CHAPTER-II

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AMONG THE SCHEDULED CASTES

It is through the forces of education, both formal and informal, that human standards and ideals are raised. Educational development is the essential pre-requisite for an allround development of any community economically, socially and culturally. Education paves the way for getting better jobs and training to improve the social, economic, political and cultural standards of the people. This aspect is understood through a review of available literature.

The primary function of the educational system, as Panunzio (1939) has pointed out, "is to transmit a knowledge of the forms and skills society regards as indispensable to its survival and improvement". Along with imparting knowledge and skills education also transmits the particular system of moral, social and cultural values of the society.

As W.G. Sumner (1906:4) has expressed education transfers the more to the individuals, that is, "He learns what conduct is approved or disapproved; what kind of man is admired most; how he aught to behave in all kinds of cases; and what he aught to believe or reject".

Elwood (1961:106) says, "Systems of education have not been created for the training and development of the individuals as such, but rather to fit the individuals for membership in society, that is, to control the process by which they acquire habits, so that they shall advantageously co-ordinate their activities with those of the group".

Thus education is very important for the allround development of individual's personality, such education was denied to the fourth Varna - Sudra, later so called untouchables as a result of Varnasankara, Prabhu (1961) said that "In the Hindu home every male child belonging to the Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaishya varna started his educational career..."
with the observation of certain rites and rituals grouped under the name of the Upanayana ceremony*. Therefore the Upanayana ceremony was not performed by Sudras and they were not allowed to learn the Vedas. To make it clear Prabhu (1961:108-110) again says “The Upanayana Sacrament is virtually regarded as the second birth of the young boy. Till the Upanayana is not passed through, every child is considered nature born and as such, as good as Sudra*. Hence Sudras are non-Dwijas and non-Aryans, who were illiterate and uneducated.

Thus, for centuries, untouchables or scheduled castes were kept away from education, knowledge and culture on religions grounds. The roots of this evil are so deep that even in independent India they have had to face many socio-economic disabilities.

Therefore in the present chapter an attempt is made to examine the development of education among scheduled castes or the so called ex-untouchables. The evolution of education in general and development of education among scheduled castes in particular can be traced through five main phases viz.,

1. Vedic period
2. Buddhist period
3. Muslim period
4. British period and
5. Independent India.

1. VEDIC PERIOD

During the period of vedic culture or Aryan civilization education was the monopoly of the highest caste viz., Brahmins. In those days education was consisted of a study of sacred texts and scriptures. Hence the non-Brahmins were barred ritually form acquiring this knowledge. In the words of Mudaliar. A.L. (1960:5-6) “If we take the first period i.e.
Aryan civilization, the education, imparted was generally confined in the beginning to the priestly classes and later it spread to the two other classes, the Kshatriyas and Vysias, who were of Aryan 'descent'. In other words in the early Vedic schools instruction would appear to have been confined to young Brahmins and was regarded mainly as a preparation for their future vocation as priests. He again said “But sometime before 500 B.C. the education of the young Kshatriyas and Vysias would appear to have been started”.

Singh R.G. (1986:30) noted that, “In the Vedic India, the education was provided to all. But after the laws of Manu were enforced, which prohibited the Sudras or the low caste people from acquiring knowledge and system of meditation through education and other intellectual activities, the perpetuation of education to all was prohibited”. The ethics and the philosophy of the upper caste people were codified in Sanskrit language, which the Brahmins called the divine language. He further said “the separation of the media of expression helped in enlarging the gulf between the cultures of the two basic groups of Indian society. The low caste people fell prey to blind faith, superstitions, blackmagic and the like, which became a part of their day to day life, customs and rituals”.

Cunningham (1941) and Beteille (1969) have found that in the pre-British traditional system of Sanskrit learning, education was monopolised by Brahmins. In other words members of lower castes were not allowed to educate their children in institutions of learning and higher education. Entry into temples of learning was completely forbidden for members of untouchable castes. Perhaps this was intended to keep the lower caste subjects perpetually at the lower rung of the social ladder. It may also be speculated that in giving them rights and privileges of better education, the Brahmins and other upper castes saw a threat to their own social prestige and social status, which they had continued to enjoy in the priest dominated society.
Thus, for centuries, scheduled castes were kept away from education, knowledge and culture on religious grounds. The roots of this evil are so deep that even in independent India they have to face many socio-economic disabilities.

2. BUDDIST PERIOD

During the Buddhist period education took on a different course. One main difference between Aryan and Buddhist education was that the latter was not based on Vedic study and its teachers were not of priestly class. It was open to all and not merely to the three twice-born castes. All castes were equally admissible to the Buddhist community.

With the arrival of Buddhism, there was a shift not only in the venue of education but also from the topmost stratum of Brahmins although the famous maths of Sringeri, Badari, Dwarka and Puri are said to have come into existence during this period. The most important Buddhist centre of learning was Nalanda. Thus during this period admission on to the order was thrown open to all the castes. Nalanda was a world famous University to which scholars even from foreign countries flocked. It imported education to all people from all strata of society. The Chinese scholars Huen Tsang and Fa Hien have left behind detailed descriptions of this great historic university town. It was an age of cultural re-generation. Sincere attempts were made by the Buddhist monks to spread education to all those who were capable of educating themselves irrespective of their caste origins. For the first time the doors of education were thrown open to all in a truly democratic spirit. There were no restrictions on receiving education. However this era came to an end after a few centuries.

The frequent disturbances due to warfare brought about due to foreign invasions led to an end of the Buddhist period. Indian society again became conservative and traditions and customs again became important. This was a natural response to the upheaval brought about by wars and invasions from the north-east. It abated to the destruction of Nalanda and the educational system.
3. MUSLIM PERIOD

The establishment of Muslim rule in India led to a number of changes in the educational system. But no changes took place in the educational life of scheduled caste people. With the consolidation of Mughal power in India, Persian and Arabic came to be accepted as the languages of the new rulers. To a certain extent it weakened the position of Brahmin teachers. While in the past education was imported in the monasteries and maths, now it was done in the Maktabs and Madarasas. Hence, Muslim rule changed the linguistic aspect of education, but the basic format of the system was retained. As a result, while in the past it was the Hindu who monopolized education, during the Mughal rule it was the rich class among the Muslims who came to rule the roost in the field.

4. BRITISH PERIOD

During British period education was accelerated towards scheduled castes or untouchables. The British government introduced a system of education in the 19th century in India which was secular and scientific by nature. As Ghurye (1961:178) observes: “The British brought with them a casteless culture and a literature full of thoughts on individuals liberty*. Western education thus brought fourth new ideas, aspirations and behaviour patterns, which were different from those to which the people were accustomed. Western education enabled individuals in the Indian society to extricate themselves form the restrictions of caste based taboos. The low castes especially saw in Western education an avenue through which they could better their status. As Harold Isaacs (1965) says, “The British role in this was a characteristic mixture of the pragmatic, equivocal, calculated and philanthropic, with the proportions varying through time”.

The British government in India introduced special provisions and concessions for the educational advancement of the backward classes which was later converted into caste reservations in educational
institutions and for jobs, Sudras, women, the untouchables and tribes in this country obtained entry into the four walls of literate learning as a result of the social reform movements which were to a certain extent supported by the Englishmen during 19th century.

However Sinha (1986:131) observes that even during British rule the facilities for education was mainly arrived for the benefit of the upper castes, though education itself had become secularised. It was only in the 20th century that the scheduled castes began to enter the portals of institutions of higher learning albit hesitantly. In this context Sinha observes (Ibid), "In a modernising society, a person's educated status is determined to a large extent by his educational attainment. But the latter in turn depends upon his parents' education and socio-economic status. In the case of the scheduled castes, then it was a vicious circle". This led to a form of alienation between educated S.C. and their non-educated and poor parents. Further it has brought about a widening gap between the educated and professional Dalits and their illiterate brethren. However they again force the problem as they are unable to consolidate their gains through education as they cannot fully integrate themselves in a society dominated by upper caste Hindus.

During British rule Christianity played an important role in motivating the depressed classes for higher and professional education and particularly to the girls. As a result their life had been urbanized and westernized. In this context, M.N. Srinivas (1977:19) opined "as early as 1830 the missionaries for the first time in the history of India started giving formal education to the untouchables. Apart from them the British were the first to expose the untouchables to western education on a large scale. The policy pursued by the British government in India of giving preference to the low castes for education was in accordance with its humanitarian sentiments and it also had the effect of making lower castes look upto the British for protection".
However, the British did not wish to pursue a policy of open
discrimination in 1857. The entry of a scheduled caste person into an
educational institution in the country was recorded in the year 1856. As
recorded by Dr Mudbirdri (1982:94), in June 1856 a Mhar boy called
Vitoo bin Narayan, a scheduled caste boy, applied for admission into
government Marathi school at Dharwad, Bombay Presidency, presently in
Karnataka state. It was the first case of a scheduled caste boy to officially
seek permission to be admitted to a Government school. The authorities
were in a dilemma and at first refused admission to the boy. However
upon the advise of the collector he asked for justice by petitioning to the
Governor-in-Council and later the Viceroy at Calcutta.

After obtaining the opinion of various high officials, the Viceroy
directed the Provincial Governors that none could be discriminated
against in government schools whether the upper castes liked it or not.
Thus vita Narayan was admitted to the Government Marathi School in
Dharwad.

Chalam, K.S. (1990:23) says, “The incident had created a furore in
the administration, which ultimately attracted the attention of the rulers.
The Board of Directors were then forced to formulate an educational
policy, where it was stated that as long as the schools the maintained by
government the classes of its subjects are to be given admission without
any distinction of caste, religion and race”. This policy was further
strengthened with the enactment of the caste disabilities act, 1872. This
was how a small beginning was made for the educational development of
weaker sections in India.

Thus the demand for entry into educational institutions and for
equality of opportunities was first started in south India.

It casts light on the fact that the desire to get educated among the
low castes had been kindled as early as the middle of the 19th century. It
also means that perhaps, the low castes had become conscious of the
fact that they were being denied many privileges and that they could
possibly be obtained if one fought for them. Thus, admission could not be refused in a Government school on the basis of caste.

The above principle when implemented did create some anxiety to school authorities in Dharwad. As anticipated, the upper castes did not welcome such a measure. Even almost thirty years later the upper castes were not fully reconciled to the situation. The Dharwad Vritt, a daily newspaper in 1882 reported that attendance in Dharwad High School was rapidly declining. The newspaper reported that the Director of Public Instruction had expressed his readiness to close the school rather than refuse admittance to the boys of the Mhar and Mang castes.

The admission of two boys belonging to the Holeya caste created a disturbance in the town of Dharwad for four or five days (Mudbidri, Ibid: 95-96). Many of the upper caste boys began to leave the school and join a private English school. However the efficiency of this school was none too high as it was new. Several boys, therefore, returned to the Government school reconciled to the rule. Eventually the native gentlemen had to accept the decision.

The Inspector of Education (Southern Division) had notified in 1881 that the low caste students belonging to the Mochigyar, Holeya and other law castes attending schools in Hubli and Dharwad were to be exempted from paying fees. Even girls from the lower castes also began to take an interest in education.

Hunter says, “early efforts towards the education of the untouchables are usually associated with British rule and efforts of the missionaries in India. British policy documents relating to the education of the untouchables reveals a dualism following form a liberal stance on the one hand and tendency to compromise with dominant caste pressures on the other. This crucially affected the early educational opportunities of untouchables and their experiences within schools. Thus it was a part of education policy to recommend that no boy be refused admission to a government college or school merely on the ground of caste”.

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The reaction of caste Hindus was one of the continuous opposition to the education of untouchables. Cotton J.S. (1996:1024) has said, "In Kaira district five or six large schools were closed down when they attempted to avail of education. Hutton J.H. (1933) notes that in one case the depressed classes at Surat had to withdraw their children from the school as a result of indirect pressure exerted on them by higher castes. Similarly Richley J.A. (1923) observes that "In Multan division it was reported that boys of low castes such as chamars, musalis and sansis occasionally attend ordinary schools, but are seated apart from the children of higher caste.

Institutionally a number of options were made available by the administration. Special Government schools ensured "separate" education for untouchables, who would thereby not come into contact with upper caste children. Missionaries also were encouraged to run private schools for the lowest castes. Where other castes objected to the association of their children with the untouchables, the former were persuaded to setup their own special schools under the government grants in aid system. At that time night schools were also extremely popular among the fact that they taught only the most elementary skills.

Sinha, R.K. (1986) noted: "Even during British days, when education was formalized and relatively secularized through the school system, it was mainly Brahmins and other high caste groups, who took advantage of the new opportunities. While those belonging to scheduled castes considered as those belonging to scheduled castes considered as untouchables, continued to be disallowed from the school, the social and economic situation was such that lower and even middle castes found it difficult to send their children to school. Even when some lower caste children went to school the atmosphere was not conducive as discriminatory treatment was given even by teachers".

Similarly Briggs (1970) has observed that "Both teachers and pupils make it difficult for low caste boys to sit in the classroom".
Moreover the belief that it was only the higher ups who needed education was widespread even among middle and lower rungs of the caste hierarchy.

In 19th century the most important social reformer was Jotirao Phuley. He openly came out against untouchability and propagated education for untouchables, women and the down trodden by starting a school for these people. He carried out his movement for social equality and non-Brahminic philosophy. He founded the “Satya Shadak Samaj” (society in search of Truth) in Maharashtra in 1873. He supported and encouraged pleaded compulsory and free education for untouchables before the Hunter Commission in 1884.

The study done by Seal (1968) has revealed that there has been unequal distribution of various castes at various levels of education in the British Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras in 1883-84. The data shows extreme monopoly of the high castes at various levels of education. The percentage of low castes was small, while the untouchables were negligible.

Later the British Government introduced the Compulsory Education Act in 1913. According to this act the Government had to accept the principle that no pupil should be denied admission to government school or school maintained at the cost of public funds on the ground of caste. The admission at three boys belonging to the Holepyaka castes in the Sringeri school created a great stir. The parents of higher caste boys protested against this and withdrawn their children. Not only Brahmin parents, but the non-Brahmin parents as well as the Muslim parents withdrew their children from the school into which the untouchable boys were admitted. However, the government was firm in their attitude (B. Kuppuswamy, 1978).

In 1915 in Karnataka there was a great awakening regarding the need for education among 'Panchama' classes. Seeing the new spirit of the times, the government passed an order in 1915 asking the
headmasters to admit the 'untouchable' children in all public schools of the state. The first school to be thrown open to the Harijanas centre in the state. The school opened as per the Compulsory Education Act, 1913. As a result the government order came to be known as the 'Sringeri order'. There was a great deal of protest by the orthodox sections against this order (B. Kuppuswamy, 1978, p.48).

During that period Ambedkar faced lot of problems in his education life, Keer (1971) has explained the humiliating experience of Ambedkar and other untouchables. He observes that Bhimaraao had to sit on gunny bags in a corner of a classroom along with his untouchable classmates. He was not allowed to answer questions for fear of polluting the teacher. Caste Hindu pupils were afraid that if Ambedkar touched the blackboard he would pollute their lunch boxes kept behind it. In high school, he was prevented form studying Sanskrit as the language was considered the key to the Vedas. Under such stringent circumstances education hardly developed among untouchables.

In India the growth of education in its initial phases was limited to the upper castes. Certain religious sanctions still prevented the lower castes from taking to education freely. It was only in the 1920's that the scheduled castes emerged as a force to reckon with under the leadership of B.R. Ambedkar. He initially started his movement for the removal of untouchability by taking up issues like temple entry and the use of public places by the scheduled castes. When the Congress included these aspects on their programme, Ambedkar fought for the educational advancement and political representation of the scheduled castes. In 1946 he founded the 'People's Education Society' and started the Siddartha college. It is this organisation which has been mainly responsible for the spread of education among the scheduled castes in Maharashtra.

The actual spread of education among the untouchables was extensively slow in pre-independent India. Moreover the spread of
education was uneven. It means there were sharp variations in literacy among the untouchables. Castes such as Mahrs of Bombay and Paraiyans of Madras Presidency were relatively more educationally advanced as compared to the Chamaras, Bhangis and Cherumars.

As the educational system became secularised to some extent, the non-Brahmin higher castes first began to take education in greater numbers. Towards the end of British period, educational facilities became enlarged and the overall development level of Indian society steadily increased. This created a more conducive environment for lower status for educating their children.

Owen Lynch (1969) in his extensive and investigative study of the Jatav or cobbler caste of U.P. observes that the fruits of western education were made use of fully by the first few educated chamar elite. These elite not only got educated in the 1920's but saw to it that others from their own caste got the necessary encouragement.

The Jatavs first thought of improving their social status by advancing the theory that they had a very high social status of Kshatriyas during the Vedic times and had lost it due to a defeat in a great war. They claimed downward social mobility as the main reason for their downfall and low status. They claimed their rightful status. Though they did not fully achieve it, they still claimed this myth would separate them from other leather working classes such as the Chamars, Dhors etc. The Jatavs also started in 1924. The Jatav Youth League, the Jatav Men's Association in 1939, the Jatav Men's Educational Institution etc. They also started girls schools to encourage female emancipation. By the turn of independence many of them were active in the freedom movement and in politics. Many were elected to the state and central governments. This is a story of what one scheduled caste can do for itself by its own hard work.
i. Educational and occupational problems of Scheduled Castes

A social and cultural revolution has been brought about in a system where equality of educational opportunity is provided and education is consciously used to develop potential talent among the deprived section of Indian society. Educational development is the essential pre-requisite to the all-round development of any community economically, socially and culturally. But this was barrier for scheduled caste people, who were denied education and free occupational mobility until recently. But the scheduled caste are still facing many educational and occupational problems, though the intensity of problem is reducing gradually.

Traditionally, Indian society has been based on rigid hierarchy and the scheduled castes have been deprived of social, economic and cultural rights. They were engaged in menial occupations with no right to education. They remained victims of suppression and exploitation until independence. During British rule they had some open avenues for modern, secular education and occupations. At the time of independence, the Constitution provided special facilities for their education and employment. Although their progress is marginal, education continues to be an effective means for their development. Hence an attempt to draw attention towards the educational and occupational problems of the scheduled castes has been made in many scholarly studies.

The educational gap between the scheduled castes and the rest of society is still very wide and the rate of improvement is very slow. In this context D'Souza V.S. (1980) says, “the educational progress of the scheduled castes highlight two major deficiencies: first, the scheduled castes lag very much behind the rest of population in their educational achievement and the second, among these castes themselves, some groups have made more rapid progress than some others”. Thus D'souza says that even among the scheduled castes, education has not spread evenly.
D. Venkateswaralu (1991:323) in his study of the perceptions of Harijans and upper castes regarding practice of untouchability observes that Harijans feel it more keenly. They feel that it is still in practice especially when they enter temples they are conscious of this fact, but upper caste Hindus in urban areas do not give it any importance and place it lower down in scale of stigma. To them untouchability is not really in existence unless a Harijan is still practicing some kind of unhygienic job but not otherwise.

In this context Aggarwal (1930) in his case studies of several professional scheduled caste individuals who have become successful as professors, engineers, doctors, lawyers says that though they lead a high standard of living, have decent salaries and have a successful career, yet they are not confident of divulging their scheduled caste origin. They are afraid that they may not be fully accepted by their caste Hindu colleagues. Hence they often try to hide their true origins unless it becomes inevitable. Hence he terms it as “half way to equality” where despite education and income they cannot fully claim their due status.

Naidu and others (1994) say that among the scheduled castes, the lowest rung were completely denied access to education for centuries and were forced to take unclean, degrading hereditary occupations. In independent India efforts were made to uplift them resulted in the launching of multipronged programmes. As a result they have achieved perceptible, though slow, positive change in education and occupation.

Although the general literacy is increasing day by day among scheduled castes the increasing rate is very slow. Velaskar, P.R. (1986) has opined that in India it is a well documented fact that though access to education has been formally democratized at all levels of education, there is still a successive decrease in the enrollment rate as one moves up from the primary level to university education. Hence he points out that the drop-out rate is quite alarming.
Similarly Shivanandam and Narsimha Reddy (1990:30) in their study of scheduled caste school children in Andhra Pradesh have shown that the first generation to go to schools in the family often face many difficulties and are unable to definitely choose a career due to lack of parental guidance.

Due to lack of proper guidance the scheduled caste students are attending schools at a later age. Pimpley (1979) has revealed that college students among scheduled castes were mostly over-aged, in most cases their parents were illiterate with meager financial resources. Further they also had to spend a lot of time in performing domestic duties which interfered with their studies.

Chitnis (1979) and Premi (1984) hold that instead of providing equal opportunity to all, the present system of education is creating new inequalities. The available data show that only a small proportion of scheduled caste students have been able to reap major benefits of higher education and modern education. It is because education among scheduled castes is still a problem. Hence Haq (1986) has said that though traditional education in India has undergone change, the traditional caste structure still continues; education among scheduled castes still lags behind in the larger process of modernization.

Usha Naidu (1979) has studied socialization of scheduled caste children in school. She opines that the scheduled caste students dropout of school because of the rigid attitudes of high caste teachers. Further she opines that a majority of scheduled caste children in urban area have to work for their livelihood do not have time to think about education and schooling.

According to Kapadia (1972) there is a close relationship between the educational level and the type of family in urban areas more than in rural areas. In the rural areas the family has stronger ties but the educational level is low.
Smith and Cheng (1968) assessing the trends in the effects of parental status as a determinant of educational outcome, feels that the effect of background on schooling differ for men and women. The number of years that an individual's father has attended school is clearly a strong determinant of educational attainment for both men and women.

So far as educational and occupational aspects are concerned, there is an extreme degree of gender inequality compared to men, women have far more limited access to both educational and occupational resources according to Dunn D (1993). Thus gender inequality is yet another problem.

Singh (1979) has revealed that a very low number of scheduled caste girls come for education than the boys. The scheduled caste girl students were comparatively of higher age, with a heavy concentration in the subject of Arts. This showed their lack of awareness of future prospects and further they had a low level of aspiration for technical and professional jobs.

Bindu (1979) observes that literacy rate among the scheduled caste female was very low specially in Uttar Pradesh as Pre-primary education was not popular among girls in Uttar Pradesh as parents refused to send girl children to schools and were put to domestic work. Educating girls was traditionally considered a waste of time.

Among the scheduled caste population, the women and children perhaps are the most socially and economically disadvantaged. For them it is an uphill task to obtain social justice and economic equality. In this context Mary Reta Rozario (2000:214) observes that not only do women scheduled caste labourers in rural India get low wages as compared to men, she further asserts that the main reason for prostitution is the extreme and rempant poverty which very often forces these women to the oldest profession. Ignorance, superstition, tradition and illiteracy conspires such women to become easy prey to middle men who sell them in urban areas. Even here they suffer from disabilities because Rozario

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notices that S.C. women face restrictions and are paid lower as compared to the non S.C. prostitutes. They are also subjected to physical abuse and are forced to do manual work.

Chauhan, B.R. and G. Narayan (1976) have opined that a negligible number of girls among scheduled castes go to school and this is particularly so in rural areas. There is thus a need for planning special measures to minimise the gap in the enrollment of scheduled castes boys and girls. Further, they observe that ignorance and illiteracy of parents affects many scheduled castes girls and very few of them are getting education inspite of the help of government facilities.

Pimpley, P.N. (1980:47) says', "Before and just after independence, however, the progress is not uniform in the case of males and females. Owing to the efforts of the government and other organizations, the male members of scheduled castes have made considerable headway in the field of education, but the educational progress among the female members is yet to be accelerated".

The economic condition of the family has its impact on the education of the people.

Geeta B.N. (1996) observes that support and encouragement for education may not be always lacking in Dalit families even where parents are poorly educated. The financial support extended by parents to children for the pursuit of studies even under adverse conditions is a concrete indication of their positive attitudes to education. Further she opined that no doubt, these factors are of importance in explaining the phenomenon of wastage in education".

Lal (1979) has in his study of Faculty-wise distribution, opined that the number of scheduled caste students is higher than that of other castes in Arts faculty, while in Science the situation was just the reverse. Further, the encouragement from home and father's education had no
significant influence on occupational aspirations of scheduled caste students.

In this context Shyam Lal (1984:68) in his study of the Bhangi caste students, observes that many of them entered schools due to the encouragement received from the Arya Samaj in the North. However, many of them dropped out even before completing their education and took up lowly paid urban jobs as they gave them some small income and they refused to go back to rural areas to face the stigma of untouchability.

Beteille (1981:48) says that clearly it is the pernicious custom of untouchability which is the greatest stigma which an S.C. student has to bear. He says that even the plight of the poorest of the poor Brahmin boy is nothing as compared to the problems faced by an untouchable student for he has to first overcome this lifelong stigma, therefore the educational system, overcome segregation from other students and then try to succeed.

Paranjpe (1970:182) says that apart from the cultural deprivation, the stigma of untouchability creates an inferiority complex which is the greatest hurdle. A similar conclusion is drawn by Borale (1968:96) who says the deprivation faced by untouchables is similar to the one faced by Negroes in a white dominated society such as low status, prejudices, poverty and social deprivation.

Sachchidanand (1979) observes that in the absence of facilities for studying Science, a majority of scheduled caste students had to offer Arts subjects. Similarly, Rajagopalan (1979) also found that the scheduled caste students suffer from many problems - viz., the economic conditions of these students being acute and feeling the need for tuition which cannot be obtained due to financial crisis, forces them to take up Arts subjects.
Studies by Taylor (1976), Jayraman (1977) and Sharma (1978) have revealed that higher education is restricted, by and large, to the urban upper and middle strata of scheduled caste students.

Sachchidananda (1971) observes that an earlier generation of scheduled castes elite play a very important role in their community. They often play the role of social leaders, problem-solvers and "elders" in their caste. Thus they give recommendations, speak on behalf of their boys, help in choosing the careers of those confused etc. Abbasayulu (1978) also comes to a similar conclusion. He says the scheduled caste elite play a useful role by forming caste organizations to help others to form a Dalit group identity.

Nagi's (1990) study of four villages of Rajasthan reveals that child marriage has been a major cause of girls low literacy or lower level of education. Further, due to utter poverty of scheduled caste, many of them dropout of schools after primary education. Therefore, for the education the government has been providing scholarship facilities and free education but still has not made much impact.

Parvatamma, C. and Satyanarayan (1984) have found that the encouragement other than the one from home comes from Government. All the scheduled caste students are given scholarships throughout their education, which acts as an incentive and gives them an opportunity. It is true also that a majority of the scheduled caste students complete their education with the help of government facilities. Hence these are very essential for the education of S.C. students.

A very important fact has been arrived by I.P. Desai, G. Sharma and Punalekar (1985:140) that the violence and atrocities against many scheduled caste in urban areas is mainly due to jealously of caste Hindus. They feel that many upper caste Hindus are jealous of the reservation policy and the various facilities available to the scheduled castes in jobs and in education and feel that these are unfair and uncompetative to them.
A.K. Vakil (1985:67) more or less comes to the same conclusion. However, he feels that there should be more seats reserved in professional and technical institutions in which the scheduled castes are not properly represented.

Sharma K.L. (1974) found that hostel and scholarship facilities, provided to scheduled caste students has increased the enrollment of S.C. students in schools and colleges. It is due to acute poverty of scheduled caste groups and such facilities encourage them to pursue their education.

Singh, R.G. (1986) says, “students are facing the problems in getting scholarships in colleges, also where they receive them after six months of admission and till then they have to spend on their own. Many parents cannot send their children for higher education only because of limitations of financial resources. This kind of problem is most genuine for the Harijans”.

Harshad Trivedi (1996:206) observes that the spread of educatoin among the scheduled castes is not in commensurate with their growing numbers, as also the reservation in jobs is low as compared to their large population. This is the reason as to why many S.C. students drop out to go back to agriculture as they are aware that they cannot get good jobs after completing their education. Hence, agricultural labour in India's rural areas still remains largely scheduled castes.

Similarly A.B. Mukerji (1980:92) says that on the basis of his study of Chamars or Cobblers of U.P. that inspite of scholarships and reservations the dropout rate is quite high. He says that the education which they receive is nonfunctional and cannot prepare them for any good vocation. They do not take up leather work due to literacy, but do not have a good education to take up a good job. It is a vicious circle and therefore many migrate to rural areas for agricultural labour jobs.
Chauhan B.R. and G. Narayan (1976) observe that many students have no opportunity of taking guidance or getting encouragement from their family members since the latter are largely illiterate.

Adishesha and Ramanathan (1979) have found that the wastage in education at primary level in case of the scheduled castes was very high due to high drop out rate as a majority of scheduled caste students came from illiterate homes in difficult financial conditions. Gangarde (1974) has also revealed that parents of scheduled caste students were mostly illiterate as compared to nonscheduled caste students. Hence their academic performance was also low.

Chitnis (1979) says that the scheduled castes have lagged behind the total population in literacy and by and large, they were found in Arts faculty as most of them were first generation learners.

Uplaonkar (1982) has found that in case of low class families the occupational aspirations of scheduled caste students are lower as compared to those of non-scheduled caste students.

Premi K.K. (1984:363) speaks about occupational problems of scheduled castes. He says, "Unemployment rate is higher among the scheduled caste graduates compared to non-scheduled castes. So also their occupational status is lower".

Sorokin P.A. (1959) says that "when a man remains throughout his life in the same occupational, economic and political status, his behaviour inevitably becomes very rigid and non-flexible. Under the yoke of permanent performance of the same work in the same social and economic conditions, the body and mind, and the whole behaviour acquire a definite rigidity". Further he observes that the mind is decidedly marked by the stigmas of his social position.

Singh R.G. (1986) says, "Even today these people belonging to the lower strate of society are known by the occupation they have been carrying on generation after generation". Trivedi H.R. (1996) also says,
“the caste Hindus looked upon them as degraded human beings worthy of all categories of so-called lower occupations”.

D’Souza (1980) says, “The educational inequalities have been found to be related to differences in the socio-economic or occupational strata”. Suma Chitnis (1972:75) says that Universities do not have a conducive atmosphere to help the scheduled caste to receive education. Some of them are so westernised intellectually that they intimidate the backward students. Many of them fail to adjust to this new intellectual atmosphere and very soon drop out.

A similar opinion is voiced by N. Jayaram (1981:75) who says; “Although the annual expenditure on the educational scheme has increased considerably in recent years, the number of Harijan students who have not benefited by the scheme still far exceed those who benefited by them. This has resulted in a small educated elite group as against the bulk of the illiterate Harijans. They are reluctant to identify themselves as Harijans and often corner most of the benefits available as they are socially mobile and aware.

In urban India, the problem of untouchability is being gradually annililated. In urban India, this problem is not all that serious and alarming, as it seems to be in rural India. In urban areas, the untouchables, particularly the youngsters, have an open access to all the public places. They have friends from the upper castes, the nature of occupation is slowly changing, young people are going in for education. All essential services are provided to them without any discrimination. Choondawat (1986:57) in his study Bhangis (sweepers) and Regars (tanners) observes that though they still have a low status, the upper castes do not mind visiting them or having them as friends in Educational Institutions showing that untouchability is on the decline marginally among urban educated untouchables. Therefore we may assume that education and change in traditional occupation has enhanced the status of urban scheduled castes.