CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
The relationship between education and modernization has drawn considerable attention during recent years. Conflicting views, ignoring the negative function of education have emerged. The role of education to bring about modernization and the relationship between education and modernity has been well established by many social scientists. Sociologists have established that education is one of the most important principles governing the characteristics of individuals in traditional as well as modern large scale complex societies. They are of the opinion that the amount of education one individual has received, plays a pivotal role in determining the occupation, status of living and prestige.

Durkheim (1956) identified popular education as a factor contributing to the weakening of traditional beliefs and the state of moral individualism resulting from this. Similarly Inkeles (1969) has identified education, as the most important of the influences moving men away from traditionalism, towards modernity in developing countries. Lerner's (1963) data support that literacy is the basic personal skill underlying the whole modernizing process.

In the course of standardizing his scale of individual modernity, Kahl (1968) has found significant correlation between education and modernity. Further Lerner (1963) in his study of Turkey, Brasil and other countries has noted
the process of modernity from traditionality in transition. These studies of Kahl and Lerner do not clearly indicate whether it was the education as such or the advantages the man had in later life, led to modernity. This doubt was removed on the basis of findings by the Harvard project on the Social and Cultural Aspects of Economic Development that education is the prime cause of modernity and change. The Harvard study was conducted by Inkeles (1961) in developing countries like Argentina, Chile, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), India, Israel, and Nigeria found education to be the most powerful factor in modernization. Helsinger and Cunningham worked with young school children and adolescents in Brazil and Puerto Rico respectively, while Klineberg and Dubey studied adolescent students in Tunis and Nigeria. The conclusion of these studies was that, under most circumstances each year the child or adolescent spends in school equip the youngster with added increment of personal development in the form of more modern attitudes, values, and behavioural tendencies. Examining the effect of formal western education on the seventeen-year-old males in Kano City of Nigeria, Armer and Youngh (1971) have noted a steady increase in the percentage of modern respondents with increasing educational attainment independent of several alternative modernizing forces.

A series of investigations assessing the impact of schooling on pupil modernity have appeared in a special number of the International Journal of comparative Sociology.
(1974, XIV, 3-4) devoted to the theme "Education and Individual Modernity in Developing Countries." Though conducted independently in various parts of the world, these studies show a remarkable uniformity in their major findings in that they invariably lead to the conclusion that schooling promotes attitudinal modernity in developing societies.

There are a good number of Indian studies which sought to explore relationship between education and social change in India. Cormack (1961), Shah (1964), and Sharma (1979) have found that there is no correlation between education and social change. Gore, Desai and Chitnis (1970), on the other hand in their major work, Field Studies in the Sociology of Education, have found some encouraging evidence of positive effects of education on student modernity.

The studies in the less developed nations showed education to be a major determinant of the aggregate of attitudes, values, outlook and behaviour which distinguish the more modern from the traditional ones. The present study is also an attempt in that direction i.e., to determine the effect of education on the social structure and as well as on the attitude and behaviour of the people. Since Bangladesh is heading towards modernization, it was thought pertinent to study, whether structural changes and attitudinal changes towards modernization has got any significant effect of education. Hence, the need to make a comparative study of a village with educational institution and another without
having it. As the title indicates "Education and Modernization: A Comparative Study of Two Villages of Bangladesh", this research is mainly concerned with the effect of education on modernization of traditional villages of Bangladesh. The study of the social impact of education presents a problem which is much more complex than simply to measure its results in terms of knowledge acquired. Because social behaviour is an extremely complicated phenomenon, in the sense, that a variety of factors determine it and it is difficult to isolate the particular effect of one single factor as from the effects of various other factors. The only solution is to adopt a scientific, descriptive and comparative method in order to analyse the influence of education on social structure, on people's attitudinal level and also on value-orientations of students. The results arrived at with the help of this method in the present study point to the changes that took place towards modernization of villages while education is stressed as determining factor.

Of these changes and developments, Western education was of crucial importance which pushed forward the process of modernization and urbanization.

Modernization in India and pre-independence Bangladesh started with the advent of the British rule. During the colonial period major structural changes were transplanted
by the British in the traditional social order. Formal education system is essentially a legacy of British in India. Macaulay initiated the system of formal education, the changes that have been effective till the time of independence did not make any radical departure from the direction provided by Macaulay. After independence and the creation of a new state Bangladesh government chose to accelerate the process of modernization and made efforts in that direction. Though much have been done in the field of education, the improvements that were made remained mainly confined to quantitative expansion rather than qualitative improvement. It can be stated that the country has made considerable progress in the educational field in post independence era. During this period the number of schools, colleges and universities increased. The overall enrolment also increased. At present there are around 44,000 primary schools with an enrolment of 8.2 million. A sex-wise literacy rate in different census years shows that literacy rate among male in 1901 and 1981 stands at 10.0 and 25.8 respectively while the literacy rate among female in 1901 and 1981 stands at 0.6 and 13.2 respectively. There is glaring disparity between male and female literacy. This is more accentuated in rural areas than in urban areas. Chittagong had 24.0 literacy percentage in 1974 and in 1981 literacy percentage was 23.4. The total enrolment in the six universities reached 39,699 in 1982-83 as against 1700 in 1947. According to the latest estimates
of Second Five Year Plan (1980-85) there are 6 universities, 650 colleges, 9000 secondary schools, 2833 madrasahs and 44,000 primary schools. The country now spends a huge amount on education every year. This surely promotes the growth of education system and considerable investment in it.

As such, it is only appropriate to probe whether education facilitates the process of modernization by inculcating modern attitudes and values among people. Bangladesh society is passing through a crucial period of transition. This society is facing a basic problem of transforming the traditional social outlook of people into a modern one. Neither social legislation nor mass media is capable of changing the outlook and values of people. It is only the education that is regarded as a potent determinant of value orientation in changing times.

**Objectives of Study**

The objectives of this study were as follows:

1. To present the data on the spread and expansion of education in Bangladesh.
2. To examine the role of education as an agent of modernization.
3. To explore the influence of education on the rural social structure, that is, on the institutions, groups, forms of organizations, social stratification, social relationship and behaviour patterns.
4. To see the effect of education on psycho-social modernity.

On the basis of objectives the following eleven hypotheses were framed. The hypotheses were categorized under three broad headings.

1. Effects of education on village social structure (based on comparison of two villages one with school and another without it).
2. Effects of education on people (based on comparison of educated and uneducated people).
3. Effects of education on the value-orientations of students (based on comparison of school-going with non-school-going respondents).

The research study was based on the analysis and interpretation of these hypotheses.

1. The percentage of joint families is greater in the village without education and the percentage of nuclear families is greater in the village with educational facilities.
2. Non-agricultural occupations are greater in number in the village with education and agriculture is the main occupation in the village without educational facilities.
3. Fertility rate is lesser among people of the village with school than that of the village without school.

4. Educated people adopt nuclear family system while the uneducated follow the joint family system.

5. Uneducated people are engaged in agricultural occupation in greater number while educated people are found in occupations other than agriculture.

6. Polygyny is practised mostly by the uneducated people while monogamy is normally practised by the educated people.

7. The age at marriage is higher among the educated people than among the uneducated while the system of child marriage still prevail among the uneducated people.

8. Educated people have a favourable attitude towards inter-status marriages than that of the uneducated people.

9. Formal education leads to modernity independent of other factors (e.g. age, urban experience and mass media exposure).

10. School-going students are more modern than non-school-going adolescents.

11. Level of education increases the level of modernity (The more the student is exposed to formal schooling the higher is his modernity score).

**Methodology:**

Descriptive and comparative method was adopted to investigate and compare the differences between two villages of Bangladesh (Quspara with school and Madhyan Muradpur...
without school), educated and uneducated household heads of village Quepara and also the school-going and non-school-going adolescents (age group 13-18 years) of Quepara.

The study was divided into three phases. In the first phase these two villages were compared on social structural elements. In the second phase educated and uneducated household heads of village Quepara were compared on attitude and behaviour pattern. In the final phase school-going and non-school-going adolescents (age group 13 to 18) of village Quepara was compared to measure attitudes, values perceptions and behaviour.

Sample:

Stratified random sampling was adopted. The sample for the first phase comprised of 300 (randomly selected) household heads from village Quepara and 127 (total) household heads from village Medhyam Muradpur. For the second phase 150 educated and 150 uneducated people were randomly drawn from the population of village Quepara. For the final phase 100 students were taken from Quepara J.C.Sen Institution (VIII, IX and X classes, 13-18 age group) and 50 non-school-going adolescents (13-18 age group) from village Quepara.

Tools:

To collect the data for the present study, the researcher developed the following tools:

(i) Household census schedule (For comparing social structural elements).
(ii) Interview schedule (for comparing educated and uneducated household heads).

(iii) Interview schedule (for comparing school-going and non-school-going adolescents).

All the three schedules were subjected to pre-testing before using for the final data collection.

(iv) Attitudinal modernity scale developed by Sharma (1979) was used to measure the values attitudes and perceptions of school-going and non-school-going respondents.

Besides above mentioned tools secondary sources were used for collecting required information.

**Procedures:**

After finalising on the tools of investigation the field work followed. All the respondents were interviewed personally by the researcher herself. They were explained the purpose of the study and were fully assured of confidentiality. Bengali language was used as medium of interview. All the responses were carefully recorded. Data was subjected to statistical operations like mean, standard deviation, chi-square and Kolmogorov-Smirnov, Z test, Gamma and analysis of variance. The results were presented in the form of tables, figures, analysis and discussions.
Main Findings:

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).

Bangladesh Society is experiencing a change in the structural, attitudinal and value system. Education has become an important individual attribute in the attainment of and has facilitated the process of modernization in the Bangladesh society. The fact that education helps in 'making men modern' has been elaborated by Lerner (1965); Kahl (1968); Inkeles (1969) and Schnaiberg (1970). The data collected from the two villages of Bangladesh supports the fact that education affects the modernity. The differences are found to be statistically significant in the case of attitudes, beliefs and behaviour pattern of educated people as compared with that of uneducated people.

The data from 100 school-going students and 50 non-school-going respondents show a marked difference at the level of modernity. This explains the fact that the school-going respondents are found significantly more modern than the non-school-going respondents in the rural setting.
Considering in the first place the influence of education on the social structural elements, it was assumed that "the percentage of joint families is greater in the village without education and the percentage of nuclear families is greater in the village with educational facilities."

The data on family type shows the percentage of people staying in joint families is 59.67 in the village with educational institution and 61.42 per cent in the village Madhya Muradpur without educational institutions. Again, the data on family type in village Quepara shows that among uneducated respondents 64.0 per cent are found to be staying in the joint family whereas 55.33 per cent educated people preferred to stay in joint families. The opinion of the choice of family type between educated and uneducated respondents shows no statistically significant association with modernity in the sample (Table 4.7).

But the level of education has got association with types of family. High association is noticed between the level of education and family type of respondents (Table 4.6).

Those respondents who have low level of education were found to be living in joint families and respondents with higher educational qualification preferred to stay in nuclear families. This proves an association of increase in education and increase in percentage of nuclear type of families. On the other hand, lower the education and higher
the trend towards joint family is found. The difference in
the attitude of the two groups of respondents - educated and
uneducated can be understood in terms of the difference in
the educational qualification of the two groups.

Next, the focus is on the occupational structure of
the respondents. For the purpose of analysis the occupation
is categorized into agriculture and non-agriculture. Comparison
between the occupations of the villages shows that a majority
of respondents i.e., 53.68 per cent in village Quepara were
found engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. Whereas in village
Madhyam Pur only 35.43 per cent were found associated
with non-agricultural activities. On the other hand, 46.33
per cent respondents in Quepara village were found engaged
in agricultural occupation. While 64.50 per cent in village
Madhyam Pur were having agriculture as their occupation.
In village Quepara majority of the people are educated so
they preferred to take up professions other than agriculture.
The hypothesis "Non-agricultural occupations are found in
greater number in the village with education and agriculture
is the main occupation in the village without educational
facilities" was proved in this study.

Considering the attitudes of respondents on occupation,
it was assumed that the "uneducated people are engaged in
agricultural occupation in greater number while educated
people are found in occupations other than agriculture."
In Quepara among the educated respondents 86.00 per cent are found engaged in occupations other than agriculture. Whereas an overwhelming majority of uneducated respondents 78.66 per cent were found adopting agricultural pursuits. 

This finding of Quepara village shows a completely different picture of the occupational structure. Among the total respondents of Quepara 46.33 per cent were found to be agriculturists while 53.66 per cent were found to be engaged in non-agricultural occupations.

The ideas and attitude on fertility are not strictly comparable because of the same cultural environment in the two villages. In both the villages a larger percentage of uneducated people hold a favourable opinion towards the higher fertility rate.

In both the villages a large number of children were found in most of the families. The average number of children found in the village Quepara was 5 against 5.5 in Madhyam Muradpur. In Quepara village 68.67 per cent educated respondents wanted to have only 2-3 number of children. Whereas among the uneducated respondents only 26.67 per cent wanted to have 2-3 children. A larger percentage of the uneducated respondents 65.33 preferred to have 4-5 children. While 26.00 per cent educated people wanted to have 4-5 children. This indicates the educated people hold a more modern outlook than the uneducated on this aspect as well. The difference between the two groups
were also found to be satisfically significant (Table 4.5).

The data on the dimension of type of marriage posed a different trend which is contrary to the hypothesis that "Polygyny is practised mostly by the uneducated people while monogamy is normally practised by the educated people." In both the groups - educated and uneducated respondents a large percentage that is 89.33 and 74.00 respectively hold a favourable opinion on the practice of monogamy. Summing up the position as a whole, on the practice of monogamy in the two samples, it can be said that both the groups suggest the acceptance of modern values. However, with regard to the practice of polygyny, differences can be observed between the two groups. From the data it was found that 26.00 per cent of the uneducated and 10.66 per cent of the educated practised polygyny (Table 4.8). This is a deviation from the practice of the previous generation where polygyny was common.

In consonance with the modernisation of society changes in the ideas on age at marriage also take place. Thus it was hypothesised that "The age at marriage is higher among the educated people than among the uneducated while the system of child marriage still prevails among the uneducated people." The minimum age at marriage prescribed by law for females is 16 years and for males is 22 years. According to the opinion of 88 per cent total respondents the present day age at marriage in the village under study is found to be 16-18
for girls and 22-24 for boys. The comparison between the tables of the educated and uneducated respondents on the age at marriage shows that the percentage of higher age at marriage has been found increasing among the educated respondents. A large majority of both the educated (77.99) and uneducated (72.66) respondents were married between 23 to 30 years of age. One interesting point to be noted is that only 2 per cent educated respondents were married when they were below 19 years of age and only 4 per cent uneducated were married when they belonged to the age group of fifteen to eighteen years. No instance of early marriage (7-10 years) among the educated respondents has been found (Table 4.9 and 4.10).

The effort was made to discover the age of the respondents' wives at the time of their marriage among both the groups. The findings indicate an increase in age of the female at the time of marriage among educated respondents. Among uneducated respondents 70 per cent of the girls (now wives) were married between 15 to 18 years, whereas among the educated 52.66 per cent were married in this age group. The age at marriage of girls has increased gradually among the educated and uneducated. The percentage of respondents' wives getting married in age groups of 19-22 has been considerably high that is 38.66 and 22.66 respectively among educated and uneducated (Table 4.9 and 4.10). There is no instance of late marriage 23-26 years among the uneducated.
respondents. It can be stated that the age at marriage is rising slowly over a period of time. Among the higher educated people this tendency is steadily increasing. Moreover, the gap between the age at marriage between man and woman is becoming narrower. The age at marriage of children does not show much difference between sons and daughters. But there was wide difference in the age at marriage of respondents and that of their wives in both the categories of educated and uneducated. This fact is confirmed by the use of the statistical test.

Table 4.12 gives a comparative picture of the age at marriage between educated and uneducated respondents and their wives. It also depicts a change in the average age at marriage for the respondents' children. The average age at marriage of educated respondents was 25.25 and that of uneducated was 24.93. In the second generation the age at marriage indicates a slight change. The marriage of a son remains almost same while that of the daughters has risen to 22.03 years.

On the basis of opinion of educated respondents it can be stated that the village Qospara is undergoing a rapid transformation. Changes began to take place in the attitude of people towards inter-status marriage. Table 4.14 indicates that the educated people were found to be modern in their attitudes towards inter-status marriage. 52 per cent of the
educated respondents and 21.33 per cent uneducated respondents have favourable attitude towards inter-status marriage. Whereas a large majority 59.33 per cent of the uneducated respondents have unfavourable attitude towards inter-status marriage. Thus the Hypothesis " Educated people have a favourable attitude towards inter-status marriages than the uneducated people" is proved. The educated respondents give emphasis on individual qualities while the uneducated give preference to family status and wealth.

Next comes the sphere of social contact - the friendship. From the responses it was discovered that most of the uneducated people have friends among their own status group or caste fellows. On the other hand, among educated respondents a greater number have friends who do not belong to their own status groups or caste group. From Table 4.17, it is evident that the friendship pattern is more diversified in the case of educated persons. Among the educated respondents 57.33 per cent like to have friends outside status groups. While among the uneducated only 20.66 per cent want to have friends outside status groups. It has been observed that the educated people tend to avoid status restrictions while selecting their friends and give a greater consideration to the fact of equal educational status. Again, the differences in the attitudes of the two groups of respondents can be understood in terms of the differences in the overall conditions and stratification system in the rural setting. The difference of educated and
uneducated respondents in the attitude towards friends social status is proved with the use of test of association.

The discussion on marriage is incomplete without an analysis of the existence of dowry and purdah system. The dowry system is a peculiar custom practiced among the Hindu culture. But the practice of Mahr (Dower) is found in the Muslim concept of marriage. The amount of 'mahr' may be settled before marriage or at the time of the marriage, it may never be settled after the marriage. Dowry in the sense in which it prevails among the Hindus does not usually exist among the Muslims but it is practised among Muslims with newer dimensions. This has become a common practice among the business and locally called sawdagor community in the village Quepara and people coming from Middle East countries also.

Among the total respondents 21.66 per cent cases, dowry had been given, while about 40 per cent respondents stated that they belonged to such poor families that there was no room for dowry in their case. The fact that dowry system is prevalent among the Hindus (total number of Hindu respondents is 50) and among section of Muslim families. The above finding is based on the opinion of 57 per cent of total respondents. An analysis of the existence of dowry among the Hindu respondents reveal that 58 per cent Hindus have given or taken dowry at the time of their children's marriage. With reference to Muslim respondents 8.33 per cent have practiced this system.
of dowry at their children's marriage. In case of educated respondents only 14.66 per cent favoured this practice while 21.33 per cent uneducated people practiced it. Summing up the position as a whole, on the attitude towards the dowry system in the two groups of people (educated and uneducated) it can be concluded that education erodes the traditional values of dowry and does prepare the ground for secular and liberal attitude towards dowry.

Next comes another common practice among the Muslims in rural society of Bangladesh. Purdah means segregation of sexes and seclusion for women. It is clear from the Table 4.18 that there exists a significant difference among both groups of respondents (educated and uneducated) on observance of Purdah system by their wives. 74.66 per cent of the educated and 88.66 per cent uneducated respondents gave their responses in favour. Thus Purdah system is observed by women in families of both groups, educated as well as uneducated. However, uneducated respondents are found to attach more importance to purdah. Only 11.33 per cent uneducated respondents did not approve of this system whereas among educated respondents, the percentage is 25.33. Table 4.19 indicates that with increase of educational level there is considerable decrease in attitude towards observance of purdah system. Respondents with higher education (matric, intermediate, graduation and above) possess more modern
outlook on purdah system as compared with those who are less educated (up to primary only).

The data regarding school-going respondents and non-school-going respondents points to the direction that schooling leads to modernity. At the end, it may be concluded that the differences at the different levels of modernity in the two groups that is, school-going and non-school-going respondents are due to schooling. This may be explained by the fact that the school-going students are found significantly more modern than the non-school-going respondents in a rural setting (Table 5.1). This effect of schooling on modernity is independent of age, urban experience and media exposure. Thus the hypothesis "Formal education leads to modernity independent of other factors" is proved. Though education has its influence on all the dimensions of modernity, yet it seems to have greater effect on the universalistic, achievement and scientific orientations. Education is found less conducive to the growth of secular and civic orientations (Table 5.9).

Table 5.17 shows the influence of level of education on mean modernity score of students. It further indicates an increase in student mean modernity score with the increase in their level of education that is, X class students scores are higher than that of IX class and IX class than that of VIII class respectively. The difference between the mean score of X and IX class students is statistically significant. The
difference between the mean score of IX and VIII classes is not significant. The average yearly gain in the modernity score is 1.57 among the students. Again, looking at the Tables 5.18, 5.19, and 5.20, it is found that level of schooling is also influencing the student modernity, independent of age, urban experience and mass media exposure.

As regards the hypothesis the level of education increases the level of modernity is proved on all the dimensions of modernity except the secular orientation. Table 5.21 clearly shows the differences in the mean scores on all the dimensions of modernity among the students of VIII, IX and X classes. There is a steady increase in scores on all dimensions except the secular orientation.

Theoretical Inferences:

The findings of this study indicate that education is directly or indirectly responsible for the changes of traditional village towards modernization. The following theoretical inferences can be drawn on the basis of findings of this study.

1. Social structural elements of the villages are undergoing changes due to education. Family, occupation and fertility behaviour of the village with education shows a trend of change than that of the village without formal educational system. But the change is not significant except in case of occupation.
2. The educated people respond differently from the uneducated people on the questions pertaining to joint family, monogamy, age at marriage, agricultural occupations, inter-status interaction, status of women, purdah system and religiousity.

3. It can be said that the school is a powerful promoter of student modernity. But the school education does not promote all the dimensions of modernity equally. It is more conducive to the promotion of the civic, universalistic and achievement orientations and is less conducive to the development of the secular, independence and scientific orientations.

4. The educational variables are more powerful facilitators of modernity. Whereas the familial variables are subordinate to the educational variables, as they prepare the ground for the student's entry into the school. Nothing worthwhile could be achieved without proper education, without the knowledge of the various factors that affect the education of a child and without knowing the extent to which each factor is responsible in contributing towards all-round development of the child. Progress in any field depends on the pattern and standard of education in a country.
The study shows that education is a promoter of modernity. The social structural elements as well as the attitudes and behaviour pattern of people are affected by education. Any change in the attitude, outlook and behaviour of individuals is followed by a change in the structure of society. Education is an extraneous factor in the changes of Bangladesh villages. The attitudes and behaviour of the educated people are different from that of the uneducated. Thus education is held responsible for the changes at the attitudinal level of people. Education acts as modernising agent. Therefore, the need of educating the people is of utmost importance. Social structural variables and developmental variables account for greater variation in the emergence of modern outlook. The sociological significance of this question lies in its concern with interactive dynamics of structural and developmental forces affecting psycho-social modernity. Among the developmental variables it is the educational one particularly schooling has got significant influence on modernity. So educational institutions have made prominent contribution of value socialization in transitional society of Bangladesh. Hence the need of more schools and school facilities.

Second the study suggests that the school-going students are significantly more modern than the non-school-going
respondents and the school has been found as a powerful predictor of student modernity. The study also reveals that the education does not promote the scientific, independent and secular orientations as efficiently as it promotes the universalistic and the achievement orientations, thus calling for a change in the value-content of the educational system. It should be modified in such a manner that it may be equally conducive to the promotion of the scientific, secular and independence orientations along with other psycho-social dispositions, and in the long run, may serve as a medium of character transformation.

The findings of this study also indicate that education upto secondary stage significantly influences the student modernity. Hence the government should allocate larger funds to promote secondary education and sincere efforts should be made to bring it within the reach of every eligible child.

Third, the conclusions indicate that extra-curricular activities, especially the academic (debates and declamation contests) and the cultural (music and dramatics) categories have a potential for inculcating higher modernity among the students. It calls for the incorporation of such values in the educational system as may encourage the students to participate in extra curricular activities without any inhibitions.
To conclude it is of utmost importance to investigate the factors which influence the emergence of modernizing values. Once the extent of the influence of extra-curricular activities, school environment, teachers, parents etc. are known the educational system can be reorganized in such a way that the factors exercising deepest influence are properly geared for the task of inculcating values for modernisation.