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STRUCTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF OCCUPATIONAL AND SPATIAL MOBILITY IN A SCHEDULED CASTE

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The social structure of Indian society is differentiated and graded hierarchically. The caste system, as the religio-social instrument, has provided the fundamental base upon which the rubric of this hierarchy has been devised. Any analysis of Indian society without taking caste into consideration is not complete as almost all the activities of socio-economic, political, educational and socio-cultural-revolve around the notion of caste (Parvathamma, 1984). The caste system has divided the whole population of the society into many hierarchically arranged categories, which are not only segregated from each other by many rules of commensality and social intercourse but are based on the notion of superiority and subordination: Individuals belonging to the most lowest category of this caste hierarchy have been treated as 'untouchables'. Being deprived economically, discriminated socially and disabled politically, these caste groups at the lowest level of hierarchy have been victim of constant oppression and perennial humiliation. From time to time these caste groups have been designated with a number of euphemisms such as 'untouchables', 'Dalits' or ' Harijans' etc. the latest being the 'scheduled Castes' as these groups have been included in the 'Fourteenth Schedule' of the Constitution of India. These scheduled castes account for about 15 per cent of the total population of the country. They are scattered all over the country and include hundreds of caste at various levels of socio-economic development. The only thing they share in common is abject and social disabilities.

The Indian caste system is a typical example of closed stratification system. Traditionally caste system has been usually rigid, birth ascribed and permitting no individual social mobility but nevertheless of the 'ranked aggregate of people'. Apart for determining the social status of individuals and the patterns of their interpersonal behavior, the caste system has also been instrumental in determining the occupation of its members. Like the caste system, the traditional structure of occupation have not been very common. This was reinforced by the hereditary nature of the occupational specialization within the caste system (Pande 1986). Every one of the large number of castes had an occupation which was its own. 'The search for an occupation other than that of one's own caste was not considered proper if not actually sinful' (Kroeber, 1930). In this context, it is believed that the caste system operated as a kind of transmission belt over which occupations of parents used to directly pass on to their sons. An individual in such a system, therefore, has no choice as far as the selection of occupation is

concerned.

At present the economic system of Indian society has been coming out of the grips of the subsistent agricultural economy and its corresponding social system of caste. The technological changes in the mode of production have been responsible for the transformation of this primordial economy from agricultural to industrial one. These changes have also been the major sources of changes in the inter and intra-caste structures because they tend to lift the caste from the grooves of agricultural economy. Weber (1948) observed, that "every technological repurcussion and economic transformation threatens stratification by caste and pushes the class situation in the foreground."

The rapidly increasing industrialization and urbanization have been pulling people from rural to urban areas (Prabhu, 1975). This movement of population, or the process of migration, in general and rural-urban migration in particular leads to occupational mobility which further results into social mobility (Pande, 1986). The migration from rural to urban areas makes it almost inevitable for migrants to take up careers or occupations different from those of their parents or caste. The diversity of labour in the urban areas provides migrants with an adequate range of choices of various occupations for those who are qualified and trained to take up these jobs, irrespective of their caste affiliations. As a result of better educational and training facilities available in the urban areas, members of some of the lower caste groups tend to acquire better occupational positions resulting in the shift from low-skilled and manual occupations of their forefathers to those of higher level occupations in an urban social structure. Thus spatial and occupational mobility generated a number of structural changes in the traditional caste system in general and among inter and intra-caste relations in particular.

In the light of the above discussion, the present paper is aimed to find out the changes that have taken or have been taking place in the intra-caste structure in the form of spatial and occupational mobility in scheduled caste of Western Uttar Pradesh. The paper also attempts to high-light the emergence of the elements of class system within the same caste group.

METHODOLOGY

The Jatavs form numerically the lowest and spatially the most wide spread 'Scheduled Caste' group not only in Uttar Pradesh but in the whole of northern India. They top in numerical strength and form the lowest ethnic group in forty two districts out of sixty four districts of the state. They form as much as 56 percent of the total scheduled caste population of the state.

The Jatav migrants in Dehradun form the universe for the present study, they have been taken for the purpose of present study, firstly, because

they form the largest chunk of Scheduled Castes population in the city and live in certain well defined localities forming what may be termed as an ethnic community having well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality, and secondly, most of them have left their traditional caste occupation i.e. working in leather and are engaged in a variety of other occupations such as Government services, lime and construction industry and petty trading etc. A sample of 300 respondents, has been randomly drawn from the migrant Jatav population of Dehradun. For the selection of respondents, the voter list of the area has been used as sampling frame because all the individuals included in the universe reside in certain well defined localities.

The data were collected on the various aspects of migration, occupational mobility and intra-caste relations with the help of a self administered questionnaire. To provide depth to inquiry of informal group discussion and quasi-participant observation techniques were used.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Migration from rural to urban areas is the result of a number of interrelated factors. Some economists and demographers have tried to explain the process of rural-urban migration in terms of push and pull on the basis of higher land-men ratio, unemployment or the under unemployment at the place of origin and the pull of higher wages and the opportunity for education and training at the place of destination (Rao 1986). The pull and push approach like the economic one assumes that it is only the poor and low paid in the rural areas that move out (Bose, 1965). Dehradun being the largest city in the region the educational and employment opportunities available here has been attracting people from far off places since long. The lime industry of Dehradun (now on the verge of closure as a result of ban on Quarrying' by the Supreme Court of India) has attracted a large number of Jatav population from the nearby districts of Bijnore. In pre-independence days this lime industry was solely owned and operated by the Jatav migrants from Bijnore as they had developed the technical knowledge and expertise in the field. Even today a large number of Jatav population is engaged in lime industry as skilled and unskilled workers.

Level of Education

The ample educational facilities available in the town and the facilities given to all Scheduled Castes in the field of education in the name of 'Protective Discrimination' motivated the Jatav population in Dehradun to acquire higher education. They have come to realise the importance of education as a pre-condition for higher level caste neutral jobs. The distribution of respondents according to their duration of migration to Dehradun and educational level is presented in Table NO.1. there is very high percentage of literacy among the respondents as only 11.00 % of the respondents are illiterate and 89.00 % are literate. Among the literate respondents 11.34% have studied only upto class fifth; 18.34% have passed

Table NO. 1: Distribution of Respondents according to their Education and Duration of Migration.

Duration of Migration (in Years)	Illiterate	Primary	Middle	Inter	Graduate	P.G.	Prof. Deg.	Total
0- 5	--	04	--	10	--	02	--	16
5- 10	--	07	17	06	14	06	--	50
10-15	02	04	12	05	22	14	07	66
15-20	03	02	14	10	09	18	11	67
20-25	07	04	08	08	04	15	--	46
25-30	09	10	03	02	03	04	--	31
30 +	12	03	01	04	01	03	--	24
Total	33	34	55	45	53	62	18	300

middle i. e. class 8th; 15.00% have attained education upto intermediate level; 11.67% are graduates and about one fifth of the total literate respondents i. e. 20.67% have received education upto post-graduate level. The remaining 6.00% have one or the other professional qualification as L.L.B. or Diploma in engineering. When the respondent's educational level is analysed on the basis of duration of their migration, the earlier migrants show a lesser inclination towards education. Most of them migrated to work as labourers in lime industry so neither they had the time nor desire to obtain education. The later migrants or the next generations of earlier migrants seems to be more interested in attaining higher education.

Urban areas provides new occupational outlets for individuals in contrast to the rural areas which have only a few occupations. Thus the process of migration or spatial mobility in general and from rural to urban migration in particular leads to occupational mobility. Traditionally the Jatavs have been working in leather from skinning to making and repairing of shoes. Along with their traditional caste occupation they have been working as landless agricultural labourers, sometimes even as bonded labour. The mechanization of agricultural operations has substantially reduced the demand of manual labour in the fields. This made the life of agricultural labourers difficult in the rural areas and pushed them towards urban areas in search of alternative employment. M.S.A. Rao (1986) has also observed that migration is considered to be a function of labour reallocation in response to market demands, so that demand and supply of labour are always in equilibrium. labour mobility occurs in direct response to expected wage differentials between rural and urban areas."

Present Occupation

The present occupational distribution of the respondents clearly reveals that they have been leaving their traditional caste occupation and have been moving towards more secular and prestigious occupations as shown in table no. 2.

Table NO. 2 Distribution of the respondents according to their Present Occupation

S.NO.	Present Occupation	Number	Percentage
1.	Professionals and Administrative	22	7.34
2.	Inspectional/ Supervisory	17	5.67
3.	Clerical	45	15.00
4.	Skilled Workers	62	20.67
5.	Self Employed	70	23.34
6.	Un-skilled Workers	67	22.34
7.	Traditional caste occupation	17	5.67

The table shows that only 17 (5.67 %) respondents are still engaged in their traditional caste occupation of making and repairing shoes. From the sample of 300 respondents there are 7.34percent engaged in various professional and administrative type of jobs, 5.67 % are engaged in inspectional and supervisory jobs; there are 15.00 % respondents who are engaged in clerical jobs in various government, semi-government and private organizations. There are 20.67 percent respondents who are skilled workers engaged in various industries especially lime and construction; 23.34 % of the respondents are self employed and engaged in petty trade and business, the remaining 22.34 % respondents are earning their livelihood by working as unskilled labourers in lime and construction industry. From this data on occupational background of the respondents it is clear that percentage of those who are engaged in unskilled type of jobs is still comparatively higher (22.34 %) than in other occupations.

Income and Class Position

The distribution of the respondents according to their monthly income is presented in Table No.3

Table NO.3 Distribution of respondents according to their Monthly Income

S.NO.	Income Groups	Number	Percentage
1.	0-500	45	15.00
2.	500-1000	108	36.00
3.	1000-1500	42	14.00
4.	1500-2000	65	21.67
5.	2000-2500	20	6.67
6.	2500-3000	12	4.00
7.	3000-Above	8	2.67
All groups		300	100.00

From the above data the average monthly income of the respondents comes out to be Rs. 1104/- which means that more than 51.00 per cent respondents have income lower than the average income.

For the purpose of analysis and determination of class position of the respondents the above mentioned income groups have been further clustered into four different economic classes. The distribution of respondents according to their class position have been presented in Table NO. 4.

Table NO. 4. Distribution of respondents according to their Class Position

S.NO.	Class position (monthly income)	Number of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Upper class (Rs. 3000/- and above)	08	2.67
2.	Upper-middle (Rs. 2000/- to Rs. 3000/-)	32	10.67
3.	Lower-middle (Rs. 1000/- to Rs. 2000/-)	107	35.67
4.	Lower class (0 - Rs. 1000/-)	153	51.00
All classes		300	100.00

Inter-generational Occupational Mobility

The shift from traditional caste based occupations has become a common phenomenon in the modern industrialized urban areas. The modern forces of change have made the entry of individuals possible in different occupations irrespective of their caste affiliations. The occupational structure of society has become open and meritocratic. An analysis of inter-generational occupational mobility in the present study clearly reveals the fact that the respondents have been constantly moving away from their traditionally caste based ritualistic occupations to new occupations based on secular sanctions. (c.f. Table NO. 5)

Table NO. 5: Inter-generational Occupational Mobility among the respondents.

Occupation	Generation			
	Grand Father (n=300)	Father (n=300)	Self (n=300)	Sons (n=47)
Professional/ Administrative	00.34	02.34	07.34	17.03
Inspectional/ Supervisory	01.00	03.00	05.67	29.79
Clerical	--	05.00	15.00	14.90
Skilled Workers	00.67	06.00	20.67	19.15
Self Employed	06.00	11.00	23.34	06.39
Un skilled Worker	18.00	14.00	22.34	12.77
Agri. Labourer	62.00	51.34	--	--
Traditional Caste Occupation	12.00	07.34	05.67	--

From the above table it is clear that only 0.34 % grand fathers and 2.34 % fathers were in professions or administrative jobs; 1.00 % grand fathers and 3.00 % fathers were in inspectional or supervisory jobs; 6.00 % grand fathers and 11.00 % fathers were self employed in petty trade and business. The highest percentage of grand fathers and fathers i.e. 62.00 % grand fathers and 51.34 % fathers were landless agricultural labourers in their native villages. 12.00 % grand fathers and 7.74 % fathers were engaged in their traditional caste occupation. In the generation of respondents and their sons no one of them is engaged as agricultural labourers; only 5.6 % of the respondents earn their livelihood by working in leather while no individual in

son's generation is engaged in their traditional caste occupation.

The occupational mobility and the resultant improvement in the economic status induces element of class system within the same caste. In the traditional Indian society class stratification used to synchronize with caste stratification. The upper classes of society were the upper castes and low caste shudras and out castes constituted the lower classes (Tara Bhai, 1987). The fast developing occupational mobility among the migrants has disturbed this traditional equilibrium and now the class stratification no more synchronizes with caste stratification. When caste and class cease to synchronize, inter class relations tend to prevail over intra-caste relations. Class orientation tends to replace caste orientation in social, educational and political interaction. In the present study the development or emergence of these class elements among the Jatav caste has been analysed on the basis of residential segregation and inter and intra-caste friendship relations.

Friendship Patterns

As far as the friendship patterns are concerned visits to friends place has been taken as one of the indicators. Table No. 6 shows the frequency of visits by respondents to their friends of other and their own caste. As far as the friends of other castes are concerned they are visited more by the respondents who are engaged in higher secular jobs with comparatively better economic status while the respondents engaged in unskilled and traditional caste occupation visit only the houses of friends belonging to their own caste. Out of 103 respondents who regularly visit the houses of friends belonging to other castes 19.42 % are professionals or engaged in administrative jobs; 14.57 % are in inspectional and supervisory jobs; 29.13 % each are engaged in clerical jobs and skilled jobs. The remaining 7.77 % are self employed as petty traders and businessmen. On the other hand out of 174 respondents who visits regularly to their friends of their own caste only 2.30 % are professionals and engaged in administrative jobs; 2.88 % are in inspectional and supervisory jobs; 7.48 % are in clerical jobs; 10.35 % are skilled workers while 28.74 % are self employed; 38.51 % are unskilled workers and the remaining 9.72 % are engaged in their traditional caste occupation. Almost all the respondents who are unskilled workers and engaged in their traditional caste occupation most regularly visit the friends of their own caste while 35.82 % unskilled workers and 82.36 % engaged in their traditional caste occupation don't have friendship circle outside their own caste. This clearly depicts that the social distance practices which used to characterise the inter-caste relations in traditional society tend to persist in the interclass relations within the same caste group.

Residential clustering or segregation in terms of race, caste, religion, language etc. has been a universal features of urban social structure. It is a reflection of ethnic solidarity. Jatavs in Dehradun represent a well defined social group residing in certain well demarcated localities. But the important phenomenon observed during the field works is that those respondents who

Table NO. 6: Distribution of respondents according to Frequency of their visits to Friends.

Occupation	Friends of other castes				Friends of their own Castes			
	R	O	N	T	R	O	N	T
Professional/ Administrative	20	02	-	22	04	17	01	22
Inspectional Supervisory	15	01	01	17	05	12	-	17
Clerical	30	10	05	45	13	28	04	45
Skilled Workers	30	30	02	62	18	44	-	62
Self Employed	08	53	09	70	50	17	03	70
Un skilled Worker	--	43	24	67	67	--	--	67
Traditional Caste Occupation	--	03	14	17	17	--	--	17
Total	103	142	55	300	174	118	08	300

R=Regular
N=Never
O=Occasional
T=Total

are engaged in higher level secular occupations and are engaged in higher level secular occupations and are economically well off have been moving out of these localities and are trying to settle down in different localities inhabited by the mixed population and not exclusively by their own caste. This clearly indicates that the respondents who are vertically moved up in the occupational hierarchy and are economically more prosperous than other members of their own caste, tend to maintain a distance from them and want to identify themselves with the persons of similar economic status irrespective of their castes. This reveals that when caste and class cease to synchronize class background tend to be the basis for neighbourhood relations in place of caste affiliations.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of foregoing analysis and discussion the following conclusions have emerged from the present study.

1. Spatial mobility or migration is one of the most important factor of occupational mobility. This is particularly true in case of rural to urban migration as the urban areas provides new occupational outlets for individuals in contrast to the rural areas which have only few occupations.
2. The occupational mobility among scheduled castes leads to improvement in economic status.

3. The economic disparities thus created within a caste group results in the emergence of elements of class system as the loyalties of these people shift their caste to their class. These tendencies are reflected in the social interaction among the members of the same caste.

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EDUCATION AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

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A. LALITHA

Education is an important institution in any modern or modernizing society. It has been studied from the perspectives of many different disciplines and the variations in its form and functioning have been described in the context of many countries and culture. With the view to bring about lasting improvement of a society it is felt imperative to develop its human resources at first. In this context education is regarded as the potential instrument for national development. It is through education that a nation transmits its heritage, recreates its culture, strengthens its economy and conserves its values. Education is a social instrument which functions as a vital agent of socio-cultural change. The entire culture including its values, norms, ideas, beliefs, skills and techniques in a word non-material and material both are transmitted through education from generation to generation. (Pandey 1988). The main function of the education has been to act as a caretaker and dispenser of certain cultural resources of society. Education communicates knowledge and shapes its values and acts as an agent for socialization. There are few studies, focusing the relationship between educational and cultural dimensions of social change. T.B. Naik (1969) pointed out that, education is in no doubt introducing cultural change in the Bhils of Madhya Pradesh. He concludes that there occurred changes in their dressing pattern, modes of living and economy. Similarly Suman Chandra (1989) in her study on education on the Munda Tribal community revealed that Christian Missionaries, by starting many schools, hospitals etc., brought changes among the people. She has concluded that the changes in material life due to education have been quite apparent. The use of furniture, umbrellas, bicycles has been found among the educated people. She also observed that the school going Munda tribal boys use modern dresses even if their parents wear traditional dresses. Vaikuntham (1982), found that, education exerted a favourable influence in changing the attitudes of both the rural and urban respondents of Muslim backward classes, non-muslim backward classes and scheduled castes towards social institutions like family, religion, marriage, caste, education, status of women and family planning.

The present paper is aimed to analyse the relationship between education and cultural transformation in a rural setting. The area chosen for this study is Tiruchirappalli District. According to the 1991 census data, the total rural population in India is 627,146,597. Tamil Nadu constitutes around 36,611,285 of the rural masses; among these the literates are