CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

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Education is a process through which knowledge, skills, attitudes and values are imparted for the purpose of integrating the individual with the society. It is in general accepted as an essential instrument of social, economical and political transformation and responsible for social qualities. Every society strives for education with accepted qualities for economical, social and political transformation. The social attainments or the social qualities are not uniform in the different parts of the different regions, states, Nation and of the world despite the fact that, it is education that enhances the quality of life of an individual and his contribution towards society and the nation as a whole. Education has been viewed from different dimensions, like, demand for education on the part of individual, societies and of the nation and what the society requires and what should be the values and attainments of individual citizen. However, the political and economical conditions of individuals, societies and the nation states are blamed for the educational attainments. Nation states cannot be viewed in isolation to the changes that occurs around the world.

Education is inevitable for economic growth of any nation state as it is evident from the fact that, the developed nations having very high literacy rates accompanied with high material prosperity, and high per capita income. On the other hand, in underdeveloped and developing nations, where literacy rate is not so high, and relatively low per-capita income along with some proportions of population still living below the poverty line. These goes with the saying "Education ought to be related to the life, needs and aspirations of the people and thereby made powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation" (Indian Education Commission, 1964-66). Economists consider education as both consumer and capital good and it offers utility to the consumers and serves as an input into the production of other goods and services. As capital good, education can be used to develop the human resources necessary for economic and social transformation. The focus on education as capital good is related to the concept of human

capital, which emphasizes the development of skills as an important factor in production activities. Education creates improved citizens and helps to upgrade the general standard of living in a society. Generally, this goes with the belief that expanding education promotes economic growth (Olaniyan *et al.,* 2008).

Education as one among the vital agencies of the society plays a significant role not only in the development of individuals but the society as a whole. A study on the historical development of education of a place in general gives a clear picture of the progress of education of the specific geographical area. It enables the learners to have adequate knowledge on educational policies and their impact, the philosophical ideas and ideals that prompted the said policies and the contributions of different peoples towards the development of the education of a place.

History of education has off-late been preferred as a course of study in the higher education since it contains answer to the various questions regarding the problems of quality, quantity and total manpower in a given geographical area. Social progress, one among the major objectives of education requires systematic studies to assess the progress that has already been made. These studies can be used as an input for bringing further changes in the planning for development. Social mobility one among the major component of social progress depends on all the said factors, requires systematic studies to establish the level of progress attained in the different societies. In this regard the study on the historical development of education and social mobility is an attempt to study the social progress attained in a specific area, i.e., Sikkim, one among the North Eastern States of India.

1.1. Conceptual Background of the Study

It is essential to explain the basic concepts mentioned in the present study such as, education, educational development, social mobility and the relation between social mobility and educational attainment. It has been dealt with in detail as below.

1.1.1. Education

Education refers to the methods by which a society attempts to direct and accelerate the learning process of its members (Pater, 1984). It is a process through which knowledge,

skills, attitudes and values are imparted. For individuals, this process is life-long and it begins at birth and ends with death. It is life-long, for we must learn new ways of thought and action with every major change in our lives (Malinowski, 1947). Education includes every process, except the solely genetic that helps to form a person's mind, character or physical capacity. Education is simply one aspect of socialization involving the acquisition of knowledge and the learning of skills.

Formal education is a characteristic feature of modern societies. In traditional societies, it was not distinguishable from other aspects of life. Rather, knowledge and skills were acquired informally by imitating examples provided by adults. In those societies, adults were given the responsibility of instructing the younger ones. For instance, boys accompanied their fathers on hunting trips while girls assisted their mothers with cooking and gathering vegetables (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). On the other hand, in more complex pre-industrial societies, specialized educational institutions are responsible for performing these roles.

Education is a primary determinant of long-term economic success and key mechanism of social mobility, capable of lifting disadvantaged children and improving their chances for success as adults (Huang, 2012). Education is recognized as a vital instrument for economical, social and political development of the society by different nations of the world, it is evident from the recognition of the right to education by some governments; education is made compulsory in most places up to certain age. In India children between the ages 6 to 14 years comprise the right to free and compulsory education under Article 21A of the Indian Constitution. India became one of 135 countries to make education a fundamental right of every child when the act came into force on 1st April, 2010. According to the UNESCO's 'Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2010', about 135 countries have constitutional provisions for free and non-discriminatory education for all.

1.1.2. Educational Development

Development is defined as, 'A progression from a simpler or lower to a more advanced, mature, or complex form or stage. It can otherwise be stated as the gradual advancement or growth through a series of progressive changes' (Educational Development Index, 2009). In this sense development can be considered a process, not a level. It is a path to

achieve certain goals. It can be summed up that educational development refers to the progression of education from a lower to a more advanced stage or growth through a series of progressive changes. But the perception of Historians, Educationists, Economists, Anthropologists, Political Scientists and Sociologists on development differs due to the influence of their own discipline. The dimensions of realities revealed on development may vary but their viewpoints enrich our knowledge. When the events and its contexts are systematized it facilitates to describe the connecting factors and find out unanswered questions based on evidences and logic and get close to the reality and brings better understanding of development.

The Educational Development Index (EDI, 2009) suggested 23 indicators of measuring educational development and is further re-grouped into the following four sub-categories:

- Access
- Infrastructure
- Teacher's; and
- Outcome

An indicator is that which points out or directs attention to something (Oxford Dictionary). It should be something, such as giving a broad indication of the state of the situation being investigated (Jonstone, 1981). Indicator is not an elementary item of information but it is processed information. Indicators are often compared to a 'norm' or a 'standard' (like pupil-teacher ratio) or to a previous score. Indicators reflect the way in which an objective can be achieved as well as to what degree approximately the objective has been achieved at any stage. The indicators in detail as suggested by Educational Development Index (2009) are shown in table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1: Suggested Indicators for Educational Development, EDI (2009)

Component	Indicator
Access	Percentage of Habitations not Served* (corrected with reference to new schools (Government) opened since 2002-03)
	Availability of Schools per 1000 Child Population
	Ratio of Primary to Upper Primary Schools/Sections (only at Upper Primary stage)

Infrastructure	Average Student-Classroom Ratio
	Schools with Student Classroom Ratio ≥ 60
	School with Drinking Water facility
	School with Common toilet
	Schools with Girl's toilet
Teachers	Percentage of Female Teachers
	Pupil-Teacher Ratio
	School with Pupil-Teacher Ratio ≥ 60
	Single-Teacher Schools (in schools with more than 15 students)
	Percentage of Schools with ≤ 3 teachers
	Teachers without Professional Qualification
Outcomes	Gross Enrolment Ratio - Overall
	Participation of Scheduled Castes Children: Percentage SC Population (2001 Census) - Percentage SC Enrolment
	Participation of Scheduled Tribes Children : Percentage ST Population (2001 Census) - Percentage ST Enrolment
	Gender Parity Index in Enrolment
	Repetition Rate
	Drop-out Rate
	Ratio of Exit Class over Class I Enrolment (only at Primary stage)
	Percentage of Passed Children to Total Enrolment
	Percentage of Appeared Children passing with 60 per cent and more marks

Source: Educational Development Index, 2009.

Amongst the indicators, some of the indicators are POSITIVE (such as Percentage of Female Teachers and Gross Enrolment Ratio) and a few others, NEGATIVE indicators (such as Percentage of Habitations not Served and Pupil-Teacher Ratio). The re-grouping of indicators is also suggestive in nature and can be modified in view of state-specific requirements. Depending upon the objective and availability of data, other variables/indicators can also be considered in compiling an index or a few of the proposed variables/indicators can also be dropped out (Educational Development Index, 2009).

1.1.3. Social Mobility

Social mobility can be defined very broadly as movement of an individual or a group within the social hierarchy between different class, occupational, incomes or wealth groups. Lipset and Bendix (1960) defined social mobility as a process by which individuals move from one position to another between such hierarchical arrangements that are to be found in each society. O'Donnell (1997) defines social mobility as a

movement up or down the social class hierarchy. According to Giddens (2000) social mobility refers to the movement of individuals and groups between socio-economic positions. If a person starts at a low level, they may improve their status by (for example) working hard, getting a better job, or becoming more culturally sound, to name a few possible approaches (Nunn, 2011). A society with a high level of social mobility is one where large proportions of the population are able to move both upwards and downwards between the groups in the social hierarchy. This might also be termed an 'open' or a 'fluid' society. A society with a low level of social mobility is one where it is more difficult to make such movements and therefore a large proportion of population remains in broadly the same place in the social hierarchy as their parents and remain there throughout their lives. This could be termed a 'closed' or 'rigid' society.

Social mobility has become the major topic of research in the field of sociology in recent times. Many researchers have been conducted on the said topic, the pioneering study were by Sorokin (1927), Glass (1949), Blau and Duncan (1967), Lipset and Bendix (1960), Featherman and Hauser (1978), Erikson and Goldthrope (1993), Andersen (2001), Iannelli and Paterson (2004), Branden *et al.* (2005), Chan and Boliver (2012) are the well known studies done abroad. In India, studies on social mobility are focussed especially on caste structure, the significant among the studies were by Srinivas (1950), Desai (1961), Beteille (1965), Sharma (1976), Singh (1977), Pandey (1979), Mankidy (1979), Singh (1980), Chaudhary (1987), Viswanath (1993), Karade (2009) and Kumar and Baseria (2012).

Types of social mobility:

- **Horizontal and vertical mobility:** Horizontal social mobility refers to the change of occupations, without any change in social status. For instance, a headmaster leaves one school and works in another. Here, only the social group of teacher changes, but his social position or status remains the same. So, by horizontal social mobility means the transformation of a person takes place within the same status groups. On the other hand vertical social mobility refers to the individual's movement, up and down in the social positions. All social groups are not equal in social status. Some of

them are considered high and some are low with respect to social prestige. The achievement of higher status and prestige by an individual or a group of lower status and in the same manner degradation of an individual or a group from higher status or prestige to lower status is called vertical social mobility (Ravi, 2011).

- **Intra-generational and inter-generational mobility**: Intra-generational mobility considers the movement of individuals between different socio-economic groups, income, wealth or status categories during their own lifetime. A person can move up or down the social scale in the course of their working life. For example, a man who enters as a school teacher and eventually becomes an inspector of schools of a district illustrates the intra-generational mobility. Inter-generational mobility compares the achieved social position of an adult with that of their parents. For example, a bus conductor, whose father was an engineer, illustrates downward inter-generational mobility and a film star, whose father was a farmer, illustrates upward intergenerational mobility. Most studies of social mobility take this latter inter-generational perspective (Nunn, 2011).
- **Absolute and relative:** Absolute social mobility refers to changes in the structure of society so that the distribution of the population between different social classes or income groups changes. Relative social mobility refers to individual movements between different social classes or income groups, regardless of changes in the distribution of the population between them. It is therefore 'relative' to the rest of society. While most studies focus on this relative aspect of the transition, it can be very difficult to isolate this relative movement from changes in the structure of the social hierarchy (Lambert *et al*., 2007).
- **Long and short-range mobility**: Long-range mobility refers to more substantive patterns of movement within the social hierarchy, perhaps from the bottom of the socio-economic structure or income distribution, towards the top. Short-range mobility refers to less marked transitions between neighbouring socio-economic status and income/wealth groups. Most studies of social mobility which focus on transitions between class groups operate with between three and seven social class groups while those using groups within the income or wealth distribution tend to focus on ten groups (deciles). This generally allows income or wealth-based studies

therefore to better able to capture shorter-range movements. However, while few studies allow consideration of movement within class groups, there is reason to think that such movements are important, for instance where they capture transitions out of poverty (Nunn *et al.*, 2008).

Mobility is enabled to a varying and debatable extent by economic capital, cultural capital (such as higher education), human capital (such as competence and effort in labour), social capital (such as support from one's social network), physical capital (such as ownership of tools, or the means of production), and symbolic capital (such as the worth of an official title, status class, celebrity etc.). Many of these factors, however, ultimately remain intertwined with economic capital. In the modern nation states, policy issues such as welfare, education and public transport exercise influence. In other society's religious affiliation, caste membership, or simple geography may be of central importance. The extent to which a nation is open and meritocratic is fundamental. A society in which traditional or religious caste systems dominate is unlikely to present the opportunity for social mobility.

Mobility is most often quantitatively measured in terms of changes in income or wealth. Occupation is another measure used in researching mobility, which usually involves both quantitative and qualitative analysis of data. Yet other studies may concentrate on social class. Likewise there are many indicators used in studying social mobility but one cannot consider all of it in their study. The differing dimensions of social mobility can be classified in terms of differing types of capital that contribute to changes in mobility. Bourdieu (1986) described three types of capital that place a person in a certain social category. Usually, person with all three type of capital have a high status in society. The three type of capital are as under;

- **Economic capital**: economic capital is mainly in the form of cash and assets.
- **Social capital**: Resources based on group membership, relationships, networks of influence and support. Bourdieu (1986) described social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network

of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition".

- **Cultural capital**: It includes forms of knowledge, skills, education, and advantages that a person has, which give them a higher status in society. Parents provide their children with cultural capital by transmitting the attitudes and knowledge needed to succeed in the current educational system.

Later he adds **symbolic capital**: Includes resources available to an individual on the basis of honor, prestige or recognition.

1.1.4. Education and Social Mobility

Education can be considered as a contributing factor for upward social mobility. As, an individual or a group of belongs to a lower status can move up to higher status in a society because of good education. Hence it can be said that educational development leads to a large extent vertical or upward mobility in any society. Functionalist have often viewed educational system as offering opportunities of mobility to the individuals. Education is helpful in solving poverty and creates social mobility (Weinberg, 1971), Fiona Devine in the book; Class practices: how parents help their children get good jobs, specifically on inter-generational mobility and how parents' influence can affect the child's social mobility, nearly every chapter emphasizes the importance of a good education in order to become successful. Blau and Duncan (1967), in their study; social mobility in America, found that the important factor affecting whether a son moved to a higher society status than his father was the amount of education the son received. Pandey (1988), in his study social mobility among women in Raipur, Madhya Pradesh, found out that education is an important factor for social mobility among women.

In its broad sense, education embraces all those experiences of the individuals through which knowledge is acquired, the intellect enlightened or the will strengthened. In its strict sense, education designates the consciously planned and systematically acquired formal education or training carried on through the various social agencies of education especially the school (Marsh, 1997).

Education is necessary for preparing children for adult life in terms of diplomas and degrees to determine one's credentials also for a job even if the work involved has nothing to do with the education one has acquired. Education is also important in terms of certification (regarded as eligible for particular position) and socialization (meant to prepare individuals for adult role). In contemporary Nigerian society, education is regarded as a basic yardstick for the placement of people into important social positions (Noah, 2009).

Education is required for several reasons. These include acquiring knowledge, preparing individuals for various social roles, status, transmitting culture, to escape from dull and unpleasant occupation, source of knowledge, skill, which enables people to begin new tasks and do old ones more effectively and lastly to supply the manpower need of the country (Schaefer, 1989).

Studies on the role of education in intergenerational mobility is date back to the early 1980s in the economics literature (Atkinson, 1980; Atkinson and Jenkins, 1984) and in sociology it is found even further back (Duncan and Hodge, 1963). Models developed by Blau and Duncan (1967) and Becker and Tomes (1986) place education or human capital, as the central mechanism through which advantage or disadvantage is passed from one generation to the next, they argue that greater income allows parents to invest more in their children's education. In addition children of richer parents may have characteristics, either genetic or learned, which make it easier for them to acquire education. More education leads to higher earnings. The education system can therefore be viewed as playing a key role in improving mobility. If access to education and the returns to given education levels are equal regardless of family background then education will provide a meritocratic route for the most able children to become the most well-paid adults. Over the past ten years there has been resurgence in this analysis, focusing on the drivers of intergenerational mobility over time and across countries (Black and Devereux, 2011). Many studies have focused on the role not only of education but also of cognitive and non-cognitive skills in this process (Osborn Groves, 2005; Blanden *et al*., 2007; Mood *et al*., 2012). Implementing a statistical decomposition derived from the model of Solon (2004), these analyses consider both the association between family income and childhood characteristics and the returns to these characteristics in the labour market in

adulthood. By combining these two separate stages, the role of these childhood characteristics can be assessed in the context of the transmission of income persistence across generations. While these studies find an independent role for early cognitive skills and non-cognitive traits in transmitting incomes across generations, the dominant effect is through educational attainment with these earlier skills feeding in to later attainment which is rewarded in the labour market Job (Blanden and Macmillan, 2014).

One of the advantages of viewing education as central to social mobility is that it allows us to address a problem common to the literature on social mobility; that we cannot measure mobility until individuals are adults. In the context of policy analysis this is problematic as those for whom we can measure mobility will have left the education system (where the number of policy levers is greatest) up to two decades earlier. For example, in the United Kingdom the most recent mobility estimates are for a cohort who attended secondary school under Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister. While it is useful to learn from the past, this does not help in the assessment of the likely effects of current policies on future trends in social mobility.

Obolenskaya *et al.* (2013), in their papers discuss the resources and policy energy that was ploughed into this area and find that the level of qualifications obtained increased and socio-economic inequalities in educational outcomes narrowed in the period 1997-2010. If we believe that education is the main driver of social mobility, it is possible to assess the potential future trends in mobility by looking at current trends in the association between family incomes and educational attainment.

1.2. Rationale of the Study

There is no dearth of studies on educational developments and its relation to social mobility in India as well as abroad. The significant among those were: **Studies on educational development;** Devi (1966), Educational system in Northern Indian (600-1200 A.D.), Chakravarti (1971), History of Education in Assam, 1826-1919, Devegowda and Parameswararan (1971), Progress of education in Mysore State from 1956-57 to 1968-69, Desai and Deve (1972), History of education in the districts of Dharwar, Belgaum, Bijapur and North Kanara from 1800 to 1956, Krishnayya and Deve (1972), History of Education in Coorg upto 1-11-1956, Acharya (1980) took a research study on Education in Bengal (1813-59): A Historical Study and Analysis, Bhattacharjee (1986),

A Study of Educational Development in Sikkim, Hluna (1986), Education in Mizoram 1894-1947, A Historical study with special reference to the role of Christian Missions, Dewan (1988), Education in the hill region of Darjeeling, West Bengal: Its development and the present status, Henia (1988), A study of the growth and development of education in Manipur during 1947-68, Kaur (1990), Education in Punjab from A.D. 1707 to 1849: A critical study, Pajankar and Pajankar (2010), Development of school education in India. **Studies on education and social mobility;** Glick and Miller (1956), Educational level and potential income, Singh (1978), Impact of education on vertical social mobility as measured by income, occupation and social status, Pandey (1979), Education and social mobility among Scheduled Castes, Mankidy (1979), Intergenerational Occupational Mobility Among the Scheduled Castes, Jena (1988), Social and occupational mobility among the artisan castes of a middle town in Orissa, Fatima (1989), Education, social mobility and social change among women in Bangalore City, Sinha (1992), Role of education in social and occupational mobility, Mujoo (1992), Higher education and social mobility: An interdisciplinary study of the impact of University education on the career and attitudes of graduates in Jammu and Kashmir, Karade (2009), Occupational mobility among the Scheduled caste, Ahmed and Mistry (2010), Modern education and socio-economic change: A case study of Mushlim women in Pune city, India, Kumar and Baseria (2012), Social Mobility among Scheduled Castes of Blocks Modhinagar in Ghaziabad District of Uttar Pradesh, Patil (2012), Role of education in social change, Andersen (2001), Social mobility in Latin America: Links with Adolescent Schooling, Burns (2001), Inheriting the future: the role of family background and neighbourhood characteristics in child schooling outcomes in South Africa, Wolf (2002), Does education matter?, Bhorat (2003), Labour market challenges in the post-Apartheid South Africa, Innelli and Paterson (2004),Social mobility in Scotland since the middle of the twentieth century, Pisati and Schizzerotto(2004), The Italian mobility regime: 1785-97 found that in Italy, Iannelli (2005), Education and social mobility in Schotland, Blanden *et al.* (2005), Social mobility in Britain: Low and falling, Labar (2007), Intergenerational Mobility in China, Breen and Luijkx (2007), Social mobility and education: A comparative analysis of period and cohort trends in Britain and Germany, Wolniak *et al.* (2008), College majors and social mobility, Noah (2009),

Impact of education on social mobility among residents in Ilorin metropolis, Azevedo (2009), Social mobility in Latin America: A review of existing evidence, Cremer *et al.* (2009), Education and social mobility, Andrews and Leigh (2009), More inequality, less social mobility, Braan (2009), Educational expansion and social mobility in the twentieth century, Cremer *et al.* (2010), Education and social mobility, Forest *et al.* (2011) The influence of childhood IQ and education on social mobility in the Newcastle thousand families' birth cohort', Chan and Boliver (2012), Social Mobility over three Generations in British, Lindley and Machin (2012), The quest for more and more education: Implications for social mobility.

Sikkim being a small state is devoid of studies on its various levels of educational development and its relationship with social progress. After going through the above stated studies it is found that except, Bhattacharjee, D.S. (1986) no further study has so far been undertaken in the area of educational developments in Sikkim. Bhattacharjee's studies on the said area were in 1986, some 25 years before. The development occurred after 1986 in the different parts of India was more rapid and complex. In general there was no uniformity in the educational and economic developments in the different regions, districts and within every state of India.

Therefore a study on the educational development in Sikkim has been felt necessary to understand its relation to the social progress. Social mobility is one among the dimensions of social progress. A study on the educational attainments and social mobility may provide an opportunity to understand the level of social progress in the various regions of Sikkim and among the various sections of the society of the state. Furthermore no any study has so far been made on the relationship between social mobility and educational attainment in Sikkim. Therefore an attempt has been made to study the educational development and social mobility in Sikkim.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

The present study is designed to find out the educational development and the relation between social mobility and educational attainment of the respondent in Sikkim. Hence

the study is entitled: **"Educational development and social mobility in Sikkim : A critical study".**

1.4. Objectives of the Study

Following are the objectives delineated for the present Study:

1. To study the development of education in Sikkim.
2. To study the social mobility in relation to educational attainment in Sikkim.

1.5. Operational Definitions

i) **Development** - Development refers to a progression from a simpler or lower to a more advanced, mature, or complex form or stage. It is also defined as the gradual advancement or growth through a series of progressive changes.

ii) **Educational Development** - Educational development refers to the progression of education from a lower to a more advanced stage or growth through a series of progressive changes. There are many indicators for analyzing educational development, but in the present study only the following indicators are taken into consideration as an indicators of educational development;

- Literacy rate,
- Size of educational institutions,
- Enrolment,
- Number of teachers,
- Strategies implemented to improve the quality and quantity of education.

iii) **Social Mobility** - Social mobility refers to change in the social status of a person or a group in the context of others. It is commonly seen in stratified society where people are categorized into different status groups, and they try to change their status by their efforts. Men are dynamic in nature they are normally engaged in endless endeavor to enhance their statuses in society, they try to move from lower position to higher position, secure superior job from an inferior one. For various reasons people of

higher status and position may also be forced to come down to a lower status and position. Thus people in society continue to move up and down the scale. This movement is called 'social mobility'. In the present study the investigator tried to study social mobility considering the following variables;

- Educational Attainment
- Occupation
- Occupational Grade
- Income
- Size of Family
- Type of Marriage
- Domicile

1.6. Delimitations of the Study

The study is delimited to;

1. Educational development and social mobility in Sikkim.
2. The government educational institutions in Sikkim.
3. The educational development up to 2012, more preference is given to school education.
4. The published sources on historical and educational development and the official records.
5. The sample is limited to 800 people from East and West District only.