Chapter-1

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INTRODUCTION

The policy of affirmative action was designed to uplift the weaker sections, socially and educationally through providing them reservation in civil posts and services. “The founding fathers of our constitution desired to secure justice, social, economic, and political for all citizens. They realized that the inequitable forces embedded in the socio-economic system and also political organizations, had resulted in deprivation and disadvantages for the poor and the weaker sections of the society. They, therefore, considered it necessary to provide specific safeguards in the constitution for the deprived sections of the society. The various safeguards and protective measures sought to ensure for them all round development and freedom from exploitation and social injustice so that they could form part of the mainstream of the society”.

Article 46 of the Constitution of India provides that “the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation”. The policy of reservation forms the central part of the social justice dispensation of the constitution. Reservation is meant to compensate for the unprecedented discrimination perpetrated against them from antiquity thereby empowering and integrating them with the mainstream society.

The policy of reservation of jobs is a measure by which the weaker sections are enabled to make use of the available employment opportunities to further accelerate the pace of socio-economic progress. Indian state has adopted social justice as its goal in post-independence period. Social justice supports the socio-economic mobility of SC/STs and OBCs by making the policy of protective discrimination or it is also called as policy of protective discrimination or it is also called as policy of reservation. The emergence of middle class is the result of reservation policy particularly in the last decades.

No doubt the OBCs have experienced the social mobility particularly in the occupational structure in comparison to previous generation. In reality, this mobility is the result of the reservation policy which in turn reflects the development of the community.
Section-I

Social Mobility

Social mobility is defined as the movement of individuals or groups in social status or in social position. It pertains to classes, ethnic groups, or entire nations, communities, caste groups and may measure health status, literacy, education or occupation - but more commonly it refers to individuals or families, and their change in income. It also defined as vertical mobility - movement of individuals or groups or community up (or down) from one socio-economic level to another, often by changing jobs or marriage or occupation; but can also refer to horizontal mobility - movement from one position to another within the same social position.

Social mobility can be the change in status between someone (or a group) and their parents/previous family generations ("inter-generational"); or over the change during one's lifetime ("intra-generational"). Giddens (2006) has talked about the absolute and relative mobility. Absolute mobility is total amount of movement of people between classes, usually over one generation (such as when education and economic development raises the socio-economic level of a population). Relative movement is a chance of upward (or downward) social mobility of a member of one social class in comparison with a member from another class. It is often confined as a sign of greater fairness, or equality of opportunity or more of a just society.

In all mobility embodies economic capital, cultural capital, human capital, social capital, physical capital and symbolic capital. Cultural capital is related with higher education, human capital with and effort with labour, social capital with support with social network, physical capital with ownership with tools and means of production, symbolic capital with status, class celebrity and official title. Although wealth and power traditionally have been important dimensions of social stratification, in the modern world two other attributes have come to assume a central role: how much education people attain, and the kind of work they do, their occupations. Indeed wealth and power have come to be dependent on education and occupational positions (Teriman: 2001).
Type of Social Mobility:

There are two ways by which the process of social mobility may be understood
and analyzed. The first is to examine the process of mobility between generations and
the second is in terms of direction of mobility. Most of the sociologists discussed
mobility between generations as Inter (outside) and Intra (inside) generational mobility.

Inter- and Intra-generational Mobility:

Intra-generational mobility means it is a change in social status of individual or
group over a single life-time. Inter-generational mobility refers to mobility across
generation and it is a change in social status that occurs from the father or mother to the
children’s generation.

We can measure the Inter-generational mobility in terms of inter-generational
elasticity between mother and father and children’s economic position. In all the
societies everyone have their role and importance. Some societies are based on achieved
and some are based on ascribed status but mobility plays a major role in the life of a
person. Thus some societies are more flexible and some are less, regarding events of
social mobility.

Vertical Mobility and Horizontal Mobility:

Mobility is the movement of individuals and groups up or down in the socio-
economic ladder. The people/group who gets more property, income, status, and
position are regarded as upwardly mobile, while those who move down or in opposite
direction calls downward mobile. The type of movement which best functions as an
indicator of social development is vertical mobility, which refers to the progress of an
individual (or of a group) from one social level to another (Pastore: 1982). The study of
vertical mobility relates the individual’s present social position to that of the past,
seeking to find out how individuals distribute themselves through time and the various
levels of social structure, and how great are the influences of social inheritance,
individual resources, and the socio-economic opportunities offered by the society in that
period of time. Other than this, the study of mobility seeks to examine the impact of
individual and group movement upon the social structure itself, paying special attention
to the question of the decline and growth of the different social layers (Goldhamer:1968).

The movement of people or individuals and groups in same socio-economic positions, which may be in different work positions, is called horizontal mobility. This may in turn involve change in occupation or may remain in the same occupation but in a different organization or group, or may be in the same organization but at a different geographical location (Giddens: 2006).

**Upward Mobility and Downward Mobility:**

When a person's social status results in rising to a higher social position in the status system is upward social mobility. Downward mobility means a person's social status falls or decreases to a lower position in their status position. Upward and downward social mobility are not in direct correlation with higher education. In a society where merit-based higher education system is present it offset the role of social class in determining economic outcomes. Post-secondary schooling is a scanner or filter that keeps parents' economic position from transforming straight through to their children, thus simultaneously it promotes economic efficiency, social justice, and social mobility in the society.

**Opportunities and Social Mobility:**

Nowadays, there are many chances to mobilize a person, because the constitution of India gives equal rights to all. Now occupations are not bounded with castes. The new occupations are based on educational qualification. In the independent India, the emergence of labour as a free commodity has affected the occupational structure, now they are free to sell their labour in the market. Now there are many new institution and they are generating new opportunity of employment. The growth in the number and variety of activities has significance for economic development and consequential social phenomena.

The growth in the number of persons employed in different activities indicates the spread of the new occupational relationships and the new social order. But what is more important is the acceptance and approval of the new occupational relationships by practically the whole population in preference to the old occupational relationships.
Even the illiterate member of the lower most caste in the remotest village in India desires this new type of occupational relationship. In this sense the occupational change is nearly complete. It is much wider than the statistics regarding occupational change based on the change in the activities of individuals to earn their livelihood show. It must also be noted that this change has not come suddenly. Even as late as the early years of the 20th century, service was the last in the scale of preference of occupations. Agriculture was considered the best occupation and business was the second. Therefore, this phenomenon of change in the occupational relationship needs to become the center of attention of the sociological analysis. The new employee is just not an unskilled or a skilled manual earner. He is a new person. The newness about him is that he has a wider social space in his search for earning his livelihood. He is the person who has been freed from the restrictive relationships and valuations of the old society. He does not like domestic work. He prefers to be a peon who might have less than the domestic worker. A peon's duties are specified, during fixed hours on a fixed number of days, on a fixed scale of pay. These aspirations and evaluations and the outlook are dysfunctional to the old feudal society and they are functional to the capitalist society. Urban areas began to be characterized by the new occupational relationships. This changed the character of the urban areas of the old feudal society and created new problems characteristic of the new capitalist society, e.g., anonymity, employer-employee relationship, housing, health, etc. This growth and spread of urban areas was made possible by the physical movement of human beings, which was facilitated by the developments in transport and communications. That established the link between the urban and the rural with all its implications.

Migration of people from villages and towns to cities makes it almost inevitable that they follow occupational careers different from that of their parents. Even for the families living in cities for two or more generations, the deviation from parental occupation is a normal feature. The cause on behind migration is directly linked with the notion of purity and pollution or the worse condition of employment for the dalits and other deprived sections of the people of rural India. They feel more insecure and there is rising incidence of migration to cities in search of job and a new identity.

All members of the society have different roles for the smooth functioning of the society or social system. For this purpose a society may be viewed as an array of roles,
organized into binary relationships or into larger groups and institutions. Each role tends to be characterized by certain levels of skill, of control over resources, of social standing, and so forth. Certain sets of roles may also become organized into occupational groups, say professional associations or trade unions, and other sets may be categorized by the members of the society into distinctive strata say “mazdoors” or “sahibs” or “black coated workers”. Occupational groups and social strata tend to share several sorts of interests and are likely to try to protect these for their members and sometimes for their children (Saberwal: 1976).

Old roles may lapse, new ones may arise. The textures of their inter­relationships are changing. Administrative, political, or revolutionary fiat may abolish old institutions, establish new ones. The skills, the resources, and the social standing associated with particular roles may change. The occupational groups and the strata in a society may undergo rearrangements. Mobility and decline affect individuals, but these do so over time; and meanwhile the society wherein these occur is itself changing in myriad ways (Saberwal: 1976).

The combined effect of all the occupational change was the creation of differentiations within the social groups of the old society in urban areas and rural areas. It changed the old relations between those groups. That change in the old relationship also struck at the division of labour based on sex and at the old stratificatory system by striking at the occupational relationship based on caste, family and village community (Desai: 1971).

All these structural changes threw up individuals who would utilize the opportunity to move in wider social and geographical space. That gave rise to the phenomenon of social mobility, which characterizes the capitalist society as distinguished from the moribund feudal society of the past.

Factors of Social Mobility:

Individual or group social mobility of one status to another can take place because of certain factors or combination of certain factors. These are as follows:

Motivation – each individual have their desire to improve their social status. In a open system it not too hard to get any status. The openness facilitates people to put
their work hard and enhance their skills and knowledge for achieving higher status. Without motivation the individual and group social mobility is not possible.

There can be achievements and failures in the process of social mobility. Achievement means extra ordinary, usually unexpected performance, which invite the attention of a wider public to the abilities of a person. All achievements will not necessarily result in social mobility. Only remarkable achievements affect status. A poor man who has acquired wealth or an unknown writer who has won a literary prize will improve his status is an example. Not successful, failures and misdeeds results in downward mobility. A person who failed in any field always removed from the list successors. He is declined by the society because of his failures.

Education – education helps individual to acquire knowledge and it is a passport for upgrade occupational position. To become a doctor or engineer need of a special education and not necessary to take birth in a specific community. In the modern society in which status can be achieved, education is basic requirement.

Skills and Training – each society makes provision to import skill and training to the younger generation. To acquire training and skills one has to spent time as well as money. Society gave them higher social status as well as economic rewards. Thus skill and training facilitate in improvement of the position, this leading the social mobility.

Migration – migration also promotes social mobility. Peoples migrate from one place to another due to pull or push factors. Due to lack of opportunities on a particular place are forcibly pushed to another place and facilities and employment opportunities pulls peoples in other areas. People migrate from villages to urban areas because cities have institutions of higher education and there are more opportunities for jobs than the villages. Peoples come to cities to acquire education, skills and occupy higher position than their parents and brothers who continue to live in villages. Thus we can say that both push and pull factors lead to migration which promotes social mobility.

Industrialization – Industrial revolution ushered in a new social system in people are given status according to their ability and knowledge. No concessions are given to members of a particular caste, creed, race, ethnicity and religion. It is the result of industrialization that production on a mass level and this destroys the local or home based industrial production by the artisans. Due to the result of industrialization they
migrates to urban centers in search of work. Thus industrialization facilitates social mobility.

Urbanization – in the urban areas there are more people lives with formal relations. People do not know each other intimately. Urban centers are marked by anonymity. Urban centers provide secrecy to its resident about their caste or their background. An individual position is largely depends upon their education, occupation, income and status rather than their background. Thus urbanization facilitates social mobility by removing those factors hinder social mobility.

Legislation – the enactments of new legislation also provides chances of social mobility. In India there legislation of reservation for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled tribes and Other Backward Classes, which provides them chance to get job.

Politicization – politicization also helpful in social mobility. To achieve their rights peoples unites and force the authority in poor to accept their demands and the political parties to get vote provides many concession to them. With the help of these new concessions and provisions, they improve their social status. Now with their awareness they send their representatives in assembly and parliament.

Modernization – the process of modernization involves use of scientific knowledge and modern technology. With the improvement of technology, people engaged in occupations of low esteem like scavengers reject their traditional occupations and take up occupations which are not dirty and have no polluting effects. Thus modernization facilitates social mobility.

Now we can say that all these factors like Motivation, government provision, sanskritization, westernization, modernization, politicization, urbanization and industrialization are great agent of social change.

Caste and class in Indian Society:

The caste is an ascriptive system and class is based on achievement principle. The caste is a closed system and it would not allow the upward or downward mobility in our social structure. Whereas, the class is an open system, a western concept and it allows the members of the society experience upward or downward mobility. It depends on the performance of the individuals in their respective society. Most of the
social scientists prefer to study the Indian society through the caste structure and the western society through the class model of the respective country.

Class in India has existed along with caste and power. Caste incorporates class and class incorporates caste in the Indian context. Neither the “caste alone” view nor the “class alone” perspective will help in a proper and fuller understanding of Indian society. It has been noted by Burton Stein and K. M. Panikkar that there was never a perfect congruence between caste, class and power. Mobility and migration were quite normal activities in ancient and medieval India. However, Bailey, Beteille and Bhatt give the impression that a congruence prevailed between caste, class and power in pre-independent India. Land reforms and politicization brought about incongruities and “caste free” areas (Sharma: 1984).

As we well known in sociology, ‘class’ is an open category while ‘caste’ is a closed category, that is to say that while the class status of an individual may vary during his lifetime, caste status, and attribute of birth, will not change. So, caste and class both are parallel existing in Indian society.

Caste and Social Mobility:

When we speak of caste and social mobility, we are basically dealing with the processes of social change in Indian society. Social change is ubiquitous and no society is left untouched by its forces. The sociological studies in India indicated various types of social mobility, upward and attaining of higher status by backward castes, at the level of the individual, the caste, the community, and the family, and the other relevant levels. Sociological analysis suggests that factors which brought the mobility among various strata of society like, the government and non-governmental institutions, programmes, schemes, constitutional safeguards, education, new technology, agricultural development, communication revolution and the other schemes especially for the development of the backward communities. Outside interventions including leadership can achieve but little in terms of political mobilization.

Present Indian society is in transition. Every aspect of its life and organization is undergoing change. Nowhere is this change so prominent perhaps, as in the pattern of stratification and differentiation. In the place of a relatively 'closed system' of stratification based on birth and kinship, we are now witnessing the emergence of
relatively 'open-system' based on merit, and achievement. Likewise, the traditional pattern of differentiation, rooted in heredity and family, is being replaced by a new pattern based on competition and specialization of functions, which have thrown up modern occupations and professions (Dubey: 1975).

The close association between caste and traditional occupation is breaking down because of the expansion of modern education and the urban industrial sector. In India, an urban middle class has formed whose members are drawn from various caste groups. This has reduced the structural and cultural differences between castes, as divisions based on income, education and occupation become more important than caste cleavages for social and economic purposes. The reduction, however, is most pronounced among the upper socio-economic strata-the urban, western educated, professional and higher income groups whose members share a common life style (Beteille:1969).

There is ubiquity of social inequality in the society on the basis of caste, class, race, and ethnicity. This inequality in turn results into the unequal opportunities to move forward. Therefore, the efforts are made for beginning the underprivileged masses into mainstream. Following are the provisions towards equality.

(a) Affirmative Action
(b) Reservation Policy: Mainstreaming Society

Section-II

Towards equal opportunity:

(a) Affirmative Action

The term affirmative action has been used in the United States since the late 1960s to refer to policies that go beyond the simple prohibition of discrimination on grounds of race, national origin, and sex in employment practices and educational programs. These policies require some further action, "affirmative action," to make jobs and promotions and admissions to educational programs available to individuals from groups that have historically suffered from discrimination in gaining these opportunities or are, whether discriminated against or not by formal policies and
informal practices, infrequently found in certain occupations or educational institutions
and programs. "Affirmative action" is action taken to increase the representation of
women and minorities in areas of employment, education, and business from which
they have been historically excluded (Glazer: 2000).

Origin of Affirmative Action

President John F. Kennedy of US in the year 1961 first used this term
affirmative action and aimed to create equality opportunity for all Americans and to end
discrimination against African Americans. Affirmative actions provided preferences in
selection process to the members of the underrepresented groups. Preferences could be
like giving extra weight while selecting candidate or certain number of reserved posts or
seats to be filled by the members from the underrepresented groups. The ultimate aim
is to reduce their under-representation (Weisskopf: 2004).

The reservation or quota system was introduced in Malta before it was even
mentioned in India. Yugoslavia had five nationalities and six linguistic groups. Power
had to be shared and a kind of quota system was established to keep the country united.
Americans, whether they admit it or not, were influenced by the Indian experiment and
‘Affirmative Action’ was introduced in the 1960s with a view to giving a share to the
discrimination – African- Americans, native American and other ethnic minorities.
Other countries of Europe and America including Great Britain are now thinking along
the lines of some reservation or affirmative action for ethnic and minorities who are
victims of discrimination by the dominating groups (Das: 2000).

Affirmative action and discriminatory measures are complex and controversial
issues. The purpose of affirmative action is to speed up the establishment of a
representative and unprejudiced workforce in addition to assist those who were in the
past deprived by unfair discrimination to fulfill their highest potential. The main
intention behind the reservation policy is social justice. Reservation is one of the
affirmative action policy measures in India.

Purpose of Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is an attempt to promote equal opportunity. It is often
instituted in government and educational settings to ensure that minority groups within
A society are included in all programs. The justification for affirmative action is to compensate for past discrimination, persecution or exploitation by the ruling class of a culture, or to address existing discrimination.

Affirmative action in the west is that this programme is often described as a form of "Compensation for past Injuries". The application of the principles of compensatory justice, however, raised two related questions, 'who is to be compensated?' and ‘who is to pay for the compensation?’ (George: 1998). While assessing the programme of positive discrimination, Beteille devices a new concept; namely, equality of life chances (Beteille: 1998).

**Affirmative Action: An Approach for Socio-economic Mobility**

Affirmative Action is an approach to upliftment of those communities or groups of peoples whose members are historically deprived and disadvantaged for a long time and disproportionately under representation in upper socio-economic strata of the society. It means they have little or no means of subsistence, no representation in power structure and hence lag behind in social esteem. Four major countries like U.S.A, India, South Africa, and Malaysia adopted Affirmative Action programmes to reduce the existing inequality and disparity on the basis of race, ethnicity or caste. Affirmative Action has aim to create equal opportunity to all in the selection process of Jobs, admissions etc. The ultimate aim of Affirmative Action is reduce their under representation.

In India reservation policy under the affirmative programmes targets at drastically altering this external reality by improving their economic condition, giving them greater share in power and thereby enhancing their social status. In this way the social rejects are made social acceptable and are further encouraged to integrate progressively with the mainstream society.

Affirmative action programme in Indian context is to be viewed as a compelling liberal response to the deprivations of adequate opportunities and the consequent failure to have decent human existence by large "sections of underprivileged population due to their victimization by a long history of repression, discrimination, and marginalization. Special privileges were essential for retrieving them from deep sense of injustice, prejudice, and existential marginality, and enabling them for decent human
existence. The Indian Constitution, notwithstanding its liberal framework, with the provisions of affirmative action programme in specific historical context represented a significant deviation from the then prevalent mainstream liberal philosophy. Affirmative concessions in association with democratic egalitarianism in one way undermined and delegitimized some of the open and overt forms of unequal privileges based on caste. The underlying rationale offered in support of affirmative action in India is primarily based on “backward-looking” argument, (i.e., reparations based) that focused predominantly on historic or past injustice (Mohanty: 2007).

Affirmative action in India in modern times can be traced to the beginning of the 20th century. In India Constitution of 1950 is the foundational document for the Affirmative Action policies followed by the Indian Government in the 2nd half of the 20th Century. Reservation is a type of affirmative action whereby a proportion of seats are set aside for the previously disadvantaged. Reservations take place in the “Parliament of India, state legislative assemblies, central and state civil services, public sector units, central and state government departments and all public and private educational institutions”. According to the Indian Constitution the exception lays in the minority and religious educational institutions for the OBC’s, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe.

The spirit of equality pervades the provisions of the Constitution of India, as the main aim of the founders of the constitution was to create an egalitarian society wherein social, economic and political justice prevailed and equality of status and opportunity are made available to all.

The last detailed caste enumeration was undertaken by the colonial administration in 1941. These data were only partially tabulated due to the World War and the political unrest of the last few years of British rule. Most social historians therefore, resort to the more complete data from 1931. The 1931 data provide a detailed district-level enumeration of caste that could potentially be used to link the numbers in groups or ‘jatis’ that are now classified as OBCs to educational outcomes from the time. For rural districts which have had relatively slow changes in social composition, historical caste shares could also be analyzed together with social and economic indicators that are available at the district level for later years. Districts with large shares of groups that are now classified as OBCs had systematically different rates of
literacy and educational attainment than areas with concentrations of other categories. These historical data are currently unexploited and their study could provide valuable insight into the historical, and perhaps the contemporary, position of groups that are now classified as the backward classes (Somanathan: 2006).

The policy of reservation is acting as a tool in developing the Backward Classes, Most Backward Classes and Denotified Communities at par with other Communities in the society in their social, educational and economical status.

(b) Reservation Policy: Mainstreaming Society

Reservation is a term under the ‘Protective Discrimination’. The main reason behind protective discrimination is to provide the necessary facilities to the deprived sections and to bring them to the mainstream society. One of the main concerns of the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution was to create an egalitarian society wherein ‘justice, social, economic and political’ prevails and ‘equality of status and of opportunity’ are made available to all. It is not therefore, surprising to find the spirit of ‘equality’ pervading the provisions of the Constitution. But because of historically reasons certain classes of Indian citizens were known to be suffering from several social and economic disabilities and as they could not effectively enjoy either equality of status or of opportunity, it was thought prudent that for such period as they will catch up with the rest of the society, the Constitution itself should provide for special treatment for certain purposes (Agarwal: 1972).

The reservation policy was introduced with a view to achieving equal social status to a section of population which has been oppressed, exploited and socially degraded to a large extent for centuries together. Reservation as a whole is a growth facilitator. Beteille (1992) also believed that protective discrimination can and should seek to satisfy present needs; it can do nothing to repair past injuries.

Reservation in favour of Backward Classes (BC’s) was long introduced before Independence in a large area, comprising the Presidency Areas and the Princely States of the South of the Vindhyas. Chatrapati Sahu Ji Maharaj, Maharaja of Kolhapur in Maharashtra introduced Reservation in favour of Backward Classes as early as 1902 to eradicate poverty from amongst them and to give them their due share in the State Administration. The notification of 1902 created 50 percent reservation in services for
backward classes or communities in the State of Kolhapur. This notification is the first
government order providing for reservation for the welfare of depressed classes in
India. Reservation was originally provided for the SCs and STs and it was extended to
the Other Backward Classes at the national level in 1993 (Annual Report of NCBC:

The goal of Indian society is to secure social justice to all the citizens of India.
The Constitution, therefore, enshrines, in spirit and in perspectives, the achievement of
this objective. The main ingredient of social justice being considered to be the
achievement of equality of opportunity to all, the lowest castes did enjoy through the
provisions of the constitution a new equality in the eyes of the law and had access to it.
Reservation is considered as a capacity building among the weaker section of society.
It is based on the principle of distributive justice and compensation for inherited
inequality of opportunity.

In the last several decades, the commitment to equality has been repeatedly
expressed in public life; politicians, judges, civil servants, lawyers, religious leaders,
journalists, scholars and social workers have all spoken in one voice in its favour. It
may safely be said that in India today, everyone is prepared to speak publicly in support
of equality, but none is in support of hierarchy or inequality (Beteille: 1991).

Reservation in Indian law is a form of affirmative action whereby a percentage
of seats are reserved in the public sector units, union and state civil services, union and
state government departments and in all public and private educational institutions,
except in the religious/linguistic minority educational institutions, for the socially and
educationally Backward Classes of citizens or the Scheduled Castes and Tribes who
were inadequately represented in services and institutions.

Thus, concept of reservation is not new and in this stream the Supreme Court
examined the scope and extent of Article 16(4) in detail and clarified various aspects on
which there were differences of opinion in various earlier judgments. The majority
opinion of Supreme Court on various aspects of reservation provided in Article 16 (4)
may be summarized as follows:-

A. Backward Classes of citizens in Article 16 (4) can be identified on the
basis of caste and not only on economic basis.
B. Article 16 (4) is not an exception to Article 16 (1). It is an instance of classification. Reservation can be made under Article 16 (1).
C. Backward Classes in Article 16 (4) are not similar to as socially and educationally backward in Article 15 (4).
D. Creamy layer must be excluded from backward classes.
E. Article 16 (4) permits classification of backward classes into backward and more backward classes.
F. A backward class of citizens can’t be identified only and exclusively with reference to economic criteria.
G. Reservation shall not exceed 50 per cent.
H. Reservation can be made by ‘Executive order’;
I. No reservation in promotions.
J. Permanent Statutory body to examine complaints of over – inclusion/under inclusion.
K. Disputes regarding new criteria can be raised only in the Supreme Court.

Thus, there is a legal obligation to keep the reservation below 50 per cent under Article 15 (4) and 16 (4) of the Constitution. The Commission of Backward Class recommends a reservation of 27 per cent for OBC’s. The reservation should apply to all Government Services as well as technical and professional institutions both at Center and in the State. Special education facilities should be given to Other Backward Classes. Special emphasis should be placed on vocational training and separate coaching facilities should be provided in technical and professional institutions to the other backward class students. Thus reservation is a step to removing backwardness in other backward classes (Panday: 2004).

Figure-1 shows the estimated population of various communities and their percentage of reservation:- (www.bookrags.com)
**NFHS Survey estimated only Hindu OBC population. Total Other Backward Classes population derived by assuming Muslim Other Backward Classes population in same ratio as Hindu OBC population.

The population of OBCs which includes both Hindus and non-Hindus is around fifty two per cent of the total population according to the Mandal Commission. However, this finding was criticized as based on "fictitious data". The National Sample Survey puts the figure at thirty two per cent. There is substantial debate over the exact number of OBC's in India, with Census data compromised by partisan politics. It is generally estimated to be sizable, but lower than the figures quoted by either the Mandal Commission or and National Sample Survey. Twenty seven per cent of reservation was recommended owing to the legal constraint that the total quantum of reservation should not exceed fifty per cent. States which have already introduced reservation for OBC exceeding twenty seven per cent will not be affected by this recommendation. With this general recommendation the commission proposed the following over-all scheme of reservation for OBC (www.bookrags.com).
Reservation and Creamy Layer:
There is elite within backward classes. This group has benefited from past system of reservation. The "creamy layer" refers to the emergence of an economically well-off group within castes whose average member is worse-off relative to the rest of the population. They have been enjoying all social and political opportunities and leave the majority still deprived. There is no concrete method to stop these elite to take advantage of reservation policy. ‘Creamy layer’ principle is one of the parameters to identify backward classes. Therefore, principally the "Creamy layer" principle can’t be applied to STs and SCs, as SCs and STs are separate classes by themselves.

The ‘creamy layer’ is a term used in Indian politics to refer to the relatively wealthier and better educated members of the Other Backward Classes (OBCs) who are not eligible for government sponsored educational and professional benefit programs. The term was introduced by the Sattanathan Commission in 1971, which directed that the "creamy layer" should be excluded from the reservations (quotas) of civil posts and services granted to the OBCs.

It is a term originally used for the people who are relatively advanced socio-economically among Other Backward Classes. The practical significance of the creamy layer is that this section of the Other Backward Classes is excluded from the benefits of the reservation policy in the Central Government jobs. Dictionary definition of creamy layer is the wealthiest citizens of the lowest castes. This term has come about because of discussions about assigning quotas, or reservations for certain jobs to guarantee that they are given to individuals in groups that have been historically or traditionally discriminated against (Ambedkar: 2008).

The term ‘Creamy layer’ was first used in 1992 Supreme Court judgment, in the case of Indira Sawhney V/s the Union of India, better known as the Mandal case. The case was fisted in 1990 against the V.P. Singh Government’s decision to implement the Mandal Commission report and provide reservation for Other Backward Classes. The legality of the decision was being challenged. In its order, the Supreme Court directed the Government to exclude the creamy layer and said that it should within four months, draw up the relevant socio-economic criteria on the basis of which socially advanced persons/sections (creamy layer) amongst Other Backward Classes could be identified. The stated intent of the creamy layer principle was to ensure that the reservation
benefited those who were needy among the Other Backward Classes, as there were varied levels of socio-economic and educational backwardness even within the Other Backward Classes (Ambedkar: 2008).

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. The criterion of creamy layer amongst OBC’s is revised from time to time as per the formula. Under the criterion of profession, the children of Constitutional Heads including President, Judges of Supreme Court and High Courts and UPSC Members, group A and B or Class 1st and 2nd Officers who are direct recruits to the All India Central and State Services and children of public sector employees are identified as comprising the creamy layer. The children of Armed Forces and Paramilitary personnel, who are of the rank of Colonel, are also excluded from the reservation benefits (Ambedkar: 2008).

Others in the creamy layer are children of professionals like doctors, lawyers, charted accountants, income tax consultants, financial or management consultants, dental surgeons, engineers, architects, computer specialists, film artists, and other film professionals, author, playwright, sports professionals, media professionals or other vocations of similar status. The creamy layer also includes children of persons engaged in trade or business and children of persons of parents owning specific amounts of land of specify quality (the extent of irrigated land, etc). The children of all Other Backward Classes persons who have a gross annual income of Rs.4.5 Lakh and above, or those who have wealth above the exemption limit as laid down in the wealth act, for a period of three consecutive years are treated as belonging to the creamy layer (Ambedkar: 2008).

The idea of socially advanced persons/sections popularly known as creamy layer, can conceptually arise only in respect of castes/communities identified on the basis of social backwardness, viz, the socially and educationally backward classes, (SEBCs) better known as Other Backward Classes (Ambedkar: 2008).
In the last quarter of the 19th century and early 20th century different terms were conceptualized for the backward classes. In south India, the non-Brahmin terms included all the castes other than Brahmins. In Maharashtra, the terms 'Shudra' and lower castes' were popular. In 1909, the Maharaja of Baroda coined the term 'untouchables' for the 'depressed castes'. Mahatma Gandhi used 'Harijan' and 'Adivasis' for them. Ambedkar regarded 'depressed castes' as a derogatory term and advocated the term 'non-caste Hindu'. In the Government of India Act of 1935, the term 'Scheduled Castes' was used for untouchables and 'Scheduled Tribes' or tribals.

In the 19th century Maharashtra, Poona and Kolhapur provided leadership to the emergence of backward castes movement in India. One of the first-products of Christian missionary education was Jothiba Phule of Poona who belonged to the Shudra caste of Gardner. Phule (1827-1890) is acknowledged as the father of the non-Brahmin movement in India. He wrote several books for the material and spiritual improvement of the lower classes in Marathi. He made the first efforts to assist the low castes.

Social Movement are an essential part of societies. While in some societies they are more pronounced and apparent, in others they are latent. A social movement may be considered to be an organized attempt on the part of a section of society to bring about either partial or total change in society through collective mobilization based on an ideology. Higher castes dominated the traditional Indian society. Backward classes tried to achieve socio-economic and political power in the democratic set up. For many sociologists the structural basis of social movements lie in 'discontent' arising out of 'relative deprivation' and these movements may take any form—from a slow and gradual reform movement to a radical and revolutionary one.

In order to understand the formation of ideologies it is necessary to analyze the structural situation of the Backward Classes in terms of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation means a widespread feeling that people are deprived of some deigned state or thing in comparison with some standard or with the real or imagined conditions of other people. The notion of relative deprivation is to be found in the thoughts of Marx and Engels. A position of relative deprivation alone will not generate a movement. But it is the perception of a situation and the estimation of capabilities by activity. Rao (1979) stress that relative deprivation refers not only to material cognition but also to the others sphere of life such as religion, education, politics and civic life.
The backward classes, who suffered from different degrees of relative deprivation as social, educational and political arena, became aware of their status with the spread of new liberal ideas and alternative sources of legitimacy that were ushered in by British rule and the Indian national movement. Concern for social movement is more with these three ideologies rather than with empirical details. First, many castes belonging to the Other Backward Classes claimed a higher Varna status through a reinterpretation and recasting of appropriate mythologies of origin. The second variety of protest ideology was based on the rejection of the Brahamanical Aryan religion and culture. The ideology of class conflict provides another secular source for establishing a separate identity as the exploited classes (Rao: 1979).

A movement is the conscious efforts on the part of men to mitigate their deprivation and to secure justice. While movements are conditioned by social and structural factors, they imply voluntary action. Men create movements to achieve goals they hold dear. Only when collective action is somewhat sustained and is able to create an interest and awakening in a sufficiently large number of people, then it takes the form of a social movement.

All backward castes do not enjoy a uniform socio-economic status and therefore Rao divides them non-upper castes/classes into three categories (Rao: 1979). The uppermost category of the backward castes consists mostly of land owners. There are several such castes in different parts of the country, such as the Jats, the Ahirs, and the Gujjars in Punjab, the Marathas in Maharashtra, the Vellalas in Madras, the Kammas, the Kapus and the Reddis in Andhra Pradesh, the Vokkaligas and the Bants in Karnataka. Ranking below them are tenant cultivators, artisans and other service castes. They include the Ahirs and the Kahars in Bihar, the Kolis in Gujarat and the Vaddars in south India. They are considered caste-Hindus, above the pollution line. Most of them are small or marginal farmers, tenants or agricultural labourers. They have not enjoyed political power and were under the economic and political control of the landowning castes who often extorted forced labour from them as domestic servants and expected several customary payments (free gifts) on various festivals.

At the bottom are the untouchable castes who are designated scheduled castes under the Constitution of India. The socio-economic conditions of most of the scheduled castes and other backward castes are qualitatively different from other.
(higher castes) and therefore some scholars club the two (SCs and BCs) but here we will talk only of Backward Class/Caste movements.

Backward classes movements started in India in the early part of the 20th century. According to M.N. Srinivas, the term “backward classes movement” must be understood in the Indian social context it is kind of struggle waged by the lower castes against the supremacy of the Brahmins. It also represents concerted effort on the part of the lower castes to improve their social, economic, educational and political status (Rao: 2013).

(i) Backward Castes Movements in India:

Backward castes movements have a long and uneven history of struggle against the dominant upper castes. They began in South India in the 19th Century and became a major political force by the first quarter of the 20th Century. In U.P. and Bihar the movements began in the early part of the 20th Century but took longer than their counterpart in South India to acquire political influence. There is so far no backward castes movement of any significance in Orissa, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Assam. The movements in both South and North India were initiated and led by the upper strata, mainly landed peasantry, of the backward castes. Having improved their economic conditions thanks to the change in the agrarian structure, and/or penetration of the market economy and/or access to education, they first of all aspired for a higher status in the caste hierarchy. In the political sphere both in the South and the North, the backward caste elite demanded positions in parties, State Assemblies, the Cabinet and public institutions. Simultaneously, they pressed for reservation in Government jobs and educational institutions. Various backward castes, particularly the upper castes among them, launched separate struggle for Sanskritization and political positions on caste lines. They finally came together under the banner of backward castes, and mobilized the lower backward castes for enlarged support in the political sphere (Singh: 1996).

Caste, as a social institution, has deep rooted in our society. As individual is born, lives and dies within the limits of his caste. Other professional organizations are not strong enough to give him a sense of security, identity, participation and self-interest. He therefore, stays within the caste system. V.M. Sirsikar observes that caste
plays four roles – personal, social, economic and political. The personal roles means, in general, one’s sense of belonging to particular caste, one’s belief in traditional structure, and one’s preference for marriage relationships within one’s caste. The social role is very important. It operates a subtle manner through educational, social and charitable trusts. The economic role lies in occupational exclusiveness. It is, however, getting blurred owing to devolvement of education, industrialization and urbanization. The political role is very important in democracy (Singh: 1996).

Caste associations have played a vital role in the unification movement of castes, which has enabled them to play an important role in modern politics. They send petitions to the Backward Classes Commissions and even lobby and pressurize such commission for including them in the list of Backward Classes (Shah: 1997).

All political parties reinforce the caste sentiment. In each constituency, during election, they put up candidates belonging to the dominant caste in that constituency. They use caste associations and persuade caste leaders to appeal to their caste fellows to vote for them. The selection of candidate, pattern of canvassing and voting are based on caste politics. Naturally, caste politics generates caste rigidity. Politics in this country has only resulted in making the bond of caste more rigid, and people became more caste conscious (Singh: 1996).

In India, unlike in other societies, ‘backwardness’ is viewed as an attribute not of individuals but of communities which are, by their nature, self-perpetuating (Beteille: 1992). The term ‘backward’ has become a fighting word in India today so it is not necessarily something that the one wants to sweep under the carpet (Beteille: 2008). The main motive of Indian politics is not to change the existing exploitative social and political structures but anyhow to capture political power. This is the motive of Indian political parties, from left to right (Singh: 1996).

Various Backward castes organized caste associations for social reforms and the struggle for political power. The Yadavas formed not only district – level but also state- and all India level caste associations. It was the same with the Marathas and the Malies of Maharashtra, and the Kolis of Gujarat. These associations were loose and ad hoc. They organized conferences, passed resolutions and occasionally submitted memoranda. The backward castes of South India formed political parties – first the Justice Party, and later the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. The backward castes of
Bihar also planned to organize their own party, but failed to put it into practice. India is mainly confined to electoral politics. The political parties function as pressure groups to seek reservations in jobs and educational facilities. The backward caste elite mobilize caste members and pressurize the Government to serve their own political interests. To them, caste sentiments and solidarity are a means to political power. They follow the Brahminical ideologies, symbols and idioms. Many political parties in India have openly indulged in caste-based vote bank politics (Shah: 2004).

(ii) Type of backward Class Movement:

Rao (1979) classifies backward-caste movements in India into four types:

The first type is the movements known as the non-brahmin movements against the Brahmins. The leaders of non-Brahmin movements condemned caste system as a tool of Brahmin oppression and raised cultural issues. These movements were led by the upper non-Brahmin castes such as the Vellalas, the Reddis and the Kammas of old Madras Presidency, the Vokkaligas and the Lingayats of Mysore and the Marathas of Maharashtra. Such movements are not found in north India.

The second type of backward class movement's center around the division within the non-Brahmin castes. These were led mainly by the intermediate and low castes such as the Ahirs and the Kurmis in Bihar, the Noniyas in Punjab, the kolis in Gujarat and the Malis in Maharashtra.

The movements by the depressed classes or the untouchables against upper and other backward castes are the third type of backward caste movements. The fourth type is that of the tribal movements.

(iii) Backward Caste Movements and Political Mobilization:

Due to the spread of education and improvements in their economic condition, many backward castes started aspiring for a higher status in the caste hierarchy. For this purpose, they followed the path of Sanskritization. This meant that they adopted the life style and rituals of the upper castes.

The non-Brahmin movements in South India and Maharashtra were different from those of the North. They did not follow the path of Sanskritization. Instead they rejected the Brahminical ideology and the caste hierarchy. According to the upper caste
non-Brahmins, Brahmins (Aryans) were alien intruders who exploited and oppressed them. They preferred to consider themselves Dravidians, i.e., natives of the area and therefore, demanded a separate state for the Dravidians. They felt that the nationalist movement was dominated by the Brahmins and therefore declared their allegiance to the British government. In their words: "It is a misrepresentation to say that Brahmins belong to the same Indian nation as the non-Brahmins while the English are aliens....Indian Brahmins are more alien to us than Englishmen." The backward (non-Brahmin castes) demanded political representation in the State Legislative Assembly and there were demands for separate electorates in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu.

One of the reasons for the non-Brahmin movements in south India was that the Brahmins took more advantage of modern educational and employment opportunities than the upper non-Brahmin castes. The Brahmins dominated the government jobs. The backward castes therefore demanded reservations in government jobs and educational institutions. In the post-independence period and particularly since the 1980s these demands have grown in strength.

The backward castes rarely resorted to large-scale direct action for asserting their demands. Many of them undertook social reform which generally did not involve confrontation with the higher castes, though in a few cases social reform did lead to clashes with the higher castes. They asserted their demands for higher social status by submitting memoranda and petitions to the census commissioners. The non-Brahmins of south India formed a political party to capture political power. Many others took part in election campaigns on a massive scale in order to get candidates of their castes elected. In this sense, their mobilization has rarely led to struggles. Since 80s different individual castes have submitted petitions and organized meetings demanding some welfare programmes for their caste members.

The main form of political mobilization of the backward castes is the electoral process. Because of their numerical strength they have successfully increased their position in the state assemblies. The backward castes of south India formed political parties - first the Justice Party and later the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK). Lalu Prasad Yadav in Bihar has mobilized the backward castes and Muslims under the banner of his Rashtriya Janata Dal (Sachdeva and Motwani: 2013).
(iv) Other Backward Classes and Social Movements:

While the conflict between brahmans and the upper caste non-brahmans became the center of anti-brahman movements, the conflict between the upper non-brahman castes and the lower non-brahman but non-untouchable castes gave birth to a number of social movements in different parts of India. We will discuss four such movements with different ideological overtones: the Yadava Movement, the Vanhikula Kshatriya Movement, the Nadar Movement, and the Self-Respect and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam movement.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's there arose a number of social movements among the lower non-brahman castes challenging the supremacy of the upper castes including the brahmans. This spirit of protest took two shapes. One, many castes claimed a higher ritual status by developing appropriate myths of Kshatriya or brahman origin. The language of these myths was not an imitation but one of protest, asserting their higher status in a bid to acquire self-respect, esteem, and honour; attacking the monopoly of the upper castes in the use of ritual, economic, educational goods and services on the other. Two, types of movements among the upper castes which idealized indigenous cultures and upheld its superiority over the culture of the opposition reference groups. While the ‘Self-Respect Movement’ in Tamil Nadu, which later developed into the Dravida Kazhagam Movement, belonged to this category many movements such as the All-India Yadava movement, the Vanhikula—Kshatriya and Nadar Movements in Tamil Nadu belonged to the first type of protest movements, which we will discuss below:

The Yadavas constitute a category of cognate castes called by various names in different regions. In U.P., Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan they were known as Ahirs. They are called Goalas and Sadgop in Bengal and Orissa; Gavali and Gopala in Maharashtra; Golla in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, Idayan in Kerala and Konar in Tamil Nadu. They follow such diverse occupations as cultivation, selling of milk and milk products and cattle herding.

At the beginning of the present century, the different cognate castes developed a new Yadava identity. They claimed to be the descendants of Yadu, a famous kshatriya dynasty (Yadava) to which Lord Krishna belonged. The Krishna mythology also gave legitimacy to pastoral occupations, as Krishna himself was a cowherd. In addition to
the Krishna mythology which enabled the Yadava castes to raise their self-respect and honour, they evoked semi-historical and historical evidence equating Ahirs, Gopas, and Gollas with Abhiras, all of whom had at one time or the other exercised political suzerainty at different periods of history in many parts of India, such as Khandesh, Konkan, Gujarat, and the areas of Saugar, Jabalpur and Mirzapur. The Abhira equation gave the Yadava castes a sense of real pride of having been kings and chieftains. Thus both Yadava and Abhira ideology not only established common links binding different Yadava castes but legitimized their claims to a higher kshatriya status in order to gain self-respect.

While the Yadavas established a claim for a high status in the past, their present status was low. Many of them were economically poor being cowherds, agricultural labourers, and palanquin-bearers. They were also worshipping lesser deities. Realizing the need for a spiritual reformation, several Yadava castes came under the influence of the Arya Samaj in various parts of U.P., Bihar, M.P., Rajasthan and Delhi. As Aryas the Ahirs and other Yadava castes participated in Vedic Hinduism gaining self-respect, but not without violent encounter with the Thakurs, Bhumihar brahmans (in Bihar) and brahmans. When groups of Ahirs started wearing the sacred thread in public, the Thakurs and the Bhumihar brahmans resorted to violence to dissuade them from encroaching on their prerogatives. Instead of being suppressed, the Ahirs in Bihar mobilized widespread public opinion and started a regular movement called the Jenevu (sacred thread) Movement, around 1901. The movement spread to U.P. and Punjab. This was the first social awakening among the Yadavas, in order to assert their equal ritual rights, with the twice born castes. Many regional Yadava Caste associations came into being in different parts of India such as U.P., Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, M.P., Bengal, Maharashtra, and Tamil Nadu.

The national identity of the Yadavas emerged in 1923, with the establishment of the All-India Yadava Mahasabha (AIYM). The leadership came from Western-educated professional and intellectual Yadava elite. Dr. Khedekar of Bombay took active interest in the movement. He headed a deputation of the Backward Classes to represent their caste for political rights before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in London. He was one of the founders of the AIYM. The Mahasabha started a whole programme of social reforms. It pleaded for vegetarianism, teetotalism, and for the
removal of dowry and untouchability. It encouraged the establishment of 
educational institutions and led deputations to seek recruitment in the army and 
police. Regional associations took up specific issues concerning facilities of 
pasturage and dairy farming, and also established schools and colleges.

Regional associations in different parts of India were affiliated to the AIYM, 
and the federal character of the all-India association manifested itself at the time of 
the annual conferences. Delegates from each state pitched a tent, displaying their 
banner, and the executive committee of the Mahasabha elected members from 
different parts of India.

The AIYM picked up two important issues in the 1960s, which gave the 
Yadava movement a distinctive character. First, it agitated for the creation of a 
separate Yadava regiment in the Indian Army, as the Yadavas had shown exemplary 
valour in several wars. Since there were regiments based on ethnic lines, the 
Yadavas pressed the Government of India fora separate regiment in recognition of 
their military identity.

Second, the Yadavas, had assumed the leadership of the Backward Classes 
fighting for the revival of caste criterion as the basis for preferential treatment in 
education and employment. The latter issue had gained importance in the different 
states, and the Yadavas were to be in the forefront of the All- India Backward 
Classes Federation.

The Yadava Movement, over a period of sixty years, has been able to achieve 
significant results. First, it brought about a high degree of social awakening 
regarding their status of relative deprivation, formulated an ideology on the basis of 
mythological and historical sources, and established an identity against the 
opposition reference groups. This ideology reflected protest and conflict situations. 
A specific consequence of the movement was the emergence of Yadavas as an 
ethnic category submerging regional caste and sub-caste differences.

Second, as a result of a series of agitations for recruitment to the army and 
the police and efforts in building up educational institutions, there has come into 
being a differentiated elite occupying position of influence and prestige. They have
promoted the interests of the objectives of the movement, e.g., the business elite helped in starting educational institutions.

Third, the emergence of a political elite has not only carried the movement ahead but has upset the traditional balance of power in Bihar where the Yadava political elite is significant, the Yadavas share the political power with other ethnic groups, whereas earlier they were politically subservient to the Bhumi-bar brahmans, kayasths, and brahmans.

The foregoing account of the Yadava movement points to the various dimensions of the Backward Classes movements—a protest ideology in the form of claiming higher ritual status, processes of social mobilization and the establishment of identity, organizations at different territorial levels, leadership and social consequences in terms of changes in the traditional power structure.

The ideology of protest in terms of asserting higher ritual status by challenging the monopoly of the twice-born castes, was a common one adopted by many caste movements in different parts of India.

Rowe (1968) has described the effort made by the Noniyas, a caste of earth-workers in U.P., M.P., and Bihar who claimed the status of Chauhan Rajputs (Kshatriyas). A number of Noniyas made money through brick-making and earth-working contracts, and they formulated an ideology which legitimized their higher ritual status. They also joined the Arya Samaj, like the Yadavas, in great numbers. As Aryas they wore the sacred thread and participated in Vedic rituals that were closed to them for centuries. Thus, the kshatriya myth of origin and the convention to Arya Samaj enabled the Noniyas to gain self-respect and honour; they attacked the monopoly of the twice-born caste in the use of higher ritual goods and services. Backed by the ideology of protest, Noniyas organized themselves into sabhas in various regions. In 1935 they founded an All-India Noniya Sabha in Katni (M.P.), and fought for educational and employment benefits, and political power. Thus, as we see, they adopted various strategies to move up, both in ritual and secular levels simultaneously in the social hierarchy.
Among the other caste movements which claimed kshatriya status to gain self-respect, mention may be made of the Nadar and the Vanhikula-Kshatriya movements in Tamil Nadu. Hardgrave (1969) has given an extensive account of the history of the Nadar movement. He shows that the Nadars, traditionally toddy-tappers, claimed kshatriya status in 1871. They also donned the sacred thread and got brahman priests to conduct the sacred thread ceremony. In 1874, they asserted their higher ritual status by attempting to gain an entry into the Meenakshi temple of Madurai. This move resulted in a violent conflict between the Nadars and the Maravars while at the same time it heightened the process of internal solidarity, so that with the growth of a strong commercial elite the Nadars formed the Nadar Kshatriya Mahajana Sangam at Madurai in 1895. They established such associations in different parts of Tamil Nadu and Ceylon, and Malaya. In 1921, the Nadars represented to the Census authorities that their caste be registered as kshatriya. They built a network of educational institutions and made head way in commerce, industry and other professions.

In its ideological orientation, the Nadar movement remained a part of the anti-brahman movement. One section came under the spell of the Self-Respect Movement and another under the charismatic leadership of Kamaraj Nadar (Congress) consequently, while the Nadars adopted the kshatriya model and donned the sacred thread, they remained staunch supporters of the anti-brahman movement in Tamil Nadu. This is why the adoption of the kshatriya status has to be seen as a protest ideology, which attacked the monopoly of the upper castes.

A similar situation may be seen in the case of the Vanhi-kula kshatriya movement, among the Pallis, an agricultural caste. The Pallis became aware of their status of relative deprivation and organized themselves as early as 1833. Claiming descent from the Pallava dynasty of the kshatriyas, they petitioned the census authorities that they be entered as kshatriyas (Rudolphs: 1960). They also supported the anti-brahman movement and the Self-Respect movement.

While the movements described above adopted the kshatriya model, there were others which adopted the Brahminical model, as a form of protest. The Jogis,
a caste of weavers of West Bengal, became conscious of their status of relative deprivation in the late nineteenth century. They began to wear the sacred thread in order to assert their pure status, set up the Jogi Hitaishini Sabha in 1901 and started a journal, Jogisaka. With the aim of submerging internal subcaste distinctions and fighting for educational and employment opportunities, they expressed anti-brahman sentiments in no uncertain terms. In protest against the brahmans, the Jogis themselves claimed the status of brahmans (Bose: 1975). Similarly the Namashudras, a caste of agriculturists, claimed brahman status (Bose: 1975). Thus, whether caste movements adopted the kshatriya model or the Brahminical one, they were essentially ideologies of protest against the supremacy of the upper castes. It is necessary to stress here that the claim of gaining higher ritual status is not a process of imitation but a form of protest.

We shall now consider another ideology of protest that was developed and adopted by the leaders of the Self-Respect Movement which was the forerunner of the DK. and DMK movements. The ideology of the Self-Respect Movement, which arose in 1925 was more populist than that of the Justice Party of the non-brahman movement. It had a cultural connotation which ran counter to Brahminical Hinduism. The leader of the Self-Respect movement, Ramaswamy Naicker, protested against the accident of birth as the one and only criterion of personal worth. Seeking a basic change in the traditional social system, he wanted a new system of values in which all people irrespective of caste or creed could enjoy equal self-respect. By directly attacking brahmans and the mythology of puranic Hinduism, he derived support from the wider system of Tamil or Dravidian culture which he considered superior to the Brahminical Aryan culture. Since this formulation of the Dravidian ideology, as opposed to Aryan ideology, is basic to the Self-Respect movement, it becomes necessary to note its main features.

In late nineteenth century the intellectual foundations and superiority of Tamil Dravidian culture over Sanskrit Aryan culture were established, and Ramaswamy Naicker made political capital by raising the self-respect of low caste Hindus and untouchables; the support for the movement came from uneducated
masses, since Tamil instead of English was the means of communication; the movement also spread to women and rural youth; their own newspapers and journals reflected a new type of radical literature that highlighted anti-Brahminical, anti-Aryan, anti-Sanskrit and later anti-Northern sentiments. The leaders were also able to develop new styles in drama and other art forms.

In the late 1920s the Self-Respect Movement took a violent turn when a copy of the Manusmriti (symbol of Aryan Sanskrit culture) was burnt. The first conference of the movement was held in 1929 which passed resolutions boycotting brahman priests, condemning the varnashrama dharma, advocating removal of suffixes of names having caste connotations, and promoting an easy termination of marriage.

In time, the Self-Respect Movement not only grew more radical in its aims but also violent in its activities. Rama Swamy Naicker claiming Dravidistan on the same lines as Pakistan, also led a crusade against Hindi which was a derivative of Aryan language and culture. In 1944 the Dravida Kazhagam (DK) came into being, explicitly demanding a separate non-brahman Dravidian nation. Hence, the Self-Respect movement which arose as a protest against Aryan culture, turned into an explicit political movement with the formation of DK under the leadership of C N Annadurai. As the latter had differences of opinion with Ramaswamy Naicker, he broke away from DK and established Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in 1949, with the major objective of establishing Dravida Nad.

It is necessary to highlight the overtones of the Self-Respect, DK and DMK movements. First, the leaders sought to extol the virtues of Dravidian gods and culture, in protest against Aryan gods and culture. They adopted a secessionist strategy to achieve their independence and self-respect. The leaders combined Dravidian religious ideology with political separation. It is wrong to characterize this ideology as secular because it was only, emphasizing a different set of religious ideas which were opposed to those of Aryan Brahminical Hinduism. Second, the movements had an appeal to the lower middle classes and castes and untouchables. The lower sections of the Backward Classes protested against the upper sections of
the Backward Classes who were led by the English educated and the Westernized elite. In contrast, the leaders of the Self-Respect, DK and DMK movements were mostly Tamil educated, and used local idioms to reach the masses (Rao: 1978).

**Summary:** Social mobility is the movement of individuals or groups in social standing or social position. The movement may be upward or downward and horizontal or vertical. Social mobility can be the change in status between someone (or a group) and their parents/previous family generations (inter-generational); or over the change during one’s lifetime (intra-generational). Social mobility determines by various indicators like education, economy, social status and many more, because India is a caste-based society and some attributes of mobility are based on ascribed status.

Nowadays, there are many chances to mobilize a person, because the constitution of India gives equal rights to all. The new occupations are based on educational qualifications and labour is emerged as a free commodity in the labour market. Thus, it shows the choice of adoption of new occupations. Migration from rural to urban areas plays an important role in mobility. Some other factors are also boosting the process of mobility like motivation, achievements, skills and training, migration, industrialization, legislation, politicization and modernization.

The goal of Indian society is to secure social justice to all the citizens of India. Our Constitution provides some safeguards and provisions to underprivileged groups to move forward. Article 16(4) of Indian Constitution provides reservation to secure their share in the education and jobs. Beteille (1998) called this “equality of life chances”. Behind these safeguards and provisions there is a long history of social movements. Many social reformist played an important role to remove discrimination. These movements are collective action by the people of different backward classes and scheduled castes. We must be understood backward classes movement in the Indian social context, a revolt of lower castes against the supremacy of the Brahmins. It also represents concerted effort on the part of the lower castes to improve their social, economic, educational and political status.
Due to the spread of education and improvements in their economic condition, many backward castes started aspiring for a higher status in the caste hierarchy. For this purpose they followed the path of Sanskritization and now they are moving towards political mobilization and caste consciousness is increasing among the backward classes. Now class is taking place of the caste. The close association between caste and traditional occupation is breaking down. We are not saying that caste is disappearing, but the rigidity of caste is disappearing slowly. Our society is moving towards an economy based society.