CHAPTER IV

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO

SOCIAL MOBILITY
FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SOCIAL MOBILITY.

4.0:- INTRODUCTION.

This chapter deals with the factors contributing to social mobility among the Scheduled Castes in Mandapaka. In this regard, welfare measures, urbanization and industrialization and political participation are considered as relevant factors. An attempt has been made to study the impact of these factors in accelerating the rate of social mobility among the Scheduled Castes. The present analysis would throw some light on the extent to which the Scheduled castes have benefitted from the welfare measures provided by the Government.

After Independence systematic attempts have been made by the Government to deal with the problems of the Scheduled Castes. They have been provided with special facilities and their interests are safeguarded through various provisions made in the Constitution. These provisions include:

(1) prohibition of discrimination in any form, bonded labour and practice of untouchability,

(2) measures guaranteeing representation of the Scheduled castes in various categories of public services, and in State Assemblies and Parliament and,

(3) Programmes or facilities for the economic development of the Scheduled castes.

With these facilities, it is suspected that there would be, improvement in their socio-economic condition which could result in the transformation of the pattern of interaction between the Scheduled and the Non-Scheduled castes.

Under a time bound scheme of protective discrimination, efforts are made to bring the Scheduled castes, beside other weaker sections, to a level where they can compete with the general population in education, occupation, style of life, and political participation. Further, the constitutional safeguards intend to guarantee educational,
occupational and political mobility which may facilitate the Scheduled Castes to achieve a better status in class structure.

In the light of the above delineation of the latent and patent objectives of the constitutional safeguards and various acts and regulations adopted in favour of the Scheduled castes, one can raise several basic questions about the success or failure of such provisions. Have the Scheduled Castes made any significant changes in their educational, economic and occupational conditions? What is the amount of benefit already availed by the different communities and also the benefits that were offered and not availed? Which communities have been benefitted and which have not and for what reasons?

On a systematic basis very few studies have been conducted on this aspect of the problem. To be sure, fragmentary evidence is available from the annual statistics published by Government, from the reports of enquiry commissions, several monographs by research workers and impressionistic accounts of social workers, community leaders and politicians on the subject. Since Independence, very few efforts have been made to analyze the process of action of welfare measures by the backward communities, the nature and characteristics of groups and individuals who availed these measures and the social consequences of these welfare measures on the Scheduled Caste communities. Nonetheless, information on these, is vital to the success of the Governments welfare measures as also for the integration of these backward sections into the main stream of Indian life. Therefore, in the following pages, an attempt has been made to review the impact of the various welfare programmes on the Scheduled Castes of Mandapaka.

Additionally, the study would focus attention how the socio-cultural factors of Scheduled Castes communities that contribute to the utilization of the benefits of welfare measures intended for them. This study is intended to attempt a deep insight into these problems which could be of special use to the policy makers, planners, administrators engaged in alleviate the lot of Scheduled Castes. Keeping this in view, a brief review of the socio-economic changes that are taking place among the Scheduled Castes on account of welfare measures all over India have been presented in the following section before we turn to the village where the present study is based.
IMPACT OF WELFARE MEASURES.

A. EDUCATION:- A major element in the Government’s Harijan Welfare Programmes was the promotion of education among the Scheduled Castes. As a matter of fact, education not only held the pride of place in the Government’s Harijan uplift programme but also consumed the lion’s share of the expenditure incurred on Harijan Welfare. However, inspite of more than two decades of constant endeavour, the improvement of literacy level in the case of Scheduled Castes has not caught up with the level of other communities in society (Kamat, 1972:121; Chauhan, 1969:262). If equality of educational opportunity is to be provided to the Scheduled Castes, the proportion of their enrolment in schools should be the same as the proportion of their population to population of other communities. If equality of education is to be attained, the enrolment of Scheduled Caste students should be 15 per cent of the enrolment from other communities (J.P. Naik, 1971:11).

A study in West Bengal revealed that the degree of school registration among the Scheduled Castes was determined largely by the nature of occupation of parents. In villages where Scheduled Castes were associated with agricultural labour, they were more backward in school registration than in other occupation (Saroj Kanti Chaudhuri, 1970:302). The study also found that the majority of the non-school attending children of the school-going age in the rural areas belong to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities. The general reason given for this phenomenon is that there are too many failures among students of Scheduled Castes (Viswanathan, 1962:30). Suma Chitnis (1972:1678) has shown that the performance of Scheduled Caste students in a college in Bombay was almost invariably inferior to that of their classmates in the same college. According to Harold Issac’s (1967:83) the performance of the Scheduled Caste students is only as good as that of the other students and this is due to the conditions under which they have to study. Poverty and ignorance about the uses of education are some of the other major causes attributed to the low percentage of Scheduled Caste children in school. Lower caste children are generally under-nourished (Majumdar, 1958:80). Malnutrition and ill-health lead to the waning of interest of the child in school (Bose
1969). The pressure on the students of Scheduled Castes for educational achievement is comparatively low because of the low educational status of their parents.

Delay in getting Scholarships coupled with economic backwardness has been found to be a major reason for the termination of education at the matric level (Sunanda Patwardhan, 1973:95). According to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes also, delay in the award of scholarships was found to be the major complaint of many Scheduled Caste children (Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes 1968-69:168). The scholarships are sometimes given in a lump sum which leads to money being spent for meeting other domestic requirements. According to J.P. Naik, (1972:21) part of the decline in the number of students from upper primary to secondary education is because of the poor standard of the educational institutions which they attend at the upper primary level. Inferior educational aids and enrolment in inferior educational institutions also contribute to the poor enrolment, retention and performance of Scheduled Caste students (Suma Chitnis, 1971:1678. Report of the Backward Classes Commission, 1956:107-8). Many talented students from among the Scheduled Castes are compelled to enrol in weaker and more poorly equipped schools and this affects their career (M.S.A.Rao, 1972:139-141). Even at the secondary school they are not treated as having a special problem and this makes their motivation and educational attainment in school very low (Naik,1971:22-23).

The number of Scheduled Castes students going beyond the matric level is extremely small. The total enrolment of Scheduled Castes in Universities was 3,811 and in colleges of general education, 53,685 thus making a total enrolment of 57,496 in 1965-66 as against 38,709 in 1960-61 (Naik, 1971:27). Krishan Dutt (1964:37) found those who continue beyond the matric level prefer to take up general academic subjects rather than choose technical or scientific subjects because they aspire only for white collar jobs. According to V.K.R.V. Rao (1964:7 see also Social Welfare, 1968:9). The special measures for educational and economic development from Plan to Plan are intended to enable them to take better advantage of the schemes of general development. But what has been provided in the Plans has not fully and properly percolated at the
operational level. A stumbling block in carrying out the welfare programmes is because the
potential beneficiaries hardly understand the programmes (Binodini Sarangi, 1969:1).

One of the handicaps in spreading education among the backward classes, mostly
located in villages, is the lack of post primary schools, so they are deprived of the
advantages of higher education (Retna Revanker, 1971:274). According to Parvathamma
(1973:5), education has not reached the bulk of the Scheduled Castes staying in villages
because of poverty, ignorance and lack of knowledge about existing facilities, absence
of compulsory education in primary and secondary levels, and the traditional apathy for
education on account of social and environmental conditions and occupational handicaps.
Some of the low castes felt that education would not in any way be useful for their
children in their caste profession (Dube, 1955:294). A study in Rajasthan villages reveals
that the occupational aspiration of low castes are limited to petty jobs in Government
service such as peons or similarly ranked other urban occupations where high education
or professional training is not much needed. Consequently, there is a devaluation of
education by these communities. Low levels of aspiration for children’s education among
Scheduled Castes appear to result from a lack of appreciation of the value of education
as a means to wider occupational choice and social mobility (Bhatia, 1970:45). Even when
there has been some appreciation of the value of education it was perceived more as an
instrument for occupational status increase rather than as a means to better economic
position. As a result, there has been a greater rush to enrol for general university
education instead of professionals technical education. General academic subjects which
have a great potential for white collar jobs have appealed to the Scheduled Castes much
more than the facilities offered by industrial and other vocational and technical
institutions (Bose, 1969:910). Large number of Scheduled Castes have opted for general
education and have shown little enthusiasm for vocational and technical training
(V.K.R.V.Rao, 1964:8). In her study in Maharashtra, Sunanda Patwardhan (1973:91)
found that all Scheduled Castes groups exhibited a uniform preference for arts courses.
Krishan Dutt (1964:37) was of the opinion that the aspirations of both parents and
children were for white collar jobs. This has resulted in a severe competition among the
Scheduled Castes for the white collar jobs reserved for them in Government service. J.P. Naik’s study (1971:29) disclosed that among the different professions the largest concentration of Scheduled Caste students is found for teacher training which has attracted nearly one-third of all professional students. This has been found true for both schools and colleges.

The foregoing findings should not be construed to mean that Scheduled Caste educational promotion programmes have been of no use to them. Sunanda Patwardhan speaks of a widening gulf between the educated and uneducated Scheduled Castes. "The educated Harijans who were able to break through the ritual restrictions and who were dissatisfied with ascribed roles have been able to take achievement-oriented roles and to become individualistic" (Sunanda Patwardhan, 1973:200; Sachidananda, 1968:81).

According to Mohinder Singh (1947:196) education accompanied by economic improvement through job reservation is resulting in the creation of a middle class among the Scheduled Castes whose habits, attitudes, social practices and social standards are tending to be approximately close to those of high caste Hindus. The educated Harijan acts as a reference group for individuals and groups of Scheduled Castes and he accepts Sanskritization as a part process in his attempt at upward mobility (Sunanda Patwardhan, 1973:200; Dev Raj Chanana, 1961:1562). With the spread of education, their standards of speech, dress and personal hygiene have improved. The linguistic mannerisms associated with lower castes have tended to disappear. The habit of reading newspapers has become well-established among the educated Harijans. Even the illiterate now have basic knowledge of political parties and issues (Mohinder Singh, 1947: 194-195; Aiyappan 1965:86; Chinthamani Lakshamana, 1968:23; Gangrade & Sonon, 1967:41).

The measures for education and employment have made the lower castes aware of their rights and privileges (Sachidananda and Gopala Iyer, 1969:328). Education, in some cases at least has widened the horizons of the younger generation and kindled in them a desire for greater social mobility and status rise through new roles (Subramaniam, 1967:12; Common, 1968:933-36 Nath, 1965:745).
It may be noted that while the welfare programmes have percolated down the Scheduled Castes, they have not reached them uniformly. There is considerable variation in the extent to which different Scheduled Caste Communities are availing themselves of the educational facilities (Roy Chowdhry, 1968:16). The more advanced sections of the Scheduled Castes are the real beneficiaries of the educational and economic measures undertaken by the State (Patrudu, 1971:9; Sharma and Saxena, 1968:3). Certain Scheduled Caste Communities which were in comparatively more advantageous circumstances to begin with were able to get more benefits out of the schemes than others (Amir Hassan, 1972:4).

Intra-group variations in literacy within each low caste group exist and are significantly associated with differences in economic positions. The degree of literacy and the proportion of the educated among the Communities are associated with caste status and economic position, though they are more sharply associated with the former (P.C.Hoshy and M.R.Rao, 1964:24). The colossus among the lower castes would appropriate the fruits of this policy without sharing them with other lower castes with the result that the high castes and those advanced sections of lower castes change place but the caste remains intact (Lohia, 1973:2).

B. ECONOMIC CHANGE:- While the impact of Government's welfare measures in the educational sphere was thus very mild, their economic consequences were also very modest. Some of the measures like free land-assignment were partly defeated especially in the earlier stages because the beneficiaries mortgaged the land to others for a consideration either because they had not money to buy complementary inputs for cultivation or because their already existing indebtedness compelled them to alienate the land to others for money. Hundreds of such cases from all over India are being reported in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (see especially the 20th Report, 1970-71:65-70). According to the 20th Report of the Commissioner, the lands given to the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe persons are usually uncultivable and lack irrigation facilities. In order to make them remunerative, a lot of investment is required to be made in the beginning (see also Ratna.
Due to their poor economic position, these persons are not generally capable of doing so and involve themselves in debts from private money lenders and local businessmen. Land reforms which, among other things, aimed at giving fixity of tenure and fair rent have not benefitted the bulk of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes except in Kerala because most of these people were casual agricultural workers without any kind of right over land.

Indebtedness is one of the worst forms of exploitation to which the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe persons are exposed (20th Report, 1970-71:20). Measures for ameliorating their lot, such as debt relief regulation, money lender's regulation, and the establishment of Harijan Co-operative Societies have succeeded only marginally because of the ingenuity of the local money lenders in circumventing the law and the attractive and flexible terms on which they offered credit unlike institutional money lenders (20th Report, 723; see also pp. 95-101).

There were several kinds of housing facilities given to the Harijans by the Government, namely (1) grant of house-sites for building hutments, loans and subsidy for purchase, building and repairing of houses, and grant of houses built by Government. Some State Governments have established colonies and settlement for rehabilitating the economically weaker sections of the people, mainly Harijans. As in the case of land assignment, house plots, sites and colonies were located in places far away from the normal places of their work; there were no approach roads and the materials used for house construction were of low quality (Report of the Task Force 1972:39; Report of the Evaluation Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Caste and Schedule Tribes, 1962:66), there was not much enthusiasm on the part of the Harijans for this programme.

Employment is another area where the Government have reserved posts for Harijans in Government service. The private sector employers of course were not constrained in the matter of appointment. In the Government service, even though a quota of seats equivalent to their proportion in the general population has been reserved for the Scheduled Castes actual percentage of Schedule Castes in employment is much less.
While the direct benefits accruing from the specific Government welfare measures have been rather limited, the indirect benefits coming out of general welfare measures have also been tardy. According to H.P. Sharma, (1971:75) though the traditional caste and occupational inter-relatedness is slowly but steadily breaking down, caste still plays a major role in determining the choice of new occupations. The sizeable number of Bhangis working as sweepers or the Dhobis and Naiks working as laundrymen and barbers in the urban setting are enough indicators of the role caste is playing. (See also K.L. Sharma, 1972:415). H.P. Sharma also notes another tendency in the village under his study, viz., the tendency towards maintaining the traditional caste functions in the village. For example, among the Jats, although a large number of younger people have moved to new occupations, each family has ensured that at least one person stays back to cultivate the land. Thus, one person in the younger generation decides to stay back, regardless of his educational standard. Even in cases of families with very small and uneconomic holdings, the similar arrangement with close cognate on the same line was worked out. Similar patterns were observed among carpenters, blacksmiths, barbers etc. The sweepers, even when they took up urban jobs left their women and children to look after "Jaimans". This phenomenon is supported by Atal (1968:242) who found that while open occupations are gradually being accepted, traditional occupations are not being given up entirely. In some places Scheduled Castes are still sticking to their traditional occupations (V.D'Souza, 1962:1854; H.C. Upreti, 1967:198). According to Mukherjee (1965:39) though the traditional relationship between caste and occupation had changed, the current occupations were, to a large degree, evaluated as being equal to their traditional caste occupations by rural people (see also Bopegamage & Veeraghvan, 1967:73; Nanda, 1969:22; Jetly, 1969:726). In many cases abandoning of traditional occupation does not involve any improvement in status as the change involves an horizontal movement from one low status to another low status occupation (Patwardhan, 1973:205; See also G.P. Reddy 1968:177; K.L. Sharma, 1969:43).
The tendency to preserve the traditional occupations is found to be prevalent mostly among those castes whose occupations require higher skill. Castes whose occupations are of general service nature, show greater tendency to move to other jobs which do not require higher skill (Amir Hassan, 1969:189-197).

As regards the range of occupations available to the Scheduled Castes, only a few occupations have been open to them. It is in the skilled, semi-skilled and in small trade and household industries that there is concentration (Patwardhan, 1973:203). Lower occupations such as watchman, gardener, etc, are entirely followed by low caste groups (Singh 1967:383). Even when the Scheduled Castes have been able to move to higher occupational roles, the poles of hierarchy (viz Brahmans and untouchable) have not significantly changed (Gould, 1967:196).

A special feature of Scheduled Caste occupation is that they were given wages lower than those paid to higher caste workers. Further the Harijans got employment for fewer days in a year than higher caste labourers because the non-Harijan employers preferred members from higher castes in hiring workers. As a result, the average income of the Harijan labourers was much low compared to non-Harijan labourers even in the same occupation (Visaria, 1974:135; see also Report of Commissioner for Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribes, 1968-69:187). After a comprehensive study of the economic progress attained by the Scheduled Castes during 1950-70, Visaria concludes: "Thus in terms of economic indicators - size of land holding, employment, occupation, income, savings it is found that the position of the Harijans and progressively worsened between 1950:70" (Visaria, 1974:135; See also Chauhan, 1972:153).

C. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE:- The enactment of the Untouchability Abolition Act of 1955 and the spread of education and occupational diversification though very limited have helped in the gradual removal of the practice of untouchability (Bose, 1969:12; M.L. Jha, 1964:29; Mathur, 1967:264). Mobility along the secular axis by educational attainment etc., had led to the loss of the stigma of untouchability among the Scheduled Castes to a limited extent (Patwardhan, 1973:194). The desire of the low castes to rise in the social scale and consequent adoption of the style of life of the upper
classes by them have been noted by many writers (M.N.Srinivas, 1966:6; A.P.Barnabad, 1961:613; Mohinder Singh, 1947:194).

The practice of untouchability has become very insignificant in urban areas but in the rural society it still persists, though its magnitude has been much less than before (Boral, 1968:4; Raghavelu, 1967:4; Margolkar, 1969:200). In several villages, Scheduled Castes are not allowed to go near the altar in temples (Theo W & L, Touche, 1958:12; Galanter, 1969:147) nor to draw water from the village well (Wadia, 1961:288). Forward caste people will not take food from, the houses of Harijans (Yeshwanth, 1963:33). According to B.B. Chatterji, (1971:48) some of the untouchable themselves would like to continue the practice of not having social intimacy with upper castes (Ramu, 1968:155). Barnabas (1963:3) notes that though there is greater physical proximity among Scheduled Castes and other high Castes in Panchayats, educational institutions, offices and public places, in reality the change in inter-caste relationship is not as significant as this overt behaviour indicates. Bhatia points out that the lower castes are more willing to have relationship with higher castes in matters of commensality, social visits, neighbourhood, co-workers, etc., which are less intimate than marital relationships which involves greater intimacy and diffused contacts (Bhatia, 1970:47). The reasons given by the lower castes for not eating with upper castes is that they feared the upper castes considered the occupations of the lower castes as undignified (Barnabas, 1969:91). Paranjpe observed that a greater proportion of the members of the lower castes tolerate the idea of inter-caste marriages than those of the upper castes (Paranjpe, 1970:63).

The possibility of inter-caste marriages between lower castes is seen more extensively by persons belonging to the affluent sections of the Scheduled Castes than the non-affluent (Chatterji, 1971:52; Alexander, 1968:1073). In a study of inter-caste relations of a village it was found that children of all castes play together (Patnaik, 1969:41). Boys of age group 15-18 tend to form their own social circles crossing the barriers of caste distinctions than other lower age groups. Girls resist inter-caste familiarities more than boys (Ahluwalia, 1966:195).
A notable feature in the persistence of untouchability and caste hierarchy is that some of the Scheduled Castes themselves practice it in relation to other Scheduled Castes (Raghavelu, 1967:4; Srivastava, 1970:11). The Evaluation Committee for the Welfare of Scheduled Caste and Schedule Tribes and other backward communities in Kerala, appointed by the Government of Kerala in 1961 in the Report (1965:90) found that "the evil of untouchability exists among the untouchable themselves. This has been admitted by the representatives of such communities in different places. This is highly disappointing. So long as this practice continues, all efforts to eradicate untouchability will only be a cry in the wilderness". As a result, many of the measures taken by the Government in this direction are defeated by the Harijans themselves not observing them.

4.1: WELFARE MEASURES.

The foregoing sections highlight many of the factors that are involved in the implementation of Scheduled Castes welfare programmes. The major conclusion drawn from the literature on the subject is that the special programmes are not being implemented in the desired manner by the prospective clients and consequently there is a gap between what is intended and what is actually realized. Another related problem is that a sizeable proportion of the welfare programmes is being enjoyed by those communities that are more forward in the Scheduled Caste hierarchy with the result that the more backward among the Scheduled Castes still remain backward and might remain so for years to come up in spite of Government's special efforts.

Keeping these in view, an attempt has been made in this section to explain this phenomenon. The major concern here is to evaluate to what extent the welfare measures are related to the differential nature of the social mobility among Scheduled Castes in Mandapaka. To be clear, the main objective of the present study is to find out how far the welfare programmes of the Government have helped the Scheduled Castes in Mandapaka to improve their socio-economic status? This study is also interested in testing the respondents extent of knowledge of the various facilities provided by the
Government. Since sheer knowledge of various facilities will not help the Scheduled Castes to improve their position unless they positively avail them, an attempt has also been made in this study, to find out as to how far these services have been availed of and to what extent? This study will also try to find out the respondents opinion and satisfaction towards Government policy and try to suggest implications or modifications by taking their opinion. Thus, this section will mainly focus on the extent of awareness and availing of government welfare measures, the impact of these measures on social mobility and the satisfaction of respondents on these measures. In this connection, the following hypothesis have been framed for testing.

a) Higher the awareness of the Government welfare measures, greater the benefit of availing.

b) Higher the avail of welfare programmes greater the social mobility.

c) Higher the position in the Scheduled Castes hierarchy greater its ability to avail the welfare programmes.

4.1.1:- AWARENESS.

Awareness of the protective discrimination measures could be in a way considered to be prerequisite to social mobility. A lack of it would not enable the respondents to avail themselves of the corresponding rewards which accrue from the various protective discrimination measures applicable to the Scheduled Castes after Independence. With a view to study the awareness of the various measures, the respondents in Mandapaka were asked to specify the facilities which the Government is providing for the Scheduled Castes. From this, the number of measures known by each one of the respondents are noted. Further these measures were classified broadly under five heads namely the educational facilities such as books, uniforms and scholarships the reservation of posts in Government services, land and house sites (pattas), economic facilities such as housing loans, flood reliefs and other facilities such as distribution of cattle, sewing-machines, water-pump sets etc. Here the main purpose is to see as to how far the
Scheduled Castes respondents are aware of such facilities and also to know how far the Malas and Madigas differ in their awareness.

It is observed from the (Table 4.1) that out of 200 respondents, 15 were unaware of any of the facilities given by the Government. The intra caste data shows that there are only 2 out of 100 among Malas who were unaware of the welfare measures whereas the number counts to be 13 out of 100 among Madigas. This clearly shows that Madigas are more unaware of Government measures than Malas.

4.1.2:- FACILITIES UTILIZED.

In the previous section, from the analysis of awareness of various protective discrimination measures, it has been observed that 15 respondents were unaware of any of the welfare measures planned by the Government. It is also found from the (Table 4.1) that those who were unaware of welfare programmes could not avail even a single measure.

Since the degree of awareness also differs from person to person, it is hypothesized that greater the level of awareness of the protective discrimination measures higher would be the use made of these benefits.

It is found from the (Table 4.1) that in Mandapaka among Scheduled Castes the percentage of those who availed themselves with high level of awareness were more as compared to those who have low level of awareness.

It is also observed from the (Table 4.1 A), that among Malas the percentage of those who availed themselves with high level of awareness forms 66 where as it was only 46 percent for Madigas. Thus, it is clear that Malas being highly placed in the caste-hierarchy of Scheduled Castes are more benefitted from the welfare programmes than Madigas even though the welfare schemes are launched aiming for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes.
4.1.3:- NATURE OF FACILITIES UTILIZED.

After analysing the extent of facilities availed of, it is important to assess the exact nature of facility availed by the Scheduled Castes in general, and also for Mala and Madigas in particular. The exact type of facility utilized by Scheduled Castes is given in the following pages.

(a) SCHOLARSHIPS:- Out of the 185 respondents 143 respondents have reported that their children received scholarships. It is observed from the study, that out of 96 respondents, who were less aware of welfare programmes only 55 people could obtain scholarships, whereas all 89 people who have high knowledge, of welfare measures could receive scholarships to their children. Intra caste variations among Scheduled Castes shows that Malas (81) have received more scholarships than Madigas (62).

(b) BOOKS AVAIL:- It is found that an overwhelming majority of the respondents children have received books in the classroom. The number of respondents whose children availed books among Malas and Madigas were 81 and 64 respectively.

(c) UNIFORMS:- The third most important facility enjoyed by the respondents was uniform. Out of 185, 124 replied that their children have received the uniforms. The number of persons availed uniforms among Mala and Madiga were 76 and 48 respectively.

(d) RESERVATION:- It is quite surprising that the reservation in various Government jobs designed for the Scheduled Castes has been availed of by only 23 respondents .

(e) LAND:- Another facility that figures is that of economic benefits which include land pattas, housing etc. There are only 49 respondents out of 200 that are benefitted from this facility. It is depressing to note that only 8 respondents among Madigas availed land (pattas) where as the corresponding figure for Malas was 41. This clearly indicates that Malas are highly benefiting from the facilities as compared to Madigas.

(f) LOANS:- Another economic benefits provided by the Government is providing loans. It is observed from the study, that, this facility is being enjoyed by 118 respondents.
(g) **ANIMALS**:- Animals like buffaloes, oxen and pigs were also distributed to 16 Madiga respondents since rearing of pigs was their traditional occupation.

(h) **TOTAL WELFARE MEASURES** :- (Table 4.1) presents the distribution of respondents according their utilization of welfare measures in Mandapaka. Out of 200 respondents interviewed in the survey 15 persons have reported that they have not availed even single facility given by the Government. It is also observed from the (Table 4.1), that most of the respondents have utilized four to five welfare measures and only 2 persons have taken complete advantage of all the Governmental welfare schemes introduced in this village. There is a substantial difference between Malas and Madigas in availing these measures. There are only 2 percent of Malas who have not been benefitted from the Government facilities whereas the corresponding percentage for Madigas was 13. Seventy one percent of Malas have been highly benefitted from above welfare schemes whereas the correspondent percentage was only 18 among Madigas. This finding clearly indicates that a higher proportion of Malas have highly benefitted from the welfare schemes launched by the Government as compared to Madigas even though the welfare schemes are launched aiming for the benefit of all the Scheduled Castes. It is also hypothesized that higher the avail of welfare measures greater the degree of social mobility. In other words there exists a positive association between availing welfare measures and attaining social mobility.

About 93 percent of the respondents in Mandapaka village replied that they have been availed by various types of welfare facilities given by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. Out of this, 28 percent have reported that they have received only two measures while 27 percent received 3-5 welfare facilities. 45 percent respondents reported that they availed 5-8 types of facilities given by the Government. The degree of respondents social mobility (**Socio-economic status**) has been verified from the stand point of the level of availing welfare of measures. In other words the impact of welfare measures on social mobility among Scheduled castes has been verified. A significant correlation existed between welfare measures utilized and social mobility. For example among those 56 respondents who replied that they were availing only 2 welfare measures, 85.7 percent of them were found to be attained low social mobility. There is not even a single member
TABLE 4.1: Respondents Utilization of Welfare Measures and their Social Mobility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Welfare Measures</th>
<th>Social Mobility</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Row Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>48 (85.7)</td>
<td>8 (4.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>56 (100)</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>38 (69.1)</td>
<td>12 (21.8)</td>
<td>5 (9.1)</td>
<td>55 (100)</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>34 (38.2)</td>
<td>41 (46.1)</td>
<td>14 (15.7)</td>
<td>89 (100)</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120 (60.0)</td>
<td>61 (30.5)</td>
<td>19 (9.5)</td>
<td>200 (100)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation Coefficient values are calculated on the basis of individual scores.

Pearsons correlation coefficient value is .4030 and is significant at .001 level

Figures in the parenthesis represent percentages.
Table 4.1 (A): Utilization of welfare measures of Mala and Madiga respondents and their Social mobility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Welfare measures</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(77.8)</td>
<td>(22.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>(89.5)</td>
<td>(10.5)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(72.7)</td>
<td>(1.91)</td>
<td>(18.2)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>(68.2)</td>
<td>(25.0)</td>
<td>(6.8)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33.8)</td>
<td>(53.5)</td>
<td>(12.7)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>(55.6)</td>
<td>(16.7)</td>
<td>(27.8)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(46.0)</td>
<td>(43.0)</td>
<td>(11.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(74.0)</td>
<td>(18.0)</td>
<td>(8.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation coefficients are calculated on the basis of individual scores.

Correlation coefficient value for Mala is .3361 and is significant at .001 level.

Correlation coefficient value for Madiga is .3534 and is significant at .001 level.

Figures in the parenthesis represent percentages.
in this group who attained high degree of social mobility. On the contrary it has been observed that 14 respondents availing 5-8 welfare measures have attained high degree of social mobility. This clearly proves that social mobility increases with the increase of the welfare facilities. Thus, the hypothesis higher the level of availing welfare measures higher the social mobility proved to be justified.

4.1.4:- ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENTAL SAFE GUARDS AND WELFARE MEASURES.

The Constitution of India has cited many provisions to safe guard the interest of Scheduled castes and the Government has launched many welfare schemes for them. However, this implementation is a matter of criticism among the Scheduled castes population. They feel that the welfare schemes have neither been fully implemented nor honestly carried out. The respondent of the present study also feel the same. As large as 80 percent respondents are of completely dissatisfied of the implementation of Governmental safe guards and welfare measures. A very few respondents (20 percent) are satisfied with the manner of implementation. The dissatisfaction with the manner of implementation is found both in Malas and Madigas. As regards the improper implementation of constitutional safeguards and welfare schemes, it is found that most of the respondents are critical of the Government authorities and functionaries who are associated with distribution of welfare benefits to the Scheduled castes. These respondents suggest that some of the officials are apathetic to them and out of jealously and caste prejudices do not want to help the poor Scheduled castes. While others feel that corruption is rampant among the officials who want to have a sizeable chunk of the welfare benefits in to their pockets. A few respondents are critical of the undesirable intervention of the non-officials such as Block Development Officer, Panchayat President etc, in the village. They complained that some official functionaries in the name of helping the Scheduled castes, infact, eat the lion’s share of the benefits. There are quite a good number of Scheduled castes who put the blame on their own people for their ignorance and lack of information and guidance. They feel that most of the benefits could not reach to
the masses because they are neither aware of these benefits nor have they any proper access to reach the same. Some respondent have complained that the welfare benefits do not reach the genuine people but they are appropriated by unscrupulous and manipulative elements of the community. Some respondents out of frustration, answered that the welfare schemes are simply white elephants as most of the schemes more or less remain on paper and are not materialised.

Thus, it is learnt that the dissatisfaction with the implementation of constitutional safe guards and welfare schemes is a reflection of the inefficient, apathetic and corrupt Government machinery.

4.1.5:-(A) SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS:- The educational upliftment programmes of the Scheduled castes youth is based heavily on the financial assistance provided by the Government. The most important mode of such financial assistance is scholarship. These scholarships are on monthly basis which are paid for the duration of 1-3 years or more, depending on nature of classes. At each level of education the amount differs. For Arts and Science subjects at inter-graduate level, the scholarship amount is seventy rupees per month and at post graduate level one hundred rupees per month. For Agricultural, Science, Technology, Engineering and Medical Science the scholarship amount for undergraduate and post graduate classes is one hundred eighty five rupees per month. All these amounts are paid by Scheduled castes welfare office. Generally all the students who apply for scholarships are awarded the same. However because of mal-practices in the offices, sometimes delay occurs and even scholarship is denied. In the present sample 24 percent respondents replied that their children were receiving scholarships.

(B) SUFFICIENCY OF SCHOLARSHIP MONEY: As stated earlier, the Scheduled caste students have been provided with financial assistance in the form of scholarships for different courses of study at different levels. Though the money is strictly meant for educational expenses it is used for a variety of purposes such as the purchase of books, stationery, clothes, food and house rent etc. As the scholarship money is not sufficient to fulfil the needs there is a certain amount of discontentment about it.
While enquiring into the attitude of Scheduled caste students about the sufficiency of scholarship money, it has been found that among the scholarship holders very few students are satisfied with the amount they are getting. Most of them have stated that the amount is not sufficient to meet all their requirements. Some of the respondents have reported that their educational career has put a heavy burden on their family and the amount is simply not enough to meet their food, conveyance, and other educational expenses. Some of the students have stated that they are unable to pay rent from their scholarship money as it is expensive. There are still others who have stated that in the absence of any financial support from their family, they find it very hard to continue their study with the scholarship money alone.

(C) DIFFICULTIES IN OBTAINING THE SCHOLARSHIPS:- Though the procedure for the award of scholarships to Scheduled caste students is very simple, in practice they have to face a number of difficulties in obtaining the same.

The scholarship holders in the present study have stated that some of the delayed payments, indifferent attitude and carelessness of Educational Administrator and Government functionaries as some of the difficulties faced by them. Lastly, deep rooted prejudices, caste discrimination are also mentioned as important factors.

There has been a great deal of discussion on the issue of reservation policy of the Government. There are different point of views. In recent times controversy over the continuation of constitutional safe guards and welfare measures for the benefit of Scheduled Castes is becoming increasingly acute. Reservation of seats in the legislatures, provision of reserve quota in Government jobs and educational facilities along with many economic benefits to the community have not been designed to last for all time to come. This time the out put of the welfare schemes has created dissatisfaction among the bulk of Scheduled Castes, who feel that benefits should continue till the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes come on par with the higher castes. Some people say that the reservation has continued for too long, now it must be stopped. Others say that the purpose is not yet achieved, therefore it has to continue, while there are still others who feel that the basis of reservation is fully faulty and it needs to be changed. In view of this, it is interesting to find out what the respondent think about this issue, Would they like it to continue more or less
in its present form? Or would they suggest some changes in it? It is interesting to note in the present study, as much as 60 percent respondents want the continuation of welfare schemes while of the remaining 40 percent as many as 20 suggest change. There are 20 respondents, who emphatically suggest that the policy of reservation must be discontinued. They strongly feel that by granting such concessions to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, the vested interests have only provided satisfaction to the Scheduled Castes.

4.1.6:- REASONS FOR CONTINUATION OF WELFARE SCHEMES.

Eighty percent of the respondents who have favoured the continuation of constitutional safeguards have expressed four reasons. Half of these thought that the socio-economic conditions of the larger section of their community is still bad. Some respondents want them to continue, because without external help the Scheduled castes cannot make progress. Others were of the opinion that the status of Scheduled Castes vis-a-vis upper caste Hindus is still inferior. There are 8 percent of respondent who have given a pragmatic view of situation by stating the fact that as the target and objectives fixed by the Government have not yet been achieved, the safeguards should continue till the objectives are achieved. Thus, it is seen that among the various reasons advanced, the most dominant is the poor socio-economic condition of the community which has induced most of the respondents to be in favour of continuation of the constitutional safeguards and welfare schemes.

4.1.7:- SUGGESTIONS MENTIONED FOR CHANGES IN RESERVATION POLICY.

So far as the changes that must be introduced to make the present policy more useful are concerned, seven persons want a ceiling to be put on the duration of reservation. They suggest that the benefit occurring from reservation must be restricted to 3 or 4 generation only; some feel that only poor among the target groups should avail these concessions, and the other four respondents would like all the poor
people irrespective of their castes to take advantages of reservation. There is yet another group of five respondents which feels that the proportion fixed at the beginning of the scheme is no longer valid. Proportional quota therefore, has to be re-fixed in accordance with the present population of the deprived groups. What is thus reflected is the fact that, except for the last group the former three groups have very clearly put their fingers on the weakness the scheme suffers from. While suggesting a ceiling on the number of generations eligible for the benefits or restricting these concessions only to poor of the target groups, the first two groups seen to be fully aware that only a few among them are reaping the benefits and the rest is precluded from taking advantage of reservation.

4.2:– URBANISATION.

The second most important variable under examination with reference to social mobility is urbanisation. Various scholars have conceptualized the process of urbanization from different prospective, namely the demographic, social functional and the like. Here it is essential to review some of these studies which have highlighted the process of urbanization in order to have proper understanding of the problem and to judge as to which one of the ways is best suited to the problem under study. Multi-lingual demographic dictionary (1958:18) defines urbanization as a growth in proportion of persons living in urban areas. According to Hauser, (1967) urbanization is the process of population concentration as well as increase in the size of individual concentration. There is no doubt that the concentration of population is one of the most important features of urbanization, but it is not the only process which explain the phenomenon. The aspect of urbanisation as population concentration and the multiplication of individual points of concentration is too vague to be of use for studying the present problem. The reason for the ambiguity is very clear from the two basic characteristic features which include the whole population i.e. economically active (working force) as well as inactive population (children under the age of 15 and persons aged 65 and above).

Following the demographic concept of urbanization Anderson (1960) has studied the same phenomenon from the social point of view as an external process
of adopting urbanized way of life, in acquiring physical expansions, economic and material benefits and urbanism as an internalization of social and psychological characteristics. Fairchild (1956:330) defined urbanization as the process of becoming urban, the movement of people to urban areas, the increase of urban areas, population or process. His definition of urbanization includes both social as well as demographic components. The former definition underlines the process of becoming urban and where as the latter implies an increase of urban area, population or process.

The demographic perspective although appears to be limited to the study of changing volume of population residing in localities designated as urban, it provides the much needed basis for the study of the process of urbanization to social scientists. It is true that living experience of rubbing elbows in a city of more than a million population could be different form living in a tiny town of 20,000 persons. For that matter, yet, the demographic perspective of urbanization treats them alike.

In this study exposure to urbanization is taken as one of the important factors causing social mobility after welfare measures. The assumption in this study is that exposure to urbanization would act as a stimulant to social mobility as it is associated mostly with occupational complexity. To be clear this study seeks to find out whether exposure to urbanisation has any bearing on social mobility i.e. either impending or facilitating the mobility. In other words, it tries to explain the relation between exposure to urbanization and the social mobility among Scheduled castes of Mandapaka. It would also try to put forth the variations in exposure to urbanization and also in social mobility between Malas and Madigas.

As mentioned earlier, the extent of exposure to urbanization is measured by constructing 0-8 point scale. Thus, the minimum and maximum scores of urbanization were 0 and 8. Two respondents have informed that neither they visited, nor they have relatives in urban areas. One third of the respondents scored only one point, whereas another one third scored between 4 and 7 points of exposure to urbanization. The maximum exposure to urbanization (8 points) were reported by twenty-seven respondents.

Intra caste break up of data reveals that there is a substantial difference between Malas and Madigas with respect to exposure to urbanization. A majority of Madigas (54 percent) were less exposed to urbanisation compared to Malas (31
percent). Around forty seven percent of Mala respondents were highly exposed whereas it was only nineteen percent for Madigas. All the 200 respondents surveyed in the village were divided into three groups based on the level of exposure to urbanization. The respondents who scored between 0 and 2 points are considered as low and those who scored 3 to 5, 6 to 8 as medium and highly exposed to urbanization. The percentage of respondents exposed to low, medium and high degree of urbanization are 42, 25 and 33 respectively. It is hypothesized that higher the exposure to urbanization, higher would be the degree of social mobility. In other words, there is a positive association between exposure to urbanization and social mobility.

It is observed from the (Table 4.2) among the 85 low urban exposed respondents, 81 respondents (95 percent) attained low degree of social mobility. Whereas the corresponding percentages among the medium exposed and high exposed respondents were 61 and 13 respectively. There is only one respondents among the low urban exposed respondents who attained high social mobility.

On the contrary among the high urban exposed respondents 17 people have attained high social mobility. This clearly indicates that there is a positive association between the extent of exposure to urbanization and degree of social mobility. The value of correlation between urban scores and level of social mobility is 0.4030 and it is highly significant at 1 percent level. It is interesting to see as how far the Malas and Madigas differ in their level of exposure to urbanization. (Table 4.2.A), given the distribution of respondents in both the caste groups in Mandapaka.

It is observed from the (Table 4.2 A), that Malas are highly exposed to urbanization than Madigas. Since the degree of urbanization is more among Malas, their level of social mobility is also found to be high as compared to Madigas. For instance, among Malas 47 percent attained high exposure as well as high degree social mobility whereas, the corresponding percentages among Madigas are 19 and 8 respectively. The value of correlation co-efficient between urban scores and degree of social mobility for Malas and Madigas are 0.6470 and 0.6271 respectively and both are highly significant at 1 percent level.

Thus, it may therefore, be concluded that exposure to urbanization has by for the greatest effect upon the social mobility of the Scheduled castes.
TABLE 4.2: Respondents Exposure to Urbanization and their Social Mobility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents Exposure to Urbanization</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(95.3)</td>
<td>(3.5)</td>
<td>(1.2)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(61.2)</td>
<td>(36.7)</td>
<td>(2.0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13.6)</td>
<td>(60.6)</td>
<td>(25.8)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(60.0)</td>
<td>(30.5)</td>
<td>(9.5)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation coefficients are calculated on the basis of individual scores.

Correlation coefficient value is .4030 and is significant at .001 level.

Figures in the parenthesis represent percentages.
TABLE 4.2 (A): Mala and Madiga Respondents Exposure to urbanization and their Social Mobility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents Exposure to Urbanization</th>
<th>Mala</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Madiga</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Row Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>30 (96.8)</td>
<td>1 (3.2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31 (100)</td>
<td>31.0 (100)</td>
<td>51 (94.4)</td>
<td>2 (3.7)</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>10 (45.5)</td>
<td>11 (50.0)</td>
<td>1 (4.5)</td>
<td>22 (100)</td>
<td>22.0 (100)</td>
<td>20 (74.1)</td>
<td>7 (25.9)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>6 (12.8)</td>
<td>31 (66.0)</td>
<td>10 (21.3)</td>
<td>47 (100)</td>
<td>47.0 (100)</td>
<td>3 (15.8)</td>
<td>9 (47.4)</td>
<td>7 (36.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46 (46.0)</td>
<td>43 (43.0)</td>
<td>11 (11.0)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>74 (74.0)</td>
<td>18 (18.0)</td>
<td>8 (8.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation coefficients are calculated on the basis of individual scores.

Correlation Coefficient Value for Mala is .6815 and is significant at .001 level.

Correlation Coefficient Value for Madiga is .6394 and is significant at .001 level.

Figures in the parenthesis represent percentages.
4.3:- INDUSTRIALIZATION:-

Apart from welfare measures and urbanisation, exposure to the industrialization also taken as one of the factors contributing to social mobility. It creates new occupations and bring new ways of living. This further creates change in occupational mobility and change in socio-economic status. To measure the exposure to industrialization, the respondents were asked whether they are working in the factory either as seasonal or on permanent basis. Number of relatives working in the industries and duration of their service in the industry. Thus, a six point scale is prepared for measuring the exposure to industrialization of respondents surveyed in the village. (Table 4.3) gives the distribution of respondents according to the level of exposure to industrialization. It is found from the (Table 4.3), that 129 respondents were not exposed to industrialization at all. The remaining respondents were broadly divided into high, medium and low groups basing on their degree of exposure to industrialization. The respondents who reported to have attained less or equal to 2 points in the exposure to industrialization scale were considered as low and those who scored 3-4 and 5-6 as highly exposed.

It is hypothesized that greater exposure to industrialization would lead to higher degree of social mobility. Out of 129 low exposed to industrialization respondents, 85 percent were found to have attained low social mobility on the contrary the corresponding percentages among medium and high exposed respondents were 25 and 7 respondents respectively. Thus it is observed from the (Table 4.3), that there is a positive relation between level of exposure to industrialization and degree of social mobility. The value of co-efficient correlation works out to be 0.5468 which is highly significant.

(Table 4.3 A) shows that there is a significant difference between Malas and Madigas with respect to their level of exposure to industrialization. The percentages of respondents working in industries between Malas and Madigas were 48 and 25 respectively. The number of respondent highly exposed to industries among Malas were 29 whereas for Madigas they were only 14. Thus, clearly shows that Malas are most forwarding to industries compared to Madigas.
TABLE 4.3:- Respondents Exposure to Industrialization and their Social Mobility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrialization</th>
<th>Social Mobility</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Row Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>110 (85.3)</td>
<td>6 (4.7)</td>
<td>13 (10.1)</td>
<td>129 (100)</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>7 (25.0)</td>
<td>18 (64.3)</td>
<td>3 (10.7)</td>
<td>28 (100)</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>3 (7.0)</td>
<td>37 (86.0)</td>
<td>3 (7.0)</td>
<td>43 (100)</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>129 (60.0)</td>
<td>61 (30.5)</td>
<td>19 (9.5)</td>
<td>200 (100)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation coefficients are calculated on the basis of individual scores.
Correlation coefficient value is .4914 and is significant at .001 level.
Figures in the parenthesis represent percentages.
TABLE 4.3(A):- Mala and Madiga respondents exposure to Industrialization and their Social Mobility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents Exposure to Industrialization</th>
<th>Mala</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Row Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Row Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(79.6)</td>
<td>(5.6)</td>
<td>(14.8)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(89.3)</td>
<td>(4.0)</td>
<td>(6.7)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5.9)</td>
<td>(76.5)</td>
<td>(17.6)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(54.5)</td>
<td>(45.5)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.9)</td>
<td>(95.1)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(7.1)</td>
<td>(71.4)</td>
<td>(21.4)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(46.0)</td>
<td>(43.0)</td>
<td>(11.0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(74.0)</td>
<td>(18.0)</td>
<td>(8.0)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation coefficients are calculated on the basis of individual scores.

Correlation coefficient value for Mala is .4137 and is significant at .001 level.

Correlation coefficient value for Madiga is .5320 and is significant at .001 level.

Figures in the parenthesis represent percentages.
As mentioned earlier the level of exposure to industries has a bearing on social mobility the Madigas being lowly placed in exposure to Industrialization attained a low degree of social mobility (74 percent) as compared to Malas (46 percent). The value of co-relation, co-efficient between respondents industrialization exposure score and their level of social mobility for Malas and Madigas are 0.4137 and 0.5320 respectively and both are significant at one percent level. Thus, the hypothesis cited above as higher the level of exposure to Industrialization greater the degree of social mobility proves to be significant.

4:4:- POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

After four decades of Independence, the lower strata of Indian society still suffers from caste prejudice. Inspite of special provisions in the constitution for the upliftment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, they are still lagging behind in the social and political spheres. During India regime, and after, Government launched a good number of schemes, programmes, projects etc, for them. For them the period of reservation has been extended from time to time by amending the constitution. But the bulk of Scheduled Caste people remain where they were some decades ago. At many places, their conditions have worsened as cases of their murders, rapes, or son, loot, criminal assault etc, show. All that has reached some urban areas and ghettos, still has so far not trickled down to rural areas. In a society, dominated by elites, oligarch, urbanities and mafia, authorities know little about the real conditions of the down trodden people living in far off villages, where most often dominant castes rule autocratically in collusion with the police and politicians. Very little known about their actual social conditions and level of participation in politics and administration. Keeping this in view, an attempt has been made in this chapter to study the political participation of Scheduled Castes of Mandapaka. They are proposed to be studied from the view of political-participation and social-mobility. If there is 'political-participation' among certain communities, it tends to lead them to 'social-mobility'. Both of them enable those communities to share power proportionates to their mobility-participation level. In a reverse order if they do not share power, it would be due to lack of their effective political-participation. 'Social-mobility' itself will be
lacking if there is inadequacy of 'political-mobility' which itself result from general awareness of people regarding their backwardness in the field of education and occupation. However, for the purpose of field observations the two concepts need further operationalization.

In this field, most of the studies have been done by either sociologists or social anthropologists. Though the caste is a very old institution in the Indian social system, it was only during the last forty years that other social-scientists have started studying in the context of Indian politics. Empirical studies on Indian caste system done by the foreign and South-Indian scholars. Rarely there is any worthwhile empirical study on role of Scheduled castes politics operating in rural areas. Very few political scientists paid attention towards knowing how the people belonging to the lowest strata of society are struggling to service amidst majority of powerfully high and middle castes, and striving to get maximum of their rights by treading on the path of political-participation and social mobility.

Changes occurring in social life can be categorised into two types. One of these is the change taking place either the framework of a particular socio-economic formation. These are usually associated with the changes relating to some aspect of the existing socio-economic set up. The other type of changes are those of occurring in an important sphere of social-life leading to the transition of the society from one particular socio-economic and political set up to another. However, both of them have their own peculiar problems and can be related with each other. Perspective of power and share in decision-making processes needs concepts like, political-participation, social-mobility and consequent attainment of power. Their meaning and mutual relationship, at conceptual level, have been briefly explained and examined in the following sections.

4.4.1: MOBILITY-PARTICIPATION STUDIES.

A large number of the rural and urban industrial studies an social mobility of various caste and class group reflect continuity of factors beginning from the traditional rural structures to modern urban structure. Studies conducted by Andre
Beteille, Robert Hardgrave, Anil Bhatta, Omen Lynch and S.K. Chauhan fall under this category. M.L. Goel's work in this respects, adopts a different line. Andre Beteille conducted a study on the social relation of three caste groups-Brahmins, Non-Brahmins and Adi Dravidas in a village named Sripuram of Tanjoor District in Tamil Nadu. His work caste, class and power examines these caste groups and their changing relations over times. With regard to the power structure, Andre Beteille feels that a new element of political-power, independent of caste and class, has emerged. It is through participation in village panchayat, various political parties and political networks that mobility takes place among the lower caste groups of Sripuram. This study mainly examines the problems of politicisation of caste-groups. Beteille explains the effect of modernization of politics in a village.

Another work done by Robert by L. Hardgrave on the Nadars of Tamil-Nadu. His study reflects the caste mobility by means of political participation. This micro-cosmic study of a single caste spread over different part of Tamil Nadu provides a link between social and economic change and political life, between structural change in society and political sentiment and behaviour. Here he finds as the castes rose in wealth and political power there was rise in ritual work or social status.

A similar study was done by Edward Harper in Maland village, of Mysore state. He studied two caste groups Hawik Brahmins and Holerns. Through his study, he find that Holerns have attained the position of Hawik with support from the Government and various political parties. Due to their political participation as weapon to rise in status, they can now organise in groups and fight against the Hawik Brahmins for their demands Harper tried to bring out the various social consequences of this partially unsuccessful low caste with the attempt for mobility what emerged out was a clear picture of moving up of this low caste in the social ladder by making use of political instrument.

Another scholar, Anil Bhatt takes mobility aspects like caste and class, and relates these with politics. In this empirical study, he has elaborated the processes that go along with caste groups, mainly the mobility by means of political participation. He has examined the role played by various caste-groups in four states Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and West-Bengal to move up in the social ladder by using politics as an avenue. Another study is done by Owen Lynch on Jatavs, a
Scheduled Caste community in Agra. The work is a clear proof of castes using political participation as one of the modern avenues to rise up in the social hierarchy of the society. Lynch says that the Jatavs were traditionally bound to do polluting leather works, but later succeeded in reaching a higher status with Swami Atma Ram's help they began to assert a claim to Kshatriya status. It is through their political participation as a means of mobility in urban Agra, that as Lynch did his studies, today Jatavs have become a political entity one another study is made by S.K. Chauhan. He studied the upper part of Assam. In his study, he suggests that because of historical factors which have influenced the social-structure of upper Assam, sanskritization of customs and the style of life is perceived to be less important for social mobility than acquisition of land, political office in the panchayats and Government service. M.L. Gades empirical study on political participation in India, deals with the social bases of Indian political parties. He says that the Congress party is more popular among the older generation than the youth. This is because of the fact that the older generation was socialized during India's freedom struggle under the leadership of national force like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel etc. To a certain extent, all these studies creates conceptual confusion. However, it can be said that mobility is part of larger social change, and several factors contribute to it. Among them, all agree that politics, political participation, political parties or political pressure is very important in attaining a higher ritual status an socio-economic where withal. However, all these findings briefly analyzed above, must be confirmed and compared by another study.

As already mentioned earlier, the sample taken for political participation were adults of the Scheduled Castes, elders of the village, teachers, temple priest, panchayati members and every eligible person giving information. It is hypothesized that "greater the political-participation higher the social-mobility". "Political participation" can be divided in to three categories. In ascending order, they are (A) non institutional activities (B) institutional activities, and (C) power sharing activities.

Activities operating around particular ideology, institutional political leadership, such as voting, mass mobilization etc., may be regarded as institutional activities. These activities mainly centre around voting behaviour and strategy and
aim at attainment of power or capturing political and administrative offices of Government. All other unorganized activities directly or indirectly relate to power, influence authority, pressure or more demonstration of loyalty or demands may be regarded as non-institutional activities. As such, before any political activities begins, the individual should have same information, knowledge instruction and environment to treat the path of politics therefore before analysing non-institutional activities a limited probe has to be made how the respondent came to know about existing the politics. This can happen only when they come in touch with mass media or persons having such information.

It was observed through discussion that respondents know politics through news papers and radio. It is also observed that most of the Malas buy newspapers as compared to Madigas. This is understandable because the Malas have larger percentage of literate than the Madigas. In Mandapaka panchayath has installed the radio sets each and every corner of village and broadcast all important programmes. Thus this spectacle became more common and for substantial number of respondents.

4.4.2:- POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: NON INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITIES.

Non-institutional activities, have been divided into occasional and particular activities:

(A) OCCASIONAL ACTIVITIES:- This category includes activities like distribution of Pamphlets, leaflets etc. Most of the respondents said that they distributed pamphlets. It is quite significant for the Scheduled Castes of Mandapaka. Old people did not involve in these activities. Most of the younger people did take part in this political activity.

Another question was whether they have taken part in procession or demonstration. Out of all, 50 percent respondents said that they have taken part in either processions or demonstrations. These procession or demonstration were organised by Harijans themselves or by the Harijan Samithi which is working for the welfare of this community people in Mandapaka. They appear to be socially and politically active. Their major activities for organizing the processions or demonstrations are to generate unity among the Harijan to fight against the extremely low wages, to welcome a political leaders.
(B) PARTICULAR ACTIVITIES:- Such activities are part and parcel of all democratic systems. Generally, these activities move around political parties. Some of the important questions asked were, "Are you a member of any political party?". "Which party do you like most"?. "What are the reasons for your liking?". "What do you do for the party"? "Have you ever campaigned for a political party?". "Do you take active part in discussion?". "Which party in your opinion is most likely to uplift the Harijans?" etc.,. All these questions cited in connection with political parties show respondents participation in their activities.

A part of the questionnaire deals with relationship of the respondents with some political party it includes: Membership of a political party, Choice of a political party, Reasons for the choice, and, Second choice given to another political party. All most all respondents belong to some political party.

When asked to mention about the name of a political party to which the respondents belong half of them mentioned that they belonged to Congress (I), while the remaining half have mentioned "Telugu Desam" as their party. Reasons mentioned for choosing Congress (I) are, that it has initiated so many programmes for the upliftment of the "rural poor" and is a national party helping the Harijans. Some people mentioned "Indramma" (Indira Gandhi) was their God Mother and as a respect to her they like Congress party.

In order to know an alternate or second choice, the respondents were asked whether they like any other party in which they are not members, almost all who belong to Congress (I) party said that there is no other political party which they like.

As already mentioned above 50 percent of the respondents mentioned that they belong to "Telugu Desam". Through further discussion it was learnt that their "ANNA" (N.T.Ramaraao) is doing a lot for the upliftment of Harijans, it may be mentioned that most of the Malas belong to Congress (I) whereas the Madigas to "Telugu Desam". Some Malas were unhappy about Madigas for changing from Congress (I) to Telugu Desam. In order to get temporary benefits, it was learnt through discussions, "Telugu Desam" party is helping only Madigas by giving them house sites loans for construction etc, leaving behind Malas, as they did not cast their votes to them. Most of the respondent other than Scheduled Castes interviewed in the survey maintained that Congress party is backed and supported by Scheduled Castes.
After knowing about their choice for a political party, it was necessary to inquire about the activities which the respondents did for the political party of their choice: Type of activity they did for the party, collected money for the party, disclosing name of the party for which they did campaigning. Further enquiring about the type of the activity which they did for the political party of their choice. Most of the respondents said that they did general campaigning for the party, and not for a candidate. They went from village to village with loud speakers during the election days. Some respondents have also collected money for their party. An important question put to the respondents was "Have you attended the political meetings?" These were mainly related to the meetings organised by the political parties. Earlier the Scheduled Castes people never attended the meetings, but at present they are conscious of attending these meetings to gain some political knowledge. However, 50 percent did not attend political meetings, because they were afraid of attending those political meetings. They mostly went to listen to their leaders. Most of the respondents attended pre-election and post election meetings, organised by the political party to evaluate their performance during elections. Some respondents have attended them to hear their leaders speech. Moreover, they were not persuaded by anyone else. The bulk of respondents reached there at their own initiative.

Some discussion on political matters is also an indication of political participation. For this another important question was put to them, "Do you discuss political matters while at party meetings or at other places?". Most of them said that they discussed political matters regularly. This indicates that there is some political awareness growing among the members of the Scheduled Castes of Mandapaka. Since most of them are attached to the particular political party they talk on political matters and are becoming politically conscious. Some of them responded that they discuss political matters during pre-election period. While other said that they discuss only after the election. They talk about issues of election politics, merits and demerits of candidates, and decide whom to support. After the election they talk to evaluate the result of elections. It is observed through discussion that most of the respondents among Scheduled Castes know more about political parties existing in the state they were further asked to put forth to "Which party in your opinion can uplift the Scheduled Castes better?".
Most of the respondents said that, they pin their faith in Congress (I) party as it would uplift the condition of this community, some of them had shown their faith in the "Telugu Desam" party. In rural areas Communist party also has some influence, it supports labourers on minimum wages, and stands against their social and economic exploitation etc. These respondents said that C.P.I would uplift their condition. There are few who helplessly said that no party would ever uplift their condition. On the whole, it was observed that most of the Malas were strongly supporting Congress (I) while Madigas justified their choice in favour of "Telugu Desam".

Events selected for the study of voting behaviour displayed by the Scheduled Castes relate to 1952 to 1995. During this period, several Lok Sabha, Vidhan Sabha and some Panchayath elections have taken place. The Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha election have taken place regularly. But this is not true in the case of panchayath election. However, local panchayath elections are also important and provide an opportunity of active political participation. Though these elections are not held regularly and remain at the mercy of State Government, yet involvement of the Harijans in these elections does reflect that interest and quantum of participation. In practice in panchayath elections also the Scheduled Castes play an important role.

A brief analysis of various forms of political participation session undertaken by the Scheduled Castes of Mandapaka shows that they are more active in voting, general political interest participation in informal and formal, discussion and public meetings. Few politically mobile respondents could reach passive or active members of political parties or quasi political organisations, holding posts etc. They have been able to produce effective inside leadership which they never had it during the freedom movement. They continued to exercise their political-right of voting at the behests of upper castes. The number of voter among them is increasing at an alarming rate. Because of their political-mobility, they could benefit their communities at social-level also. Therefore, it can be stated that the present study does strongly support the proposition that political participation generated social-mobility among these Scheduled Castes of Mandapaka. Hypothesis reproduced earlier is true, as the Scheduled Castes does not remain disabled 'castes' and did change as 'class'.

121
4.5:- TOTAL FACTORS SCORE V/S SOCIAL MOBILITY.

As already mentioned earlier, the factors contributing to social mobility are welfare measures, urbanisation and industrialisation and political participation. It is hypothesised that greater the utilisation of welfare measures exposure to urbanisation and industrialisation, higher is the achievement of social mobility.

It is observed from the (Table 4.4) that there is a direct relationship between welfare measures, urbanisation and industrialisation and political participation and social mobility. For example, among 66 respondents that are lowly exposed to these factors 97 percent attained low social mobility. Only one single member, out of this group attained high social mobility. On the contrary when the data is compared with those that are highly exposed to the above mentioned factors it is interesting to find that 16 respondents have attained high social mobility. This shows that there is a correlation between welfare measures, urbanisation and industrialisation, political participation and social mobility. That means as the availability of welfare measures and exposure to urbanization and industrialization increases, social mobility also increases.

Thus, the hypothesis cited above is substantiated by the present data. There is a significant difference between Malas and Madigas with respect to utilization of welfare measures, level of exposure to urbanization and industrialization. The percentage of Malas exposed to low, medium and high to the above mentioned factors are 18, 11 and 77 respectively. Whereas the corresponding percentages of Madigas are found to be 38, 44 and 18 respectively. As mentioned earlier that these factors have a bearing on social mobility, the Madigas being lowly exposed attained low degree of social mobility whereas Malas availing high welfare measures, highly exposed to urbanisation and industrialisation attained high degree of social mobility.

The value of co-relation, co-efficient between respondents Total Welfare Scores and their level of social mobility for Malas and Madigas are .6428 and .6323 respectively and both are significant at one percent level. Thus, it proves that Malas and Madigas are more dynamic than Madigas.
Table 4.4: Respondents Total Factors Score and their Social Mobility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Factors</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(97.0)</td>
<td>(1.5)</td>
<td>(1.5)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(84.6)</td>
<td>(11.5)</td>
<td>(11.5)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(14.6)</td>
<td>(65.9)</td>
<td>(19.5)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(60.0)</td>
<td>(30.5)</td>
<td>(9.5)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation coefficients are calculated on the basis of individual scores.
Correlation coefficient Value is .6607 and is significant at .001 level.
Figures in the parenthesis represent percentages.
Table 4.4 A: Mala and Madiga respondents Total Factors Score and their Social mobility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utilization of Welfare Measures, Exposure to Urbanization and Industrialization</th>
<th>Mala</th>
<th>Madiga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>14 (77.8)</td>
<td>4 (22.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>18 (72.7)</td>
<td>2 (9.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>24 (33.8)</td>
<td>38 (53.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46 (46.0)</td>
<td>43 (43.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation coefficients are calculated on the basis of individual scores.
Correlation coefficient Value for Mala is 0.6428 and is significant at .001 level.
Correlation coefficient Value for Madiga is 0.6323 and is significant at .001 level.
Figures in the parenthesis represent percentages.