CHAPTER V

EDUCATION, OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION:

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section deals with the impact of education on the Buddhists. The second and the third sections report the nature of educational mobility and occupational mobility with reference to three generations of the Buddhists. And the fourth concentrates on the Buddhist's attitude towards the reservation policy.

SECTION I: IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON THE BUDDHISTS.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

I have analysed the impact of education on the Buddhists by studying the following: a) Attitudes of the Buddhists towards education; b) their educational aspirations and choices for their children; and c) their personal interest in their children's education; d) their preference for the medium of instruction; and e) their views regarding educating the women of their community;

Education is a formal process of giving information, and interaction between two or more persons.

Education is directly related to upward social mobility
as it plays an important role in personality development and in raising the standard of life. It also helps to break social barriers. All these things lead to upward vertical mobility of an individual. Bhai (1986: 94, 187) says: “Education changes one’s relationship with other castes... It also changes perception of costs and values of human beings and their contribution to the economy of the household and of the nation. It has become a medium of interaction with other sources and individuals in a society irrespective of caste and sectarian conditions. It improves one’s abilities, skills and general performance... It determines aspirations, technology, productivity, and vertical and horizontal mobility”.

Education influences a man’s life in many ways. It is an important avenue for enhancing socio-economic status in a society.

In the Yerwada area, where the research was conducted, People’s Education Society runs an English medium School and the College of Arts and Commerce. Most of the Buddhists take advantage of this school and college.

5.2.1 THE BUDDHISTS’ ATTITUDE TOWARDS EDUCATION:

The Buddhists have shown a strong and positive attitude towards education. Both the literate as well as the
illiterate Buddhists staying in the research localities at Yerwada, Dapodi and Bopadi have realized the importance of education. Patwardhan (1973: 93) says: "Mahars express a positive, dynamic, and conscious approach to education which is not to be felt or seen among the other scheduled castes to the same degree. Mahars are aware of education as an instrument of advancement." Mathew (1986) reported that Mahars considered education as a motivating force in building up ideology. For them, it is one of the important factors which contributed to the growth and personality development.

In order to know their attitude towards education, I posed a question to the respondents, "Do you like to educate your children"? All the respondents (100%) were positive and said that they liked to educate their children. They mentioned several objectives in educating their children.

1. TO GAIN KNOWLEDGE:

The Buddhists educate their children to gain knowledge. Almost all (90.7%) the respondents said that they are educating their children so that they become knowledgeable. This finding contrasts with Bags (1984) study on Rajbanshis, Mundas, Bhuimalis, Lohars, Turis, Musahars and Mallicks. These communities did not have a single person who
favoured education for the sake of enhancing knowledge. Informants told me during group interviews that they were denied opportunities for acquisition of knowledge, and even acquiring literacy, for centuries.

While doing field work at Yerwada area, I interviewed Mr. Kadam. He retired as Director of Social Welfare. He has his own small personal library. He has published four books on Dr. Ambedkar and the future of Buddhism. He also guides the younger generation and the students who come to him for guidance. He said that he spends his time in reading books and writing. He has established the 'Buddhists Forum'. This 'Buddhists Forum' arrange meetings, calls experts to deliver lectures on Buddhism and thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar and publishes pamphlets and booklets. He does so to acquire more and more knowledge, and to spread the Doctrine of Buddhism among the masses. This is the case with several other members of this community.

It is thus seen that the Buddhists seem to give much importance to knowledge, which they want to acquire through education.

ii) TO GET WHITE COLLAR JOBS:

The Buddhists have attraction for white collar jobs. They also want more prestigious jobs. They are educating their children to get better jobs. Maximum number (87.4%)
of the respondents mentioned that they educate their children so that they get prestigious and respectable jobs. Education has opened up new occupational opportunities for them. They want to increase their income through better jobs because income is one of the indicators of social status. They are aware of the fact that occupation also adds to status. Higher and prestigious occupations would lead to higher social status. They seek security, power, wealth, income, prestige and respect.

The respondents also mentioned that higher education will improve their life condition and fulfill their ordinary life needs. The Buddhists are educating their children to attain higher status in society because education is the symbol of status. It is an important determinant of status along with occupation and economic condition. All these dimensions are interrelated. Further, education would help them to raise their standard of life to the level of the upper caste. They explained that their lower social status, poverty and illiteracy had stunted the progress of their community. In short, the Buddhists aim at achieving higher status, prestige, respect, wealth, power, and knowledge through education. The informants also said that higher education provides better marriage prospects for their children. Their children will get educated and will get better marriage proposals.
In the localities under study at Yerwada area, I have observed that some (18.9%) of the informants are highly educated and are engaged in prestigious occupations. In the Dapodi and Bopadi area relatively a low percentage (4.9%) of the informants are highly educated and hold respectable positions. Importance of education has spread among the masses, and these educated persons have become a reference model for them. Most of the younger generation (40.0%) have aspiration to take higher education and raise their status by securing prestigious jobs.

iii) TO BECOME AN ELITE OF THE COMMUNITY:

Maximum number (83.7%) of the respondents said that they are educating their children because they want to see their children as the elite of the community. The respondents also said that they generally respect the highly educated persons in their community. They give special treatment to the elite, and invite them to give guidance and deliver lectures to their children. They are aware of the fact that upliftment of the community is possible through the guidance of the educated persons.

iv) TO BREAK THE SOCIAL BARRIERS AND REDUCE CASTEISM:

The Buddhists consider education as a medium of communication with the upper castes. Most (65.2%) of the
respondents said that education would help to reduce or break the social distance between the upper caste and the Buddhists. Education would able them to deal with the rest of the world on equal terms. Informants also said that because of good job opportunities, the psychological and intellectual gap between the Buddhists and upper caste is reducing. Education is their deliverer. According to informants scientific and technological education opened the doors of modernization and spread of liberal ideology. It has also created feelings of individualism, equality and justice. It has changed and broadened the outlook of their community, and social barriers have been reduced.

v) TO ERADICATE SUPERSTITION AND BLIND FAITH:

Three-fourths (76.3%) of the respondents said that they desire to educate their children in order to eradicate superstition and blind faith from their community. As education influences one's thinking ability and broadens the mental capacity, it would mould the person to think scientifically and logically. Further, the respondents mentioned that education generates an indifferent attitude towards traditional belief and practice. Psychology of their community is changing with the spread of education.

vi) TO SPREAD EDUCATION:

Three-fourths (74.8%) of the respondents feel that
education should spread among the Buddhists. The traditional structure has prohibited education for them. Now the doors of education have been opened to them. Social justice and the right to remove disabilities imposed by the upper caste people on the lower castes, can be achieved only through the spread of education. They are concerned about both the formal and informal education.

In Dapodi area, there are special coaching classes, library and sport class, to guide the poor Buddhists students staying in this locality because these students do not have enough place to study and play. In some houses there is no electricity. We have visited these classes and library during fieldwork. Many students from these areas take advantage of these classes and library. In these classes, apart from the school education, they also teach the importance of cleanliness, tidiness, health and hygiene. Teachers said that their main objective behind running such classes and library is to create interest in studies among these slum children. Some informants staying in this area told us that they get lots of benefits from these classes. Their children have become regular in school and also in studies.

The Buddhist elite pointed out that education plays an important role in gaining social mobility. Education has extensive implications on social mobility because the
Buddhist community, prefer to get employment and break away from traditional occupation. Education raises the revolutionary consciousness in the minds of the Buddhists. It is creating critical consciousness of a person who could identify with the collective concerns and not merely with the individual concerns, which is the core of social mobility. According to the elite, broad and liberal education helps to pull down social barriers, barriers between one caste and another, between one race and another, etc. It has changed attitude, beliefs, social values, cultural traits, thinking and behaviour of the Buddhists. It has made a major change in the life of the Buddhists.

5.2.2 Occupational Aspirations:

In the present investigation most (65.6%) of the respondents would like to see their children in high administrative posts of the government. The respondents feel that Indian Administrative Service, Indian Police Services, Indian Foreign Service, etc. give power, prestige, security, status and also provide opportunities to serve and to help their community members. It may be pointed out that Dr. Ambedkar had wanted them to become administrators. So they would like to become administrators above all other occupational specialities.
Many of the younger generation, who are doing graduation and postgraduation from the localities under study, appear for the competitive examinations held by Maharashtra Public Service Commission and Union Public Service Commission. As mentioned earlier, 'Samyak Pratishthan' a voluntary organisation, organises special coaching classes for these competitive examinations in the research locality of Yerwada. They call experts from all over Maharashtra to guide these students. The secretary of the 'Samyak Pratishthan' said that many students take the benefits of these classes. Some of them have got success in the examination, and they are holding posts such as PSI, Assistants, Account officers, and Tahsildar. They also arrange felicitation programmes for successful students, with a view to inspire others.

Half (50%) of the respondents said that they would like to see their children as professors at colleges or at the university level, because teachers play an important role in giving guidance to the pupils and spreading education among them.

The present investigation revealed that in Pune University, maximum number of professors from the backward caste are Buddhists. In the research area also many of young girls and some boys were employed in teaching profession. They were teaching at primary schools, high
Some Buddhists give preference to Professional education. Few (28.9%) of the respondents feel that their children should become Doctors, and (23%) would like to see their children as engineers. The purpose behind such specialization is to get money to raise the economic condition and to achieve higher status in the Society. Only (16.7%) of the respondents would like to see their children as Lawyers.

In Yerwada area, we have seen that some of the respondents' offsprings were doing their graduation in engineering and medicine. Some of them were Doctors and Engineers.

The fourth occupational preference is to become scientists. Some (5.6%) of the respondents feel that their children should become scientists.

5.2.3 Children's education:

The Buddhists take personal interest in the educational progress of their children. Almost all (91.1%) of the respondents said that they take personal interest in their children's education. They help their children in their studies, and also make arrangement for private tuitions. They visit the schools often. If they cannot guide their
children they send them to other educated persons for proper career guidance in the educational field and solve academic problems. They want to see their children's life as safe, stable and happy, different from their forefathers' life and their own.

Almost half (53%) of the respondents said that their children's educational progress is good and a little less than half felt (44.1%) that it was satisfactory. A negligible percentage (3.0%) of the respondents said that their children are not at all interested in studies.

Mr. Jadhav is a matriculate and a worker in a company. His wife is educated up to the primary level. When children come from the school, immediately Mr. Jadhav asks them what they did in the school? Which lessons they have learned? What was the teacher saying? He mentioned that his children are good in studies. He gives personal attention to them. Everyday he spends about one hour with them. He also told me that his children go to a Municipal Corporation School because he cannot afford an English medium education or a good Marathi medium education.

In another family, the Lokhande family, I witnessed Mrs. Lokhande scolding her son for not studying. Mrs. Lokhande is an illiterate woman and Mr. Lokhande has secondary education. This couple said that their son would
become a 'Saheb'. They also mentioned that in their area, they have a library facility provided by 'Trilokya Bouddha Mahasangha'. In addition to this a 'gram sevika' visits to tell them about the importance of education. They want to educate their son as much as possible. His life would be different from their life.

When I visited the Kamble family at Yerwada area to collect data, I observed that nine children, in the age group of 5 years to 14 years, were studying in one room. Mr. Kamble has a joint family. He has six sons all married and twelve grand sons and daughters. His elder son tutes these children everyday in the evening, and in the morning they go to a private tutor. Out of his six daughters-in-law, only two are educated till 12th standard and are primary teachers. Others are primary educated but they give full attention to their children's studies. These daughters-in-law told us that every day they go to leave and pick up children from school, and they ask them to sit for studies. Sometimes, they visit the schools to meet the teachers as their husbands have no time. They also mentioned that if their children are educated, only then they would live a good life. They are not rich, so they have no other way. Babasaheb has told them to educate to get success in life. So they are giving more importance to their children's studies.
Schools.

Reasons for admitting their children to English medium schools, the Buddhists have given various reasons. Three children from two families go to an English medium corporation school and a very negligible number. In Bangkok and Bopadit area almost all children go to Marathi medium schools and in the Marathi medium schools, some half go to corporations. Researchers in the localities of Varanasi, I have observed that in the preferred English medium schools and (55.2%) preferred around half (44.7%) of the respondents told that they were.

Do you like to admit your children in the schools, in the case of Buddhists a question, "To which medium school for their children?" To find out the truth in the case of Buddhists a question, "To which medium school for their children?" To find out the settled and educated parents give first preference to English medium schools and they are keen on educating their children. In general, the Buddhists in the research localities appear to give personal attention to their children's education.
standards in Marathi medium schools in the area of their residence is not good. All good Marathi medium schools are located in the central area of Pune city. They cannot send their children so far away.

b) Some (37.8%) of the respondents said that English medium educated students are smarter than Marathi medium students. They speak English more fluently. They feel that nowadays everybody should know English and should be able to speak in English.

c) Some (29.6%) of the respondents are of the opinion that there is no casteism in English medium schools. All the good Marathi medium schools are Brahmin dominated. Sometimes teachers do discriminate directly or indirectly and their attitude towards Scheduled Caste students is not good. Lower caste students sometimes do not intermingle freely with other students because of the caste barriers and the narrow outlook of the upper caste students. Therefore, they prefer English medium school.

The preference for Marathi medium schools would be basically for economic reasons of cost of education and close proximity of some of the Marathi medium schools. It appears from the discussion that had there been some English medium schools in the locality the choice may have been in favour for those schools.
5.2.5 THE BUDDHISTS’ ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN’S EDUCATION:

In this section, the Buddhist’s views towards education of women of their community is presented.

In India some social and traditional practices such as 'sati', child marriage, ban on widow marriage, dowry, denial of education to women and preference for male children etc. have contributed to the low status of woman at home as well as in the society. Barkataki (1978), in her inaugural speech during the ‘Conference of Women Legislators’, said: "The Indian woman today continues to be the victim of inequality and discrimination. She faces the problems of inequality and prejudice; of dependence and domination; of discrimination and denial of right to individuality". Gaikwad (1995) stated that in Indian society status of women is secondary. She has no individual personality and has no right to take decisions. She has no freedom and liberty as in the case of man. She is considered as inferior and has to live under the volition of her husband. Her duty is to work and she lives for others. Bhoite (1995) stated that the status of lower caste women is lower than that of the upper caste women. She is exploited in two ways; as a women and as a lower caste women. Her life is full of sufferings humiliation, suppression,
dilemmas and exploitation. Sahchidananda’s (1977) research on Harijan women supported this view. Munthal (1984) reported that Dalit women had become slaves in cultural, social, and psychological, and religious fields, because of ignorance and poverty.

I have observed that the Buddhists do not discriminate between male and female child while imparting education to them. They give equal status and freedom to women as well as men which we do not find in the Indian social system. The informants said that they are very firm and confident about educating women of their community. Many women are equally educated as men and are engaged in higher occupations. They explained their views by saying that Dr. Ambedkar has told them that progress of the community depends on the male as well as female education. And they want to make true the dream of Dr. Ambedkar.

The Buddhists’ responses to the question: "What is your opinion about education of women in your community? - should they be educated or not"? have been very positive. All the respondents (100%) answered ‘yes’ to the question. Almost all (98.9%) of the respondents said that they would like to propagate education among women of their community. (90.3%) of the respondents said that women of their community were being educated, and some of them are involved in professions like medicine, engineering, teaching, administration and so
on. The wives of more than half (58.70%) respondents are educated. Most of the (93.7%) respondents daughters are educated and taking education.

I have done a detailed study of some families to find out the truth of the respondents' statements. The trend towards higher education is more visible in the research localities at Yerwada than Dapodi and Bopodi. Few examples are given below to show how the Buddhists are keen in educating the girl child.

1) One family named Bhosale, staying at Yerwada, has three daughters and one son. Out of these three daughters two are engineers and one girl is a doctor. His son is also an engineer. Mr. Bhosale's wife is primary school educated. Bhosale told us that he educated his daughters to remove the traditional stigma attached to their caste. He also mentioned that he could give higher education to his daughters because of the educational facilities such as freeship, scholarship provided to them. He could not have offered large amount of money as fees. All three of his daughters are married. His two sons-in-law are Brahmins. One is a Maharastrian Brahmin and another is a Bengali Brahmin. He told us that he gave full freedom to his daughters while selecting their husbands.

2) Another family named Gaikwad, residing at
Yerwada, has two daughters and one son. One of his daughters is a medical doctor and the other is studying B. Sc. His son and daughter-in-law are also doctors. His wife is a primary teacher and he is a scientist. Mr. Gaikwad said that conversion to Buddhism led to an increase in the value of education among them. In their community there is no discrimination among the male and the female.

I have studied four more families from Yerwada area: Kharat, Ashatekar (Kamble), Pol and Dhiwar.

3) In Mr. Kharat's family there are four daughters-in-law. Three of them are working. One of them is a medical doctor, and the other two are clerks. While taking the interview of Mr. Kharat, I observed that the family was discussing about purchasing a new dining table, and all the four daughters-in-law were giving their opinion. Everybody had independent thinking, and all the four daughters-in-law participated in the decision making.

4) In Mr. Ashtekar's family, his two daughters are teachers and married. His wife is also a retired teacher. His daughter-in-law is doing a small independent business of 'masala' under the name 'Rashmi Masalewale'. His son is a forest officer. He mentioned to us that he gave freedom to his daughters and also daughter-in-law to choose their careers, and he is there to help them and guide them in
5) Mr. Pol has two daughters and one son. One daughter is a doctor (B.A.M.S) and is now married, another daughter is an engineer. His son is studying for post graduation in Business Administration (M.B.A.). He said that if he is educating his daughters it does not mean he is doing anything great. Educating women has become a normal practice in their community. Now the social condition has changed. Occupational structure has changed. Education and literacy is necessary to improve the women's status in a society.

6) Mr. Dhiwar has six daughters and one son. Mr. Dhiwar is secondary educated and a worker in the Ammunition factory. His wife is illiterate. Out of his six daughters, one is a lecturer in Ambedkar college, second is an engineer, third is a teacher, fourth is a computer programmer, fifth is a graduate and the last one is doing post graduation in Social Work (M.S.W.) M.S.W. Five of his daughters are married. Mr. Dhiwar said that his family is influenced by thoughts of Babasaheb Ambedkar. So being an uneducated person, he could give good education to his daughters.

In Dapodi and Bopodi areas we did not find highly educated women except in two or three cases. Women are
employed in lower status jobs such as 'Balwadi teachers' and 'Gram Sevikas' in this area as compared to Yerwada area. I visited two families during field work namely Gaikwad and Oval at Dapodi-Bopadi areas. Mr. Gaikwad's daughter is an engineer and his wife is illiterate. He is a worker in a company. His wife said that she educated her daughter because Babasaheb taught them to educate their daughters. Mr. Oval's daughter is a teacher, and he said that they want to raise their women's status in all aspects of life.

The respondents also mentioned that they are trying to spread education among women of their community by relating the importance of education and by distributing books, stationary and financial help to the poor girls. There are ladies hostels run by Buddhists institutions to provide shelter and financial help to poor Buddhist girls.

In Yerwada area, we have observed that two families namely, Bhosekar and Kamble have taken the responsibility for the schooling of their servant girls. They were providing all school stationery and clothes to these poor girls. In Dapodi and Bopodi, the younger girls who were Sevikas and Balwadi teachers, go twice a month to each and every house of that area to tell them the importance of education, cleanliness, tidiness, health and hygiene. There
are six Balwadis and one coaching class for the rag picker girls.

In the research localities at Yerwada, some of the girls go to English medium school such as St. Mira's High school, St. Mary's and St. Hellena's High schools. Girls from the lower class family go to People's Education Society's English medium school and Corporation schools.

The Buddhist elite were of the opinion that women of their community should be encouraged to receive education. There should not be any compromise on this ground. Personally, they encouraged Buddhist women to pursue higher education. They try their level best to solve the difficulties encountered by women of their community. Deliberate attempts are being made to promote education among the Buddhist's women. The Buddhist elite also told that the recent trend is quite encouraging. Women should stand on their feet. They are trying to discourage dependency pattern of the women. The dalit women should be exposed to different jobs. Special attention should be given to women's education. Education would help them to become independent to fight the triple domination of class, caste, and gender. Women should work in all sectors and their work should be recognised as a contribution to national income. It will develop the tendency of protest if women find that their terms are violated. Women's
It is clear from the above discussion that the Buddhists have very determined, constructive, and an unquestionable attitude towards the education of women from their community. They are changing, formulating and modifying their views to solve women's problem. They want to see the Buddhists women confident, bold, independent, respected and able to fight against all kinds of oppressions and suppressions. So, they are following the way shown by Dr. Ambedkar for betterment of women and community.
SECTION II: EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY

5.3 INTRODUCTION

In this section, we have examined educational mobility among three generations of the Buddhists: respondent's father's education, respondent's education and respondent's children's education. Then I compared the educational levels between the first ascending generation and ego's generation, and the first descending generation and ego's generation. In addition to this I have also documented the number of children pursuing education in Foreign countries and outside Pune city.

The Buddhists have shown high educational mobility. They have realised the potential of education for the upliftment of their community. They are preparing their younger generation with the help of education. So the rate of literacy has increased.

5.3.1 EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY OF THE BUDDHISTS WITH REFERENCE TO THREE GENERATIONS:

Table No. 5.1 shows that three-fourths of the respondents' fathers were/are illiterates; in the ego's generation; a few respondents are illiterates and in the first descending generation there are no illiterates. This
indicates that the rate of illiteracy is decreasing very fast among the Buddhists. The literacy rate is increasing gradually among the Buddhists.

Table no. 5.1 Educational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>First Ascending Generation</th>
<th>Ego's Generation</th>
<th>First Descending Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>78.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSC/Diploma/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.7%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>39.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data points that the level of education has
increased in the egos generation, and about 65% of the respondents have achieved education above the 10th grade. In the first ascending generation we do not find a single post-graduate in the ego's generation there are some, while in the first descending generation many are studying for graduate and post graduate levels.

From the above data it is clear that the respondents are upwardly mobile with regard to education. In the first ascending generation maximum percentage of persons are illiterate and very few are educated till matric. While in the second generation maximum percentage of the respondents are matric and few are educated till post graduation. And in the first descending generation maximum percentage of the offspring are graduates and postgraduates.

Few case examples of educational mobility studied in the research localities are given below:

1. Mr. Bhosekar, residing at Yerwada area, has two sons and one daughter. He is a matriculate his wife is also a matriculate. His father and mother are illiterates, but his children are graduates. His one son is a Bachelor of science (B.Sc.), the other one is a Bachelor of Engineer (B.E.), and the daughter is a Bachelor of Commerce (B.Com.) We can see the educational mobility of this family, from
illiterate to engineering graduate, within three generations.

2. Mr. Bhosale, residing in Yerwada area, is educated till 10th grade and his wife is primary educated. His father and mother were illiterate. He has one son and two daughters. His son is B. Com. and two daughters are post-graduates (M. Com.). Here also we see educational mobility from illiterate to post graduation among three generations of this family.

3. Mr. Kunte, residing in Yerwada area, has one son and two daughters. He is educated till the 12th std. and his wife is educated till the 10th grade. His father was illiterate. His son is an engineering graduate, one daughter is a graduate (LL.B.) and the other daughter is studying in undergraduate.

4. Mr. Dhende, residing in Yerwada area, has two sons and two daughters. Mr. Dhende is educated till the 12th grade and his wife is an illiterate. His mother and father were also illiterates. His one son is 12th std. educated and the other is a post graduate (M.Sc.). His one daughter is a graduate and the other is studying.

5. Mr. Ranpise, residing in Dapodi area, is a graduate. His father was secondary educated and mother is primary educated. His grand father was alliterate. His sister is
in 12th std. Mr. Ranpise told us that he lost his father at the age of 15 years. But his mother continued his education and now he is educating his sister.

It indicates that the level of education is increasing very fast among the Buddhists.

5.3.2 Children Pursuing Education in Foreign Countries or out of City:

The Buddhists' aspiration for higher educational achievement became more evident when I asked the question, "Do your children stay in another city or in foreign country for education"? to the respondents.

A small percentage (2.6%) of the respondents said that their children are pursuing education in foreign countries and at other cities. Though 2.6% is a very low, still, we cannot neglect it because pursuing education in foreign countries shows that the Buddhists have achieved high educational aspiration. Out of this three respondents said that their children are studying in foreign countries. One respondent said that his son is doing a hotel management course in the United States and side by side he is also working there. After finishing his course from Food craft Institute, (FCI) Pune, he had joined the course in the United States. The second respondent said that his son is a
Doctor; he took his higher education in England. He went there through a scholarship and he is now planning to settle there. The third respondent said his son is a computer engineer, and that he had gone to the U.S. for higher education and job. The remaining four respondents' children are studying elsewhere in India but not in Pune city. One respondent said that his daughter is studying medicin in Nagpur; the second respondent told that his son is studying medicin in Dhule; The third and fourth respondents told that their sons are doing engineering in Warna and Kharad respectively.

The above discussion indicates that Buddhists have high aspiration as well as motivation for higher education. They have not only shown higher aspiration but also achieved upward mobility on the educational scale.
SECTION III: OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

5.4 INTRODUCTION

Education appears to open the doors for white collar jobs. In this section I have analysed the occupational mobility of the Buddhists. Occupational mobility of three generations is compared with each other. Three generations are distributed in different level of occupation from unemployed, labour / farmer, sweeper / peon / worker, small businessmen, clerk/teacher / supervisor, big businessmen, Government officer / doctor / engineer / professor. Additionally, I have also investigated the job satisfaction and whether the Buddhists have succeeded in achieving their goal or not.

The Buddhists have moved up on the occupation scale. Not a single Buddhist under study, is doing a traditional job. They are engaged in different kinds of non-traditional jobs. This in agreement with Patwardhan's (1973) data which show that in Pune, Mahars are not doing any traditional job. Most of them are engaged in non-traditional occupations. They are concentrated mainly in two areas. The first is government service, and the second is jobs in factories as skilled or semi-skilled workers. Mathew (1986) reported that the Mahars have shown greater upward mobility in their occupation. Two types of forces, internal and external,
are responsible for mobility among the Mahars. The internal forces are Dr. Ambedkar's leadership, his conversion movement and his organisational activities, socio-political struggle, and the sort of equality and freedom. The external forces are like industrialization and urbanization political development and the reservation policy.

Research on the occupational status of the Mahars a few decades ago tale a different story. Beher (1974) noted that the Neo-Buddhists group in Bombay are primarily employed as workers in the unskilled manual work category. Pradhan (1938) reported that the Mahars were employed in railways as coolies and gangman, in Mills in the rug department, and in Municipality as sweepers and coolies. Gokhale Institute, s 1952 Survey reported that most of the Mahars were employed as unskilled workers rather than skilled workers. The number of unskilled workers were double than that of the skilled workers. The present data show that there is a significant change in the occupational status of the Buddhists.
### Table no. 5.2 Occupational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>First Ascending Generation</th>
<th>Ego's Generation</th>
<th>First Descending Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer/Labour/</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweeper/Peon/worker</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Businessmen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk/Teacher/Supervisor</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Businessmen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. Officer/Engineer/Professor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>270</strong></td>
<td><strong>270</strong></td>
<td><strong>270</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                | 100%          | 100%            | 100%                        |

---

5.4.1 THE BUDDHISTS' OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY WITH REFERENCE TO THREE GENERATIONS:

---

178
Table 5.2 shows that in the first ascending generation a majority of the respondent's were farmers. But in the ego's generation not a single respondent is a farmer, and so also in the ascending generation. We did not find any body employed in the traditional occupations. It shows that the Mahars have left the traditional jobs. Their emigration to urban areas, may have contributed to this.

However, some Buddhists are employed as unskilled workers (sweeper, peon etc.) at present.

In the first ascending generation, some were engaged in unskilled labour as sweepers / peons / workers. Where as in the ego's generation, many are employed as sweepers/peons/ and as daily wage workers. In the first descending generation there are no daily wage workers but few are working as sweepers/peons and workers. The data shows that in the ego's generation more Buddhists are engaged in unskilled work. This is because they are the first migrants to urban areas.

Analysis of the occupational levels of the three generations shows that the Buddhists have achieved upward mobility on the occupational scale. At the level of class IV and Class III categories of occupations, the percentages
of respondents are decreasing from the first ascending generation to the first descending generation. At the level of class II and Class I categories of the occupations, the percentages of the respondents are increasing from the first ascending generation to the first descending generation. In the first ascending generation more than half of the respondent's were farmers. While in the second generation nearly half of the respondents are employed in white collar jobs and some in unskilled and skilled work. In the first descending generation, many are engaged in class I and Class II occupations.

Few case examples of occupational mobility in the research localities are given below:

1. Mr. Vishnu Kamble, residing in Yerwada area, is a retired corporation school teacher. His wife is also a retired primary teacher. His father was a farmer and was doing a traditional job. He has two sons and two daughters. One son is a doctor and settled in the United Kingdom and the other is a forest officer. His two daughters are teachers. We can see the occupational mobility in this family within three generations from traditional occupations to a doctor working in a foreign country.

2. Mr. Kadam, residing in Yerwada, is a retired Deputy Director of Social Welfare. His wife is a retired hostel
rector. His father was a hostel rector. He has one son and one daughter. His son is a Sales Tax Officer and daughter is a lecturer. We can see here a vertical and then horizontal occupational mobility within three generations of this family.

3. Mr. Dhiwar, residing in Yerwada area, is a retired primary teacher; his wife is also a retired primary teacher. His father was a labour in the railway. He has two sons and one daughter. His one son is a Superintendent of Police (wireless) in Bombay and other son is a Regional commissioner (Central) of Labour. Daughter is a section officer in Ammunition factory. Here also we can see fast occupational mobility.

4. Mr. Sonawane, residing in Dapodi area, is a clerk. His wife is primary educated. His father was a farm labourer. He has two sons and two daughters. His one son has cleared the competitive examination of Sales Tax Inspector, the other son is a lecturer in a junior college and two daughters are doing graduation. Mr. Sonawane's family is a lower middle class family. They stay in one room but have a high educational and occupational aspiration.

5. Mr. Gaikwad, residing in Bopodi, is a worker in a company. His wife is illiterate. His father was a farmer.
He has two sons and two daughters. His elder son is a M. Com. and a lecturer; one daughter is a diploma holder and working as a Junior engineer, another son and daughter are doing graduation in science. Mr. Gaikwad's family is lower middle class and stays in one room but has shown high occupational mobility within three generations.

6. Mr. Jagtap is a retired Deputy Collector residing in Yerwada. His father was a teacher. His wife is illiterate. He has four daughters and two sons. All his daughters are graduates and are married. His one son is an engineer and the other son is an officer in a bank. In this family we can see occupational mobility among the three generations.
After analysing the level of occupation of the Buddhists, I focussed on the Buddhists opinion about their own occupation and about their children's career.

The Buddhists are satisfied with their present conditions. They are very conscious about their children's career.

In order to find out their feelings about the present job I posed the question, "Are you satisfied with your present job"? My findings indicate that three-fourths of the respondents (74.1%) said they are satisfied while 25.9% said they are dissatisfied because there is no opportunity for occupational mobility. They are employed in low status, low salaried jobs.

More than half (54.4%) of the respondents said that they have achieved their aim, but 45.6% of the respondents said, though they are satisfied with their present job, they have not achieved their goal.

The Buddhists gave various reasons for failing to acquire their goal.

1. Some (23.7%) of the respondents said that they could not satisfy their basic needs. Their income was very insufficient and the status of their job was low. So they
were unable to achieve their goal.

2. Some (27.0%) of the respondents told that because of less education, or lack of education, they could not achieve their aim.

3. Some (13.3%) of the respondents said that they belong to the backward and the lowest caste. Because of poverty, lack of awareness, less education and lower caste status, they did not get good jobs and could not achieve their aim.

4. Some (14.8%) of the respondents said that they have other reasons, like family problems, and some personal problems, because of which they failed in achieving their goals.

The Informants are very conscious about their children's career. Most (86.7%) of the respondents are expecting better job opportunities for their children. Their expectations and hopes for their children are very high and they are encouraging and motivating their children to get high status jobs. They are aware of the educational facilities and the reservation policy which would provide opportunities to their children to get better jobs.

The Buddhists are very hopeful, and conscious, about their children's career. Though many of them are
dissatisfied with their present job, they are aware about their offspring's future. They hope that their encouragement, motivation, education and government welfare measures will help them reach their and Dr. Ambedkar's desired goal.
INTRODUCTION

In this section I have examined the Buddhists' attitude towards the reservation policy and the role of reservation policy in their social mobility. In addition to this I have also focused on the Buddhist's recommendations for eradication of casteism and bringing about socio-economic equality.

The policy of reservation evolved before Independence of India. The British Government of India had made communal representation in services up to 12 1/2% in favour of the backward and the weaker classes of society. In addition to this, for Anglo-Indians, certain reservation in the services was also made. The Government of India Act of 1919, recognised for the first time the claim for political representation of the backward classes. The Franchise Committee (1918-1919) stated that "We have been driven to the expedient of nomination for the representation of the depressed classes, because in no case did we find it possible to provide an electorate on any satisfactory system of Franchise".

Dr. Ambedkar, who is known as the principal architect and founding father of the constitution played a crucial role in including a reservation policy in the Constitution
of India. His idea was to protect the Depressed Class and his goal was to give them opportunity for higher education and share, in the political power of the country.

The Constitution has made the provision in the form of reservation for the upliftment and protective discrimination to the backward class, and to bring about equality in an inegalitarian Indian society.

5.5.1 The Buddhists' Attitude Towards the Policy of Reservation.

The Buddhists strongly support the policy of Reservation. Our data indicates that most of the respondents (95.2%) were of the opinion that there is a need for reservation for the Depressed Classes. The informants as well as the respondents gave two important reasons for the need for reservation. First, the respondents (86.7%) said that a large section from the Depressed Class is still backward. Their socio-economic condition is still very bad. All should come up. We can have an egalitarian society only if we provide special and preferential treatment to the deprived and weaker sections of the society. In addition to the above, Buddhists also said that the implementation of this reservation policy is not proper. It is only on paper. Till today, most of the responsible and prestigious administrative posts are occupied by upper castes. They are not filling the reserved quota.
Secondly, the respondents (65.2%) said that there is no alternative to reservation policy because in our society one's status is measured by birth. We are born in a caste culture. So the constitutional safeguard is needed to backward castes. Reservation is the only way through which the depressed classes or lowest caste can enter the government services and politics, and acquire higher education. Reservation is meant for overcoming social backwardness. Further, they mentioned that they take benefits of reservation as an oppressed community.

The Buddhists not only support the Constitutional safeguard, but they are also taking maximum benefits of government enactment. In this regard, Mathew (1986) reported that the Mahars are the real beneficiaries, of the reservation for scheduled castes. They have made attempts to secure representation in political field and because of this, they could go up educationally and occupationally in Maharashtra. Jogdand (1991) echoes the same view. In the present investigation the data show that almost all (97.0%) of the respondents are taking benefits of reservation. Only negligible (3.0%) of the respondents said that, they do not take benefits of available facilities. Out of this (97.0%) of the respondents, maximum (75.8%) respondents take total or full advantage of these provisions. While (21.2%) of the respondents take partial benefits of these facilities.

There are differences of opinion about reservation in
Respondents (89.6%) are of the opinion that reservation provisions in education are sufficient. But few respondents (10.4%) said that this provisions are not sufficient. It does not reach the needy people. There is corruption, delay, lack of information and guidance in implementing the policy.

Regarding reservation in employment, most (86.3%) of the respondents said that it was useful, while (13.7%) of the respondents said it was not useful at all.

Maximum number (68.1%) of the respondents are of the opinion that job reservation would ensure good jobs, but some (31.9%) of the respondents were dissatisfied about job reservation and said it could not provide good jobs. The informants also told that the job market is in the hands of upper caste, they do not fill the reserved post. Reservation in employment is just a propaganda.

A large number of respondents (86.71%) said that harassment and socio-economic oppression of the backward castes is still going on.

Three-fourths (74.8%) of the respondents said that in the government services, the administrator gives direct or indirect trouble to backward caste candidate. (52.6%) percentage of the respondents told that in private companies, the first preference is given to upper caste.
are of the opinion that the reserved seats in the government services are not filled. There is official apathy and delay in implementation of government scheme.

Much of the observations about policy of reservation have been based on elite perceptions. They have been most vocal as they have been able to grasp the key issues involved in the implementation of the policy.

The Buddhists elite are strongly in favour of the reservation policy and continuation of this policy. They said: "As long as casteism and discrimination prevail in our society, reservation is a must because the reservation policy is intended to bring about equality in society by enabling the deprived classes to come up. Reservation ensures, to some extent, the overall development of the SC/ST, their representation in the government services and education. Even if caste is annihilated by law, some sort of protective discrimination in favour of deprived classes may be necessary in the interest of justice and democracy".

The Buddhists elite also mentioned: "Reservation does not bring down the quality and standard of the end product. Everybody accepts that certain basic qualification is necessary for all types of jobs and profession. The elite also maintain that seniority and higher marks are not the indicator of efficiency and productivity. There are certain other illegal practices such as capitation fee, corruption,
donation, favoritism which affects the quality and standard of the end product. All human beings are equal. It is dependent upon how we train them and how we make opportunities available. It is an absolutely absurd opinion of the so called educated elites that people from lower community do not have the calibre to perform well. There is not effective implementation of this policy because of the anti dalit view of the upper caste. Reservation policy should be implemented more strictly by avoiding excuses given by decision makers and executives”.

Parvthamma (1984) stated that there is considerable delay and apathy regarding admission of reserved seats, and sanctioning the scholarship. Problems of untouchability still continue because the administration is apathetic. There should be strict action against those who are not enforcing the laws. Showeb (1986) stated that the Harijans are of the opinion that the welfare measures for them are not properly and fully implemented. There is delay, official apathy, corruption, lack of information and guidance.

The Buddhist elite are not in favour of economic criteria for reservation, they support caste criteria because for thousands of years, people of a particular community have suffered on the basis of caste and not on economic status.

They also said that there should be no economic
criteria for reservation because the scheduled castes who are economically better off but socially deprived will be deprived of job opportunities because of caste consideration by upper caste who control the job market. Reservation based on economic criteria is an 'eye wash'. It is superficial in relation to the structure of our economic system, and an economic policy. A large section of their society is kept below the poverty line. The economic policy should seek to accommodate and benefit the economically weaker sections and to break the cycle of poverty. Applying economic criteria for distribution of the benefits of reservation policy is not viable. Although, a microscopic minority of the SC/STs have acquired good positions, their social status has not changed as yet. They face several problems in the social sphere. The upper caste Hindus are very much bothered about maintaining purity of their caste. Hence the time is not ripe to apply economic criteria to the SC/ST. The elite look at it as an evil design of the caste Hindus to weaken the development process meant for these people. The concept of 'Creamy Layer' that has been applied for the OBCs, does not exist among these people in the true sense of the term, so the question of applying the economic criteria does not arise.

Ramchander (1982) stated that scheduled castes support caste criteria for reservation. It is only the dominant caste, which supports economic criteria or are opposed to the continuation of the reservation policy.
The Buddhist elite also complained that the implementation of protective discrimination policy is poor. The percentage of these people serving in Class I and Class II category is inadequate. Generally we notice that a majority of the employed SCs are placed in class III and Class IV services engaged in semiskilled and unskilled works. Further they mentioned that for details one can have a look at the reports of the commissioners for SCs and STs appointed by the Government of India from time to time.

They said that the bureaucracy must be held responsible for the poor implementation of the reservation policy. They suggested that the reservation policy should be implemented properly and rigorously. The very purpose of this policy has been defeated. Now reservation policy has reached a stage where critics as well as beneficiaries are unhappy over the development of this policy. By now, it is clear that the provisions of the reservation policy has succeeded neither in improving the socio-economic status of the SCs up to their expectation, nor fulfilled their aspirations. Gradually, there has been a growing discontent among the SCs/STs, both at the Central and State Government levels, over this issue.

The Buddhists elite also said that reservation as such is not a permanent solution to develop our society but it is a remedy against discrimination based on caste which is really detrimental to our national objectives to have an
5.5.2 The Buddhists' Recommendations to eradicate casteism:

The Buddhists are somewhat hopeful about the government enactment as it is providing opportunities in educational, occupational and political fields. They feel that these enactments would reduce caste barriers. A question "Do you think Government enactment would help eradicate the practice of untouchability or casteism"? was posed to them. Almost all (97.8%) of the respondents favoured abolishing the practice of untouchability. They have also suggested four necessary prerequisites to eradicate casteism which are as follows.

1. It is necessary to give importance to the individual rather than his caste:

Almost all (94.1%) the respondents were of the opinion that it is necessary to give importance to the individual and not to his/her caste. One's status in society should be measured by his or her calibre and not by birth in a particular caste. Caste should be a negligible criterion.

2. Should increase industrialization.

Most (82.6%) of the respondents are of the opinion that we should increase industrialization. Industrialization would lead to urbanization and modernization. More and more people from different caste background would live together and the caste barriers would reduce.
3. To encourage practice hypergamy marriages:

A few (20.4%) of the respondents have suggested hypergamy marriages. They said that there is need for hypergamy but now a days hypogamy is practiced. Upper castes allow their girl to marry a lower caste boy but do not allow vice versa.

4. To encourage inter-caste marriage:

A few (28.1%) of the respondents have suggested inter-caste marriages whether it is hypergamy or hypogamy. Inter-caste marriage is necessary for acculuration and would help to reduce social distance, and automatically eradicate casteism. But only one third of the respondents have suggested inter-caste marriage. It shows that the Buddhists are an endogamous group.

The Buddhists elite said that untouchability still prevails in India though legally it has been abolished. But, practically it still exists. We have a number of Acts/Articles dealing with this issue but they remain only on papers. A number of studies have been made on this line. Moreover, there has not been a rigorous application of acts of problems of untouchability. Whatever acts we have enacted so for, have been proved ineffective in this regard.

Therefore, they have suggested that intensive social education and secular education is necessary for abolition of the caste system at its roots. Inte-r caste marriage is also a remedy against the caste system. Economic structural
changes can give more and equal opportunities and benefits to citizens. It is necessary to have a very prudent and appropriate economic policy through which resources can be made available to everyone, with more or less equal share. Land distribution should be done irrespective of caste, and there should be radical land distribution to the land-less. Role of the progressive forces is also important to educate people and mobilize people against caste discrimination.

In addition to this, they think those who observe untouchability should change their mental make up and attitudes. It is a question of psychology. Expressing lip sympathy towards the untouchables will not help in eradicating untouchability.

5.6 CONCLUSION:

The Buddhists under study attached great importance to education and have shown a strong, positive, attitude towards education. They consider education as a key to change and one of the important forces in building ideology and achieving upward social mobility. They have also shown a positive approach for educating women from their community. The respondents have high educational aspirations, motivations and ambitions. They are keen on educating their children and give personal attention to their children’s studies. They are confident about their goals. The whole community is seen to be influenced by Dr. Ambedkar’s thoughts and follow his teaching i.e. education
is a key to get success in life and promote welfare of the community.

The Buddhists have shown upward educational and occupational mobility. The rate of literacy is increasing very fast among the Buddhists. Not a single respondent is doing traditional job. The respondents are very hopeful and conscious about their children's career.

The Buddhists are in favour of the reservation policy. They not only support the constitutional safeguards, but are also taking maximum benefits of government policies. Though the Buddhists under study are not happy about the implementation of reservation policy, they are hopeful about it, and they feel that reservation is providing opportunities in educational occupational and political fields. The Buddhists also feel that in addition to Government enactments there are several other things to be done. The Buddhist elite have strongly criticised the Government about the poor implementation of reservation policy.

The Buddhists are aware of the fact that reservation is not the permanent solution to develop their society, but they are hopeful and feel that it would help to reduce caste barriers. They look at it as a current remedy against the discrimination based on caste.