CHAPTER-2
AN OVERVIEW OF SELECT LITERATURE

An overview of select literature is presented here on social mobility and related aspects. This overview is divided in seven parts: (i) meaning and definition of social mobility, (ii) dimensions of social mobility, (iii) social mobility in the caste system, (iv) patterns of social mobility (v) levels of social mobility, (vi) factors of social mobility, and (vii) substantive issues etc.

2.1. MEANING AND DEFINITION OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

The word 'Mobility' is quite often used in our day to day conversations. Mobility very broadly refers to movement of some kind or the other. The concept of mobility has two common referents: Geographical mobility and social mobility. Geographical mobility refers to movement or change in actual physical space. Social mobility on the other hand denotes movement or change in social space that is, movement of an individual or a group of individuals from one social position to another e.g. when an individual, making use of an available opportunity, becomes a section officer from the position of an office clerk, he is said to have changed his social position from lower to an upper one. Any such movement from one position to another, which may be upward or downward, may be termed as social mobility.
An eminent sociologist, Pitirim Sorokin (1959:202), has offered a comprehensive definition of social mobility with emphasis on transition from one social position to another. He writes:

"By social mobility is understood any transition of an individual or social object or value anything that has been created or modified by human activity from one social position to another."

While defining social mobility, S.M. Lipset and R. Bendix (1959:266) state, "... Social mobility refers to the forces by which the individuals move from one position to another in society, positions, which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical value." They further add in the study of social mobility, "... We analyze the movement of individuals from positions possessing a certain rank to positions either higher or lower in the system."

The consensus that emerges from these prominent definitions is that movement from one social position to another by an individual or by a group constitutes social mobility in any society.

From Lipset and Bendix, we can gain an additional and important insight. They clearly state that any positional movement is to be recognized by the 'general consent' of the society, in which movement is taking place (Singh, 1987:168).
There are several other definitions but only the above important ones have been quoted here. The consensus that emerges from these definitions is that movement from one social position to another by an individual or by a group constitutes the basis of social mobility in any society. Putting it otherwise, one of the important pre-conditions in the process of social mobility is that the change in social space or position or occupation needs to be institutionalized. This means that if the people of the society concerned accept and value the accomplishments of individuals or groups, only then it is worthy of being called social mobility.

2.2. DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

The veteran sociologist, Max Weber (1947) suggests that power, wealth and prestige are three important parameters of social stratification. Eventually, the amount of accumulated wealth, power, leisure and the kind of life-style etc. are the probable indicators of social mobility for an individual or a group. But P. A. Sorokin (1959), in his early writings, has slightly modified Weber's ideas by emphasizing the role of occupation in social stratification. Thus, for Sorokin, political and occupational dimensions are important in determining the process of social mobility (Singh, 1987:171).

Social mobility may be operative in two different directions viz,
horizontal direction and vertical direction. P.A. Sorokin (1959:203) puts it this way, "By horizontal social mobility or shifting is meant the transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another situated on the same level. By vertical social mobility is meant the relations involved in a transition of an individual (or an object) from one social stratum to another."

Again, he divides vertical social mobility into two types: (1) ascending or social climbing or upward social mobility, (2) Descending or social sinking or downward social mobility.

Taking into consideration the time dimension, social mobility may be again of two types: (a) Inter-generational mobility, (b) Intra-generational mobility or career mobility. Inter-generational mobility refers to changes in the social positions of the individuals between two or more generations; intra-generational mobility or career mobility refers to the changes in the social positions of the individuals within the same generation.

Another type of social mobility is stratum mobility. Stratum mobility refers to the movement of an occupation class or stratum from a higher or lower position in the stratification structure-whether in term of income, prestige, skill or another dimension from one time period to another. Stratum mobility has been little studied and has been subject to
refer polemical assertion about relative improvements of the working
classes and middle-classes.

It may be observed that it is only during the past few decades that the
emphasis on the studies of intra-generational and inter-generational social
mobility has started receiving greater attention. The methodological
problem has been identified as relating to: (i) The aspect of mobility to be
measured, (ii) The unit of measurement and analysis being other,
individual, familiar or the community, (iii) Classification of occupations
based on either a single criterion of socio-economic prestige or complex of
several criteria, (iv) Dimensionally, whether it is uni-dimensional or multi-
dimensional, (v) Direction of mobility. In respect of the first problem of
the aspect of mobility to be measured two approaches have largely
dominated the investigation. One has been, as influenced by many to
develop a socio-economic classification scheme for occupations (Dubey,

Lenski (1954:27) has studied mobility in terms of status
crystallization. So far as social status dimension is concerned, he has
considered four vertical hierarchies, the occupational hierarchy being one
of them, for an estimate of intra-generational occupational mobility he
has adopted a three-fold occupational classification scheme.
So far as the problem regarding the unit of measurement is concerned, most of the studies have considered either total societies or some special communities or specific social stratum as the unit of society. Some studies have consolidated their attention either on the family or the individual or both as units of analysis. There is wide divergence in the approaches about the units of analysis. It also needs to be mentioned that the units of analysis refers to the reference points being either time, age or both, some have used one of them as the reference point and others have used both. Great confusion arouse in mobility studies whether they are studied inter-generational or intra-generational mobility. Rogoff (1953) studied affords perhaps the best suitable example of inter-temporal comparisons of two inter-generational tables but her methods also lacks many significant issues raised by Miller, Reisa and Dunkan and Hodge. Glass (1954) has offered still another approach by using the status profiles of subject of neglected edges. He has analyzed the process of intra-generational changes during the period between birth and entry in to gainful employment.

In most of the mobility measurement devices an attempt has been made to measure pure mobility which is almost analogous to individual mobility. It has been questioned that pure mobility being at the society level
can not be considered analogous to individual mobility. Further more, in most of the studies of inter-generational mobility, it has been customary to cross table the subject's present occupation status by this father's main occupation status, but this approach has been criticized by sociologists have constructive a measure of mobility which they have called as 'generational occupational mobility'.

Regarding the direction of mobility and the unit of measurement, mostly horizontal and vertical directions have been highlighted. The amount and distance of mobility have often been wholly ignored. The Indian scholars of social mobility, though aware of most of the methodological problems in studying the problems of social mobility, have tried to develop their indigenous frames of reference. For most of them, the reference point has been the caste or the individual or a family within a caste. While studying social mobility they have been concerned with the mobility at the corporate level in terms of caste or group as a whole and thus they have tried to examine the relevance of the concept of sanskritization or westernisation. In their specific studies of occupation mobility, the unit of analysis has been either the individual or the family. Their movements into traditional and secular occupations have been examined with reference to the relevance of reference group theory. For example K.L. Sharma
(1968) has conducted an important study and has developed the hypothesis regarding the role of units of ranking and individual performances in status determination in society. Different criteria of occupational rankings have been used such as income, prestige, power and ethnicity. Mostly intergenerational occupational mobility has been studied at the individual level. Only K.L. Sharma (1968) appears to have studied it at the levels of caste, individual and family.

It is in the above background that one may consider studies of social mobility conducted by Indian scholars in urban and rural settings. The theoretical orientation of these studies has been provided by western and Indian scholars like Lawrence (1950), Ghurye (1957), Bose (1949), Srinivas (1952), Dube (1955), Chauhan (1960), Pocock (1955), Patnaik (1954), Mukherjee (1957), Sinha (1967), Damle (1968), Lewis (1958), Marriott (1960), Gould (1961) etc. These scholars have mostly concentrated their attention on the relationship between caste and occupation. Their studies are mostly theoretical speculations, highlighting the fact that certain castes, particularly lower, in certain parts of the country have been seeking to adopt different traditional occupations than the inherited ones. Thus, they have provided the basic theme about the phenomenon of intergenerational occupational mobility in the Indian village society. In
empirical studies followed by these early works, emphasis has not been on occupations. It is only industrialization, urbanization, education, aspiration levels, technology have been taken into consideration and the movement in the direction of secular occupation has been considered. Mention may here be made of some of the studies conducted by Gist (1955), Shah (1971), Pandit (1965), Reddy (1966), Sharma (1968, 1971, 1975), Rao (1970), Rowe (1968), Lakshamana (1973), D'Souza (1975), Abraham and Subramanian (1974), Deb (1975). Most of these studies may be considered as of social mobility at the group level.

K.L. Sharma (1973:59-77), in six villages of Rajasthan, has considered mobility at three levels but his study suffers from several methodological defects. In most of the mobility studies efforts have been made to point out the direction of social mobility either in the horizontal or vertical directions. Also, conclusions have been drawn about the upward and downward occupational movements. Efforts have also been made to observe the factors that have induced occupational mobility.

For example, Silverberg (1968), Pandit (1965), Rosen (1966), Reddy (1966), have pointed out the change in the economy of the villages as inducing social mobility. A good number of Indian scholars have also emphasized a rural urban interaction as responsible for inducing
SOCIAL MOBILITY

Horizontal S.M.
- Upward S.M. (ascending)
  - Intergenerational S.M.
  - Process of U.S.M.: social, economic, political, educational, religious
- Lutra-generational S.M.
  - Process of U.S.M.: sanskritisation, kshatriyisation, elite emulation model, westernisation, reference status

Vertical S.M.
- Downward S.M. (descending)
  - Process of D.S.M.: social, economic, motivational, cultural, de-sanskritisation, tribalisation, bhangisation

Generalised-Decline (decline of a unit of society, i.e., individual, family, group and nation)

Structural Decline (changes in the organisational principles of society)
- Primary Structural Decline (the creation of new structural principles, organisation and units which replace the old ones by its self like Maoist Revolution)

Positional Decline (a movement of persons within a continuing structure of society)
- Secondary Structural Decline (indirect and immediately less effective changes to which individuals and groups are exposed by some organisation like Zamindari Abolition)

S.M. = Social Mobility
U.S.M. = Upward Social Mobility
D.S.M. = Downward Social Mobility

occupational mobility. Mention may here be made of the studies conducted by Krishnan (1961), Sharma (1968, 1973), Bopegamge and Kulahati (1972), Abraham and Subramarian (1974), D’Souza (1975), etc. It has been observed that Indian scholars while driving out their conclusions have mostly tried to relate their studies either to the concept of sanskritization or to reference group theory.

For purpose of the present study a theoretical frame of reference has been developed for investigation the phenomenon of intra generational, inter-generational and individual social mobility in a rural setting.

2.3. SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE CASTE SYSTEM: SOME REFLECTIONS

G.S. Ghurye’s *Caste and Race in India* (1932) was a pioneering work discussing the origin and development of the caste system. The six main features of caste according to G.S. Ghurye (1957: 18-30) are: (i) segmental division of society, (ii) hierarchy and groups, (iii) restrictions of feeding and social intercourse, (iv) allied and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections, (v) lack of unrestricted choice of occupation and (vi) restrictions on marriage. "Ghurye treats these features or elements as constituting a system but finds it difficult to explain the behaviour of the elements within the system. Most of these elements change even rapidity, but endogamy retains its stable character, hence it is the essence of the
Caste system (Singh, 1974: 402)."

Caste is often regarded as an immutable and closed system of social stratification in India. This is because of the fact that there is a hierarchical arrangement of castes within the caste system and the affiliation of an individual remains unaltered during the life span (Ghurye, 1957: 9). F. Barth (1960: 113-46) and G.D. Berreman (1967: 45-73) emphasize that caste is a structural phenomenon as it reflects upon the general principle of stratification with somewhat different manifestations and functions than other forms of stratification. Louis Dumont (1970: 10-12) and E.R. Leach (1960: 1-10) consider caste as a cultural system represented through the prominence of certain ideas found particularly in India. F.G. Bailey (1963: 107-24) is of the view that caste is a 'closed system' of stratification, hence 'organic' in nature. He refers to three types of definitions of caste namely, (i) 'rigidity' type, (ii) 'cultural' type and (iii) 'structural' type. He finds that a set of beliefs about pollution enforces status rigidity and immutability, or whether they are 'analytic' or 'synthetic' in nature. A structural view of the caste system is given by C. Bougle (1958: 7-30) in terms of hereditary specialization, hierarchy and mutual repulsion. Despite an apparent rigidity of caste stratification and the unchanging nature of occupation caste system neither was nor is
absolutely closed. This means that even within the rigid framework of the Indian caste system, some routes are still open for social and cultural mobility (Singh, 1974: 403).

2.3.1. Processes of Upward Social Mobility

Despite an apparent rigidity of caste stratification and the unchanging nature of occupation, caste system neither was nor is absolutely closed. This means that even within the rigid framework of the Indian caste system, some routes are still open for social and cultural mobility. We should discuss below some of the major processes of social and cultural mobility in the Indian caste system. Some major processes of upward mobility are Sanskritization, Kshatriyaisation, Elite emulation model and Westernization.

(i) Sanskritisation

M.N. Srinivas (1966) who is popularly known proposes a model of caste mobility through the process of emulation as 'Sanskritization'. This essentially refers to the efforts made by lower castes to emulate or copy the Sanskrit or Brahmin style of life. According to him (1966:63), "Sanskritization is the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently, twice-born caste." Many castes
occupying relatively lower positions in the system of caste hierarchy quite often imitate the cultural patterns of the higher castes. This is usually followed by a claim to higher rank or higher caste status.

To simplify, the castes occupying relatively lower positions in the system of caste hierarchy quite often imitate the cultural patterns of the higher castes. This is usually followed by a claim to higher rank or higher caste status. In this process, sometimes, the members of the lower castes adopt vegetarianism as a mark of ritual purity to claim a superior caste position. Ex-chamar leather workers in northern India, Balais of Rajasthan, Khatiks near Banaras and may other caste groups can be cited. Sanskritisation is indeed a very slow process for a caste to achieve a higher status by upward mobility. It is, however, observed that the process gets expedited or hastened it; the caste has somehow accumulated some economic and political power to claim a higher caste status. The case of the Noniyas of Eastern U.P. is revealing in this context. Economic power of this traditionally self-making and earth-moving caste has encouraged them to claim the status of the Kshatriyas in course of time.

(ii) Kshatriyaisation

Similar to the sanskriatic, or more appropriately, Brahminalical model of caste mobility, the existence and operationalisation of a Kshatriya model
is suggest by D.F. Pocock (1955:71-72) in his article, "The Movement of Caste". According to him in some instances, the people follow the model of king rather than a Brahmin due to profound influence of the king on the people. Pocock writes, "At any given time or place the kingly model is represented by the domain name political power in any area, and is mediated by the local dominant non-Brahmin caste or caste of that area." He has studied, with special reference to the Patidars of Gujarat, the operation of the Varna system in so far as it provides models by which various castes gauge their status. The Brahminical model may vary sharply with the actual model provided by local Brahmin castes. Also it is not only model, and may be complemented by a Kshatriya, or Kingly, model which is represented by the dominant political power in any area, such as the Mughals and British at different times, and is mediated by the local dominant non-Brahmin caste or castes. Everywhere, castes moving upwards imitate those versions of the Varna modules provided by the caste immediately above them in local hierarchy.

Surajit Singh (1957:122) also observes a similar process in the tribal regions of central India, where the lesser tribes adopt the "Rajput" style of life in order to improve their caste status in the local hierarchy. Stephen A. Barnett also shares the view with Pocock and Sinha by saying that a
Kingly model exists in South India as distinct from the Brahmin model, and both these models serve as referents for castes to emulate and claim a higher caste status.

As a reaction to the model of Sanskritisation and Kshartiyisation, Milton Singer (1968:22) has aptly remarked that the process of immolation as described about was dependent on the specific contexts. Hence many dominant castes in different pockets of rural India acted as reference groups for the lower castes to immolate their life style to eventually claim a higher caste status. It is exigent from his argument that it is not other caste, but some times, even merchants, peasants, or others are emulated.

(iii) Elite Emulation

While examining the political unsociability, O.M. Lynch (1969) has observed that political is developing process in rural India, particularly after independence. He suggests that post-independent parliamentary democracy and organization of different political parties have brought new paths for upward mobility.

The group which is often emulated is that of the elite and hence, he calls it the process of elite emulation. He, however, shows that the political participation paves the way for upward caste mobility, particularly after
Indian independence.

(iv) Westernisation

About three hundred years of British administration in India brought about many radical and lasting changes on Indian Society and culture. Note worthy among their changes were those in the fields of technology, education, employment, trade and commerce. Communication and politics affected the traditional Indian way of life. All these changes came about due to the Western influence, and hence, are termed as 'Westernisation'. It is indeed a very complex process, which is defined by M.N. Srinivas (1966:69-78) as “... an inclusive, complex, and many-layered concept. It covers a wide range from Western technology at one end to the experimental method of modern science and modern historiography at the other. Its incredible complexity is seen in the fact that different aspects of Westernisation some times combine to strengthen a particular process, sometimes work at cross purposes, and are occasionally mutually discrete.”

Despite its complexity, Westernisation favored same caste groups to take the lead in exploiting its advantages. For example the Brahmins in most part of India, the trading communities like the Parsis and Bamias, the Kontis, the Chettiars, the Kayasthas, the Baidyas e.g. made full use of
Westernisation to further their interests. Westernisation brought about new opportunities in educational, economic and political realms, which were basically caste free. These opportunities were instrumented in motivating many lower castes to fight for upward caste mobility. Since the lower caste people had realized that Sanskritisation was very slow and not enough to catch up with the high castes, they were determined to obtain Western education to achieve that goal sooner. This motivation led to the consolidation of different sub-castes, formation of caste associations, publication of journals devoted to caste welfare, collection of funds for endowing scholarships, building of hostels for the accommodation of students of the caste and reformation of caste customs etc. The ultimate aim was to achieve a higher caste status. The Yellalas and padaiyachis of Tamil Nadu, the Ahirs (cowherds) of U.P. and Bihar, the Gauras (Milkmen and Palanquin-bearers) of Orissa and many other castes refused to strike to their traditional obligatory occupations and, in the process came into confrontation with the higher caste people in their respective regions. Many local non-Brahmin movements were initiated against the Brahmin supremacy in Madras, Bombay and other center, being led by the Reddies and Kammas of Andhra Pradesh, the Vellalas of Tamil Nadu, and the Nairs of Kerala. The movement initiated by Jyoti Rao Phule under the banner of Satya Shodak Samaj and carried
forward by E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker aimed at stressing the worth of the human individual irrespective of caste.

Y.B. Damle (1968: 95-102) offers a theoretical and methodological approach to some mechanisms of social mobility, largely in an urban context. By translating mobility in a stratification system the structure, its values, the changes in rank positions for the various units of the system-into the motivations and reactions of the human organisms with regard to that system, he is operating at the level of social psychology.

Similarly, there were many other small-scale movements in various parts of the country. But the fundamental aim of all these movements was to achieve mobility on the part of the groups, which had lagged behind the Brahmins since generations. In order to achieve that, there were vigorous drives to acquire higher English education, employment in the Government, and participation in the new political process, which were made possible through the process of Westernization.

2.3.2. PROCESSES OF DOWNWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY

Downward caste mobility is also possible in the caste system, although it is infrequent and a very slow process. The concept of 'tribalisation' by S.L. Kali (Bose, 1951:112) deserves mention in this context. Kali describes how this process operates in Jaunsar-Bawar in Uttar
Pradesh and in the Basra region of Madhya Pradesh. According to him, when the higher caste Hindus temporarily stay among the tribal people, as it happens in some cases, they take over the mores, rituals, and beliefs of the tribal, which are in many respects antithetical to their own. He cites the substantive examples of Uttar Pradesh Brahmins staying in the region of Jaunsar-Bawar eating meat, drinking liquor and consort ing with the hill women of the area, participating in their rituals and gradually adopting their way of life. Misra and Behura (Bose, 1951:122) in a similar endeavor have established that in tribal Orissa, at least three artisan castes, viz. the blacksmith, the potter and the weaver, settling down in the tribal belt of South Orissa have been serving their tribal masters and have gradually taken over the tribal way of life.

In order to explain this, N.K. Bose (1951:122) argues that the culture ".... seems to flow from an economically dominant group to a poorer one when the two are tied together to form a larger productive organization through some historical accident."

Downward movement is also noticed by D.N. Majumdar (1958) and Shyamlal (1997) who used the concept of 'Desanskritisation and Bhanginisation' to explain a similar phenomenon. Majumdar concludes that the role of the dominant Thakurs in inter-caste relations comes out
strikingly in the mutual services and payment between Thakurs and other castes on the occasions of birth, mundane, marriage and death among Thakurs. In a general concluding discussion on the village, the authors discuss caste mobility. They reject the idea of vertical "capillary" ascent which he feels is implied in the concept of Sanskritisation, and thinks that the de-sanskritisation of secularization of upper castes has enabled lower castes to come up. But this mobility occurs as a horizontal spread, as where certain castes combine and compete with other castes. This "horizontal" mobility is more important than straight vertical mobility.

Satish Sabberwal (1972:120-146) in his study, "Status, Mobility and Network in a Punjabi Industrial Town", concludes that downward social mobility is generally unplanned, non-deliberate and innovational. He distinguishes between positional changes for the individuals concerned. For the first case he cites the abolition of princely privileges and the leather worker's decline due to a growing preference for factory-made shoes in the town he studied. With regard to positional changes Sabberwal cites an example of a candidate who repeatedly contests and looses expensive elections and consequently his position declines compared to what it had been earlier. K.L. Sharma (1973:61) comments, "Sabberwal's remarks on downward mobility are, however, casual and incidental, and his main
concern was with upward status mobility." Thus, there is a need to investigate social decline in the context of both organizational and structural change and positional change.

K.L. Sharma (1973: 59-77) explains that downward social mobility is a complex process involving social, cultural and motivational factors, and occurs in different land tenures and their abolition have affected differentially the people under these systems. In the case of the Zamindars downward mobility has been less compared to the Jagirdars, but the ex-jagirdars still occupy dominant economic position. The abolition that is the withdrawal of status respect has led to their detachment from village politics. The zamidars have, however, emerged as potential rivals to the emerging peasant proprietors. Again, as a result of the abolition some sections of the people have gone up and others have come down in social hierarchy. Both unequally and equally placed people have been affected differentially by the same measure. Domain-specific decline is generally a consequence of upward mobility. It is a characteristic feature of the depressed and lower castes that try to go up by discarding certain traditional occupations and obligations. It is, therefore, justifiable to state that both upward and downward mobility are possible even within the apparently looking rigid caste system in India.
2.3.3. Social Mobility in Occupational Perspective

Since times immemorial, occupations in India have been graded in a hierarchical order, from higher to lower. This occupational hierarchy has been viewed as based on either ritual, social or economic or power considerations. Based on any or all of these considerations the Indian occupational stratification system has been viewed by social scientists as rigid and unchangeable. Accordingly, occupational mobility, either upward or downward, in the occupational structure has been considered as impossible and unthinkable (Barber, 1957: 342). While a good number of Western and Indian scholars, on the basis of their mobility studies in the Indian situations conducted in the recent decades, have clearly come to the conclusion that the impetus for achievement has been a significant socio-cultural and psychological source of generating both horizontal and vertical, upward and downward individual and familial mobility in different parts of the country.

Social dimension of occupations is caste, though intimately linked with the ritual status of individuals in the hierarchy, does not appear to be analogous to economic and power dimensions of occupations. Max Weber (1958: 31) has noted this almost fifty years ago that an individual belonging to particular social strata may follow different occupations, higher or lower in the occupational hierarchy. A.C. Mayer (1958: 407-27)
has found about the Rajput of Ramkheri that they include people who follow both higher and lower occupations from the economic point of view.

M.N. Srinivas (1968: 169) has observed that while the traditional Indian Society has been relatively static in respect of its social and caste hierarchy, the tendency towards upward as well as downward social and caste mobility has never been discouraged. Thus, according to him, “caste mobility has been in evidence in many parts of Indian society in different historical periods.”

K.L. Sharma (1968) has further observed that upper castes are shifting to non-caste occupations and lower castes change their own traditional occupations to engage in the caste occupations of some higher castes. The occupations, which the upper castes have taken up, do not exist or constitute a part of the traditional occupational structure. For example, white-collar jobs do not exist. But labour and cultivation exist in traditional occupational structure of these villages. Chamars, Naiks and Nais have adopted labour and cultivation after they have discarded their respective traditional callings. It is also evident from the study that in spite of having larger number of among the lower-castes and intermediate-castes occupational change is much less as compared to the upper castes.

S.C. Dube (1955) has observed about Shamir pet, a village in South
India, where these persons are sub-divided into a "left hand" and a "right hand" groups. The left-hand group has handled stone breaking and shoe repairing which is considered a little inferior by the right hand people who are barbers and carpenters, occupations that placed the later just a little close to those engaged in clean occupations.

The occupational mobility of individuals and groups within lower social groups and their enhanced power vis-à-vis higher social groups, whether or not these changes get translated into an elevation of ritual rank for the corporate caste, may clearly be seen in economic and political interactions. While the reference group theory may offer valuable insights into this process from psychological point of view, but it creates difficulties from the point of view of broad sociological theory. Bernard Barber (1968) sees occupational mobility as occurring in response to significant changes in the adaptive requirements of a socio-cultural system and its component structural elements. Thus, he lists among the determinants of occupational mobility in India: changes in geographic environment and the nature of its exploitation; the opening up of internal "frontiers" in newly settled agricultural areas or in newly developing cities; changes in the impact of competing socio cultural systems including expansion and conquest by them; changes in technology; changes of demographic
nature, including changes in supply and demand affecting different specialist occupations and services, plus other "internal socio-cultural pressures". There may be some external factor also.

According to Leon Sindre (1958) an important external factor that has influenced both the upward and downward occupational mobility in India is successful military invasion and conquest. In such situations, lower caste Hindus sometimes unite their armed forces with those of the invaders and thus ensure a rise in their own position. A series of unusually good harvests, or a famine, both resulting from uncontrolled forces of the weather or natural pests, is another kind of outside factor that has contributed to upward or downward occupational mobility in India (Pocock, 1955:71-72; Harper, 1968:36-65). These external factors and certain internal social structural pressures for mobility sometimes work together, for example, population growth or decline.

Mason Olcott (1959:649-57) contends that the development of effective communication in modern time has significantly resulted in mass migration and change of occupations when inexpensive and convenient means of transportation become available, personal contacts increase job changes take place, then occupational mobility occurs. Therefore, no longer they're now in India a strictly unchanging occupational
group of the traditional type. This hypothesis seems to be born out by some statistical surveys that show that as communication, in its totality, increases in various parts of India through education, industrialization and through several welfare schemes, much of the rigidity of traditional occupational hierarchy appears to be breaking away.

K.E. Aberle Gough (1960:26) has found the frequent changes in occupations as influenced by variations in the supply and demand of the services for all the barbers, washer men, carpenters etc. Another internal social-structural factor that has led to upward and downward occupational mobility in Indian society is the concentration and dispassion of property that has occurred, depending on whether single or multiple heirs inherited from the older generations. Technological changes leading to new occupation have also been a source of some mobility in the Indian society (Barth, 1960:113-146).

E.K. Aberle Gough (1959: 115-26) examines castes in Kerala and Tajnore, which can be ranked according to relationships of servitude, and the degree of "onerous ness" to the servitor. The type of occupation followed by a caste, the power it gives the degree of pollution it conveys and soon, gives the caste its ritual status changes in servitude relationship lead to changes in ritual ranking. When such relationship breakdown all castes claim
equality with others, but, having no economic links, they continue to be segregated. Where some castes still dominate economically, the other castes tend to sink differences over respective ranking and to unite so as to increase their bargaining power.

William L. Rowe (1968:66-77) has conducted a study of caste mobility in North India as in 19th century, which persists even today, though partially, among the Noniyas, belonging to lower social strata in M.P., U.P. and Bihar. He presents the purer but rarely documented case of actual changes in rank by a part of an endogamous caste. After citing other documented instances of successful change in rank, he describes how an elite within the North Indian Sudra caste of Noniyas used its economic power to claim and eventually to gain a partially successful entry into the higher Kshatriya varna rank within a period of half of century through local acquiescence followed some resistance to their display of higher rank behavioral attributes.

Edward B. Harper (1968:36-65) in his study of the unsuccessful efforts of the people of lower social strata in Malnad, in the Northwest region of district Shimoga (Mysore) has made significant observations about some of the important sources of occupational mobility. This village, with its clear-cut jajmani system and characterized by the
institutions of slavery and indentureship, has maintained the traditional system of occupational hierarchy. Under such a system, occupational mobility is unthinkable. Occupations for various social groups, graded on the basis of ritual static. But those at the lowest rung of the social ladder have made an arduous effort to bring about a change in their ritual status through conscious attempts for occupational mobility. They have also attempted to change the rules of social and economic and power rankings. Such attempts have largely been successful. This, however, does not mean that occupational mobility is not taking place in other parts of the country.

In fact, there is a spurt in social mobility in many parts of the country, as with new industrial and technological developments there is a rapid expansion of the entire opportunity structure. This opportunity structure has chiefly expanded in two directions. One, of course, is the increasing urbanization. The new or growing cities have provided some new places for rising individuals and their families. The other is the opening up and settlement of the virgin waste. New land on which new village, could be established. This new land has constituted an internal "frontier" to which those hoped to improve their position could go.

Finally, it may be observed that in modern times, despite some
persistence of the traditional system of occupational diversification and its attendant patterns of occupational mobility, a different type of society and a different system of social stratification are emerging, with different pattern of social and occupational mobility based on the values of egalitarianism and competence. Now, as formerly, when the Indian social system is characterized as more rigid, occupational mobility is still which occurring these poses a potent challenge to the traditional order. This change may also be due to the demand of establishing a secular and more egalitarian society.

2.3.4. SOCIAL MOBILITY BY DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES

Scholars like D. Silverston (1963), V.E. Reddy (1966), N.K. Jaiswal and C.K. Ambastha (1970), H.P. Sharma (1971) and K.N. Sharma (1975) etc. have sought to analyse the impact of social and economic changes in post-independent India, particularly with reference to Five Year Plans, community development projects, land legislation, introduction of new farm techniques in rural India, expansion of new transport facilities for farmers, change in landholdings etc. on occupational diversification and consequent caste mobility in villages.

N.P. Gist (1954:129-138) has done research work in South India. He noticed considerable occupational mobility in both Mysore and Bangalore
cities, as those at the lower rung of the social ladder changed from manual labour to industrial work, those at the upper social ladder took to law and other professions, and those on the top left priesthood for medicine and teaching.

F.G. Bailey (1957) says that caste groups are united into a system through two principles namely segregation and hierarchy. According to him (1957: 123), "Castes stand in a ritual and secular (political, economic) hierarchy expressed in rules of interaction." He sees the caste system as a dynamic one. He remains that the ritual system in always brought into correspondence or overlaps with the political and economic status. Relationship between castes is not simply a matter of ritual practice. It is a matter of power because, in the caste system there always emerges a dominant caste to which many other castes are subordinate. In fact, the caste is held together because of the concentration of power (and force) observes that ritual rank is always consistent with political and economic status; once a caste becomes wealthy it changes its pattern of interaction with other castes so that it may claim a higher rank in the ritual hierarchy. He has studied by looking at inter-caste interactions in Bisipara village of Orissa and observed the status upliftment of lower liquor selling caste.

M.S.A. Rao (1970: 508-509), in a study of 'Education, Social
Stratification and Mobility', has clarified how occupation has become a relatively independent element of social status and the effect of education on occupational status. He has cited the case of Ahirs, who after getting education and being westernized have claimed to be associated with Yaduvanshi Kshatriyas (Yadavas) in the caste hierarchy.

Anil Bhatt (1971: 99-15) has analysed the post-independence situation of India in terms of mobility in India created by democratic, constitutional and competitive process, and has concluded that the importance of the ascriptive ritual status as a criterion of mobility has decreased and the significance of achievable criterion of status, like education and occupations have increased.

Andre Betteille (1974) states that in agrarian society, land provides an important basis for social cleavages. This is particularly true in those areas, like the region of met paddy cultivation in India, where the agricultural population contains a large proportion of people who are landless. They who have land not only maintain a better standard of living than the landless.

A. Bopegamage and R.N. Kulahati (1972) and V.S. D'Souza (1975) have analyzed following the lead given by Gist, the impact of industrialization and urbanization on social mobility. Scholars like B.
Krishnan (1961), K.L. Sharma (1968), H.P. Sharma (1971), M.F. Abraham and R. Subramaniam (1974) etc. have laid emphasis of the village to the city or overcrowding as influencing the rate and pattern of social mobility in rural and urban areas.

B.R. Chauhan (1967) has stated that future researches can be modeled both along inter-caste and intra-caste dimensions. The dominance of castes or of classes within castes can now be tested in different regions of the country. Education and politicization are making their dent into village community is initially disturbing the existing equilibrium. Questions have been raised on this formulation. Whether the new forces are essentially oriented towards consolidation of the previous social positions or whether the new forces have provided the higher to depressed sections with new avenues for altering their positions.

S.M. Dubey (1975) studied six professions in a city: civil railway officers, college teachers, engineers, lawyers, medical doctors and university teachers. He finds that high degree of spatial mobility has taken place among engineers and doctors. Lawyers are the least regionally mobile group. In the two generations, the move was from manual and traditional to non-manual occupations and to white collar jobs. There are greater chances and better opportunities for the sons of such fathers with increasing education.
now more people want to go in for the urban occupation. These upper castes are still very much dominant. Intergenerational educational mobility has much to do with nature of family. In last the three generations a lot of change has been brought about by upward mobility, but on the whole, Indian society in general and the middle class in particular has been passing through a phase of transition and most of them are still marginal in their outlook and way of life.

K.C. Alexander (2000:243-273) writes, in "Rural Development Studies in the Eighties" in ICSSR's Third Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology, that caste still played a big role in rural areas. D.V. Raghava Rao's (1980) study of 172 Gram Panchayats of Tumkur district in Karnataka concluded that contrary to expectations, there existed a "dominant caste" at the regional level which influenced the role of Gram Panchayats in administering rural development with social justice. A study conducted by S.M.Iqbal and Anis Zaidi (1988) held the same view and in addition they pointed out that the dominant caste or class needs not be numerically strong, but the central location occupied by the particular community, in spite of its lesser numerical strength in the whole Panchayat, gave it a place of political power and dominance. The study of human and social factors in people's participation by M.L. Snathanam and others
(1982:45-57) confirmed that high caste groups were dominating the rural organizations.

Minna Saavala (2001: 293-318) examines some religious means that socio-economically-mobile low caste families use to identify themselves as "middle-class people" in an urban setting in the south Indian City of Hyderabad. Special attention is paid to the situation of ex-untouchables whose religious strategies, though partly specific to them, nevertheless reveal tendencies that are general among low caste Hinduism urban areas. The portrait of an ex-untouchable family in Hyderabad and the arrangement of the ritual of Sri Satya Narayana wratam illuminate the Hindu religious strategies that they consider pivotal in the acquisition of social respectability. Although low caste middle-class people share certain of the cultural conceptions of the wider Indian (Hindu) scene, they interpret ritualistic Hinduism in a non-hegemonic frame, emphasizing features that may differ radically from the dominant version of cultural competence. The another shows that new middle-class people seek to create a "middle-class Hinduism" devoid of caste, and focused on auspiciousness, rather than purity and pollution.

Andre Beteille (1980) re-evaluates the prospects for a casteless and classless society in India in the light of the arguments advanced by M.N.
Srinivas (1966) and his warnings about the deep-rootedness of the hierarchical social structure. A distinction is made between "hierarchical" and "competitive" forms of inequality, and the social demarcations represented by different caste terms in the former type are described across Indian history; inequalities based on factors other than caste are also noted, e.g. in male-female, patron-client, and master-servant relations. The impact of Westernization and the formation of a class system are discussed, demonstrating how the rise of a new middle class has brought about a decline in hierarchical inequality, but has created new forms e.g., competitive inequality. Education and employment-related dimensions of the current class structure are analyzed, and opportunities for equality in these areas are assessed. It is concluded that Srinivas's assessment of the dim prospects for India's becoming classless and or casteless are still relevant today. Changes in social policy will have little impact unless they acknowledge different types of inequality, their sources and legitimacy.

These studies are justifiable to state that both upward and downward mobility is possible even within the apparently looking rigid caste system in India. These select studies have largely focused upon changes in rank position not only by castes as local or regional units but also by individuals, households, linkages, and other units within castes relative to one another.
from the same or from neighbouring localities and on the possible
connections between the processes of castes mobility like Sanskritization,
Urbanization, Industrialization etc. But these caste studies remain largely
limited to 1970's and earlier. A lot of changes have occurred during the last
25-30 years. T.K. Oommen (1970: 293-318) states that the three substantive
areas joint family, caste system and village social system - around which
most of rural studies were focused in the fifties and early sixties, seem to be
going out of fashion. This is certainly an unfortunate trend in that we need to
have a clear understanding of the nature of these basic institutions in the
contexts of the on going processes of change.

Among earlier studies, S.M. Miller (1960:13) states social mobility as
a change occurring in the economic, political or social orders. Each of these
orders or dimensions can have several indicators of change for example the
social dimension might have the indicators of change in social reference or
of changes in patterns of association (as in the friendship cliques and
voluntary associations). On the other hand Anthony Giddens (1989:30)
states that the term social mobility of individuals and group between
different socio-economic position.

2.4. PATTERNS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

There are several patterns of mobility. Some patterns are
only illustratively presented here. K.L. Sharma (1994:206-7) states that structural enforcements that were brought to mitigate the caste distinctions have been proved ineffective so far. The legal enactments have strengthened caste sentiments and loyalties. Some changes, particularly land reforms, have, however, brought significant class like changes within the caste structure. Horizontal status distinctions within the caste have been considerably effective to change the caste structure, or of 'proletarianization' and bourgeoisiefication'. Some former Zamindars and big land owners have become big peasants. Economic inequalities are thus reduced in some cases. But to achieve an egalitarian pattern of society such more effective radical changes are needed. As such decentralization of power, abolition of untouchability and adult suffrage has almost been infructuous.

The following patterns of mobility may be discerned in caste structure on the basis of foregoing analysis:

a) Marginally going up: some families and groups of families have raised their status marginally within their own castes. This change is reflected through changes in their customs, practices, occupations, education and income. These changes essentially imply a social climbing.

b) Marginally going down: The reverse of the pattern of marginally
going up is the pattern of marginally going down. Adherence to the so-called defiling and degrading callings and practices lowers down status compared to those who have discarded the degrading occupations and taken up the clean and prestigious occupations and practices. This applies to some families of several lower and upper castes.

c) Maintaining status quo: There are families and castes, which have faced a number of attacks on their caste ranks. The landowning and priestly castes, such as the Rajputs, Brahmins and Jats have been facing new challenges and situations since Independence, but they have been adjusting themselves in such a way that no significant shifts have taken place in their caste ranks. The loss they had suffered has been compensated with regard to high education, lucrative jobs, cash income and political power.

2.5. LEVELS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

In India caste structure has been the most prominent phenomenon. Thus any reflection on mobility has to take note of the mobility in the context of caste system. In Indian context there are four viewpoints about mobility in caste structure which could be ascertained. Firstly, M.N. Srinivas (1966) has emphasized the need for sanskritization and
westernization as conceptual tools for understanding of mobility in the caste system. He holds that 'corporate mobility' still remains basic at the caste or jati level, as familial mobility does not obtain public recognition. Secondly, on the contrary, Burton Stein (1968:78-94) points out that the mobility of families and individuals was pronounced in medieval South India, and that should help to analyze and understand the present day mobility in caste structure. Thirdly, Mckim Marriott (1968:103-114) thinks that caste could be understood within the frames of references, such as the rural versus metropolitan and traditional Varna versus modern national for secular arena ranking. And fourthly, O.M. Lynch (1969:209-240) and Y.B. Damle (1968:95-102) apply reference group theory to understand caste and individual mobility in India.

There are three important levels at which mobility takes place in caste structure: (1) mobility of one or a minority of families within a caste to a higher/lower position; (2) mobility of a group or majority of families within a caste to a higher or lower position; and (3) mobility of individual members within a family belonging to certain caste(s). These levels of mobility in the caste structure indicate that mobility takes place at individual, family and group levels. Mobility in caste structure at these levels takes place simultaneously. Mobility at one level is not in contrast
with the same process at other levels. The same family may bear mobility at all the three levels. This is also true for other two levels. Thus, mobility in caste structure is both interrelated and discrete (Sharma, 1994:198-206).

2.5.1. Mobility of a Minority of Families within a Caste

Differential privileges and positions that families and individuals enjoy in the village community inspire mobility at the level of family. Families of the same caste, of other castes in the same village and of other villages and towns may operate as reference points for mobility at the family level. Mobility at the family level depends basically upon the attributes of the family concerned without necessarily being determined by the rank of a caste. All the families belonging to a caste do not possess a common set of attributes, which may enable them equally to have mobility. Thus, the families within the same caste witness differential patterns of mobility without any change in caste structure. Such mobility accentuates 'class-like' differentiation (Leach, 1960) within the hitherto same social group (caste). These increased distinctions of status and prestige may be termed as 'positional' changes (Srinivas, 1966) within the segments of the village community. These changes in the direction of upward status mobility are basically achievement-oriented; however, role of ascriptive determinants, such as, caste rank, family background, landed property, etc. cannot be overlooked and undermined.
2.5.2 Mobility of a Group or a Majority of Families of a Group

Mobility of a group or a majority of families of a caste is not essentially in contrast with mobility at the level of family. The same family may have mobility simultaneously at both the levels. The major distinction between the two levels is that the 'corporate' (group) interests are given priority at the caste level, whereas at the family level the interests of family concerned predominate. In the former, collective striving is involved, while in the latter individualistic-achievement is stressed for status upgrading. Another distinction is that mobility at the caste level generally operates with regard to socio-cultural customs or matters regarding pollution-purity while mobility at the family level takes place in the socio-economic and political domains, and it is concerned with real power and influence in the village community.

2.5.3. Mobility of an Individual within a Family

The mobility of an individual within family implies enhancement or degradation of status of an individual without necessarily affecting the social position of his family and caste to which he belongs. Caste (group) mobility and family mobility are, however, interrelated, and therefore, this distinction between family mobility and individual mobility within the context of caste is devised mainly for analytical purposes.

Mobility at the level of individual is more concerned with
psychological processes, such as aspirations, ambitions, frustrations, etc. and therefore, it can be better explained by the theory of reference group behavior. Individual mobility is observable when we find that some individuals are esteemed high irrespective of their caste, class and family statues. It is mobility in personal status of an individual, which is a combination of his caste status and non-caste status. A particular member in a family is highly respected, whereas his real elder brother and cousins are not, sometimes including his own sons. The aspirations of individual members thus differ even; indicate a class-like pattern of mobility within an organically closed stratification system. These individuals are invariably social workers, men of integrity and character and generally educated. While observing these individuals, we may find individuals to whom we could label as 'negative' reference individuals in Mertonian sense.

Education and sanskritization are two main factors responsible for mobility at the individual levels. The mode of orientation in the mobility at the individual level is essentially achievement-oriented, and therefore, such mobility is least corporate in character and action. Individualism prevails over collectivism within the family; however, the latter is generally benefited by the achievements of its individual members.
2.6. FACTORS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Mobility as a social phenomenon is the result of multiple factors. The evolutionary change in the system of transportation shortened distance, time and place, resulting in a high degree of horizontal mobility in the form of immigration, displacement and shift from one place to another. Growth of population is another factor, which is producing regional and territorial mobility. Growth of population and lack of resources have often forced people to leave their original place and to move to other places in search of employment. The industrial mode of production has influenced even the political system of the world. Early industrialization can easily be considered as a factor in the rise of imperialism and colonialism. Finally the present system of transferable services too is one of the important factors of horizontal mobility (Dubey, 1975:106).

Vertical social mobility is also influenced by a number of factors. Sorokin (1959) has divided the factors of social mobility into primary and secondary factors. Among the primary factors are:

1. Demographic factors which lead to the dying out of the upper strata or their relative dimensions in the population,

2. Dissimilarity of parents of children,

3. Change of environment specially anthropo-socio environment,
4. Defective social distribution of individuals within social layers.

Local and temporary factors have been included within secondary factors by Sorokin. Some other factors discussed are like-the pace and degree of vertical social mobility depends on a number of other prominent causes viz. patterns of stratification, educational opportunities, urbanization and psychological motivation.

Though the degree of social mobility and the height at individuals' aspirations may differ from group to group yet there is no sure reality which can be cited as an example of immobile society. S.M. Miller (1960) has also discussed some factors of social mobility like-

1. The geographic unit of analysis,

2. The time factors,

3. Males, females and ethnicity and

4. Frequency direction, stability and height.

S.M. Lipset and R. Bendix (1959) discuss two basic reasons why social mobility exists in every society:

1. Change in demands for performance and

2. Changes in supplier of talent.

Social mobility in castes occurs due to a number of factors. These
factors may broadly be classified as social, occupational, educational and political.

Social factors include style of life, ritual practices, modernization, westernization, urbanization and secularization of upper castes. Style of life and westernization are found as important factors by M.N. Srinivas (1966), Y.B. Damle (1968) and D.F. Pocock (1955) and ritual practices, modernization, urbanization and secularization of upper castes have been observed by D.N. Majumdar (1958), Victor D'Souza (1975) and K.L. Sharma (1968).

The most commonly sought for channel is change of occupation. By trying to enter into occupations that are better valued, individuals try to attain social mobility. The occupations generally have economic as well as social dimensions. Thus by entering into an occupation that is higher in occupational hierarchy at the same time enhances social ranking. Proponents of the modernization perspective in the Indian context e.g. F.G. Bailey (1957), Raghava D.N. Rao (1970), K. Singh (1987), A.C. Mayer (1958), M.N. Srinivas (1966) and K.N. Sharma (1975) see caste being steadily undermined by socio-economic factors linked to urban industrial society.

The nature of the interaction between education and social

State and political factors also play an important role in mobility. The role of state in terms of land related legislation like K.L. Sharma (1973) has studied land reforms and zamindari abolition. Anil Bhatt (1971) has found that post-independence democratic, constitutional and legal structures and competitive political processes have accelerated the rate and pace of mobility.

A.K. Majumdar and K.K. Das (1960), following the lead given by Gist, have analyzed the influence of migration from rural to urban areas, as influencing occupational mobility. S.N. Ratha (1970: 248-256) has found religion as an important constraint on the pattern of social mobility.

J. Matras (1961), V.E. Reddy (1966) and G. Rosen (1966) have analyzed the influence of demographic factors like fertility, morality, age
differentials, sex etc. as also economic changes as influencing the pattern of social mobility in villages.

These factors thus observed to accelerate mobility in society. Thus the study of these factors is important, as these factors appear to enhance social ranks, positions and statuses.

2.7. SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

There are various studies are related to caste and mobility in caste system, these studies have found mobility at individual, family and group level in India.

Findings of theses studies show that social scientists have given useful details on caste mobility. They have analyzed social, economical political, educational, occupational, cultural and religious factors through same processes such as Sanskritisation, Kshatriyasisation, Westernisation, Tribalisation, and de-sanskritisation etc. Many authors have tried to examine "social mobility consequences" of caste system in India. To recapitulate, the theoretical formulation, and to facilitate further studies, it would be useful to present some substantive propositions:

1. An egalitarian and secular constitution and laws have been greatly instrumental in converting education, occupation, various other class characteristics, political power, leadership positions, civic and
political privileges from being ascriptive aspects of status to the achievable, and we can see low castes have begun to acquire education, higher level occupations, political influence and leadership positions.

2. More importantly, the competitive political process has de-emphasized ritual status, the traditional criterion of mobility and emphasized new secular criteria of mobility namely education, occupation, political influence and leadership positions.

3. Consequently, a major means of mobility in traditional India-Sanskritisation is being bypassed in favor of politicization and modernization. The decreasing significance of Sanskritisation has made possible rapid mobility as it took a generation or two for a caste group to successfully claim higher ritual status.

4. The changed situation has made mobility possible for very low status and untouchable castes to whom Sanskritisation was denied owing to some legal and ritual sanctions. It has also made individual mobility possible, as Sanskritisation required the whole caste or sub-caste, to try to acquire "Sanskritic" practices.

5. The democratic political structures and processes in India have created the possibility of reducing the positive relationship between
ascriptive (caste) status and achieved (education, occupation, income) status in turn creating the possibility of changing the "Status Summation" characteristic of India Society and of increasing the incidence of status incongruence.

Lastly, on the basis of these studies, we can say that many changes are coming up in the caste system.