UNIT 30 SOCIAL MOBILITY IN CASTE AND CLASS

Structure

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30.0 OBJECTIVES

- to outline the processes and factors that influence mobility in caste;
- to describe the nature of mobility in class and the factors influencing it; and
- to highlight the factors influencing class mobility in India.

30.1 INTRODUCTION

Sorokin has made pioneering contribution to the analysis and study of social mobility and has contributed to conceptualization, types and channelization of it. He differentiated between societies that are 'closed' rigid, immobile and impenetrable and those that are 'open', plastic, penetrable or mobile, the nature of stratification has a bearing on the nature of mobility while caste systems is often associated with 'closed society' where avenues for mobility rare, restricted and few. Classes are found in 'open' societies' which often-ample opportunities for mobility through achievement. It is important to investigate into the nature of mobility in caste and class to find out how far they confirm to the generalization mentioned by Sorokin.

30.2 MOBILITY IN CASTE

While the general impression has been that caste is a 'closed' system of stratification's, yet in reality it is far from true. No society is static and even in the traditional set up where ascription was the prime determinant of one's ritual and occupational standing, access to rewards and resources and social mobility both upward and downward was not totally absent.

Social mobility in the caste system is evident in the increasing discrepancy between caste and occupations, withering away of jajmani obligations, the rigidity regarding purity and pollution and acceptance of secular lifestyle. In the olden days, Srinivas points out, there were two major sources of mobility. First was the fluidity of the political system, which made it feasible for new castes to assume the status of Kshatriyas and exercise power. Second was the availability of marginal land which could be brought under cultivation. As a consequence of these two available routes to upward mobility, leaders from dominant castes such as Reddis, Marathas could seize political power and claim Kshatriyas status. The medieval Pala dynasty of Bengal was Shudra in origin. The Patridars of Gujarat originated as peasant caste. When the leader of a dominant caste escalated the rank of raja or king, it became a source of mobility for the other members and this was strengthened by adoption of practices and life styles of the upper castes.

30.2.1 Level of Mobility

Mobility has taken place at the level of individual, family and group. Sharma has made a careful analysis of these levels of mobility.

i) **Mobility of an Individual within a family:** Some individuals even though of low caste, may have better status and prestige compared to other members of their family. This may be on account of one's personality traits such as integrity, honesty, acquisition of education and other achievements. Similarly an individual of higher may lose his position on account of misdeeds and slothful habits. This may result in downward mobility for the individual. The individual mobility is therefore a consequence of the individual's capabilities or lack of it and hence does not influence the prestige of the caste and is least corporate in nature.

ii) **Mobility of a minority of families within a caste:** This kind of mobility is linked to socio-economic and political aspects of the families. The improvement in status could be result of acquisition of land and education which is further reiterated by emulating the practices of higher caste with regard to dress, lifestyle and rituals. Mobility of this type is not cooperate in nature and can be viewed as **'horizontal mobility'** rather than **'vertical mobility'** which bridges the gap between status distinctions. Burton Stein points out that this trend was predominant in medieval period.

iii) **Mobility of a majority of family or group:** This kind of mobility is 'corporate' in nature. It involves collective state at prestige, honour, status and is therefore marked by changes in socio-cultural practices regarding purity and pollution. Certain castes improve their positions by discarding practices regarded impure and degrading. Sanskritization was the chief process which helped these castes to move up in hierarchy and legitimize their claim to the upward mobility.

30.3 SANSKRITIZATION AND WESTERNIZATION

There are several features and processes of mobility. We now turn to these.

30.3.1 Sanskritization

M.N. Srinivas formulated and contributed immensely to the concept of Sanskritization as a process of mobility in caste. He refers to Sanskritization as a "process by which a now Hindu caste or tribal or other groups, changes its customs, ritual ideology and way of life in direction of a high and frequently 'twice born' castes" (Srinivas 1966) Sanskritization has been prevalent throughout history and has assumed various forms. It has been used as mechanism to bridge the gap between secular and ritual rank. Whenever a caste achieved secular power it tried to legitimise its status by acquiring traditional symbols of high castes by adopting their customs, rituals.

Beliefs and ideas such as vegetarianism and teetotalism. Besides, they tried to obtain the services of Brahmin priests, visited pilgrimage centres and acquired knowledge of sacred texts.

The census recording was considered an excellent source of making claims to higher status. This claim according to Srinivas was upgraded in subsequent operations. For example if in one census the caste claimed to by Vaishya, in the subsequent operations it would lay claim to Brahmin or Kshatriya. This attempt was followed by attempts made by the castes to emulate the lifestyle of the respective caste they laid claim to. The status attributes of highly ranked warrior ruler category i.e. Kshatriya and the Brahmin served as model or most upwardly mobile groups.

Another very significant pattern of Sanskritization involved increasing Puritanism on the part of the castes who rejected superiority of the twice born e.g. the Koris of eastern Uttar Pradesh refused to accept water from Brahmins. Such a process of **de-sanskritization** contributes to crystallization of new groups and greater political mobilization. **Re-sanskritization** is another process in the endeavour to attain mobility. In this case formerly westernised or modernised groups discard many symbols of modernization and revert to traditional sanskritic life styles. ·

From the above discussion, it is clear that Sanskritization was a process of social mobility which resulted only in **positional changes** for particular castes and their sections i.e. the individual castes moved up or down the hierarchy while the structure remained the same.

30.3.2 Westernization

Srinivas defines "Westernization as the changes brought about it Indian society and culture as result of over 150 years of British rule, the term subsuming changes occurring at different levels technology, institutions, ideology and values". (Srinivas 1966) Westernization is therefore a vast, multidimensional and a complex process which impinged upon various domains through a member of institutions and hence had a significant bearing on caste mobility. It not only altered the existing set up but also opened fresh avenues and doors for social mobility. A large number of inter-related factors are responsible for this.

Under the British rule, land became a saleable commodity and this had far reaching consequences for mobility. The members of low caste who could afford to buy land could now become upwardly mobile and those who lost their rights to lands suffered downward mobility.

Activity 1

Observe the society in a suburban village near you. How far does social interaction confirm the westernization thesis. Make notes and compare with other students in study centre.

The introduction of new means of and communication served to dilute the restrictions and inhibitions associated with caste.

The British rule provided fresh avenues for social mobility altering the nature of pre-existing institutions such as schools and colleges which opened their doors to all castes and establishing new ones such as army, bureaucracy and law courts which recruited members on the basis of merit and hence provided ample source of mobility. Most of the new economic opportunities generated under the British rule were taken advantage of by the upper castes who availed of the educational facilities. This not to say that the lower castes were unaffected by them for example Bailey mentioned how the prohibition policy resulted in the relative prosperity of Ganjam and Board Distillers. Similar Srinivas cites the examples of Noniyas of Western U.P. and Kolis of Surat coast who benefited from new employment opportunities resulting from railway road and canal constructions. The telis (oilmen) all over eastern India became wealthy on account of larger market and trade for oil.

Westernization accelerated the mobility process in more ways than one. On one hand it was a desirable mechanism of attaining mobility, on the other, it generated mobility also because the 'westernized' become a model for emulation for the others.

It must be noted that westernization did not begin and end with British rule. It provided tracks which furthered and accelerated the mobility process. It set the ball rolling which gained further momentum after Independence. The independent India took over from the rationalistic egalitarian and humanitarian principles from the British and created further room for mobility.

i) **New Legal System:** The British rule resulted in the political integration of the country into a single administrative unit with a uniform and homogeneous pattern of law and order grounded in the principles of rationalism, humanitarianism and egalitarianism. These laws were sometimes in contradiction with the pre-existing ones. For example under the traditional law punishment varied according to the caste of the person committing the offence, while the British laws treated everyone equally. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act and Abolition of Slavery were a great leap forward towards upliftment of lower castes. These laws were efforts in the direction of bridging the gap between lower and higher castes.

Box 30.01

The principles of universalism and egalitarianism which have guided the legal system in India after Independence have fostered social mobility among the lower castes. The new civil, penal and procedural law has done away with the inequities inherent in traditional law. Another important contribution of the new legal system was the creation of consciousness of positive rights. The abolition of untouchability and adoption of protective discrimination' policy have proved immensely beneficial for the lower rung of society.

The principle of universal adult franchise, adoption of Panchayati Raj System have altered the distribution of power the strengthening the hands of the weaker sections and restricting the appropriation of power by the upper castes. Similarly land reforms have been a motor force affecting mobility. Ceiling of holdings have proved a blow to the status and prestige of zamindars and boon for peasant cultivators who have attained ownership rights

ii) **Adoption of Reforms:** Whenever efforts are made at reforming the society it generates opportunities for mobility. Buddhism, Jainism and later Sikhism which are the sects of Hindu religion have disregarded the rigidities associated with purity and pollution. They have advocated against the prevalent inequities and established a new egalitarian order within the sects. Similarly the Christian missionaries during the British rule proselytized the most oppressed castes they extricated the untouchables from a life of misery and exploitation and provided them education and health facilities. This enabled them to find new employment opportunities and attain higher status and prestige than before.

The educated liberal reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda in their endeavour to reform the society got abolished evil practices such as sati, child marriage, human a sacrifice etc. To alleviate oppression and elevate the status of lower castes, they tried to infuse elements of rationality and modernity into Hindu religion. This they did by doing away with dogma and rituals associated with Hindu religion and wakening the clutches of Brahmins who they regarded as the oppressors. The new religious sects like Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Brahm Samaj were egalitarian and were against disabilities and discrimination based on caste. They have played an important role in imparting education and modern knowledge and hence raising the status of their members.

Mahatma Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar fought vociferously for the upliftment of the untouchables and their efforts bore fruits in the form of abolition of untouchability and the provision for protective discrimination. This has generated large scale upward social mobility among.

30.4 SECULARIZATION

The term "secularization" implies that what was previously regarded as religious ceases to be such and it also implies a process of differentiation in the various aspects of society, economy, polity, laws and morality becoming increasingly discrete in relation to each other. In the traditional set up the principle of purity and pollution was the prime determinant of the status, ranking, occupation and the general lifestyle. With increasing emphasis on rationality and education the notion of purity pollution weakened and today it is common the see people of different castes work together in factories or rub shoulders against each other in buses and trains and even dine together in restaurants. Together with this, the manner of dress in the modern society serves to blue caste distinctions. The new law based on universalism and the constitutional recognition of equality for all citizens and the declaration of India as a secular state has served to abolish discrimination based on caste.

30.4.1 Education

Education was the prerogative of the Brahamins and 'twice born' castes in the traditional set up. During the British rule educational institutions were opened to all and knowledge had a secular and rational basis. Acquisition of education opened avenues for individual and group mobility. Those trained in modern education could find jobs in army and bureaucracy which gave impetus to upward mobility. Besides this education instilled the minds of people with new principles of the justice, liberty and equality. The educated elite fought against discriminations on the basis of caste.

Education had such a deep impact on the pace and pattern of mobility that it created a new middle class. After independence , in an effort to uplift the SC, ST and OBC's through education, seats have been reserved for them in educational institutions. Since then these benefits have been appropriated by a small section. It has resulted in new cleavages among these sections. These cleavages are an aspect of mobility patterns based on those who have and do not have access to education.

30.4.2 SC's and OBC's

Under this section we will analyze two main modes of mobility i.e. **mobility through conflict** and mobility on account of **protective discrimination.**

For years the backward sections who were oppressed remained submissive and servile. But under British rule they improved their status and tried to legitmise it though Sanskritization. But simultaneously, the upper castes leaped forward by usurping new opportunities. The gap between the upper and lower castes widened and this they tired to bridge by laying claim to economic and political resources. These under privileged castes consolidated themselves against the upper castes in the form of Caste Sabhas the anti-Brahmin movement date back to 1870's in Maharasthtra and were led by dominant castes such as Kammas, Reddis, Nayars etc. The most significant movements were launched by Mahars under the leadership of B.R. Ambedkar. The other movements include those of 'Dalit Panthers" who united all sections of depressed people.

Activity 2

Talk to various strata of people and find out how far protect:ve discrimination will help the SC's and OBC's Compare your notes with other students in the study centre.

These movements are illustrations for horizontal mobility and endeavours at vertical (upward) mobility. Pradeep Bose has identified two main mobility courses i.e. **movement for consolidation** and **movements for assertion.** In the former the caste associations tried to raise their status through census operations and petitioning the rulers. These moves were legitimized through Sanskritization and maintaining distance from equivalent castes. For example Kayasthas and Bhumihar in Bihar. In the other mobility course represented economic grievances and deprivations. These castes formed associations to alter the

existing political land economic relations. For example Yadavs, Kurmis and Keories illustrated this pattern.

The backward sections have found opportunities for upward mobility on account of 'protective discrimination' policies which involves reservation of seats in educational institutions, freeship and scholarships, Besides, there are reservations in jobs and legislative bodies. These welfare measures have benefited only a small section who have claims to much higher status than their counterparts of the same caste resulting in further divisions in the castes.

30.4.3 Industrialization and Urbanization

Industrialization accelerated the rate of social mobility in various ways. It provided employment opportunities which emphasized on achievement and qualifications rather than caste. In the factories jobs were hierarchically graded according to qualifications and experience rather that ritual ranking. These employment opportunities were open to all and proved a source of upward mobility for the landless labourers.

Industrialization brought with it a new work set up and work culture based on technical division of labour and uniform standards. In the factories workers from different castes worked together on same machines irrespective of considerations regarding purity and pollution.

Box 30.02

Most of the industries are city based and this generates migrations of work force to cities which results in urbanization. The urbanization induced by industrialization had far reaching ramifications on social mobility. In the city the lifestyles and residential patterns are no longer ordained by caste and have served to mellow down caste distinctions. The cosmopolitan set up is also responsible to inter caste marriages.

The mobility in cities is largely on account of achievement through education and new occupational avenues. Class as system of stratification in replacing caste. But caste divisions are also simultaneously crystallizing in the form of caste associations, federations etc. Urbanization has created greater avenues for both vertical and horizontal mobility. Horizontal mobility characterizes both caste and class in cities. Formation of caste associations is an example of former and job transfers is an illustration of the latter.

Check Your Progress 1

Tick the right answer in the following questions.

i)   Sanskritization refers to:

    a)   Speaking in Sanskrit

    b)   Spreading knowledge in Sanskrit

    c)   A process of mobility in caste.

ii)   Westernization refers to:

    a)   Brain Drain

    b)   Changes brought about on account of British Rule.

    c)   Aping the western culture.

iii)   What is 'Protective Discrimination'?

    a)   Policy of reservation of seats in educational institutions, legislative and jobs for weaker sections

    b)   Policy for the upliftment of the upper classes.

    c)   Oppression and exploitation of the untouchables.

iv) Tick the factors which have generated mobility in caste:

a) Education

b) Legal Reforms

c) Industrialization

d) Urbanization.

Those at the lower rungs of society often have to travel uncomfortably.
They also have low social mobility
Courtesy : B. Kiranmayi

30.5 CLASS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

We will now discuss the significance of class and social mobility below.

30.5.1 Significance of Class Mobility

Classes are a very significant and pervasive dimension of stratification and the analysis of mobility along class lines is of crucial significance not only as an end in itself but also on account of its ramifications on other social processes. The extent of mobility has been used as a measure of the "openness" of industrial society and high mobility rates are an indication of the society being characterized by achievement rather than ascription and that it is meritocratic where individuals reap regards on the basis of their personal qualities rather than through inherited wealth and positions.

Class mobility is a crucial factor for the understanding of class formation. Also, study of class mobility can provide indications of life chances of the members of society i.e. the impact of one's class of origin on life chances. Besides this, the responses and reactions of the those undergoing mobility are important for analyzing social stability and expansion. Together with these the extent of social mobility has been used as measure of "openness" of industrial society and high mobility rates are an indication of society being characterized by achievement rather than ascription.

The most crucial aspect of class formation. A large number of scholars have shown keen interest in this area of study. Karl Marx was concerned about the relationship between class formation and action on the hand and the extend of mobility between class positions on the other. He was of the view that proletarianization was inimical to the process of class formation. Also in advanced capitalist societies, the expansion of middle class in based on recruitment from proletariat. Marx also recognized that a certain degree of immobility is seen as an indispensable prerequisite for the emergence of class consciousness. Similarly, Weber too emphasized on the significance of social mobility for class formation. Weber recognized immobility as a chief determinant for social and cultural identity of a class.

Westergaard and Resler reiterate the crucial part played in shaping of class structure as a whole by the division between those who own the capital and those who do not. They also recognise the importance of mobility and lack of it as a factor influencing peoples responses to their class situation, class consciousness and class organization. Like Westergaard and Resler, Giddens too visualizes mobility as process of central importance to class formation. But for Giddens, its importance lies not only in the development of class consciousness and organisation as classes for themselves, it also extends back as recognizable social phenomena i.e. as 'classes in themselves'. Giddens is of the opinion that greater the restrictions on mobility i.e. greater the immobility, greater the chances for formation of distinct identifiable classes in terms of reproduction of life chances, cohesion and class solidarity. Similarly in a society with constant flux and greater mobility rate, class distinctions are blurred. Mobility is a basic source of class 'structuration' i.e. it is the rate and pattern of mobility that will determine the extent to which classes may be recognized as collectivities of individual or families occupying similar locations. Secondly, the extent of mobility may be taken as significant indicator for prevailing modes of class action. Parkin has argued that class conflict is to an important degree expressed in the formation of strategies of exclusion adopted by advantaged groups. Mobility rates and patterns serve to reveal the effectiveness of exclusion and potential success for solidarism.

30.5.3 Industrialization and Mobility

In the analysis of mobility processes and patterns that term class in not used strictly in the sense used by Marx or by Weber. Rather class is viewed in terms of occupational groupings because occupation is an aspect of one's merit, education and qualifications and it determines one's status, prestige and salary which is turn influences the consumption patterns pattern and life chances.

Industrialization has introduced a lot of changes not only in the economic sphere but in all realms of society. Industrial societies are referred to as 'open' societies where the opportunities for mobility are available in plenty. The high rates of mobility in industrial societies is attributed to rapid economic change which necessitates occupational geographical and social mobility to make optimum and efficient use of available talent. It is on this account that Lipset and Zettergerg feel that industrialism creates uniform mobility patterns. Duncan and Blua emphasise on a number of factors generated by industrialization that have a bearing on mobility patterns. They are of the opinion that industrialization is connected with growing rationalism which accounts for universalistic criteria for selection and upgrading occupational division of labour, weakening of Kinship and neighborhood ties.

The emphasis on achievement as a criteria for selection in industrialization has generated both upward and downward mobility. While it is clear that upward mobility is the result of the recognisation given to merit, downward mobility is the result of lack of inheritable positions of the elites.

Industrialization affects the occupational patterns. In every industrialized or industrialising society there is an increase the proportion for professional official managerial and white - collar positions and decline in the proportion of unskilled labour jobs which create a surge of upward mobility. More and more people are required to manage industry, for administration and for distribution of goods and services.

30.5.4 Education and Mobility

The impetus on achievement and qualifications as determinants of one's merit has resulted in the increasing emphasis on education and training to obtain them. Education has attained a key role in facilitating mobility especially in the industrial societies. The increasing specialization and division of labour presuppose the existence of qualified personnel who can handle specialised tasks. These specialists whether in the field of industry laws, or medicine are trained and educated in specialised branches of knowledge. These educational and training facilities are open to all in the industrial societies. In the traditional set up, it was imparted to a very small number of people in the guilds which then restricted mobility. Education has been used as a route to attain upward mobility. Educational attainment is a major determinant of career mobility and deeply affects the patterns of inter-generational and intra-generational mobility discussed below.

30.5.5 Intergenerational and Intragenerational Mobility

It refers to mobility or shift (upward or downward) vis-à-vis one's parents' class. It a son or a daughter of a supervisor becomes an unskilled labour it would be **downward mobility** and if the same person's son or daughter becomes a manager it would amount to **upward mobility.**

One of the first major studies on inter-generational mobility was conducted in England and Wales by David Glass in 1949. It was found that intergenerational mobility was quite high and about two-third of the persons interviewed were in a different occupational category from that of their father. Most of the mobility was short range i.e. people were found in categories close to their father. Upward mobility was more common than downward mobility and was mostly concentrated in the middle levels of the class structure.

Another significant study was conducted in Western Europe and U.S. It was found that cross-class mobility was about 30% for all western industrial societies and that most of the mobility was short range. They found that inter-generational mobility links the effect of family background on the occupational and social placement of individuals. Educational qualifications have a bearing on mobility patterns. Those with higher qualifications were found in non-manual occupations. Also, with similar educational attainments, some of manual workers entered in manual jobs while those of non-manual workers entered manual jobs. Only college education enabled some manual workers to enter in non-manual jobs. According to Lipset and Bendix, poverty, lack of education, lack of exposure are other factors that affect mobility.

Later studies by Hauzer and Hout have confirmed that short range mobility is greater than long range and that mobility is more likely in the middle of socio-economic hierarchy than at its peak. Intra-generational Mobility i.e. where the individual changes social position during his/ her career. For example a clerk may be promoted to managerial cadre during his/ her career. It has been found that work like mobility is generally less than inter-generational mobility its degree depends on the first job. Work life mobility decreases with age i.e. it does not increase much after the age of 35 years. Although it is not the rule, yet worklife mobility is largely upward. It has been found that intra-generational mobility is also linked to educational qualifications and more specific the educational qualifications and more specific the educational training less the scope for mobility. According to Lipset and Bendix self employment is one of the few means of the acquiring higher positions and mobility among manual workers.

30.6 SOCIAL MOBILITY AND CLASSES IN INDIA

Very often it is expressed that classes in India are a result of social mobility induced by British rule in India. This statement is far from true because classes did exist in pre-British times. However, it cannot be denied that in the traditional set up caste system was more predominant system of stratification. In the present set up classes and castes have co-existed as dynamic systems and have interacted to create a complex and multi-dimensional empirical reality. It is only for analytical purposes that the following different class strata are being identified.

In the traditional set up load could be brought or sold and was a source of great prestige. During the British rule land became a saleable commodity and it had serious repercussion on the nature of agrarian relations and on socio mobility.

The introduction of land reforms in the 1950 which aimed at abolishing the intermediaries, such as the Zamindars and providing land to the tiller generated vertical mobility - both upward and downward. While some tenants could buy surplus land and become upwardly mobile, others were thrown out by the Zamindars who claimed to be the cultivators. This resulted in the pauperization of the landless labourers, land reforms were also a source of downward mobility for the Zamindars. They lost their right to extract taxes and share from the cultivators which was a source of their wealth. They were left with fragmented holdings which could not support their feudal lifestyle. With the introduction of legal measures such as introduction of panchayats and universal adult franchise, they felt uncomfortable for their influence and power waned.

Green Revolution programme launched by the government in 1960's has also altered the pattern of inequalities in the villages. The emphasis of this programme was on the use of High Yielding variety seeds and use of fertilizers for increasing productivity. But these seeds and fertilizers also required other basic infrastractural facilities such as tubewells for regular water supply. These along with other requirements cannot be afforded by small peasants. A new class of **'Progressive Farmers'** have come to characterize the villages under the Green Revolution Programme. They have large land holdings and can afford to invest in resources like tractors, pumpsets, power threshers etc. These progressive farmers are entrepreneurs who invest in land to reap profits. They are a distinct class who are separated from the small farmers and from the agricultural labour whom they employ Green revolution has thus further reinforced social inequality.

The increasing prosperity of the rich landlords at the cost of pauperization of the workers has generated conflict and strife in the agrarian set up. Political mobilization of the agrarian classes on an all India basis started during the freedom struggle. This continues even today, although the spread and intensity of mobilization varies across regions, classes and time periods.

It is now clear that a large number of processes have influenced the nature of agrarian classes and mobility among them. They have been measures and mechanism for the formation of new castes and the upward and downward mobility of the existing ones.

30.6.2 Social Mobility in Urban Classes

Urbanization is not a new phenomena for Indian society. During the pre-British period, there were a large number of cities with a district pattern of ranking and administration. After industrialization, the resultant urbanward migration has been rapid and enormous. This has grossly affected the nature of the social classes. There are four major classes that can be identified in an urban set up. These include:

i) **The capitalists/bourgeoisie:** The Britishers introduced modern industrialization in India. The setting up of industries, free trade and new markets gave impetus to trade and commerce. The traders became wealthier and took to industry. It is noteworthy that even today a large number of industrialists hail from trading castes and communities such as Marwaries in Rajasthan, Gujarati Banias and jains in the west, Chettiars and the South. The merchant class was the first to become capitalist. Certain artisans and craftsmen who availed of the new economic opportunities also set up small scale factories. The Jatavs of Agra studied by Lynch have taken to shoe manufacturing some landowning castes too become industrialists, these include Patidars of Gujarat, Naidus and Reddies of Andhra Pradesh.

Industry has expanded immensely after independence and diversified into all fields ranging from iron and steel, textiles, automobiles, electronics to aeronautics. The class of industrialists has become economically and numerically stronger.

ii) **Entrepreneurs Traders and Shopkeepers:** Urban society always comprised of entrepreneurs who included traders and shopkeepers. These classes have flourished and expanded with the growth of cities and towns and cashed on the rising demands of new goods and services in them. This class would include entrepreneurs running restaurants, marriage bureaus, video libraries and other like property dealers, grocers, laundered, dry cleaners, vegetable renders who are a direct link between suppliers of goods and service and consumers. A large number of people have become wealthy by joining this rung of class structure in the cities while some have diversified and expanded in their traditional occupations and arts such as Dhabi's taking to dry clearing and barbers opening beauty parlours. Other have established absolutely new enterprises and other consumer durables, travel agencies etc.

iii) **Professional Classes:** This class has undergone vast changes in its nature and complexion on account of the changes introduced under the British rule and after independence. The British required a large body of professionals for various purposes. They felt it was cheaper to educate Indians for the same. Hence a large number of educational institutions were established to train professionals. This class included doctors, lawyers, managers, bureaucrats scientists, technocrats etc.

With the expansion of tertiary sector, this class has expanded both in size and prestige. Even though it is a highly heterogeneous class comprising of those ranging from clerks to C.A.'s, Babus to bureaucrats, yet one factor that characterizes them all is that they have achieved their status through qualifications that befit their positions.

The members of this class have made use of education and training to attain their positions. Another common feature of this class is that a large majority of them are salaried employees of state or private sector, they are neither direct rulers nor economic producers like industrialist of peasants.

iv) **Working Class:** Studies have shown that the earliest working class population comprised of pauperized agricultural labour who were landless or impoverished peasantry who had mortgaged their land. The later joined the labour force on a short term basis as **'target workers'** to earn a fixed sum of money to be able to get back their land, Others joined as seasonal workers in search of work during slack periods in agriculture. These workers worked in factories, textile mills. Plantations, and in informal sectors what characterized them all was abject living conditions in slums.

With the expansion of industry in recent decades, working class has expanded and diversified into various industrial set ups in all ports of the country. They have organized themselves into unions to enter into better bargaining positions with their employers. These trade unions have political affixations and have raised their leaders to position of power land prestige and mediators between management workers. The workers have provisions for both intra and inter-generational mobility. They can opt for change in the industrial unite they work for, on the basis of pay structure and work conditions. Besides vertical mobility, the workers also depict horizontal mobilization in terms of labour unions, clubs associations etc.

Check Your Progress 2

Tick the right answer in the following questions.

1) Inter-generational 'Mobility refers to:
   a) Mobility during a persons worklife.
   b) Mobility on account of Migration.
   c) Shift of mobility (upward or downward) vis-à-vis one's parents

2) The factors responsible for mobility in the agrarian set up in India are:
   a) Land Reforms
   b) Green Revolution Programme
   c) White-Collar Jobs
   d) a) and b)

3) The four major classes that are found in Indian cities are:

    a) Bourgeoisie, Entrepreneurs, Kisans and

    b) Bourgeoisie, Entrepreneurs, Professionals and Zamindars

    c) Bourgeoisie, Entrepreneurs, Professionals and working class.

30.7 LET US SUM UP

It can be noted from the above discussion on social mobility that even in so called 'closed' system of stratification, there is constant effort among members to improve their social positions through the means available to them. As we have seen in India, some of the mechanisms and progresses involved in social mobility were culture specific as is the case of Sanskritization. The new avenues for mobility provided by education, urbanization and industrialization were quickly united for advantageous shifts in hierarchy.

Industrialization and urbanization have played at vital role in generating mobility both in the caste and class societies by emphasizing on the role of achievement and skill acquired through education. These twin processes have widened the horizons the horizons for vertical and horizontal mobility.

In India caste mobility and class hierarchy co-exists, intermingle and have resulted in a complex and multi-dimensional pattern of stratification and mobility where the two may or may not be co-terminous.

30.8 KEY WORDS

Sanskritization : It is a process of social mobility in caste whereby a low caste may change its customs, lifestyle, rituals and ideology in the direction of high castes mainly Brahmins and Kshatriyas. Emulation is the main process involved here.

Westernization : It is a term used to describe the changes that came about as a result of British rule in India. These changes include those at the level of technology, institutions, ideology etc. Westernizations opened new doors for mobility at the level of individuals and castes.

30.9 FURTHER READINGS

Gupta D. (Ed.) (1992). *Social Stratification* Delhi: Oxford University Press. Unit IV.

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30.10 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

i) c

ii) b

iii) a

iv) a, b,c and d

Check Your Progress 2

i) c

ii) b

iii) c