CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of social mobility has emerged as an important field of enquiry in Sociology. Industrialization, urbanization and widespread modernization have been responsible for bringing about far-reaching changes in the dynamics of social relationships. India, which was one of the earliest Asian countries to start industrialization way back in the year 1881, has been, as compared to other Asian countries like Japan, relatively slow in catching up with this global trend. However, the pace of modernization in India can now be said to have accelerated. As a result, the Indian society is now in the midst of transformation from an agrarian economy to an industrial economy. This has led to important changes in every aspect of its life and organization. Widespread modern educational system has introduced new values and ideologies among the different strata of Indian Society. Consequently new occupations and hence new opportunities, based on achievement rather than birth status, have emerged. This change naturally has accelerated the rate, range and velocity of both horizontal and vertical social mobility in Indian Society.
A number of significant studies have been made by sociologists and other social scientists regarding the dynamics of social mobility in India. In this context the works of Srinivas, Andre Betille, Dumont, Dube and Damle are of special significance. The concepts of Sanskritization, Westernization and Dominant Caste that were introduced by Srinivas have been very useful to study the dynamics of social mobility in a caste-bound society like India. Betille, Dumont, Dube and Damle have also made significant contributions to shed important light on the various changes that are occurring in India under the impact of forces of modernization. The present work has been an attempt to study the various aspects of social mobility in a specific occupational group namely the teachers.

As is well known, in ancient India, teaching was the monopoly of the highest caste namely the Brahmins. In those days education consisted of learning the sacred texts and scriptures and hence the non-Brahmins were ritually barred from entering into this occupation. However, with the arrival of the protestant religion namely Buddhism with its anti-Brahminical stance around the turn of 3rd century B.C. there was a shift not only in the venue of imparting education but also in the recruitment of teachers from the topmost stratum of Brahmins to the lower strata of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. While during the earlier phase education
was confined mainly to the Vedic studies under the guidance of Brahmin teachers, during the reign of the Buddhists, the monastic system headed by Buddhist monks where the students drawn from other non-priestly classes like the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were trained not only in the skills of reading and writing but also in technical and professional skills came into existence.

The arrival of Islam in India had significant impact on the educational system. Persian and Arabic which were the languages of the new rulers were introduced in India. This linguistic change naturally led to important changes in the traditional educational system. Foremost, it weakened the position of the Brahmin teachers and the Buddhist monks who by virtue of their caste and religion enjoyed a monopoly in the field of education. Now the position was taken over by the Muslim moulvis, who in the beginning did not attach much importance to caste distinctions. But this approach did not last long. As the Muslims became Indianized they adopted the educational system of their Hindu and Buddhist predecessors. While in the past education consisted of learning of Hindu and Buddhist sacred literature under the guidance of Brahmin Pandits and Buddhist monks now it was learning of Islamic sacred texts under Moulvis and Imams.
It has been the considered opinion of a number of scholars, that, it was the introduction of the Western education in India based on the ideals of individualism, liberty and fraternity that marked a major turning point in the educational system. Even the British had to go about this policy of inducting liberal education cautiously. The calamitous happenings of the 1857 had warned the British against undue interference in the established customs and traditions in India. But thanks to the reformatory zeal and indomitable pioneering spirit of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Lord Mecaulay and Sir Charles Wood, education in India was for the first time totally sever from its religious moorings and became to a great extent secularized. Thus the doors of the educational institutions that were shut for the lower castes were for the first time thrown open thereby leading to basic changes in the organizational set up and policy measures in the Indian educational system.

The present study was undertaken to find answers to a number of questions regarding the various aspects of social mobility of teachers. For instance, what has been the impact of dereligionization of education in India? Who are the people that are drawn into the teaching occupation? What is their socio-economic background? What are their qualifications, aims and aspirations? What is the caste and religious composition of the teachers? What about
the job satisfaction of the teachers? What is rate, range and velocity of mobility of different categories of teachers?

For this purpose 400 (25 percent of the universe) teachers in the urban area and 20 (25 per cent of the universe) in rural area belonging to different castes, cadres and categories were interviewed with the help of a schedule. In addition to these 100 cases of retired teachers and other non-teaching white-collar workers were also covered under this study for a comparative perspective. While Dharwad was chosen for urban sample, Haunsbhavi a village about 140 K.M. away from Dharwad was chosen for the rural sample.

Following Miller's suggestion a three-generational analysis was taken up to assess the inter-generational mobility of teachers belonging to different occupation and caste origins (Table 8:1). In the generation of grandfathers and fathers of the teachers it was found that, 49 persons belonging to different non-teaching occupations were drawn into teaching of whom 44.89 per cent were from skilled occupations, 8.16 per cent from unskilled occupations, 6.12 per cent from commerce and trade and 16.32 per cent from white-collar occupations. In the generation of respondents the volume of inflow of persons from non-teaching occupations increased by more than seven times. 338 persons from non-
### TABLE 8:1

CONTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS AND CASTE-GROUPS TO TEACHING PROFESSION IN THE GENERATION OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR FATHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations and Caste-groups</th>
<th>Fathers' generation</th>
<th>Respondents' generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>22 (44.89)</td>
<td>124 (36.68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>12 (24.48)</td>
<td>57 (16.86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un-skilled</td>
<td>4 (8.16)</td>
<td>4 (1.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce &amp; Trade</td>
<td>3 (6.12)</td>
<td>50 (14.79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-Collar</td>
<td>8 (16.32)</td>
<td>103 (30.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>338 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>20 (32.25)</td>
<td>112 (28.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingayats</td>
<td>25 (40.32)</td>
<td>137 (34.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Caste Hindus</td>
<td>2 (3.23)</td>
<td>21 (5.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Caste Hindus</td>
<td>3 (4.83)</td>
<td>48 (12.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harijans (Scheduled Caste)</td>
<td>1 (1.61)</td>
<td>10 (2.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>5 (8.06)</td>
<td>36 (9.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>6 (9.67)</td>
<td>36 (9.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>400 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
teaching occupations were drawn into teaching, of whom 36.68 per cent were from agriculture, 16.86 per cent from skilled occupations, 1.18 per cent from unskilled occupations, 14.79 per cent from commerce and trade and 30.47 per cent from white-collar occupations. Thus we see that, over a period of generation, while the volume of flow of persons from such non-teaching occupations like agriculture, skilled and unskilled jobs into teaching has decreased, there is a considerable increase in the volume of flow of persons from trade and commerce and white-collar jobs into teaching.

An analysis of the caste composition of the teachers over two generations indicates that while the traditional elite castes like the Brahmins, Lingayats and other High Caste Hindus and Christians still hold the sway in the teaching profession, there are indications to show that the Low Caste Hindus, Harijans and Muslims are slowly making their way into the teaching profession. Over the generations of fathers and respondents while the Low Caste Hindus registered a three-fold increase, the percentage of Harijans (Scheduled Caste) and Muslim teachers increased by one per cent.

Having analysed the mobility of persons from non-teaching occupations into teaching we were interested in
knowing mobility of persons within the teaching profession itself. Here we have to find answers to a number of questions, such as: Does the system offer equal chances of climbing for all the sons and daughters irrespective of social origins? or, Do the sons and daughters with particular social origins have greater opportunities of upward mobility? If so, which are the groups from which persons climb up with greater ease compared to others? Is the upward movement within the teaching profession disproportionately concentrated in a few classes? If so, which are the classes that offer greater opportunities?

For the purpose of finding answers to these important questions the Index of Social Distance Mobility developed by Natalie Rogoff is very useful. We found that sons and daughters of certain origins enjoy clear advantages in moving up the hierarchy in the teaching profession than one would have expected if there were no relation between the position of teachers and their fathers. For instance, we found that sons and daughters of primary school teachers were more likely to move over to secondary schools than chance would have led one to expect. Which also means that while it is relatively easier for the sons and daughters of primary school teachers to become secondary school teachers, it is difficult for them to rise to higher levels of teaching such as in college and university. Similarly
It was found that sons and daughters of secondary school teachers were more likely to become college and university teachers than one would have expected if their social origins had no bearing on their movements. Also the sons and daughters of college teachers enjoyed definite advantages in becoming university teachers, and the sons and daughters of university teachers found it distinctly easy to take up teaching in colleges.

We also found that the range of upward mobility is more among the sons and daughters of the secondary school teachers than that of sons and daughters of primary school teachers. While the former, in the process of out mobility, have transcended the sectoral barrier between lower and higher teaching, the upward thrust of the latter has not been energetic enough to cross the barriers. The relative lack of mobility of sons and daughters of the teachers at the two extremes of the hierarchy namely the post-graduate teachers and the primary school teachers, can be explained as a result of malfunctioning of the social selection machinery.

A close analysis of the educational and occupational attainment of the sons and daughters of teachers who have joined paternal occupation of teaching revealed some interesting facts. It was found that all the sons and daughters
of teachers who have joined their paternal occupation of teaching have either excelled or equalled their fathers in educational attainment. The sons have equalled or excelled their fathers in the occupational attainment. However, this cannot be said of the daughters. Nearly 39.00 per cent of the daughters have been successful in attaining a higher teaching position than their fathers. 50.00 per cent have equalled their fathers and 11.00 per cent have actually experienced social sinking. That is, at the time of interview they were found holding teaching positions lower than that of their father's. It was also seen that all the sons and daughters of teacher mothers who have joined the maternal occupation of teaching, have excelled their mothers both in educational and occupational attainment.

While it was easy to assess the ascent and descent of the sons and daughters who have joined the paternal or maternal occupation of teaching vis-a-vis their parents, it was difficult to do so in the case of teachers whose parents were engaged in non-teaching occupations. The assessment of ascent or descent of such cases tended to be subjective.

In our study we also found that nearly 11.00 per cent of the teachers were first generation literates and such teachers were almost evenly distributed among all the cadres of educational institutions from the bottom-most to the top-
most rung. However, as can be expected, the incidence of first-generation literate teachers was highest (60.00) among the Harijans, and lowest (less than 3.00) among the Brahmins. What was interesting to note was that these first-generation literate teachers have shown remarkable aptitude for attainment of academic qualification. While 53.48 per cent have completed post-graduation, 18.60 per cent have completed graduation, 18.60 per cent have completed S.S.L.C. and 9.30 per cent have passed Fulki examination.

A comparative analysis of the occupational mobility of the sons of teachers and sons of other white-collar workers of comparable status also revealed a number of interesting facts. It was found that some of the sons of doctors, engineers and other prestigious white collar workers who have entered into teaching occupations have done so at the higher rungs of the hierarchy namely college and post-graduate teaching. It was also found that sons of the college, post-graduate and secondary school teachers, who have left their paternal occupation for non-teaching white-collar jobs have become doctors, engineers or executives. But the mobility of the sons of primary school teachers is mainly confined to the teaching profession itself. A very negligible number of sons of the primary school teachers have entered into the prestigious white-collar jobs.
However, it was seen that generally the sons of white-collar workers were reluctant to move out of their paternal occupation to join teaching. But in the case of sons of teachers though they were willing to move out of their paternal occupation of teaching to take up white-collar jobs, they found such change over relatively difficult.

It is to be seen that the rate of mobility is relatively high among the sons of post-graduate and primary school teachers. But there is a significant difference. While the sons of the post-graduate teachers moved out of the teaching profession to take up white-collar jobs, the mobility of the sons of the primary school teachers was confined within the teaching profession.

Also the rate of mobility out of the paternal occupation is more among the sons of teachers than among the sons of white-collar workers. As far as the in-mobility is concerned, it was seen that white-collar jobs have attracted more persons from different social origins than teaching. This seems to be indicative of the fact that white-collar jobs have more attraction than the teaching jobs.

An analysis of intra-generational mobility revealed the following important facts. Out of 400 teachers only 55 teachers constituting 13.75 per cent experienced occupational mobility. While most of them, who have come into
teaching profession from the lowly clerical positions, have done so out of their own volition, others who have come from the prestigious white-collar jobs like engineering and medical practice have done so out of compulsion in the form of transfers etc. While the former considered their entry into the teaching profession as an upward mobility the latter did not feel so.

It was found that the horizontal mobility among the teachers has, by and large, occurred due to migratory movements. While in the case of female teachers it was marriage migration that led to horizontal mobility, in the case of male teachers it was due to migration from a rural area to an urban area (or from a smaller town to a bigger one). There were also two cases of horizontal mobility that occurred due to forced migration from a bigger city (Bangalore) to a smaller one (Hubli-Dharwad) in the form of transfer. In the rural sample there was a solitary case of horizontal mobility due to marriage migration from urban to rural area.

Thirty (28 males and 2 females) teachers constituting 7.50 per cent have experienced upward quantum mobility. The incidence of quantum mobility is highest in the secondary schools followed by degree colleges and the primary schools. A close analysis of the caste composition of these teachers
involved in upward quantum mobility reveals that the influence of caste as a leverage of upward mobility is not significant. Because the teachers who have experienced upward quantum mobility are distributed almost equitably in all the caste groups. There was a solitary case of downward quantum mobility of a female teacher which occurred as a result of marriage migration. In the rural sample there was one case of upward quantum mobility in which a male teacher was involved.

However, the rate of upward stratum mobility was relatively more in the sense that 130 (113 males and 17 females) out of 400 teachers constituting 32.50 per cent have experienced stratum mobility. The rate of upward stratum mobility is not uniform among all the cadres. While only 14 out of 176 (7.95) of the primary and secondary school teachers have experienced upward stratum mobility, 116 out of 224 (51.78) of the teachers in colleges and university have enjoyed upward stratum mobility. (In the rural sample there was only one case of upward stratum mobility). As for the range of upward stratum mobility, we found that the range is highest in the postgraduate departments and least in the secondary and primary schools. An analysis of the caste composition of the teachers involved in upward stratum mobility showed that the rate of upward stratum mobility is highest (45.25)
among the Lingayats and least (24.10) among the Brahmins.

What is true of rate and range is also true of velocity of upward stratum mobility. We found that even the 8.00 per cent of teachers in the primary and secondary schools who have enjoyed upward stratum mobility have done so once in 15 years. Whereas nearly 52 per cent of the teachers working in the higher educational institutions who have enjoyed upward stratum mobility have done so once in 9 years. Even those few who have enjoyed second promotion have done so within a period of 8 years after their first promotion. And the 3 teachers who have enjoyed third promotion have done so within a period of 7 years after their second promotion.

Chekki in his article\(^1\) has rightly pointed out the role of family and kinship as employment bureaus. But our study has shown that in addition to family and kinship, caste also functions as an important employment bureau. Even today caste members and caste organizations do play an important role in the recruitment and promotions of teachers. However, caste is a two edged sword that cuts both ways. In the past, it was the high caste members who used the caste as a leverage to move up in the hierarchy,

but now with the change in the political climate in India the traditional low castes seem to have a weightier say in the formulation and implementation of governmental policies. As a result, the same caste leverage is now being used by the lower castes to rise up in the social hierarchy by means of reservations both in the admittance of students and recruitment of teachers belonging to these groups.

We found that though the ordinal positions of the various castes remain more or less the same, the social distance that is experienced in the daily confrontation among the members of different castes has diminished. In a caste stratified society like India this constitutes a significant aspect of social mobility. To find members of the low castes who were once not even allowed to enter into the premises of educational institutions, now participating on equal terms as colleagues with the High Caste members and even functioning as heads of schools, colleges and universities where a number of High Caste employees are working really marks a major change. Though such cases are few in number the trend is significant.

An enigmatic situation in the social mobility of teachers was also noted. A number of persons from the rural areas who came from the upper castes/classes, preferred to stay back in the cities in a relatively lower
position of teachers. In their own reckoning (and that of others) this decision constituted a social sinking. But still they believed that the difficult choice had to be made. For instance, there was a case of a secondary school teacher who was the sole inheritor of a considerable ancestral property in the village (Indeed some of his acquaintances with whom I had an opportunity to discuss, said that his family was so well to do that he could have easily not only lorded it over in his own and surrounding villages, but could have contested an election and become a minister—a dream of many youngsters in India). When I asked him about his choice, he simply replied, "that is how I liked it". But there were other teachers placed in similar situations who were less reticent. They gave two important reasons for such seemingly unwise decision. They said that rural—urban migration in India is by and large a one-way traffic. Having left the village once and having lived in the cities for a number of years and undergone what some sociologists have described as the secondary socialization process, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to return to the villages. Moreover the skills that one acquires in the cities are altogether ill-suited for eking out a livelihood in villages. Hence, in all probability the rural—urban migrants seldom go back to the villages. Also the sense of failure prevents such return migrations. Going
back to the villages after acquiring a B.A. or M.A. degree is considered to be sure sign of failure. Therefore, these teachers unlike the prodigal son would rather be in a lowly position in cities than go back to their native villages where they have wealth enough and to spare.

Chekki² and many others speak of marriage as an important leverage of upward mobility in India. Many educated men who have married into upper classes have used this matrimonial alliance to climb up the social ladder. But in our study we did not come across any such cases. However, we did come across cases of lady teachers whose social position was affected by matrimonial alliances. Quite a few lady teachers had to sacrifice their higher occupational ranking at the altar of marriage. For instance, we noted how a lady teacher who was a lecturer in college had to resign her post in the college after marriage and take up a lower position of a secondary school teacher to join her husband. Similarly there were cases of lady teachers who had given up their positions of seniority and higher salary after marriage. Thus we seen that in all these cases where lady teachers are involved marriage has led to downward social mobility. But deeper probe proved that the sacrifice of the lady teachers by way of position and

income is more than compensated by attaining the status of married women. In a tradition bound society like India where marriage is not only compulsory but also a sacrament, an unmarried woman, whatever her position and income, has a lower status than a married one. Thus the sacrifice of the unmarried teachers seems to be a wise gambit.

Our study corroborates the views expressed by Chekki, Dube, and Noel Gist who observed that the increased occupational mobility in India is due to expansion of economy leading to more job opportunities. We noted that while occupational mobility was as high as 84.50 per cent, occupational stability was only 15.50 per cent. What is interesting to note about this phenomenon is that the incidence of occupational mobility was relatively high among the Low Caste Hindus (93.75) and the Harijans (90.00). However, the members of these castes have not been able to equip themselves educationally to take up teaching profession. As a result, they are under represented even today in this profession by 9.00 and 8.00 per cent respectively. This is also true of the Muslims who are under represented by 13.00 per cent as compared to their total population.

This study has been an exercise in the analysis of various aspects of social mobility into, out of and within the occupational group of teachers. Social mobility is essentially a part of the routine social process that occurs within a given social structure. Social movement on the other hand is more often than not a factor of social change aimed at bringing about modifications in the social structure itself.

A review of educational history in India indicates that major changes in the educational system in India occurred thrice - during the time of Buddhist rule, at the time of Muslim conquest and with the advent of British. While the former change was due to the rise of Protestant religion in India, the latter two were mainly due to conquest of India by foreigners with different religions and ways of life.

Now India seems to be poised for another major structural tilt. What is significant about the impending changes is that it is neither due to emergence of a new religion nor due to foreign conquest but it is due to the mobilization and organization of hitherto dormant non-privileged low castes within the Hindu fold. Members of these non-privileged groups, who are now effectively organized, have been able for the first time to occupy
positions in the important decision making bodies both at the state and central level. As a result of their persistent demands for fair deal various state governments appointed Backward Classes Commissions to go into the various aspects of this problem and suggest measures of amelioration. In our study we have noted how the Karnataka Backward Classes Commission Report given by Shri L.G. Havenur and Karnataka State Universities Act of 1975 have been responsible for significant changes in the recruitment policies and hence the patterns of social mobility in the teaching occupation. Significantly enough these basic changes have been accepted in Karnataka without much disturbances (though there were a few protests here and there when the commission report was accepted and the Act was passed). But in some of the states in the North such ameliorative policies of the government have given rise to much violence. For instance, in the year 1980 in Gujarat - the state where Gandhi preached and practiced non-violence and espoused the cause of down-trodden - when reservations were announced for the Socially and Economically Backward Castes (SEBC) along the lines recommended by Bakshi Commission (The Commission listed Rabari, Bharwad, Koli, Thakore, some backward Muslim castes and some backward converted Christians as Backward Castes), caste hatred suddenly erupted into social violence, arson, stabbing, stone-throwing, stopping and burning of
buses and trains, closure of shops and offices, processions and strikes accompanied by usual police response - curfew, firing, cane-charge, teargas and arrests, all over the state.

The lead in this agitation was taken by the medical students drawn from the traditional upper castes/classes like Brahmins, Banias, Patidars and other intermediary castes. The Amanat Virodha Samiti (Anti Reservation Committee) of the medical students was fully backed by doctors, white-collar workers, and intellectuals. "The agitating medical students began their agitation by taking an anti-reservation vow before statues of Gandhi. Later they improved upon it by putting blood tilak with a smile on the Gandhi statues. Then came the turn of Sardar Patel's Statues which found their backs postered with 'I am with you'."

But what is significant about the anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat is that for the first time the worm turned— the non-privileged castes hit back. They not only started a counter agitation but also joined the issue on the intellectual plain. They refuted and rebutted most of the contentions of the agitators. They pointed out, for

instance, that reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been on the paper and never really implemented. They argued that out of 857 seats reserved in all the five medical colleges of Gujarat only 37, that is, less than 5% have been actually filled by the reserved castes. The figures of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe teachers in the five medical colleges in Gujarat in 1981 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total No. of Posts</th>
<th>Posts held by SC/ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professors</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>1 SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professors</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1 SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Professors</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>5 SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutors</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>17 (15 SC + 2 ST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>24 (22 'SC + 2 ST)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence they argued how can 24 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe teachers out of a total of 737 teachers bring down the 'standard of teaching'? They rebutted saying "if indeed the standard of teaching has fallen it must be due to the high caste/class teachers".7

This uproar in Gujarat led to agitations in many parts of India by the backward castes for adequate

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representation in the government. As a result, Mandal Commission was set up by the Union Government to study the problems of Backward Castes and give a report recommending measures of amelioration.

The Mandal Commission submitted its report which was unanimously accepted by all the parties in the Parliament on 11-8-1982. The Commission which recommends reservation of seats to the Backward Castes to the tune of 27 per cent has all the potentials of shaking the foundation of Indian social structure, thereby leading to major changes. As always this has brought forth sharp reactions both for and against the recommendation of the Commission. How sharp are the reactions can best be indicated by quoting two views - one of Girilal Jain, the editor of a leading English daily in India (Times of India) and another of Andre Beteille, a well-known Indian Sociologist.

The editorial of Times of India (13-8-1982) reads as follows:
The Lok Sabha debate on the Mandal commission's report on reservations for backward castes must send shivers down the spines of all those concerned with this country's future. For not a single participant in the discussion, irrespective of party affiliation, has had a word of criticism to say on the commission's pernicious recommendation that 27 per cent of all available jobs under the government, in the public sector and in government-aided private undertakings as well as places in educational institutions be reserved for the backward castes. The sole criterion of backwardness, according to the commission, is the accident of birth. Even the backward castes enjoying great prosperity and power, such as the Jats and Yadavs of Haryana and western U.P., are to be entitled to reservations which will not be confined to the recruitment stage but will extend also to promotions at all stages. What this will do to standards of efficiency in administration and education — already greatly eroded because of the eminently justified but unfortunately enforced reservations for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes — should be clear to even the meanest intelligence. And yet, far from urging an immediate rejection of the Mandal report, all political parties have vied with one another in joining the chorus demanding its immediate implementation. A Congress (I) member has gone to the extent of suggesting that reservations be extended also to the minorities, especially the Muslims. Some others have chipped in with the breathtaking proposal that the Supreme Court's ruling that all reservations taken together must never exceed half the available jobs be flouted. They want the reservations for backward castes to be proportionate to their population of 52 per cent.

Since over 22 per cent jobs and seats in institutions of learning are already reserved for Harijans and Girijans, men will have nothing whatever to do with either employment or education if the M.P.s have their way on the Mandal report. It is also noteworthy that the number of backward castes, in the commission's reckoning, is 3,743 though the earlier Kalelkar commission had enumerated only 2,000 such castes. Should the reservation proposal now go through, many more castes are bound to climb on the backward bandwagon in years to come. This cannot but lead to a demand for a further increase in the quota for backward castes. Groups like the Lok Dal have a vested interest in whipping up frenzy among the backward castes, their only political base. But other political parties too have been irresponsible enough in pandering to casteist sentiment. The compulsions of competitive politics can in no way excuse their behaviour. Mr. R. Venkataraman has had the good sense to say that the government will not act on the report in a hurry. But will it have the political will to resist the pressure that is being built up?
Commenting on the unanimous acceptance of the Mandal Commission Report by the Indian Parliament, Beteille observed (Times of India: 28-8-1982) the spirit of equality embodied in the constitution of India can be said to have been carried forward by the present parliament. But he has detected a significant difference in the approaches. While the aim of the constituent assembly that gave India its new constitution was to bring about a casteless and a classless society, whereas the aim of the Mandal Commission seems to exercise the disparities of class by placing caste at the centre of Indian society. As for the fears of 'eroding standards of efficiency' he writes: "... it is said that extensive reservations will lead to a decline in the efficiency of our public institutions. There are other, more important, consequences to be considered. Reservation on the scale being proposed will alter the character and not merely reduce the efficiency of these institutions. The object of reservation is to provide equitable representation in them to all castes and communities. But not every institution performs representative functions or is designed to perform them. A bank or a hospital or a research laboratory has a very different job to do from a political party or a district council. It may be legitimate for a member to represent the interests of his caste or community in a legislative assembly. Can we legitimise the reservation of caste interests in
institutions such as the universities without changing their character altogether? The maintenance of efficiency is in my judgement less important than the protection of the very norms by which alone such institutions can be governed.

Thus the Mandal Commission Report, if implemented with full vigour, is bound to bring about significant structural changes in Indian society and thereby seriously affect rate, range and velocity of social mobility in all the spheres of life including the sphere of education.

My modest effort to study the various aspects of mobility of teachers, will have served its purpose if it provides a glimpse into the mobility pattern in an important occupational group on the eve of an impending major shake up in the social structure of Indian society.