# STUDY ON THE SOCIAL MOBILITY OF THE RURAL SCHEDULED CASTE POPULATION IN ANDHRA PRADESH

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Social mobility among weaker sections is a challenging task in Andhra Pradesh. Scheduled caste (SCs, ex-untouchables) population in Andhra Pradesh state, as elsewhere in India, are backward. The present study in the two districts, Ananthapur and Krishna districts, deals with the SCs' pollution-purity scores and multidimensional social mobility scores across two generations – fathers and sons. The data consists of 580 households - 580 fathers and 580 sons. Ananthapur had more pollution issues, outside home, than Krishna districts. But at home, hindu castes of both districts had more pollution issues with SCs. The differences between SC fathers and sons in pollution-purity scores tables are not significant.

Among the two sub-communities, Madiga and Mala, mala had a little more socio-economic scores. Among the four occupational grade groups of SCs, the last 4<sup>th</sup> group had higher scores as it has protected govt employees. The remaining three groups had low and insecure family income. And the differences among occupational groups of fathers and sons are not significant as there is less deviation /mobility since six decades.

In spite of constitutional provisions to protect the rights of SCs with reservations and welfare programmes, since six decades, social mobility of rural SCs is not significant.

In India, economic growth of weaker sections has become a challenging task for the government, voluntary NGOs and the public. Population explosion and lack of formal family anti-poverty programmes (tribal, rural and slums) are bottle necks for the speedy economic growth, social mobility and equity. Social mobility studies measure social and economic changes across two generations (father and son) of the communities. Scheduled Castes (SCs) are one of the most backward communities, after scheduled tribes, in India. Studies of social mobility of SC community (ex-untouchables) measures i) caste pollution in relation to Hindu communities of the society and ii) social and economic change across SC parents and sons generations. SCs have constitutional provisions and reservations in legislation, skill training, employment and other socio-economic programmes. SCs have annual central and state sub-plans budgets since sixth plan (1980-85).

#### **Social Mobility**

Social mobility may be by an individual or by a group. Social mobility can be by motivation, speeches, and movement by leaders or by government programmes to eradicate inequality and for the social and economic growth in the society.

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Sorokin (1964: 11) defined social mobility as a social phenomenon which refers to a change or alteration in the status of an individual or a group. He classified mobility into horizontal and vertical. By vertical mobility he meant the relations involved in a transition of an individual or a group from one social stratum to another (p. 133). According to the dictionary of Sociology, "social mobility refers to the movement of individuals between different levels of the social mobility, usually defined occupationally (Abercromble *et al.* 1984).

The study of Srinivas (1952) on the Coorgs of Mysore state brought to light that caste is not static and there is scope for dynamic factors to play. Bailey (1958) and Cohn (1961) saw vertical mobility among the lower caste people and untouchables respectively.

Lipset and Zetterberg (1966) viewed occupation as the common indicator of stratification. Occupation indicates social setting, power, class, income, assets and opportunities, grouping or associations, consumption, etc. There may be individual or group mobility. Tumin (1981:88) mentioned that the study of social mobility corresponds to inter-generational mobility (father and son), family strata, education, and occupation.

Economists are concerned with the inheritance of inequality. When economic development regimes show a high degree of constancy over time as seen in Japan and England, the mobility is fluid and open. Educational attainment is a major factor for mobility in class mobility. Wealth is also essential for mobility but not always merit. The economic success stories are different in developed nations and developing nations. Social and economic change is highly restricted where personal recruitment is based on caste, sex and language without regard to merit (Erickson and Goldthorpe, 2002: 31-44).

Social mobility of scheduled castes leads to class structure and can dilute the caste structure. Studies on single approach (Warner, 1953, and Lipset and Bendix, 1959) argue that occupation is the sole criterion for determining one's social status. But supporters of social mobility say that single approach is inadequate to analyse social mobility (Heek, 1956, 129-143; Lipset and Zetterberg, 1956: 155-177). They say the theory of social mobility is based on multiple approach according to which mobility of a group or individual is determined by the shift to and ranking of multiple dimensions like literacy, occupation, monthly income, consumption pattern, use of consumer durables, social power, etc.

Hauser and Featherman (1977) proposed that in the capitalist, industrial and other societies the common structure of social mobility is occupational and socioeconomic status.

#### **Social Mobility in Western Nations**

Lipset and Bendix (1959: 165-167) mentioned that the overall pattern of social mobility appeared to be much the same in the industrial societies of various western

nations. Lieberson and S. Fuguilt GV (1967:197) mentioned that the Negroes are high in lower jobs and had less chances to be employed in higher jobs in the USA. It reveals that civil rights movement and protective legislation proved little help in joining the upper professional market.

Treiman and Larrell (1975) had shown that i) there is less inter-generational occupational mobility in Britain than in the USA which indicates that USA has broader economic base than Britain. There is stronger direct effect of fathers' occupational status on sons' education and occupational status. Jackson et al (1970) reported that catholics tend to come from lower occupational origin than the protestants.

An international mobility study of monority ethnic groups in the U.K. between 1971 and 1991 was made by Lucinda (2005). The ethnic groups were non-migrants. Indians (390) and Caribbeans (519). Initially, in 1971, they had low occupations but later showed upward mobility. The occupations noticed were service class, intermediate class and working class. Caribbeans are slow in upward mobility compared to other groups. But, in general, social mobility is at a faster rate in developed nations than in the developing nations.

#### Hindu Hierarchy and the Scheduled Caste

The Hindu caste hierarchy is divided into five main caste occupations. They are 1. Kshatriyas (rulers), 2. Brahmins (priests), 3. Vysyas, 4. Shudras (lower occupations) and 5. Panchamas (untouchables and polluting occupations). The Panchamas were first coined as Scheduled castes (SCs) in 1935 by the British Simon Commission and later by the Govt of India, after freedom. The untouchables eat beef, remove dead bodies, dig in burial grounds, remove skins of dead animals, tan and do leather work, making and beating leather drum, carrying night soil and sweeping community roads, offices and higher caste houses and do messenger work. Government listed them as scheduled castes who are called in different names across the nation. Scheduled castes are pollutants by Hindus if they touch the body of Hindus, their articles and enter their house premises.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (a harijan elite, and later concerted into Buddhist) hammered out constitutional provisions for the social and economic uplift of the depressed classes. He suggested political, educational and economic facilities for SCs (Vakil, 1985). Such movements helped to avoid polluting traditional occupations in the Maharashtra state.

Dalit is a Sanskrit word means depressed by pollution through touch. The word 'dalit' was spelled by Marathi people. Some SCs were converted into Christians.

#### **Movement of Dalits / Scheduled Castes**

There are some movements among the SCs protesting against the SCs pollution in different regions of India. SCs also took up non-pollutant jobs such as farm labour, and non-farm labour and formal education and govt jobs.

The famous Adi Dharmis movement initiated by Mangoo Ram during the 1920s mobilised a majority of chamars of the Daoba region of Punjab and played an important role in changing their social status and identity (Juergensmeyer, 1988). Dalits have been organising themselves in liberation movements from 1920s in Maharashtra, Adi-Andhra movement, Adi Dravida movement of Tamil Nadu, and Adi-Karnataka movement created a struggle history of their own during this period against caste system (Lal, 2003: 232).

There is Madiga Rights Porata Samithi (MRPS, 1994) in Andhra Pradesh is being led by Manda Krishna Madiga which claims separate reservations over mala sub-SC caste. MRPS claims mala sub-SC caste getting more reservations than madiga sub-SC group.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (writer of Indian constitution, Bharatratna awardee and author of many books) made speeches to motivate Scheduled caste population to change through formal education and non-caste occupation. These speeches made harijans to great movements in Maharashtra state.

#### Inter-generational Social Mobility in India

Jangams or Bahurupias are semi-nomadic. In this urban data, Hyderabad twin cities, 93% of the jangams live in BPL status. There is 60% illiteracy among the respondents. 33% of them are only literate. 70% respondents are in non-traditional unskilled urban occupations. They get irregular daily income. 91% fathers have caste occupations. Social mobility is restricted for fathers and sons due to illiteracy and unskilled work in the urban new economy. Only 7 respondents have govt jobs. Morbidity and mortality are high among them. The data was collected in 1991 but the economic status is not good even now, except some housing. There are no formal programmes to improve the living standards of poor jangams (Eswaraiah, 2002).

Nijhawan (1969) showed that inter-generational occupational mobility among the sons of agricultural labour and tenants. The mobile SCs took the reference people in the society but sometimes failed to create social mobility (Mandelbaum, 1972).

Saberwal (1973: 243-259) observed Balmikis (Scavengers) and Adi Dharmis (shoemakers) became leather workers, entrepreneurs, contractors, teachers, farmers and bureaucrats in the Modelpur town of Punjab.

Lapoint and Lapoint (1985) studied social mobility of Jatavs of a village in the Meerut district (UP). The study pointed out that industrial and urban growth in the surrounding Meerut and Delhi cities had created occupational change. Most Jatavs took jobs outside the village.

Dahiwale (1988:33) in a study of SCs in the Kolhapur city, stated that at the national level social mobility is influenced by (i) persuasion of traditional activity (ii) education and social mobility, (iii) impact of industrial and urban growth,

(iv) legislative and govt welfare measures, (v) aspirations to improve studies, and (vi) different mobility patterns.

The respondents of socio-economic background of SC families could adopt mobility. But the families who have no socio-economic background are in non-mobile status The data consists 200 SC respondents. (Dahiwale, 1988).

In a study of SCs in the Kanpur city (240 families), social mobility relates to the status of a person, opportunities and resources. Social mobility has its stigma among SCs even though there is secular and economic progress. A mobile person (marginal) may be accepted by the reference group even when it results into conflict between the marginals and their referents. Within the framework of multi-dimensions of social mobility almost all the SC respondents (98.7%) in the Kanpur city had upward mobility. The respondents have higher mobility scores (23.2) than the fathers (8.1) (Nandu Ram, 1988: 111-121).

#### **Studies on Pollution**

The backwardess and discrimination against SCs were noticed in the surveys of states across India. The surveys were conducted in the 11 states, 565 villages, and 42 regions. The dalits do not see untouchability as a fast fading remnant of our feudal past, but was flexible part of our contemporary reality which was becoming part of the Indian version of capitalism. Some important findings are: 1. existence of untouchability in 80% of survey villages, 2. universal residential segregation of dalits and discrimination in the market. The incidence of untouchability in this study was found to be the lowest in the Kerala and Punjab states. The authors note that all dalits do not experience untouchability to the same degree and those engaged in unclean occupations are poor manual labour who suffer the worst of these discriminatory practices. The authors finally see increased i) public awareness, ii) assertion of dalits and iii) an active /vigilant state are three necessicities to challenge untouchability in rural India (Shah *et al.* 2006).

Similar views were expressed by the sample survey of SCs of nine states, UP, TN, Kerala, Rajasthan and Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Bihar conducted by the National Commission on SCs and STs on (1990 and cited in LAI 2003: 213).

#### Social Mobility among SCs in the Present Study

AP state has 59 SC sub-castes but the major sub-castes are madiga and mala. Malas have slight upper hand in education and govt jobs than madiga.

The scheduled caste (SCs) consists of 16.2% of total state population (rural -18.4% and urban-10.2%) of Andhra Pradesh state . The caste pollution issue of scheduled caste continues in the villages of the state, even after 64 years of freedom. 83% of total state SC population live in rural areas in the state. (2001). The AP state consists of 7.62 crore population. SC population of the state consists 1.24 crore.

The present study deals with the social mobility pattern (caste pollution and social and economic change across two generations – fathers and sons) among the scheduled castes of Ananthapur (drought, Rayalaseema region) and Krishna (irrigated, Coastal region) districts. The third AP state region, Telangana also follow pollution stigma by the Hindu population but this region is not studied here now.

#### **Objectives of the Present Study**

The general objective of the study is to know the social mobility and social status of rural scheduled caste population in Andhra Pradesh, especially, in Ananthapur and Krishna districts across two generations, fathers and sons.

#### Specific Objectives of the Study

- 1. To know the extent of untouchability against rural scheduled castes practised by the non-scheduled castes among parents and their sons, i.e. caste mobility (pollution-purity issues).
- 2. To know the extent of mobility in education, occupation, assets, monthly income and use of consumer goods among parents and their sons (social mobility) and
- 3. To analyse the reactions for the low and high social mobility in the two districts

#### Methodology

Some mandals were selected at random in each district and villages were selected from each mandal based on the geographical distribution –1. Ananthapur district – 16 mandals, 32 villages and 320 households and 2. Krishna district – 13 mandals, 26 villages and 260 households. In the two districts, 580 households were covered (table 1) – remote villages (290) and roadside villages (290) (table 1). The data on 397 madiga and 183 mala households was collected (table 2). The data was collected during 2005-06.

The SC households in each village are enumerated and 10 households are selected from each village by stratified systematic sampling. In each mandal 20 households were selected for data collection. The stratification of SC households was done by dividing households into two broad groups – madigas and malas. A semi-structured pre-tested schedule for each selected households was canvassed for the respondent (eldest son) and father. The son should have a job period of more than five years and married.

There was untouchability in the Krishna district 50 years back. But now there is no untouchability in the public. But SC persons are allowed in to the house rarely for pollution reasons in the villages. In the Ananthapur district, many villages follow pollution stigma by the hindu persons in public, even now in villages, at the

hotel, barber shop, water taking, community wells, temple entry, community meetings and community feast.

The methodology adopted for this study was multidimensional approach and the conventional method (father's and son's occupations) for the measurement of social mobility. The variables included for this study are education, occupation, assets, housing, income, consumer durables and social power as adopted by Nandu Ram (Nandu Ram, 1995: 178-196). The study has also adopted the methodologies of Homan's Congruency theory (1962) and Merton's theory of Reference Group (1968).

#### **Data Analysis**

#### 1. Pollution - Purity Analysis

The Pollution-purity score (pp score) is calculated by the help of reference groups (Brahmins, Vysyas, peasants, other local non-SCs). The Scheduled Caste mobility (pollution- purity score) points scale (List 1) is 23. The socio-economic mobility (social mobility score - List 2) is 39. There is little scope to increase these two scales in these rural areas.

The terms, pollution and purity is coined by the ritual castes (Brahmins and Vysyas- non-SC - reference groups) of the Hindu community which was communicated to the other communities of Hindu such as ruling caste (kshatriyas), peasants and other occupational backward castes. Pollution is a community and social sentiment. This is a pollution issue but is diluting since 1947 in many local areas as seen in the above studies but not wiped out in India, in spite of, constitutional provisions.

Pollution to the non-SC (Hindu hierarchy castes) is caused by the touch of SCs. If there is pollution by the touch of SC to non-SC, it is negative (N), if the service /interaction is accepted with some conditions it is partially accepted (PA). If the touch /interaction is totally accepted by Non-SCs it is totally positive (TP).

In the SC-non-SC interaction (two districts data combined), parents' generation showed high negative PP score (21.0 average) and a little score is recorded on partial acceptance (2.0) and no score seen in the total positive. This is due to non-SCs avoiding SCs body touch and SCs materials and vice versa. Only two scores, namely, 1.walking on non-SC streets and 2.SC children attending schools were partially accepted (PA- with some restrictions) during the parents' period. But, in the sons' period, more change is seen in scoring towards secularity and modernisation. In the case of sons, after 60 years, the pollution score was reduced to 6.5 (negative), PA increased to 7.0 and the score on the totally positive were increased to 9.5 (table 3). Totally positive was nil in the parents' period. The difference in scores between fathers and sons is not significant.

Scores increased in the partially accepted category (PA) where some flexibility was made in some interactions such as (1) some washermen accepting SC clothes

or accepting clothes for ironing when the washed clothes are given, (2) accepting visits to the temple by SCs from a distance, (3) visits to the SC functions by non-SCs with gifts without eating in the functions, (4) some barbers accepting SCs hair cutting, (5) some higher caste people accepting SC children to sit in the school class room, (6) SCs allowed in the village meetings at one corner, (7) some village hotels accepting to give tea and tiffin in leaves and plastic cups, etc.

There is a large positive change in sons' period over fathers' which will accelerate SC-non-SC participation pattern, reduce tensions, discrimination and deprivation. And the score corresponds with the community sentiment. In this district combined data, a larger positive scores were seen in the data of Krishna district than in the Ananthapur which will be observed in later tables.

But in the Ananthapur district, the situation is more rigid. Parents' generation showed optimum negative score (21.0) with a little PA score. In the sons generation, negative score was reduced to 10 but increased in the PA score (11.0) and a little push was made in the TA score (2.0). Among the sons' generation more secularity is seen (table 4). The difference in scores between fathers and sons is not significant.

In the Krishna district, while the score is little positive in the parents' generation except PA score (2.0), TP score is nil. In the sons' period, there is massive jump of scores (since 50 years) to the TP (17.0). Only some scores are left in the N and PA category. This is due to partial acceptance by the local higher castes such as (1) entry into non-SC house, (2) attending community gathering and SC functions, (3) beef eating, (4) drum beating, (5) attending burial ground works, etc. (table 5). The difference between fathers and sons is seen but not significant.

Non-SCs, Madiga and Mala sub-castes have common sentiments on pollution. In the data of two districts, the two sub-castes have 13.6 score as negative, 4.5 score as partially accepted and 4.9 as totally accepted. There is some transition in secularity. There is no much difference in scores mobility between madiga and malas (table 6). The difference in scores between fathers and sons is not significant.

In the data of roadside and remote villages mobility, there is no much difference (table 7).

In these two sub-castes, the cultural issues in relation to non-SCs are same. The difference in scores between fathers and sons is not significant.

The above data shows more secular changes are seen in the Krishna district than the Ananthapur district. There may be pollution-purity complications in other districts of the AP state. In future, we hope the negative scores of SCs will change to positive scores (secular scores) due to modernisation but it depends on the speed of govt, public sector and private sector employment.

Advancement in positive score or secular change can be possible across the districts among the SCs by awareness programmes on untouchability, secularity, implementation of govt policies and programmes and peace through the constitutional provisions, welfare measures, health and medical care, education,

skill training, subsidies, bank credit, and employment for the SCs (govt and self-employment). Programme implementation procedures for the SCs can be verified from time to time at the field level. Involvement of voluntary NGOs is essential in this aspect.

But there are *restrictions* for SCs manual jobs (in both districts- Ananthapur and Krishna) to work in the houses and shops of non-SCs (reference groups – higher castes - both the districts) as SC maid servants and male servants to work in the shops and homes touching utensils, clothes, entering cooking room, bed room and room of worship/ cash room for works. This had prevented many jobs to the SCs worth wages, Rs 2,000 to 5,000 p.m. in the informal sector. The non-SC owners of houses and establishment mentioned that SC workers cannot be allowed to work in their houses and establishment except at some peripheral level jobs such as farm labour, rickshaw and auto pullers, hamalis, and some urban secular jobs at the market. This shows *status marginality, constraints and status anxiety* for the SCs.

**2. Social Mobility Analysis:** The eldest sons who have more than 5 years occupations are recorded as second generation respondents.

People working in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> categories get higher income than the Ist and 2<sup>nd</sup> category. In the data of districts combined (table 8 & 9), a majority of fathers' generation (82.6%) is engaged in leather work cum agriculture labour (occupational category 1). They may have some piece of farm land but their main annual income source is agriculture labour. A few fathers are engaged in 2<sup>nd</sup> category (6.6%), 3<sup>rd</sup> (3.1%) and 4<sup>th</sup> category (7.7%). The 4<sup>th</sup> category gives highest monthly income which shows high mobility score who had govt or public sector protected jobs. There is some improvement of jobs among sons than fathers. Sons' frequency is low in the occupation category 1 (53.5%), but the frequency is increasing in the categories 2nd (14.8%), 3rd (20.0) and 4th (11.7%). The variations across occupations by fathers and sons are not statistically significant. Many sons have higher scores at the starting but may be less than fathers' score. But the sons have future expectations of increasing scores than fathers as they expect better occupational career in future.

The total district-wise mobility scores of fathers and sons are: Ananthapur district: Fathers: 10.9 Sons:10.2 Krishna district: Fa:11.3 So:11.5. Scores in the Krishna are higher than Ananthapur. This shows sons in the latter district have more mobility scores than the former district (Table 10 & 15).

The data on tables (10-19) indicates that there is general trend of increasing scores in the higher occupational categories, the lowest score being category 1. The fathers are matured in occupation and income and so they have high scores. But sons take, usually, higher occupational category (3rd and 4<sup>th</sup>). But the such low scores for some fathers and sons cannot increase social mobility for the whole community of a village.

#### **Summary and Conclusion**

Social mobility among weaker sections is a challenging task in Andhra Pradesh. Scheduled caste (SCs, ex-untouchables) population in Andhra Pradesh state, as elsewhere in India, are backward. Their population is 16.2% in the state. In this state, rural SCs had the stigma of pollution by touch with Hindu castes. The present study in the two districts, Ananthapur and Krishna districts, deals with the SCs' pollution-purity issues and multidimensional social mobility across two generations – fathers and sons. Ananthapur had more pollution issues, outside home, than Krishna districts. But at home, hindu castes of both districts had more pollution issues. The differences between fathers and sons in pollution-purity scores tables are not significant.

Among the two sub-communities, Madiga and Mala, mala had a little more socio-economic scores. Among the four occupational grade groups, the last 4<sup>th</sup> group had higher scores as it has protected govt employees. The remaining three groups had low and insecure family income. And the differences among occupational groups of fathers and sons are not significant as there is less deviation /mobility since six decades.

In spite of constitutional provisions to protect the rights of SCs with reservations and welfare programmes, since six decades, social mobility of rural SCs is not significant. SC sub-plan was started in the 6th Five year plan. It is unfortunate a large such fund was diverted by the state govt (Suryaa, 26th March 2012, p 5 (daily). The govt needs more stronger policies, programmes and SC sub-plan budget to fulfill the aspirations of depressed Scheduled castes. It needs better fieldwork, budget and local resources to attack family poverty. Diversion of annual SC sub-plan budget for non-SC purposes should be stopped. No doubt, youth are more change prone.

Only a few persons got government jobs. Some piece-meal programmes for SCs cannot provide livelihood security such as low-cost housing, distribution of small surplus land, white ration cards and now the MNREG. They need permanent daily wages, Rs 200/day. Piece-meal programmes cannot increase the living standards of SC population. They need integrated family anti-poverty programmes for sustainable social mobility in the present and future SC generations. In the due course of modernisation, SC pollution sentiment will disappear. We need transparent monthly performance reports (MPRs) from the welfare departments.

TABLE 1: COVERAGE OF DATA FOR THE STUDY

	District	No of	No of Villages/ families			Total	
	Mandals	RmV	HH	RsV	HH	HH	
1.	Ananthapur	16	16	160	16	160	320
2.	Krishna	13	13	130	13	130	260
	Total	29	29	290	29	290	580

Rmv: Remote villages located at > 5 km from the bus road

Rsv: Bus route/ Roadside village

TABLE 2: SC HOUSEHOLDS BY SUB-CASTES AND LOCATION

District	trict Remote		Road	Roadside Tota			
	MD	ML	MD	ML	НН		
Ananthapur	135	26	135	24	320		
Krishna	75	56	52	77	260		
Total HH	210	82	187	101	580		

SC Subcastes : MD: Madiga ML: Mala

TABLE 3: SC- NON SC PP SCORE – DISTRICTS COMBINED (TOTAL SCORES : 23 PER PARENT/ SON) N= 1160

SC-Non SC interaction- PP score								
Persons		gative N)		rtially oted (PA)		otally ive (TP)		Total Score
	No	Score	No	Score	No	Score	NO	
Father	530	21.0	50	2.0	-	-	580	23.0
Sons	177	6.5	164	7.0	239	9.5	580	23.0
Total	707	13.8	214	4.5	239	4.7	1160	23.0

X = 1.2, df 1, Non-significant

TABLE 4: SC- NON SC PP SCORE – ANANTHAPUR DISTRICT (TOTAL SCORES : 23 PER PARENT/ SON) N= 640 SC-Non SC interaction- PP score

Persons	Persons Negative (N)			rtially oted (PA)	Totally positive (TP)		Total		
	No	score	No	score	No	Score	No	score	
Father	292	21.0	28	2.0	-	-	320	23.0	
Son	139	10.0	153	11.0	28	2.0	320	23.0	
Total	431	15.5	181	6.5	28	1.0	640	23.0	

<sup>\*</sup>Maximum PP score assigned for each respondent is 23. The tabulated score is average score of total respondents (father or son).

X = 1.4, df 1, Non-significant

TABLE 5: SC- NON SC PP SCORE – KRISHNA DISTRICT (TOTAL SCORES : 23 PER PARENT/ SON) N= 520

SC-Non SC interaction- PP score								
Persons		gative N)		rtially oted (PA)		tally ve (TP)		Total
	No	score	No	score	No	score	No	score
Father	237	21.0	23	2.0			260	23.0
Son	45	4.0	23	2.0	192	17.0	260	23.0
Total	282	12.5	46	2.0	192	8.5	520	23.0

<sup>\*</sup>Maximum PP score assigned for each respondent is 23. The tabulated score is average score of total respondents (father or son).

X = 0.6, df 1, Non-significant

### TABLE 6: SC- NON SC PP SCORE – MADIGA & MALA (TOTAL SCORES : 23 PER PARENT/ SON) N= 1160 DISTRICTS COMBINED

SC-Non SC interaction- PP score								
Sub-caste	_	gative N)		rtially oted (PA)		tally ive (TP)		Total
	No	score	No	score	No	score	No	score
Madiga	484	14.0	156	4.5	154	4.5	794	23.0
Mala	210	13.2	70	4.4	86	5.4	366	23.0
Total	694	13.6	226	4.5	240	4.9	1160	23.0

<sup>\*</sup>Maximum PP score assigned for each respondent is 23. The tabulated score is average score of total respondents (father or son). X = 0.6, df 2, Non significant

TABLE 7: SC- NON SC PP SCORE – REMOTE & ROADSIDE (TOTAL SCORES : 23 PER PARENT/ SON) N= 1160 DISTRICTS COMBINED

SC-Non SC interaction- PP score								
Sub-caste	Nes	gative	Pa	rtially	To	tally		
	(	N)	ассер	oted (PA)	positi	ve (TP)		Total
	No	score	No	score	No	score	No	score
Remote	360	14.0	115	4.5	115	4.5	580	23.0
Roadside	330	13.2	111	4.4	135	5.4	580	23.0
Total	686	13.6	226	4.5	240	4.9	1160	23.0

X = 0.017, df 2, Non significant

TABLE 8: OCCUPATIONS OF SCHEDULED CASTES – PARENTS AND SONS (DISTRICTS COMBINED)

Occupation	No of	%	No of	%
Category	Fathers		sons	
1	479	82.6	310	53.5
2	38	6.6	86	14.8
3	18	3.1	116	20.0
4	45	7.7	68	11.7
Total	580	100.0	580	100.0

### TABLE 9: OCCUPATION CATEGORY VERSUS S M SCORES (DISTRICTS COMBINED) NO OF RESPONDENTS : 580

Occupation	Fati	hers	so	ns	Score
Category	No	score	No	score	Variance
		Social mobility sc	ores		
1	479	6.9	310	8.6	1.7
2	38	10.8	86	10.7	-0.1
3	18	10.8	116	11.2	0.4
4	45	16.0	68	12.8	-3.2
Total	580	11.1	580	10.8	-1.2

Note: The social mobility score: The SM score of father/son Divided by Number of fathers/sons. The sons had more future prospects of increasing scores.

#### TABLE 10: OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – ANANTHAPUR DIST NO OF RESPONDENTS : 320

Occupation	Father	Sons	Variance
Category			
1	6.2	8.1	1.9
2	10.0	9.6	0.4
3	8.7	9.0	0.3
4	19.0	14.1	- 4.9
Total	10.9	10.2	- 2.3

### TABLE 11: OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – ANANTHAPUR DIST MADIGA N=270+270

Occupation Category	Father	Sons	Variance
1	6.5	7.9	1.4
2	9.7	10.2	0.5
3	9.0	8.8	-0.2
4	18.5	14.1	- 4.4
Total	10.9	10.2	- 2.7

#### TABLE 12 OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – ANANTHAPUR DIST MALA N= 50 + 50

Occupation Category	Father	Sons	Variance
1	6.6	8.5	1.9
2	9.5	10.5	1.0
3	8.9	9.5	0.6
4	20.0	14.7	- 5.3
Total	11.3	10.8	- 1.8

#### TABLE 13: OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – ANANTHAPUR DIST REMOTE VILLAGES, NO OF RESPONDENTS : 160 + 160

Occupation Category	Fathers Score	Sons Score	score variance	
1	6.5	8.1	1.9	
2	10.9	9.5	-1.4	
3	9.1	9.5	0.4	
4	18.0	14.1	-3.9	
Total	11.1	10.3	-3.0	

## TABLE 14: OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – ANANTHAPUR DIST ROADSIDE VILLAGES, NO OF RESPONDENTS : 160 + 160

Occupation Category	Father	Sons	Variance	
1	6.8	8.5	1.7	
2	10.5	9.6	-0.9	
3	8.7	9.5	0.8	
4	17.0	13.5	-3.5	
Total	10.7	10.2	-1.9	

#### TABLE 15: OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – KRISHNA DIST NO OF RESPONDENTS = 260 + 260

Occupation	Father	Sons	Variance
Category			
1	7.7	9.1	1.4
2	11.7	11.9	0.2
3	12.9	13.5	0.6
4	13.0	11.5	- 1.5
Total	11.3	11.5	0.7

#### TABLE 16: OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – KRISHNA DIST MADIGA N= 127 + 127

Occupation Category	Father	Sons	Variance
1	8.1	8.9	0.8
2	10.4	13.2	2.8
3	11.7	14.7	3.0
4	13.0	11.5	-1.5
Total	10.8	12.1	5.1

#### TABLE 17: OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – KRISHNA DIST MALA N= 133 + 133

Occupation Category	Father	Sons	Score variance
1	7.7	9.7	2.0
2	11.9	11.6	-0.3
3	13.4	12.9	-0.5
4	13.5	12.5	-1.0
Total	11.6	11.7	0.2

#### TABLE 18: OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – KRISHNA DIST REMOTE VILLAGES, NO OF RESPONDENTS :130 + 130

Occupation Category	Father	Sons	Variance	
1	7.9	9.1	1.2	
2	11.9	9.1	- 2.8	
3	12.1	12.4	0.3	
4	13.0	11.1	1.9	
Total	11.2	10.4	0.1	

#### TABLE 19: OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY SCORES SCHEDULED CASTES – KRISHNA DIST ROADSIDE VILLAGES, NO OF RESPONDENTS : 130 + 130

Occupation Category	Father	Sons	Variance
1	7.8	9.5	1.4
2	12.1	13.1	1.1
3	13.5	13.9	0.4
4	12.9	12.0	- 0.9
Total	11.6	12.1	2.0

#### APPENDIX

The data was assigned a score for tabulation for each response.

For example:

1. Entry into the higher caste street by a SC person:

Score

No: not allowed (Negative): score N

Yes: Allowed (positive): score: A (accepted)

Partial: sometimes walks in the street: partial accepted (PA)

Similarly scores for SC entry into non-SC house, community gathering, community feast, temple entry, marriage, barber and washerman service, school entry, touching non-SC body, taking meals in the non-SC house, water taking, sweeping, digging burial ground, drum beat, leather work, beef eating, night soil carrying, work as a messenger and child labour at non-SC house.

The total scores: 23
Score for education:

Scores for Illiterate: 0 literacy/ primary: 1 secondary: 2 Intermediate: 3 Degree and above

: 4

<u>Scores for occupation</u>: Category 1: unskilled

Leather work, digging pits in burial ground, removing dead bodies, messenger work, bonded labour, farm labour, non-farm labour, tenant, agriculture, etc.

Category 2 low-skilled

Stone worker, hamali, stone polishing, painter, blacksmith, mill worker, rickshaw puller, brick worker, floor polish, sweeper, woodcutter,etc.

Category 3 semi-skilled

Beldar, tailor, weaver, driver, electrician, welder, factory worker, ITI technician, vehicle mechanic, lathe machine worker, plumber, carpenter, business, hotel, sentring worker, TV cable work, contractor, other private works, etc.

4.category: Skilled/ Organised jobs/ protected jobs

Skilled/ govt/ govt aided/ govt pensioner/ public sector employee

Income / month score

Category: 1: upto Rs 3000; cat: 2.3001-8000

3. Above Rs 8000

Housing and land assets and consumer durables

_								
Kucha		semikuch	ıa,	pucca	Ration ca	ard	electr	latrine
Score: 1	l	2		3	1		1	1
Cooking	gas	furniture	cot	mosquito Net	)	radio/ tap recorder	pe	TV
Score	1	1	1	1		1		1
Cycle	mop	ed/ motor	cycle	phone	LIC	dairy	sheep &	goat
1	1			1	1	1	1	
Bulls	cart	bank A/c		clock/wa	itch	fan	almarah	
1	1	1		1		1	1	
Pachayat membership		Membership in The PACs/ school Mandal/ Block committee member						
1				1				
Agri lan	d	Irrig land	l	Total sec	ores: 39			
-		_		a .				

Grand total scores = 23+39=62

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