Chapter-3
Review of Literature
Chapter-3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The sketched profile of the Backward Classes acquaints us with the birth and adulthood of the community and the march of it up to the latest time. However, there is a pertinent need to look into the works and studies done by several authors taking up different facts of the lives of the Backward Classes. It thus, becomes imperative on one part to take cognizance of the work done before proceeding for our own work. Hence, we now turn to the review of literature in this stance. In the last few decades, social scientists have given attention to study the different aspects of backward classes. A large number of studies have been undertaken on the various aspects of backward classes. The dominant issues and themes discussed in these studies are as follows:

(i) Affirmative Action and Backward Class
(ii) Hierarchy and Social Mobility
(iii) Backward castes Politics
(iv) Social Exclusion and Caste Politics
(v) Social Movements and Backward Classes

(i) Affirmative Action and Backward Class

Singh (1996) in his book “Reservation Policy for Backward Classes” defines the term OBC on the basis of their traditional occupations. To deal the problems of reservational policy he says; different states have their own classification of backward class categories. In the same way to give concession to the right community from Backward Classes, Karnataka has distinguished between ‘backward and more backward’, while Bihar and Kerala have made backward and most backward. He says such differences are not made by Govt. of India, but by the States. In his book he also unfavoured the reservation in promotions.

Further he writes about the Commission and Committee on backward classes of different States. In the first chapter he talked about the caste and politics in India. He says caste is the unit of social organization in India and its role in the political system of India cannot be denied in spite of adult franchise. He observes that the politicization of caste brings about outward-looking, upward moving orientations and this result in the
phenomenon of multiple memberships and overlapping potentialities. It takes a secular form for organizational purposes through caste associations, institutions, conferences and federations of caste. Caste is now a variable along with other variables in power politics. In this context, an example of All India Kurmi Sabha is also given by him. He tells about the consciousness among castes is remains continuous.

Singh and Bal (1996) in their book entitled “Strategies of social change in India” writes that how reservation provides the better chances to improve the social status and how the reputed government jobs provide a source of rapid social mobility and status enhancement.

Prasad (1997) in his study ‘Reservational Justice to OBC’ presents the full picture of Mandal Report, critique of the two national BC commissions, Govt. commitment or otherwise to implement the measures insuring reservational Justice to OBC’s. It presents an in-depth study of central issues emerging out of reservational Justice in general in post Mandal case judgment in relation to Reservational Justice to OBC in particular. The problem of Reservational Justice is suigeneris in hierarchical caste in Indian society. All reformist remedies have to contend with a slow recovery along the hierarchical gradient; there are no quantum jumps in social reform. The chief merit of Reservation is not that it will introduce equalitarianism inequalities. But Reservation will certainly erode the hold of higher castes on the service and enable OBCs in general to have a sense of participation in running the affairs of their country.

The degree of importance to be attached to the social backwardness is much more than the importance to be given to the educational backwardness and the economic backwardness, because in identifying in classifying a section of people as a backward class within the meaning of Article 16(4) for the Reservation of appointments or posts, the ‘social backwardness’ plays an important role. But there is strong correlation between these two.

Rath (2002) in her research paper entitled, “Social Transformation among Scheduled Castes in Bihar due to Job Reservation ‘Case Study of Three Generations in Bihar’” shows the reservations of jobs in public services has given earnings and the security, patronage and prestige to a sizeable portion of the beneficiary group that go with government service. Hence it continues to be regarded as one of the major instruments of State policy with its declared objective of ushering in a new social order.
This is a study of three generations namely the parents, the beneficiaries and their children, survey was conducted on 120 respondents of the scheduled castes and belonging to the Class- I, Class-II, and Class-III services. The most striking feature was that about 65 per cent have dropped their caste surnames adding secular surnames like ‘Prasad’, ‘Kumar’ and ‘Ranjan’ etc. This is indicative of the desire for social mobility in the same family over three generations. In case of education mobility not only male members but also most of their girls were in good schools and being educated with the aim of being suitable for the job market.

The study also shows that all the respondents, had given up their caste-based traditional occupation. Each one had proper education and a job in the public services. Whereas, 37.5 per cent of the respondents’ fathers were still practicing their traditional occupation, 26.5 per cent were in some private jobs, 36 per cent were in Government jobs but only in the Class III and IV category. But coming to the children of the respondents each one was aspiring for a top job. This just gives an insight into the trend in the last fifty years. It is a positive one and shows that a perceptible dent has been made and reservation of jobs has definitely helped the deprived castes by giving them a share in the job market and the social standing thereof. This clearly shows a change in attitude over three generations — from one pursuing the traditional occupation to the second generation with a job and finally the third generation looking forward to the best possible job.

Seth (2004) in a UNDP, Human Development Report depicts the performance and outcomes of the Affirmative Action Policy. Despite tardy and often even dishonest implementation for over fifty years the policy of Reservations has worked reasonably well. It in fact can claim some significant achievements, not only for the beneficiary groups of SCs, STs and OBCs, but for the whole nation.

First, Reservations have changed the nature and composition of the Indian middle-class, making it more inclusive. At the time of Independence, middle class was the small group of different castes. Its membership almost entirely consisted of the English-educated, urban sections of the dvija castes. Today, through Reservation, members of ‘lower castes’ have been able to enter the middle-class in significant numbers.
Second, fifty years ago dalits, tribals and OBCs could aspire only to a limited degree of upward mobility and that too as collectivities functioning within the caste structure. Today, with Reservations opening for them gates of the middle-class, not only the incidence of their upward mobility has increased, but for achieving it they have not to depend on ritualistic modes sanctioned by the caste system, such as sanskritization. This changed pattern of social mobility—a larger number of individual members of ‘lower castes’ acquiring middle-class identity—has deeply shaken the economic and cultural roots of the caste system. For, ‘middle-class’ identity is no longer perceived in ritual status terms; consumerization rather than sanskritization has become a middle-class marker.

Third, working for over fifty years Reservations have made cumulative and lasting impact on India’s political system. With educational and occupational opportunities provided by Reservations a new political leadership has emerged from among the SCs, STs and OBCs. For example, the very origin and growth of the powerful dalit-based party in the north of India, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) lay in the formation of a trade-union like association of the dalit and the backward class Government employees. In the course of about five decades of Reservations the entire structure of political power in almost all the states and lately at the national level has changed. The established pattern of the upper caste English educated elite rule has changed. In almost all provincial states of India the OBCs and members of the other beneficiary categories of affirmative action are now occupying important power positions in Government and, of course, at a relatively much less important levels in the bureaucracy.

Leaders of these communities now aggressively assert their interests and identities in the electoral arena. Put differently, this new political class, empowered by reservations, worked for ending the upper-caste, elite-oriented Congress monopoly of power. In this process, it gave a material basis to its own power in the rural economy. In short, Reservations have contributed to changing the old balance of power in the society. Viewed from a long-term perspective, the political inclusion of the hitherto excluded groups, initiated by the social policy but realized through competitive democratic politics, has resulted in disruption of the reproductive process of caste being
periodically incarnated into ideologically sanctified power structure that assigned political power to hereditary groups.

Reservation has made a significant impact for individuals of the beneficiary categories. The most crucial impact is that education has become a social and cultural value for the members of all the beneficiary categories. They now see education as an accessible means for them to individually attaining modernity and social mobility. Some of them having entered the middle class now, unlike their parents, go great lengths to educate their children so that they can receive benefits of reservation and are able to stay in the growing, competitive Indian middle class. Having entered the middle class not only has their lifestyle changed, they now redefine the conventional, caste-like culture of the middle class, increasingly in non-ritual status terms. Even for many non-educated, but of the aspirant generation, alcoholism is on the wane and savings are increasing. This expansion of opportunities has enabled members of these communities to attain, in greater numbers than before, high professional stature and positions of power. (Such achievements are however rare in business and industry.) As in the case of every other upwardly mobile community, this has created an upper crust whose members are expected not only to serve as a role model but also provide a protective device, a ‘spearhead’ for their people to enter the system.

Sowell (2005) In his book “Affirmative Action Around the World: An Empirical Study”, offers a comparative study of affirmative action in the United States, India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and Nigeria. Sowell starts with the premise that much of the discussions on affirmative action in the United States and other countries have been mostly rhetorical. His discussion is based on theories, rationales, and debates over semantics but has been insufficiently attentive—if at all--to the actual consequences. Correcting this fundamental flaw is the primary objective of this short, insightful, and provocative book, which addresses “the empirical question of just what does and does not happen under affirmative action--and to whose benefit and whose detriment”.

Most of the problems that Sowell cites as indictments against affirmative action, however, have to be considered in the context of shrinking economic and educational benefits for all of society. The real problem is not affirmative action but the lack of political will to implement fundamental reform, which would open up opportunities for all citizens and make the promise of affirmative action a reality in the lives of the "truly
disadvantaged." But fundamental structural changes, such as land reform in India, or educational reform in the United States, where high quality primary education would be guaranteed to all children in the earliest stages of their lives, are unconscionably dismissed as "politically risky, costly and time consuming." Consequently, policies such as affirmative action, meant only to be "a temporary expedient," become perpetual practices erecting new systems of privilege and disadvantage that leave more and more people out in the margins in a continuous process of what sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf refers to as the "refeudalization" of society.

Sowell doubts that affirmative action will ever be able to correct social inequality. Discounting the fact that this position might be more informed by his essentialist belief in the inevitability of inequality than by a genuine principled frustration at the ineffectiveness of these programs, it still seems rather disingenuous to attribute failure solely to "misguided" affirmative action programs without putting equal blame on the continued failure of countries to institute fundamental structural and institutional changes to open up real avenues for equalizing economic and educational opportunities. Sowell seems to imply that the inability of the poorest to access benefits is due to cultural failures rather than the absence of educational and employment opportunities, both contemporary and historical.

Sharma (2005) in his book, "Reservation and Affirmative Action: Models of Social Integration in India and the United States" presents the models of affirmative action. India's reservation policies, which set aside a quota of seats for lower-caste and tribal applicants in higher education and government employment, are among the oldest and most far-reaching affirmative action policies in the world. In the last year, the Indian government has expanded the scope of the reservations to include colleges that receive no government aid (ninety-third constitutional amendment) and announced plans to increase quotas in higher education (including the renowned and fiercely competitive Indian Institutes of Technology) to 49.5 per cent of seats. Given these developments, Sharma's contribution to the debate over reservations not neglected.

Sharma astutely points out that it is not just caste discrimination that has historically been reinforced through religion but also gender and racial discrimination. Many of the current beneficiary groups of affirmative action in the United States, including African Americans, women, and Native Americans, "have been religiously
disaffirmed in the past”. Affirmative action is a vehicle of the justice of the policies. Sharma’s expertise is clearly philosophical, and he notes that further analysis of the justice of affirmative action policies depends on sufficient relevant data.

Regarding the U.S.-India comparison, Sharma points to an interesting puzzle—the “relatively non-antagonistic attitude toward affirmative action in India as compared to the United States” (although antagonism has increased with the expansion of reservations in India). His initial answer, unfortunately, relies on tired dichotomies, such as the “intuitive acceptance of groups rights in the Indian ethos” versus the “emphasis on individual rights in the USA” and even the melting pot versus mosaic or stir fry versus salad bowl metaphors. Nesiah’s thoughtful contrast between the historical and constitutional backgrounds of affirmative action in the United States and India sheds more light on the subsequent societal reactions to these policies.

Ambedkar (2008) in his book entitled “Reservation Policy—Issue and Implementation” tells about the term ‘creamy layer’. He tells that the term was first used in 1992 Supreme Court Judgment, in the case of Indira Sawhney Vs the Union of India. Further he writes the criteria for being enlisted in the creamy layer are based on the profession of the parents and on the basis of family income. Anybody who meets either professional or income criteria would be considered part of the creamy layer. Under this criteria of professions, the children of Constitutional Heads including President, Judges of SC and High Courts and UPSC Members, and a range also declared by the Govt. for creamy layer, the range changes by time to time. He says that all these are not able to get the benefit of reservation policy.

Ambedkar also tells about the trend of claiming backwardness both among Hindus and Muslims by claiming same caste status by various devices as those who are legally considered backward castes. It is the same situation with the Jats of Haryana and the Gurjars of Rajasthan.

Sekhri (2011) in her study, “Affirmative Action and Peer Effects: Evidence from Caste Based Reservation in General Education Colleges in India” finds that low caste students are hurt by better average quality of high caste students. The highest achievers in both caste groups are hurt disproportionately due to peer effects from opposite caste peers. The lowest achieving low caste students also experience negative peer effect from the high caste students, but the lowest achieving high caste students, who are the
median students in the cohort, do not get hurt by peer quality of low caste students. These results are supportive of a model in which the peer effects are mediated by a competition effect among low caste and high caste students which is more prominent for the highest achievers, students receiving academic support only from their own caste peers, and teachers targeting teaching to the median students.

The results of study suggest that more integrated, and hence more heterogeneous environments in selective higher education institutions are not academically benefitting at college level. Neither the beneficiaries nor the non-beneficiaries of affirmative action gain from the quality of opposite caste peers. In fact the beneficiaries experience larger negative peer effects from peers of opposite castes over the entire distribution of the achievement levels in Senior Secondary School Exam Scores, which are pre-determined before entering college. Overall, the results suggest that affirmative action based college admission puts the under prepared students in a much more challenging situation which results in negative externalities on both high caste and low caste students.

(ii) Hierarchy and Mobility

Most of the village studies in India tell about change in occupational structure. Shah (1955) studied a village (Navi Padardi) in Panchmahal Distt. in Bombay state. He observed that 21 men of the village were employed in salaried jobs as school teachers, policemen, peons and village level revenue officers. After getting govt. job they became important respective members of the village.

Driver (1962) in his study, “Caste and Occupational Structure in Central India” of Nagpur district has come to the conclusion that intergenerational mobility is frequent both in rural and urban areas but it is generally restricted to occupations of comparable rank. Hence its effect on the traditional association between position in the caste hierarchy and place in the occupational order is quite minimal. This association, whatever remains today is a however, largely the result of difference among castes in their educational attainment.

Nijhawan (1971), in his paper ‘Occupational Mobility and Political Development-Some Preliminary Findings’ attempted to make a beginning by focusing on the relationship between occupational mobility and political attitudes. This
involved, first, identifying the social sectors that are prone to be occupationally mobile and, second, examining whether or not there are significant differences in political attitudes and behaviour between the occupationally mobile and the non-mobile.

Gupta (1972) in his study, 'Reference Models and Social Mobility: A Case for Rural India', of 'Awan' village situated in Kota district of South-eastern Rajasthan tells that in the village there were 2,574 persons composed with 41 Hindu and 6 Muslim castes. Author examine the limitations of the three reference models related to caste system or relation between "origin status" and "destination status" of the individuals in and outside the caste system; and proposes a democratic model to encompass all changes. It is suggested that "democratic model" could be a methodological tool for the analysis of social mobility in India.

Horan (1974) in his paper, 'The Structure of Occupational Mobility: Conceptualization and Analysis' proposed a conceptual framework and an associated technique for the interpretation and analysis of intergenerational occupational mobility. The particular data employed here are drawn from a socioeconomic survey of Poona, collected in 1954. He found it rather clearly that the structure of occupational mobility in Poona is not one-dimensional. Prestige is not the sole basis for intergenerational movement between occupations; the caste-based factors have an effect on mobility patterns of the same order of importance as prestige, even under the conservative test procedures employed.

Abraham and Subramanian (1974) in the paper entitled, 'Patterns of Social Mobility and Migration in a Caste Society', examine the patterns of social mobility among twelve different castes in five South Indian villages. The focus is on social rather than cultural mobility and the purpose is to determine the extent of individual mobility in terms of shifts in occupation, educational betterment, and attitude toward migration. Social mobility is extremely limited but the process has started particularly among the castes on the lower rungs of the social ladder. The extent of occupational mobility is extremely limited among the different caste groups. Only 19 out of 281 respondents have shifted from one occupation to another. Most of the shifts among caste Hindus were horizontal and occurred between agriculture and small trade.

There is very little variation in the stability of career patterns; among the caste Hindus, farmers who have land are clearly most stable. Shifts into self-employment not
bound by caste tradition ensure a greater degree of freedom and autonomy for the individuals. The situation with regard to literacy is improving; the vast majority of respondents have better education than their fathers, although the level of education is still inadequate to secure for them skilled jobs and higher-status vocations. Physical mobility is limited; the process of migration has, however, emerged among landless people who move to other villages in search of work. Peasants' contact with urban centers is also increasing. Above all, a good number of respondents are willing to move out of their villages and settle down anywhere in the country.

Several implications emerge from the present study. First, the conventional view of life, sentimental attachment to the native village, the sense of security built into the caste system, and the bonds of kinship can no longer hold peasants back if avenues for betterment are open to them elsewhere. Caste tradition and the related liabilities with which individuals enter into the labour market act as impediments in the way of upward mobility but the motivation is there and the process is already under way. However, in spite of various reform movements and philosophic trends in modern India, many of the traditional institutions of the caste system have not disappeared.

Dube (1975) in his study, "Social Mobility among the Professions" of Gorakhpur (Uttar Pradesh) with 300 respondents has analyzed the emergence and adoption of modern professions during a span of three generations. He finds highest degree of spatial mobility due to the emergence of new professions. The percentage of white collars has continued to rise from the generation of the grandfathers to the generation of the fathers. There was a move from manual and traditional non-manual occupations to white collar jobs. Because of modern education they abandoned the rural and agricultural occupations and now more and more people want to go in for the urban occupations. The caste had not created much hindrance in occupational mobility because of the respondents belonged to various castes. But the predominant number of respondents coming from higher castes is a clear identification of the fact that the caste system has not provided adequate opportunities to the lower castes for their upward mobility.

Jagannathan and Halder (1988) in their study entitled, "A Case Study of Pavement Dwellers in Calcutta- Occupation, Mobility and Rural Urban Linkage" examined the occupational patterns and mobility among pavement dwellers in Calcutta.
The authors reveal the existence of several segmented markets in the city's informal sector. The segments are not necessarily resistant, but usually access is dependent on contacts, and acceptability by dominant groups controlling access routes. Further, they found a steady inflow of the rural poor from eastern India, their destinations are well defined, and are usually based on information obtained from relations and kinsmen of the village.

Sivaram and Bhaskar (1991) conducted a study entitled, “Occupational Mobility among the Mangalies (Barbers) in Proddatur town of Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh”. The caste people are engaged in hair-dressing of the customers and also perform music on the occasion of marriage and other religious ceremonies. The data for the study has been collected 120 selected respondents (Male Head of Family) on the basis of random sampling. The techniques of data collection were interview, participant and non-participant observation and the group conversation in the regional language, i.e. Tengu. They main findings of the study that they were deviating their traditional occupation i.e. hair dressing and music due to not remunerative their livelihood. The people who were educated were joining the public services and in some other organizations. Among illiterate, majority of them were continuing their traditional occupation in a sophisticated manner like maintaining saloons.

The main factors which bring out change in their traditional occupations were urbanization and industrialization. The populations of these areas were immigrating into the towns for the sake of jobs and their needs by providing job with reasonable remuneration. The people of the present generation are much interesting in non-traditional occupations. They were deviating their traditional occupation due to ill-feeling of their own occupation; desire to achieve high status in the society and to obtain more income from the other occupations. These causes were responsible to leave their traditional occupation.

Chandrasekaran (1992) in her study “Social Mobility among the Madiga of Karnataka”, examines the social mobility both in terms of status and economic position among Madiga community. Changes in the external environment as well as efforts on the part of the Madiga have led to some improvement in their position in society. She also observed that the Madiga have simply bypassed the issue of their collective caste status and have concentrated on their individual class or occupational position.
Saleth (1997) in her article “Occupational Diversification among Rural Groups: A Case Study of Rural Transformation in Tamil Nadu” examines how and why rural transformation has a differential impact on various rural groups in terms of employment and income diversification. She surveyed 218 households in four villages in Tiruchirapalli district of Tamil Nadu. She showed that since the income benefits of rural transformation are related more with asset ownership than with employment shares, employment diversification, though necessary, is not sufficient for income diversification among the rural poor. While occupational diversification does contribute to income stability, its role in income enhancement is severely constrained by lower wage rates in rural occupations where the poor groups participated the most.

Wankhede (1999) in his study entitled “Social Mobility and Scheduled Castes” finds a correlation between education and mobility. Modern education played a crucial role in change although it had generated inequality since it is confined to the upper and middle classes. He also examines the continuation of education for positive change which is crucial and directly linked to occupational mobility. In other words, education becomes a condition to become eligible to avail of the facilities, and a minimum level of education becomes a precondition to get into employment. There was a very high degree of educational and occupational upward mobility and a massive shift from traditional occupations to modern, secular white-collar occupations have been possible through education.

Sharma (1999) conducted a study in village Gamaras in Kanpur city in U.P. and finds out that how the Ahirs of the village leaves their traditional occupation of cowherds because now cattle are kept by all castes, and as Ahirs leave their traditional calling, other castes can acquire these occupations without much difficulty. All the castes are directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture because agriculture is not an occupation of a particular caste. Other traditional castes in villages as Nais and Khati not engaged in their traditional occupations because no much work for them in their parental occupation. Urban contacts open up new occupations to villagers. Villages which are in the vicinity of a city get the opportunity to engage in and develop rural-urban occupations. In these occupations also there is a hierarchy. Most of these occupations require some kind of investment of money. The untouchables are again at a disadvantage because of their poverty. With regard to urban occupations, the people
living in such villages have a double advantage. They have better opportunities for employment and enjoy cheaper living in the village. Yet, the higher or better occupations cannot be acquired without education, and here the higher castes and rich families have an advantage over the untouchables and the poor. The Brahman and Kayastha castes, being traditionally associated with literary pursuits, have an initial advantage. Surplus money plays an important role in mobility toward higher occupations of any kind. It can be invested in purchasing new land, in commerce, or in education. The choice depends ultimately on values and comparative expectations of returns. Now after the abolition of landlordism or zamindari in most of the states, it is not very profitable to invest surplus money in land unless one is interested in doing the cultivation himself. Consequently, the most likely directions of mobility for the families which have any surplus money are into commercial and urban occupations.

Naudet (2008) in his article “Paying back to society: ‘Upward social mobility among Dalits”, told a most salient feature of upwardly mobile dalits in the private sector compared to civil servants and scholars in a strong tendency to hide caste background. The article has shown that caste remains central to the experience of upward social mobility: not only does it compare upwardly by dalits to pay back to society, it also prevents them from being fully recognized by the members of the ‘approached group’. Social mobility along the ladder of professions may not erase the caste, in the eyes of people from ‘upper caste ’but it does, at least, the organized the stratification within the caste group; and in some specific situations or interactions it can also provoke the jealousy or even the subordination of people from so-called higher castes.

Deshpande and Palshikar (2008) in the paper “Occupational Mobility: How Much Does Caste Matter” examine the relationship between caste and occupation in Pune and investigates the patterns of intergenerational occupational mobility across four generations and different caste groups in the city. It finds that while caste is not strongly associated with occupational mobility in general, it is certainly important for upward mobility though the extent of mobility is different among different castes. The authors found that the maratha- kunbis and dalits are the greatest beneficiaries of upward mobility though there is a difference in the mode of their journey. The Backward Classes lag behind these two and some castes among them even show stagnation as far as mobility is concerned.
Palshikar (2008) in his article entitled “Challenges before the Reservation Discourse” writes about that how the tool of removing backwardness (Reservation policy) become a political agenda or political platform. Palshikar further discuss about the Mandal Commission. He says Commission was not responsible for this was that the issues of reservations and identification of the backward classes became a platform for political mobilization. Now the claim of backwardness converted into a political resources rather than a test for receiving the benefits of the reservation policy. The OBCs don’t have any strict socio-historical boundary, while one keep arguing about who had origins in the *shudra varna* traditionally contemporary decisions are made more on the basis of political purpose considerations. This means that inclusion in the OBC category will depend more on the political skills of the leadership.

The experiences of past two decades shows that many groups are included in the OBC category mainly on the basis of their political clout, for example – the Lingayat or Jats. The continuing demand in Maharasthra for inclusion of the entire Maharasthra community (as against the inclusion of only the Kunbi-Marathas are at present) in the OBC category is another instance of the intertwining of state level politics. Thus all these examples shows that as the OBC category keep expending in order to include the regionally upcoming caste groups, smaller castes would want to move out of the OBC umbrella and take refuge under a crowded category of SCs and STs at the state level. This situation calls for a better organization of the group boundaries for purposes of administering social justice policy.

A study of Pande (2009) shows the occupational change among the Padmsalis (weaver caste) of Hyderabad. Padmsalies, who have moved into occupations included under professionals, semi-professionals, business, clerical jobs, skilled jobs. The occupational mobility trends among Padmasalis in the light of the correlation between traditional caste hierarchy and the new western occupational hierarchy, as suggested by Srinivas. It has been found that irrespective of their caste position, Padmasalis in general could move upwardly with regard to their occupational position when compared with their forefathers. As has already been stated, respondents and their sons could move from their caste occupation, i.e., weaving in particular and their parental occupations in general, owing to their educational attainment and migration. As the result of migration, respondents in general have realized the value of education of
modern times. This awareness has been the key factor in understanding the trends of occupational mobility among them.

Karade (2009) in his book entitled “Occupational Mobility Among Scheduled Castes” examine the positive co-relation between education and occupational mobility. He focused on the nature of occupation and factors which are more related to Intergenerational as well as Intra-generational occupational mobility in the society. He found that the members of the Buddhist community are well ahead in securing higher, professional and technical education compared to the other non-Buddhist SC communities. So far intra-generational occupational mobility is concerned; the author rightly observes that the successive generations of the SC communities aspire for still better occupational positions as these impart social prestige along with material empowerment.

Roy (2010) in her paper entitled “Intergenerational Effects on Wider Spread Effects of Reservation Policy”, studied social mobility among the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes of Mayurbhanj district of Orissa state. In her study she found the socio-economic mobility, mobility in education, occupation and spatial mobility due to job reservation. The research shows that job reservation policy helped in the achieving better economic status and higher level of education thereby leading to the upward mobility. There is an upward mobility for some people who had occupational shift after getting government jobs from being an agricultural background when compared between grandparents and respondent’s generation. Occupational changes led by the reservation policy have to direct effects on scheduled castes/scheduled Tribes community. Firstly, breakthrough from traditional occupation which leads to economic gains and secondly changes of place/location from rural to urban setup. The most noticeable impact of reservation policy is the economic benefit which raised the standard of living. Government jobs obtained through reservation policy, helped in creating better avenues for happiness, accumulation of wealth, assets and resources.

Lal (2010), ‘Affirmative Action in India: A Case Study in Kanpur City’, is a study of 104 socially backward (S.C., S.T., O.B.C.) women who are engaged in teaching profession in various educational institutions in Kanpur city and found that there was a strong desire on the part of economically advantaged socially backward women to merge with the forward caste in the society. It was observed that respondents
belonging to both scheduled caste and other backward class category felt that those who are socially backward but economically sound and politically well-connected are getting in benefit of reservation policy there by denying the opportunities to the more deserving candidates. This has caused a major rift between the rich and poor belonging to the same socially backward caste in the society. They blatantly make the politicians responsible for the above situation. Rich people from backward caste have a social and economically advantage over the poor people from the same caste. The other benefit of reservation should go only to the poor among them. The women respondents belonging to other backward class category in particular felt that their ability and talent is undermined because they got their job through reservation policy.

Ray and Majumder (2010), in their study entitled “Educational and Occupational Mobility Across Generations in India: Social and Regional Dimensions”, examined the extent of intergenerational mobility in both educational and occupational attainments for diverse ethnic groups in India to understand the inertia of the prevalent discrimination. The results indicate strong intergenerational stickiness in both educational achievement and occupational distribution among the SCs and STs, who have been discriminated against historically. Further, it was found that occupational mobility is lower that educational mobility, indicating that educational progress is not being transformed into occupational improvement and brings up the possibility of discrimination in the labour market.

Madane (2010) in his study entitled, “A Study of Change in Occupational Patterns of Ramoshi Community”, with special reference of Indapur Taluka of Pune District. The study is about 54 respondents of Ramoshi community from six different villages of Indapur taluka of Pune district. The study shows that there was a trend of change in occupation pattern of Ramoshi community and also slowly sifting to other profession fully or partly. 96 per cent of the respondents were changed their traditional occupation because of got employment, purchase own land or for better income, maximum people changed their occupation for better income. Now most of the people were not liking traditional occupation because of their traditional occupation was the employment of old generation not the present, jobs are their need and changing with new situations or also inadequate income from the traditional occupation. Around 85 per cent people’s two generation are not following ancestral occupation. Among the all
respondents give their opinion is like that change in occupation develop social status. Study shows that the other community people’s reaction is respectfully towards the present occupation of the Ramoshi community which occupation are accepting by Ramoshi community. Study shows that Ramoshi community people’s relation were good with others community people, 74 per cent of the respondents opinion was that, their relation were good with other community members. Now they think that Ramoshi community people’s status was also good in the village, 75 per cent of the respondent’s opinion was that, now their status was good in the village.

In his article, Backward Classes and Social Justice through Reservation, Gopal (2011) observes the problems associated with reservation of Other Backward Castes (OBCs). The planners of modern post-independent India had thought of this massive country to grow into a real socialist, democratic, secular or republic. They gave it one of the best constitutions of the world, which granted all its citizens equality, liberty, freedom and the right to be directed by its own representatives through legislatures duly elected by the electorate on the basis of adult franchise.

In an article, “Marginalization, Reservation, and Social justice: A Study of a Backward Community in Karnataka” Gurulingaiah (2011) examines the struggle of the backward community of Yadavas or Gollas of Karnataka towards social justice through reservation. Though, the Yadava category of castes consists of about one-tenth of the total population in India, in Karnataka, they are 1.5 per cent of the total population of the state. Gollas consist of two main divisions Uru Gollas (living in villages) and Kedu Gollas (living in forests) and they are mainly concentrated in Chitradurga and Tumkur districts. As a marginalized community, Gollas are backward socially, economically, educationally and politically. Generally, they live in small settlements consisting of some 30-40 households. Since these settlements are not in revenue records, the Gollas suffer from basic civic amenities. The Gollas started organizing themselves by forming caste associations in order to overcome their ritual, economic, political and social disabilities and also agitate against inequalities, discrimination and marginalization. This process has led to the social movements. The consciousness among Gollas of Karnataka existed even before independence. However, the systematic organization movement and collective mobilization took place only after independence. The movement for social justice and reservation has brought about far-reaching changes
among Gollas in social, economic and political spheres of life. The author is of the opinion that failure to include them in the ST category has not yielded good result.

Gupta (2012) in her book, "Backward Class Reservation and Concept of Creamy Layer" discuss that among forward society hatredness towards backward classes is ever-increasing day-by-day. Therefore, they are under frustration because of reservation in service and education. A positive effect of reservation on the forward class is: they think that if they want to exist themselves and to remain their dominating position, they have to work hard and consequently potentiality of their intelligentsia is increasing step-by-step. In the society it is found that more than 80per cent among backward classes are in favour of reservation. In my viewpoint three important reasons are stand out in favour of reservation. These are: reservation prevents injustice in services and in admissions; reservation promote social mobility; and reservation guarantees the minimum slice. Opinion on 'Reservation prevents injustice in admission and in service is endorsed by a vast majority. It means reservation policy could be an apparatus for promoting social mobility. Social mobility means that with all limitations, the reservation policy is bound to promote mobility among backward classes. It is panorama of changes in the socio-economic condition, together with higher status that really inspires high hopes and aspirations. A majority of the backward class repose faith in statement. "Reservation guarantees minimum share." Those who raise the issue of minimum share in administration, also feel that reservation is just a drop in the ocean of administration it cannot be a solution to all the ills of the backward classes. Even then without this policy, this minimum share would be a dream. Therefore, it could be said that without reservation the backward classes would not have got what is only a resemblance of justice.

Reservations had certainly helped, at least to a very small number of backward classes, in acquiring political and administrative positions. A small stratum has become middle class, getting disassociated from their traditional castes ties in day-to-day relationships because of their imitation of their lifestyle and values of the established middle class Consequently, the composition of middle class has been widened to some extent during the last five decades, because low castes including Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes must OBCs have entered in it.
Singh (2013) in his study entitled ‘Inclusive Policy of Reservation and Occupational Mobility of Dalits: a study of Jatavs of Munirka village in New Delhi’ shows that the respondents have achieved upward occupational mobility to a greater extent. Their mobility is upward and of a long distance in nature. Thus respondents have an occupational status different from their fathers. Most of the fathers on the other hand, were engaged in lowest and very low level manual, traditional occupation that have low prestige in society. Respondents’ current jobs are not the first jobs. They changed many jobs because jobs were temporary, on leave vacancy, low paid, in private organizations where feeling of job insecurity and social insecurity persists. Moreover, comparing their first jobs with present jobs, it is found that most of them were engaged in low and very low level jobs and majority of them get these jobs under reserved quota. Comparing their first job with the present, most of them climbed up the ladder through, reservations and promotions. These promotions also are based on reservation. Majority of the respondents reported that they suffered from caste discrimination, untouchability, underestimation by their colleagues during their entire occupational span. Concrete incidences of social discrimination like ‘blocking promotions, spoiling of confidential reports, assigning unimportant task and harassments, and undue transfer to remote places etc. have been reported.

All of them acknowledged the positive contribution of reservation policy. However, majority of them reported the improper implementation of the provisions besides being inadequate. However, majority; of them favoured the discontinuance of political reservation for that do not serve the purpose. Further, contribution of reservation policy to improve upon their socio-economic status has been reported to be positive to great extent. Majority of them did not favour discontinuance of the reservation policy or its replacement by economic criteria. The reasons for such views have been given that there is no guarantee of justice if economic criteria are adopted and reservation policy should be continued till the SCs come at par with general people or full justice is done.

So, the conclusion drawn from this study is that there is very high degree of occupational mobility because of reservation policy. Since these modern occupations are considered prestigious compared to traditional ones, it may be assumed that our respondents have achieved upward social mobility.
Kumar et al. (2013) conducted a study to know utilization process of reservation policy among backward class people in Haryana. In his study 305 respondents were selected from the backward communities of Haryana. These respondents were belonged to 17 different communities of backward class, i.e. Varagi, Darzi, Teli, Pal-Gaderia, Zimer, Lohar, Khati, Kamboj, Kumahar, Nai and Garhwali in comparison to Ahir, Gujjar, Saini, Sunar, Labana and Rai Shikh. The study shows that the Ahir, Saini, Gujjar, Sunar, Labana and Rai Shikh have had very cordial and friendly relationship in comparison to other remaining castes, i.e. Varagi, Darzi, Teli, Pal Gaderia, Zimer, Lohar, Nai, Khati, Kamboj, Kumhar and Garhwali caste peoples. It was also found in the study that the Gujjar, Saini, Veragi, Pal Gaderia, Lohar, Khati, Kumhar, Nai, Labana and Rai Shikh castes’ households thought that, “Reservation policy creates a Social Gap between backward castes people and other upper castes” than their counterparts. The benefits of reservation goes to the Ahir, Gujjar, Saini, Sunar, Veragi, Darzi, Pal Gaderia, Lohar, Khati, Kamboj, Kumhar, Rai Shikh and Nai castes in both fields i.e. Govt., Semi Govt. and educational fields. They also find that the main benefits are goes to them who were already on the prime position.

Hnatkovska, Lahiri and Paul (2013) in a paper “Breaking the Caste Barrier: Intergenerational Mobility in India”, using household survey data from successive round of the National Sample survey between 1983 and 2005 and found a significant increase in intergenerational mobility rates of SC/STs towards non-SC/ST. And also observe sharpest changes in intergenerational income mobility has been for middle income households or positive impact of reservation policy also seen their.

Karade (2014), in his study entitled “Occupational Mobility among the Scheduled Castes in Maharashtra”, shows the impact of reservation policy on scheduled caste. For the purpose 186 respondents interviewed and find the majority 95.16 per cent respondents were recruited under reservation policy and the respondent’s occupational position was improved better than their fathers. The majority of respondent’s first children 67.74 per cent were getting education. The data also shows that, the majority 93.0 per cent respondent’s children were not
concerned with the traditional occupation. The occupational mobility among the 186 SC respondents (i.e. Second Generation) shows that, the Horizontal mobility was 14.0 per cent. The ratio of vertical mobility was 86.0 per cent. Out of 160, the upward mobility was 148 (92.5 per cent) and downward mobility was 12 (7.5 per cent). There were two reasons for vertical mobility one was age factor of the respondent, which is between 20-30 and second was, the career of respondent had started recently. The notable point was that, the result of educational achievement of SC respondents was higher than their fathers. The respondents’ fathers’ (First Generation) occupational mobility has also been analyzed, it was observed that the majority 61.3 per cent respondent’s fathers had experienced Horizontal mobility means their occupations were the traditional occupations and 38.7 per cent respondents’ fathers had experienced the upward occupational mobility.

(iii) Backward Castes Politics

Shah (2002) in his study ‘Caste and Democratic Politics’ observed that the caste system is suigeneris of the social structure in the Indian subcontinent in general and of Hindus in particular. In this system group identity supersedes individual identity. The position of Jati and social group to which he or she belongs. The caste system legitimates and perpetuates hierarchy and inequality based on birth. In this context, besides state intervention, struggle of the oppressed have been advocated: there is long history of the struggle of deprived caste for equality.

Jaffrelot (2002) in his book, “India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India”, discusses the rise of the lower castes in north Indian politics and told that in the last decade power gradually transferred from ‘upper caste elites to various subaltern groups’. And also discuss the North Indian politics particularly in context of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in Uttar Pradesh. He calls it the rise of silent revolution. The politicized version of caste and the increased representation of lower castes in the political system is responsible for the democratization of Indian politics.
The upper castes have become certainly weak in politics and administration, but they have occupied key position in the private sector in the wake of globalization and liberalization. The rise to power of the lower caste is not irreversible and linear. Affirmative action is changing the caste composition of political parties and government in favour of the lower castes.

(iv) Social Exclusion and Caste Politics

Kothari (1970) in his book “Caste in Indian politics” offers a theoretical framework to understand the role of caste in the modern democratic political system. He adopted the liberal democratic theoretical approach to study the changing nature of the caste in the age of electoral politics. He observes that the democratic, politics will not operate in the vacuum, but require a social base. In Indian context the caste system filling the gap, i.e. providing the social base to the functioning of the democracy.

In this work there are number of essays on political mobilization of various castes in various states in the country, such as the Nadars in TamilNad, factions between Kammas and Reddies in Andhra Pradesh, the Kashtriya Mahasabha in Gujarat, and other essays. All these essays gave blueprint to think about changing role of the caste in modern politics, but there is a need to give different type of interpretation to the role of caste in politics from contemporary point of view in the changing global situation.

The book brings home the point that the idiom of caste is a part of the grammar of Indian politics. Politicization of caste, however is a phenomenon much older than the political independence the country attained in 1947. Pre-independence politics of caste was characterized more by its inner direction efforts to foster unity, to organize the membership for social and religious reform and to improve economic well-being were the key forte of caste politics of the period. Inter-caste rivalries however did figure in the wake of self-enhancement exercises on the part of the lowly placed castes. The granting of franchise by the British emphasized the arithmetic of votes and resulted in demand for separate electorates as if to retort the high caste Hindus.
In the post-Independence era, with the enlargement of the scope of political participation, several new patterns have emerged as caste organizations became broader both in terms of inclusion of more castes of identical rank and in terms of larger territorial coverage. The various political parties also engaged themselves in the process of mass mobilization and thus utilized local caste demography to get more or to divide votes. Need for inter-caste support is increasingly felt and intra-caste factions are now getting linked with intra-party factions, as also with different political parties. Use of caste idiom in politics is in a way becoming an instrument to reduce its monopolistic influence. Kothari considers the more useful point of departure for his studies to be: “what form is caste taking under the impact of modern politics, and what form is politics taking in a caste-oriented society”?

Coming back to Kothari’s view of interaction between caste and politics, “the most important achievements in this area are the case studies of the formation of caste associations and caste federations, the role of caste associations in mobilizing mass support for political movements and the participation of caste groups into politics for purposes of social mobility, economic well-being and political articulation”.

Kothari has analyzed role of caste in state politics. State politics in India has been particularly the hot bed of political casteism. Politics in Bihar has been mostly organized on the basis of caste. If the parties based on caste lines it does not mean that the members entirely are motivated on only caste considerations. There may be other caste people in the organizations. So basically the general interest of caste comes into consideration. Caste gets politicized and becomes a means in the elite politics of securing or retaining power. Almost all the top leaders in Bihar congress party are associated with their respective caste associations The main castes which dominate politics of Bihar includes Brahmins, Bhumihars, Rajputs, Kayasthas and Backward castes. In the pursuit of power, various caste groups strike alliance between themselves, not with enduring support but with temporary and transient alliances.
Hasan (2009) in her book, 'Politics of Inclusion, writes that, rapid economic change and social change in the past fifteen years— with economic modernization and affirmative action programmes are benefiting significant sections of backward castes.

(v) Social Movements and Backward Classes

"Social Movements and Social Transformation: A study of two Backward Classes Movements" is a significant work of Rao (1979) who studied two backward castes movements such as Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement (SNDP) movement in Kerala and Yadava movement in Bihar in particular and north India in general. He studied these two movements from the theory of relative deprivation point of view. He maintains that organization; ideology; collective mobilization and leadership are the essential elements of any movement. He also assessed the nature of social change among the Ezhavas of Kerala and Yadavas of Bihar due to social mobilization. These two communities are highly successful in terms of education, employment, economy, politics and culture in the post-independent period.

In his work “Social Change in India” Kuppuswamy (1990) studied the tensions between higher and lower castes in Madras state. He holds that oppression and discrimination of higher castes on lower castes are the basic causes for inter caste tensions. He classified these caste tensions into two types, i.e., Brahmins and non-brahmins, and caste Hindus and Harijans. Basically the non-Brahmin movement was based on two demands. This is in respect to reservation in admissions to colleges and in the recruitment to government jobs. They demanded that the seats be reserved on the basis of population. Due to the low population percentage of the Brahmins, the situation did not turn violent.

He had also analyzed the caste tensions between the scheduled castes and caste Hindus. The main reason being that untouchables putting forth their claims to right to walk in the streets, to draw water for the common wells, to enter into the temples for offering prayers and soon. These demands led to conflict which in turn took the form of violence, rioting and arson. He cites an example of the Ramnand
district in Madras state in 1930, where the Kallars wanted to prohibit harijans wearing gold and silver ornaments, good clothes and women using flowers. They wanted to prohibit the harijans from cooking their food in metal vessels. On the other hand harijans with a new awareness of their rights refused to put up with these pressures of the caste Hindus.

**Summary:** The review of above studies show that the studies done by various scholars throw light on the situation of backward classes, problems of their identification, occupational mobility, political mobilization and their social movements. First part of this chapter deals with affirmative action approach. Empirical studies and theoretical approaches of the following scholars; Singh: 1996, Singh and Bal: 1996, Prasad: 1997, Rath: 2002, Seth: 2004, Sowell: 2005, Sharma: 2005, and Sekhri: 2011 help us to understand the socio-economic conditions of different backward classes and tells about the problems of identification of these communities. These studies tells about the coming changes among different underprivileged groups due to affirmative action. The study of Thomas Sowell also helpful to understand the affirmative action in the global scenario.


Third part deals with the studies regarding backward castes politics. Studies of the following scholars are summarized here, Shah: 2002 and Jaffrelot: 2002. Shah and Jaffrelot emphasis the role of caste in politics and rise of backward castes
in political scenario of North India. Fourth section contains the studies regarding social exclusion and caste politics. In the fourth part studies on social exclusion and caste politics of the scholars like Kothari: 1970, shows the role of different caste groups in electoral politics. He presents a blueprint to think about changing role of the caste in politics from contemporary point of view in the changing global situation. Hasan: 2009, shows the coming changes due to affirmative action programs. Last part deals with the studies on social movements and backward classes. Study of Rao: 1979, of two backward classes movement on SNDP movement and Yadava movement in context of relative deprivation and the success story in terms of education, employment, economic, politics and culture. Study of Kuppuswamy: 1990, about the inter-caste tension between higher and lower castes in Madras state regarding untouchability of the lower castes.