

CHAPTER - IV



CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Data collected from various sources have been analysed as per the scheme stated in chapter III. Details of analysis and interpretations of data are presented in this chapter in two sections.

Section 1.: Primary Education in the State.

- Need: Schools, Teachers and Essential Facilities with reference to Target Population.
- Facilities: Availability, Adequacy and Utilisation

Section 2. : Effects of Primary Education.

- Primary Education in Dharmapuri District.
- Effects of Primary Education: Village level Exploration.

Analysis and interpretations of data on the need are presented here under.

1. Primary Education in the State

This section presents the contextual features of the state of Tamil Nadu, the need for various facilities arrived at on the basis of target population and the actual availability, adequacy and utilisation of facilities.

Tamil Nadu - Contextual Features

Tamil Nadu is situated on the eastern side of the southern tip of the Indian Peninsula. It is bounded on the East by the Bay of Bengal, in the West by the Arabian Sea and the States of Kerala and Karnataka, in the North by Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh and in the South by Indian Ocean. It is the 11th largest State in India with an area of 1.3 lakh sq.km. The State, as on 30th september 1986 has 20 districts, 385 taluks, 16,448 inhabited villages and 47,392 habitations.

Tamil Nadu has a very ancient history that goes back some 6000 years. The State represents the nucleus of Dravidian culture in India, which antedated the Aryan culture by almost a thousand years. With the coming of the Aryan into North India, the Dravidians appear to have been pushed to the South, where they have remained confined. Tamil Nadu, with other southern States,

Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala form the repositories of Dravidian culture. The Dravida country of which modern Tamil Nadu formed a part was repeatedly under three dynasties, Chola, Pandya and Chera from the 4th century B.C. The Cholas occupied the present Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli districts and excelled in military exploits. The Pandyas excelled in trade and learning. They controlled the present Madurai, Tirunelveli and a part of South Kerala. Pandyas also contributed for the development of Tamil language, creating 'Sangam' in Madurai. The Cheras were confined to the western coast in what is today Central and North Kerala. The Pallavas of Kanchi rose to prominence in the 4th century A.D. and dominated the South for another 400 years. The famous Alvars and Nayanars, Sage poets flourished during the Pallava era.

The rise of the Muslim power in India has had its impact on Tamil Nadu, but by and large the State remained unaffected by the political convulsions in the North and Central India.

With the establishment of East India Company at Madras in 1639 a new chapter was opened in Tamil Nadu. The East India Company keeping Madras as the base formed the Madras Presidency comprising Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and part of Kerala.

After India became free, Tamil Nadu, known as Madras State then comprised Andhra Pradesh, parts of Kerala and Karnataka. In October 1953, the State was partitioned and Andhra Pradesh was formed. In 1956, when the States were reorganised on linguistic basis by an enactment of the Parliament, the entire Malabar districts and the Kasargoda taluk of South Kanara were merged with the new Kerala State. The remaining portion of South Kanara district and the Kollegal taluk of Coimbatore district were merged with Karnataka State; the Kanyakumari district of the former Travancore - Cochin State was integrated with the reorganised Madras State. On January 14, 1969 the State's name was changed to Tamil Nadu.

After reorganisation in 1956, Tamil Nadu had 13 districts. In 1965 Salem district was divided and a new district, Dharmapuri was formed. In 1974 Tiruchirapalli district was bifurcated and Pudukkottai district was formed. In 1979 Periyar district was formed, partitioning Coimbatore district.

The population of Tamil Nadu has increased from 3.01 crore in 1951 (Population adjusted to the jurisdiction of 1961) to 4.8 crores in 1981. In rural areas, during the same period population increased from 2.27 crores to 3.24 crores. The percentage of rural

population to total population, in the same period was decreased from 75.6 to 67. The female population recorded an increase of 88 lakhs in 1981, over the total female population of 1.51 crores in 1951. The male and female sex ratio as per 1981 census is 1000 : 987. It was 1000:1007 in 1951. The dependency ratio (persons in the age group of 0-14 years and 60 + to persons working age group, 15-60 years) for the State according to 1981 census is 707. Dharmapuri district had the highest dependency ratio of 836 while Periyar district had the least (605).

The State's economy is agrarian in terms of the proportion of people engaged in agriculture and allied activities. As per the 1981 census out of the total main workers, cultivators and agricultural labourers constituted 61 per cent. However in terms of its share to the Net State Domestic Product (N.S.D.P) the sector comes only second to secondary sector of the economy from 1979-80. For example in 1980-81 the share of the primary sector in the total NSDP was 22.3 per cent while the share of secondary sector was 33.3 per cent. The percapita NSDP at factor cost at current prices has increased from Rs.581 in 1970-71 to Rs.1827 in 1983-84. However, despite the 68 per cent growth in the percapita SNDP, the State also has a large number of people living in poverty. For example, in 1983-84 the

State was fifth among the major States in the country with 39.6 per cent of people living below the poverty line.

The State has 235 assembly and 39 parliamentary constituencies. The major parties in the State are Indian National Congress, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K), All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (A.I.D.M.K) and Communist Party of India (Marxist). After Independence from 1952, the State was under the congress rule for 14 years. In 1967, the D.M.K., a regional party started by the late Mr. C.N. Annadurai (popularly known as Anna meaning older brother) formed the ministry, with Mr. Annadurai as the chief Minister. After Mr. Annadurai's death in 1969, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, who was Minister of Transport in Mr. Annadurai's cabinet was elected as Chief Minister. The rule of the D.M.K continued for 9 years until it was dismissed in 1976. In 1972 Mr. M.G. Ramachandran (known as M.G.R), a very popular actor on Tamil Screen and the treasurer of the D.M.K, formed the party, A.I.A.D.M.K. after his expulsion from the D.M.K. In the subsequent general election in 1977, A.I.A.D.M.K secured a thumping majority and formed the Ministry under the Chief Ministership of Mr. M.G. Ramachandran. Mr. Ramachandran ruled the State until his death in 1987. After the general election in 1989, the D.M.K returned to power.

As per the 1981 census, percentages of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population to total population in the State are 18.35 and 1.07. Out of the total of 94.01 lakhs SC and ST population in the State 75.6 lakhs (80.4 per cent) live in rural areas. Though there are three major religious groups in the State, Hindus form the single largest group with 88.86 per cent. The minority population of Muslims and Christians constitute 5.21 per cent and 5.78 per cent respectively. Among the districts Kanyakumari and Tirunelveli have Christian population of 38.77 per cent and 12.27 per cent respectively. Tamil is the State language and is spoken by 83.35 per cent of the people. The other South Indian languages viz., Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are spoken by 8.3 per cent, 2.39 per cent and 1.20 per cent of people respectively.

Tamil Nadu has a distinctive tradition in architecture, arts and crafts. Tamil Nadu, the land of temples is known for its temple architecture. The cave temple of Pallavas and Pandyas were the beginning in temple architecture. Bharata Natyam is the purest classical style of dancing popular in the State. Carnatic music is highly evolved and appreciated by many. Nadaswaram Kanjira and Ghatam are some of the important musical instruments peculiar to this State. The major festival celebrated in the State in January

is 'Pongal', signifying fresh harvest. Though the majority of the people are Hindus, the Muslim pilgrim center at Nagoor and the Roman Catholic Pilgrim centre located at Velankanni in Thanjavur district are visited by people of all faiths from all the parts of the State.

Tamil Nadu has a long tradition in learning. Poets like Tiruvalluvar, Ilango Adigal, Seethali Sathanar, Kambar and Avvaiyar have contributed master pieces to Tamil literature. Poets held prominent places in all dynasties which ruled Tamil Nadu. The importance of learning has been highlighted and stressed by poets of all ages. For example, Avvaiyar insisted that learning is good even if one has to beg for it. Thiruvalluvar (who lived 2000 years ago) wrote in a 'Kural' (couplet) that people who really have eyes are those who are educated and those who have two sores on their face are illiterates.

The indigenous education system existed in the State in the name of 'Thinnai Pallikkoodam' before the advent of the British. In the British era much efforts were taken to expand elementary education in the presidency. As early as 1920 an act known as Madras Elementary School Act was enforced. This Act provided for the levy of an education cess on land tax or property tax and for an equal contribution by the

provincial Government to each local body. This Act also had the scope for introduction of compulsory education. As per this act compulsion could be enforced under certain conditions for either girls or boys or both. Under this act it was open to a local authority to introduce compulsion in his area in respect to elementary education with the approval of the Provincial Government. In 1924 the Government again introduced legislation to amend the Act of 1920 to enable the authorities to take steps not only to introduce compulsion generally for all children of school going age, but to compel a parent who had once admitted his child into school to continue that child in school till he or she completed the elementary stage or passed out of the age limit. (Quinquennial Review on the progress of Education in Madras, 1947-52, P.33). But, inspite of the compulsion the working of the scheme was fair in the municipal areas and in the rural areas was not satisfactory.

Another important scheme launched during the British regime was the midday meal scheme. During 1945-46 and 1946-47, in the compulsory area, Government had ordered to provide midday meals to 1,34,000 children (Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for the year 1945-46, Vol. I, P.7). But it was terminated with effect from the 1st April, 1947. Inspite of

compulsory act and midday meal scheme the wastage at the primary stage in 1949-50 was 69 per cent in the case of boys and 74 per cent in the case of girls.

But, after Independence facilities for all stages in general and primary stage in particular have been expanded considerably. As of 1984-85 the following type and number of educational institutions are functioning in the State.

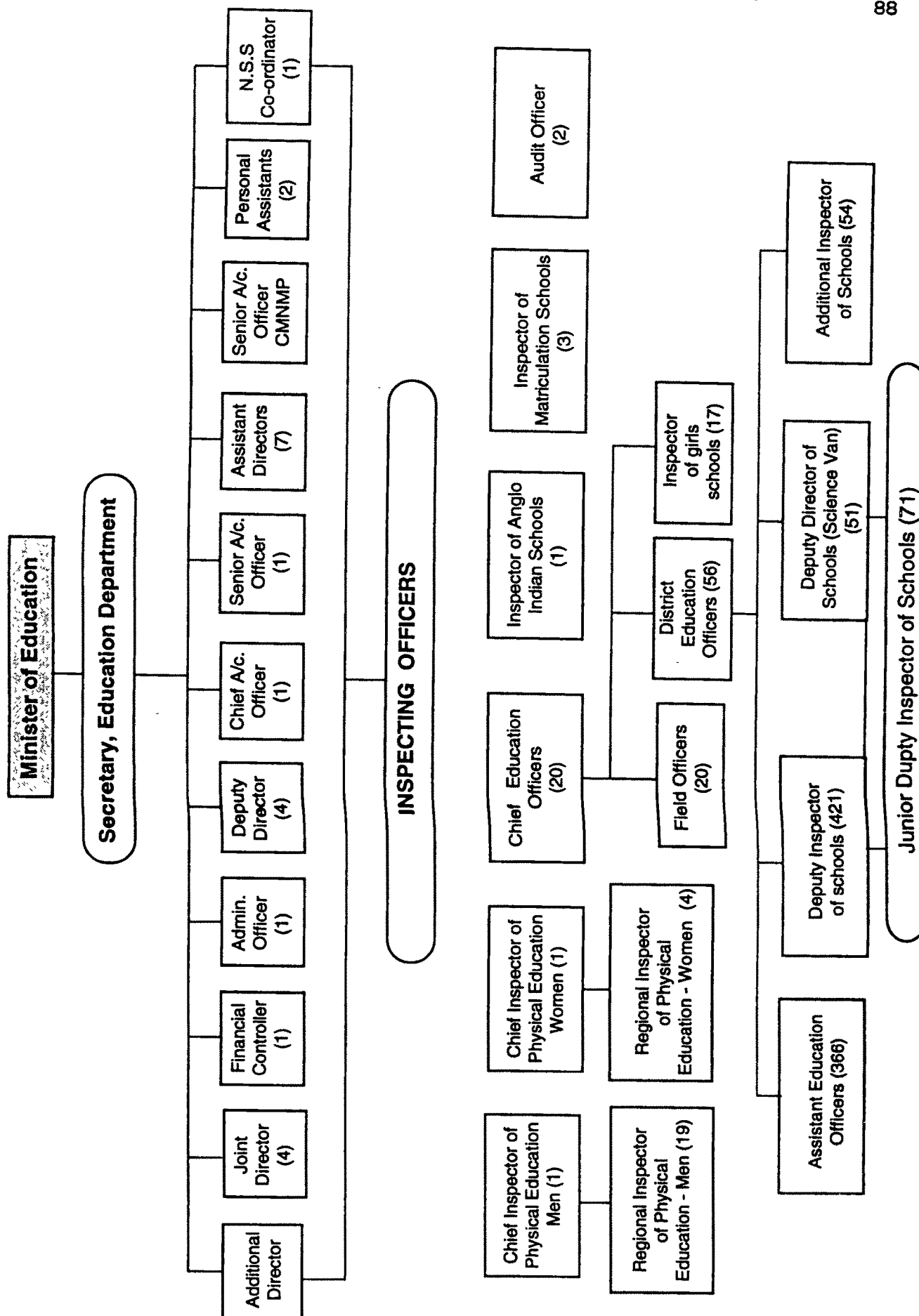
Table 5: Educational Institutions in Tamil Nadu as of 1984-85

Type of Institution	Number of Institutions
1. Universities	11
2. Colleges for general Education	188
3. Colleges for Professional Education	99
4. Colleges for Special Education	19
5. Schools for General Education	
Pre Primary Schools	27
Primary Schools	28,847
Middle Schools	5,691
High Schools	2,229
Higher Secondary Schools	1,331
Others	390
6. Schools for Professional Education	87
7. Schools for Special Education	85
8. Institutions for other Professional Education	311

Source: Progress of Education in Tamil Nadu, Government of Tamil Nadu, 1985.

The school education in Tamil Nadu is well organised (Figure II) and is managed by the Director of School Education.

FIGURE - 2 ORGANISATION OF SCHOOL EDUCATION IN TAMILNADU



SOURCE : Educational Statistics, Directorate of School Education, Madras 1986 - 87.

NOTE : Figures in brackets indicate number of functionaries.

KEY : CMNP : Chief Minister's Noon Meal Programme

Literacy in the State has increased from 19.3 per cent in 1951 to 46.76 per cent in 1981. During the same period the female literacy increased from 10 per cent to 34.99 per cent. In rural areas literacy as per 1981 census is 38.56 per cent and among female it is only 25.80 per cent. Among the districts, while Madras ranks first with 68.4 per cent literacy, Dharmapuri ranks last with 29 per cent in 1981. In rural areas, North Arcot district has the least female literacy which is as low as 11.64 per cent.

An Overview

The State has a rich and homogenous cultural heritage. It has been politically stable and economically advanced. The economic growth seems to have been unevenly distributed among different sections of people. Historically though there has been a favourable atmosphere for learning, there are sharp variations among districts in literacy and the overall progress seems to be slow. This is evident when the growth in population and literates of Tamil Nadu and All India are compared. For example, in the country as a whole, while the increase in population during the ten year periods of 1961-71 and 1971-81 were 109 million and 137 million respectively, the number of literates increased by 56 million and 86 million respectively

recording a 53.6 per cent increase in the literates. In Tamil Nadu, the population increased by 7.5 million between 1961 and 1971 by 7.2 million between 1971 and 1981. But despite this fall, the percentage of literates increased only by 12.3 per cent during the ten year periods.

Target Population

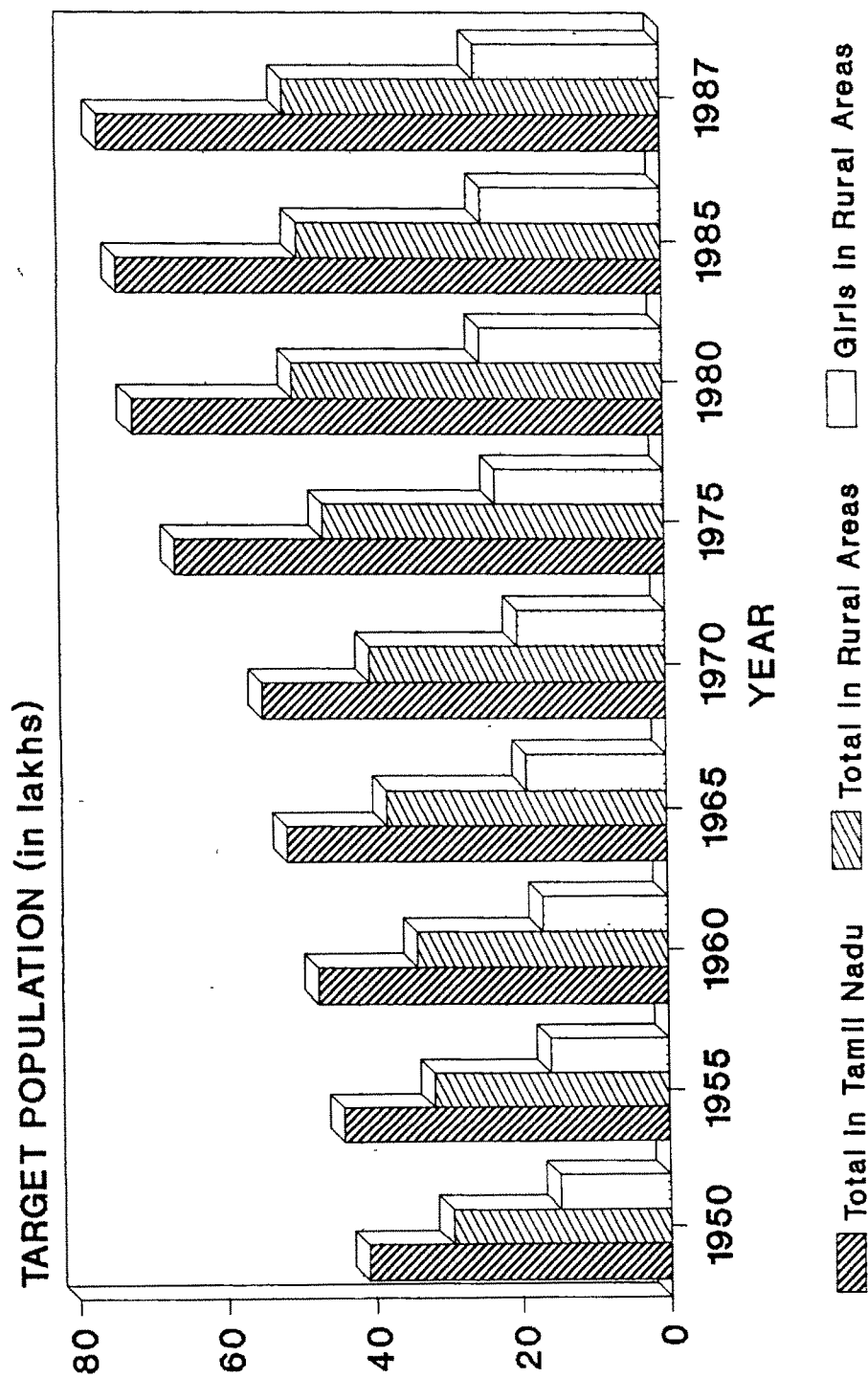
The need for schools, teachers and essential facilities has been arrived at with reference to the target population in the age group of 6-11 years. The actual magnitude of the target population can be seen in Table No 6.

Table 6: Target Population in Rural areas (6-11 years)

(figures in lakhs)			
Year	Total in Tamil Nadu	Total in Rural Areas	Girls in Rural Areas
1950-51	40.91	29.45	14.82
1955-56	44.07	31.72	15.99
1960-61	47.44	34.02	16.96
1965-66	51.49	37.86	18.89
1970-71	54.65	40.18	20.05
1975-76	66.35	46.27	22.94
1980-81	71.92	50.16	24.86
1985-86	73.83	49.50	24.50
1987-88	76.25	51.14	25.32

The figures in Table 6 as well as their graphical representation (Graph I) indicate that the target population in the State particularly in rural areas has increased steadily, but for the leap in 1975-76. While the quinquennial increase of target population in rural areas until 1970-71 varied from 2.27 lakhs to 3.84 lakhs, the increase was 6.09 lakhs between 1970-71 and 1975-76. This is due to the increase in the total population of all ages and the proportional growth of target population. The increase in the population of all ages in rural areas between 1961 and 1971 and between 1971 and 1981 were 40.41 lakhs and 37.19 lakhs, respectively. Similarly, the proportion of target population in the total population increased from 14.1 per cent in 1961 to 15.1 per cent in 1971. Another peculiarity which can be observed from Table 6 is the obvious drop in the target population in 1985-86 in rural areas. Though the figure for all areas shows an increase between 1980-81 and 1985-86, in rural areas the fall is 0.66 lakhs for the same period. For girls, the fall is 0.36 lakhs. This is mainly due to the decreasing trend in the rural population of all ages in the State. The proportion of rural population to total population has decreased from 75.65 per cent in 1951 to 67.04 per cent in 1981. This downward trend can be observed in the case of target population also. The

TARGET POPULATION IN RURAL AREAS (6 - 11 YEARS)



proportion of rural target population which was 71.99 per cent to total target population in 1950-51 has decreased to 67.07 per cent. A decreasing trend can also be observed in the proportion of girls to the total target population in rural areas. This proportion has decreased 50.32 per cent in 1950-51 to 49.49 per cent in 1985-86. This can be attributed to the fall in the sex ratio in the State, which was 1000 : 1007 in 1950-51, and 1000 : 987 in 1981.

Since 1951, even across districts there seems to be a consistent increase in the target population. District wise details are given in Appendix IV. Salem, having been the most populous district until its bifurcation in 1965 also had the largest target population in the State. It accounted for more than 12 per cent of the total target population consistently for 15 years in rural areas. From 1975-76 to 1987-88, South Arcot district has the highest target population in rural areas. The Nilgiris district has the smallest target population since 1950-51. Some districts like Coimbatore, Madurai, Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli had more target population in rural areas than North Arcot and South Arcot districts until 1960-61. But since 1965-66, the proportion of rural target population in those districts decreased except in South Arcot where there has been an increase. This might be due to a slower

pace of urbanisation in South Arcot District between 1965-66 and 1987-88. When compared to South Arcot, in North Arcot the pace of urbanisation is faster.

The Need: Number of Primary Schools

Since Independence, the efforts of the State has been to provide facilities so as to cater to the entire target population (Table 6). The State Government has been attempting this through a policy as recorded in the Report of Public Instruction, 1952-53. According to this policy, the State Government was to open a primary school in a village with a population of 500 and above. Over years, in view of changes in education and other sectors of development, this norm has got appropriated. At present the policy is to provide a primary school in habitations which have a population of 300 and above. This policy does not specify the maximum limit of the population in habitations as the schools provided add more divisions in different standards depending upon the eligible population to be covered. In the present study the need for the number of schools has been worked out on the basis of the population norm currently in vogue. According to this norm the total number of schools required are equivalent to the number of habitations with a population of 300 and above. The number of

habitations and their population slabs has been presented in Table 7.

Table 7: Number of Rural Habitations with population 300 and above

Population Slabs	Number of Habitations in		
	1957 - 58	1965 - 66	1978 - 79
5000 and above	79	99	159
2000 to 4999	1,122	1,421	2,042
1000 to 1999	3,912	4,694	5,748
500 to 999	9,467	10,423	10,616
400 to 499	3,921	4,209	3,629
300 to 399	5,441	5,919	4,901
Total	23,942	26,765	27,095

Source : All India Education Surveys.

The figures in Table 7 indicate that the number of habitations with population 300 and above has been 23,972 in 1957-58, 26,765 in 1965-66 and 27,095 in 1978-79. Further, while the number of habitations with population slabs 300 to 399 and 400 to 499 decreased in 1978-79, the number of habitations with 500 and above increased. The number of schools needed also recorded a similar trend, with increase in the number of schools needed in habitations with population of 500 and above. This suggests that more number of schools are needed in

bigger habitations with population 500 and above. The figures further indicate that the total number of schools needed increased consistently along with the increase in the number of habitations with population 300 and above.

The need for primary schools was estimated using average attendance of pupils, as another criteria. For this, the Governments norm for provision of schools and division of standards was used as the basis. As per the Government Order (Appendix V) issued in 1964, one primary school with classes I to V is permissible if there is an average attendance of 141 to 175 children. The mean of this range works out to 158. Accordingly one primary school for every 158 children should be provided. As this would put the number of schools much higher, the upper limit of the attendance range, 175 was considered to work out the number of schools needed for all the age cohorts. As can be noted from Table 8, the need for schools in the State as a whole and in rural areas has increased steadily. In rural areas the increase in the need between 1950-51 and 1987-88 is more than 70 per cent. In contrast, the need in rural areas when compared with the need in all areas has declined from 71 per cent in 1950-51 to 67 per cent in 1987-88. Comparison of the figures in Tables 7 and 8 reveal that the need arrived at on the basis of population norms is

much higher than the need estimated on the basis of average attendance.

Table 8: The Need: Number of Primary Schools in the State

Year	Target Population		No of Pri.Schools required @ 175 children Per School	
	Total	Rural	Total	Rural
1950-51	40,91,971	29,45,464	23,382	16,831
1955-56	44,07,836	31,72,638	25,188	18,129
1960-61	47,44,768	34,02,689	27,113	19,444
1965-66	51,49,037	37,86,553	29,423	21,637
1970-71	54,65,466	40,18,102	31,231	22,960
1975-76	66,35,466	46,27,762	37,970	26,444
1980-81	71,92,700	50,16,325	41,101	28,665
1985-86	73,83,557	49,50,148	42,192	28,286
1987-88	76,25,556	51,14,201	43,575	29,224

The total number of schools needed for the rural target population as presented in Table 8 was examined in respect of different districts. Table 9 presents the district wise need for the same arrived at on the basis of average attendance norm. Madras district has not been included in the analysis as it is wholly urban. Among the 15 districts, the number of primary schools needed was more in Salem district until 1970-71. The

increase in the district's Need was 44.8 per cent between 1950-51 and 1970-71. Though the need generally increased in all the districts between 1950-51 and 1987-88, it was 89.7 per cent, the highest, in South Arcot. While the increase in the number of schools needed in five districts viz., Chengalpattu, North Arcot, South Arcot, Ramanathapuram and Kanyakumari is more than 70 per cent, in the rest of the seven districts the increase is less than 56 per cent. Generally, the upward trend in the requirement for primary schools, can be observed in all districts, until 1980-81 ranging between 1000 and 3000 schools excluding the Nilgiris district. During 1985-86, a downward trend can be seen in almost all the districts; but it has increased again in 1987-88. This decrease corresponds with the fall in the target population in all the districts during 1985-86.

Table 9 also reveals that the proportion of need in rural areas has decreased in 8 of the 11 districts. While the decrease in three districts is a minimal 2-3 per cent, it ranges from 10 to 26 per cent in Chengalpattu, Coimbatore, The Nilgiris, Madurai and Tirunelveli. Only in North Arcot, South Arcot and Kanyakumari the proportion of the need for schools has increased over the period. In South Arcot the increase is more than 9 per cent; while in North Arcot and Kanyakumari districts it is 1 to 7 per cent.

Table 9: District wise need for number of schools in Rural Areas of Tamil Nadu

District	Number of Primary Schools Needed								1987-88
	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1985-86	
Chengalpattu	1,122	1,211	1,336	1,520	1,614	1,745	1,892	1,924	1,988
North Arcot	1,730	1,868	1,913	2,197	2,332	2,736	2,966	2,962	3,059
South Arcot	1,680	1,775	1,852	2,319	2,462	2,857	3,097	3,087	3,188
Dharmapuri *	-	-	-	-	-	1,411	1,530	1,577	1,639
Salem	2,040	2,203	2,330	2,783	2,954	2,022	2,192	2,132	2,202
Periyar *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,406	1,452
Coimbatore	1,993	2,151	2,157	2,205	2,341	2,592	2,810	1,321	1,364
The Nilgiris	188	203	249	261	278	231	250	281	290
Thanjavur	1,805	1,948	1,979	2,257	2,396	2,809	3,045	2,725	2,814
Tiruchirapalli	1,781	1,923	1,930	2,194	2,329	2,753	2,984	2,326	2,402
Pudukkottai *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	903
Madurai	1,750	1,889	1,951	1,917	2,035	2,405	2,607	2,521	2,603
Ramanathapuram	1,259	1,359	1,474	1,591	1,689	1,945	2,108	2,087	2,155
Tirunelveli	1,480	1,598	1,662	1,650	1,745	1,998	2,165	2,036	2,102
Kanyakumari *	-	-	607	739	785	937	1,016	1,027	1,060
Total Rural Tamil Nadu	16,828	18,128	19,440	21,637	22,960	26,441	28,662	27,412	29,221

* Dharmapuri, Periyar, Pudukkottai and Kanyakumari districts were formed in 1965, 1979, 1974 and 1956 respectively

The Need for schools in Tamil Nadu has consistently increased with the growth in the target population. Even though the distribution of target population in rural areas is more, with rapid urbanisation the proportion of target population in rural areas is falling. Besides this, the number of habitations with population 399 and below is decreasing. So the current policy of providing schools in smaller habitations becomes inappropriate.

The Need : Number of Primary Teachers

A second indicator of the Need in the study has been the number of Teachers required to man the number of schools. This has also been worked out on the basis of the Government Order (Appendix V) issued for the appointment of teachers in single teacher primary schools and other primary schools in which two or more standards are combined. As per this Government Order, the number of teachers admissible is on the basis of average attendance of children. Details of this are presented in Table 10.

Table 10 : Teacher Pupil Ratio in Primary Schools : The Norm

Number of Teachers	Average Pupil Attendance	Maximum member of pupils per teacher
1	upto 29	29
2	30 - 35	27
3	56 - 75	25
4	76 - 95	24
5	96 -115	23

Source : Government Order, No.250, 29 February, 1964.

The figures in Table 10 indicate that in primary schools, other than single teacher schools, the number of teacher increases with the increase in the average attendance of pupils in slabs of 20. The number of pupils per teacher decreases with the increase in attendance. This also suggests that multigrade teaching, is more common in small habitations where attendance of pupils will be low.

The proportion of 2 teacher schools is consistently higher than other types of schools in the State. The percentages of two teacher schools were 33 per cent in 1965-66, 32 per cent in 1978-79 and 35 per cent in 1986-87. So, the need for teachers in primary schools has been calculated on the basis of teacher

pupil ratio admissible in two teacher schools. Since the teacher pupil ratio admissible in two teacher schools is 1 : 27, the number of teachers required has been arrived at with reference to the total target population which needs to be covered by primary education in the State and districts in rural areas. The figures thus calculated have been presented in Table 11.

Among the districts Salem had a greater need for teachers until 1970-71. But in terms of increase the need was more in South Arcot district between 1950-51 and 1970-71. The actual increase was more than 70 per cent while Salem's need increased to 45 per cent during the same period. In the Nilgiris district the need has been consistently the lowest. In 1987-88 this district needed less than 1 per cent of the total teachers needed in rural areas of the State. During 1980-81 and 1985-86 the number of teachers required in many districts has decreased excluding the bifurcated and newly formed districts of Dharmapuri, Salem, Coimbatore, Periyar, Pudukkottai and Tiruchirapalli. Among the rest, in five districts, the need for the teachers declined between 1980-81 and 1985-86. This, as mentioned earlier, corresponds with the fall in the target population.

Table 11 The Need Number of Primary Teachers

State/District	Number of Teachers Required as per the norm								
	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1985-86	1987-88
Tamil Nadu **	1,09,091	1,17,505	1,26,025	1,40,243	1,48,819	1,71,399	1,85,799	1,83,339	1,89,415
	(71.98)	(71.98)	(71.71)	(73.54)	(73.52)	(69.74)	(69.74)	(67.04)	(67.04)
Chengalpattu	7,271	7,848	8,660	9,854	10,459	11,314	12,264	12,477	12,886
North Arcot	11,215	12,106	12,404	14,239	15,113	17,733	19,222	19,199	19,828
South Arcot	10,892	11,505	12,005	15,034	15,958	18,520	20,075	20,010	20,666
Dharmapuri *	-	-	-	-	-	9,149	9,918	10,223	10,626
Salem	13,226	14,276	15,104	18,040	19,149	13,107	14,208	13,818	14,271
Coimbatore	12,918	13,944	13,979	14,295	15,174	16,802	18,213	8,562	8,843
Periyar *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,113	9,412
Thanjavur	11,700	12,629	12,829	14,630	15,531	18,209	19,738	17,662	18,241
Pudukkottai *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,666	5,852
Tiruchirapalli	11,548	12,466	12,512	14,220	15,094	17,846	19,344	15,074	15,568
Madurai	11,343	12,244	12,651	12,429	13,193	15,592	16,901	16,338	16,873
Ramanathapuram	8,161	8,809	9,556	10,317	10,951	12,608	13,665	13,525	13,968
Tirunelveli	9,594	10,358	10,774	10,696	11,310	12,950	14,037	13,195	13,629
The Nilgiris	1,223	1,320	1,616	1,695	1,799	1,496	1,621	1,820	1,880
Kanyakumari *	-	-	3,935	4,794	5,088	6,073	6,503	6,654	6,872

** Figures in brackets are percentages of teachers required in rural areas to total teacher's required in the State.

* Dharmapuri, periyar, Pudukkottai and Kanyakumari districts were only formed in 1965, 1979, 1974 and 1956 respectively

In view of such variations across districts, magnitude of the need for teachers has been presented in Table 12 in terms of district wise rankings. Rankings of districts on this variable of need for teachers has been made with regard to 'all areas' as well as 'rural areas' only. Table 12 reveals that the ranking across districts has been almost uniform in all areas. The relative positions of districts changed only because of the bifurcations of Salem, Coimbatore and Tiruchirapalli districts. The undivided districts of Ramanathapuram, Thanjavur, North Arcot, South Arcot, Kanyakumari and Nilgiris have more or less maintained their rankings for the need for teachers continuously in 'all areas'. But in rural areas, as can be seen in Table 12, the need levels of many districts have changed particularly after 1980-81. This change may be due to the changes in the proportion of rural target population to total population.

The Need : Essential Facilities

The essential facilities here would mean school buildings and instructional rooms, play ground, drinking water and toilet. These are basic facilities needed for all primary schools. There have been varied views as to the kinds of these facilities and the minimum essential limits required. Education Commission (1964-66)

Table 12 : The need for Primary Teachers : Ranking of Districts

District	Ranking of Districts											
	1950-51		1960-61		1970-71		1980-81		1985-86		1987-88	
	AA	RA	AA	RA	AA	RA	AA	RA	AA	RA	AA	RA
Chengalpattu	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	5	9	5	9
North Arcot	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	4	2	2	2	2
South Arcot	7	7	7	7	7	2	6	1	3	1	3	1
Dharmapuri*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	12	10	12	10
Salem	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	7	8	6	8	6
Periyar*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	11	11	11
Coimbatore	2	2	2	2	2	4	1	5	10	12	10	12
The Nilgiris	11	11	12	12	12	12	13	13	15	15	15	15
Thanjavur	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	2	4	3	4	3
Tiruchirapalli	4	4	5	5	5	6	3	3	6	5	6	5
Pudukkottai*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14	14	14
Ramanathapuram	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	9	7
Tirunelveli	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	8	7	7	7	8
Madurai	5	5	4	4	4	7	2	6	1	4	1	4
Kanyakumari*	-	-	11	11	11	11	12	12	13	13	13	13

Key : AA All Areas
RA Rural Areas

* Dharmapuri, Periyar, Pudukkottai and Kanyakumari districts were formed only in 1965, 1979, 1974 and 1956 respectively.

observed that the deficient facilities in the education system were not utilised to their fullest advantage. Hence intensive utilisation of facilities available was recommended. National Policy on Education (1986) resolved to provide essential facilities to primary schools under the scheme 'Operation Blackboard' including at least two reasonably large rooms that are usable in all weather, and the necessary toys, blackboards, maps, charts and other learning materials. At least two teachers, one of whom a woman, should work in every school, the number increasing as early as possible to one teacher per class. The involvement of the community should be sought to provide essential physical and academic facilities. With the functioning of the village education committees, the construction and maintenance of buildings can become the responsibility of the local community (NIEPA, 1990).

With such variations in views regarding the other facilities in primary schools, have resulted in the recently adopted norm or rather expectations by the State Government in this regard. The specifications currently accepted by the Director of Elementary Education (Letter to the Chief Education Officers and inspecting officers, R.C.No. 13627/B2/88 dated 21-1-1988) as 'essential' for sanctioning primary schools in the State are described below. It must be remembered

that these specifications issued in 1988 not only incorporate the minimum expected to be achieved by the Government of India but also represent or implicitly indicate the changes occurred over years as well as the improved conditions available in primary schools.

1. Population of above 300

2. Adequate number of school age children

3. At minimum 30 sq. metre permanent building with two class rooms, with separate toilet facilities for boys and girls and the floor space available @ 9 1/2 sq. feet per child.

4. Following instructional materials :

I. Teachers' Equipments

- | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------|
| i. | Syllabus | 1 set |
| ii. | Text books | one primary set |
| iii. | Teachers' Guides | , , |

II. Classroom Teaching Materials

- | | | |
|------|---|----------|
| i. | District, State, Country and world maps | one each |
| ii. | Plastic Globe | one |
| iii. | Educational charts | one set |

III. Play Materials and Toys

i.	Building Blocks (Construction of different designs, patterns, objects etc)	3 sets
ii.	Bird and animal jig saw puzzle	3 sets
iii.	Toys, (dolls - human figures, animals, science toys)	3 sets

IV Games equipments

i.	Skipping rope	10
ii.	Balls :	
	foot balls	02
	volley balls	02
	rubber balls	10
iii.	Air pump	01
iv.	Ring	05
v.	Swing rope with tyre	01
vi.	Primary Science Kit of NCERT	01
vii.	Mini tool Kit of NCERT	01
viii.	Mathematics	01

VIII. Books for Library

i.	Reference books dictionaries	02
	encyclopedia	01
ii.	Children's books (atleast 200)	
	NBT, Children's Book Trust and	
	Nehru Bal Pusthaklaya and other	

iii.	Magazine journals and news papers for teachers and children (one news paper, one magazine and one professional journal)	
IX.	Schools Bell	01
X.	Musical Instruments	
i.	Shelak or Tabala	01
ii.	Harmonium	01
iii.	Kanjera	02
XI.	Contingency money	
XII.	Mats and furniture for students and teachers (one chair and one table for one teacher and 2 large boxes)	
XIII.	Blackboard [Pin up board (Canvas)]	
XIV.	Chalk and duster	
XV.	Water facility (pitchers, glasses and laddle)	
XVI.	Trash can	01

The above facilities are considered by the directorate of elementary education as basic and need to be provided in all primary schools in the State. The order specifying the facilities provided has been issued recently and only after they have been accepted as essential facilities under the scheme Operation Blackboard.

From the above description it can be seen that the target population in the State as a whole and in rural areas has increased steadily with a big jump in 1975-76. However, while the growth in all areas continued, slight decrease has occurred in the case of rural areas in the year 1985-86. Though there is overall increase of target population in rural areas, the proportion of rural target population to total target population has fallen by 5 per cent between 1950-51 and 1987-88. This trend is mainly due to the reduction in the rural population of all ages, as a result of rapid urbanisation in the State. Another fact which emerges from the analysis is that the need for the number of schools, teachers and essential facilities has increased along with the increase in target population. However, with the decreasing trend in the proportion of rural target population to total population particularly in the eighties, the proportional need for schooling facilities is also undergoing a downward trend in rural areas.

Facilities : Availability and Adequacy of Primary Schools

The magnitude of the need for facilities such as number of schools, number of teachers and essential facilities have been established in the previous sub-section. In this sub-section, various facilities available in the State and across districts are analysed, with a view to assessing their adequacy as against the actual need. This has been done by comparing the need and the actual availability of facilities, as described in chapter III.

Table 13 presents the Need and the number of primary schools operating. Shortfalls in the needed schools have been calculated by comparing Need and the number of schools operating.

Table 13 : Availability and Adequacy of primary schools

Year	Need	Number of Schools	Shortfall	Percentage of Shortfall
1957-58	23,942	15,557	- 8,385	- 35.02
1965-66	26,765	24.536*	- 2,229	- 8.32
1973-74	27,095	21,790	- 5,305	- 19.56
1978-79	28,626	22,792	- 5,834	- 20.38
1986-87	32,071	25,705	- 6,366	- 19.85

* Includes habitations with population less than 300.

The figures indicate that the number of schools has continuously increased between 1957-58 and 1987-88. However, the figures reveal clearly the increase in the need and the continuous shortfalls in the availability. The shortfall was lowest in 1965-66. Between 1965-66 and 1973-74, in spite of the marginal increase in the need, the shortfall has increased from (-) 8.32 per cent to (-) 19.56 per cent. From then onwards it continues to be more or less the same. This suggests that there

has been a considerable increase in the number of schools provided; but it has fallen short of the actual requirement. This means, total coverage of target population could not be achieved even if attempted.

The availability of schools across districts and their percentages of shortfall have been presented in Table 14. As can be seen in Table 14 and Graph II, the number of primary schools in rural areas has almost doubled between 1950-51 and 1987-88. The number of schools in almost all districts has recorded a steady growth. The variations observed in the number of schools in Salem, Coimbatore and Tiruchirappalli districts after 1970-71 are necessarily due to the division and formation of new districts. Further, while North Arcot, South Arcot, Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli have always had a large number of schools and over years the increase, though small, is steady. The other districts, viz., Chengalpattu, Salem and Coimbatore had lesser number of schools in 1950-51 which improved from 1955-56. In the fifties it was Tirunelveli district which had the highest number of schools in the State, followed by Tiruchirappalli, Thanjavur and North Arcot. In the sixties, while Tiruchirappalli had more number of schools, the position of Tirunelveli declined sharply. In the beginning of the eighties also Tiruchirappalli had the highest number of schools in rural areas.

Table 14 Availability and Adequacy of Primary Schools in the Districts of Tamil Nadu

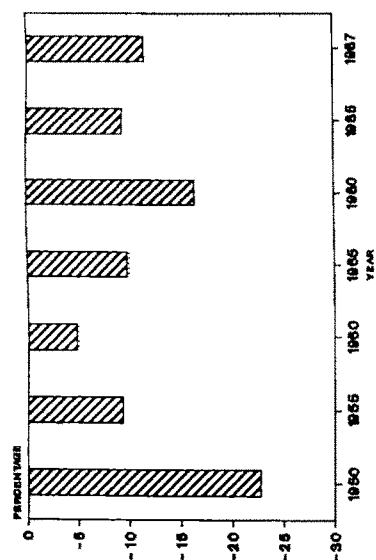
State/District	1950-51		1955-56		1960-61		1965-66		1980-81		1985-86		1987-88	
	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall
Tamil Nadu	12,997	- 22.78	16,447	- 9.28	18,501	- 4.85	19,519	- 9.79	23,931	- 16.51	25,613	- 9.45	25,843	- 11.57
1 Chengalpattu	938	- 16.40	1,058	- 12.63	1,239	- 7.26	1,454	- 4.34	1,734	- 8.35	1,815	- 5.66	1,821	- 8.40
2 North Arcot	1,320	- 23.70	1,743	- 6.69	1,937	+ 1.25	1,988	- 9.51	2,437	- 17.94	2,691	- 9.15	2,715	- 11.24
3. South Arcot	1,408	- 16.19	1,627	- 8.34	1,726	- 6.80	1,798	- 22.47	2,287	- 26.15	2,423	- 21.51	2,421	- 24.06
4 Dharmapuri*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,402	- 8.37	1,526	- 3.23	1,552	- 5.31
5 Salem	894	- 56.18	1,678	- 23.83	2,142	- 8.07	2,388	- 14.19	1,505	- 31.34	1,762	- 17.35	1,782	- 19.07
6. Periyar*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,280	- 8.96	1,296	- 10.74
7. Coimbatore	1,039	- 47.87	1,682	- 21.80	1,657	- 23.18	1,858	- 15.74	2,395	- 14.77	1,235	- 6.51	1,240	- 9.09
8 The Nilgiris	180	- 4.25	204	+ 0.49	232	- 6.83	253	- 3.06	315	+ 21.00	347	+ 19.02	352	+ 21.38

State/District	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall	Availa- bility	Percen- tage of short- fall
9. Thanjavur	1,601	- 11.30	1,758	- 9.75	1,954	- 1.23	1,957	- 13.29	2,157	- 17.67	2,238	- 17.87	2,250	- 20.04
10. Pudukkottai*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	943	+ 4.43
11. Tiruchirappalli	1,267	- 28.86	1,795	- 6.65	2,065	+ 6.99	2,221	+ 1.23	2,779	- 6.87	2,037	+ 27.77	2,063	- 14.11
12. Madurai	1,340	- 23.42	1,455	- 22.97	1,590	- 18.50	1,658	- 13.51	2,120	- 18.68	2,225	- 11.74	2,249	- 13.60
13. Ramanathapuram	1,166	- 7.39	1,498	+ 10.23	1,643	+ 11.46	1,712	+ 7.60	2,337	+ 10.86	2,501	+ 19.84	2,547	+ 18.19
14. Tirunelveli	1,844	- 25.59	1,949	+ 21.96	2,014	+ 21.18	1,922	+ 16.48	2,148	- 0.78	2,290	+ 12.47	2,308	+ 9.80
15. Kanyakumari*	-	-	-	-	302	- 50.25	310	- 58.05	315	- 69.00	308	- 70.00	304	- 71.32

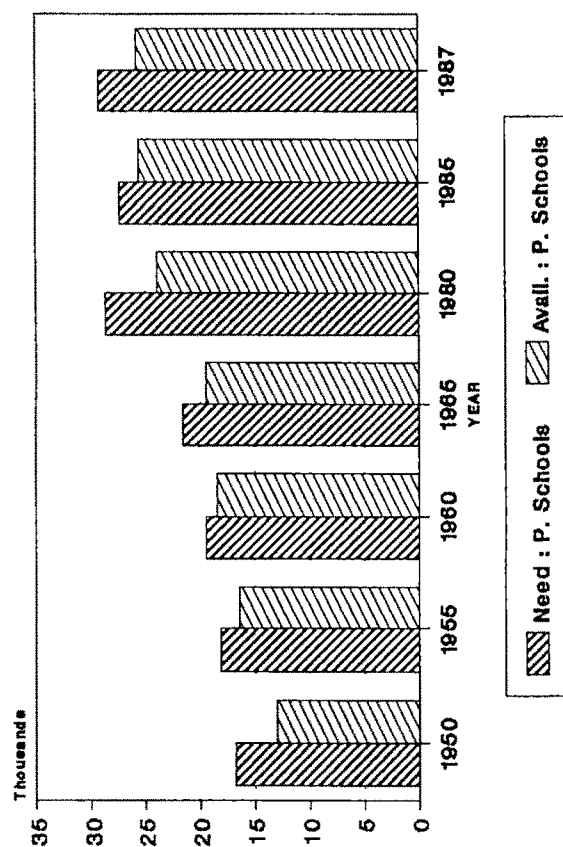
Source: Public Instruction Reports, Govt. of Tamil Nadu.

* Dharmapuri, Periyar, Pudukkottai and Kanyakumari Districts were formed only in 1965, 1979, 1974 and 1956 respectively.

**ADEQUACY PERCENTAGE OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS
IN TAMIL NADU : RURAL AREAS**



**NEED & AVAILABILITY OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS
IN TAMIL NADU : RURAL AREAS**



Though the increase in the absolute number of schools available is impressive. Table 14 reveals that the percentages of shortfall have been differential across the districts during the period under study. It can be observed that there is continuous shortfall of primary schools in the State as a whole and in most districts. The shortfalls over the years, particularly in the sixties and eighties have gradually increased. Among the districts, Salem, Madurai and Kanyakumari, the percentages of shortfall have been continuously above the State figures; Kanyakumari district has been having extreme shortage of primary schools ranging between 50 and 71 per cent may be explained in terms of density of population. This district has the highest density of population (845 persons per sq.km. in 1981) which is next only to Madurai district and has the least number of inhabited villages, next only to the Nilgiris. Hence, the number of primary schools shows the highest percentages of shortfall.

Another significant fact that can be observed from Table 14 is that Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram have been having more than the required number of schools since 1955-56 and 1960-61 respectively. This is in spite of these districts having less number of inhabited villages and low density of

population, when compared to districts such as Thanjavur, South Arcot and North Arcot. The only possible explanation to the availability of surplus schools in these two districts is the presence of more private agencies than in any other districts. In fact, as per the 1983 figures, more than 53 per cent of the primary schools in Tirunelveli district are under private management and of these, 54 per cent are run by the missionaries. Similarly, in Ramanathapuram district also more than 21 per cent of the primary schools are aided. Among the privately managed schools by the non-missionary private agencies are more (65 per cent) than the schools under the management of missionaries (Report on Public Instruction in Tamil Nadu, 1983-84).

Table 14 further reveals that the Nilgiris district has shown increasing number of schools despite having more than required number as early as 1955-56. It also shows shortage during the next 10 years before gaining again. This might be due to the fact that there is local initiative and demand for education, because of the establishment of many public schools and other private schools by the Christian missionaries.

Wide variations in the expansion of school facilities and adequacy percentages over years across districts indicate a lack of directed effort. While there are increasing number of schools in some districts (Nilgiris, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli), despite adequate number of schools available, sudden inadequacies are also witnessed in some years in these districts. Larger districts such as Salem, North Arcot, South Arcot, Thanjavur, etc., show increasing shortfalls. Even the State figures reveal similar fluctuations in adequacy percentages.

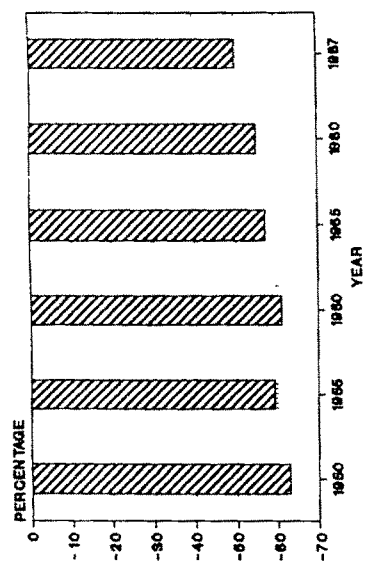
The points mentioned above suggest that there is not only inadequacy for schools, but also it has increased consistently over a period in the State as a whole and in many districts. This is mainly due to the fact that schools are provided on the basis of utilisation, measured in terms of certain norms, rather than the actual target population which has to be covered by the programme of universalisation. Furthermore, the increase in the number of schools in different periods of time, indicates that it was phenomenal between 1950-55. Later on, the increase in the need for schools was higher than the increase in the number of schools available. This might hamper utilisation, more specifically enrolment and retention in backward regions.

Facilities: Availability and Adequacy of Teachers

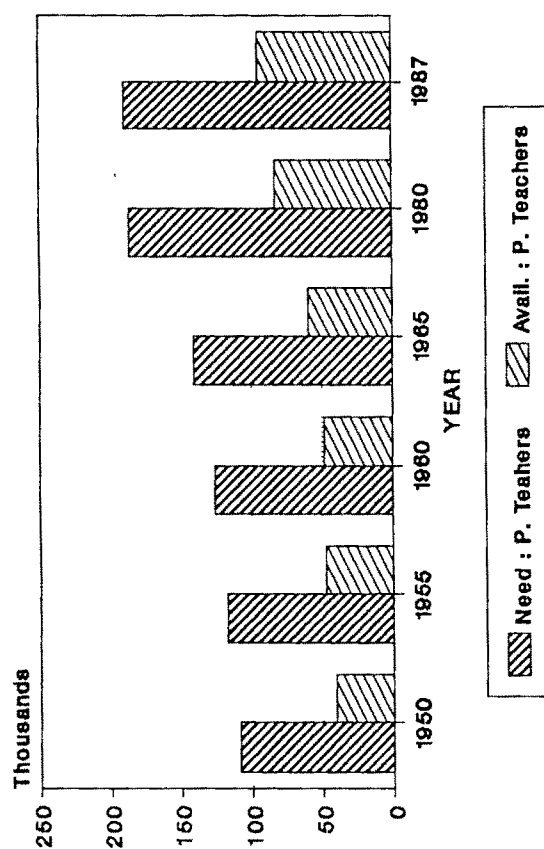
The number of teachers and the percentage of shortfalls of them have been presented in Table 15. Shortfalls in the member is seen in terms of actual availability of teachers and the need. The need has been already worked out on the basis of the State Government's norm on teacher pupil ratio. In rural areas, the teachers in primary schools have increased from 40,467 in 1950-51 to 94,648 in 1987-88, recording more than 100 per cent growth (Graph III). The number of teachers in all areas has increased from 55,620 in 1950-51 to 1,13,473 in 1987-88.

The proportion of rural teachers has also increased from 72.75 per cent in 1950-51 to 83.41 per cent in 1987-88. The increase in female teachers over the year is more than three fold. The proportion of female teachers to total teachers has increased from 25.97 per cent in 1950-51 to 37.22 per cent in 1987-88. The position of teachers in different districts has also been indicated in Table 15. The district figures reveal that except in 1960-61, the number of teachers has increased in all the districts in all the quinquennia and in 1987-88. In 1960-61, only in Chengalpattu and North Arcot districts the availability of teachers has increased. In Tirunelveli, the decrease in the number

**ADEQUACY PERCENTAGE OF PRIMARY TEACHER
IN TAMIL NADU : RURAL AREAS**



**NEED & AVAILABILITY OF PRIMARY TEACHERS
IN TAMIL NADU : RURAL AREAS**



of teachers between 1955-56 and 1960-61 is more than 500. This might be due to the reorganisation of districts in 1956-57. Tirunelveli being a border district to Kerala then, must have given up many teachers to the new Kanyakumari district which was part of Kerala. But in the case of other districts it is clearly due to the non-provision of more teachers between 1955-56 and 1960-61. This is evident from the total increase in the availability of teachers during this period. In the State as a whole, in rural areas, between 1955-56 and 1960-61, the number of teacher has increased only by 1044. The maximum increase in the number of teachers in the districts and in the State was between 1960-61 and 1965-66. During this quinquennium the increase was nearly 11,000.

Among the districts, Tirunelveli had the highest number of teachers until 1955-56. In 1980-81, it has taken the last place. in 1980-81, Tiruchirappalli has the highest number of teachers available in the State. The number of women teachers though has increased, the proportion of women teachers to total teachers continues to be low at 37 per cent in 1987-88. Out of the fifteen districts, in seven, the proportion is lower than the State average in 1987-88. These districts are South Arcot, North Arcot, Dharmapuri, Periyar, Thanjavur Pudukkottai and Tiruchirappalli. Even among these, South

Arcot has the least proportion (25 per cent) of female teachers. Among the other eight districts, in Coimbatore and Tirunelveli districts, 48 per cent and 47 per cent of the total teachers are females respectively. Only in Kanyakumari the availability of female teachers is more than the male teachers.

The comparison of the number of teachers available and the actual need for teachers reveals that there is a wide gap between the availability of teachers and their need. This is evident from the shortfall percentage columns in Table 15 at the State level. The figures in the columns indicate huge shortfalls and the minimal reduction of them over the years.

In the districts, the same pattern that of the one exists in the State emerges despite the increase in the availability. The district figures reveal that the percentages of shortfall are above the State average, consistently in South Arcot district and until 1980-81 in Salem district. Coimbatore which had high shortfalls in the fifties and sixties has improved in the eighties, whereas, the trend in Thanjavur and Kanyakumari is opposite, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and The Nilgiris are the only three districts which have maintained a low percentages of shortfall. From the sixties, Tiruchirapalli and Madurai to some extent can also be classified among the districts which had least inadequacy.

Table 15. Availability and Shortfalls of Primary Teachers in Tamil Nadu

State/District	1950-51				1955-56				1960-61				1965-66				1980-81				1987-88			
	No. of Teachers Available		Percen- tage of Short- fall		No. of Teachers Available		Percen- tage of Short- fall		No. of Teachers Available		Percen- tage of Short- fall		No. of Teachers Available		Percen- tage of Short- fall		No. of Teachers Available		Percen- tage of Short- fall		No. of Teachers Available		Percen- tage of Short- fall	
	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total
Tamil Nadu	10,508	40,467	- 62.90	14,391	47,876	- 59.26	15,070	48,920	- 61.18	22,949	59,792	- 57.36	30,580	83,198	- 55.22	35,233	94,648	- 50.03						
1. Chengalpattu	504	2,511	- 65.46	741	2,848	- 63.71	996	3,048	- 64.80	1,618	4,215	- 57.22	2,389	5,541	- 51.88	2,740	6,829	- 47.00						
2 North Arcot	812	4,039	- 63.98	1,164	4,952	- 59.09	1,254	5,300	- 57.27	2,328	6,067	- 57.39	2,623	8,522	- 55.66	3,034	9,666	- 51.25						
3 South Arcot	455	3,951	- 63.54	556	3,971	- 65.48	613	3,940	- 67.18	1,764	4,597	- 69.42	1,790	7,492	- 62.68	2,048	8,315	- 59.76						
4 Dharmapuri *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	910	3,646	- 63.24	1,207	4,171	- 60.75						
5. Salem	648	3,183	- 69.10	1,124	4,084	- 71.37	1,142	3,910	- 74.11	2,500	6,513	- 63.40	2,496	6,321	- 55.51	2,892	7,259	- 49.13						
6. Periyar *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,293	3,963	- 57.89						
7 Coimbatore	1,029	3,266	- 74.72	1,346	3,934	- 71.79	1,388	3,841	- 72.52	2,160	5,625	- 60.65	3,677	8,663	- 52.43	2,627	5,461	- 38.24						
8 The Nilgiris	239	500	- 54.21	284	668	- 49.39	253	674	- 58.29	315	821	- 51.56	446	1,169	- 27.88	530	1,341	- 28.67						

State/District	1950-51			1955-56			1960-61			1965-66			1980-81			1987-88		
	No of Teachers Available		Percentage of Short-fall	No of Teachers Available		Percentage of Short-fall	No of Teachers Available		Percentage of Short-fall	No of Teachers Available		Percentage of Short-fall	No of Teachers Available		Percentage of Short-fall	No of Teachers Available		Percentage of Short-fall
	Female	Total		Female	Total		Female	Total		Female	Total		Female	Total		Female	Total	
9. Thanjavur	829	4,835	- 60.38	991	5,225	- 58.63	1,089	5,147	- 59.88	2,261	5,891	- 59.73	2,254	7,732	- 60.83	2,300	8,660	- 52.52
10. Pudukkottai*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	608	2,225	- 61.98
11. Tiruchirappalli	965	3,546	- 69.29	1,440	4,976	- 60.08	1,400	4,914	- 60.72	2,426	6,322	- 55.54	2,701	8,826	- 54.37	2,703	7,808	- 49.84
12. Madurai	1,619	4,752	- 58.11	1,995	4,967	- 59.43	1,964	4,961	- 60.78	2,200	5,733	- 53.87	3,769	7,921	- 60.20	4,364	9,447	- 44.01
13. Ramanathapuram	1,052	3,628	- 55.45	1,331	4,255	- 51.70	1,363	4,194	- 56.08	1,858	4,841	- 53.07	2,563	6,915	- 49.40	3,071	8,006	- 42.68
14. Tirunelveli	2,356	6,396	- 33.33	3,419	7,993	- 22.83	2,849	7,452	- 35.84	2,680	6,982	- 34.72	3,605	7,738	- 44.87	3,976	8,478	- 37.79
15. Kanyakumari*	-	-	-	-	-	-	759	1,539	- 60.89	839	2,185	- 54.42	1,357	2,346	- 64.90	1,760	2,429	- 56.07

Source: Public Instruction Reports of Various years Government of Tamil Nadu, All India Educational Surveys NCERT New Delhi.

Note : District Figures for all the years have been estimated on the basis of the Proportion of Primary Teachers in Rural Areas to Total Primary Teachers in all areas excluding Madras District.

A comparison of the percentages of shortfall of both schools and teachers (Tables 14 & 15), further reveals that the districts Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and The Nilgiris with surplus schools or with the least inadequacy for schools are the ones with least inadequacy for teachers. Whereas, districts like South Arcot, Salem and Coimbatore which have high shortfall of primary schools are also having high inadequacy of teachers. This means that the limited number of schools available in those districts are also severely understaffed.

The shortfall in the number of teachers can be understood still more clearly from the percentage of primary schools according to the number of teachers in them (Table 16). The figures indicate that the percentages of primary schools according to the number of teachers in them has remained almost the same in the past twenty years. For example, the percentages of schools with 4 or less than four teachers was 73.66 in 1965-66. This has almost remained the same and the corresponding figure in 1986-87 is 73.12 per cent. This reveals that the increase in the number of teachers has only helped to maintain the additional schools, in the same order with the pattern of teaching staff existed in 1965-66.

Table 16: Percentage of Primary Schools According to Teachers in Position in Rural Areas

Year	Percentage of Primary Schools with					
	0 Teacher	1 Teacher	2 Teachers	3 Teachers	4 Teachers	5 and more Teachers
1957-58	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
1965-66	00	9.66	33.50	19.25	11.25	26.39
1978-79	00	9.49	32.19	18.64	11.46	28.22
1986-87	00	9.31	35.59	17.56	10.66	26.89

Source: All India Education Surveys, NCERT, 1965, 1978 & 1986.

The realisation of the goal of universal primary education very much depends upon the availability of adequate number of teachers. Because, mere provision of schools without sufficient number of teachers will affect retention and learning levels of pupil. Furthermore, if all children have to be enrolled and retained, the provision of teachers can not be made on the basis of average attendance alone. The entire target population should be taken into account. But the analysis indicates that the existing number of teachers is inadequate even on the basis of Government's own attendance norm. The officials at the district level also perceived this as a serious limitation. The analysis reveals that the increase in the number of

teachers has not contributed towards reducing the inadequacy in any significant manner. On the contrary with the consistent increase in the target population the inadequacy has only increased. So, if universal enrolment as well as retention have to be achieved, not only additional teachers need to be provided but also it should be ensured that inadequacy does not increase due to increase in the coverage.

Facilities : Other Essential Facilities

The essential facilities, as mentioned earlier would mean school buildings, instructional rooms, play ground, drinking water and toilet. Availability of these facilities and their adequacies are analysed here. As far as the school building are concerned, in 1950s, there were three types of buildings viz., own, rented and rent free. These three types were either pucca or thatched buildings. In 1950-51 nearly half of the total buildings (49.40 per cent) in the State were own buildings. Another half (50.63 per cent) were either rented or rent free buildings. Of the total buildings, 54 per cent were pucca. In 1958-59, of the total 19,832 buildings, 40.74 per cent were own buildings and 57.7 per cent were pucca (Report on Public Instruction, 1958-59). In 1986-87, out of a total of 29,268 buildings 79 per cent were pucca. Another 12.63 per cent of the

schools were conducted in semi-pucca buildings. only 8 per cent of the schools had kachha or other types of structures. As regards the instructional rooms, 62 per cent of the primary schools in 1986-87, had one or two rooms. Only 21.30 per cent of the schools had 5 or more than five rooms. In the same year 95 per cent of primary schools had drinking water facility and 61 per cent had play grounds in usable condition (NCERT, 1986).

The essential facilities available except drinking water are inadequate even for the existing number of schools. The inadequacies will be far too high if their availability is compared with the need for the number of schools. While the scheme 'Operation Blackboard' is aimed at improving the quality aspect of primary education by increasing the essential facilities in the existing schools, steps should be taken to sustain and expand the facilities in order to meet the ever increasing need for them.

All the data and the analysis on availability of facilities for primary education and their adequacy clearly indicate the wide gap between availability and need, causing inadequacies for schools, teachers and essential facilities. It should be also pointed out that most of the facilities made available were done so in the fifties and sixties. What has been added to

them in the seventies and eighties is comparatively less. The existing 75 per cent of the schools and 60 per cent of the teachers were available in the fifties and sixties. This suggests that the inadequacies are mainly due to lack of adequate expansions of facilities for primary education after the sixties.

Even if the need for number of schools and number of teachers are worked out based on the actual enrolment following the State Government's norm for provision of school and teachers and compared with the availability of facilities, shortfalls can be seen (Table 17).

Table 17: Need for the number of Primary Schools and Teachers Based on Gross Enrolment in Rural Areas

Year	Schools		Teachers	
	No.Needed	No.Available	No.Needed	No.Available
1950-51	7,411	12,997	48,037	40,487
1955-56	9,205	16,447	59,667	47,876
1960-61	12,714	18,501	82,467	48,920
1965-66	17,343	19,519	1,12,407	59,792
1980-81	22,937	23,931	1,48,667	83,198
1985-86	29,114	25,613	1,88,703	N.A.
1987-88	31,588	25,843	2,04,740	94,648

It is obvious from the figures in Table 17 that the State which had more than adequate number of schools until 1965-66 began to experience increasing inadequacies from 1980-81. The figures on need and availability of teachers however show increasing inadequacies consistently. So, persisting inadequacies indicate that the provision of facilities are neither based on the entire target population which needs to be covered under the programme of UPE nor based on the actual coverage. The development is haphazard and lacks directed actions.

Utilisation

Various facilities for primary education are made available by the State with the objective of enrolling and retaining all the children in the age group of 6-11 years. So, in the present study utilisation is analysed in terms of three indicators viz., Gross Enrolment, Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) and Retention. Gross enrolment would mean the total number of children enrolled at primary stage irrespective of their age. Gross Enrolment Ratio and retention have been calculated as described in chapter III under 'Scheme of Analysis'.

Data pertaining to enrolment at primary stage, represented in Table 18 reveal the phenomenal increase

in the enrolment of children at the State level. With an average growth of 1.14 lakhs per annum, it has increased four times between the period 1950-51 and 1987-88. The enrolment of girls has also increased with an annual average growth rate of 0.56 lakhs. The proportion of girls to total enrolment has increased from 33.3 per cent in 1950-51 to 45.3 per cent in 1987-88.

Among the districts, enrolment has increased in all districts between the period 1950-51 and 1987-88. Except in Dharmapuri, Periyar, The Nilgiris, Pudukkottai and Kanyakumari, in other districts the enrolment is over three lakhs. As can be seen in Table 18 Madurai had the maximum number of children enrolled in 1987-88. The Nilgiris District had the least enrolment. In terms of proportion of girls enrolled to total enrolment in rural areas, Kanyakumari district had the highest of 50 per cent. While Dharmapuri had the least of 42 per cent. The average annual increase in enrolment ranged from 3500 (Kanyakumari) to 11,000 (in Madurai) during 1950-51 to 1987-88. During 1980-81 to 1987-88, except in Coimbatore district and Tiruchirapalli district, the enrolment increased considerably in other districts while it decreased in Coimbatore and Tiruchirapalli. The decrease might be due to the bifurcation of these two districts.

State/District	1950-51		1955-56		1960-61		1965-66		1980-81		1985-86		1987-88	
	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
10. Pudukkottai*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,39,776	60,377	1,52,156	65,409
11. Tiruchirappalli	1,20,180	37,978	1,58,170	52,196	2,04,376	69,868	2,74,680	1,08,033	4,31,763	1,86,521	3,86,479	1,72,885	4,16,255	1,81,240
12. Madurai	1,44,563	47,999	1,86,251	67,788	2,45,949	91,916	3,10,718	1,26,917	4,30,240	1,90,747	5,21,136	2,32,266	5,63,439	2,54,242
13. Ramanathapuram	1,09,856	37,438	1,42,959	50,540	1,93,891	72,297	2,58,331	1,07,387	3,39,529	1,50,375	4,33,399	1,93,323	4,65,376	2,07,184
14. Tirunelveli	1,77,003	67,295	1,98,836	80,002	2,50,549	1,02,104	2,98,086	1,29,068	3,56,743	1,61,669	4,43,879	2,05,479	4,81,928	2,20,240
15. Kanyakumari*	-	-	-	-	98,209	47,373	1,16,202	52,684	1,46,648	70,912	1,81,873	88,565	1,93,584	97,521

Source: All India Education Surveys, Public Instruction Reports, Govt. of Tamil Nadu and Educational Statistics of Tamil Nadu Govt. of Tamil Nadu.

Table 18: Enrolment of Children at Primary Stage in Rural Areas of Tamil Nadu

State/District	1950-51			1955-56			1960-61			1965-66			1980-81			1985-86			1987-88		
	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total
Tamil Nadu	12,96,770	4,31,516	16,11,443	5,62,647	22,25,205	8,16,621	30,35,471	12,10,912	40,14,671	17,76,014	50,95,451	22,97,946	55,27,980	25,06,584							
1. Chengalpattu	85,817	27,959	1,00,117	30,801	1,46,399	51,723	2,06,676	81,297	3,12,520	1,39,881	4,09,650	1,86,667	4,42,020	2,03,676							
2. North Arcot	1,44,409	45,782	1,65,641	56,342	2,07,684	71,188	2,93,812	1,13,603	3,66,943	1,59,480	4,72,630	2,14,636	5,21,109	2,41,561							
3. South Arcot	1,16,795	37,132	1,48,092	47,457	2,06,650	69,767	2,61,179	97,647	3,64,716	1,56,242	4,43,418	2,12,821	5,10,028	2,29,467							
4. Dharmapuri*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,68,003	69,455	2,19,768	95,553	2,47,140	1,04,247							
5. Salem	1,10,919	33,635	1,50,973	48,119	2,11,242	68,398	3,29,684	1,19,281	2,65,758	1,14,653	3,36,443	1,45,112	3,67,634	1,62,183							
6. Periyar*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,98,085	85,279	2,17,679	99,435							
7. Coimbatore	1,16,444	38,257	1,59,570	55,257	2,07,163	72,548	3,42,495	1,34,422	3,97,936	1,77,640	3,15,638	1,44,302	3,42,334	1,56,547							
8. The Nilgiris	16,788	6,636	22,192	8,353	30,875	12,478	41,558	18,069	51,492	23,904	70,261	31,969	76,343	35,236							
9. Thanjavur	1,53,996	51,405	1,78,642	65,792	2,34,694	86,961	3,02,050	1,22,504	3,82,380	1,74,535	4,93,016	2,28,712	5,30,335	2,48,396							

Another indicator of utilisation, Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) has been used in the study in order to arrive at the trend in the utilisation in the State and districts over the years. Data pertaining to GERs are presented in Table 19 and Graph IV.

It can be stated from the figures that utilisation has increased in leaps and bounces in all the quinquennia. The increase particularly between 1980-81 and 1987-88 is the highest of the increases recorded in different quinquennia. The coverage of girls from a low 29 per cent in 1950-51 has increased more than four times in 1987-88. The increased coverage of girls is obvious particularly between 1980-81 to 1985-86.

In the districts, the maximum coverage was 68 per cent in 1950-51. But in 1987-88 the minimum itself has increased to 86 per cent. As a result, except in a few districts, in all others, more than 100 per cent GER has been achieved. In the case of girls the coverage is nearly 100 per cent. However, in Dharmapuri district GER of girls is the lowest (74 per cent) of all districts.

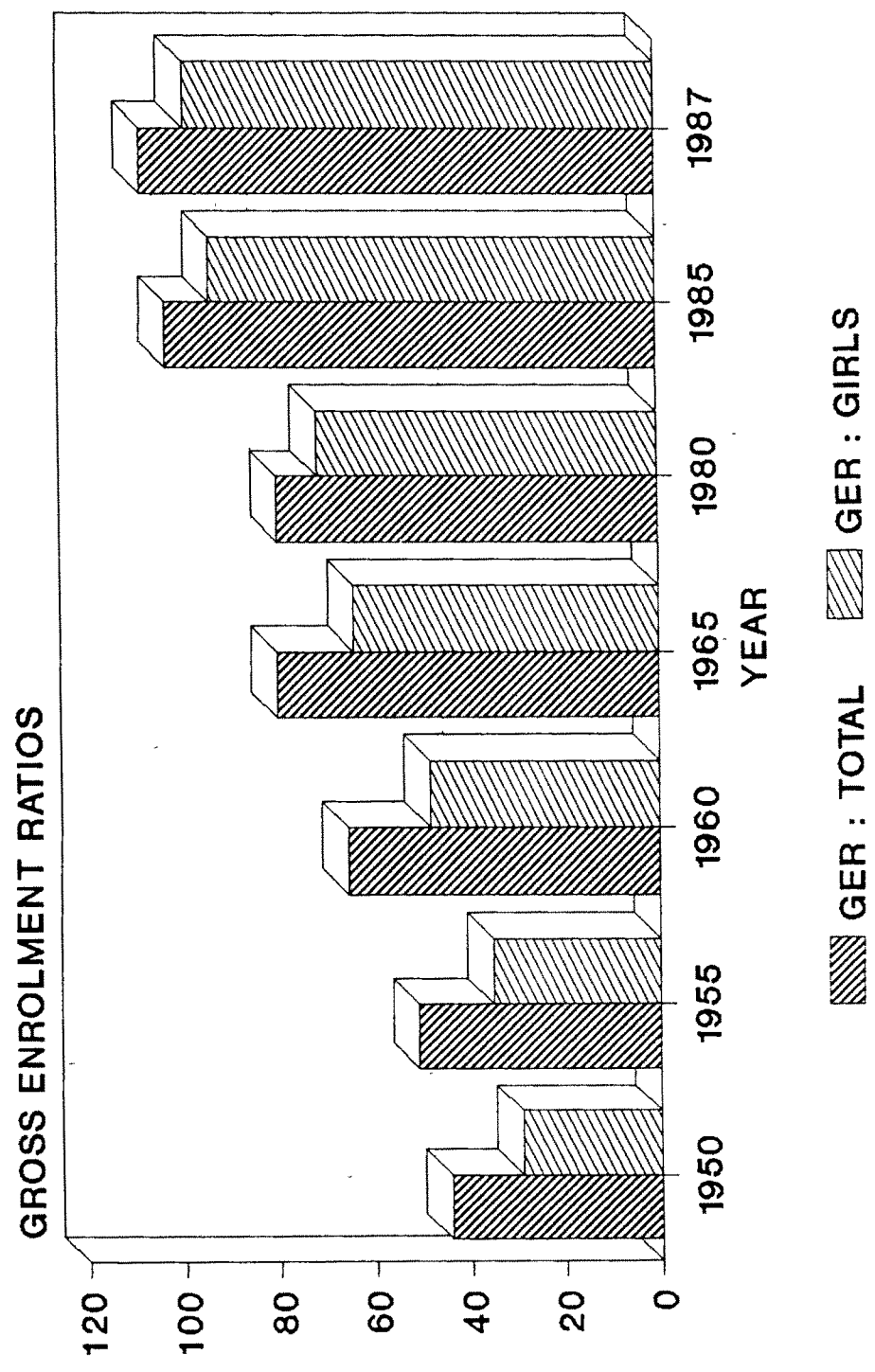
Table 19: Gross Enrolment Ratios at Primary Stage in Rural Areas of Tamil Nadu

State/District	1950-51			1955-56			1960-61			1965-66			1980-81			1985-86			1987-88		
	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total	Total	Girls	Total
Tamil Nadu	44.03	29.12	50.79	35.17	65.39	48.13	80.16	64.07	80.03	71.42	102.93	93.77	108.09	98.90							
1. Chengalpattu	43.71	28.92	47.24	29.52	62.61	45.20	77.68	62.38	94.38	86.83	121.60	113.32	127.05	119.72							
2. North Arcot	47.69	30.20	50.67	34.43	62.02	42.76	76.42	59.43	70.70	62.37	91.17	83.70	97.37	91.21							
3. South Arcot	39.71	25.29	47.67	29.94	63.75	43.43	64.34	48.49	67.29	58.56	82.07	79.90	91.40	83.42							
4. Dharmapuri*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62.70	52.72	79.62	70.71	86.14	73.73							
5. Salem	31.06	18.89	39.16	25.04	51.80	34.13	67.68	49.55	69.28	60.92	90.18	79.88	94.41	86.44							
6. Periyar*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80.50	70.92	85.66	80.07							
7. Coimbatore	33.38	22.03	42.38	29.48	54.88	39.15	88.73	70.88	80.92	73.88	136.53	128.14	143.38	134.60							
8. The Nilgiris	50.85	42.38	62.27	49.42	70.79	59.88	90.80	82.66	117.62	112.44	142.94	132.99	150.38	141.93							
9. Thanjavur	48.75	32.03	52.39	37.98	67.75	49.84	76.46	61.54	71.75	65.69	103.38	96.49	107.68	101.47							

State/District	1950-51		1955-56		1960-61		1965-66		1980-81		1985-86		1987-88	
	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
10. Pudukkottai*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	91.36	78.64	96.29	82.50
11. Tiruchirappalli	38.54	24.16	47.00	30.76	60.50	41.24	71.54	56.04	82.67	71.73	94.96	85.59	99.03	86.88
12. Madurai	47.20	31.20	56.34	40.82	72.00	53.96	92.59	75.71	94.28	84.19	118.14	106.65	123.65	113.04
13. Ramanathapuram	49.85	32.58	60.10	35.15	75.14	54.50	92.74	74.93	92.02	79.88	118.68	104.67	123.55	108.61
14. Tirunelveli	68.33	50.53	71.11	55.65	86.12	68.50	103.22	87.16	94.13	83.60	124.56	112.91	130.98	117.18
15. Kanyakumari*	-	-	-	-	92.44	90.19	89.78	82.28	82.50	80.93	101.23	99.32	104.33	105.90

Source: Public Instruction Reports, Govt. of Tamil Nadu, Education of Statistics Directorate of School Education 1986-87.

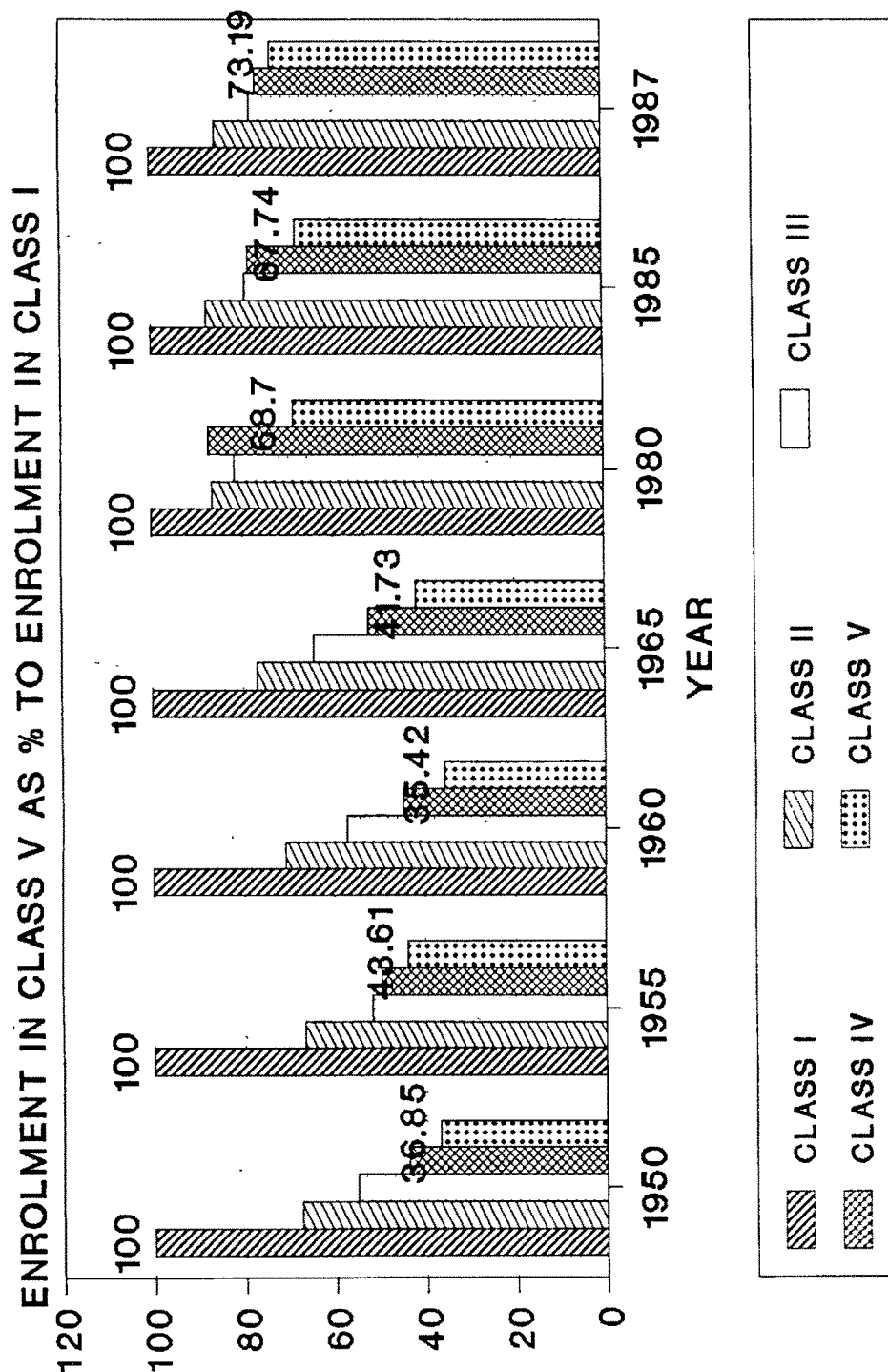
GROSS ENROLMENT RATIOS AT PRIMARY STAGE IN TAMIL NADU : RURAL AREAS



GRAPH - 4

An important third indicator of utilisation is retention. As explained in the scheme of analysis, the retention rates, in terms of percentage of children in class V to total number of children enrolled in Class I, in a particular year, have been worked out and presented in Table 20 and shown in Graph V. The figures indicate that the retention of children at the primary stage has almost doubled over the years 1950-51 and 1987-88. In the case of girls it has increased nearly three times. Even though the average annual growth in the GER in the State is 1.73 per cent the corresponding retention figure is only 0.98 per cent. The average annual growth in retention figures for the periods 1950-51 to 1965-66 and 1980-81 to 1987-88 are 0.33 per cent and 0.64 per cent respectively. Even though it has considerably improved in the eighties, at the rate of growth recorded in the eighties, it will take more than 40 years for the State to achieve universal retention. The average annual growth rate of girls (1.16 per cent) is more than the total annual growth rate. In the case of girls also the growth (0.72 per cent per annum) is significant during eighties. However, if the goal of UPE is to be achieved by the year 2000 efforts on a war footing needs to be taken in order to improve retention. It is not an impossible task since the State has already achieved target of universal enrolment.

RETENTION RATES AT PRIMARY STAGE IN TAMIL NADU : RURAL AREAS (TOTAL)



GRAPH - 5

Table 20: Retention at Primary Stage in Rural Areas of Tamil Nadu

Retention as Percentage of Enrolment to Enrolment in Class V										
Year	Class I		Class II		Class III		Class IV		Class V	
	Total Girls	Total Girls	Total Girls	Total Girls	Total Girls	Total Girls	Total Girls	Total Girls	Total Girls	Total Girls
1950-51	100	100	67.27	62.75	55.11	48.25	43.77	35.51	36.85	27.92
1955-56	100	100	66.63	65.48	51.70	49.67	49.49	36.90	43.61	27.65
1960-61	100	100	70.74	67.13	56.96	55.27	44.73	39.29	35.42	29.71
1965-66	100	100	76.79	78.47	64.29	62.69	52.11	48.44	41.73	37.64
1980-81	100	100	86.56	87.12	81.64	81.01	87.21	85.41	68.70	66.00
1985-86	100	100	87.45	86.72	79.12	78.19	78.26	76.16	67.74	64.94
1987-88	100	100	85.49	85.93	77.74	77.64	76.67	75.47	73.19	71.01

Source: Public Instruction Reports of Various years, Government of Tamil Nadu.

The data presented and analysed so far reveal several points about the development of primary education in rural areas of Tamil Nadu. As a system catering to the very young age group of children, its' quantitative expansion is phenomenal. Stupendous growth in terms number of schools, number of teachers, enrolment and retention is obvious during the period under study. Improvement is also significant in the essential facilities such as buildings, instructional rooms, drinking water etc. However, it is also true that all the quantitative expansions have not kept pace with the increase in the target population and the need

for various facilities calculated on the basis of it. As a result, facilities provided are grossly inadequate in many districts. Furthermore, the fluctuations in the inadequacies in some districts and the availability of more than adequate facilities consistently in a few other districts indicate the unplanned expansion of primary education.

Despite all inadequacies, the utilisation measured in terms of gross enrolment and retention seems to be increasing consistently. This suggests that the inadequate facilities are over utilised. It also suggests that the system is able to cope with the limited facilities particularly because, all the children enrolled are not retained. So, the State, having successfully achieved universal enrolment, may have to increase the facilities if the other dimension of the goal of UPE - universal retention and universal achievement of minimum levels of learning have to be reached.

2. Effects of Primary Education

The section that preceded analysed the development of primary education in rural areas in terms of certain quantitative indicators and established the inadequacies over years and across districts. It was

also pointed out in the section how the limited facilities made available are utilised in terms of increased enrolments and retention. Even though the trends surfaced at the State level analysis clarified certain operational dimensions of primary education, also needed to investigate is its effectiveness in terms of its interactive nature in local contexts - the response it evokes in local contexts and the influence it wields on people's life. So, as described in chapter III, under 'sample' effects of primary education was studied. With regard to one sample district, Dharmapuri and one sample village, Makkanoor, in the district. This section presents the analysis in two sub-sections:

1. Primary Education in Dharmapuri District;
2. Effects of Primary Education: Village level exploration.

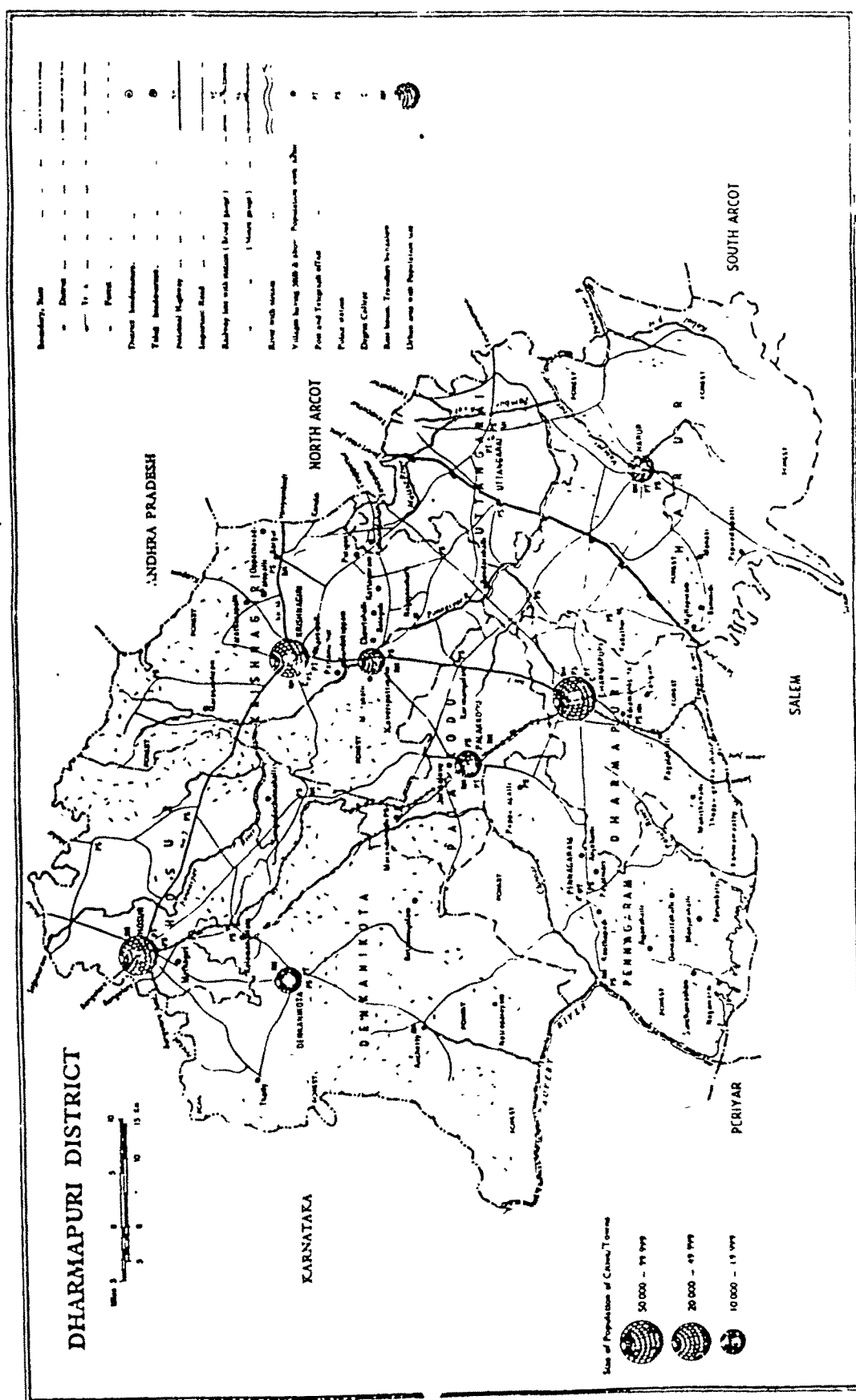
Primary Education in Dharmapuri District

In this sub-section, the district profile and the quantitative as well as qualitative data pertaining to the operation of primary education in the district and across its taluks are presented. The district level data are analysed for a time sample of 7 consecutive years, viz., 1981-82 to 1987-88, in consideration to the completeness of data available.

Dharmapuri District: Profile

Dharmapuri District was formed on October 2, 1965 by bifurcating Salem District. It constitutes the Northern portion of the former composite district of Salem and was known as North Salem. The district is situated in the interior of the Southern Peninsula bounded on the East by the North Arcot and South Arcot districts, on the West by Bangalore and Mysore districts of Karnataka State, on the North by Karnataka State and the Chithoor district of Andhra Pradesh and on the South by Salem District (MAP I). The district consists of eight taluks viz. Dharmapuri, Harur, Uttangarai, Palakodu, Pennagaram, Hosur, Krishnagiri and Denkanikottai, two Municipal towns viz. Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri and 643 revenue villages. The district has a total area of 9,629.89 sq. kms. and the headquarters is at Dharmapuri itself.

The climate of the district is generally warm, except in places bordering Karnataka State. The Chief rivers in the district are Cauvery and the South Pennar. 33 per cent of the total geographical area of this district is under forests and accounts for 14.3 per cent of the total forest area of the State.



MAP - I

in a limited scope survey of hotels may result in the participation of the purchaser concerned in the

The population of Dharmapuri district has increased from 13.32 lakhs (Salem District Gazetteer 1967) in 1961 to 19.97 lakhs in 1981 (1981 census). As per the 1981 census there are 10.19 lakhs males and 9.78 lakhs females in the district. 90.63 per cent of the total population lives in rural areas. This is the highest figure of rural population among all districts in the State. But in terms of density population this district ranks the last in the State with 208 persons per sq.km. The average for the State is 376. The low density is prevalent despite a large area under forest. The birth rate in the district as per the 1983 figures is the lowest (12.10) of all districts in the State. The percentages of SC & ST population in the district are 13.86 per cent and 2.31 per cent respectively.

The district ranks last in literacy consistently. The literacy only increased from 22.31 per cent in 1971 to 29.00 per cent in 1981. According to 1981 census in rural areas the literacy is even less (26.24 per cent). In female literacy also the district ranks last with 18.60 per cent of females literates. In rural areas only 15.81 per cent of the women are literates. A comparative picture of literacy levels across Dharmapuri district, Tamil Nadu State and the nation are presented in Table 21.

Table 21: A Comparative Picture of Literacy in Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu and India

District/State/ Country	Total Rural	Literacy Rate			Rank	Remark
		Male	Female	Persons		
Dharmapuri	T	38.98	18.60	29.00	15*	last in the State
	R	36.26	15.81	26.24	15*	last in the State
	U	65.07	45.74	55.67	15*	last in the State
Tamil Nadu	T	58.26	34.99	46.76	4	Within the Country
	R	51.16	25.80	38.56		
	U	72.49	53.99	63.45		
All-India	T	46.89	24.82	36.23		
	R	40.79	17.96	29.65		
	U	65.83	47.82	57.40		

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excludes Madras District.

As can be observed from the Table 21, though Tamil Nadu State is educationally advanced, Dharmapuri is the most backward district within the State with literacy rates far below the State and National averages. Similarities with the nation and State appear only in terms of disparities in literacy between males and females and between rural and urban areas.

Inspite of the educational backwardness of this district, educational institutions of different types are present in the district. Various Educational

institutions and libraries available as of 1983-84 have been shown in Table 22.

Table 22: Educational Institution in Dharmapuri District

S.No	Type of Educational Institutions	Number of Institutions
1.	Primary Schools	1,678
2.	Middle Schools	179
3.	High Schools	118
4.	Higher Secondary Schools	39
5.	Colleges for general Education	1
6.	Colleges for Professional Education	N.A.
7.	Institutions for other Professional Education	N.A.
8.	Public Libraries	37
9.	Adult Education Centers	400*

Source: For 1 to 8 Report on Public instruction, Tamil Nadu - 1983-84, Govt. of Tamil Nadu, 1987.

* As of 1989-90. District Adult Education officer, Dharmapuri, 1989-90.

As regards religions and languages the same pattern which prevails in the State exists with the bulk of the population being Hindus and speakers of Tamil. Since the district is bounded in the North by Andhra

Pradesh and Karnataka, there are also Telugu and Kannada speakers in the district. A comparative picture of the religious and linguistic groups has been shown in Table 23.

Table 23: Religious and linguistic groups in Dharmapuri and Tamil Nadu

State/District	SC/ST	% of Religious group			% of Linguistic groups					
	% to	Total	Hindus	Muslims	X'ians	Tamil	Telugu	Kannada	Malayalam	Urdu Others
Tamil Nadu	19.42	88.86	5.21	5.78	83.35	8.30	2.39	1.20	1.80	0.96
Dharmapuri	16.16	94.28	3.07	1.82	70.60	15.67	8.99	0.13	4.31	0.60

Source: Census of India, Tamil Nadu, 1981.

As can be observed in Table 23, Dharmapuri though shares the same cultural context of the State, it varies in terms of the proportion of the religious caste and linguistic groups in the total population.

Target Population

As per the 1981 census, 16.26 per cent of the total population in Dharmapuri district is in the age range of 6-14 years. In the total target population 50-23 per cent is girls. Among the taluks, except in Hosur and Denkanikottai, the target population of girls is more than boys as revealed in Table 24. The figures generally indicate that the demographic structure across

taluks over years is stable with Krishnagiri having the highest target population and pennagaram having the least number of target children. Pennagaram the smallest in terms of target population is wholly rural without any urban population. The growth of total target population is steady with an average annual growth of 1.83 per cent. In the case of girls it is 1.84 per cent. These growth rates are much higher when compared with the growth rate (0.28) of target population in the State.

Need Availability and Adequacy of Primary Schools

As shown in Table 24 the need for the number of schools increased by 204 schools between 1981-82 and 1987-88. The annual need for the number of schools in the district is 29. The taluk figures also show increase in the need for schools. The needed number of schools in the taluks ranged from 139 to 441 in 1981-82. The corresponding figure for the year 1987-88 were 155 to 490. The need for the number of schools in Krishnagiri Taluk and the lowest was in Pennagaram.

The availability figures in Table 25 suggest that there has been increase in the number of schools in the district as a whole and in all its taluks. However,

Table 24: Talukwise Target Population in Dharmapuri District

District/Taluk	1981 - 82		1982 - 83		1983 - 84		1984 - 85		1985 - 86		1986 - 87		1987 - 88	
	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
Dharmapuri	3,24,804	1,63,142	3,30,428	1,66,045	3,36,235	1,62,983	3,42,144	1,71,933	3,48,157	1,74,954	3,54,275	1,78,089	3,60,501	1,81,157
1.Hosur	32,972	16,352	33,552	16,639	34,741	16,931	34,741	17,228	35,852	17,532	35,973	17,840	36,606	18,153
2.Denkanikottai	40,584	20,257	41,297	20,613	42,023	20,975	42,761	21,344	43,513	21,719	44,278	22,001	45,056	22,489
3.Krishnagiri	77,247	39,211	78,605	39,900	79,986	40,601	81,392	41,315	82,822	42,041	84,278	42,780	85,759	43,531
4.Utangari	27,186	13,637	27,664	13,877	28,150	14,131	28,644	14,369	29,148	14,622	29,660	14,879	30,181	15,150
5.Palakodu	27,948	14,083	28,439	14,330	28,939	14,582	29,447	14,838	29,965	15,099	30,491	15,364	31,021	15,634
6.Pennagaram	24,392	12,216	24,821	12,431	25,257	12,649	25,701	12,872	26,153	13,098	26,612	13,328	27,080	13,564
7.Dharmapuri	42,301	21,265	43,044	21,639	43,801	22,020	44,570	22,406	45,354	22,800	46,151	23,201	46,962	23,608
8.Harur	52,091	26,156	53,006	26,615	53,938	27,083	54,886	27,559	55,850	28,043	56,832	28,536	57,830	29,038

these figures also indicate that there was significant reduction in the number of schools in the year 1983-84. As a result, the number of schools available in Hosur taluk came down from 202 in the previous year to 117 in 1983-84. A similar trend can be also seen in the case of Denkanikottai between 1986-87 and 1987-88. However, in Denkanikottai the reduction is only from the surplus schools the taluk maintained consistently. Whereas, in the case of Hosur the reduction has increased the inadequacy percentage from 5.2 in 1982-83 to 40.0. The overall increase in the availability of schools in the district as a whole was 14 per annum. This is less than 50 per cent of the actual need per annum.

Comparison of the need for schools and the actual number of schools available reveals the extent of inadequacy for schools in the district as shown in Table 25. The figures indicate that not only there was inadequacy of schools, but the inadequacy increased consistently over years in the district and across many taluks. The inadequacy which started shooting up from 1981-82 was arrested in the years 1984-85 and 1985-86. On the whole the figures indicate the increasingly deteriorating trend observed at the State level.

Table 25: Availability and Adequacy of Primary Schools in Dharmapuri District

Year	District / Taluk									
	Dharmapuri District	Hosur Taluk	Denkanikottai Taluk	Krishnagiri Taluk	Utangarai Taluk	Palakodu Taluk	Pennagaram Taluk	Dharmapuri Taluk	Harur Taluk	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
1981-82										
Need	1,856	188	232	441	155	160	139	242	298	
Availability	1,663	198	260	374	143	133	120	173	262	
Percentage of Shortfall	-10.4	+ 5.3	+12.1	-15.2	-7.7	116.9	-13.7	-28.5	-12.1	
1982-83										
Need	1,889	192	236	449	158	162	141	246	303	
Availability	1,678	202	261	371	145	136	123	173	267	
Percentage of Shortfall	-11.1	-5.2	+10.6	+17.4	-8.2	-16.0	-12.8	-29.7	-11.9	
1983-84										
Need	1,921	195	240	457	161	165	144	250	308	
Availability	1,611	117	261	375	147	137	128	171	275	
Percentage of Shortfall	-16.1	-40.0	+8.7	+17.9	-8.7	-17.0	-11.1	-31.6	-10.7	
1984-85										
Need	1,955	198	244	465	164	168	147	255	314	
Availability	1,702	137	286	414	147	138	131	173	276	
Percentage of Shortfall	-12.9	-30.8	+17.2	-11.0	-10.4	-17.8	-10.9	-32.1	-12.1	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1985-86									
Need	1,989	202	248	473	166	171	149	259	319
Availability	1,737	139	287	418	148	145	135	175	290
Percentage of									
Shortfall	-12.7	-31.2	+15.7	-11.6	-10.8	-15.2	-9.4	-32.4	-9.1
1986-87									
Need	2,024	205	253	481	169	174	152	264	325
Availability	1,773	203	280	387	149	148	135	179	292
Percentage of									
Shortfall	-12.4	-1	+10.7	-19.5	-11.8	-14.9	-11.2	-32.2	-11.3
1987-88									
Need	2,060	209	257	490	172	177	155	268	330
Availability	1,762	204	263	390	151	150	135	177	292
Percentage of									
Shortfall	-14.5	-2.4	+2.3	-20.4	-12.2	-15.28	-12.9	-33.9	-11.1

Source: Availability Figures collected from abstracts of Educational Statistics, Offices of Chief Education Officer and District Education Officer Dharmapuri.

Need, Availability and Adequacy of Teachers

Table 26 reveals that the need for teachers has increased in this district by 1525 between 1981-82 and 1987-88. During the period under study the district on an average needed 218 teachers each year. In taluks the trend in the need remained almost the same with the highest number of teachers needed in Krishnagiri and the least number in Pennagaram. The need range in these taluks changed from 903 and 2861 in 1981-82 to 1003 and 3,176 in 1987-88.

As can be also seen in Table 26, the number of teachers available in the district has decreased between 1981-82 and 1987-88, after touching a maximum of 4,820 in the year 1983-84. While 218 teachers are needed annually the average increase in the availability was as low as 3 teachers between 1981-82 and 1983-84. Between 1984-85 and 1987-88, there was no increase at all. The pattern of provision of teachers in the district suggests that there is no effort to provide additional teachers but short falls of which might occur out of retirement or other reasons only seem to be filled. For example, between 1981-82 and 1982-83 the availability of teachers fell by 22. In 1983-84, 32 teachers were provided adding 10 more to the short fall

Table 26: Need Availability and Adequacy of Primary Teachers in Dharmapuri District

District/Taluk	1981-82		1982-83		1983-84		1984-85		1985-86		1986-87		1987-88								
	Need	Available % of Adeq-Teachers acy	Need	Available % of Adeq-Teachers acy	Need	Available % of Adeq-Teachers acy	Need	Available % of Adeq-Teachers acy	Need	Available % of Adeq-Teachers acy	Need	Available % of Adeq-Teachers acy	Need	Available % of Adeq-Teachers acy							
Dharmapuri	12,026	4,810	-60.00	12,235	4,788	-60.90	12,451	4,820	-61.30	12,671	4,802	-62.10	12,893	4,688	-63.60	3,120	4,742	-63.80	13,351	4,802	-64.00
1.Hosur	1,221	415	-66.00	1,242	385	-69.00	1,264	419	-66.80	1,286	423	-67.10	1,309	384	-70.70	1,332	423	-68.20	1,356	423	-68.80
2.Denkanikottai	1,503	581	-61.30	1,529	562	-63.20	1,556	581	-62.70	1,583	574	-63.70	1,611	542	-66.30	1,640	510	-68.90	1,669	574	-65.60
3 Krishnagiri	2,861	1,198	-58.10	2,911	1,232	-57.70	2,962	1,202	-59.40	3,014	1,189	-60.50	3,067	1,103	-64.00	3,121	1,192	-61.80	3,176	1,189	-62.60
4.Uttangari	1,007	348	-65.40	1,024	346	-66.20	1,042	355	-65.90	1,061	349	-67.10	1,079	385	-64.30	1,098	339	-69.10	1,118	349	-68.80
5.Palakodu	1,035	353	-65.90	1,053	348	-66.90	1,078	356	-66.80	1,091	347	-68.10	1,110	351	-68.40	1,129	347	-69.20	1,149	347	-69.80
6.Pennagaram	903	341	-62.20	919	342	-62.80	935	348	-62.80	952	353	-62.90	969	347	-64.20	986	344	-65.10	1,003	353	-64.80
7 Dharmapuri	1,567	672	-57.10	1,594	645	-59.50	1,622	668	-58.80	1,651	662	-59.90	1,680	665	-60.40	1,709	664	-61.10	1,739	662	-61.90
8 Harur	1,929	902	-53.20	1,963	928	-53.80	1,998	891	-55.40	2,033	905	-55.40	2,068	911	-55.90	2,105	923	-56.10	2,141	905	-57.70

Source Availability Figures collected from abstracts of Educational Statistics, Offices of Chief Education Officer and District Education Officer Dharmapuri.

in 1982-83. But in 1984-85, and 1985-86, the availability dropped by 18 and 114 respectively with a total decrease of 132 in the two years. In 1986-87 and 1987-88 there was a total increase of 114 teachers. As a result, in all taluks, there are high percentages of inadequacy of teachers. By the year 1987-88 in all taluks the inadequacy was more than 57 per cent.

Even though the birth rate (12.10 in 1983) in Dharmapuri district is the lowest of all districts, the reason for the inadequacy might be the high proportion of (16.27 per cent) target population in the district.

Need, Availability and Adequacy of Essential Facilities

As per the latest data (1987-88) available, there were 1762 primary schools in the district. As per the norm, all these schools should have the essential facilities. But in reality they are not available in all schools. Out of the total of 1762 schools 78 per cent only had pucca buildings. The rest had either Kachha (5 per cent) or thatched (17 per cent) structures. 84 per cent of the schools had two and more than two instructional rooms. These figures indicate that despite some inadequacy majority of the schools had building as per the norms. However, play ground and sanitary facilities were far too inadequate as 53 per

cent of the schools had no urinals or latrines and 41 per cent of the schools had no play ground. There was no information available on provision of drinking water in schools.

Utilisation of Facilities Available

Utilisation has been analysed in terms of Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) and retention rate of children at primary stage. The GER figures in Table 27 indicate that the district has achieved near universal enrolment. However, the GERs of girls continues to be low. The total GER of the district has grown at the rate of 1.73 per cent per annum during 1981-82 and 1987-88. This is much higher than the growth (0.64 per cent) recorded at the State level between 1980-81 and 1987-88. Even though the GER has improved in all the taluks during the period under study, Pennagaram taluk's improvement in the total GER is the highest (23.18 per cent) of all. In the case of GER of girls also Pennagaram Taluk tops the list with an improvement of 23.9 per cent gross enrolment between 1981-82 and 1987-88. The general increase in GER indicates that the utilisation of facilities is on the increase in the district and in all taluks despite the increasing inadequacies of facilities.

Table 27: Gross Enrolment Ratio at primary Stage Dharmapuri District

District/Taluk	1981-82		1982-83		1983-84		1984-85		1985-86		1986-87		1987-88	
	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
Dharmapuri	81.33	68.08	83.58	70.43	86.00	74.48	88.04	76.71	89.04	77.23	91.42	81.19	91.69	81.25
1. Hosur	88.92	74.00	94.83	80.27	84.00	70.61	85.58	72.06	86.71	71.67	86.93	73.04	95.76	77.97
2. Denkanikottai	76.65	64.36	80.23	68.09	79.85	70.78	80.94	71.71	81.61	70.97	82.94	73.41	87.67	74.00
3. Krishnagiri	82.29	67.98	82.68	68.46	92.33	78.79	92.48	79.91	93.13	79.12	94.97	81.32	88.75	78.74
4. Uttangarai	74.64	59.78	78.66	65.43	77.21	69.86	82.14	71.37	82.14	70.67	78.31	66.81	82.72	69.25
5. Palakodu	81.00	64.47	81.91	66.89	86.11	71.56	88.35	75.34	90.78	79.21	92.59	82.36	88.44	79.20
6. Pennagaram	70.26	56.58	56.51	62.86	79.74	67.00	81.39	69.17	84.00	72.21	86.51	73.66	93.44	80.50
7. Dharmapuri	83.66	72.40	81.94	71.12	85.55	74.74	90.84	80.48	93.47	81.38	98.32	87.86	97.53	90.63
8. Harur	85.88	75.45	88.51	76.52	90.55	80.60	92.59	82.68	91.66	84.07	98.60	90.84	97.47	92.78

Source: Educational Abstracts, Office of the Chief Education Officer, Office of the District Education Officer Dharmapuri.

The retention rates worked out adopting the apparent cohort method and using time series data have been presented in Table 28. They indicate that retention of pupils in class V is not as impressive as gross enrolment as only 72.1 per cent of the children enrolled in class I in 1979-80 wave retained in class V in 1983-84. The figures also reveal the diminution trend in retention in higher classes, particularly in classes IV and V.

Further, the increase in total retention between the two time series 1978-79 to 1983-84 and 1987-88 is only minimal (4.4 per cent). Considering that the enrolment is not 100 per cent, the low retention figures indicate that the entire primary education system in the district is not geared to achieve the goal of UPE. For example in the year 1983-84 a total of 68,155 (Table 28) children were enrolled. Though this was taken to be 100 per cent enrolment for the purpose of calculating retention rates, it is only 86 per cent (Table 27) gross enrolment. This suggests that the system leaves 14 per cent of the target population out of its ambit in the beginning and pushes out another 28 per cent of the learners in different classes. Thus at any given point of time more than 40 per cent of target population continues to be out of the primary education system in the district. This indicates that the internal efficiency of the primary school system in the district is quite low and so the district continues to be educationally the most backward.

Table 28: Retention in Primary Schools in Dharmapuri District

Year	Class I			Class II			Class III			Class IV			Class V		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1979-80	32,480 (100)	25,825 (100)	58,305 (100)												
1980-81	39,924 (100)	28,281 (100)	68,205 (100)	36,675 (113)	24,124 (93.4)	60,799 (104.3)									
1981-82	42,187 (100)	33,933 (100)	76,120 (100)	43,578 (109.1)	26,667 (94.3)	70,245 (103)	27,153 (83.6)	19,955 (77.3)	47,108 (81)						
1982-83	36,752 (100)	31,018 (100)	67,770 (100)	36,835 (87.3)	31,584 (93.1)	68,419 (90)	28,689 (71.8)	22,151 (78.3)	50,840 (74.5)	29,684 (91.4)	21,462 (83.1)	51,146 (88)			
1983-84	36,715 (100)	31,440 (100)	68,155 (100)	35,105 (95.5)	30,413 (98)	65,518 (96.7)	32,459 (77)	26,632 (78.5)	59,091 (77.6)	29,411 (73.7)	21,397 (75.6)	50,808 (74.5)	23,422 (72.1)	15,955 (61.8)	39,377 (67.5)
1983-84	36,715 (100)	31,440 (100)	68,155 (100)												
1984-85	41,109 (100)	32,618 (100)	73,727 (100)	33,730 (92)	28,047 (89.2)	61,777 (90.6)									
1985-86	40,474 (100)	31,922 (100)	72,392 (100)	35,532 (86.4)	29,266 (89.7)	64,798 (88)	30,658 (83.5)	25,913 (82.4)	56,571 (83)						
1986-87	37,163 (100)	30,540 (100)	67,703 (100)	38,061 (94)	30,163 (94.5)	68,224 (94.2)	33,133 (80.6)	26,950 (82.6)	60,083 (81.5)	31,553 (86)	26,320 (83.7)	57,873 (85)			
1987-88	42,624 (100)	34,460 (100)	77,084 (100)	36,867 (99.2)	30,409 (99.6)	67,276 (99.4)	33,315 (82.3)	26,955 (84.4)	60,270 (83.2)	33,447 (81.4)	26,427 (81.0)	59,874 (81.2)	27,173 (74.0)	21,807 (69.4)	48,980 (71.9)

Availability, Adequacy and Utilisation of Facilities as Perceived by Officials

As mentioned in Chapter III, the District Education officer and the Deputy Inspector of Schools were interviewed in order to understand their perceptions about primary education in the district and taluks. Both the officials opined that the accessibility had increased with the provision of schools even in remote villages. However, the essential facilities provided were far from satisfactory. They also mentioned that the inadequacy of teachers in the district and taluks was very high. Due to limited provision of funds in the budget, appointment of teachers was very minimal and they were appointed only for posts which fall vacant on account of retirement or resignation of teachers.

In order to meet the need for essential facilities such as buildings, equipments and furniture, school improvement conferences are organised. During such conferences local people are encouraged to donate in cash and kind. Both the District Education Officer and the Deputy Inspector of Schools told that people donated generously during such conferences.

Regarding utilisation of facilities, the District Education Officer perceived that the demand for schools

in villages in the district was high and parents were receptive towards education of their children. But the receptivity was not reflected in terms of keeping the children in schools. Dropout and stagnation at primary stage were very high in the district. He felt that the problem could be checked if the teachers showed greater interest and involvement. The Deputy Inspector of the schools perceived that the noon meal scheme had contributed to increase in enrolment and attendance and to reduce the dropout. The categorisation of opinions of the functionaries reveal that the facilities provided for primary education in the district were moderately utilised.

The district level data presented in this section indicate several trends observed at the State level. Increase in facilities as well as their inadequacies in varying degrees are shown in the analysis of the district as well as taluk level data. The district, even though educationally backward seems not getting any preferential treatment in terms of provision of facilities and special schemes in order to reduce inadequacies and utilisation. Even though the local communities in the district participate in 'School Improvement Campaigns' and contribute generously towards improving the essential facilities in primary schools, the utilisation of facilities, though shows signs of

improvement continues to be low. This suggests that the receptivity of parents to the education of their children, does not result in keeping their children in schools. So, there seems to be a gap between the perceived importance of education by parents and their actual initiatives to educate the children.

Effects of Primary Education: Village Level Exploration

As described in the conceptional Framework, Primary education caters to a very young age group and it is the foundation of the educational continuum. So, the nation has placed a lot of expectations on primary education. It is believed that at the end of five years of primary education, the children will gain all the basic knowledge, skills and values upon which more knowledge, skills and values can be built. The basic assumption underlying the belief is that the foundation laid at the primary education will be so strong that an individual need not look back in life as he/she will be prepared to exercise his/her initiative to overcome difficulties. In this sense, primary education is accepted as the minimum education that all persons should acquire in order to, become 'enlightened citizens'. The constitutional commitment to the programme of UEE/UPE subsumes all these expectations.

What does it mean that the process of primary education should, make people enlightened citizens? Perhaps it is meant that enlightened citizens will reflect behaviours which will help the nation achieve its goals.

- A united secular India
- A modern nation
- A productive people
- A Finance and carrying society

(National commission on Teachers (1983-85). Achievement of these goals would imply that primary education should be instrumental to individuals acquiring a sound knowledge base, skills such as communication, computation and job oriented skills and to provide a climate for the nurture of values, both as personalised set of values forming one's own character and including necessarily social, cultural and national values. This process of learning and internalisation will lead to greater awareness and sensitization of individuals and will prepare the way for action and decisions at the individual and community levels. Thus, primary education will influence all aspects of life (occupation, health conditions, education, habits etc.) in a community and change them. In the process, primary education will also undergo changes.

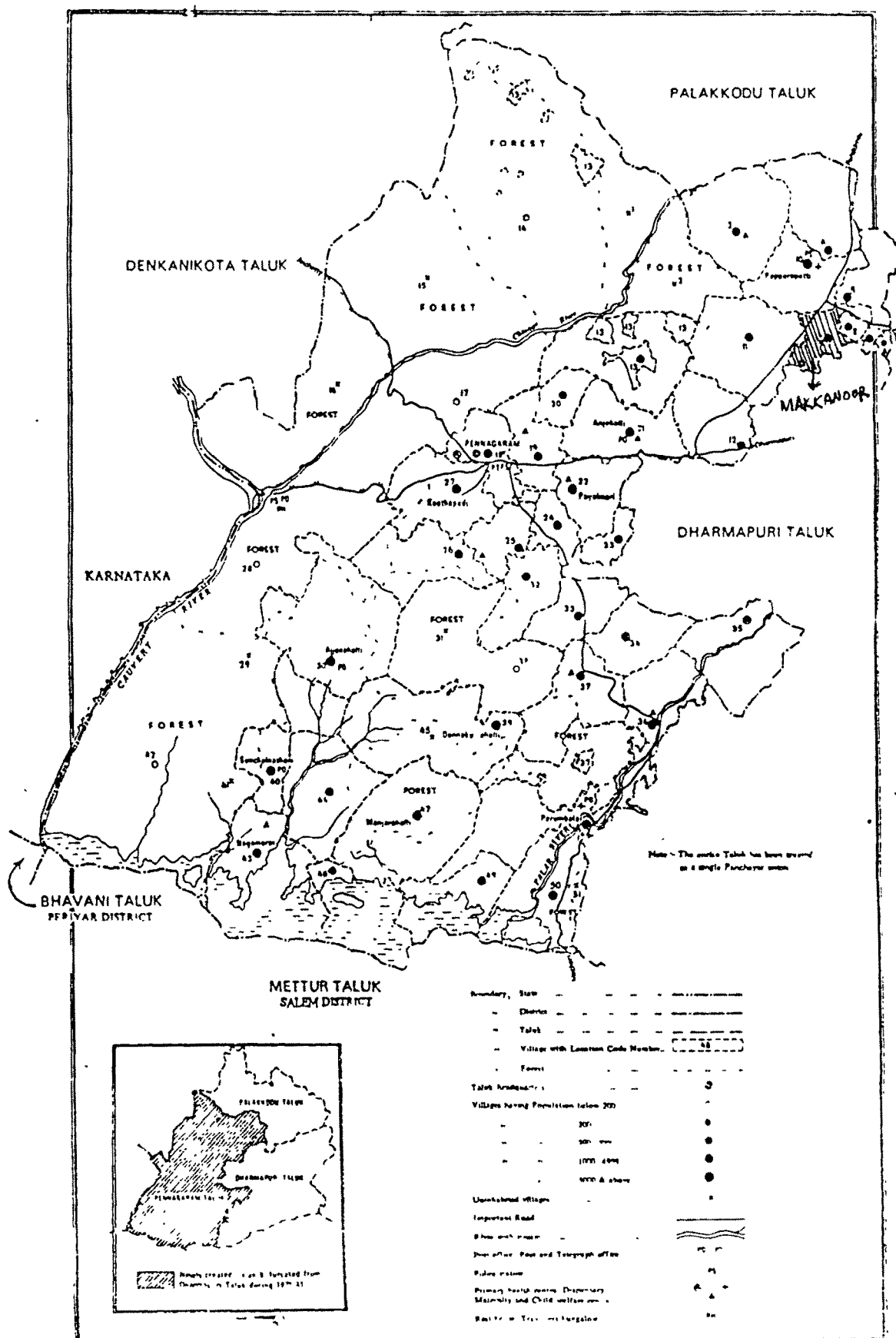
So, the study of effects of primary education would imply investigation of the influence of primary education on all aspects of life which will necessarily include operation of primary education. It was studied with regard to one particular village, Makkanoor and data are presented in this sub-section.

The data collected at the State and district levels were presented earlier. Though they revealed the operation of primary education in terms of some quantitative indicators, by themselves they can not explain the effects of primary education. For example, gross enrollment figures or retention figures analyzed have only revealed some broad trends about the operation of primary education; they can not explain even minimally, the effects of the quantitative growth. On this count, the village level study is important in order to get a holistic perspective about the operation of primary education.

The Village

The Village Makkanoor is located 15 kms. towards East of Dharmapuri town in Pennagaram Taluk of Dharmapuri district (Map II). It is part of Onnappagoundanahalli Panchayat. The exact year of origin of the village is not known. From conversations with

MAP: II MAP OF PENNAGARAM SHOWING MARKANOOR



very old people in the village it came to light that at the time of IV Mysore War in 1799, a few families which migrated from a place called Mangalam near Tiruvannamalai found this place and settled down naming it Mangalam. It later became Makkanoor. The word 'Makkan' in Tamil means 'an idiot'.

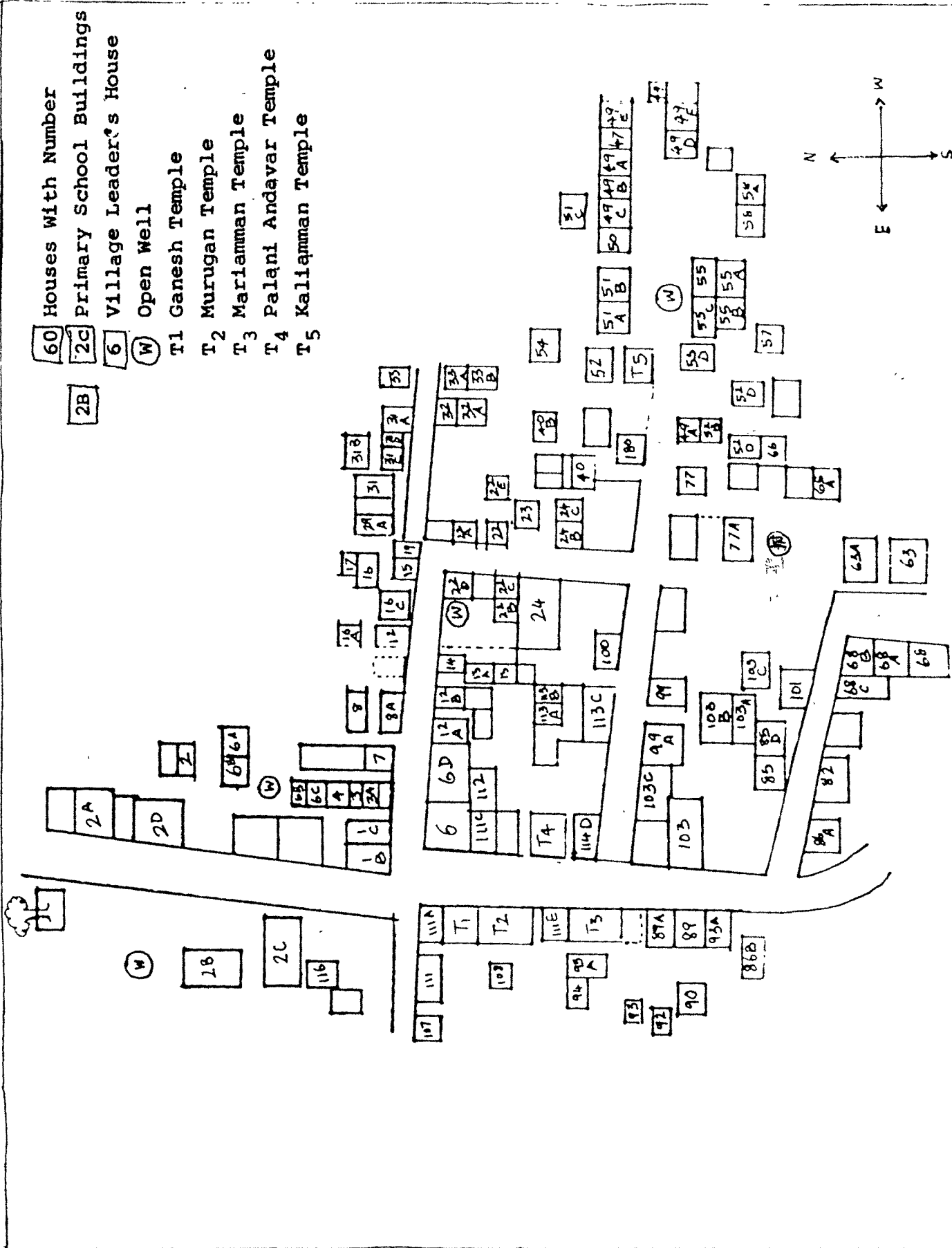
The approximate elevation of the village is 1,300 feet above sea level. The climate is generally warm. The mercury shoots upto 38°C in April. The coolest month is January with temperature of 17°C. It receives scanty rainfall. The village has rocky areas with undulating plains. The soil is red.

The village has a total of 174 households. While 122 households are together in the main village, others are spread around it on the farms in small clusters. Of the total house, 82 are thatched, 77 are tiled, 15 are reinforced concrete houses. The village has six narrow lanes and by-lanes (Map III). The houses of the village leader and other prominent persons are located in the central part of the village. The washerman's house is located in southern end of the village while the barber lives near the school towards North. Photograph 1 shows the Northern Entrance of the village. The road which connects the village with Hogenakkal-Palakodu main road

PHOTOGRAPH 1 NORTHERN ENTRANCE OF MAKKANNOOR



MAP III VILLAGE MAP OF MAKKANDOR.



MAP III VILLAGE MAP OF MAKKANDOR

stops at the Northern end of the village which is the main entrance to the village.

The village has electricity and many houses have been electrified. It also has a post office, a milk co-operative society, a fair price shop and two petty shops. A bus comes into the village twice daily from Dharmapuri.

Demographic Details

The village which was inhabited by three families in 1799 has 174 families and 787 persons as on November 9, 1989. However, the local Headmaster's estimate including the persons migrated from the village shows the figure as more than 1000 from 1981-1982 onwards. According to the figures compiled by the Headmaster, in October 1989, the population of the village consists of 540 males and 563 females. But a door to door enumeration by the investigator along with the local youths revealed that the population of the village is less than the figures estimated by the Headmaster. Based on the enumeration of 173 of the 174 households in the village, the investigator has arrived at the population figures shown in Table 29. As can be seen in the Table, the population of the village consists of more of persons above 15 years of age,

people above 35 years form 28 per cent of the population. The primary school age population (6-11 years) is only 10.42 per cent of the total population. This is far below the district (16.26 per cent) and the state (14.3) averages. The percentage of females in the total population is 48.66.

Table 29: Agewise Population in Makkanoor (as on November 9, 1989)

Age group in years	Males	Females	Total
All ages	404	383	787
0 - 5	51	46	97
6 - 11	48	34	82
12 - 14	23	33	56
15 - 35	168	164	332
36 - 49	53	46	99
50 and above	61	60	121

Economic Conditions

Occupational status is one indicator of economic conditions. The main categories of occupations and the number of persons engaged in each category have been presented in Table 30.

Table 30: Category of Workers in Makkanoor

Category of Workers	Males	Females	Total
1. Cultivators	99	88	187
2. Agricultural Labourers	65	78	143
3. Artisans, Traders etc.	25	3	28
4. Salaried Workers	33	15	48
All Workers	222	184	406

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people in the village. Out of the total workers, 81.28 per cent of the persons have been engaged in agriculture. More than 90 per cent of the total women workers have involved in it. In spite of the huge labour force engaged in agriculture, the cultivators generally consider it not profitable. This might be due to two reasons: a. Land holding pattern; b. Lack of adequate irrigation facilities. The land holding pattern of families in the village presented in Table 31 reveals that majority of the families are holding less than three acres of land. Since such marginal land holders without any irrigation facilities depend upon monsoon, agriculture is not considered profitable. Some important crops grown are Cholan, Ragi Groundnut, and Mulberry.

Table 31: Land Holding Pattern of Families in Makkanoor

Land Holding in Acres	Number of Families
1. 5 - 12	9 (5.20)
2. 3 - 4 +	16 (9.25)
3. 1 - 2 +	64 (37.00)
4. Below 1	32 (18.50)
5. 0	48 (27.74)
6. Families whose land holding could not be established	4 (2.31)
Total	173 (100)

Note : Figures in brackets are percentages to total families in the village.

The land holding pattern clearly indicates the disparities in the ownership of assets. While majority of the families are marginal land holders and land less labourers, 5 per cent of the families own 5 or more than 5 acres of land. Among the nine persons with such holdings, 3 are working as teachers and one is a retired teacher. Most people engaged directly in agriculture are illiterates or children who dropped out of school. The agricultural labourers take up all kinds of odd jobs-help in construction, carry things from one place to another place etc. during non-agricultural season. Their living condition is generally poor. The landless

labourers who are doing share cropping are little better off than other agricultural labourers.

Among the salaried class 17 of the men and 4 of the women are teachers. One or two of them work in private schools and the rest are employed in primary schools managed by the Panchayat Union, within the village or in nearby villages. Among the rest of the salaried employees while men are working as drivers, conductors, watchers in the forest department, peons etc. most women are working as 'ayahs' or cooks in the noon-meal scheme.

The total workers (406) of the village constitute 73 per cent of the population in the 15 years and above age group. 27 per cent (146 persons) in the age group are without any occupation categorized in Table 30. Among 270 women in the 15 and above age, 68 per cent are employed in different categories of occupation and 32 per cent of women in the age group are unemployed.

In the absence of any local industries and the scarce employment opportunities within the taluk and the district those who have completed their education in the last 5-7 years are finding it extremely difficult to get a job. A typical example is the case of Raja. He has successfully completed his high school and a diploma course in Mechanical Engineering a couple of years back.

He thought that his technical qualification would easily get him a job and he would be better off than some of his peers, who like their parents took up teacher training. But after completing his course, Raja soon realised that getting a job was not that easy. Whereas, a couple of his friends in the village, who completed their teacher training got jobs. Raja's own friends and the villagers pitied him for not getting a job despite being the son of the village leader. So, Raja started quarreling at home and insisting his father to get him a job even by bribing some one. In spite of many attempts his father could not find him a job. So, frustrated Raja left home with the intention of joining an engineering degree course and hoping that he could achieve with a degree what he could not achieve with a diploma. There are also other boys who have completed their high school or higher secondary education, wandering without knowing what course or training they have to apply for and how to find a job. Most of their search for jobs is within the district. They are also doubtful if they can compete in case they widen their search.

While 47 educated 15 + years old persons are unemployed, the educated employed persons, particularly the teachers are economically well off. Even among them, if both husband and wife are teachers, they are more wealthy. Many of them have built houses in the

nearby town and rented them out. Some of them have built them with the intention of migrating to the town.

People generally invest on property rather than buying consumer durables like T.V., refrigerator or motor vehicles. Even the very rich families in the village do not own these articles. Similarly ladies from rich families do not wear a lot of gold ornaments or expensive sarees even during festivals. Festivals are celebrated in the simplest way possible. New clothes are generally bought for children. People do spend very little money on fire crackers on Diwali day. Sweets and other delicacies even for guests are generally bought from shops and not made at home.

Money lending and borrowing exists in the village. Many teachers also lend money at a higher rate of interest. A system which is locally known as 'Kandhu Vatti' is common in the village. Under this, the rate of interest is normally Rs.10 per week for Rs.100. If jewels pledged, then the interest rate is Rs.3 per month for Rs.100.

Socio-Cultural Aspects

Makkanoor is entirely a Hindu village. In terms caste also almost all families of Makkanoor belong to the single caste, Vanniyars, Vanniyars are also called

as Palliars or the Padyachis. In Makkanoor they are known as Gounder and Poosari. Many old people also add their caste name, Gounder or 'Poosari' after their names like, Kali Gounder ('B' in the 'Gounder' is pronounced as 'Ka') and Rasu Poosari. But the young people do not follow the practice now. Similarly another practice of men wearing 'sacred thread' across the shoulder is also absent among the young men. The old among the women do not wear blouse but normally cover their bosom with only the saree they wear. The hair is loosely tied like a ball and hung on the nape.

Tamil is spoken by all. Spoken Tamil in the village has similarities with that spoken in parts of Madras, Chengalpattu and North Arcot districts. Though the people worship the Gods, Vinayakar and Murugan, the Goddess kaliyamman or Mahaliamman is worshiped with more devotion. Normally the Mahaliamman Car festival is celebrated in a grand manner every year in the month of June. For the Car festival involving 12 villages, the bronze statue of Mahaliamman kept in Makkanoor is the chief deity, hence Makkanoor has a prominent place in the whole Car festival.

The poojas in the temples are performed by a local Poosari, who is a primary school teacher. Besides poojas, he is also popular for astrology, and exorcism.

On specific days people come to consult him from as far as Bangalore. The local washermen who are talented in singing and playing musical instruments sing bhajans and devotional songs during temple festival. One of the washermen directs and stages folk plays and he is also approached by people from the local village and outside for astrology and exorcism. However, he does not enjoy as much popularity as the teacher-cum-poosari-cum-exorcist. The folk plays are not appreciated very much by local people now.

Political Affiliation and Village Administration

Traditionally the village leadership wrests with a particular family. The leader is locally known as 'Oor Gounder'. In the past Oor Gounders played a major role in settling disputes and mobilising resources for common purposes or programmes such as laying roads, building temples and schools etc. They also commanded a lot of respect from the people. At present, though the 'Oor Gounder' hails from the same family, he does not enjoy much power and support from people. For example, though drinking alcohol has been prohibited in the village, sale of liquor continues as the village leader is unable to ban it.

The local people are affiliated to various political parties, such as the Congress (I) D.M.K. and A.I.A.D.M.K. There are also local representatives for the parties through whom local campaigns are organised during elections. Posters and writing on the walls are the common modes of campaigning. Most of the elders in the village are sympathisers and supporters of the Congress party. In the past some local people have also played active role in the freedom movement. The popular freedom fighter, the Late Subramaniam Siva (originally hailed from Tirunelveli District) has inspired the people in the area. Some local people have also attended meetings and bhajans organised by Vinobha Bhawe, C.R. Das and other prominent leaders from the erstwhile Salem district from 1920 onwards. Later the inspiration was sustained by a Veteran Ghandian R.V. Subha Rao. Mr. Rao who still lives in an Ashram in Paparapatti, a small town which is 5 kms. away from Makkanoor. He, a teacher by profession, was a social worker, with the support of local leaders and prominent persons from villages in the taluk used to construct school buildings, organise mid-day meal programme and work for the welfare of the poor and scheduled caste people in the area. His prayer meetings are attended even now by some people from Makkanoor. But the support to Congress, and the practice of wearing Khadi,

attending prayer meetings and taking part in social work are all withering away with the people of yester years, as many young people are not aware of the historical past.

Primary Education

The history of primary education in Makkanoor dates back to early 1900. Many old persons in the village remembered it, as an indigenous school run by people's own initiatives. Data on different aspects of viz. the school, facilities, teachers, enrolment, dropout, supervision, collected from various sources are presented hereunder.

Makkanoor has a Government Primary school, a Jana Shikshan Nilayam and two adult literary, centres. The exact year of the establishment of the primary school is not known. As an indigenous school, before 1920, it was under the management of a Brahman teacher, who was patronised by the local 'Maniakarar' (administrator) family. The school then was housed in a small thatched shed. There were 45-60 pupils enrolled. Each pupil had to pay 1 'anna' as tuition fees to the teacher and for each subsequent class an additional 'anna' was the fee. The school had 4 classes. Later in 1919 when the school was recognised as the District Board school, the local

people constructed a tiled building (Photograph 2). The school remained under the management of the District Board until the Madras Panchayat Act 1958 came into effect. Even though the school is said to be under the management of local bodies, the local body has no powers over the school. The local body is only in charge of construction and upkeep of the buildings. Most of the powers such as recruitment and appointment of teachers, transfer of teachers, disbursement of salaries, supervision etc. were taken away from the local bodies in the State in 1958 and rested with Government officials. Chief Education Officer, District Education Officer and Assistant Education Officer. So, for all practical purposes all the schools in rural areas in the State are not under the management of the local bodies. According to the District Education Officer a legislation for bringing all the schools formerly under the Governments Management is still pending.

Essential furniture and instructional materials such as tables, chairs, benches, maps, charts, black boards etc. were supplied before 1958 when the school was under the management of the District Board. Ever since it came under the management of the local body in 1958, until 1989 did not receive any materials and equipments. Only a meagre sum was given to buy pieces

PHOTOGRAPH 2: OLD PRIMARY SCHOOL BUILDING



of chalk. But the school got two buildings during this period (Photograph 3). Verification with the Head Master about the availability of materials in the school as stipulated by the Divertor of Elementary Education in his letter No.13627/B2/88, dated 21.1.88 (Appendix VI) revealed that most of the materials were not supplied. Some teachers guides, chalk and duster, one dictionary 59 children's books and water facility only were available. The mini tool kit and the Maths kit were supplied only in October 1989 and were not used until December 1989 as no training was given how to use them.

During a visit to the school the following observations were made on the physical conditions. The R.C.C. building had a big hall separated into two class rooms by a bamboo partition. The children of classes III and V were seated on either side of the partition. The children from one class could watch the children in the other class through the slits found on the partition. The hall had two doors and three windows. The doors and windows needed repainting. As the mortar on the floor had come off, there were many holes. The tile roofed building seen in Photograph 2 was inaugurated in 1967 also had a big hall and a verandah, in which classes I, II and IV had been housed. It had two doors and six windows which let enough air and light into the hall. One of the teachers teaching in the

PHOTOGRAPH 3: NEW PRIMARY SCHOOL BUILDINGS



school since 1970 told that she did not have a chair until the local people donated one during school improvement campaign organised in June 1989. During the campaign five chairs, two steel tables and almira were diverted by the local people. From 1958 to 1989 no steps were taken to improve the essential facilities in the school. The survey of inspection visit records kept in the school revealed that during the annual inspection, facilities available were assessed and recommendations were made. But the recommendations were not followed by actions to remove inadequacies of various facilities. For example, on 6 April 1965 the inadequacy of tables, benches and wooden planks were noted by the Inspecting Officer. But no action was taken to provide them until the last inspection on 4 July 1987.

The foregoing analysis suggest that essential facilities continue to be inadequate inspite of efforts such as Operation Blackboard and school improvement conference. The worst period was between 1960 and 1989. During this period except the construction of the school buildings no steps were taken to improve essential facilities. This might have affected the quality of teaching and learning very seriously. Even in 1989 there was very high inadequacy for instructional

materials such as maps, charts, toys, books and magazines, play materials, musical instruments etc.

As regards teachers, Makkanoor school as an indigenous school had one male teacher before 1920. He was sustained by the local community. Later on when the school was under the management of the District Board and the Local Body, it had one teacher continuously until 1960. From 1962 to 1969 it had three teachers and in 1970 the number of teachers was increased to four, including the head master. From 1957 to 1989, 22 teachers have worked in the school, including the three teachers and one Head Master in position as on 9 November 1989. Among the teachers who have in position in November 1989, two were females, the head master and another teacher were males. All the teachers who have worked so far in the school were either junior basic trained or senior basic trained. They had worked for periods ranging from 6 days to 19 years. The average period of service of the teachers was 5-9 years, Among the three teachers and the head master who were in the school in November 1989, one assistant male teacher served from 1 October 1964 to 30 November 1970. He was serving in the school again from 2 July 1989 onwards. Among the two female teachers, one was serving continuously in the school from 30 November 1970. The other female teacher joined the school on 20 August

1983. The head master served in the school earlier from 1 June 1962 to 14 July 1971. He was reposted in the school in 1981.

Except the head master the other teachers of the school are living in Makkanoor. The husbands of the two female teachers are also teachers by profession who are working in other schools in the taluk.

Teachers of the local school as well as the other teachers living in the village do not command respect from other people. Many among the local residents opined that the teachers degraded themselves and their profession by their habits and practices. For example one of the teachers of the local school and some other teachers in the village are known as drunkards. Even children of the local school and villagers are aware of the vice of the teacher. Another teacher living in the village has not given up the habit despite being under suspension many times. Once, in a drunken state he confessed to the investigator that he was unable to give up the habit because of his 'political connections'.

The officials are also aware of the behaviour and the poor respect commanded by the teachers. The District Education Officer said: "There is lack of interest among the teachers. They grudge to work and

most of them do have some 'side business' or additional occupation such as financing, agriculture etc. so they are neither able to spend more time in schools nor plan for their classes. My work is over when the bill rings is their typical attitude towards school. Noble and laudable ideas are target to them during their training but there is lack of sacrifice on the part of the teachers". Many retired teachers opined that teachers were more sincere during their time. Among all the teachers in the village Mr. K. and Mr. M. are considered as exceptional by the local people as well as the persons who studied under them. Mr. K. is the Head Master of a big primary school. Which has 31 teachers Mr. K. is always punctual to school and does not tolerate if his colleagues are late to morning assembly. He hardly takes any leave. His colleagues tease him by asking him if he will be rewarded for his sincerity. Mr. M. also lives in Makkanoor but teaches in a nearby village. Mr. M. prepares many teaching aids spending money from his pocket. He regretted that he was not encouraged by the officials.

Three categories of teachers viz. old and retired teachers, experienced teachers and young teachers who have recently joined, could be found in the village. The retired teachers served mostly during the freedom struggle were inspired by leaders connected with

nationalist movement. So they might have been highly motivated and hard working. The problems associated with the experienced, second generation teachers and the young teachers might be due the absence of any force or ideology to inspire them and draw any meaning to their profession. Further, they also perceive that there is corruption at all levels of society and hard work never pays. Many young teachers confessed that they had to bribe for their seats in training institutes and later to get jobs. So they remain less motivated.

Enrolment of children in the school is consistently high from the beginning. The Gross Enrolment Ratios worked out on the basis of the data available from 1964-65 onwards and shown in Table 32 reveals that the total gross enrolment ratio has increased despite some fluctuations. The gross enrolment ratios of both boys and girls were the highest in 1981-82. This might be due to the introduction of noon meal scheme for all children in the year. In the last twenty six years the GER of boys has consistently been above 60 per cent. But the GER of girls was the least in 1964-65 increased considerably and reached a maximum of 97 in 1981-82. However, it has recorded a decreasing trend between 1986-87 and 1988-89. The decrease in the GERs of boys is more than that of the girls that year. In many years the GER of boys and

girls has been 81 to 85. The average total GER has increased from 71 in the years 1964-69 to 82 in the eighties. Between seventies and eighties it has not recorded any increase or shortfall. The average GER of boys increased from 79 in the years 1964-69 to 84 in the seventies decreased by 2 per cent in the eighties. In the case of girls, the increase in the average GER is phenomenal. It increased from 61 in the year 1964-69 to 82 in the eighties. Between seventies and eighties the GER of girls has recorded a 1 per cent increase. On the whole the maximum increase in the average GER has taken place in the seventies. The decline in the average GER could be attributed to factors such as increasing unemployment among the educated persons, lack of involvement of teachers and the poor respect that command in the community, poor transaction of curriculum etc.

As gross enrolment, average attendance of pupils has also been continuously very high in all classes. The percentages of average attendance presented in Table 33 indicate that higher the class, more is the attendance. Comparison of averages of percentages of attendance of boys and girls during the periods 1964-69, 1970-80 and 1980-90 further indicates that attendance of pupils in the school in almost all classes was much higher than the attendance in the last decades, Attendance of pupils, though has declined, is consistent.

Table 32: Gross Enrolment Ratios in the Primary School of Makkanoor

Year	Gross Enrolment Ratio		
	Boys	Girls	Total
1964-1965	83	48	67
1965-1966	79	56	69
1966-1967	87	75	82
1967-1968	73	65	70
1968-1969	73	59	67
1969-1970	79	65	72
1970-1971	74	71	73
1971-1972	81	70	76
1972-1973	91	87	89
1973-1974	79	80	80
1974-1975	83	84	84
1975-1976	94	95	95
1976-1977	87	87	87
1977-1978	90	84	83
1978-1979	79	74	77
1979-1980	81	78	79
1980-1981	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1981-1982	98	97	97
1982-1983	92	83	88
1983-1984	92	89	91
1984-1985	84	90	87
1985-1986	87	85	79
1986-1987	64	76	71
1987-1988	68	70	69
1988-1989	67	71	70
1989-1990	83	84	84

Source: Enrolment Records of Makkanoor Primary School

Table 33: Percentage of Average Attendance of Pupils in Makkanoor

Year	Class I		Class II		Class III		Class IV		Class V	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1964-65	85	57	80	75	85	80	100	77	88	100
1965-66	91	80	79	88	92	100	85	83	88	100
1966-67	86	77	74	75	73	83	92	71	92	75
1967-68	83	69	73	91	89	75	92	100	100	67
1968-69	55	60	80	80	92	89	91	100	88	100
1969-70	67	69	74	60	83	100	67	80	73	75
1970-71	69	57	50	50	76	71	75	100	100	71
1971-72	69	60	67	71	100	78	82	100	87	100
1972-73	82	69	71	40	89	82	77	50	81	100
1973-74	85	73	40	40	85	57	50	88	80	100
1974-75	77	65	59	71	83	100	66	38	73	100
1975-76	88	71	60	43	80	82	50	60	67	40
1976-77	74	69	81	67	60	64	70	54	36	43
1977-78	56	73	89	53	69	67	75	73	75	67
1978-79	70	80	74	67	68	58	62	58	82	73
1979-80	70	77	75	64	75	65	65	75	61	55
1980-81	79	77	59	61	78	75	45	62	67	67
1981-82	60	62	60	62	50	67	36	54	54	62
1982-83	80	73	78	78	60	60	40	60	82	70
1983-84	55	58	75	61	75	69	69	67	91	75
1984-85	67	62	75	71	73	69	88	91	92	89
1985-86	73	65	91	73	86	84	94	100	92	100
1986-87	79	69	80	86	100	85	82	95	100	100
1987-88	67	91	83	93	100	94	100	91	100	95
1988-89	78	86	69	80	78	80	80	80	100	91
1989-90	85	91	67	88	100	82	100	91	100	94
Average	74	71	72	69	81	77	74	77	83	81

Source: Attendance Registers of various years, Primary School Makkanoor

In the case of retention of pupils, a fluctuating trend is obvious. As can be seen in Table 34 the percentage of children retained in class V out of those enrolled in class I five years back, increased from 35 in 1967-68 to 45 in 1971-72 and 80 in 1975-76. But, from 1975-76 onwards a decreasing trend from 80 per cent to 49 per cent in 1988-89 can be observed. This retention rate is far below the district average (71.9 per cent) for the year 1987-88. The decreasing trend is due to the inability of the school to retain children especially girls from educationally and economically poor background. For example, an analysis of backgrounds of 46 dropouts in the age range of 9 to 35 years reveal that 54 per cent of them are males. While 61 per cent of them dropped out before reaching class V, 39 per cent of them discontinued in class V. Further, their family and economical background is: more than 80 per cent of them are from families which hold 1 or less than 1 acre of land. 63 per cent of the dropouts were from families whose heads were illiterates, while 37 per cent of dropouts parents or guardians have studied from class V to ESLC or class VIII.

Table 34: Retention Rate of Children in Primary School At Makkanoor

Year	Class I			Class II			Class III			Class IV			Class V		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1963-64	26 (100)	11 (100)	37 (100)												
1964-65	20 (100)	7 (100)	27 (100)	15 (58)	8 (73)	23 (62)									
1965-66	11 (100)	5 (100)	16 (100)	19 (95)	8 (114)	27 (100)	12 (46)	4 (36)	16 (43)						
1966-67	14 (100)	13 (100)	27 (100)	19 (172)	8 (160)	27 (169)	15 (75)	6 (86)	21 (78)	12 (46)	7 (64)	19 (51)			
1967-68	18 (100)	13 (100)	31 (100)	15 (107)	11 (85)	26 (96)	9 (82)	4 (80)	13 (81)	13 (65)	4 (57)	17 (63)	10 (38)	3 (27)	13 (35)
1967-68	18 (100)	13 (100)	31 (100)												
1968-69	20 (100)	10 (100)	30 (100)	15 (83)	10 (77)	25 (81)									
1969-70	12 (100)	13 (100)	25 (100)	19 (95)	10 (100)	29 (97)	12 (67)	8 (61)	20 (64)						

Year	Class I			Class II			Class III			Class IV			Class V		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1977-78	18 (100)	15 (100)	33 (100)	19 (90)	17 (131)	36 (106)	19 (112)	15 (88)	34 (100)						
1978-79	20 (100)	10 (100)	30 (100)	19 (105)	15 (100)	34 (103)	22 (105)	19 (146)	41 (120)	13 (76)	12 (70)	25 (73)			
1979-80	20 (100)	17 (100)	37 (100)	16 (80)	11 (110)	27 (90)	21 (117)	17 (113)	38 (115)	17 (81)	12 (92)	29 (85)	14 (82)	11 (65)	25 (73)
1979-80	20 (100)	17 (100)	37 (100)												
1980-81	19 (100)	13 (100)	32 (100)	17 (85)	13 (76)	30 (81)									
1981-82	20 (100)	26 (100)	46 (100)	25 (132)	13 (100)	38 (119)	14 (70)	9 (53)	23 (62)						
1982-83	16 (100)	22 (100)	38 (100)	23 (115)	18 (69)	41 (89)	20 (105)	10 (77)	30 (94)	20 (100)	10 (59)	30 (81)			
1983-84	11 (100)	26 (100)	37 (100)	13 (81)	18 (82)	31 (81)	24 (120)	13 (50)	37 (80)	16 (84)	9 (69)	25 (78)	11 (55)	8 (47)	19 (51)

Year	Class I			Class II			Class III			Class IV			Class V		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1984-85	12 (100)	29 (100)	41 (100)												
1985-86	11 (100)	23 (100)	34 (100)	11 (92)	15 (52)	26 (63)									
1986-87	19 (100)	13 (100)	32 (100)	5 (45)	21 (91)	26 (76)	10 (83)	13 (45)	23 (56)						
1987-88	12 (100)	11 (100)	23 (100)	12 (63)	14 (108)	26 (81)	5 (45)	17 (74)	22 (65)	10 (83)	11 (38)	21 (51)			
1988-89	9 (100)	7 (100)	16 (100)	13 (108)	10 (91)	23 (100)	9 (47)	15 (115)	24 (75)	5 (45)	15 (65)	20 (59)	9 (75)	11 (38)	20 (49)

(Figures in parenthesis are percentages)

Source: Attendance Registers and Monthly Returns of Various years, Makkanoor Primary School.

The school at Makkanoor worked five days a week from Monday to Friday and from 9.30 am to 4.15 pm, with a 75 minutes lunch break at 12.45 pm. The children were taught Tamil, English (from class III onwards), Science, Environmental Study and Mathematics. Each subject was taught for 45 minutes daily. The duration of physical exercises and games period was 45 minutes daily. Classes I and II were combined and handled by one teacher. Classes III - V had one teacher each. The Head Master taught only class V. The first bell was rung at 9 am followed by a second bell at 9.30 am. Most of the children were present in the school by 9 am. The school normally began at 9.30 am after the assembly. The assembly was usually conducted in front of the school near the flag post. During the assembly the children stood in class wise rows with teachers behind them. The school pupil leader was a girl. The assembly began with a song praising the Goddess of Tamil. It was followed by the pledge on National Integration.

Actual instructional processes in the school were observed on two separate days to find out how the classes were organised taught and the level of participation of pupils in the process. The details of the observations are as follows:

Observation : I
Date : 4.11.1989
Time of observation : 11.15 to 12.15
Class observed : Combined classes of
I, II & IV

11.15 am

The teacher was sitting squatted on a steel chair. There were two tables in front of him. One was a much used and almost broken wooden table. The teacher told the investigator that it was there since 40 years. Another steel table was donated by the local people. There were three usable black boards and one duster in good condition. The floor was clean but in some places there were holes. The walls were dirty. The children (14 of there) of classes I, II and IV were combined. They were sitting on wooden planks and mats. The teacher told them to do something on their own. They were talking in whispers. The teacher was seated on the chair pressing his eyes. Except a few, many children were talking and playing among themselves. The children of class IV were reading Tamil silently. Two girls among them were serious. One girl turned back and talked to another child. The teacher was still seated looking outside through the door and playing drums on the wooden table.

11.45 am

The noise in the class increased. The teacher stopped it by shouting at the children 'Daei'. He arranged his 'dhoti' and talked to some children. He moved around and told the children to be quiet. He then went out. One small boy in yellow shirt was lying on a plank. The teacher returned after three minutes. He looked through a window. The noise in the classes rose and the teacher again shouted 'Daei'. He stood leaning on the steel table, his hands crossed on his chest. A girl wrote something standing in her place. A boy with a slate wrote Tamil vowels. Four other children were watching him write. The teacher then took a care raised it and then put it on the table. Some children stood up and were looking through a window. The teacher went to the middle of the class and looked through another window. The boy with a slate who was writing the vowels had left the classroom with his friends. Two other children were looking through the window. They went to the the teacher raised their pointer fingers (the sign to go out to urinate) and went out. The teacher was looking through the door.

12.00 Noon

Many children from classes I & II had gone out. A few children of class IV who were writing seriously in

the beginning also had gone out. The teacher went out with the cane. A girl was playing around with a rose in her hand. An old man entered with an empty vessel (perhaps to get some noon meal cooked for the children). The teacher entered and silenced the children with the cane. He also whacked a girl on her head and made a few children sit properly. A boy kneeling near a window looked out. Another boy near him stood and played with the iron rods of the window. A girl from class IV went near the table and looked out. The teacher sat looking out. Some girls of class IV put their heads together and talked something. A girl who went out entered. A boy read from his Tamil Book. The teacher yawned and drummed on the table. A boy who had made a paper gun was taken to the teacher by another boy. The boy with the gun came back rubbing his head.

Observation	:	II
Date	:	9.11.1989
Time of Observation	:	10.00 to 10.45 am
Class observed	:	III

10.00 A.M.

7 boys and 8 girls were present. The teacher had a steel table and a good chair. The old broken furniture had been dumped in a corner of the class. The

school bell hung in the classroom from the leg of a broken table. Outside from a van which had come for the election campaign with a loud speaker tied on it. The pre-recorded audio cassette containing the political speeches was being played. The noise disturbed the class. The teacher standing in front of the class asked questions. It was not possible to hear what the children answered. The head master taught in class V on the other side of the bamboo partition. The teacher had a cane on the table. The black board engraved on the wall was in good condition. A girl in a white blouse was looking through the window. Two boys and two girls were going out. Another van with loud speakers had entered. The teacher asked children to read from their books. The children sitting on the wooden planks read. The teacher stood near the table and watched the children. Most children read lesson No.13 from the Tamil Book. A physically handicapped boy was reading moving his finger along each line. The other children had stopped reading. Then the attendance was marked. The teacher was standing throughout.

10.30 A.M.

A boy in yellow shirt stood up and looked through the window. The teacher told the children to write and cautioned them that the handwriting should be neat. The

boy in the yellow shirt raised his fore finger and went out. Two girls and one boy also followed him. Another boy got up and looked out. Some children were copying the lesson on their slates. The fourth girl in the first row was not writing anything. The teacher had not moved from her place. In the next class the Head Master recited a poem loudly and explained the meaning.

10.45 Observation ceased

In both the classes observed meaningful learning did not take place. Children were generally left on their own. Even though child centred activity based teaching and learning is recommended the instructional process was found to be dull. In the evening the children were not involved in gardening and playing. The teachers were generally not present at the school during games hours.

Survey of the mark registers in the school revealed that a Government order (No.525) dated 15.3.78 instructed the Head Master to declare all children who had 75 per cent attendance in classes I - III, promoted. In classes IV and V, all children who had scored not less than 20 per cent marks were eligible for promotion to next higher class. The order came into effect in the school only from 1980-81. Previously only those

children who did not appear for the annual exams were detained.

During his stay in the village, the investigator tested 13 children (62 per cent) of class V and 10 children (50 per cent) of class IV informally. The tests were intended to assess the children's ability to write simple Tamil words and their ability to solve simple addition and subtraction sums. In order to test their ability to write Tamil words five common Tamil words were dictated. In mathematics two addition sums (sum total of numbers not exceeding 1000 with and without carry over) and two sums in subtraction (two digits and three digits with and without borrowing) were given. The scores of children indicated that in class V only 5 out of the 13 children tested had written 3 or more words correctly. Among the rest four children got two words correct and the other four got all five words wrong. In class IV only 4 out of 10 children tested got 3 and more words correct. 5 children wrote all five words wrong. In mathematics only 3 children of class V did all four sums correctly. In class IV only 3 children out of 10 tested had done all the four sums correctly. The scores suggest that learning levels of children in the school is far below satisfactory. The Head master also mentioned that the quality of education offered was not good since the past ten years. This he

attributed to the poor quality of teaching in lower classes (standards I - III).

Teaching in the school is not competency based and teachers are also not carefully assessing the children's progress in learning since non-detention of children is in force. Even though non - detention policy assumes that children will be promoted with the expected level of competencies, the teachers have understood it otherwise. So it is necessary to follow the non-detention policy and at the same time ensure that the children achieve the minimum levels of learning prescribed.

Dharmapuri Education district includes 900 primary schools, 72 middle schools, 63 high schools and 25 higher secondary schools. While the high schools and higher secondary schools are inspected by the District education Officer, the primary schools and middle are inspected by Assistant Education Officer or Deputy Inspector of schools. For operational convenience the Dharmapuri education district has been divided into five ranges viz. Dharmapuri, Palakodu, Pennagaram, Harur and Uttangarai, and each range is looked after by an Assistant Education Officer and or Deputy Inspector. Makkanoor falls under Pennagaram range and the school is supervised by the Deputy Inspector of schools,

Pennagaram. The inspection record kept in the school has details of officials visited the school dates and purposes of visits from 1958 onwards. The record contains the reports of 100 visits of officials from 14.2.58 to 4.8.89. The officials have made two visits chiefly for two purposes annual inspection and routine checks. Most of the visits have been made by Joint Deputy Inspector or Additional Deputy Inspector or Deputy Inspector. A.E.O. has visited occasionally. While the Chief Education Officer has visited over, the District Education Officer has never visited the school. From 1959 to 1987 annual Inspection has been conducted every year except in 1962 and 1967. There were no inspections in 1988 and until 9 November 1989. During annual inspections the officers have looked at attendance of children and teachers, building, garden play ground, toilet, equipments, instructional procedures, registers, promotion of pupils, stagnation, drop out educational standard of children, etc. During routine visits only attendance of children is checked. Though recommendations/suggestions made to the teachers recorded in the reports, no follow up action seems to have been taken ever on the basis of the recommendations. For example the officers have recommended to organise Parents Teachers meetings, regularly in 1985. But until 1987 no attempt was made

either by the officer or by the teachers to meet the parents. The subsequent visits also did not take the earlier recommendations made into account.

The supervisory visits and annual inspection are conducted as a matter of fulfilling the official requirements. They have not helped much in improving the school. The officials attribute this to their work load, due to a large number of schools under their control. The noon meal scheme has only added their responsibilities. Besides these, officers have not been provided with any transport.

Another reason stated for the ineffective supervision is the unionisation of teachers. The teachers belong to four different unions. Since the unions are very strong in terms of their membership and some of them also have political affiliation, the officers hesitate to take actions even against 'indisciplined' teachers. Commenting on this, a retired teacher mentioned that the teachers were scared of officials during his time. But at present it is the other way round.

Noon Meal Scheme

Before the scheme was officially introduced first in 1957, some teachers used to collect food from local

houses and feed poor children as early as 1945. After the scheme was extended to cover all children in primary schools, the enrolment and attendance have increased in schools. In Makkanoor 100 children are fed. The Government supplies rice and provision. The quantity of rice and other ingredients provided per child are: rice 100 gms; dhal 15 gms and oil 1 gm. Eggs are given twice a week. The Head Master and the teachers have no role in the scheme. The scheme is supervised by officials from the block office, revenue office, Deputy Inspector of Schools or Assistant Education Officer. The local people complained that the children were not fed using the full quantity of rice and provisions supplied. People also suspected misuse of the scheme by the noon meal organiser. They felt that officials too had a share in it.

Teachers generally opined that the increased attendance and enrolment in schools due to the noon meal scheme had increased their work load besides pressure on space and other facilities available in schools. However, Makkanoor had no such problems, since enrolment and attendance are consistent from the beginning. But many parents are anxious to enrol their children even before they are 5 + years due to the scheme.

Adult Education

Two adult literacy centres for women with an enrolment of 30 each are functioning in the village from August 18, 1989. The centres though stated to be functioning for two hours daily, in practice they do not function daily as the learners are not attending. When visitors come to the centres the learners are 'brought'. During a visit by the investigator to one of the centres, 7 learners were present. The Jana Shikshan Nilayam (JSN) in the village has a stock of 734 books. 13 periodical and 2 dailies are subscribed. It also has a cassette player cum radio and some play materials. The JSN is kept open for a couple of hours in the morning and in the evening. Only boys and men go to the JSN. They read news papers and popular periodicals in Tamil. Most users of the JSN are educated. It was not utilised by neo-literates. The educated women borrow journals and books and read them at home.

Even though neo-literates and illiterates do not visit the J.S.N. they gather important news from these who visit it. Many school going boys were making use of the facility.

Literacy

Before the establishment of the primary school in 1920, not a single person in the village knew to read and write. Women were not only illiterates, their status was also poor. When asked to comment on the education of women in the past, Kali Gounder, who is more than 90 years old (photograph 4) and who was the first to become a teacher in the village, told that women were not literates, and also quoted a poem of 'Kambar' which depicts the general conditions of life and the status of women then:

"உப்பதோ கம்பஞ்சோறு
உருப்பதோ கம்பளி ஆடை
ஊர்களோ பட்டி தொட்டி
பேர்களோ பொம்மன் திம்மன்
பெண்களோ நாயும் பேயும்"

The poem describes the poor condition of life in villages with people eating millet food, wearing coarse clothes, living in remote and backward areas, leading uncivilized life and the women being similar to that of dog and devil.

A considerable departure has been made from the low levels of literacy in the past. This is evident from the data on educated persons collected through the household survey. For the purpose of identifying

PHOTOGRAPH 4: MR. KALI KANDER



literate, only those who have studied upto class V or above or those who have completed are year's adult education course have been considered as literates. Among the 6-14 year olds those who have dropped out before class V and those who have never been enrolled in school have been considered as illiterates. Using this criteria sex wise literates in different age groups have been identified and the figures have been presented in Table 35. The figures in the Table indicate literacy levels among different age groups.

Table 35: Agewise Literacy in Makkanoor as on November 9, 1989

Age Group in years	No.of Lite- rates among males	% of Lite- rates among males	No.of Lite- rates among females	% of Lite- rates among females	No.of total Lite- rates	% of total Lite- rates
6-14	68	95.77	64	95.52	132	95.65
15-35	102	60.71	65	39.63	167	50.30
36-49	25	47.17	14	30.43	39	39.39
50 and above	23	37.70	1	1.67	24	19.83
6 and above	218	61.76	144	42.73	362	52.46

The high levels of literacy among persons in the age group 6-14 and 15-35 indicate the growing response to education in the village. Though the overall literacy level of females in the age group 6 and above

is much lower than that of males, the number of literate girls in the age group of 6-14 indicates that the gap has been almost bridged.

Among the total literates many have continued or are continuing their education beyond primary level. This is evident from the number of persons and their level of education shown in Table 36.

Table 36: Persons educated beyond primary level in Makkanoor in 1989

Category	Middle School Level		Higher Sec. Level		University Level	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Number of persons who have completed	35	37	45	29	8	1
Number of persons who are studying at present	25	19	23	11	1	-

Out of the total literates of 362 in the village 234 males and females (64.6 per cent) have either completed their education beyond primary level or are in various levels after primary education. The figures in the table indicate that among those who have continued their education after primary level, the number of

females decrease as the level of education increases and it is far less after the middle school, when compared to the number of males who seek higher education. Among those who completed their education, 27 men and 4 women have also had professional training such as teacher training, industrial training and training in secretarial courses, in addition to their general education. But among those trained, 20 men and 3 women have undergone teacher training courses and of these 3 male teachers are holding B.Ed. degrees.

Discussion

The establishment of the primary school in Makkanoor has increased the aspiration of the people for education. As a result, the literacy levels have risen from 0 per cent to 62 per cent among men and 43 per cent among women. As there has been no Non Formal Education centres in the village and two adult literacy centres for women started in 1989 function only on paper, the contribution to literacy in the village has come entirely from the local school. The primary school has also been instrumental to the further education of many persons in the village. All these have resulted in having the highest number of educated persons among all the villages in the taluk. However, inspite of the high aspiration and motivation for education many families

particularly the economically vulnerable ones, are unable to retain their children in schools. As a result, the retention rate in the primary school is decreasing and the number of persons who pursue their education beyond primary stage is also dwindling. Moreover, no one among those who study at present is also in any professional training courses. This is because in the past many people were able to get admission in teacher training institutes with the recommendation of influential social workers using their contacts with training institutes located in Coimbatore and Salem districts and jobs after the training were comparatively easier to get. But at present, with no one around to help, the people feel that the chances of their sons and daughters entering professional courses and training institutes are bleak. Further, many who tried admission for such courses also found the practice of bribery for getting admission for such courses. For example a teacher was asked for rupees two lakhs as bribe, when she tried for admission in a medical college for her daughter who had scored 927 out of 1000 in her higher secondary examination. Similarly Rs.1.5 lakhs was demanded for a seat in an engineering college. Realising that her family will not be able to pay such huge sum as bribe, the teacher was planning to admit her daughter in a teacher training course for which she was

prepared to pay Rs.3000 as donation. Experience of similar nature is common among many other parents also. So the villagers are generally of the conclusion that neither a seat for professional courses nor a job after the training is possible without paying bribes. Nevertheless, many parents opine that education is necessary, and the availability of the primary school right in the village makes them admit their children without any thinking about their future. In this sense primary education has become an accepted aspect of life in the village.

The increase in the number of educated persons has also had its impact on the economy and the general life conditions of people. Though agriculture continues to be the main occupation of majority of the people, 12 per cent of the total workers are salaried employees in the village.

Kali Gounder popularly known as Kali Vathiyar ('Vathiyar' in Tamil means teacher) completed his primary education in Makkanoor, his VIIth class in Palakodu (about 15 Kms. from Makkanoor) and became a teacher and the first salaried employee of the village in 1922. Following him until 1989, 45 men and 17 women have become trained teachers from Makkanoor. While most of them are still working in many primary schools and

high schools located in different parts of the district, nine of them have retired and six of them have died. Among the rest, only 17 are living in Makkanoor while 26 of them have migrated from the village and they have very little contact with the village in the form of occasional visits. Besides a number of teachers, one man who became a doctor married another doctor and both of them practice in a near by town. While a few others who have only general education took up various jobs as clerks, assistants, noon meal organisers etc. A few school dropouts and illiterate women have become cooks and 'ayahs' in noon meal centres in the taluk. However, along with the increase in the number of educated persons, unemployment is also on the rise among them.

Since educated employed persons have their own jobs to mind and many among them are either migrating or with the intention of migrating into the nearby town, agriculture and animal husbandry continue to remain in the hands of illiterate persons left in the families. Hence the practices connected to them to a great extent are traditional. The educated unemployed young persons in most cases are not only ignorant of agricultural practices and animal husbandry but also have no interest in them.

The health conditions of people are generally good. There was no one in the village with chronic deceases. There is the practice of consulting qualified doctors in towns, during illness. But in case the illness persists even after home remedies and treatment in the hands of qualified doctors people also go to local astrologers cum exorcists. But most people who go to them are poor and illiterate. The families are not large. The average size of the family is only 4, many men have undergone family planning operations. The habits of drinking, smoking and betel leaf chewing are common among educated as well as illiterate persons in the village.

Increased educational level of people has also improved their general awareness. Most people are informed about what is happening in the country. The Jana Shikshan Nilayam which has a good stock of books on different subjects also receive periodicals and news papers. While men and boys visit the JSN, read periodicals and newspapers and borrow books, women do not visit the JSN but get the books borrowed and read at home. Illiterate persons gather important news which is of concern to them, such as supply of extra commodities in public distribution outlet or supply of free rice and clothes etc., from literate persons who read news papers. Since Papparapatty is easily accessible it is an

important place for the people of Makkanoor, as their children go to middle and high schools there, they do all their important transactions, consult doctors and government officials and entertain themselves in the movie theatres there. Hence it is the place from where the people pick up new ideas and habits and come to know about life in other parts of district, state, country and the world. However, there is no forum within the village to pool different ideas and draw constructive plan for the development of the of the village. Neither the local leader nor the educated persons of the village show interest in improving the conditions of the village. So even now the village does not have safe drinking water, health visitors do not visit the village and above all the villagers are unable to come to any consensus regarding the quality of education of their children in the school and about the future of their sons and daughters.

On the other hand, the teachers, to uphold their rights and meet their demands have at least four different teachers associations. These unions are strong to the extent that even the officials can not take any action against a teacher if he or she is found neglecting his/her duty.

The foregoing analysis suggests that the establishment of the primary school in Makkanoor more than 60 years before has been instrumental in influencing all aspects of life of people. With more than 60 per cent of literates in the age group of 6 years and above and the increasing number of literates among people below 50 years, education is spreading among all sections - rich, poor, men and women, of people. This has earned the name, 'the most literate village in the taluk, to Makkanoor and has also become a prominent village in the taluk. This when compared with the educational backwardness of the district and the taluk is a contrast. This has been achieved despite certain limitations such as inadequate number of teachers, instructional rooms, instructional materials and other essential facilities such as play ground and toilets. These inadequacies in no way have made the community less receptive to primary education. They are also not viewed as serious limitations by people. The people seem to be satisfied and prepared to send their children if a school exists with a structure and some teachers within the village.

Consistently high enrolment, attendance and retention figures indicate that the people's aspiration for education is high. This has been nurtured and sustained by other factors such as interest and efforts

of the village elders, contacts the villagers had with prominent people outside the village, support of the prominent people from outside, comparatively better employment opportunities without much competition in the past etc. But these factors are not favourable any more to the people, more specifically to people from economically lower strata. So inspite of the supportive schemes such as free uniforms, text books, noon meal etc., enrolment and retention of pupil are declining. The increasing levels of education in Makkanoor has changed the outlook of people and transferred the occupational pattern, health conditions and habits. In the process educated persons have become alienated and outward looking. While their enthusiasm and aspirations are very much for their own development and the well-being of their family members, they are least interested in the 'common good' and in making decisions which will improve the village as a whole. So, the infrastructural development of the village, agriculture, village trades etc. remain neglected and underdeveloped. Hence they find the village unsuitable for their outlook and life style. This might be the reason why many educated persons are leaving the village and living in the nearby town. With under development in the village, the influences of towns in terms of employment opportunities, better educational and entertainment

facilities, pressure of prominent and influential persons etc., are very strong on the villagers. So from an early age, the dream of taking up a salaried job and settling down in an urban centre, not too far away from the village is nurtured as a dream and shown as a model for being successful in life. Primary education serves as a foundation for this dream. Those who can afford to study beyond primary level and are also capable of finding a job leave the village happily while those who study upto primary stage and beyond, but are not able to find a job remain dreaming about life in cities and get frustrated when the dream does not come true.

The presence of primary schools in the village has no doubt become the part and parcel of the life of people. So most parents felt that it is their duty to enrol their children in schools. Supportive schemes such as free text books, noon meal etc. have enhanced enrolment of children. However, the enthusiasm and aspiration of people are not reflected in the retention of children in the school. Majority of the children who drop out are from economically and educationally poor families. The presence of educated unemployed persons and their parents struggle to put their children for higher studies and then to find them a job, to some extent has made the parents of economically poor strata grow disillusioned about the purpose of educating their own children.