DALITS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN POST INDEPENDENT ERA: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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MRITUNJAI KUMAR

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067
2007
INDIA

जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110 067

Centre for the Study of Social Systems
▶*School of Social Sciences*

Date: 20 July 2007

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled, "**Dalits in Higher Education in Post Independent Era: A Sociological Analysis**," submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **Master of Philosophy** of this University is my original work to the best of our knowledge and has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other institution.

Mritunjai Kumar.
Mritunjai Kumar

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

(Prof. NANDU RAM)
Supervisor
Professor
CSSS/SSS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

(Prof. AVIJIT PATHAK)
Chairperson
Chairperson
CSSS/SSS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

Tel. Office : 26704408 • Fax: +91-11-26717539, 26717586 • Gram : JAYENU • Telefax : 031-73167 JNU IN

DEDICATED

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

"Ambedkar had advised the Dalits to achieve education. In fact, he had given them a dictum to educate, organize and agitate. He was of the view that through higher education and organized agitations against injustices committed on them, the Dalits would definitely liberate themselves from the age-old bondage and enhance their social status" (Nandu Ram, 1995).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The concept and phenomena of education is of modern origin, not only in India, but also in the developing countries and the West. It is only with the emergence of the industrial revolution, the children's school education has received a boost in the West. In India too, contemporary education draws from the Western origins. According to Yogendra Singh[1], "in India, the traditional content of education was esoteric and metaphysical, its reach was limited to upper castes and its organization was ascriptive. Modern education, on the other hand, is rational and scientific and open to all groups on the basis of merit. Education is seen as the most influential agent of modernization apart from industrialization and urbanization in India"[2].

The British laid the foundation of modern education in India. Macaulay's Policy of 1835, Sir Charles Wood's dispatch of 1854 and the Indian Education Commission were the major historical landmarks. The educational organization that emerged gradually possibly will be primary (vernacular), high school/secondary school and college/university education. Primary education (taught in the regional language) remained neglected while higher education (taught in English) received a fillip. The neglect of the primary education continued till it became a provincial subject. Thus, the modern education system in India, started by the British, remained the preserve of the upper castes and the urban, high and rich classes with a heavy slant on higher education[3].

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[1]   Yogendra Singh (1973) "Modernization of Indian Tradition", Thomson Press, Faridabad.

[2]   "The Social Context of Elementary Education in Rural India" Azim Premji Foundation, October 2004.

[3]   Ibid,2.

A major source of inequality in Indian society is the caste system, which divides the society into endogamous groups, arranged in a strict hierarchical order. Castes are ascriptive groups into which people are born and where they remain, with little scope of individual mobility to a higher level of social status. The caste system is governed by the concept of purity and pollution, which, according to Louis Dumont[4], underlies the principle of hierarchy i.e., the superiority of the 'pure' over the 'impure'. The two must be kept separate. To maintain the purity of his caste, it is obligatory for a traditional Hindu to restrict his interpersonal relationship within his own caste in terms of commensality (restrictions of food and water), restrictions on marriage and the hereditary occupation he follows. At the top of the hierarchy are the three upper or twice born castes- the Brahmins (learned men), the Kshatriyas (aristocracy) and the Vaishya (men of wealth). All power and access to resources are concentrated in them. At the bottom are the Shudras (workers), who were meant to serve the other classes. Outside the caste system were the 'chandalas' or untouchables who performed polluting and menial tasks and were subjected to extreme stigma by the upper castes[5].

In keeping with their overall advantageous position in the past, the upper castes were also the first to take advantage of modern education, especially higher education. They thus formed the educated middle class or elite. In keeping with the tenets of modern education, the British sought to expand education among intermediate/low castes, SCs, tribes and among girls. Geeta Nambisan points out how the British rulers and missionaries went about this task by establishing special schools and night schools for the depressed castes, so that they would not need to come into contact with the upper caste children[6]. The spread of education among the depressed castes and women, was also a result of social reform movements led by the educated elite and leaders such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore, Gandhi, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasager, Jyotiba Phule, and the

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[4]   C.J. Fuller (2003) " Caste" in Das V. et al. (ed). The Oxford India Companion of Sociology and Social Anthropology. Vol. 1, Oxford University Press. New Delhi.

[5]   Ibid,2.

[6]   Geeta Nambissan (1996) "Equity in Education", The Schooling of Dalit Children in India". *Economic and Political Weekly.* April 20-27.

Maharajas of Baroda and Kolhapur etc., who also revolted against certain social customs and caste discrimination prevalent in the Hindu society[7].

The genesis of caste is supposed to be Varna system consisting of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Each Varna consisted many castes and each caste is further divided into many sub-castes. They have specific inflexible rules and regulations regarding social and religious life. Caste members were not allowed to follow the occupations other than those prescribed by the institution of caste. The untouchables (Dalits) were known as Atishudras or Avarnas and treated as outcastes[8]. Their status in society was very low, marked as a socially acceptable and their occupations were tedious in nature and so treated as polluting according to Vedas. They had no right to property, land, education and religious rituals like that of upper castes. Thus, they were forced to live in feeble conditions for centuries. They were subjected to social, economic and cultural suppression and exploitation by so called upper caste people.

In many centuries, the caste had been a determining factor in education, work and employment. Shah[9] rightly points out that, 'higher education is still mainly open to the higher castes'. Large sections of the population belonging to the lower castes were denied access to education, high income yielding and power imparting occupations. However, in India, caste has been the determinant of class positions resulting in acute inequality in the distribution of wealth and income[10].

Education is the most important tools for mobility and social change. Education is constrained by the socio-economic conditions of people, their attitude, values and

7   Ibid, 6.

8   B.R. Chauhan (1975) "Special Problems regarding Education among the Scheduled Castes", in M.S. Gore and others (eds), Papers in Sociology of Education. And S. Chitnis, "Education of the Scheduled Castes", Journal of Higher Education, UGC, New Delhi, (2), 1975.

9   B.V. Shah (1960) "Inequality of Educational Opportunities", Economic and Political Weekly, 20th August.

10   B.C. Mehta & Kranti Kapoor (1998) "Caste, Education and Class Relationship in India", Journal of Higher Education, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring, UGC, New Delhi.

culture[11]. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the most self-motivated and well-known leader of the depressed classes and he belonged to the Mahar community, as an untouchable caste of Maharashtra. He was the first well-educated leader who fought for the cause of the untouchables throughout his life. However, prior to Ambedkar, Phule[12] a Shudra from Maharashtra laid down the course of action of social change by opening schools for women and untouchables in the country as early as in 1849. He explicitly challenged Brahmanical supremacy and the harsh aspects of Brahmin dogma by starting an anti-Brahmin movement in the state of Maharashtra.

The institution of caste, which is unique to and is the primary basis of social stratification in India, has been identified as one of the most important factors for the existence of inequality in education. Indian society did not believe in equality of educational opportunity. It appears not only in the social bias but also in the educational achievement[13].

Mahatma Gandhi conquered the twentieth century in social and political landscape. Ambedkar was not only a political competitor, but also a social opponent of Gandhi[14]. While studying the social and educational problems of the Scheduled Castes, it is pertinent to study and analyze Ambedkar's position because existing issues and achievements are mainly deep-rooted in his philosophy and great effort. The first and leading way of change and development of the Scheduled Castes or Dalits, which Ambedkar strongly advocated, was higher education. In addition to his political and social activities, he established educational institutions in Mumbai and Aurangabad in 1945, mainly for the deprived sections under the People's Educational Society[15]. The

[11]   A.K. Lal (2000) "Protective Discrimination and the Scheduled Castes"; *Journal of Rural Development*. Vol. 19 (4). NIRD, Hyderabad.

[12]   Dhananjay Keer (1962) "Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission", Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

[13]   G.G. Wankhede (1999) "Social and Educational Problems of Scheduled Castes: Some Critical Insights", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 60, Issue, 3 July.

[14]   Ibid, 11.

[15]   G.G. Wankhede (1999) "Social and Educational Problems of Scheduled Castes: Some Critical Insights", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 60, Issue: 3 July.

removal of the caste system and untouchability was another important aim of Ambedkar's movement. His followers launched *Satyagraha* for issues such as temple entry, access to public places and drinking water. Moreover, to education and socio-religious reforms, he founded political parties like the *Scheduled Caste Federation,* followed by the Independent Labour Party[16]. Dr. Ambedkar[17] made many representations to the British Government and attended the Prime Minister's Round Table Conference at London in 1930. The struggle went on for almost three decades. But in the end, he was irritated and came to believe that Hinduism could not survive without caste and untouchability and, therefore, it could not be reformed easily. In 1935, he acknowledged his decision to change his religion into Buddhism. As another strategic shift, he got associated with the Congress Party, held ministerial positions and, functioned as Chairperson of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar gains something concrete for his people through these tactics particularly relating to land, reservation in education, employment, the Parliament and State Assemblies[18]. At the same time, he single-handedly fought with the formidable Congress Party. The argument between Gandhi and Ambedkar over separate electorates for the Dalit communities is well known[19]. The political parties and the government had to take cognizance of his role.

In fact, the Scheduled Castes of nowadays are also facing a lot of problems so far as the policies and practical situation is concerned. In addition, the situation is more disturbing in higher education. The National Policy on Education, 1986[20] ignores completely the educational interests of the Scheduled Castes. The policy aims at attaining distinction but no pretence is made to promote equity in this case. The prominence is placed on consolidation and expansion of facilities in the existing institutions. A provision for making new facilities is minimum and admission is 'regulated according to capacity'. Not even a passing reference is made regarding the promotion of education of the

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[16]   Ibid, 11.

[17]   Chitnis, Suma (1981) "A Long Way to Go ...," Allied Publishers, New Delhi.

[18]   Dhanajay Keer (1962) Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission, Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

[19]   Ibid, 11.

[20]   National Policy of Education (1986) Department of Education, MHRD, Government of India.

Scheduled Castes in the section on higher education in the National Policy on Education[21]. In connection with technical and management education as well, the National Policy of Education shows no commitment to cater to the needs of the Scheduled Castes. It talks of the economically and socially weaker sections in general for whom appropriate formal and non-formal programmes of technical education (not management education) would be devised. The education policy is clearly reflected in real terms in the Programme of Action 1986/1992 of the National Policy of Education, in the spheres of higher education and technical and management education. Just a passing reference is made about measures to be initiated to popularize the scheme of community polytechnics for extending the benefits to the under-privileged and disadvantaged sections of the society. The Scheduled Castes are not specifically mentioned even in the section on higher education through open/distant learning[22].

The division of higher education in India is found to be urban-biased and pro-rich. The majority of the Scheduled Castes live in rural areas and most of them are deprived. They are mainly lacking 'better' education, the lack of urban life style and modern exposure, which make them unaware and ignorant of many basic things, which are important for their motivation and aspirations. Moreover, the Scheduled Castes, being economically dependent on the upper castes, have to survive by a hand-to-mouth. Consequently, their level of self-perception is low and their life is mainly reduced to struggle for survival[23]. To promote higher education the scheduled castes, special provisions were made in the Constitution and development of these Castes became a state responsibility. Untouchability was declared abolished under Article 17 of the Constitution. Article 46 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 Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of

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21   Ibid,17.

22   Programme of Action (1992) "National Policy on Education", Department of Education, MHRD, Government of   India.

23   Ibid, 15.

exploitation"[24]. As a result, new avenues to reach into modern and secular sections of development have been opened to the Scheduled Castes. The philosophy of equal opportunity was appreciated during the post-independence period. Political mobilization and social awakening among Scheduled Castes communities was, to a large extent, responsible for the initial spread of education. Restricted access to education became a matter of great social concern ever since the idea of equality of educational opportunity gained was recognized as a basic human right[25].

However, the higher educational qualification has come to the fore as the affluent sections of the leading castes[26] have been engaged in intense competition for greater job opportunities and better educational facilities. They have required elected posts for themselves at all levels in the village from panchayats to cooperatives. As the importance of educational qualifications has been realized for gaining employment, the demand for education has grown. Politicians have tolerantly catered to caste sensitivities while promising the setting up of schools and colleges to 'better' the lot of the people belonging to their own castes. They have strongly used caste associations and caste appeals to rally people behind them for influence in education, employment and other concessions'[27]. They have ensured that any such activity entails profit for them, and at the same time, they have utilized all caste associations and resources to further their own social, political and economic interests. The system of higher education "is virtually a monopoly of a select stratum of urban society, which is a passport to high occupational and social status". The institutions of higher learning are highly selective as far as the socio-economic background of the student is concerned. Students in such institutions are

[24]   Kameshwar Choudhary (1998) "Dalits in Higher Education: Cooption or Domination", *Journal of Higher Education,* Vol. 21, No. 3, Monsoon; M.S. Gore, I.P. Desai, and S. Chitnis, Field Studied in the Sociology of Education, All India Report, (1970) NCERT, New Delhi.

[25]   Gail Omvedt (1982) "Land, Caste and Politics in Indian States: A Project of Teaching Politics," Department of Political Science, (ed.) University of Delhi.

[26]   M.N. Srinivas (1987) "The Dominant Caste and Other Essays", Oxford University Press, Delhi.

[27]   Ibid, 22.

predominantly drawn from among the families belonging to the higher strata characterized by high educational, occupational and income backgrounds[28].

UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEM AND RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

The social and educational problems of Scheduled Castes population are interlinked and inter-related in enhancing the standard of living. Education has proved to be the best means of development for majority of the Scheduled Castes. The lack of education carries inherent handicaps, both structurally and functionally. In this sense, social problems setback the motivation level, quality and utility of education[29]. Education in theory leads to upward social mobility and positive change in a modem technological society. It has been exposed by various studies[30] that the role of education is very vital so far as the Scheduled Castes and their development is concerned, despite the various kinds of restrictions. For them, other means like political and economic power have proved to be failure compared to education. As a result, a new educated middle class[31], although a numerical minority has emerged developed among the Scheduled Castes. It is largely urban based due to forced migration for education and employment. Professor Nandu Ram suggested on the basis of their study that a majority of the respondents had improved their status in the class and caste hierarchies separately. They had improved their status in a multiple status hierarchy[32].

They display a tendency to move out of the caste-defined detention to low status occupations. The findings of Pandey and Ram seem to reflect a trend in the orientation towards upward social mobility among the Scheduled Castes students. However, Ram

[28]   N Jayaram (1987) " Higher Education and Status Retention", Mittal Publication, Delhi.

[29]   Ibid,23.

[30]   B.R. Chauhan, (1975) "Special Problems regarding Education among the Scheduled Castes", in M.S. Gore and others (eds), Papers in Sociology of Education, and S.Chitnis, "Education of the Scheduled Castes", *Journal of Higher Education*, UGC, New Delhi, (2), 1975.

[31]   J. Pandey, and Nandu Ram (1978) "Changes in Locus of Control of Upper and Lower Caste Students", *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 104.

[32]   Nandu Ram (1988c) The Mobile Scheduled Caste: Rise of a New Middle Class. Hindustan Publishing Corporation, Delhi.

has found the low level of achievement of higher education among them mainly due to reasons like failing in examinations, heavy drop-outs and stagnation caused by their poor socio-economic background and educational training, lack of proper guidance, etc. According to him, even most of those who stay in colleges and universities usually do not do well in their studies and secure comparatively poor grades or percentage of marks in examinations. He also states that in recent years, some quantitative but not much qualitative changes have occurred in their educational achievements[33]. In his words, "in fact, there are variations in social adjustment and educational performance of students of these communities depending upon variations in their socio-economic background, nature of institutions they join, and type of courses they opt for. Thus, the factors broadly relate to the social background of these students and their social and academic environments".

The other face of higher education is that it is used as a means of socio-economic improvement, although interest in the study of education in relation to social stratification and mobility is reasonably new in India. One of the studies on the Scheduled Castes has observed that a majority of them, belonging to lower educational backgrounds, accept the importance of higher education in leading to the achievement of better and fair jobs, while for those with highly educated and professionally qualified backgrounds its importance lies in removing the drawbacks of the community and improvement of the socio-economic status in society[34]. It has been further stated that "the higher the education among the Scheduled Castes, the greater they realize its importance in socio-economic improvement. When they are cross-examined in terms of their income, it is found that the higher the income, the greater they realize the importance of education in the interests of their community"[35]. This study of the Scheduled Castes of Varanasi city confirms that higher education; higher income and urban living among the Scheduled Castes have enabled them to evolve new personality patterns out of the old ones. Of course, some non-Brahmin castes have recently found their way into the field of education. But it is only the dominant among them who have benefited from the educational expansion as also from the formal measures to break the Brahmin monopoly

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[33]   Nandu Ram (1995) "Beyond Ambedkar—Essays on Dalits in India", Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi.

[34]   P.N. Pandey (1988) "Education and Social Mobility", Daya Publishing House, Delhi.

[35]   Ibid, 33.

in education. At least a part of this trend is explained by the political power, which they have been able to exert and exploit. The progress of education among the lower castes, especially among the Scheduled Castes, seems to be painfully slow and uncertain. While the government has taken up the cause of ameliorating the educational situation among the Scheduled Castes the response has been far from satisfactory[36].

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[36]   Suma Chitnis (1981) "A Long Way to Go ..." Allied Publishers, New Delhi.

THE OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

1. To find out the causes of drop out among the Scheduled Castes and to investigate the reasons for their discontinuing the studies.

2. To see the pattern and distribution of education at various levels of primary, secondary and higher education among Scheduled Castes.

3. To evaluate socio-economic factors of the gap between primary education, secondary and higher education of Scheduled Castes.

4. And also as a consequence to analyze the social mobility and social change among Scheduled Castes in India in the perspective of educational achievement.

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This research study has relied heavily on the available secondary sources such as literature in the form of books, articles from e-journals, newspapers, and periodicals. I have also referred to primary data sources like official reports of the Ministry of Human Resource Development and Commission on the Scheduled Castes. Magazines, films and novels pertaining to Scheduled Castes have also been referred to extensively.

CHAPTERIZATION

The present study is divided into five chapters, which include the following:

Chapter 1. Introduction

Chapter 2. Socio-economic background of Dalits

      in Post-Independent Era

Chapter 3. Inequality of the Higher Educational Opportunity

Chapter 4.Higher Education among Scheduled Castes, Mobility

     and Social Change

Chapter 5.Conclusion

CHAPTER-2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF DALITS IN POST-INDEPENDENT ERA

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF DALITS IN POST-INDEPENDENT ERA

"The chronically poor are not simply of vulnerable groups, but people who commonly experience several forms of disadvantages and discriminations at the same time. Differing combination of structural factors-labor, and product markets, ethnicity, race, gender, religious, class, disability, refugee status, geographic location.... create and maintain the poverty of some, while giving others the chance to avoid or escape it".

(The *Chronic Poverty Report 2004-2005, p.7)*.

A social background is a social reality, and the past experiences and information is essential to understand a situation or problem of Dalits in the Indian society. The East India Company and the British Administration in India, before 1947, basically introduced the English language as a medium not for the development of Indian higher education system but they needed for the growth of the legal profession of company. At that time, no extra care for Dalits in the British rule was considered. It is necessary for us to look into the medieval period as well as ancient period because in this period the caste hierarchy was evolved and crystallized, and upper castes dominance created worst situation for Dalits. The upper castes in general and Brahmins (priests) in particular made the rules for society and divided the people into four varnas, which were strictly followed by Hindu society.

Traditionally, Indian society has been a very complex system with the dominance of caste and religion.[37] The thinking of these institutions operated in the society in such a way that a system was developed in which the divisions of labor, class, marriage, occupations etc. were restricted by the rigid rules. The upper castes people enjoyed the privileges of high income and high social status among others in the Indian society. This division of system gave rise to a caste as well as class-based high and low rank social inequality in the society. This was the main problem in Indian system in which a deep-rooted man made problem of inequality, which was influenced by strong religious and ritual authority.

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[37] Ehsanul Haq (1995) "Open Education and Closed Society: A Study in Social and Educational Inequalities in Contemporary India", in Social Inequality in India: Profiles of Caste, Class, Power and Social Mobility, (ed) by K.L. Sharma, Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi.

Brahmin who was also known as priest always enjoyed the high rank status. He maintained his position socially unchallenged and enjoyed non-competitive power in comparison to other higher castes at the top-most of the hierarchy. A passage in Rigveda justifies that a king or a ruler can secure an early mastery over his subjects and defeats his enemies. He respects the Brahman priest and also its strong belief and faith on priest because his blessings could help him to control the state easily. A Brahmin priest is the only caste whose work of nature is ritual, religious, spiritual, divine, and good luck status and knowledge of religion[38]. Brahmin is so important that any caste does not perform any ritual without his recognition or his consent. This profession is limited to Brahmin only and no other caste is allowed to enjoy this status.

The caste is symbolizing the acute problem in the Indian society and due to this, a wide gap exist between upper castes and Scheduled Castes. This is a man-made division of human being by upper castes. This division is socially recognized by Indian system and is followed from past centuries to the modern period. This division is harsh reality of Indian tradition and complex society that has never changed till now. The social structure of caste has remained such that it creates the problem to other low rank people by socially upper caste to restrict to occupation, marriage and life style, etc.

The low caste populations, including their sub-castes are known as Dalits, untouchables, Shudras, deprived, disadvantage groups or Scheduled Castes. They are socially, economically and politically very weak. Majority of the Scheduled Castes still live in rural areas.

INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM AND DALITS

The social and economic inequality constitutes an important characteristic of the Indian Society. The Indian caste system is a source of great inequality, oppression and discrimination. The Caste matters a lot in Indian society. Caste is considered to be the most important basis of social stratification in India for social, economic and religious purposes. Many sociologists and anthropologists have defined it differently but they all

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[38]   Ibid,33.

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agree on one point, that, it bestows superior status to Brahmins. They often misuse this superior status to marginalize, oppress and discriminate the lower castes. Despite all this it can be undisputedly proved that caste in India still plays a very crucial role in the social and economic life of people. For Srinivas, caste can be defined as "a hereditary, endogamous and usually localized groups having a traditional association with an occupation and a particular position in the local hierarchy of caste[39].

Andre Beteille defines caste as a "small and named group of persons characterized by endogamy, hereditary membership, and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual in a hierarchical system[40]. For Gupta, "Caste system is a form of differentiation where in the constituent units of the system justify endogamy on the basis of recognized biological differences which are signified by multiple social practices[41].

Marc Galanter has defined caste in India (Jati) as an endogamous group having a common origin, membership of which is hereditary, linked to one or more traditional occupations, imposing on its members certain obligations and restrictions on matters of social intercourse and having a more or less determined position in a hierarchical scale of ranks[42]. So caste is a social group having two features: 1. Memberships are confined to those who are born of in a particular family or groups. 2. They are an endogamous group[43].

Hindu society is divided into four Varnas. At the top of the hierarchy are the Brahmins, followed by the Kshatriya then comes Vaishya and at the bottom are the Shudras, finally, the untouchables fall completely outside this system. According to the Purushsukta, Brahmins resulted from the head, Kshatriya from arms, Vaishya from thighs and Shudra

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[39]   M.N. Srinivas (1962) "Caste in Modern India", Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

[40]   Andre, Beteille (1996) "Caste, Class and Power in India", Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

[41]   Dipanker, Gupta (2001) "Social Stratification", Oxford University Press, Delhi.

[42]   Marc, Galanter (1983) "Competing Equalities, Law and the Backward Classes in India". Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

[43]   Sheela, Rai (2002) "Social and Conceptual Background to Policy of Reservation", Economic and Political Weekly, October 19-25.

from the feet of the Supreme Being. This analogy is self explanatory for the hierarchal caste system. Untouchables were considered to be outcaste because they were supposed to be involved in unhygienic and polluting occupations.

The Caste System is a complex and inflexible system, separating caste from castes, with strong restrictions on inter-dining and inter-marriage. Even today in the rural India it is strictly practiced and no one is willing to change the age-old complex rigid system. The structure of the caste system is such that it has an organized pattern of inter-related rights and obligations for members of each a caste. Caste system is a phenomenon of social inequality. Society has certain structural aspects, which distribute members in different social positions.

Dumont[44], a French social anthropologist has sought to position the Indian social structure in contradiction to that of the west in terms of the unique institution of caste which both structurally and as a civilization reflects the principle of hierarchy (in contrast to the principle of equality in the West). Hierarchy is defined by Dumont as the feature of a social system where normative principles govern or determine the instrumental or utilitarian principles in the affairs of society. He calls it being encompassed and encompassing, a process by which the values and beliefs traditionally prescribed encompass the rational utilitarian principles. In other words, in a hierarchical system it is not the economic, political and other secular factors which define the standards of evaluation of the normative or value aspects of society, but it is the other way round. So, according to Dumont, the notions of pollution –purity and inequalities existent in the caste system could not be understood when judged from the western secular standards, which belong to an altogether different matrix of civilization. The caste system is associated with a notion of purity and pollution. While Brahmins enjoy the utmost purity and declining successively with Kshatriyas. Vaishya. and then Shudras. untouchables are treated as most impure or polluted. Even a touch of untouchables is supposed to pollute others.

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[44]   Louis, Dumont (1970) "Homo - Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications", Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.

The concept of purity versus pollution was based on the need to maintain cleanliness and was an institutionalized from where pollution was associated with birth. Caste system in India prevails in almost every walk of life. In rural areas it very much clear from the distance between the houses of different castes. Even after more than five decades of independence the untouchability prevails. Rigid social norms of purity and pollution are socially enforced through strict prohibition on marriage or other social interaction between castes. Marriages are still expected to fall along caste lines. The globalization process has not been able to bring in many changes. The caste system is built on the concept of purity and pollution. Some people are purer than others. The highest castes "Brahmins" are the purest of the pure, the other three castes have gradation of purity, and the untouchables are wholly impure and can not even be allowed to come into contact with other caste people[45].

According to G.S. Ghurye[46], the main features of caste system are: segmental division of society, hierarchy, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, restriction on marriages and civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections. Through these attributed Ghurye argues that the caste group maintained its own separate identity, which it sought to perpetuate over generations.

One of the greatest drawbacks in our social structure is the existence of caste system, dividing the society according to status and rank resulting in social inequality and discrimination. The caste system and consequences of discrimination are not compatible with a democratic society. These social rigid steps have created economic and educational disparity. The caste system among the Hindus has its repercussions to an extent on other religious groups also. With a view to remove these gradations in our natural life and to reshape our society on democratic lines the constitution directed the state under Article (46) to promote with special care the educational and economic

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[45]   David, Haslam (1999) "Caste Out: The Liberation Struggle for the Dalits in India", CTBI.

[46]   G.S.Ghurye (1961) "Caste,Class,Occupation":Popilar Prakashan, Bombay.

interests of the weaker sections of the people and in general and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in particular[47].

Gupta[48] argues that though caste-based stratification displays different characteristics. But he argues that it is impossible to construct a uniform hierarchy of caste based on the concept of purity and pollution. No caste would like to merge its identity with any other caste. No caste accepts that it has originated from a shameful act of sexual relationship between different caste and marriage. Any suggestion of being half-breed is dismissed behaving superior across the board by all caste[49]. He further says, that it is true that castes try to elevate their social status through a process known as 'Sanskritization' a term coined by Srinivas. But it is not at all true that those castes that try to equal the lifestyle of powerful Brahmin, Kshatriya or Baniyas want to merge their identity with these castes. He says, that the Viswakarma Brahmins have sanskritized much of their lifestyles but do not want to marry Chitpavan or Saraswat or any other kind of Brahmin. They want to stay separate but would claim equality with Brahmins and prosperous castes.

Many countries have recognized that the exiting inequalities from society to society in both form and degree. India is one of many countries in the world having this type of severe problem. Some sections of Indian society have suffered it a lot. Naturally the lower strata of the society have suffered the maximum disadvantage. Various actions have been taken to minimize the discrimination and exploitation created by these inequalities. The condition of the untouchables was very pathetic see table-2.1. The upper castes people treated them inhumanly. The socio-religious disabilities had dehumanized the untouchables. The atrocities inflicted on them were on a large scale. The cases of atrocities were quite visible[50].

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[47]   H, Mehta, & H, Patel (1985) "Dynamics of Reservation Policy", Patriot Publication, New Delhi.

[48]   Dipankar, Gupta (2001) "Caste, Race, Politics", *Seminar* in December.

[49]   Dipankar Gupta (2000) "Interrogating Caste: Understanding Hierarchy and Difference in Indian Society", Penguin Books, New Delhi.

[50]   Valerian, Rodrigues (2005) "Ambedkar on Preferential Treatment", *Seminar* 549, May.

TABLE-2.1

ALL INDIA – CRIMES AGAINST DALITS – 1992-2000

Types of cases	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Total
Murder	616	510	546	571	543	513	516	506	526	4847
Rape	849	798	992	873	949	1037	923	1000	1083	8504
Kidnapping & Abduction	213	246	251	276	281	243	253	228	268	2259
Dacoity	81	102	78	70	90	58	49	36	38	602
Robbery	265	197	259	218	213	162	150	109	108	1681
Arson	406	369	533	500	464	389	346	337	290	3634
Hurt	NA	NA	4542	4544	4585	3860	3809	3241	3497	28078
PCR Act	2900	2531	1731	1528	1417	1216	724	678	672	13397
POA Act	NA	NA	14938	13925	9620	8070	7443	7301	7386	68683
Others	19592	20220	10038	10492	13278	12396	11425	11657	11587	120685
Total	24922	24973	33908	32997	31440	27944	25638	25093	25455	252370

Source: Crime In India, National Crime Record Bureau, Ministry of Human Home Affairs, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1992-2000.

David Haslam[51] argues that, to be a Dalit, however is not a matter of economic and political oppression of Scheduled Castes. Another serious dimension, which affects Dalits, is the psychological hammering, which they have experienced over 3,000 years. A continuous mental oppression intended to convince them that they are not human being but some less than human species whose role is to serve the needs of the caste people. There are five spheres where Dalits are discriminated: (1) Social (2) Economic (3) Political (4) The failure of the state (5) Religious-cultural.

(1) Social

- Access to services

- Access to decision making

- Eating and mating

- Housing

- Education

- Harassment and violence burial and death.

(2) Economic

- Land

- Employment

- Debt

- Water

(3) Political

- The caste basis of politics

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[51]   David Haslam (1999) Caste Out: The Liberation Struggle For the Dalits in India, CTBI.

(4) The failure of the state

- The role of the police

- Divide and rule

(5) Religious cultural

- Identity denied

- The place of religion

- Drums and procession

- The power of the priesthood.

The rigid caste system of Indian society denied some social groups the essential minimum opportunities to enjoy the basic condition of life. Due to that discrimination and exclusion these castes are still socially and educationally backward. Exclusion and discrimination is in fact internal to the economics and sociology of the caste system and its natural outcome[52]. It is a matter of common knowledge that Indian society has been highly egalitarian for the past three millennia and more. The untouchable and Shudra have been subjected to the worst form of discrimination by the higher castes[53]. Poverty is another reason of social exclusion see table-2.2. Social exclusion causes the higher rates of poverty among affected groups. These groups are poor in terms of income, health and education. The reason is that they are denied access to resources, markets and public services. Socially excluded people are often denied the opportunities available to others, which could help them to increase their income and escape from poverty.

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[52]   Sukhadeo, Thorat (2005) "Reservation and Efficiency: Myth and Reality", *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 26.

[53]   S, Hooda (2001) "Contesting Reservation", Rawat Publication, Jaipur.

TABLE-2.2

WELFARE INDICATORS IN INDIA BY CASTE

Social Indicators	SCs	STs	Non-SCs/STs
Poverty, Rural (%)	36	46	21
Poverty, Urban (%)	38	35	21
Child Mortality (per 1,000 births)	39	46	22
Assets per household ('000 Rs.)	49	53	135
% of wage labour, Rural	61	49	25
Literacy, Rural (%) Population	51	45	63
Literacy, Urban (%) Population	68	69	82

Source: National Sample Survey Organization, Delhi: International Research Institute, Mumbai; Commission for SC and ST, Delhi; Thorat (2005).

The poor socio-economic background of Dalits is an important reason for high dropout and lowest literacy rates amongst Dalits. This is partly because of the need for low caste children to supplement their family wages through labour, see table 2.3. But more dangerous and less well documented is the discriminatory and abusive treatment faced by low caste children at the hands of their teachers and fellow students[54].

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[54]   Smita, Narula (2001) "Caste Discrimination". Seminar 508. December.

TABLE-2.3

ECONOMIC INDICATOR FOR DALITS (1999-2000)   (%)

	Rural Dalits	Rural Non-Dalits	Urban Dalits	Urban Non-Dalits
Self-employment in agriculture	16	41.11	3.28	4.3
Self–Employment Non agriculture	10.18	14	27.76	38.7
Wage Labor	61	29	64	15
Employment Rate	46	48.4	45.8	50
Unemployment Rate	5	3.5	5.2	3.5
Poverty Rate	35.4	20	39	21

Source: NSS Employment Survey, 1999-2000, CSO, Delhi.

The condition of the Dalit women is even more severe. Dalit women are generally positioned at the bottom of caste, class and gender hierarchies. They are largely uneducated and often paid less than their male counterparts. They are the one who bear the brunt of exploitation, discrimination and physical assaults. Landlords often sexually abuse and use other forms of violence against Dalit women. Another important aspect of Dalit women suffering is their disproportionate access to health care, education and subsistence wages as compared to women of higher castes. See table-2.4.

TABLE-2.4

LITERACY RATE (%) OF SCHEDULED CASTE 1991 &2001

Year	Total			Scheduled Castes		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1991	64.13	39.29	52.21	49.91	23.76	37.41
2001	75.00	54.00	65.00	66.64	41.90	54.69

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment,

Govt. of India, 2004-05.

The unequal and hierarchical assignment of occupation and property rights among castes implies that every caste except those at the top of the caste order suffers from an unequal division of social and economic rights. The former untouchables at the bottom of the caste hierarchy suffer the most. In addition they also face exclusion and discrimination from access to all economic rights including right to property[55]. Caste in India is social reality that cannot be washed away. One's economic, social and educational progress is directly related to one's caste.

Economy of the community is directly related to the performance of its people in the practical life. Meaning if the individual or community is poor his or her poverty will be reflected in his or her social life. Education, health, social prestige and the self-confidence will all be affected by ones poverty. So poverty and social life is directly related to each other. More money means more power, good health, high prestige, social

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[55] Sukhadeo, Thorat (2005) "Why Reservation is Necessary", *Seminar* 549, May.

capital, higher education and lucrative jobs etc. The above mention tables suggest that Dalits are lagging behind in all the social indicators. Many stories of abuse and violence against Dalit women are widespread. Though this prohibition has largely ceased now. Another extraordinary fact is that although contact with Dalits is supposed to pollute the caste person but when it comes to sexually assaulting the Dalit women such pollution magically disappears. Haslam says that the discrimination against Dalits is therefore wide and deep in modern India and it is even worse for Dalit women[56].

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR DALITS

The constitution of India has passed certain laws to eradicate the discriminatory practices against Dalits.   For example untouchability has been abolished by the Constitution. Employment of manual scavengers and Construction of Dry latrines (Prohibition) Act 1993, whereby members of the disadvantaged sections of society are to be prevented from doing manual scavenging. But the irony is that despite this act it can be easily seen in our day-to-day life. It is a blunt truth that discriminatory practices against the Dalits do persist. An absence of effective enforcement of the legal provisions is one of the major causes. Indian society is based on the concept of purity and pollution. Some of the occupations are considered polluting or impure and therefore socially degrading. The social stigma of impurity and pollution reduces the social status of persons engaged in them and thus lowers the economic incentives[57].

After the adoption of the Constitution in 1950s in the theory an egalitarian legal framework formally replaced caste based customary rules and norms governing occupation, property rights employment and as a result now even the low castes have equal access to all occupations, education and other avenues of social mobility. Despite these provisions and the impact of other factors the caste system continues to function in the private domain of economy in some form or other. Therefore safeguards are required against market and non-market discrimination. Education and other constitutional

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[56]   David, Haslam (1999) "Caste Out: The Liberation Struggle for the Dalits in India". CTBI.

[57]   Sukhadeo, Thorat (2005) "Reservation and Efficiency: Myth and Reality", *Economic and Political Weekly*. February 26.

safeguards have brought significant change. Education has resulted in disassociating caste from occupations to a great extent, though, disparity still exit. It is now clear that earlier occupation were more or less caste based. A caste system drives the whole society in to a large number of hereditary groups. There are many occupations regarded as degraded by Hindu social system. There is a constant desire to evade and escape from such occupations carrying stigma with it. There are adverse consequences of caste restrictions on employment. Restrictions on inter-caste mobility of labor are the root cause of much of voluntary unemployment among high caste persons and involuntary unemployment among the low castes. Obviously the high caste Hindu would generally prefer to be voluntarily unemployed for some time rather than taking up an occupation not in accordance with their caste status. While restrictions on entering into some occupations assigned to upper castes compel the lower castes and especially the untouchables to remain involuntary unemployed[58].

Article 16 (4) says "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in the favor of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State". Article 16 (4A) says "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation (in the matters of promotion, with consequential seniority, to any class) or classes of posts in the services under the State in the favor of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which in the opinion of the State are not adequately represented in the services under the State. Article 16 (4B) says "Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from considering any unfilled vacancies of a year which are reserved for being filled up in that year in accordance with any provision for reservation made under clause (4) or clause (4A) as a separate class of vacancies to be filled up in any succeeding year or years and such class of vacancies shall not be consider together with the vacancies of the year in which they are being filled up for determining the ceiling of fifty percent reservation on total number of vacancies of that year. Article (46) says, "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic

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[58]   Ibid,. 48.

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interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

The Constitution prohibits discrimination (Article 15) of any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste etc. Article (17) untouchability and Article (23) forced labour. It provides for specific representation through reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes in the Parliament (Articles 330) and in the State Legislative Assemblies (Article 332) and adequate representation in government and public sector jobs in both the Federal and State government (Articles (16 (4), 330 (4) and 335). Under article 338 of the Constitution, the President of India appoints an officer known as the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes to investigate all matter relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes under the various provisions of the Constitution. When India got independence in early 1950s the private sector was not on a very high growth and therefore it was left out from the purview of providing reservation for the depressed classes as it was enshrined in the constitution for the government and the public sectors. Since the above-mentioned constitution provisions are not mandatory in case of the private sector, private sector enterprises do not bother or care to follow them.

ATROCITIES AND DISCRIMINATION OF DALITS IN DAY-TODAY LIFE

The oppression of Dalits has occurred for the past many centuries. They are discriminated in all spheres of social life in places of worship, education, housing and ownership of common property resources such as wells and village water taps, roads, buses ad other public places. They are the people who are made to do all menial and degrading jobs in our society. They are considered to be untouchables. In daily lives untouchability results in the following consequences: in many dominant caste so-called rich families, the servants are Dalits. After a Dalits servant has cleared the rooms, pots and pans, one of the family members will sprinkle holy water around the house to purify all that has been touched by the Dalits servant. Dalits are not allowed to wear shoes if they wear shoes they will be forced to take them off when coming in to the presence of a dominant caste person. In rural areas Dalits are not allowed to cycle through the dominant caste area of the village. Dalits live mainly in separate communities outside the village. In general

Dalits are not allowed to sit at bus stops, they have to stand and wait until dominant caste people have entered in the bus. Dalits are also not allowed to sit on the bus seats even if they are vacant. Dalits are not allowed to enter many Hindu temples due to their so-called polluting influence. Dalits have been chased out; abused and beaten up for daring to set foot inside a temple, even though it is a temple of their own religion. After half a century of independence even many educated Dalits continue to face discrimination in renting a house to live in. Most Hindu will avoid having a Dalit prepare their food for fear of becoming polluted. Dalits have been systematically attacked or socially boycotted for asserting their basic right to land, minimum wages, education, housing, food, water etc.

SPECIAL MEASURES FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTES

With the beginning of development planning in independent India, special consideration was given to the measures for social and economic development of Scheduled Castes. These may be classified into three broad categories:

(i) Legislature measures to ensure equality of opportunity and for protecting the legal interests of the deprived, particularly against discrimination in access to educational facilities on the basis of caste and creed consideration. These include abolition of untouchability and equality of opportunity in matters related to education, employment, and representation in legislature and in statuary bodies including the Panchayti Raj institutions.

(ii) Overcoming economic barriers in the access to basic facilities like education, health and other social services. Special schemes for employment generation, improving the housing and sanitation conditions among the slum dwellers most of whom belonged to the lower castes, formed the part of the development strategy. The measures for promotion of education fall in the following categories:

(a) Relaxation of norms for opening of primary and upper primary schools in habitations predominantly populated by Scheduled Castes population, UGC (University Grants Commission) provides relaxation in criteria for financial assistance to colleges having Scheduled Castes enrolment and those located in backward areas.

(b) Relaxation in norms for admission and entrance to degree/professional and other courses in institution of higher education. Remedial course and special coaching classes are organized for the Scheduled Castes students aspiring to compete for the professional and civil services examinations (UPSC exams).

(c) Introduction of job oriented and vocational courses in educational institutions at various level and measures to encourage the participation of Scheduled Castes students in these courses.

(d) Scholarship, free-ship and provision of free textbooks, hostels, uniforms and transportation etc., so that the private cost of education does not stand in the way of social and economic development of Scheduled Castes and families belonging to backward communities.

(e) Scheduled Castes candidates are provided relaxation of upto 10 percent cut off marks for the Junior Research Fellowship (JRF) test.

(iii) Promoting the economic interest of the Scheduled Castes through reservations in Central and State government jobs commensurate with their share in the total population. Barring a few professions, these reservations have been applied all across the administrative hierarchy. Scheduled Castes candidates are also provided opportunities for career advancement. A variety of scholarships and in-service training packages have been designed. The scope and coverage of such programmes is limited as compared to the task of capacity building at various levels of administrative services[59].

(iv) Post-matric scholarship to support them financially.

(v) Special coaching for better academic performance and to improve communication skills.

(vi) National overseas scholarship and passage grants for attaining higher studies abroad[60].

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[59] Yash Aggarwal (1998) "Some Aspect of Social and Economic Inequities Among SCs in India", *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol.21, No.3.

[60] G.G.Wankhede (2003) "The Scheduled Caste and Higher Education in India, Retrospect and Prospects", *Think India Quarterly*,Vol.6, 3 November, July-September.

EDUCATIONAL BACKWARDNESS AMONGST SCHEDULED CASTES

There are still prejudices and lacuna in the system that has lead to a systematic marginalisation of the Scheduled Castes from attaining educational excellence, which, Upper castes achieves with little effort.

The following factors could be called as "speed breakers" in achieving higher education. These factors can be broadly categorized as:

(i)   Poor enrolment at higher level of education.

(ii)   Higher education is urban based.

(iii)   Lack of awareness and guidance.

(iv)   Complicated and time-consuming bureaucratic procedure.

(v)   Poor implementation due to the Upper caste prejudices.

(vi)   Over all resentment due to the traditional prejudices.

(vii)   Politicization of the issue[61].

(viii) Most of them are first generation learners and belong to the rural and poor background.

(ix)   The education system and its contents are biased towards social and economic elites.

(x)   Social and academic discrimination and harassment.

The elite of the country represented by the upper castes have raised a hue and cry over the reservation policies under the pre-text of lowering educational standards and wasting national resources for the undeserving. As a result, many anti-reservation agitations, riots

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[61]   G.G.Wankhede (2003) "The Scheduled Caste and Higher Education in India, Retrospect and Prospects", *Think India Quarterly*, Vol. 6, 3 November., July-September

and protests have taken palace besides several litigations filed in the courts. This is also linked to the issue of securing a 'vote bank' for the political parties. Some say that it's a politics of Dalit appeasement.

The Scheduled Castes is still lagging far away from the General Caste, because so called elites are more powerful in Indian society and dominant in every field of the society specially education field. They act as an inhibitor rather than facilitator in providing space for the upwardly mobile Scheduled Castes. They feel humiliation in standing shoulder to shoulder with the Scheduled Castes. Moreover, most of the elites think that if Scheduled Castes enter in the education field the standard of education will decline. Therefore, they do not fulfill the reserve quota in the educational institutions in particular and other jobs in general. But it's an old saying that no body can stop an idea whose day has come. Dalits now have subjective awareness of the objective reality. They are more assertive and ambitious then ever before. They are bound to make their presence felt in all endeavours of life in a constructive way.

CHAPTER-3

INEQUALITY OF HIGHER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Merit is not the monopoly of any particular caste or community.

(The Pioneer, June 24,2006)

INEQUALITY OF HIGHER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The role of higher education in the context of the Scheduled Castes, and the relation between economy and education should be given due attention. Inequality in educational opportunities for Scheduled Castes continues to predominate in India and is brought out by several studies. Socio-economically disadvantaged students frequently exhibit symptoms like anxiety, depression, less interest in academic pursuits. A study by the students of Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) revealed that 14 to 42 percent of socio-economically disadvantaged students could not perform well in their course and had to be dismissed[62]

The question of opportunity in higher education is linked with economic opportunity. Equality of opportunity thus, becomes more relevant in the case of higher education and also in the modern economy consistency of tertiary and secondary sectors emphasizing competition and individual achievement. Though Indian economy is not totally based on industry, it has acquired certain characters of the same in the constantly expanding urban areas. It has been revealed that the Scheduled Castes are sparsely represented in the superior, administrative and managerial positions.

The liberalization of economy has no doubt influenced higher education in many ways. The IMF/World Bank policies and directives not only influenced the educational policy but also the changing economy has changed equations in the job market. After liberalization of the economy, the immediate expansion took in place computer related industries, software exports, media related agencies etc. Higher education personal with specialized training could benefit from this. Multi-national companies, export firms, business and trading are some lucrative areas for a student who has completed higher /specialized studies. Entry in to this field increasingly demands competence. Highly

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[62] S, Omprakash (1985) "The Educational and Psychological Problems of Socially Disadvantaged Students in IITs , Kanpur": Indian Institute of Technology.

competitive spirit of professional courses reflects these pervading trends of the economy. Most cities are witnessing the mushrooming of private educational institutions that help to improve skills specific to the emerging demands of the market in India and abroad. There are a lot of demands for such courses. Private institutions relying on collection of fees and donations will never implement policy of protective discrimination.

Therefore, in the era of globalization, educational development for Scheduled Castes has become a vicious circle. The jobs, which are in abundance, are provided by the service sector. Service sector increasingly demands specialized trainings that can be achieved at an economic cost. Scheduled Castes cannot afford this cost and hence they remain poor. In another words, they are poor and hence remain educationally unqualified and economically backward[63].

The present crisis in the higher education system in India, in general and in particular, is the product of our liberalization policy, which is being blindly pursued by our ruling elite. Primary education has been considered important as it leads to laying down the foundation for higher education. Larger budgetary allocation rather than private financing could contribute to this process. Once the quality of our education improves, it would help all castes. Dalits would benefit more because majority of them come from low-income families who cannot afford private coaching. Education has played an integrative role in our society, which it was expected to play. Under the pressures of globalization, we should not privatize our schools and universities, as this would prove disastrous from the point of view of development.

In the modern industrial society the higher education is capable of socializing the newborn citizens into a society. Formal education today has become almost necessary because to participate in economic production one needs to learn specialized skills, which cannot be acquired through family or any other agency. Due to the necessity of formal education in advanced industrial societies, education is provided by the status as a matter

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[63]   G.G. Wankhede (1999) "Social and Educational Problems of Scheduled Castes: Some Critical Insights". *The Indian Journal of Social Work*. Vol.60, Issue 3, July.

of right for all citizens[64]. Formal institutions such as schools, colleges and universities – are organized for this purpose. Full time professional practitioner likes – teachers and lectures staff them. Attendance at school is compulsory; it is upheld be legal sanctions. Education is provided free of charge, at the primary level and the taxpayers ultimately pay for it. Free compulsory state education is largely taken for granted today and regarded as a perfectly normal and natural state of affairs. In most societies today legislations exist guaranteeing equality of the right of education. In fact to realize this ideal of "equality of educational opportunities", special efforts are made by the welfare states in societies in industrial societies to provide compensatory education for the socially deprived. Even in developing countries like India, State has assumed the responsibility to provide universal free education at the school level. Special policy measures have been adopted to encourage the traditionally deprived sections like Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, to take to modern education. In spite of the creation of a legal framework in most societies, to ensure quality of educational opportunity, such an ideas continue to be elusive in reality even in the industrially advanced societies. Raymond Boudon[65] has investigated the problem of "equality of educational opportunities". Boudon has tried analyzing the relationship between social structure and educational attainment.

ISSUE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The educational institutions have three general functions. First, it transmits the culture from one generation to another; second, trains children for a specialized role. Third, it revitalizes the cultural heritage through the development of new ideas. The Marxist scholars view educational systems as a system of cultural reproduction, indoctrination and perpetuating social stratification. The concept of cultural reproduction suggests that the system of class relationship in a society is maintained over time through the production and diffusion of ways of thinking and expressing oneself that come to be seen

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[64] "Educational Goals (1974) "Aims and Objectives". The Report of a Study by a Working Group in Asia, National Institute for Educational Research, Tokyo, Japan.

[65] Raymond Boudon (1974) "Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality", John Wiley & Sons, New York.

as natural and acceptable ways of behavior. The desire to accumulate consumer goods, for instance, is not an ingrained trait of human nature, but is generated by the cultural and in particular, education is an important means of reproducing the class relationship in the society as a whole. The educational system not only acts to assign people to class position by providing them, with the skills and aspirations appropriate to that position; it also provides the means by which people learn to function with some independence of mind a necessary quality of efficient work in any class position. This independence can become the basis for awareness of the exploitations inherent in a class system and a basis for organizing to change it. Prominent among those who see education essentially as a means of cultural reproduction are Pierre Bourdieu, Louis Althusser, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Ginits[66].

According to Bourdieu[67], the major role of educational system is cultural reproduction. This does not involve the transmission of the culture of society as a whole, as Durkheim argued but instead, the reproduction of the culture of the dominant classes, this group has the power to impose meanings as legitimate. They are able to define their own culture as worthy of being sought and possessed and to established it as the basis for knowledge in the educational system, it can be translated into wealth and power. Cultural capital is not evenly distributed through out the class background have a built in advantage because they have been socialized into the reaching the highest culture bracket. Bourdieu claims that the success of all school education depends fundamentally on the education previously accomplished in the earliest year of life. Children from the dominant classes have internalized their skills and knowledge during their pre-school years. Therefore, their performance in school is superior to that of the deprived sections. The educational attainment of a social group is therefore, directly related to the amount of cultural capital sections. The educational attainment of a social group is therefore directly related to the amount of cultural capital they process. Thus, middle class student have higher success rate than working class, since their sub-culture is closer to the dominant culture. Bourdieu claims that a major role of the educational system is the social function of elimination.

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[66]   Bowles,S. and Gintis, H (1976): "Schooling in Capitalist America, Routledge & Kegan Paul", London.

[67]   P, Bourdieu (1973) "Cultural Production and Social Production in Brown".

This involves eliminating the members of the working class from higher levels of education. Due to their relative lack of dominant culture working-class students are more likely to fail in examinations, which prevent them from entering higher education. So that there decision to vacate of their violation accounts for a higher proportion of eliminating. Working class students know that the dice are loaded against them. Therefore, the quite on their own, thus, Bourdieu[68] concludes that in practice education is essentially concerned with he reproduction of the inequalities of the established order.

Althusser, a French philosopher has also analyzed the education system on similar lines. He argues that education serves the interest of the capitalist ruling class. The reproduction of labor power is essential. The development of labor power involves two processes. First is skilled manpower and efficient labor forces. Second the spread of ruling class ideology and socialization of workers in terms of that ideology. The process combines to reproduce a technically efficient and obedient working force. The role of education in capitalist society is the preproduction of such a work force, Althusser[69] argues that no class can hold power for any length of time simply by the use of force; ideologically control provides a far more effective means of a maintaining the class role. Education provides important means of ensuring submission to the ruling ideology.

Education not only transmits a general ruling class ideology, which justifies and legitimizes the capitalist system; it also reproduces the attitude and behaviors required by the major groups in the division of labor. It teaches workers to accept and submit to their exploitation, it teaches the agents of exploitation and repression, the managers, administrators and politicians, how to practice their crafts and rule the work force as agents of the ruling class. While Althusser has presented only a general Marxian perspective on education Bowles and Gintis have applied that framework to analyze schooling in America. They analyzed the personality characteristics, which they claim are fostered and developed by the system. In a study based on a sample of 237 members of

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[68]   P, Bourdieu (1986) "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste". Translated by R. Nice.
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

[69]   "Althusser (1971) Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays". New Left Books.

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the senior in a year in New York high school, they examined the relationship between examination grades and personality traits. They found that low grades are related to creativity, aggression and independence and concluded that the school penalizes such traits by the school. They found a number of characteristics, which indicate subordination, and discipline associated with high grades. Several studies indicate that students with high grades are often below average when measured in terms of creativity, originality and independence of judgment. From this evidence, Bowles and Gintis concluded that, school foster types of personal development compatible with the relationship of dominance and subordination in the economic sphere. Capitalism requires workers who will obey, submit to control from above, take orders rather than questions them. Thus, the education system is simply a means of reproducing existing class relations in a capitalist society. They support this conclusion further by examining the relationship between teachers and the students and between educational credentials and occupational rewards.

Even Illich[70] is another non-Marxist scholar, who has criticized the educational system as being the root of the problem of the modern industrial societies. In schools the individual learns to defer to authority, to accept alienation, to consume and value. He is taught to see education as a valuable commodity to be consumed in ever increasing quantity. These lessons prepare him for his role as a mindless consumer to whom the passive consumption of the goods and services of the industrial society becomes an end in itself. Illich concludes, as long as we are not aware of the ritual through which the school shapes the progressive consumer-the economy's major resources we cannot break the spell of this economy and shape a new one. Illich proposes a simple yet radical solution. In place of schools Illich offers two main alternatives. First, "skill exchanges" in which instructors teach the skill they use in daily life to others. Illich argues that 'drills' involving systematic instruction can best learn skills. Secondly, most importantly, Illich proposes 'learning webs' which consists of individual with similar interests but 'meeting around a problem chosen and defined by their own initiative and which proceed on the basis of creative and exploratory learning.

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[70]   I, Illich (1973) "Deschooling Society", Penguin Books, Harmonds-Worth.

Durkheim[71] rejected the notion that education could be the force to transform society and resolve social ills. Instead, Durkheim concluded that education "can be reformed only if society itself is reformed." He argued that education "is only the image and reflection of society. It imitates and reproduces the latter... it does not create it". Most mainstream proposals for improving education in the United States assume that our society is fundamentally sound, but that for some reason, our schools are failing. Different critics target different villains: poor quality teachers, pampered, disruptive or ill-prepared students, the culture of their families, unions, bureaucrats, university schools of education, tests that are too easy, or inadequate curriculum. Denouncing the poor quality of education is like blaming a mirror because you do not like your reflection.

In the United States, there has frequently been a close connection between advocacy for mass public education and demands for expanding democracy, social equity, and political reform. For example, in the mid-19th century, Horace Mann championed public education because he believed that the success of the country depended on "intelligence and virtue in the masses of the people." He argued that, "If we do not prepare children to become good citizen...then our republic must go down to destruction"[72].

John Dewey[73], saw himself within this intellectual tradition. He believed that democratic movements for human liberation were necessary to achieve a fair distribution of political power and an "equitable system of human liberties." However, criticisms have been raised about limitations in Dewey's approaches to education, especially the way they are practiced in many elite private schools. Frequently, these schools are racially, ethnically, and economically segregated, and therefore efforts to develop classroom community ignore the spectrum of human difference and the continuing impact of society's attitudes about race, class, ethnicity, gender, social conflict, and inequality on both teachers and students. In addition, because of pressure on students to achieve high academic scores, teachers maintain an undemocratic level of control over the classroom. Paulo

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[71] Emile, Durkheim (1959) "Education and Sociology", New York: The Free Press.

[72] New York Times, 1953.

[73] John Dewey (1959) "School and society", Phoenix book.

Freire, who calls on educators to aggressively challenge both injustice and unequal power arrangements in the classroom and society, addresses both of these issues.

John Dewey's [74] ideas about education developed in response to military dictatorship, enormous social inequality, and widespread adult illiteracy. As a result, his primary teaching goal was to provide the world's poor and oppressed with educational experiences that make it possible for them to take control over their own lives. Freire shared Dewey's desire to stimulate students to become "agents of curiosity" in a "quest for...the 'why' of things," and his belief that education provides possibility and hope for the future of society. But he believes that these can only be achieved when students are engaged in explicitly critiquing social injustice and actively organizing to challenge oppression.

For Freire, education is a process of continuous group discussion (dialogue) that enables people to acquire collective knowledge that they can use to change society. The role of the teacher includes asking questions that help students identify problems facing their community (problem posing), working with students to discover ideas or create symbols (representations) that explain their life experiences (codification), and encouraging analysis of prior experiences and of society as the basis for new academic understanding and social action (concretization).

The main ideas about education and society at the heart of the philosophies of Dewey, Freire, Greene, Horton, and Banks are that society is always changing and knowledge is not neutral—it either supports the status quo or a potential new direction for society; people learn primarily from what they experience; active citizens in a democratic society need to be critical and imaginative thinkers; and students learn to be active citizens by being active citizens.

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[74]   John Dewey (1966) "Democracy and Education: Democracy and Education: An introduction to the
        Philosophy of   Education", New York, The Free Press.

INCLUSIVENESS IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND DISPARITIES

Indian Dalits are approximately 16.56 percent of the total population of the country according to 2001 census. Traditionally, Schedule Castes belongs to the poorest stratum of Indian society. They face structurally various kinds of social discrimination and economic deprivation. We have entered in 21st century where with computer age all the efforts to improve the condition of Dalits have proved pointless. The efforts of the state and the expenditure incurred on the programs and polices for the uplift of them have not produced appropriate results. There has not been any marked improvement in the socio-economic condition of the Scheduled Caste. Otherwise 50 percent of Dalits would have not been under poverty line, 68 percent laborers in the rural area, only one fifth of them cultivated land as independent self-employed cultivators, 80 percent have not been drop-out after high school, two Dalit women would have not been raped and three Dalits would have not been murdered per day. The plight of the Dalits is evident see table table-3.1,3.2 that depicts the prevalent poverty, illiteracy, and tendency of dropout among Dalits[75].

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[75]   Vivek Kumar (2004) "Dalits". *Economic Political Weekly*, January 3.

TABLE-3.1

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL PROFILE OF DALITS IN THE DIFFERENT INDIAN STATES (1991-94)

S.No.	Name of the State	% Scheduled Caste Population (1991)	% Scheduled Caste Literate Population (1991)	Drop-Out rates of Scheduled Caste at Secondary Stage (1990-91)	% Scheduled Caste under Poverty line (1993-94)
1	Andhra Pradesh	15.93	31.59	86.00	34.92
2	Arunachal Pradesh	0.47	57.27	-	-
3	Assam	7.40	53.94	62.42	29.86
4	Bihar	14.56	19.49	89.39	62.91
5	Goa	2.08	58.73	81.07	-
6	Gujarat	7.41	61.07	71.29	38.62
7	Haryana	19.75	39.22	78.12	35.07
8	Himachal Pradesh	25.34	53.2	67.78	27.70
9	Jammu & Kashmir	-	-	79.09	-
10	Karnataka	16.38	38.06	75.03	54.00
11	Kerala	9.92	79.66	51.05	34.01
12	Madhya Pradesh	14.54	35.08	61.58	55.41
13	Maharashtra	11.10	56.46	71.96	52.10
14	Manipur	2.02	56.44	81.70	-

15	Meghalaya	0.51	44.27	30.57	-
16	Mizoram	0.10	77.92	-	-
17	Nagaland	-	-	-	-
18	Orrissa	16.20	36.78	81.54	48.2
19	Punjab	28.31	41.09	79.34	25.02
20	Rajasthan	17.29	26.29	82.07	43.50
21	Sikkim	5.93	51.03	91.51	-
22	TamilNadu	19.18	46.74	77.32	52.77
23	Tripura	16.36	56.66	87.29	-
24	Uttar Pradesh	21.04	26.85	72.20	58.50
25	West Bengal	23.62	42.21	88.81	41.51
26	Delhi	19.05	57.60	65.36	-

Source: Sixth Report of National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1999-2000 & 2000-2001, New Delhi, p.40, 41, 172-4,177.

TABLE-3.2

LITERACY RATE (GENERAL AND SCHEDULED CASTES)

Year	General Population Total			Scheduled Caste Population		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1991	64.13	39.29	52.21	49.91	23.76	37.41
2001	75.00	54.00	65.00	66.64	41.90	54.69

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India 2004-05.

In the present context, exclusion from access to higher education occurs in multiple ways and is reflected in the disparities observed not only between the poor and the non-poor, but also across social groups classified according to caste, religion, ethnicity, and gender see table 3.4.

TABLE-3.3

INEQUALITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION, 1999-2000 (%)

Castes/Communities	Rural India	Urban India	Gap between Rural and Urban India
ST	1.1	10.9	9.8
SC	1.2	4.7	3.5
Muslim	1.3	6.1	4.8
Hindu-OBC	2.1	8.6	6.5
Sikh	2.8	25.0	22.2
Christian	4.7	23.7	19
Hindu-Upper Caste	5.3	25.3	20
Other Religions	5.4	31.5	26.1
All-India average	2.6	15.5	12.9

Cells show percentages of graduates in population aged 20 years and above.

Source: Computed from NSSO 55th Round Survey, 1999-2000. (EPW, Vol. No-24 June 17-23, 2006. p.2421).

The National Sample Survey Data for 2000[76] provides useful information on these multiple disparities. The overall gross enrollment ratio in higher education is about 10 percent. It is 6 to 7 percent for Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and other backward Classes compared with 17 percent for the others. Enrollment is low for Muslims (5.23 percent), compared with Hindu (10.44 percent), Sikhs (11.2 percent), and Christian and

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[76] " National Sample Survey Data for 2000", Government of India, New Delhi.

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other religious groups (18.56). It is also low for girls (8 percent) compared with boys (12 percent). Among economic groups, enrollment is low for wage labor households and also for landless and marginal landowning households. Enrollment for rural and urban wage labor households is at a dissatisfactory level, varying between 1.41 and 3.3 percent. Enrollment is 2.4 percent for the poor compared with 13 percent for the non-poor; it gets reduced to a mere 1.3 for the rural poor. As for the other economic groups, enrollment is negligible for poor landless and marginal farmers. Thus, the SCs, and STs, OBC, women, and Muslims among the social groups, and wage laborers, landless and marginal farmers among the economic groups, suffer from lack of access to higher education. The poor from all these groups suffer the most.

While this analysis refers to particular categories, there is also a significant interface between these categories. The SCs/STs/OBCs from all religious backgrounds, namely Hindu, Muslim, Christian, and Sikh, suffered more from low access to higher education than their higher caste counterparts. For instance, the enrollment of Hindu SCs is 5 percent compared with 20 percent for the rest of the Hindus. Likewise the enrollment of SC Sikh is 2.33 percent compared with 15 percent for non-SC Sikh; and of SC Christian 7.37 percent compared with 27.52 percent for the rest of the Christians. Enrollment is also lower for both Hindu and Christian STs than for the rest of each community. Similarly, the enrollment of OBC Hindus is 7 percent compared with 20 percent for non-SC/ST Hindus; and that of OBC Muslim is 3.86 percent compared with 6 percent for other Muslims.

Again, while girls in general have lower enrollment, among them the lower caste and tribal girls have been lower enrollment than upper caste girls, within each religious group. The enrollment for SC, OBC and ST girls among Hindus is 3.93 percent, 4.70 percent, and 5.57 percent respectively compared with 16 percent for higher caste girls. Similarly, the enrollment of SC and ST Christian girl is 9.57 percent and 7.37 percent respectively compared with 27.52 percent for higher caste Christian girls. In the same way, the enrollment of SC Sikh girl is only 2.53 percent compared with 16.52 percent for higher caste girls. The enrollment of Muslim girl is lower than for girls belonging to other religions; it is only 3.74 percent, compared with 8 percent for Hindu girls, 11.46

percent for Sikh girls, and 20 percent for Christian girls. Among the Muslim girls too, the enrollment of OBCs is the lowest, a mere 2.84 percent.

Enrollment is generally low for wage labor but it is particularly low in the case of rural wage labors belonging to SCs and STs. against an enrollment of 3 percent for rural non-farm labor, we have a figure of 1.52 percent for the same groups from the Scheduled Castes. In the case of poor households too, the enrollment is less for poor belonging to SCs, STs, it declines further to just 1 percent for the rural poor; and is almost negligible for poor rural wage labor households. It is apparent that the access to higher education is low for SCs, STs, and OBCs from all religions. Muslims, girls, wage labor, and landless and marginal farm households are among the most deprived, with the poor within all these categories suffering the most. The lower access of certain social groups within particular categories to higher education compared with other groups belonging to the same broad categories suggest that there are group specific constraints related to the caste, ethnic, gender, and religious background of social groups[77].

The issue of caste based social discrimination in higher education system is prevalent although there are many more bases of discrimination in human society such as class, gender, religion, race etc.

Unequal rewards or opportunities for different individuals within a group or groups within a society, if equality is judged in terms of legal equality, equality of opportunity, or equality of outcome, then inequality is a constant feature of the human condition, see table-3.3. It is necessary feature of modem societies that brings to the fore a number of long standing debates between, liberals, Marxists, Functionalist, and others. Taking power as being distributed along the dimensions of material reward, and differing life chances as determined by the market, status position, and access to political influences, then according to liberals such as Frederich, Hayek; inequality is the price to be paid for the dynamic economic growth that is characteristics of capitalism. The societies of real socialism (the then actually existing communist states of the Soviet Block), committed as they were to the historicism, of the class struggle, sought to modernize if not abolish these inequalities.

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[77]   Sukdeo Thorat (2006) University Grants Commission, *The Hindu*, New Delhi, 7 December.

TABLE-3.4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF SCHEDULED CASTES, SCHEDULED TRIBES AND TOTAL POPULATION (ALL INDIA)

Sr. No.	Indicator	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribes	Total Population (Gen)
1	Population (Crore)	13.82	06.76	83.86
	Percentage	(16.48)	(08.08)	(100.00)
2	Literacy (%)	37.41	29.60	52.21
	Male	49.91	40.65	64.12
	Female	39.29	23.76	39.29
3	Urbanization (%)	18.72	07.39	25.73
4	Agricultural Laborers	48.00		
5	Cultivators	28.17		
6	Average Status of Cultivators	Marginal		
7	% of people below Poverty Line	50.00		
8	Bonded laborers	66.00		
9	Employment (%)			
	Primary Sector	71.11	90.03	67.53
	Secondary Sector	09.83	03.85	11.97
	Tertiary Sector	13.06	06.12	20.50

Note: Information at Sr. No. 1,2,3 and 9 pertain to the year 1991 and from 4 to 8 pertain to 1987-88.

Source: Sarvekshana. Vol. XII, No. 4 April-June 1999, Population census 1991.

But in fact, merely generated novel forms of their own, in which, turn less productive of economic. growth and social welfare, and subsequently collapsed under the weight of socially dissatisfy. The arguments suggested by functionalists provide a rationale for inequality, but not (as is sometimes claimed) as a proof of its ideas is impossible. In fact,

many of the functionalist tenets may now have to face up to a form of egalitarianism, which is no longer restrict by the disgust of its communistic connotations. It will not be unstated competition between socio-economic systems, which defines the agenda as regards inequality, but rather an investigation of what inequalities are justifiable on their own terms, rather than in comparison to some ideal based justifiable on their own terms, rather than in comparison to some ideal based alternative. The realities of social class determined inequalities of education achievement, morbidity and mortality rates, and more generally of social mobility will have to confront the growing problems of the underclass, of generational inequalities, and inequalities produced by the globalization of capitalism, all of which will be seen as part of the social consequences of the capitalism, all of which will be seen as part of the social consequences of the "peace dividend". As societies in the post-Cold War era come to be graded along the criteria of the political democratic audit, so it will he "quality of life" scale be applied both internally and externally, and the extent and nature of inequality will be scrutinized. Currently, the existence of inequality, its causes and consequences, particularly as they are related to social class, gender, ethnicity, and locality continues to occupy the sociological foreground. The Scheduled Castes suffered in the past and continue to suffer even now from many forms of inequalities. It is, therefore, desirable to have a brief discussion on the concept of inequalities.

Matras[78], discusses about the concept of inequalities. He observes that "Social inequality is that inequality in the distribution of social reward, sources, and benefits, power and esteem, rights and privileges and power influence which is associated with differences in social positions". Society has inequality only because of unequal distribution of the available resources, benefits and privileges in the society. Sociological theories explaining inequality hold the social organizational setup responsible for the origin and prevalence of inequalities. This raises another important issue. The question arises that whether inequality is predetermined. Hindu philosophy furnishes a positive reply to this; the belief in the signed agreement of the past, karma, confirms the relationship between inequalities and one's deeds in the past life. And it is in this sense that the Scheduled Castes are made to believe that their low status in the Hindu society with unevenly loaded

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[78]   Matras, Judah (1975) "Social Inequality, Stratification and Mobility", New Jersey; Prentice-Hall.

inequalities is due to the will of the sovereign, namely god. Lord Brahma, the creator of mankind, has made the Scheduled Castes unequal of their bad deeds in their past life.

The concept of inequality is interpreted differently by some of the modern social thinker. Talcott Parsons[79]; Moore, and others have explained the concept of inequality, justifying it in the name of Functional theory. Parsons observes that ranked social differentiation and inequality are viewed as a consequence of value consensus in societies. When this is applied to Scheduled Castes, the higher castes have differentiated the Scheduled Castes and are subjected to inequality based on their own value consensus, which flows from the fact that the Scheduled Castes are untouchables. Davis and other; justify inequalities is based on the Functional theory. In the context of the Scheduled Castes have less skills and abilities, which do not enable them to discharge that type of role performance, which others alone can do.

Such arguments and discussions of some of the social thinkers of the west lend support to the age–old interpretation of the Hindu religious scriptures. But there are also other who challenge this type of imposition on the thinking of people in the society. Among such social thinking who attack the Functional theory are those who propagate the conflict theory. Wright Mills[80], and Ralf Dahrendorf[81], argues that social inequalities are not based on the ability of certain people but they are based on ill distribution of the available material resources. It is just the question of struggle among individuals for position and goods. Those who belong to the ruling class or stronger sections have the tendency of retaining the benefit to them and deny it to others. It is in this context that the contribution of Karl Marx becomes relevant. He suggested the "Theory of Economic Determinism". Social inequalities result from unequal distribution of economic interpretation of history is essentially a sociological analysis of the relationship between economic institution and organization and other social institution and cultural features of society.

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[79]   Talcott Parsons (1970) "Equality and Inequality in Modern Society or Social Stratification Revisited, Sociological Inquiry", Spring 40.

[80]   C.W. Mills (1956) "The Power Elite", New York, Oxford University Press.

[81]   Dahrendorf, R (1970) "On the Origin of Inequality Among Men in The Logic of Social Hierarchies", (eds.) E. Laumann, P. Siegel et. Al., Chicago, Markham.

Tumin[82] has explained the concept of social inequality in its different facets. He is of the opinion that "to criticize inequality is not, as is something suggested, to cares the romantic illusion that men are equal in character and intelligence". He expects that the civilized society should aim at removing such inequalities. He argues that social inequalities do not have their sources in individual differences. But rather they are found in organizations of the human beings. He predicts that if social inequalities are diminished, social energy might ripen a much use to the society.

The government has not taken enough measures to ensure the equality in the society. Even the reservation policy has not helped. Education and specially higher education is an elite commodity. In an elite system one should be prepared to be "co-opted" to survive and succeed. Given their way of life, Dalits as a whole cannot be co-opted. A few among them of course have been co-opted and moved away from their communitarian way of living to a highly individual and competitive way of life. But we supposed that was not the intention of the framer of the constitution when they included the special provision of reservation for Scheduled Caste[83].

ELEMENTS OF THE SUBJECTS

The syllabus ultimately is a reflection of the values, beliefs and attitudes of those who frame. Naturally then the low caste groups do not find the syllabus attractive and interesting. There is no place for Dalit history, geography, medicine, anthropology and culture in the syllabus. The low caste students no doubt cannot excel as a result. Finally there is the economic deterrent that prevents the success of Dalits. Economically the Dalits are poor. One of the strongest rewards of poverty on Dalits is the lack of adequate nutrition see table-3.4. The mental capabilities of Dalit children are permanently impaired in the very early years by nutritional deficiency. The motivation and ability to concentrate

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[82]   Malvin,Tumin (1970) "M. Readings on Social Stratification", New Jersey: Prentice Hall, INC.

[83]   Jacob Aikara (1980) "Scheduled Castes & Higher Education: A Study of College Students in Bombay", Dastane Ramchandra & Co., Poona.

and learn is reduced as a result. Many Scheduled Caste students miss more than 25% to 30% of school days because of illness related to malnutrition[84].

TABLE-3.5

SOCIAL INDICATOR FOR DALITS (1998-1999)

Social Indicator	Dalits	Non-Dalits
Infant Mortality Rate	83	61.8
Child Mortality Rate	39.05	22.2
Undernourishment	54	41.1
Life Expectancy	62	66

Source:Thorat & Nidhi Sadhna (2002:99)

The whole system of education thus, practices discrimination on the Dalits. The system shows an elitist bias and favors upper castes and classes. Students from upper castes and classes have greater chances not only of access to education but also to promotion. This is visibly seen in the proportion of dropouts, repeaters, see table-3.5. The rate of drop out has decreased from 49.4 percent in 1990-91 to 34.2% in 2004-2005 in primary classes. The rate of dropouts, which was 67.8 percent in 1990-91, has come down to 57.3 percent in 2004-2005 in the Upper primary classes, similarly, the drop-out rates which was 77.7 percent in 1990-91, has decreased to 71.3 percent in 2004-2005 in the secondary classes, implying an improvement in retention rates as would be evident.

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[84] Ambrose Pinto, S J (1998) "Dalits in Higher Education: Need for Establishing a Counter Culture", *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol.21, No. 3.

TABLE-3.6

DROPOUT RATES OF SCHEDULED CASTES AT PRIMARY, ELEMENTARY & SECONDARY STAGES 1990-91 TO 2004-05

Year	Primary (I-V)			Elementary (I-VIII)			Secondary (I-X)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1990-91	46.3	54.0	49.4	64.3	73.2	67.8	74.3	83.4	77.7
1994-95	45.1	49.8	47.0	66.4	72.2	68.7	N.A	N.A	N.A
1995-96	43.7	48.5	45.7	64.7	70.5	67.0	N.A	N.A	N.A
1996-97	41.0	45.2	42.7	61.9	68.3	64.5	75.5	81.0	77.6
1997-98	43.4	46.4	44.7	60.6	67.2	63.3	68.1	77.7	77.2
1998-99	40.5	42.8	41.4	59.9	65.4	62.2	72.7	78.2	74.9
2001-02	43.7	47.1	45.2	58.6	63.6	60.7	71.1	74.9	72.7
2002-03	41.1	41.9	41.5	58.2	62.2	59.9	69.7	74.9	71.9
2003-04	36.8	36.2	36.6	57.3	62.2	59.4	71.4	75.5	73.1
2004-05	32.7	36.1	34.2	55.2	60.00	57.3	69.1	74.2	71.3

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05

The present system is unsuitable for Dalits. The whole system suffers from the gap between its content and living experience, between the system of values that it tedious behavior and goals set up by society. It is not egalitarian[85].

Comparing the educational situation of the Scheduled Castes in the more than fifty years, it is observed that there have been positive achievements that can strongly be put forth as known by various government reports and studies. Higher education without these facilities is next to impossible for these people. It is directly linked to better employment and higher income and thereby to secular and modern status as against which they're traditionally as well as socially undesirable one.

The progress of the Scheduled Castes in education as revealed by several studies to be very poor and they still lag behind the non-Scheduled Castes students. For example, their literacy level, enrollment at primary/elementary level and higher level of education during the last five decades show very marginal and slow progress see table-3.6. There is large chunk, which does not enroll themselves for higher education and technical/professional education despite the seats reserved for them. The reason for this is the structure of higher education, its objectives and its contents are mainly urban bias and medium of instruction is English and most of the SC students are very difficult to grasp this. But it is not they are not intelligent, they are obviously intelligent but due to this they are not perform initial stage of enrollment in the higher education institute.

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[85]   Amrose Pinto S.J (1998) "Dalits in Higher Education-Need for Establishing a Counter Culture", *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 21, No.3. Monsoon.

TABLE-3.7

ENROLMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS, 1980-81 TO 2004-05

Year	Primary (I-V)			Middle/Upper Primary (VI-VIII)			Sec./Sr. Secondary (XI-XII)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1	2	.3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1980-81	7213	3768	10981	1621	602	2223	906	246	1152
1981-82	7413	3930	11343	1777	677	2454	973	273	1246
1982-83	7807	4244	12051	1906	741	2647	1091	330	1421
1983-84	8001	4472	12473	2297	999	3296	1395	382	1777
1984-85	8040	4651	12691	2543	1123	3666	1524	429	1953
1985-86	8727	5194	13921	2537	1082	3619	1378	432	1810
1986-87	7871	4655	12526	2315	1099	3414	1090	376	1466
1987-88	9083	5593	14676	2543	1193	3736	1521	507	2028
1988-89	9431	5771	15202	2584	1257	3841	1546	557	2103
1989-90	9523	5877	15400	2623	1298	3921	1701	630	2331
1990-91	9737	6057	15794	2747	1413	4160	1703	635	2338
1991-92	9709	6328	16037	3137	1556	4693	1878	703	2581
1992-93	10317	7034	17351	3478	1933	5411	1822	709	2531
1993-94	10412	7169	17581	3566	2014	5580	1981	827	2808

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1994-95	10889	7543	18432	3330	1883	5213	1788	803	2591
1995-96	11284	7892	19176	3453	1992	5445	1854	887	2741
1996-97	11754	8368	20122	3621	2176	5797	1952	975	2927
1997-98	12104	8759	20863	3825	2299	6124	2042	1050	3092
1998-99	12453	9185	21638	3918	2505	6423	2255	1221	3476
1999-00	11810	8625	20435	3881	2420	6301	2385	1399	3784
2000-01	12059	9136	21195	4066	2628	6694	2418	1394	3812
200-02	12251	9253	21504	4551	2945	7496	2693	1622	4314
2002-03	11943	9726	21669	4430	3062	7492	2776	1624	4400
2003-04	12764	10365	23129	4734	3343	8077	2938	1522	4760
2004-05	13762	10995	24757	5100	3597	8697	3228	1990	5218

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05

The total Scheduled Castes enrollment at the primary (I-V), Upper Primary (VI-VIII) and Secondary /Senior Secondary (XI-XII) stages of school education from 1980-81 to 2004-05 as shown in above table-3.6, increased by 2.25, 3.91 and 4.52 times respectively. The Scheduled Castes girl's enrolment increased by 2.91, 5.97 and 8.08 times respectively during the same period in the above stages of school education.

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SOCIO- STRUCTURAL VARIABLES AND HIGHER EDUCATION

There are a number of occupations about SC and ST students in education. Going by their performance it may be pointed out that they perform badly. However, the process of protective discrimination has given privileges to them. This has been considered with respect to the socio-economic background of the one who is studying. First, it is construed that the government is providing a lot of facilities to promote educational achievement of the Scheduled Castes and in spite of that they do not well in their studies. But we have mentioned elsewhere, that these facilities are inadequate and are not available particularly at the same time when these are really most needed. These students are forced to fulfill their family obligation. Also, most of these students unlike students of other castes and communities have to fulfill certain family obligations and contribute to their family's subsistence even during their study period. This adversely affects their performance in a particular Programme of study. Secondly, protective discrimination with regard to education and other spheres also have helped only a small section of the Scheduled Caste and their majority are still illiterate and quite away from benefits of the reservation policy. Those benefited from the facilities differ in terms of their socio-economic achievement and educational performance. But the above-mentioned impressions have subjective bias and they disorder different variations in the case of socio-economic background and educational performance of the Scheduled Caste students.

The different institutions of higher education follow different patterns of evolution of performance of their students. Therefore, levels of performance of students also vary accordingly through measures have been evolved in the form of percentage of marks or grades to established equivalent or variance in their merit. Scheduled Caste students admitted for higher education does not do well in their education, especially higher education. Caste as a symbol of identity is not very strong in the present day, yet caste still continues to be a significant factor influencing admission to urban higher education. It is observed that Brahmans, who had been traditionally a privileged caste group and who were the first to respond to modern education, still seem to be the dominant caste in the field of education, being the single majority caste group in various institutions of

higher learning. Formal and informal education is always at the command of upper castes.

The roots of educational deprivation of Scheduled Castes communities can be traced back to their position as untouchables in the caste structure of traditional Hindu society. The present educational system in India even if modern in character the education is unfamiliar to Indian traditions and culture and caters to only a section of the society (always upper castes and class). Secondly, although highly subsidized, most of the masses cannot afford it. Finally due to socio-religious prejudices the entry and sustenance with regard to education is very poor among the Dalits. Further it is also a fact that real socio-economic and intellectual power lies in those who get educated in urban metropolitan centers and study through the English medium. Students from the weaker section who manage to reach the higher level fail to meet required standards in face of no help from the teachers and peers due to the social prejudices and hence perform badly or drop out altogether. The knowledge and skills they acquire through higher education is not properly utilized in practical life, as their training is not proper due to the prevailing system[86].

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[86]   Ibid,33

CHAPTER 4

HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG DALITS, MOBILITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG DALITS, MOBILITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Education is the very foundation of good citizenship.... It is principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training and in helping him to adjust normally to his environmental.

(Brown v. Board of Education 98L Ed 873 at 880; (1953) 347 US 483 at 494)

The Scheduled Castes have been suppressed and exploited in India for ages and therefore, remained backward and suffered from poverty, malnutrition, disease, exploitation and ignorance in varying degrees. Keeping this in view, various legislative and welfare measures for the upliftment of these sections have been envisaged and implemented to raise their social, political and economic status in order to ensure social justice. A debate has been taking place not only in the academia but also among the policy planners and civil society about the various dimensions of the efforts being put in by the Government to uplift the downtrodden and make them stand at par with the other groups of the society by enhancing their capabilities without ignoring individual aspiration or dictating social benchmarks.

(Dr. Sandeep Joshi; 2006, International Conference of the Human Development and Capability Association, Groningen, Netherlands, 29 August-1 September 2006).

To begin with we may start with the idea of what we mean by social change. Social change is a change in a social structure, in the size of society, in the composition or balance of its parts or in the types of its organization. It is an indisputable feature of cultural reality. It is another thing that its pace varies from age to age, culture to culture and from one area of culture to another. For a variety of reasons the pace of social change has been rather slow in earlier cultures; chief reasons being the hold of repression, religion, and illiteracy etc. With the decline of oppression and religion and the rise of science, technology and industry along with the attendant fast means of communication and travel, the process of social change has quickened. It can be said that social mobility comes only through education.

Social change is influenced by many factors such as historical, cultural, geographical, biological, demographical, political, economical and ideological factors. It is an important instrument for social change. It is concerned with knowledge of learning. Learning is a process of acquiring knowledge or skills by instructions, study or experiences. Education refers to the methods or techniques by which a society attempts to

direct and accelerate the learning process of its members. In the widest sense, education includes every process, except the solely genetic that helps to form a person's mind, character or physical capacity. It is life-long, for we must learn new ways by which there are major changes in our lives. Therefore, every society should supervise the education of its members. At some point in his childhood, everyone is formally education, though not necessarily in a school. Education belongs to the general process known as *enculturation*, by which the growing person is initiated into the way of life of his society. As a sector in the great network of culture, education reacts to events in other parts of the culture and may on occasions affect these events itself.

This is a proven fact that not a single town or city in the country is there the Scheduled Castes numerically are in majority. In reality, like population of other castes and communities; a small percentage of the Scheduled Caste live in different towns and cities and even there they are socially and economically lesser to others. Only a small number of people of these castes have achieved higher education and are employed in professional jobs the quota of 15 % are still unfulfilled. They are socially and politically aware and enjoy better social status. However there are several types of social inequalities among them [not necessary in terms of caste form of social stratification] but in the form of their unreliable social and material achievements in urban area.

One can perhaps argue that since the Scheduled Caste as a group is socially and economically backward even in towns and cities, the formation of social classes among them is very slow. Had they become socially and economically advanced, the caste form of social stratification would have started getting absent and other forms of social inequality would override them. But such argument ignores the fact that the caste is still alive, both in its structural, cultural and processual forms. Even in urban areas and people at large keep distance between the sacred and profane (secular) aspects of their life. However, this is not to deny the fact that people generally do not bring their caste or community considerations in public domain in urban area. This is true in the case of the Scheduled Caste also.

Education seems to provide the solution for all problems that arise on the social and individual level of a society. Education has been increasingly regarded as major tools of social change. The deep foundations of inequality of the sexes are built in the minds of men and women through socialization process, which continues to be extremely powerful. The only institution, which can counteract the effect of this process, is the educational system. If education is to promote equality for women, it must make a deliberate, planned and sustained effort so that the new values of self-control can replace the traditional values system of inequality. Education is a means for development or social change in the desired directions. Education together with caste and religion is of an extreme paramount in partner selection within the arrangement of marriages by the families. Marriage patterns are only one example of the relationship between education and social structure.

Functionalists have always looked into the education system as offering opportunities for mobility for individuals. "Education is helpful in solving poverty and creates social mobility". Conflict theorists have generally stressed the role of structural inequality. Social class background of individuals is positively and strongly related to their educational and occupational aspirations and achievements. It is the responsibility of the educational system to bring the different social classes and groups together and thus to promote the emergence of an egalitarian and integrated society. But at present, instead of doing so, education itself is tending to increase social isolation and is responsible for the widen class distinctions.[87] People have expressed serious doubts about the effectiveness of education as a mechanism for equitable development. It is particularly doubtful that education helps to improve the position of the poor and powerless, to increase equality and justice in the society. Economic and social transformations come through education[88]. But education opportunities, as is now widely recognized, can't be equalized, nor can education equalize opportunity unless society is reasonably equal.

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[87] R. Harold Isaacs (1965) "India's Ex-Untouchables", Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

[88] Suma, Chitnis (1981) "A Long Way to Go", Allied Publishers, New Delhi.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Among the study of social mobility among the Scheduled Castes, we find that a large number of empirical research work have been conducted by the Indian as well as the foreign sociologists. Since the caste system presents a complex feature of Indian social structure relatively unlike the Western societies where class system is of prime, we find that the modern forces of westernization, industrialization, technological and scientific education and above all, the egalitarian values and the constitutional safeguards have brought about serious changes in the structural and cultural pattern of castes in India.

It is a proven fact, which in Indian society there is ample scope for social mobility and social change. Although, the historical surveys of social mobility and social change expose that social mobility is not a new phenomenon. In far ancient time, we find sufficient evidences of mobility. The rigidity of caste system emerged in the Indian society during the medieval age. Otherwise, the ancient social structure marked with *Varna* system is complete with the instances of social and cultural mobility in class and power. "The phenomenon of the old nobility in crumble", says Brown *"is most likely age old. It is an aspect of invariable changing in class composition and caste pecking order. As far back as late Vedic period, it is possible to observe the integration of Vaishya and Shudras[89]"*.

M.N. Srinivas has done the earliest clear analysis of socio-cultural change and mobility by placing his own approach of Sanskritization in his "Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India". He describes that a low caste was able in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism, and teetotalism and by Sanskritizing its ritual and monument in the temple. In his study of Rampura village, Srinivas observed that the Lingayats were another Non-Brahmanical casts of Rampura who questioned the supremacy of the Brahmins.

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[89]   Prem Narayan Panday (1988) "Education and Social Mobility", Daya Publishing House, Delhi.

Further, Srinivas in 'Mobility in the Caste System", has explained that the Pattidars [in origin a peasant caste] in Gujarat became politically powerful in the 15ᵗʰ century, when they claimed to be Kshatriyas. He explains that sources of mobility lie in the political and economic system mainly but at the same time Sanskritization provided a traditional expression of such mobility. New economic opportunities came into existence as a result of the establishment of law and order, removal of internal custom barriers and the extension of communication linking with different part of the country and even with the world outside.

As a result of the growth of modern technological facilities, the building of railways, digging of canals and roads, introduction of plantation crops such as indigo, tea, cotton, coffee, jute and the growth of towns and factories provided employment for thousands, which led basically to occupational mobility among different castes. The English education became crucial. The "low" castes specially realized clearly that once they had the necessary power, the achievement of the symbols of high custom rank would be easy and significant. They became attentive that a new esteem system had emerged, in which education, political power and a westernized style of life was important. These all developments obviously increased the quantum of social mobility in the caste system and Sanskritization played an important role in this mobility by enabling low castes.

This mobility of the low castes had a "protest effect" on all the others in the region. K.M. Panikkar has stated that ever since the time of Mahapadma Nanda in the 5ᵗʰ century B.C. every known royal family has come from non-Kshatriya castes. Sinha[90] in his study of tribal Central India reached the conclusion that even tribes such as Bhumij, Munda and Gond established their claims to be Kshatriyas. Some of Shah Rulers of Central Gujarat have taken to arms and a couple of them have established their own territory. All this had led them to claim the status of Kshatriya Varna. Bailey[91] points out in his survey that the land survey and the settlement work of the 19ᵗʰ century, the introduction of the tenure reforms, the application of the British concepts of ownership to land which made it profitable, and the availability of new economic advantageous chances in the port cities

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[90]   S. Sinha (1950) "State Formation & Rajput Myth in Tribal Central India", Pub, in Man in India.

[91]   F.G. Bailey (1957) "Caste and Economic Frontier", Manchester, Manchester University Press.

and capitals, all had extensive effects on social mobility. The Moniyas of Eastern U.P., Kolis of Surat coast in Gujarat and members of several other groups gained from the new employment opportunities ensuing from railway, road and canal construction.

O'Malley[92] in his historical analysis of "Modern India and the West" reveals that the British were instrumental in bringing modern education to India and Indians. Also new values such as the equality of all citizens before the law, the legal rights, and the freedom to practice and proliferate one's own religion and a desire to help in the new areas resulting in the abolition of "satis", human sacrifice and slavery came. By 1830, as he mentions, there has been a lot of alternations in the economic and socio-cultural positions of the Indian people as a result of the application of above ideologies.

So far the changing social pattern of behavior among the Scheduled Castes is concerned, Alexander (1968) reveals through his study that they are modifying their behavior and changing their traditional occupation in terms of the reference of higher castes. Smt. Sunanda Patwardhan[93] (1973) has made a survey of the harijans of Maharashtra, specially of Mahar, Maug, Chambhar, Dhor and Holars and she differs from the views of Srinivas, Damle and others that Sanskritization and Westernization are the significant forces for raising the standard of Scheduled Castes in the caste hierarchy. Despite the above forces, she accepts that migration to towns, growth of industrialization, the constitutional safeguards and reservations, and the growing roles, releasing a wider gamut of job-related choice, spatial mobility and change in occupational patterns and by this way both the positional and structural changes have taken place among the Harijans.

In spite of the above studies there are some crucial and dependable research works based on accurate analysis of fieldwork regarding social change and patterns of mobility among the Scheduled Castes in Indian society. One such analysis is accessible by Lynch[94] (1969). He resists with the dilemma of social mobility and social alteration in India and made a study of the Jatav community (*Chamars*) of Agra. He chooses the Sanskritization

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[92]   O' Malley L.S.S (1941) " Modern in India and the West". Oxford University Press, (ed.).

[93]   Sunanda Patwardhan (1973) "Change Among Harijans". Orient Longman Ltd.

[94]   O.M.Lynch (1969) 'The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility & Social Change in a City of India", Columbia University Press. New York.

model of Srinivas with a puzzled stab to apply it in structural outline (Srinivas has applied it in custom and logical context since he takes caste as a cultural phenomenon) by disagreeing the argument of Srinivas view of caste as a proving morally useful knowledge category.

To Lynch, caste is a structural category as well as an adaptive system. He has also applied the Mertonian theory of Reference Group and status, and Nadel's theory of social change and social mobility. In the process of social mobility and acceptance of social changes through Sanskritization and Westernization, he accepts the anticipated efficient significance of modern education. It is all, according to him, due to the growth of education, political consciousness, and change in economic configuration, Westernizing and implementation of Sanskritization in the specific context of reference groups that the Jatav of Agra has raised their position in caste ranking and has declared the status of Kshatriyas.

The same approach of study is led by Rao [95] in his study of urban employment and social mobility in which he remarks that as a consequence of growth of education; industrialization and migration to cities, opportunities of urban employment and political stimulate, the *Jats* and *Ahirs* of Punjab and Rajasthan have enhanced their socio-economic status by joining secular occupations such as engineering, medicine, military, administration, law etc., and dumped their traditional jobs. They rank themselves with *Kshatriyas* as they call themselves *Yaduvanshi Kshatriyas*.

Dubey[96] in his study of social mobility particularly with indication to modern education explains that social mobility and the stratification system are very much related to each other. The fact of mobility is closely linked with modern education, migration to cities as a consequence of the growth of industrial city life, association with job opportunities, and the new hierarchical groups and classes. He has auxiliary analyzed that in developing countries in general and in India in particular industrialization is still in a promising

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[95]   M.S.A.Rao (1970) "Urbanization & Social Change", Orient Longman Ltd.

[96]   S.M. Dubey (1975) " Social Mobility Among the Professions: Study of Professions in a Transitional Indian City, Gorakhpur City, U.P. Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

stage. Social mobility is more a result of modern university education and the British administration, which offered greater opportunity and executive jobs to the educated marginal. However, in the Western Europe and the U.S.A. mobility and migration are the products of industrialization.

In spite of the above studies, we find that a large number of the expert scholars and social scientists of social change and mobility from the western societies have clarified and examined the nature, forms and patterns of social mobility in the framework of modern techno-industrial society. They have also pin-pointed how the modern forces like education, industrialization, economic structure and political power are attractive for the process of mobilization in the milieu of individual and group.

According to Sorokin, social mobility is an occurrence of the shifting of an individual or group in social space. According to him social space is a kind of cosmos composed of the human population on the earth. Further he talks of two principal types i.e., (i) horizontal mobility which means the transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another situation on the same level, (ii) vertical mobility, that means the relations involved in the evolution of an individual or social object from one social gamut to another.

Again the vertical mobility can be divided into two types: (a) the rising, and (b) downward or social climbing and social reducing, what generally we call the up and the down mobility. According to Sorokin, the work-related mobility is noticeable with the increase in psychological pull, possibility of illness and disease, annoyance, uncertainty, isolation and loneliness and loss of morality. This entire penalty stem from the loss in investment in standards, values and social objects with the mobile person's class origin. Lipset and Bendix[97] discuss social mobility in the context of industrial society.

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[97]   S.M, Lipset & R, Bendix (1959) "Social Mobility in an Industrial Society", California University Press, California.

Anderson[98], McGurie[99] and others explain the process of mobility with a special reference to education.

SCHEDULED CASTES MOBILITY AND INDIAN SOCIETY

In the analysis of mobility in the perspective of caste system and among the Scheduled Castes in Indian society, it is pragmatic that the Scheduled Castes and other miserable castes are very much socially cognizant to get better their socio-economic and cultural condition in the caste ranking. Wherever the higher Hindu castes have protested or struck their social boost up, there have been social disagreements and upheavals in society. According to Srinivas[100], Rowe[101], Damle[102] and Lynch[103] whenever and wherever, the Scheduled Castes have attempted to enrich and improve their socio-economic status in the caste hierarchy by Sanskritizing their rituals and style of life in the direction of higher castes, these have led to violent attacks.

SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE DALITS

Society as a social system can be implicit in terms of permanence and change. In sociological custom, since the time of Comte[104] two trends i.e., static and dynamic aspect of social life has been in use. What Comte preferred to call 'social statics' and 'social

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[98]   G.A. Aderson (1957) "A Skeptical Note on the Relation of Vertical Mobility to Education", *American Journal of Education*, LXVI.

[99]   McGurie & White, G.A (1957) " Social Origin of Teachers – Some Facts From the South-West", In Fourteenth YearBook of John Deway Society.

[100]   M.N.Sriniwas (1966) "Social Change in Modern India", Berkeley, University of California Press.

[101]   W.L.Row (1968) "The New Chauhans: A Caste Mobility Movement in Northern India", Publication in Social Mobility in the Caste System in India, (ed.) Silverberg.

[102]   Y.B. Damle (1968) "Reference Groups Theory and Mobility in the Caste System", (ed.) in Silverberg's Social Mobility in the Caste System in India, Mouton, The Hague.

[103]   O.M.Lynch (1969) "The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility & Social Change in a City of India", Columbia University Press, New York.

[104]   August Comte (2004) "A Course in Positive Philosophy", the condense version First Published by Sir John Hammerton in 1919, Squashed version edited by Glyn Hughes. See this site, http://www.btinternet.com/~glynhughes/squashed/comte.htm, 15 June 2007.

dynamics' in the early part of the 19th century, almost same ideas and philosophy emerged in the concept of 'social stability' and 'social fluidity', or what is generally called the social control and social change during the first quarter of 20th century.

Social mobility is the part of the wider concept of social change. In cleric society it is a tension-management system and has self-equilibrating capacity. But the forces of firmness and mobility always operate within the system. In an intermediary society, modern education industrialization, growth of cities, factories, bureaucracy, and demands for a trained personal and talent, political participation and change in occupational patterns are chief factors for the increasing rate of mobility.

In order to understand any society or cultural system in its entirety and to find out a common base for generalization, it is necessary to analyze its present form and organization along with its past conditions. The study of changes happening in different phases of time in the structural and institutional backgrounds and the relationship between the forces of change and their socio-cultural implications are crucial for the analysis and underlying explanation of social mobility.

In developing societies in general and in India in particular, the study of social change and mobility is very complex. It is necessary to understand the social, economic, cultural conditions along with the growth of education, occupation, income and political participation. Side by side the regional, linguistic and the demographic structure of society should also be taken into consideration. In an attempt to understand the process and trends of social change and mobility in Indian society; sanskritization, westernization, reference group theory, anticipatory socialization, little and great traditions, cultural integration and structural-functional analysis are some of the important theoretical models and approaches which have been applied by the social scientist.

In theoretical framework of the analysis of social change social transformation and mobilization process a large number of concepts have been used by the sociologists. Weber and Tonnies have used the concept of "Ideal-types". Durkheim talks of "Mechanical Solidarity" and "Organic Solidarity" which refer to a gradual transformation

of society from simple to complex. Becker also discusses his idea of "sacred" and "secular" societies on a similar line in the context of social change. Merton[105] discusses the structural-functional model which he borrowed form his predecessors of anthropological traditions, specially, Brown and Malinowski, and has used it in sociological perspective.

In this way, social change and mobility are inter-related process. As a process, change refers to the alterations in the structural and functional background of society. Mobility is a specific social change. In other words it is a part of the broader concept of social change. Social mobility means movement of an individual or group from one social division, class or position to another in the social structure. According to Sorokin social mobility deals with a change in social position of persons and groups in social space.

The gradual growth of the history of Hindu social structure reveals that the low castes have been vigorously mindful in raising their social position in direction of the "*dwija Varnas*" and have always accepted the higher Hindu castes as their reference group. Srinivas accepts caste as a cultural category with a view to analyze the socio-cultural and religious features of a change under a hypothetical model coined by him as Sanskritization. Sanskritization is a process by which a "low" Hindu caste, or tribe or other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of high and frequently 'twice born" caste[106].

Srinivas has also noted three conditions, which qualify the concept of Sanskritization. First, it is a group process and not applicable to individuals. An individual is always identified with a caste and Sanskritization must a valid for the whole caste in order to be valid for individuals. Second, it is a process that takes a number of generations before it is successfully accomplished. Third, it seems to a process that has never worked for untouchables who are below the ritual barrier of pollution.

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[105]   R. K .Merton (1960) "Social Theory and Social Structure", The Free Press.

[106]   M.N. Srinivas (1966) "Social Change in Modern in Modern India", Allied Publishers, Bombay.

The definition of Sanskritization as developed by Srinivas remains a dilemma for the scholars of caste mobility and change, since it is a definition in cultural and not in social structure terms. To explain the social changes taking place in modern India in term of Sanskritization and Westernization is to describes it mostly in cultural and not in structural terms. An analysis in terms of structural is much more difficult than an analysis in terms of cultural aspect. Srinivas himself auxiliary points out that Sanskritization is not the only process of change in India. He has noted that a process of Westernization began with the advent of British rule. This involves the reception of western dress, diet, manners, education, gadgets, sports, and values and so forth, though it seems to vary in detail from region to region in India.

Westernization as well as Sanskritization is defined in cultural, not in structural terms. Westernization does not necessarily involve a structural change in Indian society. This shows a incongruity in the analysis of Srinivas i.e. how "the result was a new and secular caste system", that is, it was not the structure of the caste system as such which changed, rather it was only cultural symbols and style of life identifying those at the top of the hierarchy which changed.

MOBILITY IN SOCIAL POSITION

The changing patterns of Scheduled Castes social status by various socio-economic factors are major determinant to influence the life style of these low class people. In case of the Scheduled Castes, modern education along with democratic privileges has created social interest and encourages them to improve their social position by modify the higher castes of urbanized social living see table 4.1.

TABLE-4.1

SCHEDULED CASTES STUDENTS STUDYING AT HIGHER EDUCATION LEVEL,

2004-05 (IN %)

S.No.	STATES/UTS	Total (Higher Education) in Percentage Number of students belonging to SCHEDULED CASTE		
		Boys %	Girls %	Total %
1	2	3	4	5
1	Andhra Pradesh	10.47	7.91	9.52
2	Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0
3	Assam	1.12	1.30	1.19
4	Bihar	6.69	3.68	5.57
5	Chhattisgarh	1.47	1.40	1.45
6	Goa	0.02	0.03	0.02
7	Gujarat	3.18	3.57	3.33
8	Haryana	2.11	1.79	1.99
9	Himachal Pradesh	0.98	1.09	1.025
10	Jammu & Kashmir	3.28	1.06	2.45
11	Jharkhand	0.93	0.68	0.83
12	Karnataka	5.55	6.96	6.08
13	Kerala	1.39	3.85	2.31
14	Madhya Pradesh	6.26	8.60	7.13
15	Maharashtra	11.4	12.25	11.77
16	Manipur	0.07	0.10	0.08

17	Meghalaya	0.03	0.04	0.03
18	Mizoram	0	0	0
19	Nagaland	6.18	0.01	7.93
20	Orrissa	1.84	0.82	1.46
21	Punjab	1.44	2.57	1.86
22	Rajasthan	4.33	2.20	3.54
23	Sikkim	0.01	0.02	0.016
24	Tamil Nadu	5.55	7.88	6.42
25	Tripura	0.28	0.29	0.28
26	Uttar Pradesh	22.80	20.75	22.04
27	Uttaranchal	0.76	0.99	0.84
28	West Bengal	8.52	7.17	8.02
29	A & N Island	0	0	0
30	Chandigarh	0.20	0.28	0.23
31	D & N Haveli	0	0	0
32	Daman & Diu	0	0	0
33	Delhi	2.16	0.22	2.58
34	Lakshadweep	0	0	0
35	Pondicherry	0.20	0.37	0.27

Source: Selected Educational Statistics, 2004-05.

The study exposes that education has played major role in improving the social status. Education awakens status consciousness among the individuals and improves the social position by creating new attitude to life and society. In this light it is found that majority of the respondents of each educational category have minded opinion about education in improving the social status. In terms of income it is traced out that the higher the income, the greater they realize the importance of education in social improvement.

In Indian society the selection of occupation was not a matter of preference. By and large it was governed by the caste norms and civilization. The children had to adopt the occupation of their father sanctioned by the caste. It was truer in case of the Scheduled

Castes. The higher occupations, the remunerative and sophisticated jobs were the monopoly of the higher castes and well to do sections of society. As the Scheduled castes and other downtrodden castes were deprived of education, they could not enter in higher occupations.

But now with the abolition of untouchability, caste disabilities and the provision for "protective discrimination", they are getting in the occupations for their liking and moving up in the social hierarchy. Several studies have been conducted in the sphere of occupational mobility. But studies reflecting the attitude and aspirations of the Scheduled Castes towards occupational mobility are very few. Therefore, an intensive analysis of the education and occupational aspirations of the Scheduled Caste is still needed.

As a result of the growth of modern education and the democratic privileges a radical change has occurred in the Indian society especially in the context of the Scheduled Castes. The traditional relationship between caste and occupation has considerably changed. The special reservations provided to the Scheduled Castes and other weaker sections of society have been a major incentive for them to shift their attachment from traditional caste based occupations to modern secular occupations attainable on the basis of educational achievements, personnel efficiency and ability irrespective of the caste discriminations.

The present study of Scheduled Castes denotes that a vast majority of them from each educational and income group perceive the paramount role of education in occupational mobility. Similarly majority of the Scheduled Castes of all educational level, income groups and rural-urban origin have realized that the role of education is instrumental in creating changes, new occupational aspirations and choices in the Scheduled Castes community. There are many occupations, which enhance the prestige and position in society by elevating the social standing in socio-economic perspective. The highly educated Scheduled Castes in Indian society are very much conscious of social status as it appears from the analysis. As consequences, there is a relative unwillingness towards their traditional callings. They consider them as hurdle in their social and economic uplift. They aspire for more influential, power oriented and economically remunerative

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jobs through which they can equate with the position of the higher castes in Indian social structure.

Our analysis in regard to job aspirations indicates that the major aspirations of the Scheduled Castes are in the favor of salaried official occupations and the administrative jobs in government departments. In this regard, the Scheduled Castes were cross-examined in the terms of their educational, income and rural-urban backgrounds. It was found that the higher the education and income among the Scheduled Castes, the greater is their choice for administrative and professional jobs such as office executives, civil servants, doctors, engineers and law officers. The analysis in the rural–urban background of the Scheduled Caste has indicated that more the urban growth of Scheduled Castes, the greater they have aspiration for administrative jobs.

HIGHER EDUCATION & DALITS (SCHEDULED CASTES)

Among the various facets of this policy, the one to have got considerable prominence is education. Education is expected to serve the purposes of equipping the Scheduled Castes to overcome their caste-defined confinement to low status occupations through the promotion of occupational mobility among them and improving their standard of living. Educational institutions ought to function as melting pots for caste differences and to facilitate the cultural integration of the Scheduled Castes with Upper Caste Hindus.

Further, education is expected to generate a climate for change by changing their attitudes and aspirations of the lines liberalism and humanism. The national study had revealed that the overwhelming majority of the Scheduled Castes students came from background that may be considered a body plan to education. A bulk of them happens to be first generation entrants to colleges or high schools in the family that indicates positive returns from the investments on the education of the Scheduled Castes see table-4.2.

TABLE-4.2

OCCUPATIONAL DIVERSIFICATION

Category	Total		Scheduled Caste	
	1991	2001	1991	2001
Cultivators	39.74	33.11	25.44	22.08
Agricultural Labourers	19.66	20.29	49.06	39.16
Household Industry	02.56	03.90	02.41	03.16
Other Workers	38.04	42.70	23.08	35.05

Source: Census of India 1991 & 2001, Register General of India

Further, a majority of them intent to study up to graduation and do not consider themselves bound to their traditional occupation and tend to move out of the caste defined confinement of low status occupations see table-4.3. These findings are the reflection of a trend in and orientation towards upward social mobility among the Scheduled Castes students see table-4.4.

TABLE-4.3

SCHEDULED CASTES INTAKE IN IIT DELHI 2000-2005 ADMISSION AS % OF TOTAL ADMISSION

	GEN	SC	ST	SC+ST
2000	86.9	7.9	5.2	13.1
2001	85.0	11.3	3.6	15.0
2002	86.5	10.3	3.2	13.5
2003	85.0	11.3	3.7	15.0
2004	82.7	12.7	4.5	17.3
2005	80.9	14.6	4.5	19.1

Source: IIT Delh, 2000-2005.

TABLE-4.4

EMPLOYMENT RATE, 1999-2000, ALL INDIA

	Schedule Caste		Others	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Rural				
Usual Principal Status	52.4	25.5	50.9	15.5
Usual Principal and Subsidiary	53.1	32.5	52.0	22.3
Current Weekly	50.5	27.0	50.1	19.1
Current Daily	46.2	21.2	47.6	149.0
Urban				
Usual Principal Status	49.8	15.2	51.4	9.0
Usual Principal and Subsidiary	50.3	18.5	51.8	10.8
Current Weekly	48.8	14.0	49.9	8.9
Current Daily	45.8	14.0	49.9	8.9

Source: Employment/Unemployment Survey, 199-2000.

In fact, in the context of unavailability of data on the differential access to education between the Scheduled Castes and the non-Scheduled castes youth from comparable socio-economic background, it is hard to determine if the progress of the former is exclusively owing to protective discrimination. Notwithstanding the mobility ideology behind the policy of protective discrimination seems to be apparently at least, partially justified.

In general the Scheduled Castes students get enrolled in a general degree courses rather than in vocational oriented diploma courses and stay away from science and technology to commerce and arts sources. As long as their enrollment in professional and other higher courses is concerned, the position is found to be "rather terrible". It has been revealed from various studies that the standard of higher education among the Scheduled Castes has not been uniform and that the various educational facilities are distributed unevenly. The capacity of utilize the privilege has tended to vary from one sub- group to another. The national study found that in all the states a certain caste groups pre-dominate the sample to the exclusion of others, which means that the educational facilities are disproportionately utilized[107] see table-4.5.

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[107]   Suma Chitnis (1981) "A Long Way to Go ...," Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1981.

TABLE-4.5

STATUS OF ENROLMENT IN INDIAN ENGINEERING EDUCATION- 1978-79 TO 2001-02

	1978-79	1988-89	1998-99	1998-99	2001-02
ENGINEERING EDUCATION					
General	93.8	92.8	253643	87.1	78.9
SC	5.3	5.9	30193	10.4	15.2
ST	1.0	1.3	7444	2.6	5.9
MALES IN ENGG. EDUCATION					
General	-	92.8	-	238012	88.7
SC	-	5.9	-	24021	8.9
ST	-	1.3	-	6381	2.4
FEMALES IN ENGG. EDUCATION					
General	-	92.8	-	15622	68.3
SC	-	6.3	-	6172	27.0
ST	-	1.0	-	1063	4.7
ALL HIGHER EDUCATION					
General	91.3	-	72.2		
SC	7.1	-	23.3		
ST	1.6	-	4.5		

Source: Ravinder Kaur, The State and Social Equality Deconstructing Reservation in Engineering Education; Deptt of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Delhi, March 9-10, 2006.

In spite of all shortcomings there are several positive features of the higher education as far as Scheduled Castes are concerned. They are one of the critical factors for economic betterment of Scheduled Castes in the post-independent period i.e., formal education. Education has facilitated occupational diversification and mobility, particularly through reservations, for a small section of the Scheduled Castes population who are now in

public sector jobs. This in turned has lessened their dependence on the higher castes bringing some social dignity. It is also observed that higher educated Scheduled Castes are less willing to accept the domination of the higher castes and have played an important role in the political and cultural assertion of Scheduled Castes as witnessed in different parts of the country.

The present-day nature of inequities in socio-economic development of various population groups cannot be understood without a reference to the historical processes, which have affected its dispersion through various phases of Indian civilization. Traditionally, the social and economic development of the Indian society was based on a caste system that formed the basis for separation of work and knowledge. Those who acquired education were not engaged in the productive work and a vast majority of those who worked did not have any education. The maintenance of social and economic inequities, which accompanied such processes further strengthen the division of the society along these lines.

Very significantly, the symbol of inequities was well preserved down the ages and certain classes had to bear the burnt of oppression for generations and were excluded from the benefits of development[108]. Socially, our society is graded hierarchically. Dalits by nature are not competitive see the table 4.6 & 4.7. Their whole life was based on cooperation and sharing. They have never been hostile. It is not easy for a communitarian group to enter in to the world of competition where high level of individualism and a good self- image is demanded to succeed.

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[108]   Yash Agarwal (1998) "Some Aspects of Social and Economic Inequities among SCs in   India", *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol.21 No.3, Monsoon.

TABLE-4.6

INFORMATION REGARDING REPRESENTATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES
IN DIFFERENT SERVICES WITH RESPECT TO 15 % RESERVATION IN
THEM

Class of Service	Central Services	Public Sector Undertaking	Public Sector Banks and Financial Institutions	Insurance Sector
A	11.29	10.35	12.51	13.67
B	12.68	11.05	14.88	12.40
C	15.72	18.93	24.46	17.24

Source: 6th Report of National Commission for SC and ST, 1999-2000 & 2000-2001, New Delhi.

TABLE-4.7

PERCENTAGE OF REPRESENTATION OF SCs IN TEACHING POSTS IN
CENTRAL UNIVERSITIES

Central Universities	Lecturer	Reader	Professor
Ambedkar University	12.5	Nil	Nil
Assam University	39	Nil	5
Banaras Hindu University	9.4	0.2	0.2
Aligadh Muslim University	nil	Nil	nil
J.N.U.	8.5	3	1
Jamia University	nil	3	nil
Nagaland University	nil	4.7	nil
Pondichery University	22.5	4.2	nil
Vishawa Bharti University	8.5	1.4	0
Delhi University	6.4	1	0.9
Nehru and Tejpur University	nil	nil	nil
Hyderabad University	29.5	2.7	1.39

Source: Sixth Report of the National commission for the SCs And STs

(1999-2000 and 2000-01) pp.183

Above data presented in different permutations and combinations reveal about the real state of Dalits. Representation of Dalits in higher education, which is an important source of effective social mobility, is not encouraging enough. And compounding to this problem we find that their representation decreases as we move up on the ladder for e.g. we notice a sharp decline in the number of Dalits readers and professors in colleges and universities, its way behind the constitutional provision for minimum representation of 15%.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

To conclude, it is disturbing to note the stagnant condition of some 160 million people in the Indian society. The failure of constitutional measures, legislations, and the economic policies of state-led growth earlier and market fundamentalist economic policy led growth earlier and market fundamentalist liberalization since the 1990s and other help from the multilateral financial institutional since the 1990s and other help from the multilateral financial institutions etc., clearly portrays the unique location of the Dalits in India.

The increasing number of protests against the atrocities on Dalits signifies their assertion and today it is clear that they cannot be treated as a dumb vote bank because they are charting out their own politics. The most worrying aspect about the Dalits is their economic future and social safety, as economic liberalization offers no prospect of any advantage to these people. Infact we find that the fruits of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) have been reaped by the dominant castes, where as the negative fallouts of LPG is mainly seen in the Scheduled Castes and other downtrodden communities of society. It's mainly because they lack initial infrastructure to deploy in this process. So they left back in the race, which by its very nature is favorable and suitable to particular segment of society.

Moreover, low level of admission is because of the process of natural elimination for example, examinations a heavy drop out rate and stagnation caused by their poor socio-economic background. Apart from these reasons another major reason for this is the emphasis of universities and colleges on merit and their fear that intake of Scheduled Castes students will result in declining standards and academic atmosphere of the institution. The Scheduled Castes students are usually faced with some financial and academic constraints, which have adverse effects on their academic performance. There is a general feeling that the majority of Scheduled Castes students have aptitude for general education. In the case of higher education major percentage of Dalit population is lagging behind. It is mainly because the opportunity for higher education due to their weak socio-economic base and government's policy is not favorable for the Dalits of Rural area.

The major objective of this dissertation is to identify and critically analyze the social and educational problems of the deprived sections of Indian society. The major problematic areas have been identified and specific problems have been discussed in detail. The underlying assumption is that with the principle of equality and social justice supported by constitutional provisions, the SCs are expected to make significant progress. The experiment of special provisions is in operation more than last 55 years and therefore, it is expected that there should have been significant changes in their socio-economic conditions. But this Dissertation has made revealed that the progress made by them is marginal and is limited to the urban situation. My arguments have been supported by empirical facts. Majority of the deprived population, still have a long way to go. The problems of the SCs need to be studied separately as they are not a single entity. In order to assess their present social, economic and educational situation, we have compared it with the past, with special reference to British Rule and social reform movements. In particular we have studied the role and contributions of Dr. Ambedkar who is widely regarded as the champion of their causes. After Independence in 1947, constitutional and legal safeguards initiated the process of planned change with special programmes for improving the standard of life s of SCs. Education was expected to contribute a lot to the social and economic status of the SCs. Various studies have shown that the educational progress made by the SCs is marginal, differs from state to state and caste to caste and is necessarily urban biased. The so-called best education is available in cities and the majority of poor SCs cannot afford it. The facilities provided to them suffer from many drawbacks they are not properly implemented, do not reach on time, and so on. Politicization of the issue is another hurdle to their progress. The women among the SCs are doubly disadvantaged. The majority still lives in rural areas and depends for their social and economic needs on the upper castes. They are still engaged in traditional occupations and a few of them are engaged in modern manual occupations. Many of them continue to work as bonded laborers.

There is also some change in the over all stigmatized social status of the SCs due to both planned changes and modernization process. It is observed that a new educated middle class has come up among these people. This class has come up primarily through modern scientific education. This middle class among SCs is full with aspiration and zeal to move

up in the hierarchy. It's assertive and vocal for its cause. This is the positive side of the study. However, it is revealed by many studies that there is a gap between the educated and the female SCs and so on. The educated class suffers from status anxiety and lives in a semi-limbo position, having got alienated from their own people and suffers from an identity crisis. Referring to the educational problems, currently the educational system itself is under heavy criticism for several reasons. Its alienating contents are incongruous with local realities and it is completely dominated by the English knowing techno-scientific class. Thus, the SCs are afflicted by problems such as non-enrolment, stagnation and dropout, besides illiteracy. It is important for us to understand and analyze the problems in the context of their previous conditions, which continue to have a bearing on the present. It is in this context that they continue to be backward compared to higher caste people. In sum, caste is an important variable in the analysis of contemporary social reality of India and if the goals of social justice and equality have to meet through the education system, one needs to confront the problems of casteism squarely in the content and process of the education system.

The socio-economic progress is much lower than the general population in the country. There is only tiny population in the SCs, which has made a considerable progress in higher education, and thereby improvement in its socio-economic status. More especially observed that the symmetrical relationship of socio-economic standing of the people and their literacy level till now is low as in evident from the fact, that the SC and ST people have remained traditionally at the bottom of the social hierarchy this shows most of government reports. So much so, their literacy rates also have been lowest in the country. As a result of some important reasons they're failing in the examinations, and the number of the students upgraded from lowest to subsequently higher especially college and university levels of education is very less. The total number of the SC students enrolled at the subsequently higher levels of education has always been less than that of general students. However, the representation of SC students at the higher education is very low because their background at the primary and secondary levels of education is very weak. This may be true but it also cannot be ignore that the poor socio-economic condition of their parents and great demand for their material contributions to boost to their children in higher education but lacking the money constrained that not allow to their children's to

study further. But in my opinion the root cause of such a state of affairs are the improper schooling and lack of proper guidance to these students at the primary and secondary levels of education besides the poor socio-economic background of their family.

The general impression about the weak socio-economic and educational background of students from the SC communities pursuing higher education, differentials in their backgrounds need to be explored on wider level samples. Such inequality is important due to the fact that the various government schemes and self-initiatives of these castes and communities have definitely improved their socio-economic status and educational background in all these years though this may not be good as of the people in general. But improvement of SCs population is very marginal by government schemes in the field of education. The most of the government policies have not favored the upliftment of SCs population in higher education because the system of education is not healthy for SCs students for example, many cases of discrimination and humiliation of the SCs students in the classes by upper caste teachers and fellow students have come into notice, lack of effective mechanism to fulfill the required constitutional provision of 15% reservation, most of the policies are urban biased these are some factors for under representation of SCs in higher education and consequentially lack of desired social mobility.

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