CHAPTER-10

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter the conclusions of this piece of research are summarised. The chapter is divided into three parts, 10.1 - Major Findings, 10.2 - Implications; and 10.3 - Suggestions for Further Research.

10.1 MAJOR FINDINGS

Major findings of this research work have further been sub-divided into three sections viz. 10.1.1 Educational Mobility; 10.1.2 Occupational Mobility and 10.1.3 Income Mobility.

10.1.1 Educational Mobility:

In both Haflong and Umrangso towns, participation of females in higher education is greater than that of their male counterparts, although the male literacy rate is a little higher than that of the female in both the towns. However, in professional graduation the males dominate over the females. Females do not have a disadvantage in access to any stage of general education including graduation, post-graduation and research but they seem to have a disadvantage as far as professional education is concerned. This is in line with the tribals giving an equal status to their females, if not higher than their male counterparts. The reason for females’ disadvantage in professional education appears to be the lack of facilities
for such education in the district and parents' unwillingness to send their daughters outside for education.

Regarding intergenerational educational mobility through three generations this study reveals that in Haflong town the extent of educational fathers - respondents generations (83%) is much greater than between grandfathers - father generations (68%). Again while the extent of upward educational mobility in the former is very high (71%) than the latter (65%), the downward mobility is about 4 times more in this generation (11%) than the earlier generation (3%). However, fewer people are stationary (17%) in this generation than the generation (32%) preceding it. This indicates that educationally the society in this town is becoming more democratic and open through successive generations. The higher rates of upward educational mobility can also be attributed to the gradual expansion of educational facilities especially for higher education from grandfathers' generations through fathers' generations' to the respondents' generations.

A similar trend of educational mobility is found in Umrangso town although the proportions of upward and downward mobility slightly differ between the two towns.

However while comparing the rate of mobility between males and females, it is observed that larger proportion of females are educationally stationary than their male counterparts. Downward educational mobility is greater among the females than males and upward educational mobility is lower among the females. Thus gender appears to affect educational attainments of a person and the balance is tilted in favour of males. This can be due to several reasons. For instance when a poor family has to make a
choice between sending a son or a daughter for higher education, a son is almost always preferred. Again daughters on an average are married off at an earlier age compared to that of sons. And many parents still hesitate sending their daughters away from home for higher education.

Moreover the extent of mobility between grandfathers - respondents generations shows that between these two generations, the total educational mobility lies somewhere between 90% and 92%, which implies that throughout these three generations the demand for education has gone up in both the towns of the North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district.

The study also reveals that among the determinants or background variables of educational attainments, religion does not have much effect on a person’s educational attainments up to school level but higher education is dominated by Christians 38%, followed by Hindus 34%, while Muslims have a restricted access to it as only 24% of them have attained a graduation in liberal arts and above. While the Christian and Hindu women have greater access to higher education than men, Muslim women are completely excluded from higher education. Professional education is dominated by men irrespective of religion. In Umrangso, the picture is different from Haflong where, higher education is dominated by Muslims 40% followed by Christians 33% but only 24% of the Hindus have attained a graduation in liberal arts and above. However, among the Christians women have greater access to higher education than men but in case of professional education men have absolute monopoly over women irrespective of religion except the Muslims who do not have access to professional education at all.
A person’s social category and caste have affected her/his educational attainments. Thus, the study reveals that the OBCs have the highest percentage of literacy (97%), followed by the STs (91%), the GEN (88%), and the SCs (84%). About 16 percent of the SCs have 8 years of education followed by the GEN (14%), the OBCs (11%) and the STs (9%). In the field of Higher Education the GEN (41%) dominates over the STs (36%), the OBCs (34%) and the SCs (18% only), which implies that the SCs have the least access to higher education among all the social categories and caste groups despite the provision of reservation for them. It is the females who predominate in liberal arts higher education but in professional higher education it is the males who dominate. Sex-wise break-up shows that females in the GEN caste group predominate in higher education and the ST males predominate in professional education compared to other groups and categories. In general the SCs of both the sexes and the OBC females are the most disadvantaged in access to professional education. In Umranjso, the GEN and the OBCs have the highest percentage of literacy (94%) each, followed by the SCs (91%) and the STs (89%). About 39 percent of the SCs have 8 years of by the OBCs (35%), the GEN (20%) and the STs (13%). In the field of Higher Education the GEN and the STs have equal access i.e., about 29% followed by the OBCs (26%) and the SCs (9%) which implies that in the urban areas of this district the SCs have the least access to higher education among all the social categories and caste groups despite the provision of reservation for them. However they have the highest proportion in the attainment of at least 8 years of elementary education. It is the females who dominate in liberal arts higher education except among the OBCs and the SCs but in professional higher education it is the males who only have the access. Sex-wise break-up also shows that females in both the
GEN category and the STs dominate in higher education and the ST males dominated in professional education compared to other groups and categories. The SC women in general are most disadvantaged in access to professional education.

It has also been found that among the different religious communities the Christian males predominate in professional education over others irrespective of gender. Incidentally, these Christians are also tribals. Thus one can infer that this situation is true of Christian tribals and not of Hindu tribals. However, in Umrangso, both the Hindu and the Christian tribals have fairly a good amount of access to professional education and for the Hindu tribals it is a little higher than that of their Christian counterparts.

In Haflong Town, fathers’ education affects respondents’ (children’s) educational attainments to a smaller extent as only about 17% children are stationary having the same level of education as their fathers. However, sex-wise comparison reveals that while only 16% males (sons) are stationary in case of females (daughters) the extent of stationariness is 19%. This implies that father’s education has greater effect on daughter’s educational attainments than that of sons.

In Umrangso town similar results are found. Only 14% persons (children) are educationally stationary. Sex-wise comparison also reveals that only 12% males (sons) are stationary whereas in case of females (daughters) the extent of stationariness is 15%. Thus, it implies that father’s education has greater effect on daughters’ educational attainments than that of sons’ although the effect of father’s educational attainment as a
determinant is not a very significant one in either of the towns irrespective of sex.

As a determinant grandfathers’ educational attainments have a little effect on a person’s (grandchild) educational attainments as only 8% grandchildren in Haflong and 10% of their counterparts in Umrangso are found stationary having the same level of education as their grandfathers. This implies that grandfathers’ educational attainments have very little effect on grandchildren’s (respondents) educational attainments.

An analysis of the path model for the data shows that in Haflong town father’s educational and occupational attainments and quality of the person’s own schooling are the most significant determinants of a person’s educational attainments, while in case of Umrangso memberships of caste and social category are also important in addition to Fathers education, however in this case father’s occupation is not as not as important as in the former town. While in the case of Haflong, size of a person’s family of origin also influences her/his educational attainment in Umrangso this factor has no influence. It may also be noted that the extent of effect each determinant is different for males and female. Thus the extent of influence of the determinants is a function of gender and place of residence also.

10.1.2. Occupational Mobility

In Haflong town the proportion of males and females employed in manual and non-manual occupations is almost same while in the case of Umrangso town the non-manual occupations are dominated by males and females are mainly employed in manual work. The reasons for this appear to be the fact that Haflong town being the headquarters of the District more
job opportunities are available in the government offices and educational institutions etc., where men and women have equal opportunities while Umrangso being an industrial town opportunities for professionally qualified individuals are greater than those with general education and because of this, as has been said earlier, men dominate the scene of professional education, and get employed at the higher rungs of the industrial jobs, while women are left with only a few jobs in government offices or in teaching as a result majority of them are employed in manual work.

Comparing intergenerational occupational mobility between grandfathers - fathers generations with that between fathers - respondents generations, the study reveals that in Haflong town the extent of downward mobility has decreased from grandfathers-fathers generations (7%) to fathers-respondents (children) generations (4%), upward mobility has increased from 23% to 33%. However the inheritance of occupational statuses has declined from 70% to 63%. In Umrangso town, the similar rate of occupational mobility is observed although the proportions slightly differ from Haflong town. However, the extent of inheritance continues to be very large in both the towns. The only difference between the two towns is that in Umrangso the downward mobility has increased from grandfathers – fathers to fathers – respondents generations whereas in Haflong the downward mobility has decreased through three generations which implies that Umrangso, being an industrial town, the mobility across manual - no-manual line and vice versa is less restricted i.e. the social system in Umrangso is more open one than that in Haflong town.
Sex-wise comparison of occupational mobility reveals that in Haflong town occupational inheritance from father to offspring is greater (68%) among the females than the males (60%). In Umrangso too, the proportion of occupational stationariness of female respondents (66%) is greater than that of their male counterparts (58%). In Haflong the rates of both upward and downward mobility are lower in the females than that of their male counterparts whereas in Umrangso downward occupational mobility is almost equal in both sexes though upward occupational mobility is greater in case of males. Thus in both the towns gender appears to have a significant effect upon occupational attainments of a person. A comparison of sex-wise rates of occupational mobility between the two towns shows that inheritance of occupational status is greater among females than males in both the towns. However in Haflong while the rates of downward and upward occupational mobility are lower in females than males in the case of Umrangso town the extent of upward mobility is a bit greater among the males than the females. This may perhaps be attributed to the fact that Haflong being the district headquarters may be providing greater opportunities than Umrangso.

The findings stated above indicate that the economy of both towns has gradually been shifting from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors and as a result more and more people are being employed in secondary and tertiary sectors. This indicates that changes in mobility rates are more due to the changes in occupational structure rather than democratisation of the society.

The study also reveals that among the determinants or background variables affecting occupational attainments, religion has considerable effect
on a person’s occupational attainments. In Haflong, it has been found that the Muslims have the largest proportion (59%) in manual occupations, followed by the Christians (30%), minor religious communities (27%) and the Hindus (24%) implying clearly that the Hindus dominate over the others in non-manual occupations. The proportions of the Muslims in non-manual occupations are higher in grade-IV employment (15%), followed by retail business (11%) which imply that Muslims have the greatest disadvantage in access to non-manual occupations. Sex-wise break-up of data shows that almost 60% Muslim women are engaged in manual occupations whereas the Hindu women have the lowest (25%) representation in this occupational category. On the contrary, Hindu women have dominated (75%) in non-manual occupation closely followed by the Christian women (73%). However, Hindu males (77%) clearly have dominated in non-manual occupation and the proportion is slightly higher than their female counterparts. Thus, it has been observed that Muslims irrespective of sex have the greatest disadvantage in access to non-manual occupations. In their case whatever access they have to non-manual occupations, it is mainly at the lowest level viz. grade-IV employment.

Whereas in Umrangso, in manual occupations, the Muslims have the largest proportion (60%), followed by the Hindus (30%) and the Christians (21%) implying that the Christians have the clear domination in non-manual occupations over the others. However in Haflong Hindus have clear domination in non-manual occupations. The total proportion of the Muslims in non-manual occupations is 40%, 20% each in retail business and as well as in professional jobs. This shows that in both the towns Muslims have greatest disadvantage in access to non-manual occupations.
Inter-town comparison of data reveals that, Muslims have the greatest disadvantage in access to non-manual occupations irrespective of sex in both the towns. The persons from two dominant religions viz. the Christians and the Hindus have a great access to non-manual occupations. A fairly good proportion of women from both these religions are found in non-manual occupations though the proportion is relatively higher in school teaching jobs. In Haflong Hindu women (75%) have higher proportion in non-manual occupations than Christian women (73%) although a reverse picture is found in Umrangso where Christian women (82%) have a clear domination over Hindu women (53%) in the aforementioned occupational category.

Social category and caste are two important determinants of a person’s occupational attainment. In Haflong the SCs constituted the largest proportion (38%) in manual occupations, followed by the OBCs (37%), the GEN (29%) and the STs (24%) which imply that the tribal communities of this town dominated in non-manual occupations. Except the STs, the proportion of the females in manual occupations is higher than that of their male counterparts. The proportions of the STs are significantly high in school teaching (29%), clerical jobs (18%) and professional jobs (9%) and even in administrative jobs (3%) and large business (4%). The STs has overall a good representation. On the other hand the GEN and the OBCs has an equal proportion (17%) in retail business although the former has a good proportion in school teaching (19%) and in large business (7%). Compared to the other groups, the OBCs has the highest proportion in administrative jobs (4%) and a moderate proportion in school teaching (17%) and on the other hand the representation of the SCs in grade-IV
employment (13%) is higher than that of the other groups. Among the non-manual occupations the proportion of females in school teaching is significantly higher than that of their male counterparts across the social category and caste lines.

In Umrangso, on the other hand, the SCs have constituted the largest proportion (73%) in manual occupations, followed by the GEN (26%), the OBCs (25%) and the STs (22%) which imply that the tribal communities of this town dominated in non-manual occupations. The proportion of the females in manual occupations is higher than that of their male counterparts in all social categories and caste groups. The proportions of the STs are significantly high in school teaching (34%), grade-IV employment (16%) and they have a moderate representation in clerical jobs (10%), professional jobs (8%) and even in administrative jobs (4%). Both the GEN and the OBCs have equal proportion (6%) in administrative jobs although the former has a good proportion in retail business (25%), school teaching (15%) and clerical jobs (11%). Compared to the other groups, the OBCs have the highest proportion in large business (6%) and have a moderate presence in school teaching (19%) and equal proportions in retail business and grade-IV employment (16%) each, on the other hand the representation of the SCs in retail business is (14%), grade-IV employment (9%) and administrative jobs (5%). Among the non-manual occupations the proportion of females in school teaching is significantly higher than that of their male counterparts irrespective of social categories and caste.

Thus it can be inferred that in both the towns the overall representation of the tribal population is higher in government services and district administration among all the categories and caste groups and the
other categories dominated mostly in retail and petty business. The reason behind this fact is that the district is a schedule area declared by the Government of India for the protection of the rights of the indigenous people, most specifically the rights of scheduled tribes. Scheduled Castes have the greatest disadvantage in this respect.

Education is one of the strong determinants of a person’s occupational attainment. In Haflong it has been found that all those with educational attainments of professional graduation and post-graduation and research degrees are employed only in non-manual occupations with a few exceptions of professional graduates and a few post-high school and post-higher secondary vocational diploma holders employed in skilled labour. Among those with educational attainment up to graduation in liberal arts it is found that with higher educational attainment, the proportion of being employed in manual occupations declines. On the other hand about 83 percent of the illiterate persons are employed in manual occupations only and remaining 17 percent are employed in the lowest rungs of the non-manual occupational hierarchy. Sex-wise break-up shows that about 81 percent of the illiterate men are employed in manual occupations and in case of women the percentage is even higher (86%). On the other hand in Umrangso, about 64 percent of the illiterate persons are employed in manual occupations and remaining 36 percent are employed in the lowest rungs of the non-manual occupational hierarchy. However the percentage of illiterate women (88%) employed in manual occupations is much higher than that of their men counterparts (50%).
In short, in both the towns higher educational attainments considerably improve the chances of a person getting employed in non-manual occupations especially at the higher rungs.

Thus it can safely be inferred that education is one of the important factors in employment market and most importantly it enhances the chances of entering into non-manual occupations.

Fathers’ educational attainments have also strongly determined children’s occupational attainments. In Haflong, it has been observed those 50% children of illiterate fathers get employed in manual occupations and 37% children of those fathers who have less than a high school education are employed in manual occupations. On the contrary, only 13% children of those fathers who have at least high school education get employed in manual occupations. Whereas in Umrangso, 45% children of illiterate fathers get employed in manual occupations and 33% children of those fathers who have less than a high school education are employed in such occupations. 16% children of fathers who have acquired, at least, a high school education also get employed in manual occupations. Thus, in both the towns except for a few instances, higher the educational attainments of the fathers greater the chances of the children getting employed in non-manual occupations.

Therefore it can safely be inferred that the children of fathers with higher levels of education generally get employed in non-manual occupations implying that father’s educational attainment is an important determinant of a child’s occupational mobility.

Grandfathers’ educational attainments too have a considerable influence on grandchildren’s occupational attainments. In Haflong, 28%
grandchildren of those grandfathers who have an education of less than a high school are employed in manual occupations and remaining 72% grandchildren are employed in non-manual occupations. On the other hand, 82% grandchildren of those grandfathers who have high school education and above are employed in non-manual occupations and only 18% grandchildren are employed in manual occupations. In Umangso similar results are obtained. 29% grandchildren of those grandfathers who have an education of less than high school are employed in manual occupations and remaining 71% grandchildren are employed in non-manual occupations. On the other hand, 71% grandchildren of those grandfathers who have a high school education and above are employed in non-manual occupations and only 29% grandchildren are employed in manual occupations. Thus with the increasing levels of education of the grandfathers there is a greater opportunity for their grandchildren to be employed in non-manual occupations. Moreover economic transformation in both the towns, however slow in progress, from primary sector to secondary and tertiary sectors has paved the way for the persons to get employment in non-manual occupations.

Fathers’ occupational attainments have much higher effect on daughters’ occupational attainments than on sons’. In Haflong almost 63% children are found occupationally stationary i.e., they have the same occupational statuses (manual or non-manual) as their fathers’. On the other hand, in Umangso, about 60% children are found occupationally stationary i.e., they have the same occupational statuses (manual or non-manual) as their fathers’. This implies that father’s occupation is a strong determinant of a child’s occupational attainment. However in case of sons
the proportion of stationariness is almost 60% (58% in Umrangso) and in case of daughters it is almost 68% (66% in Umrangso). This further implies that fathers’ occupational attainments have much greater effect on daughters’ occupational attainments than that of sons’.

Grandfathers’ occupation is also a strong determinant of grandchildren’s occupational attainments. In Haflong, almost 49% grandchildren are found occupationally vis-a-vis their grandfathers, i.e., they have the same occupational statuses (manual or non-manual) as their grandfathers’. In Umrangso, almost 40% grandchildren are found occupationally stationary i.e., they have the same occupational statuses (manual or non-manual) as their grandfathers’. This implies that grandfather’s occupation is also a strong determinant of a grandchild’s occupational attainment.

A path model analysis shows that in Halflong a person’s first job is the most significant determinant of his/her occupational attainments followed by her/his educational attainments, father’s education, quality of her/his schooling and membership of a social category. The pattern of influence of the various determinants is similar in Umrangso, but caste, social category and religion seem to exert greater influence in this town than in Haflong. As in the case of educational attainments the influence of different factors is different for males and females.

Thus it appears that a person’s occupational status depends largely on her/his educational attainments, but, since educational attainments themselves are determined by the various family background factors, it can safely be inferred that even the occupational attainments are largely determined by these very background factors through education.
As in the case of educational attainments the extent of influence of the different factors on occupational attainments is also a function of gender and place of residence.

10.1.3 Income Mobility

It is observed that in Haflong towns larger proportion (98%) of women has an income of less than 4 lakh rupees compared to only (92%) of men and men (8%) predominate in income above rupees 4 lakh over women (2%). Similar general trend is observed in Umrangso too, the proportion of women (99%) is higher than that of the men (92%) having an income of less than 4 lakh rupees. However the proportion of the men (8%) is much higher than that of the women (1%) with an income above 4 lakh. Thus it can be inferred that females are poorly paid in both the towns in comparison to their male counterparts and the reasons thereof might be that females are generally geographically less mobile and as a result they have to contend with occupations which offer them relatively lower wages than that of their male counterparts.

Regarding intergenerational income mobility through two generations this study reveals that in Haflong town 41% of total persons are in the same income group as their fathers and as such have not experienced any income mobility; 22% persons are in income groups lower than those of their fathers and such have experienced downward income mobility and 38% persons have income higher than those of their fathers and as such have experienced upward income mobility. Although a large proportion (41%) of persons has inherited the income status of their fathers, the overall the rate of income mobility, including both upward and downward is about 60%. In Umrangso, 35% of total persons are in the same income group as
their fathers and as such have not experienced any income mobility, 17% are in income brackets lower than those of their fathers and as such have experienced downward income mobility and, 49% of persons have income higher than those of their fathers and as such have experienced upward income mobility. A considerable proportion i.e., 35% of persons has inherited the income status of their fathers. However, overall the rate of income mobility in Umangso town is 65%. Thus it has been observed that the rate of income mobility, especially of the upward type, in Umangso town is higher than that of Haflong town. The reason might be of that being an industrial town, Umangso provides relatively greater scope of income opportunity than Haflong town and this finding is further substantiated by the rate of inheritance of income or stationariness which is lower in Umangso than that of Haflong town.

Sex-wise comparison of income mobility reveals that 39% of total men in Haflong town and 26% in Umangso town are in the same income group as their fathers and as such have not experienced any income mobility; 18% men in Haflong and equivalent proportion in Umangso are in income groups lower than those of their fathers and such have experienced downward income mobility and 43% men in Haflong and 56% men in Umangso have income higher than those of their fathers and as such have experienced upward income mobility. Thus, overall the rate of income mobility among men is 61% in Haflong and 74% in Umangso including both upward and downward. In case of women, 42% in Haflong and 56% in Umangso are in the same income group as their fathers and as such have not experienced any income mobility; 28% women in Haflong and 14% in Umangso are in income groups lower than those of their fathers and as such have experienced downward income mobility and 30%
women of each town have income higher than those of their fathers and as such have experienced upward income mobility. Thus, overall the rate of income mobility among women in Haflong is 57% and 44% in Umrangso including both upward and downward income mobility.

Sex-wise comparison of income mobility between the two towns reveals that in Haflong town, the rate of income mobility between the sexes is more or less balanced although the rate of upward income mobility is greater among men. It is because Haflong, being a District Headquarters, provides equal income opportunity for both the sexes and it is perhaps because of the various State and Central Government offices, organisations, corporations and institutions paying more or less the same wages to both men and women. Besides male dominance in business class has led men to experience higher upward income mobility than that of women of this town. On the other hand in Umrangso, the rate of income mobility is heavily tilted in favour of men and this rate is not only much higher than that of their women counterparts but also than those of their male counterparts in Haflong town. The sole reason, as stated earlier, is the nature of jobs both (technical and hazardous industrial jobs) that attracts men even from the outside of the district and the state as well. As a result, the above findings reveal that the gender based income inequality is acute in Umrangso.

In as much as the rate of downward mobility in both towns may get further reduced when the persons attain the age to which the incomes of their fathers correspond. Thus the actual rate of upward income mobility will be higher. Even when the devaluation of rupee over time is considered; the standard of living of the respondents shows that they are better off than
their fathers. Moreover, the extent of stationariness as well as upward and downward mobility are actually underestimated because the income of the respondents refers to the present income and that of their fathers is the last income and as such at an older age than that of the respondents. Because of this one can reasonably hope that the fathers may have lower income when they were at respondents’ age. However one cannot forget that the rupee has been getting devalued continuously which makes the comparison of real incomes of fathers and respondents impossible. Thus, the data on income gives only a rough idea of the economic conditions of the two generations.

The study also reveals that among the determinants or background variables educational attainment of a person affects his or her income to a certain extent. In Haflong, 97% of the persons who have an education of less than a high school have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees per annum and only 3% have income above 4 lakh per annum. Whereas, only 88% of the persons who have an education of high school and above have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and remaining 12% have income above 3 lakh rupees. Only about 35% of the persons who are graduates in liberal arts and above and 13% post-graduates have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees. In Umrangso, 91% of the persons who have an education of less than a high school have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees per annum and only 9% of them have income above 3 lakh rupees per annum but only 88% of the persons who have an education of high school and above have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and 12% have income above 3 lakh rupees. About 31% persons who are graduates in liberal arts and about 17% post-graduates have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees. Thus, it can
be inferred that attaining higher education may not necessarily bring higher income.

Sex-wise break-up shows that in Halflong95% of the men who have an education of less than a high school have income of less than 3 lakh rupees per annum and only the remaining 5% have income above 3 lakh rupees per annum whereas in the same educational status all women (100%) have income of less than 3 lakh rupees. On the other hand, only86% of the men who have an education of high school and above have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and remaining 4% have income above 3 lakh rupees. Whereas, 89% of the women who have an education of high school and above have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and remaining 11% have an income of more than 3 lakh rupees. Besides, about 33% men who are graduates in liberal arts have income of less than 1 lakh rupees and in case of women the percentage is even higher (37%).

In Umrangso, 88% of the men who have an education of less than a high school have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees per annum and remaining 12% have an income above 3 lakh rupees per annum. Whereas, 84% of the men who have an education of high school and above have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and remaining 16% have income above 3 lakh rupees. Besides, about 34% men who are graduates in liberal arts have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees. On the other hand, all the women who have an education of less than a high school have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees per annum. Whereas 96% of the women who have an education of high school and above have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and only 4% have income of more than 3 lakh rupees per annum.
Comparing with their male counterparts, women are found at disadvantage in the attainment of income. One of the reasons may be that women are traditionally treated secondary bread earners in the family and owing to their low geographical mobility in labour market they are rarely employed in those occupations which have male domination so far. Both these towns (Umrangso and Haflong) exhibit similar results regarding the effect of a person’s educational attainments on their income.

Father’s educational attainment is too determines a child’s income. In Haflong, 94% of the children of fathers who have an education of less than a high school have income of less than 3 lakh rupees and remaining 6% children have income above 3lakh rupees per annum. Whereas, only 84% of the children of fathers who have an education of high school and above have income of less than 3 lakh rupees and remaining 16% children have income above 3lakh rupees per annum. 75% of the children of post-graduate fathers have income of less than 2lakh rupees. In Umrangso92% of the children of fathers who have education less than a high school have income of less than 3 lakh rupees per annum and remaining 8% children have income above 3lakh rupees per annum. Whereas 79% of the children of fathers who has an education of high school and above have income of less than 3 lakh rupees and remaining 21% children have income above 3 lakh rupees. 75% of post-graduate and about 67% of graduate fathers have their children with an income of less than 2lakh rupees. In a few cases illiterate or functionally literate fathers have children who have income more than that of the highly educated fathers’ children. Thus, it can be inferred that father’s educational attainment is one of the important factors that determines income though it may not be so widely generalised.
Sex-wise break-up shows that 91% of sons of those fathers who have an education of less than a high school have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and remaining 9% have above 3 lakh rupees. Whereas, 85% sons of those fathers who have an education of high school and above have income of less than 3 lakh rupees the remaining 15% have above 3 lakh rupees. In case of women, 98% of the daughters of fathers who have an education of less than a high school have income of less than 3 lakh rupees and the remaining 2% have above 3 lakh rupees. Whereas, 84% daughters of the fathers who have an education of high school and above have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and remaining 16% have more than 3 lakh rupees. In Umrangso, 91% of sons of fathers who have an education of less than a high school have income of less than 3 lakh rupees and the remaining 9% have above 3 lakh rupees. Whereas, 70% of the sons of fathers who have an education of high school and above have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and the remaining 30% have above 3 lakh rupees. In case of women, 96% of the daughters of fathers who have an education of less than a high school have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees and the remaining 4% have above 3 lakh rupees. Whereas, all daughters of fathers who have an education of high school and above have an income of less than 3 lakh rupees. Thus, it can be inferred that father’s education is one of the important determinants of a person’s income.

However, comparing with men, women are found to be at disadvantage in the attainment of income. One of the reasons may be of that women are traditionally treated secondary bread earners in the family so, in general, they are discouraged from going far off places for work to earn for their family, and for an Indian woman family is preferred over career.
A person’s occupational attainment is one of the most important determinants of his or her income. In Haflong, it has been observed that 53% of the persons in manual occupations have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees and remaining 47% have above 1 lakh rupees but less than 2 lakh rupees per annum. Whereas, only 19% of the persons who are in non-manual occupations have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees and remaining 81% have more than 1 lakh rupees per annum, in few cases even above 7 lakh rupees per annum. On the other hand, in Umrangso 51% of the persons who are in manual occupations have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees and remaining 49% have above 1 lakh rupees but less than 3 lakh rupees per annum. Whereas, in non-manual occupations only 20% persons have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees and remaining 80% have above 1 lakh rupees per annum, in few cases even above 7 lakh rupees per annum.

Sex-wise break-up of income shows that among 53% of the men who are in manual occupation have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees and the remaining 47% have above 1 lakh rupees but less than 2 lakh rupees per annum. Whereas, only 18% of the men in non-manual occupations have income of less than 1 lakh rupees and remaining 82% have more than 1 lakh rupees, in few cases even above 7 lakh rupees per annum. For women, 52% of those who are in manual occupations have an income of less than one lakh rupees and remaining 48% have above 1 lakh rupees but less than 2 lakh rupees per annum. Whereas, only 20% of the women who are in non-manual occupations have income of less than 1 lakh rupees and remaining 80% have more than 1 lakh rupees, in a few cases even more than 7 lakh rupees per annum. In Umrangso, on the other hand, 48% of men in manual
occupations have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees and the remaining 52% has income above 1 lakh rupees per annum but less than 3 lakh rupees per annum. In case of women in manual occupations, 57% have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees and the remaining 43% have above 1 lakh rupees but less than 3 lakh rupees. 18% of the men in non-manual occupations have income of less than 1 lakh rupees and the remaining 82% have above 1 lakh rupees, in a few cases even above 7 lakh rupees. Whereas, 29% of all women have an income of less than 1 lakh rupees and remaining 71% have above 1 lakh rupees but less than 5 lakh rupees per annum.

Thus, it can be inferred that a non-manual worker, in general, earns more than a manual worker, and in Haflong, being district headquarters, more persons are employed in higher as well as in lower ranks of district administration, educational institutions and other state and central government offices, financial and insurance institutions as well as in organised and unorganised business and trading sectors giving them opportunities to earn more. Moreover the proportion of males and females in all income brackets are almost equal although males dominated in large business which brings high annual returns. On the other hand, Umrangso as an industrial town, there is a greater chance of occupational mobility. The displaced population owing to the process of industrialisation and construction of dam got rehabilitated and found placement in those factories and power project both in manual and non-manual jobs and as a result wage rate too got increased.

In relation to income women are at a disadvantage in both manual and non-manual occupations in Umrangso town when compared to their counterparts in Haflong town. In Umrangso, income inequality between the
sexes is acute and men are employed in those occupations where they are employed in industrial work that needs technical expertise and in turn ensures handsome earnings. However in a few cases, for example in large business, occupational inheritance has taken place that favoured males in patriarchal society. At the same time a large proportion, almost 54 percent, of school teachers has income of less than 1 lakh rupees which implies that school teaching is among the poorly paid jobs in this town.

Moreover in comparison to Haflong town the wage rate is higher in Umrangso town. It is because being an industrial town persons are employed in those occupations which demand high technical expertise and skills and as a result wages are high. On the contrary in Haflong town people are mainly employed in state and central government offices which have more or less a uniform salary structure and often offering fewer incentives compared to the industrial jobs in Umrangso.

Father’s occupational attainment also determines child’s income. In Haflong, 84% of children of those fathers who are in manual work have an income of less than 2 lakh rupees and the remaining 15% have above 2 lakh rupees and in a few cases even above 9 lakh rupees per annum. Whereas, 64% of children of those fathers who are in non-manual occupations have an income of less than 2 lakh rupees and the remaining 36% have above 2 lakh rupees and in certain cases even above 9 lakh rupees per annum. On the other hand, in Umrangso 76% of children of those fathers who are in manual work have an income of less than 2 lakh rupees and the remaining 24% have income above 2 lakh rupees and in certain cases even above 9 lakh rupees per annum. Whereas in Umrangso, 61% of the children of those fathers who are in non-manual occupations have an
income of less than 2 lakh rupees and the remaining 29% have above 2 lakh rupees and in a few cases even above 9 lakh rupees per annum.

Sex-wise break-up shows that in Haflong in case of sons, 81% of sons of those fathers who are in manual occupations have income less than 2 lakh rupees and the remaining 19% have above 2 lakh rupees and in a few cases even above 9 lakh rupees. Whereas, 88% of daughters of those fathers who are in manual occupations have an income of less than 2 lakh rupees and the remaining 12% have above 2 lakh rupees but less than 4 lakh rupees per annum. On the contrary, 63% of sons of those fathers who are in non-manual occupations have an income of less than 2 lakh rupees and the remaining 37% have above 2 lakh rupees and in certain cases even above 9 lakh rupees per annum. In case of daughters, 65% of daughters of those fathers who are in non-manual occupations have income less than 2 lakh rupees and remaining 35% daughters have income above 2 lakh rupees and in a few cases above 9 lakh rupees per annum. On the other hand in Umrangso, 69% of sons of those fathers who are in manual occupations have income less than 2 lakh rupees per annum and remaining 31% sons have income above 2 lakh rupees and in few cases above 9 lakh rupees per annum. In case of daughters, 89% have income less than 2 lakh rupees and remaining 11% daughters have income above 2 lakh rupees though none has income above 4 lakh rupees per annum. On the contrary, 54% sons of those fathers who are in non-manual occupations have income less than 2 lakh rupees and remaining 46% sons have income above 2 lakh and in certain cases above 9 lakh rupees per annum. In case of daughters, 85% daughters have income of less than 2 lakh rupees and remaining 15%
daughters have income above 2 lakh rupees and none has income above 5 lakh rupees.

Thus it has been found that in Haflong the range of income of the children of those fathers who are in manual work is much less than that of the range of income of those children whose fathers are employed in non-manual occupations. In case of fathers who are in manual work, the income of sons is a bit higher than that of their daughters although in case of fathers employed in non-manual jobs, income of both the sons and daughters are more or less evenly distributed except in income group of rupees 9 lakh and above men dominate over women. Above all Haflong being a district headquarters, gender discrepancy in the distribution of income especially in the field of non-manual occupations is not noticed.

In Umrangso too, the range of income of the children of those fathers who are in manual work is much less than that of the range of income of those children whose fathers are employed in non-manual occupations. In this case, the females suffer from income discrepancy which further indicates that there is income inequality on the basis of gender in Umrangso town.

However it can be inferred that Umrangso, being an industrial town, the wage rate is high and it essentially favours men both in manual work and non-manual work such as professional jobs, administrative jobs, and skilled work and even in hazardous jobs where men are generally preferred leaving a very small space for the women.

In both the towns children of those fathers who are employed in manual work have much less income than that of the children whose
fathers are in non-manual jobs. However gender based income inequality is more acute in Umrangso town for the reasons mentioned above.

Father’s income is also a strong determinant of a child’s income. In Haflong, about 41% of the children have same income as their fathers. However this stationariness of income is not same for both the sexes. In case of sons the proportion of stationariness is 39% whereas in case of daughters it is 42%. This implies that fathers’ income has greater effect on their daughters’ income than that on their sons’. On the other hand, in Umrangso, about 35% of total children have same income so as their fathers. However this stationariness of income is not same for both the sexes. In case of sons the proportion of stationariness is 26% whereas in case of daughters it is almost 56%. This implies that fathers’ income has greater effect on their daughters’ income than that on their sons’.

Path model shows that the single most significant determinant of a person’s income is her/his father’s income. Other factors like a person’s educational attainments, occupational status have a minor influence and caste, gender, quality of schooling, fathers occupation have a very small effect on income. Here again, as in the case of educational and occupational attainments the influence of each determinant varies with gender and place of residence.

10.2 IMPLICATIONS

The findings reported above reveal that at Haflong town, the district headquarters of North Cachar Hills District (presently known as Dima Hasao district), the outflow rates of occupations betweengrandfathers’ and fathers’ generation is low. The tribal population of the district, to a large extent, and non-tribal population to a little extent are primarily involved in
agricultural and allied occupations of which jhum (slash and burn) cultivation and animal rearing are the prime features. Therefore, an average of 46% of the population in this generation has not experienced any occupational mobility. However, in course of time under the provisions of Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, the district is upgraded to the status of full-fledged civil district (2nd February, 1970), and as a result new opportunities were opened that led people of this district to experience both circulation and structural mobility. The creation of Autonomous District Hills Council has enabled the local tribal population to become the part of district administration. As a result, through the process of the implementation of various economic development schemes intergenerational occupational mobility has been taken place and the people from primary occupational sectors i.e. agriculture, collection of forest products, animal rearing etc. have gradually been absorbed in lower ranking non-agricultural jobs such as semi-skilled work, clerical jobs, grade-IV employment and even in a few cases higher ranks of non-manual jobs. However, if this occupational mobility is compared to educational attainment then it is found that people with low educational qualifications are found in jobs which actually require higher levels of formal education, for e.g. primary school teachers are found appointed from among the people who have educational qualification of seventh or eighth standard. People were promoted to higher positions in occupational structure of white colour jobs merely on the basis of length of service, not on the basis of merit. On the contrary, the business class comprises of retailers, wholesalers and a few large scale business groups who are mostly dominated by people who migrated largely from the neighbouring districts or even from other states in order to make their fortunes here and in course of time became
permanent residents of this district. These people are basically non-tribal who equally experienced occupational mobility and the study has revealed that many of the respondents belonging to this section of population found engaged in non-manual occupations owing to their higher educational attainments.

Apart from Autonomous Council Administration, the people (both tribal and non-tribal) are found engaged in white-collar jobs in state government offices, such as PHE, PWD, and Irrigation and educational institution. However, they are mostly placed in lower-ranking jobs on occupational ladder, although a little percentage (varies from 2% to 5%) is found in administrative and professional jobs also.

On the other hand in Umangsho town both structural and circulation mobility played vital roles in the occupational structure after the construction of a dam on Kopili river, called Kopili Hydel Power Project. The dam caused structural occupational mobility largely for the people who were displaced by the construction of the said dam under the jurisdiction of North East Electric Power Corporation NEEPCO. The displaced populations, who were largely engaged in primary sector occupations, are absorbed readily in secondary or tertiary sectors of occupations. Thus many people in that area are found employed in grade-IV, clerical and semi-skilled jobs in various offices administered by the NEEPCO. Intergenerational occupation mobility has been observed even in the staff employed in NEEPCO, where sons of a few grade-IV employees experienced upward social mobility in occupational hierarchy by virtue of their relatively higher educational attainments than that of their fathers and grandfathers. Besides, due to the availability of lime stone and coal, a few
cement factories were established in this town. These industries absorbed skilled and semi-skilled as well as manual workers both from the local populace as well migrants from the neighbouring districts and states.

Educational mobility between the first two generations (grandfather and father generations) in both these towns is very low. Illiteracy is acute at grandfathers’ generation as it is evident from their nature of occupations i.e. primitive and primary sector occupations. However the educational attainments of fathers of respondents are found relatively better as most of them received at least primary education or functional literacy. However, the respondents’ generation can aptly be called as first generation learners because in true sense of the term, the opportunities in the field of education are much more open and accessible to them in comparison to their fathers and grandfathers. The opening of new schools such as govt., aided, private or parallel missionary educational institutions run by the churches as well as establishment of a few institutions of higher learning accelerated the process of educational mobility. It has been observed that educational mobility in relation to educational attainment is better in Christian tribal populations especially among the Kukis, the Hmars, the Bietes, the Vaipheis and the Hrangkhols in contrast to Hindu tribal groups (the Dimasas, a section of Zeme Nagas and others). However among the non-tribal population, the upper caste Hindus is the major beneficiaries of education. Nevertheless these two towns in particular and the district as a whole lacks in providing quality education, and is further adversely affected by the meagre development of transportation and communication system.

It is observed that education is conceived of as a mechanism for upward social mobility for the marginalised sections of the society and the
data indicate this phenomenon in these two towns of this district too. However the expansion of tertiary sector of economy in the district has reached at its optimum and it is not able to absorb the fresh recipients of education. Over and above the district is not an industrialised one so that graduates, post-graduates and diploma holders could find placements in non-manual, technical and professional occupations here. As a result the growing educated unemployment leads to frustration. Owing to non-utilisation or underutilisation of mineral and forest resources of the district pace of economic development is restricted and as a result the graph of unemployment has been ascending steeply. As observed by Lipset and Bendix that expanding industrial economies provide greater chances of mobility as expanding industrial establishments require an increasing number of highly skilled labour and professionals in technical, management and in administrative positions which means that without expansion of industry chances of mobility remain restricted despite the expansion of educational facilities.

Slow pace of socio-economic development woven with increasing trend of unemployment in this district has led to brain drain to other parts of the country. Owing to rising trend of unemployment, educated youth have either been migrating to other places for better employment opportunities or they voluntarily or involuntarily are being involved in antisocial acts under the umbrella of various insurgent outfits.

With a view to augment rapid socio-economic transformation that ensures mobility and helps in eradicating social inequalities, the following strategies could be adopted:
i) Creation of infrastructure such as transport and communication system, generation of sustainable and renewable power and energy systems and effective utilisation of forest, water and mineral resources of this district

ii) Building effective mechanisms to boost agro-based industries, forest-based industries, and commercialisation of traditional cottage products such as handicrafts of each ethnic community. Moreover replacement of unsustainable Jhum cultivation by modern terrace cultivation and at the same time more importance needs to be given on the preservation of indigenous varieties of food grains, oil seeds, vegetables and other organic products. Horticulture, floriculture and animal husbandry should receive prime importance. Cooperatives of the producers of these products, with avenues for marketing, could help them transform themselves socio-economically.

iii) State-controlled education system needs to be revamped and the policy of protective discrimination needs to be streamlined in such a manner that could protect the educational and cultural rights of the indigenous people. As this study reveals the educational scenario of the underprivileged populations does not appear an encouraging one so the State Government as well as the District Autonomous Council executes the RTE Act 2009 as per the provisions and guidelines of the said Act so that those sections of populations could derive benefits out of the provisions of afore-mentioned Act.
iv) The tribal communities of this district have distinctive oral traditions, folk customs, religious practices, handicrafts and folk performing arts and a hub of folklore. Therefore there is a huge potential of cultural tourism as this district is endowed with a panorama of cultural mosaic. Cultural tourism will not only bring economic prosperity but at the same time help re-building inter-ethnic solidarity by pulling the district out of the curses of ethnic rivalry and separatist tendencies ingrained in the soil of this district due to its economic backwardness and isolation.

v) Development of eco-tourism is another prospect which could ensure socio-economic development of this district. Major thrust areas of the eco-tourism of this district are her rich bio-diversity comprising of various flora and fauna such as birds (Jatinga Valley Bird Mystery), wild animals (deer, wild boars, elephants, leopards, monkeys) various species of orchids, flowers, trees, bamboos etc., along with waterfalls, lakes, beautiful greeneries, blue hills, ancient historical monuments (although in ruins) and a wonderful railway track laid over the bridges of turbulent hilly rivers and through the tunnels across these hills.

vi) The district has a vast pool of indigenous knowledge of numerous tribal communities living in that region since time immemorial. Education can play an active role not only in preserving the rights of people over their knowledge but also at the same time it can make people conscious of patentable criteria for its protection as these indigenous biological and cultural resources are often bio-pirated. Traditional soft textile technology, medicinal plants, traditional food and beverages
music and the arts, performing arts, the oral tradition are some 
forms of indigenous knowledge, which can be brought into the 
sphere of education most preferably in the format of community 
education programmes.

10.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present work suffers from some limitations due to the paucity of 
resources at the disposal of investigator. For instance this study examined 
samples of two urban centres of the district excluding the vast rural 
populations and as such generalisations based on these have a limitation of 
applicability and have to be applied with caution. Data collected on 
occupation and education of the respondents and their father and 
grandfather are not uniform in terms of age. To arrive at a more 
comprehensive understanding of the phenomena of social mobility some 
suggestions for further research are in order:

a) A comprehensive study involving data from all the urban and rural 
areas of the district needs to be made in order to develop insight 
into the differential development stages and its impact on the 
nature and extent of mobility.

b) Separate study should be conducted on the social mobility among 
different ethnic communities of the tribal and non-tribal 
populations such as the Dimasas, Kukis, the Zemes, the 
Hrangkhols, the Hmars, and the Bengalis, etc.

c) The occupational mobility of the smallest minority groups and 
Christian and Non-Christian communities in the district can be 
conducted to assess the rate of social mobility and its impact on 
their socio-economic life.
d) The occupational and income data of children, fathers and grandfathers at comparable ages may be analysed.

e) Studies of educational attainments and occupational statuses of siblings may be carried out to assess effect of sib-size and birth order on them.

f) In order to develop a deeper understanding of the relation among education, occupation and income inter-district comparisons needs to be made after examining samples from other districts of the state and those of other states.

g) With a view to understand the status and role of women and their participation in socio-economic life of this district separate studies can be conducted. Comparative studies can be undertaken to assess the rate of mobility or movement of women in educational, occupational and income hierarchy between the tribal and non-tribal women and even between the inter-ethnic tribal communities. Moreover such studies need to be made to understand the position of women of this district with rest of the state as well as the nation.

h) Similarly relation between stages of economic development, educational expansion, occupational structure and social mobility need to be made.

i) Last but not the least interdisciplinary studies need to be undertaken with a view to developing in-depth understanding of socio-economic life of the tribal communities of this district and compare the same with similar studies undertaken in other parts of the country.
The result of such studies shall help in planning development strategies and educational policy and other social welfare schemes that will ensure equitable distribution of resources and goods and services and establish an egalitarian society as envisaged by the Constitution of India.