

**EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG
SCHEDULED CASTES IN INDIA:
A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLORATION**

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CERTIFICATE

The dissertation entitled "*EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES IN INDIA: A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLORATION*" submitted in partial fulfillment for the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) of this university has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University and is her original work.

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The present study attempts to analyse the role of education in bringing about social change and mobility among the scheduled castes in India. It tries to describe the origins and changing social context of this most disadvantaged group in the country. The study also seeks to present the position of scheduled castes in the traditional caste system.

Besides, the study describes the nature of social mobility and throws light on some of the theoretical perspectives on social mobility. It also deals with the educational scenario of the scheduled castes and presents their contemporary educational and social problems. The study seeks to understand these aspects through an examination and exploration of the literature available in the sociology of education.

Scheduled Castes: Evolution and Social Context

The origin of the caste as a social group in India can be traced back to the age of Aryans. However, the varnas which were established during the middle of the later vedic era marked the formation of Aryan agrarian society. The four varnas are known as Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. The Brahmans,

who are ranked highest in the varna system, monopolised the positions of priests and were teachers of the Vedas, the Kshatriyas took the charge of police and military, the vaisyas formed the commander ranks of cultivation and merchants; and the Sudras were relegated to the position of servants. The first three varnas were the regular members of the Aryan society. They were called the "dvijati" or "divijas" or twice-born and were allowed to participate in the religious worship presided by the Brahmins.

In contrast, the Sudras were segregated from the "dvijas" as "ekjati" who are born only once. Below the Sudra, a class of inferior peoples entitled as chandals or "Untouchable" were placed. In other words, social discrimination appeared in a stratified form. Some scholars thought that the origin of the term "Sudra", is derivative of 'Sue', meaning to be sorrowful' some others thought that it is derived from 'Ksudra' or 'trifling'. No one is certain about the term but as its origin, it is probably a name given to an indigenous tribe that was conquered by the Aryans and then became the common term used to all subjugated people in general.

The Sudras were excluded from the Aryan customs and behaviour. Because the "ritual purity" was sought by the twice born castes, it was forbidden in principle to eat anything cooked by a sudra or drink water from sudra hands. The restrictions on food and drink were strict among brahmins, who were

obliged to present the highest level of purity. However, Sharma (1998) observes that according to Hindu religions codes, the Chandalas, the representative of the untouchables of ancient time, was the progeny of sudra father and a brahmana mother, i.e. the offspring of the most condemned pratiloma marriage.

According to Yamazaki (1980:4) the brahmanas secured the top position in the society by virtue of their monopoly of priesthood. Because of the notion of purity and pollution, the people on the opposite end of the society to be considered as impure. Thus, the social hierarchy underwent a complex process and placed untouchables outside the framework of varnas. References were made to the inferior classes by such terms as "antya" or "antyaja" and Bhaya castes. In Manusmriti, these people were called "apasdas" and "base born". Dumont (1970:34) studied the notions of purity and pollution and considered the nature of opposition between pure and impure by successive approximation. At the first instance, two main questions arise: why is this distinction applied in these two hereditary groups? Can it account equally for the division of society, into a large number of groups, themselves which are again sometimes extremely subdivided? In this connection it is generally agreed that opposition is manifested in some microscopic form in the contrast between two extreme categories such as "Brahman" and "Untouchables". The Brahmins being, in principle, the priests occupied the supreme rank with respect to the whole set of castes. Until the Gandhian reforms, the untouchables segregated from the social

interaction and also from the use of wells or access to Hindu temples, etc. It must be said that the situation has been somewhat modified since the Gandhian agitation and after independence India has declared untouchability as illegal. Although it is an important milestone, it could not transfer overnight the traditional situation. In terms of the notion of purity and pollution, Dumont observed that integrity being linked with the practice of untouchability.

Further, various sociologists gave various definitions in connection to the untouchables. According to Majumdar (1965), the 'untouchables' are those who suffer from various social and political disabilities, many of which are traditionally prescribed and socially forced by higher caste. Ghurye (1961) observes that when Indo-Aryans came over to India and established their social organisation, they made four fold division. The original Indians were boycotted from their scheme of social organisation and were assigned the fourth and bottom status in varna. He makes divisions of Sudras into two groups a) clean and b) unclean sudras. The unclean sudras were known as untouchables and were assigned to save an all polluting degraded and spiteful tasks involving sweeping, removal of the skin of animal etc.

R.P. Vidyarthi (1971), notes that "mythologically they are born impure, culturally they suffer from disabilities, occupationally they are exclusively dependent for survival on the higher castes of the respective villages and have

tradition bound attitudes". From above description, it is clear that the origin of untouchability lies in traditional varna and caste system.

The term "Scheduled Castes" is of recent origin based on legal connotation covering "ex-untouchable" castes. Traditionally these castes had no right to education or to property or to occupation and suffered from various disabilities. It was the British officials who first employed the ex-untouchables as domestic servants and were exposed to modern values. This was further supported by their entry into modern occupations like servants, construction workers, military service and messengers, etc. The term "Scheduled Caste" was used by the Government of India Act, 1935. Consequently in 1936, for the first time, the British government issued an order specifying the scheduled castes in some of the provinces of the Indian territory.

As regards the eradication of untouchability and emulation of the conditions of scheduled castes, important developments took place over a period of a century. In the first stage, the non-brahman movement was started by Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra. Soon after, the movement involving religious rights to enter temples and other religious places in Travancore (1924) marked a step forward to erase untouchability from our society.

At the second stage, the efforts made by some reformists among Hindus may be mentioned. In this direction, reform movements for the annihilation of

the caste system and removal of untouchability made by the Arya Samaj in Bombay may be mentioned. The Ramakrishna Mission also rendered valuable services. These initiatives attempted to uplift the socio-economic conditions on the basis of individual freedom and equality, as a consequence of which many of the social disabilities were removed from the Hindu society and the untouchables got an opportunity to education in government schools, entry into temples, use of public properties and amenities such as wells, ponds, roads, etc. Pandey, (1988:47).

In this connection, many of the reformers, thinkers, poets and educationists were already active enough to do away with the problem of untouchability, specially the saints and poets like Ramanand, Kabeer, Tulsidas, Ravidas, Namdeo, etc. were actively discarding the practice of untouchability. Later, in the 19th century and in the early 20th century, thinkers and educationists like Rabindranath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Gokhale and many others were pursuing the efforts of social reform.

However, the arrival of christian missionaries added a new dimension. The missionaries not only offered the untouchables conversion into christianity but also effected status change of those castes. They also initiated a number of social and educational programmes of which the main beneficiaries were the rural poor.

In the third stage, the role of Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar is very important. Gandhiji launched a vigorous anti untouchability campaign and claiming the revolt against all sorts of social injustice. Pandey, (1980:48).

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar appeared as the leader of untouchables in Maharashtra by 1920. Firstly, he was a highly educated and active leader from within the community. The masses, particularly the Maharashtrians who were highly motivated by his leadership became conscious about their social and political rights. Apart from Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's persistent and constant efforts to improve the position of scheduled castes in Maharashtra and other regions, several other social reformers from the high castes also took up the cause.

After independence, Dr. Ambedkar was the first Law Minister of free India. He, as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of Indian Constitution, did his best for the betterment of the untouchables by providing several provisions to ameliorate their problems.

The result of all these movements was that the untouchables become aware of the importance of education for social development. Ambedkar was pragmatic and laid greater emphasis on education and self-help among the untouchables to improve their lot. The movement among the untouchables thus took place in large numbers. For example, the Satnami movements of Chamars

in the Chattisgarh plains, the Nadar Mahajan Sabha in Tamil Nadu, the SNDP Movement in Kerala, the Mahar movement in Maharashtra and the social and political mobilisation among the Jatavs of Agra are notable movements to improve their condition.

As the result of these movements, the untouchability was abolished in 1957. A provision abolishing untouchability was passed and an article was incorporated in the Constitution. The government has also provide some special measures or in other words "the policy of protective discrimination, especially in the fields of education, occupation and political representation. The main reason behind the government's policy of reservations was that great inequalities exist between the scheduled castes and the non-scheduled castes and the only way to bring the disadvantaged sections to certain level of comparability is only through the policy of "protective discrimination". The social mobility in modern days is possible, if they are given some push in some sectors of development, including education. In this context, social mobility is, therefore, an important aspect to understand the movement of certain groups in which education is the primary factor.

Scheduled Castes in the Post-Independence India

Scheduled castes who are characterised as having the lowest social status in the caste hierarchy, were subjected to numerous disabilities, disadvantages and

were segregated from the mainstream of the society. But after the independence, as mentioned earlier, the untouchable communities received special attention by means of adopting many welfare steps. Among all these, the educational measures are the most important. Therefore, educational progress of the scheduled castes can be regarded as the most important index of development. So it can be said that the education inevitably plays a functional role in the social mobility of scheduled castes, regarding their social position, occupational structure, style of living, habits and manners. Education has enhanced the mechanism of upward mobility as the level of the group as well as the individual. Education has also increased the potential capacities and adaptability among scheduled castes, by which they relate themselves to a number of other castes.

However, educational benefits reached only a few urban population. During the last 50 years of independence, it is revealed that the scheduled castes who have entered the educational system suffer from backwardness in the quality of the education they receive.

According to Velaskar (1998:212) the reasons behind this are manifold which can be broadly categorised into two problems related to the social background and problems what is inherent within the education system. Because the education in India has been serving only a few upper castes and not the the

lower castes. The social background of SCs was not sound enough and hence their poor life style and incapacity to access the quality education.

Although, there are limits to what we expect from the education for social change and development among the scheduled castes, education continues to be an important factor for social change. However, the change among this group of disadvantaged is more peripheral and took place primarily, because of the process of industrialisation and westernisation after the independence. Therefore, there is an urgent need of to analyse and debate within the sociology of education framework.

Review of Literature

Large number of studies have been conducted by sociologists on the linkages between education and social mobility among scheduled castes in India. These studies have concentrated on a range of aspects starting from the profiling a particular scheduled caste to their socio-economic backgrounds to their inter-group relating and to their participation in the educational process. Studies in the eighties and nineties have also focused specifically on the question of role of education in the social mobility in India, with special reference to scheduled castes. For instance, O'Malley (1941), in his historical analysis of Modern India and the West, reveals that the British were instrumental in bringing modern education to India and to the Indians along with such new values as the equality

of all citizens before the law and legal rights, the freedom to practice their humanitarian ideologies played an important role in the field of education and social mobility of the scheduled castes.

M.N. Srinivas (1965), studied 'Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India. He explained that the low castes were able in a generation to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism and the process is called as sanskritisation. Lynch (1969) grappled with the problem of social mobility and change in India. In his study on Jatav community of Agra, he adopted the sanskritisation model of Srinivas with an attempt to apply it in structural context. He accepts the inevitable functional significance of modern education. Suma Chitnis (1972), in a study sponsored by ICSSR, showed that socio-economic background was responsible for poor performance and wastage among the scheduled castes. Suma Chitinis (1975), also reviews the policy of protective discrimination for the scheduled castes and its effects on enrollment and literacy. She highlights the issues relating to poor enrollment in professional and technical courses, enrollment in inferior institutions, poor performance, disparity between sexes and inter-caste inequality.

S.M. Dubey (1975) in his study on social mobility with reference to modern education in Gorakhpur (U.P.), says that the social mobility and the stratification system are very much related to each other. Since mobility is very

much related to modern education, migration to cities as a result of the growth of industries. Then he also states that social mobility is more a result of modern university education and the British administration offered greater opportunity and white collar jobs to the educated minorities.

Kusum, Premi (1984), talked about scheduled castes and non scheduled castes as two groups having different social background and made an attempt to investigate the impact of family background and occupational attainments.

R.L. Maurya (1986), studied the trends in economic and educational status of scheduled castes in the Kumaon region, taking into account the primitive and protective measures together. But on the question of stigma of untouchability and social disabilities, he observes that they have had hardly a significant and noticeable impact. Economic and educational advancement are of little help in eliminating the stigma of inferiority among the caste. It can be said that education was of little help in social mobility of the people of this region.

Soran Singh's (1987) study draws an empirical profile of new dimensions of social changes among the scheduled castes in India. Concentrating on Jaipur, the major thrust of his study involve dimensions of social change in social structure including occupation, economic conditions, political participation, health and education. According to him, their upward mobility is through

education and children scholarships. But it is found that the females are not aware about their fundamental rights.

Agarwal (1987), in a study of a village, notes that among the three generations, the second generation scheduled caste women are getting education and occupational mobility of the family for the upliftment. Growing education of the males contributes to allaround mobility of the family. The order of mobility both horizontal and vertical appear to be in education rather than in occupation. Brahmins in this situation are found to be lesser inclined than other higher castes of the intergenerational mobility of scheduled castes. In the social cultural life, child marriage and pardah system are disappearing among the scheduled castes.

Sisodia (1987), finds in a Tarai village on Nainital district that there is a trend of urbanisation and westernisation in the housing furniture, dress patterns of the present generation of scheduled castes in comparison to previous generation of scheduled castes. The mobile families are going ahead in education, occupations, life style and political participation at the local level. The intermixing with higher castes is increasing. According to Sisodia there appears to be an emphasis on the education of their children in general and for increasing contacts with the higher castes, where achieving prestigious positions in the local community, higher education and better economic conditions bringing greater.

prestige, more social relationship with higher castes, and increasing political consciousness and participation among the scheduled castes.

Chaudhary (1987), finds in a study of Valmikis and Chamars in a town of central U.P., that these groups have improved in education, adopting new occupations, entering white jobs using better opportunities and becoming politically more conscious and active in the process. The mobility is more observable among the Chamars than among Valmikis where more education and opportunities have been availed by the Chamars. They appear to adopt patterns of life and behaviour like higher castes. Thus there is a break-through from the ascriptive traditional roles, as the new roles and status is being achieved largely due to education.

Nandu Ram (1988), studied the scheduled caste government employees in Kanpur city, which is the eighth largest city in India and has large number of government offices. He focussed on the difficulties the government servants face in getting seniority, difficulties they face in a new social situation, type of their neighbourhood, etc. According to him the status of scheduled castes has improved and he uses the word multi-dimensional for social mobility.

Chanana (1993), this article throws light on the growth of higher education among scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, minorities and women. It also reviews the educational policy discourse which assigns several functions to

higher education. Lastly, the educational programmes are unable to bridge the gap between policy practice.

G.G. Wankhade (1999), finds in his study of social mobility in Delhi that the scheduled caste community after getting the special benefits in jobs and education improved their living conditions. The mobility is registered in every field like education, occupation and their living standards. Many of them are working in government jobs. The students also know what is the importance of education, but their mobility is not upto the mark because of their poor economic condition and other problems they are facing in society.

In study in Allahabad district among the scheduled castes Pandey (1991) observes perceptible change in literacy rates among the scheduled castes over a period of time. It largely appears to be occurring due to the educational programmes and facilities provided by the government. But poverty stands in their way and forces their young children to become bread earners by participating in child labour. Thus they have not shared equitable the benefits of education programmes. Therefore, in this area, the economically deprived castes remain comparatively at the lower level in educational achievement. In this area, their conditions of living are worst, the health conditions of the scheduled caste population are far from satisfactory. They get much less calories required at their

level of labour work. Thus suffering from deficiency diseases. This means that very less percentage has been benefitted by the welfare programmes as a whole.

Chauhan (1992), studied the leadership among scheduled castes in Merrut and found that they are coming up in organisations, based on traditional patterns like caste organisations, in voluntary organisations for their occupational mobility and thereby developing economically and achieving positions in the Panchayat. Their strength also improved in political participation. Their skills at leather work gets translated into new enterpreneurships in the village producing special leather items. Voluntary organisations are providing upliftment, independence and education for the young. Their voices being heard in village Panchayat, in taking decisions and carrying them out in the village.

Moreover, a large number of western scholars have also studied the social mobility. They have also focused on how education, industrialisation helped in the process of social mobility, the prominent scholars to be mentioned here are, Sorokin (1927); Ginsberg, (1929); Anderson and Davidson, (1937); Durkheim and Cooley, (1954); Lipset and Bendix, (1959) etc.

Thus the overall review of literature on the progress of scheduled castes shows that the progress made by the scheduled castes is quite unsatisfactory in education, occupation, and socio-economic fields. The main hurdles for their progress could be the means of education and of its reach. Education being

expensive and urban based, the poor family background plays a crucial role in the poor performance of education. Therefore, there is a need to probe the existing literature further and see how best we can explain the linkage between the education and social mobility among the scheduled castes in India.

Relevance of the Present Study

The present study is thus relevant from the theoretical point of view. In a society like India, a comprehensive understanding of social mobility is only possible through an examination of cumulative impact of a number of dimensions on the primordial structure like caste and other traditional organisations. In this context, the present study may help in understanding the efforts of the scheduled castes for improvement of their status in caste, class or both. The study will also attempt to bring in the Constitutional and legal measures and other facilities for the scheduled castes. It may highlight the traditional, social distances and the barriers for social relations between scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes and suggest some alternatives, so that they can overcome these barriers. It is also pertinent to take stock of the type of problems they face in trying to change their social status and socio-economic disadvantages through education. The review of research in this study also tries to understand how they have been barred from education, which in turn is showing up corresponding shifts in the attitudes and behaviour among the most disadvantaged groups, socially stigmatised by the dominant castes. How these changes got reflected in the occupational structure

of the modern day economy in the country. Therefore, instead of taking into the microlevel studies separately, the study tries to put them in the context where they are understood within the broad trends occurring at the macro level.

Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the social context of scheduled castes in India. It also explores the changing social context in recent times due to various factors such as policy of protective discrimination, migration, industrialisation, urbanisation, political awareness, etc.
2. To analyse the change brought about in the positions of scheduled castes in education. It tries to answer the question: Has the educational scenario really changed for the scheduled castes in India?
3. To understand the process of social mobility among the scheduled castes population. Here it is attempted to understand whether enhanced education resulted in occupational mobility and intergenerational as well as intergenerational mobility among the scheduled castes.
4. To see whether there is any shift from traditional occupations to the white collar or blue collar occupations. What are they and how did they occur.

Methodology

The study mainly focuses on the secondary sources such as books, journals, documents, etc. It also investigates into records and statistical data prepared by the Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, SC/ST Commission, etc. It would look into census reports as well.

The study tries to cover the reports of the UGC from time to time on education of SCs and the participation of scheduled castes in higher education.

Chapterisation

The first chapter provides the introduction to the study. The second chapter deals with the theoretical perspectives on the social mobility and the linkage between education and social mobility. Chapter three of the dissertation describes the policies, programmes and facilities provided for the educational development among scheduled castes. It also presents the actual status of these groups in the education system at various levels. The chapter four tries to present a few problems and issues. And the last chapter of the dissertation provides a summary and conclusions.

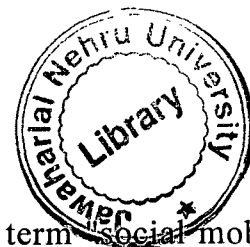
CHAPTER - II

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND EDUCATION: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter describes the notion of social mobility. It also throws light on some of the theoretical perspectives on social mobility. The chapter covers various forms of social mobility, patterns of social mobility in caste system. It also includes the factors of social mobility and linkage between the education and the social mobility.

Social Mobility

Social mobility may be understood as any transition of individual or any object or a value that have been created or modified by human activity from one position to another. So it can be said that the social mobility is an important concept to understand the movement of certain groups along the social ladder or hierarchy. The element of change over time is implicit in the phenomenon of social mobility which is a movement either upward or downward, between higher and lower classes, or more precisely movement between one relatively lower position to the subsequently higher one.



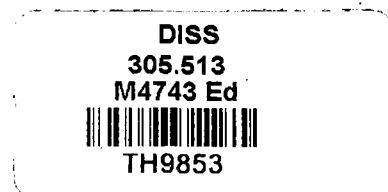
According to Lipset and Bendix (1959), the term "social mobility" refers to the process by which individuals move from one position to another in the society. Positions by which general contexts have been given specific theoretical values. According to Betellie (1966), mobility in the class hierarchy occurred in the form of improving one's socio-economic condition.

All the above states definitions of social mobility signifies the movement or shifting of individual or groups vertically or horizontally in the ranking structure of the society.

Heller (1969), defines horizontal and vertical social mobilities in terms of the more basic elements of position. Horizontal mobility could be understood as a transaction of an individual, from one social group to another at the same level. By vertical social mobility he meant the relations involved in the transition of an individual from one social stratum to another full time, functionally significant role and another one evaluated as either higher and lower. This movement is to be considered as a process occurring overtime with their family, units moving from one role to another, one social position to another. For Barber, mobility is a movement of individual, particularly the head of the family, in social

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ranking. He has perceived mobility as an 'intergenerational change in the society.

Theories of Social Mobility

Various thinkers and theorists in sociology have talked about the notion of social mobility. Some of the notable among them are Marx, Durkheim, Weber, etc. Though they may not have directly focussed on the notion of social mobility, they were at times referring to it in their analysis of social change. For instance, according to Durkheim (1947), in his book 'Division of Labour' talks about 'mechanical solidarity' and 'organic solidarity' which refers to a gradual transformation of a society from simple to complex.

Weber (1958), who choose India as a case to compare with the west, made a contrast in terms of its relative social immobility and immobilizing religious values and ideologies with the west. He described the comparative differences of the Hindu and western stratification systems.

Besides these classical thinkers in sociology some other sociologists have studied the concept of social mobility. For instance, Lipset and Zetterberg (1966), have underlined the dimension of occupational and consumption rankings of social class and power rankings in addition to providing a methodological note. They have also pointed out causes and

consequences of social mobility. Accepting occupation as the most common indicator of social stratification, they viewed that "occupational class is one of the major factors which differentiate people's beliefs, values, norms, customs, and occasionally some of their emotional expressions. In their opinion, the recording of one's occupational class also needs the recording of occupational setting, the kind of social structure in which the occupation is located. Lipset and Zetterberg have accepted that there is a possibility of having a higher rate (and amount) of mobility in one dimension and lower in others. Therefore, the more qualified and accurate conclusions about mobility and stratification systems are possible only through a multi-dimensional approach in which one has to take all possible dimensions together.

Further, Lipset and Zetterberg have suggested two sets of methodological approaches to study the social mobility. In the first set, there is a comparison of (a) the present with the past (b) one area or country with another (c) one model with another, expressing equal opportunity. In the second set, there is the conventional operational method of ascertaining by comparing father's and son's positions. In this method, Lipset and Zetterberg have suggested an enquiry of father's earlier occupations along with the sons. Finally, they have suggested an analysis of social mobility in terms of the causes, namely, (a) supply of

vacant status (b) inter-changeability in rank, followed by inquiry of political consequences.

Homan's (1962) theory of status congruence says that there are persons who have their status (variety of work, office, responsibility, pay and seniority) in an organisation 'in line', they claim their status congruity, and those whose status factors are 'out of line', they do not. For example, if we take scheduled caste people we can say that scheduled castes who are 'in line', have achieved their status i.e., there is some or other kind of mobility present among these people, and those who are 'out of line', are still in the traditional system of the society. Still they are struggling for their rights.

Merton (1968), in the theory of reference group behaviour, suggested that some groups or individuals, adopt the behaviour and attitudes of other groups in order to achieve some social position which the other individuals or groups have. That mean they want to achieve whatever the other groups and individuals have for themselves. Y.B. Damle's (1968) 'reference group theory' with regard to caste offer a theoretical and methodological approach to some mechanisms of the social mobility, largely in the urban context. By translating mobility in social stratification system, the structure, its values, the changes in the rank

positions for the various units of the system into the motivations and reactions of human organisms with regard to that system. Damle explains this phenomenon at the level of social psychology. He sees this as involving changes in the behavioural attributes of caste members or caste segments - changes that result in a higher varna ranking for such units. Individual may gain identifications other than those ascribed by birth. Such reference group behaviour is conspicuous in the urban setting where behaviour based on rank is far more prominently visible.

Mandelbaum (1972), noted that the cultural adoptions by the lower castes occurred within the frame of the Brahman, the Kshtriya, the Visya, and the Sudra varnas, which are treated as models of social mobility for overcoming external opposition and maintaining internal cohesion.

M.N. Srinivas (1952), used the term "Sanskritization" meaning that low castes were able to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy through following the life styles of higher castes. In short, it took over as far as possible mainly the customs, rituals, and beliefs of the Brahmins. In general, sanskritization shows that the mobile individual or caste group accepts the dharmashastra's values and ideologies and wishes to live up to them as much as it possibly can. For example, Sanskritization involves adopting higher standards of ritual purity in terms of religious practices

and taboos defined by Hindu religion. Among the more important are a certain kind of dietary, especially ban on eating of beef and strict vegetarianism, more frequent bathing, early marriage a bar on widow remarriage, wearing sacred thread, avoidance of polluting contacts with impure people and things. Sanskritization also involves taking new caste names discovering a more suitable genealogy that one has actually had.

Forms of Social Mobility

Sociologists have differentiated mainly three forms of social mobility, namely, vertical mobility, horizontal mobility and spatial mobility.

Vertical Mobility

By vertical social mobility, it is meant that the relations involved in the transition of individuals from one social stratum to another. According to the direction of transition there are two types of vertical mobility ascending and descending or social sinking and social climbing. The ascending type exists in two principal forms as infiltration of individuals of lower stratum into a higher one, the insertion of such a group into a higher stratum, instead of going side by side with existing groups of the stratum. The descending has also two principal forms. The

first consist of a dropping of individuals from one higher position into lower existing one, without degradation or disintegration of the higher groups which they belonged. The second is manifested in its degradation of social group as a whole.

For example, the historians of Indian caste society tell us that the caste of the Brahmins did not always hold the position of indisputable superiority which it has held during the last two thousand years in remote past. The caste warriors and rulers or the caste of Kshatriyas seems to have not been inferior to caste of Brahmins, and it appears that only after a long struggle later became highest caste. Sorokin, (1959).

Another example of vertical mobility is that in which the scheduled castes moves upward by getting modes of education, new techniques, skills and adopting the ritual and manners of higher status caste groups, changing their caste names, home culture and occupation and maintain the higher position. The theory of "lagging emulation" under the framework of reference groups is employed to understand this type of mobility both in the field of hierarchy and occupation. So, this type of mobility takes place from lower stratum to higher stratum.

Horizontal Mobility

By horizontal mobility, it is meant that the transition of an individual or social object is from one social group to another situated at the same level. For example, in horizontal mobility the change may occur in, religion, political party, family and one citizenship to another, occupational and other horizontal shifting without any noticeable change. If we take occupation, shifting is from one job or factory or occupation to another of the same kind. Among such shifting there are many which do not represent any noticeable change in the vertical direction. In the case of a family, a husband and a wife may take a divorce and remarry. This change is followed by the noticeable change. For this reason, it is possible to regret inter-family circulation. Another example of horizontal mobility is the citizenship shifting or shifting of individuals from one state to another. That does not mean the changing of citizenship, but it is called shifting of citizenship. Sorokin, (1959).

Spatial Mobility

Spatial mobility refers to inter-generational mobility which is an outcome of migration or shifting of places, for example, it may happen as a result of migration from rural to urban community or social

improvement of individuals within the family and hence provide the chances for change in culture. In this context, some of the scholars of change and mobility have discussed the units of mobility in the form of individual financial group and corporate mobility. The study of mobility can be subsumed under above pattern. So we can say that the social mobility is a part of the broaden concept of social change. In a transitional society, modern education, industrialization, growth of cities, factories, bureaucracy and change in the occupational patterns are the main variants for effecting the social mobility. Pandey. (1987:124).

Factors of Social Mobility

There are various factors which are responsible for the social mobility.

a) The Supply of Vacant Status

The number of statuses in a given stratum is not always or even usually constant. For example, the expansion in the proportion of professional, official, marginal and white collar positions and decline in the number of unskilled labour positions require a surge of upward mobility. These positions retain their relative social standing at times. Demographic factors also operate to facilitate mobility, when the higher.

class do not reproduce themselves and hence create a demographic vacuum. Sorokin, (1959).

b) The Interchange of Rank

Any mobility which occurs in a given social system which is not a consequence of a change in the supply of and actors must necessarily result from an interchange. Consequently, if we think of a simple model for every move up, there must be corresponding move down. Interchange mobility will be determined in a large part by the extent to which a given society gives the numbers of a lower strata which means complete with those who enter social structure in higher level. Thus the less or the emphasis a culture places on the family background as a criteria for marriage the more will be the class mobility that can occur both up and down through marriage. The occupational success is related to educational achievements which are open to all and hence the greater occupational mobility. Lipset and Zetterberg (1966).

c) Modern Education

The education has particularly created new incentives and motivation to initiate and adopt the ideals, practices, behaviour patterns and style of life of the higher castes which Srinivas (1965) translates and

explains under the process of sanskritization and westernization. It appears that most of the highly educated, technically qualified and economically well placed scheduled castes have adopted the practices of higher caste Hindus and practice in their individual and community life.

d) Impact of Westernization

The process of westernization in terms of adoption of the western ideals in life, is also working as the most potential force in social mobility specially in the urban and industrial centres, the new value orientations, motivations, behaviour patterns, formal relations, individualism, monetized attitude to social status, western technology is popular among the people. This popularity for status upliftment, encourages the migration, to places where economic opportunities in terms of urban trade concerns, industrial occupations and jobs in different governments are available.

e) Migration

Migration to urban areas have also changed the social status of scheduled caste people. Because they started working in government sectors, industries, came in contact with educated people in the cities. As a result they came to know about what are their rights. Then they started

changing their traditional occupations, because they get the better opportunities in urban areas for their upliftment.

All these factors helped in the improvement of the social position of the people. In terms of income, it is traced out that higher the income the greater is the importance of education and social improvement. Secondly, in the past the occupation was governed by the caste system and traditions. The occupations for different castes were different. But due to social mobility, one can choose any occupation. Thirdly, money makes the base of living but education decides the quality and mode of life and living. Lots of change came into the living arrangements of the people. The changes also occurred in the behaviour and manners of the people, which is the outcome of social mobility.

Education, therefore, prepares individuals for a particular style of life. It is widely recognised that education plays a vital role in social mobility, whether it is vertical or horizontal, on the one hand, and the subsequent improvement in economic position, on the other hand. It forms an element of social prestige as well. Wankhede, (1999:8).

Education and Social Mobility

As discussed earlier, education in the present day context is the most important and dynamic force in the life of individual, influencing his social development. It's an agent of social change. Education functions more an agent of social change and mobility in social structure. It leads to economic development by providing ways and means to improve the standard of life. In the context of India, for instance, when the scheduled castes started occupying high income jobs they realised the significance of educational achievement. This positive attitude towards the education lead to socio-economic mobility among the scheduled castes. That means, a person who is born in agricultural family can by means of education, become an administrator or any other government employee. Rao (1970:84). Secondly, education led to the mobility in life style of scheduled caste people. The education modified the attitude of scheduled castes, habits, manners and their mode of social living. According to Pandey (1988:128) they polished their manners, expressions and outlook like other caste society. That is why, because of education, multi dimensional changes occurred in the status of scheduled castes.

Thirdly, the education is responsible for inter-generational mobility among the scheduled castes. Through inter-generational mobility the

scheduled castes are able to maintain their status and the status of their family.

So it can be said that education plays an important contributory role in the mobility of scheduled castes regarding their social position, occupational structure, styles of life, habits and manners. The mobility among them is upward because they are moving on the higher side of the caste hierarchy by adopting the life style of higher castes. Most important thing of all is that the education is encouraging them to shift from the traditional occupations to modern white collar occupations.

Summary

In this chapter, we have described the theories by various western as well as Indian thinkers and the factors which are responsible for social mobility. So it can be said that the social mobility is a very important factor in improving one's individual and social position or group's position and Education plays a very important role in such a social mobility.

CHAPTER - III

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN INDIA

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the policy provisions, programmes and facilities provided for the growth of education among the scheduled castes in India. The second part describes the actual progress and current status of Scheduled Castes in the backdrop of the special provisions for the educational upliftment. It also takes an overview of participation of scheduled castes in all the sectors of education. The third part of the chapter talks about a few issues and concerns.

Part - I

Policy Evolution

The objectives and contents of education have undergone change after the British advent. The Britishers, although had limited goals for introducing modern education in India, made it open for all. During the British period the lower castes who were later termed as scheduled castes also had an access to education and the educational benefits reached the other castes than Brahmins. First time, the lower castes were able to

receive education and these changes took place mainly due to industrialization. Thus the attempt of the British rule along with the Christian Missionaries and modernization proved very effective in bringing out the lower castes of their miseries and lack of access to modern education.

After the independence, the Constitution of India has laid down certain special policies, mainly, the policy of the protective discrimination, in the field of education occupation, and political representation. In other words it is called as the policy of reservations. The reservations will be able to help for elimination of social, economic and educational inequalities among scheduled castes and will also to fillup the gaps between scheduled caste and non-scheduled caste population in the country.

The meaning of reservation policy of education plays an important role in the development process and theoretically, education must enable us to acquire knowledge and necessary skills. The knowledge and skill should further enable us to compete for and acquire better occupational status on a higher social standing in life. Thus, education should lead to social and economic productivity of the individual. Besides, there are some of basic assumptions about education in an open and competitive

society. Moreover, competition entrains a fair and just society. Hence there is a need for the protection or support by the state to those who have been suffering from social and economic disabilities and scheduled castes are part of such groups. They are considered socially and economically deprived sections of the society.

Therefore, education which was a monopoly of a few upper castes before independence, where most of the other castes were denied similar privileges, have now got an opportunity to gain access to education facilities. In this context, various movements of the reformists, the industrial revolution, steps taken for the improvement of scheduled caste people have generated the urge to emulate modern values like equality and humanity and the education is also responsible for inculcating these values among the scheduled castes.

Besides these measures, the following are the special provisions at various levels of educational system and employment.

In this light, the Constitution provides safeguards to scheduled castes and government is directed to promote education among these groups. In the backdrop of these Constitutional directives, several policy provisions or programmes have been devised for scheduled castes including the reservations in education, employment and political structure

in order to uplift them socially, educationally and also enable them to participate in national endeavour as equal partners.

The National Policy on Education (1986) and Programme of Action as updated in (1992), lay special emphasis on removal of disparities and equalization of opportunities by attending to the special needs of those who have been denied equality so far. The National Policy of Education provides policy directives for special efforts to be aimed at educationally disadvantaged groups, particularly the scheduled castes. On the education of scheduled castes, the National Policy of Education says that the central focus is their equalisation with the non-scheduled caste population at all stages and levels of education.

The measures included for this purpose are:

1. Incentives to send the children of scheduled caste families to the schools regularly till they reach the age of 14 years.
2. The pre-matric scholarship scheme for children of families engaged in occupations such as scavenging, flaying and tanning to be made applicable from class I onwards.
3. The recruitment of teachers from scheduled castes.

4. The provision of facilities for scheduled caste students in hostels at district headquarters according to a phased programme.
5. Location of school buildings, Balwadis and adult education centres in such a way as to facilitate full participation of scheduled castes.
6. The unitization of Jawahar Rozgar Yojana resources to make substantial educational facilities available to the scheduled castes and to find out new methods to increase the participation of scheduled castes in the educational process.

(a) Reservation in Admissions

University and Higher Education: Instructions are issued from time to time by the University Grants Commission to all the Central Universities, Education Secretaries of the State Governments/Union Territories to implement reservations in matters of admissions to various programmes and courses. According to the existing instructions, 15 percent of seats in all courses are to be reserved for the students belonging to scheduled castes. Candidates belonging to these sections are to be given 5 percent relaxation for minimum qualifying marks prescribed.

If any seats reserved for them still remain unfilled, further relaxation should be given in order of merit among such candidates so that all the reserved seats are filled up by the candidates belonging to scheduled castes. Steps are also taken by the Government of India to improve the intake of scheduled castes in the technical and professional institutions of seats. In addition, all the State Governments provide special coaching facilities to scheduled caste students seeking admission in medical and para-medical institutions are strictly followed in Central Government medical institutions under the control of the Department of Health and family welfare.

(b) Reservations in Appointments: The policy notifies that 15 percent of jobs in services to class I -IV should be ear marked for reservation castes. Besides, the same is applicable to teaching jobs under the central universities as well. Further, 15 percent of teaching posts in central universities and those funded by the central government are to be filled up in any particular year from the scheduled castes category.

The same amount, namely, 15% of reservation is also prescribed for the scheduled castes in the recruitment as well as for promotions for the non-teaching staff in universities.

There are 16 Central Universities which are fully funded by the Government of India. All the Universities, except Indira Gandhi National Open University receive grant through University Grants Commission. The reservation policy is not applicable to the appointments and promotions to the posts of Readers/ Professors in the Central Universities. Reservation to the post of lecturer out of every five posts University Grant Commission (UGC) and Department of Education, Government of India are responsible for the implementation of reservation policy in Central Universities. UGC reminds the Central Universities that they have to follow the reservation policy from time to time. UGC also established SC/ST cells in various universities to safeguard the interests of the scheduled caste students and employees. Moreover, periodic meeting of the Registrars of the universities is organised to review the implementation of reservation policy.

(c) Facilities and Programmes

Besides reservations in admissions and jobs, scheduled caste students are provided several facilities and programme in order to bring them a par with the privileged social group. For instance, facilities like freeships provision for hostels, coaching for jobs, etc are some of the

programmes initiated to promote better educational opportunity among the scheduled castes.

i) **Pre-Matric Scholarships:** The Government offers scholarships for the children of those who are engaged in unclean occupations. The objective of the scheme is to provide financial help to enable the children of sweepers, who have traditional link with scavenging, flayers to pursue the pre-matric education. The scheme was started 1977-78 and the was modified in 1991. The scholarship is given from I to X class. From class I to VIII, the scholarship amount was Rs. 200/- per month, and for those who are in class IX and X the scholarship is Rs. 250/- per month. Only two children in a family are eligible and the income of the parents should not be more than 1500/- per month. So far, under the scheme, 99,254 students during 1992-93 and 1,30,715 students in 1993-94 were covered. (MHRD, 1995:22).

ii) **Post-Matric Scholarships:** The post-matric scholarship scheme is the most important centrally sponsored scheme meant for providing financial assistance to scheduled castes to enable them to pursue post-matric studies. All eligible scheduled caste students whose parents satisfy the means of test prescribed under the rules are entitled to scholarships on admission to any recognised institution. The eligibility criteria to receive

this scholarship is that the income should not exceed Rs. 2000 per month. Those with income upto Rs. 1500 per month are entitled for full time maintenance allowance and fees. In this also only two children in the family are eligible. The scheme was started with a meager 114 scholarships in 1994-95 and the anticipated number of scholarships for these categories increased to 16.75 lakh during 1993-94 (MHRD, 1995:23).

iii) Hostels: Under this scheme, central grant is provided to the state government (100%) to Union Territories on 50:50 basis for the construction of hostel buildings, extension of the existing hostels with a view to provide hostel facilities to scheduled caste girls studying in middle and higher level of education in particular, central grants are also given to voluntary organisations through the concerned state government for needful expansion of existing hostel buildings. In this case, 10% of the total cost is to be borne by the organization and the remaining 90% is shared by central and state governments.

iv) Overseas Scholarships for Studies Abroad: The scheme of National Overseas scholarships is a non-plan scheme. The scholarships are available for Ph.D. and post-doctoral research/ training, preference being given to science, technology and engineering study. The students from the

scheduled caste community are selected and sent abroad every year and the age should be below 35 and only one child of the same parents is eligible.

v) **Book Banks:** This scheme envisages establishment of Book Banks for medical, engineering, agriculture and veterinary degree colleges and polytechniques for scheduled caste students who are in receipt of scholarships under the centrally sponsored scheme of post-matric scholarships. Each set of text books is to be shared by two students. In the year 1994-95, central assistance of Rs. 3.50 crore was released to states to cover 37,877 scheduled castes students. A provision of Rs. 3.60 crores has been made for the scheme during 1995-96 (MHRD, 1995:25).

vi) **Coaching Scheme:** Under this scheme central assistance is provided on 100% basis by the state governments to meet the expenditure providing coaching to scheduled caste candidates through pre-examination recruitment training centres to improve their representation in various services under the central/state government undertakings. The pre-examination coaching is provided to scheduled castes in three broad categories of examinations. These are central services, medical and engineering and other service examinations including the state civil services. The scheme provides for monthly stipend of Rs. 400 for the

hostellers and Rs. 100 for day scholars. Benefits of the scheme have reached a sizable number of candidates, approximately to 11,000 students each year. At present, in 136 centres, pre-examination coaching is imparted.

vii) Upgradation of Merit of Scheduled Caste Students: Under this scheme, central assistance is provided to the state governments for providing remedial and special coaching to scheduled caste students. The scheme was started in 1987-88 by the Ministry of Human Resources Development. Department of Education and was transferred to the Ministry of Welfare in the middle of 1993-94. This is intended to help scheduled caste students to study classes X to XII by providing them extra support with a view to remove the social and educational deficiencies and facilitating their admission to professional courses such as medical, engineering, etc., where entry is based on competitive examinations (MHRD, 1995:25).

viii) Special Central Assistance to special component plan is also given to 24 states for the economic development of scheduled castes. It can be used for the establishment and running of residential schools in areas having low levels of literacy, repairs and proper upkeep of the existing schools and hostels meant for scheduled castes.

Many other central ministries like Health and Family Welfare, Agriculture, Labour Welfare etc. deal with higher education in specific spheres wherein they provide similar facilities in the case of admissions, scholarships, etc. Thus the above mentioned policies, programmes and facilities have been in implementation over the years in the Indian society.

These provisions seem to have percolated to some extent, if not fully, among the needy and downtrodden in the Indian society. The next part deals precisely with actual effect of these policies, provisions, programmes and facilities in keeping scheduled castes in the educational institutions.

Part - II

Status of Education Among Scheduled Castes in India

This part of the present chapter presents the actual progress and status of the scheduled castes in terms of the literacy rates, enrollment in both primary and higher education, drop out rate, etc.

Education had a very slow beginning among the scheduled castes. While significant progress has been made since independence because of wise planned development. However, disparities still continue between scheduled castes others in terms of the literacy. The progress of literacy

among the scheduled castes during the last four decades when compared with the general population is given in the table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Literacy Growth Rates of Scheduled Castes from 1961-71.

Year	SCs	Rest of the Population	Gap between rest of the population and SCs.
1961	10.27	27.86	17.59
1971	14.67	33.80	19.13
1981	21.38	41.22	19.84
1991	37.41	52.21	17.20

Source: i) Eighth Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1990.
ii) Census of India 1991, Vol. II.

It shows that there is very slow growth of literacy among the scheduled castes during 1961-1991. In 1961, the literacy rate was only 10.27 percent in comparison to rest of the population 27.86 percent. During 1981, the gap between scheduled castes and non scheduled castes is about 19 percent. Overall, there was an increase of about 17 percent in the literacy rate among the scheduled castes between 1961 and 1991. However, if one may observe carefully that the literacy rate differential between the scheduled castes and the non-scheduled castes is more or less constant over almost the three decades. Thus, it may be said that the growth of literacy rate among the scheduled castes leave much to be

desired. About 63 percent of SC's are still lagging behind in education and are illiterate.

Similarly, enrollment at various levels of schools can give us an idea of their educational progress as in Table 3.2 gives their enrollment compared with the general students for the year 1985-86 upto class 12.

Table 3.2: Enrollment of SC Students for the Year 1985-86.

Level	Total No. of Students	No. SC Students
1 - 5	8,64,65,189	1,39,21,012 (16.10%)
6 - 8	2,81,24,756	36,18,480 (12.87%)
9-10	1,16,17,262	1,96,712 (1.69%)
11 - 12	34,88,673	64,192 (1.84%)

Source: India 1985-86: 28th Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, New Delhi.

It may be seen that the enrollment of scheduled caste students is very poor and decreases as the educational level goes up. If we look at the figures, the representation of scheduled caste students is very low (1.69 percent in class IX and X. In class XI and XII the percentage of scheduled students is only 1.84 percent.

Thus, the enrollment in the higher classes is extremely low in comparison to the rest of the population. The proportion of enrollment is also found to be decreasing sharply, 16.10 percent at the primary to 12.87 percent at the upper primary level to 1.69 percent and 1.84 percent at the secondary and senior secondary levels respectively.

Table 3.3 shows the total number of scheduled caste students in higher education from 1976 to 1997.

Table 3.3: Total Enrollment of Scheduled Castes in Higher Education.

Year	General	SC's
1978 - 79	2,337,221 (91.35)%	180,058 (7.039)
1988 - 89	3,488,087 (90.90%)	279,720 (7.29%)
1995 - 96	5,532,998 (89.24%)	496,872 (8.01%)
1996 - 97	5,898,407 (89.49%)	512,291 (7.77%)

Source: i) Annual Reports 1996-97, 1998, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, New Delhi 1997-98.

ii) Selected Educational Statistics: 1988-89, Ministry of Human Resource Development Report, Government of India, New Delhi 1989.

If we look at the total enrollment of scheduled castes from 1978 to 1997. Its really very poor around 7 percent whereas the general population have around 90 percent. There is a huge gap between the general and the scheduled caste population. They are still in the last position of the ladder. The table shows only a little improvement in the year 1995-96, and in all the years the data of enrollment in higher education is almost the same at 7 percent.

The enrollment in the field of higher education of scheduled castes is decreasing over a time period, although there has been lots of facilities given to them by the government as mentioned earlier. But there are various other problems that they are not able to compete with other non-scheduled caste students which can be seen in every field of education.

Table 3.4 shows the enrollment of scheduled caste students in various faculties which reveal more or less the same conditions and trends.

Table 3.4: Distribution of Scheduled Castes Students among Faculties.

Faculty	Undergraduate 1978-79	Undergraduate 1996-97
Arts	56.5	60.95
Science*	13.3	15.29
Commerce	13.2	12.65
Education	2.3	2.93
Engineering/ Technical	3.4	5.20
Medicine	4.5	2.3
Law	6.5	N.A
Others	0.4	N.A.
Total	100.00	100.00

* Includes agricultural science as well.

Source: i) Report on Facilities to SC, STs in Universities and Colleges
UGC, New Delhi.

ii) Selected Educational Statistics, MHRD, Govt. of India, New
Delhi, 1996-97.

Table 3.4 shows that there is a very low percentage of scheduled caste students in science and other streams. Their percentage in education and medicine is 2.93 and 2.3 percent respectively. This is very far from satisfactory. They are very less in technical courses such as engineering (5.2 percent) in 1996-97.

The percentage SC students in the technical professional streams is extremely bad because they do not have facilities like other students at the school level. If one can't do well at the school level he may not be able to

cover up the gap in higher studies. The SC student enrollment is only substantial in the arts subjects which is 60.95 percent of the total enrollment in 1996-97. But the overall analysis shows that the percentage of scheduled caste students is very poor in all technical disciplines including science stream.

Table 3.5 shows the data on the percentage of scheduled caste students in the general and professional courses from 1964 to 1980. What is their share in general and professional courses, whether its showing the improvement in the share of scheduled caste population in these courses or not. One can say that whatever is the share of scheduled caste population but still they are not able to compete with the non-scheduled caste population. It will take several other years to fillup this gap in education.

Table 3.5: Percentage Share of Scheduled Caste in Total Enrollment
Higher Education

Year	General	Professional
1964 - 65	5.5	4.3
1966 - 67	5.6	4.4
1967 - 68	5.5	4.9
1968 - 69	5.7	5.1
1969 - 70	5.8	5.1
1970 - 71	6.1	5.5
1971 - 72	6.6	5.8
1972 - 73	7.1	5.6
1974 - 75	7.9	6.6
1975 - 76	7.3	6.5
1976 - 77	7.7	6.6
1977 - 78	7.3	6.4
1978 - 79	7.1	6.2
1979 - 80	7.5	6.9

Note: Data Pertaining to 1965-66 and 1973 is not given.

Source: Raza, Moonis ed., Higher Education in India: Retrospect and Prospect Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi, 1991, p. 61.

It may be observed from the enrollment of scheduled castes in table 3.5 that their share in professional courses is very low. At the same time the courses which are general in nature, namely, arts, commerce and pure

sciences, the proportion is also not upto the desired levels. It also shows equally low percentage of enrollment in general stream as well.

The condition of scheduled caste women in education in general and higher education is miserable. For instance, Table 3.6 throws light on the participation of SC women in higher education.

Table 3.6: Promotion of Scheduled Caste Women in Higher Education 1996-97.

Faculty	Undergraduate	Graduate
Arts	2.94	2.82
Science	2.18	2.08
Commerce	1.43	1.40
Engineering/ Technical	1.2	-
Medicine	3.41	-
Education	3.11	-

Source: Selected Educational Statistics, MHRD, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1996-97.

There is little improvement in the condition of women in almost all the streams and courses. The proportion of women in professional courses is very less. They are not able to cross the percentage beyond 3.11. Even in the liberal subjects the representation of scheduled caste women is far beyond any imagination. Their percentage in Arts subjects at the graduate

level is 2.82 and in science their percentage is 2.08. Thus, education of SC women is still an area that requires a serious thinking and deliberation.

The problem of drop out is an acute are among the scheduled castes at every level of education. There is a significant drop out from the education stream. The literature and studies conducted so far have shown that the poverty and lack of adjustment are the primary reasons for their dropout. According to Table 3.7, there is a very high dropout rate among the boys and girls as well.

Table 3.7: Drop out Rates of Scheduled Castes - 1989-90

Primary Stage			Middle Stage			Secondary State		
Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
45.93	53.74	49.03	64.29	73.10	67.10	76.61	84.20	79.42

Source: Report of Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Government of India, 1995.

The dropout rates are found to be more at the secondary education stage. But the drop out rates at the school level is highest among the girls. The percentage of girls who drop out at the secondary stage is 84.20 percent.

Part - III

Problems, Issues and Concerns

The scheduled castes face some major social and educational problems. The problems are acute in the case of rural areas as many of them are still living below poverty line and depend on upper castes for their livelihood. They are mainly engaged in low paid manual occupations and also work as bonded labour. Wankhade, (1999:104).

So it can be said that these people do not have enough money to send their children to school for gaining education. Poverty stands in their way as their children work as child labour instead of going to school.

For example Table 3.8 clearly shows that the level of poverty has declined but the ratio of scheduled castes in terms of poverty is still high in comparison to rest of the population.

Table 3.8: Percentage of People Living below Poverty Line.
(SC / Total) 1977-88).

Year	Total Population	Scheduled Castes
1977 - 78	51.2	64.6
1983 - 84	40.4	53.1
1987 - 88	33.4	44.7

Source: Eighth Five Year Plan - 1992, New Delhi : Planning Commission, Government of India, Vol. II.

The scheduled caste population below poverty line in 1987-88 was 44.7 and that of the total population living below poverty line was 33.4 percent. As the costs of education in contemporary society are very high, these people cannot afford fees for their children. That is why they are unable to pursue their basic education.

Though the Constitution has abolished untouchability it still remains in one form or another. The government of India Constituted Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to receive the complaints of these people for various crimes like boycott, arson, murders, rapes and untouchability. Incidents of continued injustice, discrimination were recorded over the years. During the year 1965-66, 3,051 complaints of various types were received by the Commissioner's office.

All these matters are in one or the other way related to education. With these kinds of practices still at large in the society, the scheduled castes are unable to send their children to school because of the fear of incidents of violence.

Table 3.9 given below shows different types of complaints that are received by the SC/ST Commission in 1965-66.

Table 3.9: Complaints Received by SC/ST Commission in 1965-66.

Nature of Complaints	Number of Complaints
i) Practice of untouchability	116
ii) Harassment	434
iii) Land and housing problems	489
iv) Matters relating to appointment under Govt. service	765
v) Miscellaneous, including, matters relating to education and drinking water.	952
Total	3,051

Source: India: Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Vol. 1 and 2), New Delhi, 1967.

The Table shows that still there are so many problems relating to discrimination in education which are the main hurdles for the development of scheduled castes and their social mobility. Thus, poverty, poor health conditions and lack of general awareness are the social problems in education by which the scheduled caste people suffer from.

The actual educational problem of SCs is also that the pattern of education has not been uniform and the education was many urban based. That is why the new educated middle class has developed from the scheduled caste community. The majority of scheduled caste people who

are living in rural areas, were deprived of good education which those in urban areas get. In rural areas till now the higher caste people dominate the situation. The scheduled castes are still discriminated against in rural areas and some times they are thrown out of the school because mostly the teachers are from the upper castes. Wankhede, (1999:407).

Thus, proper attention is not given to scheduled castes, students in schools, that is why they are lagging behind in the field of education. This is despite all the facilities such as pre-and post-matric scholarships, hostels, special coaching, freeship scholarship for foreign studies are provided to them. These facilities are of no use because they do not reach out to the poorest of the in time because these facilities suffer from bureaucratic procedures.

Futher, the most important problem of scheduled caste people is that there is very high drop out rate among the students. Especially in the field of higher and professional education after enrollment in the school till they reach higher education, by some reason or the other, the SC students drop-out from the school. These are some of the social and educational problems responsible for very low rate of literacy among the scheduled castes and hence do not allow them to pursue their education continuously.

Summary

In this chapter, we have described the policies/programmes for the scheduled castes since independence. The actual scenario of the scheduled castes in the education system and their social and educational problems were also discussed. The chapter primarily dealt with the literacy rates, enrollment patterns and drop out rates among the scheduled castes. It is found that the scheduled castes lag behind other sections of the population over the years. The socio-economic backwardness and lack of awareness about facilities keep them at the lowest rung of the educational hierarchy. Moreover, scheduled castes are the most backward people of the Indian society. The steps taken by the government for their upliftment may have been successful at least in bringing a few to the schools and colleges, the situation still needs to be improved.

CHAPTER - IV

SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES IN INDIA

This chapter focuses on the social mobility among the scheduled castes in India. How does scheduled castes adopt to new occupations, and how are new occupations responsible for their mobility, particularly educational and social mobility among them. This chapter focused on a discussion on the contributory role of education in the social mobility among and then presents the occupational mobility among the scheduled castes in the contemporary Indian society.

As mentioned in the Chapter III, the scheduled castes in India have suffered and still are suffering from multiple forms of deprivations and backwardness in social, economic, political and cultural aspects of life. According to Alexander, (1989), the Indian society is characterised by the economic inequalities as well as by caste privileges and disabilities. Scheduled castes were at the end of disabilities and oppression, perpetuated by the privileged upper castes. But after independence these people became aware of their rights and they started fighting for their rights. The Indian government also paid attention to the scheduled castes in India, and provided reservations in jobs and politics which enhanced the pace of social mobility among the scheduled castes.

The policy of reservations played an important role in the social mobility of scheduled castes. Several studies conducted by sociologists such as those of Michael Mahar (1972), Sachchidananda (1979), Michael Moffat (1979), Nandu Ram (1989) etc., have pointed out that the education is undoubtedly a very important one among the factors responsible for social mobility. It contributes to the mobility through change in occupation and income. The adoption of new occupation clean and, prestigious is facilitated by reservations in jobs.

Moreover, Education plays a very important role in social mobility among the scheduled castes. Education, in the present day context, is perhaps the single most important means of individuals to improve endowment, build capability levels, overcome constraints and in the process, enlarge their available set of opportunities and choices for a sustained improvement or well being. So the education is an important for enabling factor in the growth of the scheduled castes in India to bring themselves out of traditional ethos to adopt to modern values of achievement orientation than the ascriptive ones. Modern education imparts the necessary skill and knowledge among the disadvantaged community that leads to mobility among them.

The constitutional and special privileges associated with the education of scheduled castes in India brings about social awakening for their political participation and collective participation of their community. The improvement in education also contributes to social mobility indirectly through occupation and income. Because when scheduled castes got access to education they left their traditional occupations and started going to white collar or blue collar jobs and various other kinds of jobs. This occupational mobility came among them due to education. And this mobility helped them to change their life style, habits and manners to live like other higher castes in the society.

Occupational Mobility Among the Scheduled Castes

From the days of Greek Philosophers Plato and Aristotle the modern occupation has been recognised as a reliable and common indicator of social stratification and occupational ranking. Phillips, (1979). Occupational mobility has been considered, thus a significant indicator in assessing the achievement of social groups in the industrial society. In the case of Indian society, the occupations were prescribed for different castes. It was under different norms and traditions not by individual's choice. The children have to opt for the occupation of the father, and it is also true in the case of scheduled castes and other lower castes. Modern

industrial and managerial jobs were the monopoly of higher castes. The scheduled castes were not allowed to prestigious jobs. They were only allowed to do unclean occupations.

But after the "protective measures" provided by the government, the scheduled castes are taking up the occupation of their choice now they are not forced to do the traditional occupations of the family. For instance, if we look at employment in modern sectors, it is based on the education. The scheduled castes have opportunities to get into those kinds of employment because of the educational facilities and reservations in employment.

Table 4.1 gives the representation of scheduled castes, statewise, in Group A and B services.

Table 4.1: Statewise Representation of SC's in Group A and B services 1986-87.

States	Reservation Prescribed %	Actual Representation in %	
		Group A	Group B
Himanchal Pradesh	15	5.40	7.80
Madhya Pradesh	15	2.13	5.31
Orissa	15	1.41	2.87
West Bengal	15	4.63	6.01
Maharashtra	13	6.90	7.91
Gujarat	07	9.64	11.49
Karnataka	15	12.23	8.06
Andhra Pradesh	15	3.99	5.52

Source: Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, 1986-87.

The representation of scheduled castes in group A and B services at the state level is highly unsatisfactory. As against the prescribed 15 percent, their actual representation in most states ranged mainly from 2.41 to 6.90 percent in group A and from around 5.00 to 8.00 percent in group B services (except in Gujarat and Karnataka). So it can be said that their representation is very poor. As mentioned earlier the scheduled castes continue to suffer due to the practice of untouchability, particularly in cultural and domestic spheres in many ways in several states. In some

states, such as Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan and Kerala scheduled castes do not have access to drinking water resources.

Similar picture emerges if we look at the data on Central Government services. Table 4.2 gives the break up in terms of class I, II, III and IV levels of government jobs for the years 1971, 1991 and 1994.

Table 4.2: Representation of Scheduled Castes in Central Government Services 1971-94.

Category	1971	1991	1994
Class I	2.58	9.09	10.25
Class II	4.06	11.82	12.06
Class III	9.59	15.65	15.73
Class IV (excluding Sweepers)	10.37	21.24	20.46

Source: Eighth Five Year Plan 1990 and Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, Government of India, 1995.

The representation of scheduled castes in Central Government services is also not in the line with their proportion in the total population or the proportion of the reservation quota. Their representation has improved over the years but it is far less. If we look at class I services their percentage in 1994 was 10.25 percent. It was very low when compared to the non-scheduled caste people. Same with the class II

Central Government services in 1971 the percentage of scheduled castes in class II services was 4.06 which improved a little in 1994 (12.06 percent).

In Table 4.2 further shows that the percentage of SCs is more in class III and IV services but not high in 1994. The percentage of SCs in class III was 15.73 and in class IV was 20.46. On the whole one can say that the share of scheduled caste people has improved in Central Government services minimally over the years.

Table 4.3 gives the representation of scheduled castes in teaching and non-teaching posts.

Table 4.3: Representation for Scheduled Castes in Academic and Ministerial Posts 1985-86.

Categories	Total	SC	Percentage
Teaching Posts			
Professors	2,133	13	0.61
Readers/Associate Professor	3,261	34	1.04
Lecturer	5,341	169	3.16
Research Associate	674	71	10.53
Ministerial posts			
Group A	3,525	118	3.35
Group B	4,833	221	4.57
Group C	14,811	1,686	8.51
Group D	17,607	2,628	14.93

Source: 28th Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, Government of India, New Delhi, 1985-86.

The representation of the scheduled castes in teaching and non-teaching professions in the universities is very marginal. The poor representation of scheduled castes may be due to the lack of skills and educational levels required for such jobs because for many years they do not have access to education. That's why they lag behind in prestigious jobs. Secondly, the discrimination against the scheduled castes may be another reason because many good and prestigious educational institutions are not under the direct control of the Government or in the hands of the private sector which do not follow the policy of reservations. If we look at the figures of teaching faculty, the number and percentage of total number of professors in the universities is below even the marginal level.

Same is the case of Associate Professorships. Their percentage is 1.04 only. The percentage of research associates is a bit more (10.53 percent), but it is also not up to the mark. So it can be said that overall representation of scheduled castes in the academic profession is very poor because they are very less in number and their percentage is decreasing day by day in the higher posts. If we look at the share of scheduled castes people in the ministerial posts their percentage has not improved. In Group A ministerial posts, their percentage is 3.35. and their percentage

is bit high in group C and group D services (8.51 percent in group C posts and 14.93 percent in group D services).

From the analysis of the above table it can be said that instead of all the facilities, scheduled castes are still far behind the non-scheduled castes. Because many hurdles come in their way and as a result of which they are unable to avail all these protective measures. Sometimes lack of awareness of all these facilities also head to lack of utility of such facilities.

Table 4.4 shows the representation of scheduled castes in the public sector undertaking.

Table 4.4: Representation of Scheduled Castes in Public Sector Undertakings.

Category	1971	1989
Class I	0.52	5.76
Class II	1.54	8.4
All Categories	8.17	20.36

Source: Eighth Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, Govt. of India, 1990.

The representation of scheduled castes in public sector undertakings is found to be not good. For instance, in 1989, the representation of SCs in Class I and II was 5.76 percent and 8.41 percent respectively which

well is below the expected quota. Still they are at the bottom in public undertakings. The condition of scheduled caste people is the same everywhere. Their condition is not satisfactory.

Summary

This chapter focused on how education plays an important role in the social and occupational mobility among the scheduled castes. The overall representation of scheduled castes in government jobs, academic jobs such as teaching and other non-teaching jobs and private undertaking jobs very less. They are very less in numbers in high class or group A jobs. Their percentage is more in group C and D services. So it can be said that the improvement in the case of jobs and income is marginal. Still there is a huge difference between scheduled caste and non-scheduled caste population. Improvement, therefore, is needed to change this condition of scheduled caste people. Because they are lagging behind in every field of life whether it is education, or employment, they are also lagging behind in augmenting change in the levels of making up with the mainstream of opportunities which facilitated person's quality of life. Thus, in this context, it may be said that the principal aim of education is after all to improve the human material and through it the surrounding environment. The emphasis given to the education of the scheduled castes

will be justified only in terms of certain positive changes which it is expected to produce. Education is therefore, responsible for social mobility among the scheduled castes.

CHAPTER - V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study attempted to focus on the role of education in bringing about social change and mobility among the scheduled castes in India. It tried to situate the education of the disadvantaged groups of Indian population within a broad socio-historical context and understand the patterns of educational and occupational mobility since independence. The study mainly relied on a review of the statistical data on various aspects of educational and social status and also a review of the existing studies on scheduled castes and their education in the field of sociology of education.

In contemporary India, education plays a very important role in social mobility and social change. When we look at the specific case of the scheduled castes, they are the most disabled and disadvantaged in the society. They were not allowed to live like other higher castes and access the privileges like education in the society. The underlying principle for the denial of certain privileges is mainly their position in the varna system based on the purity pollution. According to this principle, any sort of contact with the scheduled castes is prohibited and hence they were forced

to live in the outskirts or peripheries of the villages and came to be known as 'untouchables'. However, the recent changes in the nomenclature also brought about a change in the way the policy planners perceived. So, some people referred to them as 'harijans' or 'ex-untouchables' or more precisely 'scheduled castes'. The term 'scheduled castes' is so called because certain castes of the ex-untouchables are put in a Schedule of the Constitution, to be provided with special privileges and provisions in order to help them to overcome the distortions of the past. After the independence these special policy provisions helped scheduled castes to gain some standing in the educational and social ladder.

On the educational front, though the scheduled castes have registered some progress, it is not commensurate with their total population. The rate of growth of literacy rates among scheduled castes is still low when compared to the general population. As a result, the disparities are still prevalent among the scheduled castes and others. For instance, as mentioned earlier, the gap between the literacy rates of scheduled castes and others in 1991 was 17.20 percent, which is almost the same previous decades as well.

The enrollment figures of scheduled castes over the past few decades is also a significant indicator to measure their educational

mobility. It is found in the study that the enrollment of scheduled castes is very poor and has been decreasing as one moves up the educational ladder.

This may be due to the increasing drop-out rates. The enrollment of scheduled castes in higher education, in general, and in prestigious professional courses is much to be desired. That means, the higher studies for scheduled castes is still a distant dream except for a handful of the middle and upper middle class scheduled caste families. The benefits of the reservation policy have thus not percolated to the downtrodden among scheduled castes, but they remained restricted to a very small group of elites amongst these groups. See in this context, the educational and social mobility among scheduled castes may be said to have been very limited for the past fifty years of affirmative action policy evolution.

Moreover, the study of different disciplines has also been a distant dream for scheduled castes. The enrollments are mainly found in the non-science and non technical subjects, which are of no market value. These subjects are perceived to be 'hard' and 'difficult' to understand. Various studies have shown that eventhough some scheduled caste students take admission in the science and technical subject, they do drop out due to the lack of initial preparation before entering the course. This seem to have been due to the lack of adjustment and also due to certain socio-psychological factors among the scheduled castes in the academic

institutions. These problems are also found to be due to the fact that no proper attention was given to the problems of scheduled castes at the school level. Though the facilities are provided, they are not monitored to see the progress of these students and guide them to improve.

In terms of the occupational mobility, the scheduled castes have been found to be moving away from their traditional occupational structures and get into the modern blue collar and white collar professions. This was possible mainly because of their educational achievements. These groups have realised that education is the only means of changing the age old stigma attached to their occupations.

Moreover, the reservations in jobs also helped them to acquire the social status and move away from the rural based untouchability in the past. The industrial development also has contributed to this change, as many of them have moved away from the agricultural labour force to the industrial workforce, where there is a little concern for each other's primordial and ascribed identities. But, the significant aspect in this transition is that the scheduled castes have apparently moved from the rural based lower level impure occupations to the urban based lower level manual and assembly line workforce. This obviously means that their

lower caste position in the past has not transformed into a lower class position in the present.

This fact gets substantiated if we see the representation of scheduled castes in Group A and B jobs where they are very less in numbers. Most of them are working in Group C and D services. The same conditions are there in private sector where scheduled castes are very few, because they do not have the policy of reservations. It can be said that because of the reservation policy, at least a few SC's are able to join the government jobs. This has given the scheduled castes to adopt the life style of other castes and changed their social life. Because of good income they started sending their children to schools for gaining education which improved their status in the society.

The case of scheduled castes women is worse when compared to their male counterparts and also woman from other categories of population. Their overall representation in the education is very low in number. Even in the normal courses, their share is only marginal or marginal. Therefore, scheduled case women seem to be suffering from the double disadvantage, for being womeen and also for being from the scheduled castes.

In teaching or academic profession, there are a very few scheduled caste people who reached upto the level of the professor, mostly they are either associate professor or lecturers. Even if the scheduled castes get into the higher status jobs, it is found to be not very easy for them to get the promotions. So, sometimes, till the end of their service they have to fight for their promotions and oppression.

It may thus be said that their conditions are very poor in each sphere of life including literacy and occupations. The special provisions and facilities provided by the government are found to be of no use in their case. Because these facilities do not reach the needy people among the scheduled castes. They reach only these people who are living in the urban areas and are from the privileged sections of the same group. As a result, huge gap of inequality still exists between the scheduled castes and the non-scheduled castes and also within the scheduled castes themselves in the society.

Therefore, the study has eloquently brought out the fact that there should be some mechanisms of reaching out to the needy sections of the scheduled castes in order to make the policy provisions and the expectations of the founding fathers of the education a reality. The process of generating awareness among the scheduled castes to go in for

education and thereby enhancing the social mobility need to be strengthened.

However, the researcher realise certain limitations of the present study. Firstly, the present study should have been field based as it would have given us an opportunity to be the actual processes, problems happening as grand. Secondly, the non-availability of latest data on the occupational mobility has put the researcher in a dilemma as to whether to use the out dated data or continue with the description with the old data. Since, it is combined with a review of the existing studies, it made some sence. But, the researcher realises this drawback.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the study has brought into focus once again the debate on the efficacy of governmental initiatives to foster social mobility among the scheduled castes in India.

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