DALITS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN UTTAR PRADESH: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

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DEDICATED

TO THE LOVING MEMORIES OF MY

MOTHER

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled

DALITS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN UTTAR PRADESH: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

Which is being submitted by **Ms. Ekta Roy** to the **Centre For The Study Of Social Systems, School Of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi** for the award of **Master of Philosophy** in Sociology.

This work is original and has not been submitted in part or full to any University or Institution for the award of any degree.

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

Prof. Ehsanul Haq
(Chairperson)

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PREFACE

The present dissertation is designed as an exploratory and analytical study of the participation of Scheduled Castes (SCs) in higher studies of the state of Uttar Pradesh (including Uttranchal – broadly from 1970's to 1990's).

With the help of macro- statistics, Census Reports and other secondary sources, it aims to find out the extent of SC's participation in different disciplines of higher education.

Uttar Pradesh is chosen for study, since it has the largest concentration of the SC population and is characterized by an enormous degree of diversity and inequalities in its socio- economic structure. It is also a region of India that currently lags behind much of the rest of the country in terms of a number of important aspects of well-being and social progress.

The main criterion for the selection of state for caste wise analysis of educational development is the concentration of SC populations and the educational backwardness in terms of literacy rate. The low differential rates are found in those states which represent fairly high degree of educational development. These include Kerela, Goa, Pondicherry and some states of the north east. The states with the highest disparities are those having large difference in highest and lowest literacy. Rajasthan and UP are two examples of this typical behavior.

Higher education is very crucial for students because the courses which they choose at this stage helps them to decide the type of jobs they opt in future. And, types of jobs they opt play a major role in deciding their status in the society thus indicating their social mobility.

The objectives of present study are to explore and examine the extent to which the SCs have gained the fruits of reservation policy and to find out if they are at par with general students in higher education in Uttar Pradesh. It also tries to examine the role of politics and that of political parties in the social mobility of SCs in UP. At the same time the objective is also to explore the drop-out reasons of SC students in primary and higher education.

Historically, the Indian society is based on a caste system which forms the basis for a higher degree of polarization in access to knowledge and means of production. The perpetuation of social and economic inequalities further strengthened the division of society along the caste lines where in the occupation, the status got determined at the time of birth, depending upon the type of family in which one is born and not by the individual initiative, aptitude, educational attainment or skills acquired during the working life.

The history of social origin of the scheduled caste is what is traditionally known as sudras or the untouchable is age old. Origin of the caste system in India may be traced back to the dawn of civilization in this country, viz., Dravidian followed by Aryan civilization. Hinduism divided the caste into three clear cut sub- divisions which started by virtue of the occupational pursuits followed by various classes.

Ghurye (1961) observes that when the Indo- Aryan came into India and established their social organization, they made four-fold divisions. The original Indians or the Dravidians were bycotted from their social, cultural and religious context of social organization and were assigned the fourth and the bottom status in the varna hierarchy which constituted the sudra category. This class was treated as an inferior and

suffered from certain disabilities. "Caste is generally defined as a hereditary endogamous and usually localized group, having a traditional association with an occupation and a particular position in the local hierarchy of caste."(Srinivas.1962). It is true, that though this functioning unit of Hindu social system was made according to the syntax of purity/ pollution , devising a socio- economic framework with a religious and political sanction behind it, it infact became a form of legitimized slavery , enmeshing social tensions along caste lines.

According to Majumdar(1958) the untouchable castes are those who suffer from various social and political disabilities, many of which are traditionally prescribed and socially forced by higher castes. During the age of Dharmashatras, the idea of purity and pollution became so stiff that it was not even thought in dreams by a higher castes to maintain any sort of social contacts with the untouchables or low castes.

Srinivas (1956) observes that untouchability is more than ritual rank and the pollution and there is congruence of economic, ritual and political statuses in the case of Harijans.(Pandey.1988) Similarly according to Ambedkar (1948) this type of untouchability among the Hindus stands in a class by itself . There is nothing that

can make the untouchable pure. They are born impure, they are impure while they live, they have the death of impure and they give birth to children who are born with the stigma of untouchability offered to them.(Pandey.1988).

Caste and class are used as basis of hierarchical ranking and it exists side by side. Caste is a hereditary social group which does not permit mobility to its members. It involves ranking according to birth which affects one's occupation, marriage and social relationships. Caste is used both as a unit and as a system.

Caste is looked upon as a structural as well as cultural phenomenon.

As a structural phenomenon , it refers to interrelated statuses , patterned interactions among castes on the basis of different restrictions and a stable set of social relation .As a cultural phenomenon , it is viewed as a ' set of values, beliefs and practices'. Gough (Leach. 1960:11) views caste as "ranked birth-status group which are usually endogamous and tend to be associated with an occupation." Senart (1930) has described castes as a closed corporation, rigorously hereditary, bound with others by common occupation and equipped with a council that rules its members by the sanction of certain penalties. Bailey and Srinivas have viewed caste as structure and have avoided the definition of caste. Dutt

(1931: 3-4) describing caste system has referred to restrictions on marriage, eating and drinking occupation, change in hereditary membership, and the hierarchical gradation of castes. Morris (1950: 284) describes caste system as characterized by hereditary membership and endogamy and prescribing specific norms which regulate social interaction. Ghurye (1957: 2-19) has also referred to the restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation and civil and religious disabilities. D'Souza (1969: 72) has referred to the definition of caste system as "the integration of the interacting and heterogeneous, internally homogeneous hereditary group into a structure of status hierarchy" Singh (1974: 319) hold that structurally, the caste system simultaneously manifests two tendencies: One segmental and the other organic. As a segmental reality, each caste or a sub-caste tends to articulate mutual repulsion, social distance and social inequality, but as an organic system, the caste segments are mutually interlinked by a principle of reciprocity through the jajmani system.

According to Srinivas, caste is undoubtedly an all India phenomenon in the sense that there are everywhere hereditary, endogamous groups which form a hierarchy and that each of these groups has a traditional association with one or two occupations.

Theoretical Perspective

Some form and quantum of inequality in property, prestige and power is bound to creep into any society and it has been true of all past societies as well (Beteille, 1983). Beteille (1969) points out to the great paradox of the modern world wherein people everywhere attach great importance to the principle of equality and yet in their own lives as well as in the lives of others inequalities abound.

There has been a long drawn out debate on inequality among men (Kumar, 1986; Betille; Dahrendorf, 1968). Inequality among men means various things. It would mean that human beings are unequally placed. Or it would mean that they have unequal opportunities and are unequally rewarded. This kind of inequality is easily recognized and can easily be shown to exist in any society, simple or complex, past or present.

Dahrendorf (1968), considers inequality as an evil. Many social thinkers like Plato, Aristotle etc. have recognized the inherent inequality among men, and as a consequence there of a natural rank order among men (Beteille, 1983; Duberman, 1976; Dahrendorf, 1968).

There are two schools of thought in this regard:

1) Functionalist and

2) Radical

Functionalist argues:-

a) Inequality is ordained by nature.

b) Civilization and culture depend upon it.

c) The intrinsic inequality between persons creates inequality of ranks and

d) Its function is to match talents with position in society.

The best known exponents of functional theory are Parsons, and Davis and Moore. Parsons (1940) believed that order, stability and cooperation in society were based on value consensus and stratification was derived from common values. Accordingly, the individuals will be evaluated and placed in some rank.

Like Parsons, Davis and Moore (1945) saw inequality as a functional necessity for all human societies. They considered this inequality as indispensable for the maintenance of any social structure and hence impossible to eliminate. According to them, since all positions are not equal nor do they require equal skill, society must induce its members by offering differential rewards to match the most able people with the functionally most important positions.

Radical sociologist takes inequality as dysfunctional, and undesirable. The radical school treats 'inequality' as a dynamic concept. It supports the assumption that as social stratification grows out of 'sanctions', the concept of equality of educational opportunity has been

developed from the simplistic viewpoint of equal educational chances for all, which takes into consideration different dimensions of social reality. Husen (1975) described three major conceptions of educational equality as follows:

1) The Conservative Conception.

2) The Liberal Conception.

3) The Radical Conception.

The Conservative conception of educational equality maintains that individuals are bestowed with different amounts of ability and therefore, one should make best possible use of one's own ability or capacity and society should provide ample opportunity to him for his fullest development. Husnen argues that basically this conception of equality is based on the premise that "God has given each individual the aptitudes that correspond to the caste or class in which he is born and he not only makes optimal use of his capacity but be content with it" (Husnen 1975:3). This view also emphasizes the 'selection of talents' from the masses so that they might contribute to the development of the nation and society should give due recognition to this selected talent.

The Liberal conception of educational equality assumes that each individual is born with a relatively constant capacity or intelligence and therefore for the maximum development of individual's ability and

capacities, the educational system should be designed in such a way as to remove the external barriers, racial or economic which prevents able students of the lower classes from taking advantage of 'inborn intelligence". It is, therefore, besides ability that social distracters and social facilitators should be taken into consideration in educational decision making. The main thrust of this Liberal conception of educational equality is on equal treatment.

The Radical conception of educational equality is more logical and advanced than the other two conceptions. According to this conception, equality cannot be defined solely in terms of opportunity to them but it should be judged in relation to the current inequalities of income and wealth, occupation, political power etc. This conception concedes that equality is a goal which can be achieved by providing compensatory measures.

In India the reservation policy for the upliftment of scheduled castes, scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes is based on the Radical conception of educational equality, because it provides opportunity to enter at every (expect primary and secondary) level into educational institutions.

Origin of the Term 'Scheduled Caste'

The expression 'Scheduled Caste' was first coined by the Simon

Commission and embodied in the government of India Act 1935. The word Scheduled Caste thus, is a collective term to refer to all the untouchable castes belonging to different states of the country are put under this category which was accepted by Indian Constitution in 1950. Ghurye (1960) constitutionally defines scheduled castes as those groups whose names are included in the scheduled castes order in force for the time being.

Gandhi- Ambedkar   Controversy (Poona Pact)

Both Gandhi and Ambedkar were staunch nationalist and social reformers to the core. Their basic thought deeply rooted in their belief that religion is a necessary social fact, and a principle source of human liberation, dignity and equality. From this point, differences arose between them.

Hinduism was an ideal scheme for social and religious fulfillment in Gandhi's view. He saw "untouchability" as an appendix in the body of Hinduism which had to be removed leaving the rest of the caste system intact and purified . Condemning untouchability, he thought it possible to remove untouchability, and return to the Vedic conception of Hinduism by appealing to the instincts of men. As a moralist, Ghandhi look to a society without untouchability. He attacked 'untouchability' and not the cast system. He opinioned that

militancy or antagonism among the untouchables and touchables is likely to lead to disunity and dissatisfaction, which he was opposed as being a staunch nationalist.

On the other hand Ambedkar attacked the cast system itself and wanted the destruction of the cast system. Ambedkar himself being from an untouchable community was closely aware of the humiliation and the degrading conditions of the untouchables both in rural and urban areas. He considered legal measures as powerful instrument for the upliftment of the depressed classes and maintained that political power was the only effective method or advancing the interests of the depressed communities.

Based on this, Ambedkar demanded separate electorates and political safeguards considering that these will serve a useful purpose in raising the social, political and economic status. Gandhi opposed separate electorates as he believed it would result in political separation of the untouchables from the Hindus, and declared fast unto- death to force the revision of electoral award.

The compromise of this Gandhi – Ambedkar debate on the issue of separate electorate came out as the POONA- PACT (1932) under which Ambedkar yielded up the separate electorate and accepted in its place a system of reservation for untouchables under a joint electorate with a caste Hindu majority.

Role of Constitution in Removing Untouchability

Soon after the attainment of independence, this relationship of master-slave type was sought to be changed as equality of opportunity and social justice was recognized as the guiding principles of development planning in independent India. In this regard, the constitution of India aims at achieving administrative and political unity and economic and social revolution under a democratic set-up. Our Constitution clearly says that justice is not only political but economic and social as well. Equality is not only of opportunity but also of status. The Constitutional provisions for providing social justice has been categorized into three broad categories:-

1. PROTECTIVE (Abolition of untouchability, disability removal etc.);

2. DEVELOPMENTAL (Educational schemes, scholarships, free separate hostel);

3. PREFERNTIAL (Legislature, employment and educational reservation).

Constitution as a Tool for Social Justice

Caste is conceptualized in the Indian Constitution as the principal factor behind social hierarchy, inequality and social closure. The constitution combats it in two distinct but related ways. The Constitution specifically outlaws caste as a cause of discrimination along with gender,

race, and place of birth. Article 15, in laying down the norms of the right to equality for all citizen, provides for equal access to all aspects of political as well as a civil life:

Article 15(1): The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth or any of them.

Article 15(2): No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to:-

(a) Access to shops, public restaurant, hotel and places of public entertainment or

(b) The use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partially out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

The practice of untouchability is prohibited by the constitution. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "Untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law (Article 17).The provision was given considerable force by the Untouchablity Prohibition Act of 1955 which had subsequently been amended to given it even greater force. The new law, called the Civil Right Act, is much more far reaching in its scope.

In the second place, the constitution provides for a range of political and legal instruments to combat past inequalities through positive discrimination in representation of public services, allocation of educational, economic and social facilities. A sub-section of the fundamental provision for equal right lays down categorically: 'Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizen or for the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes.' In addition, the constitution has provided for administrative machinery to watch over the interests of the former untouchables, tribes and backward classes.(Mitra.1994).

The Constitutional Safeguards and the Protective Measures for the Schedule Castes

It is worthy to discussion here that the Preamble to the Constitution, Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles, which together have been described as the core of the Constitution of India, reflects the basic principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

The inequitable forces in the socio-economic system and the political organizations, had created imbalance in the society and placed

certain people, particularly the schedule castes in the disadvantageous position. Therefore, the Constitution of India, on one hand, provides to all the citizens, social, economic and political justice and equality of status and opportunity and on the other hand, Article 46 under Directive Principles of State Policy, which is now Fundamental Right provides that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Schedule Castes And Schedule Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Basu.1993).

Social Safeguards

The abolition of untouchability (Article 17)under which two legislations relating to this are The Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955 and Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes (Protection of Atrocities) Act 1989. Prohibition of traffic in human being and begar and forced labour (Art 24); Hindu Religious institution of a public character open to all Hindus (Art 25(2)(b)). (Basu.1993).

Educational Safeguards

State to reserve seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in educational institutions (Act (15) (4)) (Basu.1993).

Political Safeguards

Reservations of seats in Lok Sabha state legislative Assemblies

Panchayats and Municipal bodies(Article 330, 332, 234-D and 243-T respectively) (Basu.1993).

Service Safeguards

State to make any provision for the reservations in appointments or posts (Article 16(4)); Reservations in promotion for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe (Article 16(4) A); Claims of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to service and posts to be taken into consideration (Article 335).(Basu.1993).

To monitor and evaluate the various safeguards provided for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, National Commission for Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes came into being (Article 338) (Basu.1993).

Reservations

Reservation in a simple sense is an instrument for undoing historical social Inequality and achieving substantive rather than formal equality in our society. Reservation policy is essentially a humanitarian instrument.

Indian society is an egalitarian society not only by fact but also by design, and in such a rigid structure, reservation policy is too mild and inadequate to bring about substantive equality. Thus reservations are at best only a very small but right step in the right direction. To remove the

stigma of inferiority and to lift the weight of discrimination from depressed class a system of concession and reservation has been used.(Menon.1986).

History

Before coming into force Constitution of India, the policy of the British Government, was to make communal representation in services up to 12 ½ percent of the vacancies in open competition in favor of candidates belonging to certain communities which were considered as backward and weaker section of society. The principal communities were given appointments in proportion to their population. In addition to this, certain reservations were also made in services for Anglo Indians. The policy of reservation in jobs was quite firmly established during the closing decades of the British rule but such a policy was designed more to redress communal inequalities of the disadvantaged section of the society because of past societal discrimination.

The quantum of reservation is received regularly, in order to give proper effect to the prescribed reservation. Despite a variety of provisions, the outcome has been quite mixed. While the government has been extending the provisions of protective discrimination from one decade to another, it is generally felt that some castes have progressed faster to the exclusion of the others thus perpetuating the intra-caste

differentials within the SCs. There are many instances when intra- caste disparities and differentials are more pronounced than those prevailing between SC, ST and others as a whole. The differentials in educational attainment and access to elementary and other levels of education have also continued to perpetuate. This calls for a detailed examination of the outcomes of educational and other efforts undertaken during the last four decades.

Sociological Perspective of Social Policy

Sociology is also concerned with social policy. A policy is an indication of the direction proposed to be taken by an authority in a given field of activity. A social policy is a policy concerning social aspects of community's life. Broadly, any policy has social implications; However in the narrow sense, social policy can be said to be concerned with programmes and services in the areas of health, education, housing, social welfare, and welfare of the weaker sections and of the backward classes.

According to M.S.Gore, social policy is primarily concerned with the following sets of issues;(a) issues of human freedom and rights of individual citizens (b) misuse of equality and equal opportunity and issues of human welfare. These issues arise because the modern state has accepted the idea of the responsibility of the State for the well- being of

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the individual citizen. However, specific needs that would be concerned with welfare vary from government to government.

Social Policy and Social Structure

In the literature on social development, the issues of human freedom and of social equality have come to be looked upon as constituting a dichotomy.

Constitution of India speaks of democratic secular and socialist republic being established. But India's record of social and economic equality is bad. India has not attained even a resemblance of economic equality. Also, our society has not been able to remove gross poverty and has not been able to assure even a reasonable opportunity for the poor to rise above the condition in which they are born. The only remedial steps so far in the direction of a policy of discrimination in favour of weaker section.

Present Status

It is important to examine how far the lot of SCs has improved in the society. It is said that though there are some trends of upward and social mobility among the SC families and some SC individuals are enjoying high administrative positions, yet broadly speaking the SCs have registered little progress in the last five decades. The financial incentives

and educational reservations have bestowed little real benefit to these sections.

With the strength of 16.48 percent in the total population of the country, in 1991 and with 15% of reservation, the SCs have not been able to take full advantage of the reserved seats allotted to them in government jobs.

The question now raised is: Are SCs still being ignored or are they being pampered. Example from educational field is being examined. The enrollment of SCs at primary, secondary and high school levels is about 15 percent and at higher secondary, graduate and post- graduate levels, is about 8 percent. Their performance in education is poor. The poor quality of their education is evident in their performance at the entrance tests.

Chapterization

CHAPTER 1

It is introductory in nature. It briefly examines the caste hierarchy and the historical context of the debate on social justice and reservation policy with the emphasis on Constitutional procedures. It summarizes the idea of several scholars on caste hierarchy. The two perspectives of equality and preferential opportunity in the Constitution for the upliftment of SC people in educational as well as social field are connected with each other. This part of the dissertation is theoretical and

argues that the notion of equality as an aspect of justice requires the State to adopt standards which ensure the basic needs are available to every individual in society.

CHAPTER II

It surveys the literature, available on the subject.

CHAPTER III

This chapter deals with the UP state and its general profile. This chapter also depicts the geographical and social status of the state, with its demographic composition, state governance as well as the nature of politics in contemporary times. The policy of reservation is one of the most prominent elements of UP state politics, therefore, it will also throws light on the beginning of the castiest politics in Uttar Pradesh.

CHAPTER IV

It examines the Government's Reservation Policy. It also looks into the data of enrollments of SC students in higher studies in UP. It examines how far the promise of raising the socio-economic status of SCs in UP has been fulfilled. This chapter attempts to examine the role played by higher education in the social mobility of SCs an UP. It deals with the drawbacks and lacunae of the Reservation Policy.

CHAPTER V

This chapter analyses the social implications of dalits in higher education.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the present chapter, review of related literature of socio-economic and educational dimensions of scheduled caste students in general is discussed.

Many studies have been undertaken to understand the educational problems and socio- economic conditions of the SC students. Mishra and Kaur (1990) found in their study state that the direct outcome of the polity was supposed to be a more equitable distribution of economic resources and a worthwhile sharing of state affairs

Masani (1990) argues that reservations increase inefficiency and debilitate merit. Regarding the utilization of the scholarships provided for the SC students, Oommen, T.K. (1977) found that the actual beneficiaries were not the poorest or the most deserving among Scheduled Castes but those who were already economically better off among them. According to him the scholarships for higher education were grabbed by these somewhat affluent sections among the scheduled castes. Similarly, economic benefits had failed to percolate to poor and Scheduled Caste women students. However, Aggarwal and Ashraf (1976) pointed out that in some cases the reservation policy was a major factor in upward mobility of those SCs who belonged to very poor families. But their number is very small. Sachchidanand(1974), Pimpley(1976),

Chitnis(1977), Kirpal(1978), and D'Souza(1979) came to similar conclusion that the economically better off among the SCs had been able to avail themselves of the educational opportunities more than the really impoverished . Bains (1987), Singh (1972) and Lal (1988) have shown that government efforts to improve the economic status of SCs might have made some impact but their social conditions remain almost intact. The same observation was made about Kumauni society by Pandey(1988). The studies of Adisheshiah (1974), Chitnis (1975), Raj Gopalan (1974), and Rath (1974), unanimously indicate that the socio-economic conditions of the SC students are uncomfortable.

On the contrary, Gangrade (1974), Desai (1974), and Nayar (1975), reported satisfactory socio-economic conditions of Scheduled Caste students after independence. Similar trends were reflected in the studies of Shah (1991), and Pandey (1988) among SCs and STs.

Pandey (1988) argues that although socio-economic status of the lower rungs in the caste hierarchy has somewhat improved, yet they are below the higher castes. There are limited studies of SC women as their number is also quite low in comparison to their men counterparts. The educational backwardness as well as lack of clarity of the goals is also more prominent on the case of female SC students.

Kabra (1991) states that SCs begin their carrer with certain deprivation and their performance is found to be poor. Bindu (1974) found in case of SCs of Uttar Pradesh that the educational level was significantly low among parents as well as younger generation. Salma (1980) has reported a similar trend for Kumauni harijans.

Various studies have brought out that the parents, family and cultural environment are important factors responsible for the educational backwardness among the scheduled castes males in general and SC women in particular. Aphole (1962) observed that SC children did not have any help from their parents in their studies, while better-off parents appointed private teachers for their children.

According to Jha (1977) lack of parental encouragement was found to be highly responsible for low level of education among SC girls at all level of education. Chopra (1964) has shown that there is significant positive relationship between family income and achievement even when other important variables such as grade, and community contexts are taken into account. Chitra (1969) has shown that the upper status students have a greater chance of going to college than their schoolmates from lower status family.

Jha (1977) has also shown a positive relationship between high income and good education. Thus, it has been concluded by many studies

that social class is an important factor in the cause of various obstacles in educational achievements. Singh (1979) observed that the main cause of poor performance as well as of threatened discontinuity of education in the case of scheduled castes is their economic condition.

According to Shah and Salunke (1984) students of high socio-economic status group had better home environment for education than middle and low socio- economic status group. Reddy and Sudha (1980) while studying SCs and non SC men and women students, at school level found that the high socio- economic status group reported significantly less adjustment problems than middle and low socio-economic status group.

Parvathamma (1989) finds frustration prevalent among SCs in post- independence India. She finds that untouchability has been abolished in the constitution but even today it has remained only as a 'legal- fiction'. She further argues that economic betterment has brought about class consciousness but has not helped to remove the stigma of untouchability and most of the benefits are being utilized by some sub-castes, while the majority continues to lag behind. She argues, for example the Chamars and Mahars have done well in Bihar and Maharashtra respectively, while Jatavs in Uttar Pradesh, Adi-Dharmis amd Julahas in Punjab and Mala-Madiga in Andhra Pradesh.

On the contrary, Singh (1965), and Barail (1966) have shown that there exits no significant relationship between achievement and social class. Some other factors are also important along with the level of socio-economic status.

Regarding goals and aspirations of the students, Joshi (1976) has studied the educational problems of the SCs and STs of the Baroda district and found that there was a wide gap between the aspirations of Schedule Castes and general students. It indicates that they are not clear about their studies. At the same time the educational aspirations of the women were much more restricted. Chitnis (1974) in a study in Maharashtra found that the SC and ST women planned to terminate their education at graduation level or even earlier.

Parental support in setting the child's goal also determines the magnitude of the child's aspirations. According to Pal and Dixit (1983) those parents who set their children's goal also paved the way for them to attain them. There was also reinforcement by rewarding or punishing them which later or sooner led to internalization of aspiration. Sachchidanand (1973) had also observed that out of eight Dalit girls studied, all except one got encouragement from their home for education. According to Thakral (1977) in high school SC students aspired for low prestige hierarchy occupation as compared to non-scheduled caste

students. Singh (1981) has found in some schools of Rajasthan that SC and ST students were indecisive in choosing any particular vocation and subject for higher education.

However, Pimpley (1974) in Punjab and Gangrade (1974) in Haryana found that high school SC students had high educational and occupational aspirations. Singh (1979) has shown that SC students desired to adopt government services or occupations which are new and modern. In the study of SCs and STs in Maharashtra, Chitnis (1974) found that the major difference between the occupational aspirations of the women and men was that none of the women wanted to join the police force, the military, the business or the industry, and preferred jobs of clerk, typist and to some extent officers and professional like law, engineering or medicine.

Sunanda Patwardhan (1973) found in her study that cultural change in terms of self- motivation is an important factor in upward mobility. This can be proved by the example of Mahars and Neo- Buddhists in Maharashtra. Ambedkar's movement made them motivated for the conversion to Buddhism. Chitnis (1975) states that although SCs have access to higher education, they are enrolled in the less prestigious courses and institutions. Regarding the utilization of the scholarships provided for the SC students, Issaces (1965) observes that self-

betterment in India has to begin with education in the case of SCs. He also argues that reservation has benefited only 10% of the SC population.

Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) sponsored a national study in seventies to look into the educational problems of SC and ST schools and colleges students in fourteen states of India. The results are summed up under the categories of state, sex, age and hostellers / non- hostellers, year of study, marital status *etc.* of the respondents in both high schools and colleges. The findings show that both men and women respondents are into arts stream rather than in commerce and science stream. It also shows most of the parents are non-literates. The findings also show that the economic condition of SCs and STs is very low and only 3.2 % (men) and 3.5 %(women) do not get scholarships as their fathers are economically well off.

Jha (1974) in his study further revealed that higher the level of educational achievement, the more favourable was the attitude of people towards abolition of untouchability. However, the enrolment of SC students in institutions of higher learning did not pick up immediately due to a variety of reasons. In a study conducted in 1974-75 by Sociology Department of B.H.U. on the SC students belonging to eastern districts of U.P., it has been found that although there has been a rise in the number of SC students at the undergraduate level; but the rise in their

number in the institutions of higher learning lagged behind. Chitnis (1972), and Premi(1974) in their studies have shown the perpetuation facilities and stressed that instead of the declared objective of providing equal opportunities to all, the present system of education is perpetuating inequalities.

According to Uplaonkar (1982) only a small proportion of SC students have been able to reap the benefits of higher education and consequently the benefits of reservations in organized labour market for which educational qualifications are the major considerations. It is interesting to raise a question that when a vast majority continues to remain outside the school sector, how can one expect education to act as an instrument for equalization?

Aikara (1980) in his study showed that the incidence of stagnation and dropout is higher among the SC students than among the non- SC students. This is essentially due to the fact that while technically the SC students have the facilities available, but they are hesitant to get full benefit of these facilities due to family pressures and lack of awareness and lukewarm support from the fellow students and sometimes the uncaring attitude of teachers.

Three crucial factors –enrolments, hostels and scholarships which form the key elements of the strategy of educational development have

been the focus of study by many scholars. Various studies have documented the alarming backward conditions of SCs and traced it to the deprivation they suffer due to the differential treatment from the powerful elites in and outside the educational institutions. Accordingly, the distributive disparities affecting the SCs are at three levels, between the SCs and general population; between SCs and STs and within SCs. (Sharma 1974). Sachchidanand and Sinha (1989) in a study of 23 scheduled castes in Bihar highlighted that the SC students continued to suffer from the social stigma of untouchability; their poor economic conditions forced early entry into labour force and discouraged them from going in for higher education. The school and college SC students continued to suffer from the complexion of inferiority as compared to non- scheduled caste Hindus.However, early entry into working force may have ensured economic stability of the family without affecting their chances of vertical mobility.

D'Souza (1980) in his study of the educational level of SCs in Punjab used co-efficient of equality to indicate the educational of SCs in relation to that of other castes and found enormous differences that persisted between the two. Aggarwal (1987) while studying the aspects of educational development among the SC population in India brought out the comparative analysis of literacy level among the SCs and general

population. The distribution of SCs and the general population was also examined along with various aspects of the identification, measurement and explanation of the socio-economic complexities among SCs.

Singh's (1975) study based on the primary data collected from four districts of Western Uttar Pradesh and capital district of the state developed a composite index based on (1) exposure to mass-media (2) participation in extra-curricular activities (3) politicization (4) opinions regarding educational facilities and opinions regarding the reservation of jobs.

In order to highlight the disparities between the SCs and general population, Chitnis (1981) in her study raised some significant queries as to what is the outcome of the investments in the education of SCs . Who are the beneficiaries? Are the facilities uniformly utilized by the SCs? Do the SC students have 'equal access to all educational institutions? How do the SCs view their own situation and what is their outlook on and reaction to measures provided for their advancement?

Dube (1984) in his report based on the carer profile of 4033 SC students highlighted the academic performance and ratio of retention, failure, dropouts, repetitions among the SC and ST students. Raza and Aggarwal (1982) while highlighting the historical factors affecting the emergence of inequalities between SCs and non-SCs examined district

wise data for empirical estimation of the magnitude of various types of disparities in the levels of literacy. The study also examines statistically relationship between increase in literacy rate and the magnitude of disparities. It was shown that the disparities tended to reduce at a literacy rate of 70% or more.

Raza and Aggarwal (1983) in their study have highlighted the genesis of the factors which have led to the persistence of disparities between SCs and others; compared and evolved a suitable methodology to measure the gaps in the levels of literacy between different elements of SC and the remaining population; identified the spatial patterns of the spread of literacy among different elements of the SC population and examined the similarities and dissimilarities in the literacy behavior of SC and non – SC population . While reviewing the educational developments in the country, the challenge of Education (1985) highlighted the inadequacies from which educational strategies for SCs have suffered.

The National Policy on Education (1986) and Programme of Action (1986) reiterated the government's commitment to overcome the problems faced by the SC and ST students through a variety of measures. For the SCs, it included removal of barriers to access by relaxation of norms for setting up of schools, appointment of SC teachers, scholarships, remedial coaching and provision of hostels etc. It was

believed that their efforts would help in bridging the gap between SC and other. The review of recent enrolment trends has shown some improvements at school stage but utilization of educational facilities in higher education has remained less than satisfactory.

Most studies find that education in India has not reached to the lower strata of Scheduled Caste except marginally. Their enrolment compared to the non-SCs is very low and among those who enroll, few pass the examination. In 1962, Neelson found out that out of 40,000 students who had in rolled for pre-university course in Mysore University, there were only 961 SC students and only six percent of them got through the course. Anne Felice (1977) finds that caste barriers as a hurdle in interaction among modern educated youth in India. The study done by Chauhan and Narayan (1976) in Uttar Pradesh discovered that out of 296 SC respondents, only 71 were in receipt of scholarships. They also found that in all the managing committees and schools, teachers were from higher castes. Naik (1971) mentions that spread of higher education among the SCs is still only about one fourth of that of other communities. Shukla (1989) discovered that education cannot be spread easily or be an effective means of change as long as status is measured by land holding , income etc.

Inequality of educational opportunity for SCs has been studied by various sociologists. Patwardhan (1973) considers education as a very important factor to enhance the social mobility of the scheduled castes. She studied the growth of literacy rates, post- matric scholarships, and hostel facilities utilized by the various sub- castes in Maharashtra. She found that Mahars are educationally the most advanced group. They have a positive and conscious approach to education. She underlines the magnitude of 'wastage' and 'drop-out' among the SCs. For her, socio-economic backwardness is the main reason for the poor enrolment especially at higher levels of education. She argues that there is lack of tradition of learning in the homes of SCs and their economic backwardness is responsible for the incidence of large number of dropouts among the SCs.

Wankhede (1994) found in his study of 150 educated SCs in Delhi that educational measures are most important among all. Therefore, the educational progress of SCs can be regarded as the most important index of their general growth and development. D'Souza (1980) argues that social change and development of Scheduled Castes is to be necessarily viewed through education. Although, Indian education has its inherent weakness, Indian society has heavily depended on education for social change. However, major cause of social change has been

industrialization and urbanization. He further argues that the SCs being the last to receive the changes through these processes there development has been minimal and has been confined to the urban sectors. Although the development benefits are extended to the SCs and STs as a social category. The beneficiaries are specific persons and families. This means that the unit of mobility is an individual and not a group in the context of development benefits (Oommen 1997).

Similarly Wankhede (1999) says that after independence the untouchable communities received special attention by means of adopting many welfare measures through the Constitution. Educational facilities, reservations in jobs and political reservations have been the major ones. Among all these, the educational measures are most important.

However, educational benefits reached mainly to the few among the urban population resulting into a formation of educated elites which are insignificant in numbers (Wankhede 1999). Although the development planning has been to expand education, it did not reach the majority during the last 50 years of independence, it is revealed that the SCs who have entered the educational system suffer from backwardness in terms of quality and quantity of the education they receive (Velasker 1988). The reason underlying this backwardness have been categorized

by Velasker (1988) into two, namely, problems related to their social background and problems that are inherent within the educational system.

Wankhede (1999) maintains that there are limits to what we expect from education for social change and development among the SCs. Social development through education is confined to limited urban based population. Among dalits, social change is more at peripheral level that took place through process of industrialization and urbanization (Wankhede:1999:10).

Viswanath (1993) also finds education as an important tool for social change. She calls education as a 'solvent' of caste barriers. In her study of SC women in Kerala, she found that there is a considerable educational mobility between the two generations of SC women.

The significance of formal education in social mobility had been pointed out by Rao (1972) "Education helps in promoting values and achieving new goals. It is widely recognized that formal education plays a vital role in social mobility, both horizontal and vertical. If formal education is seen as a socializing agency preparing individuals for a style of life associated with a stratum, it is the same time an agency helping individuals to overcome prejudices, and promoting values and behavior of a more universalistic nature"(Rao, 1972: 131-132).

The Constitutional provisions for reservation, understood as a package of protective, preferential and developmental practices are entered to create conditions for the social advancements of the historically disadvantaged groups, their integration into mainstream society, and participation in its opportunity structure on equal terms with the advanced groups (Radhakrishnan 1990:191-92).

However, according to Srinivas (1996:29) *Reservations are not and cannot be, a major means of restructuring society. India will be reduced to a country of caste labels, of birth counting for more than achievement in education and in employment, of mediocrity getting ahead more rapidly than merit if the mania for reservation goes unchecked.*

It is understandable that judges, the interpreters of the Constitution feel obliged to provide a rationale or an ideological basis for reserving seats in legislature and jobs in the government for certain categories of citizens. Further, it is only just that groups which have historically been exploited and humiliated by powerful sections, be given some concessions with regard to access to scarce resources. Another justification mentioned is the need for 'empowering' the weaker sections.

Reservation of jobs is considered for the deprived, backward communities to give them a share in the administrative apparatus and in the governance of the community (Srinivas,1996).

The next chapter deals with the educational scenario of SCs in higher education in the state of Uttar Pradesh.

CHAPTER **3: Uttar Pradesh: A General Profile**

This chapter deals with a general profile of the state of Uttar Pradesh (UP) throwing light on the caste composition of the state, its governance and contemporary politics in brief.

Emergence of UP as a State

The history of Uttar Pradesh is very ancient and interesting. It is recognized in the later Vedic age as *Brahmarshi Desha* or *Madhya Desha*. In the 6th century B.C. Uttar Pradesh was associated with two new religions—Jainism and Buddhism. Several centers in U.P. like Ayodhya, Prayag, Varanasi and Mathura became reputed centers of learning. During the Sultanat period and under the Mughals, UP witnessed Islamic cultures.

The state preserved its intellectual leadership even under the British administration. The British combined Agra and Oudh into one province and called it 'United Province of Agra and Oudh'. The name was shortened to the 'United Provinces' in 1935. In January 1950 the United Province was renamed as 'Uttar Pradesh'.

State Profile

The state of Uttar Pradesh is bounded by Tibet and Nepal in the north; Himachal Pradesh in the north –west, Haryana in the west, Madhya Pradesh in the south and Bihar in the east. Uttar Pradesh can be divided

into three district regions: Northern Mountains, Southern hills plateaus and Gangetic plains.

U.P. is primarily an agricultural state, with a high proportion of its population living in rural areas and primarily engaged in the agrarian economy. Although urbanization and non- agricultural employment have been increasing over time, conditions of production in agriculture and the distribution of agrarian assets remain the most important determinants of the material condition of the population.

The population according to 1961 census was close to 74 million (Census. 1962) and 83,85,84.000 according to 1991 census. In parts of the state land has passed beyond the point of population saturation –rural densities extending 1000 per square miles in many districts. The population of the state is overwhelmingly rural, only 12.9% of the people live in urban areas.(Census 1961).

The administration of U.P. is divided into 70 districts (excluding Uttranchal), with an area of 240,928 sq. km. All districts, even those with large urban centers are predominantly rural, only the district of Lucknow is almost evenly balanced between urban and rural areas.

Uttar Pradesh is also the melting pot of traditional and modern values and ethos since independence, and has been striving to achieve socio- economic transformation through a range of public policies and

programmes aimed at redressing the existing inequalities. The existing social stagnation within the state has come in the way of the development of the weaker sections.

Caste and religion are the two basic social divisions in U.P. Muslims form 15% of the population. U.P. is also a center of Muslim culture. The two most prominent Muslim educational institutions in the country are in U.P. –Aligarh Muslim University (A.M.U.) in Aligarh and Deoband in Saharanpur districts.

Caste Composition

The caste structure in Uttar Pradesh is marked by the presence of three large blocks of castes--- The upper caste constitutes about 20% of the population , the scheduled castes form about the 30% of the population, while the remaining population consists of a number of castes referred to as the Other Backward Classes (OBCs). The proportion of Scheduled Tribe is quite insignificant. (0.9%).

The dominance of traditional landowning castes continues in both economic and political life. The dominant castes are the Brahmanas and the Rajputs in most parts of the state, but other landowning castes are also important in certain parts like the Jats in western U.P. and Bhumihars in eastern U.P. Among the dominant landowning castes, such as the

Chamars, there exists thousands of cultivating and artisan castes, most of which are very small and known only on particular areas.

The category of OBCs is extremely heterogeneous. Though in terms of social stratification the OBCs occupy a position below the upper castes, in economic terms they are not uniformly underprivileged. Some of the OBCs are landowning castes which are both numerically strong and politically influential. These include castes like Yadavs, Kurmis. Yadavs are the dominant castes in Bundelkhand and eastern U.P., Kurmis in central U.P. Similarly, in western U.P. Jats dominate the scene. The aforesaid castes constitute elite within the OBCs (Gupta,2000).

As mentioned before, the upper castes in U.P. have been traditionally landowning. They have a significant presence in the services of the state. Historically they have dominated the political scene as well.

But the category designated as OBCs is also numerically strong and have benefited from all democratic upsurges and the reform measures these have inspired.

Role of Congress in UP :A Historical Perspective

Prior to independence Congress was a national movement, and after attaining the independence it became a political party. The most

important consequence of this transformation in the Congress party organization in UP has been the growth of personal and factional politics.

In the first years after independence, conflict which had arisen earlier among Congressmen in UP but had been contained during the struggle for independence, developed into a major internal political crises. The first crisis was the defection of some of the socialists from the Congress in 1948. Their departure brought an end to ideological conflict over social and economic issues as a factor in UP Congress politics. The second crisis was the great struggle of 1950 – 51 over the election of Purushotamdas Tandon as the president of the Indian National Congress. Tandon, who came from UP, was the symbol in his home state and in the country of Hindi and Hindu culture, (Hindi speaking belt) of Hindu revivalism as opposed to secularism. The resignation of Tandon under pressure and the assumption of the presidency by Nehru in 1951 had an important effect on the Congress in UP. In effect, Hindu revivalism came to be prohibited in the UP Congress party, and the cause of Hindi and Hindu culture was left to the communal opposition parties. A moderate census emerged, more or less faithful to the principles which Nehru represented i.e., a moderate approach to questions of language and culture and a gradual, non- dogmatic approach towards "socialist" ideals. With no issues of substantial importance left to fight about, politics in the UP

Congress more and more revolved around personality groups or factional politics.

Purushotamdas Pant had been the dominating personality in the UP Congress since 1937, when he became the UP's first chief minister. He was an authoritative leader with great personal prestige, which enabled him to mediate and arbitrate internal conflicts within the UP Congress. After he left, the whole nature of UP politics changed. Authoritative political leadership was replaced by group and factional leadership. The internal politics of the Congress party in UP revolved around a struggle to gain or control the office of Chief Minister by dominating the party organization.

In general, the Congress vote in UP is marked by considerable instability from election to election. The instability of support for the Congress is a measure of the UP politics. Because of the instability of the Congress vote, attempts to correlate support for the Congress with various environmental factors generally yielded ambiguous results. For example, the regional distribution of Congress strength had shifted over the last three general elections. In the first general elections, the congress was strongest in all of the northwestern districts, in most of the Kumaon region and in parts of the central plains. It was strongest in the poorer and more backward areas of the state .It had some what greater strength in the

few urban constituencies in UP than in the rural constituencies and was stronger in the scheduled caste constituencies than in the general constituencies. However, there was no apparent correlation between the vote for Congress and factor in rural density and literacy on the proportion of various ethnic groups in each district. Thus, the decline of the Congress was not clearly related to any state-wise environmental factors. Rather, it is the product of internal party factionalism and of a series of unrelated or loosely related changes in individual districts or in groups of districts.

State Governance and the Nature of Contemporary Politics in Uttar Pradesh.

Presently U.P. is being governed by an alliance of BJP-BSP with Ms. Mayawati as the Chief Minister of the state.(Times of India; The Hindu- May 2002).

In recent years, politics in Uttar Pradesh has entered a state of political crisis and instability, the signs of which have appeared in the party system, in the government and in the process of policy making and policy implementation.(Weiner,1968: 278-282).

The maintenance of a stable party system has been placed in doubt by persistent Congress factionalism and continuing opposition fragmentation. The persistence of internal divisions within the Congress

has made it increasingly difficult for the party to provide stable and effective government. Finally, the crisis in the party system and the government have made it more difficult for planners and politicians to formulate, and implement policies designed to accelerate socio- economic development. The latter problem has become more serious as it has become clear that there has been little economic progress in the state since independence.

Gail Omvedt, the sociologist and dalit- peasant activist, has recently claimed that in 1947 the Bahujan Samaj became independent on the basis of a well argued criticism of some Hindutva ideologies(The Hindu , September 17, 1997). However the political experience associated since 1984 with the BSP and the policies of reservation followed since 1950 speak eloquently of the arrival of dalit elites on the Indian political scene.(Deshpande ,1997:2578).

The Beginning of Castist Politics

The beginning of backward caste politics in U.P. could be traced back to the decision of Baba Ramchandra to break with the Congress and move away from the mainstream of the national movement. He established the Pratapgarh based Kurmi Kshatriya Sabha in 1920.(Siddiqi,1978:1918-22). This move inspired other backward castes in U.P. to begin a similar process of political mobilization independent

of the Brahmin dominated Congress. All India Yadav Mahasabha was established in 1923. Gradually, backward caste consciousness developed in U.P. The formation the of first non- Congress government in U.P. by Ch. Charan Singh (Samyukta Vidhayak Dal) (Hasan,1998: 128) marked the shift of the center of gravity in U.P. politics away from the Congress and Brahmins towards the backward castes.

Although the Congress and non- Congress governments kept alternating, the terrain and terms of U.P. politics have decisively changed. Since then, the nature of U.P. governance has been heterogenous. Moreover, the whole Congress strategy began to come apart in the 1980's with the Dalits deserting the Congress and restoring to an independent political mobilization under the banner of BSP(Chandra,1998:46) led by Kanshi Ram and Ms. Mayawati.

The politics of reservation has acquired a new integrative momentum, especially after the implementation of Mandal Commission recommendation in 1989. Some political leaders and intellectuals have been busy crafting a new dalit- bahujan ideology that seeks to overturn the monopoly of power and privilege hitherto enjoyed by the upper castes that only formed a minority of the population.The ideology calls for the unity of dalits or the oppressed castes, backward castes and religious

minorities to form a formidable political force that can wipe out the remnants of upper caste Hindu hegemony.(Panini,2001: 3349).

As mentioned before, the nature of U.P.'s governance has become very heterogeneous, within this background one can take a closer look at the efforts to implement the policies of reservation in Uttar Pradesh.

Following the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report in 1989, U.P. witnessed violent upsurges and agitations in the entire state. The storm raised by the Mandal was the culmination of the deepening socio- economic crisis facing the state and the lack of political will on the part of the ruling parties to tackle the issues of equality and justice expect at a populist level.

Thus the castist politics is being practiced by all the political parties in U.P. Recently the 'Committee of Seven Governors' was appointed to study the relevance of reservations. According to the Committee, for those who lack even the basic necessities of life, reservation does not mean much. The same Committee recommended that reservation should be denied to the creamy layer of the eligible classes (Dainik Jagran. April,30. 2001).

Taking it as a reality ,the former Chief Minister Raj Nath Singh has recently pronounced the issue of reservation within reservation for the Most Backward Classes (MBCs). This claim can also be seen in the light

of BJP's strategy to split the OBC bloc, and attract the underprivileged OBC castes to its fold in order to strengthen its vote bank. However this has given a new impetus to the old and much discussed issue of who is real backward among backwards. The rationale of giving reservations and identifying the legitimate indicators of backwardness are as problematic as the issue the of nature of caste system itself (Kumar, 2001).

The following chapter deals with the reservation Policy and its impact on higher education of dalits in Uttar Pradesh.

CHAPTER 4: Higher Education of Dalits in UP

This chapter focuses on the government schemes for SCs/STs and the enrollment pattern of SCs/STs in higher education in UP, and the reason for their drop out from educational institutions. Further, the chapter also deals with the politics of reservation.

There are three components of Protective Discrimination – political reservation, educational reservation and job reservation. Reservations were designed to remove disparities. Education is considered to be an important agency which can help to provide for providing quality of life. The deprived sections were therefore to be provided opportunities to enter educational institutions at all levels.

The identification of the sections of society that are deprived of, or lag behind in education and the provision of providing special facilities for their education is an accepted obligation of the modern state. It is part of a large commitment to social justice and to equality –a corollary of the conviction that education is a basic human right.

The social and educational problems of a deprived population are interlinked and interrelated. Although education has proved to be the best means for their development, it has not reached the majority of SCs. Whereas, education is supposed to lead to upward social mobility and introduce positive changes in a modern technological society.

The majority of SCs in UP live in rural areas and hence are deprived of the so called 'better' education including higher education which is available only in urban areas. The lack of urban and modern exposure makes them unaware and ignorant of many basic things which are important for motivation and aspiration. Moreover, the SCs being economically dependent on the upper castes, have to survive a hand to mouth existence. Consequently, their level of self-perception is low and life is mainly reduced to a struggle for survival. Besides, education becomes very expensive as they have to migrate to cities and towns to receive education beyond the primary and middle levels. Lack of proper guidance in education, right from the point of entry to the point of completion is another major problem.

Case study of the inequality and discrimination

Discrimination is referred to as unequal treatment to the socially disadvantaged groups in a higher educational set up. It was observed that the discrimination towards the Scheduled Castes has given a significant impact on their psycho-social integration and development. This may not be rampant in all the educational institutions, but certainly there seems to be a prejudice in the name of the caste or tribe. Among the students, discrimination is found to be in practice for a variety of reasons: the SC/ST students availed the reservations, they got seats despite their

poorer performance levels, they get free books while others don't, the fees is waived off for them, they get the financial assistance, they get jobs easily in government institutions and prestigious organizations etc.

Uma Ramaswamy (1985) in her analysis of the educational advancement of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh throws light on the plight and experiences of the Scheduled Caste students in higher education and also in the social set up. She presents the profiles of different students in different institutions of higher education in a descriptive style which explains the nature of discrimination between SCs and non-STs and difference between the different sub castes within the SCs.

Profile I: Swamy, an M.Phil student, was a *Mala* (lower caste) from a village in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh. His brother was a lecturer in college. His younger brother and sister were still in school. His father, a school teacher, was a political activist in his younger days. Swamy was proud of his academic record and the position he held in the hostel and college union. After his entry into the university, he succeeded in getting elected as the fifty inmates belonged to his community. His predecessor was a *Mala*, which weighed in his favour. However, he could not manage the affairs of the hostel. His attempt to invite an IAS officer from his community to preside over a function evoked a lot of opposition. Upper caste students threatened the officials of dire consequences and forced him to decline the invitation. Swamy could not convene a single meeting as General Secretary and was eventually voted out of Office through a motion of no confidence. To seek revenge for his ouster, his caste friends have ensured that no election was held in the hostel in the subsequent year. In Swamy's perception, he ran into all this trouble because he was a *Mala*.

He narrated some of his experience as a college student. Some Kamma (an upper caste of Andhra Pradesh) boys once contemptuously remarked that even *Malas* and *Madigas* were sitting in the class. Unable

to bear this insult, the Harijans pooled money and brought sticks and knives to prepare for a confrontation. He remarked that having witnessed the rough and tumble of village life, Harijans boys are quite capable of taking on the upper castes. He was, however, of the view that his own experiences of discrimination were slight in comparison to the trauma that his friends and relatives had faced.

Discrimination, in his view, operates subtly. "To get seats and scholarships, we have to establish our caste status. From the village *munsif* (Head) to the district magistrate, everyone drags his feet before issuing a caste certificate. We feel that they don't want us to get scholarships. They fear that a *paleru's* (household servant) son may some day become an IAS officer. Our teachers are not always objective in assessing our performance. I agree that with our kind of family background and school education we may not perform as well as the upper caste boys. But we do have the intelligence to see discrimination when boys of comparable merit are rated differently. We have teachers in the university who think that Harijans are not worthy of sitting in the room. It hurts deeply".

Swamy felt that the burden of changing the society rested with the educated Harijans. The leaders of the Scheduled Castes were, in his view, non-performers. They might have been revolutionaries long ago, but right now they were mere reactionaries in the grip of upper caste politicians. The younger generation did not believe that the caste leaders and politicians would be able to improve the lot of ordinary folks. He observed that the plight of Harijan laborers was worsening. Landlords were no longer willing to lease out their land to the Harijans. Land reforms had made them cautious and land could be leased only if the labourers proved their loyalty. The social relationships in village society had not changed fundamentally. So much so that when the educated Harijan wore a pair of trousers, he was scorned. In many places, the Harijan still do not dare to sit in the presence of an upper caste man.

Profile II : Krishna, a *Mala,* was in his final year of medical studies at Guntur. He came from a near by village where his father was a small peasant and sharecropper. Coming from village, he had experienced a great deal of discrimination. During his school days he had to regularly clean the cattle shed of a *Kamma* (an upper caste in Andhra Pradesh) teacher. He was repeatedly told that the son of *paleru* is doomed to be a *paleru*. "When I applied for medicine, I was laughed at. But when I managed a seat, several upper caste youths became friendly and even took me to their homes. They are ambivalent when I visit them. Some refused to offer a glass of water under the influence of kith and kin, but I

would not say that all of them discriminate". Having failed in the final year, Krishna was reappearing for his examinations. He attributed his failure to the confrontation he once had with his teacher who passed a derogatory remark on a fellow Harijan student.

In his college and hostel, the *Kammas* dominate. A decade ago, the *Kammas* monopolized some blocks in the hostel. Harijan boys were not allowed into their domain. Now students from similarly placed caste share a room. Friendships usually develop only between boys of similar caste status. Seating in the mess generally goes by caste. Caste is not openly discussed nor are the Harijans explicitly humiliated. The Harijans are in any cases too many and too strong for such a thing to happen. But caste consciousness is so intense that even those who were unaware of these distinctions are forced to come to terms with them. The sense of caste hierarchy is so overpowering that is difficult to be insured.

It is not merely the Harijan and upper castes who are divided by the caste barrier. Krishan admitted that there were deep divisions within the Harijans themselves. In his hostel, there was hostility between the *Mala* and *Madiga* arising out of the latter's sense of inferiority. Clashes frequently break out between the two groups. Like many Harijan students, Krishna maintained that the Scheduled Caste students must help each other. He himself had extended such fraternal help to fellow students. In the same breath, however, he argued that caste should not be a guiding principle in social relationships. He was not averse to marrying a girl from another caste, unlike his friends who believed that no good comes out of inter-caste marriages.

These two profiles give us a picture on what happens within and outside the institutions of higher education. This feature is not limited to only a few colleges and universities in the country, it extends to even some of the elitist institutions such as IITs. This leads us to think whether the goal of an egalitarian society is a distant dream. Further, the seniors are found to be a source of discrimination in some cases and in some others it were the classmates, who without pronouncing anything discriminate (Kirpal and Gupta, 1999 and Rao, 1997). Yet another source

of discrimination or unequal treatment in the educational institutions is the teacher. The manner in which discrimination takes place is best explained in terms of the personal experiences of a few Scheduled Caste Tribe students. A Scheduled Caste student in College of Engineering, Guindy observed:

"The teachers know how take revenge against SC/ST students, particularly in awarding marks. Once I was affected by this and onwards, I lost interest in studies. This happened in the semester. In my Department, about 60-70 percent teachers show this kind of discrimination. Even if one works hard, this happens. This happens only with the reserved category students".

Another student in IIT, Chennai narrates his experiences:

"I met a professor to tell my problem that I am unable to understand what he is teaching in the class. The first question he asked me was: Are you a reserved caste student? Will he say the same thing if a general category student goes to him with a doubt?"

Therefore, the feeling of discrimination may result from the reference to the caste in conversations and treating the SC/ST students as academically inferior. The practice of discrimination or the feeling of discrimination may affect the chances of a SC /ST students entering and also staying on in the campus till the completion of the course (S.Srinivasa Rao's Draft Paper).

SCs in UP hail from poor socio- economic backgrounds and from families with no tradition of formal education. Above all, they also poorly perform in their educational pursuits. However, in both the cases,

contributions made by the policy of Protective Discrimination during the last five decades are either undermined or exaggerated.

This may be because, most of these students unlike students of other castes and communities have to shoulder certain family responsibilities and contribute to their family's sustenance even during their study period. This badly affects their performance in a particular programme of study. Secondly, protective discrimination in the case of education and other spheres has helped only a small section of the SCs and majority of them are still illiterate and have not been able to reap the benefits of the reservation policy.

Government's Schemes

Although programmes to encourage education among SC\ST dates back to the period of Independence, these efforts continued by making special provisions in the Constitution after Independence.

Article 46 of the Directive Principle of State Policy provides that "the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the SC/ST and shall protect them form social injustice and all forms of exploitation." To fulfill these constitutional Directive efforts have been made by the government to improve educational standards of SC/ST by

extending educational facilities by providing scholarships, stipends, textbooks, stationeries, uniforms, mid day meals and hostel facilities.

The Ministry of Welfare implements the following central and centrally sponsored schemes (National Commission for SC/ST 1996-98) for educational development for SC/ST through State Government and Union Territories administrative:

a) **Pre-Matric Scholarships** for children of those engaged in lower occupations. There are certain inherit defects in the schemes. Hence, the response of the State Government has been unsatisfactory.

b) **Post-Matric Scholarship for SC/ST Students** Under this scheme, the level of expenditure reached in the last year of each five years plan stands answerable to the committee to the state/UTs and is borne by them from out of their own non-plan funds.

c) **Book Banks** The deficiencies of the schemes are due to –

      (a) Inadequate and late receipt of proposals for many states.

      (b) Non – provision of fifty percent by the state.

      (c) Non – inclusion of many eligible institutions / students in proposal from the state and

      (d) The restricted of scope the schemes.

d) **Schemes of Hostels**

    The deficiencies of the schemes are due to:-

(a) Late receipt of proposal from state resulting in delayed releases and utilization of Central Assistance.

(b) Low progress of the construction of building.

(c) Poor maintenance of the hostels.

e) Coaching and Allied Schemes

It is noticed that some of the State Government's /UTs administration has not setup any pre-examination training centers in their respective states /UTs so far under these schemes.

f) National Overseas Scholarships

The response of the schemes is encouraging as more that 3000 applicants usually apply for that award.

Ashram Schools in Tribal Sub-Plan Areas

The deficiencies of the schemes are:

(a) detailed plan estimate, building plans are not submitted by the State Government/UTs administration.

(b) matching contributions is not provided in the budgets of the state and

(c) actual time frame for undertaking the construction work and completion of the Ashram school is not indicated.

In addition to Central / Centrally sponsored schemes, State Governments also implement various educational schemes out of state

funds exclusively. It was observed that state/UT administrations have to take adequate steps to check the drop-outs in schools and colleges by providing more scholarships and incentives to the SC/ST students on one hand and improving the strength of the institutions and the qualifications and commitment of teachers on the other. Only if adequate numbers of educated youth are available can then the vacancies in the posts reserved for them be fully filled and the potential for employment and self employment in the private section fully exploited.

Admission of SCs/STs in Higher Education including Technical Education

In order to fulfill constitutional obligations the policy of reservation is being followed by the Govt. of India for imparting higher education to SCs/STs with a view to meet this requirement in the University Grants Commission, which is an apex body for higher education. At the same time, the Ministry of Human Resource Development has been bringing to the notice of universities, Central universities, IITs and other technical institutions, colleges, and State Governments the reservation policy to be adopted by them. For Central Universities the reservations is to the extent of 15% for SC and $7\frac{1}{2}$% for STs. In respect of state universities these reservation have to be according to the percentage of SC/ST population of the respective states/UTs.

The State Governments supplement these facilities in different ways. Most State Governments provide scholarships and stipends for school education. Assistance is also provided for books, school uniforms etc. A few states provide post-secondary school education scholarships that supplement the Central Government scheme for scholarships towards university education. Practically, all state governments run special residential schools, known as Ashram schools (Report of the Commissioner for the SC/ST 1978-79).

The challenge of educational reforms in UP is extremely exacting. In the absence of any kind of accountability to the public, the system of government schools and higher education in UP has been comprehensively corrupted. The failure of the schooling system, in combination with persistent inequalities of class, caste and gender, has kept even the most elementary educational achievements out of the reach of large sections of the population.

The most remarkable feature of the educational situation in Uttar Pradesh is that the state of affairs seems to be passively accepted by the general public. Even at the village level, most parents were extremely critical of the educational system, but had little sense of the possibility of making organized demands for change. In some cases, this inertia was quite extreme.

Inertia applies at the State level. For one thing, there are no signs of the government of UP taking any bold initiatives in the field of higher education, in spite of the alarming nature of the current situation. Following the same line, the State Government has taken little interest in the Total Literacy Campaign, even after its considerable potential has been well demonstrated in several other states. The under- utilization of large grants ear-marked for the promotion of education is yet another symptomatic indication of the low priority given to education by the state government. Here again, official neglect has provoked little challenge from opposition parties, interest groups, the media or the general public.

The privileged background of most political leaders, the undemocratic nature of village politics, and the role of the schooling system as a means of patronage, all play an important role in this continued neglect of the obvious need for educational reform in Uttar Pradesh. (Dreze and Sen, 1998).

The absence of any strong political demands for educational reforms in Uttar Pradesh illustrates the elementary, yet widely overlooked fact that literacy is a crucial tool of effective participation in democratic politics. Widespread illiteracy makes it much harder for disadvantaged groups to ensure that their needs receive due attention in public and political debates, and the apathy of the leadership towards these needs, in

turn, is responsible for the persistence of widespread illiteracy (Dreze& Sen, 1998:90).

This self-sustaining circle is a central feature of UP politics, and also has much relevance in interpreting Indian politics in general. On the positive side, these observations suggest that the expansion of basic education, political campaigns and social movements might lead to an expansion that have a central role to play in the transformation of Indian politics. In particular, the value of basic education as a tool of political empowerment deserves much more attention from political and social leaders than it has received so far.

The failure of public intervention in UP regarding the educational schemes of major developmental and redistributive programmes have gone in and out of fashion without making much of an impact. This has probably been one of inadequate commitment, ineffective implementation and insignificant results.

SC/STs in Higher Education:

There is no doubt that a considerable improvement has been made in terms of the enrollment of schedule caste and schedule tribe students in higher education after the commencement of the Constitutional safeguard. However, this may not be adequate keeping in view the

proportion of SCs/STs population in UP. They are still out of the fold of higher education or even the minimum levels of literacy.

Analysis (Table 1)

The data shows (table 1) that the enrolment of SCs in higher education is very low. Though the actual enrolment increased from 180,058 in 1978 -79 to 512,291 in 1996-97, the percentage share in total enrolment did not show much improvement ---7.03% in 1978- 79 and 7.77% in 1996-97.

Table 1.

Total Enrollment of SCs/STs in Higher Education (Figures In Parenthesis Show Percentage to the Total). All India Level

Year	General	SC	ST	Total
1978-79	2,337,221 (91.35)	180,058 (7.03)	41,081 (1.6)	2,558,360 (100)
1988-89	3,488,087 (90.90)	279,720 (7.29)	69,169 (1.8)	3,836,976 (100)
1995-96	5,532,998 (89.24)	496,872 (8.01)	170,239 (2.74)	6,200,109 (100)
1996-97	5,898,407 (89.49)	512,291 (7.77)	180,142 (2.73)	6,590,840 (100)

Sources: 1. Twenty eight report of the Commissioner for SC/STs 1986-87, Govt. of India , New Delhi, 1987.
2. Select Educational Statistics: 1988-89, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1989.
3. Annual Reports, 1996-97 and 1997-98, Ministry of Human Resources Development, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1997&1998.

While the period 1978-79 to 1988-89 noted only a marginal increase in the percentage share of SCs and STs to the total enrolment,

the period 1988-89 to 1995-96 showed a sudden increase in both the categories. The actual enrolment of SC and ST students in higher education is far below the stipulated quota of reservations, namely 15% for SCs and 7.5% for STs.

Table 2

Distribution of SC/ST Students among Faculties in Percentage (All India Level)

Faculty	SC Under Graduate 1978 – 79	SC Under Graduate 1996 – 97	ST Post Graduate 1978 – 79	ST Under Graduate 1996 - 97
Arts	56.5	60.95	77.7	71.48
Science *	13.3	15.29	8.7	9.32
Commerce	13.2	12.65	9.4	9.89
Education	2.3	2.93	0.8	2.87
Engg-Tech.	3.4	5.20	0.5	4.25
Medicine	4.5	2.3	1.6	2.15
Law	6.5	NA	0.5	NA
Others	0.4	NA	0.7	NA
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

- Includes Agricultural Sciences

Source: 1 Reports on the faculties to SC and ST's in Unversities and College, University Grants Commission, New Delhi, 1990.
2. Select Educational Statistics : 1996 – 97, Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India, New Delhi, 1997.

Analysis (Table 2)

There has been a far lower participation of SCs and STs in prestigious faculties which are in demand for high salaried jobs. In 1978-79 and even in 1996-97, a majority of the SC and ST students enrolled at

the undergraduate and graduate levels are in the arts faculty (table 2). It is followed by science and commerce. Arts and commerce taken together, account for more than 7out of every 10 SC students and with the enrolment in the science, the three cover nearly 89% of all SC students at the undergraduate levels in 1996-97.

Their participation in professional courses such as medicine (2.3%), engineering and technology (5.20%), and education (2.93%) is very low and far from satisfactory. Significantly, there was a considerable decrease in the percentage of SC students enrolled for the medicine courses in 1996-97 (2.7%) from that of 1978-79 (4.5%). Around 95% of SC students were enrolled in science and commerce faculties in 1978-79. The proportion of SC students in professional streams at the graduate levels is very low. For instance, only 0.8%, 0.5% and 1.6% of SC students have enrolled in graduate courses in education, engineering and technology and medicine respectively. This is indicative not only of their low share in enrolment but also of the higher rate of attrition as they move up the educational ladder.

As regards the enrolment of STs at the undergraduate level, the situation is same as that of the SCs. About 90% of the ST students are enrolled in arts, commerce and science faculties i.e., for every 10 ST students, 9 are enrolled in these streams. In 1996-97, the proportion of

ST students at the undergraduate courses in medicine (2.15%), engineering and technology (4.25%) and education (2.87%) is very low.

Table 3

State/ UT wise literacy rate of scheduled castes during 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991.

S No	State/UT	1961	1971	1981	1991
1	Andhra Pradesh	8.47	10.66	17.64	31.59
2	Arunachal Pradesh	NA	36.28	37.14	57.27
3	Assam	24.41	25.79	NA	53.94
4	Goa	NA	----	------	58.73
5	Bihar	5.96	6.53	10.4	19.49
6	Gujrat	22.46	27.69	39.78	61.07
7	Haryana	NA	12.6	20.14	39.22
8	Himachal Pradesh	8.47	18.22	21.5	53.2
9	Karnataka	NA	13.89	20.59	38.06
10	Kerala	24.44	40.21	55.96	79.66
11	Madhya Pradesh	7.89	12.49	18.97	35.08
12	Maharashtra	15.78	25.27	35.56	56.46
13	Manipur	22.37	26.44	33.63	56.44
14	Meghalaya	NA	25.66	25.78	44.27
15	Mizoram	0	------	84.44	77.92
16	Nagaland	-----	------	-----	-----
17	Orissa	11.57	15.61	22.41	36.78
18	Punjab	9.64	16.12	23.66	41.09
19	Rajsthan	6.44	9.14	14.04	26.29
20	Sikkim	NA	17.42	28.06	51.03
21	Tamil Nadu	14.66	21.82	29.67	46.74
22	Tripura	13.42	20.51	33.89	56.66
23	Utter Pradesh	7.14	10.2	14.96	26.85
24	West Bengal	13.58	17.8	24.37	42.29
25	Andman & Nicobar	----	----	-----	----
26	Chandigarh	NA	24.38	30.07	55.94
27	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	26.6	33.18	51.2	77.64
28	Delhi	20.86	28.15	39.3	57.6
29	Goa, Daman & Diu	NA	26.14	38.38	79.18
30	Lakshadweep	-----	-----	-----	-----
31	Pondichary	11.11	18.17	32.36	56.26

Source: National Commission for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes.
Fourth Report 1996 – 97 and 1997 – 98, Vol. 1

It is therefore very explicit from the above analysis that the share of SC and ST students in the total is higher in the case of arts, commerce and other general courses –where as in the reserved category, students are admitted to meet the constitutional obligations. The enrolment in the professional courses for which the job market in the private sector is attractive is extremely low. Therefore, the proportion of SC\ST students in the emerging areas of technology, medicine, information technology etc is either negligible or even absent.

Educational Developments among Dalits

Education is the soul of human civilization and development which is lacking among the scheduled castes. To compete with general communities, it is necessary to equip them educationally. The total population of UP is around 16 Crores (Census 2001). The literacy rate among the general population is 52% where it is only 26.85% and 35.70% among the SCs and STs respectively. As far as dropout rate is concerned, 72.91% SCs and 80.68% STs students dropped their education before they could reach high school. The data available from Government reports of UP gives a detail of SC students studying at various levels (table 4 and 5) .

Table 4

SC Students Registered Between Primary and PhD Level (UP).

S.No.	Class	No. of Students
1	Primary (1 to 5)	2411563
2	Junior High School (6 to 8)	0734330
3	High School (9 to 10)	0314686
4	Above high School and up to PhD level	0234776
Total	--------	37,35355

Source: Government of UP, Report, 1992 – 93

Table 5

**SC\ST Students Registered at Graduation And Post Graduation Level (UP).**

S.No	Graduate Subject(Degree Course)	Class	Number SC	Number ST
1	Art and Literature	B.A.	37217	796
2	Science	B.Sc.	04966	175
3	Commerce	B.Com	02737	075
4	Engineering	B.E. etc	00091	065
5	Medical	M.B.B.S.	00182	042
6	B.Ed	B.Ed.	01555	041
7	**Total**		**46748**	**1245**
8	**Post Graduation** (All subjects)	Ph.D./D.Sc./D.Phil	0224	008
9	Science	M.Sc.	0729	036
10	Commerce	M.Com	0632	035
11	Art and Literature	M.A.	9526	492
12	**Total**		**11248**	**571**
13	**Grant Total**	Graduate + Post Graduate	**59,777**	

Source: Government of UP Report 1992 – 93

Table 4 and 5 reveal very pathetic picture of scheduled caste students registered at various levels. In the sample under study, around 24 lakhs SC boys and girls were registered. Out of this number only 729 SC students reached up to post- graduation in science. In other words, in a state like UP where SC population is around three crores, not even 1000 students in this community were doing M. Sc. Besides three lakhs boys\ girls students were studying in high school out of which only eleven thousand SC students reached the level of post-graduation. In most of the cases, it has been observed that the economic backwardness of SC family is the only barrier in gaining access to higher education.

Table 6

School Going Age Groups (6-11 Years) (UP Level)
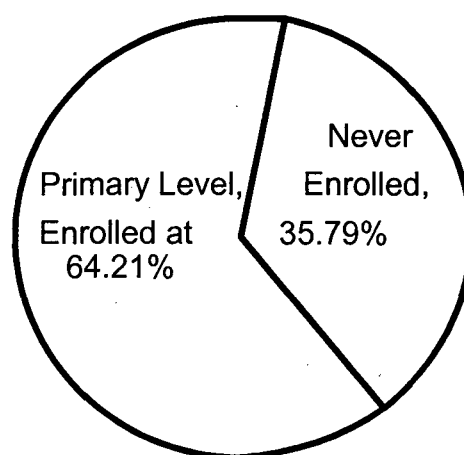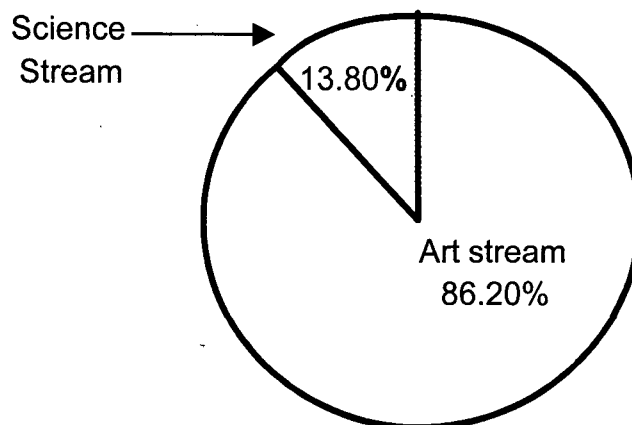

Source: Dalit Shiksha Andolan 1992-93

Admission at Primary Level

About 35.79% of students fail to take admissions in the primary schools of UP because their parents were not in a position to bear the cost of education of their children, most of their parents are agricultural labuorers. Besides, SC\ ST children do not get enrolled at primary level mainly because of the scarcity of schools and other facilities rather than the unwillingness of their parents to educate them (Paswan, 2002).

Table 7

SC Students in Under Graduate Stage (UP Level)

Source: Dalit Shiksha

Andolan 1992-93

Representation of SC Students in Science and other Technical Subjects (Table 7 & Table 8 Analysis)

Representation of SC students in Science and other Technical subjects is very less. According to the report of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, select Educational Statistics -1993 , from the total strength of SC students at the graduation stage, 86.20% opted for humanities(soft streams) and at the post graduation level, 93.31% of the

total strength went for humanities\ social science stream. Besides, only 6.69% of SC students were pursuing their post- graduation in science and other technical subjects. Since a large majority of SC students acquired certificates and degrees in non-- technical \ non-professional streams of education, they become virtually irrelevant in the job market of secondary and tertiary sectors of economy.

Table 8

Students in Post Graduation Stage (UP Lvel)

Art stream 93.31%

6.69%

Science stream
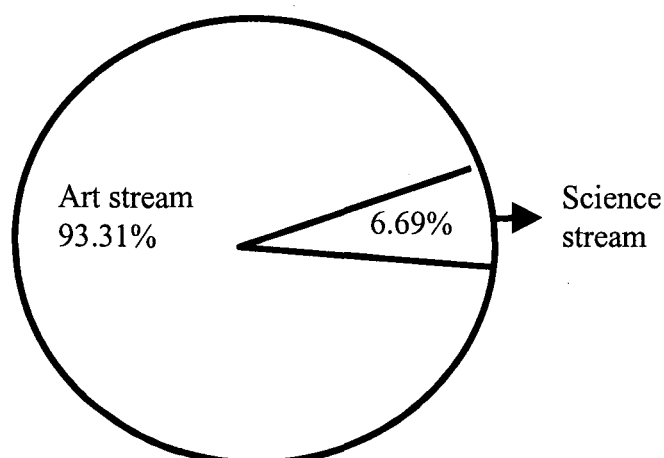
Source: Dalit Shiksha Andolan 1992-93

Economic Conditions of SCs in UP

A study based on government document (Dalit Aankara Bank-Granth Part I) reveals that 89.58% of the total population of SCs in UP are economically very poor. Consequently they failed to provide resources to their children to gain education (table 9). According to the study, 38.76% of the total labor force in scheduled castes comprises of landless agricultural laborers, while 42.63% of them are landed

agricultural laborers. The condition of small land holding agricultural laborers is also very dismal because 95.66% of the total cultivable land is distributed in marginal and small categories of tillers. 1.92% of the chief laborer force belonging to scheduled castes is involved in trade and commerce whereas 6.98% are engaged in other services. Therefore, it is impossible to provide education to the SCs without government aid (Paswan, 2002).

Table 9

Economic Status (UP Lvel)
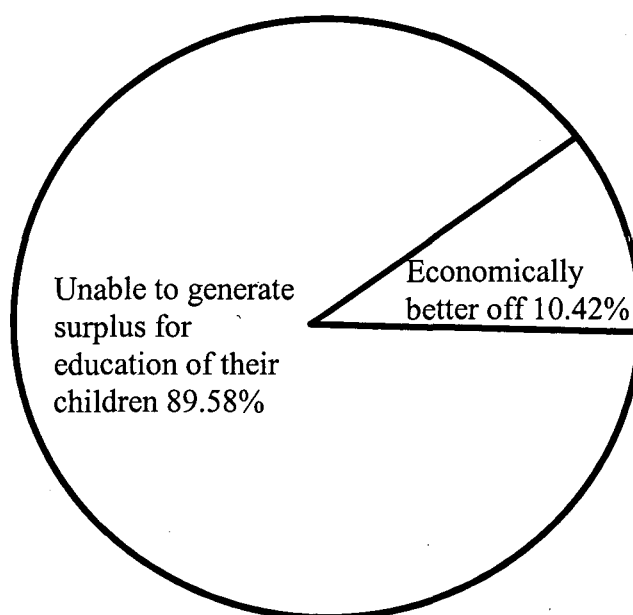
Source: Dalit Shiksha Andolan (UP) 1992-93

Table 10 - SC\ST Population (Uttar Pradesh)

Others
78.73 %

SC
21.06

ST
0.21 %
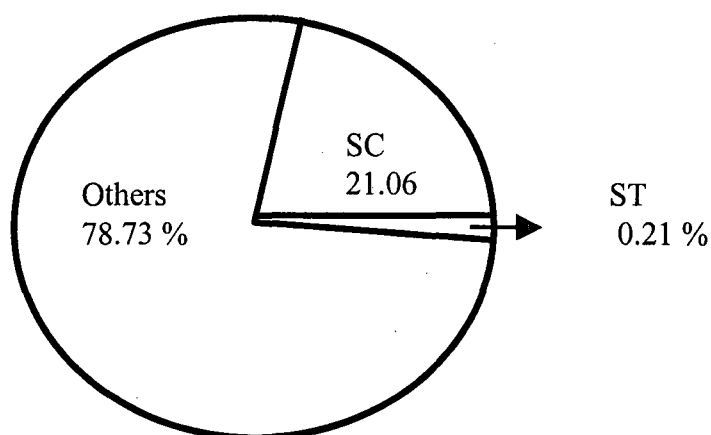
Source: Dalit Shiksha

Andolan 1992-93

Table 11 - Scheduled Caste Population (All India)

Others
75.66%

SC
16.33 %

8.01 %

ST

10.00

OBC
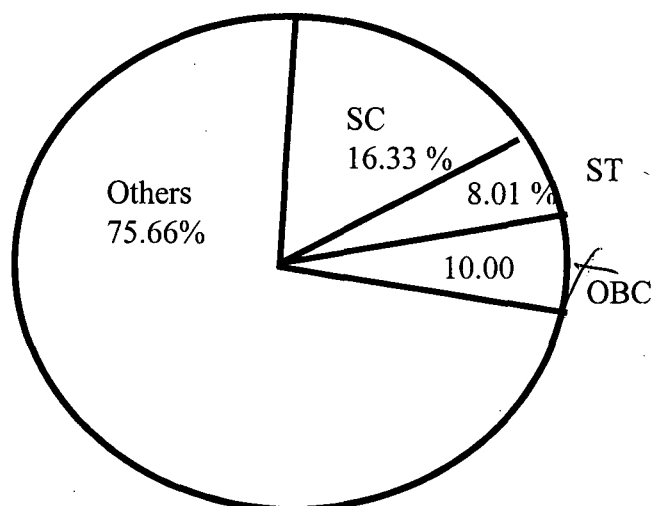
Source: Dalit Shiksha Andolan 1992-93

Socio – Structural variants and higher education

The poor achievement of higher education among SCs can be attributed to many reasons like failing in examinations, higher rate of drop-outs, stagnation caused by their poor socio-economic background

and educational training, lack of proper guidance etc. Even the majority of those who stay in colleges and universities usually do not perform well in their studies and secure relatively poor grades or percentage of marks in examinations.

Recently some quantitative but not much qualitative changes have occurred in their educational achievements. However, there are variations in social adjustment and educational performance of students of these communities depending upon the variation of their socio-economic background, nature of institutions they join, and type of courses they opt. Hence, the elements generally related to the social background of these students and the social and academic environments prevailing in educational institutions joined by them affect in meaningful manner their representation and performance in higher education.

The following data (table 12) shows that though the number of students increased during the period of 1978 – 79 to 1988-89, their participation in some faculties is too small and insignificant even in 1988-89. These faculties having lower enrollment are medicine, education and research. Another striking point to note is that the enrollment of scheduled caste students has decreased from 7,553 in 19978-79 to 7,170 in 1988-89 in medical courses.

Table 12

Enrollment Of Scheduled Caste Students In Higher Education (By Faculty—All Levels). UP Level

S. No.	Subjects	Total 1978-79	Total(1988-89)	SC (1978-79)	SC (1988-89)
1	Arts	1,073,032	1,653,652	105,518	163,212
2	Science	483,359	739,752	20,711	42,215
3	Commerce	485,921	1,035,650	23,074	47,150
4	Education	67,799	91,017	3,918	6,979
5	Medicine	105,594	142,125	7,553	7,170
6	Engg\ Arch	104,720	205,282	5,538	12,080
7	Agriculture Vet.Sc	39,711	NA	2,379	NA
8	Law	168,402	NA	10,570	NA
9	Others	14,911	NA	797	NA
10	Research(all faculties)	NA	31,386	NA	914
11	**Total**	**2558,360**	**3,836,976**	**180,058**	**279,720**

Source: (1) Twenty eighth Report of the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes And Scheduled Tribes, 1986-87,Govt. of India. New Delhi.

(2) Selected Educational Statistics : 1988-89, Studies in Educational Statistics No.1, 1990, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Planning and Monitoring Statistics Division, Govt.of India, New Delhi, 1990, Table VIII, pp. 36-45.

The following data (table 13) available for 1988-89 further indicates that the proportion of scheduled caste students to total enrollment in different faculties varies from 9.87% in subject like Arts and Humanities to 2.91% in research.

Table 13

Proportion Of Scheduled Caste Student In Higher Education In Numbers And Percentage By Faculty (All Levels) – 1988 – 89

S.No.	Faculty	Scheduled Caste All Students	Scheduled Caste Percentage	Scheduled Caste Women	Scheduled Caste Percentage
1	Arts, Humanity and social Science	163, 212	9.87	35, 294	2.13
2	Science	42, 215	5.71	11, 914	1.61
3	Commerce	47, 150	4.55	6, 915	0.67
4	Teacher's Training	6, 979	7.67	2, 196	2.41
5	Medicine	7, 170	8.94	2, 529	3.15
6	Engg/Arch	12, 080	5.88	797	0.39
7	Research (All Faculties)	914	2.91	182	0.60

Source: Selected Educational Statistics: 1988 – 89, Studies in Educational Statistics, No. 1, 1990, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education: Planning , Monitoring and Statistics Division, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1990, Table VIII, pp. 36-45

Accessing Higher Education: Problems, Issues, Strategies

It has been clearly shown that Scheduled Castes are most disadvantaged in higher education in our society on the basis of their enrollment in Uttar Pradesh.

The worst part is that this situation exists in spite of the Constitutional provisions in favour of the SCs. It has been reiterated in every official document such as the reports of the various committees and

commissions since independence that education is the major instrument of social mobility and advancement for the weaker sections.

The primary reason for educational backwardness relates mainly to school education. The single most common important factor at the school level is the absence of school in areas which are accessible to girls; Muslims and SCs.

Hence, the new policies should aim at the widespread establishment of schools which are approachable to the dalits. Other common problems are poverty and lack of economic resources in the family.The major stumbling block in the educational growth of SCs is the lack of scholarships and financial incentives at the elementary stage. Therefore, in spite of statuary quota and availability of scholarships and fellowships in higher education, very few students make it to colleges and universities. In other words, only the well off among them enter the portals of higher education. The focus of SC students is towards the softer, non- professional subjects.

Over all the shows that there has been a large gap between policy and practice especially because the policy pronouncements flow from the central government while the implementation is left to the state government. This gap apart from unrealistic planning, reflects a schism between ideal and reality which in turn explains the extent and nature of

educational disadvantage in UP.

Table 14

Major Categories of Drop out Causes (Based on the responses of parents)

S.No.	Major Categories	Inclusive Sub-categories & responses	Total number of responses	Percentage
1	Poverty and Economic hardship	(a) child's gainful employment (47) (b) Lack of basic educational equipment (86) (c) Non-provision of physical need (60) (d) Engagement in domestic works (70)	263	42.6
2	School and school related factors	(a) distance, location etc. (29) (b) behavior of school teacher (71) (c) behavior of school mates (24) (d) unproductive school impact (36)	160	25.9
3	Domestic existences	(a) sickness / death in family (61) (b) prolong illness of the child (16)	77	12.5
4	Individual deficiency	(a) lack of interest in studies (77)	77	12.5
5	Cultural factors	(a) belief, values, community reactions (41)	41	6.5
Total	Grand total of Responses	-------------------------	618	100.00

Source: P.N. Pandey. 1998. Education and Social Mobility, Delhi, Daya Publishing House.

Analysis (Table 14)

The above table (14) shows the major cause for the dropout of the SC students from institutions. The data clearly shows that the poverty and economic hardships are the major factors which contribute to as much as 42.6% of dropout cases. Whereas, only 12.5% dropouts have attribute their cause to domestic and individual factors.

Children find it difficult to meet the expenses in the absence of lump sum grant & exception from fees at secondary school level, and at higher levels of education which forces them to terminate their studies.

This prevents them from availing the facilities any further. One of the reasons for the inadequate utilization of educational facilities by the Scheduled Castes is the ignorance about the potential which education holds for improving their lives (Kumari,1986: 86-87).

In rural areas of UP, parents are mostly illiterate, economically poor, socially depressed, busy day and night in earning their bread and educational facilities are not available in a number of places. So, parents have practically no time to think about education. As a consequence, the students of rural area do not take interest in education.

The largest number of SCs students are in primary schools. Here their dropout rate is much higher than that of upper caste Hindu students. Leaving school is the result of a combination of both 'visible 'and

'invisible' factors (Beteille,1983: 216). A recent study of Harijan children in the Ballia and Ajamgarh districts of UP found that poverty was the single most important factor for leaving primary schools. However, there are a number of factors responsible for this high dropout rate. One such factor is the problem of medium of instruction in schools through the English language. Though special English classes helped somewhat in correcting the linguistic handicaps, students complained of a sense of alienation and antagonism from non – SCs students.

While a few may get into the IITs and other standard colleges, for the majority of SCs students, entrance examinations for admission into some of better institutions of higher education is often too difficult. In 1972, Suma Chitnis conducted a survey in some Bombay colleges, which had a number of SC students. She graded them into A, B, C and D categories in descending order on the basis of their over all performance. It was found that 76% of the 1,480 SC students were enrolled in D category colleges. Again, at the national level, regarding the enrollment in courses and institutions, Chitnis found that in spite of the policy of reservation their enrollment in medical and engineering colleges was extremely low.

The discussion on quantitative expansion reveals that higher education is still not accessible to a large proportion of socially

disadvantaged sections such as SCs/STs and women. The actual enrollments of SCs vary from faculty to faculty and even department to department in the same institution. It should also be noted that the policy of reservation is implemented more fully in some courses / subjects of study while some others it is not. This dichotomy is very clear in term of Arts/Commerce verses Engineering / Medicine faculties. It is often explained in terms of the lack of students applying for professional courses compared to general courses, thereby colleges absolving the institutions of their impeding social responsibility.

The analysis of the reason for poor access and retention and the resulting education backwardness among the SC/STs mainly relates to their school education (Chanana. 1993: 144). For instance, the single most important factor at the school level is the absence of schools in areas which are accessible to SC/STs and girls.

It is to be remembered that higher education is basically urban based. Those who spent most of their life in urban areas constitute an overwhelming majority within the higher education composition. However, a major portion of the SC/ST students in the general higher educational institutions are from the rural background and are first generation learners or beneficiaries of higher education. Their parental occupations and education is generally low- often engaged in wage

earning agricultural labour or artisanship. Therefore, poverty and lack of economic resources in the family and the utility of extra hand for earning to make two ends meet, to some extent, affects the educational chances of SC/ST and women.

The following table 14 shows the major causes for the dropout of the SC students from school and colleges. The data clearly shows that the major factor in dropout cases is poverty and economic hardships which accounts for 42.6%, whereas only 12.5% dropout attributed their cause to domestic and individual factors.

Reservation and Merit

Efficiency is generally considered as a relationship between inputs and outputs. In the case of education, the inputs of students are the home background; tradition of education in the family, language codes etc. and output is the IQ or achievement scores. The inputs of weaker sections in general are low as compared to the students of traditionally literate families and any amount of achievement scores of the weaker sections in this case will be higher than their inputs, signifying their efficiency in the system.

While the consequences of caste reservations in educational institutions seems to have resulted in more misery and suffering to the educated weaker sections, the opponents of the reservation policy

question such quotas on grounds of merit and efficiency in the society and economy that affect the overall development of the society. The arguments advanced against the continuation of reservation on grounds of justice to individuals in the non-reserved categories and on grounds of social efficiency require a careful scrutiny. The first of these arguments is that less meritious among the reserved categories are chosen in preference to the more meritious among the non- reserved categories. What is not recognized in this argument is that the children from the reserved categories in general do not enjoy the advantages of educated parents, books in the home, and a tradition of education within the family, and the kinship groups. Under such circumstances, acceptance of 'merit only' principle is a smoke screen for the perpetuation of inherited privileges.(Chalan,1990).

Reservation for socially background groups, as in the case of other reservations to such categories as physically handicapped are necessary to correct an injustice by equal treatment of the unequal through the application of the principle of 'merit only'.

There is only one argument which pertains to individual injustice that needs to be considered. It may be said that individuals without inherited privileges such as a tradition of education within the family and poor but with a better school record and belonging to non- reserved

category are excluded. Whereas, some privileged within the reserved category and with a poorer school record are selected.

A more positive approach towards this problem is an appropriate increase in the intake of the educational institutions and improvements in job opportunities. There could also be appropriate changes in the application of the reservation principle.

Politics of reservation

In UP lower castes\ classes have been mobilized politically in at least three different ways: peasant politics, reservation politics and the 'social engineering' strategy of Hindu nationalism. The rise of the Janata Dal (1977-89), Samajwadi Party (SP) and Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in the 1990s has transformed the political landscape. From the late 1980s a significant political churning has been under way, which has brought into play the numerous lower castes to restructure the power and caste and class privileges of the upper castes. It is now difficult to conceive of a political regime that will deny them representation. At the same time, the BJP's growth and its ability to win power by exploiting divisions between lower caste parties has had a profound implication for the course of mass politics and development in this important state. UP sends 85 MPs to the Lok Sabha, making it politically the most crucial state for the formation of the central government in New Delhi. The success of the BJP in UP

has been central to its realization of political power when it formed the coalition government in 1988, and its continuance in power depends to a large extent upon its ability to maintain support there.(Hasan,1998).

The two principle forms of mass mobilization in UP, is symbolized by peasant politics and reservation politics.

The approach of mass mobilization took shape around the demand for reserved quota in government. From the 1960s, caste and caste quotas were seen as an instrument for social equality and self- respect. Reservation was seen as the only way of securing representation for groups who might have otherwise have no presence in the political process and public employment. Historically, UP has had the shortest history of caste- based positive discrimination policies.

A modest quota scheme was introduced in 1979, but it was discontinued owing to objections over the criteria for identification of beneficiaries. The stimulus for change came between 1989 and 1991, a conjuncture defined by three major changes in Indian politics: Mandal , Mandir and Market. The almost simultaneous occurrence of these three events congealed the scale and complexity of transition even as it provided, at the same time an opportunity for realignments in state and national politics. All three offered the prospect of creating a new cleavage structure and thus new forms of mobilization. In the end, all the

three cleavages could not be activated and caste remained the epicenter of political change.

The turning point was V.P. Singh's decision to implement the Mandal Commission Report, which had in 1980 recommended extension of the system of reserve jobs in Central Govt. from only the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes to a broader collection of socially and economically backward classes. There was little public response in south India where the battle against reservation had already been fought and last.

However, in north India, upper caste students fought high profile campaigns against the extension of reservations to lower castes. At the same time, the students feared that their hopes of government jobs would be taken away by a coalition of lower castes, which they were largely shaping themselves by provoking a new cleavage between upper and lower castes. They wanted to abolish all reservations including reservation for scheduled castes. They protested against the new quota that would deprive them of government jobs. Employment opportunities are extremely inadequate, and conflicts have been amplified because of rising levels of education that add to the force of competition.

Yet another form of mobilization was caste politics, arrived with the growing influence of the BSP found in 1984, which attempted to

mobilize the lower castes by promising them a share of political power by their own caste/community members. Following the breakdown of the Congress in the 1980s, the BSP became a major partner in an anti-upper caste coalition government in 1992 – 95 and a BSP led government was established in 1995 and 1997 under the leadership of Ms. Mayawati.

Since independence, the scheduled castes supported the Congress party, which historically mobilized the needs and aspirations of the lower castes within an overarching framework of philanthropic compromises such that their potential antagonism was neutralized. The Congress focused on general economic issues and ignored cultural and social ones. The BSP criticized these features of Congress politics. First, the BSP promised political representation to dalits and aspirations neglected by the Congress. Under the Congress rule, despite the importance of the dalit vote they achieved very little representation in the government and party organization. In other words, the significance of the dalit vote did not translate into perceptible influence for individual members in the organization or government. This approach was noteworthy because its success was not contingent on mass mobilization, but derived from the capture of state power via anti high caste propaganda, emphasizing the fulfillment of the reserved quota and demanding more representation for members of SCs in the government.

Castist politics aims to capture state power by opposing caste oppression rather than setting out social and economic policies of redistribution.

The following chapter focuses on the social consequences of the reservation in the society.

CHAPTER 5: Social Implications of Dalits in Higher Education

It has been revealed from various studies that the standard of education among the scheduled castes has not been uniform and that the various educational facilities are distributed unevenly. The capacity to utilize the privileges has tended to vary from one sub- group to another. It has been found out by various studies that in all the states certain caste group predominate the sample to the exclusion of others which means that the educational facilities are disproportionately utilized.

Numerical strength combined with factors such as urban residence, the social and occupational position of the caste in the traditional hierarchy, and the experience of organized political effort seem to explain the unique advance of some castes.

The formation of elites is a universal process of all societies. The scheduled castes in India have reached a stage where the elites have emerged within them in are formed in various fields like politics, education, social, administration etc. by availing educational and reservation facilities. However, their elite position is based on a struggle both in life in general and in their respective fields. Generally, the elites are criticized of forgetting their own people, after achieving elite status and keeping themselves away from their masses when they are expected to contribute to their community. Further, it is generally believed that

these elites come from well – off backgrounds and most of the benefits are taken away by them. However, these arguments are based on assumptions and have no empirical concrete evidence. Further, it is revealed by the studies (like Nandu Ram, 1988, Wankhede, 1994 and others) that the scheduled caste elites belong to first generation, coming from poor socio- economic backgrounds and their achieved status (class) is full of struggle and they suffer from identity crisis in relation to their ascribed (caste) status. The second generation among the elites further suffers from alienation and segregation due to caste identity attached to available facilities. The stigma of caste and untouchability continues to operate even after they achieve elite positions as they are not accepted by the upper castes.

It seems that protective discrimination in education is functioning effectively as a sieve for catching the most able and discarding the rest. While small elites among the scheduled castes have benefited from protective discrimination, the large majority has lagged behind—thus giving rise to a new class among SCs –Dalit elites. In consequence of this 'the mobility'that is witnessed through education is not spread over the whole community, but is confined to particular caste groups; and within these groups to particular individuals.

It has also been found that the political parties in UP employ the reservation policy as a tool for the political ends, to strengthen their vote banks. This has led to the castist politics in UP.This has not proved to be advantageous to SCs in the strict sense. Because they are merely treated as vote-banks for the political parties. Though, to a certain extent the SCs have developed caste- consciousness and the dalit identity is on the rise. They have become vocal in raising their voice demanding their rights.

An example may be drawn from the representation of dalit activists in the agenda of UN Conference at Durban in the year 2001 on racism and racial discrimination. It clearly shows that dalit activists have become very vocal and caste- consciousness led them led to reach the portals of national as well as the international stage.

During the pre- independence period, the politicization of the untouchables reached its zenith. As a result they were recognized as a politically important community by the national leaders, and were granted a number of benefits in the post-independence period to bring them on par with the general population. Though the scheduled castes have benefited from the provision of protective discrimination, these have not percolated to the large masses of the scheduled castes. There are many reasons for the failure of the reservation system to deal with the problems of scheduled castes. Firstly, they have not taken full advantage of the

benefits especially regarding women. Secondly, reservation policy has created a category of scheduled caste elite in which most of the scheduled caste people, especially some sections within them have not been able to join the mainstream of Indian society. Thirdly, the upwardly mobile castes among the scheduled castes of the pre independence period cornered the protective discrimination benefits. This failure created a rift among scheduled castes themselves reinforcing the heterogeneous nature of scheduled caste population.

While the policy of protective discrimination has been disappointing in its effect on social mobility, the progress of education is encouraging. Education is slowly but steadily spreading to the scheduled castes and significant strides have been made at the primary level but in higher education the situation is not satisfactory. The two aims of the policy were to provide 'equal opportunity' and 'equal results'. Education was considered to be an important avenue for providing better quality of life. The deprived sections were therefore to be provided opportunities to enter the field of educational institutions at all levels. But many serious impediments stood in the way of their advance in the educational system like financial constraints, social prejudice, and other cultural factors being some of them.

No doubt, education is an important indicator of social status that includes values and ideals. In this sense education can influence social change among the scheduled castes. However, access to education and facilities provided to them under the reservation policy seems to be limited as the facilities available to them are mainly in educational and employment spheres. Education being urban based the majority of the SCs living in rural areas are deprived of these facilities. To avail of these facilities they have to cross many hurdles in education and then to get employment they need to have the prescribed level of education for the respective jobs. Studies have revealed that the facilities used by them are marginal, are inadequate, do not reach on time and have to undergo many bureaucratic formalities. Hence, the output of education and employment is minimum at middle and higher levels. Further, ability and opportunity to utilize the privileges vary among the SC groups, between regions and at each level and type of education. As a whole, though the scheme of special facilities proved to be ineffective in its implementation, the overall impact has been positive.

However, educational benefits reached to few urban based population resulting into the formation of educated elites who are insignificant in number. Although the development planning had been to expand education, it did not reach the majority. During the last fifty years

of independence, it has been revealed that the scheduled castes who have entered the educational system suffer from 'backwardness' in term of quality and quantity of the education they received. The reasons behind this are manifold and can be broadly distinguished into two i.e. problems related to their social backgrounds and problems that are inherent within the educational system. There has been a mismatch between the two and hence the policy of reservation has contributed to the minimum extent.

Moreover, the role of politics in reservation and politicization of castes and educational system in Uttar Pradesh is also responsible for the poor enrollment results and poor educational mobility of the SCs in the state. Since caste and politics are intertwined with each other, this has an adverse impact on the education especially higher education.

Finally, although there are limits to what we expect from education for social change and development among the scheduled castes, education still continues to be an important agent of change. The social development through education is confined to limited urban based populations among dalits and social changes are more at peripheral levels that took place through the processes of industrialization and urbanization.

CONCLUSION

Education is important for achieving economic development and technical progress. Besides, it is also considered crucial for social transformation towards a better order based on the values of freedom, social justice and equal opportunities.

The different ways in which education can help the processes of social change, are firstly to project new images, secondly, through values as an instrument of socialization, and secondly to provide an ideological articulation for analyzing problems in a wider perspective. Moreover, education endows one with the power and opportunity to break the barriers of hierarchical power.

A tangible benefit of education to many is its ability to fetch a job that might improve their economic and social position. This consideration weighs considerably in the choice of subjects or courses and alternately the 'certificate' they can obtain as the minimum necessary requirement. The single important attraction towards higher education for them is its ability to provide them a good job. Higher education certainly has infused most of the students with some idea about the future they would like to have. Higher education modifies not only the outlook of scheduled caste students but also that of their parents. In other words, the impact of the

education does not confine itself to the students or the direct receivers of the education, but spreads also to others who are related to them.

Higher education among dalits also exerts influence to their own communities as well as to the wider communities. The change in the outlook due to higher education also encompasses a change in the attitude towards other members in their caste because most of them still lie in extremely backward situations.

The nature of interaction between education and social stratification has a direct influence on social mobility. The social background of the students also operates as a selective factor in their admission to different types of educational institutions. Their social background, to some extent, also determines the choice of subjects, the level of aspirations and the choice of occupations after the completion of education. When students from lower strata get highly educated, they are aspired to get more remunerative jobs, thereby raising the economic level of the family and also contribute to the heightening of its prestige.

It has been seen that despite all the privileges- financial and others- that the Government has given to deprived classes in the field of education, majority is still illiterate. This could be due to many factors. Most of this socially deprived section is also the poorest section of the society. Also, lack of awareness with regards to benefits of education is

another factor which discourages them to educate their children. They are equally unaware of many of special privileges initiated by the Government to better their lot. All these and many other factors have acted negatively on these privileges. Nevertheless, many have made use of these privileges, but they also face problems like resentment from upper castes, discrimination in educational institutions etc.

In order to increase education among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes the scheme of post-metric scholarships was started in 1945-46 with the objective of providing financial assistance to the SC and ST students studying at post matriculation stages in different schools and colleges. Financial assistance is given to the State Governments and Union Territories for the construction of new hostels and to expand existing ones. The Government provides financial assistance to organization/institutions to undertake short duration action oriented studies on problems relating to the formulation and evaluation of programmes for economic, social educational development of scheduled castes.

The book bank scheme is also implemented for SC and ST students so as to provide text books to those who cannot afford expensive education without state support.

However, after about two and a half to three decades of the operation of the policy of protective discrimination, the parameters of the situation changed. The SCs and STs are no longer as uniformly backward as they had been when the Constitutional provisions for preferential facilities for the SCs and STs were made.

Individuals from several castes/tribes included in the schedule have moved up in terms of education, employment, occupational and economic status to belong to lower middle or middle class. For instance, where they belonged to the IAS, IPS etc. or were in high political office, e.g. Ministries, they have moved up to be part of the upper class elite. As individuals they have reached a point at which they seemed to be much less deserving of preferential provisions than the mass of the population, particularly the mass that stood below the poverty line. Thus, the reservation policy also leads to the formation of Dalit elites.

The present study shows that despite the reservation policy, very little number of dalits are in higher education. The reason for this may be attributed to the fact that higher education, by its very nature is urban based. Whereas the vast majority of the SC population lives in rural areas, therefore aspirations for higher education is less among dalits of rural areas compared to that of urban areas.

The role of political parties and state politics is also responsible for the poor academic enrollments of dalits in higher education because dalits are taken as mere 'vote-banks'. Their concrete upliftment in terms of education, housing facilities, and basic civic amenities does not form a considerable segment of the agenda of political parties.

In many ways, the ruling Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) is a product of the contemporary era of profound ideological uncertainties and political crisis. There is nearly a total lack of any clear ideology in the programmes and functioning of the BSP. The thrust is solely on breaking the caste system to overthrow the rule of the three upper castes by organizing the oppressed and exploited for equality. Changing and destroying the caste system was being stressed by the BSP. But an economic programme is absent, so is any concrete outline of what dalits and backwards might do, once they gain political power and regarding the kind of what kind of society which might be built (Sharma, 1994: 164-65).

The Mayawati Government seems to lack confidence. Any new government which comes to power has at least a general policy package to which it pays lip-service. The present one, by contrast, is distinguished by the fact that it has failed to announce any programme till date. Moreover, there is not any emphasis on quality education for dalits.

Moreover in recent pronouncements, any mention of the dalits have been missing; instead the BSP recently made much out of the fact that it is now considering giving seats to upper caste politicians.

The alienation of the dalits from the BSP is beginning to unfold in different ways. The poor amongst them are getting increasingly restless and unconvinced about a dalit government being in office.

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