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Dated: 11/11/98

To

The Registrar

North Bengal University

Sir,

Sms. Sudanshina Bagchi Punakashya has
completed her thesis for the Ph.D degree
on "Role of Education in Socio-Economic
Development in Darjeeling Hill areas" under
our joint supervision.

She may be allowed to submit the
thesis.

Thanking you,

Yours Sincerely

Dr. Manas Dasgupta



Ref. No.....

Dated 09.11.1993

To Whom it may concern

This is to certify that the thesis submitted by Mrs. Sudakshina Bagchi (Purkayasth) for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal, Dist. Darjeeling (West Bengal) entitled "Role of Education in Socio-Economic Development of Darjeeling Hills" is a bonafide study of the author to the best of my knowledge and belief. The study has been conducted with the help of both primary and secondary data and information collected by the author. This study may now be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

(Dr. R. Sahu)

Reader &
Supervisor

Centre for Himalayan
Studies.

University of North
Bengal.

Some questions were asked and I have tried my best to answer those :-

The detailed answers are given in the next few pages.

Q. 1. Why the certificates of the supervisors have not been enclosed?

Ans. Simply stated the certificate of the Supervisors are kept by the Registrar's Branch. (The detailed answers are given in P.2....)

Q. 2. Why we have not tested hypothesis?

Ans. The answers to this is that We have used the word "objective" of the thesis and we have not used the word "hypothesis". Some arguments are given in favour of the use of the word objective rather than hypothesis. (See answer P.2:5)

Q. 3. What are the main objectives of the thesis?

Ans. These are again re-iterated here though given in the main thesis and its different chapters (See answer P.5-8)

Q. 4 What methodologies have been used?
(P.8-12)

Ans. These are given in the thesis but we have elaborated further, the nature of methodology used in the thesis. Broadly speaking we have used (i) observation - participation method and (ii) Sampling method. (The questionnaire has already been given in the thesis (See pp.267-268 and PP 3.14-3.15)

Q. 5. Why the method of "scale" has not been used?

Ans. We have argued that scaling method is not superior to our methods. Further we have argued that this method may be subjected to various criticisms. (See answer Pp.12-14)

Q. 6 Advice has been given to re-write the chapter on "Education and its impact on community".

Ans. We have re-written the chapter and it is to be re-read with the original chapter of the thesis. (See answer Pp.15-31.....)

Q. 1. Why certificate of the Supervisor(s) are not given in the thesis?

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Ans. According to Ph.D. Rules of this University, Supervisors submit their certificates of completion to the Registrar. Only after that, Registrar allows the candidate to submit the thesis. This means that the certificates of the supervisors are not enclosed with the thesis. The certificates are kept by the Registrar. It is needless to say without proper certificate a candidate cannot submit the thesis. In this case the certificates are with the Registrars branch and according to rule and custom it is not necessary to put it in the main thesis. Without certificates from the Supervisors, to repeat the candidate cannot submit the thesis.

Q. 2. Why hypothesis are not given?

In this thesis the word "hypothesis" is not mentioned. Instead the word used in the thesis is "objective" of the thesis. The objectives of the thesis are clearly stated in PP. 9 - 11 of the thesis. To sum up the objective as given in PP 9 - 11 the following objective have been emphasised:

(i) What is the nature of historical development of education in the hill area. [we have studied this historical part because the education system of Darjeeling hill areas cannot be understood without a proper historical understanding. History of this area to a certain extent makes the present and we learn from history. The study of history shows us why so many English medium schools, Missionary funded schools and tea garden schools came into existence. We have given the history of education from 50 - 90 and subsequently in other chapters).

Second objective of the study is to understand the demographic change of Darjeeling hill areas and its impact on education. [This demographic change is important because of large scale migration from Nepal. The migration from Nepal occurred because of a variety of factors. Tea garden came into existence from 1860's and along with labourers from Nepal who are mainly tribal or semi-tribals. All the tea gardens were developed by declaring the land of the area as "Waste land". The area which was thinly populated became the centre of tea production. About 101 tea garden were operative in this area mainly under British membership. Along with the British ownership of tea gardens, attempts were made to introduce education through missionary as it was done in Meghalaya and other parts of North East India with an evangelist Zeal. Hence we find the presence of schools and colleges like St. Joseph's, Loreto, Graham's Home etc. There was a definite attempt to conversion through

education in this area which was abandoned after first World War. What was successful in Meghalaya was not so in Darjeeling inspite of presence of Tribal and near-tribal labourers in the gardens.

Further, almost all the tea garden are found in Kurseong and Darjeeling hill areas and hardly any in the Kalimpong. Garubathan area. The British wanted to develop agriculture in this area through ryotawari system. In other words, tea garden are found in one side of river Teesta and not found in the other side. Kalimpong is the agricultural part. Hence the growth of education is different and unequal in Darjeeling. Therefore demographic pattern, land tenure system, plantation system and agriculture had considerable influence on the growth and pattern of education. This spatial differences are the result of demographic settlement. Therefore, we have to understand the demographic pattern and its impact on education in the hill areas. This have been described in PP. 134 - 164).

The third objective is to study the nature of Pyramidical structure of education. Education has different layers - namely primary, secondary and higher stage of learning. These three layers are function of different features. Locational factors have to be understood in this context. The nature of drop-outs depend upon the transport problem in the hilly region. But most important of all the quality of education depends upon quality of parents, their attitudes to their children, nature of gender gap in the hill areas and teacher, student ratio and relationship among others. For example, we have noted that when parents are literate they take special care for their children's education. This "vintage effect" - or the quality of attitude of parents towards their children have been discussed in PP 265 - 288. Attitudes can be studied either through qualitative "scale" method or quantitative "sample method". We have reasons to believe that attitude can better be estimated by quantitative method, since "qualitative" method is different to get and may be subjected to criticism as being extremely "subjective". We have given reasons why "scale method" has not been used.

In our study we have given importance to the study of attitude of "family" towards education. This change of emphasis in our objective requires clarification. Normally, the social and economic units in the social sciences are two - individual and the state. Almost all economic theories have two parts macro and micro parts. Is

family missing?

Social scientists like Kaliowaski, A. K. Sen, Makbul Huq and many other feel that in the study of many issues like education the role of family" cannot be overlooked. For example, A. K. Sen and Huq point out that the role of individual is determined by the "positional role" of the family. We have to discuss the family to understand the individual. In other words, social scientists are no longer satisfied with simple micro and macro analysis. In between micro and macro there is the family which decides the fate or future of an individual e.g. of the children in the family. Family is a new unit of analysis, especially to study the problems of education. The attitude of parents is important whether the child should go to school or discontinue his study in the school. The rate of drop out is to a certain extent is determined by the attitude of the poor family members - especially the parents. Therefore, in our study we have emphasised their attitude towards education of their children, so that we can better understand the cause of drop out, wastage, stagnation and other associated problems with education. This can only be done by sample study in PP 265-387)

The fourth objective is to study the impact of community on education. The word community is an elastic concept to include the government, Panchayats and other institutions. The community and the individual are related with each other. The use of community in this thesis is "collective" as opposed to nominalistic view point of Popper and Hayek. This means community to a certain extent is made of individuals, by the individuals, for the individuals but is more than the individual. To modify the expression of Karl Popper "community" may be state, may be Panchayat may be other collective entity - external to the individual. The word community should be understood in juxtaposition with the individual in its contrast. In this dissertation community specifically means either state or panchayat or any other autonomous local community. The word "community" is used in the German sense - namely strong devotion to the interests of one's own cultural group or ethnic group. In this thesis the use of the word "community" is not that value-loaded. It simply means the role of the state and panchayat or CD's towards upliftment of education. The role of state or panchayat in the growth of education cannot be underestimated. The state plays an important part in financing, education, recruiting teachers and

creating suitable infrastructure for education. Again the word "development" has various shades of meaning and significance. It may mean economic development, social development, ethical development, moral development and development of all respects of life. We have used the word "development" in a narrow sense - namely how the state has helped the growth of education and what developments have occurred in this respect. However, as per advice we have re-written the chapter again.

The fifth objective is to study the growth of education of women, when schools open their doors wider to girls, the benefits of education multiply. All empirical results confirm the expected negative correlation between education of women and infant mortality and fertility. It suggests, further that raising a country's education level of women can improve the health and life expectancy of children and create incentives for reducing family size. The education of girls change the whole atmosphere of the society. With the empowerment of girls many social barriers are broken. We have dismissed some of the issues of women's education in this thesis.

The sixth objective of the study the problems of vocational training. There is no ideal training system. Training systems differ widely from one place to another. Tripartite involvement in training decision making - involving government public agencies, employer's and workers' organisations, can provide an appropriate framework for protecting and developing the skill base of an economy, by ensuring requirements in terms of quantity and quality of skills are reflected in the courses offered by training system. There is always an extensive interaction among different agencies to give a proper technical base of education.

These objectives are not exhaustive to study the problems of education in Darjeeling hill areas. But in the small compass it can identify some of the problems associated with the development of education.

Darjeeling is a unique place because of the problems of transportation in the hilly region. Land slides are frequent. Within these ecological constraints the problems of education have been studied in this thesis so that identification of the problems can lead to solution.

Q. 3. Objectives and Hypothesis

In this dissertation we have given objectives of the study and not the

hypothesis. Question has been raised why has hypothesis not been given? Why has the hypothesis not been formulated and tested.)

The answer to this problem or enquiry may be in one sense very commonplace but in another sense may be deep. The commonplace answer is that "objectives" can be used in lieu of hypothesis. "Hypothesis" resembles "objective" and vice-versa.

But many social scientist prefer the use of "objective" rather than "hypothesis". Hayek in his Noble Memorial Lecture in 1974 made this subject his main theme while accepting the reward.

The concept of hypothesis is narrow in the sense it has to be accepted or rejected. For acceptance or rejection we have to collect data in such a manner which has the unique objective of verification of the hypothesis. Hayek, raises a very pertinent point, namely, even if hypothesis is accepted it may be a false theory. The validity of a theory does not depend upon acceptance or rejection of hypothesis. Again description of the state of enquiry may not be verifiable in the strictest term. Many things are verifiable but need not be true and many things are not verifiable, but may be true. Acceptance or rejection of hypothesis does not "prove" any theory. Verification may be done with data with short period implication which may not be true in the long run.

Two things need be distinguished - namely "theory" and the "state of knowledge and paradigm". Theory can be put to test through suitable hypothesis but the state of knowledge and paradigm which is multi-dimensional can be described only and cannot be verified in the sense physical scientists verify their theories.

Both Hayek and Popper made a distinction between physical science like physics, chemistry, life science and Medical science and social science like history economics, philosophy, language, literature and education. Accordingly to them testing of hypothesis is peculiar to physical science but this cannot be supported to the field of enquiry in social science, where human beings are ultimate element of enquiry. Human beings cannot be subjected to that type of hypothesis testing as is possible in physics or chemistry. Human beings have consciousness - much beyond the ordinary scope of testing.

It is in this context the word "scienticism" is used. Can social science be

science like physics? Those who believe that methodology applied in physics can be applied in social science are trying to belittle man's consciousness, unpredictability, uncertainty inherited sense of morality and ethical notion how to do a thing. Sometimes "objectives" of the enquiry can be given but "hypothesis" cannot be developed with mathematical precision and boundary. Human consciousness cannot be bounded by any model or its implied hypothesis.

From the study of Karl Popper and Von Hayek it seems that the failure of the social scientists to guide policy more successfully is closely connected with their propensity to imitate as closely as possible the procedures of the brilliantly successful physical science - an attempt which in our field of social science may lead to outright error. It is an approach which has come to be described as the 'scientist' attitude - an attitude, according to Popper and Hayek is decidedly unscientific in true sense of the word since it involves a mechanical and uncritical application of habits of thought to fields different from those in which they have been formed (F. A. Hayek Noble Memorial Lecture, Stockholm Dec. 1974)

Unlike the position that exists in physical science, in social sciences that deal with *complex phenomenon*, the aspects of the events to be accounted for, about which we can get reliable quantitative data (subject to verification or rejection) are necessarily limited and *may not include the important ones*. While in physical sciences it is generally assured, probably with good reasons, that any important factor which determines the observed events will itself be directly observable and measurable, in the study of such complex phenomenon as the education, which depends upon actions of many individuals, all the circumstances which will determine the outcome of a process will hardly ever be *fully known or measurable*. And while in the physical sciences the investigator will be able to measure what, on the basis of a *prima facie* theory, he thinks important, in the social sciences often that is treated as important which happens to be accessible to verification or rejection of hypothesis. This itself is "scientist" attitude to social science and we tend to make the error of taking certain "facts" as "structure". An investigator in social science studies the whole "structure" and not certain "facts" chosen and selected on a priori consideration.

If we are to safeguard the reputation of social science and to prevent the arrogation of knowledge based on superficial similarity of procedure with that of

physical science, much effort will have to be directed toward debunking such arrogance.

It is in this context we have used the word "objective" and not "hypothesis". This is nothing new. This particular methodological approach is often known as "UNO Approach" in their various reports monographs and essays. The UNO hardly ever use the word "hypothesis" but uses the word "objective".

To use the word "objective" show that narrow model building or acceptance and rejection of certain hypothesis cannot explain the "structure" which is complex and may be described but can hardly be accepted or rejected. The UNO always proceeds not with econometric model building but with description of the structure and paradigm by suitable statistical data. The UNO recognises the insuperable limits to the knowledge, data set, and predictability of events.

We have learned this lesson with all humility. For this reason we have used the word "objective" of the thesis without ever trying to formulate the hypothesis - though hypothesis can be derived from the objective. To the best of our knowledge and understanding we have used the methodology of UNO Report with its own inherent success and failure.

Q. Question has been raised about the nature of methodology used in this thesis. It has been stated that some elaboration is needed about the methodology used in the thesis.

Ans. Methodology is used as the technique of study- what to study and how to study. What to study is objective and how to study is often called methodology. We have discussed methodology in ^{p-11 and} (PP 265-317) of the thesis. But since this has to be elaborated we attempt to justify our methodological apparatus used in the thesis.

1. We have rejected *methodological monism*. Methodological monism is the doctrine of the unity of science. It points out that the method applied to study physical phenomenon can be used to study social phenomenon. In other words, the theory should proceed by formulating hypothesis and available data should either accept or reject the hypothesis. We have argued previously social science is different from physical science and the methodology applied to physics may not always be suitable to study the problems of education. Methodological monism is not accepted

by us in our thesis.

We have searched a methodology which is neither unique nor pre-determined. In other words, we have adopted *multiple methods* appropriate to our problems in order to look into "meaning" and "state of affairs" of the current system. In social sciences the methodology may be radically different from the physical sciences and there is nothing startling about it. We have to know the "structure" and we have to grapple with its "justification". Things ought to change. This is in opposition to positivist approach. Our approach is to describe the system of education and how best to change it to cope up with demographic change, unemployment problem and other problems. Hence we have used mainly two methods in this study - (i) observation - participation Method and (ii) Sampling method.

1. Observation participation Method

The research worker can observe himself/herself his/her object of study by mixing with the designated population and can come to certain conclusions. This research worker can collect data by participating in the society to understand their problems. We have to participate to observe. This methodology is widely accepted in anthropology, sociology and education. Even in economics participation - observation method has been accepted as valid ground to gather information. The information gathered is not "once-for-all" information but gathering information continues at a period of time by the process of "trial and error"

The famous philosopher Carl G. Hempel has justified this method even if it is subjective. But this method of understanding man and society, his environment and milieu do not have any mechanistic view of man and his actions. According to this view, an adequate explanation of an action requires, not a specification of superficial causes but of motivating reasons; these will include, the objectives the agent intended to achieve and his beliefs about relevant empirical matters, such as what alternative courses of action were open to him and what their probable consequences would be, what our consideration suggests is rather this - Explanations in all areas of scientific inquiry share certain basic characteristics and this mode of "explanation" reach far beyond causal and mechanical explanation. In particular, subsumption under covering generalisations is implicit also in those observable

accounts, though subjective that seek to exhibit the influence of conscious and unconscious motives and of ideas and ideals on the shaping of human decisions and actions and thus on the course of man's history. (Carl G. Hempel - Philosophy of science series vol-II - VoA USA PP 9-11).

Another justification of the observation - participation method, that we have accepted is given by Neo-Kantian social philosopher and economist F. Machlup. This is the doctrine of *verstehen* or understanding. The German term "*verstehen*" denotes understanding from within by means of intuition and empathy; in other words, *first person knowledge* that is intelligible to us as fellow human beings, instead of *third-person knowledge* that may not correspond to anything that can be grasped in data form exogenously derived. It is clear that natural scientists (e.g. in Physics or chemistry) are denied that sort of participant - first person knowledge because they cannot imagine what it would be like to be atoms or molecules. But social scientists, concerned as they are with human actions, can enter sympathetically into the position of the human actors being analysed, can draw introspection as a source of knowledge about the behaviour of the actors and in this way can exercise an inherent advantage over the student of natural phenomenon. Not only is *verstehen* a necessary characteristic of adequate explanation in the social science.

I have used this method by going to different places and by meeting different people. My participation in their life has given me some first hand knowledge as compared to outsider's knowledge of physical sciences like physics. It is needless to say that first hand knowledge or participation method has been widely used by me in my research work.

2. Sampling Method

Since it is not possible to observe the universe of my study by participation method, I have to take recourse to sampling method. I have taken samples in different places to understand the quality of universe. In this respect we have used simple random sampling to get our data. Simple random sampling, as it is well known, in which each and every unit of the population has an equal opportunity of being selected i.e. personal bias of the investigator does not influence the selection It also ensures independence of selection.

To ensure randomness we have adopted what is known as *lottery method*. This is a very popular method of taking a random sample. This method would be quite clear with the help of an example. If we want to take a sample of 10 persons out of a population of 100, the procedure is to write the names of all the 100 persons on separate slips of paper, fold these slips, mix them thoroughly and then make a blindfold selection of 10 slips. We have selected the samples of schools in the tea garden areas more or less on the basis of lottery method. This was easy for us, since the names of the gardens are easily available.

An important decision that has to be taken in adopting a sampling is about the size of the sample. Size of the sample means the number of sampling units selected from the population of investigation. Different opinions have been expressed by experts on this point. For example, some have suggested that the sample size should be 5% and some have suggested 10% and so on. Theoretically, it has often been argued that mere increase in size does not ensure representativeness of the universe. A smaller size may well be representative. For example, H. C. Freyer (Concepts of Methods of Experimental statistics. Allyn and Bacon 1966) forcefully argued that longer the size of sample the larger will be the probability of error. M. Parten (in Surveys Polls and Samples) also argued the same, namely that the probability of error is likely to increase more with the increase in the sample size. Therefore, the common notion is not theoretically accepted - namely, the larger the size, the better is the sample. This may or may not be true. However, in our case we have tried to see that at least 5% of the population is covered. Population here means sometimes Schools, institutions, students and the guardians.

The best course would be to fix the size with the following formula

$$n = (Z\sigma/d)^2$$

where n = sample size

Z = value of a specified level of confidence or desired degree of precision

σ = Standard deviation of the population

d = Difference between population mean and sample mean.

In this theoretical structure to select the optimum size of sampling we have

to specify the level of confidence or degree of the level of significance (say at 1% level of significance or 91% confidence level or 5% level of significance or 95% confidence level. Let us call it 'Z'. We have to multiply the 'Z' selected by the standard deviation and divide the product by the standard error of mean or difference between population and sample mean. If we square the resultant quotient, size of the sample is determined.

This is possible if we know the standard deviation or standard error by a suitable pilot survey before. For an individual research worker this is not only time consuming but financially burdensome. Hence, normally, a research worker goes by lottery method of random selection, which has been done in this dissertation keeping in mind the 5% limit.

Why 'Scale' has not been used to measure Attitude regarding education?

Question has been raised why 'scale' has not been used to measure "attitude". We have not used the scale method in our thesis deliberately. Some of the reason are given below.

1. Scale method is essentially 'introspective' and taken individually. Carter (L.F. Carter, 'Recording and Evaluating The Performance of individuals as Members of small Group' - Personal Psychology - 1954, 7, pp 477 - 484) has raised an issue in this context. Shall we take individuals divorced from the group? Is the attitude so measured by scale completely shut the individual from the group he belongs to? In other words, being essentially 'introspective' the results of attitude so measured by scale is likely to be different when individuals are considered as beyond group or within the group. The results are likely to vary widely depending upon the assumptions so made. When we assume that individuals belong to group "introspective numbers" so derived may not be additive, because we need additional assumptions of context, connexity and additivity. These assumptions are not very often tenable in real practice.

2. Likert (R. Lickert :- 'A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes' in Arch. Psychology 1932 p No. 140 points out that the data are very often collected on a *priori ground* to understand the behavioural tendency under consideration. As might be expected, this turned out to be an extremely difficult undertaking. Which psychological items have to be chosen on a *priori basis*? If chosen when individuals

within the group reflect homogeneity or heterogeneity? If homogeneous then the problem of comparability can be minimised. But if we assume heterogeneity in respect to socio-economic level any a *priori assumption* regarding the characteristic of population is highly to be specified wrongly.

3. Even if an individual is considered not in isolation but in a group, it is *less easy to specify* exactly what kinds of evidence would indicate the validity of the scale (Ref :- Mervin & Shaw : "The Development of scale to Measure individual prominence" in *Decision, value and Groups* ed. Dorothy Willner, Pergamn Press, 1960 pp 229 - 240). The evidence obtained from the group analysis at least is not contrary to the evidence obtained from individual analysis. It might be argued that groups comprised of high IP (or individual Prominence score) would be somewhat more motivated and we draw an improper conclusion, the larger the mean IP score for the group, the better the understanding of the group. The positive correlation between points earned and mean IP score is in agreement with this line of reasoning. On the other hand, if a group is comprised of individuals who differ greatly with respect to IP, it would be expected that only some individuals with high IP score would dominate the group leading to wrong suggestion and poor performance of the scale method. If there is negative correlation between points earned and IP discrepancy supports this interpretation. The evidence is much too limited to draw any conclusion regarding the soundness of this procedure where people are likely to be heterogeneous.

4. The scale method wants to qualify the qualitative variables of individuals and groups (e.g. submissiveness, authoritarianism, aggressiveness, confidence, striking for recognition, leadership, love, hate, friendship, pity, abhorrence, frustration etc.) into terms by once for all study by designing certain scales, is it possible to "quantify" the "qualitative" variables by scales? Should be cardinal measurement or simple ordinal? Efficacy of this method has a long and chequered history. R. M. W. Travers have shown (R. M. W. Travers) "The contribution of the Laboratory to the study of individual difference" in *Decisions values and Groups* ed. Dorothy willner pp 99-106, Peragamn Press Ny 1960) show the immense difficulties of translating the qualitative variables into quantity. The difficulties are immense at least at two levels namely qualification of response variables to stimulus variables and stimulus variables to response variables. By studying history of the last half-century she came

to the conclusion that the scale method, even if represent identifiable functional relationship have only limited value as a science of behaviour because quantification of the qualitative attributes remain ever elusive. The scale technique would reveal or attempts to reveal the functional relationship underlying such techniques but it remained a hope rather than realisation. Correlations among measurement of human characteristic are often generated by observe antecedent condition which cannot be clearly identified. Attempts to explain clusters of qualitative variables of factors always tend to include an element resembling circular arguments. The correlations among the test in a cluster are considered to be generated by a factor which in turn is generated by antecedent conditions. The scale method suffers from the problem as a result of qualitative nature of behavioural theory. It is this type of technique which attempts to study individual attitude and aptitude, requires that the investigator formulate some kind of theory concerning how his results can be generalised from the qualitative level to quantitative level. Should the generalisation be population to population or from situation to situation.

It is in this respect we have made a choice in this thesis. We have not used the "scale" method to study the attitude. Rather to be on the safe ground we have adopted "Participation - observation method" and the sampling method. In this way we can minimise the problem of translating "attitude" - a qualitative aspect into quantitative dimension. I hope, this explanation would satisfy the examiner who has raised the issue of omission of scale method.

Education and Its impact on the Development of Community

The notion that expanding education, just like physical capital results in higher growth and productivity has been acknowledged since Adam Smith had emphasised more recently in the development literature since the 1960's (G. Backer : Human Capital : A Theoretical and Imperial Analysis, Preston, N. J. 1964)

However, since the mid 1980's, one has witnessed a wave of so-called endogenous or "new" growth theoretics that forms on inventing returns to investment, not only in physical but also in human capital. The "new" growth theorists have rediscovered the virtues of education with great deal of vigour. It has become an endogenous variable that drives the growth process through multiple channels.

In Lucas (A.R.E. Lucas : " On the Machines of Economic Development" in Journal of Monetary Economics Amsterdam Vol-22 No.1 - 1880 PP 3 - 22), education has externally - inducing effects. Thus, education has a favourable impact on the productivity of a typical worker in addition to his/her own endowment of human capital.

In Romer (P. Romer - "Endogenous Technological change" in Journal of Political Economy, Chicago Vol. 98 No.-5 Part - 2 1990) education is a key input to both the "use of ideas and production of ideas". For developing countries that are not on technological frontier, larger initial stages of human capital through education enable them to adapt any new ideas reality and acquire technological capability.

These consideration allow endogenous growth theories to claim that main engine of growth is the accumulation of human capital through education and technological skill and the main source of differences in living standard among nations is differences in human capital accumulation through education. (T. W. Schultz : " Investment in human capital, in Americas Economic Review March 1961 AP 1 - 17)

The public policy implications of the "new" growth theories would indeed point to a presumption in favour of government intervention going beyond compensating for market forces to more deliberate and aggressive investment in education and training, including a move from low skill labour - intensive products to more skill intensive goods and services, thus attaining rapid growth.

A number of earlier studies point to the positive impact of primary and secondary education on economic growth. A recent study based on data on output per worker and educational attainments for 111 countries over a 30 - year period (1960-90) using within country changes in education and productivity finds that a one-year increase in average years of schooling for a country's work force raises output per worker by between 5 and 15 percent (I.L.O. - World Employment Report 1998-99, Geneva P - 119) Darjeeling hill areas has always number of schools thanks to missionary zeal of Christian churches. The pyramid of Darjeeling's education structure is quite well-known, and evident. If education is defined as "capability" then four levels of capabilities can be distinguished.

The base of pyramid of Darjeeling covers literacy and numeracy. These foundational skills are necessary to prove that individuals are able to function productively as full fledged citizens with an understanding of both their social rights and claims and their social obligation and responsibilities. On this rests the layer of basic skills and capabilities. These include more analytical skills such as calculation and problem - solving. The third level in the training spectrum is formed by a combination of what are called general and specific skills. The fourth or apex level of pyramid is occupied by advanced technical and professional skills which involve substantial investment of resources in learning.

A key policy issue is the optimisation of this pyramid in terms of its functionality vis-a-vis the needs of competitiveness and growth as well as in terms objectives of human development. We have shown what are the problems of this pyramid and the progress of education though better in comparison to many places still needs many reforms. However, before we take about the reforms necessary in this context some ideas may be given on the impact of education on the community - talking a broader definition of community.

Impact of education on the Mortality and Fertility Rates Potentiality of Social change

Due to certain historical factors literacy rate in Darjeeling is higher than many districts of West Bengal.

Table 1 - Literacy Rate (Crude) 1991

	Male	Female
West Bengal	56.55	38.95
Coochbehar	46.83	27.71
Jalpaiguri	46.67	27.61
Darjeeling	56.46	45.82
West Dinajpur	40.21	20.02

(Source Census 1991)

In respect to literacy Rate it appears that Darjeeling has higher literacy rate compared to many districts of North Bengal.

This is mainly due to spread of education by the missionaries from the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the urban population in Darjeeling district is higher than the other districts of North Bengal.

Again the percentage of urban population in Darjeeling is higher compared to other districts of North Bengal.

Table - 2 : Percentage of Urban population in Different Districts of North Bengal According to 1981 and 1991 census.

District	% of Urban Population	
	1981	1991
Darjeeling	27.86	396060
Jalpaiguri	14.95	458247
Dinajpur	11.19	417200
Coochbehar	6.80	169497
Malda	4.78	186537
West Bengal	26.49	18707601

It should be noted that Darjeeling District as a whole has a higher urban

population than many districts of North Bengal. This urbanisation is the result of presence of towns like Darjeeling, Kurseong, Kalimpong and Siliguri in the plains. In terms of population growth all these towns are "dynamic" in the sense that these are "in-migrating towns".

Because of urban nature of the area and high literacy rate (relatively speaking) the nature of demographic change in terms of birth rate and death rate have changed over time. This change may be attributed to various factors like literacy rate and native of urbanisation.

It is difficult to say whether education or literacy rate is the only factor influencing birth and death rates of population but in Darjeeling hills there are changes both in birth rates and death rates.

Table - 3

Birth Rate, Death Rate, Infant Mortality Rate Total Fertility Rate and Natural Growth rates.

	per (0.0)	
<u>Birth Rate</u>	1981	1991
West Bengal Av.	34.61	26.24
Darjeeling Hills	34.18	25.70
<u>Death Rate</u>		
West Bengal Av.	8.95	8.54
Darjeeling Hills	8.32	7.85
<u>Infant Mortality Rate</u>		
West Bengal Ar.	57.43	35.41
Darjeeling Hills	57.05	34.61
<u>Total Fertility Rate</u>		
West Bengal		56.99

Darjeeling Hills

55.46

(Ref. M. Dasgupta : Labour in Tea Gardens

Gyan Sagar Publications, New Delhi 1997 P 209-210)

Spread of Education has a great potential affect on Social change via the decline of birth date, death rate and fertility rate. Viewed historically the recent declines in the birth rates and death rates in Darjeeling hills must be viewed as a potential of social change. These declines have certainly not been slow by historical standards. It is also presumed that this decline has been accompanied by increases in life expectancy from 35 in 1951 to about 60 in 1991 according to TTMC Report on Darjeeling Hills (Ref. - A Report on Darjeeling Hill 1975). A longer life implies a real gain in welfare. The extension of the period during which people are effectively in the labour force adds to their overall productivity.

Counting the number of people measures the quantity of human beings in population. Malthus developed a particular quantity theory of population, the dynamics of which are constrained by diminishing returns to the supporting resources.

Education it appears has changed the quality of population or to put it differently it has a tendency to improve quality. Education, as we have shown, changes the attitude of the parents and family towards their children. A large number of parents perhaps majority of the parents are interested to send their children to school. Child care by (educated) parents, primarily by (educated) mothers, is variable source of quality. So are home and work experience, schooling and health care, Education and experience derived by their children from this part in family activities and from work in later life, is a major source of useful skills.

T.W. Schultz (Investing in People : The Economics of Population Quality Hindusthan Publishing Corp. (India) 1991 AP 20-22) point out that one unmistakable criteria of the impact of education is on the birth and death rate. If these two rates have a tendency to decline, other things remaining the same, we may conclude that the potential for social change is present. Darjeeling hills areas has a higher literacy rate lower birth and death rate and we may indirectly conclude that education has to a greater extent improved the quality of the people.

2. Education and "Melting Pot" in Darjeeling

Theory of 'Melting pot' was developed in the context of the U.S.A. The theory says that immigrants from different parts of the world come to the U.S.A. and ultimately they lose their ethnic identity. The Irish Americans, Italian Americans, Anglo-Saxon Americans, Chinese American etc. have buried their distinction and have ultimately become one America. E Marn Blang ("Educational policy and the Economics of Education" in Education and Development Reconsidered ed. F. Champion Ward pp 23-32, Ny Prasger Publisher, 1974) pointed out that this "melting" was possible because of high literacy rate in the U.S.A. and education, to a large extent "empower" the females to choose their partners. Without going into details it may be stated that the so-called "ethnic diversity" was submerged by the spread of education. It is needless to say that "education" is not necessarily the only factor for the occurrence of this "melting pot"

In Darjeeling hill areas two things need to be noted. In this area, inspite of all problems of spread of education, the literacy rate of the females is higher than All India average. Further the "participation rate" of women in the work force is higher than All India average. This figure (i.e. Women's participation rate) is 38% in Darjeeling hills, about 14% in India, 7% in Pakistan 4% in Arab countries. Due to presence of tea gardens and spread of literacy rate amongst the women the participation rate of women in work force is higher than All India average and All West Bengal Average (TCMC Report :-)

In India we have the curse of caste system and ethnic issues are very important in certain parts of India. Inter-caste marriage do occur in other parts of India but it is more of an exception than the rule.

The "general" atmosphere in the hill areas of Darjeeling shows that the so-called "middle class" values of average Indian family are not fully operative. The boys and girls mix freely and there is hardly any social inhibition in this respect. Education has played a vital role in this respect. In a survey undertaken (A. DasGupta Nepali Women's Response to social changes C.U. Ph. D. Thesis 1985) it has been found that the educated girls thinks that caste system is not important in the choice of partners in life; important things are to get love, sympathy and understanding. Hence they believe that there is nothing wrong in the inter-caste or inter-ethnic

marriages. They believe that caste and ethnic customs are still adhered to in many households but they tend to accept the view that the efficacy of the "enforcement mechanism" of caste and ethnic rules has weakened considerably. They prefer to choose their own husbands and do not like their parents to choose for them. They think that the old system should change and the girls should be given a greater right in the matter of choice. This is the result of spread of education and modern values consequent on the spread of literacy rate.

This process has created a "melting pot" in Darjeeling hills. - " America is god's crucible, the great melting pot where all races of Europe are melting and reforming"... (Israel Zangwill - *The Melting Pot* McMillon, Ny 1969 PP 37-38).

The same process *in a different manner* has happened in the Darjeeling hills. The Rais, Limbus, Magars, Tamangs, Lepchas, Pradhans, Gurungs have all come from different parts of Nepal with their distinct ethnic identities. But they have all merged together to form the "melting Pot" of Nepali Society - thanks to spread of education at different levels for the last one hundred and fifty years or so. The inter-caste, and inter-ethnic marriages are common. The settlement in urban areas or in the gardens do not follow any ethnic bias. They all stay in the same place and speak the same language. In this new society the caste distinctions or ethnic rivalry are absent. This society has become "assimilated" . Education has given the right of individual choice. And individual choice and not rigid customs determine the degree of their participation in the Nepali society. This "assimilation" and "aculturation" proceed at a rate determined to a large extent by the empowerment of women by education. Education has become a great equalising factor, though not necessarily it is the only factor.

One important thing has to be noted. It has been pointed out that literacy rate has direct impact on the normal rate of growth of population. In the Darjeeling hills there is decadal change in the growth of population. During 1971-81 census the decadal growth of population was more than 2% - which is nearer to the average rate of growth of population of India. But in the census of 1991, the decadal growth of population has come down to 1% and little above. It is therefore growing at a rate lower than the average rate of growth of India. However, in Darjeeling we have to distinguish between natural rate of growth and constant migration from Nepal.

Migration to this area occurs because of certain pull factors and expectational factors. Migration can only be controlled by political will and determination. But what is important to note that the natural rate of growth of population has come down due to increase in literacy rate, adoption of family planning techniques and desire to control the size of the family. Since literacy rate of females is higher than All India average. We may conclude, tentatively though, that the spread of education has its impact on birth rate, death rate and natural rate of growth of population.

Education And Its Impact on Agriculture

Zemindary system as was operative in rest of Bengal was not found in Darjeeling hill areas. The tenancy system may be called ryotwari system where the owner - cultivators cultivate their land. Subsequently in Darjeeling hills two distinct classes emerged in the field of agriculture - namely Pattadar (owner) and Pakhurey who are main Adhiwal, Adhiwal-cum-khetals and Khetala-cum-coolie. Roughly speaking pattadars are owners of and Pakhureys are mostly landless. Pattadars who are economically better off normally attend schools and take formal education. In Darjeeling hill areas the illiteracy, drop-outs were many concentrated among the pakhureys who are economically not better off. The relationship between class and education is striking as pointed out by T. B. Subba (T. B. Subba - The Quiet Hills : The Christian Institute For the Study of Religion and Society 1986). According to him except in primary level education the pattadar class has a better representation in every category, namely secondary, colleges and University level. The pakhureys have lagged behind mainly because of their low income and economic resources. Again the pattadars, because of education have better representation in services, business commerce and other occupations. Since land is the major source of income, the land owners are expected to have a higher level of income and better capability in terms of education.

Operation Barga (OB) started in West Bengal from 1978 and it has its own impact on the Darjeeling hills. Out of 14 districts of West Bengal, Darjeeling has the lowest numbers of bargadars recorded. One of the reasons is that almost 3/5th of the hill region is under tea gardens or forest cover. The more significant factor is the altitude. In the altitudes higher than 4000 ft there is no irrigation and pakhureys or bargas are less and less as the altitude rises. There are usually no share croppers

around and above 7000 ft which in turn is due to decreasing size of landholding per household and the possibility of sowing only once a year. To be precise the impact of OB is found more in lower altitude villages than in the higher altitudes where share cropping is insignificant.

In other words self cultivation with lower land holdings have become the most important mode of production. Self-cultivation does not exclude the help of agricultural labourers. It is necessary to point out that education has brought important changes in society and production techniques.

Since the holdings are small and since there is no scope for extensive cultivation because of ecology of the area, the technique of production has become more intensive. Intensive cultivation has become the most important mode of production. And in this respect education has an important role to play in intensive cultivation and occupational diversification.

T.B. Subba (op. cit) has shown that education has an important part to play in regard to intensive cultivation (T. B. Subba op.cit p 90). For example, education has created new innovative technique in agriculture. The more educated the cultivator the more innovation has been applied in the hill agriculture.

Intensive cultivation means that on the same plot of land which is limited in size, some farmers have adopted Japanese technique, by which vegetables and other crops are produced nearly whole year round. This is known Japanese mode because the Japanese has shown how vegetables can be grown all the year round by selecting proper seed and fertilisers. For successful intensive cultivation a certain level of technical know-how and expertise are required. Education has played an important role in this respect. Dr. Subba has found educated farmers have a tendency to accept innovation in agriculture. Along with intensive cultivation innovation has taken various forms. At higher altitude where nothing possibly grown the potato cultivation has become very important.

In the mode of intensive cultivation the role of panchayat and CADP need special mention. No where in West Bengal panchayat prepares plan for the next year cultivation. But Panchayats in the hill areas make a plan and accordingly take loan from the Regional Rural Banks. The loan taken from the banks are utilised for

diversification of agriculture. The land which remained fallow or waste came under cultivation. Previously, only maize was the principal crop and after panchayat and the operation Barga land is intensively cultivated and various vegetables are grown all the year around. Dr. Subba relates it with the growth of literacy rate in the areas.

Apart from intensive cultivation, the farmers have given attention to building up co-operative for the production of milk. In fact Himul - which supplies milk to the people in and around Darjeeling and Siliguri. These producers' co-operative have become important source of income for the rural people of Darjeeling hills. The producers' co-operative are not very successful in the plains. But milk co-operative have become immensely popular in the hill areas.

This leads to an important conclusion. After operation Barga and Panchayats the land has become small in size. In this small sized land intensive cultivation has been undertaken. Intensive cultivation here means diversification of crops in the hilly region and production of vegetables, Potatoes other than maize. In the production of potatoes Darjeeling hills have become surplus. Furthermore, the small land holding has induced the farmers to search for other sources of livelihood. In this respect the producers co-operative of milk has become an important element for the diversification. Interestingly the producers' co-operatives have become successful in this area and we are already talking about "milk revolution". This is possible with the spread of knowledge and help rendered by Himul, Panchayats and CADP. Knowledge is the direct outcome of the education and spread of literacy. In this sense the education has changed the face of agriculture in the rural areas. (T. B. Subba - op. cit PP 102-107)

Education and Growth of self - Employment

The scope of employment in the formal sector is very low. The opportunities in the formal sector is shrinking. On the other hand population is increasing. The population has become excess in relation to formal sector. Since there is no scope, of further increase in employment in the formal sector people have entered into various sectors which are non-traditional and sometimes called informal sector. It has been pointed out that when people with education do not find job in the formal sector, self-employment increases, or in other words, entrepreneur on new type comes into existence. According to a large number of writers, education empowers people to

enter into risk taking venture. Entrepreneurship starts because of compulsion. This type of entrepreneurship is not inherited from forefathers but induced due to lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector. Education plays a vital role in these "induced entrepreneurship". (N. Hicks and P. Streeten - " Indicators of Development: The search For a Basic-needs Yardstick", World Development. Vol - 7 (1979) PP 581-584)

The formal sector or organised sector of an economy is generally taken to mean wage labour in permanent employment, employment being registered under the Factories Act So that the conditions of works get regulated such as that which is featured by industrial enterprises, government officers and other large and small scale establishments. Employment generally in the formal sector involves a wage contract of employment with an employer. The employer can either be private capitalist or the government and is usually engaged in producing 'advanced' or 'modern' goods with a given technology. The working condition are laid down subject to minimum wage Act. Some author have referred to employment in the formal sector as "protected" or "registered"

Education and new entrepreneurship are interlinked as emphasized by A. H. Cole (A. H. Cole Business Enterprise in its social settings, Harvard University Press 1959 P. 7). Entrepreneurship has grown in Darjeeling because of lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector.

In Darjeeling hill areas various hotels have been started to cater the needs of tourists - and these hotels have started outside the government formal sectors. A large numbers of rest houses have also been started as part of family enterprise. The growth of hotels, rest houses and eating places or restaurants have started as part of new entrepreneurial activities.

Apart from hotel industry new manufacturing units for garments and woolen knitting enterprises have started. In fact, the government has started taking of "wool revolution" in the hill areas. A large number of women have started to do "something" as part of their endeavour to earn something. In this respect certain co-operative have been formed for marketing their products.

In 1991 census newly 3079 small entrepreneurs have been identified engaged

in knitting trade, noodle making and food processing industries.

For educated person it is easy to enter into this sector of self-employment because the barriers to entry is nil. Men and women are encouraged by the fact that these ventures require relatively less capital. Being predominantly labour intensive and assured help from the family members the "new small entrepreneurs" find these sectors the best way to solve their problem of unemployment.

Experience of Darjeeling hills leads us to say that opportunities for improving the position in the market and expanding income-generating activities for these "new entrepreneurs" do not seem impossible. After all education increased knowledge and knowledge gives them the opportunity to be self-employed in various and diverse activities. Education is knowledge and knowledge is information contrary to "what everybody knows" high-tech activity, account for only a small portion of entrepreneurial sector. But majority of the sector develop fairly into what people usually mean when they say "Service (restaurants, rest house and the like) and so called primary activities that create wealth producing capacity (education and training, health care information, STD boths etc.). This sector is thriving all over Darjeeling and often is called "Second Sector" of the economy.

Again there is another sector what we are beginning to call the "Third Sector" - small profit but non-government activities. This "third sector" is busily creating new health care institutions, some ancilliary to hospitals, some in competition with them but each designed to turn the public crisis into entrepreneurial activity and opportunity. There are, for example, Independent clinics for diagnosis and primary care, ambulatory surgical centres, centres for diagnosis and treatment and maternity "motels". This "Third sector" includes opening up new schools. Public schools may be closing but entrepreneurship flourishes in education. Continuing education of all kinds - executive management programmes, preparations for different joint entrance examination. Computer training, physical therapists - is growing and growing.

In Darjeeling hills, the most important area of entrepreneurship, may well be an emerging "Fourth sector" of public - private partnerships, like garbage collection, transportation, taxis, jeeps etc. In fact transport sector is the most dynamic sector in the hill economy considering the problem of transport in this area.

These terms "Second sector", "Third Sector" and "Fourth Sectors" have been coined by Peter F. Drucker in *Entrepreneurial Economy*, Harvard University, Press, 1984. The main idea is that where employment in the formal sector is not increasing as fast as the population growth, "new form" of entrepreneurship is emerging. In other words, wrenching structural changes in the nations economic base have largely observed as an important reality : small, new business have formed the main driving force for the nation's economic growth. More important, these businesses are by no means limited to high-tech industries.

While micro-enterprise development is not the sole answer to underdevelopment, it is one strategy, screaming quite effective for addressing unemployment in the developing constrain or less developed parts of the national economy like Darjeeling. The potential for job creation in these sectors is immense. Moreover, micro-enterprises development improves the economic condition of women, who frequently own and manage micro-enterprises. This is true in respect to garment industry, knitting industry and carpet industry in Darjeeling where large number of women of different ages are employed. These self-employed new economics offer a community based, solidaristic, co-operative, smaller scale more personal, less market-valued way of economic production. Very often it is argued that our formal economics are in "enduring crisis" due to bureaucratisation and corruption. Inevitably new forms of economic institutions, (self-employed informal economics) will have to emerge. The "Superior" moral and "Community quality" of an alternative, more informal economy had been stressed by S. M. Miller (S. M. miller in *Dynamics of Deprivation* sage Publication Inc Ny 1987).

In the development of this "new frontiers" of the economy, education is considered as resource. If education is a resource it is a very peculiar one. Formerly resources were tangible : minerals, fuels, and food and other things. There tangible resources are bought and sold, transferred, imported and exported. But education is a different type of resource. It gives us information about the market, knowledge about the prospect and wisdom to continue in the new ventures. Education plays a vital role everywhere in "searching and starting" new ventures which are often small in nature. Here what Drucker calls "education is the central capital, the cost centre, the crucial resource of the economy" (Drucker - op. cit.). Education gives us

information and Drucker calls it "a synergistic resource the more we have the more we use and the more useful it becomes". In other words, education as a resource is different from other resources in fundamental ways, in kind not merely in degree. The present impact of education - as - a - resource is already pervasive in Darjeeling hill areas. The implications for the future are also enormous - for job creation, standard of living, "learning while doing" "doing while learning", life styles, workways, human community, in vision of society to come and in conflict.

What has happened in Darjeeling, is that education is the ore, the sum total of all facts and ideas, that are available by somebody at a given moment. Education gives knowledge and it is the result of somebody applying the refiner's fire to the mass of facts and ideas, selecting and organising what is useful to somebody. Most knowledge is expertness - in field, a subject a process, a way to thinking, a system of value; a form of business organisation and authority. Knowledge gives wisdom and wisdom is integrated knowledge - information about the market is particularly useful by creating micro-organising rooted in apparent "disciplined knowledge" but crossing disciplinary lines. In this way to-day's micro-business becomes to-morrow's mainstream economy. Evidence indicates that self-employed business and industry can be important vehicle for meeting the growth and equity objectives. Self-employed projects create innovations and information about innovation creates a "cascade effect" in the economy.

In order to study the factors behind, entrepreneurship in Darjeeling hills (Dr) Shanti Chhetri in his Ph. D. Thesis has taken certain variables. The methodology be applied is regression analysis. He has selected data from Darjeeling hill areas by sample study (Shanti Chhetri : Women Workers in the Informal Sector : A study of the Hill Areas of Darjeeling District, Ph. D. Thesis W.B.U. 1994). This analysis is relevant for our study since it shows that entrepreneurship and education are positively related. The model offering the explanatory variable power was cates of successful entrepreneurship)

linear and of the form

$$y = a_0 + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + b_3x_3 + b_4x_4 + b_5x_5 + b_6x_6 + b_7x_7 + e$$

where

y = Annual turn over of the sample units (This is considered as an indicator of successful entrepreneurship)

x_1 = Annual family income of the entrepreneur (This represents the asset possession of the entrepreneur)

x_2 = Duration of entrepreneurship

x_3 = Family size of the entrepreneur

x_4 = Literacy of the entrepreneur

x_5 = Aspiration of the Entrepreneur

x_6 = Personal Efficacy of the entrepreneur

x_7 = Risk taking willingness of the entrepreneur

According to this study out of 7 independent variables considered, effecting entrepreneurship, only four of them are statistically significant. These four variables are the annual income or asset possession, the family size the level of education and the risk taking willingness are found to be statistically significant.

value of co-efficients	t - statistic
$a_0 = - 4539$	- 0.837
$b_1 = 5.316$	10.708*
$b_2 = - 1290.3$	0.871
$b_3 = 71443$	2.795*
$b_4 = 7823$	1.755***
$b_5 = - 120.02$	- 0.616
$b_6 = 1392$	0.589
$b_7 = 8136$	- 2.377
	$R^2 = .833$

For our purpose it is important to note the level of education and entrepreneurship is related and b_4 value is quite high. It is significant at 5% level of

significance.

In recent years, coinciding with rapid globalization human capital development is increasingly viewed as a major engine of growth : differences in living standards are primarily attributed to differences in educational levels and quality of work force. Since there is dearth of job in the formal sector and possibility of unemployment, education gives a weapon to fight for survival. This survival instinct results in new industrial units, service units and other new sources of employment.

This is quite apparent in Darjeeling hill areas. Various new employment opportunities are opening up - which are often called informal sectors - outside the government and by the people who have some level of education and some level of aspirations. Aspiration, risk taking and doing something are the result of knowledge, information and education. The new generation of self-employed entrepreneurs will believe that because to-morrow will be different from to-day new ventures will be seen as a step towards survival and commitment.

To Sum up

Community has different meaning in different countries. Perhaps the Germans used this work in a very sense which evokes emotion and feeling. If we use community in the broad sense then we find education has become a vehicle of change.

This change has occurred in the demographic pattern, population trend and lowering of birth and death rate. World Bank always associates the growth of education with these changes.

Education has also changed the edges and sharpness of caste and ethnic factors. Education in Darjeeling started long time back and the whole "melting pot" of different civilisations can be directly and indirectly linked with education.

Contrary to popular belief, education appears to promote entrepreneurship at least as powerfully as cultural factors - important though there have sometimes been. More generally, entrepreneurship is a matter of skills and attitude, not necessarily inheritance. That is why entrepreneurship may be one of the most important channels through which education raises productivity and innovation.

Innovation is an attitude of life and educated persons perceive new opportunities, take risks and change their methods of production and distribution. Entrepreneurial ability has been characterised as a combination of moderate risk taking, individual responsibility, planning and ability. And education encourages all these as are evident from the study of the hill areas. We have noted education technology and openness have complex relations to development. Education in the hills have allowed the people to accept new ideas which go long way to change the static institution.

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