CHAPTER NO. 2

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A number of studies have been carried out on SCs especially, on social mobility. A few studies were notably focused on the relation between educational and socio-economical status of SCs. The studies attempted to see the impact and effect of the Reservation Policy and efforts of government to abolish the untouchablity. During the last three decades of 20th century some scholars defined the relationship between education, urbanization, industrialization, and the occupational mobility. These studies are very helpful to see the upliftment of the whole weaker section especially, SCs. However, very few researchers focused on the interlinkages between social context and social occupational mobility using education as the intervening parameter. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to take a review of the following studies in order to know the extent of mobility that the SCs have gained.

North India

Jetly1 conducted study of 10 castes in Sean village, Chiriagaon block in Varanasi district of Uttar Pradesh. He shows formal education along with political power and increased incomes through diversified occupational structure. The scientific agriculture is accompanied by a strong urge to invest in the improvement of ritual status.

Lynch2 studied the Jatavas (Chamar or leather Worker), a community residing in Agra City. In his book, he focused on their economic mobility and stated
that, the path of economic mobility for the Jatavas did not decrease solidarity, instead it helped to increase solidarity among them.

Dubey\(^3\) undertook a survey of 300 respondents, who were related with six professions from Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh. He pointed out the aspects of growth of professions, their social composition, nature of physical, educational, occupational and psychic mobility among professions. However, only 4.33 Per Cent respondents, that he surveyed belonged to the Backward Castes and 2.66 Per Cent of them belonged to the SCs. The author observed that, the Upper Castes are still very much dominant and the position of lower Castes has not much improved. However, the SCs are though larger in the total population and their percentage in the professions found to be negligible.

Gangarde\(^4\) studied a multi-caste village called Chhatera in Haryana, 25 miles away from Delhi. He analyzed the social mobility in his article. He also made a comparative study of mobility among the different castes, specially Chamars and Bhangis within the Harijans. The study of the occupational pattern of the Harijans showed that a vast majority of them have dis-associated themselves from their traditional occupations. He noted that, the change of occupation among the Harijans is much more pronounced in the younger generation than the older one. However, the population in old generation is very few and most of them are fast giving up their traditional callings. He concluded that, compared the Bhangis to Chamars have changed their conditions more, in respect of education, occupation and income. According to him, the spread of
education and other factors have contributed to the achievement of higher social position by the Harijan.

Saberwal Satish focused on the patterns of the individual mobility among SCs, Viz., Balmikis, Ad Dharmis, and Ramgarhias. He found that, distinctive social styles are associated with the mobility efforts of each of the three castes in Modelpur (Punjab). He also mentioned the caste solidarity and opportunistic links with social networks, such as analytically separable mobility is the first and the individual is the second strategy.

The Study of Malik is an attempt to assert the consequences of education and social mobility among the SC. These consequences are studied in context of constitutional provisions and institutional incentives. In her descriptive study, she emphasized on describing the social consequences of social mobility among 300 household of SCs in Ambala town (Hariyana). In her study out of 300 respondents, 200 are less educated i.e. up to Matric standard and they are in the lower income categories. She indicated that, respondent's sons are generally moving away from the traditional occupations as compared to their fathers and grand-fathers. She concluded that, the sons achieved considerably greater mobility than the fathers. Their fathers had moved comparatively higher than the grand-fathers.

Ram Nandu's study focused on the Government employees of the SCs in Kanpur city. He has taken 240 samples from seven SCs, Viz., Balmiki, Chamar, Dhobi, Khatik, Kori, Pasi and others. They were selected on
stratified random method. In his research, he examined that how the policy of
protective discrimination has helped to evolve a new middle class among
them. Their class is confronted within their identification before others. He
concluded that, though they have not succeeded in improving significantly
their socio-economic status, such status is certainly better than the SCs, as a
whole. But from this it cannot be construed that all the members of these
castes have benefited equally from various measures and thus improved their
socio-economic status. It is noteworthy that, a few members of these castes
have improved their status in society

Singh's\(^8\) study covered 200 respondents among the SCs in 13 villages in
Janpur district of Uttar Pradesh. It's focus was on the changing social
attitudes and aspirations of the SCs. The author has examined the trend of
social and occupational mobility among SCs in three generations. According
to him, the proximity of respondents to such influences have been furthered by
the rapid growth of means of transport and communication because a rail road
connection has made many changes in the life and attitude of SCs.

Prakash\(^9\) has done an exploratory and descriptive study with 200 SCs people,
who were engaged in different occupational categories of government services
in Lucknow City. Her study concluded that, the entry of SCs in government
services influenced their life style to a great extent, as they were employed in
Class I, II, III, and IV Government services. She mentioned that, the impact of
occupation on life style of SCs employed in Class I service is most significant.
Pundhir\textsuperscript{10} studied the social changes among the SCs in North India. He examined the social, economical, political and cultural dimensions. He studied the role of the process of Sanskritisation, Westernisation and Secular reference group models. He indicated that the adaptation of new occupation, which was clean and prestigious facilitated by reservation in jobs as a state policy. However, education became a pre-requisite for such occupational mobility.

Wankhede\textsuperscript{11} has done a study of 150 respondents among SC communities of different states. Their locality was under the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) housing scheme. He concluded that, in the case of the SCs, the contribution of education for positive change is directly linked to occupational mobility. He shows that, other means like economic development, political power, intellectual power and even conversion proved to be ineffective whereas education appears to be effective for the development of SCs. The author has mentioned that, there is no other viable means other than education that can be considered slowly useful, in addition and functionally, too.

\textbf{South India}

Srinivas\textsuperscript{12} studied a village called ‘Rampura’ in Mysore district of Karnataka State. He stated that Rampura is a village of many castes. He brought out that the relation between two castes which have untouchables, namely Holya and Okkalga. According to him the master-servant relationship has not facilitated occupational mobility. In his work he pointed out that, there had always been mobility within the caste system. The individuals and the groups through their
own co-joint efforts and adoption of Sanskritic Values, brought out this mobility.

Rao Amba\textsuperscript{13} has completed the study of the SC students, studying in different colleges affiliated to Karnataka University during 1965 to 1974. This study exhibits the patterns of occupational mobility and prospects of employment of the SC Youths in higher education. The author mentioned the fact, that the majority of SC students failed at the final examination.

Khan\textsuperscript{14} conducted a study taking into account 500 respondents from 30 castes. These Castes were categorized into three parts: 1. The Caste Hindu 2. Non-Caste Hindu other than SCs and 3. SCs. The study focused its attention on the impact of the government policy and programs for the upliftment of SCs since the Independence. He reviewed the changes and several aspects of the life of the SCs. He noted that the illiterates and also those, who have studied in lower primary schools, mostly follows traditional occupations. Most of the illiterates and lower primary school educated persons have shifted from traditional occupations to non-traditional occupations of lower status. The educated persons have a virtual monopoly of non-traditional occupations of high status. He mentioned subsidiary occupations, which the government has provided for the SCs, have not been made available to them.

Rao Usha\textsuperscript{15} has attempted to construct a profile, of the position and status especially, in the areas of education and occupation pattern among various caste groups of SCs of those. belonging to Karnataka in particular. The 1961
census data has been used as the base of this research work. She observed that, one percent of the SC workers in the state are engaged in leather industries and 43.02 Per Cent of the workers are engaged in the industry. She mentioned in her research that, there was not any significant change in the occupational pattern of SCs in Karnakaka of 1971 census data. She also noted that, the large Percentage of the SC workers in rural area are engaged in agricultural cottage industries and subsidiary economical activities.

Parvathamma\textsuperscript{16} presented a detailed survey on the problems of SCs and STs. She analyzed the socio-economical conditions of the downtrodden communities in Karnataka State in general. She examined the socio-economical problems of SCs and clearly evaluated Government schemes and policies provided under the protective discrimination policy for over 35 years of independent period. In her book, she noted that, more than 80 Per Cent of the SCs and STs are landless agricultural labours, working on other’s land in the village. Among the downtrodden, those who own some land, are usually dry land cultivators and the size of such holding is very small. Their occupation is the only source of living and not interested in change. Since they are not sure of alternative work and nor aware of any such avenues.

The study of Pande\textsuperscript{17} is concerned with the migration and occupational mobility. She has taken 300 samples for her research work. The concerned respondents were migrated from Bhojpuri region to Hyderabad City. These respondents belonged to three religions, that are: Hindu 95, Muslim 3.66 and Sikhs 0.33 Per Cent, respectively. Out of ninety five Per Cent of Hindus are
distributed into six categories, Viz. Brahmins, Bhumihars, Rajputs, Vaishyas, Kayasthas and Lower castes. In her study she analyzed the horizontal and vertical occupational mobility among four generations of Bhojpures. She found that, the trend among the respondents may be attributed their migration to the city. The new occupational avenues opened to them as a result of urbanization and growth in urban industrial sector.

Rao Ranga has evaluated that, what extent the differences in the functional character of the urban area, which related to the differential nature of occupational mobility among the SCs in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh State. In his study, he analyzed the occupational mobility patterns with its various dimensions (time phase: Inter and Intra–generational, directional phase: upward and downward) among the two major SC groups, namely Madiga and Mala. In his study he pointed out that, it is assumed that, younger age at migration, more changes for growth, as also the upward occupational mobility along with intra-generational line. He also mentioned that, the higher level education is concerned with the upward inter and intra-generational occupational mobility.

Selvanathan has done a comparative study in occupational mobility of the SC and Non-SC communities, which have concerned with five districts of Tamilnadu State. In that study, he analyzed the socio-economic status of SCs. He reported that, the share of SC, male workers involved in agriculture raised roughly, from 72 Per Cent in 1961 to more than 82 Per Cent in 1971, while the share of Non-SC workers engaged in agriculture remained almost
constant at nearly 57 Per Cent. He concluded that, from 1973 to 1983 the gross shift data established that, the SC rural workers are in the most mobile position. In the study he pointed out that, the generation from grand-father to grand-son, there is a net shift into non-agriculture occupations in both rural and urban areas.

Khan\textsuperscript{20} made a study of 270 respondents of SCs and Non-SCs in Banglore district. In this research work he took 2/3 (180) SC respondents from total respondents. In that study, he examined the identity formation and the self-identity of the Harijan elite. He concluded about the intergenerational occupational mobility among the fathers, 55 % were involved in farm sector. It was 36 % in the case of the respondents. Further, the number of respondents in the agriculture labour sector was slightly reduced. More respondents than fathers were involved in white-collar jobs and labours also.

Santhakumari\textsuperscript{21} attempted an empirical study of the impact of the various welfare programs on the Backward communities of India with special reference to the SC communities i. e. Pulayas, Kuravas and Thandans of Trivandrum district (Kerala). She focused on various aspects of educational progress, occupational mobility, social and cultural changes as well as religious impact also. Out of 300, 81% respondents in this study were concerned with the Collies. She noted that a very few respondents were able to fulfill their aspiration for upward mobility to some extent. She stated that it influenced both the motivations to aspire for higher jobs and the ability to use
the existing channels, which are educational facilities for achieving higher status and occupational mobility.

**Western India**

Lobo\(^2\) has studied about *Vankars*, SC of Kheda district in Central Gujrat, who were converted to Catholic Christianity (Bombay Gujrat Catholic) in 1890. He focused the impact of migration and religious conversion to social mobility of the Ex-SC. He found that the religious conversion and migration implied the discontinuity of the traditional occupation and plunge into the secular structure of occupational opportunities for the Ex-SC.

**Maharashtra**

Patwardhan\(^3\) investigated 360 SC families of some castes viz *Mahars, Mangs, Chambhars, Dhors and Holars* of Poona city. According to her the factors like the change of occupation, education, political participation, *Sanskritization*, caste association, the criterion of residence and life style etc. are connected with individual and group mobility also. Her study shows that industrialization and migration to cities and towns have brought changes in occupational patterns. In cities the presence of wider occupational choice, increasing literacy and higher education, along with a rejection of the social system are some of the significant factors for the higher percentage of rejection in traditional occupation by SCs. Therefore, author concluded that urbanization leads to greater occupational mobility for the SCs.
Dahiwale\textsuperscript{24} has studied the emerging entrepreneurship among SCs of Kolhapur City. His study covered 230 respondents’ viz. Mahar (102), Mang (62), Chambhars (08), Dhor (24) and Bhangi (04) who are concerned with the modern (200) and traditional jobs (30). He analyzed the syndrome of subjective and objective determinants regarding with the occupational mobility of SCs. According to him the respondents, who possess modern education, professional or vocational skills have found easier to perform modern jobs and those who remained in this job still deprived of education or have remained less educated and have to do even their old jobs. He also mentioned that, the occupational mobility has been found to be the characteristics among the converted ex-untouchables more prominently than among the Hindus.

Patil\textsuperscript{25} made a study of 302 workers of Ichalkaranji city, Kolhapur district. Out of 302, 26 workers were SCs form three subgroups namely, Mahars(15), Mang (3) and Chambhar (8). His data indicated that, the workers qualification was S.S.C. He noted that, urbanization and urban situation constitute an important variable in bringing about social changes and mobility. In that study, he found the SC industrial workers in Ichalkarnji, had mainly agricultural background in their earlier two generations. He mentioned that, most of the worker have either entered into industrial job and changed one or two jobs, which shows that the frequency of job changing is not much pronounced in industry.
Salve\textsuperscript{26} made a study of SCs of \textit{Karveer} taluka under Kolhapur district. He took 200 respondents from three communities Viz, \textit{Mahar}, \textit{Mang} and \textit{Chambhar}. He analyzed the progress among the SCs brought about by educational, occupational, social and cultural development through state and central action and special facilities for SCs communities. He concluded that –

1. The majority of \textit{Mahar} respondents are engaged in services whereas \textit{Mang} and \textit{Chambhar} respondents were following traditional occupations. It seems that \textit{Mahar} respondents have taken the advantages of Govt. facilities more than the others. 2. The respondents pointed out that the motivation for occupational development and desire for economic prosperity or higher social status was possible only due to the help and efforts of Rajashri Shahu Maharaja and Dr. Ambedkar.

\textit{Gaikwad}\textsuperscript{27} made an empirical study of \textit{Aurangabad} City. He has taken 200 respondents who are employees and students of SC communities viz. \textit{Mahar}, \textit{Mang}, \textit{Chambhar} and \textit{Dhor}. This study is regarded with the perception of SC beneficiaries on state and social changes. In this study, he reported that, the SCs shows a positive attitude towards educational facilities and the protective discrimination policy in the bringing changes. He mentioned, 94 \% respondents from student and employee categories indicated their favorableness towards the potentially of the protective discriminative policy as a powerful weapon to bring about the changes among the SCs. In his study he found that, very few SC communities are able to draw maximum benefits and many of them have remained backward. However for SCs as a whole the trend of upward mobility is increasing since the independence.
East India

*Majumdar D.N. And Roy B. Datta*[^28] Studied the *Khasi, Pnar* and the *Garo* tribes in the urban towns of *Shillong, Jowai* and *Tura* in Meghalaya. They have taken field survey of 737 households and 4005 persons. This study found that, the urbanization can cause a decline in the cultural influence on the occupational structure. They viewed that occupational mobility from the point of rural urban migration is gradually declining from generation to generation.

Benjamin[^29] has done a study of 200 SC persons of Barh Block, Patna district in Bihar. He focused on the educational and occupational upward social mobility among SCs. He pointed out that, the occupation of person reflects his social status in India. According to him after independence, there is slight change in the status of SCs because educational and special reservation policy made for fractured communities of society. He concluded that, the SCs try to acquire education but their occupation create problems in educational mobility.

Kamat[^30] found that, the educational incentives and other privileges of the post–independence period led to considerable educational advances among SC, with the provisions of job–reservations. According to him ,the job-reservation policy has led to geographical and occupational mobility amongst the SCs and STs also.

Shivram[^31] studied the selected Backward Castes in *Proddatur* town of Cuddapah district in Andhra Pradesh. In this study he founded that, income
and intelligence play an important role in determining the nature of migration and mobility. He concluded the factors, such as better economic background and reservation in educational institutions and Government jobs helps to achieve higher educational attainment and thereby higher upward mobility.

Shivprakasam\(^2\) studied the converted Dalits and came out with a detailed account of the origin and nature and their discrimination on the basis of religion. He also pointed, how they were discriminated by the upper classes in Christian and Muslim and explained the position and status of Dalit women in the society.

Pais\(^3\) undertook a study of 220 respondents of SC communities, such as Adi-Dra\(\text{v}i\)da, Mundala, Moger, Baruda and others, who were working in government undertaking, were interviewed. In his research, he examined the extent of occupational mobility achieved by them. He also examined the extent of social mobility as a result of employment analyzed in terms of their social relations, changing attitudes and lifestyles. He concluded that, the majority of them were the first in two or three generations to have held an urban employment in the Government or related departments of Government. He pointed that; the majority of these are in high positions from rural areas, while the majority are from urban areas who employed in lower position.
Summary

All the studies pointed out the pattern of social mobility and the factors responsible for it. They indicate that welfare measures and the favorable opportunity structure have facilitated mobility for SCs. Some of the studies have pointed out that the various factors are related with the mobility among SCs. However, the factors, such as education, migration, industrialization, urbanization and government welfare measures have contributed to the mobility of SCs. Some of the studies are focused with Maharashtra region. In these studies, in addition to different factors, one prominent factor is mentioned, the impact of social reformers such as Jyotiba Phule, Shahu Maharaj and Dr. Ambedkar for social mobility of the people under discussion. In all these studies a little attempt has been made to study the inter and intra-generational occupational mobility among SCs. Therefore, this study has significance of its own.
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