CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Problem of Research:

Himachal, known as Dev Bhumi (the land of Gods) to the ancients, stands for a hilly and mountainous region. It is situated in the heart of the Western Himalayas. Due to its difficult topographical area and physical isolation from the main stream of Indian setting, the State presents a unique social, structural and cultural pattern. Because of the princely order of the various States within it, there was exploitation of people. The leadership structure was, by and large, traditional and based on sex, age and caste hierarchy. Mostly it was hereditary and was passed on from one generation to the other. Its economy was largely characterised by subsistence on agriculture, done through terrace cultivation. The social life was circumscribed by traditional, institutional networks of family, kinship complexes, religious values and belief structures. In short, the traditional social order had become so sacrosanct with the people that it had a determining influence on the way of life of the people of the State.

During the past about four decades or so, we have been witnessing significant changes in the territorial, economic, political and socio-cultural life of the people. Due to rapid technological innovations, various changes have taken place in every sphere of life. People of the State are no more static and traditional in their outlook. They have changed their way
of life and are now thinking in accordance with the new social and political set-up. Due to the use of modern technology in agriculture and horticulture (machines, fertilizers, good quality seeds and irrigation facilities), the rates of economic returns to the farmers have considerably increased. This has resulted in economic prosperity of the people. Besides, there are changes at the attitudinal level due to availability of education, employment, communication and transportation. Subsequently, these changes have affected social relationships in institutions such as family, marriage, status of women, religion, caste and occupation, and leadership structure.

The total population of the State (as per 1981 Census) is 42.8 lakh persons. Of this total, 92.4 per cent of the population resides in rural areas. Again as per 1981 Census, the percentage of youth (15-24 years age group) to total population is 18.8, and out of this youth population, 17.15 per cent constitutes the rural youth.

These statistics clearly show that if children below 14 years and old people above 60 years are excluded, (who generally may not be active in the decision making) then the rural youth become the single largest and significant group of the entire population for activation and development of the State. Thus, rural youth constitute a numerically dominant, potentially resourceful and adventurous segment of the population of the State.
Being the single largest group of the population, rural youth definitely have a significant role to play in the present and future planning of policies, and in bringing about the much needed changes in the social attitudes prevailing in the countryside. These young people have in them the prospective leaders, academicians, policy framers, social workers and social thinkers. The potential and talent in them is still lying latent, only to be exploited in order to further the cause of fellow human beings. One medium, and the most important one, which can give the desired results in this direction is that of 'education'. Education, both formal and informal, can bring about these changes at an accelerated pace by educating the masses in the countryside.

When we talk of educating the rural masses, we are primarily aiming at educating the younger lot. This is so because these people are still in the process of learning and are more receptive to new ideas and methods. Whereas the older generation has certain fixed notions about the ways of life. It is difficult to change their attitudes at that stage as they stick to old taboos and dogmas. But this does not mean that we exclude them altogether; for such people we have programmes such as adult education. Moreover, it is observed that the educated, enlightened youth in the family or the village itself can go a long way in educating the older generation by convincing them of the new ideas, methods and changes that are taking place.
Many changes are being observed in the social outlook, opinions, attitudes, values and value-orientations of youth. To a large extent, education has played a vital role in promoting this attitudinal modernity. "Education is one of the most important factors which have a bearing on the thought-patterns and the personality structure of individuals. It is held by social psychologists that changes in the personality structure of individuals precede changes in the social structure of a community. The ultimate units of any social structure are individuals and unless their thought-patterns undergo a modification, no social change is possible" (Bhatnagar, 1972:5).

The present study is an attempt to examine the modernizing effects of education on the attitudes, opinions, values, and value-orientations of the rural youth towards various aspects of social life in the Himachal Pradesh.

2. Brief Physical, Demographic, Social-Cultural and Economic Profile of the Himachal Pradesh:

On April 15, 1948, the Himachal Pradesh came into existence as a centrally administered territory, under a Chief Commissioner, by the integration of 30 former princely States of Punjab. When the Constitution of India came into effect, Himachal Pradesh was listed as 'Part C' State (provided under Article 139 of the Constitution of India) in 1952. The 'Part C' state of Bilaspur was merged with it on July 1, 1954. The States Reorganisation Commission in 1956, recommended its merger with Punjab. But due to stiff
resistence by people of the State, it had to be made a separate entity and thus on November 1st, 1956, Himachal Pradesh was made a Union Territory. Under the Punjab Reorganisation Act of 1966, certain parts of Punjab were merged with Himachal Pradesh on November 1st, 1966, leading to doubling its area and population. The union territory of Himachal Pradesh was made a full fledged 18th State of Union of India on January 25th, 1971 and in its present form has an area of 55,673 sq. kms. (Singh, M.S., 1985).

Himachal Pradesh lies between 30°22' to 33°12' north latitude and 75°47' to 79°4' east longitude. Geographically, it presents an intricate pattern of mountain ranges, hills and valleys. Its altitude varies from 350 to 7,000 metres above the sea level (Singh, M.S., 1985). This tiny State is bordered by Jammu and Kashmir on the North, Uttar Pradesh on the South-East, Haryana on the South, Punjab on the South-West, whereas on the East it forms India's border with Tibet. Since the State is bordered with China on the East, it is an area of high strategic significance. The area as a whole is hilly and mountainous but the major part of the State is inaccessible, physiographically complex, snow covered and forest clad. There is general increase in elevation from West to East and from South to North (Chib, 1977).

Himachal Pradesh falls into the drainage system of the extra-peninsular area. The main channels of drainage in the region, are the Chandra Bhaga or the Chenab, the Ravi, the
Beas, the Sutlej, and the Yamuna. The Southern parts of the State are as hot as the plains, while the Northern parts have a temperate summer with extreme winter and heavy snowfall. There is also great diversification in the distribution of rainfall in the region. The average rainfall in the State is 1,523 mm. with a range of 500 mm to 3,400 mm. Dharamsala is the wettest place with a maximum rainfall of 3,400 mm. and Lahaul and Spiti receive minimum, i.e., less than 500 mm. of precipitation. There is much diversification in the climatic conditions of Himachal Pradesh. Differences in aspect and elevation have given rise to various micro-climates.

The total population of the State, according to 1981 Census, is 42.80 lakh persons (Males = 21.69 lakhs i.e., 50.69 per cent, and Females = 21.11 lakhs i.e., 49.31 per cent), which is 0.62 per cent to the total population of the country. The majority of the population is that of the Hindus constituting 95.77 per cent followed by the Muslims (1.63 per cent), the Buddhists (1.23 per cent), the Sikhs (1.22 per cent), the Christians (0.09 per cent), the Jains (0.02 per cent) and others (0.04 per cent). The density of population is 77 persons per sq. kms. and sex ratio is 973 females per 1,000 males. The decennial growth rate of population in 1971-81 is 23.71 per cent. The urban and rural percentage population of the State is 7.61 and 92.39 respectively. There are 24.62

*Others include religion not stated, and other religion and persuasions.
per cent scheduled castes and 4.61 per cent scheduled tribes in the State.

The State of Himachal Pradesh is still not much exposed to deceit and exploitation. The people in hilly and far flung areas which are far removed from the fast life of the plains, still retain old beliefs and customs and in the process, have kept intact the 'values' which are all pervading in the Indian culture. Thus people, in the 'Land of gods' are simple, god-fearing, deeply religious, hospitable and peace-loving.

All activities of these hill folk revolve around their respective 'devis' and 'devatas'. Their decisions and actions both at the family and village level are, to a large extent, determined by the oracular wishes of these local deities. The medium of communication between these deities and the people are the priests, who are locally known by many different names such as 'Gur', 'Mali', or 'Utarua' as it is called in the area of study. Help of these deities is sought in such cases as diseases and sufferings to family members as well as cattle, monetary losses, accidents and fire. The hill people are still not much exposed to the urban and industrial developments and a vast majority of them continue to live on primitive modes of agriculture and the allied handicrafts.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy of the people in the State. People earn their livelihood directly or indirectly from agriculture. About three fourths of the
total working force in the State is engaged in the agricultural sector. The cultivation is mostly done by small and marginal farmers, who contribute about 45 per cent of the domestic product. People usually grow cereals and pulses. Nowadays, horticulture is becoming popular among the farmers, particularly in the upper areas of the State. People are also engaged in other primary production, like forestry, fishing, mining and allied crafts, small scale industries and commerce. Due to spread of education, people are attracted more towards Government jobs.

In the sphere of social relations, an important feature is the strong family affinities. People are firmly attached to the joint family system. The village folk in particular are conservative and follow their community codes rigidly. Untouchability is not that rigid, but people do observe discriminations by way of restrictions on interdining, intermarriage and in terms of locality. Native people who came into contact with the service and educated classes in towns, have considerably changed in their outlook, manners and customs. Marriages, pilgrimages, fairs and festivals and other social gatherings provide the best occasion for the people of the hills to meet one another.

Unfortunately, the life of the people is not all that easy. The inhabitants of the State have to work very hard for mere subsistence. The hill women work harder than the men folk and are robust. They are beautiful, modest and known
for their sweet voice. The hardships of life and poverty of the people of the State have not, however, cramped their natural and free life style. They sing and dance at the slightest excuse. Himachal Pradesh, perhaps, gives a pleasing picture to the outside world but on closer examination, one can find the other side of the picture, full of miseries, pains and hardships of life.

3. Growth of Education in the Himachal Pradesh:

Education contributes to change in social structure as well as change in ideas and attitudes of the people. The important role of education in socio-economic development of the State was recognized by the policy makers at the time of formation of the State and a great stress was laid on education. Since then, the Himachal Pradesh has done well in the sphere of education. Despite the majority of population being rural, the overall literacy rate of the State (42.48 per cent) is higher than that of the country as a whole (36.17 per cent). Women still lag behind men in sphere of education. The respective literacy figures for females and males are 31.46 per cent and 53.19 per cent. But a marked difference is observed in rural and urban areas. The literacy rate for urban areas is 67.44 per cent, whereas, it is only 40.42 per cent for rural areas.

It is evident that education is still a monopoly of the urban based population. The reason is simple, as most of the educational institutions are concentrated in the urban
areas. This makes education more easily accessible to urban people than to those who are in the rural areas. This only highlights the need for paying more attention to education in the rural areas.

However, the period between 1971-72 and 1984-85 noticed a trend in the expansion of school education*. During this period, the number of Primary Schools increased from 3,755 to 6,639; Middle Schools increased from 828 to 1,057; High/Higer Secondary Schools from 440 to 787; and Colleges from 17 to 32. At present (1986-87), there are 6,904 Primary Schools (Rural = 6,717, Urban = 187); 1,020 Middle Schools (Rural = 981, Urban = 39); 801 High Schools (Rural = 714, Urban = 87); 101 Senior Secondary Schools (Rural = 76, Urban = 25). There are 38 Colleges of general education and three Universities. There is a Medical College at Shimla, an Engineering College at Hamirpur and many other technical and professional institutions in the State. The number of Primary School Teachers in the same period increased from 7,729 to 16,024; in the case of Middle Schools the number decreased from 7,108 to 5,809; High/Higer Secondary Schools from 8,209 to 10,077 and in Colleges of general education from 488 to 833. At present (1986-87), there are 16,565 Primary School Teachers; 5,632 Middle School Teachers; 8,577 High School Teachers; 3,326 Senior Secondary School Teachers; and 885 College Lecturers. The number of students in the Primary

*Source: Education Department, Himachal Pradesh.
Schools in the same period increased from 3.83 lakhs to 6.2 lakhs; in the Middle Schools from 1.25 lakh to 2.64 lakhs; in the High/Higher Secondary Schools from 0.55 lakh to 1.09 lakh, and in the Colleges from 0.13 lakh to 0.28 lakh. At present (1986-87), the number of students in Primary Schools is 6.44 lakhs; in Middle Schools 3.02 lakhs; in High/Higher Secondary Schools 1.13 lakh, and in Colleges 0.26 lakh. This shows that there is a dropout of students from Primary Schools onwards.

The teacher-taught ratio in the period 1970-71 to 1983-84 was as follows: In Primary Schools it was 1:28 and 1:37; in Middle Schools, 1:20 and 1:17; in High/Higher Secondary Schools, 1:25 and 1:28. Thus, we observe a slight change in the teacher-taught ratio during this period. However, the classes in the Primary Schools remain crowded as compared to the Middle and High Schools. In the Colleges the teacher-taught ratio in 1970-71 was 1:25, this was lowered to 1:20 in 1979-80. This may be due to the fact that there is an increase in the recruitment of teachers in the Colleges during this period, whereas the increase in the enrolment of the College students during the same period is less than before. Hence, this low teacher-taught ratio may be due to comparatively low increase in the number of College students. Almost all the Colleges are located in the urban centres and it becomes beyond the means of rural people to send their children for higher education due to the
high expenses of staying at these places and high expenses of college education. Consequently they attract a small number of students from rural areas.

Scheduled castes constitute 24.62 per cent of the entire population of the State. Not to speak of their higher education, even their school education stands much neglected. Reasons could be varied, from poverty to ignorance, for their miserable position in the educational sphere.

Since the school education in the State seems to be in the process of expansion and every year more and more children are being enrolled in the different stages of schooling, it becomes important to ask whether education helps in anyway in changing the value-orientations of the youth or not.

4. Conceptual Framework:

In this section, the concepts of education, modernity and modernization relevant to this study will be discussed. Further, the relationship between education and modernity will be delineated within the two dominant perspectives of modernization.

(a) Education:

An ancient Chinese Scholar once said:

"If you give a man a fish, he will have a meal,
If you teach him to fish, he will have a living,
If you are thinking a year ahead, sow seed,
If you are thinking ten years ahead, plant a tree,
If you are thinking one hundred years ahead, educate the people" (Tza, Xuan, as quoted by Rebello, 1985).
The word 'education' is drawn from the Latin word "educare", means bringing up a child, both physically and mentally. Education has been defined in a very broad manner, denoting a group process by which culture is transmitted from one generation to another. Largely, sociologists have used the term education in two senses; first, encompassing the varied processes of specialization that occur in societies while the other, referring only to formal instruction given in educational institutions. Smith defines education "as a process whereby the socially approved part of the cultural heritage is transmitted from one generation to the following one and whereby newly acquired knowledge is diffused among the members of society" (Smith, 1947). In the traditional communities, the institution of family performed many functions such as the transmission of cultural heritage, the training of children in different skills, trades and occupations. While in the present day communities, the task of imparting formal education to the younger members of the society is entrusted to the educational institutions. "The schools and colleges are responsible for the physical, mental and intellectual development of children and training them for specialised trades and professions. Therefore, in present times, the term 'education' refers to "formal schooling" (Bhatnagar, 1972:3).
Education influences the social structural elements of a society and the living mode of the individuals. The thought and the behaviour patterns of the individuals are also influenced by it. The changes in the behaviour-patterns of individual members of various social groups are bound to affect the social structural elements of a community. Education has two important functions to perform viz., the conservative and creative. As a conservative function, education transmits cultural values and socially approved behaviour-patterns to the younger members of the society. This function of education still continues to be of main importance. However, in the modern human society, the factors of innovation and change are much more prominent than they were in the older society. As such, modern education has an additional function, that is, to inculcate new ideas and thought-patterns along with the transmission of established cultural and social values. "Modern education does not permit an individual to become a dogmatic believer; it makes him or her a rational human being capable of challenging the past values and creating new ones. To provide for change is the creative function of education. This does not mean that the two functions of education, that is, the conservative and creative are antithetical to each other. Rather, these two functions are reconciled in modern education" (Bhatnagar, 1972:4-5). As W.E. Hicking has said that "the educational purpose is to communicate the type and provide for growth beyond the type" (as quoted by Ottaway, 1953:10).
In both the developing and the developed societies, education is viewed as an important vehicle of social transformation. In the advanced industrial societies, education is provided by the State as a matter of right to all its citizens. Formal institutions - Schools, Colleges and Universities - are recognized for this purpose. Education is one of the major growth industries of the last hundred years. One of the major objectives of education, is to help young people gain a sense of group responsibility. Role of education in the pre-independence period was recognized as vital in creating an awakening among the Indian masses. Its contribution in breaking the chains of slavery cannot be undermined as far as it helped in striving psyche of the Indian intelligentsia and made them lead the struggle for freedom.

(b) Modernity and Modernization:

Modernity and modernization are twin concepts. 'Modernity' is primarily a state of mind. It represents more of a psychic mobility. It creates and grasps such elements in human consciousness which enable the individual to adjust from his inner being to the rapidly changing conditions of modern complex societies. It implies a scientific and rational world view and inculcates universalistic secular values. Modernity from the point of view of an individual is a state of personality trait-scientific
world view and from the point of view of a given society as a whole, is a judgment on its level of development in material and ideational aspects (Srivastava et al., 1976; 22-23). "Modernity is not just superficial acquisition of some isolated traits and elements characteristic of the more advanced countries. Their selection in a logical order and sequence, and integration into the cultural pattern of a given society in a widely ramifying manner, is essential" (Dube, 1967:35).

Modernity is not an exclusive possession of any one ethnic or cultural group, but belongs to the humanity as a whole (Bendix, 1964:8). According to Sharma (1979), "a modern man is essentially a rational man - one who holds a rational world-view and rational value-orientations". Drawing upon such a conception, he has defined modernity in terms of "a set of attitudes reflecting secular, scientific, universalistic, achievement, independence and civic-orientations" (Sharma, 1979:48). However, this may appear more as an ideal than a reality as in a modern society, one may have many irrational men as well. Modernity is also seen as a set of attitudes, values and related ways of acting occasioned by participation in the institutions of modern, industrial society (Holsinger, 1973:181).

The modernity syndrome is connected to central and pervasive structures of personality and cognition which are themselves relevant to functioning within society and which
are also significantly influenced by education and other late socialization experiences. Among these central attributes of personality are authoritarianism, field independence, and ego development (Suzman, 1973:273). Armer and Schainberg (1972) called psychological modernity as a myth, and have advocated the abandonment of this concept, as they doubt the theoretical as well as the practical significance of modernity in addition to measurement or conceptual problems or both. To the proposition of calling the psychological modernity as a myth, Inkeles (1973) has argued that modernity is a syndrome which coheres empirically at a level of reliability high enough to satisfy most standard of psychological testings. Thus the modern man is clearly not just a construct in the minds of sociological theorists. He exists and can be identified, with fair reliability, within any population which can complete the overall measure of modernization (OM) questionnaire.

The concept of "attitudinal modernity" has become one of the master themes in the psychological analysis of social change. Its underlying assumption is that the macrostructural transformations that comprise the modernization process (the spread of urbanization, literacy, industrialization etc.) bring about distinctive psychological changes in attitudes, values and behaviour patterns on the part of individuals exposed to them - changes that tend to be broadly similar in all "developing" societies, despite
countervailing influences of cultural diversity (Klineberg, 1972; 221).

Attempts to test that assumption in cross-national studies (Doob, 1960; Inkeles, 1966; 1969; Kahl, 1968; Lerner, 1958) have succeeded in identifying a basic syndrome of 'modernity' that does have a cross-cultural validity. The main factors are, a relative openness to new experience, a reliance on the mass media for information, political participation, independence from parental authority or traditional kinship roles and obligations, a belief in personal efficacy, and an orientation toward planning for the future. Similar observations have been made regarding modernity in single societies (Armer and Youtz, 1971; Portes, 1973; Schnaiberg, 1970).

But there is no full consensus on conceptual and empirical issues. Among such issues is the unidimensional character of the "modernity" syndrome, the existence of a single, coherent and distinct set of attributes that can safely be labelled modernity" (Schnaiberg, 1970). Evidence of cross-national validity, moreover, may be largely the result of cultural diffusion, of exposure to western influences that are artificially introduced into the 'follower societies' (Bendix, 1967; Portes, 1973).

Furthermore, the concept of "attitudinal modernity" implies a unilinear model of social change, the assumption
that modernization is an inevitable movement from a static traditional past toward a modernized future, but such a view ignores the possibility of "transitional" states that may last for centuries, and it risks confusing an "ideal typical" analysis with the complex reality of societies that follow different paths and experience change within contrasting social context and structural constraints (Bendix, 1967; Eisenstadt, 1973; Stephenson, 1968).

The concept of modernization embraces a considerable range of interpretations of human development. Economists see modernization primarily in terms of man's application of technologies to the control of nature's resources in order to bring about a marked increase in the growth of output per head of population. Sociologists and social anthropologists have been primarily concerned with the process of differentiation that characterizes modern societies. They have explored the way in which new structures arise to assume new functions or to take on functions once performed by other structures, and they give attention to the differentiations occurring within social structures. Sociologists also study some of the disruptive features of the modernization process; rising tensions, mental illnesses, violence, divorce, juvenile delinquency, and racial, religious, and class conflict. Political scientists have focused particularly on the problems of nation and government building as modernization occurs. They have been concerned with the ways in
which governments increase their capacity to innovate and to adopt the change—to make policies for the society (Weiner, 1966:3).

Some scholars suggest that the starting point of any definition of modernization is not in the character of the society, but in the character of individuals. David McClelland (1966), from a psychological viewpoint, underlines self-reliance and an achievement orientation as essential qualities of modern man. The characteristic mark of the modern man has two parts: one internal, and the other external; one dealing with his environment, the other with his attitudes, values and feelings (Inkeles, 1966:3).

Modernization as a process of change has attracted much attention from both scholars and laymen. Some have studied modernization of the individual (Inkeles, 1969), others have analysed the modernization of society from the religious, political, economic and educational viewpoint (Lerner, 1958; Eisenstadt, 1966; Rudolph and Rudolph, 1969; Smith, 1965; Anderson, 1966; Srinivas, 1966 and Singer, 1966). When modernization takes root in a society, it not only affects the structure of that society but also the values and attitudes that are held by members of that society. A change in values, in turn, affects the social relationships of that society (Lerner, 1965; Inkeles, 1969).

Toynbee (1963:543) tends to treat modernization as a unilinear evolutionary process whose development would
bring all societies to a level of cultural homogeneity obliterating their original cultural identities. Parsons (1964:339-357) holds that modernization is reached by passing through certain structural evolutionary stages in the universal growth of societies through differentiation. Societies grow through a series of stages; they begin with functionally indispensable universals of religion, communication, kinship, social organisation, and basic technology.

A popular conception of modernization originates from the opposition between tradition and modernity, and modernization is defined as a transition from tradition to modernity (See Lerner, 1958; Rostow, 1960; Eisenstadt, 1966). Modernization connotes a transition from traditional to modern societies which are characterized by the predominance of such nontraditional values as secularity, achievement, universalism, role specificity and individuality (Parsons & Shils, 1951; Becker, 1957). From the perspective of the dichotomy of development, modernization is defined as a "process of change whereby the less developed societies acquire the characteristics, common to more developed societies" (Lerner, 1968:386).

Modernization involves the emergence of a new behavioural system with certain distinctive characteristics. Such a system implies considerable value-change. Unless the traditional values undergo a radical modification, an innovative ethos and an entrepreneurial and an individual
According to Singh (1973), most approaches to modernization could be grouped under two broad categories: Structural and Evolutionary. The structural approach seeks to analyse modernization with the help of selected social or normative variables, such as 'social mobilization', growth of 'communication', 'media exposure', 'democratic political institutions and values', 'morals and norms conducive to modernization', 'technological and economic resources of society', and 'initial conditions' of society with respect to the presence of cultural and structural autonomy of parts within the social system.

Modernization would be determined as a result of the presence of these variables in the social system and their intensity and proportion. Evolutionary approach based on more systematic theoretical assumptions treats modernization as a evolutionary stage in the life of human society. "There are, however, differences in formation of the process of evolution and its direction. Its methodological formulation may either be structural-functional or dialectical; similarly direction of evolution may also be either unilinear or multilinear" (Singh, 1973:205).
The role of education in modernization has attracted considerable attention in recent years. Two dominant themes have emerged in social science literature as functionalist and radical perspectives. The former accepts the positive and direct relations of education in promoting modernity, while the latter exposes its negative effects asserting that education impedes development (Sharma, 1979). Due to the complex nature of the task, in the present study, our main concern is with an empirical examination of only the functionalist perspective that education fosters psychic dispositions favourable to modernization.

The functionalist view focuses on the positive contributions made by education to the maintenance of the social system. The French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1961) saw the major function of education as the transmission of society's norms and values to members of the society. He further contends that in complex industrial societies, the school serves a function which cannot be provided either by the family or peer groups. Drawing on Durkheim's ideas, the American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1961) states that after primary socialization within the family, the schools take over as the "Focal Socializing Agency". School acts as a bridge between the family and society as a whole, preparing
the child for his adult role. Parsons (1961) sees the educational system as an important mechanism for the selection of individuals for their future role in society. Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Morre (1967) see education as a means of role allocation but they link the educational system more directly with the systems of social stratification. In the liberal perspective, education fosters personal development and self-fulfilment. It encourages the individual to develop his mental, physical, emotional and spiritual talents to the fullest extent.

In the above approach, the role of education in development, is on the psycho-social potential of education for modernization. This would mean a reinterpreting the role of education from a conservative agency of cultural transmission to a liberal agency of social transformation. The classical economists (Malthus, Mill, and Senior) viewed education as only indirectly related to economic developments. Many economists (Liebenstein, 1965; Anderson, 1968; Streten, 1971) holds it as of direct consequence and it is seen as promoting economic development. A politically progressive and engaged philosopher was the first to plead for manipulating education as a means to push society in a progressive direction.

Many scholars such as Parsons (1954), Clark, (1962), Moore (1963), Coleman (1965), Dreeben (1968) have understood the value of the school as an engine of social-psychological change in
the developing countries. This approach recognises the psychological potential of education for modernization. Dreeben in his book, 'On What is Learned in School' has emphasized the school as a specialized and an independent institution with distinctive structural attributes of its own. Dreeben argues that "schools differ in structural properties from families in many respects such as size, composition, degree of differentiation, duration of given relationships, child-adult ratio, the range of events and activities, schedule and award system" (Dreeben, 1968).

Weiner (1966) has referred to education as one of the instruments for modernizing man's values and attitudes. Alex Inkeles (1973:174), who has been considered as the spokesman of the "school as modernizer", has advanced a "Theory of Educational Effects". He contends that, "The school in developing countries, for all its presumed defects, is surely one of the most powerful means for inculcating modern attitudes, values and behaviour". Further, in his study of "Making men modern: On the Causes and Consequences of Individual Change in Six Developing Countries", Inkeles (1969:208) has found that "education is the most powerful factor in making men modern, but occupation experience in large-scale organizations, makes a significant contribution in Eschooling" men in modern attitudes and in teaching them to act like modern men." And again, "... the amount of formal schooling a man has had emerges as the single most
powerful variable in determining his score on our measures*.

Kahl (1968) sums up nicely by saying, "All observers recognize the key significance of formal education in modern society. It is the sorting mechanism which prepares men for their adult roles*. Schnaiberg's (1971) main focus in his Turkish study was on female modernism, based on urban experience. According to him, "urbanism effects are observed only because of the close linkage between rural residence and low education and economic opportunities in developing areas". Armer and Youtz (1971:604) tested the proposition, "that formal western education exerts a modernizing influence on youth in traditional, non-western societies". Those who supported the 'school-effects thesis', are usually referred to as functionalists.

However, the structural-functionalist perspective has been seriously questioned during the last two decades. Hoselitz (1961) opines that education must have little or no effect on changing an individual's perspective in societies which seek to preserve their cultural heritage. Kyostio (1972:340) has rightly remarked: "The school system, rather like the armed forces, and the church, has become such a self-sufficient, 'monastic', and inward-looking institution that children are trained to be efficient for the institutions of the school, not for problem-solving in society*. A lot is learned sometimes in school and that need to be unlearned when moving into
'normal' society". Silberman (1970) and Kozol (1972) state that the schools are incompetent in promoting the growth of reflective self.

In contrast to functionalist view, there is the radical perspective of the role of education in modernization. According to radical perspective the function of education is to legitimize the existing power relations and perpetuation of inequalities. Radicals have termed the existing educational system as exploitive and detrimental for the development of the poor. Bourdieu (1972:11) maintains that education plays a vital role in "reproduction of the structure of power relations" and that it does so "under the appearance of neutrality". Boudon (1974:9) has made efforts to demonstrate that the development of the educational system in western industrial societies does not have a positive effect in social and economic equality. "If any effect is to be observed at all, it is more likely to be negative".

The functionality of school in relation to development goal has been questioned by many scholars (Freire, 1970; Illich, 1977; Reimer, 1971; Goodman, 1971). Freire (1970), condemns the existing education system as oppressive. He treats it as a "banking system", where the students are the depositors while the teachers are the depositors. Ivan Illich (1977) outrightly rejects the schooling and modernity thesis and
goes to the extent of giving a call for a "de-schooling society". His argument is that school prevents "personal, creative and automatic interaction" among learners and teachers and that "we have all learned most of what we know outside the school". According to him, schools are not only unnecessary but they are in a bad shape and must be abolished. Further, Illich says that "not only education but society as a whole needs de-schooling". Sydney Hook (1972) is one among the others who has very sharply attacked the Illich's thesis of abolishing the schools.

Thus, the two dominant theoretical perspectives - Functional and Radical - stated above clearly represent two different viewpoints regarding the role of formal education in modernization.

5. Some Theoretical Considerations Relevant to Present Study:

In order to understand the research problem in its proper perspective, it is important to take into account some of the theoretical perspectives.

It may be interesting to understand as to how education influences the psycho-social dispositions or value-orientations of youth. Over the years, a huge amount of theoretical and empirical literature on education and modernization has appeared. This enables us to have a better understanding of the effectiveness of education in bringing about change for development.
Modernization can be achieved by improving and extending education to people as it influences the thought and behaviour-patterns as well as the personality structure of individuals. It is observed that "the changes in the personality structure of individuals precede changes in the social structure" (Bhatnagar, 1972).

The concept of "social structure" has been defined in various ways by different scholars. However, Radcliffe Brown (1950:82) regards human beings and their institutional relations as its main components. According to him, social structure is "an arrangement of persons in relationships institutionally defined and regulated". Nadel (1957) in his theory of social structure has stated that sociologically relevant behaviour is always purposeful and that "other people's role forms part of people's intentions". Leach (1954:4) thinks that in regard to practical situations, the social structure consists of a set of ideas about the distribution of power between persons or groups of persons. Bhatnagar, has made an attempt to operationalize the term. According to him, it can be taken to mean a patterned arrangement of various social elements persisting over time. The elements constituting this pattern can be abstracted from reality and different units can be chosen for analysis. The phrase "persistence over time" signifies that social changes are not abrupt, but that they are rather gradual" (Bhatnagar, 1972:12).
Cormack treats modernization as "the new ways of doing things with the help of scientific principles and methods and man's use of his rational powers for the control and modification of his physical and social environment. It involves rejecting inherited roles and taking new roles". On the other hand, by tradition she means, "the way things have always been done" (Cormack, 1961). In traditional way of life, the roles are generally prescribed one and are mainly inherited from the previous generation, while a departure from tradition means a change from traditional to modern attitudes and taking up of new roles.

Today, role has become central concept in social sciences. Parsons (1951) defines that "role is organised sector of actor's orientation which constitutes and defines his participation in an interactive process". According to him, an actor is always a significant unit, for the analysis of a social system. Role is one of the units of social system.

The change in the external condition (attitudes, values, and feelings) of modern man is well known and widely documented. It may be summarized by reference to a series of key terms: urbanization, education, mass communication, industrialization and politicization (Inkeles, 1966:152). The thought-patterns of an individual are manifested in the shape
of attitudes. Daniel Katz and Ezra Scotland define an attitude as "an individual's tendency or predisposition to evaluate an object or a symbol of that object in a certain way" (as quoted by Lindgren, 1969). They maintain that each attitude has a single referent, but that, attitudes may be "organized into consistent and coherent structures known as value systems".

Leon Festinger (1957) has given "Cognitive Dissonance Theory" regarding the harmony and consistency of attitudes. According to it, an individual attempts to establish internal harmony, consistency or congruity among his or her opinions, attitudes, knowledge and values - which Festinger refer as "Cognitive Elements". He states that the pairs of cognitive elements may exist in irrelevant, consonant or dissonant relationships with each other. However, dissonance can be resolved or at least reduced by changing one of the cognitive elements involved or by adding new elements or by decreasing the importance of elements. Dissonance is mainly created in situations in which individuals make (or believe they have made) a free choice. Whenever an individual attains consistency in his attitudes, he is in the state of consonance.

Newcomb (1961) tried to the theory of dissonance and consonance to the acquaintanceship process. He described how cognitive systems maintain balance, consistency
or summary. He applied this theory in the study of friendship pattern and observed that change in the interactional patterns is of great significance in reducing dissonance as well as in restoring an attitudinal balance.

Dissonance and balance theories emphasize on an individual’s attempt to maintain consistency among cognitive elements, that is, perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and the behaviour that results from these states or motives. However, the balance theory stresses on how balance is maintained while dissonance theory predicts as to what happens when it is not maintained. These two types of theories are not opposing one another, rather these complement each other to a large extent.

A change in the attitude has been considered as a pre-requisite for any other change in the social structure of a group, community or a society. It is clearly known that education is an important factor affecting the cognitive element, in an individual’s personality. The process of education helps in the inculcation of some new thought-patterns and also in the re-shaping of the old ones. Thus, it may be considered that an educated person may tend to have lesser traditional attitudes as compared to an uneducated person. At the time when the traditional attitudes of educated persons start changing in order to give way to the modern attitudes, the individual is faced with the dilemma
of maintaining a balance in his changing attitudes. In accordance with the dissonance and consonance theories of cognitive elements, "an individual attempts to bring about harmony and consistency in his attitudes regarding various social elements. In order to achieve this consistency, the individual adds some new attitudes and also changes to some of the existing ones. This process of attitudinal change is likely to affect the role of performance and behaviour patterns of the individuals" (Bhatnagar, 1972:7). In addition to above the man's behaviour is also influenced by his beliefs, assumptions and decisions.

Besides affecting the thought-patterns of the individuals, education is also expected to influence the interactional pattern among individuals. In other words, as education affects the cognitive elements, the educated persons having similar attitudes may tend to interact more frequently with one another than those having different attitudes. This interaction or the acquaintanceship process helps the educated persons to achieve consistency and congruity in the cognitive elements. Thus, the factor of education is important in the process of achieving consonance in the attitudinal sphere.

In order to have adequate understanding of human individuals, two conceptions such as that of organism and that of person have been mainly utilized. The biological explanations of human individual center upon the notion of organism, whereas the sociological explanation focuses upon that of a
A person may be taken to mean the individual as a player of certain roles and in the process of enacting various roles, a person attempts to incorporate certain values and objectives which guide and regulate his behaviour. In other words, the playing of the roles depend upon the psychic structure of man which implies integration of perception, emotion and impulse. A broader term, that is, "character structure" is used by Gerth and Mills (1956) to refer to the individual "as a whole entity'. This term is taken to mean the "stabilized integration of the organism's psychic structure linked with the social roles of the person".

According to Gerth and Mills (1956), "A social structure is composed of institutional orders and spheres. The precise weight which each institutional order and sphere has with reference to every other order and sphere and the way in which they are related with one another — these determine the unity and the composition of a social structure". An institutional order means "all those institutions within a social structure which have similar consequences and ends or which serve similar objective functions". Five such institutional orders, that is, kinship order, religious order, political order, military order, and the economic order have been highlighted. There are several aspects of social conduct which characterize all these institutional orders, the most important being: technology, symbols, status and education. These have been termed "spheres" in
contradistinction to "orders" because they are rarely or never autonomous as to ends they serve and because any of them may be used within any of the institutional order. The concept of "Role" is the major link between the 'character structure' and the 'social structure'. That is why "any alternation in the social roles is bound to be accompanied by corresponding repercussions in the social structure" (Bhatnagar, 1972).

6. Review of Studies

In the context of the present study, it is important to take cognizance of some of the studies carried out on education and modernization. Social scientists in the sixties devoted their attention to the theme of the role of education in promoting attitudinal modernity among the masses in the developing countries. This resulted in the outpour of a body of empirical studies to validate the effects of formal education on individual modernity. With the exception of Saunders' study (1969) all other studies have clearly indicated that education is a prime determinant of attitudinal modernity. Saunders' study, however, has shown that education undermines modernity.

For a proper appraisal of these studies, it may be important to distinguish between two types of studies: one dealing with adults samples and hence attributing the
present modernity of the respondents to their "past" educational attainments, while the other focussing on school going children and youth and relating their modernity to schooling effect.

Learner (1963), on the basis of his study, dealing with adult sample of six developing countries (Turkey, Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iran) in the middle east, asserts that literacy is the basic personal skill underlying the whole modernization process. Almond and Verba (1963) on the basis of their data of five countries, have shown that education is closely associated with political information, attitudes and participation. While standardizing his scale of individual modernity, Kahl (1968) found significance correlation between education and modernity. Alex Inkeles (1969) contends that "education is the most powerful factor in making men modern". Various studies by McClelland's (1966); Kahl's (1968) in Brazil and Mexico; Kahn's (1969); Inkele's (1969); Roger's (1969); except those by Herzog (1967) in Brazil; Gouveia (1967) in Brazil; Saunders (1969) in Brazil; have demonstrated a positive correlation between education and attitudinal modernity.

Social researchers have shown variation in regard to the sample of the studies in this field during the seventies. They have concentrated on the school-going children/adolescents. For example, Armer and Youtz (1971:611 &
on the basis of their data of 591 (seventeen-year-old) males in Kano city (Nigeria), have concluded that "formal western education definitely exerts a modernizing influence on youth in traditional, non-industrial societies". They covered both students and non-educated youth and conclude that "western education does, indeed, have a definite effect on the value orientations of youth". They have arrived at this conclusion by comparing the modernity scores of three categories of respondents: those with no education, with some primary education and those with some secondary education.

Keeping in view the fact that man learns to be modern and education as a social experience facilitates the learning process, Waisanen and Kumata (1972; 25, 30 & 35) in their study, based on five national probability samples of adult age, twenty and older, drawn from the U.S.A., Finland, Japan, Mexico, and Costa Rica, proposed the thesis of curvilinearity in the relationship between education and various indicators of modernity.

Holsinger (1973) in his study based on 2553 students from third, fourth and fifth grades from 90 classrooms in 67 different schools in Brasilia, New Federal district of Brazil has observed that children with schooling exposure have displayed significantly greater modernity than similar children without education. It appears to be a sound research design as it has employed longitudinal, cross-sectional and non-school
baseline techniques in the collection and analysis of data. A positive association between the exposure to school and the modernity score has been suggested. This correlation has also been found to be independent of the competing variables including the mother's modernity.

A number of studies on the impact of schooling on pupil modernity has appeared in the International Journal of Comparative Sociology (1974, XIV, 3-4). These studies show a considerable uniformity in their major findings and these conclude that schooling promotes attitudinal modernity in developing nations.

One may strike a note here at this stage that most of the existing studies dealing with education and modernity have been preoccupied with "school effects" only. Relatively little work has been done on "college effects". We do know that literacy and elementary education remain the main aspects of modernity. It is also true that higher education with its stress on scientific culture, creative innovation and critical reasoning constitutes the main contributing factors. Therefore, if school acts as a modernizer, college should do so even more. Some studies in that direction include "The Crisis in the Classroom" (Silberman, 1970) and "The Great School Legend" (Greer, 1972) and these necessitated an
empirical evaluation of the role of school in modern as well as in modernizing societies.

A number of scholars have reacted differently to the things of schooling as promoter of attitudinal modernity. Many writers (Wicker, 1969; Deutacher, 1973; Liska, 1974 and Johnson, 1976) have disapproved of the attitudinal studies on the ground that there is no consistency between one's attitude and behaviour. For example, Ammer and Isaac (1976) have shown that modern attitudes tend to have little or no influence on behaviour identified by modernity theorists as relevant to development. However, Inkeles (1969) findings came to defend the attitudinal studies, claiming a strict correspondence between the modernity of attitudes and modernity of behaviour. He has concluded that "not only that a modern is as modern does, but also that a modern does as a modern speaks". Kenneth and Kandel (1979) have demonstrated that "there is a consistency between attitudes and behaviour, and the attitudes affect behaviour more than behaviour affects attitudes". Raghuvansih (1980) has noted "a strong congruence between attitude and behaviour in his Indian studies".

With the exception of studies done by Desai (1952) and Bhatnagar (1972) other studies have been mainly concerned with "college effects" and not "school effects". These
studies are descriptive survey of college students' attitudes towards traditional social institutions such as caste, joint family, marriage, untouchability and the like. Shukla (1975) appears to be the first person to caution scholars against the indiscriminate use of education as an instrument of social change. He is of the opinion that education by itself cannot start a revolution. It would depend to a large extent upon the socio-economic policy and persons at the helm of affairs. Shashadri (1978) points out that "we should break down the school system and free the child to experience reality rather than myths about society and values which the schools perpetuate". Ahmed (1979) also warns us against the "indiscriminate use of education as an agency of social change".

Cormack (1961:227) did a full length study of Indian students and social change by taking a sample of 404 students drawn from over a dozen colleges located in various parts of India. She found little evidence of change orientation among her respondents. Further, it is observed that college education is ineffective in changing the values and attitudes of students as they are mainly concerned with certificates, degrees and employment. Shah (1964:192) in his study, "Social Change and College Students of Gujarat", reported that "College
students are by and large still under the influence of traditional values in the areas such as caste-endogamy, joint family, and gainful employment of married women."

The contribution in this field by Gore et al.'s work (1970;584) indicates the second phase of research in education and modernization. They conclude that "the state, sex and educational level of the respondents were all important variables in determining the modernity of student sample".

Bhatnagar (1972) studied adult males in three villages and concluded that the educated persons have more modern attitudes than the uneducated ones. He further highlighted the role of education in the process of social change in some rural communities of Northern India. Malik and Marquette (1974;805) studied the college students in Punjab, and they concluded that education was an agent of attitudinal change. To quote them "... an overwhelming majority of Punjab youth favours the abolition of such traditional institutions as caste and untouchability and strongly approves of a general revolution in India".

Sethi (1968) in her study on "Attitude of Educated Working Women in Modernizing Societies of India..."
and Turkey - A Case Study of Chandigarh and Ankara" highlights the impact of modernization on the attitudes of women in two developing countries - India and Turkey. Damle (1966) in his study "College Youth in Poona" emphasized on the process of "individuation" (Modernization) as a result of education and has observed some positive evidence to that effect. However, his study can not be generalized as it is based on a special sample of 26 academically and intellectually gifted students.

Sharma (1979:74) has analysed the role of University Education in student modernity. Basing his study on the interview of 770 students on the Panjab University Campus, Chandigarh, he concludes that there is a trend of negative association between the level of education and modernity. Raghuvanshi (1980), through his findings on 326 male Rajput youths (18-20 year old) from three villages in western Uttar Pradesh, suggests that "formal education is the most powerful determinant in making the rural youth modern, independently of other alternative modernizing forces". Jindal (1981) has also analysed the role of education in modernity. After interviewing 1314 students on the rolls of VIII, IX and X classes in three schools of Hisar district in the state of Haryana, he concludes that school
going male adolescents are significantly more modern than the non-school going male adolescents. He also concluded that the students of the urban school are more modern than students of the rural schools. He further found that level of education is positively related to the students modernity in all the three schools, irrespective of the setting (rural or urban).

Sharma (1984) in his study "Schooling and Modernity in Hills" has found that school-education promotes modernity and school-going children are more modern than non-school-going children. He further found that level of schooling was positively associated with student modernity. Rabea (1986) in her thesis, "Education and Modernization: A Comparative Study of Two Villages of Bangladesh", has found that education is directly or indirectly responsible for the change of traditional village towards modernization. This study shows that education is a promoter of modernity. The social structural elements as well as the attitudes and behaviour patterns of people are affected by education. She has also found that the school-going students are significantly more modern than the non-school-going students and the school has been found as a powerful predictor of student modernity. The findings of her study also indicate that education up to secondary stage significantly influences the student modernity.
Some variance is observed in the findings of the available studies and it is difficult to arrive at the consistence conclusion. Some scholars report that college students are, by and large, still under the influence of traditional values (Cormack, 1981; Shah, 1964), while others advance evidence of modern responses (Damle, 1966; Gore, Desai and Chitnis, 1970; Malik and Marquette, 1974). There are still others who conclude that "the college serve primarily to reinforce rather than to change the beliefs of the students" (Sullivan, 1968).

We do not have any systematic empirical evidence to show the modernizing effects of higher education on people. A critical look at all the Indian studies would reveal that these lack conceptual clarity, methodological vigour and proper operationalization.

However, studies conducted in the fields of education and modernization both outside India and within India have brought out with the exception of a few, that there is a direct and positive role of education in bringing about modernization. Reviewing the existing literature on education and modernization, it becomes quite clear that most of the researchers have been pre-occupied with an answer for the conventional question, that is, whether education promotes
or hinders modernization. Consequently, the radical school of thought has rejected the education-modernity thesis whereas the functionalist school has supported it, maintaining, on the basis of empirical findings, that education modernizes people.

7. Objectives of the Study:

Keeping in view the problem of the study, the present study aims at the following objectives:

1. To analyse the demographic, socio-cultural and economic background of the rural youth.

2. To analyse the extent to which the attitudes of the rural youth have changed from traditional to modern types.

3. To examine the modernizing effects of education on some aspects of traditional rural social structure such as family structure, marriage pattern, status of women, caste and occupational patterns, religious sanctity, leadership structure and developmental aspects.

8. Hypothesis of the Study:

Earlier, in the traditional Indian social structure, the youth had a dormant role to play. The kind of values and beliefs which were prevalent in the society ensured that the elder members in the family should play a pivotal role in the
family system. The elders constituted the core of the authority structure and the youth had a subservient position. In the traditional joint family structure, most of the decisions were made either by the head or any other elder member of the family. All the important decisions of life such as education, marriage and so on, in respect of a younger person were made by the elders and he or she had hardly any say in these matters. Respect for elders had become so sacrosanct that it was considered sinful to go against the wishes of the elders. Therefore, it is quite evident that in the traditional social set-up, the youth had hardly any significant role to play.

But today, the situation has changed and is further changing very fast. The last few decades have witnessed a series of profound changes in the Indian society as a result of increased industrialization, urbanization and other facets of modernization. These changes which have occurred at technological, cultural and social levels, have provided new opportunities and have established new conditions of life. For example, joint families are disintegrating and there is a lessened importance of primary ties, people are migrating to urban areas in search of better job opportunities and better standard of life. There is a wide diversity in occupations and an increase in the geographical and social mobility in the society. With a change in the family structure, the role of the individual member in the family has
also changed. In pre-industrial societies and during the early years of industrialization, status was largely ascribed. Youth usually adopted their parents' occupational roles. Today fewer and fewer children follow in their parents' footsteps, when choosing an occupation. More and more individualistic attitudes are being cultivated and now the youth have started assuming a more important role in the society. Thus, the entire social system is undergoing a tremendous change and in this new set-up, education is playing an important role.

A more specialized kind of knowledge is required to suit the demands made upon the individuals by this new evolving system. It is important to observe that a conflicting situation may arise within an individual, due to lack of adequate knowledge about an issue or a problem. This may result in cognitive dissonance and subsequently may bring structural inconsistency in the role of an individual due to gap in the expected and performed role. Therefore, one of the major functions of education is to enable an individual to acquire correct knowledge and understanding of the problems and develop appropriate attitudes so that he or she can take right decisions for himself or herself. The different set of roles, makes demand on younger persons to contribute towards the integrative functioning of the system of which they constitute an important part. As individuals,
they have to be adequately trained to perform different set of roles expected of them in response to differential societal needs.

With a greater exposure to education, certain aspects of traditional village social structure such as family structure, marriage pattern, status of women, caste and occupation patterns, religious sanctity, leadership structure and developmental aspects are getting affected.

In view of the fact that our society is still largely influenced by traditional values and norms, education remains the approach road to modernity. The joint family system in the villages is loosening its grip and nuclear families are taking its place. The institution of marriage has also been experiencing a change. There have been instances of inter-caste marriages. There is a change in the status of women. The impact of urbanization and also the Governmental efforts to raise the status of the lower castes have weakened the 'Jajmani' system. The rural economic system has also undergone a change. The educated rural youth are taking up jobs in cities. Due to diversification of occupations, people have migrated to urban areas. The people in the rural areas are being provided with better transport and communication facilities. Due to the use of modern technology in agriculture, the rate of production has also considerably increased. Educated rural people have successfully sought employment in the cities. Our village
communities are quite politically conscious. Panchayat system in the villages have added to their political knowledge. With the accumulation of wealth and education, many changes are being observed in the outlook, opinions, attitudes, values and value-orientations of the rural youth. Education has played a vital role in promoting this attitudinal modernity among the rural youth.

On the basis of the above discussion, we may formulate some of the following general hypothesis related to this study:

1. Educated as compared to uneducated rural youth, may tend to give less importance to joint family set-up, marriage rituals and ceremonies, dowry system and practice of child marriage.

2. Educated as compared to uneducated rural youth, may give more importance to higher age at marriage for boys and girls, inter-caste marriage, divorce, widow-remarriage and family planning practices.

3. Educated as compared to uneducated rural youth, may give preference to higher education, employment of, and modern occupations for girls.

4. Educated as compared to uneducated rural youth, may tend to give less importance to religious sanctity, caste system, practice of untouchability and traditional occupational patterns.
5. Educated as compared to uneducated rural youth may take more active part in political and developmental activities of the village communities, and may prefer to adopt modern technology in agricultural and horticultural operations.

6. Educated as compared to uneducated rural youth, may tend to have more modern than traditional types of attitudes towards various aspects of social life.

7. Rural youth with a high modernity score level, as compared to those with a low modernity score level, may tend to give less importance to:
   a) Joint family set-up;
   b) Marriage rituals and ceremonies;
   c) Religious sanctity; and
   d) Caste system.

They (youth with a high modernity score level) may:
   a) give preference to higher education of, and modern occupations for girls;
   b) tend to take more active part in political and developmental activities of the village communities; and
   c) prefer to adopt modern technology in agricultural and horticultural operations.
9. **Methodology:**

As stated above, the problem of present study is to delineate the impact of education on the attitudes, opinions, values, and value orientations of rural youth towards various aspects of social life in the Himachal Pradesh. This section deals with the description of the procedure regarding collection of data for the present study.

a) **Research Design:**

A design of enquiry is an insurance against failure in research, and a descriptive research necessitates a proper conceptualisation of problem, location of the phenomenon, and the presentation of the procedures (Hyman, 1960:92-172). The problem of conceptualisation has been dealt above in the present chapter. The remaining two aspects of the descriptive research design have been discussed in the following pages.

The present study is descriptive and is based on comparative analysis of educated and uneducated rural youth in Himachal Pradesh. It is descriptive in the sense that it deals with education (independent variable) and its impact on attitudes, opinions, values, and value orientations of youth towards various aspects of social life (dependent variables). The principal research question of the study is whether or not, education, promotes structural and attitudinal modernity. The study is aimed at assessing the impact of
education on the attitudes, opinions, values, and value-orientations of rural youth.

b) Area of Study:

After finalising the research problem, the first task was to select an area of study for field investigations. Keeping in view the objectives of the study, it may be in the fitness of the research problem to look up for the setting where the role of education could be assessed as a modernizing agent. Himachal Pradesh is a hilly state, where the impact of education on attitudes, opinions, values, and value orientations of youth may not be observed uniformly due to different topographical and geographical settings.

The reasons for selection of Himachal Pradesh as the area of study, are twofold: First, the researcher being himself a resident of Himachal Pradesh, is advantageously placed in a position to effectively communicate in the language spoken in this area. Second, no substantial study exclusively on the impact of education on the attitudes, values, value-orientations of the youth of this area, has been attempted before. Most of the rural areas of this State are safely out of urban and industrial influences. The outlook, attitudes, opinions, values, value-orientations of rural youth having educational institutions in their respective areas will be different from those inhabiting areas having no educational institutions. A rural area where the role of
education could be assessed independent of other modernizing agents may be more appropriate for the study purposes. However, the geographical and topographical setting of this region may make it difficult to study the whole area with limited time and resources at the disposal of the researcher. As such, an area which included one Panchayat namely Sarain of Pargana Hambal in the remote area of Chopal tehsil of Shimla district in the Himachal Pradesh was chosen for the study purposes while keeping the following criteria in view:

i. The area selected should be relatively away from the urban and industrial influences.

ii. It should be culturally homogeneous, with a sizable population and should be easily approachable.

iii. Minimum facilities of communication and transportation should exist.

iv. Mass-media exposure should be low to make any substantial impact on people.

v. The selected area should have educational facilities in the area.

This setting provided a suitable design of research whereby one could delineate the impact of education on changing the attitudes of rural youth towards modernity. The village communities selected are about 130 kms away from Shimla, the
State Capital of Himachal Pradesh.

c) **Universe of the Study:**

The universe of the present study is 576 youth (both male and female) in the age group of 15-24 years.

d) **Unit of Investigation:**

The unit of investigation for the present study is the youth in the age group of 15-24 years. The United Nations' Statistics on Children and Youth (1968) has defined the youth in terms of those persons who are in the age group of 15-24 years (as quoted by Shingi, et al., 1980:3). Therefore, this particular age group is taken as a unit of investigation. Numerically speaking, this group is predominant in these village communities. Because of varying socio-economic background including educational status, one is likely to include in the sample a cross section of the youth from these communities. The youth in this age group are likely to provide better information about various aspects covered in the research design of the study as they are better informed than the youth below 14 years of age. This age group was selected mainly for two reasons: First, the effect of education could be observed more among the educated youth in this age group while comparing them with the uneducated youth. Secondly, it helped in keeping the sample size manageable.

e) **Sample Design:**

As soon as the area of study was selected, the next step was to have a representative sample in an objective
manner. To reduce bias and introduce accuracy to the measurements in research, it is necessary to make use of a proper sampling method. It was decided to follow a proportionate stratified random sample procedure in the selection of sample. The main stratifying variable employed was educational level of the youth. For selecting such a random sample, it was necessary to have a proper sampling frame, that is, list of units selected from the total population of the study area. Therefore, a list of the youth in the age group of 15-24 years from the area under study was prepared by doing a preliminary door to door survey. A complete list of youth (both male and female) in the age group of 15-24 years with their educational levels in this area was, thus, obtained. The total number of youth in this age group at the time of the survey came out to be 576. This provided the sampling frame. This total sample, irrespective of sex of the youth was stratified into two groups, that of educated and uneducated youth. In the educated group, we included all those youth who could read and write and had attended some educational institution(s). In the uneducated group, we included all those youth who could not even read and write and had never attended any schools. Education-wise, there were 334 educated youth and 242 uneducated youth. To keep the sample size manageable, it was decided to select 50 per cent youth from each of these two groups, proportionate to their size, randomly with the help of random number table. Thus, the final sample comprised
of 288 youth, out of which 167 were educated and 121 were uneducated.

f) **Tools and Techniques of Data Collection:**

The data have been collected from primary as well as from secondary sources. The primary source consists of interviewing 288 respondents with the help of an interview schedule. In order to ensure a proper understanding of all the questions and to gain a proper insight into the beliefs, attitudes, opinions, perceptions, values, value-orientations of the respondents, it was considered desirable to make use of an interview schedule. Before launching field work, a preliminary survey was made to collect information on the crucial areas of the present study to know the different aspects of the research problem. After collecting the necessary information, and a careful review of available literature, a structured interview schedule was designed to carry out the pretesting. The interview schedule was pretested in an neighbouring area other than the selected one. After the pretesting of the interview schedule, the necessary changes and modifications were made therein for its finalization and actual administration in the field. Further, in order to keep the uniformity of the data collection, the researcher himself did all the interviews.

The interview schedule (Appendix II) included questions on the various aspects, such as personal characteristics of the
respondents, family composition, housing, exposure to urban living, exposure to mass media, landownership status. It also included questions on social attitudes and values of youth towards marriage and family, status of women, influence of religion, caste and occupation, political and development activities. Further, two general sets of factors pertaining to traditional-modern dimensions of modernity were also included in the interview schedule and the respondents were asked to rate these on their degree of agreement or disagreement. Each factor is assigned the weightage of 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 in that order, to the expression, 'Strongly Agree'; 'Agree'; 'Neither Agree Nor Disagree'; 'Disagree'; and 'Strongly Disagree', respectively. A mean score is worked out for each of the factor rated and ranked to see the relative importance of these factors for the youth in these village communities.

Both open-ended and close-ended questions were included in the interview schedule. Rating scales were also used and multiple choice responses were sought for some questions. In order to avoid any forcing upon the respondents, an attempt was made to include a large number of open-ended questions. In the area about which information was likely to be known, close-ended questions were included. The interview schedule was put to the respondents in their spoken language i.e. 'Hindi' and 'Pahari'.

*Pahari* is a local dialect or language spoken in the area.
The secondary source was of great importance in the study. It included Gazetteers, Census Reports, Statistical information, Panchayat records, Revenue records, and some articles and books written on Himachal Pradesh. Besides the interview schedule and secondary sources of data collection, another technique of data collection was utilized, namely observation. Both participant and non-participant observations were made to have a close view on various aspects of social life in the village communities to supplement the data collected through the interview schedule. Non-participant type of observation was mainly employed as it was not possible to participate in the group activities of the village communities due to lack of time at the disposal of the researcher. Usually it was possible to observe the ways of life of the people in the village communities during the course of interviewing the respondents. Some knowledge was also gained by being participant in group activities like religious festivals and fairs, marriage ceremonies and social gatherings. To know adequately about the research problem, more information was collected from the prominent and old men of the area, who gave information about the social structure and social life of the village communities (culture, customs, norms, and value system) as well as development and political activities of the area.
g) Collection of Data:

After finalising the tools of investigation, the field work was started in the month of April 1987, and the survey was completed by the end of September 1987. Thus, data were collected over a period of 6 months through interview schedules, secondary sources and also through participant and non-participant observations.

Before interviewing the respondents, the purpose of the study was explained to them, so that correct and reliable information could be obtained without any suspicion. They were fully assured of anonymity and of the confidentiality of the information. They were requested to give specific time according to their convenience for personal interview. To facilitate a correct information of each question, Hindi and Pahari languages were used as medium of interview. All the responses were carefully recorded. The questions in the interview schedule were read out slowly and clearly to obtain correct responses. All the sampled cases were personally contacted. They were interviewed either in their houses or outside the houses wherever found available, each with a prior appointment. Each interview took more than an hour to fill up a single schedule. An atmosphere of privacy was maintained between the respondent and the researcher in order to obtain the desired rapport during the interview. The majority of the respondents, barring a few, showed a keen interest in the interview and were very co-operative.
h) **Difficulties during Data Collection:**

To contact the respondents, was really a very tedious exercise. Besides travelling on foot to approach the desired respondents inhabiting the distant villages in the foot hills of Himalaya, some respondents had to be contacted at the places of their work — in forests and at the road sites. Along with these, another interesting problem in the process of data collection was faced. The people were suspicious of the researcher and took him to be an official either from enforcement department, enquiring about illicit felling of trees or from the bank, in search of loan defaulters. The respondents were initially reluctant to give information in many cases but with the help of the Panchayat members, elder men and the local educated youth, the respondents in particular and people in general were finally convinced of the motives and intentions of the study, making them believe that the interview had nothing to do with these departments. They were assured that the information sought will be kept strictly confidential and will be used only for the study purpose. Hence, a lot of time was consumed in convincing the people.

i) **Coding and Tabulation:**

After data collection was over, the data were subjected to statistical operation starting from coding, scoring, tabulation, to the writing of the report. All the information was first compressed into meaningful and manageable categories and these categories were then assigned
codes systematically. Thus, a comprehensive code design was prepared. All the relevant information from the interview schedule was coded carefully and transferred to the sheets. In order to make scattered data intelligible, the necessary tables were prepared manually.

j) **Statistical Analysis**

Some statistical tests have been used in this study, according to the nature and requirement of data. Some of the major statistical techniques utilized, include the arithmetic mean, the median, ranking and rating techniques, simple ratio, and percentages have been employed. For noting down the significance of difference between the two groups 't' test and 'chi-square test' ($X^2$) are applied. The confidence limit for testing the hypothesis and the level of significance of the error of estimate are set at 95% and 5% (i.e. .05), respectively. The figures in the brackets or parenthesis indicate the percentages or the number of respondents as mentioned.

10. **Index of Modernity**

An attempt has also been made to prepare a modernity index (Appendix I). It comprises eleven different statements and it is assumed that each of these statements contributes equally towards the modernity level.
11. **Limitations of the Study**

Some of the main limitations of the study are as follows:

i. The data were obtained through a subjective reporting method. All the intrinsic limitations of this method, therefore, would be valid for this study as well (Seltize, 1962:237-238; Festinger, 1953:330-331). Moreover, in many ways, the rural communities under study may not be fully representative of the population of rural Himachal Pradesh. As such, generalisations in regard to attitudinal dimensions of modernity among rural youth in Himachal Pradesh would not be entirely valid. Thus, it is necessary to test the validity of the present findings in other social structure and geographical areas, before we can deduce further generalization in regard to the study of the rural youth.

Education is one of the most important factors which have a bearing on the thought-patterns and the personality structure of individuals. It is an agent of modernization. It has, therefore, been assumed that education has accelerated the process of modernization and change in the rural communities.

ii. The selection of the area for study had to be purposive, keeping in view the problem and the nature of the study.

iii. The study is correlational in nature. The results, therefore, cannot be taken as evidence of causal
relationship between independent variable and dependent variables.

iv. Although, it would have been desirable to include in the study design, all the youth, yet keeping in view the time constraint and limited resources at the disposal of the researcher only a sample of them was selected. This itself, is a main limitation of the study.

v. The selection of Himachal Pradesh as a locale for research work was mainly motivated by the researcher himself being a resident of the State. This was done so, because of the possibility of easy establishment of rapport in the area under study.

vi. Although it would have been desirable to analyse the data of the rural youth sex-wise, yet to make the data sizable for meaningful results, the sample of the data have not been analysed sex-wise. This may be one of the limitations in ascertaining the attitude of the rural youth towards modernity on sex-basis.
Villages under study area

1. Kiri Shilan
2. Sarain
3. Sarai
4. Guru
5. Kanda
6. Morang
7. Morag
8. Ghina
9. Pujari
10. Bhatna
11. Mashtiwna
12. Bhod-Dhokna
13. Shawala
14. Chiuna
15. Lingzar

MAP OF TEHSIL CHOPAL
LOCATION OF STUDY AREA