CHAPTER I
SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG THE SCHEDULED CASTES
A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

1.0:- INTRODUCTION.

Since the dawn of history, Indian society has suffered from diverse types of disabilities. Some of the unscrupulous social inequalities and disabilities were centred around the institution of caste which constitutes status hierarchy with Brahmins at the Pinnacle and the Scheduled castes or the so called untouchable at the base. This lowest stratum, on account of the low social and ritual status, suffered from social injustice and exploitation, which prevented it from rising above the social status fixed for it. Members of this stature were denied entry into general occupations which were relatively well paid. The road to knowledge was closed and they had no access to occupation and education. Their residential segregation was strictly enforced. Thus, the Scheduled castes remained socially, economically, politically and ritually backward since the beginning of the caste stratification in India.

Since the Independence, the Government has greatly intensified its efforts to improve as rapidly as possible the social and economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes. The Constitution of India as is clear from its preamble, aims at securing all the citizens of India "Justice, Social, Economic and Political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation". In order to achieve this objective, a number of provisions have been made in the constitution to remove the disabilities from which the Scheduled Castes suffer.

These provisions include reservations in jobs, legislatures opportunities for the Scheduled Castes appointment to Special Officer to investigate and report to the President of the Union on the working of those safe guards and Constitution of a Commission, to investigate the conditions of social and educational backwardness of Scheduled Castes. Further, the factors of relatively higher development of some regions over others, exposure to mass media, increased interaction, urbanization,
market economy, politicization and education have enabled Scheduled castes, or at least a section of them to achieve higher education, better conditions of living, public employment, political representation and so on. With these new attainments, it is expected that the distance dividing the higher castes from the Scheduled caste would soon be bridged, but in the process it is observed that the caste Hindus, who have been enjoying superior status may like and integrate them with that group or may dislike and resent the progress achieved by them as they feel and fear that the mobile Scheduled castes might pose a threat to their dominance. It is also observed that their advancement in socio-economic and political spheres has somehow made them distinct from their unfortunate brethren of their own community. In such a situation the mobile Scheduled caste persons may find themselves in a strange position of moving away from their own community but not being accepted by the dominant community. They may be reluctant to identify themselves with their own fold because of economic and psychological factors. At the same time they feel rejected by the dominant community. This feeling of rejection alienates them. The phenomenon of social mobility and the consequences thereof attracted attention of many sociologists, economists and policy makers. These researchers have selected different themes and different aspects of social mobility among the Scheduled castes. Social mobility and its consequences on the Scheduled castes need to be studied from different points of view and in different parts of the country. It is observed from their studies that certain types of changes and social mobility have occurred with limited pace and rate, among Scheduled castes in the present time. Their social mobility has been mistaken either as abrupt change in their religious and social practices or as little improvement in their socio-economic conditions. Most of the studies related to Scheduled castes suffer from lack of empirical verification, inadequate theoretical and methodological perspectives. Their evaluation of social mobility among these castes in guided generally by a number of measures adopted under the policy of protective discrimination and not by proper assessment of benefits deserved by the beneficiaries. The folly, lies in grand generalizations about the adoptive and gradual changes taking place among these castes at both micro and macro levels. Social mobility and its consequences on the Scheduled Castes need to be studied from different parts of the country.
1.1:- THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL MOBILITY AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

Keeping this in view, an attempt has been made in this chapter to present theoretical perspectives of social mobility among Scheduled Castes. The present section mostly focused on:

a) ascertaining the nature of social mobility
b) the factors that have contributed to social mobility, and
c) the consequences of social mobility.

In accordance with the above objectives, there are three sections in this chapter. They are:

a) social mobility (nature and type)
b) factors contributing to social mobility (welfare measures, industrialization and urbanization and political participation)
c) consequences of social mobility (change in life-style, intra-group differentiation, change in relationship with other groups).

1.1.1: SOCIAL MOBILITY.

In this section, the definition, types and dimensions of social mobility have been discussed. Despite inequality of opportunity "a great deal of mobility occurs in every society" (Jhonson:1970:522). A fundamental characteristic of any social stratification is the extent to which it is open or rigid, how such opportunity it offers for the members to move from one position to another in the society. Such movement with its varying source, patterns and consequences is known as Social Mobility. The term "Social Mobility refers to a change in the status of an individual, a group or a category" (Young and Mack: 1972:207). Sorokin who could be called one of the authoritative scholar of social mobility has defined it in the following words "By social mobility it is understood any transition of an individual or social object or value anything that has been created or modified by human activity from one position to another". (Sorokin 1929:133).
There are two principal types of Social Mobility: **Direction phase mobility and Time phase mobility**. Sorokin has visualized direction phase mobility in two principal kinds: **Horizontal and Vertical**. Horizontal mobility refers to change from one position to another position of the same level in the status hierarchy. Transition of any individual from one factory to another in the same occupational status is an instance of horizontal mobility. In other words, in horizontal mobility the shifting takes place without any noticeable change of the social position of an individual or social object in the vertical direction (Sorokin: 133).

"*Vertical social mobility means the relation involved in a transition of an individual or a social body from one social stratum to another*" (Sorokin). That means vertical mobility refers to a change from one position to another position, that is higher or lower in the status hierarchy. According to the direction of transition, there are two types of social mobility: upward and downward mobility.

Upward mobility is also known as 'ascending' or 'elevation' or 'social-climbing'. The ascending currents exist in two principal forms. They are infiltration of the individuals of a lower stratum into an existing higher one and creation of a new group by such individuals, and the insertion of such a group into a higher stratum instead of, or side by side with the existing groups of the stratum (Sorokin: 134).

Downward mobility is also known as 'descending' or 'decline'. The descending current has also two principal forms like the ascending current. The first form consists in dropping of individuals from a higher social position into an existing lower one with the least damage or indignity to the higher group to which they originally belong. This condition resembles the case of an individual falling from a ship. The second kind of causes degradation and even disintegration of a social group. This reminds us of the ship breaking itself into pieces. The upward mobility is usually planned, deliberate and the result of sustained effort at conserving skills and resources, downward mobility is unplanned, non-deliberate and involutional (Saberwal: 1972: 121).

There are two principal types of time phase mobility: Intra-generational and Inter-generational. In Intra-generational mobility the individual is compared with himself at another point of his career (Jaffee and Carleton 1954) to find out whether
he has moved into a higher or lower position. To put in brief "**Intra generational mobility means a change in the socio-economic and political position in his career**".

In Inter-generational mobility the individual’s position is compared with that of father and possibly grandfather (Glass:1954). One issue involved here is at which points the position of the older and younger generation should be compared. Rogoff compares them at the same age, while this procedure has merit in many cases, it may be desirable to compare the older and younger generations at equivalent points in career which may not be at the same age because of changes in educational requirements. To put in brief, inter generational mobility occurs between generations.

1.1.2: **DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY.**

As already mentioned, social mobility is a change process in the social position. So the dimensions of social mobility depends on what is meant by social position. Often social mobility conceived as single dimensional in so far as social position is defined in terms of a single criteria, such as occupation or education. Thus, social mobility understood as single dimensional, is determined with either occupational, educational or change in the income. In the present study social position is defined in terms different criteria and therefore social mobility is conceived as multi-dimensional. This study has relied on this approach because a comprehensive study of social mobility is possible through such multiple approach only and not through the single dimension approach, namely, the dimensions of occupation and education.

In the words of Heek (1956:132) "*The multiple approach ... wants as fully as possible, to take the fact into account that society is characterised by multiple, overlapping and even contradictory criteria of status*." Multi-dimensional Lipset and Zetterberg also. According to them social mobility occupations, consumptions, social power and social class (Lipset and Zetterberg 196:563). The present study accepts four determinants of social position: occupation, education, income and land-holding these four dimensions are important and relevant for a study of social mobility in a rural context.
Lipset and Zetterberg observe occupation as one of the major determinants of social status. In fact, some scholars study social mobility exclusively in terms of occupational status. But one cannot ignore the role of education as a determinant of social position. Educational status need not coincide with occupational status. However, this study takes education as another dimension. In Lipset and Zetterberg's view, a large number of families headed by men in low prestige, occupations, receive incomes higher than many middle class families, in which the wife does not work, and the children received prolonged education (1966:563). However, the lower prestige occupations, now often having incomes more or at par with incomes of higher occupations, affects one's social position. So income is also to be taken as a separate determinant of social status and change in income as another dimension of social mobility. In rural areas, land plays an important role in determining one's social position. The larger the size of the land ownership, the higher is the social position. So change in the size of the land holding is also taken as another dimension of social mobility.

In view of the considerations given above four determinants of social position, namely education, occupation, income and land-holding are meaningful for understanding the social mobility. That is, social mobility is seen in terms of changes in education, occupation, income and size of the land holding. It should be clear from the above that social mobility is discussed in terms of what may be termed as class criteria.

Lipset and Zetterberg have accepted that there is a possibility of having a higher rate (and amount) of mobility in one dimension and lower in others. Therefore, the more qualified and accurate conclusion about mobility and stratification systems are possible only through a multi-dimensional approach in which one has to take all the possible dimensions together. Lipset and Zetterberg have suggested two sets of methodological approaches to the study of social mobility. In the first set, there are comparisons of (1) The present with the past (2) One area of country with another, and (3) One model with another expressing equal opportunity.

In the second set, there is the conventional operational method of ascertaining mobility by comparing father's and son's positions. In this method, Lipset and
Zetterberg have suggested an enquiry into father's earlier occupation along with his last one (and the present, if still employed) and son's present as well as earlier occupation. Finally they have suggested analysis of social mobility in terms of causes of (1) Supply of vacant status and (2) inter changeability of ranks followed by enquiry of political consequences. The present study has adopted only the dimensional approach and the second set of the methodological portion of this theory (i.e., enquiry of father's and son's earlier and present occupations). As this study concern is to measure inter-generational mobility among the respondents, it has proceeded with analysis of their father's position along these dimensions by accepting these as the base, followed by that of respondents. Thus, in this chapter, the extent of social mobility is being presented on the basis of quantitative analysis of position of the respondents and of their fathers in a multi-dimensional frame work of mobility.

1.2: FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SOCIAL MOBILITY.

The present section deals with the significant factors that are contributing to social mobility in the Indian context. From the findings of earlier studies, and from the stated objectives of the development programs in the country, one can identify four main factors that contribute to social mobility. They are: Welfare Measures, Industrialization and Urbanization, and Political Participation.

(A) WELFARE MEASURES:

After Independence, a number of welfare programmes have been launched by the Government of India in order to improve the status of lower section of the society, especially the Scheduled castes. These programmes include measures to improve the situation of the disadvantaged sections in terms of occupation, education, income and land-holding. However one can presume that the welfare measures have contributed to social mobility.
(B) URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION:

Urbanization and Industrialization are the processes that effect social mobility. These processes encourage migration of people from the rural area of subsistence and below subsistence agricultural economy. This is likely to bring about change in occupation and income. There is no area of human existence which is not influenced by industrialization. They create new occupations and bring new ways of living. Industrialization creates occupations that are open to all. Hence people from lower stratum would try to achieve occupations that carry higher status. Industrialization also promotes education as most of the occupations in the industries require education. Change in occupation education, and income means social mobility.

(C) POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:

Political participation can be regarded as "the principle means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy, and rules are made accountable to the ruled". It refers to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy. It relates to shaping and reshaping of power and authority or influence. Participation in politics is a value in itself. The most fundamental belief underlying political-participation is that each person ought to have the opportunity to control the conditions of his life and, in concert with others the conditions of community life. It is assumed that participation in politics would definitely has a bearing on social mobility.

1.3:- CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY.

This section discusses the consequences of social mobility with particular reference to Scheduled castes. With changes in their socio-economic status, the mobile individuals may develop new interaction patterns with the people of their own caste and other castes and relatively then interaction with lower socio-economic status.
may also change. They may perceive some changes in the behaviour pattern of
individuals of other castes towards them. From the studies available, one could
identify three major consequences of social mobility. They are: intra-group
differentiation, change in life-style and change in relationship with the other groups.

1.3.1:- INTRA-GROUP DIFFERENTIATION.

One of the consequences of social mobility can be intra-group differentiation
in the sense, that those who have achieved social mobility identify themselves with
the higher groups and attempt to dissociate themselves from the less mobile and non-
mobile ones of their own group. There is a tendency among the individuals of a lower
social stratum who improve their social position to identify themselves with the
individuals in a higher stratum and to distance themselves from the individuals of
their own group. This results in intra-group differentiation between the mobile and
non-mobile individuals of the lower stratum. This phenomenon was studied by
Paranjpe. He observed certain individuals of lower castes were not happy for having
been born in the caste which occupied low status in the caste hierarchy. Therefore,
they did not want to identify themselves with their own caste people. He explains the
phenomenon with the concept of contra-identification as different from ethnocentric
identification. The concept of ethnocentrism formulated in the western context
(Allport 1955, Adornoetal 1950, Sumner 1965) holds that a person prefers his own
ethnic group and ranks it superior to the other groups. Paranjpe has termed it as
ethnocentric identification. It is the feeling of contra-identification on the part of the
mobile individuals that causes intra-group differentiation in a group of low social
status as a consequence of social mobility.

Application of this theory to the scheduled castes would denote the possible
tendency on the part of the socially mobile individuals of a scheduled caste group to
dissociate themselves from their own caste men. When it actually happens the process
results in intra-group differentiation between the mobile and non-mobile individuals
within the caste-group.
1.3.2:- CHANGES IN LIFE STYLE.

With changes in their educational, occupational and economic status the mobile persons are likely to exhibit their newly acquired status in their life style and behaviour. In doing so they often imitate the life style and behaviour pattern of the group whose status they claim to have achieved. This type of behaviour corresponds to what Merton explains through the concepts of reference group behaviour and anticipatory socialization. Reference group is the group to which one does not actually belong but whose norms and values one conforms in actual behaviour. Anticipatory socialization is the very process whereby a person adopts the norms and conforms to the values of the reference group. It denotes the desire and efforts of a person to acquire the membership of some other group. The changes in the life-style that occur as a result of social mobility may be manifested in different ways. A man who moves up in social status may change his friends, join new organizations, move to a new neighbourhood, and perhaps change his religious and political affiliation. In some cases he may hide his surname. His style of living also changes with social mobility. The material acquisition may increase and certain traditional values may be discarded with the craze for modernity. He may develop higher levels of aspirations for children.

The theory of reference group behaviour and anticipatory socialization in the case of the socially mobile Scheduled caste individuals would mean that as a result of social mobility in their class status, the individuals of a Scheduled caste group are likely to adopt the way of life of the other caste groups that enjoy similar class status. This would in turn result in change in life-style.

1.3.3:- CHANGE IN RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER GROUPS.

One would expect the socially mobile individual to assert their newly acquired social status. Assertion of social status and claim to a higher social status may be accepted by the respective higher group. Such acceptance can lead to increased positive interaction between the two. However, it can also happen that the upper
group altogether rejects the claim of the mobile persons to new status. This can result in status anxiety and alienation on the part of the mobile person or conflicts between them and the upper group.

1.3.4: POSITIVE INTER-RELATION.

Social mobility among Scheduled caste means that the gulf between mobile person of a lower stratum and those of a higher stratum gets reduced and they are likely to come into contact with each other in several spheres. The result could be an increase in positive inter-relation between the two groups. Increase in positive interaction is likely to weaken hatred and envy between the two social groups. It can facilitate understanding of each other’s culture and values and help transform a specific local culture into a kind of mixture of different cultural traits. Thus, social mobility finally results in enhanced inter-group relationships.

In this way one would expect increased relationship between the mobile individuals of the scheduled castes and other higher caste groups. Higher class status, anticipatory socialization and changes in life-style on the part of the Scheduled caste individuals are likely to facilitate such enhanced positive relationship.

1.3.5: STATUS DISCREPANCY AND STATUS ANXIETY.

Social mobility can have undesirable consequences to the individuals concerned. This is the typical situation in which an individual changes his achieved (class) status, while his ascribed (ethnic) status remains unchanged. Lipset and Bendix refer to it as status, discrepancy. In every society social mobility may result in discrepancies among the different positions, one person may hold in each of these hierarchies. As man advances his economic fortunes, he may find himself excluded from certain social groups because of his lowly social status may find that they are unable to earn commensurate income.

Homans explains the situation .......

Recognition of status discrepancy or inconfluences of the mobile individuals by the higher social group would mean refusal of the latter to grant equal status to the
former. This in turn means failure in reference group behaviour and in the claim to higher status on the part of the socially mobile individuals. The result in such a situation could be status anxiety. Those socially mobile individuals who have distanced themselves from their original social group (contra-identification) and at the same time face status anxiety are likely to end up in alienation, a situation wherein one does not really belong to any social group. In the case of mobile Scheduled caste individuals the phenomena of status discrepancy and status anxiety and alienation are very relevant. The mobile Scheduled castes may find themselves in the strange position of moving away from their own community but not being accepted by the upper caste community.

It means that changing the class status will not automatically result in acquisition of high status because of the low status in the caste structure. So the consequence of social mobility in their case may be status congruence and status anxiety. According to Homan’s theory of status congruence and status anxiety if there are persons who have their status factors (variety of work, office responsibility pay, seniority and work autonomy) in an organization in line, they claim their status congruity, and those whose status factors are outline, do not claim their status congruity. In Homan’s terminology, in lineness there may be a condition of relative and distributive justice for such individuals, whereas out lineness may lead to status anxiety (Homans 1962). The present study will adopt this theory for measuring the congruence of achieved and ascribed status.

1.3.6:- CONFLICTS.

Claim to higher status on the part of the socially mobile individuals and its rejection by the higher social group may at times lead to antagonistic relationship between the two. They may come into a relationship of conflict with each other. Conflict may be experienced at the level of attitude in the form of psychological tension between the two when it gets accentuated further they may enter into open-conflict at the behavioural level in the form of quarrels, fights or atrocities. The situation is quite possible in the case of socially mobile Scheduled castes. The
reluctance of the people belonging to higher castes to change their attitudes towards
the Scheduled castes and to enter into normal relationships with them may give rise
to development of conflict between the two. Some of the caste riots that have been
taking place recently can be explained as ultimately consequences of social mobility
among the lower castes. Conflicts terms to be a logical consequence of acquisition of
higher class status and ascertain of it by the lower castes on the one hand and
continued refusal to recognize that status by the upper castes on the other.

Social mobility and its consequences of the Scheduled castes need to be studied
from different points of view and in different parts of the country. Keeping in view,
Scheduled castes of Mandapaka a coastal village in Tanuku Taluka in West Godavari
District of Andhra Pradesh is selected for the purpose of this study. This is a study
of Scheduled castes community and therefore, it is in the nature of micro study.

1.4:- THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY.

The general objective of the study is to find out the extent of Social mobility
among Scheduled castes. The specific objectives of the present study are to find out:
(1) The extent of social mobility among Scheduled castes (Nature type of social
mobility)
(2) Factors contributing to social mobility (Welfare measures, urbanization and
industrialization and political participation.)
(3) Consequences of social mobility (Intra group differentiation, interaction
pattern with Non-Scheduled castes and changes in life style)

1.5:- HYPOTHESIS.

Since special measures were undertaken after Independence for the upliftment
of scheduled castes with respect to their social mobility, it is expected that such
special measures, like protective discrimination would also have definite bearing on
the utilization of such benefits by the Scheduled castes. It is hypothesized that those
who avail more welfare measures are likely to have greater mobility than the others.
(A) URBANIZATION:-

Here the second most important factor (variable) under examination with respect to social mobility is urbanization which comes as one of the major opportunity structure evinced on a world wide scale, contributing to social mobility. As India is also at a fast rate of urbanization, it is expected, such a characteristic would also have a definite bearing on social mobility. Therefore, it is expected that exposure to urbanization serves as a stimulant to social mobility to the lowest section in caste and class criteria i.e. Scheduled Castes. The assumption in this study is that urbanisation would act as a stimulant to social mobility as it is associated with occupational complexity. So it is hypothesized that greater the exposure to urban areas greater would be the social mobility.

(B) INDUSTRIALIZATION:-

Industrialization is the process that effects social mobility; this process encourages migration of people from the rural area of subsistence and below subsistence agricultural economy. This is likely to bring about change in occupation and income. There is no area of human existence which is not influenced by industrialization. Industrialization creates occupations that are open to all. The objective to social mobility would be explored with respect to variables of the industrialization. The specific objective in this regard is does the functional character of industrialization any bearing a social mobility? It is hypothesized that greater the exposure to industrialization higher would be the degree of social mobility.

(C) POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:-

Political participation can be regarded as "the principle means which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy, and rules are made accountable to the ruled". The most fundamental belief underlying political participation is that each person ought to have the opportunity to control the conditions of his life and, in concert with others the conditions of community life. It is assumed that participation
in politics would have definitely has a bearing on social mobility.

It is hypothesized that greater the political participation higher the social mobility.

(D) CONSEQUENCES:-

From studies available, one could identify three areas of consequences of social mobility among Scheduled Caste.
1. Intra-group differentiation.
2. Change in life style.
3. Change in the relation with the Non-Scheduled Castes.

Among many possible consequences of social mobility, the present study will be concerned with its impact on pattern of interaction with their own group and other Non-Scheduled castes groups, life-style, marriage, traditional occupations, levels of aspirations etc.

Some of the hypothesis which would be discussed in this study are listed below :-
1. Those who have achieved greater social mobility will dissociate from their own group and try to hide their caste identity. That means social mobility discards ethnocentrism and provokes contra-identification.
2. Social mobility leads to change in life style, that is people with high mobility would try to bring some changes in their traditional system in their material composition as per higher Non-Scheduled castes standards, than the less mobile.
3. With social mobility, the levels of aspiration for the children would change. They would try to give their children the best education at any cost. They would also aspire for higher occupations.
4. Social mobility would bring changing attitude in the institution of marriage.
5. Social mobility encourages new pattern of interaction. Those who are highly educated would become members in many organizations.
6. Social mobility may bring changes in inter-personal relations between Scheduled castes and higher castes.
1.6: OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS.

To measure the extent of social mobility the dimensions under social mobility were placed on a scale of development. The dimensions selected for social mobility were education, occupation, income and size of the landholding scores 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 were given to illiterate, literate, below primary, primary, below matric, above matric but below graduation, graduation and post graduation. In the same manner for occupation scores 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are chosen for traditional, agricultural, unskilled, factory workers, skilled teachers, military and professionals. In the case of income scores 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 are chosen for rupees upto 300, 301-600, 601-1000, 1001-1500, 1501-2000 and 2001 and above per month. Regarding size of the land the score 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 were given to possession 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 acres respectively.

Thus, altogether a 28 point scale has been prepared to measure the extent of social mobility. The extent of social mobility among the respondents has been measured by subtracting the total mobility scores of their fathers from that of the respondents in all the above mentioned four dimensions. In other words this study has aggregated the scores for all the four dimensions in care of respondents separately from their fathers, and then subtracted fathers scores from that of their respondents scores. Thus, this study has tried to find the actual amount of or degree of social mobility in class structure and interpreted in terms of low, medium and high mobility.

(A) WELFARE MEASURES :- After Independence, a number of welfare programs have been launched by the Government of India. In order to improve the status of lower sections of the society, especially the Scheduled castes. The indices used to construct welfare measures scale were certain facilities for education, occupation, land, animals and other materials. Scores 0 and 1 were given to Non-utilization and Non-utilization of each of the indices mentioned above. Thus, a total eight point scale has been constructed for measuring the facilities under welfare programs.
(B) URBANIZATION: Indices used for constructing the scale of urban exposure were, frequency of visits to Tanuku town, number of relatives in town, number of family members migrated to urban area, and number of visits to urban areas. Scores 0, 1, 2 and 3 were given to the frequency of visits to Tanuku town. Scores 0, 1, 2 and 3 were given to none, one, two, and three relatives in town and number of family members migrated to urban areas. Scores 0, 1, 2 and 3 were given for respondents visit to small towns, big towns and cities. Thus, the maximum urban exposure score counts to be eight in this study.

(C) INDUSTRIALIZATION: To measure the exposure to industrialisation the respondents were asked whether they are working in the factory either as seasonal or on permanent basis. 0, 1, 2 scores were given for non working, working on seasonal and permanent basis. The rest of the indices chosen for measuring the exposure to Industrialization are number of relatives working in the industry and duration of respondents service in the factory. Scores 0 and 1 are given for respondents relatives not working and working in the industry. Lastly scores 1, 2 and 3 were given for those working experiences were below 5 years, 6-10 years and above 10 years of service in the industry. Thus, the exposure to industrialisation is measured in 0 to 6 point scale. Thus, total factors score were estimated to be 0-22 points. (welfare measures eight point, urbanisation eight points and industrialisation six points).

(D) POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: Since data pertaining to political participation has been collected through quantitative manner. No score has been assigned for measuring the political participation.

(E) INTRA-GROUP INTERACTION: In order to find out the contra identification among Scheduled Castes, the present study has adopted the theory of ethnocentric and contra-identification developed by Paranjape .... At this level the respondents identification was measured by disclosure of their caste background to the strangers and adoption of surnames of Non-Scheduled castes. The scores 0 and 1 were given for disclosing and not
disclosing their caste background, and for adopting and not adopting surnames respectively.

(F) STANDARD OF LIVING:-
In this study, the standard of living and style of life of the respondents has been measured by 15 items like owning a house with basic amenities like separate bathroom and W.C., Electricity, possessing gas-stove, owning a cycle, scooter, refrigerator, engaging maid-servants for domestic work etc. Thus, a 15 point scale for measuring the style of life has been prepared. Again, those respondents possessing 0-5, 6-10, 11-15 of the above mentioned items have been categorised as people maintaining low, medium and high standard of life.

(G) CHANGE IN RELATIONSHIP WITH NON-SCHEDULED CASTES:-
Change in their caste status have been examined on the basis of their interaction with their Non-Scheduled castes acquaintances. One of the indices used for interaction between Scheduled castes and Non-Scheduled castes were number of Scheduled castes visits to Non-Scheduled castes houses and also Non-Scheduled castes visits to Scheduled castes houses. Score 0, 1, 2, 3 were given for never, rare, frequent and very frequent visits to the above mentioned indices respectively. Thus, a 6 point scale has been constructed for Scheduled castes visit to Non-Scheduled houses and vice versa. Another variable chosen for measuring the interaction was Scheduled castes attending marriage in Non-Scheduled castes houses and Non-Scheduled caste attending marriages in Scheduled castes houses. Score 0, 1, 2, 3 were given for Scheduled castes never attending, attending rarely, frequently and very frequently for the marriages. Thus, another 6 point scale has been constructed for Scheduled castes attending marriages in Non-Scheduled caste houses and vice versa. Another variable considered for measuring the interaction as inter-dining between Scheduled castes and Non-Scheduled castes. Scores 0, 1, 2, 3 were given for not dining, dining rarely, frequently and very frequently in Non-Scheduled caste houses and vice versa. Thus, again a 6 point scale has been constructed for measuring the inter-dining process between Scheduled castes and Non-Scheduled castes. Thus, altogether an eighteen
point scale has been constructed for measuring the interaction pattern of Scheduled castes and Non-Scheduled castes.

1.7:- LOCATION OF THE STUDY.

The present study has been carried out in Mandapaka, a small village in Tanuku Taluka, of West Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh.

1.7.1:- REASON FOR SELECTION OF THE VILLAGE.

The rationale behind selecting the rural coastal Andhra village consists of the following considerations.

Eight districts of Andhra Pradesh which are situated along the coast of Bay of Bengal are referred to as Coastal districts where West Godavari, East Godavari and Krishna districts form the heart of the coastal region. West Godavari, which is rightly situated at West of Godavari forms one of the best rice growing districts of the State irrigated by Godavari canals. In Tanuku Taluk of this district, the best alluvial soil is found, where, Mandapaka, the focus of the study, falls in the same Taluka. Not even a single acre of the first crop is un-irrigated in this village. The soil yields two crops every year. This village provides a convenient starting point for this type of study as it is not isolated, as it is 5 kms away from Tanuku town and its traditional structure is being continuously affected by the forces of change. This village provides some of the prominent characteristics of a rural community in the transition such as increasing literacy, change of traditional occupations, raising age at marriage, changing economic status and more consciousness in political matters etc.

Secondly, caste structure in Mandapaka played an important role in influencing socio-economic systems of the village. The village is heterogeneous with respect to caste. The number of castes living in village play a great role as the structure becomes more complex with the increasing number of castes. Caste is more potent in socio-economic aspects also. It is well known that this region is characterized by a comparatively strong concentration of Kammas. Ritually ranking below the Brahmins, but being economically more powerful, kammas as a single major group
occupy and enjoy the more social status and prestige than any other caste in this village. The land owning caste is Kamma and it will not allow any one to surpass them. Enjoying all sorts of socio-economic and political power, kamma asserts the dominant caste status explained by M.N. Srinivas. They are the typical examples of power mongers.

There are two major Scheduled Castes in Mandapaka, Malas and Madigas. In the past, they were declined from socio economic & political mobility. But recently, with the safe guards measures provided by State and Central Governments, they could claim higher positions in educational, social, economic and political fields. This village is suitable example for a study like social mobility among Scheduled castes as it examines the group variations, as all the Scheduled castes are not belonging to a homogeneous community. They have a hierarchy among themselves. They strictly follow this hierarchy more rigidly than the main caste system. Among the two major groups of Scheduled castes are Malas and Madigas. Madigas are considered to be at the lower status. Malas being at the Pinnacle of Scheduled castes structure enjoy more status than Madigas. Malas treat Madigas as untouchable. Thus, this village would provide favourable information on finding the extent of untouchability among untouchable.

As far as the factors contributing to social mobility are concerned, Mandapaka is a scene of various developmental activities and has been under the influence of urbanization and industrialization for quite some time. It is located just 5 kms away from Tanuku town and the people are much influenced by this town for day to day activities. There are four industries in the vicinity of Mandapaka. Most of the people in Mandapaka are working in these industries on daily wages and seasonal basis. This gives good result while dealing with the impact of industrialization on social mobility among Scheduled castes of Mandapaka.

1.7.2:- COLLECTION OF DATA.

This study has made use of both primary and available data. The base line data for the purpose of the present study was obtained from the official records available
with the social welfare department of the State Government, the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled caste Co-operative Finance Corporation, District Social Welfare Officers, Block Development Officers and Village Development Officers.

1.8:- AVAILABLE DATA.

The sources of available data were village records, revenue records, census hand books, and the records of the village school etc in the village.

1.8.1:- PRIMARY DATA.

The sources of primary data were the heads of Scheduled caste households in the village and notable individuals of all castes in the village.

1.8.2:- METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION.

The data for this study has been collected through interviews and observations. The general material has been collected from the heads of the Scheduled castes through prepared schedules, separate interviews have been conducted of the persons in political, literary social and educational spheres from groups with insight and points of view, regarding intergroup relations, political participation the prevalence of untouchability and a general assessment of socio cultural problems of the respective castes. Apart from that, observational techniques like participant observation, discusional methods like group discussion (at Panchayat group chavadi) have also been conducted.

The data gathered through the interviews of the heads of Scheduled caste household has been quantified with individuals as the unit of analysis. The data for this study has been collected through interviews and observations. The general information has been collected from the heads of conducted for teachers, priests, panchayath members, political members, political party leaders and knowledgeable and notable elders of the village, data with respect to the inter group relations, political participation, the prevalence of untouchability and socio-economic and
cultural problems of the respective castes has been collected. Apart from that, participant observation and group discussion (at panchayath group chavadi) have also been conducted.

1.9:- COVERAGE.

As said earlier, the universe of this empirical study are the Scheduled castes of Mandapaka. There are approximately 400 households of Scheduled castes in Mandapaka. Initially it was decided to interview all these 400 households for this study. Taking into consideration the limitation of time and resources besides methodological and theoretical strategies, 200 Scheduled caste households belonging to preponderant caste groups of Mala and Madiga were selected for this study.

As far as knowledgeable and notable individuals are concerned all those who are considered to be capable of providing useful information have been interviewed. They all include political leaders, elders of the village, caste-leaders, village president, school-teachers, post-masters, proprietors of industries B.D.O, personnel of voluntary agencies, village level workers and panchayat members.

1.10:- RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY.

The present study is relevant from theoretical as well as applied points of view. Studies conducted on social mobility and status identification cover relatively open societies where mobility in one sphere is directly related to mobility in the others. But in societies where social stratification has been relatively rigid, mobility in one aspect does not lead necessarily to mobility in other aspects. Therefore, in a society like India a comprehensive understanding of social mobility is possible only through an examination of cumulative impact of a number of dimensions on a prismatic structure like caste or other traditional social organizations. So is the case with status identification. Therefore, an examination of related independent and dependent variables is likely to provide an insight into the dynamics of social mobility and status identification, which in turn may provide a theoretical understanding of social mobility in a less developed society like India.
At the applied level, the present study may help identify the aspirations and expectations of the 'Mobile Scheduled Castes'. In other words, it may provide an indicator for measuring desires and efforts of the Scheduled Castes for elevation of their status in the caste or the class structure or both. It may also help recognize the built-in constraints in the constitutional and legal measures and the limitations of administrative actions in fulfilling the expectations of the Scheduled Castes. If it is found that the Scheduled Castes primarily expect rise in their caste status through rise in their class status, and that the constitutional measures cannot help them in his endeavour. The study may suggest to limit their expectations in accordance with the reality of the situation or the society may also adopt non-legal measures to help them realize their expectations.

This study may pinpoint the unwanted widening gap between the mobile Scheduled Caste persons/groups who are said to extract frequently the benefits of the privileges and facilities meant for the Scheduled Castes as a whole and those persons/groups who lag behind in this regard and are less mobile or even immobile. It may highlight the traditional social ritual distances and the barriers of some types lying between the Scheduled and Non-Scheduled castes and suggest some alternative measures that may slash such barriers. A far reaching consequence of the derivations of this study may be a turn towards the establishment of an egalitarian inter-action pattern between the Scheduled and Non-Scheduled Castes, which may facilitate generation of the holistic form of social change, mobility and development in the country.