

**Educational Development At Micro Level  
Case Study of Two Villages in Kerala  
A. Abdul Salim**

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# **Educational Development at Micro-level: Case Study of Two Villages in Kerala**

A. Abdul Salim\*

## **1. Introduction**

### **The Problem**

A rise in literacy alone does not signify educational development. Educational Development should mean higher levels of achievement in general education, (ie, matriculation, graduation, and post-graduation) professional and technical education. Further, education is not merely an end in itself; nor is it meant only for creating better citizens. It should also lead to better levels of employment and confer the public socio-economic benefits. Though it is observed that in Kerala educational attainment and concomitant socio-economic progress have reached high levels, they are not uniform across localities and regions. Obviously micro-level factors account for such differential development. The present study is an attempt to identify such factors on the basis of an intensive micro-level enquiry in two selected villages in the Malappuram district of Kerala.

### **Significance of the Study for Local-level Planning**

The study is an attempt to throw some light on the determinants of educational development at the micro-level to get insights into the problems of decentralised educational planning. Further, an understanding of the qualitative performance of the different schools in the villages under study might help planners and administrators at the local level to draw lessons from the experience and formulate policies for improving the quality of education.

The Government of Kerala is facing severe financial stringency due to inelasticity of revenue resources and rising demand for developmental expenditure, particularly in education. It already spends about 37 per cent of its total budget on education and health (GoK, Economic Review, 1996: 122). The Government also finances almost the entire recurring expenditure on education of both the public and the private aided sectors. Since the State government is facing severe financial crisis, it is considering to transfer the running of the schools to the panchayat bodies to reduce its burden. If the local government could take over at least partly educational financing at the local level, the State Government would be relieved of its burden to a significant extent. The present study is, therefore, of great relevance in the context of the ongoing decentralised local level planning in the State.

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The study will bring out the crucial role that effective participation of the local community in the education sector can play. Community participation could help in making education less costly and more accessible to the local population.

## **Objectives**

The following are the specific objectives of the study:

- (i) identifying the factors and agents of educational change or non-change at work at the micro (village) level;
- (ii) examining the nature and intensity of the educational efforts for generating the demand for and the supply of education;
- (iii) evaluating the facilities for education;
- (iv) analysing the performance of schools and the factors affecting school performance;
- (v) estimating the institutional/governmental cost of education ; and
- (vi) analysing private (household) educational expenditure and parental ability to finance educational costs.

## **Method of Study and Sources of Data**

Both analytical and statistical methods are used in the study. In the absence of the required secondary data, information was collected through field investigation. Detailed surveys were conducted within the selected villages, of households, schools and village characteristics.

### ***Selection of Villages***

The districts and taluks of Kerala were classified on the basis of literacy using Census data of 1971, 1981 and 1991. It showed that Ernad of the Malappuram district, which had been one of the most educationally backward taluks in the early 1970s, has witnessed significant educational progress thereafter. However, the progress of education was not uniform across the taluk. While some villages forged ahead, others lagged behind. Edavanna, Areacode, and Pulikkal came under the former category while Nediyrippu, Tanur, and Parappanangadi fell under the latter. For understanding the dynamics of the two patterns of progress, one village was selected purposively from each category: Edavanna from the progressive villages and Nediyrippu from the laggard villages.

### ***Collection of Data***

A village schedule was used for collecting information on the socio-economic, demographic and educational profile of the villages. A school schedule was employed for collection of data on school facilities, institutional costs, sources of income of the school, enrolment, drop-outs, pass-outs, teachers' qualifications, and factors responsible for the observed edu-

cational performance of the school. The survey covered all schools in the selected villages (12 schools in Edavanna and 11 schools in Nediyrippu). The field data were supplemented by the information collected from the records of the village and panchayat offices.

Data on parental costs and the capability of the parents to finance education were gathered using a household schedule.

### ***Selection of Households***

Household data were collected using both random and non-random sampling methods. By using the principle of stratified sampling, each village was classified into wards on the basis of the levels of socio-economic development achieved, based on discussions with the panchayat members and other officials of the panchayat and the village. Two wards each from the two villages, one forward and one backward, were selected. Households were selected based on purposive sampling to obtain an adequate number of samples according to occupational status. The list of households was collected from the panchayat office records. Accordingly, 241 households from Edavanna and 203 from Nediyrippu were selected.

Besides the schedules, information and data were obtained also by using participant observation techniques like in-depth interviewing (using unstructured list of questions) with prominent persons of the locality, focus-group discussions, key-informant interviews, life histories and case studies. On the whole, 72 persons from the two villages (36 each) were interviewed. They included 16 important persons, 11 school managers, 11 school headmasters, and 12 teachers having at least 10 years of service and 22 PTA (Parent-Teacher Association)/MPTA presidents. Life histories of 14 persons aged 65+ including the leaders of political parties, voluntary organisations, headmasters, philanthropists and social activists were also collected.

### **Outline of the Study**

In the second chapter, the socio-economic, demographic and educational profile of the selected villages is presented before taking up the discussion in the light of our objectives. In the third chapter, we analyse the role that the change-agents played in bringing about remarkable progress in the educationally forward village and the obstacles to the development of education in the backward village. In Chapter 4, an attempt is made at a comparative study of the educational facilities, educational performance and factors affecting educational performance in the two villages. Chapter 5 is devoted to a discussion on costs (parental and governmental/institutional) of education and the capability of the local community in financing education. A summary of the discussion and the major conclusions of the study are presented in the final chapter.

## **2. A Profile of the Study Villages**

### **The History of Edavanna**

Edavanna and Nediyrippu, the two villages in Ernad taluk of the Malappuram district in Kerala, have an eventful past. The history of Edavanna is as old as its river Chaliyar. Up to the end of the 15th century, the population in the village consisted of agricultural castes and hill tribes. During the last quarter of the 15th century, Portuguese established their supremacy

in the area and destroyed the business and trade of the local community, mostly of Muslims in the coastal areas. Consequently, the people migrated to interior villages like Edavanna, which is one of the most fertile areas in the taluk. They started cultivating land and also took up trade in timber and wooden furniture. The proximity of the Chaliyar River helped them transport wood from the Nilambur forest to urban centres of Kozhikode and nearby places. A number of roads passing through Edavanna, leading to nearby towns of Manjeri, Wandoor, and Areacode, were built during the Mysorian rule (1766-1792) under Tipu Sultan (Development Note (Malayalam), Edavanna Panchayat, 1996:15-18).

Edavanna symbolises the best in the nationalist tradition of south Malabar. The panchayat was in the political limelight since the early decades of the 20th century. The people of the village had actively taken part in successive revolts during the 19th century against the British, which culminated in the Malabar Rebellion of 1921, and in the freedom struggle thereafter. Therefore, many a time the village had to face the wrath of the British military. The village changed hands three times from the British to the local people and vice versa, before 1921 (Interview, Dr Abdul Kareem, 69 years, 29/04/1998). The Indian National Congress and its leader in Malabar, Mohamed Abdul Rahiman Sahib had close contacts with the people of Edavanna. Arakkal Mohammed, Alavi Maulavi, P V Mohammed, P V Ummer Kutty, P V Shaukathali, Pulikal Mohammed, etc. led the struggles and the Khilafat movement in the village. These leaders started a Khadi movement (on the lines of Mahatma Gandhi's Swadeshi movement), adult education centres and initiated educational and religious reforms in the village. The details will be discussed in Section 3. In the Khilafat movement, people of Edavanna fought against the British - 33 persons and one soldier were killed and the mosque at Othayi near Edavanna was destroyed (Development Note, Edavanna Panchayat, 1996: 17).

Edavanna was, and still continues to be, basically, an agricultural village. According to the Settlement Register of 1930, the total agricultural land was 1608 acres; the average land holding was 0.69 hectare. *Jenmis* (landlords) owned the land and land-lease cultivation was the common practice. Attached or bonded labour worked on land cultivated by tenants of *Jenmi* in the feudal system of cultivation. Several popular movements have emerged against landlordism all over Malabar since the 1930s, and Edavanna was no exception. Proletariat politics began in Edavanna with the formation of the Farmers' Association at Chalipadam. Since then the village witnessed several agitations for distribution of surplus land to the landless and all cultivable land to the tiller. As part of the stir, 50 acres of land belonging to the Manjeri *kovilakam* was taken forcibly by the agitators and distributed to the landless (Ibid: 17). After the formation of Kerala State, land reform measures brought about drastic changes in land relations. Since the 1950s, the village witnessed an acceleration of the process of commercialisation of agriculture and the growth of trading and small-scale industrial activities. However, the 1980s and the 1990s witnessed the decline in importance of agriculture, mainly because the cultivation of major crops except rubber became unprofitable.

Edavanna has 244 small-scale and cottage industries, which provide employment to about

3297 persons. Out of the 244 units, 120 are furniture making units which employ 2500 persons. The industrial progress of Edavanna is traced back to 1890 when the Edavanna Tile Works was established (Ibid).

### **The History of Nediyrippu**

The village is full of hills and dales. Centuries ago, Nediyrippu and its surrounding villages in Ernad taluk were under the rule of the Zamorin of Calicut. The village had provided a large number of warriors, from all communities, to the Zamorin. Like Edavanna, Nediyrippu also witnessed many encounters between the British soldiers and the local people during the popular revolts, the Malabar Rebellion, and the freedom struggle that ensued. In a single battle, about 40 freedom fighters died in the 1920s. K A Mohamed Sahib, Moosahaji and C P Saidalavi were the leaders of the freedom struggle in the village.

The land in the village was owned by a few families who had connections with the Zamorin of Calicut. Land was leased out mainly for rice cultivation. During World War II, those who cultivated paddy had to obtain the consent of the village officer for harvesting. After harvest, about 50 per cent of the produce was taken over by the Government for distribution through the public distribution system. In those days, rice, kerosene and sugar were distributed to the Hindus who paid taxes to the British and to the Muslims who were employed in Government service and also to British officers (Interview, O Krishnan Nair, 71 years, Nediyrippu, 02/05/1998). People of the village were very poor barring a few families. The introduction of land reforms in 1969 brought about considerable change in land holdings. Even the Harijans in the village got large plots of land (in some cases five acres each), as a result of which their power and position in the society rose. The village still remains backward in industrial development. There are only 48 small-scale and cottage industries (most of which are running at a loss), with 232 workers (Development note, Nediyrippu Panchayat, 1996).

### **Demographic Profile**

The total number of households in Nediyrippu is 3359 and in Edavanna 3073. From the sample data, we find that the average household size in both the villages is around seven. The average number of children at school is 2.35 in Edavanna and 2.53 in Nediyrippu. In Edavanna, about 30 per cent of the total population are in the age group of 6-15 while the corresponding figure is 27 per cent in Nediyrippu. The percentage of children under age five is 8-9 per cent in both the villages. Muslims dominate the village population. Muslim households in Edavanna formed 72 per cent; in Nediyrippu, it was 70 per cent. The rest of the population in both the villages consist of Hindus, mainly of the backward sections. By the 1991 Census, the total population of Edavanna village was 18,622 and that of Nediyrippu was 22,943 (Table 2.1). The male-female ratio was 1,019 in Edavanna and 1,013 in Nediyrippu. In both the villages, the percentage of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was 14 per cent. The presence of Christians in the two villages was negligible. In both the villages, about 56 per cent of the households were of the nuclear type and the rest were joint

families. During the 20-year period, the population of Edavanna increased by 74 per cent, while in Nediyrippu the rise was by 68 per cent.

**Table 2.1 Area and Population in the Villages**

Category	Edavanna		Nediyrippu	
	1971	1991	1971	1991
Area (sq. km)	19.00	19.00	19.96	19.96
Population (No.s)	10817	18622	13705	22943
Males (No.s)	5404	9224	6826	11397
Females (No.s)	5413	9398	6879	11546

Source: Census of India, 1971 and 1991

### Occupational Profile

Most of the labour force in the two villages are engaged in agriculture, small-scale industry, and trade and commerce. Till the 1980s, farmers cultivated mainly food crops. Since then, they have shifted to cash crops because of the non-profitability of food crops. In both the villages, labourers are the largest occupational category (Table 2.2). Farmers (cultivators) account for only less than one-eighth of the labour force in Edavanna; in Nediyrippu, it is higher, but less than one-fourth. Since cultivation becomes unprofitable, there is a tendency among landowners to keep land uncultivated. As a result, agricultural labourers shift to other activities, mostly construction work due to the housing boom triggered off by the inflow of foreign remittances. Again, 76-79 per cent of the people is engaged in low level occupations like cultivation, sales and service while 11-13 per cent is employed in high level occupations - professional, administrative and clerical categories.

**Table 2.2 Occupational Status of Head of the Household, 1997**

Occupation	Edavanna (No.s)	Nediyrippu (No.s)
Farmers	30 (12.4)	47(23.2)
Labourers	101(41.9)	81(39.9)
Sales	36(14.9)	12(5.9)
Service	24 (10.0)	15(7.4)
Professional	19(7.9)	7(3.4)
Administrative	0(0.0)	5(2.5)
Clerical	12(5.0)	9(4.4)
NRE	19(7.9)	27(13.3)
Total	241(100)	203(100)

Figures in the parentheses show percentages; NRE=Non-Resident Emigrant

In Edavanna, representation of non-resident Indians in the work force is 8 per cent while in the other village, it is 13 per cent. As expected, the proportion of white-collar jobs in Edavanna is higher than that in Nediyrrippu (Table 2.2).

The work participation rate in both the villages is low. Earning members form only 26-27 per cent of the total population. The low rate is mainly due to very low work participation by women, which comes to a paltry 4.7 per cent in Edavanna and 6.7 per cent in Nediyrrippu (Table 2.3). It shows that a vast majority of women are unemployed. The gender division of labour condemns them to low paid and low skilled jobs as compared to males. In spite of the influence of progressive movements in Edavanna, women are relatively absent at the higher levels of jobs.

**Table 2.3 Sex-wise Distribution of Population in the Sample Villages by Activity Status**  
(in Number)

Category	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
<b>Edavanna</b>						
Earning Members	412	45.8	40	4.7	452	25.8
Children (Studying)	299	33.3	269	31.5	568	32.4
Others	188	20.9	544	63.8	732	41.8
Total	899	100.00	853	100.0	1752	100.0
<b>Nediyrrippu</b>						
Earning Members	336	47.3	46	6.7	382	27.4
Children (Studying)	263	37.0	250	36.4	513	36.7
Othes	111	15.6	390	56.9	501	35.9
Total	710	100.0	686	100.0	1396	100.0

### Economic Profile

Economically, Edavanna is more advanced than Nediyrrippu. As noted earlier, Edavanna has a large number of village and cottage industry units that together provide employment to a sizeable proportion of its labour force. Edavanna is also developed in trade and business. In this village, the income derived from the industrial and business sector is higher than that from the farm sector. The number of emigrants and the amount received by way of remittances is fairly high in both villages. These factors have had a significant impact on the well being of the people in Edavanna. Poverty is almost absent in the village except in the case of a few. However, in Nediyrrippu, a large proportion of the population, mostly the backward sections of the society, is poor. The field data reveal that the average number of earning members per family in both the villages is 1.8. It was observed that 42.3 per cent of the people in Edavanna have an income of less than Rs 40, 000; in Nediyrrippu, the corresponding proportion was 51.2 per cent. In Edavanna, percentage of those with income higher than

Rs 1 lakh was twice (17.9 per cent) that in Nediyrippu (8.9 per cent); (Table 2.4).

**Table 2.4 Economic Status of Head of the Household, 1997**

(Rs Thousand)

<b>Income Group (Rs.000')</b>	<b>Edavanna (No.S)</b>	<b>Nediyrippu (No.S)</b>
< 40	102(42.3)	104(51.2)
40-100	96(39.8)	81(39.9)
100-200	32(13.3)	12(5.9)
>200	11(4.6)	6(3.0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>241(100)</b>	<b>203(100)</b>

Figures in the parentheses show percentages

### **Asset Profile**

As Kerala is still a predominantly agrarian economy, land continues to be the most scarce resource and ownership of land, the major determinant of the asset status of the people. The field data show that 61 per cent of the households in Edavanna and 55.2 per cent of the households in Nediyrippu have less than 50 cents of land. Interestingly, 25.3 per cent of the households in the former and 30.6 per cent in

the latter have holdings of more than one-acre (Table 2.5). Holdings of SC/ST in both the villages are, in general, small. However, in Nediyrippu a few SC households have relatively large holdings, of about five acres.

**Table 2.5 Distribution of Households by Land Ownership**

<b>Size of Land (in cents)</b>	<b>Edavanna (No.s)</b>	<b>Nediyrippu (No.s)</b>
< 25	119(49.4)	79(38.9)
25-50	28(11.6)	33(16.3)
50-100	33(13.7)	29(14.2)
100-500	42(17.4)	59(29.1)
>500	19(7.9)	3(1.5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>241(100)</b>	<b>203(100)</b>

Figures in the parentheses show percentages

The asset status of households was obtained by a composite index of various facilities available such as type of house building, electricity, pipe water, and modern consumer durables like television and refrigerator. Households with no such facilities are categorised as poor, those with less than three facilities as moderate and those with more than three as high. The sample data show that the percentage of households with poor and moderate facilities are

higher and with higher facilities lower, both in Nediyrrippu and Edavanna (Table 2.6).

**Table 2.6 Distribution of Households by Facilities, 1997**

<b>Facilities</b>	<b>Edavanna</b>	<b>Nediyrrippu</b>
Poor	43 (17.8)	59 (29.1)
Moderate	78 (32.4)	81 (39.9)
Higher	120 (49.8)	63 (31.0)
Total	241(100.0)	203 (100.0)

Note: Poor are those with no facilities, moderate are those with less than three facilities and higher are those with more than three facilities.

It was found that the asset holdings of SC households in Edavanna are lower than that in Nediyrrippu. Further, it was found that 22.4 per cent of the total number of households live in permanent buildings in Edavanna. In contrast, only 11.8 per cent in Nediyrrippu stay in permanent buildings (Table 2.7).

**Table 2.7 Distribution of Households by Type of House**

<b>Type of House</b>	<b>Edavanna (No.s)</b>	<b>Nediyrrippu (No.s)</b>
Semi-Permanent	182 (75.5)	167 (82.3)
Permanent	54 (22.4)	24 (11.8)
Temporary	5 (2.1)	12 (5.9)
Total	241 (100.0)	203 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages

### **Educational Profile**

According to the Census of 1991, the literacy rate is 75 per cent in Edavanna and 72.5 per cent in Nediyrrippu (Table 2.8).

**Table 2.8 Rate of Literacy in the Villages, 1991**

<b>Village</b>	<b>Number</b>			<b>Percentage</b>		
	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
Edavanna (No.s)	7227	6750	13977	78.3	71.8	75.0
Nediyrrippu (No.s)	8233	8008	16241	75.2	69.9	72.5

Source: Census of India, 1991

Since then, it might have further improved. Our field data show that illiterates have been reduced to three per cent in Edavanna and six per cent in Nediyrrippu. But literacy is only one among the indicators of educational attainment. Equally important is the educational level of its adult population. Looked at from this angle, we find significant difference between the two villages.

According to the field survey data, in Edavanna, 53 per cent of the population above the age of five years have secondary or higher levels of education; the corresponding proportion in Nediirippu is only 41 per cent.

Further, the gender gap in educational attainment is more pronounced in the latter village. The distribution of households by educational level of the head of the households shows that 5.4 per cent of the households in Edavanna and 3 per cent in Nediirippu are illiterate. However, the proportion of secondary and higher educated households is significantly higher in the former (27 per cent) than in the latter (15 per cent). SC/ST communities in both the villages are educationally backward in comparison with the other sections. It is also found that among the educated, the number of technically qualified people is small. The technically qualified among women are fewer still.

Significant differences do not exist among households with respect to sending children to school or continuing their education. Parents with different levels of education behave in the same way in so far as schooling of their children is concerned (Table 2.9).

**Table 2.9 Enrolment of Children and Education of Head of the Household**

Education of HH	Edavanna						Nediirippu					
	HH		Children Enrolled (%)				HH		Children Enrolled (%)			
	No	%	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total	No	%	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total
Illiterate	13	5.4	5.6	5.5	0.0	5.3	6	3.0	2.7	3.2	7.7	3.0
Primary	163	67.6	66.7	73.6	72.3	70.7	166	81.8	85.0	83.9	84.6	84.4
Secondary	57	23.7	24.2	19.4	21.3	21.4	24	11.8	8.3	11.2	0.0	9.6
Higher	8	3.3	3.5	1.5	6.4	2.6	7	3.4	4.0	1.7	7.7	3.0
Total No.	241		396	527	47	970	203		372	347	13	732
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: HH = Head of Households

Similar is the case with the occupation of parents. Occupational status of parents does not have any influence on the proportions of enrolment and schooling of children (Table 2.10).

While educational and occupational status of the head of the household do not influence the schooling of children, income status does. Correlating income of household and educational attainment of children, we find that the lowest income group in both the villages is under-represented while the other groups are over-represented (Compare Tables 2.4 and 2.11).

**Table 2.10 Enrolment of Children by Occupation of the Head of Household**

Occupation of HH	Edavanna						Nediyirippu					
	Households		No. of Students	Distribution of Students (%)			Households		No. of Students	Distribution of Students (%)		
	No	%		Primary	Secondary	Higher	No	%		Primary	Secondary	Higher
Farmer	30	12.4	145	11.1	16.5	29.8	47	23.2	181	20.4	29.7	15.4
Labourer	101	41.9	394	45.2	38.9	21.3	81	39.9	306	43.0	40.9	30.8
Sales Worker	36	14.9	151	16.2	15.0	17.0	12	5.9	42	5.9	5.5	7.7
Other Service Sector Worker	24	10.0	98	8.6	11.6	6.4	15	7.4	46	7.0	5.8	-
Professional	19	7.9	57	5.3	5.7	12.8	7	3.4	21	2.7	2.0	30.8
Administrative	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2.5	15	2.2	2.0	-
Office Worker	12	5.0	44	5.5	4.2	-	9	4.4	31	6.2	2.0	7.7
Non-Resident Emigrants	19	7.9	81	8.1	8.1	12.8	27	13.3	90	12.6	12.1	7.7
Total	241	100.0	970	100.0	100.0	100.0	203	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Table 2.11 Student Enrolment and Income of Household**

Income Range (Rs'000)	Edavanna						Nediyirippu					
	Households		No. of Students	Distribution of Students (%)			Households		No. of Students	Distribution of Students (%)		
	No	%		Primary	Secondary	Higher	No	%		Primary	Secondary	Higher
< 40	102	42.3	359	44.2	33.2	19.2	104	51.2	47.9	40.6	30.8	
40-100	96	39.8	410	38.4	46.1	31.9	81	39.9	41.9	45.2	53.8	
100-200	32	13.3	147	11.8	15.6	38.3	12	5.9	6.2	9.5	7.7	
>200	11	4.6	54	5.6	5.1	10.6	6	3.0	4.0	4.7	7.7	
Total	241	100.0	970	100.0	100.0	100.0	203	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Further, inequality becomes more pronounced at higher levels of education. For instance in Edavanna, the lower income group, which constitutes 42 per cent of the total households, has only 19 per cent of the children at higher levels of education.

The middle income group (with an annual income of Rs. 1,00,000 to Rs. 2,00,000) in Edavanna account for 38 per cent of the students in higher education even though they

constitute only about 13 per cent of the households.

The preceding discussion thus makes it clear that the economic scenario of Edavanna is better than that of Nediyrippu. Against this background, we attempt in the next chapter to analyse in more detail the factors of differential educational development in the two villages.

### **3. Factors Behind Differential Development in Education**

In this section, we will discuss the factors behind the differential development of education in the two villages. More specifically, the agents of change or non-change at work at the village level will be discussed and the nature and intensity of their efforts appraised. Agents of socio-economic and political change may take several forms: political parties, socio-religious reform movements, voluntary organisations, private philanthropy, or the attitude of the people or even the government. In the development history of most societies, it is possible to identify the forces that triggered off the process of change. In cases in which the presence and the force of action of a single or a constellation of change agent were strong, changes have taken place rapidly and radically; and in others, changes were tardy. In our case, Edavanna is a village that witnessed rapid change in educational development particularly during 1945-85 while Nediyrippu lagged far behind. Before going into the facts and factors of this differential development in these two villages of the same taluk, it would be useful to have a look at the initial conditions that prevailed in Malabar.

#### **Initial Conditions in Malabar**

Up to the end of the 15th century, the people of Malabar, particularly the Muslims, had been leading a happy and prosperous life mainly due to their trade monopoly and allegiance to local leaders (Logan 1981; Zainuddin 1942; Kunju, 1989). However, with the arrival of foreign powers like the Portuguese and the British things took a turn for the worse. The hostility of the foreigners towards the Muslims was not just due to commercial rivalry but reflected also the long drawn-out antagonism between Muslims and Christians spanning over centuries (Panicker, 1988; Kareem, 1973; Miller, 1976; Wood, 1987).

Though the Muslims fought valiantly under the leadership of the great Kunjalis against the Portuguese and under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan against the British, they failed miserably. However, even after the establishment of British supremacy over Malabar in 1792, the Muslims, unwilling to compromise, continued to fight against the British with unabated fury and inexhaustible heroism. In 1792 itself, an attempt was made to dislodge the British under the leadership of Unni Moosa Moopan of Elampulasery (Samad, 1997:16). This incident marked the beginning of a series of 80 revolts which lasted about a century and a quarter and culminated in the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 (Interview, K K Mohammed Abdul Kareem, Kondotty, 07/03/1998).

#### **Educational Development in Malabar under the British**

Under the British, Malabar remained a neglected outpost of the Madras Presidency in which the British spent little beyond the requirements of law and order. Throughout the 19th and

early part of the 20th century, Malabar witnessed growing social and communal unrest, immiserisation of the peasants and agricultural labourers and increasing animosity between the majority of the population and the British. Little progress took place therefore in the field of education. Educational reforms were few and public intervention was weak. With the Wood's Despatch of 1854, the Government stepped in to promote regional education by opening schools and introducing grants. But the attempt did not succeed due to dearth of resources, acute poverty of the masses, hatred against the government policy of levying fees and tactless practices of arbitrary distribution of grants. The government's attempt to shirk responsibility by entrusting the task of providing elementary education to local boards proved self-defeating. The special efforts by the government in promoting education among Mappilas (Muslims) and backward classes were not sincere; rather they were only a panic reaction to the Rebellion of 1921. At the time of Independence, there existed in Malabar several villages that did not have even primary schools (Salim and Nair, 1997:13-14).

The people of Malabar, especially the Muslims, had other reasons also for rejecting British education. The activities of the Christian missionaries and the socio-religious policies of the British Government aimed at asserting the superiority of western culture, and had antagonised the orthodox sections of the different religious segments of India. It was these missionaries who introduced English education in India, with the purpose of conversion of the natives to Christianity. The Bible was compulsorily taught in the schools and the Muslim girls were forbidden to veil their heads. Some of the textbooks used in government schools contained hostile or scornful references to Islam and created hatred in the minds of Muslim students. Hence the Muslims shunned the education introduced by the British. Further, the ties between Muslims and Hindus in Malabar became strained due to the lopsided policies of the British. This also resulted in keeping Muslim students away from Hindu teachers. It was in this context that Malayalam was described by Muslims as *Aryanezhuthu* (language of Hindus) and English, the language of hell!

Some villages in Malabar were able to achieve remarkable progress in educational development since the second half of the 20th century. This progress was the result of the combined effect of a few changes as early as the 1930s.

## **Factors Behind Educational Development in Edavanna**

### ***Mujahid Movement***

The Mujahid (reform) movement had its emergence in many parts of Malabar during the early years of the 1930s. It professed against superstition and un-Qur'anic practices in the Muslim community. It also advocated for organising religious education from the primary stage onwards, encouraging secular education and promoting women's education. Yusuf Izzuddin Maulavi (died in 1934) was the earliest Mujahid public speaker and preacher in Malabar. Its leaders included K M Maulavi, E K Maulavi, C A Mohammed Maulavi and M C C Abdu Rahiman Maulavi.

As far back as the 1940s, the leaders of the Mujahid movement counselled people to go in for

modern education by drawing inspiration from the words of prophet Mohamed who had enjoined people to “seek knowledge even going up to China.” They exhorted people to seek education so as to be capable of reading the Qur’an in their mother tongue. On the initiative of the movement, the *Madrassas* (religious schools where Qur’an, Hadiz and other Islamic disciplines are taught) and Arabic colleges were started in different parts of Malabar including Edavanna, Pulikkal and Areacode. By 1950, visible changes were noticed in those places where the Mujahids had some influence; boys and girls started attending schools in large numbers.

Since there was no central organisation to give effective leadership to the community, in April 1950 the Kerala Nadwathul Mujahideen (KNM) was formed. Among the several activities of KNM was a special training course to the priests to deliver Friday *Qutuba* (sermons before the noon-prayer) in Malayalam.

Since there was no central organisation to give effective leadership to the community, in April 1950 Kerala Nadwathul Mujahideen (KNM) was formed. Among the several activities of KNM was a special training course to the priests to deliver Friday *Qutuba* (sermons before the noon-prayer) in Malayalam.

The prayer had thus become more intelligible and a potential means of missionary work. The student wing of KNM (started in 1967) has been undertaking several welfare activities for the weaker sections of the community. Other programmes include coaching classes for students appearing in Medical and Engineering tests, working against uncivilised practices like dowry, bridal torture and extravagant marriage ceremonies. The KNM also gives awards to Muslim girls who secure ranks in various examinations and scholarships for poor and needy students (Mujahid State Conference Souvenir, Palakkad, 1992:115). For these activities, it gets funds from several sources including foreign countries. An Education Finance Fund was formed in August 1997 for helping poor students. Now we turn to the activities of the Mujahid movement in Edavanna.

The Muslim inhabitants of Edavanna harboured an attitude towards the British and the Hindu landlords similar to that of their brothers in the rest of British Malabar. Most of them were orthodox and dogmatic and steeped in superstition. In the village, socio-religious changes began since the 1940s. During the early 1940s, Alavi Maulavi, a great scholar and reformer appeared on the scene in this village as a *Madrassa* teacher and stayed there for several years. Charmed by his preaching, many young men in the village, including Arakkal Mohamed Sahib, became his disciples. They started questioning un-Qur’anic practices and the then existing *Madrassa* system of education in which Qur’an and Hadiz (words and deeds of Prophet Mohammed) were recited in Arabic, but were not interpreted in Malayalam. In the initial stages, the conservative sections beat up the Mujahid activists. In 1945, these young men, with the blessings of Alavi Maulavi, formed an association named *Lajnatul Islahia* (Association for reviving Islamic spirit and reforming the Muslims).

In the same year these youths, having imbibed the preaching of Alavi Maulavi, gave a letter to the head priest of the mosque questioning un-Qur’anic practices and requested him to

answer their questions. Since the priest could not give satisfactory answers, they left his leadership and began to offer their *Juma* (Friday noon-prayer) in another building nearby. Surprisingly, the orthodox sections did not prevent this attempt, but the head priest resigned in protest. In his place, the people brought K M Maulavi who also turned out to be a reformer (Interview, C Abdulla Maulavi, 65 years, Edavanna, 13/04/1998).

The priest, on the request of a group of people in the village, started delivering Friday *Qutuba* in Malayalam (The Sunnis who constitute the predominant section of the community in most other villages do not permit *Qutuba* in Malayalam even to this day). During the *Qutuba*, he stressed the necessity of modern education and requested parents to send their children, both boys and girls, to schools. It was in Othayi near Edavanna village where Muslim women were allowed to attend Friday congregational prayers for the first time in Kerala. This was in 1942. Edavanna followed suit in 1945. These changes resulted in the transformation of the whole ethos, praxis and way of life of the society in the village. The changes gradually spread to other villages like Areacode and Pulikkal.

The changes opened a new path in both religious and modern education and the cultural and social life of the people in the village. People in large numbers started seeking secular education and employment. Education took the form of a social movement. *Madrassas* in which the Qur'an would be taught in Malayalam were started near the mosques. Under the influence of the movement, the Jamia Nadviya Educational Trust was formed. The Trust started an oriental school where Qur'an, Hadiz, Arabic, Islamic culture and history were taught. Later, it also started offering degree and post-graduate courses of the universities of Kerala and outside. Now they have also a B.Ed training college, a residential high school, a coaching centre for competitive examinations for jobs.

Up to the end of the 1940s, learning the Malayalam language was despised in the village, as was the case in other parts of Malabar. Therefore, children were taught Arabi-Malayalam (a hybrid of Malayalam and Arabic, but written in the Arabic script). The attitude towards Malayalam changed with the appearance of social reformers like Kunju Mohammed Haji, M C C Abdu Rahiman, Hasan Maulavi and N Mohamed Maulavi. They exhorted the people about the necessity of studying Malayalam and English being imparted in the modern system of education. Study classes and camps were organised towards achieving this end. Though hesitantly, parents started sending children including girls to modern schools. Unlike in most other villages, Muslim priests and Islamic scholars in Edavanna gave all advice and help for the development of modern education in the villages. Even *Madrassa* timings were adjusted to enable students to attend schools on time. During the school days, *Madrassas* functioned from 7.30 am to 9.30 am and no evening classes were held. School timing is from 10.30 am to 4.30 pm. Thus school and *Madrassa* timings were fixed in such a way that students could attend both (Interview, A P Abdul Khader Maulavi, Edavanna, 02/05/1998).

In the meanwhile, Lajmathul Islahia formed in 1945, also worked for the establishment of educational institutions in the village and its efforts came to fruition in 1957 with the starting of Islahia Oriental High School.

### ***Mujahid Movement and Girls' Education***

From the early 1940s onwards, women in Edavanna were given freedom to organise and work for their welfare. They used to conduct Qur'an classes in their houses where it was taught in Malayalam. In 1960, the first Muslim Women's Conference was held in Edavanna. The meet, among other things, stressed the 'necessity of girls' education', and K M Maulavi, a respected religious scholar and reformer released a decree that "like the education of males, education of females was permissible and was the necessity of the age" (Mujahid Girls Movement Souvenir, 1995:87).

The girls who went to school for the first time in Edavanna included Ayisha, Biriyaikutty and Ayisu. In the initial years, most girls stopped studies on completion of the fifth standard. Ayisha became a teacher in 1943 under the Malabar District Board School for a salary of Rs 15 and retired in 1979 (Mujahid Girls movement Souvenir, 1995:88). In 1960, the first lady from Edavanna, P V Mariyumma, passed the matriculation examination. For high school education, she used to walk miles to the next village, Thiruvalli. Today majority of girls in Edavanna completes at least high school education (Ibid: 25). Educational progress has certainly led to their empowerment. They are now free to take up jobs in government and in private firms; they enjoy freedom in family affairs, and participate in social activities and attend public functions. Women's empowerment has bestowed greater importance to the education of their children. Studies have shown that pay-off to improvements in adult female education is likely to be far higher than those in adult male education (see Krishnaji, 1997). Edavanna is better placed in this aspect also. As a whole, the Mujahid movement has played a very crucial role in preparing the village for development in schooling and community action.

### ***Role of Madrassas***

The *Madrassas* were started adjacent to every mosque at a very early period. All the boys and girls above the age of five attend *Madrassas* compulsorily. Earlier the only education imparted in *Madrassas* was the recitation of portions of the Qur'an in Arabic, the meaning and significance of which the students could make out (Logan, 1981:233). On completion of the recitation, oral instruction on the ritual performance of obligatory duties of Muslims used to be given. These *Madrassas* were called *Othupallis* (schools for learning by rote) and the instructors were *Mullas*. As there was no class gradation in the *Madrassas*, students belonging to different age groups sat together. Either black boards and teaching aids or furniture were available. Sometimes junior students were taught by senior students. Since the *Mullas* were paid very low wages, they had to depend upon the charity of the affluent section of the community for their survival (Samad, 1998). This sorry state of affairs existed till very recently in most parts of Malabar. In those areas where the reformer sections (Mujahids and Jamat-E-Islami) have had some influence, the situation began to change from the 1940s onwards. In Edavanna, a highly advanced system of *Madrassa* education has existed since the early 1940s. *Madrassas* there played an important role in the educational development of the village because religious education was imparted through the mother tongue and a working knowledge of Malayalam was necessary for the students attending these *Madrassas*.

*Mullas* in the *Madrassas* of this village even today are greatly respected as they have played a very positive role in its educational development. It is they who motivated children to attend *Madrassas* and also to enrol themselves in secular schools. They encouraged them to perform well in both. In fact, they played vital roles similar to those of the Buddhist monks in the spread of modern education in Japan. The monks had set up schools adjacent to their temples and monasteries. These were popular schools and were meant for the common people. All children used to attend the classes of monks (Purkait, 1986;12-3).

### ***Attitudinal Change***

The development of education in Edavanna is inextricably linked with the religious reformation movement and the attitudinal change that it engendered in the community. From the early 1940s onwards, education was accepted in the village as a virtue. In 1933, the Samastha Kerala Ulema, a forum of orthodox Muslims, in its conference at Mannarcad, had resolved not to permit Muslim girls to learn to read and write in Malayalam and in English. Following this resolution, many families who ventured to send girls to school were threatened with ostracism in Malabar. The general attitude of the Muslim society during that period towards girls' education is reflected in the following words.

“Oh my holy saints!

Girls go out for learning, reading and writing!!

This is no doubt the sign of the doomsday!!!”

[Ayisha Kutty Teacher, Pathapiriyam, Edavanna, Quoted in MGM Souvenir, (1995)

Edavanna: 86]

In those days, the qualities required for the marriage of a Muslim girl did not include secular education, rather proficiency in reciting by rote the Qur'anic verses as is revealed by the following passage.

“She reads the Qur'an well  
She does the housework as well  
She is a very beautiful damsel  
Who can sing any sacred song”

Needless to say, the people of Edavanna defied these norms and prescriptions and began sending their girl children to secular schools.

The change became all pervasive only from the 1960s onwards. Nowadays, people in the village perceive education as a means to upward social and economic mobility. Many labour and farmer households which we interviewed, dream about jobs for their children outside their fields and farms. They articulate their hope that their children would wriggle out of the manual labour that it entailed. So they send their children to schools and colleges, notwithstanding the high costs. And certainly, some of their children have succeeded in finding such employment. People in this village regard education as the “door to a new earth and new heaven”. The realisation that “even with education life is difficult, but without education there is no hope”, had come to people in Travancore during the first quarter of the 20th

century itself (Salim and Nair, 1997). In Malabar, this attitude began to spread widely from the 1940s and that too only quite slowly. The period 1965-'85 witnessed rapid educational development in Edavanna (Interview, Dr V Kunjali, Calicut University, 02/05/1998).

### ***Government Intervention***

As noted earlier, during British rule, educational reforms were few and government intervention almost non-existent in Malabar. The special efforts by the government towards promoting education constituted only a panic reaction to the Malabar Rebellion of 1921. They did not succeed due to dearth of resources and non-co-operation of the people. However, Edavanna was an exception. Almost half the schools in the village were started during 1921-1947 by the Malabar District Board availing grants from the British Government. When the Muslims of most of the villages in Malabar hesitated to send their children to government schools, the people of Edavanna cooperated with the government by enrolling their children in the schools. The tendency became strong particularly since the beginning of the 1940s. Before the take-over of these schools by the Board, they had been *Othupallis*. The government converted these institutions into formal primary schools by retaining *Mullas* as teachers if they so desired. *Mullas*, most of them being poor, agreed to the conversion of *Othupallis* to schools, and were lured by the offer of salary. This policy of the government together with the introduction of Arabic in schools proved an instant success. The protest of the conservative elements in the village gradually faded owing to these reforms.

The role of these *Mullas* was thus significant in whatever educational development was attained in Malabar in general and in villages like Edavanna, Areacode and Pulikkal in particular. The *Mullas* carried out door-to-door campaigns requesting parents to send their children to schools on a regular basis. Such a campaign was necessary for them because their salary depended on the attendance and strength of students (at least 20 children, of whom 18 should be present at the time of inspection). In 1941, Mammed Mulla, the teacher of the school at Pathapiriyam in Edavanna used to go to the houses of the students who did not attend the classes regularly. He brought them forcibly to school and rebuked them (Interview M P Kunjalikutty, 63 years, 28/04/1998). In fact, the initiative taken by the *Mullas* imparted an element of legitimacy to secular education in the minds of orthodox Muslims who were opposed to the British and their system of education. In the post-independence period, two more government schools were started and two of the existing schools were upgraded – one into a high school and the other into an upper primary school. On the whole, the role of the government was relatively more active in the village.

### ***Political Parties***

It was found that the starting of half a dozen schools and the up-gradation of three schools in Edavanna have been the result of political pressure exerted on the government from time to time. P Seethi Haji, the leader of Muslim League from the locality, who was influential in State government circles, was able to get funds for the construction of buildings for a government school in the village. He also helped in the up-gradation of two primary schools into high schools and a high school into a higher secondary school. Now the higher secondary

school is named after him. The party and its local leaders also played an active role in sanctioning an unaided B.Ed training college in the village (K P Sreedhara Menon, 70 years, Pathapiriyam, 01/05/1998).

### ***Private Efforts***

Edavanna has come under the influence of philanthropists during several times. For instance, Sikkander Sahib and Koramba Mohammed Sahib, both Muslim Inspectors of schools under the British, used to come to the village and request literate persons to go for training to become teachers. Their efforts bore rich results (Interview, P K Mohammed Abdul Khader, 30/04/1998). Ahamed Perul, a rich person of the locality helped poor students financially, took them to schools and colleges and put them in hostels, all at his expense. He also sought money from the local people for financing the education of poor children. His efforts accounted for the rise in position and power of many persons in the village. Many became college and university teachers, principals of colleges and other government officials. He was also instrumental in starting the Islahia Oriental High School (Interview, Dr V Kunjali, 01/05/1998). He used all his influence in the government for getting the school sanctioned. He also led mass resource mobilisation drives for the construction of school buildings and purchase of equipment. Interestingly, the village has only one school in the private sector under individual management; the other three private schools are owned and managed by corporate bodies.

### ***Community Participation***

Edavanna has a rich tradition of voluntary community action for development. The Mujahid movement played a critical role in involving the local community in its social and educational development. The movement served as a catalyst to raise the level of people's participation in various activities of development. The effort by the village community for its educational development is remarkable. Except in the case of one school under individual management, the local community was deeply involved in the development of all other schools. In the case of these schools, the local community donated the land. The construction of most of the school buildings, purchase of equipment and furniture and provision of other facilities were all made by the local public using resources mobilised from local sources through a series of resource mobilisation drives. For instance, 56 cents of land for the higher secondary school (which has a total of 146 cents of land) was purchased and donated to the school by the local community. The tradition of joint effort by the people and the government still continues here. A building was constructed recently at a cost of Rs 1,55,000 for which the community contributed Rs 20,000 the rest coming from government grant. The government acquired 78 cents of land for the school and built a noon-meal shed for Rs 16,000. The District Panchayat spent Rs 16,000 for a small compound wall. Malayalis employed in the Gulf countries also donated Rs 5000 for the school. Again, the local community, on the initiative of Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), provided furniture worth Rs 7000 to the school. The PTA incurred an expenditure of Rs 18,000 for water supply in the school, Rs 14,000 for urinal facility, Rs 27,000 for laboratory, Rs 7,000 for a stage curtain, Rs 12,000 for public address system and Rs 40,000 for a compound wall (Interview, T

Rayin, PTA President, 26/04/1998). The PTA regularly collects contributions which is utilised for purchase and repair of furniture and durable consumables, for assisting the noon-meal programme, etc. Whenever the school is in need of funds, it approaches the local community.

The unaided school owned by the Jamia Nadviya Educational Trust is a classic example of community effort. Many non-residential Malayalis belonging to the locality and nearby areas made magnanimous contributions to the development of this charity institution. Six acres of land was donated by Athikal Ahmed Kutty Haji and three acres was purchased for Rs 15 lakh in 1995. All the buildings and equipment of the school were acquired through public contributions. Some people donated rooms by meeting their construction cost. One Malayali migrant working in Ajman, gave Rs 32 lakh for constructing a building. Under the Area Intensive Programme, the Central Government gave Rs 15 lakh for higher secondary education and this amount was used for constructing another building (Interview, P K Mohammed Abdul Khader, 27/04/1998). Now the Trust has total assets worth Rs 5 crore and it owns eight acres of coconut fields, the yield of which is utilised for the development of the school. The local community also provided voluntary labour. These are examples of the efforts by the local community for the educational development in the village. They point to the immense potential available at the level of the local community for financing educational and other socio-economic development activities.

### ***Economic Development***

All the persons in the village whom we interviewed were unanimous in their opinion that during the British period and the two decades since Independence, poverty was one of the major deterrents to educational development in the village. The British had pauperised the people of Malabar with vengeance by imposing punitive taxes. The land of the people was confiscated if they failed to pay the tax (Interview, Dr Abdul Kareem, 69 years, 29/04/1998). The existence of severe poverty in the village prevented the children from attending schools; the children also had to help their parents in their struggle for survival (Interview, K P Sreedhara Menon, 70 years, 01/05/1998).

However, things began to change since the 1960s with the development of trade and commerce in the village. Business in timber and furniture flourished and many traders became rich. A large number of poor people got work in the business as a result of which their income increased. At present, Edavanna has 600 small furniture units including 120 recognised units which employ about 6000 workers, most of them belonging to the village itself. The present experience shows that decline in poverty promotes schooling. The fact that more prosperous villages have relatively higher educational development is established in many studies (Krishnaji, 1997).

### ***Gulf Migration***

Large-scale emigration from the village began in the early 1980s. It has enabled upward socio-economic mobility to a large number of lower middle class and poor households. It

also reduced the degree of income inequality in the village. The urge for social mobility by the poorer migrant households has found expression in ostentatious expenditure in acquisition of land, construction of palatial buildings and extravagant marriages (See Nair and Pillai, 1995). However, the economic improvement of the lower and middle class due to migration has resulted in educational expansion among their children.

The foregoing discussion shows that the Mujahid movement, an advanced Madrasa system, government intervention, private efforts (individual and corporate), pressure politics, local community effort and Gulf migration were the major factors which together helped educational development in Edavanna during 1945-85. Among these, the Mujahid movement was central and all the other change agents were integrally linked. In the light of this positive experience, we now turn to a discussion on Nediirippu that remains educationally backward.

### **Factors Behind Educational Backwardness in Nediirippu**

Most of the favourable factors behind educational development in Edavanna were conspicuous by their absence in Nediirippu. The enthusiasm in socio-economic and educational fronts observed in the former is missing in the latter.

#### ***Socio-religious Reform Movement***

Nediirippu has not experienced any major social or cultural reform movement at any time of its history. The predominant section of the community belongs to the Sunni sect of Muslims, which until very recently has remained dogmatic in its religious observances and rigid in its superstitious practices. This conservative sect did not give so much importance to secular education but promoted Qur'anic education. Among the occupations it preferred for its followers, emphasis was on agriculture and trading. Professional, administrative and white-collar occupations, which require high educational qualifications, were neglected. Perhaps, this is the case with the majority of the Muslim community in Kerala, particularly in Malabar. Things have begun to change, however, very recently. Now the Sunnis and their organisation, the Samastha Kerala Jamiyathul Ulama also encourage secular education and they themselves have begun to open schools for secular education.

#### ***Attitudinal Change***

For the reasons cited earlier, the educational system introduced by the British was despised not just by the local Muslim community, but their priests also proclaimed that those who went to these schools would go to hell. In the earlier period, the conservative sections did not even give their daughters in marriage to teachers of secular schools (Interview, K V Moinudeen Mulla, 72 years, Nediirippu, 03/05/1998). In the village, up to the 1970s, girls were discouraged from attending schools. The rigidly defined traditional gender norms denied the girls even a modicum of education. Girls used to leave *the Othupallis* after religious classes by 9.30 in the morning. By the end of the 1950s girls were permitted to attend schools but

only up to primary level. They were withdrawn from school immediately after attaining puberty to be married off in order to avoid social opprobrium. This attitude is still prevalent in many families. The gender dimension is strikingly visible in the lower enrolment rate of girls in schools.

The tepid attitude of some parents towards girls' education remains unchanged. Their attitude is reflected in the following words. "What is the use of her schooling; she has to look after a house; she has to be married away after some years; it is difficult to get husbands for educated girls. Instead of spending long hours at school she can do some useful work at home." In Nediyrippu, Muslim girls began attending schools in large numbers after the 1970s due to the initiatives taken by leaders like C H Mohammed Koya, the first Muslim chief minister of Kerala. Attitudes are fast changing. At present, even the priests and other orthodox sections of the community are seen accompanying their children to secular schools. However, the attitudinal change in the village came very late and that too in a small measure such that its relative educational backwardness persists.

### ***Economic Backwardness***

Most of the people in the village live by agriculture. The village remains industrially backward. The income of the people in the village was deplorably low till the 1980s when Gulf migration started. Most of the people in the village including backward Muslims and scheduled castes were extremely poor; most of them worked as agricultural and other wage labourers. Hence until very recently, a high proportion of parents did not have the means for sending their children to schools and keeping them there until they completed at least the primary school. There were instances in which the teacher himself brought slates and pencils in the school and distributed them to children (Interview, Moinudeen Mulla, 67 years, Retired HM, 02/05/1998).

The practice of providing Kanji (rice gruel) was a great help to many children, which encouraged attendance of a large number of poor children. Many children, particularly girls, could not attend schools because in the absence of their parents from home on work, they had to tend their siblings. There were several instances in which the boys who performed well in primary classes could not continue their education due to abject poverty at home and ended up as labourers in construction work and copra processing, jeep drivers, cleaners etc. (Ibid). Thus we find that economic factors also accounted for low enrolment of children and educational backwardness in the village.

From the early 1980s, migration of a large number of people and the consequent inflow of remittances have led to an improvement in the economic condition of the people in the village. But owing to lack of proper direction and attitudinal change, the major part of this inflow is spent extravagantly on houses, ornaments, marriage ceremonies, etc. It is observed that an average Gulf migrant in the village gives a dowry ranging from 50:50 to 100:100 (ie 50 jewels and Rs 50,000 to 100 jewels and Rs 1,00,000) for the marriage of daughters. Except a few migrants, the parents spend only a small amount for the education of their children particularly their daughters. Gulf migration and the resultant improvement in eco-

conomic conditions have not brought about any radical change in the attitude of the village towards education.

### ***Community Effort***

In the village, some amount of community effort seems to have gone into the introduction of a government upper primary school and in the lone high school that is under corporate management. The high school was started by Muslim Educational Association (MEA). In the 1960s, a philanthropist of the locality, V P Kunjalan Kutty donated 1.79 acres of land to the school taking a token payment of Rs 5; another 1.37 acres of land was purchased by MEA. The buildings, furniture and other facilities were provided by MEA from the money mobilised from in and around the village. Contribution of the local community varied from Rs 5 to Rs 5,000 per household. Community effort in kind was also readily available for constructing buildings.

The MEA gives scholarships to children performing well in the examination. The MEA, together with the PTA of the school, supplies uniforms free to poor students. It has a one acre coconut field, the yield of which is used for the maintenance of the school (Interview, Komuhaji, Manager, MEA School, 25/04/1998).

In the case of the government upper primary school, the local people donated 2.65 acres of land. Buildings came up under the efforts of the government, the PTA and the local community. In 1985, Rs 3.5 lakh was collected from the locality for constructing a semi-permanent building. The amount was collected through donations ranging from Rs 10 to Rs 1000. The PTA collected Rs 50,000 (in 1986) for purchasing furniture, Rs 25,000 (in 1989) for providing drinking water and Rs. 5,000 (in 1990) for a public address system. Local leaders held door-to-door campaigns and motivated people to make donations (Interview, M Kunju Mohammed, Retired Teacher, 03/05/1998). However, the practice of community participation began only about two decades ago but has been sustained since then; Edavanna had ahead start at all levels of community participation.

Barring the case of these two schools, local participation in educational matters, in this village, has been almost non-existent. Two of the four government schools are run from rented buildings with very poor facilities and no effort is forthcoming from the community either for purchasing land or for improving facilities. Again, in the case of seven of the eight private schools in the village, no effort from the people has come forth for upgrading facilities or performance.

### ***Government Intervention***

Government intervention in starting schools, upgrading them or improving facilities in them has been very weak in this village even during the period since independence. However, three of the four government schools now in existence are the ones started during the British period. The villagers did not get the benefits of higher education due to lack of adequate number of high schools and lack of transportation to reach schools

outside it. For 10 primary schools, the village has only one high school and that too sanctioned by the government as late as in 1976; in the case of Edavanna, a high school was started as early as 1957.

### ***Political Pressure***

In the case of many villages, schools were sanctioned or upgraded due to strong community and political pressures. And a considerable number of them have been declared uneconomic due to lack of students; the excess number of teachers are to be 'thrown out' and are treated as 'protected teachers' and their services retained by the State Government. But in the study village, political parties have succeeded in putting some pressure on the government, on educational matters, only in 1976 when it got the high school.

### ***Private Effort***

The role of the private sector has been predominant in the educational development of the village. Of the seven private schools, six were the outcome of individual efforts. They resulted from the conversion of *Othupallis* into grant-in-aid schools. These six schools were started and housed in buildings on the owners' land. The guiding spirit behind the private schools came to be known as the patron of the school. It is reported that schools were started not out of charity but for giving employment to the members of the families of 'patrons'; and sometimes patron/managers themselves became headmasters of their schools. However, one private school in the village was started by a true philanthropist, Dewdhar, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. It was started to educate the children of people who suffered atrocities during the Malabar Rebellion. However, unfortunately, private school management in the village, having played their historical role, lost their altruistic and philanthropic character and turned business-minded.

For the past several years, they have taken donations ranging from one to three lakhs of rupees per teacher for an appointment. A significant portion of this amount goes to the private funds of the management. It is not used for upgrading the facilities in the school. The management does not have any financial burden as far as the recurring expenditure is concerned since the salary of teachers and maintenance grant are allotted by the government. Thus private managements thrive on exploitation at the expense of the government. The dominance of individual management in the educational scene of this village is symptomatic of its overall backwardness.

### ***Views of Heads of Schools***

Responses were elicited from the headmasters/headmistresses of the schools about the factors behind the observed performance of students and the differential educational attainment of the two villages. In Edavanna, parents were more interested in the education of their children and were stronger economically; the outlook of the people was more progressive; teachers were more sincere; and school facilities were better (Table 3.1). Further, it was observed that, according to the headmasters interviewed in Edavanna, the role of government, reform movements and NGOs were stronger than in Nediyrippu (Table 3.2).

**Table 3.1 Educational Performance of Students: Headmasters' View, 1997**

(in percentage)

Factors	Edavanna				Nediyirippu		
	Govt.	Aided	Un-aided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
Parents	Not Interested	30	38	10	55	37	46
	Interested	70	62	90	45	63	54
Parents	Poor	34	28	10	44	30	37
	Middle	53	62	80	50	58	54
	Rich	13	10	10	6	12	9
Religious Attitude	Not Sincere	19	18	10	71	42	57
	Sincere	81	82	90	29	58	43
Teachers	Not Sincere	28	8	10	30	24	27
	Sincere	72	92	90	70	76	73
School Facilities	Bad	48	15	14	49	40	45
	Good	52	85	86	51	60	55
Gulf Syndrome	Affecting	37	39	25	55	52	53
	Not Affecting	63	61	75	45	48	47
Whole Promotion	Affecting	46	60	60	70	59	65
	Not Affecting	54	40	40	30	41	35

**Table 3.2 Factors Behind Educational Attainment in the Village: Headmasters' View**

(No. of headmasters)

Factors	Edavanna			Nediyirippu		
	Inactive	Active	Very Active	Inactive	Active	Very Active
<b>A. Primary</b>						
Government	1	9	2	6	5	0
Panchayat	10	2	0	10	1	0
Private Effort	2		2	5	5	1
Reform Movements	0	8	6	9	2	0
NGOs	3	6	3	8	3	0
<b>B. Secondary</b>						
Attitudinal Change	1	5	6	2	9	0
Economic Improvement	0	10	2	0	11	0

## 4. Quality of Schooling

In the previous section, we attempted to analyse the important factors behind the differential educational development in the villages. This part looks into the quality of schooling in the two villages in terms of school facilities, enrolment ratio and attendance, and dropout rates and other factors reflecting the quality of schooling.

### Schooling Facilities

What kind of schooling facilities are available to children? To what extent are they accessible to them? These questions are important because the extent of physical and financial accessibility to schools has great influence on the educational progress of a locality. In Edavanna, primary schools are available within less than two km for about 84 per cent of the pupils while in Nediyrrippu, they are available for about 67 per cent of the children. In the educationally forward village, three high schools (two of them higher secondary schools) exist which are accessible to 61 per cent children in a vicinity of less than two kilometres. The lone high school in Nediyrrippu is at a distance of more than two kilometres, for two third of the households. Naturally, therefore, discontinuance of studies and irregular attendance at school after primary education is higher in Nediyrrippu. Though it has adequate number of primary schools, the institutions for secondary and higher education in and around the village are less than in the other village (Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1 School by Management and Levels of Education**

Schools	Levels	Edavanna				Nediyrrippu		
		Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
LPS	LP*	6	1	0	7	3	5	8
UPS	LP & UP	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
	UP only	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
HS	UP & HS	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
	HS Only	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
HSS	UP, HS & HSS	1	0	1	2	0	0	0
Total		8	3	1	12	4	7	11

\* One lower primary in the two villages has standard V also; LPS = Lower Primary School, UPS = Upper Primary School, HS = High School, HSS = Higher Secondary School

### Location of Schools

Seven out of 10 primary schools in Nediyrrippu and five out of nine primary schools in Edavanna are *Othupalli*-turned schools located at walking distance for small children. The emergence of these schools was the result of strong public action in which the government, the Mullas and certain reformer sections of the Muslim community played active roles. Factors such as availability of land and buildings, strong healthy competition among commu-

nities and castes and pride in heritage of aristocratic households have also played a favourable role. In the case of schools, except the high school in Nediyrippu, availability of land was the prime constraint and the factor behind their present location. The only high school in Nediyrippu is located in a corner of the village (in the border of another village); most of the students of the village find it difficult to reach this school. Had it been in the centre of the village, it would have attracted more students from the village and ensured more regular attendance of students. At present a significant portion of the students of this school belongs to another village adjacent to Nediyrippu. It was political pressure that determined the present location of the school; availability of land was only a secondary constraint. It shows that people and places having less influence in political parties receive only crumbs.

### Management of Schools

The distribution of schools by type of management does not show any definite pattern with regard to educational progress of the village (Table 4.1). In Edavanna, 8 out of 12 schools are government-owned as against 4 out of 11 in Nediyrippu. Further as expected, in both the villages, most government schools are of the primary level.

### Physical Facilities in Schools

Most studies on quality of education have found that physical facilities do influence quality. The important facilities include buildings, library, laboratory, play ground, urinal and drinking water. In Edavanna, four out of eight government schools and one out of three private schools had permanent buildings; in Nediyrippu five out of seven private schools functioned in permanent buildings; only one government school (out of a total of four) had permanent buildings (Table 4.2). Two schools each in these villages functioned from rented buildings.

**Table 4.2 Nature of Buildings of Schools by Management**

Management	Edavanna				Nediyrippu			
	Buildings				Buildings			
	P	SP	P & SP	R	P	SP	P & SP	R
Government	4	1	1	2	0	1	1	2
Aided	1	0	2	0	5	2	0	0
Unaided	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
All	5	1	4	2	5	3	1	2

P = Permanent, SP = Semi-permanent, R = Rented

Edavanna requires 15 more class rooms while in Nediyrippu six classrooms were surplus ('division fall' has led to the emergence of surplus classrooms). In order to teach languages (Arabic and Malayalam), students in the same class are grouped into separate batches. This practice has led to inadequacy of class rooms even in the so-called 'surplus classroom' schools. The problem is particularly serious in the case of the government high school in Edavanna and the private aided high school in the other village. Class rooms in half the primary schools in both the villages are overcrowded. Students find it difficult to find place even to

sit on the floor. Some classrooms of primary schools in Nediyrrippu lack partition walls. The average number of students per class in Edavanna is 42 while it is 43 in Nediyrrippu (Table 4.3). At the upper primary and high school sections, the number is higher in both the villages.

**Table 4.3 No. of Classrooms by Types of Management and Levels of Education**

Levels	Edavanna				Nediyrrippu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
LP	48	8	0	56	31	43	74
	(49)	(8)	(0)	(57)	(31)	(39)	(70)
UP	15	30	3	48	20	14	34
	(20)	(30)	(2)	(52)	(20)	(12)	(32)
HS	8	30	3	41	--	40	40
	(17)	(30)	(3)	(50)	--	(40)	(40)
HSS	3	--	3	6	--	--	--
	(3)	--	(2)	(5)	--	--	--
Total	74	68	9	151	51	97	148
	(89)	(68)	(7)	(164)	(51)	(91)	(142)

Figures in brackets show the number of class divisions in the school

Ten out of 12 schools in Edavanna and 8 out of 11 in Nediyrrippu have library facilities (Table 4.4), but they exist only in name; the books - as a rule, very few - are neither maintained properly nor distributed to students. Laboratories exist in 4 out of the 12 schools in the former village and 2 out of 11 in the latter. Even in the high schools, laboratories are not made much use of. The school curriculum does not enjoin the pupils to make experiments in the laboratory; rather the teachers demonstrate the experiments in the general class room for want of a laboratory room.

**Table 4.4 Availability of School Facilities**

Levels	Edavanna				Nediyrrippu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
Library	7(1)	2(1)	1(1)	10(12)	3(1)	5(2)	8(11)
Laboratory	2(6)	1(2)	1(1)	4(12)	1(3)	1(6)	2(11)
Teaching Aids	8(8)	3(3)	1(1)	12(12)	4(4)	7(7)	11(11)
Public Address System	2(6)	1(2)	1(1)	4(12)	1(3)	1(6)	2(11)
Drinking Water	5(3)	3(3)	1(1)	9(12)	1(3)	1(6)	2(11)
Play Ground	5(3)	3(3)	1(1)	9(12)	3(1)	4(3)	7(11)
Waiting/Meal Rooms	4(4)	3(3)	1(1)	8(12)	2(2)	6(1)	8(11)
Toilet	7(1)	3(3)	1(1)	11(12)	2(2)	6(1)	8(11)

Figures in the parentheses show schools not having the facility

However, except in the aided high schools in the villages, even 'demonstrations' are not done; in most cases students do not even see the equipment and the chemicals at the high school, not to speak of students at the primary level. At present, the situation is not different in both the villages. As regards the other facilities (except teaching aids), Nediyrrippu fares

badly when compared to Edavanna; only two schools in the former have drinking water facilities and a public address system. Four schools in Nediyrrippu do not have urinals even for teachers; they go to nearby houses for lavatory facilities. A playground, which is a prerequisite for co-curricular activities, is lacking in three schools in Edavanna and four in the other village. Two schools in Edavanna and four in Nediyrrippu suffer from lack of transportation facilities.

The average area per government school in Edavanna is 176 cents while it is 95 cents in Nediyrrippu. The land size is inadequate in government schools in the former village (Table 4.5).

**Table 4.5 Average Area per School by Type of Management**

(in cents)

Schools	Levels	Edavanna				Nediyrrippu		
		Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
LPS	LP	69	100	0	72	46	50	48
UPS	LP & UP	200	0	0	200	265	0	265
	UP only	0	200	0	200	0	90	90
HS	UP & HS	0	750	0	750	0	0	0
	HS Only	0	0	0	0	0	301	301
HSS	UP, HS & HSS	99	0	300	200	0	0	0
Total		96	350	300	176	125	92	95

A comparison between the schools in the government and the private sectors reveals that in Edavanna, private schools have better facilities, and they are well maintained and kept in good condition. But no clear pattern is observed in this between the two types of schools in the backward village. However, a comparison between the two villages reveals that the forward village has some advantage over the other in the provision and maintenance of physical facilities in the school, a factor that probably accounts to some extent for its better educational development.

### **Additional Facilities Required**

A survey of facilities in the schools (Table 4.6) indicates that more rooms for both students and staff, and more benches and desks, other furniture and black boards are needed in the case of most of the schools in the villages. Surprisingly, more in the case of the forward village where the need is not felt acutely because two schools there are run under the shift system. At present, not much effort is being made to upgrade school facilities or maintaining properly the existing ones, by either the government or by the private schools. The position is more vulnerable in Nediyrrippu. In Edavanna, two government schools got funds from the District Panchayat and from the government under District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) for constructing new buildings and renovating the old ones. The PTAs of a few government schools in Edavanna also made contributions for the construction of a meal-shed, purchase of equipment, provision of drinking water, etc. In Nediyrrippu, except in

two schools even local effort (eg PTAs) was not forthcoming.

**Table 4.6 Facilities Still Required in the Schools**

Facilities Required	Edavanna		Nediyirippu	
	Govt.	Aided	Govt.	Aided
Class Rooms	34	2	13	9
Staff Rooms	4	0	2	2
Desks	377	70	209	150
Benches	249	20	55	80
Other Furniture*	144	51	32	39
Black Boards	34	10	15	6

\* Including chairs, almirah, rack, and other office furniture

### Enrolment of Students

What is the composition of enrolment in the two villages? What determines enrolment or non-enrolment of children? Answers to these questions lie deep in the gender-caste logistics and socio-economic conditions of the people in the villages. Table 4.7 shows that except at the upper primary stage in Edavanna, girls outnumber boys; this was not so until very recently. For instance, attendance registers of the schools showed that during 1985/86, boys outnumbered girls in all the schools in Nediyirippu and in the majority of them in Edavanna. Thus, gender equality in enrolment seems to have been achieved to a great extent - a sure indicator of the high level of social development in the study area.

**Table 4.7 Enrolment of Pupils by Management, 1996-97**

Management		Edavanna			Nediyirippu		
		LPS	UPS	HS	LPS	UPS	HS
Govt.	Boys	861	531	365	273	470	0
	Girls	834	484	380	304	464	0
Aided	Boys	112	655	654	917	275	1079
	Girls	149	606	707	931	311	1085
Unaided	Boys	0	69	58	0	0	0
	Girls	0	34	44	0	0	0
Total	Boys	973	1255	1077	1190	745	1079
	Girls	983	1124	1131	1235	775	1085

It is surprising to find that the educationally backward village has almost fully caught up with the other village in terms of gender equality. The majority of the children are enrolled in government schools in the forward village and in private schools in the backward village. This is quite expected since the number of government schools in the forward village is higher. In places where both private and government schools are available, parents, particularly those in the educationally forward village, prefer to send their children to private, unaided schools.

The distribution of enrolment of students by their caste and communities (Table 4.8) shows that though the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) form 14 per cent of the total population of the two villages, their share in enrolment is a little lower. About 10 per cent in Edavanna and nearly 11 per cent in Nediyrippu.

In all the schools except the Harijan Welfare School in the backward village, it is enrolment of Muslim children that predominates. School enrolment data for recent years suggest that SC enrolment at the secondary level of education is lately on the decline in both the villages. The reasons behind such decline deserve closer scrutiny.

**Table 4.8 Distribution of Students by Castes, Sex, and Type of Schools, 1996-97**

Caste		Edavanna				Nediyrippu		
		Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
SC/ST	Boys	8.9	0.7	-	5.0	8.2	3.8	5.3
	Girls	8.6	1.0	-	5.0	7.3	4.7	5.5
Muslims	Boys	32.2	47.8	61.3	39.9	32.8	37.9	35.5
	Girls	30.6	45.2	33.5	37.3	36.8	42.4	39.8
Others	Boys	9.6	2.9	2.6	6.4	8.7	6.4	7.1
	Girls	10.0	2.4	2.6	6.4	6.1	5.0	5.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### **Factors Affecting Enrolment**

The factors that influence enrolment of children include education of parents, parental occupation, household size and asset status and income of the family.

#### ***Enrolment Rate and Education of Parents***

Education of parents is a major factor in the enrolment and the performance of children in schools. In the educationally backward village, parents' educational level was low and had an adverse impact on the education of their children. But in the other village, education of parents is higher (Table 4.9). It was interesting to find that in Edavanna even illiterate parents were highly concerned about their children's education. This is a pointer to the fact that the enrolment of children in a society is very much contingent on its general educational ethos. In an educationally progressive society, the less educated parents aspire to give higher levels of education to their children.

We find that in the educationally forward village, even households with all its adults members 'illiterate,' have registered high rates of enrolment of their children. Thus, in contrary to the general belief, and our field experience does not reveal much of a link between the education of adult members and enrolment of children. Irrespective of the educational background of parents, we observe a universal interest in the villages in

enrolling children. Thus, it is the social ethos of a locality rather than the educational status of individual households concerned that influences its enrolment rates and educational performance.

**Table 4.9 Enrolment of Children by Type of School and Educational Status of Household**

Educational Status of Household	Percentage of Households	Percentage of Enrolment		
		Govt. Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
<b>Edavanna</b>				
Illiterate	5.4	4.6	3.5	3.5
Primary School	67.6	70.4	70.6	60.3
Secondary School	23.7	22.9	24.2	25.9
Higher Education	3.3	2.1	1.7	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Nediyirippu</b>				
Illiterate	3.0	3.1	3.3	8.3
Primary School	81.8	88.8	79.2	70.8
Secondary School	11.8	5.0	12.9	16.7
Higher Education	3.4	3.1	4.6	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

***Enrolment and Occupation of Parents***

Enrolment rates of children of parents engaged in manual occupations (farming, labour, sales and service) are higher than those of parents engaged in white-collar jobs (Table 4.10).

**Table 4.10 Enrolment of Children by Type of School and Occupational Status of Head of Household**

Occupation	Percent	Govt (per cent)	Aided (per cent)	Unaided (per cent)
<b>Edavanna</b>				
Farmers	12.4	14.3	13.4	8.6
Labourers	41.9	43.6	46.8	31.0
Sales	14.9	13.9	13.9	17.2
Service	10.0	8.2	9.1	13.8
Professional	7.9	4.3	5.2	17.3
Administrative	-	-	-	-
Clerical	5.0	5.4	3.9	5.2
NRE	7.9	10.3	7.3	6.9
Others	-	-	0.4	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Nediyirippu</b>				
Farmers	23.2	23.0	24.1	12.5
Labourers	39.9	49.1	38.3	25.0
Sales	5.9	6.2	5.6	16.6
Service	7.4	1.9	9.6	4.2
Professional	3.4	3.7	2.3	4.2
Administrative	2.5	1.2	3.3	-
Clerical	4.4	3.7	5.3	4.2
NRE	13.3	11.2	11.5	33.3
Others	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The occupation of parents does not seem to exert much influence on enrolment rates of children, in either of the villages.

### ***Enrolment of Children and Economic Status of Households***

The economic status of households too has little influence on the enrolment rates of their children, particularly at the primary school level. However, in the case of higher education, and enrolment in costly institutions, economic status has a definite influence. It shows that command over resources may be necessary but is not a sufficient condition for higher level educational attainment. In the educationally forward village, people are in general better off than in the backward village. The details of enrolment of children by type of school according to income levels of households are shown in Table 4.11.

**Table 4.11 School Enrolment by Household Income and Type of School**

Income of the households (Rs. thousand)	Percentage	Percentage of children enrolled in					
		Edavanna			Nediyirippu		
		Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Govt.	Aided	Unaided
<40	42.3	43.6	45.9	31.0	50.3	52.5	37.5
40-100	39.8	40.4	41.5	34.5	41.0	37.3	37.5
100-200	13.3	12.5	9.6	19.0	5.0	8.2	20.8
>200	4.6	3.5	3.0	15.5	3.7	2.0	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### ***Enrolment and Social Factors***

The importance of social factors like customs, traditions, beliefs and attitudes which used to exert considerable influence on the enrolment of children have vanished almost completely even in the educationally backward village. During our field survey, we came across only a few cases of non-enrolment of girls even at the high school level in Nediyirippu, for reasons of attaining puberty or marriage.

### **Non-attendance of Children**

In 1996-97, 92 per cent of the students enrolled in Edavanna and 88 per cent in Nediyirippu were found to have attended classes regularly (Table 4.12).

**Table 4.12 Students Regularly Attending Schools, 1996-97**

Caste	Edavanna			Nediyirippu		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
SC/ST	340	310	650	280	284	564
Muslims	2345	2274	4619	1955	2113	4068
Others	406	402	808	417	284	701
Total	3091	2986	6077	2652	2681	5333

Source: Attendance Registers of Schools

In Nediyrippu, the largest percentage of non-attendance is reported from among the Muslims and the SCs while in Edavanna it is from among the Muslims. Surprisingly, the attendance of SCs in this village is remarkably high at 99 per cent. Attendance of girl students is also observed to be irregular in Nediyrippu. In general, financial difficulty, household work, paid work outside home, social factors, lack of interest among parents, inability of children to cope with studies, etc are reasons often cited for non-attendance and dropouts (see Krishnaji, 1997).

Our field experience does not reveal any association between financial difficulty and non-attendance of children in either of the villages, particularly at the primary school level. However, the parents of a few boys at the secondary level, feel that their boys could work and supplement family income. These parents belong to the backward sections of the society. A few girl children belonging to poor, scheduled caste families in both the villages attend classes very irregularly because their mothers go for paid work outside and they have to look after younger siblings. This finding is not, however, typical of the sample population as a whole and therefore does not warrant generalisation.

Irregular attendance by a large number of Muslim girls in Nediyrippu was related to certain cultural factors, which did not give much importance to girls and women in family and social life. Some parents in the village do not show any interest even in the education of boys, not to speak of the education of girls. They send their children to schools only because others do the same. Involvement in household work has also been reported as a factor that constrains regular attendance, in the case of a few girls. In Nediyrippu, attendance is constrained by certain practices like *virunnupokku* (the practice of couples going with their children to the houses of their parents on special occasions like Bakrid and Ramzan and staying there for several days). In some cases, mothers with their children stay longer because of the absence of their husbands from home due to migration. Certain religious practices like *nerchas* (prayers and offerings made in the name of Prophet and holy saints) also affected attendance. Teachers reported that about 15 per cent of the total number of students attend classes irregularly due to such practices followed by their parents. No such practices were found in Edavanna and hence the attendance rate of Muslim students was high there; attendance of Muslim girls also was high since girls are not discriminated against this village on socio-religious grounds.

### **Discontinuation or Dropout of Children**

Among the States in India, stagnation and dropout rates have been the lowest in Kerala. In the study villages, dropouts are found to be less than two per cent. It is lower at the primary level than at the secondary level (Table 4.13). Dropping out occurs mainly among students of SC and backward Muslim families. Dropping out among the SC families is reported to be mainly due to financial difficulties and lack of interest on the part of the student.

In the backward village, among Muslim students, dropping out takes place mostly among girls, the reasons being social taboos and early marriage (Interview, retired Headmaster, Kottukara High School, 26/04/1998). A few boys in the high schools of both the villages abandoned studies for taking up jobs such as shop assistants, vehicle cleaners and head load

**Table 4.13 Students Dropped out by Level of Education, 1996-97**

Sections	Edavanna				Nediyirippu			
	SC/ST	Muslim	Others	Total	SC/ST	Muslim	Others	Total
LP	3	15	1	19	7	12	1	20
UP	6	29	6	41	3	24	0	27
HS	9	55	8	72	1	48	3	52
Total	18	99	15	132	11	84	4	99

workers. Some of these drop-outs were found to be supporting their parents with small contributions to family income; there are also others who squander away their earnings. In most States in India, children engaged in paid work reinforce non-enrolment and dropout (Krishnaji, 1997). But such cases are very rare if not non-existent in the villages of Kerala.

We find that drop-outs belong to socially and economically backward households and also orthodox Muslim families. Surprisingly, we find a few drop-outs also from the rich, non-Muslim families of Nediyirippu the parents of these drop-outs are either illiterate or only marginally literate. It shows that parental education has a negative impact on the dropout of children but if the social ethos changes, non-enrolment and dropouts disappear from even the most orthodox and the most socially backward sections of society.

### **Performance of Students**

The performance of students is analysed on the basis of their examination results in the highest classes in the school. For instance, at the lower primary level results of standard I were considered; at the upper primary stage, the results of standard VII were taken; and at the secondary level, the Secondary School Leaving Certificate (SSLC) Examination results were considered.

In the 1998 examination, almost 39 per cent of the students in schools in Edavanna had failed; 30 per cent students secured marks in the range of 35 per cent to 50 per cent; only 31 per cent got more than 50 per cent marks. The corresponding figures for Nediyirippu were 51 per cent, 21 per cent and 28 per cent. In both the villages, about 50 per cent of the Muslim students failed; but in the case of SC/ST students, performance in Edavanna was better (Table 4.14).

However, the percentage of pass in SSLC is considerably lower in the schools in Edavanna than in the school in Nediyirippu (Table 4.15). This is mainly due to the fact that about 30 per cent of the students in the high school in Nediyirippu belonged to adjoining villages whose educational standards were better than that of the students belonging to Nediyirippu (Interview, Manager, HS, Kottukara, 25/08/1998). However, the declining trend of educational performance observed in both the villages is disturbing (Table 4.15).

**Table 4.14 Performance of Students in Last Standard of the Primary School, 1997**

Marks (%)	Edavanna				Nediyirippu				
	Muslim	SC/ST	Other Hindus	Christian	Total	Muslim	SC/ST	Other Hindus	Total
< 35	344	43	18	0	405	659	110	106	900
	(50.4)	(27.7)	(8.9)	0	(38.8)	(49.4)	(56.1)	(43.6)	(50.7)
35-50	119	85	108	0	312	296	29	70	370
	(17.4)	(54.5)	(53.2)	0	(29.8)	(22.2)	(14.8)	(28.8)	(20.9)
50-60	121	23	42	2	188	197	38	20	255
	(17.7)	(14.7)	(20.7)	(66.6)	(18.0)	(14.7)	(19.4)	(8.2)	(14.4)
>60	99	5	35	1	140	183	19	47	249
	(14.5)	(3.1)	(17.2)	(33.4)	(13.4)	(13.7)	(9.7)	(19.4)	(14.0)
All	683	156	203	3	1045	1335	196	243	1774
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Figures in parentheses show percentage

**Table 4.15 Percentage of Pass in SSLC Examinations, 1980-1997**

Year	Edavanna		Nediyirippu
	Govt.	Aided	Aided
1980	35	49	71
1985	24	49	55
1990	19	39	62
1995	25	39	64
1997	19	34	66

Teachers, parents, presidents of PTA/MPTAs and other important persons of the locality mentioned several reasons for the poor student performance. High pupil-teacher ratio, poor school facilities, insincere teachers, whole-promotion system, conflict between the *Madrassa* and the school system of education, poor socio-economic background of students, and absence of adult male members in the households and poor level of involvement of parents are found to be the important reasons.

### ***Whole Promotion***

The Government of Kerala has been following since 1973 a policy of ‘whole promotion’ from standard I to I;. ‘Whole promotion’ strictly applies to promotion from class I to II. From II to V, up to 90 per cent of the students are promoted and from V to IX, up to 85 per cent are promoted. This policy has served to bring down dropout and stagnation rates in the school system in Kerala. The policy was introduced with the purpose of encouraging students to continue their studies at least up to the matriculation stage. Further, there is the belief that schooling is a socialisation process for the students and that they should continue in school even if they fail to make the grade.

The general impression is that the policy has led to lethargy in the system; since pupils are almost sure to get promoted, they do not apply their mind to studies, except those who are really motivated. It does not provide incentive for the more studious. Teachers do not have to take pains since student promotion is automatic. Parents do not have to bother about their children's school education either at least up to the standard X (Joseph, 1997).

Teachers, were in general, opposed to wholesale promotion on several scores: it did not consider ability or application of students, though it has the positive aspect of retaining children in school - of students belonging to socially and educationally backward sections of the society. Many students who reach the standard X do not even know how to read and write. According to an experienced teacher, about 15 per cent of students belonged to this category.

### ***Teachers***

The Government stipulates certain norms regarding the basic qualification and training for appointment as teachers. Most of the teachers, particularly the newly appointed ones, are over-qualified for the job (Table 4.16). If qualification alone was the criterion for efficiency, the efficiency of the system should have been enhanced. However, it has not. Presidents of PTAs and other knowledgeable individuals in the villages reported that majority of the teachers were insincere. Teachers are required to prepare a lesson plan at the beginning of every year and prepare the necessary teaching aids. The headmaster has to look at the plan and offer suggestions. But the vast majority of teachers do not follow these guidelines; some do not even take their classes regularly. During our school surveys, we found classes without teachers and students wandering around the school campus and along the roadside. Many teachers do not take afternoon classes and some leave school before time. This is particularly so in government schools in which some teachers do not subject themselves to any discipline. Most of them are members of teachers' unions that protect them irrespective of considerations of fairness.

**Table 4.16 Qualifications of Teachers by Types of Management, 1996/97**

Qualification	Edavanna				Nediyirippu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
SSLC/Pre-Degree +TTC	50	24	0	74	44	59	103
Degree+TTC/B.Ed	28	42	7	77	12	47	59
PG+TTC/B.Ed/M.Ed	5	8	1	14	2	13	15
Others	20	29	0	49	4	12	16
Total	103	103	8	214	62	131	193

In Nediyirippu village, the quality of teaching is poorer than in Edavanna. Most of the schools are under individual management; they take large amounts by way of donations from teachers, a practice that keeps off the more talented, who may be, with poor financial background. Most of the managers of the private schools and some PTA presidents have several complaints about the performance of the teachers.

Another factor affecting performance is that a large proportion of teachers belongs to distant places. About 37 per cent of teachers in the schools in Nediyrippu and 37 per cent in Edavanna are of this category. Many of them are unfamiliar with the local dialect, culture of the region and the background of the pupils. A teacher from outside may also be less equipped to interact sensitively with children in an unfamiliar environment. Further, teachers from distant places posted to (government) schools make all efforts to get transferred to their native place as quickly as possible.

### ***Socio-economic Background of Students***

According to the teachers, children of illiterate and lowly educated parents perform badly in school, as a rule. In Nediyrippu, most pupils belonged to poor households of Muslims and backward Hindu communities. Parents of these children show little interest in the educational performance of their children. About 90 per cent of these parents do not contact the teachers even once a year. Their children do not get the necessary support at home in educational matters. Moreover, most of the male parents in the households of the SCs are found to be liquor addicts; their children do not have a peaceful atmosphere essential for study, at home.

Muslim parents marry away their daughters soon after they attain puberty; little attention is paid to questions of remunerative employment for their daughters. Children of educated parents and parents engaged in high level occupations, that is, children with good family background, do well while those with poor family background - lowly educated parents, small cultivators and agricultural labour perform badly.

In the educationally backward village, the performance of students at the primary school level is extremely poor, the majority being first generation students.

### ***Pupil-Teacher Ratio***

Some teachers attributed poor student performance to high pupil-teacher ratio. In a congested class with a pupil-teacher ratio of around 50, it is very difficult to give individual attention to students and understand the problems and aptitudes of each of them (Interview, K K George, Government HS, Edavanna, 30/04/1998). We find, however, that the pupil-teacher ratio is high only in a few schools in the sample villages. On the average, the ratio is around 30, but marginally lower at the upper primary and secondary school stages in Edavanna (Table 4.17).

**Table 4.17 Pupil-Teacher Ratio by Levels of Education and Management, 1996-97**

Schools	Edavanna				Nediyrippu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
LPS	30	30	0	30	30	26	27
UPS	32	27	0	29	36	33	35
HS	41	28	25	31	0	33	33
All	34	28	25	31	34	30	32

### ***School Facilities***

School facilities certainly do have an impact on the performance of students. As noted earlier, many schools lack sufficient number of classrooms, library, laboratory, playground, etc. The incentive schemes like free supply of textbooks and mid-day meals are in disarray. In many schools free books are received late, only in the second half of the school year. The facilities are poorer in the backward village (Table 4.4).

### ***School Vs Madrassa***

As far as Muslim students are concerned, the compulsion to attend *Madrassa* education is an added reason for the poor performance. *Madrassa* education is compulsory for children at least up to the age of 12, ie the age by which they reach the standard VII. They attend the *Madrassa* either in a morning session (from 7.30 to 9.30 am) or in an evening session (from 7.30 to 9.30 pm). Nowadays in the *Madrassas*, homework for students has become an essential component of education. Children give priority to *Madrassa* homework over homework of regular schools. Teachers in Nediyrippu reported that about 30 per cent of the Muslim students at the primary level come late to school due to attending *Madrassa* classes up to 9.30 am; another 50 per cent go for night session at the *Madrassas*. Obviously there is a conflict involved between the school system and the *Madrassa* system. It is in Nediyrippu that the *Madrassa* system is more rigid and burdensome.

### ***Absence of Adult Male Members from Home***

According to panchayat officials, about 30 per cent of the families in Edavanna and 40 per cent in Nediyrippu have at least one member each employed in the Gulf countries. We find that 8 per cent of the migrants in the former and 14 per cent in the latter village are heads of the households. Teachers reported that in general, the wards of Gulf migrants perform badly. These students have large amounts of pocket money, which they spend lavishly; they are a corrupting influence on other students. Since their fathers or elders would be away from home for long periods, they grow wayward and rid themselves of all discipline at home. In most cases, mothers are illiterate or very lowly educated. According to teachers, the performance of male students belonging to this category is particularly poor. The chances of going to Gulf countries and making money spoil their interest in studies. It cannot be gain-said however, that Gulf migration had no positive effects; it has considerably improved the economic status of people in the villages. But, the Gulf-syndrome is posing a real problem in Nediyrippu, particularly to its educational advancement while its negative effect in Edavanna does not seem to be very high.

### ***Role of Parent Bodies***

The PTAs have a great role to play in improving the performance of students. In both the villages, PTAs have existed for a long period. Recently, MPTAs were also formed in primary schools. In Nediyrippu except in two schools, PTA exists only in name; the MPTA meets once or twice in a year in which about 10 per cent mothers attend. However, in Edavanna, the MPTA is very active and in its meeting, the performance of students is evalu-

ated (Table 4.18). Even the PTAs meet once or twice a year; it is active in non-academic matters like mid-day meal programme, and provision and maintenance of infrastructural facilities in schools.

**Table 4.18 Functioning of Parent Teacher Association/Mother PTA, 1996/97**  
(No. of Schools)

Sections		Edavanna			Nediyirippu		
		Govt.	Aided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
Active	PTA	6	2	8	1	2	3
	MPTA	8	3	11	3	4	7
Inactive	PTA	2	1	3	3	5	8
	MPTA	0	0	0	1	3	4

Note: In the unaided schools, PTA/MPTA does not exist

There is a qualitative difference in the functioning of MPTAs and PTAs as regards the two villages. In all endeavours PTAs/MPTAs in Edavanna are more active than that in the other village. The active involvement of parents has resulted in improved performance of schools, particularly at the primary level in Edavanna. However, at the secondary stage, much remains to be done in both the villages (Table 4.19).

**Table 4.19 Involvement of PTA/MPTA, 1996-97** (No. of Schools)

Activity	Edavanna						Nediyirippu					
	Govt.		Aided		All		Govt.		Aided		All	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Co-curricular	1	5	0	3	1	8	1	1	0	3	4	1
Discipline	4	1	2	1	6	2	0	1	1	0	1	1
Noon-feeding	8	0	3	0	11	0	1	0	3	0	4	0
Maintenance	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
More Facilities	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	1	0

A = PTA, B = MPTA

### ***Motives for Sending Children to Schools***

The performance of children is affected also by the motives of parents. In the case of 75 per cent of the children in Edavanna and 77 per cent in Nediyirippu, parents gave first priority to some remunerative employment for their children (Table 4.20).

For 12 per cent of the children in the former village and 14 per cent in the latter village, the first priority of parents was to mould their daughters into good housewives.

**Table 4.20 Motivation for Sending Children to Schools** (*No. of children*)

Motivation	Edavanna				Nediyirippu			
	I Priority	%	II Priority	%	I Priority	%	II Priority	%
Employment	429	75.4	91	19.6	378	77.5	78	19.6
Social Status	8	1.4	114	24.6	22	4.5	141	35.3
Read and Write	33	5.8	112	24.2	14	2.9	127	31.8
Acquire Skill	4	0.7	16	3.4	6	1.2	4	1.0
Benefit	5	0.9	3	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Better Citizen	21	3.7	3	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Better Wife/Husband	69	12.1	124	26.8	67	13.7	49	12.3
Others	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2	0	0.0
Total	569	100.0	463	100.0	488	100.0	399	100.0
No. Second Priority			106				89	

To conclude, we find that the quality of education, in terms of school access, facilities, attendance and dropout, is better in Edavanna than in Nediyirippu. But in the performance of children, both the villages are poor. Factors like ‘whole promotion’ system, unaccountability of teachers, inadequate school facilities and narrow motivations of parents are the factors mainly responsible for the poor performance. Factors like poor socio-economic background, the dichotomous character of the school, the *Madrassa* systems of education and the Gulf syndrome have all played negative roles.

## 5. Costs and Finances of Education

Having looked into the qualitative aspect, we now turn to a discussion on the cost and finances of school education in the sample villages. This analysis is expected to give useful insights into the problem of identifying and mobilising additional resources and allocating them among alternative educational uses. The exercise might therefore help devise measures for relieving the government of its ever growing burden of educational expenditure.

### *Cost of Education*

It is defined as expenditure incurred by the parents and the government as well as private institutions for educational purposes (Salim, 1997).

### *Institutional Cost*

Institutional cost comprises expenses incurred by government or private agencies for providing facilities of education. It may be classified into recurring and non-recurring cost. The former is incurred every year while the latter occurs, in general, once for all. In other words, the former

is the cost incurred for carrying out the process of education while the latter is the cost of creating the infrastructure for that process. The major components of non-recurring or capital cost are land, buildings, furniture, equipment and all other 'fixed' items of expenditure. The recurring costs include expenses on salary of the staff, maintenance and repair of buildings, furniture and equipment, teaching aids, consumables, games and sports goods, noon-meals and all other 'variable' items.

The estimation of capital cost is quite difficult. It involves estimation of capital stock of all assets of the schools, assigning a working life to all capital assets, and finding out their depreciation and implicit interest rates (Salim, 1997). In the present study, the present value of all assets is estimated with the help of managers, headmasters, PTA presidents and officials of the Public works Department (PWD). On the basis of discussions with PWD officials in charge of construction of government school buildings and inspection of school buildings constructed by private managements, the working life of buildings (permanent and semi-permanent combined) was fixed as 50 years. The life of equipment, furniture and all other non-recurring items, except land, was arbitrarily fixed as 20 years. As land is an 'indestructible gift of nature' its working life does not arise.

In order to obtain the depreciation rate, the straight-line method, which assumes depreciation at an equal rate for every year of its existence is used. The implicit interest cost reflects the foregone opportunities of renting out the buildings, equipment, etc. for non-educational purposes. Since the objective of education is to develop human resources, social considerations are more important than pure business motives. Hence we take a moderate interest rate of 10 per cent per annum which is around the bank rate of the Reserve Bank of India. By combining the rate of depreciation and interest, we take 12 per cent (2 per cent depreciation and 10 per cent interest) of the present value of buildings and 15 per cent (5 per cent depreciation and 10 per cent interest) of the present value of all other items except land as total non-recurring or capital costs per year. In the case of land, the annual rent is taken as the capital cost. We follow the method adopted by the PWD, which fixes six per cent of the market value of land as its annual rent. Now the capital cost per student place and recurring cost per student are obtained by dividing these totals by the number of students enrolled.

**Table 5.1 Total Assets (at present value) in School Sector of Village as on April, 1997**  
(in Rs. Thousand)

Items	Edavanna				Nediyirippu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
Land	12440.0	8150.0	3000.0	23590.0	1275.0	12315.5	13590.50
Building	4035.0	5000.0	800.0	9835.0	2200.0	4517.0	6717.0
Equipment	88.9	207.5	212.0	508.4	25.7	45.7	71.4
Furniture	405.4	687.0	36.3	1128.7	222.6	657.9	880.5
Others	64.2	25.0	15.1	104.3	22.5	60.4	82.9
Total	17033.5	14069.5	4063.4	35166.4	3745.8	17596.5	21342.3

Table 5.1 shows total capital assets at their present value in the school sector of the village. We find that as on April 1997, the total assets of Edavanna amounted to Rs 251 lakh while that of Nediyirippu was Rs 213 lakh. A considerable share of the total village resources is

invested for creating the infrastructure for education. In the former village, 67 per cent of these assets is constituted by land, 28 per cent by buildings; in the latter village, the corresponding figures are 64 per cent land, 31 per cent. In all schools, except the government schools, in Edavanna, where building is the largest component, land constitutes the largest share. The Table further reveals that the government or private agency did not give importance to providing furniture, equipment and books.

Annual rent of land, depreciation and implicit interest rate of buildings and other non-recurring costs together came to Rs 28.5 lakh in Edavanna and Rs 17.7 lakh in Nediyririppu during 1997 (Table 5.2). The non-recurring cost per student was Rs 432 in Edavanna and Rs 296 in Nediyririppu, ie about half the amount of the former (Table 5.3).

**Table 5.2 Total Capital Cost of Education in the Villages** (in Rs '000)

Items	Edavanna				Nediyririppu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
Land	746.4	489.0	180.0	1415.4	76.5	738.9	8154.4
Building	484.2	600.0	96.0	1180.2	264.0	542.0	806.0
Equipment	13.3	31.2	31.8	76.3	3.9	6.9	10.8
Furniture	60.8	103.0	5.4	169.2	33.4	98.7	132.1
Others	9.6	3.7	2.3	15.6	3.4	9.1	12.5
Total	1314.3	1226.9	315.5	2856.7	381.2	1395.6	1776.8

**Table 5.3 Capital Cost per Student Place in the Villages** (in Rs)

Items	Edavanna				Nediyririppu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
Land	215	164	1161	214	36	190	136
	(56.9)	(39.9)	(57.1)	(49.5)	(20.0)	(52.9)	(45.9)
Building	139	201	619	178	124	140	134
	(36.8)	(48.9)	(30.4)	(41.2)	(68.2)	(39.0)	(45.3)
Equipment	4	10	205	12	2	2	2
	(1.0)	(2.4)	(10.1)	(2.8)	(1.1)	(0.6)	(0.7)
Furniture	17	35	35	26	16	25	22
	(4.5)	(8.5)	(1.7)	(6.0)	(8.9)	(7.0)	(7.4)
Others	3	1	15	2	2	2	2
	(0.8)	(0.2)	(0.7)	(0.5)	(1.1)	(0.6)	(0.7)
Total	378	411	2035	432	180	359	296
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

A classification of unit capital cost by type of management indicates that in the former village, government school costs (Rs 3,789) were lesser than costs in private aided schools. When compared to costs in unaided school, they are five times lower. In Nediyririppu, non-recurring costs in the government school was Rs 180, which is 99 per cent less than that in Edavanna.

Thus, we may say that school education facilities in Edavanna are better than in the other village. Further, investment per student in the government schools is found to be lower than in aided and unaided private schools.

Table 5.4 shows that the total recurring cost of education per year is Rs. 108 lakh in Edavanna and Rs 96 lakh in Nediyririppu. A classification by components shows that almost 96 per cent of the total recurring cost in the former and 98 per cent in the latter village is incurred on salary to teaching and non-teaching staff.

**Table 5.4 Total Recurring Expenditure per Year, 1996/97 (in Rs. '000)**

Items	Edavanna				Nediyririppu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
Salary	4698.2	5402.0	220.8	10321.0	2816.6	6615.3	9431.9
Maintenance	21.5	36.5	4.0	62.0	6.0	38.8	44.8
Teaching Aids & Consumables	9.5	10.5	1.5	21.5	4.5	11.7	16.2
Games & Sports	5.6	5.2	2.0	12.8	1.2	9.5	10.7
Noon-meals	228	52.7	0.0	280.7	5.5	12.6	18.1
Others	20.5	61.1	2.5	84.1	6.4	61.6	68.0
Total	4983.3	5568.0	230.8	10782.1	2840.2	6749.5	9589.7

A school in Edavanna spent, on the average, Rs 1,626 on recurring cost; the corresponding figure for Nediyririppu was Rs 1,594 (Table 5.5). In both the villages, the schools are short of funds for maintaining the existing facilities and providing extra-curricular activities. The deficiency of funds is a major handicap for improvements in building quality and basic facilities.

**Table 5.5 Annual Recurring Expenditure per Student by its Components 1996-97 (in Rs)**

Items	Edavanna				Nediyririppu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
Salary	1351	1808	1424	1559	1321	1704	1568
	(94.2)	(97.0)	(95.6)	(95.9)	(99.1)	(98.0)	(98.4)
Maintenance	6	12	26	9	3	10	7
	(0.4)	(0.6)	(1.7)	(0.6)	(0.2)	(0.5)	(0.4)
Teaching Aids & Consumables	3	4	10	3	2	3	3
	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.7)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.2)
Games & Sports	2	2	13	2	1	3	2
	(0.2)	(0.1)	(0.9)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.2)	(0.1)
Noon-meals	66	18	0	40	3	3	3
	(4.6)	(1.0)	(0)	(2.4)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.2)
Others	6	20	16	13	3	16	11
	(0.4)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(0.8)	(0.2)	(0.9)	(0.7)
Total	1434	1864	1489	1626	1333	1739	1594
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Consumable = Those required in the laboratory for daily use; chalks etc

Adding both recurring and non-recurring expenditure, we arrive at the total institutional cost per student in a year (Table 5.6). We find that a school in Edavanna spent Rs 2058 per student; in Nediyrrippu, the corresponding amount was lower at Rs 1,890. In both the villages, the cost is lower in government schools than in private schools. Further, it was found that except in the case of the unaided school, nearly four-fifths to nine-tenths of the total cost is accounted for by recurring items. By taking into account fees and other receipts of the school including PTA/MPTA donations, we find that a school in the former village gets only Rs 29 per student (Rs 28 in the other village), which is only 1.5 per cent of the total cost of education in the village.

**Table 5.6 Institutional Cost and Receipt per Student, 1996/97** (in Rs)

Items	Edavanna				Nediyrrippu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Combined	Govt.	Aided	Combined
Recurring	1434	1864	1489	1626	1333	1739	1594
	(79.1)	(81.9)	(42.3)	(79.0)	(88.1)	(82.9)	(84.3)
Non-recurring	378	411	2035	432	180	359	296
	(20.9)	(18.1)	(57.7)	(31.0)	(11.9)	(17.1)	(15.7)
Total	1812	2275	3524	2058	1513	2098	1890
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Receipts	19	16	497	29	26	29	28
% of Costs to Receipt	1.0	0.7	14.0	1.4	1.7	1.4	1.5

### ***Private (Household) Cost***

Institutional cost gives only one version of the cost structure. It does not consider expenses incurred by households on education. We define private cost as expenses incurred by the households for school education. Private cost may be classified into direct private cost and indirect private cost. The former is defined as the expenses incurred directly by households for the education of their children. The major components of direct private cost are fees (special fees and fines in the school and private tuition fee), and costs of books, stationery, uniforms, travel, study tour and others.

Indirect private cost is the opportunity cost, which refers to the earnings foregone by students while receiving education. It is found from the field survey that no child at the primary school going-age (5-11) goes for any employment; at the secondary school-going age (11-14) also, students taking up employment is rare. Hence the indirect cost of schooling per student is treated as zero.

Table 5.7 indicates that the average parental expenditure on education per child is Rs 1,178 in Edavanna and Rs 896 in Nediyrrippu ie 32 per cent less than the latter. Among the components, expenses on uniform, fees and stationery occupy the first three ranks in the order of magnitude. The share of fees in the backward village is very small (seven per cent) while in the forward village, it is high (22 per cent).

The high cost of fees in Edavanna is due to the fact that a number of students go for private tuition and also that a number of them attend unaided schools where they charge higher tuition and other fees.

**Table 5.7 Average Expenditure on Education Per Child by Components**  
(in Rupees)

Items	Edavanna	%	Nediyirippu	%
Fees	256	21.7	36	7.0
Books	188	15.9	178	19.9
Stationery	194	16.5	216	24.1
Uniform	295	25.0	301	33.6
Travel	70	6.0	70	7.8
Tour	34	2.9	6	0.7
Others	141	12.1	62	6.9
Total	1178	100.0	896	100.0

#### ***Socio-economic Status and Private Cost of Education***

Private cost of education depends on the socio-economic status of parents, determined largely by their income, occupation and education. In order to find cost variations according to status, we have classified occupation into seven categories, and income and education into four categories each.

On the basis of information collected regarding annual family income, parents are divided into low (income below Rs 40,000) lower middle (between Rs 40,000 and Rs 1,00,000), upper middle (between Rs 1,00,000 and Rs 2,00,000) and high (above Rs 2,00,000) (Table 5.8). Following the Census pattern (1981), occupation is grouped into farmers, labourers, sales, service, professional, administrative and clerical (Table 5.9). The first four are broadly grouped into low level and the last three into high level occupations. Similarly, parents are classified as being illiterate, or having primary, secondary, or higher education.

Our study shows a positive association between income of the parent and expenditure on education; as income increases, expenditure on education also increases. In Edavanna, a low income group parent incurs Rs 906 and a high income group parent Rs 2,640, which is about thrice higher; the corresponding figures for Nediyirippu are Rs 838 and 1386 - almost 65 per cent higher.

An analysis of the pattern of expenditure of the students belonging to households of different occupations (Table 5.9) shows that in Edavanna, labourers spend the lowest amount and professionals and salesmen the highest amount per student. In Nediyirippu, parents engaged in 'clerical' jobs incur the lowest amount, while businessmen spend the largest amount. The total expenditure of farmers, labourers and Non-Resident Emigrants (NREs) are almost the same in both the villages; but is considerably different in the case of other occupations. However, a clear pattern is not observed between the low level and the high level occupations.

High education groups spend considerably higher amounts than the low education groups in Edavanna while in the other village no clear pattern is observed (Table 5.10). Thus the statement that higher the education of the parent, the higher will be the expenditure on education of the child was proved only in Edavanna.

**Table 5.8 Education Expenditure per Child by Income Group**

(in Rs)

Items of Expenses	Edavanna				Nediyirippu			
	Educational Status of the Parent							
	Illitera- te	Primary	Secon- dary	Higher	Illiterate	Primary	Secon- dary	Higher
Fees	28	185	447	730	115	62	39	86
	(3.8)	(18.6)	(27.5)	(27.8)	(16.3)	(6.7)	(5.9)	(10.1)
Books	142	173	231	241	145	181	183	147
	(19.2)	(17.5)	(14.2)	(9.2)	(20.6)	(19.3)	(27.5)	(17.4)
Stationery	175	174	249	256	189	220	186	224
	(23.7)	(17.6)	(15.3)	(9.7)	(26.8)	(23.5)	(28.0)	(26.4)
Uniform	219	275	355	375	162	322	192	293
	(29.5)	(27.7)	(21.8)	(14.3)	(23.0)	(34.4)	(28.9)	(34.6)
Travel	30	43	75	777	71	76	28	38
	(4.0)	(4.3)	(4.6)	(29.6)	(10.0)	(8.1)	(4.3)	(4.5)
Tour	29	29	49	51	0	4	20	10
	(3.9)	(2.9)	(3.0)	(1.9)	(0.0)	(0.5)	(2.9)	(1.2)
Others	118	113	222	196	23	71	17	49
	(15.9)	(11.4)	(13.6)	(7.5)	(3.3)	(7.5)	(2.5)	(5.8)
Total	741	992	1628	2626	705	936	665	847
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

### Capability of the Parents and Private Cost of Education

In Kerala, education up to the higher secondary stage (up to class XII) is provided free of cost both in government and private (aided) schools. Almost the entire recurring expenditure of these schools is borne by the State government.

Thus, school education is subsidised equally for all students irrespective of the economic background of their parents (for a discussion on the subsidisation of higher education, see Salim, 1995; and Salim and Nair 1997).

The idea that free education is more efficient and equitable than education for which tuition fees are levied is being challenged in several countries (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985).

In the sample villages, a large proportion of the parents is found in a position to give fees in

**Table 5.9 Education Expenditure Per Child by Occupation Group** *(in Rs)*

Items/occupation	Fa	La	Sa	Ser	Pro	Adm	Cler	NRE
<b>Edavanna</b>								
Fees	184	106	646	442	492	0	173	162
	(18.1)	(12.1)	(34.4)	(30.2)	(25.6)	(0.0)	(16.8)	(15.4)
Books	174	171	245	220	210	0	153	166
	(17.1)	(19.5)	(13.0)	(15.0)	(10.9)	(0.0)	(14.8)	(15.7)
Stationery	175	188	202	185	225	0	261	197
	(17.2)	(21.4)	(15.0)	(12.6)	(11.7)	(0.0)	(25.4)	(18.7)
Uniform	291	257	338	340	465	0	251	277
	(28.6)	(29.3)	(18.0)	(23.2)	(24.2)	(0.0)	(24.4)	(26.3)
Travel	48	40	152	54	249	0	19	43
	(4.7)	(4.6)	(8.1)	(3.7)	(12.9)	(0.0)	(1.9)	(4.1)
Tour	22	21	46	50	79	0	15	64
	(2.2)	(2.4)	(2.5)	(3.4)	(4.1)	(0.0)	(1.5)	(6.1)
Others	122	94	247	175	204	0	157	145
	(12.0)	(10.7)	(13.2)	(11.9)	(10.6)	(0.0)	(1.2)	(13.7)
Total	1016	877	1876	1466	1924	0	1029	1054
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
<b>Nediyirippu</b>								
Fees	86	27	143	12	79	33	32	139
	(8.7)	(3.4)	(12.2)	(1.6)	(7.3)	(3.2)	(4.9)	(13.2)
Books	185	159	200	201	179	274	140	202
	(18.8)	(20.2)	(17.1)	(26.4)	(16.4)	(26.6)	(21.7)	(19.3)
Stationery	217	209	215	222	239	258	202	225
	(22.0)	(26.5)	(18.3)	(29.1)	(21.9)	(25.0)	(31.3)	(21.4)
Uniform	350	289	267	295	379	372	201	280
	(35.5)	(36.7)	(22.9)	(38.5)	(34.7)	(36.1)	(31.2)	(26.7)
Travel	81	42	233	11	77	0	35	111
	(8.3)	(5.4)	(20.0)	(1.4)	(7.0)	(0.0)	(5.4)	(10.6)
Tour	4	1	19	6	36	17	0	13
	(0.4)	(0.2)	(1.7)	(0.8)	(3.3)	(1.6)	(0.0)	(1.2)
Others	62	59	91	17	103	77	35	80
	(6.3)	(7.6)	(7.8)	(2.2)	(9.4)	(7.5)	(5.5)	(7.6)
Total	985	786	1168	764	1092	1031	645	1050
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Note: (1) Fa= Farmer, La= labourer, Sa= Sales, Ser= Service, Pro=Professional, Adm=Administrative, Cle= Clerical, NRE= Non-Resident Emigrant.

part or full. The potential of the parents to bear the cost of school education becomes obvious by indicators like the proportion of education expenditure to the total household expenditure.

**Table 5.10 Education Expenditure Per Child by Educational Status of the Parent**  
(in Rs)

Items of Expenses	Edavanna				Nediyirippu			
	Educational Status of the Parent							
	Illitera- te	Primary	Secon- dary	Higher	Illiterate	Primary	Secon- dary	Higher
Fees	28	185	447	730	115	62	39	86
	(3.8)	(18.6)	(27.5)	(27.8)	(16.3)	(6.7)	(5.9)	(10.1)
Books	142	173	231	241	145	181	183	147
	(19.2)	(17.5)	(14.2)	(9.2)	(20.6)	(19.3)	(27.5)	(17.4)
Stationery	175	174	249	256	189	220	186	224
	(23.7)	(17.6)	(15.3)	(9.7)	(26.8)	(23.5)	(28.0)	(26.4)
Uniform	219	275	355	375	162	322	192	293
	(29.5)	(27.7)	(21.8)	(14.3)	(23.0)	(34.4)	(28.9)	(34.6)
Travel	30	43	75	777	71	76	28	38
	(4.0)	(4.3)	(4.6)	(29.6)	(10.0)	(8.1)	(4.3)	(4.5)
Tour	29	29	49	51	0	4	20	10
	(3.9)	(2.9)	(3.0)	(1.9)	(0.0)	(0.5)	(2.9)	(1.2)
Others	118	113	222	196	23	71	17	49
	(15.9)	(11.4)	(13.6)	(7.5)	(3.3)	(7.5)	(2.5)	(5.8)
Total	741	992	1628	2626	705	936	665	847
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

The distribution of average annual household expenditure by its components (Table 5.11) shows that school expenditure of the households constitutes less than 7 per cent of the total expenditure in both the villages. It is also found that lower income groups spend a larger share for education than higher income groups do in Edavanna; but in the other village no pattern is observed (Table 5.12).

**Table 5.11 Average Annual Household Expenditure by Components, 1996-97 (in Rs)**

Items	Edavanna		Nediyirippu	
	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
Food	24969	62.17	23701	73.18
Clothing	5039	12.55	3752	11.58
Medical	2274	5.66	1587	4.90
Education	2783	6.93	2154	6.65
Others	5098	12.69	1193	3.68
Total	40162	100.0	32387	100.0

**Table 5.12 Average Household Expenditure by Income Group (in Rs)**

Items	Edavanna	Percent	Nediyirippu	Percent
<40	12187	30.4	14028	43.31
40-100	14856	36.99	14001	43.23
100-200	7867	19.59	3070	9.48
>200	5252	13.08	1288	3.98
Total	40162	100.0	32387	100.0

Expenditure on school education as proportion of annual family income works out to about 4 percent in the two villages. Thus we find that the financial burden of the households on account of school education is on the whole very small; it is smaller still in the case of upper middle and high level income groups (Table 5.13).

**Table 5.13 Fees, Education Expenditure, Household Expenditure and Household Income**

Income	Exp. Edu	H. Exp	Income	Fees	Percentage			
Edavanna	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
					(1/2)	(1/3)	(4/1)	(2/3)
<40	222884	2937080	2723400	35797	7.59	8.18	16.06	107.85
40-100	261875	3580391	5830200	54413	7.31	4.49	20.78	61.41
100-200	117232	1895932	4750800	24273	6.18	2.47	20.71	39.91
>200	68629	1265629	3456000	31274	5.42	1.99	45.57	36.62
Total	670620	9679032	16760400	145757	6.93	4.00	21.73	57.75
Nediyirippu								
<40	208541	2847713	2797400	9805	7.32	7.45	4.70	101.80
40-100	166006	2842186	5099600	13475	5.84	3.26	8.12	55.73
100-200	44762	623162	1664400	6692	7.18	2.69	14.95	37.44
>200	18015	261495	1754000	630	6.89	1.03	3.50	14.91
Total	437324	6574556	11315400	30602	6.65	3.86	7.00	58.10

In both the villages, the percentage share of fees to total education expenditure is high among the richer sections than among the poor. Table 5.14 shows that the proportion of fees to annual educational expenditure is 21 per cent in Edavanna and 7 per cent in Nediyirippu. Among income groups in Edavanna, the highest spends the largest amount on fees; middle income groups spend about 21 per cent of the total education expenditure on fees. But in Nediyirippu, all income groups except the upper middle class, spend only a very small amount on fees. However, we find that more than 95 per cent of the fees in both the villages go towards private tuition and unaided schools.

We also find that the parents belonging to high income groups spend considerably large amounts on non-essential items - such as costly uniforms and stationery articles. All these point to the possibility of introducing a discriminatory system of fees in which households,

which are able to are required to pay more towards institutional educational costs. Poor households, however, would find it difficult to send their children to school even under the present system of 'free' education (Kiran Bhatta, 1988; Krishnaji, 1997; and Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985).

**Table 5.14 Receipts from Fees and Annual Private Costs (in Rs)**

Income	Edavanna			Nediyirippu		
	Fees	Pvt. Cost	Percent	Fees	Pvt. Cost	Percent
<40	146	906	16.11	39	838	4.65
40-100	234	1144	20.45	72	883	8.15
100-200	357	1724	20.71	176	1178	14.94
>200	1203	2640	45.57	48	1386	3.46
Total	256	1179	21.17	63	896	7.03

### **Sources of Financing School Education in the Villages**

Education is both a private and a social investment that is shared by parents, government, private individuals and agencies. The pattern of sharing the burden of education varies considerably from country to country both in the share of government and private funds spent on education and in the mechanisms by which the costs of education are financed (see Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985). In Kerala, the State government since the introduction of the modern education system, finances the recurring expenditure of aided educational institutions almost entirely.

However, the local community finances most of the initial non-recurring expenditure on land, buildings, etc with some matching grant from the government. The process of government funding of the recurring expenditure of private aided institutions began with 1950s; since the beginning of the 1970s the government undertook the entire burden of recurring expenditure of educational institutions. At present only the non-recurring expenditure is born by private (aided) managements (Salim and Nair, 1997).

The major agencies that of finance education besides the Central and the State governments, are private school managements, local bodies, local community, and PTAs/MPTAs. Fees including tuition fees, registration or examination fees used to be important sources of finance in educational institutions (other than lower primary schools) till about the 1950s. Fees from classes V to X were abolished during the 1950s and the 1960s. It was in the early 1990s that tuition fees in classes XI and XII were also abolished in Kerala, only self-financing private schools which constitute less than five per cent of the total schools in Kerala (Government of Kerala, 1997:s129) charge fees.

However, a nominal special fee is charged in the government and aided schools which is used for the purchase of teaching aids, consumables like chalk, etc. In the study villages, except one unaided school, no institution in Edavanna charges tuition or examination fee (Table 5.15). Donations by parents of students and endowments are almost non-existent in the villages. Local bodies like panchayats so far have not contributed any significant amount to the schools except in one school in Edavanna.

In the government schools where PTAs are active, PTA funds are a supplementary source for running the mid-day meal programme; the government supplies only provisions such as rice, gram and oil and a contribution of 10 paise per student for meeting daily expenses of cooking and servicing food.

In the government school, PTAs provide funds for creating basic facilities such as urinals and water supply, purchase of library books, preparation of playgrounds and repair of furniture. However, per student receipts of school from PTA and special fee are very marginal and form less than two per cent of the total recurring receipts (Table 5.15). In the private schools monetary support received from PTAs is even less.

**Table 5.15 Sources of Receipts in the School Per Student** (in Rs)

Items	Edavanna				Nediyirippu		
	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt.	Aided	Total
Fees	4.5	9.5	487	18.1	13.1	20.6	18.9
PTA/MPTA	14.1	6.3	0	10.5	12.9	8.5	10.1
Total	18.6	15.8	487	28.6	26.0	29.1	29.0
Proportions of Receipts to Recurring Costs	1.3	0.8	32.7	1.1	2.0	1.7	1.8

In the private schools, all the capital expenditure is financed by the management itself. Three private schools in Edavanna and one in Nediyirippu are under the management of community organisations and public charitable institutions. During the initial period of functioning, the school management raised funds through resource mobilisation drives within and outside the village (Section 3). As noted earlier, the leaders of these organisations made great sacrifices for eliciting community support and collecting money from the people. The enthusiasm evinced by the founders of these schools has not been sustained over time. But the schools under individual private management (one in Edavanna and seven in Nediyirippu), mobilised funds from their own sources to finance capital expenditure. In due course, all the private schools except one in Edavanna found another source; they started taking compulsory contributions from teachers for appointment. Now the jobs go to the highest bidders; the current rate in the villages for a teaching post in private school is in the range of Rs 1 lakh to Rs 3.5 lakh. Community management in both the villages utilises its funds for upgradation of school facilities. However, in the case of individual management, only a part of the contributions goes towards upgradation and maintenance of facilities; the remaining is used for private purposes. In fact, this new source of finance has damaged the credibility of the management and caused the drying up of most of the public contributions and charities of yester years. Interestingly, a private school in Edavanna run by a charitable organisation does not take donations from teachers. It continues to receive funds from public charity and other philanthropic sources.

The contribution of the local community towards school education finance seems to have been generous. Local contributions have come in the form of purchase of land, construction of buildings and acquisition of furniture and equipment. It was observed that the leaders of a charitable organisation that runs an unaided school in Edavanna collected contributions in

large amounts from emigrant Keralites and others residing in Gulf countries. The amount thus collected was used for constructing school buildings and purchasing furniture and equipment. Some rich people of the locality donated land for schools and even constructed school buildings. Had there been no community effort, most of the school buildings would not have come up. Unfortunately, such voluntary community effort is hardly seen nowadays, though it exists in much smaller measure in a few areas. Perhaps, the 'social need' for such voluntary effort of the local communities is much lower now since basic educational facilities exist in almost all the areas in the State.

Another source of community support was direct labour. In the case of many government schools, the local community undertook to build schools. It is difficult to prepare an estimate of the value of such contributions. Thus it is found in the villages, local community contributions, donations by the teachers and the individual private management's own resources have played a pivotal role in financing expenditure incurred in creating facilities for school education. In the case of government schools, the government have supplemented local efforts with matching grants. However, the State government finances almost the entire recurring expenditure of the government and aided schools.

The government finds it difficult to devote more funds either for upgrading the existing facilities or for creating facilities anew owing to severe financial stringency. As a result, the quality of education suffers. In fact, this is the experience of all developing countries. Hence, several countries have started paying increasing attention to alternative methods of financing education such as introducing fees, mobilising community resources through local bodies and levying education fees (Meerman, 1980). Further, some countries have realised that high levels of subsidy for education do not necessarily ensure equal opportunities and may even bring about undesirable transfers of income from the poor to the rich. Hence some have suggested that levying fees combined with granting loans to needy students, would constitute a more equitable policy (Fields; 1975; Psacharopoulos, 1977; Armitage and Sabot, 1984). According to this, higher income students would pay higher share of the cost of their education, thus providing resources for subsidies for the less fortunate in the form of selective scholarships. The State Government is also thinking in terms of reducing the burden of financing education by finding alternative sources and entrusting the responsibility of primary education to local bodies.

The study shows that the potential for increasing cost recovery by raising fees exists in the villages. Parents are worried about the quality of schooling and are willing to pay tuition fees for the education of their children, provided the quality of education is improved. The fact that some parents are paying substantial sums for private tuition and some are sending children to expensive unaided schools attest to parents' willingness to pay for education.

## **6. Summary and Conclusion**

Educational development has not been uniform across localities and regions. Some villages in Kerala have shown spectacular progress in education while others have lagged behind. Obviously micro-level factors account for such differential educational development in the villages. Our study attempts to analyse the determinants of educational development at the village level. It is hoped that the study will offer insights into local level planning for

uplifting educationally backward villages. Our enquiry may also throw some light on the educational burden of the government and the capacity of the local community to finance education.

It is found that several favourable factors were at work in one of the two sample villages. Socio-religious reform movements and the attitudinal changes triggered off by them, local community efforts, government intervention, political pressures, a 'forward looking' *Madrassa* system, private voluntary efforts (individual and corporate), Gulf migration and improvement in the economic plight of the people were the major factors that helped further education renaissance in Edavanna since 1945. Among these, the Mujahid movement was central and one that linked the other factors together. The socio-religious changes effected by the movement resulted in the transformation of the whole ethos, praxis and ways of life of the society in the village. In fact, these changes opened up a new track in both religious and modern education. People of the village, in large numbers, started seeking secular education and employment. Education took the form of a social movement. The reformers encouraged girls' education, which was once despised. People began to regard education as the "door to a new earth and a new heaven" and certainly a large number of educated people in the village have been able to find good jobs.

The study shows that effort by private corporate agencies and the local community have been remarkable in bringing up educational facilities in Edavanna. In the case of all schools except one, the land required for setting up of the schools was either donated or purchased by the local community. The construction of most of the school buildings, purchase of equipment and furniture and provision of other facilities in the schools were undertaken by the management using the money mobilised by the local community. The improvement in the economic condition of the people due to the development of trade and commerce in the village and the inflow of foreign remittances have facilitated these mobilisation drives. Fall in poverty levels has also promoted schooling. Interventions by the government have always been effective in the case of this village; at different stages of its educational development, the government started schools, upgraded them and offered matching grants for developing its infrastructure. In fact, government interventions were the result of sufficient lobbying and political pressure, from time to time.

We find that the factors, which brought about educational expansion in Edavanna during 1945-85, were conspicuous by their absence in Nediyrippu. The enthusiasm evident in the socio-economic and the educational fronts in Edavanna was found lacking in Nediyrippu. The latter did not witness any major socio-religious reform movement at any time of its history. Attitudinal change among its inhabitants took place at a slow pace and the local community effort in educational development was minimal. Government intervention was weak. There was little improvement in economic status of the people Though Gulf migration, which began by the 1970s, had caused some financial improvement in their lives, it did not bring any significant shift in the outlook and attitude of the local community towards education.

The physical accessibility of schools is higher in the educationally forward village. It is observed that private schools in Edavanna have better facilities and are maintained well. But no clear pattern is observed in Nediyrippu. We find that in the study area as a whole,

gender-caste logistics and socio-economic factors, which had a strong influence on enrolment of children earlier, have much less influence at present. Enrolment, particularly at the lower primary level, has become almost universal irrespective of gender, caste and socio-economic status of households, even in the backward village. However, these factors certainly affect the regularity of attendance and dropout rates. Little association is found between financial difficulty and non-attendance of children in schools, in either village at the primary level. In the backward village, school attendance of girls is hit by the social set-up that still does not give much importance to the role of girls and women in society, and by certain practices like *virunnupokku* and *nerchas* - characteristic of conservative and superstitious communities. We find that dropouts are mostly from socially and economically backward families and conservative sections of the Muslim community. An inverse relation is observed between the school dropouts and factors like parental education, number of educated adults in the family and occupational status of the household. The major factors attributed to the relatively poor performance of secondary schools in both the villages include the 'whole promotion' system, indifference of teachers, inadequate school facilities and poor education-employment linkage. In the educationally backward village, poor socio-economic background of the students, lack of interest of the parents, absence of adult members from households and the conflict of interests between *Madrassas* and secular schools also contribute to poor student performance.

The study indicates that a major part of village resources is invested in creating education facilities. However, there seems to be less emphasis on providing furniture, equipment (including laboratory equipment), library books and other basic facilities, surely a fact that has an adverse bearing on the quality of education. Capital cost estimates show that the educationally forward village invested Rs 432 per student while the backward village invested only Rs 296, about 50 per cent less than the former. Further, investment per student place in government schools is lower in both the villages. The share of salary alone accounts for 96 to 98 percent of the total recurring costs. In both the areas, attention paid to maintenance of equipment and furniture was marginal. Extra-curricular activities are also neglected grossly. More than half of school buildings in the educationally backward village required immediate renovation. In this village, funds were not available even for purchasing teaching aids and preparing and serving mid-day meals.

Private cost estimates show that a household in the forward village spent Rs 1,179 per student for school education while in the backward village, the corresponding amount was Rs 896, ie 32 per cent less than in the former. It was found that households in the upper middle and the high income categories spend larger amounts than the low and the lower middle groups. The items for which higher amounts are spent include private tuition and stationery. A classification of households by occupational groups suggests that professionals, businessmen and those engaged in 'service' are in a position to spend higher amounts. It is also found that educated parents spend higher amounts than less educated and illiterate parents.

We find that in the case of government schools, local community financed most of the capital expenditure with some matching grant from the government; in the case of private schools, mostly the local people, teachers and management provided such finance. The government financed almost the entire recurring expenditure of both government and aided schools; financing through fees and PTA contributions constitute hardly two per cent. Thus, as far as recurring expenditure is concerned, education is heavily subsidised by the government. The

government is hard-pressed for funds and finds it difficult to upgrade schools or improve facilities or provide new facilities. The quality of education is the casualty. This is the context in which the government is thinking in terms of alternative sources of finance and of entrusting the responsibility of primary education to local bodies.

The study shows that there is potential in the villages for increasing cost recovery by introducing tuition fees. The potential of the parents belonging to higher income groups to bear the institutional cost of education in part or in full is also high. The parents are worried about the deteriorating quality of schooling and are willing to give fees if quality improves. However, the field experience also shows that even under the free education system, poor parents find it difficult to bear the expenditure incurred on items such as uniforms, books and stationery for their children. Further, poor households are in need of the income that the school-going children might generate. Hence there is reason for introducing more effective incentive schemes. All these facts point to the necessity of introducing a discriminatory system of tuition fees and incentives in which payment of fees would be decided on the basis of ability to pay and incentives will be provided on the basis of economic need.

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