and people especially the poor farmers and the labouring class. Their suffering was so intense that most of them deserted their children to perish from starvation. Some children were either freely given or sold off to courtesans who misused these children according to their wishes. The absence of healthcare facilities and the presence of customs and beliefs along with the frequent recurrence of droughts and famines raised the mortality rates. The high mortality rates reflect the uncertainty of life, which implied nothing but the low levels of life expectancy. To counterbalance such high mortality rate, the fertility rate was also high.

There was a high prevalence of indebtedness in the State which forced the agricultural labourers to become bonded labourers. The owner-cultivators too lost their land while repaying their debt. Many factors contributed towards their high debt levels, the major factors being heavy rate of compound interest and the low price of agricultural produce. The Tenancy Commission appointed in 1937-38 observed that about 1/3rd of the agricultural land was transferred to moneylenders and due to their usurious practices; many of the hereditary agriculturists became tenants-at-will. The 1931 Census Report reveals that there were 32 percent tenants in the villages. The 'Tenancy Committee (1937-38)' reported its incidence at 36 percent. Another estimate in 1945, showed further increase at 40 percent. Thus, it is clear that the phenomenon of tenancy was increasing during that period. As the tenant farmer had to largely depend on family labour, children had also become part of it. In Hyderabad, a large section of

people were in the clutches of landlords and money-lenders who reaped the fruits of commercialisation of agriculture. And, there was no trickle-down of the benefits to the toiling masses.

The infrastructure facilities like irrigation, transport and communications were not much developed. Though the State indulged in large-scale dams like *Nizam Sagar*, the percentage of irrigated area to the cropped area remained 5% to 6% during 1940's whereas the all India average was above 20%. The road mileage per square kilometre in the *Nizam's* State was the lowest among the native states as well as other Provinces. Many of the villages did not have any kind of connecting road except footpaths across fields. The State was the only one among the native States, which owned a railway line.

Socio-economic conditions were appalling in the *Telangana* region. It is observed that *Telangana* is relatively disadvantaged in agriculture output (Ramanatham, 1960). The net sown area was only 1/5th of the total area in the region. Millets and pulses were the major crops grown in the region. Food and non-food crop ratio stood at 3:1. Though jowar, bajra and ragi were the staple foods in *Telangana* and *Marathwara*, the high market price provoked cultivation of cash crop like rice in *Telangana* and wheat and cotton in *Marathwara*. Since land revenue had to be paid in money, cash crops were grown for the market. Within the State, the percentage of cultivated area under food crops was the highest in *Telangana* as compared to *Marathwada*. The ratio of agricultural income to total income was 37% in *Telangana* whereas in non-*Telangana* area, it was 60% in 1953-54.

*Telangana* region's total income was of Rs. 265 crores whereas non- *Telangana* region had Rs.185 crores. But in terms of per capita income, there was a small difference between these two regions (Rs. 229 and Rs. 247 for *Telangana* and non-*Telangana* respectively). Relatively high population level in *Telangana* brought down the per capita income. Besides, there was a high social and economic oppression especially in *Telangana* region. People's sufferings under the oppressive, semi-feudal relations and thereby, a breakout under the guise of 'The Great *Telangana* Peasant Armed Struggle' of 1944-46, are all well-known stories (Sundarayya, 1974; Pavier, 1978; Ram, 1977). Such conditions of social and economic backwardness of the majority population would not be conducive for raising the demand for education.

### ***Post-independence/Integration***

The immediate impact of peasant armed struggle with the support of left political ideology was the *land reforms from below* – land distribution (people's committees were distributing lands that were seized from feudal-lords). It had an impact on agrarian economy of the State although such movement was strong only in few pockets in Telangana region. Post-integration, the peasant *résistance* movement arose and further spread across the Telangana region while sustaining the land distribution practice, which was initiated. But the impact was short-lived with the changed political strategy of the left to participate in democratic parliamentary system and subsequently as left political ideology and dominance relegated (Pavier, 1967; Ram, 1987). To contain the left political ideology spreading deep, the ruling regime of national government had co-opted agrarian reform which was the core element of the peasant armed struggle against land inequality and concentration among the few landlords along with exploitative agrarian relations (forced labour, usury etc.). It brought in a series of legislations related to land reforms, tenancy, ceiling etc.,<sup>33</sup> but proved to be ineffective (Khusro, 1958). Another strategy of the ruling regime (centre) was Vinoba Bave's ***Bhoodan Movement*** that relied on empathy of landlords and their voluntary transfer of land to the landless which did not make much difference.

Once the political conditions in the Hyderabad State and Telangana region settled, the ruling regime of the centre compromised with the landlords' lobbying and halted such a progressive social change that was initiated by the peoples' movement and centre co-opting it (Sundarayya, 1972). A beginning for the reformation of the agrarian relations and thereby the growth in rural economy in Hyderabad State and Telangana region, was derailed with the changing political conditions after a decade of Independence/integration, by the end of 1950s (Ram, 1987). The socio-economic transformation process relieving the people from their backwardness in the rural agrarian economy had slowed down in the region. With the reorganisation of State and merger of Telangana with Andhra, the peasant movements further weakened and slowed down for a period of one-and-half decade. Although the first Telangana movement which surfaced during 1960s was an important event in the history of Telangana it did not, in anyway, affected the conditions and production relations in the rural agrarian economy of the region.

However, after a decade, once again the active civil society came to form under the left movement with a different strategy, created tremors in the rural agrarian economy in Telangana during 1970s leading to a phenomenon referred to as *land reforms from the below*, during 1980s - land transfers by landlords on their own under the pressure of left

movement (Thorner, 1956; Reddy, 1993). The left movement made an attempt to relieve the rural society from the shackles of semi-feudal structure of the agrarian economy. In order to mitigate such an active left movement, the ruling regime once again co-opted the land reform strategy and elimination of rural poverty along with certain welfare schemes. Unlike the Andhra areas, Telangana was not endowed with much of surface irrigation through major and minor dams except that of Tank irrigation sustained and developed during Kakatiya period and in the Asafjahis reign. Implementing the rural electrification scheme<sup>34</sup> of Government of India, the State government of undivided Andhra Pradesh expanded the villages with electricity supply and connections energising pump-sets. It facilitated well irrigation, initially with shallow wells and subsequently with bore wells. The demonstration effect of progressive farmers adopting new cultivation practices and diversifying with the cultivation of certain commercial crops<sup>35</sup> (cotton/chilli) expended value of money circulated in the agrarian sector (Parthasarathy, 2002; Subramanyam, 2002; Vakulabaranam, 2004; Subramanyam and Satyashekar, 2003).

While rural unrest continued under the left movement since the 1970s and due to implementation of economic reforms in the 1990s, there were certain changes in agrarian economy due to land reforms and technological advancement along with cultivation practices and crop diversification. In fact, there was a momentum in Telangana economy, particularly with respect to its agriculture, in terms of the rate of growth in value of output (Vakulabaranam, 2004; Subramanyam and Satyashekar, 2003). Although, the level in terms of per capita value of output in agriculture for Telangana was distinctively lower than that of Andhra regions, the rate of growth in Telangana began outpacing the other (Subramanyam, 2002; Motkuri and Varinder, 2004; Vakulabaranam, 2004).

Expansion in transportation and communication facilities has intensified the commodity, credit and financial markets interaction with rural economy. It was amplified with the Pradana Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY), Government of India's centrally sponsored scheme (CSS), initiated in the year 2000 providing all-weather roads connecting villages and towns. Integrated with main markets even with global ones, Village economies were further opened-up for credit and commodity markets involving individuals or groups outside the village. Most importantly, the commercialisation process increased the flow and circulation of money in the rural economy, although it does not mean to indicate that farmers' income has increased. Commercialisation process has increased the required investments in agriculture. It was met largely through informal credit markets which were interlinked (for collateral and repayment) with

the commodity markets that in fact facilitated the squeezing and siphoning-off all the surpluses. In the process, high investment with crop failure and/or lack of remunerative market prices left the farmers in a condition of indebtedness that ultimately resulted in a spate of farmers' suicides in Telangana (Revathi, 1998; Reddy and Rao, 1998; Ghosh, 2005; Reddy and Mishra, 2009). Also the circulation of money in the rural economy increased with the entry of credit markets through growing micro finance institutions<sup>36</sup> (MFIs), NGOs and/or others. Altogether, there was a rejigging of rural economy experienced with the markets entry and economic reforms throughout 1990s and continued subsequently. In order to mitigate the adverse effects of the rural distress and economic reforms, social mobilisation process was activated through civil society participation with the formation of community based organisation (CBOs) and with the presence of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) working on different aspects of rural economic organisation (Motkuri, 2016).

These events in the rural economy of Telangana pressed the need for alternative employment opportunities and alternative investments of agriculture surpluses, if any such, is derived. With the globalisation and emerging knowledge-based economy, booming pharma, and banking and financial services along with information and technology (IT) sectors have shown some hopes in the private sector employment when the public sector was down-sized. As a blessing in disguise of such agrarian distress/crisis and/or otherwise if there was any positive/progressive change, it is the increasing perceived value of education. It is partly as a result of market penetration and village society exposure to the rest of the world and thereby the exchange of ideas through market transactions, in fact, which necessitated the literacy and numeracy skills. With the rapid changes that village economies underwent, parents began sensing future value of investment in children's education, in terms of their employment prospects alternative to agriculture. Circular flow of money in and out of village economy through the connectivity of credit and commodity market in one way or other facilitated such investment in education. The demand for education in Telangana has therefore increased even to such a level wherein parental choice moved towards private education and they were prepared to pay for their children's education in private schools. As UDISE+ data indicates, schools under private management account for nearly 60 percent of total school enrolment in the State while the college is even higher, at 80 percent.

Previous research of the author, involving case studies of two villages in Telangana - one that witnessed a commercialised agriculture and the other, without such experience, indicated the explicit differences in their educational development particularly in

respect of the current attendance rate of schooling (Motkuri, 2006a&b; 2016). Once the penetration has begun the demonstration effect and adoption of new ideas/ cultures/ practices/ habits and their downward penetration (trickle-down) is faster and easier in less unequal economies than in the more unequal and stratified ones. Telangana village economy, over a period, is relieved from the shackles of such intensive semi-feudal hegemony, experienced in the past and emerged to be relatively less unequal. Land or other economic inequality in Telangana is found to be low when compared to the other regions in the undivided Andhra Pradesh (CESS, 2014). Such emerging conducive circumstances created an environment for the demand for education to grow in Telangana.

## **VI. Concluding Remarks**

This paper sought to provide a historical account of progress in educational development in Telangana. It examined the progress in educational development (in terms of literacy, enrolment and attendance rates) of Nizam's Hyderabad State and undivided Andhra Pradesh in which Telangana was part before it became a separate State in 2014. The investigation and analysis commenced from 1850 till the recent past, a long term account of educational development across Telangana region for a period of one Century prior to Independence and nearly 70 years post-independence (1850s to 1921). It explored the possible factors behind slow progress in educational development in different phases during the period of analysis. These historical factors are associated with the educational policies pursued by the public authorities and the changing socio-economic conditions of the times.

Hyderabad State, when compared with other Provinces and States in British India, was subjected to different policy set up under a different political regime. The educational policy of the Colonial government played a greater and more pro-active role than that of the Nizam's government in Hyderabad. When the undivided Andhra Pradesh State was formed, the socio-economic conditions in Andhra were more favourable to the growth of literacy than those obtained in Hyderabad State and Telangana region.

Post-Independence, the political environment for educational development was better than that of pre-independence period but the policy attention was not so focussed on education in the undivided Andhra Pradesh for a considerable period. Since mid-1980s there has been such policy attention and thereby outcomes are visible since 1990s. The changing environment of rural society and economy since 1990s turned out to be more conducive in raising perceived value of education and hence the demand for

education. The commercialisation of rural economy and the broad-based participation in the process had a positive impact on perceived value of education thereby increase in demand for education even beyond free public to priced-private institutions.

Positive developments have increased the current attendance/participation rate of school/college-age population in educational institutions and consequently the literacy rate among the younger-age population increased. But these recent developments could not have had much impact for the illiterate birth cohorts affected by the neglect primary education in the past. Hence, the illiteracy rate of older-birth cohorts especially those born three decades ago remained as it was. The political establishment and civil servants concerned must understand the phenomenon of illiteracy as a cumulative effect of neglected Primary education in the past and take measures to eliminate the adult illiteracy rather than blaming the Census or Survey enumerator/investigator, as if they are underreporting literacy status of individuals particularly in the State.

\* \* \*

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## Appendix- Tables

**Table-A1: Child (5-15 years-Age) Population (in millions) and its Share (%) in Total Population in Telangana Region and Hyderabad State (1881-1951)**

Year	Telangana Region			Hyderabad State			% Telangana	
	All-Ages (M)	Child (M)	% Child	All-Ages (M)	Child (M)	% Child	All-Ages	Child
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1881	4.46	1.08	24.4	9.84	2.41	24.5	45.3	44.8
1891	5.20	1.27	24.4	11.53	2.66	23.1	45.2	47.7
1901	5.45	1.38	25.3	11.14	2.79	25.1	49.0	49.5
1911	6.77	1.63	24.2	13.37	3.08	23.1	50.6	52.9
1921	6.46	1.79	27.8	12.47	3.28	26.3	51.8	54.6
1931	7.55	1.74	23.1	14.43	3.33	23.1	52.3	52.3
1941	8.71	*2.16	24.8	16.33	*4.11	25.1	53.3	52.6
1951	10.10	2.58	25.6	18.65	4.88	26.3	54.2	52.9

*Notes:* 1. M- Millions, Population (All-ages and Child) figures are given in Millions; 2. Child Population for the age group 5-15 for all years except 1951 for which it is 5-14; 3. \*Child Population for the year 1941 is estimated one.

*Source:* Census of Hyderabad State.

**Table-A2: Educational Institutions Established in Hyderabad State during 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Year	Institution
1839	Madrasa at Juma Masjid in Hyderabad
1834	St. George;s Grammer School in Hyderabad
1839	Medical School at Bolarum, Hyderabad
1850	St. Francis Grils School, Secunderabad
1854	Darul-ul-loom (Oriental College), Hyderabad (for Nobles)
1855	All Saints School, Hyderabad (for children of Military)
1857	City English Medium School, Hyderabad (for children nobles)
1859	Two Schools at every Taluk headquarter; Three in every District headquarters
1870	School of Engineering (Civil), Hyderabad
1870	City High School, Hyderabad
1872	Chaderghat High School, Hyderabad
1873	Madrasa-i-Aliya, Hyderabad
1875	Anglo-Vernacular School at Aurangabad
1877	City High School and Chaderghat High schools merged
1877	Hindu Anglo-Vernacular School (girls)
1878	Madrasa-i-Aizza, Hyderabad

1880	Chaderghat High School upgraded to a secondary grade college and affiliated to Madras University
1880	Dharamwant High School (private)
1882	Mufeedul-Anam High School (Private)
1882	Madaras-e-Deeniya (religious school)
1882	Wesleyan Mission Schools (Girls)
1887	Nizam College (by merging college part of Chaderghat High School and Madarasa-I-Aliya)
1890	Nampally Girls School
1894	Vedic Dharma Pathasala (Sanskrit School)
1895	Asafia High School
1895	Stanley Girls High School
1899	Another Sankrit School (Aided) in Hyderabad
1901	Vivek Vardini Pathasala (Private; Marathi medium)
1904	Telugu School
1907	New Zenana High School (girls)
1909	Anwar-Uloom High School

**Table-A3: Public and Recognised Educational Institutions in Hyderabad State**

	1887-88	1893-94	1902-03	1910-11	1920-21	1930-31	1940-41
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>
<b>Institutions</b>							
University	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Colleges	3	3	3	2	5	10	11
Secondary Schools	9	13	15	26	29	50	62
Middle Schools	28	41	58	62	105	123	133
Primary Schools	214	480	775	921	3378	4041	4856
Special School	1	5	7	25	24	61	211
<b>Total</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>542</b>	<b>858</b>	<b>1036</b>	<b>3541</b>	<b>4285</b>	<b>5273</b>
<b>Enrolment</b>							
University	0	0	0	0	-	-	-
Colleges	28	87	90	126	377	1219	2468
Secondary Schools	1827	2960	4224	5918	8575	21237	27229
Middle Schools	4345	6745	8788	10408	21510	30344	28270
Primary Schools	14438	31510	42709	48113	164513	242422	307287
Special School	26	292	320	1919	2833	4740	8630
<b>Total</b>	<b>20664</b>	<b>41594</b>	<b>56131</b>	<b>66484</b>	<b>197808</b>	<b>299962</b>	<b>373884</b>

*Note:* Experimental Primary schools were not counted. *Source:* Reports on the Administration.

**Table-A4: Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) across States in India Post-Independence and before States' Reorganisation**

S No	State	Primary (6-11 Years)		Middle (11-14 Years)		Secondary (14-17 Year)	
		1950-51	1955-56	1950-51	1955-56	1950-51	1955-56
1	AP	-	68.4	-	14.8		9.6
2	Assam	53.6	60.5	17.6	21.6	6.7	11.7
3	Bihar	27.8	34.0	11.2	9.9	5.3	5.5
4	Bombay	70.4	80.0	17.0	20.6	7.8	9.5
5	Hyderabad	24.1	34.5	5.5	10.6	2.5	5.5
6	Jammu & Kashmir	10.0	21.8	-	10.3		4.9
7	Madhya Bharat	25.4	44.8	7.3	11.7	1.8	3.5
8	Madhya Pradesh	41.4	44.8	6.6	10.7	3.3	4.7
9	Madras	57.4	69.5	16.4	21.8	6.8	9.4
10	Mysore	52.7	55.0	17.2	18.8	8.3	10.0
11	Orissa	25.5	33.6	5.8	6.9	2.4	3.3
12	Pepsu	23.5	44.4	13.7	23.2	4.7	10.3
13	Punjab	38.7	56.0	15.7	24.8	6.7	10.9
14	Rajasthan	14.8	22.4	5.0	8.3	1.7	3.7
15	Saurashtra	38.2	54.0	11.6	13.9	5.4	5.7
16	Travancore-Cochin	103.0	124.0	31.4	44.6	16.9	25.4
17	Uttar Pradesh	35.7	32.4	11.8	13.7	3.9	7.4
18	West Bengal	55.8	80.8	12.0	21.8	5.6	10.0
	India	42.7	51.9	12.9	16.2	5.4	8.0

*Note: For GER of Primary, enrolment in Class I-V is taken as ratio of 6-11 year-age children and so on for other levels.*

*Source: GoAP (1961)*

**Table-A5: Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) across States in India Post-Independence and Post-Reorganisation of States**

S No	State	Primary (6-11 Years)		Middle (11-14 Years)		Secondary (14-17 Year)	
		1955-56	1960-61	1955-56	1960-61	1955-56	1960-61
1	Andhra Pradesh	56.7	65.9	13.3	16.9	8.4	9.3
2	Assam	59.4	74.9	21.9	29.5	11.6	16
3	Bihar	35.7	48.7	10.3	14.2	5.9	9.7
4	Bombay	66.5	80.7	18.4	26.2	8.6	11.9
5	Jammu and Kashmir	24.7	47.5	1.9	17.5	5.5	8.8
6	Kerala	109.1	114.4	36.8	54.4	19.5	32.3
7	Madhya Pradesh	40.8	62.4	9.3	13.3	3	5.4
8	Madras	66.4	76.5	21.3	24.3	9.3	10
9	Mysore	57.8	73.8	16.5	19.1	9.2	10.9
10	Orissa	34.9	49.5	7.2	10.4	2.9	4.3
11	Punjab	56.6	78.5	25.8	36	11.3	19.5
12	Rajasthan	24.1	46.9	8.9	13.9	3.8	7.3
13	Uttar Pradesh	35.5	42.9	14	15.2	7.6	9
14	West Bengal	73.6	82.9	19.4	26.8	9.1	12.1
	India	51.9	65.4	16.2	21.8	8.4	11.3

*Note:* For GER of Primary, enrolment in Class I-V is taken as ratio of 6-11 year-age children and so on for other levels.  
*Source:* GoAP (1961).

**Table-A6: Education Institutions in Andhra Pradesh**

	Institutions		Enrolment	
	1955-56	1958-59	1955-56	1958-59
Universities	3	3	2213	2836
Colleges	90	106	50816	47158
High Schools	733	992	371689	450207
Middle Schools	273	467	84519	102408
Primary and Basic Schools	29132	31403	2494956	2619173
Nursery and Special Schools	2766	2005	90461	66507
Professional Education schools	250	311	21477	27030
Total	33247	35287	3116131	3315319

*Source:* GoAP (1961)

**Table-A7: Education Institutions in Andhra Pradesh**

Management	1955-56			1958-59		
	Andhra	Telangana	AP	Andhra	Telangana	AP
Govt	1213	8381	9594	2240	8957	11197
District Board	10308	0	10308	12646	183	12829
Municipal Board	634	0	634	691	6	697
Aided	12431	2475	14906	9543	715	10258
Unaided	130	58	188	160	37	197
Total	24716	10914	35630	25280	9898	35178

*Source: GoAP (1961).*

**Table-A8: Schools and Enrolment in Telangana in 1959 (as on 31<sup>st</sup> March)**

Region	Schools				Enrolment			
	Elementary	Middle	Secondary	Total	Elementary	Middle	Secondary	Total
<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>
Andhra	22759	277	678	23714	2131887	55300	287993	2475180
Telangana	8366	467	314	9147	421229	113320	162214	696763
Andhra Pradesh	31125	744	992	32861	2553116	168620	450207	3171943
<i>% Telangana</i>	<i>26.9</i>	<i>62.8</i>	<i>31.7</i>	<i>27.8</i>	<i>16.5</i>	<i>67.2</i>	<i>36.0</i>	<i>22.0</i>

*Note: Andhra includes Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema.*

*Source: GoAP (1961).*

## Endnotes

- 1 Dreze and Gazdar (1997) said that ‘the ability of parents to assess the personal and social value of education depends among other things, on the information they have at their disposal’ (p. 86). Therefore, the demand for education partially depending on the perceived value of it is in consonance with theoretical propositions of bounded rationality and information economics (Simon, 1952; Arrow, 1994; Akerlof, 1970; Spence, 1973; Stiglitz, 1975).
- 2 For instance, Thorstein Veblen on conspicuous consumption said that new consumption habits of others always inspire emulation of the same (Veblen, 1899). Robert Merton sociologist equivalently coined ‘reference group’ to which people make comparisons and role models of society influencing the rest (Merton, 1936). Another sociologist M.N. Srinivasan referred to such phenomenon as *sankritisation* (Srnivasan, 1956). According to economist James S Dusenbury on his theory of consumer behaviour in macroeconomic perspective, people emulate consumption habits of the others or higher order ones (Dusenbury, 1949). As Ragnar Nurkse said when people are exposed to new type of good/services or new ways of living (Nurkse, 1953).
- 3 The British administrators of Colonial regime in India have many a times observed such a false consciousness prevailed in the provinces and princely states. For instance, Saunders in Princely State of Hyderabad made such observations.
- 4 When excluded the Capital city, the share of urban population in the region was relatively lower than the Marathwada region of the state.
- 5 Thanks to the Reviewers who brought this to our notice. The debate on the *literary advancement in Hyderabad state* in 1930s and Suravaram Pratapa Reddy’s, an eminent literary persons of Hyderabad, response publishing “Golconda Kavula Sanchika” in 1936, a compilation of Telugu poetry written by more than 350 poets from different parts of the state, as many as 20 castes and men and women, to disprove claims of Andhra poets like Mudumba Venkata Raghavacharyulu that Nizam’s Hyderabad state lacked literature and poets. Collecting poetry from such large number of poets in a short span in those days of poor communications indicates the discrepancy between literacy rates of people reflected in official data and literary advancement of people in the region. Besides demonstrating the rich literary tradition of Hyderabad state, the publication of ‘Golconda Kavula Sanchika’ highlights that literacy and literary advancement exists outside state run institutions.
- 6 Although literacy skills aid and hence may necessary for literary persons, the correlation / association between incidence of Literary persons and literacy rate needs to be established. Folklores are not necessarily the literate in terms of three Rs, reading writing and numeracy or arithmetic. There exist different forms of literary traditions, most importantly were the two: written and oral tradition.
- 7 The Reports on the Administration of Madras Presidency mentioned that within this age group, about 21 and 3 per cent of male and female populations respectively had been under instruction during the year 1890-912. The levels increased to 26 per cent

and 6.6 per cent respectively by the year 1910-11. There existed variations within the Presidency in the levels of schooling across districts. Tinnevely district recorded relatively higher level (42.1 per cent) of schooling than the Andhra districts (Telugu-speaking region) like Visakhapatnam, where the level was 16.5 per cent. Literacy levels of the other districts like Cuddapah, Godavari, Kurnool and Krishna lay between the Presidency average and Visakhapatnam. But in the case of female children's schooling, the performance of the districts of Andhra remained well above the Presidency average. Also there were differences across sub-population groups. For instance, the percentages of *Panchamas* (Scheduled Caste) and Aborigines (Scheduled Tribes) children attending school during 1895-96 were much lower than not only the average levels but also those of all other social groups. There existed a high degree of gender discrimination irrespective of the social group except European communities. The schooling levels for the girl child remained quite low and insignificant.

- 8 Census 1921 report of Hyderabad state using the same method (taking the population of school going age at 15 per cent of the total population) also noted that about 16 percent of them were under instruction in the state in 1921; it was 5 and 6 percent respectively in 1911 and 1901. Census took into account pupil under instruction irrespective of type of institution (public or private).
- 9 Such as Reports of the Administration and Reports of Public Instruction.
- 10 A marginal decline in GER of Telangana during 1890s did not mean decline in size of enrolment in the region but it could be that growth in its enrolment was less than that of school-age population. The improvement in GER of Marathwada is the opposite case wherein growth in enrolment during the period was higher than that of its school-age population. The state average remained same due to the changes in opposite directions in its two regions.
- 11 See Census 1921, 1931 Hyderabad reports along with state reports on Public Instruction.
- 12 Hyderabad state continued to be an entity on its own for eight years immediately after its integration with the Indian union. Following the language based state's reorganisation policy of 1956, Hyderabad state was disintegrated into three (Telugu, Marathi and Kannada speaking) regions and merged them with the neighbouring states of same language: Andhra, Bombay and Mysore.
- 13 The analysis is based on the unit record data of national level first Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS-1) of India in 2017-18. Based on the present age of the population covered in the survey their birth cohort (synthetic cohort) is derived. As the survey captured the educational level of each member of the households that were covered in the survey, estimates of school completion rates of birth-cohorts are derived accordingly. The years specified in Figure-3.2 indicate that the children born during the five-year interval period ending that year. In terms of the methodology, using current age-cohort to reflect the historical trend with application of *retrospective prediction method* is well established (Mirnova, 1986; 1991)

- 14 Adult literacy and education was one of the objectives of the Community Development Programme (CDP) initiated in 1952 for the plan ear. Late-1980s and early-1990s the country witnessed a national-level mass-based Total Literacy Campaign (TLC) and Post-Literacy Programme (PLP) under the National Literacy Mission (NLM) 1988 following the National Education Policy (NEP) 1986. In continuation, after two-decades of NLM, there was *Sakshara Bharat* (SB) Mission/programme initiated in 2009 and implemented thenceforth in Eleventh and Twelfth Five-Year-Plan periods till 2018. Thereafter, another variant *Pradan Mantri Padhana Likhna Abhiyan* (PM-PLA) initiated in 2018 for the same purpose.
- 15 At the time of introduction of the modern education system in India under colonial initiatives, there had existed a native system patronised by kings or Zamindars. Ever since the *vedic* period, learning used to be being patronised by the state and the elite class. India was host to the great universities of Nalanda, Takshasila and Nagarjuna which had been established by great saints and which had the patronage of rulers of the respective regions. These educational institutions had concentrated their attention on higher learning to the privileged few. No public educational institutions existed, however, to provide universal access to the population irrespective of differences in socioeconomic status. In the Madras Presidency, in 1822, Thomas Munroe commissioned an inquiry into the status of education especially in institutions of native education. It was observed that there were about 12,498 schools with 1,57,644 pupils (Radhakrishna, 1992; Ghosh, 1995). However, there was uneven distribution across socio-economic strata and between the rural and the urban households (Frykenberg, 1986: 44). The geographical distribution indicates that more children come from the Tamil than the Telugu districts. Moreover, in the Telugu districts, about 70 per cent of the pupils were Brahmins; further in many of the schools the majority of the teachers used to be Brahmins (Frykenberg, 1986: 44). The children of the low castes were totally excluded from the educational system.
- 16 Among them, eight Samsthanams were the most important. Except Sholapur, most of these Samsthanams were in Telangana area. Most of the rulers of these Samsthanams were from peasant castes.
- 17 In fact, agriculture in the state was essentially Rayatwari but the weakening power of Nizam in the early 19th century led to the spread of revenue farming (CEHI, 1982). There was a system of contracting the land revenue to the highest bidder. It resulted in inefficiency, corruption and extortion from cultivators. During the middle of 19th century, the state was near financial collapse, however, Salar Jung-I's reforms rescued it. 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 routine.
- 18 One in Persian and the other in the local language



- 19 Mr. WH Wilkinson was appointed as Education Secretary and Director of Public Instruction in 1870.
- 20 It was reported that the number of primary schools increased to 402 in 1883 from 161 in three years earlier.
- 21 As per the Census methodology of the time, all those compact settlements (villages) with more than 5000 population were used to consider as towns.
- 22 Report on the Administration for the 1303 Fasli (1893 AD).
- 23 As reported in the *Report of the Administration* in Hyderabad State for the quinquennium period between Fasli Years of 1308 and 1212 (1898-99 to 1902-03AD). Such a first report was made for the Fasli Year 1294 (1884-85 AD), the second was done for 1298 Fasli (1888-89) and the third report was for the Fasli 1303 (1893-94AD) and the fourth one for four Fasli years between 1304 and 1307 (1894-95 and 1897-98AD) (see De, 1911).
- 24 They include Hyderabad City, headquarter areas of three Subas (Warangal, Gulbarga and Aurangabad) and two districts (Bidar and Mahabubnagar) along with two towns (Kushtagi of Raichur district and Miryalagud of Nalgonda district) and two villages (Koyalkonda of Mahubnagar district and Neknoor of Bhir district) (Report of the Administration for the years 1948-1950).
- 25 Baroda College was later developed into establishing the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda in 1949.
- 26 As a result, there were about 60 per cent of the children in the 5-10 age group under instruction in this state during the early 1940s (GoT, 1946).
- 27 See the link [https://prsindia.org/files/bills\\_acts/acts\\_states/andhra-pradesh/1982/1982AP1.pdf](https://prsindia.org/files/bills_acts/acts_states/andhra-pradesh/1982/1982AP1.pdf)
- 28 It was supported (technically and financially) by Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) of United Kingdom (UK).
- 29 They are Abhyudaya Prathamika Vidya Samstha and Residential Education Institutions Society.
- 30 Under the National Programme for Nutritional Supplementation for Primary Education on 15 August 1995.
- 31 Historically, the Telugu-speaking region of south India was almost always under the same ruling. During the immediate pre-colonial period, both Andhra and Telangana were under Nizam's rule. But, the situation got changed in the colonial period. The Telugu-speaking region of south India was divided into two parts; one under the direct colonial rule and the other under Nizam's rule. The coastal belt (referred to as *Circar* districts) and then parts of interior land (referred to as Ceded districts) were transferred to the East India Company and they were brought under the Madras Presidency administration. The rest of the interior Telugu-speaking region remained under Nizam's Hyderabad state which also included the Marathwada region. Hyderabad was one of the princely states that remained under native ruling throughout the colonial period.

- 32 Otherwise it was below the state average as well as that for the Marathwada region.
- 33 Such as the Hyderabad Jagir Abolition Regulation of 1949 and the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agriculture Land Act of 1950.
- 34 Rural Electrification Corporation (REC) was established in 1969 by Government of India. It was to reduce dependency of agriculture on uncertainty of monsoon with optimised irrigation by energising the agriculture pump-sets.
- 35 It is demonstration effect of the Coastal farmers who migrated with capital to Telangana villages for cultivation. One of the reasons given for this is that the rate of return to capital decreasing over the period in Coastal Andhra and it is high in Telangana region (Parthasarathy, 2002) on farming techniques and investment in agriculture.
- 36 Extortions, excesses and harassment of MFI recovery team ultimately resulted in their ban in the state.



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