REVIEW OF LITERATURE
Review of Literature:

An extensive study of material on India shows that an analysis of the caste system was first attempted by western sociologists. (See for example: Marx, Weber, Hutton and Blunt).

Let me begin with Marx (1843), who on the basis of his wide knowledge and study of materials on India and keen analysis of the Indian social system, believed that “modern industry, resulting from the Railway system, will dissolve the hereditary division of labour, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power”. The expectation, so shared subsequently by many thinkers, including Max Weber, was that modern economic relations stood in a direct contradiction with the caste system; if these relations developed, the caste system would disintegrate. That the caste system has not disintegrated despite the many socioeconomic changes that have occurred over the past one hundred years, intrigued Indian and foreign scholars further. This led to more theorizing and more empirical research and soon a plethora of sociological literature appeared in print.

It was Ghurye, (1969) who was one of the forerunners to give a vivid description of the caste system and to point out that what the western thinkers had called caste, were actually *Jatis* and he thus in enumerated more than two thousand jatis, each associated with a particular occupation. Taking the cue from Ghurye, empirical studies on caste began to appear. The present review of literature is an attempt to highlight both theoretical and empirical studies carried out on caste, education and social mobility. The contributions made by international and Indian sociologists are captured in this review.
In his study on Coorgs of Mysore, Srinivas (1952), citing evidence from history showed that, the caste system which was considered to be a rigid system of hierarchy, with little or no mobility was far from true. He accepted the historical evidence and showed that the caste system was far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all times. He argued that movement has always been possible, and especially so in the middle regions of the hierarchy. He showed how group mobility is possible and how the lower castes imitate the life styles of the upper castes and, over a period of two or three generations consider themselves as members of the upper castes whom they have imitated. They then try to establish themselves as 'higher' caste and to marry in the higher caste group to establish their credibility as members of that particular higher caste. This process was called Sanskritization.

Srinivas defined Sanskritization as "the process in which a low caste was able in a generation or two to raise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism and by sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon."

In an attempt to examine the empirical aspect of the process of sanskritisation, Cohn (1955) tried to capture the side effects of sanskritisation, when he studied the Chamars of Madhopur, a village in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. He analyzed the changes that had taken place in two castes, the Naniyas a low but clean caste and the other, Chamars an untouchable caste. He observed that both of these castes tried to raise their status through Sanskritization, migration, economic development after the abolition of the zamindari system.
His study revealed that when the chamars sanskritised their ritual and adorned the holy thread, the Thakur could not tolerate this and beat up the chamars. The latter moved court for violation of their constitutional rights but the Thakur and chamars were persuaded to settle the matter out of court. The study further showed that secular education had played a central role in the chamars’ efforts to improve their position. The Chamars also tried to change other religious practices.

Cohn further observed that the Lohar and Ahirs of Madhopur also tried to raise their status through imitating the behavior pattern and mannerisms of the upper caste. The Ahirs chose to identify themselves as “Yadav Rajput” and Lohar claimed to be “Visvakarma Brahmin”, while the Chamars of Jaunpur district Azamgarh called themselves as 'Harijan Thakur'. But the chamars of Madhopur did not join the former. Cohn’s study gave important direction to further studies in sanskritisation and social mobility.

Bailey’s (1957) study of Bisipara, a village in Phulbani district of Orissa showed that the ritual hierarchy corresponded to political and economic power. The warriors enjoyed a high ritual status and also monopolised the land and political power. Later on with the advent of the British rule the two low caste Boad and Ganjam distillers tried to raise their status through acquisition of wealth and land and had enjoyed political power. Both of these outcastes sanskritisation of their life styles. Bailey argued that it is fact that mobility increased
appreciably under British rule but the system was elastic enough to contain the enhanced mobility.

Isaacs (1964) wrote about what he called India's "Ex-Untouchables" (since untouchability had been constitutionally abolished). He was intrigued by situation of the then sixty five million Untouchables living in confinement to their traditional occupational positions within the traditional power structure of the caste system. He showed how the values of purity and pollution, were strongly associated with occupations which continued to be hereditary. The system was reinforced through the supremacy and solidarity of the upper caste, even in the wake of the process of modernization. Isaac's study is one of its kinds and is unique in the sense that he undertook a journey to India in 1963 to understand the reality faced by the Ex-untouchables.

Dumont, (1966) in a theoretical analysis tried to understand the caste system not in terms of it being an ultimate form of social distinctions generally found in the West, but rather in terms of its own principles which are based on her own terms as a society based on different principles for which new sociological concepts were needed. This book displayed the apparent irrationalities, contradictions, inherent in western concept of caste and it brings caste alive and raises the discussion of its significance to a new level.

Dumont argued that the Brahmins and the untouchables from two extreme ends in the vertical hierarchy of the caste system. Their
position are just exposed and associated with concepts of purity and pollution, peculiarly defined in the Hindu context respectively. The middle castes are diffused and the real conflict and antagonism are evident between the "Clean" and the "Unclean" castes, viz: the Brahmins and the Untouchables. Social distance on basis of their position in the hierarchical order of purity and pollution, are culturally defined and prescribed, and, should not be confounded with any parallel system existing in western societies. Thus, for Dumont, the caste system is to be understood in terms of cultural categories and not through western ethnocentrisms.

Beteille (1969) argued that the in India, elite educational institutions and occupations are “caste-free” and designed on western styles of life. This has helped in bringing about a new distribution in the status hierarchy. Individuals belonging to different lower groups have tried to raise their status through Sanskritization or westernization. Some used the occupational system and others the system of political parties and associations. Consequently, inequalities have become more dispersed than in the past.

Beteille further stated that education along with income and occupation became the bases of new forms of social differentiation, which tended to cut across differences based on caste. He emphasized that the effacement of caste in the traditional sense does not bring to an end either differences in styles of life or their hierarchical gradation. He argued that marriage and residential arrangements were the indicators of social differentiation in contemporary Indian society.
He also found that new vertical divisions based on income, occupation and education allowed, by their very nature, a certain degree of individual mobility.

Hardgrave's (1969) study concerned itself with caste mobility by means of political participation and conversion of religious faith. His universe of study was Tamil Nadu. He observed that as the caste rose in wealth and political power, there was rise in ritual rank or social status. Nadirs had improved their status through the instrument of the caste association called “Nadar Mahajan Sangam”. It was a modern weapon of upward mobility. The Nadirs of Tamil Nadu recognized the importance of education for social uplift during the 19th and 20th centuries. E.V. Ramaswami Naiker led the self respect movement in Tamil Nadu. The effect of this movement led the Nadirs to desanskritise their style of life. The sacred thread was thrown away and the use of Brahmin Purohits was discouraged. The movement for social uplift among the Nadirs of Kanyakumari started from the “breast cloth controversy”. During the last century, the Nadirs have today became one of the most economically and politically successful communities in the south.

Hardgrave found that few Nadirs of Tamil Nadu converted to Christianity and the material conditions of the converts improved after conversion. Christianity taught them to feel that they were superior to what they originally considered themselves to be. The converts enjoyed a slightly improved economic position than their Hindu kinsmen. Education and Christianity gave the Nadirs hope of an
escape from their sufferings under the dominance of their Nair landlords even if their economic status did not improve.

Zelliot (1970) confined her study to Mahars of Maharashtra who perceived the importance of politics as a means of ameliorating their social condition. She observed that Mahar in the village community was a village servant. His touch was polluting and he did not come into direct contact with a caste Hindu. First of all, Mahars tried to claim religious rights as the equals of the caste Hindus by making three temple entry attempts. The claim to religious rights lost ground as the consciousness of the importance of education and political power articulated by western educated Ambedkar. They were prepared to reject Hinduism altogether. The figure of Chokhamela remained as a source of caste pride rather than a stimulant to claiming a place of worth in the Hindu hierarchy. Ambedkar stated that since success in the case of Temple Entry had been achieved, the movement should continue. He urged the depressed classes to try to concentrate their energy and resources on politics and education. The factors that led to the Mahar social awakening was military service and contact with the British, employment opportunities outside the village. The beginnings of education and all that Ambedkar had inspired them to do help them find their way into the political arena and equipped them for the use of political means towards a modern goal of social equality. Ambedkar converted to Buddhism along with a large number of Mahar, but religious conversion did not bring about much improvement in their social status.
Beteille (1970) in his “Caste Class and Power” stated that social mobility, economic change and political modernisation led to the creation of not only of a new set of relations, but also of new values, new attitudes and new aspirations. Some of the contours of the traditional structure tended to be blurred and new ones tended to emerge.

He found that the process of political modernisation provided scope to the individual to enter into networks of interpersonal relations in which village, caste and other traditional bonds were to be wholly decisive. He found greater tendency towards fusion than fission in caste.

Bhatt (1975) examined the relationship between ‘caste class and politics’, his analysis covered four states of India these were: Andhra Pradesh, Gujrat, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. He found that caste status was not necessarily a condition for politicization and the relationship between caste status and political activity. It was, rather because of the intervening effects of socio-economic status. And if the relationship between caste status and socio-economic status changed then if little relationship was to exist between caste, status and political orientation or influence then, caste activity would also change. Bhatt further stated that in a change from traditional to non-traditional occupation, low status castes generally moved to lower status occupations. Processes like education and urbanization, and the prevailing social conditions worked against lower status castes groups who wished to acquire a higher status in non-traditional occupations.
Finally Bhatt argued that for the low status caste, political sphere become a main avenue of social mobility.

Omen (1977) studied the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In this study he analysed the sources of change and their conversion to other religions and their mobility patterns. Omen analysed that social reform movements were the main channels of mobility, and that they did not reject the caste system although they rejected their specific status within its fold. The attempt was simply to move up within the hierarchy through sanskritization. Their identity and self-perception retained an essentially Hindu caste identity. But as they gradually realized the limitations of this mechanism of mobility, the attempt to disengage themselves from Hinduism and the caste system started as it manifested itself in their conversion to Islam, Christianity and Buddhism. The attempt here was to change the system and to search for a new identity outside its fold.

However, conversion to new faiths did not bring about the desired result viz. bestowing a higher status; the scheduled caste converts became neo-Buddhist or neo-Christians and the scheduled tribe converts remained tribal Christians or with rare exceptions became untouchables, if they were assimilated into Hinduism. Scheduled castes converts continued to be social isolates within the framework of this new faith and the social differentiation continued to persist. Each category maintained the characteristic of caste.

The study indicated that there were various sources of change for the improvement of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. These were the state action, educational development, political action, political
associations such as Dalit, Panther, allotment of land, establishment of cooperatives etc. Omen observed that various developmental benefits are occupied by few sections of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, be it the distribution of land, entry into educational institutions or representation in legislative bodies and government services. Thus a cumulative process started operating for the categories with certain initial advantages. This led to substantial disparities between the various groups among the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes and it resulted in the emergence of a new prosperous class effecting social differentiation among the scheduled castes and tribes leading to class-mobility. In general, state action led to individual mobility.

He also observed that population of a particular social group come to be identified with one political party or another.

Omen has opinioned that neither social reforms, nor state action nor political mobilization of the scheduled castes and tribes, will not benefit the really poor and oppressed. The need of the hour was a mass movement of a wider scale with a systematic effort to restructure the prevalent power structure, particularly at the grass-root level so that development benefits really reached the poor.

Berreman (1979) focused attention on both traditional and emerging modes of mobility and change, which often grew directly out of the former as new opportunities and new perceptions occurred. Berreman's study was confined to North Indian city. He observed that the comparative conditions of two of the most despised caste groups
i.e. leather workers and sweepers and tried to prove the effect of occupation on status. He observed that “In a medium sized north Indian city, leather workers have been to a large extent occupationally displaced because commercially produced shoes have replaced their hand made products in the urban market, none of the leather worker caste can make a living at their traditional occupation since they face extreme competition. Others were landless labourers before coming to the city and have never did leather work. Most of them have sought to make a living in the city in a variety of unskilled occupations but their denigrated status, their lack of education and other resources, and the lack of opportunity to learn new skills have kept most of them from acquiring a secure livelihood. They are disorganized, deprived and despondent”.

Sweeper’s on the other hand, are essential to the functioning of the growing city. They were its only sewage and garbage collection system. This despised occupation assured them a vital role. The city has grown faster than their numbers and people of other groups are unwilling to do their defiling work. Therefore, virtually all of them are employed. Most sweeper families have the guaranteed income of municipal employment supplement by the less reliable income of employment in private households. Perhaps most importantly the municipal employees are effectively unionized with a professional bargaining and the viable threat of strike against this common employer always available. As a consequence these people are reasonably secure though not prosperous. The differences in outlook between sweepers and leather workers look very much like a difference in personality. Sweeper’s as a group one self-confident, optimistic outgoing people. Leather workers, on the other hand are
characteristically despondent and evasive, exhibiting feelings of insecurity and inferiority in out group interactions. Both these depressed castes are unaware of the opportunities of legislation and developments.

Pimpley (1980) confined his study to education among the school and college students belonging to scheduled castes in Punjab. The study showed that school students have lower educational aspirations than the college students. The educational aspirations were found to have been significantly affected by their father's education. The backwardness of these students was attributed to environmental factors including their family background and poverty rather than to any intrinsic shot which was inherent in them. Most of the respondents told him that the behaviour of their classmates towards them was not desirable to a large extent. The student’s role models were the “government servants” and they felt that the status of the scheduled castes had improved but continued to be inferior to that of other castes.

The teachers, though, held less favourable opinions about the caliber of students belonging to the scheduled castes. A large majority of the teachers considered that the environment of their students was not conducive to good academic performance.

The study also showed that acquiring education, particularly higher education can be seen as a major avenue for occupational mobility. Occupational mobility depends upon occupational aspirations. On the basis of their educational level the respondents aspired for non-traditional, non-polluting white-collar jobs. The student respondents
were unwilling to take up their father's hereditary occupation. Only six percent were willing to do so.

Interestingly, Pimpley categorised students into groups as: "difficult" category and "so-so" category. The "difficult" category wanted to join the professions, while; on the other hand, students from the "so-so" category were interested in taking up lower level white collar jobs.

Khan (1980) analyzed the changing status of scheduled castes since independence in some parts of rural Karnataka.

His study showed that until recently, the scheduled castes had no access to education and that their position had changed considerably mostly because of the various steps taken by the government during the last two decades. Khan observed that occupational mobility was noticeable among SC and that maximum changes had taken place in schools where the traditional social restrictions placed on the scheduled castes had almost disappeared. There was a significant change in the relationship between the caste Hindu masters and the scheduled caste employees. However servitude was widely practiced because of economic reasons. The study further showed that the working of government policies and programs and measures had not borne the expected results. There was a wide gap between what the government envisaged and what was actually found in rural areas.

Shah's (1984) study is confined to various aspects of caste, class and reservation. His research revealed that though economic differentiation had emerged within the untouchable caste, yet this did
not mean that a class based society had emerged. Individuals were
guided by economic considerations in their day to day actions and
social relationships. The researcher further stated that even though the
caste system appeared to be 'breaking down', it did not mean that
considerations of purity and pollution had disappeared from society.

Shah's findings clearly showed that the economic poverty affected all
castes equally, regardless of caste status. The Untouchables and the
upper castes are not equal in all other respects.

If a poor member of the upper caste wishes to enter an educational
institution, he would be allowed to do so; whereas, members of the
lower castes would be denied access to educational institutions—as
they have done in the past. Those who belonged to the higher castes
inherited the tradition of education whereas the others were denied
these opportunities. The members of the upper caste could move up
social ladder through caste associations organised by their caste
fellowmen and through other means. Such movement was denied to
the scheduled castes, which had to be aided by governmental
intervention. This study revealed the fact that upper caste officials
had negative attitudes towards SC, ST. They proclaimed that the
inefficiency in the administration was due to the appointment of BC
and OBC in the offices. Despite the availability of SC, ST candidates
for the reserved seats, such seats were not filled up. These differences
were based on caste prejudices and the stereotypic images of the
scheduled cases.

Desai (1984) in his article showed that the traditional relationships
between occupation and caste have broken down. In contemporary
India, caste has strong rivals which are identified as new secular basis of differentiation and stratification which are the products of the new economic and political developments. These are coupled with corresponding developments in social norms and in standards of behaviour and aspirations of all people. Apart from this, caste consciousness is getting weak in the face of interest conscious utilities.

He further mentioned that the areas in which the 'caste' is consciously used for its effectiveness are much wider than those primordial areas. It is political and economic. It may be stated wide or nation wide. The upper strata of all these primordial groups who indulge in these political and economic games use the primordial utilities and invest in them to strengthen their wider political and economic interests. They have been quite successful up till now. They have been supported by a section of the intelligentsia by spreading the illusion about the everlasting and unchanging nature of the primordial unities and thus spread pessimism among the people.

Dev & Lahiri (1984) analysed the process of mobility in Assam. They have shown that Assam is the only state in India which is free from the soils of untouchability. It is also free from the atrocities on the Harijan. They also found that the process of social change has brought about a complete shift in the division of labour in Assam. The profession of scavenger has disappeared from the province. The operation of the forces of modernization in Assam has put a severe pressure on the traditional occupational structure. The advancement in the field of education, the improvement in communications and the
spread of western culture motivated different occupational caste groups to participate in areas outside the domain of their hereditary occupation.

They also found that the social reform movements and secularization of political institutions and sanskritization which were initiated during the British period/responsible for the advancement of scheduled caste in Assam. The study also showed that various scheduled castes were accommodated in different ways with the mainstream of power politics. This phenomenon brought about corresponding changes in the indigenous social system of Assam as a whole.

The study revealed that the fact that the function of the institution of satra facilitated the gradual upward mobility among Naths who are one of the highly mobile scheduled caste groups of Assam.

Parvathama (1984) conducted a survey for analyzing the socio-economic conditions of scheduled castes and tribes in Karnataka. The study showed that majority of the scheduled castes was living in a miserable condition. They live in separate colonies outside the village. More than fifty percent SC and ST were denied water facilities from the common village water sources. More than eighty percent of SC and ST were landless agricultural labourers working on others land in the village. Many of them were denied pursuing the menial type of occupations. There were only a few SC and ST having bank accounts. Marriage processions of SC and ST were not allowed to go through the upper caste locality or near the village temple.
The study also showed that the level of politicization of SC and ST in the Karnataka state is relatively low but they have knowledge of various constitutional provisions of the upliftment of the down-trodden including political reservation. A large number of SC and ST recognized the name of Gandhiji as a national leader but not many could identify Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as their leader. Only educated urban residents could recall Ambedkar's contribution to the advancement of SC and ST in the country. Many of them do not send their children to school because of their poverty stricken condition. Karnataka state follows all idiosyncrasies of the Hindu population. Economic concessions like land, education and employment with regular wages to the down trodden recommended by them as solutions for improving their present condition. Food habits and consumption patterns of SC and ST in the state is low. They are underfed and undernourished.

Brass (1984) studied the problem of adjustment and adoption of a modern political party to the traditional order in Uttar Pradesh. According to Brass, development of political consciousness affects the political effectiveness of the scheduled caste as a group, which has been hindered by the continued educational backwardness. This is true for most of the low castes of low caste groups which come under the constitutional definition of scheduled castes. The center of scheduled caste political activity has been in and around Bombay city and, it was during the nineteen eighties that it spread to other parts of the country like Uttar Pradesh.
During the course of field work he found that in Uttar Pradesh the Chamars are the best educated and the most politically conscious group among the scheduled castes. The Republican Party, which is the political vehicle of the militant scheduled caste movement, is dominated by Chamars in Uttar Pradesh. Chamars are invariably close to the very bottom in the status and economic hierarchies of rural Uttar Pradesh. Throughout the state, they are employed in the rural sectors primarily as agricultural labourers and, in the urban areas they are placed in inferior menial occupations as leatherworkers, factory workers, coolies or rickshaw pullers.

He further found that Chamars were not only in a majority (among all scheduled caste groups) in Aligarh district but also have a dynamic and popular leader like BP Maurya. Maurya had worked for the advancement of his community. Maurya had led a movement in Aligarh which had begun earlier in Bombay, for the conversion of the scheduled castes to Buddhism. As a result of his work among the chamars, and his education, Maurya had become the hero of his community.

Brass further stated that the scheduled caste vote had been a mainstay of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh since independence. Until the 1962 election, the Republican Party and its predecessors, the scheduled caste federation, achieved no success in Uttar Pradesh politics. For the most part, the scheduled castes in Uttar Pradesh accepted the patronage of the Congress government and cast their vote in favor of the congress party in return. The scheduled caste leaders, who had been given the Congress tickets in the reserved constituencies, were non-militant and had no power in the local or state Congress
organizations. The numerous organizations in Uttar Pradesh for the advancement of the scheduled caste and for the "depressed classes" were content to serve as agencies for the distribution of Congress patronage.

Brass further stated that the Republican Party leaders felt that scheduled caste members who joined the Congress betrayed the aspirations of the low castes. The Republicans were militant opponents of the Congress which they claimed, was dominated by the elite Hindu castes. To oppose the Congress, Republicans were willing to seek alliances with any party or individuals whose principles were not opposed to their own.

Brass mentioned in his work (1984) before independence the Congress never seriously attempted to organize the low castes, which remained largely outside the mainstream of nationalist policies in U.P. Besides this, the low castes did not form a significant political force in the pre-independence period and their demands were not clearly articulated.

He further mentioned that with the adoption of adult franchise and the spread of education, groups which were unorganized in the pre-independence period began to find leaders to voice their demands.

Viswanadham & Reddy's (1985) study focused on the educational achievements of scheduled caste. His research study was based on the assumption that scheduled castes are no longer a homogeneous community and that there are perceptible differences among them
with respect to class, status and power. He hypothesized that parental attitudes, perception traditions in regard to education can influence educational attainment among scheduled castes. The study was conducted in Hyderabad city. The study also showed that there was a close association between the social class position of the parents and the educational achievement of their children among scheduled castes. Most of the top achievers hailed from families with higher socio-economic status and a vast majority of the under achievers from low economic status groups. The findings of his study suggested that unless structural changes were brought about, they would continue to remain educationally backward.

Guru (1986) analysed the relationship between the process of Sanskritization and the provision of reservations. It was observed that reservation played a contradictory role in the process of Sanskritization. Scheduled castes have sought vertical mobility through reservation and they were more inclined to raise their social and economic development, they also tried to associate themselves with the political organizations for the sake of power and in this whole process they did not give too much emphasis on Sanskritization. Scheduled castes have shifted their emphasis from sanskritization to competition for position of office and power. The process of Sanskritization existed only in the educated elite section of scheduled castes in urban areas and it does not incorporate the rural people.

The study revealed the fact that through the process of Sanskritization scheduled caste seeks horizontal mobility, but on the other hand the
economically backward upper castes seek downward social mobility by the process of de-Sanskritization, as they have to adopt lower caste status in order to enjoy reservation benefits.

Reddy (1986) studied patterns of non-formal education and social change. In this study he pointed out that non-formal education was an important means to stimulate and mobilize masses of the poor section of people to liberate themselves from ignorance and disadvantage and to gain equality and social justice. A number of voluntary organizations are promoting non-formal education in India.

Reddy stated that non-formal education dealt with the problem of the drop-outs. Voluntary organizations tried to improve the worse educational conditions of poor masses and gave them access to education through their educational programs. The poor who were not able to get education through formal institutions could now have access to education. The study revealed that non-formal education is people's education and it helps in the liberation of people from ignorance and leads to changes in society.

Malhotra's (1986) study confined itself to the analysis of education and development in India and the social disadvantages faced by SCs. The study revealed that progress of scheduled caste students in various aspects of their "cognitive" development such as intelligence and reading ability and their school achievement might be slower than that of their counterparts who belonged to the higher caste groups. He further stated that the dropout rate among SC student was higher than in the other groups. They were less aware about the availability of
scholarships and about opportunity for further education and future vocation. His study showed that education was a valuable activity. This kind of motivational aspirations among scheduled caste parents was weak.

Malhotra also observed that under the constitutional provisions, the state government, within its resources (both financial and human) should extend special facilities to the scheduled castes. There was no lack of sincerity on the part of the government, but the problem was so complicated and multi-faceted that the government alone could not remove the disparities that existed between them and the members of the higher castes. Voluntary agencies also worked for the amelioration of SCs but in spite of the best efforts made by the government and voluntary agencies, not much could be done. Hence it is necessary to change the attitude of society. The stigma of untouchability has not yet gone, although much work has been done in this regard at the political level to do away with it.

Kapoor's (1987) study is confined to Jatavs of Dehradun city. The study has shown that at first instance educational and economic developments have taken place among the Jatavs through the help of state administrative measures. Factors like education, reform movements and urbanization, sanskritization have significantly added to their status change. On the other hand, when they were trying to move to widen their social horizons towards the higher castes, the intra-caste rift was also growing visibly. She also observed the
emergence of a middle class among the Jatavs of Dehradun - a city where rate of literacy is very high.

It should be noted that Jatav and chamar are synonymous. More recently, it has been observed that the appellate "Jatav" is more acceptable than chamar which is considered degrading.

Padhy & Mahapatra's (1988) study on the reservation policy examined the recent trends of reservation policy in India. It was also observed that there was a strong demand that reservation should be based on economic criterion as well. But it was observed that the benefits of reservation were reaped by some economically affluent and socially influential communities who got their name included in the list of scheduled castes on the plea that they were educationally backward. This was the case with Ahirs, Kurmis and Mandals in North and Lingayats in the South.

Researchers also noticed that where the association between caste and occupation was strengthened, it reinforced castism and delayed the transformation of the social structure; where with the weakening associations would lead to social mobility. People have entered into modern secular occupations and appreciated the modern technological changes. They are however, unable to take up alternative occupations with higher returns. They therefore, suffer economic insecurity.

The study also indicated that in the various services reservation policy had yielded poor results. Recruitment in class I, II and class III services, were low. Besides, those who were able to enter the services
under the reservation scheme, were unable to attain managerial and higher administrative services.

Sachchidananda’s (1988) study focused on the emergence of scheduled caste elite in Bihar. This study concerned itself with five scheduled castes categories which were as follows: the chamar, Duradh, Musahar, Dhobi and Pasi.

The researcher found that with the growth of education different forms of mobility were in evidence. He observed that elite under study had been most active in the propagation of education. Elite sections of scheduled caste were keen to see that the advantages conceded to them were made available for the common mass of scheduled castes. Some of the elite have been instrumental in promoting the caste solidarity and political consciousness among the people. The elite have been most active in prohibiting the practice of child marriage and encouraging freedom in the choice of mates. They have also taken interest in preventing marriages from breaking up and tried to encourage widow remarriage. The elite were not basically against the caste system and their efforts were directed towards rising higher in the scale of traditional social hierarchy so that they could come nearer to the caste Hindus. These efforts were neither motivated entirely by secular values nor by sanskritised norms. The elite have adopted both the traditional prestige system as well as the modern prestige symbols such as education, occupation, power and the western style of life. The elite serve as reference models for the masses.
This study revealed the fact that in education employment and representation in legislatures, some scheduled castes had a larger share than others. The result was that more backward among the scheduled castes continued to be relegated to the background while the most advanced sections become still more advanced and prosperous.

Prakash’s (1989) study is based on the socio-economic changes among scheduled castes of Lucknow. The results showed that among scheduled castes employed in class I, class II, class III, class IV government services, the impact of occupation on life styles of scheduled caste in class I services was most significant. The study revealed that scheduled caste members employed in class I services had integrated more easily with high caste members. Since they were placed in a higher position in the occupational hierarchy and have higher educational qualifications, they were more easily acceptable and were invited by high caste members to their homes on social occasions. Castism however continued to exist and some times scheduled caste members employed in class I services were discriminated. The study showed that scheduled caste members of class I grade have a high sense of political efficiency and lowest degree of fatalism and high degree of modernity as compared to their colleagues who were employed in class II, class III and class IV government services.

Gill & Singh (1989) in their study on reservation and its repercussions on scheduled caste and non-scheduled caste are two distinct segments
of society. The researcher stated that "... scheduled castes have a stigma of inferiority complex. People regard them as low caste people not as human beings and this stigma is attached to them in one form or another by birth which cannot be ritually or socially eliminated. As a result, they are segregated even when they have joined the mainstream with sufficient degree of social intercourse. Non scheduled caste could not afford to lose their single seat which was beneficial for the scheduled caste. The study revealed the fact that non-scheduled caste have been protesting since 1972. They have one genuine grievance regarding promotions in services for scheduled caste and they agitated against some provisions of reservation. It had unintended consequences because of this, scheduled caste employees concerted themselves in the form of political mobilization and protest as manifested in the formation of scheduled caste employees welfare association. Both of them wanted to maintain their status quo.

Gill and Singh argued that all power has remained in the hand of the caste Hindus to the exclusion of scheduled caste and the non-scheduled caste have a vested interest hardly any structural change can be expected. It is only the consciousness the true consciousness of these under-privileged caste that will bring structural changes in society by replacing the existing system either through political mobilization or militant protest.

Brass (1984) studied the problem of adjustment and adoption of a modern political party to the traditional order in Uttar Pradesh.
According to Brass, development of political consciousness affects the political effectiveness of the scheduled caste as a group, which has been hindered by the continued educational backwardness. This is true for most of the low castes of low caste groups which come under the constitutional definition of scheduled castes. The center of scheduled caste political activity has been in and around Bombay city and, it was during the nineteen eighties that it spread to other parts of the country like Uttar Pradesh.

During the course of field work he found that in Uttar Pradesh the chamars are the best educated and the most politically conscious group among the scheduled castes. The Republican Party, which is the political vehicle of the militant scheduled caste movement, is dominated by Chamars in Uttar Pradesh. Chamars are invariably close to the very bottom in the status and economic hierarchies of rural Uttar Pradesh. Throughout the state, they are employed in the rural sectors primarily as agricultural labourers and, in the urban areas they are placed in inferior menial occupations as leatherworkers, factory workers, coolies or rickshaw pullers.

He further found that chamars were not only in a majority (among all scheduled caste groups) in Aligarh district but also have a dynamic and popular leader like B.P. Maurya. Maurya had worked for the advancement of his community. Maurya had led a movement in Aligarh which had begun earlier in Bombay, for the conversion of the scheduled castes to Buddhism. As a result of his work among the chamars, and his education, Maurya had become the hero of his community.
Brass further stated that the scheduled caste vote had been a mainstay of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh since independence. Until the 1962 election, the Republican Party and its predecessors, the scheduled caste federation, achieved no success in Uttar Pradesh politics. For the most part, the scheduled caste in Uttar Pradesh accepted the patronage of the Congress government and cast their vote in favor of the congress party in return. The scheduled caste leaders, who had been given the Congress tickets in the reserved constituencies, were non-militant and had no power in the local or state Congress organizations. The numerous organizations in Uttar Pradesh for the advancement of the scheduled caste and for the “depressed classes” were content to serve as agencies for the distribution of Congress patronage.

Brass further stated that the Republican Party leaders felt that scheduled caste members who joined the Congress betrayed the aspirations of the low castes. The Republicans were militant opponents of the Congress which they claimed, was dominated by the elite Hindu castes. To oppose the Congress, Republicans were willing to seek alliances with any party or individuals whose principles were not opposed to their own.

Brass mentioned in his work (1984) before independence the Congress never seriously attempted to organize the low castes, which remained largely outside the mainstream of nationalist policies in U.P. Besides this, the low castes did not form a significant political force in the pre-independence period and their demands were not clearly articulated.
He further mentioned that with the adoption of adult franchise and the spread of education, groups which were unorganized in the pre-independence period began to find leaders to voice their demands.

A study of Hindu caste and schedule caste children was conducted by Prakash & Sen in 1985. This study was concerned with five different psycho-social variables viz. the intellectual level of these groups; the socio-economic status of parents; their concept of self; social prejudice as practiced; aggression, frustration; etc, as measured by different psychological tests and scales. His study was related to Ballabgharh of Haryana.

The results showed that if stimulating environment were provided to the scheduled castes, they may come up to the level of the caste Hindu children and they may sometimes surpass their performance. He observed that the scheduled caste children from comparatively high income group showed better performance in Raven’s test than their counter-parts, namely the caste Hindu children coming from similar economic background.

The other findings on self-concept and social prejudice showed that the caste Hindu groups showed better performance than that of the scheduled caste groups. The false high caste pride, land holding and other material possessions perhaps enhanced the concept regarding “self”. On the social prejudice scale the caste Hindu children were influenced by their parents and grand parents to follow the traditional pattern. The P.F. study showed that the children of other castes of Hindu were found to dominate and assert and to indulge in self-
criticism as compared to scheduled caste children, who were more practical and could solve their problems. They were more pragmatic. The tendency towards adaptive adequacy was more marked among the scheduled caste group. Whereas, among the caste Hindus, the ego defensive tendency was prevalent. Historically, the caste Hindus had continuously dominated the scheduled castes and the submissive behaviour of the scheduled caste individuals could thus be explained.

Reddy's (1986) study was concerned with non-formal education and social change. In this study he pointed out that "Non-formal" education became an important means to stimulate and mobilize masses of poor for action to liberate themselves from dependency and disadvantage and to gain equality and social justice. This process was going on through a number of voluntary organizations at work the place of work. Eswara Reddy states that non-formal education had dealt with the problems of the dropouts and also to improve the access for education to a large number of people of diverse conditions to those, who were not able to get education through formal institutions. This in itself was a reform within the educational system. He further stated that non-formal education had shown its potential as liberation of education which sought basic changes in society. It was people's education. It was evident that non-formal education proved to be a powerful instrument of social change in India and other developing countries.

Singh (1986) observed that conversion had not brought about vertical mobility for the converts. He found that large scale conversion to
Islam during the Muslim rule in India have offered a structural outlet for the deprived Hindu castes for social, economic and cultural mobility. But the extent to which the converts succeeded in it was always limited. Ashrafs (the four immigrant Muslim groups) generally maintained their social distance from these converts in matters of marriage and kinship ties. They never recognized them as their equals. The caste hierarchy continued within the convert Muslims and in most cases traditional occupations and caste rituals were also maintained. But converts had enjoyed some advantages—being a Muslim in a political set-up where Muslim kings and chiefs were the rulers did offer security and other peripheral benefits to these groups.

Singh had observed that in all traditional societies which exhibited a closed system of social stratification, no legitimate structural means were available to climb up in social hierarchy. The change of faith or of customs and rituals might have offered a relative relief.

Guru (1986) analysed the relationships between the process of sanskritization and the provision of reservations. He observed that reservation played a contradictory role in the process of sanskritization. It enabled the scheduled castes to undergo a process of change through sanskritization and enabled them to seek upward mobility. But, on the other hand, it compelled the economically backward upper castes to seek downward social mobility by a process of de-sanskritization, as they had to adopt lower caste status in order to enjoy reservation benefits.

His study clearly showed that reservation was a practical necessity for removing the economic backwardness of scheduled castes and it
compelled the upper castes to undergo the process of de-
sanskritization. The process of sanskritization does not incorporate
the rural people and scheduled castes because of its complications.
The scheduled caste elite groups become a submissive or isolated
phenomenon forming separate housing societies in the urban sector.
Sanskritization created a cultural gap between different scheduled
caste groups and, therefore, sanskritization failed to bring about the
horizontal cultural integration of scheduled castes. His study also
showed that after independence the scheduled castes have given up
the chase for sanskritization and turned towards competition for
economic and political power. Scheduled castes have shifted their
emphasis from sanskritization to competition for position of office
and power.

Pathak (1987) analysed the impact of conversion status in the society.
The study revealed that conversion to various religions took place
because of structural and economic conditions in which people
wanted to avail themselves of temporal gains and material benefits
and also wanted to escape the stigma of untouchability attached with
their low status. The study indicated the fact that conversion has not
brought about vertical social mobility but led to horizontal mobility.
The converts, especially the Christians, have been able to attain high
education, occupation and are economically better off than their
counterparts in other castes and religious groups. They have not been
able to shake off the stigma of untouchability completely. This social
standing has not improved much, more so in the rural areas. In the
urban areas there are more chances to get upward social mobility. The
converts are excluded from the framework of interaction with the Hindu castes and have not been able to achieve the social status enjoyed by the members of the original community of their adopted faith. The converts are looked down upon by these people.

Thakur, Sharma and Kaur (1989) pointed out through results of their survey that scavenger household with scanty sources of income, debt problems, and large number of dependents, constituted the weakest among the weaker sections of scavengers. Most of them were engaged in unclean and low quality work and suffering from unemployment and/or underemployment. His study showed that major part of the household income was spent on less nutritive food items a very little was spent on the other necessary requirements. They were unable to save any part of their income. This study revealed the fact that benefit of government education facilities had by and large been limited to the households in the higher income group among them. Small groups of low income scavengers had taken some cash compensation or other incentives to send their children to school.

Thakur, Sharma and Kaur further stated that "the success of minimum needs program and the anti-poverty program in general depended upon the availability of sufficient funds honest and efficient administration as well as the active involvement of the beneficiaries in these vital undertakings."

Uplankar (1989) in his study protective discrimination and the equality of opportunity showed that over the years since independence, more and more SC students from low class status were
beginning to have access to higher education. However, they were mainly drawn from urban background. The occupational aspirations of the SC students were influenced more by their class status compared to non-SC students. His study revealed that majority of the low class SC students had low occupational aspirations of the non-SC students were relatively evenly distributed.

He opined that reservation should be based on economic criterion. He said that by making the ‘policy’ more dynamic, open and progressive to eliminate the upper class scheduled caste members or families from the purview of the “policy” and to enable only the power sections among the scheduled castes to get the benefits of reservations.

Gill & Singh (1989) in his study on reservation, pointed out that scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes were two distinct segments of society. They stated that scheduled castes have a stigma of "inferiority complex". People regarded them as a low caste people not as human beings and this stigma became attached to them in one form or the other by birth. These were not ritually or socially eliminated, and as a result, they were segregated even when they had joined the mainstream with sufficient degree of social intercourse. Non-scheduled castes could not afford to lose every single loss or gain of the scheduled caste groups. He stated "...it is a fact that they have been protesting since 1972. Non-scheduled castes have one genuine grievance regarding promotions in services for scheduled castes and they concerted themselves in political action. Their concerted protest has its unintended consequence because of this scheduled castes employees concerted themselves in the form of political mobilization..."
and protest as manifested in the formation of scheduled castes employees welfare association. Both of them wanted to maintain their status quo.”

Gill & Singh argued that all power had remained in the hands of the caste Hindus to the exclusion of scheduled castes and the non-scheduled castes had a vested interest. Hardly any structural change could be expected. It was only the consciousness of the true consciousness of these underprivileged castes that would bring structural changes in society by replacing the existing system either through political mobilization or militant protest.

Pandey’s (1989) analysis of the mobility pattern among scheduled castes of Varansasi city, showed that education was not the only decisive factor in the social mobility among the scheduled castes by which there has been much more improvement in their socio-economic and cultural status and consequently it led them towards upward social mobility without an occupational base. P.N. Pandey observed that the highly educated scheduled castes of elevated social standing form an exclusive group and attempt to move upwards by seeking marital relations among the upper castes and by developing contacts with the elite sections of society.

Pandey further stated that socially mobile scheduled castes of comparatively better social status recognized their obligations towards their caste fellowmen, who had a low level of social and
economic status. For them model of reference were the elite groups of their own caste-men and even the higher caste Hindus. And finally Pandey argued that the role of sanskritization in this context was limited.

Pundeer (1995) noticed 'social change among SCs in North India”. He observed that SCs of North India tried to enter newer types of 'clean' prestigious occupations through job reservations. In this manner they were able to achieve occupational mobility. In the village, more and more SCs tried to acquire land and to escape from bondage labour. Untouchability was also reduced in the village areas. SCs actively participated in the country's democratic processes and attained positions in the power structure of the villages. SCs also sanskritised their customs and tried to raise their status through every possible manner and wanted to enjoy the fruits of modern developments.

Pundir also found that Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar was the role model of a vast majority of the SCs of north India.

Rao (1996) analysed contemporary Dalit ideology. He observed that Dalit or backward class protests and movements were directed by the ideologies of Mahatma Joytiba Rao Phule and Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar. The researcher's study was confined to a south Indian village called Thalupuru in the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh. He stated that “In the villages where a vast majority of the Dalit lives the ideologies of the national or regional celebrities…” Dalits engaged in
everyday protests promoted and shaped by caste ideologies. The Dalits were highly influenced by the local ideologies that served their interest.

The study showed that dissent existed among the Dalits. The Dalits were conscious of their deprivation, exploitation and powerlessness. They espouse the Hindu egalitarian ideology that supported their cause and applied it to justify their attempts for securing equality.

The two chapters in Introduction and Revised Literature have much in common and are very repetitive. Possibilities of combining them or at least eliminating the duplication may be explored. A conclusion or sum-up would be welcome.