3

EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Education, socialization and even living in society itself, influence the direction of behaviour and action of an individual. Increased knowledge, information and also interactions with others have effect upon one's attitude pattern. "Although the possibility that attitudes have innate components can not be excluded, the primary contribution of learning to the formation and development of attitudes is beyond question".[1] Education and learning cause changes in thought patterns of an individual which tend to alter his/her behaviour pattern also.

Dynamics of attitudinal change involves dissonance reality of present attitude, its changing process followed by stabilization and integration of newly acquired attitude. The theories of cognitive process states that increased knowledge and information often create a state of dissonance in an individual and the individual tries to maintain balance among the cognitive elements to avoid psychological discomforts. Newly acquired attitude comes in conflict with those previous ones.

When newly acquired attitudes are fruitful experiences, they stabilize in the thought patterns. In this process, a change in the total attitudinal pattern occurs.

Education helps to give more information and knowledge as also rational power to understand the physical and social environment in a scientific way. It also helps an individual to imbibe rational and modern attitude. An educated person is therefore, likely to have modern attitude and to discard the traditional ones. This, of course, does not mean that educated persons have all modern attitudes and illiterate persons have all traditional attitudes. However, an educated person is expected to make a review of these social elements which are not in conformity with modernity and to reject them as inconsistencies with modern way of life.

The study of attitude change is many-faceted and may be made from different angles. Confusion often arises because attitudes are, sometimes, taken as sum total of correlation between speech reactions, total overt behaviour and present behaviour. Such a gestalt approach in the study of attitude change is important and relevant no doubt but that does not minimise the

importance and urgency of its study from other specific view points too. In the present study, attitude is not, therefore, taken to mean overt behaviour but merely a predisposition, tendency to and indicative of overt behaviour. Attitudes have been regarded as determining the general character of the act, an indicator of future act, which is likely to take place in a given situation. Also it is regarded as giving the direction of behaviour and action.

In order to ascertain the impact of education among scheduled tribe communities of North Bengal, the shift from traditional to modern attitudes of the population under study is referred to. This is, to put in other words, to find out the impact of education on the extent of attitudinal change among the population under study. The question which may arise in this connection is, how far measurement of shift from traditional to modern attitudes in relation to some variables will give a correct perspective of the change in attitude through education. To this question the answer is that the present study is concerned not with attitudinal change process as it is concerned with how education

as an external factor can cause change in the attitude of persons. Earlier, it has been pointed out that education affects the thought patterns of individuals and hence consequently the attitudes of the individuals also. In this connection it is to be noted that spread of education is generally characterised by break-down of traditional family relationship, break-down of link between kinship and occupational structure, secularization of belief, emergence of new pattern of leadership etc. Most studies on social change concentrate and develop their framework on and from this trend.

In order to get an overall idea about the effects of education among the population under study an attitude test of both the educated and the illiterate scheduled tribe population in relation to some social institutions may be made. It is, indeed, however very difficult to select the reference institutions for the purpose in view of the existence of so many equally important social institutions. Most common social institutions, according to Chitamber,[2] are family, religion, the economic, government and education. In the present study institutions of family, leadership, education,

occupation and religion are taken as the five reference social institutions in relation to which impact of education is sought to be ascertained.

As it was mentioned in the introductory chapter that the sample of the population to which the attitude test was administered was drawn from the adult age-group only. Also it was stated that systematic random sampling method was followed in selecting the sample, criterion being every sixth adult illiterate and every third educated adult would be included. In total, thus, 415 adult persons formed the sample population of which 287 persons were adult illiterates and 128 persons were adult educated.

The standarised questionnaire with five opinion-statement had been included in respect of each of these institutions and the respondents (sample population) were asked to give their opinions as to each of the statements as agreed, undecided or disagreed. As it has been stated earlier, all positive responses represented modern attitudes and negative ones represented traditional attitudes. Scale-scores thus ranged from 0-10 for each of the selected institutions representing most modern to most traditional outlook of the respondents.

1. FAMILY STRUCTURE

The family is the first and foremost social agency of human beings. The composition of the family is not, however, uniform. It may thus take the name of joint family which includes relatives in addition to one conjugal unit or may be described as nuclear family.

Joint family system is described as one of the basic social characteristics of India. There are many recent studies which point out the trend of significant changes in the institution of joint family. According to Dr. A.R.Desai, "the traditional joint family and familistic rural frame work have been undergoing a qualitative transformation. The basis of rural family relationship is shifting from that of status to that of contract. The family is being transformed from a unit of production to a unit of consumption. The cementing bond of family is being changed from consanguinity to conjugality"[3]. In his book 'Urbanisation and Family Change,' Dr.M.S.Gore[4] pointed out that the traditional joint family system was sure to undergo changes because of the secularization of life and individualistic philosophy.

Sacred-secular dimensions of family have also been brought out by some. It is held, "In traditional or sacred family the individual is conditioned by the mores practised in the community and his behaviour pattern is largely controlled by the attitude of the community. On the other hand in 'secular family' the individual feels free to pursue his desired goal and is more inclined and willing to adjust to the new conditions and circumstances as a request of rapid social change."[5]

On the other hand, there are some studies which demonstrate the view that joint family system in India still occupies a very important position and point out that the future of such family system is not bleak. Similar views of some noted persons such as I.P.Desai, Radha Kamal Mukherjee and K.M. Kapadia have been referred to by Bhatnagar.[6]

Between these opposing trends of thinking on joint family system in India, an intermediate position has also been observed. According to Dr.S.K. Ramanujam,[7] changes in the joint family structure in our country are there but in the process of looking at traditional joint family at one end of the continuum and nuclear unit at the other, most families

fall somewhere in the middle and he referred such changed families as'extended families'.

In the present study questions were framed to enquire regarding the aspect of feelings or sentiments towards family. The following five questions were included in the scale.

1. If you are to live apart from your family monetary contribution to the relatives of the family is not a duty?- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

2. If you are to live apart from your family, attendance to ceremonies or festivals connected with it is not so important. - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

3. Do you consider consultation with women in family matters is important? - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

4. Do you think that relationship with the spouse is closer that with the mother?- Agreed/Undecided/ Disagreed

5. Do you think nuclear family is advantageous than extended family? - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

The above questions were designed to probe into the sentiments of the respondents towards family. The questions covered a wide range of characteristics of family from joint family aspect to economic, social and even legal aspects too. Those persons who attached greater values to traditional aspects of family were regarded as holding traditional attitudes and those who were apathetic to traditional values of families were regarded as holding modern rational outlook. Each of the responses to the above mentioned questions were given scores; the positive was given 0 score, undecided 1 and negative 2 score, so that we have scores ranging from 0-10 regarding these five questions. A person having 0 score on all the five items was regarded as to be most modern and a person having a score of 10 was regarded as having relatively the most traditional outlook.

The data which were collected in relation to the institution 'family' have been tabulated to find out whether factor education has any impact towards family structure. In this task, the scores of the illiterate as well as educated persons have been compared to ascertain the trend of change towards family structure, if any.

The attitude scores on family has been shown in table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Attitude score of the respondents on family.

Scores	No. of illiterate persons	No. of educated persons	Total
0 - 2	18	46	64
2 - 4	65	35	100
4 - 6	80	27	107
6 - 8	74	17	91
8 -10	50	3	53
Total :	287	128	415

The statistical analysis of the above table shows that the mean score of the illiterate persons is 5.50 and the standard deviation is 2.30 as against 3.37 mean and 2.80 standard deviation of the educated. The calculated Standard Error of the differences between two means is 0.20 which suggests that the difference is significant being greater than seven times of the Standard Error. Educated persons have thus lower attitude score and hence may be said to have modern attitudes towards family.

The percentage distribution of persons with lower to higher attitude scores on family may be seen from table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Percentage distribution of the respondents with lower to higher attitude scores on family.

	Scores				
	0-2	2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10
Illiterate :	6.27	22.64	27.67	25.70	17.42
Educated :	35.93	27.34	21.09	13.28	2.34
Total :	15.42	24.09	25.70	21.92	12.77

It indicates that the percentage of educated persons with lowest attitude scores (35.93%) is much higher than that of the illiterates. It is more than double of the total percentage of the respondents with lowest score on family. Educated persons with next higher attitude score-range is also higher. This points out the fact that the majority of the educated persons, comparatively, have lower attitude score; corresponding figure of the illiterates occurs with higher score.

Again, the impact of education may be seen from yet another dimension. Table 3.3 gives the percentage distribution of the educated respondents by age-group.

Table 3.3 Percentage distribution of educated respondents with attitude scores on family by age-group.

Age-groups	Scores				
	0 - 2	2 - 4	4 - 6	6 - 8	8 - 10
18 - 28	54.34	48.58	33.33	17.65	-
28 - 38	26.10	22.85	44.44	58.82	-
38 - 48	10.86	22.85	14.82	23.53	33.33
48 - 58	6.52	5.72	7.41	-	-
58 - 68	2.18	-	-	-	33.33
68 & above	-	-	-	-	33.33
Total :	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	99.99

The table indicates that there are greater percentage of educated persons in the younger age-groups with lower attitude scores i.e. modern attitude on family as compared to those in case of middle aged and older persons above 38 years of age.[8]

The attitude scores on family of the respondents have been correlated with the educational status, age-group, occupation and religion. In this connection, educational status has been kept constant with a view to finding out the impact of education.

For the purpose of analysis, only percentages of persons with lower attitude scores on family in different categories viz. "A", "B" and "C" are shown in the tables below. Lower attitudes scores reversed to score 0 - 2 representing modern and rational attitude towards the institutions under reference.

Category wise percentage distribution of persons with lower attitude scores on family by age-groups and educational status is shown below :

Table 3.4 Category-wise percentage distribution of respondents with lower attitude scores on family by age-group and educational status.

Age-groups	Category	Educational Status		
		Illiterate	Educated	Total
18 - 28	A	13.33	56.24	35.48
	B	-	57.14	57.14
	C	14.58	38.70	24.05
28 - 38	A	-	62.05	62.05
	B	-	66.66	66.66
	C	8.16	16.16	11.25
38 - 48	A	-	16.16	16.16
	B	-	-	-
	C	7.14	26.66	13.95
48 - 58	A	-	50.00	50.00
	B	-	-	-
	C	12.05	40.00	17.24
58 - 68	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
68 & above	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
Total :		20.22	85.18	44.75

It is seen from the table that the percentages of persons with lower attitude scores on family are higher among the educated persons in all age-groups as compared to those among the illiterates. The inter-category analysis reveals that such percentage is highest among younger educated persons (upto 30 years) in B category (61.90 percent average) closely followed by those in A (59.38 percent average) But in case of educated persons in C level the percentage of persons with lower attitude scores on family is much lower (27.43 percent). On the other hand, among older educated persons such percentage with lower attitude scores on family is nil in 'B' and almost same in 'A' or 'C' categories.

Percentage distribution of persons with lower attitude scores on family by occupation and educational status is shown in the table given below :

Table 3.5 Category-wise percentage distribution of respondents with lower attitude scores on family by occupation and educational status.

Occupational categories	Category	Educational status: Illiterate	Educated	Total
Cultivation	A	6.66	56.25	32.25
	B	-	100.00	100.00
	C	-	-	-
Wage-earners	A	6.66	25.00	16.12
	B	-	-	-
	C	34.78	77.41	50.63
Salaried persons	A	-	18.75	18.75
	B	-	71.42	71.42
	C	-	-	-
Others	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
Total		20.22	65.10	44.75

It is indicated from the table that percentages of persons with lower attitude scores i.e. modern attitude are much higher among the educated persons in all categories as compared to those among the illiterates. Category-wise distribution of such persons shows that cultivators (100 percent) and salaried persons (71.42 percent) in B category and wage-earners in C category

(77.41 percent) have most modern attitude towards family amongst the different occupational categories.

Percentage distribution of persons with lower attitude scores on family by religion and educational status is shown in table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Category-wise percentage distribution of respondents with lower attitude scores on family by religion and educational status.

Religious Groups	Category	Educational status: Illiterate	Educated	Total
Tribal Religion	A	-	25.00	25.00
	B	-	57.14	57.14
	C	31.25	67.74	49.56
Christian Religion	A	13.33	75.00	45.16
	B	-	28.57	28.57
	C	2.08	9.67	5.06
Total		20.22	69.18	44.75

It is seen from the table 3.6 that percentages of persons with lower attitude scores on family occur significantly among the educated persons. Educated christians in A category (75.00 percent) have modern

attitude towards family followed by educated tribals in C (57.74 percent) and educated tribals in B category (57.14 percent).

From the study of attitudes one may discern the anticipated form of behaviour which individuals are most likely to do. But such anticipated form of behaviour and actual behaviour may not alter in the same degree, leaving chances of wide room for variation in between. Unless, therefore, an analysis of actual behaviour vis-a-vis anticipated behaviour is made, dynamics of change can not be properly understood. In the discussion that follows an analysis of the structure of social actions of the respondents is made.

Table 3.7 shows the educational status of the respondents in different categories and their monetary contribution to joint family.

Table 3.7 Educational status of the respondents and their monetary contribution to joint family.

Educational status	Category	Contribution to joint family: Positive No.	Positive %	Negative No.	Negative %	Total No.	Total %
Illiterate	A	40	83.33	8	16.67	48	100.00
	B	70	83.33	14	16.67	84	100.00
	C	55	35.48	100	64.52	155	100.00
Total		165	57.49	122	42.51	287	100.00
Educated	A	16	50.00	16	50.00	32	100.00
	B	6	54.55	5	45.45	11	100.00
	C	15	17.65	70	82.35	85	100.00
Total		37	28.91	91	71.09	128	100.00

Additive χ^2=23.65; df=3; 5% level of significance.

The table given above shows that a smaller number of educated persons contribute monetarily to joint family. The chi-square test also shows that the calculated value of x^2 at 5% level of significance is significant.(x^2=10.16 in A; x^2=5.04 in B; x^2=8.45 in C). As such there is an association between the variables of education and contribution to joint family. This points out the trend that educated persons don't like the strains and stress of the joint family.

From another perspective actual social behaviour of the respondents may be analysed. Table 3.8 gives the educational status of the respondents and their attendance to ceremonies connected with joint family.

Category-wise educational status of the respondents and their attendance to ceremonies connected with joint family has been shown in table 3.8.

Table 3.8 Educational status of the respondents and their attendance to ceremonies connected with joint family.

Educational status	Category	Ceremonies connected with jt. family: Usually attend No.	Usually attend percent	Don't attend No.	Don't attend percent	Total No.	Total percent
Illiterate	A	45	93.75	3	6.25	48	100.00
	B	80	95.24	4	4.76	84	100.00
	C	30	19.35	125	80.65	155	100.00
Total		155	54.01	132	45.99	287	100.00
Educated	A	10	31.25	22	68.75	32	100.00
	B	7	63.64	4	36.36	11	100.00
	C	20	23.53	65	76.47	85	100.00
Total		37	28.91	91	71.09	128	100.00

Additive x^2 = 48.17 df=3; 5% level of significance

The table shows that a larger percentage of educated persons (71.09%) do not attend ceremonies connectedwith joint family. The chi-square test worked out seperately shows that educational status and attendance to ceremonies are significantly associated in case of indigenous tribal population of the village (x^2 = 34.90 df. 1. 5% level of significance in "A") and also in case of migrated tribal population of the village (x^2 = 12.70 df 1.5% level of significance in "B"). However, it is not significant in case of persons in "C" category (x^2 = 0.57). One possible reason for this absence of association between educational status and attendance to ceremonies connected with joint family in "C" category may be due to the existence of strong link of scheduled tribe population at the tea garden level with other members of the family at their native lands as also the facilities available to the tea garden workers to visit/attend ceremonies connected with joint family. In every year during the period of their annual leave with wages popularly known as 'Sal chuti', tea garden workers generally visit their native places.

The respondents monetary contribution to joint family and their attendance to ceremonies connected with joint family show that in case of villagers, even with lesser educational facilities and more or less with traditional agrarian outlook, the educated persons do not show much attachment to joint family; whereas educated persons in the tea garden who are exposed to the forces of modernization and with better educational facilities are more attached to joint family. This brings out the role of occupational structure in social change more in comparison to that of education.

Educational status of the respondents and place/status of women in the family have been shown in table 3.9.

Table 3.9 Educational status of the respondents and status of women.

Educational level	Category	Status of women in the family: Women usually consulted in family matter		Women usually not consulted		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	A	30	62.50	18	37.50	48	100.00
	B	60	71.43	24	28.57	84	100.00
	C	55	35.48	100	64.52	155	100.00
Total :		145	50.52	142	49.48	287	100.00
Educated	A	20	62.50	12	37.50	32	100.00
	B	8	72.73	3	27.27	11	100.00
	C	50	58.82	35	41.18	85	100.00
Total :		78	60.94	50	39.06	128	100.00

Additive x^2=12.13;df=3; 5% level of significance

The table shows that educated persons usually consult more with women in family matters as compared to the illiterates, meaning thereby that role and status of women are higher in the educated family. The chi-square test worked out seperately shows that there is a significant association between educational status and place of women in "C" level x^2=12.13;in case of "A" & "B" categories there is no such significant association between them. A possible reason for this could be the economic independance of women in "C" because of their

being wage-earners like their male counterparts and because of their comparative advantage for industrial way of life. The analysis of the direction of change in the status of women shows that there is a significant effect on the thinking of educated persons regarding the position of women, even though at an uneven rate consequent upon the characteristics of the social structure of the respondents.

The relationship of the respondents with his/her mother and with his/her spouses was ascertained by asking whether they were nearer/closer to their mother or to the spouse. Table 3.10 gives the distribution of respondents views and actions over the question of this relationship.

Table 3.10 Educational status of the respondents and their relationship with mother and spouses.

Educational levels	Category	Relationship: Closer to mother No.	%	Closer to spouse No.	%	Total No.	%
Illiterate	A	38	79.17	10	20.83	48	100.00
	B	70	83.33	14	16.67	84	100.00
	C	65	41.94	90	58.06	155	100.00
Total :		173	60.28	114	39.72	287	100.00
Educated	A	14	43.75	18	56.25	32	100.00
	B	3	27.27	8	72.73	11	100.00
	C	10	11.76	75	88.24	85	100.00
Total :		27	21.09	101	78.91	121	100.00

Additive x^2=30.95; df=3; 5% level of significance.

The distribution of the sample shows that almost three-fifth of the illiterate respondents consider themselves closer to their mother whereas only one-fifth of the educated respondents consider themselves closer to their mother. This points out that conjugal relationship tends to develop in a bigger scale among the educated. The chi-square test shows that there is a significant association between educational status and relationship in the family (x^2=10.57 in A; x^2=17.13 in B; x^2=23.25 in C). It thus demonstrates that with the spread

of education the statuses of the spouses are changed, leading towards a tendency for nuclear family with its contingent changes in the decision making process and authority in the family life.

As regards the impact of education, it may therefore be concluded that -

(i) Education has differential rate of impact of different levels depending upon the characteristics of the social structure of different schedule tribe population.

(ii) A greater number of educated person show somewhat lesser degree of attachment to joint family as compared to the illiterates;

(iii) As compared to the illiterates, a large number of educated persons give higher status for women and consequently;

(iv) A greater number of educated persons tend to show preference for conjugal relationship vis-a-vis that of illiterates who mostly represent traditional value for parental relationship.

MARRIAGE :

Marriage is one of the most important social institutions. It leads to the establishment of primary social as well as physical relationship between a man and a woman. Legitimate approval by the society of the right of sexual intercourse between the marital partners, mainly for progeny and continuity of human race is conferred by it. Malinowski has termed it as "the principle of legitimacy".[9] According to Radcliffe-Brown it is a social arrangement by which a child is given a legitimate position in society, determined by parenthood in the social sense.[10]

The marriage customs and practices are the essential components of the social life of people in any community. Marriage is thus performed through certain ceremonies and within these ceremonies there are certain norms and customs. One of the important features of the institution is that it is held within the sub-caste and among the kin. Another important feature with regard to this institution is that marriage is arranged by elders and the selection of bride is left to the parents. The system of bride price is yet another important feature with the institution among the scheduled tribes.

The respondents were asked to answer the following questions relating to the selection of spouses within community, age for marriage, preference for arranged marriage and also for bride price. It is important to note that the system of bride price among the scheduled tribe communities is still prevalent. According to one social thinker of the district of Jalpaiguri, "The bridegroom is required to pay a token price for obtaining the wife. There are different system of payments of bride price among different communities".[11]

i) Do you think inter-ethnic marriage is preferable to tribal endogamy? - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

ii) Do you think that bride-price is a necessary factor in marriage? - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

iii) What do you think should be the proper age of marriage of girls? - Less than 18 years/18-21 years/21 years and above.

iv) Do you favour marriage by mutual consent of the boys and girls? - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

The positive responses to these questions were considered as reflecting modern attitude and the negative ones were taken as reflecting traditional attitude towards

N.C.C

marriage. Further in matters of age of marriage of girls those who considered 18 years and above as the proper age of marriage were taken as having modern attitude towards it. Thus those persons who did not attach much importance to the traditional kinship consideration in marriage and thus changing the traditional custom associated with it were regarded as having modern attitude. Similarly, it is generally believed that the educated persons do not believe in child marriage and they are not very rigid with regard to the payment of bride price. Also it is believed that educated persons do not generally submit to the selection of bride by the parents, rather they would prefer atleast to meet and discuss among the spouses themselves before marriage.

The attitude scores towards the institution of marriage have been correlated with the educational status of the respondents.

The attitude towards exogamy is studied in relation to the educational status of the respondents. Table 3.11 shows the educational status of the respondents and their marriage preference.

Table 3.11 Educational status of the respondents and their preference for marriage

Educational level	Category	Preference for marriage: Within community No.	%	Outside community No.	%	Total No.	%
Illiterate	A	43	89.58	5	10.42	48	100.00
	B	73	86.19	11	13.10	84	100.00
	C	140	90.32	15	9.68	155	100.00
Total :		256	89.20	31	10.68	287	100.00
Educated	A	15	46.88	17	53.12	32	100.00
	B	4	36.36	7	63.64	11	100.00
	C	35	41.18	50	58.82	85	100.00
Total :		54	42.19	74	57.81	128	100.00

Additive x^2=100.92 df=3; 5% level of significance.

The chi-square test shows that there is significant association between educational status and preference for selection of spouses (x^2=17.56 in A; x^2=16.23 in B; x^2=67.13 in C). The table shows that a larger percentage of educated persons in all categories are in favour of marriage outside their own community. This means that educated persons attach lesser importance to community consciousness in matters of selecting their spouses which is traditional in outlook. The higher percentage of educated persons who

prefer marriage outside community occurs among the migrated schedule tribe ("B" category - 63.64%) and indigenous scheduled tribe population ("A" category - 53.12%) at the village level.

The analysis, thus, reveals that educated persons have more liberal and modern outlook regarding selection of their spouses as also the marriage institution.

The attitude of the respondents towards bride price is studied in relation to their educational status and shown in the table given below :

Table 3.12 gives the educational status of the respondents and their preference to the bride-price.

Table 3.12 Educational status of the respondents and their preference to bride-price.

Educational status	Category	Preference for bride-price					
		Positive		Negative		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	A	26	54.17	22	45.83	48	100.00
	B	40	47.62	44	52.38	84	100.00
	C	75	48.39	80	51.61	155	100.00
Total		141	49.13	146	50.87	287	100.00
Educated	A	17	53.13	15	46.87	32	100.00
	B	5	45.45	6	54.55	11	100.00
	C	40	47.06	45	52.94	85	100.00
Total :		62	48.44	66	51.56	128	100.00

Additive x^2=0.85; df=3; 5% level of significance.

The chi-square test shows that there is no significant association between educational status and preference for bride-price. It means that bride-price is an important system and so deep-rooted among the scheduled tribe communities in the existing social structure that education may not be of any significant effect which can alter it in near future. However a trend of liberal attitude towards economic aspect of the system is reported by the respondents. Now-a-days some kind of presentation by the groom is deemed as

symbolic to the payment of bride-price and generally no other amount in cash or kind is forced on grooms' parents in negotiated marriage.

In order to secure information about the attitude of the respondents from the three categories regarding child marriage or early marriage, their views on proper age of marriage were sought to be ascertained.

Table 3.13 shows the educational status of the respondents and their preference for the age of marriage.

Table 3.13 Educational status of the respondents and their preference for age of marriage for girls.

Educational levels	Category	Preference for the age of marriage: Less than 18 years No.	%	18 years to 21 years No.	%	21 years & above No.	%	Total No.	%
Illiterate	A	15	31.25	20	41.67	13	27.08	48	100.00
	B	30	35.71	40	47.62	14	16.67	84	100.00
	C	100	64.52	45	29.03	10	6.45	155	100.00
Total :		145	50.52	105	36.59	37	12.89	287	100.00
Educated	A	6	18.75	12	37.50	14	43.75	32	100.00
	B	2	18.18	6	54.55	3	27.27	11	100.00
	C	20	23.53	20	23.53	45	52.94	85	100.00
Total :		28	21.88	38	29.69	62	48.44	128	100.00

Additive $x^2 = 75.22$; df=6; 5% level of significance.

The chi-square test shows that there is significant association between educational status and preference for the age of marriage for girls. However, such chi-square tests taken separately reveal that only among the migrated tribal population in the tea garden, there exists such significant relationship between educational status and preference of marriage (x^2=70.83; df=2; 5% level of significance). There doesnot exist any significant association between educational status and preference for age of marriage of girls among others (x^2=2.79;df=2; 5% level of significance in A and x^2=1.60; df=2; 5% level of significance).

The analysis also shows that educated persons are in favour of marriage at a later age. The traditional pattern of early marriage/child marriage is thus likely to change with the spread of education.

The educational status of the respondents and their preference for marriage by mutual consent have been shown in table 3.14.

Table 3.14 Educational status of the respondents and their preference for marriage by mutual consent

Educational levels	Category	Preference for marriage by mutual consent					
		Positive		Negative		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	A	40	83.33	8	16.67	48	100.00
	B	79	94.05	5	5.95	84	100.00
	C	90	58.06	65	41.94	155	100.00
Total :		209	72.82	78	27.18	287	100.00
Educated	A	10	31.25	22	68.75	32	100.00
	B	4	36.36	7	63.64	11	100.00
	C	15	17.65	70	82.35	85	100.00
Total :		29	22.66	99	77.34	128	100.00

Additive x^2=67.98; df=3; 5% level of significance.

The chi-square test shows that there is a significant association between educational status and preference for marriage by mutual consent (x^2=22.22 in A; x^2=29.31 in B; x^2=36.45 in C). The table given above shows that there are greater percentage of educated people who prefer marriage by mutual consent. This shows that in course of time traditional institutions like endogamy, joint family system will also undergo changes with the spread of education.

As regards the effect of education on the institution of marriage, the following trends are revealed.

i) A greater number of educated persons are in favour of inter-ethnic marriages as compared to the preference of the illiterates for tribal endogamy.

ii) A greater number of educated persons regard 18 years and above as the proper age of marriage for girls unlike the illiterates who prefer marriage at a lower age; and

iii) A greater number of educated persons are in favour of marriage by mutual consent.

iv) Though the system of 'bride-price' and the educational status of the respondents are not significantly associated, a trend of liberal attitude towards its economic consideration is noticeable among a greater number of educated persons.

11. LEADERSHIP

The role of leadership in the organisation and regulation of any human society is very important. In India after independence, the popular government, formed on the basis of universal adult suffrage and election, own the responsibility of mobilizing the adult population for participative roles and of making them aware of their rights and duties. This has thus ushered in a new type of social and cultural climate in which people get incentive for re-orientation of their attitudes and formation of opinions. Patterns of statuses and power in various institutions are changing. Status determinants are no longer limited within the traditional confines of the institutions of family and caste, but other bases such as education has also emerged as important factor. So also in the case with the new bases of power. These changing nature of determinants of status and power are likely to influence areas of dominance. Factors such as community, age and economic status which exercised greatest infludence for leadership qualities earlier are loosing their importance. Now ".....the numerical strength constitutes as one of the important bases."[12] "In the past leaders were mostly elected on informal basis (not on election basis) but

now we need more formal leaders (i.e. leaders through election) for panchayats, co-operative, youth organisations etc."[13] In respect of change in the village life in Northern India,"Lewis found.....that members of the new democratic panchayats are generally younger men with some education, in contrast with the emphasis on age and seniority in the traditional panchayats".[14] Navlakha in his study of the authority structure among the Bhumij and the Bhil has shown how the socio-political organisation of the Bhumij society of Bihar and well developed centralised structure of the Bhil of Rajasthan were changing because of the influence and interaction of external factors.[15] F.G. Bailey also pointed out that, "A tribal society became intermingled with people whose lives were ordered by the caste system, and both these, in their turn, have become involved in a modern political system."[16] Status, power and institutions in tribal communities are also in the process of change through the influence and interaction of different factors.

Education has been regarded as one of such exogenous factors. In the present study it is, therefore, hypothesised that education has an important bearing on the changing pattern of leadership. L.P.Vidyarthi made a two-fold classification of tribal leaders - traditional

and modern. "The traditional leaders of tribals were rural-bred charismatic and religious in approach..... (These) new type of urban-bred educated and largely secular leaders are to be known as modern leaders.[17]

As we know, the bases and sources of status of leadership may also be classified into two types viz. ritual and secular and in the present day societies the latter kind of leadership is considered as the modern and rational structure compared to the ritual pattern which is traditional. Differentiated and dispersed power structure is, therefore, preferable to pyramidal pattern in the modern changed societies.

For the purpose of analysing the attitude towards the patterns of leadership, the respondents were asked the following questions :

i) Do you think leadership from rank and file is consistent with democratic norm?

- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

ii) If you are considered as the leader of the locality will you mix with the common people without any reservation?

- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

iii) Do you think economic policy of our country is governed by its political leadership ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed.

iv) Do you think the right to vote is a basic democratic right ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed.

v) Do you agree that participation and involvement of people is advantageous to solve the local problems ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed.

The above questions were designed to probe into the sentiment of the respondents towards leadership. The question covered wide range of characteristics of leadership from its ritual aspect to most modern and rational aspects. Those persons who attached greater values to traditional aspects were regarded as holding traditional attitude and those who were apathetic to traditional values of leadership were regarded holding modern views. Each of the responses was given score, the positive was given 0, undecided 1 and negative 2; so that the scores ranged from 0-10 regarding the five questions. A person having 0 score on all the five items was regarded as to be the most modern and a person having a score of 10 was regarded as having relatively the most traditional outlook towards leadership.

To ascertain the impact of education, the attitude scores of the illiterates and the educated towards leadership are analysed. The differences between their mean scores are significant being more than three times of the Standard Error 0.18 (Mean score of the illiterate 9.98 and standard deviation 1.91; Mean score of the educated 2.34 and standard deviation 1.75). This suggests that educated persons have relatively lower attitude score (modern) towards leadership as compared to those of illiterates.

The percentage distribution of persons with lower attitude scores to higher scores reveals that 47.65 percent of the educated persons have lowest attitude score as against only 0.34 percent of the illiterate. This may be seen from the Table 3.15 which is noted below :

Table 3.15 Percentage distribution of respondents with lower to higher attitude scores on leadership.

	Scores				
	0-2	2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10
Illiterate	0.34	16.72	32.05	35.19	15.67
Educated	47.65	32.03	15.62	4.68	-
Total :	14.93	21.44	26.98	25.78	10.84

The impact of education may be further seen from the dimension of age-group of the respondents. Table 3.16 gives the percentage distribution of the educated persons with lower scores by age-groups.

Table 3.16 Percentage distribution of educated respondents with attitude scores on leadership by age-group.

Age-groups	Scores				
	0-2	2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10
18 - 28	52.45	41.46	20.00	16.67	-
28 - 38	22.95	48.78	25.00	50.00	-
38 - 48	11.48	9.76	45.00	33.33	-
48 - 58	9.84	-	5.00	-	-
58 - 68	1.64	-	5.00	-	-
68 & above	1.64	-	-	-	-
Total :	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	-

The table indicates that the percentage of educated persons with lower attitudes score on leadership occurs maximum in younger age categories indicating, as also, a uniform trend of inverse relationship with scores, unlike in other age-categories.

The attitude scores on leadership have been correlated with educational status and age-categories of the respondents in the following table.

Table 3.17 Categorywise percentage distribution of respondents with lower attitude scores on leadership by age-group and educational status.

Age Groups	Category	Educational status		
		Illiterate	Educated	Total
18 - 28	A	-	50.00	50.00
	B	-	28.57	28.57
	C	-	70.96	70.96
28 - 38	A	-	37.50	37.50
	B	-	33.33	33.33
	C	-	32.50	32.50
38 - 48	A	-	33.33	33.33
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	33.33	33.33
48 - 58	A	-	100.00	100.00
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	60.00	60.00
58 - 68	A	33.33	-	33.33
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	50.00	50.00
68 & above	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	100.00	100.00
Total :		6.34	47.61	14.93

It is seen from the table that percentages of persons with lower attitude scores on leadership (i.e. modern attitude) are much higher among the educated respondents as compared to those of the illiterates. Further, such percentages are highest among the younger and older educated persons in "C" category i.e. among the migrated Scheduled Tribe population at the tea garden. Also certain percentages of persons both in young ... and old age-groups with modern attitude on leadership occur among the educated persons of indigenous community (i.e. A category) but in "B" i.e. among the migrated Scheduled Tribe population at the village level no such percentage of educated persons in older age-groups with modern attitude on leadership occurs. A possible reason for such modern attitude among the educated persons in both A and C category may be due to, apart from educational progress, the favourable conditions for developing the organisations unlike in B level where most of the people are unorganised for their nature of employment and also educational backwardness.

Yet from another dimension the distribution of persons with lower attitude scores may be made. In the following table level wise percentage distribution of persons with lower attitude scores on leadership

by occupation and educational status has been shown. The table may give an idea about the attitude of the persons engaged in different occupation. The broad-classification of occupation has been made into cultivation, wage-earners or workers on wage payment basis, salaried category and others.

Table 3.18 Categorywise percentage distribution of respondents with lower attitude scores on leadership by occupation and educational status.

Occupational categories	Category	Educational status: Illiterate	Educated	Total
Cultivation	A	2.08	28.12	12.50
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	-	-	-
Wage-earners	A	-	12.50	12.50
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	50.50	50.50
Salaried persons	A	-	6.25	6.25
	B	-	18.18	18.18
	C	-	-	-
Others	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
Total :		0.34	47.61	14.93

The table indicates that in respect of cultivators, the percentage of educated persons with lower attitude score on leadership is highest in A (28.12 percent); of wage-earners and salaried persons, such percentages are highest in C category (50.50 percent) and in B category (18.18 percent) respectively.

It is seen from the table 3.19 given below that the percentage of educated persons among the tribals with lower attitude score on leadership is highest in C category (43.52 percent) and among christians educated, such percentages are highest in "A" category (34.37 percent).

Table 3.19 Categorywise percentage distribution of respondents with lower attitude score on leadership by religion and educational status.

Religious groups	Category	Educational status		
		Illiterate	Educated	Total
Tribal	A	-	12.50	12.50
	B	-	18.18	18.18
	C	-	43.52	43.52
Christian	A	2.08	34.37	16.00
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	-	7.05	7.05
Total :		0.34	47.61	14.93

Among the illiterates belonging to the tribal religion as well as christian religion, percentage of persons with lower attitude scores on leadership is almost insignificant as compared to those of the educated. This trend among the educated persons sufficiently suggests that changes of attitudes towards leadership have been brought about by education. However, in the back-ground of the fact that educated persons tend to have modern attitude towards leadership, an analysis of their social behaviour in relation to it may be made. Table 3.20 shows the categorywise educational status of the respondents and their participation in the local organisational affairs.

Table 3.20 Educational status of the respondents and their participation in local organisational affairs.

Educational status	Category	Participation in organisation: Positive No.	Positive %	Negative No.	Negative %	Total No.	Total %
Illiterate	A	35	72.92	13	27.08	48	100.00
	B	65	77.38	19	22.62	84	100.00
	C	100	64.52	55	35.48	155	100.00
Total :		200	69.69	87	30.31	287	100.00
Educated	A	15	46.88	17	53.12	32	100.00
	B	2	18.18	9	81.82	11	100.00
	C	40	47.06	45	52.94	85	100.00
Total :		57	44.53	71	55.47	128	100.00

Additive χ^2 = 28.82; df=3; 5% level of significance.

The above table indicates that educated persons in all the three levels are lesser in percentage in so far as their usual participation in organisational affairs is concerned. On the other hand, illiterate persons appear to be more involved in this matter. The behaviour pattern of the educated persons points out the trend that education is inversely related to association/involvement to common endeavour or to organisation. The chi-square test shows a close association between the educational status and participation in local affairs work. One possible reason for the striking significant differences between educated and illiterate persons participation in local common interests in B level may be due to smaller size and younger age-groups of such respondents who are likely to have been swayed by individualistic thinking more than by common interests.

The analysis shows that even though the educated persons have modern attitude on leadership, they do not tend to associate with the existing pattern of leadership. This means that conflicts are likely to emerge as to the pattern of leadership with the spread of education and changes in the traditional leadership are to follow.

Educational status of the respondents and selection of their leaders are shown in table 3.21.

Table 3.21 Educational status of the respondents and their criterion/criteria of selection of leaders.

Educational status	Category	Criteria of selection of leaders									
		Education		Community		Party/ Organisation		Candidate		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	A	-	-	30	62.50	15	31.25	3	6.25	48	100.00
	B	5	1.74	40	47.62	30	35.71	9	10.71	84	100.00
	C	-	-	50	32.26	100	64.52	5	3.23	155	100.00
Total :		5	1.74	120	41.81	145	50.52	17	5.92	287	100.00
Educated	A	15	46.88	-	-	10	31.25	7	21.87	32	100.00
	B	6	54.55	2	18.18	3	27.27	-	-	11	100.00
	C	45	52.94	3	3.53	30	35.29	7	8.24	85	100.00
Total :		66	51.56	5	3.91	43	33.59	14	10.94	128	100.00

The table indicates that in matters of selecting/electing leaders the 'community feeling' in "A" and "B" level and 'party feelings' in "C" among the illiterates are important criteria. On the other hand, among the educated in all the three catergories, the most important criterion in this regard is the 'educational' status of the candidate. It is obvious, therefore, that the educated persons tend to come out from the narrow confines of the traditional outlook. The analysis confirms that a trend of change in leadership is likely emerge with the spread of education.

From the above, it may be concluded that -

(i) A large number of educated persons have modern attitudes towards leadership;

(ii) The social actions of the educated persons reveal a lesser involvement in the affairs of local organisational efforts and common interests;

(iii) With the spread of education a new pattern of leadership is likely to emerge at all levels replacing community feelings in "A" and "B" category and party/organisation consciousness in "C" category.

III. EDUCATION

As it has been stated earlier that educational achievement of a person tends to substantially affect the out look and also educational aspirations for his/her children. The upbringing of the children as also their outlook and aspirational level are significantly affected by the educational atmosphere in the family. Educated persons consider education as a means of mobility for their children. The educated persons also are likely to realise the importance and value of education in life of their children. The illiterate or less educated persons, on the other hand, are generally seen to be ignorant and callous towards the value of education. In order to compare the attitudes of the educated and illiterate persons regarding education, respondents were asked the following questions :

i) Do you think that access to educational opportunity is a social right ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

ii) Do you think that education of your children is one of the most important factors for raising your standard of living ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

iii) For universalisation of primary education, do you think child education should be made compulsory ? - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

iv) Do you think that the spread of female education is advantageous ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

v) Do you consider discrimination between boys and girls education is bad ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

All the positive responses were given score 0 and negative 2 with 'undecided' score 1 representing most modern to most traditional outlook of the respondents. In order to find out the relation of education and attitudes, attitude scores of the illiterates and the educated are compared.

It has been found that the score of the educated Mean 0.73 is much lower than that of the illiterates Mean 5.57 and the standard deviations are respectively 1.22 and 1.97. The standard error of the difference between two means is 0.15. The difference between the means of the educated and the illiterates is, therefore, significant. This is to say, in other words, that comparatively speaking educated persons have more modern and rational outlook towards education.

The percentage distribution of persons with lower to higher attitude scores on education has been shown in Table 3.22.

Table 3.22 Percentage distribution of the respondents with lower to higher attitude scores on education.

	Score				
	0 - 2	2 - 4	4 - 6	6 - 8	8 - 10
Illiterate	1.04	24.04	31.01	32.75	11.14
Educated	70.31	22.65	7.03	-	-
Total :	22.40	23.61	23.61	22.65	7.71

The table indicates that highest percentage of educated persons (70.31 percent) has lower attitude score (modern attitude) on education as against only a very small percentage (1.04 percent) among the illiterates.

But, among the educated persons also there is no uniformity of attitude towards education. This may be observed from the table 3.23.

Table 3.23 Percentage distribution of the educated respondents with attitude scores on education by age-group.

Age-groups	Scores				
	0 - 2	2 - 4	4 - 6	6 - 8	8 - 10
18 - 28	43.33	37.93	44.45	-	-
28 - 38	35.56	31.03	11.11	-	-
38 - 48	14.44	27.59	11.11	-	-
48 - 58	5.55	3.45	11.11	-	-
58 - 68	1.12	-	11.11	-	-
68 & above	-	-	11.11	-	-
Total :	100.00	100.00	100.00	-	-

This table shows that there are greater percentages of persons in the younger age groups with lower attitude scores on education. The percentages of persons with lower attitude score (modern attitude) on education show an inverse correlation with age-groups. This means that impact of education in shaping the attitude in modern lines is more visible and/or felt among the younger persons.

The attitude scores of the respondents on education have been correlated with their educational status. Category-wise percentage distribution of persons with lower attitude scores on education by age-group and educational status is shown in table 3.24.

Table 3.24 Category-wise percentage distribution of the respondents with lower attitude scores on education by age-group and educational status.

Age groups	Category	Educational status		
		Illiterate	Educated	Total
18 - 28	A	-	21.87	21.87
	B	-	36.36	36.36
	C	1.99	32.94	12.91
28 - 38	A	-	12.50	12.50
	B	-	18.18	18.18
	C	-	30.58	30.58
38 - 48	A	-	6.25	6.25
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	-	11.76	11.76
48 - 58	A	-	3.12	3.12
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	4.70	4.70
58 - 68	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	0.64	0.64
68 & above	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
Total :		1.04	70.31	22.40

It is indicated from the above that the average percentage of persons with lower attitude scores on education (modern attitude) is highest among persons in

younger age-groups (upto 38 years) in C level, followed closely by B, whereas such average percentage is very low in A level. Among the older age-group persons such trend is higher, comparatively speaking,in C level also.

Table 3.25 shows the category-wise distribution of persons with lower attitude scores on education by occupation and educational status. The table shows that educated wage-earners of C category (81.17 percent) have the most modern attitude towards Education, followed by salaried groups in B and cultivators in C.

Table 3.25 Category-wise percentage distribution of the respondents with lower attitude score on education by occupation & educational status.

Occupational category	Category	Educational status: Illiterate	Educated	Total
Cultivators	A	-	25.00	25.00
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	-	-	-
Wage-earner	A	-	12.50	12.50
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	1.93	81.17	30.00
Salaried	A	-	6.25	6.25
	B		45.45	45.45
	C	-	-	-
Others	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
Total :		1.04	70.31	22.40

Category-wise distribution of persons with lower attitude score on education by religion and educational status has been shown in table 3.26.

Table 3.26 Category-wise percentage distribution of the respondents with lower attitude score on education by religion and educational status.

Religious groups	Category	Educational status		
		Illiterate	Educated	Total
Tribal	A	-	12.50	12.50
	B	-	45.45	45.45
	C	1.93	38.70	15.00
Christian	A	-	31.25	31.25
	B	-	18.18	18.18
	C	-	10.58	10.58
Total :		1.04	70.31	22.40

It is indicated from the table that highest percentage of persons with lower attitude scores on education (modern attitude) is met among the tribal educated persons in B level followed by educated tribals in C level in contrast to educated Christians in A level.

From the above, it can be pointed out that education is an important variable which can effect the attitudes of the people. Also it can be said that the spread of education has comparatively made more dent in modernising the attitude of younger persons as compared to the older ones.

In the background of the fact that educated persons tend to have modern attitude towards education and/or schooling, an analysis of their behaviour in relation to sending of their children to schools is made. Table 3.27 gives the pattern of the respondents behaviour about the schooling of their children.

Table 3.27 Formal schooling of the children

Educational status	Category	Formal schooling: Positive No.	Positive %	Negative No.	Negative %	Total No.	Total %
Illiterate	A	8	16.67	40	83.33	48	100.00
	B	20	23.81	64	76.19	84	100.00
	C	20	12.90	135	87.10	155	100.00
Total :		48	16.72	239	83.28	287	100.00
Educated	A	27	84.38	5	15.63	32	100.00
	B	10	90.91	1	9.09	11	100.00
	C	60	70.59	25	29.41	85	100.00
Total :		97	75.78	31	24.22	128	100.00

Additive x^2=138.26; df=3; 5% level of significance

The chi-square test taken seperately shows also that educational status of the respondents and sending of their children to school is statistically significant (x^2=35.76 in A; x^2=28.36 in B; x^2=62.22 in C). The table indicates that educated persons at all levels consider the sending of their children to school is necessary unlike the illiterates. Significantly among the educated tribals of B level, school education of children is considered most necessary, despite the fact that comparatively speaking among the tribals of these levels they are educationally most backward. This means that tribals at the B level have now understood the importance of education.

The views towards female education of the respondents are shown in table 3.28. It is also an important dimension to see whether with the spread of education, discrimination between boys and girls education is made. Category-wise educational status of the respondents vis-a-vis importance of female education is given below :

Table 3.28 Educational status of the respondents and the approach to female education.

Educational status	Category	Differentiation between boys and girls education.					
		Positive		Negative		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	A	40	83.33	8	16.67	48	100.00
	B	80	95.24	4	4.76	84	100.00
	C	100	64.52	55	35.48	155	100.00
Total :		220	76.65	67	23.35	287	100.00
Educated	A	20	62.50	12	37.50	32	100.00
	B	6	54.55	5	45.45	11	100.00
	C	35	41.18	50	58.82	85	100.00
Total :		61	47.65	67	52.35	128	100.00

Additive x^2=35.40;df=3;5% level of significance.

The chi-square tests taken separately show that the educational status of the respondents and their approach to female education is statistically significant in A (x^2=4.43) B(x^2=10.83) and C(x^2=12.14). From the above table is is, however, indicated that educated people in C are comparatively more liberal as compared to those in B and A. It may be due to the fact that educated persons in C reside in a less stratified society because of its industrial setting as against those in B and A in agrarian

pattern with stratification based on sex prevailing.

From the above, it may be concluded that -

i) Educated persons are likely to have modern attitude towards schooling of their children;

ii) A large number of educated persons consider education of their children as most necessary;

iii) Differentiation and discrimination between boys and girls education tend to occur in a lower degree in a less stratified society as in C in comparison to the traditionally stratified societies under A and B.

satisfied with the existing opportunities for mobility. Not that alone, government also cannot sit idle in the wake of their planned developmental activities. It is, perhaps, because of this that governmental welfare activities in tribal areas embrace in their dovlopment programmes the education and culture as also economy. The reasons are not far to seek. One of the propositions for development of tribal areas is to bring about a shift of change in their occupational pattern. Attempts have been made in this direction. "Some experiments for establishing settle agricultural colonies have already been made, and it has been observed that provided fertile land is made available and assistance by way of bullock, implements, seeds, finance etc. is made, the tribal people are willing to give up shifting cultivation".[20] Further, spread of education among tribals is also considered an imperative need for changing their traditional occupational pattern. In the present study, education has been taken as one of the factors of social change among tribals, and it is, therefore, hypothesised that it has an impact on the occupational pattern of tribals under study.

To ascertain the impact of education, the attitude scores of the illiterates and the educated toward occupation have been analysed. The respondents

were asked the following questions and all the positive responses were scored as 0, undecided 1 and negative 2. Respondents scoring 0 on all items were regarded as having modern attitude and respondents scoring 10 were considered as having most traditional attitude towards occupation.

The questions were as follows :

i) Do you consider that traditional occupational models are not upto date in a rapidly changing society ? - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

ii) Do you think it advantageous to change the occupation for better returns ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed.

iii) Do you think it advantageous to have freedom in selection of one's employment ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed.

iv) Do you appreciate inclusion of female folk in mens' occupational domain.?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed.

v) Do you think that power of a female person is dependent upon her occupational status ?
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed.

The data which were collected for the present study show that the educated persons have lower attitude scores on occupation as compared to the illiterates and the difference between the two means is statistically significant. (Table 3.29). It may, therefore, be said that educated persons have modern attitude towards occupation.

Table 3.29 Attitude scores of the respondents on occupation

	Illiterates	Educated	Standard Error of the difference between two means
Occupation : Mean -	7.10	3.65	
SD -	1.68	1.95	0.19

Further, analysis of the attitude score of educated persons on occupation (Table 3.30) reveals that younger persons have comparatively speaking more modern attitude towards occupation as revealed from the table :

Table 3.30 Percentage distribution of educated respondents with attitude scores on occupation by age-group.

Age-group	Scores				
	0 - 2	2 - 4	4 - 6	6 - 8	8 - 10
18 - 28	62.50	47.22	31.91	16.67	-
28 - 38	25.00	30.88	42.58	25.00	-
38 - 48	9.38	19.44	14.89	33.33	100.00
48 - 58	3.12	2.78	6.38	16.67	-
58 - 68	-	-	2.13	8.33	-
68 & above	-	-	2.11	-	-
Total :	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The attitude scores on occupation have been correlated with education status of the respondents category-wise. (Table 3.31).

Table 3.31 Category-wise percentage distribution of the respondents with lower attitude scores on occupation by age-group and educational status.

Age-groups	Category	Educational Status		
		Illiterate	Educated	Total
18 - 28	A	-	28.12	28.12
	B	-	36.36	36.36
	C	-	8.23	8.23
28 - 38	A	-	15.62	15.62
	B	-	27.27	27.27
	C	-	-	-
38 - 48	A	-	6.25	6.25
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	-	-	-
48 - 58	A	-	3.12	3.12
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
58 - 68	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
68 & above	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
Total :		-	25.00	25.00

It is seen from the above table that there does not occur any number of persons with modern attitude on occupation among the illiterates of any age-groups at any level. Persons with modern attitude on occupation are met among the educated. Inter level analysis of such educated persons shows that highest percentage of persons with lower attitude score on occupation occurs among the younger educated persons (upto 38 years) in B level (31.81 percentage average) followed by those in A level (21.87 percent average) whereas such younger educated persons in C level are met with much less percentage (8.23 percent average).

Category-wise percentage distribution of persons with lower attitude scores on occupation by occupational categories and educational status has been shown in table 3.32.

Table 3.32 Category-wise percentage of the respondents with lower attitude score on occupation by occupational category and educational status.

Occupational categories	Category	Educational status		
		Illiterate	Educated	Total
Cultivation	A	-	32.25	32.25
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	-	-	-
Wage earners	A	-	12.50	12.50
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	-	0.23	0.23
Salaried	A	-	9.37	9.37
	B	-	54.54	54.54
	C	-	-	-
Others	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
Total :		-	25.00	25.00

It is seen from the table that no illiterate persons in any occupational category at any levels have modern attitude towards occupation. On the other hand, among the educated majority of persons (54.54 percent) persons engaged in salaried group category in B level have the modern attitude as also a small

percentage of such persons (9.09 percent each) in cultivation and wage-earners category. So far as educated persons in A level are concerned, it is revealed that 32.25 percent of the cultivators, 12.5 percent of the wage-earners and 9.37 percent of salaried persons have modern attitude towards occupation. In C level only 0.23 percent of the educated wage-earners have such modern attitude.

Category wise percentage distribution of persons with lower attitude scores on occupation by religion and educational status can be seen from the table 3.33.

Table 3.33 Category-wise percentage distribution of the respondents with lower attitude scores on occupation by religion and educational status.

Religious groups	Category	Educational status		
		Illiterate	Educated	Total
Tribal	A	-	15.62	15.62
	B	-	54.54	54.54
	C	-	7.05	7.05
Christian	A	-	37.50	37.50
	B	-	18.18	18.18
	C	-	1.17	1.17
Total :		-	25.00	25.00

The table indicates that the percentage of persons with modern attitude on occupation is highest among the educated tribal in B level (54.54 percent) while such percentage is highest amongst christian in A level (37.5 percent).

The occupational role vis-a-vis educational status of the respondents can be seen from the following table.

Table 3.34 Educational status of the respondents and their occupational role.

Educational status	Category	Occupational roles				Total	
		Parental occupation		New occupation			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	A	30	62.50	18	37.50	48	100.00
	B	58	69.05	26	30.95	84	100.00
	C	150	96.77	6	3.23	195	100.00
Total :		238	82.93	49	17.07	287	100.00
Educated	A	20	62.50	12	37.50	32	100.00
	B	3	27.27	8	72.73	11	100.00
	C	82	96.47	3	3.53	85	100.00
Total :		105	82.03	23	17.97	128	100.00

Additive x^2=7.39;df=3;5% level of significance

It is seen from the above that the pattern of the occupational role of illiterates and the educated is more or less same. While 82.93 percent of the illiterates have not deviated from their parental occupation, such percentage among the educated is 82.83 percent. However, on closer analysis of the inter level occupational roles among the educated, some trends of changes are noticeable. Educated persons in B level show lowest percentage of persons who still now follow parental occupation (27.27%); those in A level (62.50%) are second lowest whereas in C level it is (96.47%) highest. The chi-square test taken separately shows that only in B level migrated scheduled tribe population at village level there is an association between the variables of educational status and occupational role (x^2=7.37; df=1; 5% level of significance). In A (x^2=0.00; df=1; 5% level of significance) or in C level (x^2=0.02; df=1; 5% level of significance), there is no such association.

The analysis shows that educated persons tend to move both vertically and horizontally in matters of occupation but the degree of such mobility is dependent upon the availability and/or certainty of a new occupational role in preference to the traditional ones.

Educational status of the respondents and their views on female employment have been shown in the table 3.35.

Table 3.35 Educational status of the respondents and their views on female employment.

Educational status	Category	Views on female employment: Necessary & allowed No.	%	Not Necessary & not allowed No.	%	Total No.	%
	A	10	20.83	38	79.17	48	100.00
Illiterate	B	55	65.48	29	34.52	84	100.00
	C	151	97.42	4	2.58	155	100.00
Total :		216	75.26	71	24.74	287	100.00
	A	12	37.50	20	62.50	32	100.00
Educated	B	4	36.36	7	63.64	11	100.00
	C	60	70.59	25	29.41	85	100.00
Total :		76	59.38	52	40.62	128	100.00

Additive x^2=43.36; df=3; 5% level of significance

The chi-square test taken separately shows that both in A and B level variables of educational status and views on female employment do not show any association. (In A level x^2=2.67; df=1; 5% level of significance and in B level x^2=3.49; df=1; 5% level of significance). In C level, however, association

between educational status and views on female employment show a significant relation, x^2 being 37.20; df=1; 5% level of significance. This points out the trend that with the spread of education in C level slow exclusion of women from men's occupational sphere and the separation of the occupation and at times the place of occupation are likely to open up the possibility of a new pattern of family life.

From the above, the following conclusions may be drawn -

(i) Modern attitude towards occupation occurs significantly among the younger educated persons as compared to those among the illiterates.

(ii) The occupation of persons belonging to scheduled tribe community is invariably determined by their land-holding pattern, urbanization, industrialization spread of education and even communication net-work exercise influence on their occupational structure also.

(iii) The analysis of the shifts from the parental occupation to new occupation of educated persons shows that in B level there is

significant association between educational status and new occupational roles. A possible reason may be, unlike in A where dependence on agriculture or in C level where wage-employment is higher, educated persons in B level have to move both vertically and horizontally for their subsistence.

(iv) The influence of education is also noticeable on the possibility of new pattern of family life through exclusion and/or separation of occupation of women.

V. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

All societies have some form of religion. According to L.V.Bellard, "religion is a process of adjustment to the intangible, unseen, unknown and uncontrolled forces believed to be present in the social situation."[21] There is, however, hardly any consensus regarding the definition and nature of religion among authors. Most of the authorities maintain that religion signifies a pattern of belief which is associated with feeling to fear, reverence etc. "It is an important means of social control and has certain other important functions to play in the personality of a person."[22]

Religion manifests itself in two aspects - one concerns with the faith of persons in a super-natural power and the other is associated with rituals and religious ceremonies. The legislative measures and ban on some of the practices which are harmful to the healthy growth of society have vitally affected the supernatural values held by the tribes. Also science and technological advancement have their impact on the institution of religion of the tribes. Nevertheless, due to the peculiarity of the institution much of its traditional significance is still retained.

The national model professes a secular attitude towards the institution. In the present study, a few questions were included to probe into the sacred-secular dimensions of religious attitudes.

For the purpose of ascertaining the attitude, towards religion, the respondents were asked the following questions :

i) In human society, religion tends to be exploitive in nature
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

ii) To protest against religious authoritarianism is rational - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

iii) Persons of different religious faith can reside side by side.
- Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

iv) Prohibition is not at all antithetical to religion. - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

v) It is not always happy to visit the religious places. - Agreed/Undecided/Disagreed

The above questions were designed to probe into the sentiments of the respondents towards religion. The questions covered a wide range of characteristics of religion from the faith of persons

in religious dogmas to traditional symbiotic relationship. Those who attached greater values to traditional aspects of religion were regarded as holding traditional attitudes and those who were apathetic to traditional values of religion were regarded as holding modern rational outlook. Each of the responses was given scores; positive 0, undecided 1 and negative 2, so that a person scoring 0 on all the questions was regarded as holding most modern attitude and a person scoring 10 in total was representing most traditional outlook towards religion in the traditional modern continuum.

In order to find out whether education has any impact on religion, the attitude scores of the educated and the illiterate persons on religion are compared. Table 3.36 gives the attitude scores of the respondents on religion.

Table 3.36 Attitude scores of the respondents on religion.

Scores	Illiterate	Educated	Total
0 - 2	-	29	29
2 - 4	-	20	20
4 - 6	10	12	22
6 - 8	44	54	98
8 - 10	233	13	246
Total :	287	128	415
	(Mean - 8.55 SD - 0.98	Mean - 4.99 SD - 2.75	Standard Error of the difference between two mean.49

It indicates that the differences between the attitude scores of the illiterate and the educated are significant, differences of the two means being greater than three times of the standard error. Educated persons are seen to have mostly lower attitude score on religion and as such they may be said to have modern attitude towards religion.

The percentage distribution of persons with lower to higher attitude scores on religion has been shown in table 3.37.

Table 3.37 Percentage distribution of the respondents with lower to higher attitude scores on religion.

	0 - 2	2 - 4	4 - 6	6 - 8	8 - 10
Illiterate	-	-	3.48	15.33	81.18
Educated	22.65	15.62	9.37	42.18	10.15
Total :	6.98	4.81	.10	23.61	59.27

The table indicates that the percentage of persons with lowest attitude scores (0 - 2) is met among the educated persons only as against nil among the illiterates. On the other hand, highest percentage of persons with highest score (8 - 10) is met among illiterates (81.18 percent) as against comparatively a smaller percentage among the educated (10.15 percent).

Percentage distribution of educated persons with attitude score on religion by age group has been shown in table 3.38.

Table 3.38 Percentage distribution of educated respondents with attitude score on religion by age-group.

Age-group	0 - 2	2 - 4	4 - 6	6 - 8	8 - 10
18 - 28	51.73	70.00	58.34	33.33	-
28 - 38	31.03	15.00	33.33	44.44	15.39
38 - 48	10.34	15.00	8.33	18.53	38.46
48 - 58	6.90	-	-	-	38.46
58 - 68	-	-	-	1.85	7.69
68 - above	-	-	-	1.85	-
Total :	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The table indicates that there are greater percentages of educated persons in the younger age-group with lower attitude score i.e. modern attitude towards religion as compared to those in case of middle aged and older persons above 30 years of age.

The attitude scores of the respondents on religion have been correlated with their educational status. Table 3.39 shows the attitude scores and educational status of the respondents.

Table 3.39 Category-wise percentage distribution of the respondents with lower attitude scores on religion by age-group and educational status.

Age-groups	Category	Educational status		
		Illiterate	Educated	Total
18 - 28	A	-	31.21	31.21
	B	-	45.45	45.45
	C	-	-	-
28 - 38	A	-	18.75	18.75
	B	-	27.27	27.27
	C	-	-	-
38 - 48	A	-	6.25	6.25
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	-	-	-
48 - 58	A	-	6.25	6.25
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
58 - 68	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
68 & above	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
Total :		-	25.00	25.00

It is indicated from the above table that no illiterate respondent of any age-group has modern attitude on religion. Among the educated ones, such attitude occurs significantly in "A" and "B" level amongst younger persons. 24.98 percent (average) younger educated persons in "A" level and 36.36 (average) percent younger educated persons in "B" have modern attitude towards religion. On the other hand, modern attitude towards religion occurs meagrely among the elder educated persons in A level (6.25 percent average) and in B level (9.09 percent average). It indicates the trend that younger educated persons in the village level have more modern attitude towards religion as compared to their counterparts in older age-groups or the illiterates.

Category-wise percentage distribution of persons with lower attitude scores on religion by occupation and educational status has been shown in table 3.40.

Table 3.40 Category-wise percentage distribution of the respondents with lower attitude scores on religion by occupation and educational status.

Occupational categories	Category	Educational status: Illiterate	Educated	Total
Cultivation	A	-	37.50	37.50
	B	-	18.18	18.18
	C	-	-	-
Wage-earners	A	-	15.62	15.62
	B	-	9.09	9.09
	C	-	-	-
Salaried	A	-	9.37	9.37
	B	-	54.54	54.54
	C	-	-	-
Others	A	-	-	-
	B	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-
Total :		-	25.00	25.00

The table shows that cultivators and wage-earners in A level and salaried persons in B level have modern attitude towards religion but there does not exist any educated person in C level who has modern attitude towards it.

In the same way, it is also seen that educated tribals in B level and christians in A level have modern attitudes towards religion unlike their counterparts in the illiterate category. Also it is observed that neither tribals nor christians in C level who are educated show any sign of modern attitude towards religion.

The pattern of religious worship of the respondents has been shown in the table 3.41.

Table 3.41 Educational status of the respondents and their pattern of religious worship.

Educational Status	Category	Gods/Goddesses worshipped: Worship all gods/ goddesses No.	%	Worship some God/ Goddesses No.	%	Worship none No.	%	Total No.	%
Illiterate	A	32	66.66	8	16.67	8	16.67	48	100.00
	B	50	59.52	30	35.72	4	4.76	84	100.00
	C	95	61.29	39	25.16	21	13.55	155	100.00
Total :		177	61.67	77	26.83	33	11.50	287	100.00
Educated	A	2	6.25	20	62.50	10	31.25	32	100.00
	B	1	9.09	9	81.82	1	9.09	11	100.00
	C	15	17.65	50	58.82	20	23.53	85	100.00
Total :		18	14.06	79	61.72	31	24.22	128	100.00

Additive x^2=82.53; df=6; 5% level of significance.

It is indicated from the table that number of persons who don't worship any gods/goddesses is quite significant among the educated persons. Almost twenty five percent of the total educated persons don't worship any gods/goddesses as against eleven percent approximate among the illiterates. Again, as against sixty percent approximately among the illiterates who worship all gods/goddesses, it is only fourteen percent among the educated. The chi-square tests taken seperately show that the educational status of the respondents and their pattern of religious worship are significant, x^2=29.61; df=2; 5% level of significance in A; x^2=9.96 in B and x^2=42.76 in C with df 2 each at 5% level of significance.

This points out the trend that a lesser number of educated persons worship all gods/goddesses as compared to the illiterates. It may be taken that a trend towards secularization is noticeable among the educated persons.

The analysis of the respondents' visit to religious institutions/places is given below :

Table 3.42 Educational status of the respondents and their attendance to religious institutions/places.

Educational status	Category	Attendance to religious institutions: Regular No.	%	Irregular No.	%	Total No.	%
Illiterate	A	35	72.92	13	27.08	48	100.00
	B	65	77.38	19	22.62	84	100.00
	C	125	80.65	30	19.35	155	100.00
Total :		225	78.40	62	21.60	287	100.00
Educated	A	26	81.25	6	18.75	32	100.00
	B	9	81.82	2	18.75	11	100.00
	C	56	65.88	29	34.12	85	100.00
Total :		91	71.09	37	28.91	128	100.00

Additive x^2=7.25;df=3;5% level of significance

The table shows that the greater number of educated persons are irregular in visiting religious institutions (28.91 percent) as against that of the illiterates (21.60 percent). But the chi-square test taken separately for the three levels shows that the educational status of the respondents and their visit to religious institutions/places are significantly associated only in "C" level, the chi-square value being x^2=6.43 df=1; 5% level of significance. It may, therefore, be said that education is likely to affect

secularization of thought and action in community settlements, characterised by urbanization and better communication facilities as in the tea garden.

From the above analysis, it may be said that:

(i) the impact of education on religious attitude is more pronounced among the younger educated age-groups;

(ii) the impact of education is more visible among the educated persons engaged in traditional agricultural occupations;

(iii) Education tends to have an influence upon the pattern of worship of gods/goddesses. Substantial number of educated persons do not worship all gods/goddesses as compared to the illiterates, which means a trend in secularization of thoughts and beliefs is likely to follow with the spread of education.

(iv) The analysis also bears out the truth that the effect of education on religion is likely to be more among those who are exposed to other forces of social change.

SUMMARY

The impact of education on the population under study, as discussed above, may be summed as follows :

1. It is taken that education helps to give more knowledge and information to individuals. Increased knowledge and information tend to create a sense of dissonance among the cognitive elements and individuals have to try to maintain balance among them to avoid psychological discomforts. In this way changes in the thought-patterns of an individual take place. This aspect of change in the thought-pattern through education is often said to be the attitudinal change. Education brings, thus, changes in the attitudinal system of the individual. The impact of education on the sample population is sought to be ascertained by administering an attitude test apart from an analysis of the structure of their social behaviour-pattern.

2. In the attitude test which was administered to both the educated and the illiterate persons, five variables such as family, leadership, education, occupation and religion, each with five opinion statements were included. The test was

standerised in such a way that all the positive responses represented modern attitudes and negative ones represented traditional attitudes, scale-score ranging from 0-10 for each of the variables.

3. So far as the attitudes of the sample population are concerned, it is observed that by and large educated persons have modern attitudes towards these variables as compared to the illiterate persons. This suggests that the factor of education has caused changes in the thought-patterns of the individuals. A trend of somewhat lesser degree of attachment towards joint family, higher status for women, preference for conjugal relationship, inter-ethnic marriage, marriage by mutual consent, disapproval of existing pattern of leadership based on community feeling or party-affiliation, concern for schooling of the children, change from traditional occupation, secularization of thoughts etc. etc. among the educated persons is distinctly noticeable unlike among the illiterates. It is, however, to be noted that this trend is not uniform in all categories and at all levels. For example, educated persons in the industrial setting or the educated persons of younger age-groups show a comparatively clear trend of changes in their thought patterns. This brings out the influence of education

and also other factors in the change process.

4. In regard to the actual behaviour pattern of the respondents, it is observed that the educated persons do not like the stress and strain of joint family system; nor do they like to attend the ceremonies with it unless encouraged by other impetus as is the case of facilities available to tea garden tribals in the form of annual leave with wages. Further it is revealed that the educated persons generally give higher role and status to women in the family and tend to develop preference for conjugal relationship to parental relationship unlike the illiterates. This trend is also not uniform. The respondents' monetary contribution to joint family and their attendance to ceremonies connected with joint family show that in case of village persons, even with lesser educational achievement and more or less with traditional agrarian outlook, the educated persons do not show attachment to joint family; whereas educated persons in the industrial setting with better exposure to the forces of modernization and with better educational facilities are more attached to joint family. This again brings out the role of occupational structure in social change more in

comparison to that of education.

Further, though the educated persons are found to hold liberal attitude towards marriage, the system of bride-price in some of presentation even, by the groom is still prevalent, showing thereby that exogenous factor such as education has little impact upon any deep-rooted tradition.

5. The social actions of educated persons again reveal a trend of lesser involvement in the affairs of local organizational efforts and common endeavours. This points out the trend of their disapproval of the existing pattern of leadership. Therefore, it is not unlikely that a conflicting situation will develop between the existing and the emerging leadership with the spread of education.

6. Despite the fact that the educated persons of all categories consider formal schooling of their children as most necessary, it is only the educated persons in the industrial who are more liberal and who make lesser discrimination between boys and girls education. This again brings to the fore the influence of other factors.

7. Educated persons, especially younger ones, show modern attitude towards occupation but their shifts from the parental occupation to new occupation is very limited and essentially confined among the educated migrated tribals in the village. This is not, therefore, due to the influence of education as it is occassioned by their land-ownership pattern, urbanization, scope for employment etc. Perhaps because of this, educated migrated tribals of the village can not make change in occupation with higher status as in a few cases of Mechas with reasonably higher level of educational achievement. It points out the trend of influence of other factors also in occupational change.

8. The number of educated persons who do not worship any gods/goddesses is comparatively larger. This suggests the trend of secularization of thoughts and beliefs. However, the impact of education on the pattern of religious activities is found significant among the educated tribals in the tea-garden only. It is, therefore, likely that educated respondents in an industrial setting with exposure to other forces of modernization show greater impact of education in comparison to those in the rural traditional setting. This again brings out influence of social setting in the process of change.

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