SCHEDULED CASTES – A PROFILE

The present chapter, describes the statistical information of SC population at the national and the state level. It enumerates the government policies and safeguards provided to SCs. The relevant literature is also reviewed.

The scheduled castes, constitutes hundreds of jatis distributed all over the country. They are largely illiterate, backward and poverty stricken. More than 50% of the scheduled caste population is below the poverty line (1991 census). They continue to suffer from socio-economic disabilities.

The total population of the scheduled castes as per the 1991 census was 138.2 million, excluding Jammu and Kashmir where 1991 census was not taken. The scheduled castes constitute 16.48 percent of the total population of India. The largest concentration of the scheduled caste is found in Uttar Pradesh (22% of total scheduled caste population in the country) Andhra Pradesh where the present research is done, stands fourth amongst the highest scheduled caste populated states, with 1.06 crores of SC population (1991 census). The state’s SC population constitutes 7.6% of the total population of the country.

Almost half of the total scheduled caste population live in the five states of the Hindi-speaking belt i.e., Uttar Pradesh (23.5 million), Bihar (10 million), Madhya Pradesh (7.3 million), Rajasthan (5.8 million) and Harayana (2.5 million). In the South, they are concentrated mainly in Tamil Nadu (8.8 million) and Andhra Pradesh (7.9 million). The highest ratio of the scheduled castes to the total population is in Punjab (27 per cent), followed by Himachal Pradesh (25 per cent), West Bengal (22 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (21 per cent) and Harayana (19 per cent).

As per the 1981 census, there are about 1,000 Scheduled Castes registered in India. Some of the castes number to several million members each. The largest of these castes are the Chamars (one-quarter of the number of the scheduled castes), Bhangi, the Adi-Dravida, Pasi, Madiga, Dusadh, Mali, Parayan, Koli (Kori), Mahar, Adi-Karnataka, Namashudra and others. Each Indian state has its own list of scheduled castes and the number of scheduled castes, vary from one state to the other.
For example, the list of Karnataka contains 95 such castes. Orissa-88, Rajasthan-76, Tamil Nadu-74, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh consisting of 60 each, and so on (census of India, 1981).

The decadal growth rate of the scheduled caste population has been more than that of the general population during the last decade i.e., 30.99 percent as against 23.79 percent for the general population. More than 81% of the scheduled caste population live in the rural areas and the remaining 19% live in the urban areas.

In India, the sex ratio of the general population is 927 females per 1,000 males whereas the sex ratio of the scheduled caste population is 972 females per 1,000 males. In the state of Andhra Pradesh the sex ratio of the general population is 922 females per 1,000 males whereas the population of the scheduled caste is 969 females per 1,000 males (Census of India, 1991).

There is an increase in the literacy rate among SCs at the all India level, from 21.4% in 1981 to 37.4% in 1991. The literacy rate among SC males increased from 31.1% in 1981 to 49.9% in 1991, while among the SC females it increased from 18.2% in 1981 to 23.76% in 1991. The male-female literacy rates of scheduled caste population, both at the all-India and the state level, are low compared to the general population. The female literacy rate of SCs is lagging behind that of the males.

**TABLE 2.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>52.21</td>
<td>37.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.P.</td>
<td>44.09</td>
<td>31.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Literacy rate relates to population aged 7 years and above

Table 2.1 shows the literacy rates of the general population, compared to the scheduled caste population, both at the all India level and at the A.P. State level. In A.P. the literacy of SC population is 31.59% with male literacy 41.88% and female literacy 20.92%. This is less compared to the All India SC population and even less compared to All India general population (Census of India, 1991). The table depicts
that there is a big gap between SC and general population. It is much lower among females.

The rise in literacy continued to be uneven, regionally as well as between the sexes. Regional variations of female literacy indicates that Mizoram has the highest SC female literacy rate of 81.25%. On the contrary in 1991, about 93% of SC females in Bihar and about 92% of SC females in Rajasthan are found to be illiterates. Illiteracy is also high in the states of A P., M P., Bihar and West Bengal.

Regarding higher levels of education in the rural areas of Andhra Pradesh, out of 67,52,368 scheduled caste population, only 5,150 (15%) males and 667 (.02%) females are educated till graduation and above. Whereas in the urban areas, out of 12,09,362 population only 8,570 (1.4%) males and 1,660 (.3%) females are graduates and above. This indicates a very grave situation regarding higher education among scheduled caste people (census of India, 1981).

Thus the progress of literacy among Dalits in general, and among Dalit women in particular, presents a dismal picture. According to Prof P. Leela, illiteracy and lower levels of education lead to several problems like: unemployment, exploitation, lower economic and social status and sub-human conditions of living, which gradually push them below the poverty line and they have to lead miserable living. It also leads to poor upbringing of the children and high infant mortality rates (Leela, 1999)

The bulk of the scheduled castes who live in the rural areas are agricultural workers, sharecroppers and peasants owning small plots of land. More than one-third of the total agricultural workers of India belong to the Scheduled Castes. The next largest category among the scheduled castes is the farmers-23.2 per cent (all-India index 41.5 per cent) This category includes both sharecroppers and small peasants. A vast majority of these do not possess their own land. Amongst all the scheduled caste households who have land at their disposal, 68.8 per cent have plots less than 1 hectare and 16 per cent households having 1 to 2 hectares. Thus, more than 85 per cent of the scheduled caste households owning land, possess the tiniest or smallest plots of land. In the urban areas, the SC people work as unskilled labourers or are employed mainly in the service sectors. Majority of them, i.e., 84 per cent of the members of their families are engaged in unskilled labor. These are loaders, porters,
cycle-rickshaw-pullers, sanitary workers, workers in stone quarries, etc. Almost all persons engaged in jobs like sweeping, scavenging and tanning belong to the SCs. Only a small percentage i.e., 20.3% of them are industrial workers, transport workers, state and municipal employees (Yurlova, 1989).

In the traditional Hindu society, the Harijans were forced to live a subhuman life. They were debarred from drawing water from public wells, tanks and even rivers. They were disallowed to stay in public inns, prohibited temple entry and denied educational facilities. In some places, even their shadows were supposed to be polluting, let alone their touch. The Chandals were required to strike a piece of wood as a warning of their approach while entering a city or bazar so that the people might not be polluted by contact with them. In some parts of the country, they were disallowed to enter a city or a common place after some hours of afternoon lest their long shadows coming out of a westward Sun may pollute the higher castes. Sanctions against the imitation of the styles of life of the upper castes were applied most stringently to the Harijans. In the south Indian villages until recently, Harijans were prevented from living in brick or tile houses and were banned for wearing upper garments or garments made of silk. The social identity of the Harijans is highlighted by the fact that they are generally required to live at a distance from the main village settlement.

Though Untouchability has legally been abolished, the caste prejudices are still practiced and the sufferings still continue. The residential pattern of the Harijans is still on the outskirts of the habitation; their vocational pursuits are still considered inferior and their educational progress is still slow.

ANDHRA PRADESH-

The Total Area of the state of Andhra Pradesh is 2,75,045 sq.km. The total population of the state is 6,65,08,008 with 1,05,92,066 SCs constituting 15.93% of the total general population (1991 census) of the state. As per the 1991 Census there are 22,22,811 SC house holds in Andhra Pradesh (SC/ST Commissioners report, 1991).

In the state of Andhra Pradesh, according to the Supreme Court orders (Amendment) Act, 1976, No. 108 of 1976, dated the 18th Sep. 1976, sixty castes are listed as scheduled castes. Alphabetically they are Adi Andhra, Adi Dravida, Anamuk, Aray Mala, Arundhatiya, Arwa Mala, Banki, Bavuri, Beda Jangam / Budga
Jangam, Bindla, Byagara, Chachati, Chalavadi, Chamar / Mochi / Muchi, Chambhar, Chandala, Dakkal / Dokkalwas, Dandasi, Dhor, Dom / Dombara / Paidi / Pano, Ellamalawar / Yellamalawandlu, Ghasi / Haddi / Relli / Chachandi, Godagali, Godari, Gosangi, Holeya, Holeya Dasari, Jaggali, Jambuvulu, Kolupulvandlu, Madasi Kuruva / Madari Kuruva, Madiga, Madiga Dasu / Mashteen, Mahar, Mala, Mala Dasari, Mala Dasu, Mala Hannai, Malajangam, Mala Masti, Mala Sale / Netkarni, Mala Sanyasi, Mang, Mang Garodi, Manne, Mashti, Matangi, Mehtar, Mitha Ayyalvar, Mundala, Paky / Mati / Thoti, Pambada / Pambanda, Parmidi, Panchama Pariah, Relli, Samagara, Samban, Sapru, Sindhollu / Cindollu (Census of India 1991)

In the state, the population of the SC is spread throughout the 23 districts. Their population is the highest in the district of Nellore (21.9%) followed by Prakasam (20.0%), Krishna (18.6%), Adilabad (18.5%), Chittoor (18.4%), Nalgonda (17.7%), Mahabubnagar (17.8%), Rangareddy (17.2%) and Warangal (17.2%) districts. Vishakhapatnam has the lowest Scheduled Caste population (7.8%)

Of the several SC groups, ‘Madiga’ constitute the largest group and their percentage in the total scheduled caste population is 43.55% in A.P. This is followed by ‘Malas’ 36.60% and ‘Adi Andhra’ 10.67%. These three castes together form the bulk of the total scheduled caste population in the state, accounting for as much as 90.82% The remaining 57 castes constitute just 9.18%. Most of the other castes are merely the offshoots of these two castes.

Andhra Pradesh is divided into three distinct regions, the Circars or the coastal region, Rayalseema and Telangana. Malas are the predominant Scheduled Caste group in the Circars whereas the Madigas are the largest group in Telangana. In case of Rayalseema, the proportion of the Malas and Madigas is about the same. It is rare to find these two castes i.e., Mala and Madiga equally represented in different areas or even within a region.

Each caste has its own distinguishing characteristics. Like the “clean” castes, they are sub-divided into numerous castes placed in a definite hierarchy of subordination within the state. There are among them some, which are socially and economically more developed than the others. They are distinguished by a higher level of literacy and a variety of occupations, which are connected with their being free from traditional bounds, and this possess a higher level of political culture. The
following belong to such castes: Chamar of the North (they constitute 61 per cent of the lower caste population there), Mala in Andhra Pradesh (40 per cent), the Adi Dravida in Karnataka (12 per cent) (Chitnis, 1977)

This unequal social status is seen among different scheduled castes as well. Majority of the castes observe some kind of rules of untouchability in relation to each other. Thus the Mala caste, which is considered untouchable by the "clean" Hindus, in turn itself, considers the Madiga caste as untouchable. And members of the Madiga caste restrict their social and daily contacts with another caste—the Dakkali (Moffat, 1979)

Contrary to popular notions, all the Scheduled Castes are not untouchables. Untouchability is intimately associated with the pursuit of a defiling occupation, but even traditionally, there were occupational differences among the scheduled castes. Like the other castes working in leather in the other parts of Hindu India, the Madigas are considered to be the untouchables, and are placed at the lower end of the caste scale. They correspond in status to the Chamar, and Mochi distributed all over India.

Since the Madigas skin dead cattle, cure the hide, make shoes and are associated with leather working, the concepts of ritual purity and pollution play an important part in determining the place and position of the Madiga in the village community. If the Madigas are the lowest of untouchables in the region, they will only handle dead animals, especially cow, buffalo or bullock, and no other caste will undertake to do this work (T.R. Singh, 1969).

However, today, not all Madigas are leather-workers. Even at the beginning of the 20th century, only about one-eighth of the working population of this caste was engaged in this defiling occupation. Similarly, weaving which is considered to be the traditional occupation of Malas, accounted for a mere 2.5% of the population of this caste. Whereas three fourth of the Malas and 60 per cent of Madigas were engaged in agricultural labor. It is then obvious that even in the traditional system, the bulk of the Scheduled Castes were engaged in the non-defiling occupation of agricultural labor (Uma Ramaswamy, 1974)

The Madiga are known by several other names, such as Gosangi, Gosangi-bantu, Jambuvan, Jambava, Adi-Jambava, Matanga, Arundhatia, Ettwaru and Tegawaru. The name Madiga has been interpreted in a number of ways. Some earlier
writers like Thurston and Sirajul Hasan believe that the name Madiga is derived from Mahadige (the great man who has come down) or to Maha digi ra (greatman, come

In Andhra Pradesh, the Scheduled Castes broadly belong to the following
categories:

1) Core groups engaged in scavenging and allied occupation.
2) Groups engaged in leather and allied works.
3) Artisans or skilled and specialized groups.
4) Cultivators and landless agricultural labour.

About 70% of the Scheduled Castes are agricultural labourers and 17% are
cultivators- mostly small and marginal farmers, share croppers or tenants. More than
50% of bonded labourers are from Scheduled Castes In the urban areas, most of the
rickshaw pullers and unorganized workers belong to the Scheduled Caste community.

CRIMES AND ATROCITIES ON SC

The commissioner for SC and ST, Government of India is empowered to
inquire into atrocities on these sections and take necessary steps to safeguard them.
The commissioner’s annual reports showed that policies like the distribution of land
to the landless, particularly SCs, revision of minimum wages, distribution of house
sites, abolition of bonded labour lead to the creation of social tensions, particularly in
the rural areas The upper strata from which the landlords generally come do not
accept these measures easily. But instead of reaching to the Government, sometimes
they retaliate on the beneficiaries resulting in the harassment and atrocities on the
weaker sections, particularly the Harijans (Bhagat Ram Goyal, 1981).

Table 2.2 indicates the no. of crimes and atrocities conducted against the SCs
from the year 1990 to 1995. Though the number decreased in 1992, but in the
subsequent years the number of atrocities have increased from 582 during the year
1990 to 1825 during 1995.

During the year 1990 in A.P., 49 cases of murder of SCs were
registered and the figures increased to 60 during the year 1993 and then reduced to
less than half i.e., 27 in the year 1995. The incidents of rape increased year wise i.e.,
from 71, during the year 1990, to 107 cases in the year 1995 (Kamble, 1981)
The reported cases of crimes and atrocities in Andhra Pardesh, are as under:

Table-2.2  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SCs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1825</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The State Government has identified hypersensitive, sensitive and atrocity prone villages in all the districts. Hypersensitive areas are identified in the districts of Adilabad, Prakasam, Guntur, Krishna, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, Srikakulam, Kurnool and Cuddapah. In the northern districts like Adilabad and Warangal, issues such as keeping of separate cups in tea shops creates caste tension. Land disputes and communal clashes are also reported to have taken place in the Chittoor distt.

**WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES**

One of the most stupendous tasks taken up by the government after the attainment of independence, was the upliftment of the Harijans, who have suffered the most from illiteracy, poverty, exploitation, backwardness, social oppression and above all, untouchability for centuries.

The doctrine of equality has been enshrined in the constitution of free India, which aims at securing for all citizens of India- "Justice, Social, Economic and Political, Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship and equality of status and of opportunity" With these aims in view, the constitution of India makes several provisions to safeguard the rights and interests of the Harijans and to remove the social disabilities from which they had suffered.

**Constitutional provisions and laws**

The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been specified by Presidential Orders issued under the provisions of Article 341 and 342 of the
constitution. In addition to the removal of untouchability, universalization of education and planned economic development, the constitution enjoined upon the state to safeguards the interest of the SC and STs. These include the policy of favored treatment in matters of opportunities in national economy and the policy of providing political reservations for overcoming their historically accumulated backwardness. This was essentially done to put them on the path of progress and equality with the rest of the citizens.

Article 68 of the Constitution put emphasis on the Universalization of primary education. It says “The State shall endeavor to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years” In order to enforce this directive, some of the State Governments enacted legislation to encourage education for the children of all castes, including Scheduled Castes, to go to school during the age group 6-14 years The First Five-Year Plan 1951-56 also emphasized the universalization scheme.

The Directive Principle of State Policy contained in Article 46 of the constitution, lays down that - “The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation”

Article 25(2)(b), provides for social welfare and reform or throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all the classes and sections of Hindus Untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955 was passed under Article 17. Later on in 1976, this Act was comprehensively amended and renamed as the ‘Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955’ (PCR Act). It provides penalties for preventing a person, on the ground of untouchability, from entering a place of public worship and offering prayers or taking water from a sacred tank, well or spring. Enforcing any kind of social disability such as denying access to any shop, restaurant, hotel, public hospital, educational institution or any place of public entertainment, or denying the use of any road, river, well, water tank, tap, bathing ghat, cremation ground etc, is an offence.

Traffic in human beings and forced labor is also prohibited by the Constitution under Article 23. Special cells / squads have been created by 19 states for initiating
and exercising supervision, over prosecution for the contravention of the provisions of the PCR Act. Fifty-seven special / mobile courts have been set up in untouchability / atrocity prone districts of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu for speedy disposal of such cases. Exclusive special courts have also been set up in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh.

Under Article 335, the claims of the scheduled castes and tribes are to be taken into consideration while making appointments to public services, without sacrificing the efficiency of administration. To facilitate their adequate representation in public offices, concessions are given. These include relaxation of age limit, relaxation in standard of suitability, relaxation of the qualification regarding experience in the case of direct recruitment, etc.

Article 334, as per the sixty second Amendment, provides for the reservation of seats for SCs for the Lok Sabha and state legislative assemblies on the basis of their proportion, till 2000 AD

A Commission for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, consisting of a chairman and not exceeding four members, including the special officer known as the commissioner, was set up in July 1978. It investigates all matters relating to constitutional safeguards, reservation in public services and to study the implementation of the protection of Civil Rights Act. The State Governments and Union Territories have separate departments to look after the welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes.

Welfare Schemes-

The welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is given special attention by both the central and the state governments. Special programs for their welfare have been undertaken in the successive five-year plans and the size of investment on these special programs has been increasing from one plan to the other.

Centrally Sponsored Scheme-

The objective of this scheme is to improve the representation of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes in various posts/services in central/state government/public undertakings, banks, etc., by providing them with pre-examination training for various competitive examinations. The pre-examination training centers, run through
the state government / Union Territories and are financed by the central and state government on a 50:50 basis. At present, about 80 pre-examination training centers have been set up in various parts of the country under this scheme.

Post- Matric Scholarships Scheme For SC/ST-

The scheme of post-matric scholarship to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was started in 1944-45 with the objective of providing financial assistance to the students studying at post-matriculation stages in different schools and colleges in the country, so as to enable them to complete their education.

Girls Hostels Scheme For Scheduled Castes-

Under this scheme, central assistance is provided to the state governments/Union Territories on a 50 50 basis for construction of hostel buildings, with a view to provide hostel facilities to scheduled caste girls studying in middle school, high school, higher secondary schools, colleges and universities.

Research and Training-

The government provides complete financial assistance to reputed social sciences research agencies/ institutions which have a proven expertise in studies on the economic development, problems and requirements of the scheduled castes and also on the impact of the implementation of various economic programs undertaken by governmental bodies. Studies which come out with practical recommendations and which need immediate remedial action are also considered for financial assistance under the scheme.

Book Bank For SC/ST Students-

The scheme is for scheduled castes and scheduled tribe's students in medical/engineering degree courses. Textbooks are provided to those who cannot afford expensive education without state support. One set of textbooks, costing rupees five thousand, is meant for three students to share among them, and its life period is fixed as three years.

Pre-Matric Scholarship Schemes-

This scheme, started in 1977-78, is intended for the educational development of children whose parents are engaged in so-called unclean occupations (viz. scavenging of dry latrines, tanning, flaying, and sweeping).
Advisory Board on SC/ST Women and Children-

To provide broad guidelines on policy formulation relating to the development of SC / ST, women and children, an advisory board is functioning since August 29, 1986.

Poverty alleviation program-

State Rural Development Department is implementing the poverty alleviation programs. The achievements, both in financial and physical terms, have been satisfactory. The Rural Development Department is the main agency for implementation of poverty alleviation programs in the state. The major programs under it are Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Training for Rural Youth for self-employment (TRYSEM), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWACRA), and Drought Prone Area Program (DPAP).

Non-official organizations, NGOs have also been playing a significant role in advancing socio-economic progress of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

FIVE YEAR PLANS

During the first two Five-Year Plans, the major stress was on education. The main aims was to make special scholarships available for meritorious SC Students, provision of residential facilities in educational institutions, exemption from fees besides sanctioning financial assistance to the needy students. In addition to the special allocation of funds in the plans of the states, the Government of India has also initiated plans for their uplift.

SEVENTH FIVE YEAR PLAN-

In the 7th five year plan, there was a substantial increase in the flow of funds for the development of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, resulting in the expansion of infrastructure facilities and enlargement of coverage. In the seventh plan, emphasis was laid on the educational development of scheduled castes. Pre-matric stipends and scholarships were given by the state governments to 190 lakhs SC/ ST/ OBC students. Other educational incentives included free supply of uniforms, stationary and textbooks to about 100 lakh students. Post matric scholarships were given to about 15 lakh SC and ST students in 1991-92 all over
India, as against 9.75 lakh scholarships in 1985-86, and only 1.56 lakh scholarships for 1968-69. Hostel facilities for SC and ST students were considerably expanded.

To enhance the competitive ability of SC and ST students, about 8,000 seats were created in 101 pre-examination training centers, where coaching was given to candidates appearing in competitive examinations for entry into public services. The SC and ST candidates have been able to increase their representation in the central government services and public sectors undertakings over the years mainly due to implementation of reservation policy coupled with educational and coaching facilities.

STRATEGY FOR THE EIGHTH FIVE YEAR PLAN

Under educational development of Scheduled Castes, in the Eighth plan, emphasis is placed on rationalization of the scheme. (i) To provide guidance with reference to employment opportunities and offering appropriate incentives for courses which have a larger market demand, (ii) To improve the performance, if necessary by prescribing minimum standards, and (iii) To identify the causes for inter-caste/tribe variation in availing benefits under the scheme and chalk out appropriate remedial action.

Under Economic Development of Scheduled Castes, a time-bound programme to be completed within the period of Eighth Plan, was launched to achieve complete elimination of scavenging. The objectives were (i) making provisions of flush latrines mandatory in every house in urban areas and (ii) providing alternative work opportunities to those presently engaged in scavenging. For this purpose, necessary training facilities will be provided and rehabilitation will be undertaken as well.

Under other programmes, the endeavour during the Eighth plan will be to strengthen the enforcement of protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989, and undertake programmes for mass awakening leading to attitudinal changes (Eighth five year plan, 1992-97, vol II).

The financial allocation on development schemes of SCs during the successive five year plans shows that there is an increase of financial allocations from Rs 47.9 crores during the first five year plan to Rs 6884 crores during eighth plan period.
The following will be adopted in respect to the Scheduled Castes under the ninth five-year plan.

(i) The scheduled castes have been subject to social discrimination since long. Therefore, all programs meant for them will be designed so as to empower them and provide both social and economic mobility.

(ii) On the social side, the pernicious evil of "Untouchability", which amounts to denial of human dignity continues undeterred. Priority will be accorded to eliminating this through legislative and socio-economic measures. The existing legislative framework will be strengthened for the purpose.

(iii) Priority will be accorded to the elimination of manual scavenging. The program for liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers will accordingly receive special attention. Efforts will be made to break the nexus between traditional occupations and social disabilities by providing the necessary occupational mobility.

(iv) Total liberation and full rehabilitation of Safai Karamcharis with special focus on women and girl children along with the implementation of construction of dry latrines will be given a high priority.

(v) Endowing every landless rural SC family with a minimum piece of land, preservation and restoration of land ownership and implementation of existing Legislations, to protect the agricultural land being appropriated by others.

The above are some of the important steps which will be taken up seriously in the ninth plan. (Ninth Five Year Plan, 1997-2002, Meeting of the National Development Council, 16 Jan 1997, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi).
Early Images of Untouchability

The early images of untouchability were discussed by scholars like, Dubois, Rev Stephen Fuchs, Dumont, Kathleen Gough etc. More recently authors, like, Joan Mencher, Gerald Berreman, Paulene Kolenda, Michael Moffat, Cohn and Miller have described different images of Untouchability.

Perhaps, the earliest and the simplest Western images of Untouchability are embodied in the term “Out Caste”. In this view, to be an untouchable is to be beyond the reach of Hindu culture and society, to be almost cultureless. Thus the Abbe Dubois, a remarkable French missionary with first-hand knowledge of village India between 1792 and 1823, contrasts the untouchable “Pariahs” with the higher castes Hindus. “We can picture what would become of the Hindus if they were not kept within the bounds of duty by the rules and penalties of caste, by looking at the position of the pariahs, or outcastes of India, who checked by no moral restraints, abandon themselves to their natural propensities”

Dubois accomplished his protoethnographic goals in South India in the immediately pre-British period by acting as Brahmin like as possible, and his Brahminocentric view of the Pariahs includes a catalog of their “natural Propensities” which further includes drunkenness, shamelessness, brutality, truthlessness uncleanness, disgusting food practices, and an absolute lack of personal honor. The word “Pariah” which is derived from the Tamil name for the caste, moved into the English language as a synonym for the socially ostracized and morally deprived (Dubois, 1959).

Dr Frances Buchanan of the same period (Dubois) describe the Untouchable Madigas of Mysore as acting in the same way as higher castes and in terms of the same values-concern with the “purity” of their group. Similar to the Madigas, they intermarry their daughters within their castes in order to be certain of the purity of their race.

Rev. Stephen Fuchs in his descriptive monograph on the untouchable Balahis of Madhya Pradesh, interprets Balahi culture as consistent with the culture of the higher castes, but as entirely imitative. But this represents a weak copied consensus. To be an untouchable is not to be excluded from the culture of caste, but it is to possess this culture in a thinner and less convincing form.
Contemporary anthropological perspectives on the situation of untouchables in the caste represent continuations of reactions to these earlier western views. Three sets of approaches can be distinguished in the literature since 1950.

The first is a continuation of the "Outcaste image", wherein the cultural and social forms of untouchables are determined by their being at some remove from a single high Brahminic culture.

The second set, "models of diversity", believes that Untouchables are the carriers of differentially valued alternate traditions, which have historically archaic or ethnically distinct roots, or which somehow express the distinct needs and experiences of those at the bottom.

The third set of analytic frames is in continuation of an older view and are termed as "models of unity" which states that there is nothing culturally or socially distinctive about untouchables, other than their placement at the bottom of a consensually defined hierarchical system.

To be an untouchable in a rural Indian caste system is to be very low in, and partially excluded from, an elaborate hierarchical social order. The consequences of their lowness and partial exclusion are not much argued in the anthropological literature on untouchability and caste. Untouchables do not necessarily possess distinctively different social and cultural forms as a result of their position in the system. They do not possess a separate sub-culture. They are not detached or alienated from the "rationalizations" of the system Untouchables possess and act upon a thickly textured culture, whose fundamental definition and values are identical to those of more global Indian village culture. The "view from the bottom" is based on the same principles and evaluations as the "view from the middle" or the "view from the top". The cultural system of Indian Untouchability does not distinctively question or revalue the dominant social order. Rather, it continuously recreates among Untouchables a microcosm of the larger system (Moffat, 1979).

An example of outcaste image is found in Kathleen Gough's analysis of the untouchable Pallans of South India. Gough is empathetically biased in favour of the low castes and against what she sees as the hierarchical, etiquette-bound high castes.

If Dubois viewed the "nature" of the Paraiyans as uncivilized and degraded, Gough reverses the evaluation and sets up tacit oppositions between the inhibiting
"culture" of the Brahmins and the freer "nature" of the untouchables. Gough's approach is set within a broader materialist analysis.

Joan Mencher and Gerald Berreman's images of untouchables too, fall under the modern outcaste image. The image is similarly materialistic, but frames the cultural component differently. Here, the untouchables are seen to have demystified caste and its accompanying ideology. They view the caste system in an objective and a culture free way for what it really is- a system of oppression. Thus, Joan Mencher feels that Paraiyans in South India have a more "explicitly materialistic" view of the system and their place in it, than those at the top, and that "those at the bottom of the hierarchy have less need to rationalize its inequalities" (Mencher, 1974: 476). The term "rationalize" expresses a particular view of culture. Culture of caste is a form of false consciousness. Since this consciousness serves only the interests of the high castes (the oppressors in the system), it is accordingly weak or absent among the low castes.

Gerald Berreman applies the same image on the consciousness of rural untouchables in a Himalayan village in north India. In a short critique of Louis Dumont's Structural theory of caste, Berreman claims that untouchables in some way reject a high caste model of the system. The lowest castes are uninterested in rationalizations and ideology. Untouchables act in accordance with the system because they are forced to act so, though they cannot be forced to believe.

The modern outcaste image of Indian untouchables has another comparative affinity, though this one is less explicit. It is in accordance with Oscar Lewis's "culture of poverty" hypothesis for the urban poor in western societies. In Lewis's restatement of the concept, the culture of poverty is a thin one- "the poverty of culture is one of the crucial aspects of the culture of poverty". This thinness is a consequence of purely rational adaptation of the urban poor to the situation in which they find themselves. The poor, in capitalistic societies, have less reason than the middle class to act in terms of middle-class values, since these values do not pay off for them. Untouchables in India do not accept high-caste culture because this culture has no rationalizing value for them.

Michael Moffat (1979) summarizes as for Dubois, untouchables are in a state of unbridled license. While for Gough, they are in a state of psychologically healthy removal from an obsessive high-caste culture. For Mencher and Berreman, they are
the Skeptics and demystifiers of caste—perhaps even its existentialists and protorevolutionaries.

The second set of contemporary anthropological approach to untouchables and caste argues for essential cultural diversity like the outcaste images, the disjunctive models of diversity etc. They stress the contrast between untouchables and the higher castes. Unlike the outcaste images, however, they do not state these contrasts in terms of culture versus lack of culture. Rather, they view untouchables as the bearers of alternate social and cultural systems, or of variants of the dominant system particularly adapted to the needs and experiences of those at the very bottom of the system. These needs and experiences vary according to a particular model. Each, generally, makes a clear statement about the nature of the untouchables subsystem.

For example, Bernard Cohn’s subcultural dichotomies form only the baselines for his treatment of social change. In the last fifty years, the chamars have attempted to sanskritize and raise their status by adopting symbols of higher status in their local hierarchy. By doing so, they have abandoned many of the features of their distinctive small tradition and have adopted the dominant Thakur’s traditional caste code, which includes a nonbeef diet, a tighter joint family, and more ‘Brahmanic’ ritual practices.

According to Cohn, “the attempt of the chamars to raise their status has been largely futile. At the same time that the Camars were sanskritizing in the direction of the high-ranking Thakurs, the Thakurs were moving towards a more “Westernized” life style. This included western education, secularization, extensive urban contacts, a loosened caste and family structure, and more equality between husband and wife. Thus in the end, the original little tradition/great tradition dichotomy between the untouchables and the high castes was simply replaced by a newer cultural dichotomy, an obsolete great tradition versus a more prestigious “Westernized” tradition.

A second model of diversity is found in Pauline Kolenda’s treatment of Karma doctrine among a caste of untouchable sweepers in North India. According to these doctrines, which the sweepers understand in an abstract form, one’s caste status in a given birth is a result of the total score of ones good or bad Karma in past lives. In any case, Kolenda reports that the Sweepers refuse to apply Karma doctrine to their low status. Instead, they refer their present status to collective myths, which state that they were once of much higher caste, and fell due to a terrible accident motivated by the best of intentions. Not only do myths like this protect untouchables from the
“anxiety” of karmic explanation, according to Kolenda, but they also provide them with a positive sense of having once been much higher.

Cohn’s and Miller’s models are stated as the models of change. Robert Miller, representing model of diversity, claims that the untouchable Mahars of the central India are already engaged in political action, unlike Cohn’s Chamars, who are attempting to diminish the despised cultural disjunction between themselves and the higher castes. Miller’s Mahars are said to be actively constructing a radical cultural disjunction between themselves and the higher castes to be in a sense revaluing their little tradition.

Here it is intended to explore whether the SC students believe in Hindu ideology or not and whether they accept or reject the high Caste model of the system or not. If not, what philosophy do they believe in. Their attitudes on these issues are described in the chapter 4, ‘Attitudes of the Scheduled Caste Students’.

**Historical Educational Development among SC**

Education is a powerful mechanism to enlighten people, awaken them and help them to fight against exploitation to promote overall development. The more widespread the education, the more would be the chances for progress and greater would be the opportunities for the betterment of the people.

The conscientiousness for the upliftment of Harijans through educating them emerged during the nineteenth century and is still on. Raja Rammohan Roy was the pioneer in advocating the importance of modern education in the rebuilding of Indian society. His inspiration led to modernizing of the system of education, which ultimately assumed a secular basis and was accessible to all the people irrespective of their caste, creed and sex.

Jyotirao Phooley of Maharasta pioneered the crusade for the upliftment of Harijan communities, who himself hailed from a caste above the stigma of untouchability. He preferred to work for the Harijan communities even if it led to stigmatizing himself. He opened the first ever school for the low castes, Mahars, Mangs, Chambars etc., in 1850. Jyotirao worked for more than 25 years for the amelioration of the Harijan communities through education. He also established an organization known as the ‘Satya Shodhak Samaj’ for their welfare.
The Brahmo Samaj, founded on January 23, 1830 by Raja Rammohan Roy, was a purely theistic organization. In 1850, Keshav Chander Sen and Mahadev Govind Ranade assumed the leadership of its offshoots - Brahmo Samaj located in Bengal and Prarthna Samaj in Poona. These two movements focussed considerable attention on the spread of education by adopting the modern system of education. In 1870, the Prarthana Samaj started establishing night schools. Two of these schools were established for the Harijans. The opening of night schools was a new development for spreading education amongst Harijans.

Another socioreligious reform body, the Arya Samaj pioneered by Swami Dayanand, took great interest in the social upliftment of the Harijans. The institution opened by the Arya Samaj freely admitted Harijan pupils.

The Theosophical society, established in south India, was another socioreligious organization that contributed to the educational progress of the Harijans. Col Olcott, an English man, was deeply moved by the sad plight of the Harijans. He laid great stress on their education, and he believed that education alone could make them conscious of their worth and dignity by dispelling their ignorance. He established a number of Panchama schools in the south. These were accepted by the government of Madras as model schools for the education of Harijans. Swami Vivekanand, the Hindu monk of Rama Krishna Mission, strongly advocated the education of Harijans.

The spreading of education was widened with the coming of the missionaries with the East India Company. Britishers aimed at the promotion of education. When some people started embracing Christianity, a few Harijans also stepped in, since they had nothing to lose in the battle of religious wits. Rather, they found that it saved them from the age-old sub-human treatment.

Ambedkar too realized the importance of education for the depressed classes. In 1924, he founded the ‘Bahishkriti Hitkami Sabha’ to promote education among the depressed classes by opening hostels or by employing other such means as may seem necessary or desirable, to promote the spread of culture among them. He opened libraries, social centers, and started classes or study circles, to advance and improve their economic conditions by starting industrial and agricultural schools and representing their grievances for redressal.
In 1928, Dr. Ambedkar set up the ‘Depressed classes Education Society’ with the objective to spread school education for the depressed classes on a sound basis. According to him, education was necessary to instill a sense of self-respect and dignity among the downtrodden. It would also hasten their assimilation into the mainstream of enlightened national life (Sachidananda, 1992).

He founded the ‘Peoples Education Society’ in 1945. In 1946, he started the ‘Siddharth College’ at Bombay. He also established the Milind College in Aurangabad. He gave his residence, named ‘Rajghri’ in Bombay, for a college hostel and left his valuable library to a college. Earlier, he had established the ‘Bharatiya Samaj Seva Sangh’ whose motto was “to read, read out and hear, understand, realize and give realization”.

By 1958, things started to change. Many steps were taken to promote social and economic equality and justice, and to provide equal educational opportunities to all, irrespective of caste and class considerations. The constitution (Article 29) guarantees that “no citizens shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid from state funds, on grounds of religion, race, caste, language or any of them”. This was amended (191) to “provide reservation of seats on the ground of caste” It was also added “nothing shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes or of the SCs and STs”. Education thereby became gradually more open, egalitarian, secular, objective and formal. In Andhra Pradesh, during the post-Independence period, the education of the Dalits has grown enormously. The schools in the rural areas and particularly in the urban areas have multiplied, and so have the colleges and Universities. Many special kinds of educational institutions have come up to provide education to the Dalits. Many residential schools have been established in Mandal and District headquarters all over Andhra Pradesh. Social Welfare Hostels for schools and colleges have been started in every mandal and big villages for the Dalit boys and girls. The number of students studying in these colleges and Universities are increasing. Every year, these educational institutions are producing thousands of educated students as shown by the annual statistics about the educated Dalit students (Ravi Prasad, 1997)

But according to the scholar Chinna Rao Yaganti (1999), social welfare hostels exist as mere proofs of the welfarist measures of the state government. The
functioning and the conditions of the hostels show that they are the most neglected areas. They are unhygienic, with bad quality of food, and lack of proper sanitation is shocking. The absence of supervision over the activities of the vulnerable children and inadequately manned staff are the regular features of these hostels. As a result, the incidence of dropouts, failures and output of non-mentorious students are high. Given such conditions, it is obvious that a Dalit student is incompetent to fare well as against a non-dalit student who is bereft of economic hardships, responsibilities and has access to standard schools. Debate on merit in the context of the lack of equal opportunities for everybody, is not only ridiculous, but also insane.

RESERVATIONS-

Time and again we are confronted with the question whether to continue or discontinue the facilities and privileges, as it is stressed that these are justified only as long as they remain temporary. Heated arguments often take place in the parliament on the working of these privileges and on the question of their continuance. There are some, who not only want these privileges to continue for an indefinite period, but also plead for widening their scope. There are others who wish them to be scrapped as they have been in operation for a long time.

The central government has provided reservations in government employment for Scheduled Castes (SC) since 1943 and for Scheduled Tribes (ST) since 1950. Since 1947, out of the posts recruited directly on an all-India basis by open competitive examination, 12 ½% are reserved for SC and 5% are for ST. (These percentages were raised to 15% and 7 ½% in 1970.) Out of the posts filled on an all-India basis other than by open competition, 16 2/3% are reserved for SC and 5% (raised to 7 ½% in 1970) for ST. In the case of lower posts, which are likely to attract candidates only from the locality, percentages are fixed on the basis of the population of SC and ST in the area. At the state level there are similar reservations for SC and ST. Reservations range from 5% to 25% of the posts for SC and 3% to 80% for ST. In few places, both groups share a common reservation. (Galanter, Marc; 1984)

The Indian masses and the Indian intelligentsia are sharply divided on the issue of reservation. Those who favor reservations, put forward the argument that
traditionally, and even contemporarily, Indian society can best be described as hierarchical, and a hierarchical society is not only inherently bound to generate inequalities, but also pass them on from one generation to the other. It is further argued that the megalitarian Hindu social order has led to serious social, psychological, educational and economic deprivations among subaltern groups, i.e., the Ex-untouchables and lower castes. These deprivations have done irreparable harm to these groups. To bring them at par with the privileged groups, they should be allowed certain compensation in free India. If avenues for upward social mobility have to be opened to these groups, ‘reservations’ have to be a major compensatory measure. Further, the choice of caste or collectivity as a basis of reservation is legitimate, as deprivations are shared by the whole caste collectively because they are inherited from the past.

Besides these arguments, the reservationists fundamentally look upon reservations as a matter of ‘right’ and assign it a much higher pedestal than ‘merit’. Merit, according to them, is a cultural construct and is an element of hegemonic culture. They further believe that as soon as subaltern group achieve social mobility, caste will be rendered meaningless both in intercaste and inter-personal relations.

On the other hand, the ‘anti-reservationists’ view the issue of reservations as antithetical to the ideal of “equality of opportunity” as enshrined in the Indian constitution. They argue that individual merit is ignored in the name of social justice, which results in injustice to the meritorious. This leads to the frustration among them and hence affects the efficiency of the society as a whole. Secondly, they say that reservations sharpen caste boundaries instead of breaking them. Thirdly, they find collectivity as a basis for compensatory discrimination to be anti-individualistic (Parekh and Mitra, 1990).

Ramchander (1982) studied the attitudes of the elite towards the reservation policy in Karim Nagar district of Andhra Pradesh. He found that the elites belonging to the dominant castes were strongly against the reservation policy. Regarding the “attitudes towards reservation”, majority of the non-scheduled castes were in favor of the termination in toto of the policy of reservation. On the other hand, majority of the scheduled castes favored the continuation of the policy of reservations in government
employment. Also, a majority of the three non-scheduled castes respondents, considered the policy of reservation in government employment as "ruinous".

Regarding the utilization of the scholarships provided for the scheduled caste students, Oommen (1977) found that the actual beneficiaries were not the poorest or the most deserving among the scheduled castes, but were those who were already economically better off among them. He found that these somewhat affluent sections among the scheduled castes grabbed the scholarships for higher education. Sachidananda (1974), Pimpily (1976), Chitnis (1977), Kripal (1978) and D'souza (1979) came to similar conclusion that the economically better off among the scheduled castes have been able to avail themselves of the educational opportunities more than the really impoverished.

Regarding the educational opportunities for the scheduled castes, Premi (1974) observes that new inequalities are creeping up among the scheduled castes themselves. She writes: "Mere existence of facilities does not ensure their optimum use. Awareness and acceptance are essential for utilization. To maximize the use, it is necessary to generate better awareness. More publicity is needed to ensure the wider use of the facilities and to find out the reasons for the poor use.

HIGHER EDUCATION-

Following the guiding principles of state policy enshrined in our constitution, which assure social justice and equality of opportunity to all, several special facilities are offered to the scheduled castes in higher education. It is to help them overcome the handicaps arising from deep rooted inequalities and to enable them to secure the same opportunities and position in life as the others. These special facilities are:

a) Financial assistance in the form of stipend, free tuition, refund of admission and examination fee, book loans, assistance to stay in hostel and free coaching facilities.

b) Reservation of seats in professional institutions for the scheduled castes in proportion to their population in the state.

c) Relaxation in admission criteria where the same are prescribed, i.e., 5 to 10 percent relaxation in marks and 5 years of age relaxation at the time of admission.
The efforts that have been put in to expand education among the scheduled castes have yielded certain results. If the percentage of literate Harijans was altogether 2 per cent in 1931, in 1961, it was 10.3 per cent, in 1971, it was 14.7 per cent and in 1981, it has risen to 21.4 per cent. (The general all-India index of literacy was 36.2 per cent in 1981) Now the position of the scheduled castes in higher education is better. This was to a certain extent due to reservation of seats in higher educational institutions for members of these castes and the financial assistance given to scheduled castes students. If at the beginning of the forties there were only about 100 Harijans who had received higher education, their number had risen to 5,00,000 by the beginning of the eighties. However, the ratio of students from the scheduled castes did not exceed 7.5 per cent of the total number of young people studying in universities and colleges (although the reservation system provided 15 per cent of the seats to them) (Sharma, 1981).

Author, Khajapeer (1996), too points out that though our constitution provided several provisions for the education, there is a gap prevailing which exists between the precept and practice, with respect to the education of these sections i.e., SC, ST, and BCs. According to the author, the enrolments of SC’s and ST’s in higher education are not in proportion to their respective population shares of 15 and 7 percent.

In the year 1988-89, under post graduation, 10.5%, 2.9% and 5.4% of SCs were enrolled in the arts, science and commerce streams respectively. And only 2.9% of SC were enrolled for Ph. D. all over India (Selected educational statistics, 1988-89, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India).

The UGC (1985) has brought out the gap that prevailed in the enrolments of the SC and ST candidates during 1978-79. According to this source, for post-graduate and research degree admissions, the enrolments of the SC candidate was 7.62%. This clearly shows that they are underrepresented.

A number of social scientists are becoming critical of the manner in which the whole scheme of distribution of educational privileges is operating and are expressing misgivings about its outcome. Suma Chitnis (1972), on the basis of an empirical study in Maharashtra, has attacked the post-matric scholarship scheme, the central pillar of educational facilities for the scheduled castes at the higher stages. She has
shown that scholarships are not optimally and equitably used, but creating new inequalities. Reservations for the SCs is causing much tension as competition for higher education and training intensify. Relaxation in marks poses great problems for the scheduled castes students themselves and it is generally feared that it has resulted in the lowering of standards.

EMPLOYMENT-

In spite of all these welfare schemes and reservations in the employment, the SC employment trend is not encouraging. Though there is an increase in employment in percentage, it is not upto the mark. According to the information received from DOPT, the group-wise representation of SCs in Central Government services as on 1-1-1995 is as follows:

**TABLE-2.3**

**REPRESENTATION OF SCs IN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES (1995)-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘A’</td>
<td>65408</td>
<td>6637</td>
<td>10.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘B’</td>
<td>108857</td>
<td>13797</td>
<td>12.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘C’</td>
<td>2341863</td>
<td>378172</td>
<td>16.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘D’</td>
<td>1041082</td>
<td>221380</td>
<td>21.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(excluding sweepers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3557210</td>
<td>619986</td>
<td>17.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWEEPERS</td>
<td>177527</td>
<td>78719</td>
<td>44.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>3734737</td>
<td>698705</td>
<td>18.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1971 only 2.58% SC represented for class I central government service, which rose to 9.09% in 1991 and to 10.15% in 1995 as shown in table 2.3. In 1971, only 4.06% SC represented for class II services in central government, this rose to 11.82% in 1991 and 12.67% in 1995. And for class III service, 9.59% in 1971 rose to 15.65% in 1991 to 16.15% in 1995 and for class IV service 18.37% in 1971 rose to 21.24% in 1991 to 21.26% in 1995, which does not include sweepers at all India level (eighth five year plan, 1992-1997). 44.34% of the sweepers are from
SCs which shows the overrepresentation. Thus, even till date in the category of group A and B services the 15% representation is not achieved.

The percentage of reservation of SCs in various groups or posts under the Central Public Sector Enterprises as on 1-1-96 as furnished by the Department of Public Enterprises is given below.

Again the table 2.4, shows that only 8.41% of SCs represent the group ‘A’ services and only 9.68% of SCs represent the group ‘B’ services which is much lower than the 15% mark. Whereas as large as 87.34% of Safai Karamcharis or Sweepers are from SCs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘A’</td>
<td>1,98,625</td>
<td>16,710</td>
<td>8.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘B’</td>
<td>1,64,402</td>
<td>15,921</td>
<td>9.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘C’</td>
<td>11,32,860</td>
<td>2,16,801</td>
<td>19.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘D’</td>
<td>4,77,254</td>
<td>1,06,934</td>
<td>22.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(excluding Safai Karamcharies)

TOTAL | 19,73,141 | 3,56,366 | 18.06 |
SAFAI KARAMCHARIES | 24,623 | 21,506 | 87.34 |
GRAND TOTAL | 19,97,764 | 3,77,872 | 18.91 |

Another study on the “impact of reservation policy” made by Ramaswamy (1974) conducted in Andhra Pradesh, opines that though the policy of preferential treatment of scheduled castes has been in practice for over two decades, it has barely scraped the surface of the problem. Even in the urban areas, only a fraction of the posts in the administration, which are reserved for them, is actually filled.

In Andhra Pradesh, reservations for SCs and STs are fixed at 15% and 6% respectively in recruitment to Government Services, Public Sector undertakings and also in institution which are receiving grant-in-aid from Government. From time to time, orders have been issued to clear the backlog of vacancies. Several review
meetings were also conducted by the Chief Secretary. However, backlog vacancies were left unfilled till 1995. As per the special instructions issued by the State Government a Special Recruitment Drive was done in 1996 and 2162 vacancies were filled up. Now the present backlog is 9652 as per the latest report from the Social Welfare Department of Andhra Pradesh Secretariat. The State Govt. should take necessary steps to fill up the backlog vacancies and furnish information to the commission (SC/ST commissions report, 1996)

But the scholars Bendix and Lipset (1966) are of different view. According to them by and large, the higher castes and classes throughout Indian history monopolize and make use of the best available educational opportunities. For instance, during the Vedic period, it was the Brahmana who benefited most, during the Mughal period, it was the nobility of Islam, during the British period, it was the aristocracy and the Indian feudals, and during contemporary time, it is the elite from the higher castes and class background.

One author (Kamath, 1989) gives, perspective of the inequalities prevailing in the education of the SCs and STs, which are equally true of their higher education also. These are (I) the extremely uneven education progress of SCs and STs in different states (ii) It’s wide variation between different types of SC/ST communities. (iii) The appropriation of the facilities meant for them by the newly emerging elite groups among them and (iv) the resistance offered to their education by the vested interest in the country for the fear of losing their labour. Thus the dimensions of the problem of inequalities in the education of these groups have deep-rooted causes.

The author Prof. Nandu Ram (1995) in his book “Beyond Ambedkar” pointed out that even after such a long period and even after putting much efforts there are found quantitative but not much qualitative change in the educational achievements of the dalits. At the time of receiving higher education the dalit students face social and structural constraints both at the macro and micro level. But still education has given the dalits an opportunity for achieving rapid progress. A section of them has been able to utilize the education in some practical ways and thereby to achieve the status of a new middle class through, securing of job oriented activities and improving their life styles.
In the economic front Mishra and Kaur (1990) stated that the direct outcome of the policy should have been equal distribution of economic resources and a worthwhile sharing of power at different levels in the running of the state affairs. The concomitant outcome of various policies was supposed to be a breakdown of the caste hierarchies, removal of stigma attached to the scheduled castes and the creation of a pressure group in the administration to safeguard the rights and interests of these sections of the Indian society. But according to scholars, the policy has failed to realize its above objectives and it has resulted in the formation of an elite class with vested interests within the SCs.

The question, "How close to equality are scheduled castes" was reviewed by Chandi Das, (1969). He reports that even after two decades of implementation of social welfare programs their position compared to that of the non-scheduled castes is still very inferior as regards titles to land as well as size of landholdings. He further writes: "Their depressed position is reflected again in their economic and social mobility. Their rates of urbanization and education, compared to those of non-scheduled castes are low. Despite four decades of efforts, even now they suffer from crippling economic disabilities. A large number of laborers and those engaged in such professions as scavenging, flaying and tanning belong to scheduled castes and even today they continue to live below the poverty line.

Several SC/ST communities in different parts of the country continue to suffer not only from economic disabilities but also from such practices as untouchability in some form or the other in total violation of the ban imposed on it under Article 17 of the Constitution. What is worse, this section is becoming increasingly vulnerable to crimes. The number of registered crimes against them, which were registered, was over 15,000 per year till 1986. The number of crimes only makes a mockery of the Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955, which was brought on the statute book chiefly for the protection of weaker sections (Rasheeduddin Khan, 1990). Crimes and atrocities against the SC are on an increase, it is reported (Eighth Five Year Plan) that 76,748 cases of atrocities against persons belonging to SC’s were reported between 1986 and 1990. Of these 3,328 cases were of murder, 5,339 of rape and 4,325 of arson.
It is found that policies like the distribution of land to the landless, revision of minimum wages, distribution of house sites, abolition of bonded labour lead to the creation of social tensions, particularly in the rural areas. Dissatisfaction mounted upon the part of the caste-Hindus due to the privileged treatment given to the SCs in services and professional educational institutions. The incidence of assaults shows sharp upward trend after 1977. In 1976, 5,160 incidents of atrocities on the SC were reported, in 1977, 10,879 and in 1978, 15,059 incidents were reported (Vakil, 1985).

Social discrimination against the Harijans is accompanied by their economic oppression. And because the scheduled castes no longer want to live as before and are beginning actively to come out in Defence of their rights and interest, this leads to clashes between them and the rich, high caste Hindus. As a rule, the victims are the Harijans. The Indian press reports the numerous occasions when Harijans are beaten up and even killed. The greatest number of these occurred in states where caste factors continue to play an important role in social and political life- in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.

Determinants of Educational Performance-

The Scheduled Caste students by and large do not form a homogenous group. There exist considerable variations among them on the basis of their family background- education of parents and siblings, occupation of parent’s etc. It is hypothesized that these factors or variables in turn influence their performance in education, on their hopes and aspirations, the nature and extent of their interactions as well as their position or status in educational institutions (Radhakrishnan, and Ranjana Kumari, 1989; Parvathamma, and Satyanarayana, 1984; Vishwanadam, et.al., 1985).

It is generally accepted that the education and the occupation of parents, and the ethos of the children’s homes are crucial in determining their educational performance. Children of educated parents and of parents engaged in white collar occupation, particularly the professionals are not only better prepared for going to school, but they also continue to gain from their background throughout their career, than the children of uneducated parents or parents following blue collar occupation. Thus advantage comes from the fact that the educated parents and white collar professional homes belong to a culture that is intune with the world of formal
education. Uneducated homes, or blue collar occupation homes do not conform to such a culture. The advantage that children from educated and white collar occupation backgrounds get is reinforcement throughout the educational career, by the help of their parents, who may provide help with their homework or with the guidance in the choice of courses and careers. Disadvantaged home background refers to poverty and uneducated family atmosphere. Studies examining the relationship between the social class backgrounds of children and their performance at school have repeatedly shown that children from lower class homes are disadvantaged for learning (S Chitnis, 1972).

More students are enrolled and tend to perform better whose parents have some kind of education ranging from the informal to college education than the children of illiterate parents i.e., the higher the fathers education and occupation, the better the performance of the ward and higher his/her aspirations (Radhakrishnan, and Ranjana Kumari, 1989; Parvathamma, and Satyanarayana, 1984; Vishwanadam, 1985; Chitnis, 1972, 1981).

Along with the educational attainments of parents, education of siblings has equal or more impact on others in the family (Radhakrishnan, and Ranjana Kumari, 1989, Parvathamma, and Satyanarayana, 1984).

But, in a large percentage of cases, the parents of the present generation scheduled caste students are either illiterate or educated to only primary level and this is more so in the case of mothers. With the result the present generation SC students become first generation or at best second generation educated persons in their respective families (Chitnis, 1972; Radhakrishnan, and Ranjana Kumari, 1989, Parvathamma, and Satyanarayana, 1984, Ravi Prasad, 1997).

Enrolment, Drop out and stagnation-

Table 2.5, shows the enrolment of SC v/s Non-SC in the year 1993 in A.P. Their enrolment in different levels of education i.e., primary, middle, higher secondary and higher education is given. At primary level itself the difference between SC and non-SC shows that only 16.2% of SCs are enrolled in primary classes whereas as large as 83.8% of Non-SC are enrolled in to the primary classes. As the levels of education increases the percentage of SC students is falling from 16.2% to 8.5% from primary to higher education. Whereas it is increasing in the case of non-
SC from 83.8% to 91.5%. Thus the percentage of enrolment at higher education is very less i.e., 8.5% among SCs whereas it is maximum 91.5% among Non-SCs.

**TABLE-2.5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>906.2</td>
<td>83.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>343.3</td>
<td>86.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH. SEC.</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>205.3</td>
<td>87.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGHER EDU.</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>91.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE. Biannual Report (1994-95) HRD, GOI

"Drop out", and "Stagnation" are the major problems with respect to the scheduled caste children. **Stagnation** is the phenomenon, of repetition of the same class in the school and college due to failure in the examinations and the consequent denial of promotion to the next class, or due to inadequate attendance necessitated by economic difficulties, poor health or other problems. Chitnis and Aikara (1977) found a very high incidence of stagnation and drop out among scheduled castes.

According to the report (Eighth Five-Year plan, 1992-1997) a large number of scheduled caste children discontinue their studies (dropout) prematurely before completing the level for which they were enrolled. The drop out in 1986-87 for class I-V was 50.79%. In classes I-VIII, the drop out rate was as high as 69.15%. The drop out rate at the school and college/university levels has assumed alarming proportions. The maximum dropout rate reveals the fact that poverty is their constant companion and they are forced to withdraw their children during the agricultural seasons, and lack of economic incentives, besides the overt discrimination.

These segments of population are still very backward both in literacy and enrolment, except at the elementary or primary level in some states. There is a steep fall in enrolment in higher stages. The higher the stage the lesser the number of Dalit pupil enrolment. And again within this proportion of the stunted growth the proportion of girls is small and in their case the fall is even steeper.

43
Gender wise dropouts of Scheduled Caste students has been shown in table 2.6. At least three important conclusions can be derived from this table. Firstly, the rates of drop out works out higher for each stage of education for Scheduled Caste category in comparison to All India category. Secondly, the same conclusion is true for each gender of Scheduled Caste category to each corresponding gender of All India category for each stage of education. Also, there is a gender wise large disparity between the boys and girls in SC category and All India category.

**TABLE 2.6**

**GENDERWISE DROP-OUT RATES OF SC STUDENTS: 1989-90**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE</th>
<th>SC STUDENTS</th>
<th>ALL INDIA STUDENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOYS</td>
<td>GIRLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY</td>
<td>45.93</td>
<td>53.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td>64.29</td>
<td>73.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECONDARY</td>
<td>76.61</td>
<td>84.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Annual Reports, Deptt Of Education, Govt. of India

At the graduate level, of the total students appearing, 6 19% were scheduled castes, and at the postgraduate level, their percentage was 7.64. Their pass percentage at postgraduate level was 69.83% as against the general pass percentage of 75.83% (The illustrated weekly of India) A report of IIT – Bombay shows that 25% of scheduled caste students of the institute discontinue their studies in the first year itself, as against just 6% among other castes. Reason here is not financial, but because they were not able to cope up with the institute’s high standards of education (Kirpal, 1984)

The scheduled castes, more than the others, are forced to use the labor of their children to supplement the family income. In recent years the exploitation of child labor has grown in India, especially in the traditional crafts. A large number of children are engaged in the service sector (motor vehicles servicing, eating establishments, shops, markets and so on), but they are specially numerous in agriculture. Thus, data collected from field research done in six villages in Telangana, one of the regions of the state of Andhra Pradesh, showed that 73 per cent of the children working “on contract between their parents and the employers”
belonged to the Harijans and tribes. These children were virtually given as bonded labor to the landowners by their parents who were in many instances forced to do this as they could not repay the debts left over to them by their fathers (Linga Murthy et al., 1985)

Interaction with Teachers and Peer Groups-

A study (Eshanul Haq, 1991) conducted among schools and inter-colleges of the Dobhi region of Sultanpur, U.P. shows that the higher castes (Thakurs) have almost total control over the educational structure, it tried to perpetuate itself by making the entire educational machinery instrumental of their influence. For example, it controls and affects election of the members of managing committees, recruitment of teachers, administrative staffs, admission of students and their socialization, distribution of various types of patronage and facilities etc. It is through the educational structure and educational process that the values pertaining to caste like untouchability, caste feeling, casteism, parochialism, caste superiority, caste hatred, discrimination, etc. are transmitted and education becomes a mechanism of traditionalization of modernity. Thus, even today, education is being used as an apparatus of exploitation, discrimination and manipulation and of consolidating their traditional control over modern resources.

According to the author the caste based discrimination not only influences the selection of teachers and students, the election of the members of managing committees and the distribution of privileges, but also the process of teaching and learning which is considered a main source of continuity, a torch bearer of traditional as well as of modern values. The teacher is the product of certain social conditions He or she becomes an agent of preserving and promoting traditional values like purity-pollution, ascription, and structured social inequality. Caste ideology, caste culture, caste and communal loyalty, non-secular and particularistic values, caste based discrimination and socialized inequality are carried on through the process of teaching and learning (Haq, 1991).

Haq (1991) reports numerous examples, where caste affects other aspects of education like politics, evaluation, and interpersonal relationships. Not only teaching has become caste-infected, but also hostel life. One may observe caste based alliances in the selection of room mates and peer groups. Similarly, the process of
evaluation- another very important component of education- is not free from caste influences either. At a higher level of education, especially in one of the colleges, the evaluation is biased, that invariably, only a person from the higher caste tops the merit list. Even at other institutions of higher learning and research including those located at central places like Delhi, where there is internal assessment, factors like caste, region, language, religion, ideology and personal consideration do play an important role, resulting in subjective and biased assessment by the teacher.

Most of the educational institutes are established and managed by the members of upper castes. It has been reported that perceptible discrimination against scheduled castes is practiced. Most of the teachers are drawn from upper castes and probably scheduled caste students feel neglected (Vishwanadam, et.al., 1985).

In a study in schools and colleges in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh by S. RadhaKrishna and Ranjana Kumari (1989) reported that scheduled caste students have to face discrimination in schools. In the sample only 42% of the students have reported that the teachers are helpful and sympathetic. Of the rest 36% reported that they do not show either any extra attention or any discrimination. But 22% clearly stated that the teachers are discriminative and not helpful.

Though education has become widespread, the scheduled caste student during educational career still faces prejudices of his educator. Eighty percent of the 1030 students in the survey (Chutnis, 1973) had to sit outside the classrooms in their primary stage owing to the observance of untouchability in the villages where they began their educational career. Only 40% of the students replied that they received encouragement from their teacher, 28% said that they were definitely discouraged by their teachers, nearly 15% said their teachers showed an indifferent attitude. Some 529 students i.e., 51.3% experienced discriminatory treatment from their caste Hindu classmates

Majority of those who experienced discrimination from teachers attributed the reason to the caste prejudices that are still lingering among the upper castes. Some of them think they are discriminated for the simple reason that they are poor and hence have to depend upon the government. Another group pointed out the general belief among some of the upper caste teachers that the SC students are inferior and are not fit for higher studies (RadhaKrishnan and Ranjana Kumari, 1989).
The relationship between the teachers and students is purely superficial in the case of the Dalit students. The Dalit student’s relationship with a teacher will end only with classroom lectures. And it is all artificial, confined only to the completion of the syllabus. But the Dalit students are in need of human relationships but not merely the formal and academic (Ravi Prasad, 1997).

The SC students face more acutely and frequently non-cooperative and hostile attitude from the upper caste members in their class. As a result the SC students generally like to live separately from the upper caste students. Their interaction between the two sections is limited to the minimum both within the class and outside (Radhakrisnan and Ranjana Kumari, 1989).

The school climate for the disadvantaged groups of students is qualitatively different than for the advantaged students. In a school situation where advantaged students are put together with the disadvantaged, a feeling of self-deprivation is generated. As Freire (1970) holds, ‘Self Depreciation’ is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derive from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors have of them. So often do they hear that they are good for nothing and are incapable of learning anything that they are sick, lazy and unproductive that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness.

From teachers’ side, it is long been assumed that the way in which teachers react to students may influence the pupil’s scholastic achievement. In this view, when teachers expect high performance from a child, they tend to interpret whatever the child says in a positive light, which then spurs the pupil to even higher accomplishments. Conversely, a student from whom little is expected will be discouraged from excelling and will eventually perform at a minimal level. This is an example of “self fulfilling prophecy” whereby people (e.g., teachers) behave in a way that ultimately makes their predictions (e.g., a child academic achievements) likely to come true (Beth Hess, et. al., 1991).

The teachers expectancy and peer group acceptance has been particularly found significant in determining the supportiveness of the perceived climate. The concept “expectancy effect” as determinant of educational achievement has received much attention, beginning with Rosenthal and Jacobson’s studies (1973). It is found that teachers expecting good performance from students give more feedback, create
warmer socio-emotional mood, teach more material that is difficult and give enough time to their pupils to respond (Rosenthal, 1973).

Teachers praise and approval enhance self-regard. A number of studies have shown that the achievement of the minority group is depressed because their teachers do not expect them to perform well (Clark, 1965).

The child's teacher is not the only source of his evaluation his peers may also exert an independent influence. Students coming from lower castes find little support from their peers who generally come from high or middle caste groups. It is found that the perception of the school climate as unsupportive in the case of students coming from such disadvantaged groups as Harijans may be due to the non-expectations and indifferent behavior of their teachers and peers (Namita Pande and Tripathi, 1982).

Social Discrimination-

The basic question that one may raise by way of examining the respondents encounter with caste and casteism is whether they are identified as belonging to the scheduled caste and whether their scheduled caste identity affects the behaviour of their classmates towards them.

In view of the fact that education is expected to make for a more liberal outlook, Suma Chitnis (1981) from her findings reports that the percentage of those who feel that the behaviour of their classmates is affected by awareness of their caste is larger at college than at school. Majority of both, school and college students say that their classmates are aware of the fact that they belong to the SCs. A substantial percentage of students from both sample groups say that their classmates behaviour is affected by their awareness, and the percentage of students, who explicitly mention experience of discrimination, is not very large.

Another question, do all SC students feel equally discriminated against or do those who come from educated homes or from otherwise advantaged backgrounds complain less than others? Education does make a difference. The data (Suma Chitnis, 1981) on college students confirm the impression that those who come from uneducated homes are more likely to complain about discrimination than those who come from educated homes. The percentage of college students who say that they
have suffered discrimination drops with successively higher levels of fathers education.

The fact is that the attitude of people towards the scheduled castes even today has not changed. For example, some schools admitting members of scheduled castes segregate them in separate benches in one corner of the same classroom. In another state, the scheduled castes and the caste Hindu students were living in the same hostel but were segregated in different rooms. Besides, while the menials of the hostel washed the plates of the caste Hindu students after eating, the scheduled caste students were required to wash their own plates. Five years ago, there was a strike in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, on the issue of the scheduled caste students taking their meals in the common mess (Ram Ahuja, 1993).

The attitude of the people of Bihar towards scheduled caste is indicated by the 'Stereotypes' given by two hundred students of Patna University studied by Sinha and Sinha (Social Forces, 1967). Of the total forward caste students, 68.0% described Chamars, Doms, and Bangis as backward, 56.0% described them as crooked, 55.0% as uncultured, 54.0% as physically dirty, 52.0% as drunkard, and 47.5% as ugly.

Exploration on the social outlook and attitudes of the respondents gave some valuable insights. These studies reveal that respondents on the issues of marriage continue to be conformist and traditional in this area of their personal lives. The majority subscribes to caste endogamy. Respondents are acutely conscious of their caste identity and suggest that this consciousness is likely to make a sense of inferiority. Respondents are unable to cut across caste barriers in the matter of friendship. Majority of them chooses their best friends from their own sub-caste or caste. Whether this is due to their own inability to cut across caste barriers or because of the unwillingness of other caste peers to reach out to them is not explored (Chutnis, 1981; Parvathamma, 1984; Radhakrishnan, et al., 1989; Omprakash, 1993)

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS-

There are numerous small and large organizations of the Dalits all over the country such as the Dalit Sangarsha Samiti in Karnataka, Indian Dalit Federation in Kerala, Dalit Mahasabha in Andhra Pradesh, Bahujana in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar etc. Organization is referred as a formal Organization, which has a purposive device for
the achievement of specific goals or the carrying out of given functions in society (Charlotte Seymour Smith, 1986). Within the organizations, there are many features and functions. The Organization has an ideology, identity, leadership and its function is to mobilize people for maximizing their goals. The organization tries to safeguard the interests of their group by different mechanisms like agitations, protests, strikes, hunger strikes, bandhs etc. The approach can be defensive, offensive, or peaceful.

At the national Level under the leadership of Dr. Baba Saheb B.R. Ambedkar, all the Dalits became very conscious of the caste discrimination and so they launched a number of movements to protest against untouchability and for the eradication of the caste system. Students all over India founded students Organizations and struggled to attain equality with the other castes (Ravi Prasad, 1997)

In September 1944, Dr B.R. Ambedkar came to Hyderabad. On that occasion, the SC welfare association gave a grand welcome to him. His tour in Andhra Pradesh gave an inspiration to mobilize all the Dalits and unite them to fight for their problems. The majority of the people who were involved on this occasion were the students who started resisting the domination of the upper castes. However, with the increase of the mobilization of students and their activities the atrocities on them too increased.

Today the students in the Universities are the cream of the Dalit Communities Almost all the students come to the level of the university with awareness in their social background. And hence they have hatred for casteism and its various ugly forms, which are trying to oppress the Dalit students In this way, the students always are in a mood to revolt against the system and they struggle to bring awareness among the Dalit students through consciously organized meetings (Ravi Prasad, 1997)

To fight out the oppression on them they actively participate in the students union politics. And they secretly enroll themselves as members of the political group that is akin to their ideas and actively participate in its activities. And so the study by Ravi Prasad (1997) reports that the dalit students concentrate more on the Dalit student’s problems in the colleges. Such activities seriously disturb the academic atmosphere on account of strikes and agitations. But in this way, there are advantages for the dalit students to enhance their status and role in the student community and to
defeat the dominating role of the upper caste and to survive and be equal with the other students.

Generally the conflicts develop between the Dalit students and the upper caste students on the issue of reservation in education, hostel accommodation, concessions, caste feelings etc. These conflicts will grow in the form of hostile attitudes and caste discriminations. And such attitudes develop feelings of hatred, arrogance, and unhealthy competition between them. The existence of such difference between them will lead to caste tensions, ideological tensions and the status tensions etc. These tensions grow when the Dalit students openly demand for the implementation of the reservations and the other facilities. And when they are refused, there will be more agitations and struggles, which will only create more conflicts between the students. Therefore the problems of the Dalit students have ultimately to be traced to caste hatred and conflicts, such bitter experiences have led that Dalit organizations to build up their counter activities only to continue the Dalit and non-Dalit differences and disunity in the society (Ravi Prasad, 1997).

**Self Concept**-

Self-concept is in large part a social product, determined by the attitudes and behavior of others towards the individual. It has been assumed that low self-esteem may result from minority status. It has been emphasized that racial segregation had the potential to damage the self-esteem of black children. Socio-economic factors also affect the self-esteem or the personality patterns. The psychological effects of ascribed low status on the personality of the victims of untouchability can be very deep. It has been observed by various studies of the Black or Afro-American personality in the United States that some of the consequences of their social status are lowered self-esteem, confusion of self identity, self hate, perception of the world as a hostile place, hypertension and neurosis (Allport, 1954, Karon, 1958).

Paranjpe (1970) conducted a similar kind of study to assess the effect of caste on individual students. The feeling of utter frustration arising out of economic and cultural deprivation was found to be a characteristic of scheduled caste individuals. Many scheduled caste people commonly shared feelings of inferiority.
Omprakash, (1993), studied the psychological symptoms exhibited by scheduled caste students of IIT. In his study he found that scheduled caste students are more poorly adjusted than their caste Hindu counterparts.

**Methodology and Theoretical Perspective**

Eulalie Van Heerden has conducted a comprehensive, ethnographic research on Black University students (1995). This study was undertaken to determine which and how, sociocultural factors influence the academic performance of black students at a distance education University in South Africa. Several socio-cultural factors were found to be influencing the academic performance. These include inadequate preparation for schooling, unfamiliarity with the University’s culture of learning, inefficient learning styles, problems with the organization of study and the use of available study time, language difficulties, economic and physical environmental factors. Interviews, case studies and observation methods were used. A contextual and individualistic-holistic approach to case studies was applied. The present study too has tried to explore on the above guidelines. The above enumerated socio-cultural factor’s, like inadequate preparation for schooling, unfamiliarity with the University’s culture of learning, problems in comprehending and understanding the subjects, language difficulties, economic and physical environmental, influence is seen on the academic performance.

A nation wide study of the educational problems of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes were undertaken and sponsored by ICSSR (Chitnis, 1972, 1981, Parvathamma and Satyanarayana, 1989) “A long way to go- Report on a survey of Scheduled Caste high school and college students in fifteen states of India” (Chitnis, 1972, 1981) was a project sponsored by ICSSR. Though the study touches on several points and raises several issues. But because it was done on a large scale, the issues could not be probed and were not studied in-detail.

Another nation wide study on the educational problems of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe school and college students was initiated and founded by the ICSSR in the year 1973-74. Part of the above project was published in the form of a book by Parvathamma and Satyanarayana, named “New horizons and scheduled caste (1984)”. This book tries to give first hand information on the nature of difficulties and problems faced by the scheduled caste college students in Karnataka. Questionnaires
were administered. No theoretical perspective has been used for studying the problem in all the above studies.

Ravi Prasad, in his book, "Dalit Youth"- a sociological study, tries to explore the major problems and issues involved in understanding the life of the Dalit youth in the Indian society. Basically, a doctoral thesis is a study conducted among graduates and post-graduate students of Kakatiya University, Warangal, Andhra Pradesh. This is a survey kind of study based on the questionnaires collected from a sample of 200 students. Most of the questionnaires were administered personally. The study tries to explore the socio-economic background of the SC youth, their awareness about the facilities, their aspirations, expectations and attitudes. Further, the author tries to give an account of the Dalit student's participation in activities like student organizations.

In this study, a majority of the students are coming from poverty-stricken homes and are mostly from rural areas. Most of their educational background is in Telugu medium, which seems to hamper their chances of achieving higher academic goals. At every state of education, they have suffered from insufficient financial assistance. But due to reservation policy, they are encouraged to study from schooling to University.

This study has touched upon various issues concerning a student's life in the colleges and universities, but it lacks in-depth analysis. Also, the issues raised are not examined with the respect to the rural-urban distribution, sex, or caste-wise distribution, which the author, in the first chapter, emphasizes that the students are not from a similar background. Also, there exists lot of difference with regard to rural/urban and its relation with their aspirations and attitudes.

Another study (Radhakrishnan and Ranjana Kumari, 1989) was conducted in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh to understand certain issues related to the higher education of the scheduled caste youths and its subsequent impact on them. Group interviews and informal talks with students too were conducted, as well.

Most of the existing studies (Chitrak, 1981; Parvathamma, et.al., Radhakrishnan, et.al., 1989; Vishwanadham, et.al., 1985) are survey type studies, with emphasis on quantitative analysis. An in-depth analysis is lacking. They have mostly explored the factors influencing the poor performance of scheduled caste students in academics.
REMEDIAl MEASURES FOR IMPROVEMENT IN EDUCATION-

A mere existence of facilities does not ensure their optimum use. Awareness and acceptance are essential for utilization. To maximize the use, it is necessary to generate better awareness. More publicity is needed to ensure the wider use of facilities like book loans, hostel assistance and pre-admission coaching facilities (Premi, 1974)

Children of class I and II categories of Scheduled caste officers should not be accorded any preferential treatment as in their case, the environmental handicaps have been largely overcome. This will not only ensure more opportunities to the deprived, but also good beginning for a gradual discontinuance of privileged status (Premi, 1974)

Khajapeer (1996) offers a few suggestions to democratize higher education, i.e., to enable them to acquire early placement in jobs by providing courses that have job potential, to develop and promote entrepreneurship

There is a gap in the medium of instruction at the higher education level. This gap is more pronounced in case of students coming from rural areas. The gap is due to the fact that at the high school or PUC level, they do their studies through the medium of regional languages, while at the degree or post-graduate level they have to adjust to the English medium. In addition, there is a paucity of books in regional languages at the post graduate level. To promote their enrolment and to sustain them at the higher education level, there is a need to reorient the medium of instruction, preferably to suit their earlier pursuits and to produce good text books and reference books in regional languages. There is also a need to supplement lecture method of teaching with tutorials, seminars and remedial teaching sessions (Khajapeer, 1996)