

**SC STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITIES:
A STUDY OF THEIR ATTITUDES AND ADAPTATION
TO SOCIAL AND
ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT IN THE SELECTED
UNIVERSITIES**

**Thesis Submitted To the University of Hyderabad
For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

SUNITA REDDY

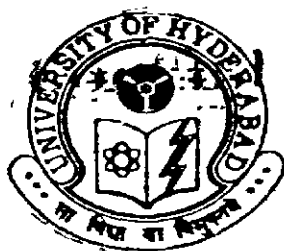


**Department of Anthropology
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad-46
1999**

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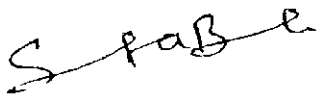
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DECLARATION

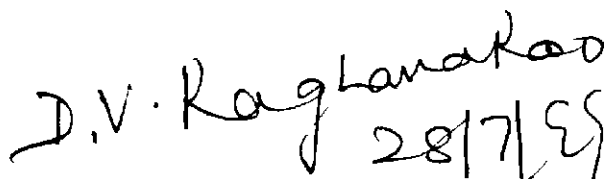
I hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled "SC STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITIES: A STUDY OF THEIR ATTITUDES AND ADAPTATION TO SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT IN THE SELECTED UNIVERSITIES", carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. D.V. Raghava Rao, Head, Department of Anthropology, University of Hyderabad, is original. This has not been submitted in part or full for any other diploma or degree of any University.



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JULY, 1999



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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mrs. Sunita Reddy has completed the thesis entitled, "SC STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITIES: A STUDY OF THEIR ATTITUDES AND ADAPTATION TO SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT IN THE SELECTED UNIVERSITIES", under my supervision and guidance in fulfillment of the degree of doctor of philosophy. This is her bonafied work and does not constitute part of any material submitted for a degree, here or elsewhere.

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This study is the result of the cooperation of my respondents and my husband, guidance by my supervisor and my parent's blessings.

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Sunita Reddy

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INTRODUCTION

Caste has been one of the important institutions of Indian society since early times. Caste organizations and ideology are elaborated to such an extent in Hindu society that some scholars have considered caste as a unique Hindu phenomenon. In Hindu society caste rank is hereditary and linked to occupational pursuits. Castes also tend to be endogamous and the boundaries and differences in rank between them are expressed and maintained by endogamy and commensal restrictions.

The Varnas system developed in the Vedic society, reached its most elaborate form in the classical code-book Dharma-Sastra. In the late Vedic society four Varnas were defined. The first three of them-the Brahmana, the Ksatriya and the Vaisya are considered to be twice-born because they became divinized by a ritual second birth. The fourth Varna i.e., Sudra are considered to be, once-born. There are several other social groups living in the country who are treated as Untouchables from the late Vedic period. Untouchables were outside this fourfold division. They form the lowest strata of traditional Hindu society. These strata, had been subjected to a variety of disabilities on account of their low social and ritual status under the traditional system.

Many terms have been used for this category in the earlier literature, such as 'Antyaja', 'Panchama', and 'Chandala', but it is difficult to say whether all of them have exactly the same referent. The English word most commonly used is Untouchable, though many scholars find it unacceptable because of the odium attached to it. In the 1931 census, they were classified as 'Exterior castes'. The Simon Commission in 1935 coined the term 'Scheduled Caste'. The various untouchable castes in the different parts of India were listed in a separate schedule in the Act and this practice was continued in the Constitution of India, 1950. Gandhi called these people Harijans (Children of God), but in India generally untouchables are referred to by the name of the caste to which they belong.

'In the early 1970's, the untouchable protest movement popularised the term 'Dalit'. It has become a positive and an assertive expression of pride in untouchable heritage and rejection of oppression. 'Down Trodden' is a fairly accurate translation

of 'Dalit'. The root word 'Dal' of Dalit is said to be a Hebrew word. It means crushed, broken: dhal. 'Dalitism' has multiple forms and expressions. It includes not only marginal status in economic sphere, but also a similar marginal status in cultural, political, religious and other domains. Dalitism symbolizes marginalisation and the denial of basic human rights and social justice (Punalekar 1995, p 8). The core of Dalit consciousness is based on protest against exploitation and oppression (Bhagwat 1995, p.2). Thus, the word 'Dalit' has come to be identified with the oppressed and the depressed classes, including the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, the toiling masses, poor cultivators, nomadic and denotified tribes- in general, all those who have been subject to centuries of exploitation and denial of natural justice. They are mostly found among the landless in the rural areas and in the slums of the urban areas.

The servitude of the Harijans seems to be as old as the fibre of Hindu society itself. The scheduled castes have long suffered from extreme social and economic backwardness. They had no access to education in the past because of social and religious sanctions imposed on them. In spite of the legal provisions against discrimination on the basis of caste, the practice of untouchability and other forms of discrimination have not stopped completely. Newspapers, journals, and publications by the Dalit organizations like 'Dalit voice' (Bangalore), 'Prabudda Bharati' (Bombay), frequently reported cases of discrimination and atrocities against scheduled castes in the contemporary situation. In fact the residential pattern of the Harijans is still on the outskirts of the habitations in villages. In urban areas too, the poor scheduled caste's houses are in clusters and are identified as separate colonies. Even today in the urban areas, most of the Brahmins and upper castes do not let out their houses to the scheduled castes.

These SCs are largely illiterate, backward and poverty stricken and continues to suffer from socio-economic disabilities. More than 81.28 percent of the population of scheduled castes live in the rural areas (SC & ST IInd annual commissioners report-1993-94). Till recently, they were devoid of the basic necessities like water, electricity, proper sanitation, roads and transport facilities. For the past few years, however there is an improvement in their living conditions.

Describing the plight of the scheduled castes, author Bhagat Ram Goyal(1981) reports that the vocational pursuits of the SCs are still considered to be inferior. The food that they eat is unsuited for proper growth and their educational progress is still

slow. According to him, the sufferings of the Harijans continue unabated. The discrimination still persists. They are even subjected to atrocities and a slight provocation puts them in trouble. These atrocities are quite serious like criminal, intimidation, arson, murder, rape, segregation and untouchability.

It is being increasingly realized that education can be a powerful vehicle not only to ameliorate the sufferings of Harijans, but also for overcoming the social, psychological and economic barriers under which they have been reeling since long. Though the need to improve their conditions has been recognized for some time past, and there were several strong attempts in this direction, serious and organized efforts on a national level were made only after independence. Since then numerous measures have been devised to ameliorate and improve their conditions

In spite of the constitutional benefits in the field of education provided for the scheduled castes, their literacy levels continue to be low. The performance of the SC children is not very encouraging. The problem of poor performance by scheduled caste students is not limited to school education only, but has been reported at the university level too. Although much has been written about the school education of scheduled caste students (Chitnis, 1972, 1981, Parvatham, 1989; Pimpley, 1976, 1980), relatively little data is available on their University education (Viswanadham, et.al, 1985; Ravi Prasad, 1997).

Literature reveals that most of the students are discriminated against and treated indifferently by their peer groups and teachers. But, the further analysis on the kind of discrimination and the circumstances leading to it, is not taken. The values, attitudes and means of achieving their goals have not been dealt in-depth. However, the literature definitely throws light on the contemporary problems and challenges faced by the scheduled caste students

Most of the studies completed so far in this field are on high school children and degree college students, who may not have a clear idea about their future, i.e., problems related to employment and settlement in life. Also a comprehensive research on scheduled caste students, pursuing higher education is also lacking. The real problem starts when they are about to finish their education and seek employment i.e., at the post-graduate level or research level. At this level of education, they are more aware of their limitations, problems, and challenges. Thus the university students are on the brink of making a career and settling in life. They may face many more

problems and would have to overcome many more frustrations and conflicts. Also on the positive side, they must have formed clear attitudes on different issues and their own aspirations and ideologies. They are supposed to be fully conscious of their place in the society, constitutional safeguards, privileges and protections. Hence, it is proposed to study the attitudes and adaptations of the scheduled caste students at the university level. Studying their attitudes, from their point of view carry importance, in helping them to change their position. The study also intends to find out that, with the given opportunities and social and academic environment, how these students adapt themselves individually and as a group.

The present study intends to explore the background of the scheduled caste students- rural, urban, or semi-urban.* The rural students who are coming from the traditional background are introduced to the new culture and environment of the universities. What initial and subsequent problems they are facing and how they are coping with different situation are explored. This study intends to relate to their socio-economic background and its influence on their educational career and the problems they confront in educational institutions and in the wider society. The study also seeks to understand and analyze the nature and levels of their hopes and aspirations.

Earlier literature reported that the scheduled caste students are experiencing the stigmas and discrimination in the schools and colleges. In the present study too, it has been explored whether the university students too are facing any caste-based stigmas, and the kind of experiences they had in the past and in the universities.

Based on the literature review and observations, it was found that most of the scheduled caste students are coming from the rural areas and most of their medium of education being in the regional language Telugu, face problem in an entirely different environment i.e., university environment. It is necessary to find out how these students cope up or try to adapt themselves to the new social and academic environment.

In the University, the scheduled caste students are exposed to modernization and new ideologies. It is hypothesized that in this process they may face many obstacles, conflicts, frustrations and challenges in their march towards equality and development. How these people adapt themselves to such a situation and try to find a

respectable position in society, is a matter of great importance. This educated scheduled caste student becomes a potential area of research.

The present research claims to add more insights to the already existing literature. This study may be helpful for the administrative purpose both in universities and other educational organizations.

OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of the present study are enumerated below

1. To study the scheduled caste student's attitudes towards the present caste system, educational system and welfare schemes provided to them.
2. To study the problems related to social interactions and how they adapt themselves to various social situations in the university campus.
3. To explore the problems they face in the process of academic achievement and how they adapt themselves to their academic environment.
4. To explore the strategies they have found to adapt themselves in and outside the University

METHODOLOGY

UNIVERSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The universe in the present study consists of scheduled caste students who are attaining their education in two universities, i.e., Central University of Hyderabad and Osmania University in Andhra Pradesh. OU is a state university in Hyderabad, capital of Andhra Pradesh and HCU is one of the ten Central Universities located in different states in India.

Secondary Data Collection

The secondary data was collected from books, magazines, journals, newspapers, and census reports from different libraries. The different libraries from where the information was gathered are Indira Gandhi Memorial Library- Central University of Hyderabad, Osmania University Library and American Study and Research Center (ASRC), Osmania University, Hyderabad, National Institute of Rural

Development (NIRD), Hyderabad. In addition to this, books and journals from Jawahar Lal Nehru University Library, New Delhi; Institute of Economic Growth Library and Ratan Tata Memorial Library, from Delhi University and from the library of SC/ ST Commissioners Office, New Delhi are also surveyed.

Primary Data Collection

This Ph.D. program is mainly based on primary data collection through intensive interviews, case studies and collection of quantitative and qualitative data through questionnaires during the years 1995, 1996, and 1997.

A detailed questionnaire was prepared for the collection of primary data from scheduled caste students. It was pre-tested by conducting a pilot study and was modified based on the results of the pre-tests, before sending it to the respondents

For selecting sample respondents, the scholar collected the name and addresses of the scheduled caste students who are presently (1995) enrolled in the two universities in A.P. The names of all the students who are presently pursuing various courses like, M.A., M.Sc., M.Phil., Ph.D. from different schools like social sciences, sciences, humanities were gathered. This information was collected from the offices of different principal's (Sciences and Arts) in Osmania University with prior permission. In the University of Hyderabad, the list of the names and addresses was collected from the administrative section.

In the University of Hyderabad, out of a total of 300 students, 200 students were identified for sending the questionnaires. This figure was obtained after excluding the students who come from other states and whose residential addresses were incomplete and not regular to their respective departments. In order to maintain homogeneity, scheduled castes students from A.P. state only, were selected, for the study purpose.

From Osmania University also, 200 students were identified for sending the questionnaires out of a total 281 students. Thus, a total of 400 scheduled caste students of both sexes from these two universities were identified for sending the questionnaires. As female students happened to be less in number, all the female students were picked up for sending the questionnaires.

The scholar has visited the concerned university hostels and tried to personally hand over the questionnaires to the scheduled caste students, explaining the objectives and value of the present research topic. Similar efforts were made to contact who

were not available in the hostels, and who were day-scholars in their respective departments. Questionnaires were sent by mail to the rest of the students who could not be contacted personally in the hostels and departments.

Both closed and open-ended questions were posed in the questionnaire to get quantitative and qualitative data. The questionnaires were coded and a covering letter was attached. The purpose of the study, along with the request to participate in the study, was stated in the covering letter. Also, it was assured that the identity of the person and opinions expressed in the questionnaires would be kept confidential.

A self addressed stamped envelop was enclosed to each questionnaire so that they can mail the same to the scholar without taking the trouble of personally handing it over. Inspite of this several sample respondents did not respond, as is the common experience in this type of work. The scholar met them personally and had send numerous reminders for getting back the questionnaires. After repeated reminders and personal contacts the scholar could succeed in collecting 106 filled –in–questionnaires from the scheduled caste students

Thirty-five interviews were conducted and the observations were recorded, wherever possible. Interviews with the leaders and activists of scheduled caste organizations and other student organizations were also conducted. Group discussions on the present status of scheduled castes and their problems too were conducted. Twenty case studies of scheduled caste students were collected. Data were obtained in the form of case histories that reflected different life-stages of individual scheduled caste students, including the contemporary realities of their lives.

The interviews were conducted in the regional language, Telugu as well as in English, according to the convenience of the respondent. Though the questions were open- ended, certain guidelines were followed and the same subjects were covered with each informant.

While interviewing the respondents, the direct approach of the interview was used. The interview was designed to make the respondents comfortable so that they are motivated to respond to the questions that follow. The purpose of the interview was explained first followed by the way in which the information will be used. Further, the respondents were told that their opinions are important and might bring about desirable consequences. In addition to this, the respondent was assured of keeping the identities confidential.

Respondents were provided with a quiet and a comfortable atmosphere for conducting an interview. Not more than two interviews were conducted in a day. Sometimes it used to take the whole day to conduct one interview. And sometimes, many days lapsed with out conducting any interview, as the respondents are quite busy during the day and find difficulty to spare time. They were interviewed on weekends and holidays. Most of the female respondents were interviewed in their own hostel rooms

While interviewing, the respondents were probed to elicit in-depth information. Since probes are necessary part of any interview, they were inserted whenever the respondent made a strong statement, in an expected or an unexpected direction

Initially, for recording interview, the plan was to take down the notes during the interview. But it did not function properly, as the respondent was getting disturbed and the continuity in the conversation was breaking. Hence, while conducting the interview, only the main points of the respondent's answers were noted down. It was only when the respondent left, did the scholar write down complete answers (as close as possible to the respondent's answer). The respondent was asked to repeat the statements, which were not clear, or was asked indirectly, to check the information given.

The scholar borrowed a value projective technique (Spindler and Spindler, 1990) consisting of open-ended sentences such as "university teachers should be -----" and got a wide response from the students as to what they expect from their teachers. Similarly several open-ended questions like, "If you were a university teacher or professor, how would you teach so that your students would really learn the material", gave a good deal of information.

All the hundred and six collected questionnaires, were analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) program. The graphs and tables were produced in Microsoft Excel.

FIELD EXPERIENCE-

Many of the forward caste people were quite apprehensive about the choice of the topic after knowing the research topic

One of the forward caste employees in the Principal office, Science department, OU, commented, “There are so many studies on SC’s and reservations. Why don’t you study the forward caste people? I feel there should be some studies on forward caste people and their plight in this age of reservation”.

Another old man of fifty years from Science College, Main Office, OU, commented, “Why are you studying SCs? Do you want to increase the reservations some more”? He commented that all these things have started now. In their times these SC people use to teach them. They even know shlokas. So, where is the need for reservations? This shows that some of the forward caste people are not readily accepting the necessity of reservations and are quite apprehensive about the whole thing.

In another instance, when the researcher asked how many SC students failed in the office of Physics Department, OU, one person commented “SC students and failing them. No way. There will be lot of trouble. Why to invite trouble? Our department is quite peaceful”. He further commented “Even if a BC fellow is failed there are agitation. So subsequently all the students are passed. Even though if they fail in one or two subjects as backlogs, they appear in the next or the subsequent years and are passed. This means that the officials do not want to invite troubles by failing the SC candidates. It was reported that the SC students go for agitation or create problems if they are failed.

In an informal talk with one of the professors at OU, he commented that there are very few SC students who are sincere, hard working and serious about studies. Most of the students do not study and just roam about. They stand in-groups in the corridors putting hands on the shoulders. They just waste time in watching movies or roaming around. They are neither serious about their studies, nor interested in writing any competitive exams.

But the attitudes of the SC people about the reservations is different. According to one of the SC lecturer from Central University, the benefits or reservations are like crumbs i.e., the leftovers, given to appease them or to pacify them in order to avoid the potential threat in the form of movement from them.

Initially, I was quite apprehensive as to what kind of response I’ll be getting. Since the topic is quite sensitive and the questions are asked on some personal issues also. I felt that I would be getting a bad response accompanied with some resistance.

The response in getting the filled in questionnaire was not very encouraging where I got just 106 out of 400 questionnaires, send to students from both the universities. This usually happens in mailed questionnaires. But the response while conducting the interviews was very encouraging. Many of the students voluntarily came forward to discuss the topic and share their experiences. Few of them even asked for an advice. They too were keen on knowing my views on different issues. Many of them were interviewed for hours together. They showed lot of interest and patience during the whole fieldwork.

Most important, a majority of students, especially from OU, were keen to know the reasons behind choosing this topic. They even enquired about my caste and the caste of my supervisor

While conducting interviews and on meeting the respondents, many of the SC students appreciated to have chosen this topic. Many students attached covering letters to the filled in questionnaires appreciating the proposed research work. One of the respondents wrote, “I appreciate your endeavors and interest. I fully support and encourage your task. My cooperation to you will always be there” etc.

Another respondent wrote, “ Thanks for choosing this topic, I felt happy while responding to each and every question. I wish you all the success for your Ph D. program. Another respondent wrote, “You have chosen good topic, and special attention is given to social problems”. Thus, while conducting the interviews, I got a good and an encouraging response from the respondents.

CHAPTERIZATION

The thesis consists of eight chapters. The first chapter is the ‘**INTRODUCTION**’ where the relevance and importance of the topic is described. Objectives of the study, area of the study and methodology adopted are stated.

In the second chapter, ‘**SCHEDULED CASTE-A PROFILE**’, all the related statistics of scheduled caste population at the national and at the Andhra Pradesh state level are listed along with the government policies for scheduled castes. In this chapter, literature review is also covered in detail.

The third chapter ‘**THE PROFILE OF THE SC STUDENTS**’ describes the respondents in terms of demographic features such as age, sex, sub-caste, religion, and financial status. It also describes their parental background, their socio-economic

background, educational, occupational, financial background and the kind of support they receive from home.

The fourth chapter '**ATTITUDES OF SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS**' explores their attitudes towards present social system, more specifically caste system, and their position in it. Their attitudes towards the governmental schemes, policies, reservations are also covered under this.

The fifth chapter '**SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE ADAPTATION OF SC STUDENTS**' discusses the problems they face related to social interactions in and outside the university and how they adapt themselves to university environment. Also their interaction with others in their native place / village is sought out.

The sixth chapter '**ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT AND THE ADAPTATION OF SC STUDENTS**' discusses the problems they face in the process of academic achievement and their adaptation towards academic environment.

The seventh chapter '**STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS- MOBILIZATIONS AND ADAPTATION OF SC STUDENTS**' gives a detailed account on the group activities of the SC students in the Universities i.e , their adaptation to University environment.

The eighth or the final chapter '**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**' provides a summary of the findings and some suggestions to understand the problem taken up and to put it to practical purpose

SCHEDULED CASTES – A PROFILE

The present chapter, describes the statistical information of SC population at the national and the state level. It enumerates the government policies and safeguards provided to SCs. The relevant literature is also reviewed.

The scheduled castes, constitutes hundreds of jatis distributed all over the country. They are largely illiterate, backward and poverty stricken. More than 50% of the scheduled caste population is below the poverty line (1991 census). They continue to suffer from socio-economic disabilities.

The total population of the scheduled castes as per the 1991 census was 138.2 million, excluding Jammu and Kashmir where 1991 census was not taken. The scheduled castes constitute 16.48 percent of the total population of India. The largest concentration of the scheduled caste is found in Uttar Pradesh (22% of total scheduled caste population in the country). Andhra Pradesh where the present research is done, stands fourth amongst the highest scheduled caste populated states, with 1.06 crores of SC population (1991 census). The state's SC population constitutes 7.6 % of the total population of the country.

Almost half of the total scheduled caste population live in the five states of the Hindi –speaking belt i.e., Uttar Pradesh (23.5 million), Bihar (10 million), Madhya Pradesh (7.3 million), Rajasthan (5.8 million) and Harayana (2.5 million). In the South, they are concentrated mainly in Tamil Nadu (8.8 million) and Andhra Pradesh (7.9 million). The highest ratio of the scheduled castes to the total population is in Punjab (27 per cent), followed by Himachal Pradesh (25 per cent), West Bengal (22 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (21 per cent) and Harayana (19 per cent).

As per the 1981 census, there are about 1,000 Scheduled Castes registered in India. Some of the castes number to several million members each. The largest of these castes are the Chamars (one-quarter of the number of the scheduled castes), Bhangi, the Adi-Dravida, Pasí, Madiga, Dusadh, Mali, Parayan, Koli (Kori), Mahar, Adi-Karnataka, Namashudra and others. Each Indian state has its own list of scheduled castes and the number of scheduled castes, vary from one state to the other.

For example, the list of Karnataka contains 95 such castes, Orissa-88, Rajasthan-76, Tamil Nadu-74, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh consisting of 60 each, and so on (census of India, 1981).

The decadal growth rate of the scheduled caste population has been more than that of the general population during the last decade i.e., 30.99 percent as against 23.79 percent for the general population. More than 81% of the scheduled caste population live in the rural areas and the remaining 19% live in the urban areas.

In India, the sex ratio of the general population is 927 females per 1,000 males whereas the sex ratio of the scheduled caste population is 972 females per 1,000 males. In the state of Andhra Pradesh the sex ratio of the general population is 922 females per 1,000 males whereas the population of the scheduled caste is 969 females per 1,000 males (Census of India, 1991).

There is an increase in the literacy rate among SCs at the all India level, from 21.4% in 1981 to 37.4% in 1991. The literacy rate among SC males increased from 31.1% in 1981 to 49.9% in 1991, while among the SC females it increased from 18.2% in 1981 to 23.76% in 1991. The male-female literacy rates of scheduled caste population, both at the all-India and the state level, are low compared to the general population. The female literacy rate of SCs is lagging behind that of the males.

TABLE 2.1

Literacy rates for general population & Scheduled Castes by Sex- 1991.

	Persons		Males		Female	
	General Popu.	S.C.	General Popu.	S.C.	General Popu.	S.C.
INDIA	52.21	37.41	64.13	49.91	39.29	23.76
A.P.	44.09	31.59	55.13	41.88	32.72	20.92

Note- Literacy rate relates to population aged 7 years and above

Source: G.O.I. Ministry of Human Resource Development, Education for all-The Indian Scene, 1993.

Table 2.1 shows the literacy rates of the general population, compared to the scheduled caste population, both at the all India level and at the A.P. State level. In A.P. the literacy of SC population is 31.59% with male literacy 41.88% and female literacy 20.92%. This is less compared to the All India SC population and even less compared to All India general population (Census of India, 1991). The table depicts

that there is a big gap between SC and general population. It is much lower among females.

The rise in literacy continued to be uneven, regionally as well as between the sexes. Regional variations of female literacy indicates that Mizoram has the highest SC female literacy rate of 81.25%. On the contrary in 1991, about 93% of SC females in Bihar and about 92% of SC females in Rajasthan are found to be illiterates. Illiteracy is also high in the states of A.P., M.P., Bihar and West Bengal.

Regarding higher levels of education in the rural areas of Andhra Pradesh, out of 67,52,368 scheduled caste population, only 5,150 (15%) males and 667 (.02%) females are educated till graduation and above. Whereas in the urban areas, out of 12,09,362 population only 8,570 (1.4%) males and 1,660 (.3%) females are graduates and above. This indicates a very grave situation regarding higher education among scheduled caste people (census of India, 1981).

Thus the progress of literacy among Dalits in general, and among Dalit women in particular, presents a dismal picture. According to Prof P. Leela, illiteracy and lower levels of education lead to several problems like: unemployment, exploitation, lower economic and social status and sub-human conditions of living, which gradually push them below the poverty line and they have to lead miserable living. It also leads to poor upbringing of the children and high infant mortality rates (Leela, 1999)

The bulk of the scheduled castes who live in the rural areas are agricultural workers, sharecroppers and peasants owning small plots of land. More than one-third of the total agricultural workers of India belong to the Scheduled Castes. The next largest category among the scheduled castes is the farmers-23.2 per cent (all-India index 41.5 per cent). This category includes both sharecroppers and small peasants. A vast majority of these do not possess their own land. Amongst all the scheduled caste households who have land at their disposal, 68.8 per cent have plots less than 1 hectare and 16 per cent households having 1 to 2 hectares. Thus, more than 85 per cent of the scheduled caste households owning land, possess the tiniest or smallest plots of land. In the urban areas, the S.C. people work as unskilled labourers or are employed mainly in the service sectors. Majority of them, i.e., 84 per cent of the members of their families are engaged in unskilled labor. These are loaders, porters,

cycle-rickshaw-pullers, sanitary workers, workers in stone quarries, etc. Almost all persons engaged in jobs like sweeping, scavenging and tanning belong to the SCs. Only a small percentage i.e., 20.3% of them are industrial workers, transport workers, state and municipal employees (Yurlova, 1989).

In the traditional Hindu society, the Harijans were forced to live a subhuman life. They were debarred from drawing water from public wells, tanks and even rivers. They were disallowed to stay in public inns, prohibited temple entry and denied educational facilities. In some places, even their shadows were supposed to be polluting, let alone their touch. The Chandals were required to strike a piece of wood as a warning of their approach while entering a city or bazar so that the people might not be polluted by contact with them. In some parts of the country, they were disallowed to enter a city or a common place after some hours of afternoon lest their long shadows coming out of a westward Sun may pollute the higher castes. Sanctions against the imitation of the styles of life of the upper castes were applied most stringently to the Harijans. In the south Indian villages until recently, Harijans were prevented from living in brick or tile houses and were banned for wearing upper garments or garments made of silk. The social identity of the Harijans is highlighted by the fact that they are generally required to live at a distance from the main village settlement.

Though Untouchability has legally been abolished, the caste prejudices are still practiced and the sufferings still continue. The residential pattern of the Harijans is still on the outskirts of the habitation; their vocational pursuits are still considered inferior and their educational progress is still slow.

ANDHRA PRADESH-

The Total Area of the state of Andhra Pradesh is 2,75,045 sq.km. The total population of the state is 6,65,08,008 with 1,05,92,066 SCs constituting 15.93% of the total general population (1991 census) of the state. As per the 1991 Census there are 22,22,811 SC households in Andhra Pradesh (SC/ST Commissioners report, 1991).

In the state of Andhra Pradesh, according to the Supreme Court orders (Amendment) Act, 1976, No. 108 of 1976, dated the 18th Sep. 1976, sixty castes are listed as scheduled castes. Alphabetically they are Adi Andhra, Adi Dravida, Anamuk, Aray Mala, Arundhatiya, Arwa Mala, Banki, Bavuri, Beda Jangam / Budga

Jangam, Bindla, Byagara, Chachati, Chalavadi, Chamar / Mochi / Muchi, Chambhar, Chandala, Dakkal / Dokkalwas, Dandasi, Dhor, Dom / Dombara / Paidi / Pano, Ellamalawar / Yellammalawandlu, Ghasi / Haddi / Relli / Chachandi, Godagali, Godari, Gosangi, Holey, Holey Dasari, Jaggali, Jambuvulu, Kolupulvandlu, Madasi Kuruva / Madari Kuruva, Madiga, Madiga Dasu / Mashteen, Mahar, Mala, Mala Dasari, Mala Dasu, Mala Hannai, Malajangam, Mala Masti, Mala Sale / Netkarni, Mala Sanyasi, Mang, Mang Garodi, Manne, Mashti, Matangi, Mehtar, Mitha Ayyalvar, Mundala, Paky / Mati / Thoti, Pambada / Pambanda, Pamidi, Panchama Pariah, Relli, Samagara, Samban, Sapru, Sindholu / Cindollu (Census of India 1991)

In the state, the population of the SC is spread throughout the 23 districts. Their population is the highest in the district of Nellore (21.9%) followed by Prakasam (20.0%), Krishna (18.6%), Adilabad (18.5%), Chittoor (18.4%), Nalgonda (17.7%), Mahabubnagar (17.8%), Rangareddy (17.2%) and Warangal (17.2%) districts. Vishakhapatnam has the lowest Scheduled Caste population (7.8%)

Of the several SC groups, 'Madiga' constitute the largest group and their percentage in the total scheduled caste population is 43.55% in A.P. This is followed by 'Malas' 36.60% and 'Adi Andhra' 10.67%. These three castes together form the bulk of the total scheduled caste population in the state, accounting for as much as 90.82%. The remaining 57 castes constitute just 9.18%. Most of the other castes are merely the offshoots of these two castes.

Andhra Pradesh is divided into three distinct regions, the Circars or the coastal region, Rayalseema and Telangana. Malas are the predominant Scheduled Caste group in the Circars whereas the Madigas are the largest group in Telangana. In case of Rayalseema, the proportion of the Malas and Madigas is about the same. It is rare to find these two castes i.e., Mala and Madiga equally represented in different areas or even within a region.

Each caste has its own distinguishing characteristics. Like the "clean" castes, they are sub-divided into numerous castes placed in a definite hierarchy of subordination within the state. There are among them some, which are socially and economically more developed than the others. They are distinguished by a higher level of literacy and a variety of occupations, which are connected with their being free from traditional bounds, and this possess a higher level of political culture. The

following belong to such castes: Chamars of the North (they constitute 61 per cent of the lower caste population there), Mala in Andhra Pradesh (40 per cent), the Adi Dravida in Karnataka (12 per cent) (Chitnis, 1977)

This unequal social status is seen among different scheduled castes as well. Majority of the castes observe some kind of rules of untouchability in relation to each other. Thus the Mala caste, which is considered untouchable by the "clean" Hindus, in turn itself, considers the Madiga caste as untouchable. And members of the Madiga caste restrict their social and daily contacts with another caste-the Dakkali (Moffat, 1979)

Contrary to popular notions, all the Scheduled Castes are not untouchables. Untouchability is intimately associated with the pursuit of a defiling occupation, but even traditionally, there were occupational differences among the scheduled castes. Like the other castes working in leather in the other parts of Hindu India, the Madigas are considered to be the untouchables, and are placed at the lower end of the caste scale. They correspond in status to the Chamar, and Mochi distributed all over India.

Since the Madigas skin dead cattle, cure the hide, make shoes and are associated with leather working, the concepts of ritual purity and pollution play an important part in determining the place and position of the Madiga in the village community. If the Madigas are the lowest of untouchables in the region, they will only handle dead animals, especially cow, buffalo or bullock, and no other caste will undertake to do this work (T.R. Singh, 1969).

However, today, not all Madigas are leather-workers. Even at the beginning of the 20th century, only about one-eighth of the working population of this caste was engaged in this defiling occupation. Similarly, weaving which is considered to be the traditional occupation of Malas, accounted for a mere 2.5% of the population of this caste. Whereas three fourth of the Malas and 60 per cent of Madigas were engaged in agricultural labor. It is then obvious that even in the traditional system, the bulk of the Scheduled Castes were engaged in the non-defiling occupation of agricultural labor (Uma Ramaswamy, 1974)

The Madiga are known by several other names, such as Gosangi, Gosangibantu, Jambuvan, Jambava, Adi-Jambava, Matanga, Arundhatia, Ettiwaru and Tegawaru. The name Madiga has been interpreted in a number of ways. Some earlier

writers like Thurston and Sirajul Hasan believe that the name Madiga is derived from Mahadige (the great man who has come down) or to Maha digi ra (greatman, come down) (T.R. Singh, 1969).

In Andhra Pradesh, the Scheduled Castes broadly belong to the following categories:

- i) Core groups engaged in scavenging and allied occupation.
- ii) Groups engaged in leather and allied works.
- iii) Artisans or skilled and specialized groups.
- iv) Cultivators and landless agricultural labour.

About 70% of the Scheduled Castes are agricultural labourers and 17% are cultivators- mostly small and marginal farmers, share croppers or tenants. More than 50% of bonded labourers are from Scheduled Castes. In the urban areas, most of the rickshaw pullers and unorganized workers belong to the Scheduled Caste community.

CRIMES AND ATROCITIES ON SC

The commissioner for SC and ST, Government of India is empowered to inquire into atrocities on these sections and take necessary steps to safeguard them. The commissioner's annual reports showed that policies like the distribution of land to the landless, particularly SCs, revision of minimum wages, distribution of house sites, abolition of bonded labour lead to the creation of social tensions, particularly in the rural areas. The upper strata from which the landlords generally come do not accept these measures easily. But instead of reaching to the Government, sometimes they retaliate on the beneficiaries resulting in the harassment and atrocities on the weaker sections, particularly the Harijans (Bhagat Ram Goyal, 1981).

Table 2.2 indicates the no. of crimes and atrocities conducted against the SCs from the year 1990 to 1995. Though the number decreased in 1992, but in the subsequent years the number of atrocities have increased from 582 during the year 1990 to 1825 during 1995.

During the year 1990 in A.P., 49 cases of murder of SCs were registered and the figures increased to 60 during the year 1993 and then reduced to less than half i.e., 27 in the year 1995. The incidents of rape increased year wise i.e., from 71, during the year 1990, to 107 cases in the year 1995 (Kamble, 1981)

The reported cases of crimes and atrocities in Andhra Pradesh, are as under:

Table-2.2
NUMBER OF CRIMES AND ATROCITIES

YEAR	SCs
1990	582
1991	1460
1992	912
1993	1137
1994	1422
1995	1825

The State Government has identified hypersensitive, sensitive and atrocity prone villages in all the districts. Hypersensitive areas are identified in the districts of Adilabad, Prakasam, Guntur, Krishna, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, Srikakulam, Kurnool and Cuddapah. In the northern districts like Adilabad and Warangal, issues such as keeping of separate cups in tea shops creates caste tension. Land disputes and communal clashes are also reported to have taken place in the Chittoor distt.

WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES

One of the most stupendous tasks taken up by the government after the attainment of independence, was the upliftment of the Harijans, who have suffered the most from illiteracy, poverty, exploitation, backwardness, social oppression and above all, untouchability for centuries.

The doctrine of equality has been enshrined in the constitution of free India, which aims at securing for all citizens of India- "Justice, Social, Economic and Political, Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship and equality of status and of opportunity". With these aims in view, the constitution of India makes several provisions to safeguard the rights and interests of the Harijans and to remove the social disabilities from which they had suffered.

Constitutional provisions and laws

The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been specified by Presidential Orders issued under the provisions of Article 341 and 342 of the

constitution. In addition to the removal of untouchability, universalization of education and planned economic development, the constitution enjoined upon the state to safeguard the interest of the SC and STs. These include the policy of favored treatment in matters of opportunities in national economy and the policy of providing political reservations for overcoming their historically accumulated backwardness. This was essentially done to put them on the path of progress and equality with the rest of the citizens

Article 68 of the Constitution put emphasis on the Universalization of primary education. It says “The State shall endeavor to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years” In order to enforce this directive, some of the State Governments enacted legislation to encourage education for the children of all castes, including Scheduled Castes, to go to school during the age group 6-14 years. The First Five-Year Plan 1951-56 also emphasized the universalization scheme

The Directive Principle of State Policy contained in Article 46 of the constitution, lays down that - “The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation”

Article 25(2)(b), provides for social welfare and reform or throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all the classes and sections of Hindus. Untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955 was passed under Article 17. Later on in 1976, this Act was comprehensively amended and renamed as the ‘Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955’ (PCR Act). It provides penalties for preventing a person, on the ground of untouchability, from entering a place of public worship and offering prayers or taking water from a sacred tank, well or spring. Enforcing any kind of social disability such as denying access to any shop, restaurant, hotel, public hospital, educational institution or any place of public entertainment, or denying the use of any road, river, well, water tank, tap, bathing ghat, cremation ground etc, is an offence.

Traffic in human beings and forced labor is also prohibited by the Constitution under Article 23. Special cells / squads have been created by 19 states for initiating

and exercising supervision, over prosecution for the contravention of the provisions of the PCR Act. Fifty-seven special / mobile courts have been set up in untouchability / atrocity prone districts of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu for speedy disposal of such cases. Exclusive special courts have also been set up in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh.

Under Article 335, the claims of the scheduled castes and tribes are to be taken into consideration while making appointments to public services, without sacrificing the efficiency of administration. To facilitate their adequate representation in public offices, concessions are given. These include relaxation of age limit, relaxation in standard of suitability, relaxation of the qualification regarding experience in the case of direct recruitment, etc.

Article 334, as per the sixty second Amendment, provides for the reservation of seats for SCs for the Lok Sabha and state legislative assemblies on the basis of their proportion, till 2000 AD

A Commission for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, consisting of a chairman and not exceeding four members, including the special officer known as the commissioner, was set up in July 1978. It investigates all matters relating to constitutional safeguards, reservation in public services and to study the implementation of the protection of Civil Rights Act. The State Governments and Union Territories have separate departments to look after the welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes.

Welfare Schemes-

The welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is given special attention by both the central and the state governments. Special programs for their welfare have been undertaken in the successive five-year plans and the size of investment on these special programs has been increasing from one plan to the other.

Centrally Sponsored Scheme-

The objective of this scheme is to improve the representation of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes in various posts/ services in central/ state government/ public undertakings, banks, etc., by providing them with pre-examination training for various competitive examinations. The pre-examination training centers, run through

the state government / Union Territories and are financed by the central and state government on a 50:50 basis. At present, about 80 pre-examination training centers have been set up in various parts of the country under this scheme.

Post- Matric Scholarships Scheme For SC/ST-

The scheme of post-matric scholarship to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was started in 1944-45 with the objective of providing financial assistance to the students studying at post-matriculation stages in different schools and colleges in the country, so as to enable them to complete their education.

Girls Hostels Scheme For Scheduled Castes-

Under this scheme, central assistance is provided to the state governments/ Union Territories on a 50 50 basis for construction of hostel buildings, with a view to provide hostel facilities to scheduled caste girls studying in middle school, high school, higher secondary schools, colleges and universities.

Research and Training-

The government provides complete financial assistance to reputed social sciences research agencies/ institutions which have a proven expertise in studies on the economic development, problems and requirements of the scheduled castes and also on the impact of the implementation of various economic programs undertaken by governmental bodies. Studies which come out with practical recommendations and which need immediate remedial action are also considered for financial assistance under the scheme.

Book Bank For SC/ ST Students-

The scheme is for scheduled castes and scheduled tribe's students in medical/ engineering degree courses. Textbooks are provided to those who cannot afford expensive education without state support. One set of textbooks, costing rupees five thousand, is meant for three students to share among them, and its life period is fixed as three years.

Pre-Matric Scholarship Schemes-

This scheme, started in 1977-78, is intended for the educational development of children whose parents are engaged in so-called unclean occupations (viz. scavenging of dry latrines, tanning, flaying, and sweeping).

Advisory Board on SC/ST Women and Children-

To provide broad guidelines on policy formulation relating to the development of SC / ST, women and children, an advisory board is functioning since August 29, 1986.

Poverty alleviation program-

State Rural Development Department is implementing the poverty alleviation programs. The achievements, both in financial and physical terms, have been satisfactory. The Rural Development Department is the main agency for implementation of poverty alleviation programs in the state. The major programs under it are Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Training for Rural Youth for self-employment (TRYSEM), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWACRA), and Drought Prone Area Program (DPAP)

Non-official organizations, NGOs have also been playing a significant role in advancing socio-economic progress of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

FIVE YEAR PLANS

During the first two Five-Year Plans, the major stress was on education. The main aim was to make special scholarships available for meritorious SC Students, provision of residential facilities in educational institutions, exemption from fees besides sanctioning financial assistance to the needy students. In addition to the special allocation of funds in the plans of the states, the Government of India has also initiated plans for their uplift.

SEVENTH FIVE YEAR PLAN-

In the 7th five year plan, there was a substantial increase in the flow of funds for the development of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, resulting in the expansion of infrastructure facilities and enlargement of coverage. In the seventh plan, emphasis was laid on the educational development of scheduled castes. Pre-matric stipends and scholarships were given by the state governments to 190 lakhs SC/ ST/ OBC students. Other educational incentives included free supply of uniforms, stationery and textbooks to about 100 lakh students. Post matric scholarships were given to about 15 lakh SC and ST students in 1991-92 all over

India, as against 9.75 lakh scholarships in 1985-86, and only 1.56 lakh scholarships for 1968-69. Hostel facilities for SC and ST students were considerably expanded.

To enhance the competitive ability of SC and ST students, about 8,000 seats were created in 101 pre-examination training centers, where coaching was given to candidates appearing in competitive examinations for entry into public services. The SC and ST candidates have been able to increase their representation in the central government services and public sectors undertakings over the years mainly due to implementation of reservation policy coupled with educational and coaching facilities.

STRATEGY FOR THE EIGHTH FIVE YEAR PLAN

Under educational development of Scheduled Castes, in the Eighth plan, emphasis is placed on rationalization of the scheme. (i) To provide guidance with reference to employment opportunities and offering appropriate incentives for courses which have a larger market demand, (ii) To improve the performance, if necessary by prescribing minimum standards, and (iii) To identify the causes for inter-caste/ tribe variation in availing benefits under the scheme and chalk out appropriate remedial action

Under Economic Development of Scheduled Castes, a time-bound programme to be completed within the period of Eighth Plan, was launched to achieve complete elimination of scavenging. The objectives were (i) making provisions of flush latrines mandatory in every house in urban areas and (ii) providing alternative work opportunities to those presently engaged in scavenging. For this purpose, necessary training facilities will be provided and rehabilitation will be undertaken as well.

Under other programmes, the endeavour during the Eighth plan will be to strengthen the enforcement of protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989, and undertake programmes for mass awakening leading to attitudinal changes (Eighth five year plan, 1992-97, vol II)

The financial allocation on development schemes of SCs during the successive five year plans shows that there is an increase of financial allocations from Rs 47.9 crores during the first five year plan to Rs 6884 crores during eighth plan period.

APPROACH PAPER TO THE NINTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1997-2002)

The following will be adopted in respect to the Scheduled Castes under the ninth five-year plan.

- (i) The scheduled castes have been subject to social discrimination since long. Therefore, all programs meant for them will be designed so as to empower them and provide both social and economic mobility.
- (ii) On the social side, the pernicious evil of “Untouchability”, which amounts to denial of human dignity continues undeterred. Priority will be accorded to eliminating this through legislative and socio-economic measures. The existing legislative framework will be strengthened for the purpose.
- (iii) Priority will be accorded to the elimination of manual scavenging. The program for liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers will accordingly receive special attention. Efforts will be made to break the nexus between traditional occupations and social disabilities by providing the necessary occupational mobility.
- (iv) Total liberation and full rehabilitation of Safai Karamcharis with special focus on women and girl children along with the implementation of construction of dry latrines will be given a high priority.
- (v) Endowing every landless rural SC family with a minimum piece of land, preservation and restoration of land ownership and implementation of existing Legislations, to protect the agricultural land being appropriated by others.

The above are some of the important steps which will be taken up seriously in the ninth plan. (Ninth Five Year Plan, 1997-2002, Meeting of the National Development Council, 16 Jan 1997, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi).

Early Images of Untouchability

The early images of untouchability were discussed by scholars like, Dubois, Rev Stephen Fuchs, Dumont, Kathleen Gough etc. More recently authors, like, Joan Mencher, Gerald Berremen, Paulene Kolenda, Michael Moffat, Cohn and Miller have described different images of Untouchability.

Perhaps, the earliest and the simplest Western images of Untouchability are embodied in the term “Out Caste”. In this view, to be an untouchable is to be beyond the reach of Hindu culture and society, to be almost cultureless. Thus the Abbe Dubois, a remarkable French missionary with first-hand knowledge of village India between 1792 and 1823, contrasts the untouchable “Pariahs” with the higher castes Hindus. “We can picture what would become of the Hindus if they were not kept within the bounds of duty by the rules and penalties of caste, by looking at the position of the pariahs, or outcastes of India, who checked by no moral restraints, abandon themselves to their natural propensities”

Dubois accomplished his protoethnographic goals in South India in the immediately pre-British period by acting as Brahmin like as possible, and his Brahminocentric view of the Pariahs includes a catalog of their “natural Propensities” which further includes drunkenness, shamelessness, brutality, truthlessness, uncleanness, disgusting food practices, and an absolute lack of personal honor. The word “Pariah” which is derived from the Tamil name for the caste, moved into the English language as a synonym for the socially ostracized and morally deprived (Dubois, 1959).

Dr Frances Buchanan of the same period (Dubois) describe the Untouchable Madigas of Mysore as acting in the same way as higher castes and in terms of the same values-concern with the “purity” of their group. Similar to the Madigas, they intermarry their daughters within their castes in order to be certain of the purity of their race.

Rev. Stephen Fuchs in his descriptive monograph on the untouchable Balahis of Madhya Pradesh, interprets Balahi culture as consistent with the culture of the higher castes, but as entirely imitative. But this represents a weak copied consensus. To be an untouchable is not to be excluded from the culture of caste, but it is to possess this culture in a thinner and less convincing form.

Contemporary anthropological perspectives on the situation of untouchables in the caste represent continuations of reactions to these earlier western views. Three sets of approaches can be distinguished in the literature since 1950.

The first is a continuation of the **“Outcaste image”**, Wherein the cultural and social forms of untouchables are determined by their being at some remove from a single high Brahminic culture.

The second set, **“models of diversity”**, believes that Untouchables are the carriers of differentially valued alternate traditions, which have historically archaic or ethnically distinct roots, or which somehow express the distinct needs and experiences of those at the bottom.

The third set of analytic frames is in continuation of an older view and are termed as **“models of unity”** which states that there is nothing culturally or socially distinctive about untouchables, other than their placement at the bottom of a consensually defined hierarchical system

To be an untouchable in a rural Indian caste system is to be very low in, and partially excluded from, an elaborate hierarchical social order. The consequences of their lowness and partial exclusion are not much argued in the anthropological literature on untouchability and caste. Untouchables do not necessarily possess distinctively different social and cultural forms as a result of their position in the system. They do not possess a separate sub-culture. They are not detached or alienated from the “rationalizations” of the system. Untouchables possess and act upon a thickly textured culture, whose fundamental definition and values are identical to those of more global Indian village culture. The “view from the bottom” is based on the same principles and evaluations as the “view from the middle” or the “view from the top”. The cultural system of Indian Untouchability does not distinctively question or revalue the dominant social order. Rather, it continuously recreates among Untouchables a microcosm of the larger system (Moffat, 1979).

An example of outcaste image is found in Kathleen Goughs analysis of the untouchable Pallans of South India. Gough is empathetically biased in favour of the low castes and against what she sees as the hierarchical, etiquette-bound high castes.

If Dubois viewed the “nature” of the Paraiyans as uncivilized and degraded, Gough reverses the evaluation and sets up tacit oppositions between the inhibiting

“culture” of the Brahmins and the freer “nature” of the untouchables. Goughs approach is set within a broader materialist analysis.

Joan Mencher and Gerald Berreman’s images of untouchables too, fall under the modern outcaste image. The image is similarly materialistic, but frames the cultural component differently. Here, the untouchables are seen to have demystified caste and its accompanying ideology. They view the caste system in an objective and a culture free way for what it really is- a system of oppression. Thus, Joan Mencher feels that Paraiyans in South India have a more “explicitly materialistic” view of the system and their place in it, than those at the top, and that “those at the bottom of the hierarchy have less need to rationalize its inequalities” (Mencher, 1974: 476). The term “rationalize” expresses a particular view of culture. Culture of caste is a form of false consciousness. Since this consciousness serves only the interests of the high castes (the oppressors in the system), it is accordingly weak or absent among the low castes.

Gerald Berreman applies the same image on the consciousness of rural untouchables in a Himalayan village in north India. In a short critique of Louis Dumont’s Structural theory of caste, Berreman claims that untouchables in some way reject a high caste model of the system. The lowest castes are uninterested in rationalizations and ideology. Untouchables act in accordance with the system because they are forced to act so, though they cannot be forced to believe.

The modern outcaste image of Indian untouchables has another comparative affinity, though this one is less explicit. It is in accordance with Oscar Lewis’s “culture of poverty” hypothesis for the urban poor in western societies. In Lewis’ restatement of the concept, the culture of poverty is a thin one- “the poverty of culture is one of the crucial aspects of the culture of poverty”. This thinness is a consequence of purely rational adaptation of the urban poor to the situation in which they find themselves. The poor, in capitalistic societies, have less reason than the middle class to act in terms of middle-class values, since these values do not pay off for them. Untouchables in India do not accept high-caste culture because this culture has no rationalizing value for them.

Michael Moffat (1979) summarizes as for Dubois, untouchables are in a state of unbridled license. While for Gough, they are in a state of psychologically healthy removal from an obsessive high-caste culture. For Mencher and Berreman, they are

the Skeptics and demystifiers of caste- perhaps even its existentialists and protorevolutionaries.

The second set of contemporary anthropological approach to untouchables and caste argues for essential cultural diversity like the outcaste images, the disjunctive models of diversity etc. They stress the contrast between untouchables and the higher castes. Unlike the outcaste images, however, they do not state these contrasts in terms of culture versus lack of culture. Rather, they view untouchables as the bearers of alternate social and cultural systems, or of variants of the dominant system particularly adapted to the needs and experiences of those at the very bottom of the system. These needs and experiences vary according to a particular model. Each, generally, makes a clear statement about the nature of the untouchables subsystem.

For example, Bernard Cohn's subcultural dichotomies form only the baselines for his treatment of social change. In the last fifty years, the chamars have attempted to sanskritize and raise their status by adopting symbols of higher status in their local hierarchy. By doing so, they have abandoned many of the features of their distinctive small tradition and have adopted the dominant Thakur's traditional caste code, which includes a nonbeef diet, a tighter joint family, and more 'Brahmanic' ritual practices.

According to Cohn, "the attempt of the chamars to raise their status has been largely futile. At the same time that the Chamars were sanskritizing in the direction of the high-ranking Thakurs, the Thakurs were moving towards a more "Westernized" life style. This included western education, secularization, extensive urban contacts, a loosened caste and family structure, and more equality between husband and wife. Thus in the end, the original little tradition/ great tradition dichotomy between the untouchables and the high castes was simply replaced by a newer cultural dichotomy, an obsolete great tradition versus a more prestigious "Westernized" tradition.

A second model of diversity is found in Pauline Kolenda's treatment of Karma doctrine among a caste of untouchable sweepers in North India. According to these doctrines, which the sweepers understand in an abstract form, one's caste status in a given birth is a result of the total score of one's good or bad Karma in past lives. In any case, Kolenda reports that the Sweepers refuse to apply Karma doctrine to their low status. Instead, they refer their present status to collective myths, which state that they were once of much higher caste, and fell due to a terrible accident motivated by the best of intentions. Not only do myths like this protect untouchables from the

“anxiety” of karmic explanation, according to Kolenda, but they also provide them with a positive sense of having once been much higher.

Cohn’s and Miller’s models are stated as the models of change. Robert Miller, representing model of diversity, claims that the untouchable Mahars of the central India are already engaged in political action, unlike Cohn’s Chamars, who are attempting to diminish the despised cultural disjunction between themselves and the higher castes. Miller’s Mahars are said to be actively constructing a radical cultural disjunction between themselves and the higher castes to be in a sense revaluing their little tradition.

Here it is intended to explore whether the SC students believe in Hindu ideology or not and whether they accept or reject the high Caste model of the system or not. If not, what philosophy do they believe in. Their attitudes on these issues are described in the chapter 4, ‘Attitudes of the Scheduled Caste Students’.

Historical Educational Development among SC

Education is a powerful mechanism to enlighten people, awaken them and help them to fight against exploitation to promote overall development. The more widespread the education, the more would be the chances for progress and greater would be the opportunities for the betterment of the people.

The conscientiousness for the upliftment of Harijans through educating them emerged during the nineteenth century and is still on. Raja Rammohan Roy was the pioneer in advocating the importance of modern education in the rebuilding of Indian society. His inspiration led to modernizing of the system of education, which ultimately assumed a secular basis and was accessible to all the people irrespective of their caste, creed and sex.

Jyotirao Phooley of Maharashtra pioneered the crusade for the upliftment of Harijan communities, who himself hailed from a caste above the stigma of untouchability. He preferred to work for the Harijan communities even if it led to stigmatizing himself. He opened the first ever school for the low castes, Mahars, Mangs, Chamars etc., in 1850. Jyotirao worked for more than 25 years for the amelioration of the Harijan communities through education. He also established an organization known as the ‘Satya Shodhak Samaj’ for their welfare.

The Brahmo Samaj, founded on January 23, 1830 by Raja Rammohan Roy, was a purely theistic organization. In 1850, Keshav Chander Sen and Mahadev Govind Ranade assumed the leadership of its offshoots- Brahmo Samaj located in Bengal and Prarthna Samaj in Poona. These two movements focussed considerable attention on the spread of education by adopting the modern system of education. In 1870, the Prarthana Samaj started establishing night schools. Two of these schools were established for the Harijans. The opening of night schools was a new development for spreading education amongst Harijans.

Another socioreligious reform body, the Arya Samaj pioneered by Swami Dayanand, took great interest in the social upliftment of the Harijans. The institution opened by the Arya Samaj freely admitted Harijan pupils.

The Theosophical society, established in south India, was another socioreligious organization that contributed to the educational progress of the Harijans. Col Olcott, an English man, was deeply moved by the sad plight of the Harijans. He laid great stress on their education, and he believed that education alone could make them conscious of their worth and dignity by dispelling their ignorance. He established a number of Panchama schools in the south. These were accepted by the government of Madras as model schools for the education of Harijans. Swami Vivekanand, the Hindu monk of Rama Krishna Mission, strongly advocated the education of Harijans.

The spreading of education was widened with the coming of the missionaries with the East India Company. Britishers aimed at the promotion of education. When some people started embracing Christianity, a few Harijans also stepped in, since they had nothing to lose in the battle of religious wits. Rather, they found that it saved them from the age-old sub-human treatment.

Ambedkar too realized the importance of education for the depressed classes. In 1924, he founded the 'Bahishkriti Hitkarni Sabha' to promote education among the depressed classes by opening hostels or by employing other such means as may seem necessary or desirable, to promote the spread of culture among them. He opened libraries, social centers, and started classes or study circles, to advance and improve their economic conditions by starting industrial and agricultural schools and representing their grievances for redressal.

In 1928, Dr. Ambedkar set up the 'Depressed classes Education Society' with the objective to spread school education for the depressed classes on a sound basis. According to him, education was necessary to instill a sense of self-respect and dignity among the downtrodden. It would also hasten their assimilation into the mainstream of enlightened national life (Sachidananda, 1992).

He founded the 'Peoples Education Society' in 1945. In 1946, he started the 'Siddharth College' at Bombay. He also established the Milind College in Aurangabad. He gave his residence, named 'Rajgrh' in Bombay, for a college hostel and left his valuable library to a college. Earlier, he had established the 'Bharatiya Samaj Seva Sangh' whose motto was "to read, read out and hear, understand, realize and give realization".

By 1958, things started to change. Many steps were taken to promote social and economic equality and justice, and to provide equal educational opportunities to all, irrespective of caste and class considerations. The constitution (Article 29) guarantees that "no citizens shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid from state funds, on grounds of religion, race, caste, language or any of them". This was amended (191) to "provide reservation of seats on the ground of caste". It was also added "nothing shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes or of the SCs and STs". Education thereby became gradually more open, egalitarian, secular, objective and formal. In Andhra Pradesh, during the post-Independence period, the education of the Dalits has grown enormously. The schools in the rural areas and particularly in the urban areas have multiplied, and so have the colleges and Universities. Many special kinds of educational institutions have come up to provide education to the Dalits. Many residential schools have been established in Mandal and District headquarters all over Andhra Pradesh. Social Welfare Hostels for schools and colleges have been started in every mandal and big villages for the Dalit boys and girls. The number of students studying in these colleges and Universities are increasing. Every year, these educational institutions are producing thousands of educated students as shown by the annual statistics about the educated Dalit students (Ravi Prasad, 1997).

But according to the scholar Chinna Rao Yaganti (1999), social welfare hostels exist as mere proofs of the welfarist measures of the state government. The

functioning and the conditions of the hostels show that they are the most neglected areas. They are unhygienic, with bad quality of food, and lack of proper sanitation is shocking. The absence of supervision over the activities of the vulnerable children and inadequately manned staff are the regular features of these hostels. As a result, the incidence of dropouts, failures and output of non-meritorious students are high. Given such conditions, it is obvious that a Dalit student is incompetent to fare well as against a non-dalit student who is bereft of economic hardships, responsibilities and has access to standard schools. Debate on merit in the context of the lack of equal opportunities for every body, is not only ridiculous, but also insane.

RESERVATIONS-

Time and again we are confronted with the question whether to continue or discontinue the facilities and privileges, as it is stressed that these are justified only as long as they remain temporary. Heated arguments often take place in the parliament on the working of these privileges and on the question of their continuance. There are some, who not only want these privileges to continue for an indefinite period, but also plead for widening their scope. There are others who wish them to be scrapped as they have been in operation for a long time.

The central government has provided reservations in government employment for Scheduled Castes (SC) since 1943 and for Scheduled Tribes (ST) since 1950. Since 1947, out of the posts recruited directly on an all-India basis by open competitive examination, 12 ½ % are reserved for SC and 5% are for ST. (These percentages were raised to 15% and 7 ½% in 1970). Out of the posts filled on an all-India basis other than by open competition, 16 2/3 % are reserved for SC and 5% (raised to 7 ½ % in 1970) for ST. In the case of lower posts, which are likely to attract candidates only from the locality, percentages are fixed on the basis of the population of SC and ST in the area. At the state level there are similar reservations for SC and ST. Reservations range from 5% to 25% of the posts for SC and 3% to 80% for ST. In few places, both groups share a common reservation. (Galanter, Marc; 1984)

The Indian masses and the Indian intelligentsia are sharply divided on the issue of reservation. Those who favor reservations, put forward the argument that

traditionally, and even contemporarily, Indian society can best be described as hierarchical, and a hierarchical society is not only inherently bound to generate inequalities, but also pass them on from one generation to the other. It is further argued that the inequalitarian Hindu social order has led to serious social, psychological, educational and economic deprivations among subaltern groups, i.e., the Ex- untouchables and lower castes. These deprivations have done irreparable harm to these groups. To bring them at par with the privileged groups, they should be allowed certain compensation in free India. If avenues for upward social mobility have to be opened to these groups, 'reservations' have to be a major compensatory measure. Further, the choice of caste or collectivity as a basis of reservation is legitimate, as deprivations are shared by the whole caste collectively because they are inherited from the past.

Besides these arguments, the reservationists fundamentally look upon reservations as a matter of 'right' and assign it a much higher pedestal than 'merit'. Merit, according to them, is a cultural construct and is an element of hegemonic culture. They further believe that as soon as subaltern group achieve social mobility, caste will be rendered meaningless both in intercaste and inter-personal relations.

On the other hand, the 'anti-reservationists' view the issue of reservations as antithetical to the ideal of "equality of opportunity" as enshrined in the Indian constitution. They argue that individual merit is ignored in the name of social justice, which results in injustice to the meritorious. This leads to the frustration among them and hence affects the efficiency of the society as a whole. Secondly, they say that reservations sharpen caste boundaries instead of breaking them. Thirdly, they find collectivity as a basis for compensatory discrimination to be anti-individualistic (Parekh and Mitra, 1990)

Ramchander (1982) studied the attitudes of the elite towards the reservation policy in Karim Nagar district of Andhra Pradesh. He found that the elites belonging to the dominant castes were strongly against the reservation policy. Regarding the "attitudes towards reservation", majority of the non-scheduled castes were in favor of the termination in toto of the policy of reservation. On the other hand, majority of the scheduled castes favored the continuation of the policy of reservations in government

employment. Also, a majority of the three non-scheduled castes respondents, considered the policy of reservation in government employment as “ruinous”.

Regarding the utilization of the scholarships provided for the scheduled caste students, Oommen (1977) found that the actual beneficiaries were not the poorest or the most deserving among the scheduled castes, but were those who were already economically better off among them. He found that these somewhat affluent sections among the scheduled castes grabbed the scholarships for higher education. Sachidananda (1974), Pimpaly (1976), Chitnis (1977), Kirpal (1978) and D’souza (1979) came to similar conclusion that the economically better off among the scheduled castes have been able to avail themselves of the educational opportunities more than the really impoverished

Regarding the educational opportunities for the scheduled castes, Premi (1974) observes that new inequalities are creeping up among the scheduled castes themselves. She writes: “Mere existence of facilities does not ensure their optimum use. Awareness and acceptance are essential for utilization. To maximize the use, it is necessary to generate better awareness. More publicity is needed to ensure the wider use of the facilities and to find out the reasons for the poor use.

HIGHER EDUCATION-

Following the guiding principles of state policy enshrined in our constitution, which assure social justice and equality of opportunity to all, several special facilities are offered to the scheduled castes in higher education. It is to help them overcome the handicaps arising from deep rooted inequalities and to enable them to secure the same opportunities and position in life as the others. These special facilities are-

- a) Financial assistance in the form of stipend, free tuition, refund of admission and examination fee, book loans, assistance to stay in hostel and free coaching facilities.
- b) Reservation of seats in professional institutions for the scheduled castes in proportion to their population in the state.
- c) Relaxation in admission criteria where the same are prescribed, i.e., 5 to 10 percent relaxation in marks and 5 years of age relaxation at the time of admission.

The efforts that have been put in to expand education among the scheduled castes have yielded certain results. If the percentage of literate Harijans was altogether 2 per cent in 1931, in 1961, it was 10.3 per cent, in 1971, it was 14.7 per cent and in 1981, it has risen to 21.4 per cent. (The general all-India index of literacy was 36.2 per cent in 1981) Now the position of the scheduled castes in higher education is better. This was to a certain extent due to reservation of seats in higher educational institutions for members of these castes and the financial assistance given to scheduled castes students. If at the beginning of the forties there were only about 100 Harijans who had received higher education, their number had risen to 5,00,000 by the beginning of the eighties. However, the ratio of students from the scheduled castes did not exceed 7.5 per cent of the total number of young people studying in universities and colleges (although the reservation system provided 15 per cent of the seats to them) (Sharma, 1981).

Author, Khajapeer (1996), too points out that though our constitution provided several provisions for the education, there is a gap prevailing which exists between the precept and practice, with respect to the education of these sections i.e., SC, ST, and BCs. According to the author, the enrolments of SC's and ST's in higher education are not in proportion to their respective population shares of 15 and 7 percent.

In the year 1988-89, under post graduation, 10.5%, 2.9% and 5.4% of SCs were enrolled in the arts, science and commerce streams respectively. And only 2.9% of SC were enrolled for Ph.D. all over India (Selected educational statistics, 1988-89, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India).

The UGC (1985) has brought out the gap that prevailed in the enrolments of the SC and ST candidates during 1978-79. According to this source, for post-graduate and research degree admissions, the enrolments of the SC candidate was 7.62%. This clearly shows that they are underrepresented.

A number of social scientists are becoming critical of the manner in which the whole scheme of distribution of educational privileges is operating and are expressing misgivings about its outcome. Suma Chitnis (1972), on the basis of an empirical study in Maharashtra, has attacked the post-matric scholarship scheme, the central pillar of educational facilities for the scheduled castes at the higher stages. She has

shown that scholarships are not optimally and equitably used, but creating new inequalities. Reservations for the SCs is causing much tension as competition for higher education and training intensify. Relaxation in marks poses great problems for the scheduled castes students themselves and it is generally feared that it has resulted in the lowering of standards.

EMPLOYMENT-

In spite of all these welfare schemes and reservations in the employment, the SC employment trend is not encouraging. Though there is an increase in employment in percentage, it is not upto the mark. According to the information received from DOPT, the group-wise representation of SCs in Central Government services as on 1-1-95 is as follows:

TABLE-2.3
REPRESENTATION OF SCs IN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES (1995)-

GROUP	TOTAL	SC	%
‘A’	65408	6637	10.15
‘B’	108857	13797	12.67
‘C’	2341863	378172	16.15
‘D’	1041082	221380	21.26
(excluding sweepers)			
TOTAL	3557210	619986	17.43
SWEEPERS	177527	78719	44.34
GRAND TOTAL	3734737	698705	18.71

During 1971 only 2.58% SC represented for class I central government service, which rose to 9.09% in 1991 and to 10.15 % in 1995 as shown in table 2.3. In 1971, only 4.06% SC represented for class II services in central government, this rose to 11.82% in 1991 and 12.67 % in 1995. And for class III service, 9.59% in 1971 rose to 15.65% in 1991 to 16.15 % in 1995 and for class IV service 18.37% in 1971 rose to 21.24% in 1991 to 21.26 % in 1995, which does not include sweepers at all India level (eighth five year plan, 1992-1997). 44.34 % of the sweepers are from

SCs which shows the overrepresentation. Thus, even till date in the category of group A and B services the 15% representation is not achieved.

The percentage of reservation of SCs in various groups or posts under the Central Public Sector Enterprises as on 1-1-96 as furnished by the Department of Public Enterprises is given below

Again the table 2.4, shows that only 8.41% of SCs represent the group 'A' services and only 9.68% of SCs represent the group 'B' services which is much lower than the 15% mark. Whereas as large as 87.34% of Safai Karamcharis or Sweepers are from SCs.

TABLE 2.4
REPRESENTATION IN CENTRAL PUBLIC SECTOR ENTERPRISES

GROUP	TOTAL	SC	%
'A'	1,98,625	16,710	8.41
'B'	1,64,402	15,921	9.68
'C'	11,32,860	2,16,801	19.14
'D' (excluding Safai Karamcharies)	4,77,254	1,06,934	22.41
TOTAL	19,73,141	3,56,366	18.06
SAFAI KARAMCHARIES	24,623	21,506	87.34
GRAND TOTAL	19,97,764	3,77,872	18.91

Another study on the "impact of reservation policy" made by Ramaswamy (1974) conducted in Andhra Pradesh, opines that though the polity of preferential treatment of scheduled castes has been in practice for over two decades, it has barely scraped the surface of the problem. Even in the urban areas, only a fraction of the posts in the administration, which are reserved for them, is actually filled.

In Andhra Pradesh, reservations for SCs and STs are fixed at 15% and 6% respectively in recruitment to Government Services, Public Sector undertakings and also in institution which are receiving grant-in-aid from Government. From time to time, orders have been issued to clear the backlog of vacancies. Several review

meetings were also conducted by the Chief Secretary. However, backlog vacancies were left unfilled till 1995. As per the special instructions issued by the State Government a Special Recruitment Drive was done in 1996 and 2162 vacancies were filled up. Now the present backlog is 9652 as per the latest report from the Social Welfare Department of Andhra Pradesh Secretariat. The State Govt. should take necessary steps to fill up the backlog vacancies and furnish information to the commission (SC/ST commissions report, 1996)

But the scholars Bendix and Lipset (1966) are of different view According to them by and large, the higher castes and classes throughout Indian history monopolize and make use of the best available educational opportunities. For instance, during the Vedic period, it was the Brahmana who benefited most, during the Mughal period, it was the nobility of Islam, during the British period, it was the aristocracy and the Indian feudals, and during contemporary time, it is the elite from the higher castes and class background.

One author (Kamath, 1989) gives, perspective of the inequalities prevailing in the education of the SCs and STs, which are equally true of their higher education also. These are (I) the extremely uneven education progress of SCs and STs in different states (ii) It's wide variation between different types of SC/ST communities. (iii) The appropriation of the facilities meant for them by the newly emerging elite groups among them and (iv) the resistance offered to their education by the vested interest in the country for the fear of losing their labour. Thus the dimensions of the problem of inequalities in the education of these groups have deep-rooted causes.

The author Prof. Nandu Ram (1995) in his book "Beyond Ambedkar" pointed out that even after such a long period and even after putting much efforts there are found quantitative but not much qualitative change in the educational achievements of the dalits. At the time of receiving higher education the dalit students face social and structural constraints both at the macro and micro level. But still education has given the dalits an opportunity for achieving rapid progress. A section of them has been able to utilize the education in some practical ways and thereby to achieve the status of a new middle class through, securing of job oriented activities and improving their life styles

In the economic front Mishra and Kaur (1990) stated that the direct outcome of the policy should have been equal distribution of economic resources and a worthwhile sharing of power at different levels in the running of the state affairs. The concomitant outcome of various policies was supposed to be a breakdown of the caste hierarchies, removal of stigma attached to the scheduled castes and the creation of a pressure group in the administration to safeguard the rights and interests of these sections of the Indian society. But according to scholars, the policy has failed to realize its above objectives and it has resulted in the formation of an elite class with vested interests within the SCs

The question, "How close to equality are scheduled castes" was reviewed by Chandi Das, (1969). He reports that even after two decades of implementation of social welfare programs their position compared to that of the non-scheduled castes is still very inferior as regards titles to land as well as size of landholdings. He further writes: "Their depressed position is reflected again in their economic and social mobility. Their rates of urbanization and education, compared to those of non-scheduled castes are low. Despite four decades of efforts, even now they suffer from crippling economic disabilities. A large number of laborers and those engaged in such professions as scavenging, flaying and tanning belong to scheduled castes and even today they continue to live below the poverty line.

Several SC/ST communities in different parts of the country continue to suffer not only from economic disabilities but also from such practices as untouchability in some form or the other in total violation of the ban imposed on it under Article 17 of the Constitution. What is worse, this section is becoming increasingly vulnerable to crimes. The number of registered crimes against them, which were registered, was over 15,000 per year till 1986. The number of crimes only makes a mockery of the Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955, which was brought on the statute book chiefly for the protection of weaker sections (Rasheeduddin Khan, 1990). Crimes and atrocities against the SC are on an increase, it is reported (Eighth Five Year Plan) that 76,748 cases of atrocities against persons belonging to SC's were reported between 1986 and 1990. Of these 3,328 cases were of murder, 5,339 of rape and 4,325 of arson.

It is found that policies like the distribution of land to the landless, revision of minimum wages, distribution of house sites, abolition of bonded labour lead to the creation of social tensions, particularly in the rural areas. Dissatisfaction mounted upon the part of the caste-Hindus due to the privileged treatment given to the SCs in services and professional educational institutions. The incidence of assaults shows sharp upward trend after 1977. In 1976, 5,160 incidents of atrocities on the SC were reported, in 1977, 10,879 and in 1978, 15,059 incidents were reported (Vakil, 1985).

Social discrimination against the Harijans is accompanied by their economic oppression. And because the scheduled castes no longer want to live as before and are beginning actively to come out in Defence of their rights and interest, this leads to clashes between them and the rich, high caste Hindus. As a rule, the victims are the Harijans. The Indian press reports the numerous occasions when Harijans are beaten up and even killed. The greatest number of these occurred in states where caste factors continue to play an important role in social and political life- in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.

Determinants of Educational Performance-

The Scheduled Caste students by and large do not form a homogenous group. There exist considerable variations among them on the basis of their family background- education of parents and siblings, occupation of parent's etc. It is hypothesized that these factors or variables intum influence their performance in education, on their hopes and aspirations, the nature and extent of their interactions as well as their position or status in educational institutions (Radhakrishnan, and Ranjana Kumari, 1989; Parvathamma, and Satyanarayana, 1984; Vishwanadam, et.al., 1985).

It is generally accepted that the education and the occupation of parents, and the ethos of the children's homes are crucial in determining their educational performance. Children of educated parents and of parents engaged in white collar occupation, particularly the professionals are not only better prepared for going to school, but they also continue to gain from their background throughout their career, than the children of uneducated parents or parents following blue collar occupation. Thus advantage comes from the fact that the educated parents and white collar professional homes belong to a culture that is intune with the world of formal

education. Uneducated homes, or blue collar occupation homes do not conform to such a culture. The advantage that children from educated and white collar occupation backgrounds get is reinforcement throughout the educational career, by the help of their parents, who may provide help with their homework or with the guidance in the choice of courses and careers. Disadvantaged home background refers to poverty and uneducated family atmosphere. Studies examining the relationship between the social class backgrounds of children and their performance at school have repeatedly shown that children from lower class homes are disadvantaged for learning (S Chitnis, 1972)

More students are enrolled and tend to perform better whose parents have some kind of education ranging from the informal to college education than the children of illiterate parents. I.e., the higher the fathers education and occupation, the better the performance of the ward and higher his/ her aspirations (Radhakrishnan, and Ranjana Kumari, 1989; Parvathamma, and Satyanarayana, 1984; Vishwanadam, 1985; Chitnis, 1972, 1981).

Along with the educational attainments of parents, education of siblings has equal or more impact on others in the family (Radhakrishnan, and Ranjana Kumari, 1989, Parvathamma, and Satyanarayana, 1984)

But, in a large percentage of cases, the parents of the present generation scheduled caste students are either illiterate or educated to only primary level and this is more so in the case of mothers. With the result the present generation SC students become first generation or at best second generation educated persons in their respective families (Chitnis, 1972; Radhakrishnan, and Ranjana Kumari, 1989, Parvathamma, and Satyanarayana, 1984, Ravi Prasad, 1997).

Enrolment, Drop out and stagnation-

Table 2.5, shows the enrolment of SC v/s Non-SC in the year 1993 in A.P. Their enrolment in different levels of education i.e., primary, middle, higher secondary and higher education is given. At primary level itself the difference between SC and non-SC shows that only 16.2% of SCs are enrolled in primary classes whereas as large as 83.8% of Non-SC are enrolled in to the primary classes. As the levels of education increases the percentage of SC students is falling from 16.2% to 8.5% from primary to higher education. Whereas it is increasing in the case of non-

SC from 83.8% to 91.5%. Thus the percentage of enrolment at higher education is very less i.e., 8.5% among SCs whereas it is maximum 91.5% among Non-SCs.

TABLE-2.5
ENROLMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTES and NON SCs, 1993 (in lakhs)

CATEGORY	SC		NON-SC	
	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%
PRIMARY	75.8	16.2	906.2	83.8
MIDDLE	55.8	14.0	343.3	86.0
HIGH. SEC.	28.1	12.0	205.3	87.9
HIGHER EDU.	3.9	8.5	41.8	91.5

SOURCE. biannual Report (1994-95) HRD, GOI

“Drop out”, and “Stagnation” are the major problems with respect to the scheduled caste children. Stagnation is the phenomenon, of repetition of the same class in the school and college due to failure in the examinations and the consequent denial of promotion to the next class, or due to inadequate attendance necessitated by economic difficulties, poor health or other problems. Chitnis and Aikara (1977) found a very high incidence of stagnation and drop out among scheduled castes.

According to the report (Eighth Five-Year plan, 1992-1997) a large number of scheduled caste children discontinue their studies (dropout) prematurely before completing the level for which they were enrolled. The drop out in 1986-87 for class I-V was 50.79%. In classes I-VIII, the drop out rate was as high as 69.15%. The drop out rate at the school and college/ university levels has assumed alarming proportions. The maximum dropout rate reveals the fact that poverty is their constant companion and they are forced to withdraw their children during the agricultural seasons, and lack of economic incentives, besides the overt discrimination.

These segments of population are still very backward both in literacy and enrolment, except at the elementary or primary level in some states. There is a steep fall in enrolment in higher stages. The higher the stage the lesser the number of Dalit pupil enrolment. And again within this proportion of the stunted growth the proportion of girls is small and in their case the fall is even steeper.

Gender wise dropouts of Scheduled Caste students has been shown in table 2.6. At least three important conclusions can be derived from this table. Firstly, the rates of drop out works out higher for each stage of education for Scheduled Caste category in comparison to All India category. Secondly, the same conclusion is true for each gender of Scheduled Caste category to each corresponding gender of All India category for each stage of education. Also, there is a gender wise large disparity between the boys and girls in SC category and All India category.

TABLE 2.6
GENDERWISE DROP-OUT RATES OF SC STUDENTS: 1989-90

STAGE	SC STUDENTS			ALL INDIA STUDENTS		
	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
PRIMARY	45.93	53.74	49.03	35.05	38.57	36.32
MIDDLE	64.29	73.10	67.62	49.95	56.78	52.80
SECONDARY	76.61	84.20	79.42	68.41	74.74	70.90

SOURCE: Annual Reports, Deptt. Of Education, Govt. of India

At the graduate level, of the total students appearing, 6.19% were scheduled castes, and at the postgraduate level, their percentage was 7.64. Their pass percentage at postgraduate level was 69.83% as against the general pass percentage of 75.83% (The illustrated weekly of India). A report of IIT – Bombay shows that 25% of scheduled caste students of the institute discontinue their studies in the first year itself, as against just 6% among other castes. Reason here is not financial, but because they were not able to cope up with the institutes high standards of education (Kirpal, 1984).

The scheduled castes, more than the others, are forced to use the labor of their children to supplement the family income. In recent years the exploitation of child labor has grown in India, especially in the traditional crafts. A large number of children are engaged in the service sector (motor vehicles servicing, eating establishments, shops, markets and so on), but they are specially numerous in agriculture. Thus, data collected from field research done in six villages in Telangana, one of the regions of the state of Andhra Pradesh, showed that 73 per cent of the children working “on contract between their parents and the employers”

belonged to the Harijans and tribes. These children were virtually given as bonded labor to the landowners by their parents who were in many instances forced to do this as they could not repay the debts left over to them by their fathers (Linga Murthy et al , 1985)

Interaction with Teachers and Peer Groups-

A study (Eshanul Haq, 1991) conducted among schools and inter- colleges of the Dobhi region of Sultanpur, U.P. shows that the higher castes (Thakurs) have almost total control over the educational structure, it tried to perpetuate itself by making the entire educational machinery instrumental of their influence. For example, it controls and affects election of the members of managing committees, recruitment of teachers, administrative staffs, admission of students and their socialization, distribution of various types of patronage and facilities etc. It is through the educational structure and educational process that the values pertaining to caste like untouchability, caste feeling, casteism, parochialism, caste superiority, caste hatred, discrimination, etc. are transmitted and education becomes a mechanism of traditionalization of modernity. Thus, even today, education is being used as an apparatus of exploitation, discrimination and manipulation and of consolidating their traditional control over modern resources.

According to the author the caste based discrimination not only influences the selection of teachers and students, the election of the members of managing committees and the distribution of privileges, but also the process of teaching and learning which is considered a main source of continuity, a torch bearer of traditional as well as of modern values. The teacher is the product of certain social conditions. He or she becomes an agent of preserving and promoting traditional values like purity-pollution, ascription, and structured social inequality. Caste ideology, caste culture, caste and communal loyalty, non-secular and particularistic values, caste based discrimination and socialized inequality are carried on through the process of teaching and learning (Haq, 1991).

Haq (1991) reports numerous examples, where caste affects other aspects of education like politics, evaluation, and interpersonal relationships. Not only teaching has become caste-infected, but also hostel life. One may observe caste based alliances in the selection of room mates and peer groups. Similarly, the process of

evaluation- another very important component of education- is not free from caste influences either. At a higher level of education, especially in one of the colleges, the evaluation is biased, that invariably, only a person from the higher caste tops the merit list. Even at other institutions of higher learning and research including those located at central places like Delhi, where there is internal assessment, factors like caste, region, language, religion, ideology and personal consideration do play an important role, resulting in subjective and biased assessment by the teacher.

Most of the educational institutes are established and managed by the members of upper castes. It has been reported that perceptible discrimination against scheduled castes is practiced. Most of the teachers are drawn from upper castes and probably scheduled caste students feel neglected (Vishwanadam, et.al., 1985).

In a study in schools and colleges in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh by S. RadhaKrishna and Ranjana Kumari (1989) reported that scheduled caste students have to face discrimination in schools. In the sample only 42% of the students have reported that the teachers are helpful and sympathetic. Of the rest 36% reported that they do not show either any extra attention or any discrimination. But 22% clearly stated that the teachers are discriminative and not helpful.

Though education has become widespread, the scheduled caste student during educational career still faces prejudices of his educator. Eighty percent of the 1030 students in the survey (Chitnis, 1973) had to sit outside the classrooms in their primary stage owing to the observance of untouchability in the villages where they began their educational career. Only 40% of the students replied that they received encouragement from their teacher, 28% said that they were definitely discouraged by their teachers, nearly 15% said their teachers showed an indifferent attitude. Some 529 students' i.e., 51.3% experienced discriminatory treatment from their caste Hindu classmates

Majority of those who experienced discrimination from teachers attributed the reason to the caste prejudices that are still lingering among the upper castes. Some of them think they are discriminated for the simple reason that they are poor and hence have to depend upon the government. Another group pointed out the general belief among some of the upper caste teachers that the SC students are inferior and are not fit for higher studies (RadhaKrishnan and Ranjana Kumari, 1989).

The relationship between the teachers and students is purely superficial in the case of the Dalit students. The Dalit student's relationship with a teacher will end only with classroom lectures. And it is all artificial, confined only to the completion of the syllabus. But the Dalit students are in need of human relationships but not merely the formal and academic (Ravi Prasad, 1997).

The SC students face more acutely and frequently non-cooperative and hostile attitude from the upper caste members in their class. As a result the SC students generally like to live separately from the upper caste students. Their interaction between the two sections is limited to the minimum both within the class and outside (RadhaKrisnan and Ranjana Kumari, 1989)

The school climate for the disadvantaged groups of students is qualitatively different than for the advantaged students. In a school situation where advantaged students are put together with the disadvantaged, a feeling of self-deprivation is generated. As Friere (1970) holds, 'Self Depreciation' is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derive from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors have of them. So often do they hear that they are good for nothing and are incapable of learning anything that they are sick, lazy and unproductive that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness.

From teachers' side, it is long been assumed that the way in which teachers react to students may influence the pupil's scholastic achievement. In this view, when teachers expect high performance from a child, they tend to interpret whatever the child says in a positive light, which then spurs the pupil to even higher accomplishments. Conversely, a student from whom little is expected will be discouraged from excelling and will eventually perform at a minimal level. This is an example of "self fulfilling prophecy" whereby people (e.g., teachers) behave in a way that ultimately makes their predictions (e.g., a child academic achievements) likely to come true (Beth Hess, et. al., 1991).

The teachers expectancy and peer group acceptance has been particularly found significant in determining the supportiveness of the perceived climate. The concept "expectancy effect" as determinant of educational achievement has received much attention, beginning with Rosenthal and Jacobson's studies (1973). It is found that teachers expecting good performance from students give more feedback, create

warmer socio-emotional mood, teach more material that is difficult and give enough time to their pupils to respond (Rosenthal, 1973).

Teachers praise and approval enhance self-regard. A number of studies have shown that the achievement of the minority group is depressed because their teachers do not expect them to perform well (Clark, 1965).

The child's teacher is not the only source of his evaluation his peers may also exert an independent influence. Students coming from lower castes find little support from their peers who generally come from high or middle caste groups. It is found that the perception of the school climate as unsupportive in the case of students coming from such disadvantaged groups as Harijans may be due to the non-expectations and indifferent behavior of their teachers and peers (Namita Pande and Tripathi, 1982).

Social Discrimination-

The basic question that one may raise by way of examining the respondents encounter with caste and casteism is whether they are identified as belonging to the scheduled caste and whether their scheduled caste identity affects the behaviour of their classmates towards them.

In view of the fact that education is expected to make for a more liberal outlook, Suma Chitnis (1981) from her findings reports that the percentage of those who feel that the behaviour of their classmates is affected by awareness of their caste is larger at college than at school. Majority of both, school and college students say that their classmates are aware of the fact that they belong to the SCs. A substantial percentage of students from both sample groups say that their classmates behaviour is affected by their awareness, and the percentage of students, who explicitly mention experience of discrimination, is not very large.

Another question, do all SC students feel equally discriminated against or do those who come from educated homes or from otherwise advantaged backgrounds complain less than others? Education does make a difference. The data (Suma Chitnis, 1981) on college students confirm the impression that those who come from uneducated homes are more likely to complain about discrimination than those who come from educated homes. The percentage of college students who say that they

have suffered discrimination drops with successively higher levels of fathers education.

The fact is that the attitude of people towards the scheduled castes even today has not changed. For example, some schools admitting members of scheduled castes segregate them in separate benches in one corner of the same classroom. In another state, the scheduled castes and the caste Hindu students were living in the same hostel but were segregated in different rooms. Besides, while the menials of the hostel washed the plates of the caste Hindu students after eating, the scheduled caste students were required to wash their own plates. Five years ago, there was a strike in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, on the issue of the scheduled caste students taking their meals in the common mess (Ram Ahuja, 1993).

The attitude of the people of Bihar towards scheduled caste is indicated by the 'Stereotypes' given by two hundred students of Patna University studied by Sinha and Sinha (Social Forces, 1967). Of the total forward caste students, 68.0% described Chamars, Doms, and Bangis as backward, 56.0% described them as crooked, 55.0% as uncultured, 54.0% as physically dirty, 52.0% as drunkard, and 47.5% as ugly.

Exploration on the social outlook and attitudes of the respondents gave some valuable insights. These studies reveal that respondents on the issues of marriage continue to be conformist and traditional in this area of their personal lives. The majority subscribes to caste endogamy. Respondents are acutely conscious of their caste identity and suggest that this consciousness is likely to make a sense of inferiority. Respondents are unable to cut across caste barriers in the matter of friendship. Majority of them chooses their best friends from their own sub-caste or caste. Whether this is due to their own inability to cut across caste barriers or because of the unwillingness of other caste peers to reach out to them is not explored (Chitnis, 1981; Parvathamma, 1984; Radhakrishnan, et.al, 1989, Omprakash, 1993).

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS-

There are numerous small and large organizations of the Dalits all over the country such as the Dalit Sangarsha Samiti in Karnataka, Indian Dalit Federation in Kerala, Dalit Mahasabha in Andhra Pradesh, Bahujana in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar etc. Organization is referred as a formal Organization, which has a purposive device for

the achievement of specific goals or the carrying out of given functions in society (Charlotte Seymour Smith, 1986). Within the organizations, there are many features and functions. The Organization has an ideology, identity, leadership and its function is to mobilize people for maximizing their goals. The organization tries to safeguard the interests of their group by different mechanisms like agitations, protests, strikes, hunger strikes, bandhs etc. The approach can be defensive, offensive, or peaceful.

At the national Level under the leadership of Dr. Baba Saheb B.R. Ambedkar, all the Dalits became very conscious of the caste discrimination and so they launched a number of movements to protest against untouchability and for the eradication of the caste system. Students all over India founded students Organizations and struggled to attain equality with the other castes (Ravi Prasad, 1997)

In September 1944, Dr B R. Ambedkar came to Hyderabad. On that occasion, the SC welfare association gave a grand welcome to him. His tour in Andhra Pradesh gave an inspiration to mobilize all the Dalits and unite them to fight for their problems. The majority of the people who were involved on this occasion were the students who started resisting the domination of the upper castes. However, with the increase of the mobilization of students and their activities the atrocities on them too increased.

Today the students in the Universities are the cream of the Dalit Communities Almost all the students come to the level of the university with awareness in their social background. And hence they have hatred for casteism and its various ugly forms, which are trying to oppress the Dalit students In this way, the students always are in a mood to revolt against the system and they struggle to bring awareness among the Dalit students through consciously organized meetings (Ravi Prasad, 1997)

To fight out the oppression on them they actively participate in the students union politics. And they secretly enroll themselves as members of the political group that is akin to their ideas and actively participate in its activities. And so the study by Ravi Prasad (1997) reports that the dalit students concentrate more on the Dalit student's problems in the colleges. Such activities seriously disturb the academic atmosphere on account of strikes and agitations. But in this way, there are advantages for the dalit students to enhance their status and role in the student community and to

defeat the dominating role of the upper caste and to survive and be equal with the other students.

Generally the conflicts develop between the Dalit students and the upper caste students on the issue of reservation in education, hostel accommodation, concessions, caste feelings etc. These conflicts will grow in the form of hostile attitudes and caste discriminations. And such attitudes develop feelings of hatred, arrogance, and unhealthy competition between them. The existence of such difference between them will lead to caste tensions, ideological tensions and the status tensions etc. These tensions grow when the Dalit students openly demand for the implementation of the reservations and the other facilities. And when they are refused, there will be more agitations and struggles, which will only create more conflicts between the students. Therefore the problems of the Dalit students have ultimately to be traced to caste hatred and conflicts, such bitter experiences have led that Dalit organizations to build up their counter activities only to continue the Dalit and non-Dalit differences and disunity in the society (Ravi Prasad, 1997).

Self Concept-

Self-concept is in large part a social product, determined by the attitudes and behavior of others towards the individual. It has been assumed that low self-esteem may result from minority status. It has been emphasized that racial segregation had the potential to damage the self-esteem of black children. Socio-economic factors also affect the self-esteem or the personality patterns. The psychological effects of ascribed low status on the personality of the victims of untouchability can be very deep. It has been observed by various studies of the Black or Afro-American personality in the United States that some of the consequences of their social status are lowered self-esteem, confusion of self identity, self hate, perception of the world as a hostile place, hypertension and neurosis (Allport, 1954, Karon, 1958).

Paranjpe (1970) conducted a similar kind of study to assess the effect of caste on individual students. The feeling of utter frustration arising out of economic and cultural deprivation was found to be a characteristic of scheduled caste individuals. Many scheduled caste people commonly shared feelings of inferiority.

Omprakash, (1993), studied the psychological symptoms exhibited by scheduled caste students of IIT. In his study he found that scheduled caste students are more poorly adjusted than their caste Hindu counter parts.

Methodology and Theoretical Perspective-

Eulalie Van Heerden has conducted a comprehensive, ethnographic research on Black University students (1995) This study was undertaken to determine which and how, sociocultural factors influence the academic performance of black students at a distance education University in South Africa. Several socio-cultural factors were found to be influencing the academic performance. These include inadequate preparation for schooling, unfamiliarity with the University's culture of learning, inefficient learning styles, problems with the organization of study and the use of available study time, language difficulties, economic and physical environmental factors Interviews, case studies and observation methods were used. A contextual and individualistic-holistic approach to case studies was applied. The present study too has tried to explore on the above guidelines. The above enumerated socio-cultural factor's, like inadequate preparation for schooling, unfamiliarity with the University's culture of learning, problems in comprehending and understanding the subjects, language difficulties, economic and physical environmental, influence is seen on the academic performance.

A nation wide study of the educational problems of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes were undertaken and sponsored by ICSSR (Chitnis, 1972, 1981, Parvathamamma and Satyanarayana, 1989) "A long way to go- Report on a survey of Scheduled Caste high school and college students in fifteen states of India" (Chitnis, 1972, 1981) was a project sponsored by ICSSR. Though the study touches on several points and raises several issues. But because it was done on a large scale, the issues could not be probed and were not studied in-detail.

Another nation wide study on the educational problems of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe school and college students was initiated and founded by the ICSSR in the year 1973-74 Part of the above project was published in the form of a book by Parvathamamma and Satyanarayana, named "New horizons and scheduled caste (1984)". This book tries to give first hand information on the nature of difficulties and problems faced by the scheduled caste college students in Karnataka. Questionnaires

were administered. No theoretical perspective has been used for studying the problem in all the above studies.

Ravi Prasad, in his book, "Dalit Youth"- a sociological study, tries to explore the major problems and issues involved in understanding the life of the Dalit youth in the Indian society. Basically, a doctoral thesis is a study conducted among graduates and post- graduate students of Kakatiya University, Warangal, Andhra Pradesh. This is a survey kind of study based on the questionnaires collected from a sample of 200 students. Most of the questionnaires were administered personally. The study tries to explore the socio-economic background of the SC youth, their awareness about the facilities, their aspirations, expectations and attitudes. Further, the author tries to give an account of the Dalit student's participation in activities like student organizations.

In this study, a majority of the students are coming from poverty-stricken homes and are mostly from rural areas. Most of their educational background is in Telugu medium, which seems to hamper their chances of achieving higher academic goals. At every state of education, they have suffered from insufficient financial assistance. But due to reservation policy, they are encouraged to study from schooling to University.

This study has touched upon various issues concerning a student's life in the colleges and universities, but it lacks in-depth analysis. Also, the issues raised are not examined with the respect to the rural-urban distribution, sex, or caste wise distribution, which the author, in the first chapter, emphasizes that the students are not from a similar background. Also, there exists lot of difference with regard to rural / urban and its relation with their aspirations and attitudes.

Another study (Radhakrishnan and Ranjana Kumari, 1989) was conducted in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh to understand certain issues related to the higher education of the scheduled caste youths and its subsequent impact on them. Group interviews and informal talks with students too were conducted, as well.

Most of the existing studies (Chitnis, 1981; Parvathamma, et.al., Radhakrishnan, et.al., 1989; Vishwanadham, et al., 1985) are survey type studies, with emphasis on quantitative analysis. An in-depth analysis is lacking. They have mostly explored the factors influencing the poor performance of scheduled caste students in academics.

REMEDIAL MEASURES FOR IMPROVEMENT IN EDUCATION-

A mere existence of facilities does not ensure their optimum use. Awareness and acceptance are essential for utilization. To maximize the use, it is necessary to generate better awareness. More publicity is needed to ensure the wider use of facilities like book loans, hostel assistance and pre-admission coaching facilities (Premi, 1974)

Children of class I and II categories of Scheduled caste officers should not be accorded any preferential treatment as in their case, the environmental handicaps have been largely overcome. This will not only ensure more opportunities to the deprived, but also good beginning for a gradual discontinuance of privileged status (Premi, 1974)

Khajapeer (1996) offers a few suggestions to democratize higher education, i.e., to enable them to acquire early placement in jobs by providing courses that have job potential, to develop and promote entrepreneurship

There is a gap in the medium of instruction at the higher education level. This gap is more pronounced in case of students coming from rural areas. The gap is due to the fact that at the high school or PUC level, they do their studies through the medium of regional languages, while at the degree or post-graduate level they have to adjust to the English medium. In addition, there is a paucity of books in regional languages at the post graduate level. To promote their enrolment and to sustain them at the higher education level, there is a need to reorient the medium of instruction, preferably to suit their earlier pursuits and to produce good text books and reference books in regional languages. There is also a need to supplement lecture method of teaching with tutorials, seminars and remedial teaching sessions (Khajapeer, 1996)

THE PROFILE OF THE SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS

The present research is carried out on the Scheduled Caste Students pursuing higher education in the two universities of Hyderabad. 1. Osmania University, which is a state university and 2. University of Hyderabad, which is a central university

This chapter presents a profile of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents and their families. The emphasis here is to understand the family background of the rural and urban respondents i.e., the economic, social and educational background of their parents, which forms the background of the students, as well as the village environment, in the case of rural respondents.

The study of the family environment becomes important as it has been considered as one of the basic institutions, which mould the personality and the behavior of a person. It is hypothesized that the family influences the academic performance of students. It also helps to understand the levels of their hopes and aspirations. The information on family background will help to analyze the factors, influencing the academic performance of the respondent and also the nature and extent of their social interactions.

The data about the respondent's age, marital status, their religion and the jati to which they belong is given. Their place of birth and brought up is also explored. The environment, (whether rural, semi-urban or urban) from which they come is probed into. From the sample, the courses that they have joined are also sorted out.

On analyzing the data, it was found that the students, in this study, do not form a homogeneous group. There exist considerable variations among them on the basis of their family background- i.e., socio-economic, educational and occupational background of their parent's and their religious and jati distribution.

FAMILY BACKGROUND-

Fifteen- percent of the respondents reported that their fathers have expired. For the rest of the respondent's fathers age ranges from forty years to eighty years.

Another five percent of the respondents reported that their mother has expired. For the remaining, the mother's age ranges from thirty-two years to seventy years.

Education and Occupation of Parents-

An important and significant aspect that influences the education of the children is the educational level of the parents. In the context of scheduled castes, the educational level of parents may assume special importance because of its ability to provide the right inspiration and guidance for their children in higher education in the absence of many other positive factors.

More than fifty percent of the fathers are either illiterate or can just read and write with no formal education. Very small percentage of them has gone for higher studies like post graduation or professional studies. This indicates that most of the respondents are the first generation educated who have come to this level of higher studies. Very few of them are the second generation pursuing higher studies.

Table-3.1, shows the educational levels of the respondent's parents, by occupational levels. In terms of the education of their fathers, 28 percent of the students have illiterate fathers. Another 29 percent of their fathers have no formal education, but can read and write. Among the educated, 8.6 percent completed matric and another 7.6 percent completed Intermediate studies. Those who have completed graduation constitute 15.2 percent. A negligible three-percent are postgraduates and 3.8 percent of the respondent's fathers are professionally qualified (engineers, doctors or scientists). The educational levels of the fathers, who have expired, are also listed in the table 3.1. Most of the respondent's fathers, who are from the rural areas, are illiterate or can just read and write. Only, the ones whose fathers are from the urban areas, have some educational qualifications.

Female literacy is consistently less than male literacy, either be it general population or the scheduled caste population. The same is found in the present study too. Considering the educational levels of the respondents mothers, table 3.1 shows that fifty percent of the sample respondents have mothers who are illiterate (52%). Another 22 percent of them can just read and write with no formal education. Among the educated, 10.6 percent of them are matric qualified, 6.7 percent of them are with intermediate qualification and only 5.8 percent of them are graduates. A negligible one percent sample respondent reported that her mother is professionally qualified

and is a government doctor. This shows that compared to the educational levels of the fathers, those of the mothers are even lower with nearly three fourth of them being either illiterate or being able to just read and write.

TABLE 3.1
EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS OF THE RESPONDENT'S PARENT

	Expired	Illiter-ate	Read/ Write	Matric	Inter	Gradu- ate	PG	Profes- sional	Total
OCCUPATION OF FATHER									
Expired	5 (38 5)	3 (23 1)	3 (23 1)	-	2 (15 4)	-	-	-	13(12 4)
Labor	1 (3 2)	18 (58 1)	9 (29 0)	2 (6 5)	1 (3 2)	-	-	-	31 (29 5)
Service	-	-	5 (17 2)	6 (20 7)	4 (13 8)	12(41 4)	2 (6 9)	-	29(27 6)
Profes- sional	-	-	-	-	-	1(16 7)	1 (16 7)	4(66 7)	6 (5 7)
Any Other	-	8 (30 8)	13 (50 0)	1 (3 8)	1 (3 8)	3 (11 5)	-	-	26 (24 8)
Total	6 (5 7)	29 (27 6)	30 (28 6)	9 (8 6)	8 (7 6)	16(15 2)	3 (2 9)	4 (3 8)	105(100 0)
OCCUPATION OF MOTHER									
Expired	1(100 0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1(1 0)
Labor	1 (2 9)	29 (82 9)	4 (11 4)	1 (2 9)	-	-	-	-	35 (33 7)
Service	-	-	-	2 (22 2)	3 (33 3)	3 (33 3)	-	1 (11 1)	9 (8 7)
House wife	-	18 (36 7)	16 (32 7)	8 (16 3)	4 (8 2)	3 (6 1)	-	-	49 (47 1)
Any Other	-	7 (70 0)	3 (30 0)	-	-	-	-	-	10 (9 6)
Total	2 (1 9)	54 (51 9)	23 (22 1)	11(10 6)	7 (6 7)	6 (5 8)	-	1 (1 0)	104 (100 0)

Considering the occupational levels of the fathers, they are classified into four categories, 'Labor', 'Service', 'Business', and 'Any other'. Labor meant agriculture laborers or landless laborers, as they do not own any land. Regionally they are also called as "coolie" 'Service' denotes those who are in some or the other job, especially as either class III or class IV employees. Professionals here imply those who are either class I officers or are in professional jobs like, doctors, engineers and scientists. 'Any Other' category constitutes mostly farmers or marginal farmers who own some land, ranging from one acre to a maximum of five acres, and small-scale businessmen. Just one or two respondents have given small-scale business as their father's occupation.

Table-3.1 shows that 29.5 percent of the respondents come from families where the fathers are engaged chiefly in agricultural labor. Another 24.8 percent, with agriculture as their main occupation. Roughly an equal percentage of 27.6 percent of the total sample are in the services, i.e., class III or class IV services, thus leaving the rest 5.7 percent between class I officers and professionals. Hence, the data shows that more than fifty percent of the sample respondents have fathers who are either agricultural laborers or marginal farmers.

Closely related to the educational level is the occupational level of the parents. Table 3.1 shows that most of the fathers who are illiterate (58%) and those who can just read and write (29%) are landless laborers. Here again, 58 percent of the illiterates are laborers, and another 50 percent of those who can read and write are marginal laborers. Only those who have some kind of formal education, ranging from matric to post-graduation, are in service.

A small percentage of respondent's father's, 5.7% who have pursued higher qualifications are either class I officers or are professionals. This shows that there is a close co-relation between education and occupation. Education is considered as a major vehicle for maintaining perspective occupational gains. Our data too, shows that higher the educational qualification of the parent, higher is the occupational grade.

Similarly, the co-relation between education and occupations of the mothers of the respondents was explored as well. Since most of the mothers are illiterate, there are less chances of them being into some kind of job other than manual labor, especially in the villages where agriculture is the main occupation. Generally, the economical conditions of the families of the scheduled caste are poor and the women folk too have to resort to some kind of work to earn a living. In the sample, 33.7 percent of the respondents reported that their mothers are engaged in agricultural labor or work as a "coolie". 9.6 percent of the respondents reported that their mothers work in their own fields. Another large percentage, i.e., 47 percent of the respondents reported that their mother is a housewife. Only 8.7 percent of the respondents reported that their mother is working, either as teacher or is a clerk.

Occupational background of the respondent's grand fathers were also enquired in order to see how many of them were engaged in caste occupations and to see whether these occupations are inherited by the next generations that is the

respondent's parents. 45.6 percent of the respondents reported that their grand fathers are either a landless agricultural laborer or were engaged in caste occupations like, shoe making, leather working or tanning. On the contrary, none of the respondents reported that their fathers are engaged in caste occupations, especially as shoemakers or tanners for another 43% percentage of the respondent's grand father's main occupation was agriculture, who owned marginal lands. A mere 5 percent of the respondents reported that their grand fathers were in service, that too as class III or class IV employees.

Thus, a large percentage of the sample respondents are coming from a family where both the fathers and mothers are illiterate or at the most can read and write. They may not show any interest in preparing them for schooling. They can hardly guide their children in the matters of education. Parents working as laborers, or those who are marginal farmers, can hardly find any time to look into the progress of their children in the schools or colleges after a hectic day of manual labor. After the school hours or in holidays, most of the grown up children, accompany their parents to the fields for helping them in some kind of work.

Another important factor, which may influence the motivation and performance of the students, is the socio-economic status of the family. Apart from the occupation of the parents, the family income, place of residence, ownership of land, house and other assets are a number of measures relating to socio-economic status. A student coming from a rural area and from a poor and illiterate family, with no property or any assets is considered to be from a disadvantaged family background. Student coming from urban and educated family, having necessary assets at home can be considered to be privileged or coming from socially advantaged environment.

The possession of durable goods or assets is another indicator of a household's socio-economic level. For example, having access to a radio or television may expose the household members to innovative ideas, a refrigerator prolongs the wholesomeness of food, and means of transportation allows greater access to many services outside the local areas, etc.

Table 3 2, provides a number of measures related to the socioeconomic status of the respondent's family, i.e., monthly family income, place of residence, ownership of land, ownership of house, and assets etc.

TABLE 3.2**SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS FAMILY****PARENTS INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES (PER MONTH, IN RUPEES)**

	1-1500	1501-3000	3001-6000	6001-15000	TOTAL
PARENTS PLACE OF RESIDENCE					
RURAL	45 (65.2)	9 (13.0)	11 (15.9)	4 (5.8)	69 (77.5)
URBAN	5 (33.3)	1 (6.7)	1 (6.7)	8 (53.3)	15 (16.9)
SEMI-URBAN	-	2 (40.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (5.6)
TOTAL	50 (56.2)	12 (13.5)	13 (14.6)	14 (15.7)	89 (100.0)
OWNERSHIP OF LAND					
NO LANDS	24 (57.1)	3 (7.1)	5 (11.9)	10 (23.8)	42 (48.8)
WET LAND	15 (53.6)	6 (21.4)	5 (17.9)	2 (7.1)	28 (32.6)
DRY LAND	11 (68.8)	2 (12.5)	2 (12.5)	1 (6.3)	16 (18.6)
TOTAL	50 (58.1)	11 (12.8)	12 (14.0)	13 (15.1)	86 (100.0)
WHETHER OWN A HOUSE					
YES	42 (52.5)	12 (15.0)	13 (16.3)	13 (16.3)	80 (89.9)
NO	8 (88.9)	-	-	1 (11.1)	9 (10.1)
TOTAL	50 (56.2)	12 (13.5)	13 (14.6)	14 (15.7)	89 (100.0)
WHAT KIND OF HOUSE					
THATCHED	22 (71.0)	3 (9.7)	5 (16.1)	1 (3.2)	31 (39.2)
BRICKS	19 (39.2)	9 (18.8)	8 (16.7)	12 (25.0)	48 (60.8)
TOTAL	41 (51.9)	12 (15.2)	13 (16.5)	13 (16.5)	79 (100.0)
OWN A HOUSE AT					
VILLAGE	41 (73.2)	8 (14.3)	6 (10.7)	1 (1.8)	56 (69.1)
TOWN	-	3 (25.0)	5 (41.7)	4 (33.3)	12 (14.8)
CITY	2 (15.4)	1 (7.7)	2 (15.4)	8 (61.5)	13 (16.0)
TOTAL	43 (53.1)	12 (14.8)	13 (16.0)	13 (16.0)	81 (100.0)
ASSETS					
NO ASSETS	14 (77.8)	-	4 (22.2)	-	18 (20.9)
RADIO	21 (75.0)	6 (21.4)	-	1 (3.6)	28 (32.6)
TV & ABOVE	10 (50.0)	5 (25.0)	2 (10.0)	3 (15.0)	20 (23.3)
FRIDGE, ABOVE	1 (25.0)	-	1 (25.0)	2 (50.0)	4 (4.7)
SCOOTER	1 (7.7)	1 (7.7)	6 (46.2)	5 (38.5)	13 (15.1)
CAR & ABOVE	-	-	-	3 (100.0)	3 (3.5)
TOTAL	47 (54.7)	12 (14.0)	13 (15.1)	14 (16.3)	86 (100.0)

With regard to the monthly income of the families, more than half of the respondents (56.2%) reported that they have an income less than Rs 1500 per month,

and 13.5 percent of them have an income ranging from Rs 1500 to Rs 3000. Nearly the same proportion of the families, i.e., 15 percent and 16 percent earn a monthly income ranging from Rs 3000 to Rs 6000 and Rs 6000 to Rs 15000 respectively. Though in the villages there are families with all the income levels, but more than fifty percent of the families (65.2%) who have an income less than 1500 rupees per month, live in the rural areas. This shows that in the rural areas, the economic conditions are poor as compared to the urban areas. The families, whose monthly income is more than Rs 6000, mostly live in the urban areas.

Overall, 49 percent i.e., almost half of the respondent's families are landless. They are the landless laborers who work as laborers or "coolie" at the landlord's fields. They are totally dependent and are at the mercy of the landlords. Among those who have land, 33 percent of them have wet lands and another 19 percent of them have dry land. These land holdings too are marginal, ranging from one to five acres

Table 3.2 shows that 90 percent of the sample respondents own a house. Only 10 percent of them do not possess any kind of house. Of the 90 percent sample that own houses, nearly 40 percent of houses are thatched and 60 percent of houses are made of bricks. Slightly less than three fourth i.e., 70 percent houses are in villages and the rest 15 percent and 16 percent houses are in town and city respectively. Houses in the villages, especially with income level less than Rs 1500 are mostly with a thatched roof. Lower the income level, poorer the quality of housing. Also, the quality of housing is better in semi-urban and urban areas.

In the sample, nearly 21 percent of the families do not possess any durable goods, not even radio, which shows the poor socioeconomic conditions of these families. In the remaining sample, 33 percent own a radio, 23 percent own a television and 5 percent own a refrigerator. Other assets like means of transportation found in the sample are scooter (15%) and car or four wheeler (3.5%). Negligible percentages of those with an income level of Rs 1500 or less have assets like a fridge or a scooter. Urban households and those families with an income level of more than Rs 3000 and above are more likely to have each of these durable goods. And, only those families who have the income levels more than Rs 6000 (3.5%) possess a four wheeler.

Thus, it shows that, even in this materialistic world there are families with no assets at all. Some do not even have a radio. Most of the respondent's parents are staying in a thatched roof house in some remote rural areas, with no assets at all.

Other important factors that influence the performance are the educational and occupational status of the siblings, and the family size. In the sample too, most of the respondents who are coming from the rural areas belong to large families. Their siblings too, are mostly illiterate or with just primary education. Some are working as laborers or are marginal farmers. In some cases, it is only the respondents who are educated in the family.

Village Profile

In many parts of India, the scheduled caste hamlets are usually built away from the main village. In Andhra Pradesh too, in some regions like Rayalseema and Telangana, the scheduled caste hamlets are situated a kilometer or more away from the main village. In some regions like coastal Andhra, though the scheduled caste houses are not isolated from the main village, they are within the main village in the form of clusters. In the present study, 35.9% of respondents reported that their hamlets are away from the main village. Whereas 64.1% respondents reported that their households are within the main village but are in clusters. Their settlements are not isolated.

The rural urban distribution of the respondents shows that as large as 73.6 percent of them belong to the rural areas. This constitutes about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total sample population (see table 3.4). Hence, it becomes necessary to gather information regarding their village background. Information on the availability of basic amenities like drinking water, road and transport facility, electricity to the village in general and to the houses in particular, and school (primary) were gathered. The data on village background is summarized in table 3.3.

Regarding drinking water facility, majority of the respondents (97%) reported to have some or the other facility. A meager 3 percent reported that their village does not have any kind of water facility. It is understood that they have to go to another village for fetching water. Of the 97 percent reported to have water facility, 5 percent get water from streams, 8 percent get water from tanks, 44 percent from wells and 40

percent get water from the taps. This indicates that a majority of the villages either have wells or get water from taps.

TABLE 3.3
VILLAGE PROFILE

VARIABLE	YES	NO	TOTAL
Hamlet away from the main village	37 (35.9)	66 (64.1)	103 (100.0)
Drinking water facility-	101 (97.1)	3 (2.9)	104 (100.0)
Stream	5 (4.8)		
Tank	8 (7.7)		
Well	46 (44.2)		
Tap	42 (40.4)		
Road to village	92 (90.2)	10 (9.8)	102 (100.0)
Bus facility to village	94 (91.3)	9 (8.7)	103 (100.0)
Electricity to the village	97 (94.2)	6 (5.8)	103 (100.0)
Electricity to the house	85 (81.7)	19 (18.3)	104 (100.0)
School in the village	94 (91.3)	9 (8.7)	103 (100.0)

Table 3.3, indicates that nearly 10 percent of the respondent's village do not have any road facility and an equal percentage (9%) do not have a bus facility, though a majority of the villages (90% and above) are connected by road and have bus facility.

Though electrical power has reached every nook and corner, there are still cases where there is no electricity. Even if it is there, it is not accessible to some of the households. Majority of the villages, i.e., 94 percent, has electricity. Very few villages, i.e., 6 percent, do not have the facility of electricity. There are cases where there is facility of electricity to the village but is not available to the household. 19 households are reported under this.

Regarding the facility of a primary school in a village, 91 percent of the respondents have primary school in their place of origin. Only 9 percent reported that there is no school in their village.

Thus table 3.3 shows that majority of the villages, as reported by the respondents, have the basic amenities, except for a small proportion where these facilities like water, road, transportation, electricity and school are not available.

Profile of the Respondents-

Table 3.4 shows several important background characteristics of the respondents, classified on the basis of sex, present education, course taken, place of birth, marital status, religion and jati.

Sex wise distribution shows that 73 males and 33 females represent the sample. The percentage of the boys as compared to girls in our sample is high i.e., 69 percent constitutes of boys while the girls constitute only 31 percent.

Considering the age of the respondents, the sample fall under the age group of 20-32 years. 11 percent of the respondents are below the age of twenty-two years. Most of the respondents, i.e., 48.5 percent, fall under the age group of 22 to 24 years, as there are more number of respondents pursuing P.G. courses in the sample. Another 28.3 percent of the respondents fall under the age group of 25 to 27 years. In addition to this, there are 12 percent students who are of the age of twenty-eight years and above.

Children in India are eligible to enter primary school at the age of five and above. Ideally, by fifteen years of age he/ she should be able to complete 10th class, by seventeen 12th class and by twenty years, should be able to complete graduation. The universities where the present research is conducted, post-graduation course is for two years and research courses like, M.Phil is for one year. The Ph D. course is for a five years. Usually the students take more years for research than the stipulated time. Ideally, by the age of 28, a student should be able to finish his or her Ph.D. Yet, there are 12% of students who are above twenty-eight years. This indicates gaps in their educational careers and thus the students are relatively aged.

The present study also reveals that more than half of the respondents i.e., 54 percent (56) had a gap in their educational career. 59 percent (41) males and 44 percent (15) females had wasted a year or more. When asked about the years of gap in their entire educational career, it was found out that it ranged from one year to five years. 66 percent (37) had a one-year gap, 21 percent (12) suffered two years gap, 11

percent (6) had three years of gap and one respondent had suffered five years of gap in his entire educational career.

More number of rural respondents faced a gap of more than one year. The reasons for the gap in education were given as failure in exams, illness, lack of guidance, and for some it was due to financial problems as well.

The respondents are pursuing different courses like M.A., M.Sc. and M.Phil. in these two universities. The distribution of these students according to the courses shows that a majority of them i.e., 34 percent students are pursuing M.A. degree course, another 16 percent students are pursuing M.Sc. course, and 4 percent students are pursuing M.Tech, and .9 percent are pursuing a MCA course. The remaining 22.6 percent and 21.7 percent respondents are pursuing M.Phil and Ph.D courses respectively.

As the sample is small, instead of categorizing students according to the subjects they are studying, they are broadly classified on the basis of the groups or schools i.e., Social Sciences, Sciences and Humanities. Seven students did not mention their group. Hence, only 99 students responded to this question. A large percentage of respondents i.e., 40.4% are pursuing subjects in social sciences, another 28.3% respondents are pursuing subjects in sciences and remaining 26.3 percent respondents fall under the humanity stream. Only 5 percent respondents are pursuing technical courses. This shows that large percentages of respondents are pursuing social science courses.

Table 3.4 gives the rural urban distribution of the respondents in this study. Almost three fourth of the sample respondents belong to the rural areas, i.e., 73.6 percent of the respondents are born in the rural areas. Another 18.9 percent of them respondents are born in the urban areas. The remaining 7.5 percent are born in semi-urban areas, which are also called as towns. When asked about the place of upbringing, 52.8 percent of the sample respondents were reported to have been, brought up in the rural areas. Another 32.1 percent respondents were brought up in the urban areas and only 11.3 percent were brought up in the semi-urban areas. This shows a clear picture that a large sample of our study hails from the rural areas and a small percentage belongs to the urban areas.

TABLE 3.4
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
PRESENT EDUCATION			
M A	24 (64.9)	13 (35.1)	37 (35.0)
M Sc	11 (64.7)	6 (35.3)	17 (16.0)
M TECH	3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)	4 (3.8)
MCA	1 (100)	-	1 (.9)
MPHIL	18 (75.0)	6 (25.0)	24 (22.6)
PHD	16 (69.6)	7 (30.4)	23 (21.7)
COURSE			
SOCIAL SC	23 (57.5)	17 (42.5)	40 (40.4)
SCIENCE	19 (67.9)	9 (32.1)	28 (28.3)
HUMANITIES	21 (80.8)	5 (19.2)	26 (26.3)
TECHNICAL	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (5.1)
PLACE OF BIRTH			
RURAL	64 (82.1)	14 (17.9)	78 (73.6)
URBAN	7 (35.0)	13 (65.0)	20 (18.9)
SEMI-URBAN	1 (12.5)	7 (87.5)	8(7.5)
MARITAL STATUS			
MARRIED	6 (66.7)	3 (33.3)	9 (8.6)
UNMARRIED	65 (67.7)	31 (32.3)	96 (91.4)
RELIGION			
HINDU	61 (66.3)	31 (33.7)	92 (86.8)
CHRISTIAN	10 (76.9)	3 (23.1)	13 (12.3)
BUDDHIST	1 (100)	-	1 (.9)
CASTE/ JATI			
MADIGA	23 (76.7)	7 (23.3)	30 (29.4)
MALA	44 (68.0)	20 (31.3)	64 (62.7)
ADI-ANDHRA	-	1 (100)	1 (.9)
ANY OTHER	2 (33.3)	4 (66.7)	6 (5.9)

Sex wise, rural-urban distribution shows that a fairly high percentage i.e., 65 percent of females, belongs to the urban areas compared to 35 percent of males. On the other hand as high as 82 percent of the males are coming from rural areas for pursuing higher studies in the city compared to a much lower percent (18 %) of females from rural areas. Female respondents, especially from rural areas, are not

encouraged to go to far off places for higher education. This is the case where the parents are illiterate and from poor socio-economic background with a traditional outlook. A female in a large rural family is an asset who takes care of the family in the absence of the parents, who go out for working. Also a female is made responsible to look after her younger siblings. While referring to the educational and occupational backgrounds of the siblings, especially in the case of the rural based families, most of the sisters are just primary educated, or are mostly school dropouts. In many cases, even the sisters accompany their mother to the fields to do manual labor. The sisters who are married are mostly housewives or work as laborers in their village.

The table indicates a fairly high percent of females coming from the urban and semi-urban areas as compared to the rural areas. This shows that the scheduled castes living in the semi-urban and urban areas are to some extent influenced by the urban outlook. These people are also aware of the changing needs, trends and constitutional benefits. The female respondents in the sample are coming from comparatively better economic, and educated family background.

Marital Status-

Education is presumed to be one of the important features having influence on the age of marriage of men and women. The degree of education is presumed to be related to the age of marriage in the sense that when a person is pursuing higher education, his or her marriage is delayed. Thus education may be regarded as accounting for late marriages. The relative uncertainty about the future occupational and economic status of a young man is another factor which tends to exercise pressures for a higher age at marriage for men, and consequently also for women. There is also no denying of the fact that the standards of living have risen so high, that a young man has to become financially independent and sound before getting married and taking the responsibility of wife and children. This would mean that higher the education, higher the age at marriage. This is seen with reference to the sample population too. One respondent did not mention about his marital status.

A significant observation is that there are fairly high percentages of unmarried students among them. The percentage of the unmarried to the total number of

respondents in our sample is as high as 91. On the other hand, the married constitute only 9 percent. Out of which only two of them have children.

Religion-

Religion wise distribution shows that a large percentage of Hindus represent the sample, i.e., 87 percent of the student respondents have declared themselves as Hindus. 12 percent respondents stated that they are Christians and just one respondent out of 106 in the sample stated that he is a follower of Buddhism.

Table 3.4 also shows the pattern of distribution of respondents by jati. The distribution of the respondents according to their jati shows that a majority of the respondents belong to Mala jati representing 63 percent of the sample. Another 29.4 percent of the respondents belong to Madiga jati. A small 6 percent respondents belong to different jatis that are categorized under 'any other' Scheduled caste. A negligible one respondent out of 101 in the sample belongs to Adi-Andhra jati. Five persons did not respond to this question. Thus the data shows that majority of the respondents belong to Mala jati. Which is considered to be better off and progressing compared to other SCs in A.P.

Medium of education-

Medium of education and teaching in the universities is English. The students who come from regional or Telugu medium colleges face difficulty in understanding the lectures and interacting with people because of the higher standards in these universities. From the study, it was found that during graduation 53% respondent studied in Telugu medium colleges. Another 47% have studied in English medium. More number of rural respondent i.e., 63% of them are from Telugu background. Whereas great majority of the urban respondents, 75% (15) are from English medium. The rural respondents from Telugu medium face difficulty in understanding the lectures at the post-graduate level where the medium of instruction is purely in English.

ABOUT THE UNIVERSITIES-

Before introducing to the two universities, a brief note on the state of Andhra Pradesh is provided. Andhra Pradesh is the fifth state in India in terms of area and

population. It has an area of 275,068 square kilometers. The state is divided into 23 districts distributed in three regions; Coastal Andhra, Telangana, and Rayalseema. These three regions differ considerably in terms of both socio-economic and demographic indicators, with Telangana lagging behind the other two regions (Ramchandrudu, et. al., 1992).

According to the 1981 census, 89 % of the state population is Hindu, 9 % Muslim and 2% belong to other religions. The majority (85%) speaks Telugu, which is also the official language of the state. Urdu is spoken by 8 % and other languages by 7 % of the population. Agriculture is widely diversified in A.P. with a rich variety of cash crops. It is a state of surplus food grains and can rightly be called the granary of South India. The agricultural sector accounts for around 40% of the state income and provides livelihood for 71% of the working population (National family health survey, 1992). The state capital Hyderabad, where the two universities are located, falls under Telangana region.

Hyderabad was founded by Quli Qutub Shah in 1591. This large metropolis is unique in its rich architectural glory and blend of diverse linguistic, religious and ethnic groups. The weather for the most part of the year is pleasant, except for the months of April and May when the temperature is likely to go upto 40 degree Centigrade. The intellectual climate too is healthy because Hyderabad has as many as six major Universities, several research institutions, laboratories and libraries.

UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD-

The University of Hyderabad, a premier institution of post-graduate teaching and research in the country, was established by an Act of Parliament (Act No. 39 of 1974) on 2nd October, 1974 as a Central University, wholly financed by the University Grants Commission. The University's sprawling, scenic and serene campus spreads over a vast stretch of land measuring about 2,300 acres, 20 kms from the city of Hyderabad on the old Hyderabad- Bombay road. Amidst the scenic environment of the campus, several buildings catering to the academic needs, support facilities and residential requirements of the campus community have been constructed over the years. The University also has a city campus- 'The Golden Threshold'- the residence of the late Sarojini Naidu which was bequeathed to the University by her daughter, the late Padmaja Naidu.

The Sarojini Naidu School is located at the Golden Threshold Premises and all other Schools of the University are located in the main campus in Gachibowli. Several schools and Departments of the University have obtained financial support from the University Grants Commission under the Special Assistance Programme and COSIST, for excellence in teaching and research.

Over the years, the teaching and research programmes of the University have been firmly established. The students are selected through a nation-wide entrance test. About 35% of the students consist of Ph.D. scholars and about 40% of the students are women. The University has produced 439 Ph.Ds., 1656 M.Phils. 361 M Techs and 4809 post-graduates upto December, 1996. The faculty of the University includes 66 Professors, 74 Readers and 60 Lecturers. Under the UGC scheme, an Academic Staff College has been functioning in the University campus since 1988 for improving the standards of teaching in colleges and universities as part of the New Education Policy (1986) The College organizes orientation and refresher courses for college and University teachers

The special features of the University's academic set-up include a favorable teacher-student ratio (1:8) and a flexible academic programme that encourages interdisciplinary courses and research. The assessment, including projects and examinations, is continuous and internal. The courses are organized on the semester pattern. The academic year consists of two semesters of 16 to 18 weeks each.

The examination system of the University is designed to systematically test a student's progress in the class, laboratory and fieldwork through continuous evaluation, instead of the usual "make-or-buy" performance in a single examination. Students are given periodical tests, short quizzes, home assignments, seminars, tutorials and term papers in addition to the examination at the end of each semester. The final result in each course is calculated on the basis of this continuous assessment and performance in the end semester examination. The final result in each course will be determined on the basis of continuous assessment and performance in the end-of-semester examination which will be in the ratio of 40:60 in case of theory papers and 60:40 in laboratory courses (practicals).

Students are required to attend at least 75% of the classes actually held in each course/ subject, and participate to the satisfaction of the Department /School, in study-seminar, sessionals and practicals, as may be prescribed. In the repeat courses, the

students having at least 60% attendance are also allowed to appear for the end-semester examination.

Being a Central University, it draws students from all over the country through an entrance test, thus making it even more competitive to get admission in this university. Though 15 % reservation is given in each department, the students from scheduled castes too face a tougher competition to get into the university, as a considerable number of students from other states like, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, too apply for this University. The HCU has adopted the policy of reservations in respect of SCs and STs as per the government of India/ UGC orders. Reservations are being provided to the extent of 15% in admissions and hostel accommodation. In terms of fulfillment of SC/ ST quotas, 20.46% of SC students were admitted during the year 1997-98. Apart from this, the semester system of examination and strict attendance rules makes the student relatively busy through out the year

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY-

The Osmania University named after its royal founder-His exalted Highness Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan, Nizam VII, came into existence in 1917. It is the oldest University in the state of A.P. and a premier centre of learning in the south. The University is located on an area of 1600 acres. Though a large section of the students education is imparted through the English medium, provision has been made for imparting instruction through the Telugu medium in the colleges under the administrative control of the University. The University follows a flexible approach and has permitted, affiliated colleges to adopt Urdu and Hindi media as well.

The Osmania University is a state university, where mostly the students and the faculty come from A.P. State itself. There is no semester system in this University. Here the students are allowed to write their exams in Telugu, the regional language of the State, whereas in the Central University one has to write compulsorily in English. The students reported that in OU, though the attendance is compulsory, it is not so strictly implemented. Thereby the students have a chance to relax or pursue other interests. This proves to be beneficial for the students. As there are year ending examinations, the students can work hard in the last moment and can get through, thereby having time to pursue other interests, like preparing for other competitive

exams. On the other hand, in the HCU, strict attendance and semester system puts lot of pressure on the students. Hence, they can concentrate only on the P.G. and cannot have any scope for any other interests.

In Central University, the teachers come from different castes, regions, religion, ethnic and linguistic background. They roughly represent all the states of India, thus having different languages. But the medium of education is English. Though there is not much of diversity among the teachers in Osmania University, most of them are from Andhra Pradesh.

A Scheduled Caste student especially coming from Telugu background coming from a rural area has limitations in interacting with teachers with different backgrounds. Some of the teachers know only English and do not know Telugu at all. So, it becomes difficult on the part of both the students and the teachers to interact with each other freely.

Residential accommodation in the University-

In both the universities, there are separate hostels for men and women. In the Central University, two post-graduate students have to share one room. Whereas research scholars are given a single room in the hostels. In Osmania University due to lack of accommodation, three to four postgraduate students have to share one room. But there are separate hostels with single rooms for the research scholars in both the universities.

All the students coming from the rural areas are accommodated in the University hostels. Many of the urban students too reside in the hostels, except for few who are having their houses near to the universities. Stay in the hostels becomes necessary because of the hectic schedules for postgraduate courses, library facilities and other reasons like, working late in the laboratories etc. There are proper facilities like food, water etc. Most of the students coming from rural areas and poor family backgrounds get some or the other scholarships, like merit cum means scholarship, Scheduled Caste Welfare Scholarship that takes care of their food in the hostels, university fees etc.

Scholarships and fellowships-

In the sample, 79% (83) students get scholarship. Among them, 18% are getting below Rs 400/- per month. Another 70% are getting Rs 400- Rs 600 per

month. 12% of the research scholars who have qualified NET exams get the fellowships ranging from Rs 1800 to Rs 4000. Except for those who are getting fellowships, the scholarship amount is not sufficient. Even these are not so regular and are often delayed. This creates lot of inconvenience to the students. In spite of the scholarships, nearly 80% of the respondents depend on their parents for financial help.

Duration of stay in the university-

Generally, the students join the P.G. courses for two years in the university. If they pass the exams, they apply for research- either M.Phil or Ph.D. It helps them to pursue higher education on one hand and at the same time get other facilities like hostels, library for studying in order to get a job. The students either pursue their research seriously or try for competitive exams. Their stay in the university prolongs from 2 years to 8-10 years.

Summary

On the whole, the scheduled caste students in the two universities, as reflected in our sample, exhibit certain characteristics that are peculiar to their backwardness.

As one can expect, economically and socially, scheduled castes belong to the lower rung of the society with meager levels of income and wealth. The data also shows that a large percentage of the respondents come from families with lower income levels and chiefly engaged in agriculture. Most of their parents are illiterate or can just read or write. Thereby the occupational levels are low as well. Most of the parents are working as agricultural laborers or marginal farmers. Almost three-fourth of the respondents are coming from rural background, where there are no proper schools and have a non-conducive environment for studies. The respondents who have come to this level of education have certainly crossed many hurdles. Many of them used to work in the fields but still continued with their education. There was no proper guidance for them. Basically, they come from very poor families, where most of the parents do not have any assets or any immovable property. Hence, they are totally dependent and are at the mercy of the landlords. There are no modern means of communications like Radio, Television, Telephones etc., to stimulate their minds.

Many of the respondent's houses are either segregated or their settlements are in the fringes of the main village. There is no interaction with the forward caste

except for the daily business. Especially, there is no interaction among the educated younger generation.

In the sample population, there are more number of male respondents compared to female respondents. Also, a greater number of students have joined Social Sciences as compared to Sciences and Humanities. As large as 91% are unmarried. The sample constitutes respondents from various jati like Mala, Madiga, Adi-Andhra and others but the majority are from Mala caste. Also, they follow various religions. Hinduism, Christianity and Buddhism, where the majority is from Hindu religion.

Most of the sample respondents are living in hostels and almost 80% of the respondents are drawing one scholarship or the other. Except for those who are getting fellowship, most of the students are finding the scholarship amount to be insufficient and they have to again depend on the parents for financial support. As reported earlier, most of the parents are not financially sound and therefore find it difficult to support their grown up children for higher education.

The data, thus shows that almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the sample respondents come from disadvantaged family backgrounds with meager resources and an inconducive environment which pose obstacles in their proper and smooth progress of education.

ATTITUDES OF SCHEDULED ~~CASTE~~ STUDENTS

Attitude is a fairly stable opinion, reaction or state of consciousness within an individual human being regarding a person, object or activity.

When we measure attitudes, certain precautions have to be kept in mind. Since it is impossible to measure attitudes directly, we must rely on inferences. There are four alternative approaches to study attitudes viz. (1) SELF REPORTS, (2) REPORT OF OTHERS, (3) SOCIO-METRIC PROCEDURES and (4) RECORDS

For the present study, the Self-Report approach has been used. It includes procedures by which a person is asked to report his or her own attitudes or opinions on certain objects/ matters/ phenomenon

The Self-report procedure is the most direct type of attitude assessment and is used when it is assumed that the people under study have the self-awareness of, or the feel of their own beliefs, and have the ability to articulate them as well. It is also assumed that they have no reason to lie about their attitudes

The attitudes of SC students on various issues were gathered. Their attitudes on caste system, and their position in the contemporary society were collected. Further, their attitudes on reservation policies and their implementation were also sought. Attitudes related to marriages and religion were the other social issues, which were investigated. Finally, information on their food habits, hobbies and participation in co-curricular activities was also gathered.

In the present study, the questions asked are of the following kind- 'how you feel about it?' 'How strongly you feel about it?'

ORIGIN OF CASTE SYSTEM

Respondents were asked to write how in their opinion caste system originated. The objective has been to explore if they have critically studied and analyzed the caste system both from academic and pragmatic point of view. Their ideas about the origin

and sustenance of caste system would have a bearing on their attitude formations and subsequent reactions and strategies to adopt these situations and ideas to annihilate the caste system. Further, it was explored, whether they believe in these theories and whether they have anything alternative to offer.

Twenty percent of the total sample, responded to this question. Some of their views were similar to the text book theories and some of them just expressed their feelings regarding caste system and gave suggestions to abolish / weaken or improve their position in the caste system.

A brief discussion of popular theories of caste system is discussed to draw the similarities or differences of the opinion of SC students regarding caste system.

Social scientists advocated seven broad theories on the origin of caste system. They are Traditional Theory, Brahminical Theory, Racial Theory, Occupational Theory, Ketkar's Theory, Senart's Theory, and Hutton's Theory of Mana (Ram Ahuja, 1993).

Some of the explanations about the origins of the caste system, given by the respondents, which are similar to the above theories are discussed. The Divine Plan Theory offers the most common indigenous explanation. It primarily refers to the later hymn in the Rig-Veda (The Rig-Veda is a collection of the oldest prayers and hymns of Hinduism and of mankind) This hymn contains the earliest reference to caste and its origins. It appears to describe the origin of the universe- or atleast of many of the elements, including humans- through the sacrifice by divinities of a 'cosmic being' called Purusha Sukta. The lines that contain a reference to caste in the purusha Sukta are presented (Klass, 1980 :35):

“His mouth became the Brahman: his two arms were made into the Rajanya, his two thighs the Vaishya: from his two feet the Shudra was born”.

Thus the four orders of the society are said to have emanated from the sacrifice of the primeval being. The order in which the four groups of the society, namely Brahmans, Rajanya, Vaishyas and Shudras were created and the order of particular limbs that were associated with probably indicate their ranked status in the society (Ghurye, G.S., 1969).

Manu, the Hindu lawgiver, who is believed to have lived somewhere during the second to first century B.C. makes a reference to the Purusha Sukta in his influential

Manu Smriti. He states; 'For the sake of the preservation of the entire creation (purusha), the exceedingly resplendent one assigned separate duties to the classes which had sprung from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet' (Klass, 1980:37).

The Gita, the sacred book of Hindus, insists that the Divine will classify the society on the basis of the inherent qualities (gunas) and the individuals acquired their status as a result of their Karma.

The second is RACIAL ANTIPATHY theory. It has been observed that the Indian scriptures have invariably used the "Varna" to depict the four primary social divisions mentioned in the Rig-Veda. Varnas are supposed to be the precursors to modern jatis and castes

'Varna' stands for 'color' or complexion. In the earlier references in the Rig-Veda, only three-fold classification is made. The Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas are said to belong to Aryan race and the Dasus are depicted as a different category. Thus, the question of colors was at the root of the varna system. In subsequent references, one comes across the four varnas- Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras

Aryans were immigrants. They belonged to the Caucasian race and their hordes invaded India and overpowered the local Dasyus, who were Dravidian belonging to a different racial stock. The Aryans, who were white in color, developed antipathy towards Dravidians and so sought to preserve their color through marital exclusivity. Thus, they became endogamous. But since they were invaders, they had lesser stock of women folk. So some of them replenished their female stock by marrying the native women. Thus the blood got mixed up in several measures resulting in multiple varieties of groups which in turn became endogamous units and castes. All such endogamous groups including varnas were called jatis by the great grammarian Patanjali (Ghurye, 1969.75).

However, Anuloma marriage between higher caste men and lower caste women was permitted for some time. But pratiloma- marriage between lower caste men and higher women- was disapproved. Tradition not only disapproved pratiloma but downgraded such a couple socially. Their issues (children) were invariably condemned to a very low status. The contacts between a shudra male and a Brahmin female were

abhorred and issues stemming from such contacts were condemned as 'chandalas'.

The third is the OCCUPATIONAL or FUNCTIONAL THEORY which advocates the emergence of castes from occupational groups; since each caste is associated with a specific occupation, social scientists started hypothesizing that initially castes were occupational groups or guilds which developed into closed, hereditary marriage associations. Even priesthood, which was presumably an openly recruited occupational category in the beginning, closed its ranks to all, but the children of priests became a caste and descent group. In fact such an endogamous priestly caste became a model to be emulated by other occupational groups (Klass, 1980:65).

The lower castes render services to higher castes and wait for jajmani favors. They were economically dependent. Socially, they belonged to the lowest rung of the society with the status corresponding to the location in the hierarchy. They were despised and hated and always a gulf divided the lower castes and the higher castes. There was always a cultural gap indicated between them. The gap between the higher castes and the lower castes was there with respect to the food habits, levels of occupations pursued, economic status permitted, the vocabulary used, social status enjoyed, values held, world view articulated and in fact regarding the whole range of life. Thus, economic servitude, social inferiority, cultural deprivation and spiritual starvation marked the life of the lower castes (Klass, 1980).

One MA student in Economics department gave an economic reasoning. According to him, in the olden days, population was less and there were plenty of resources. As the population grew, resources became scarce and people started producing them, eg: some started cultivating land, some started making pots etc. People who were strong and bold started to safeguard the land and the people. Those who had enough resources started dominating and controlling the resources and started a unique group formation. In this way, people were divided into sections. They were given a specific name and were started being called with that particular name. Depending upon the work they performed they were rated in the society. Now, the upper caste people use this concept for their own benefit.

(More or less conforming to the theory of Racial Antipathy by Ghurye, a respondent who is pursuing Ph.D. course, wrote that there was an invasion by Aryans on

the native people. Those who lost were reduced to slaves. Thus came the words 'lord' and 'slave'. The slaves had been working for the prosperity of the landlords, while remaining themselves as poor. This division of labor further lead to the formation of the caste system: Brahmin were supposed to be the priests, Kshatriya were supposed to be the warriors and Vysyas were the traders. These three divisions were highly placed in the society, based on their economic status. The poor people who were made as slaves by landlords were considered as lower castes without social recognition.

Aryans divided the society into Chaturvarnas; the three upper castes were dominant and the fourth is a servant caste. The fifth or untouchable caste was not described in puranas or in the vedas. They are the least preferred and the most oppressed by the society. The uppercaste socially, economically and politically oppressed and treated the lower caste in an inhuman way. They did more injustice to the untouchable castes or the scheduled castes.

Describing the Divine Plan Theory, one respondent writes, 'To be frank there is no question of people being born from the feet or head or shoulders or thighs of the God Brahma, like wise Hindu caste system is fully based on a false doctrine. It is very difficult to believe this kind of mythological stories. It was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who said that the caste system is not only the division of labors, but also the division of laborers.

Another respondent, referring to Dumont's theory of caste system based on hierarchy, endogamy, purity and pollution notion, feels that these theories were intended to exploit the lower caste people particularly Sudras, i.e., peasantry and agricultural laborers. Over a period of time, Brahmins and Kshatriyas made rules, for their own benefit. Tribals and other lower castes, who were engaged in activities, such as hunting, carrying corpses and leather work and others who worked as laborers, were regarded as Chandals. Over centuries several changes have taken place, but caste system has been re-intensified for the benefit of the ruling classes and the Brahmins. The system is still persisting in the rural areas.

One respondent agrees that he does not know much about the origin of caste system, but he says that the word 'Harijan' given by Mahatma Gandhi is abusive in which the paternity of the child is questioned.

Many respondents felt that God did not create this caste system; they opined that we ourselves developed these caste barriers. Another respondent is optimistic, and is of the opinion that the caste system created by human beings will eventually be destroyed if all the people, SC and non-SC together, form a strong and good will.

Thus, it was found that few of the respondents have a theoretical knowledge about the origin of the caste system. There seems to be lack of scholarly insights into the theories of caste system. The impressions gathered from their description shows that few have ever taken seriously to know the origin of caste system and opinions were generally based on simple reasoning and logic. The respondents do not believe in these mythological stories. They feel that this system was made by a section of people for their own benefits. And hence, they do not consider themselves in anyway inferior

FEELINGS EXPRESSED RELATED TO CASTE SYSTEM-

According to one respondent, there are no castes or divisions among birds and animals. Like wise humans too are born equal. Every human being in this world is made of same blood and flesh, then where is the question of differentiating people on the basis of caste, religion etc? It is the society, which has formed the divisions, some are considered to be inferior to the extent that in the villages, the SC people are treated like ants. Different forms of untouchability are still prevalent in the villages all over India, even after abolishing the untouchability and providing safeguards to them.

Some respondents reported that they do not believe in the caste system, since this system has not given anything else, but humiliation. They feel that in this modern era, the worth of a human should be measured in terms of his character. Being born in a particular caste does not give him a superior or an inferior status.

Another respondent did not approve caste based occupational system. According to him, the work should be given importance; even the manual labor should be given dignity- i e., dignity of labor. He expressed that an individual's worth should be considered and the value of a man should be measured in terms of his deeds. If a man commits any crime or has committed any sin, he should be punished or isolated but belonging to a particular caste is no ground for being isolated or discriminated. He feels that treating a fellow human being as an untouchable is inhuman, and those who practice

untouchability should be severely punished.

Some of the respondents expressed that though there are inequalities all over the world (like class, race etc) but the social stigma attached to the SCs is unique to Indian phenomenon, which should be eliminated because this is the problem graver than economic inequality. One of the respondent expressed that it is foolishness to believe in the caste system even in this modern age.

Most of the respondents are unhappy on the position assigned to Harijans and the consequent humiliation to them in the system. Some feel that they would be happy if they are treated as equals and will not feel humiliated just because they are born in a lower caste. One of the female respondent reported that she does not reveal her caste to others as it makes others to treat her differently because of which she feels isolated and discriminated

Another rural respondent expressed that because of the inferior status assigned to their caste, they start feeling inferior as well. He also feels that he is not able to adjust himself in this society. He feels uncomfortable to attend functions, religious functions like poojas etc, even though he is invited to such occasions. He feels that the feeling of fear, of being isolated and of humiliation is still prevalent in the minds of the SC people, because of the cases of atrocities, arson and crimes against them. Hence, even though a forward caste person invites for some occasion, he feels uncomfortable and anxious and avoids such occasions. He feels that SC people can mingle freely only when there is no more caste prejudice and no more fear of being humiliated. He suggests that only the Government can take strong measures to check the caste prejudices and hence eliminate the caste differences

Many respondents expressed different kinds of feelings. These include feelings of pain, agony, anger, anxiety, anguish and hatred for experiencing the caste prejudices. Many expressed that even today caste is an important factor. Though caste is not written on the faces of the people, still people make guesses to know their caste and try to find some identifying marks. First and foremost they try to find out the name of the person, specifically full name, which gives the caste identity. If the name is not indicating any thing, next they may ask the fathers name and his occupation. Secondly, they make guesses by the appearance of the person, especially the dark skin

texture, short stature, not-so-well built body structure. Another guess is that all Christians are considered to be either Mala or Madiga. In the rural areas, they directly ask for the caste name. Few respondents expressed that they hate such people who are interested in knowing the caste of the person. And they like those who do not bother about the caste of the person, but gives respect to an individual, his education and his character.

Most of the respondents feel angry and are against 'Manu' who wrote the code of conduct for different castes. They held 'Manu' responsible for the sorry state of their castes. One of the respondent expressed his anger to such an extent that he would have killed Manu, if he was living today.

At the same time many respondents appreciated and paid respectful regards to Dr B R Ambedkar, who is considered to be the messiah, who had fought for their cause and showed a path for their emancipation through education and by changing to other religion especially Buddhism.

Some of the rural respondents expressed that after joining the universities, after acquiring knowledge, after knowing their rights and after feeling that they are equals and not less than any body, still when they are discriminated they felt the pain, agony, which is intense and could not be expressed.

There were some respondents who even felt happy to be in this caste. One of the female respondent expressed that since it is said that they are born from the feet of the lord but the feet are the important organ of the body. These feet help in walking and carrying the body. Another respondent feels that people from his own caste are talented like there're craftsmen, and artists and they are hard working

Thus most of them expressed that they'll be happy and feel satisfied if they are not humiliated and treated as untouchables.

FORMATION OF NEW IDENTITIES; THEORITICAL APPROACH-

As already mentioned in chapter 2, under the theories of untouchability in literature review, Michael Moffats "view from the bottom" is based on the same principles and evaluations as the "view from the middle" or the "view from the top". The cultural system of Indian untouchability does not distinctively question or revalue

the dominant social order. Rather it continuously recreates among untouchables a microcosm of the larger system (Michael Moffat, 1979).

Similarly Bernard Cohn's study about the social change of Camars reported that Camars have in the last fifty years attempted to Sanskritize, to raise their status by adopting symbols of higher status in their local hierarchy. In doing so, they have abandoned many of the features of their distinctive little tradition and have adopted the dominant Thakurs traditional caste code, which includes a non-beef diet, a tighter joint family and more 'Brahmanic' ritual practices.

Another sociologist M.N.Srinivas coined the word Sanskritisation to account for the indigenous process of change in the caste system. As a functionalist, he has focused on analysis of functional co-ordination among groups of caste system. Sanskritisation for him was a process by which a lower caste imitates and adopts the behavior pattern of dwija that is, twice born castes, especially Brahmins. In it, he does not find any element of protest. On the contrary, it represents what we may call the process of internal adaptability of the caste system. But Gerald Berreman, claims that untouchables in some way reject a high caste model of the system. The lowest castes are uninterested in rationalizations and ideology.

Similar views expressed by Oscar Lewis, who states that untouchables in India do not accept high caste culture because this culture has no rationalizing value for them. Robert Miller too claims that the untouchable Mahars of Central India are already engaged in political action. They are said to be actively constructing a radical disjunction between themselves and the higher castes, to be in a sense revaluing their little tradition.

From the present study, it is revealed that though SC students have found no divine cause in the existence of caste system but they feel that caste related disabilities do exist. Even though they do not recognise the caste system but caste system continues to exist and they suffer from the caste disabilities. Lower caste status also corresponds to poor economic, political, educational, occupational status and self-esteem. SC students have realized that for their improvement in status and self esteem they have to assert themselves and the assertion could come through the gains of political power, improvement in education, getting good jobs etc. In the process of developing their new

identity they are not influenced by any high caste and are not imitating their ways. They are becoming more independent and are taking pride in revealing their caste identity. They no more feel shy or try to hide their caste, instead with the growing political awareness and their rights and privileges, they are asserting themselves in the society under their own 'dalit identity'. Their formation of organization, and affiliating themselves to local, state and national politics, they are creating their own niche. They are no more passive, mute spectators, and no more suppressive, they are actively coming out of it and revolting the caste system. Most of their affiliation and ideology is based on Dr B R Ambedkar's philosophy.

PRESENT STATUS OF SCHEDULED CASTES-

Since independence, several efforts have been made for the overall development of SCs. Apart from the socio-economic development, efforts were made to improve their educational status. In this study, the respondents were asked to evaluate the present status and conditions of the SCs.

Status, here, refers to socio-economic educational and political status. Three questions were posed to them: whether they feel they are now equal to non-scheduled castes, whether their position has improved, but still inferior and whether their position has not improved at all.

Table 4.1 shows that a large majority of the respondents, both rural and urban feel that there is no doubt, that the position of SC has improved but at the same time they feel that their position is still inferior. Also, a lot has to be done in order to bring them at par with the people belonging to the other castes.

As large as 55% of the respondents feels that the status of SCs has improved but still is inferior in some or the other way. Many respondents gave suggestions, as to how to improve their position, which are enumerated under the sub-heading abolition of caste and untouchability.

Few of the respondents 19%, especially rural students opine that the position of SC has not improved at all. They feel whatever benefits the SCs got are just peripheral. Reservations are like crumbs to appease them. These too are not properly implemented. They reported that no day passes without a SC being hurt or harassed. Every day newspapers report about the atrocities, which are very small in number. Numerous

cases go unreported. The atrocities on SC are of various nature. SC men are abused, humiliated, beaten up and even murdered. SC women too face the similar situation, or even worse, they are molested, raped and many a times paraded nakedly. SC children both boys and girls are abused in various ways. SC people are burnt alive. One of the respondents, reported that in some regions of Telanga in A.P. the SC young men if raise voice against casteism or if involve in any conflict with the landlords or forward caste people are considered to be naxalites. And these young men are killed in the name of encounters. The respondents feel that the situation is quite grim.

Few respondents who are coming from a better socio-economic background, especially from urban background, feel that the status of SC is now equal to status of non-SC. The respondents reported that in the cities if a SC man is well placed i.e., if he is in a respectable position, even the forward caste people respect him.

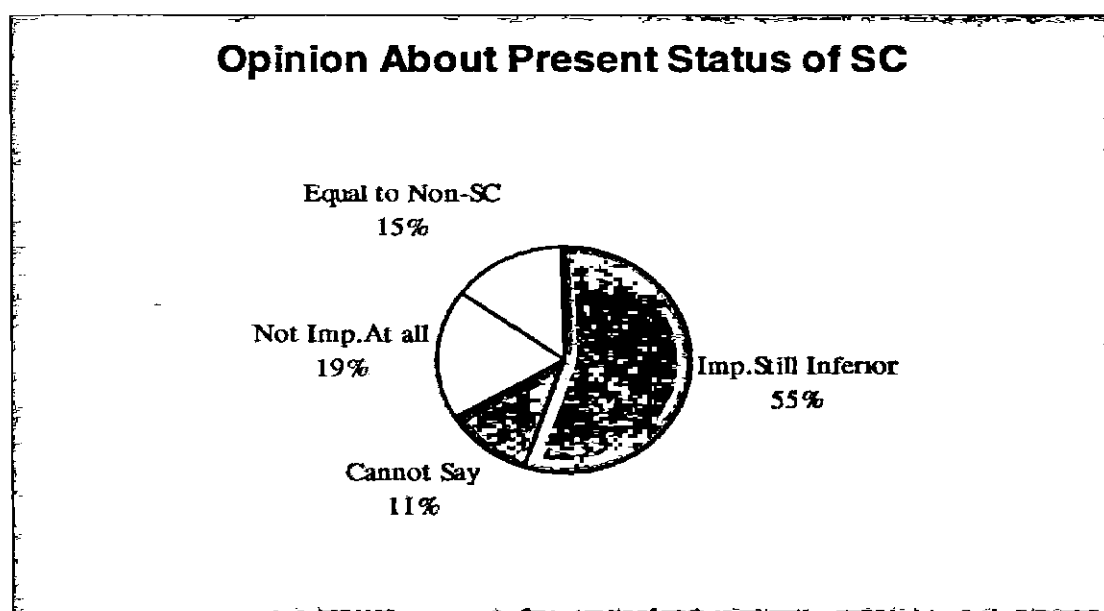
Another respondent, whose father is educated and working, is respected in his village. Even the forward caste people interact with him. His father is a respected and influential person in his own community. So, the forward caste people for political reasons come to him. The respondents feel that there are so many SC civil servants who have build their houses in Banjara Hills, Hyderabad, where mostly the rich people stay. The children of these civil servants study in good schools. No body is objecting to their rights. He feels now the caste discrimination is not so much prominent, it is the economic discrimination. If a man is rich and powerful be it a SC or Brahmin he is respected and draws attention, at the same time, if it is a poor man, be it a SC or Brahmin is not cared or bothered about. So the respondents feel that all the avenues for development are open for the Scheduled Castes. It is just that they have to become aware of and grab the opportunities. Figure 4.1, shows that there are 15% of the respondents who feel that the status of SC is now equal to non-scheduled castes. These 15% are mostly the urban respondents.

Most of the respondents agreed that due to the social welfare measures and reservations, only sections of SC people have been benefited. They have made use of their rights and opportunities. But, the rural respondents feel that the majority of the SC population who lives in villages are still poor and deprived. They are still reeling under the same old caste structure. They still have to toil day and night to survive. Most of

them are still illiterate and totally dependent on the mercy of the landlords. They do not own any property. As they are indebted, their children, instead of going to schools, have to work in the fields or at some landlord's house in order to survive. Though constitutionally, bonded labor and child labor are banned, but in the rural areas, the practice of bonded labor is continuing, while child labor is common both in the rural and the urban areas. Most of the children below 14 years, who are working, belong to SC or other backward castes

Many of the respondents feel that though in the urban areas, a small percentage of SCs have created a space for themselves, but they too face problems in their day to day life. Though their problems are not so grave but at some or the other instance, they are reminded of their ritually allotted inferior position.

FIGURE -4.1



The respondents feel that the position of the SC has improved that too a very small percentage, but the large majority of the SC are still in the same position. In order to improve their position, they have to be made aware of their rights, opportunities and benefits. It is to be seen that there is an overall development among all the SCs, especially the rural SC.

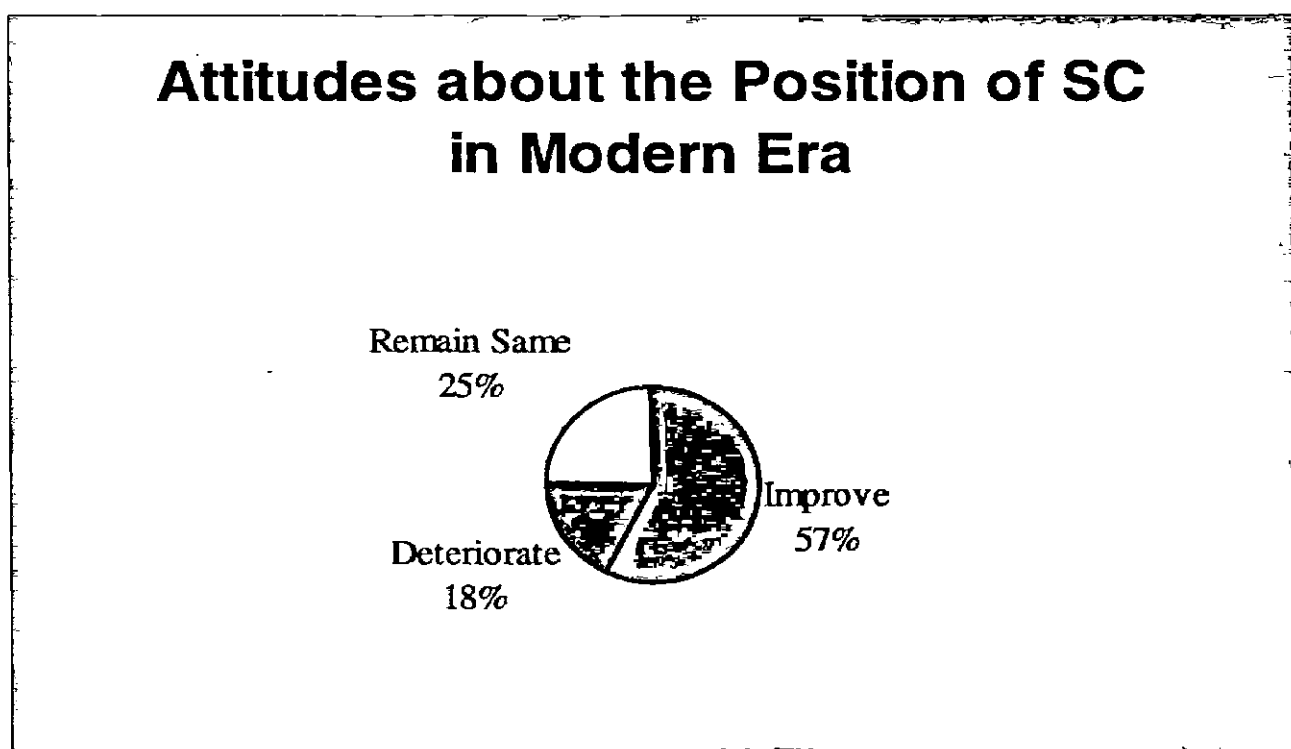
Eleven percent of the respondents could not however judge the present position of SC. And they could not say anything about the situation.

FUTURE OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES-

It is significant to understand their own perceptions regarding their future in the fast changing society- the modern period of globalization, technical advancement, modernization and privatization. Three kinds of opinions were gathered. Majority of the respondents opined that the position of the Scheduled Castes will improve.

Both rural and urban respondents opined that if the reservations and other constitutional benefits continue, and if the policies and programs for their welfare are implemented seriously, the position of the Scheduled Castes will improve. More than half of the sample respondents i.e., 57% are optimistic and foresee the improvement in the position of SCs as shown in figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2



Some of the respondents however opined that the position of SC would remain the same. According to them, though, some of the SC people have come up, a large majority of SC's position is still the same. The small group who is already in a better position utilizes the benefits and reservations. Most of the SCs are poor and rural based and their conditions continue to be miserable as they are not aware of their rights and opportunities provided for them. Neither anybody is taking care of them, nor is anyone

trying to make them aware. Few of the respondents reported that, even the SC people in good position do not bother to help their own community people. So how can they expect the other caste people to help them?

They feel that corruption and nepotism is growing all over. If one has money, he can achieve anything. But the SCs are not in a comfortable financial position and thus they have to struggle. So, 25% of the respondents as shown in figure 4.2 feels that the position of SC will remain the same.

Few respondents are not so optimistic in their view. They feel the position of SCs would deteriorate. These account to 18% of the total sample as shown in the figure 4.2. They expressed that if most of the companies are privatized, then there won't be any reservation and the employment opportunities will decrease even more. Respondents opined that there should be reservations for the jobs even in the private sector and if the company feels that the SCs are not efficient, they should train them, then recruit thereafter

Others expressed that though the life of SCs people was miserable, atleast the crime, against them was not so obvious. Now due to the positive discrimination, the forward caste people are not able to tolerate the independence and better position of the SC people. There is intolerance among the feudal lot. The crime against the SCs is increasing day by day. They cited example of Sundur massacre, Karamchedu incident and other crimes in the villages of Bihar and U P., where the SCs hamlets are attacked, their houses are burnt and even the women and the children are shot.

ABOLITION OF CASTE / UNTOUCHABILITY AND SUGGESTIONS TO IMPROVE THE STATUS OF SCHEDULED CASTES-

The data can be analyzed with respect to the three points. 1. Respondents who are in favour of abolishing the whole caste system as such and if so, what are the measures. 2. Respondents who wants to abolish the untouchability, or who want an equal treatment or respect within the society i.e., the respondents who want that there should not be any more humiliation, discrimination and injustice. The suggestions to ameliorate untouchability and enhance the status of SCs are also included in the analyses. 3. Finally, the measures that can be taken to improve their position in the

society are also enumerated.

Most of the respondents are of the view that the caste feelings and caste based discrimination is more prevalent and perceptible in the rural areas, where each person knows the other person. Being born and brought up there, an individual identity cannot be concealed. Mostly the people in the villages pursue caste-based occupation and they abide by the caste rules and regulations. But in the large towns and cities, the identity of the person can be concealed. The interaction is limited. People are pursuing varied occupations. People in the city travel in buses, dine in hotels, visit temples, attend parties and functions, and visit each other's houses. Still the respondents feel that there exists the caste factor in some or the other way. According to them even in the cities most of the upper castes and Brahmins do not let out their houses for SC people.

Another important thing is that inspite of so many changes in the society, endogamy is still prevalent. Almost all the arranged marriages are within the caste. According to the respondents, intercaste marriages are the only way through which one can abolish, or atleast weaken, the caste system. So they feel that as long as endogamy persists, caste cannot be abolished.

According to one of the rural respondents, caste system cannot be removed so easily. It has been there for centuries and cannot be abolished so fast, it is expressed in one or the other form. SC people have been living in the state of poverty, and they are the socially, economically, and politically deprived. They are given the most inferior status in the traditional Hindu system. In the past, most of the SC people were in consensus with the position they had been allotted. Even today when the situation has changed little, especially the older generation of SC, are not able to come out of their inhibitions. It is important to change the nature of their thinking. They have to be made to realize that all human beings are equal. He quoted an old saying that 'If a lie is told 99 times, it is considered to be the truth the hundredth time'. Similarly the SCs have been hypnotised for the past few hundred years, that they are like slaves and servants. That they must serve the dominant caste people and listen to them. They are told that they are born low and that their position cannot be improved in this birth or during this lifetime. They can improve their status in the coming life, if only they follow the caste rules strictly. The respondent feels that there is a lot of power in the words. The

respondent expressed that all the SC people should realize that they too are just like all the other humans. They should forget their caste status and think that 'We are not Malas, we are not Madigas, all humans are equal', then they can get rid of the caste stigma. They should become aware of their new position and rights. The SC people should feel equal to others and try to mingle with the people of other caste.

At the same time, few respondents are of the opinion that the changes have to come from both sides, i.e., SCs and non-SCs. Scheduled Caste people should be equipped with education and awareness. They should be made to understand that they are equal to any other person or any other caste. Similarly even the people of other caste should be willing to welcome the change. They too should feel free to mingle with the SCs. If the forward caste people do not interact or avoid the interaction with SCs, then there cannot be any improvement in the relationship among different castes. The respondent suggested that the intellectuals should preach to the masses that all are equal, especially to people belonging to the other caste. If all people are positively mobilized towards a non-caste system, then one can imagine the golden period for India.

Another indication for a casteless society would be only when no person is identified by his or her caste. And, even a Shudra or the SC man is accepted as a pujari in the temple. The respondent feels that then only, can one imagine that the caste system is abolished.

Most of the respondents are not so optimistic about the whole situation. They reported that they'll be happy if they are not ill-treated, humiliated and discriminated. That they just want to improve their position. One of the respondent expressed that they do not want a kind of Brahmin status but the status, where they are not attached to any inferior position and are treated equal or just as another human being.

Few respondents are of the view that the caste system is inherent in the Indian society. It gives identity and name to a person. They do not want to abolish the caste system as such, but that it should not be attached to any discrimination or stigma. It should be free from all prejudices. They want to improve their status in the caste system but do not aspire to remove the whole of the caste system.

Most of the respondents came to the conclusion that education is the only means for their upliftment. Even today, a large population of SC is illiterate and unaware of

their rights and privileges. Since half of the SC population is below poverty line, they do not have any other means to rise in life. Education, that too free and compulsory education for children accompanied with literacy programs for the adults, can improve their educational status. Even though these provisions exist for a long time, they are not reaching the needy person. So, they suggested that, these welfare measures should be made available to each and everybody, by making them initially aware of these facilities. There should be a kind of social movement for educating the people.

Another suggestion is that though crores of rupees are said to be spent on the welfare of the SCs and STs, there is no way to measure that they are utilized properly. There are no significant results in the welfare of the SCs. So, they feel that these policies and programs meant for the welfare of SC should be implemented properly.

As reported by another respondent, the funds should be increased for the upliftment, especially in the field of education and employment, and should strictly implement it. Few respondents expressed that even today, most of the employment posts meant for the SCs are not properly filled. There are a lot of backlogs. Most of the firms, write 'no suitable candidate found'. One of the Ph.D. scholar in Science department, who has been a first class student through out her educational career, expressed that she had applied for the post of a scientist in many places, but she did not even get an interview call. She suggested, there should be some studies (like the present study) on the employment of SCs too. Few respondents expressed that the reserved post are kept vacant for years and then are filled by the people of other caste. There are very few places where the reserved quota is completely filled up.

Another female respondent from the Central University expresses that the reservations are like appeasement, and are hoax. Very few are getting benefits out of it. Mere reservations do not serve the purpose. She feels that these reservations are diverting the SCs from the real struggle or a mass movement in order to achieve a better position. The respondent feels that nearly 80% of the SCs are poor and rural based. Their position can be improved only by equal distribution of land among them. They have to be self-reliant as most of the oppression is because they are landless and they have to depend on someone else for their survival.

Another respondent is of the view that for the overall development of SCs, like

socio-economic and political, focus on one aspect won't help. All the factors should be given equal importance. That is, strategies or policies should be made to see that they are socially, economically, educationally and politically empowered.

One of the respondents is of the view that the change of place or change in residence is one way to conceal their identity. As in her case, her father who is in a good post and is in urban area, is given respect and is called for every occasion by others. They inter-dine with others and interact freely. She feels at least the other caste do not openly come out with caste feelings or express any thing in front of them.

As reported earlier, most of the respondents feel that inter-caste marriage is an important way to diminish the caste feelings. So, one should encourage inter-caste marriages.

ATTITUDES ON RESERVATIONS-

Reservations or protective discrimination has been an issue of debate from the beginning. There are some who are in favor of reservations and some who are against the reservations. Obviously those who are benefited may be in favor of reservation and those who are not i.e., the forward castes may be against it. In the present study, the SC University students, who have been and are going to avail reservations were asked about their attitudes on the issue of reservation.

First they were questioned whether they want privileges inspite of abolishing the caste. From the discussion, it was found that most of them are in favor of abolishing caste, yet they wanted the privileges and reservations provided for them, because they feel that the conditions of SCs are still very miserable. They are socially, economically and educationally still very backward. If they are not given any privileges, there is no chance of their upliftment. They don't have any other resources to come up. Only the education and employment can ameliorate their poor conditions. Therefore, they wish that these privileges should continue, till they attain a better position.

Table 4.1 gives the sex wise distribution of students who wish to abolish caste and still want privileges and safeguards. 58.2 percent (57) respondents want the constitutional safeguards and privileges meant for them, even if the caste system is abolished completely. 63.6 percent (42) of males and 46.9 percent (15) females want

the privilege inspite of abolishing of caste system.

Table 4.1

**Sex wise distribution of students, who wish to abolish caste,
Still want privileges and safeguards.**

VARIABLE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
WISH TO ABOLISH CASTE AND STILL WANT PRIVILEGES			
YES	42 (63.6)	15 (46.9)	57 (58.2)
NO	24 (36.4)	17 (53.1)	41 (41.8)

41.8 percent (41) respondents, mostly urban, do not want any safeguards and privileges if the caste system is abolished. They are ready to forego the facilities provided for them. 53.1 percent (17) females do not want any safeguards and privileges if the caste system is removed whereas 36.4 percent (24) males wish so.

Secondly, it was questioned on what basis the reservation should be given, whether it should be solely based on caste (SC, ST, BC) as prevalent now or should it be based on the economic position without considering the caste status at all. Whether reservations should be given to poor people irrespective of caste, or poor families from the forward caste too should be given reservations. Majority of the respondents opined that the reservation should be based on economic criteria. In the present study, even though the sample population being from SCs still expressed that the reservations to educational institutions and job facilities should be based on economic criteria.

The reasons given by some of the respondents are that, the reservations based on caste are creating barriers. Because of reservations, one has to mention caste in the application forms and thus, the caste is revealed, thereby giving a chance for identification and hence ill-treatment. One of the respondents, reported that because of reservations they stand against those who do not have reservation thereby creating a gap. He feels, because of reservations, the forward caste people have started forming a negative attitude towards the SC people and have started hating them. He feels that reservations have thus created barriers and have created a sort of social distance.

Another female respondent from an urban background, whose father is a

gazetted officer, too feels that reservations have widened the gap between SC and non-SC, even among the educated lot. She feels that due to reservations, some times a SC person who is not so intelligent with average marks gets a seat whereas sometimes a good and intelligent forward caste student does not get the seat. She feels that this system is not fare, and that there should not be any reservations based on caste.

Figure 4.3 shows that as large as 66.7 percent of the respondents opined that the reservations should be based on economic position and only 33.33 percent wanted the reservations to be based on caste.

Those respondents who are in favor of reservations based on caste argued that the SC are not just economically backward but they are socially and educationally deprived. They are given an inferior status, which put together makes their position miserable. Whereas upper caste people, especially Brahmins, even though poor are not socially and educationally backward. They are still given a superior position in the hierarchy. If they are poor, they are just economically deprived.

Another question was raised with regard to the SC population only. It was asked whether the reservation should be given to all the SCs, as is practised now, or to poor SC or to the rural SC. Majority of the respondents wish that the reservations should be given to the poor SCs only, thereby again confirming to the economic criteria.

CLASS FORMATION WITH IN THE SCs-

Most of the respondents opined that a kind of class formation has occurred within the Scheduled Castes. Earlier, almost all the SCs were backward. After providing reservations and privileges, only a section of SCs have availed the opportunities and they have improved their position. They have acquired a new position where they are economically sound, equipped with knowledge and some are even politically powerful. The respondents reported that these people who comes under middle class or upper middle class are making use of these benefits. Whereas, the genuinely poor and rural SC people are still deprived and backward. They are largely ignorant of these privileges. And are not able to harness the opportunities.

One of the female respondents, expressed that the rich SC people mingle with the rich people only. She gave an example of some political leaders, who belongs to

SCs. She expressed that these politicians are politically and educationally empowered. They can do a lot to improve the position of SCs. But she feels that these people are not bothered about the welfare of the SCs but are much bothered about consolidating their own position. She cited an e.g. of BSP leaders as to how they have joined hands with the BJP, just to be in power in total antithesis to their ideology.

Another rural respondent gave an example of the SCs who have become bureaucrats. He opined that once a SC man becomes an IAS, IPS or IFS, he does not care for the people of his own community. He only looks for his own benefits. He mingles with people of his own status. The respondent then expressed that humans are selfish by nature and looks only for self-interest.

One respondent, on the other hand, tried to explain why a SC man, even though in a better position, is not able to help his own community people. He pointed out some of the pressures under which he has to work, thereby not able to support others. He expressed that now a days one should have money and social contacts to achieve something and that most of the SC people are poor and do not have any backup. Even if a well placed SC person wants to help others, he cannot do much because he himself is the first person to come up. Next, he tries to bring up his immediate family members, that too through educating them. But he cannot help others in any way, who are poor and are illiterate.

Another respondent expressed that even though a SC person is in a higher position, there will be some or the other forward caste person above him. If the SC person shows keen interest or favors his own community people, he will be identified and his own position will become vulnerable. Sometimes he may not like to reveal his identity by closely associating himself with his own community people.

Another respondent reported that once the SC person moves up in the social ladder, i.e., becomes economically well-off, his lifestyles changes as well. He lives like any other caste person who is well off. Thereby his lifestyle becomes elite and different from those who are poor. Hence, the class formation.

CREAMY LAYER-

Many respondents who are in favor of giving reservations, only to the poor SC

are in favor of the creamy layer policy. According to them, only a few SC are availing the benefits of the protective discrimination. A large majority of them are not utilizing it. In order to distribute these privileges to the ones who are more needy, certain measures have to be taken up.

Most of the rural respondents expressed that once the father is at a good position, e.g. doctor, lecturer, bureaucrat, he should not avail reservation for his children as they might have studied in good schools. They might have got good study environment, encouragement and inspiration from the parents. But the other SC person from poor socio-economic background, with not so good educational background, cannot compete with the privileged among them. According to the respondent, the better off SC person should forego reservation in favor of the more needy SC. Another respondent says that once a SC person gets a job and settles well, he/ she should not claim reservation for their children and should give opportunity for economically poor SCs.

The respondent feels that even the SC families where the parents are earning around ten thousand per month, should not avail the reservation. They should leave the space for other needy persons.

When asked about why the creamy layer proposal is not being implemented, one of the respondents, reported that it may be because of the reasons that the people who comes under the creamy layer are the politicians, bureaucrats and higher officials. These are the people who are the policy makers and run the government. They do not want to forego the benefits they are getting. Even if it is implemented by the government, these people will not be motivated to support the government.

Few respondents suggested that in order to improve the position of SCs, the only way is to implement the creamy layer. Once the better lot among the SCs, leave space for the other needy SCs, slowly all the SCs can come at par with the others and gradually the reservation too can be removed. To achieve this, the awareness has to be created among the rural SCs.

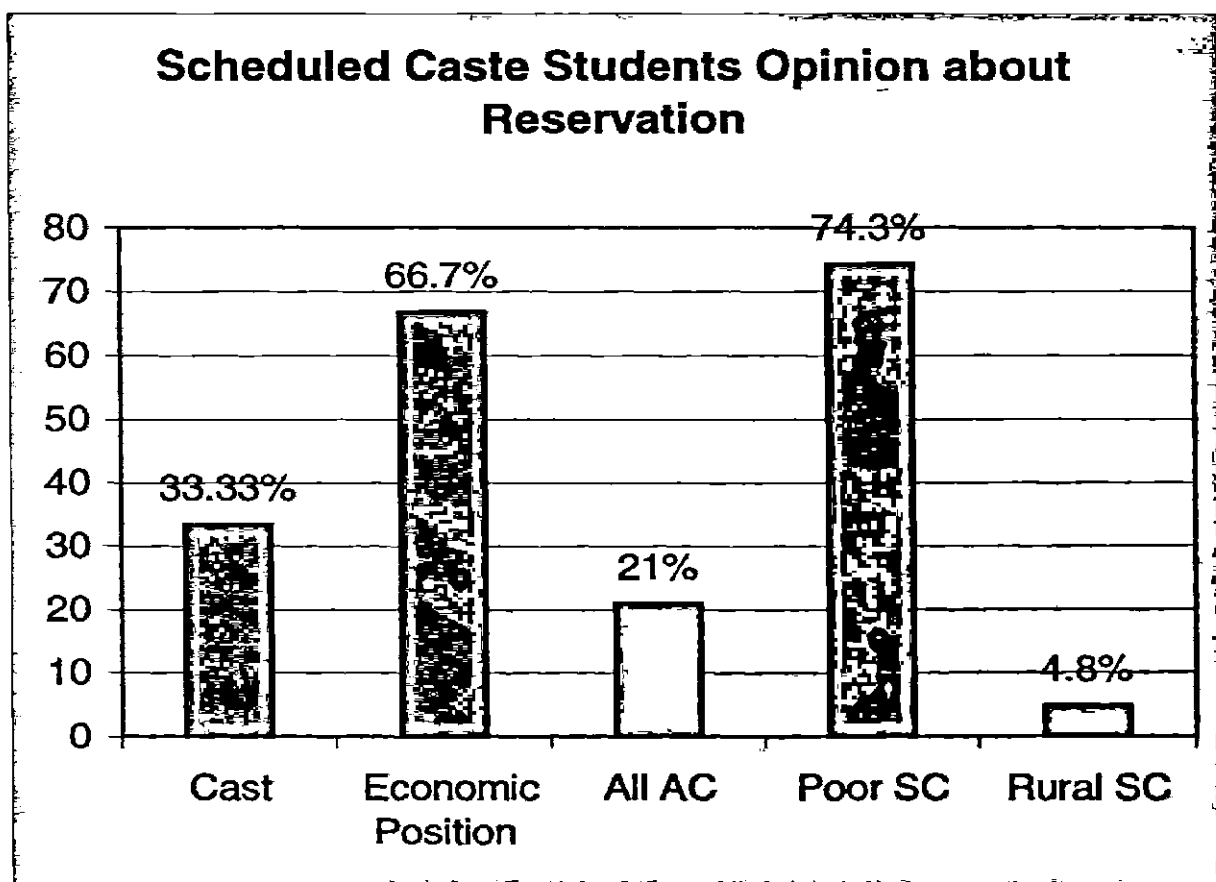
Figure 4.3, confirms that as large as 74.3 percent of the respondents opines that the poor SC persons should get the reservations, when compared to 21 percent of the respondents who wants the reservation for all the SCs. Another 4.8 percent wish that the rural SC people should get reservations. Since most of the rural SC are poor, it

again confirms that the poor SC should get the reservations.

Rural urban wise distribution of the respondents and their opinion on the reservations was also found out.

Though a large percent of sample respondents in the present study belong to the rural areas, a very small percentage (5.1%) of rural students want the reservation to be given to rural SC's. A high percentage, 76.9% and 78.9% of rural and urban SC students respectively, want that the reservations to be given to poor SC, giving weightage to economic criteria

FIGURE-4.3



HOW MANY YEARS SHOULD RESERVATIONS CONTINUE-

Another question was posed to the respondents as to how many years the reservations should continue in order to uplift the SCs. During the course of interviews, majority of the respondents especially from rural areas, wanted the reservations to continue forever, i.e., for an indefinite period. They want the

reservations to continue until all the SCs achieve a respectable position. They wanted reservations for an indefinite period because they expressed that inspite of fifty years of Independence and the commencement of the positive discrimination the position of the scheduled castes has not improved much. Very small percent of the SC's have come out of the socio economic backwardness. Majority of them are still poor and are suffering from socio economic disabilities. To uplift them the reservations are needed for an indefinite period.

One female respondent expressed that the reservation are not privileges, they should be given for many more years, because the SC ancestors had suffered nearly for some hundreds of years in the past. This loss has to be made up by the government. She argues that the reservations are infact very less as compare to the population of SCs. She says that the reservations are given on the basis of population ratio. Though 15% reservations to SCs, 7% reservation to STs and 27% to BCs are given, but the remaining percentage of seats are there for forward castes. Even though SCs can come in merit, most of the time, is not given a seat under merit. He is again placed under reserved category. Only in few places they are admitted under merit. In most of the cases the remaining 50% seats are exclusively for FC. She regards this 50% remaining seats as the fifty percent reservation for the FCs.

Another respondent feels that reservation should be done away within 20-30 years, provided the people are made aware of these things. Already there is an improvement, but still with the help of media, the rural poor SC should be made aware of the privileges.

Another respondent is not optimistic about the whole situation, as he feels that even if the reservation is continued for 40-50 years, the situation won't change because it is not reaching to the right person. There is a problem in implementation.

Table 4 2 provides information on Sex and rural and urban wise distribution of students. It explains the opinion of the respondents in the number of years that reservation should continue. A fairly large, 64.2 percent respondents wish that the reservations should continue forever. A large per cent of males, 72.2 percent compared to 47.1 percent females wish that the reservation should continue forever. Comparatively, high percentage of rural respondents, i.e., 71.8% wish that the

reservations should continue forever, as compared to 45 percent of urban respondents.

Table 4.2
Opinion About How Many Years Reservation Should Continue
(Sex and Rural Urban Wise Distribution)

VARIABLE	RESERVATION IN YEARS					
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21 Above	For Ever
Male	4 (5.6)	9 (12.5)	-	3 (4.2)	4 (5.6)	52 (72.2)
Female	3 (8.8)	8 (23.5)	1 (2.9)	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	16 (47.1)
Total	7 (6.6)	17 (16.0)	1 (.9)	6 (5.7)	7 (6.6)	68 (64.2)
Rural	6 (7.7)	9 (11.5)	1 (1.3)	3 (3.8)	3 (3.8)	56 (71.8)
Urban	-	6 (30.0)	-	2 (10.0)	3 (15.0)	9 (45.0)
Semi-Urban	1 (12.5)	2 (25.0)	-	1 (12.5)	1 (12.5)	3 (37.5)
Total	7 (6.6)	17 (16.0)	1 (.9)	6 (5.7)	7 (6.6)	68 (64.2)

Statistically, as large as 64.2% wants the reservations to continue forever, whereas only 6.6% of them want for a minimum of 5 years. Another 16% want for 6 to 10 years, and a small percentage of 5.7 and 6.6 want the reservation to continue for 16-20 years and 21 years and above respectively.

CATEGORIZATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES FOR RESERVATIONS-

Among Scheduled Castes, Madigas are considered to be untouchables. Out of the two major jatis- Malas and Madigas, Mala is considered to be superior in status. The Madigas, who eat beef and are associated with leatherwork, are considered to be impure, even by the Malas.

Malas are the predominant SC in the Circars whereas the Madigas dominate in Telangana. In the case of Rayalseema, the proportion of Malas and Madigas is about the same. It is rare to find these two castes equally represented in different areas even within a region.

From the literature and through interviews and discussions it was found that there were no inter marriages between Mala and Madiga. There isn't much social interaction also. The Mala are in a better social status when compared to Madigas. The

Mala relations are better with backward caste. Now the B.C. people are liberal and call the Malas to their houses, dine together, call for marriages, and serve food along with others. But the B C. people do not entertain the Madiga in the same manner. They maintain a social distance. Likewise, Malas too maintain distance with Madigas. Malas do not call the Madigas to their houses, to the marriages, etc. Even if they are called, they are served separately. In another village the kammass come to the Malas house, sit and dine, etc but does not go to Madigas house. Thereby creating distance among Mala and Madiga. Now if a problem comes to Mala, Madigas do not join them to solve or vice versa.

According to one of the respondents, there was never a cohesion between Mala and Madiga jatis. They are separate in all spheres. In villages, as the Madiga people eat beef, make shoes or leather items from the skin of cow or buffalo, they are considered to be impure. The other castes prefer to interact with Malas rather than Madigas. Giving an example, one of the Madiga respondent reported that once in the village there was panchayat elections where the seat was meant for the SC candidate only. The Madiga stood against one Mala candidate. Forward caste people in the village preferred to vote for Mala than Madiga candidate. They commented, "*Madigodu ki yente votu aedam, Madigodu cante Malodu melu*". Meaning why vote for Madiga, Mala is better than Madiga. So, the Mala candidate won the election.

The sharp difference between these two castes can be explained in a number of ways. It is well known that social reform movements, aimed at the emancipation of weaker sections of society have been far more active in the coastal districts where malas predominate. They were also the recipients of preferential treatment under the British. In contrast, in Telangana, where the Madigas predominate, was a part of princely state where there was no comparable attempt at social reform or deliberate effort at improving their lot.

The Malas who had to compete for agricultural labor with several other castes, besides facing uncertainties inherent in this occupation, took more readily to formal education than the Madigas who were secure in leather work. Moreover, the Madigas were also involved in jaymani relationships with upper caste landlords which helped to keep in their traditional occupations.

There is a striking difference between Malas and Madigas in the exploitation of educational facilities. Malas have, by and large, done well for themselves and are educationally way ahead of the Madigas. Even in the rural areas where literacy is far less, there are twice as many literates among Malas, as among Madigas. This difference between the two castes is presumed at every level from primary to higher education. Indicative of this is the relative cornering of scholarships by Malas and certain numerically small SCs such as Adi-Andhras, who are offshoots of Malas (Uma Ramaswamy, 1974).

In wake of these differences among these two jatis, the Mala and the Madiga, there has been a proposal for classifying the different Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh in to ABCD and provide apportion SC reserved quotas to them according to their socio-economic rank and population. That is, when Madigas are more in population their seats should be more as compared to the other jatis within the total seats reserved for the SCs.

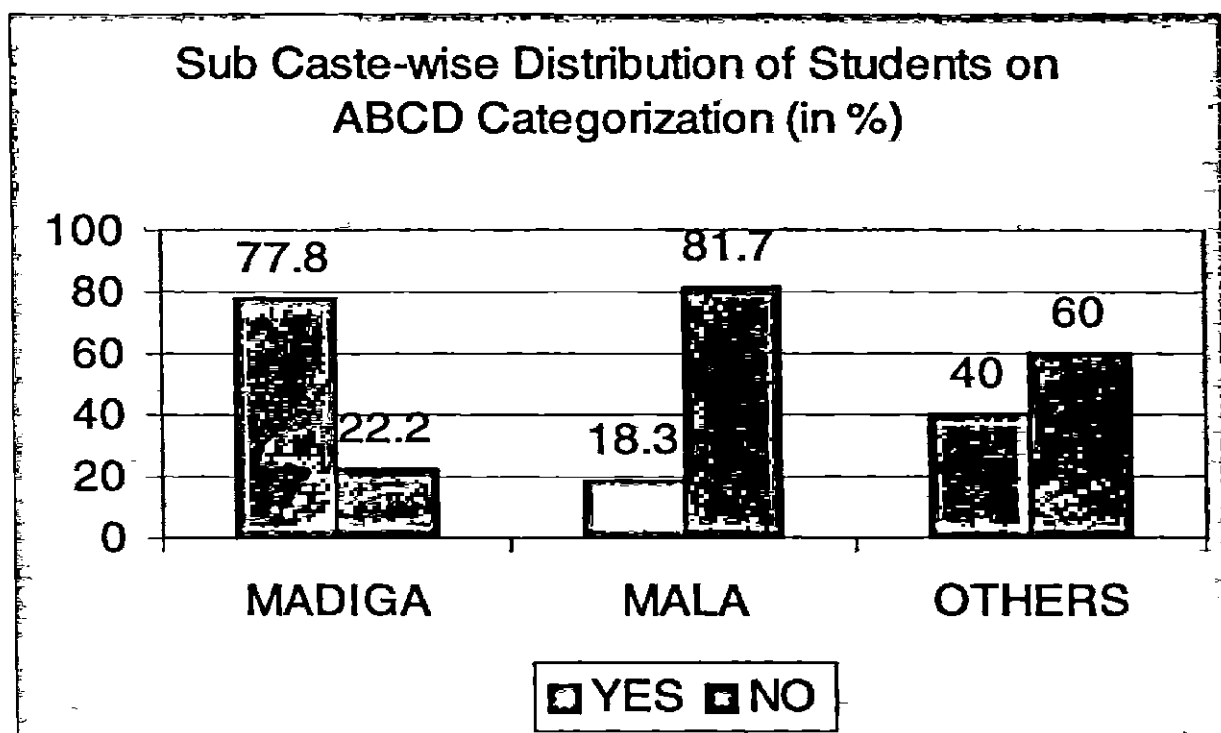
Earlier, all the jatis of Scheduled Castes use to fight for the political gains and constitutional rights. Now because a section of them i.e., Malas have gone a way ahead, in the fields of education , employment and leadership, a drift has occurred among these jatis Madigas sensed a feeling of deprivation, and realized the unequal sharing of benefits and leadership roles They formed an association called 'Madiga Dandora' to fight for ABCD issue Combating it a Mala association called 'Mala Mahanadu' was formed

Among 97 respondents who answered whether they want ABCD categorization of reservations, 62.9 per cent of the respondents are against any categorization of SC's. They are against the formation of separate quotas. Whereas 37 per cent of the respondents suggest that there should be separate quotas in the reservation for each jati among SC, as done among Backward Castes (ABCD). Among them rural respondents (40.5%) outnumber the urban and semi urban respondents.

Caste wise distribution of the respondents about the opinion on the categorization of SC's is shown in figure 4.4. Most of the Madiga jati respondents (77.8 per cent), who would be benefited with the categorization of separate quotas are in favor of categorization. Whereas, only 18.3 percent of respondents who belong to Mala jati

are in favor of separate quotas. On the other hand as large as 81.7 percent of Mala respondents are against categorization. 60 per cent of the respondents from other castes (other than Mala and Madiga) are against the categorization of SC's.

Figure 4.4



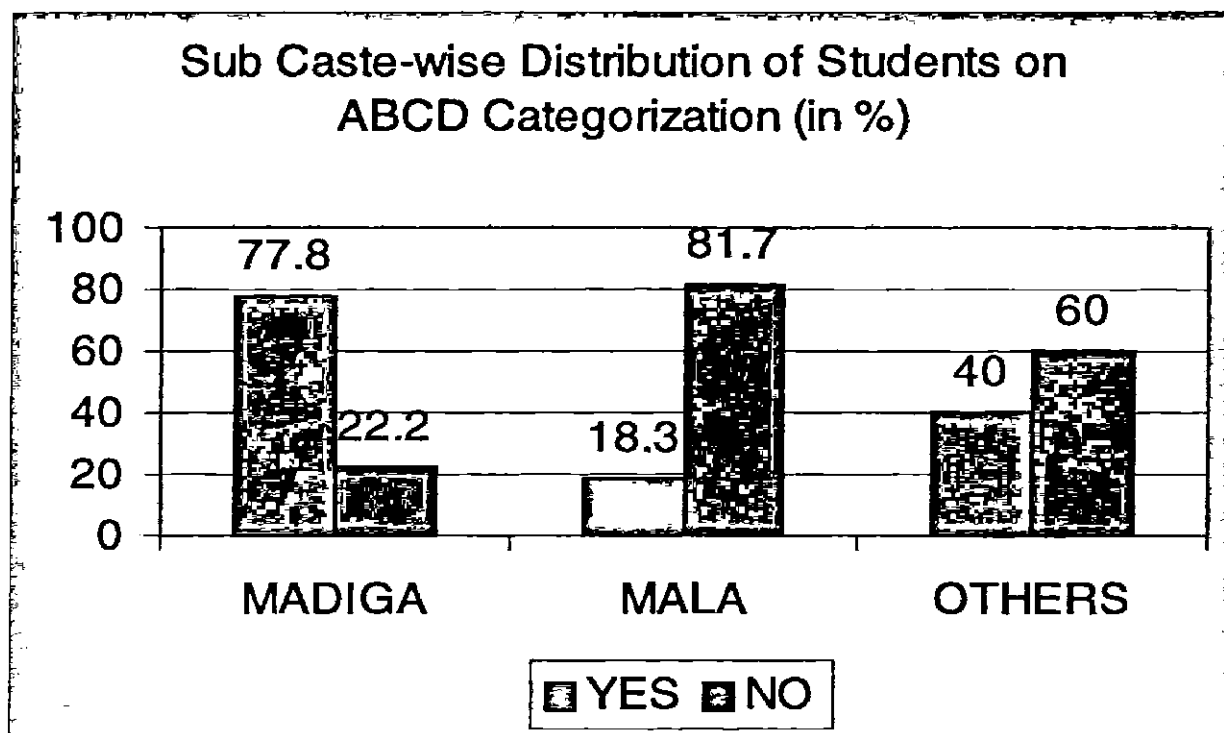
One of the Mala respondents feels that the issue of ABCD categorization is politically motivated. The ministers are involved in this kind of segregation where they want to grab the vote bank of that particular section Madigas. It is not of much interest to the group, but aimed at the self-interest of the politicians.

Another respondent too feels that the politicians are making use of this ABCD issue. They are applying divide and rule policy. The feud between Mala and Madiga is sustained by self-interest of Forward castes groups. They are dividing them and ruling them. Or else all SC and BC and ST can combine together to form a majority and FC will become a minority.

In A.P. there are some regions where Mala caste is dominating and well off and in other areas Madiga are well off and dominating. Though Madiga caste are still backward. But because of lack of education and awareness they have created a gap and

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In A.P. there are some regions where Mala caste is dominating and well off and in other areas Madiga are well off and dominating. Though Madiga caste are still backward. But because of lack of education and awareness they have created a gap and

are making them to fight and watching the show. The forward caste feels that these communities do not have unity. The respondent suggests that the leaders from Mala and Madiga castes should first sit, discuss, come to consensus and then put forward the petition in the court and fight together. He witnessed the Mala Mahasbha lathi charge at Tank Bund. After the incident, he saw thousands of chappals near Ambedkar statue. There were people who jumped from the Tank Bund and broke their bones. There was a stampede by the horses and the police had badly beaten the people. He feels that the government is provoking against each other and watching the show. The respondent feels they are exaggerating the things and they are developing vengeance against their own community people and moreover, this kind of division (categorization of ABCD) cannot be accepted by the state government. It has to be a central decision and if one state government decides such an issue, later all the states will fight for caste categorization.

Some of the students from Mala caste feel that what Madigas are agitating for is correct, but in times to come neither Mala nor Madiga are going to be benefited. They are splited by forward caste politicians for their own interest. They suggest that instead let there be no ABCD reservation for few more years. Let some SC either, Mala or Madiga, who have come up, stop claiming reservations for his children and give oppurtunities to more disadvantaged groups. Malas came up just because of education, even Madigas can achieve better status.

One respondent though is a Mala by caste expresses that ABCD categorization should be there. He feels the Madiga caste people are really down trodden, illiterate and poor. They should be given preference. He further stated that though this may cause a split between the two communities but there is a need for upliftment of Madiga caste. Later, he suggested that in place of ABCD categorization in Madiga, it is better to consider socio-economic background for categorization into ABCD irrespective of Mala or Madiga, so that there won't be any conflict between the two communities.

Many respondents, who are from Madiga caste too, feel that there should be ABCD categorization as they are really downtrodden. They are further discriminated by Malas in the same way as the other castes discriminate them. For them either Brahmin or Mala, both are one and the same, as they face the social distance from both of them.

The respondent expressed that though there is a split now between the communities but it also existed in the past. They were never one. They don't have intercaste marriages, i.e., the Malas do not marry their daughters to Madigas and vice-versa. So, there is a difference between the two communities. Now the conflict, which has arisen due to ABCD issue, will slowly diminish according to him as in case of BCs, where there is ABCD categorization and they have consensus among them.

Another Madiga respondent, who is in favor of ABCD categorization, says that a Mala student with better socio-economic background is in competition to a Madiga from poor socio-economic background. More and more seats have been occupied by Malas. The reservations should be based according to the population ratio. In 1942, the Malas population was 2% less than Madigas. But now after the struggle for reservations, Malas claim to be more populated. According to the respondent, both Malas and Madigas had fought for reservations on the basis of poor socio-economic background, rather than on merit. Now when the Malas are in better socio-economic conditions and are better in merit compare to Madigas, they are talking about merit, thereby denying opportunities to Madigas. According to the respondent, the Malas are ill-treating the Madigas in the same way as the FC groups do to the SC. The Madigas are not allowed to enter into the Malas house and are not offered water and a chair to sit. The Malas dominate over Madigas. If the Malas continue to hold reservations and key post, the gap between the Mala and Madiga will grow. There will be much more oppressions and domination on Madigas by the Malas along with the other Forward castes.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE-

Marriages in India are still endogamous. Definition of caste system as a hierarchy of endogamous divisions, in which membership is hereditary and permanent, itself shows the importance of endogamy. The matrimonial columns also show the importance of caste. Rarely does an advertisement say, 'caste no bar'. One of the respondents quoted from the advertisement, 'Wanted Christian Mala boy'. He finds it ridiculous, since Christianity is a religion, without any caste' still some people after converting to other religion are not leaving their caste identity. He says true Christians does not associate with any caste.

In the present study too, most of the respondents want to marry within their jati. The female respondents are of the view that since their caste is considered to be the lowest they will not be accepted by the upper caste for marriage and most of them expressed that they won't be given respect in the family, hence, there may be an adjustment problem. If they marry within their jati, they will be respected and will be more comfortable. Yet, few of the male and female respondents are ready to go for intercaste marriages, provided the person of the other caste is willing to married.

Some of the female respondents expressed that nowadays if a SC person is in a respectable position, is getting married to a girl from the upper caste, mostly it is love marriage and seldom they are arranged marriages. But the SC girls even though highly educated and sometimes in a good position are not accepted by the upper caste men.

Few female respondents feel that the well-settled SC boys go out to marry forward caste girls, because of the latter being more educated, cultured and good looking. The other reasons may be there is a chance of social mobility and increase in ones status, or else it may be for economic reasons, etc. One of the respondent reported that the present trend is that these SC boys who are in a better position like, IAS, IPS, IFS services are marrying FC girls. The parents of the girls, mostly Kamma caste people approach the SC boys who are IAS, IPS, or IFS (mostly who are from average family background) for marrying their daughters. They want to marry their daughters to those who are in the jobs, which are considered to be respectable and powerful, here they are not much bothered about the caste of the boy. Only thing that they see is that, he is from a somewhat better family. Moreover, they feel that a SC boy, whatever background he may be coming from, will automatically change his lifestyles according to his status. By marrying, they want to gain through better connections. Similarly, a SC boy tries to marry a FC girl with an expectation of huge dowry and a chance to move up in the social ladder.

This is posing problem for the SC girls to get an eligible bachelors within their castes. When asked about the difficulty in getting groom for highly qualified SC girl in their own community, they opined it is a problem, which disturbs the ratio. On the contrary, the well-settled forward caste boys do not marry SC girls (except exceptional cases). So most of the times it becomes very difficult for well educated

and well settled SC girls get a better groom. Another respondent reported that her sister is an example. She was serious with her civil services. At 30 years of age, she got the service. Till then even her father too encouraged her in studies and after 30 years, when her father started looking for a groom, they didn't get suitable match. Now her sister is 35 years old and is still unmarried. But in some exceptional cases, she says that if the SC girl is better placed, she gets alliances from other castes as well. One of her elder sisters got married to a Kshatriya boy and another got married to a ST boy. She feels that the caste should not be a bar for marriage. Individual should be able to take care and support his wife. Also, she feels exogamous marriages can help, to some extent, in breaking the caste boundaries.

One of the female respondents, expressed that once the SC man is in a good position and is married to upper caste girls, they get along well as he is able to provide her with a comfortable living. She gave two examples, where the SC man in one case is a field officer and the other is an executive in Food Corporation of India. Both of their wives are happy and comfortable and are having good relations with them. But in another case, her own uncle who is a teacher, married a Brahmin girl. Since his economic position is not very good, both husband and wife are having misunderstanding and their relations have soured. She does not even care for her in-laws and relatives.

Few female respondents thus expressed that a forward caste girl is well accepted in the SC family as she comes from a better economic background, has a support of her family and is able to show her skills in managing the house and other activities. Where as the respondents feel that the SC girl married to an upper caste man may not get the same respect in his family. She may face problem, they may ill-treat her.

One of the respondents, expressed that she won't purposefully go and try for an inter-caste marriage but if some body is interested, she does not mind it. But at the same time, the respondent fears that the women as such are given an inferior status, and they are humiliated. And moreover, if a SC woman has to live with a forward caste man, he may take advantage to humiliate her more and more and may not respect her at all.

Another female respondent wish to marry a teacher, almost of her qualification, not too educated. She wants to go for an arranged marriage within her own caste. As she feels, love marriages do not succeed. Initially they compromise for everything but later they face problems with adjustment. She feels if she marries a forward caste man, he may be authoritative She will face problem at every step because of being born in a lower caste.

TABLE 4.3
Attitudes on Marriage by Sex

VARIABLE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
PREFER TO MARRY			
WITHIN THE CASTE	42 (62.7)	16 (59.3)	58 (61.7)
OTHER SC	9 (13.4)	4 (14.8)	13 (13.8)
BC	3 (4.5)	1 (3.7)	4 (4.3)
FC	2 (3.0)	1 (3.7)	4 (4.3)
BRAHMIN	3 (4.5)	1 (3.7)	4 (4.3)
ANY OF THE ABOVE	8 (11.9)	4 (14.8)	12 (12.8)
MARRY WITH QUALITIES			
EDUCATED	65 (95.6)	34 (100.0)	99 (97.1)
UNEDUCATED	3 (4.4)	-	3 (2.9)
MARRY FROM THE PLACE			
RURAL	38 (63.3)	8 (26.7)	46 (51.1)
URBAN	22 (36.7)	22 (73.3)	44 (48.9)
MARRY WITH BEAUTY MEASURES			
GOOD LOOKING	32 (53.3)	11 (34.4)	43 (46.7)
AVERAGE	28 (46.7)	21 (65.6)	49 (53.3)
COMPLEXION			
FAIR	21 (32.3)	3 (9.4)	24 (24.7)
MEDIUM	36 (55.4)	14 (43.8)	50 (51.5)
DARK	2 (3.1)	-	2 (2.1)
ANY COMPLEXION	6 (9.2)	15 (46.9)	21 (21.6)

Another female respondent expressed that she wants to marry within her own

caste or with any other SC, but he must be a Christian. Being a Christian she feels that one becomes more spiritual, forgiving, helping and God fearing. He should be preferably a lecturer, educated, understanding, loving and not money minded. She feels that her husband should give much time to the family and in bringing up the children.

Another female respondent opined that it so happens sometimes that even, if a FC man wants to marry a SC girl, he may not marry, as he has to face a problem of adjustment on one side with his SC wife and on the other hand with his parents. So, he avoids such a situation.

Very few of the respondents, both the boys and the girls expressed that they don't mind going for inter-caste marriages (see table 4.3). One female respondent is open for marriage with no caste bar. She feels that there are eligible bachelors for her in her own community. Her mothers side, there are engineers and doctors, but she does not mind having an inter-caste marriage. Only thing she wants is an understanding and educated husband with atleast a good job. Her husband should encourage her endeavors. Another female respondent is also of similar view. She also wants an understanding husband who is in a good position. Another male respondent expressed that he would like to go for an inter-caste marriage. He wants to marry at least a post graduate qualified girl, so that his children can get good guidance.

Another male respondent too is in favor of an Inter-caste marriage. But he says, as India is Patriarchal society, the caste of the father does matters. In that case, if a SC man even though marries a Brahmin girl, she herself will become a member of the SC community. And her children too will be given SC status. So, where is the chance of loosing one's caste?

Table 4.3 gives the attitudes on the matrimonial issues. Out of 95 sample respondents, 61.7 percent of the respondents prefer to marry within their own caste and another 13.8 percent with other scheduled caste. This shows that inspite of higher education more than fifty percent of the respondents still prefer endogamy. Whereas very small percent 4.3 percent (4) of each of the respondents prefer to marry a person belonging to BC, FC, and Brahmin. Another 12.8 percent (12) reported that they do not

mind marrying a person from any of the above castes.

As high as 97.1 percent (99) of the respondents wants to marry an educated person and just 2.9 percent (3) males wants to marry an uneducated women. No females want to marry an uneducated man. Four respondents did not respond to this. The respondents themselves being highly qualified, wish to marry educated persons only.

Respondents are equally distributed in wishing to marry a person from rural and urban areas. Out of 90 respondents who replied, 51.1 percent (46) respondents wish to marry a rural person and another 48.9 percent (44) wish to marry an urban person. Sex wise distribution shows that more no. of the female respondents 73.9 percent (22) wish to marry urban males than comparatively low 36.7 % (22) male respondents, who wish to marry an urban female. Inversely, more no. of the male respondents 63.3 percent (38) wish to marry a rural female than 26.7 percent (8) female respondents who wish to marry a rural person. Females wish for urban males because they have to go to her husband's place and stay and they prefer urban areas than rural areas. Whereas, there are males who wish to marry rural females because even though the girls are from rural areas, they are going to stay along with the husband most probably in the urban areas.

Considering the beauty measures, out of the 92 respondents, 46.7 percent (43) respondents wish to marry a good looking person and another 53.3 percent (49) wish to marry an average person. Comparatively, more no. of the male respondents 53.3 percent (32) wish to marry a good looking girl when compared to 34.4 percent (11) female respondents who wish for a good looking man. More no. of females wish to marry an average looking man.

Regarding the complexion of the would-be spouse, out of 97 respondents, maximum no. of respondents i.e., 51.5 percent (50) prefer a spouse with a medium complexion, 24.7 percent (2) respondents wish to marry a person with a fair complexion and there are 2.1 percent (2) respondents who do not mind marrying a dark person. Another 21.6 percent (21) respondents do not have any choice of complexion of the spouse, they are ready to marry a person with any of these complexions. The negligible percentages who wish to marry a dark person are both males

TABLE 4.4

Attitudes on Marriage by Rural Urban Distribution

VARIABLE	RURAL	URBAN	SEMIURBAN	TOTAL
PREFER TO MARRY				
WITHIN THE CASTE	45 (63.4)	9 (56.3)	4 (57.1)	58 (61.7)
OTHER SC	9 (12.7)	2 (12.5)	2 (28.6)	13 (13.8)
BC	3 (4.2)	1 (6.3)	-	4 (4.3)
FC	3 (4.2)	-	-	3 (3.2)
BRAHMIN	3 (4.2)	-	1 (14.3)	4 (4.3)
ANY OF THE ABOVE	8 (11.3)	4 (25.0)	-	12 (12.8)
MARRY WITH QUALITIES				
EDUCATED	71 (95.9)	20 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	99 (97.1)
UNEDUCATED	3 (4.1)	-	-	3 (2.9)
MARRY FROM THE PLACE				
RURAL	42 (63.6)	1 (5.9)	3 (42.9)	46 (51.1)
URBAN	24 (36.4)	16 (94.1)	4 (57.1)	44 (48.9)
MARRY WITH BEAUTY MEASURES				
GOOD LOOKING	34 (51.5)	7 (38.9)	2 (25.0)	43 (46.7)
AVERAGE	32 (48.5)	11 (61.1)	6 (75.0)	49 (53.3)
COMPLEXION				
FAIR	19 (26.8)	3 (16.7)	2 (25.0)	24 (24.7)
MEDIUM	36 (50.7)	11 (61.1)	3 (37.5)	50 (51.5)
DARK	2 (2.8)	-	-	2 (2.1)
ANY COMPLEXION	14 (19.7)	4 (22.2)	3 (37.5)	21 (21.6)

Table 4.4 gives the rural urban distribution of the respondents according to their opinion regarding the marriage. In this, the significant observation is that more no. of the rural respondents 63.6 percent (42) wish to marry a rural person when compared to very low 5.9 percent (1) urban respondents who wish to marry a rural person, which shows that once a person becomes urbanite they do not wish to go back to the village. So, an urban respondent prefers to marry an urban person only.

The negligible respondents who wish to marry an uneducated and rural person are the rural male respondents.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS RELIGION-

Hindu religion confirms the hierarchical system where the SCs are given the lowest or the most inferior position based on ascribed status. It was hypothesized that the respondents who belong to different jatis, Mala, Madiga and others may not be believing in the Hindu religion. The Hindu religion has nothing to offer them but low rank in the hierarchy. Among the different jatis again, Madiga which is considered to be at the bottom of the hierarchy the respondents belonging to this jati may be more secular and may not have faith in Hindu religion.

Confirming to the hypothesis it was found that three fourth of the sample respondents (100) are secular in their feelings and only one fourth of them expressed that they are religious. Among those who reported to be religious, it was seen that the Christian SC and the respondents from the Mala jati are more religious than the Madiga respondents. Table 4.5 shows that 66.7 percent (8) of the Christians are more religious as compared to the 18.2 percent (16) of Hindus. Whereas large percent 81.5 percent (72) of Hindus expressed that they are secular as compared to 33.3 percent (4) Christians. The respondents reported that they do not believe in Hindu religion and do not worship any Hindu Gods. They do not visit any temples and worship. Since the Hindu religion has accorded them socially and religiously an inferior position, they do not believe in this religion. Most of them reported that they worship and have reverence for Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who has done a remarkable service for uplifting the SCs. They reported that even Dr. B.R. Ambedkar too did not believe in Hindu religion and had motivated SC people to embrace Buddhism.

Out of 98 sample respondents, 19.3% of them are converted to other religion, out of them 10.6% (9) are Hindus. When asked whether the conversion is helpful in any way. Majority of the respondents i.e., 62.9% (34) out of 54 sample reported that the conversion to other religion is not helpful in any way. Whereas 37% of them feel that it is helpful in raising their status and among them, 18.5 percent (10) respondents feels that it helps in changing their social status, another 12.9 percent (7) feels it helps

in improving their educational status and another 5.1 percent (3) respondents feels that it helps in raising their economic status. More percentage of the Christians feels that the converted religion is helpful in raising their socio-economic and educational status as compared to the Hindus. And 65.9 percent (29) of the Hindus feel that the converted religion is not helpful as compared to 50.0 percent (5) of Christians who said so. A large percentage of the respondents did not responded to this query as mostly those who are converted and few others have responded.

TABLE-4.5
Attitudes on Religion by the Religion of the Respondents

VARIABLE	HINDU	CHRISTIAN	TOTAL
ARE YOU RELIGIOUS OR SECULAR			
RELIGIOUS	16 (18.2)	8 (66.7)	24 (24.0)
SECULAR	72 (81.8)	4 (33.3)	76 (76.0)
TOTAL	88 (87.1)	12 (11.9)	100 (100.0)
ARE YOU CONVERTED			
YES	9 (10.6)	10 (76.9)	19 (19.3)
NO	76 (89.4)	3 (23.1)	79 (80.6)
RELIGIOUS CONVERSION HELPFUL IN RAISING			
SOCIAL STATUS	8 (18.2)	2 (20.2)	10 (18.5)
EDUCATIONAL STATUS	5 (11.4)	2 (20.2)	7 (12.9)
ECONOMIC STATUS	2 (4.5)	1 (10.0)	3 (5.6)
NOT HELPFUL	29 (65.9)	5 (50.0)	34 (62.9)

Caste wise distribution in table 4.6 shows that higher percent of Madiga jati people 89.7 percent (26) are secular than the 68.9 percent (42) Mala jati people. The reason may be that the Madiga jati students who come from more oppressed, rural based, with lower socio economic family status loose faith in God and dissociates themselves from religious belief and do not expect any thing from God or Religion.

More percentage of Malas 20.6 percent (12) and other castes 42.9 percent (3) are converted compared to Madiga jati 17.2 percent (5). It is because the Malas who are predominant in the Circar district or coastal areas, where there was a social reform

movements and were given preferential treatment by the Britishers. Many of the Malas took to Christianity and were benefited educationally. The respondent feels that the Britishers helped the SCs by giving free food, education etc. It may be for their self interest but many of the scheduled castes families who took to Christianity at that time had improved their status.

Table-4.6

Distribution of Mala Madiga students according to their perception about religion

VARIABLE	MADIGA	MALA	OTHERS	TOTAL
ARE YOU RELIGIOUS OR SECULAR				
RELIGIOUS	3 (10.3)	19 (31.1)	1 (16.7)	23 (24.0)
SECULAR	26 (89.7)	42 (68.9)	5 (83.3)	73 (76.0)
TOTAL	29 (30.2)	61 (63.5)	6 (6.3)	96 (100.0)
ARE YOU A CONVERT				
YES	5 (17.2)	12 (20.6)	3 (42.9)	20 (21.1)
NO	24 (82.8)	47 (57.1)	4 (57.1)	75 (78.9)
COVERTED RELIGION HELPFUL IN RAISING				
SOCIAL STATUS	4 (23.5)	7 (20.6)	-	11 (20.8)
EDUCATIONAL	2 (11.8)	4 (11.8)	-	6 (11.3)
ECONOMIC	3 (17.6)	-	-	3 (5.7)
NOT HELPFUL	8 (47.1)	23 (67.6)	2 (100.0)	33 (62.3)

Conversion to Christianity is mainly done on the part of the respondent's fathers and grand fathers. Very rarely a respondent has changed his religion. Infact, there are many of the respondents, who inspite of being Christian i.e., their parents and grand parents who have converted to Christianity, do not believe in God and feel that they have not been benefited in any way due to the conversion.

Similarly another respondent expressed that he is atheist, he never goes to church or pray, though his parents did convert to Christianity but the respondent perceives no benefit.

PERSONAL HABITS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES-

Vegetarianism is considered to be the superior form of diet among the Hindu population, and in contemporary India it constitutes one of the essential norms relating to food and status. The opposition of pure and impure is applied in a social context in which the Brahman and the Untouchables are at opposite poles, the latter responsible for dead cattle and the former a paragon of purity, assimilated to the cow (Louis Dumont, 1980) It is regarded that eating vegetarian food is considered to be pure and eating non-vegetarian food is considered to be impure.

Respondents were asked about their opinion on eating non-vegetarian foods that whether they consider eating non-vegetarian food as impure and eating vegetarian food as pure. Most of the respondents are of the opinion that they don't feel that eating non-vegetarian food to be impure Few of the respondents feels that meat is a rich source of proteins and beef is a cheapest of all the meats which is necessary for the poor SCs who cannot afford to buy the vegetables and other meat.

TABLE-4.7
Sub Caste Wise Distribution of Food Habits

VARIABLE	MADIGA	MALA	ANY OTHER	TOTAL
EATING VEG IS PURE AND NON VEG IS IMPURE				
YES	9 (30.0)	11 (19.6)	-	20 (21.5)
NO	21 (70.0)	45 (80.4)	7 (100.0)	73 (78.5)
WHETHER RESPONDENTS EAT BEEF				
YES	14 (46.7)	16 (25.0)	-	30 (29.7)
NO	16 (53.3)	48 (75.0)	7 (100.0)	71 (70.3)
TOTAL	30 (29.7)	64 (63.4)	7 (6.9)	101 (100.0)
PROBLEM IN ADJUSTMENT WITH FOOD IN HOSTEL				
YES	11 (37.9)	17 (30.4)	3 (42.8)	31 (33.7)
NO	18 (63.1)	39 (69.6)	4 (57.1)	61 (66.3)

Another respondent expressed that if eating beef is impure and considered to be an inferior food and if stigma of untouchability is attached to it, then what about

Americans and other Western countries where beef is a part of regular diet. Here the respondent is trying to compare the non-comparable as the concept of purity and pollution is unique to Hindu religion, which is not there for American culture or western culture.

Table 4.7 shows that as large as 78.5% (73) out of 93 respondents do not consider meat eating as impure. Whereas only 21.5% (20) of them still believe that eating vegetarian is pure. 30 percent (9) of Madiga caste students and 19.6 percent (11) of Mala caste students feel that eating vegetarian food means one is pure and eating non vegetarian food means impure.

Table 4 7 shows that in the total sample only one third (29.7 percent) of the respondents eat beef whereas, as large as 70.3 percent (71) of the respondents are non beef-eaters. Madiga caste which occupies a lower position in the hierarchy is considered to be impure caste because of its defiling occupations and beef eating habits. Table 4 7 Shows that comparatively higher percentage 46.7 percent (14) of the Madigas eat beef compared to 25 percent (16) of the Malas

Table 4 7 further shows that 33.7% of the students face problem in adjusting with food in the hostels. They feel that the food is monotonous and they do not get curds many times. If they are late for the meals, the food may get over. Though in the hostels they prepare non-vegetarian, but do not prepare beef. The respondents reported that they can cook beef in the hostel rooms, but this is quite cumbersome.

Information was gathered on their personal habits like smoking and drinking alcohol. Further, information on their participation in co-curricular activities was also sought.

Table 4 8 shows that 11 percent of the respondents smoke and another 21.5 percent (17) respondents consume alcohol occasionally. More no. of the rural students i.e., 12 percent (9) and 22.8 percent (13) smoke and drink respectively as compared to urban students. 45.6 percent (47) of the respondents participate in the co-curricular activities like sports, games, cultural activities etc.

Table-4.8

Distribution of rural and urban students according to their participation in co curricular activities and personal habits

VARI	RURAL	URBAN	SEMI URBAN	TOTAL
SMOKES				
YES	9 (12 0)	1 (5 9)	1 (12 5)	11 (11 0)
NO	66 (88 0)	16 (94 1)	7 (87 5)	89 (89 0)
TAKE ALCOHOL				
YES	13 (22.8)	3 (18 8)	1 (16.7)	17 (21.5)
NO	44(77 2)	13 (81 3)	5 (83 3)	62 (78.5)
PARTICIPATE IN CO CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES				
YES	31 (41.3)	10 (50 0)	6 (75 0)	47 (45.6)
NO	44 (58 7)	10 (50.0)	2 (25 0)	56 (54 4)

ATTITUDES OF THE TEACHERS TOWARDS THE SC STUDENTS AS PERCEIVED BY THE RESPONDENTS-

In the literature, it was given that the society at large and the upper caste people in particular, try to stereotype the SCs in many ways. In the present study, the respondents were asked about their opinion as to what the teachers in the university think about the SC students or what image or opinion they have formed about the SC students. It was found that according to the respondents the teachers have a poor image of the SC students.

It is given in the literature that self-esteem is essentially a matter of self-concept, ones opinion and perception of oneself, as an individual. A favorable opinion of the self results in positive self-esteem, whereas a poor self-concept culminates in itself feelings of inferiority and incompetence.

Self concept develops as a consequence of what the children feel others think of them which may include their parents, teachers and peers. If this 'core' individuals regard the child as capable and important, the child's self-concept will reflect these characteristics. If they feel the child is stupid or useless these negative aspects will become part of his self-image. Setting very low ideals results in low standards and poor achievement levels. Their low self-esteem deters their scholastic achievement,

making them poor achievers in class.

From the discussion it shows that all the SCs in general are stereotyped to be dull and non intelligent. This opinion of others about the SC students indirectly effects their self esteem. They may develop low self esteem and inferiority complex, thereby affecting the performance of the SC students.

Two female respondents pursuing Ph D reported the following comments from forward caste people: 'You are also doing Ph D., now you'll become pundit'. Which means that Brahmins usually study to this level and not SCs. They feel that the SC students are given the seats but they are not worth it. But inturn, the respondents feels that these teachers do not understand from which background they are coming from and with how much efforts.

In Sciences some teachers feel the SC students gets admission free of cost or with out any efforts, or even they are worthless, and not fit for studies.

One respondent reported that some of the SC /ST students do not study or some who come from the rural background could not cope up with the studies. They get less marks or fail in the exams, because of those few students the teachers have got a general impression that all the SC students are not worth to be in these universities. He commented that the teachers do not have faith towards our merit. They give a second class treatment to all the SC students.

Few respondents report that the teachers carry an attitude, that the SC students are not intelligent, they are dull and just because of reservation they are getting the seats in the University. They underestimate the SC students.

Another female respondent though feels normal for being born in this caste but at times, she used to wish she was not a SC because some people give importance to caste rather than capabilities of the person. For instance, she reported "When I tell somebody I have got to get into the civil services, they say its not a big deal as I have got reservation. It hurts some times. They should see that there are all type of students, meritorious, average, below average among the SCs and similarly meritorious, average and below average among the other castes, then why SC students are stereotyped. So the feelings that SC students are worthless should go out of the minds of the other people. They should understand from which background and from

which circumstances the SC person is coming and why the person is scoring less marks. They should not be pointed out, instead should help them out in troubles”.

Another respondent reports that the teachers carry an impression that the SC students are physically and mentally poor. They don't have knowledge. They don't know anything about subjects. They come to universities only for food and shelter.

One of the respondent writes that university teachers think that because of reservations, university standards are coming down. They do not consider the social and economic background of the SC students and under which circumstances they are studying. Few of the teachers seem to be considerate towards SC problem and do not carry such an attitude but mostly the teachers are indifferent towards SC problem.

Another respondent writes, that some of our teachers and students think that the SC students are worst, they do not make use of their opportunities (reservation) and some think that they don't know about the society or the subject or what is happening in the world.

As reported by some of the respondents in the university, they feel that few teachers are partial, especially from upper caste and of Brahmin caste who treat the SC as low standard fellows and not worthy of anything. They feel SC students are foolish fellows and they do not use the reservations in a proper way, but it is noted there are some liberal teachers who help the SC students and give equal treatment to all the students

ATTITUDES OF THE FC STUDENTS TOWARDS THE SC STUDENTS AS PERCEIVED BY THE RESPONDENTS-

Similarly, the respondents were asked to write, what their classmates or peer group, especially the students from upper caste feel about them.

One of the respondents wrote that the forward caste students treat them in cheap manner, abuse them as parasites. Another reported that some are formal and some are discriminative. Some of the forward caste students think that the SCs have lot of opportunities and feel jealous about their reservation facilities. Some FC students think that the SC students are waste candidates and carry a negative attitude. They feel that SCs are worthless and still are getting benefits.

Another respondent feels that some of the forward caste students are quite good and matured. Another respondent expressed that some of the FC though talk to us in a friendly manner but still they have that caste barrier in their minds. Some of them carry an attitude that SC students are just average and are misusing the reservation.

One of the respondent writes that others have a feeling that these reservation category people need not worry or work hard to get seats, if they get just the pass marks also, they can get seats. It is some times true, he agrees with that but some work hard and get in to merit list then also they get the label that they got seat because they are in the reservation category, and thus underestimating their hard work, which the respondent do not like.

One of the respondent expressed that the FC students feel they were superior than the SC students, compare to SC students they are economically, educationally, socially and religiously forward and hence they feel great and they under estimate the SC students and his knowledge.

But some of the respondents feel that the FC students treat them well and do not carry any kind of negative attitude

SUMMARY

In this chapter, the attitudes of the SC students on various issues, related to them are explored. They were asked to write about the origin of caste system as per their knowledge. Very few respondents were able to provide with the information regarding the origin of the caste system. Their views were similar to three theories of origin of caste system, the Divine Plan Theory, Theory of Racial Antipathy and the Occupational- Functional theory but most of them did not believe in these theories. They feel that caste system is not created by God, and that it is created by the Brahmins for their own benefits. Many of the respondents expressed different kinds of feelings- feelings of pain, agony, anger, anxiety, anguish and hatred for experiencing the caste prejudices.

From the interviews, discussions and observation it can be said that students did not imitate the Brahminical culture but a 'modern western culture' and its attendant

features of equality, homogeneity and this worldly pragmatism. The respondents did not believe in the Hindu caste system. They rejected the Hindu values and the caste codes. There are no signs of sanscritisation, instead they are adopting western lifestyles and value system. They do not feel bad in beef eating and feels it is good and nutritious. They are becoming more independent and are taking pride in revealing their caste identity. They no more feel shy or try to hide their caste, instead with the growing political awareness and their rights and privileges, they are asserting themselves in the society under their own 'dalit identity'. By forming dalit organization, and affiliating themselves to local, state and national politics they are creating their own niche.

Few respondents are in favour of abolishing the whole of the caste system but majority of them wants to improve their position. They expressed that they would feel happy, if they are not ill-treated or humiliated and are just treated as any other human being. With regard to the attitudes related to the present status of SC and their future, most of the respondents feel that the position of SC has improved but is still inferior in many ways. They feel that even today large majority of the SCs are illiterate, backward and poverty stricken. Only very few, urban respondents feel that the Status of SC is now equal to the forward castes.

Regarding the future of the SCs, majority of the respondents are optimistic in their view. They foresee that, with the help of reservations and other welfare measures, the position of the SC will improve but some of them feel that their position will remain the same. Few of the rural respondents feel that the position of SC has not improved at all. Especially in the villages and that their position in future will still deteriorate, as they are seeing the growing crime against them.

Regarding the attitudes towards reservation policies, a large majority of the sample wants to continue the privileges even if the total caste system is abolished as they expressed that still 80% of SC population are ignorant, poor and backward and almost 50% of them are illiterate and below poverty line.

Most of the respondents expressed that the reservations should be based on economic criteria rather than caste, that is they want the reservation for all the poor SC's. Most of the rural respondents expressed that till now only a section of SC's have cornered all the benefits and they have formed a class of their own and they are

not bothered about the development of the whole community. They suggested to implement a creamy layer policy so that the well to do SCs can leave space for the more needy SC and gradually all the SCs could come at par with others. Once, all the SCs have come to a certain stage of development they can decrease or ban the reservations.

Most of the rural respondents want the reservations to continue for an indefinite period, as the conditions of SCs are still miserable and in disadvantaged position.

With regard to ABCD categorization, more no. of Madiga respondents are in favor of it and more number of Mala respondents are against it. Though most of the Mala respondents feel that this is a political game plan, where they are trying to split the two communities.

Regarding the attitudes towards marriage, inspite of higher education more than 60 percent respondents prefer endogamy. Very few wants to go for inter caste marriages but this is still not accepted in the society. Females have shown some kind of apprehension in marrying a FC man as the girls feel that her in-laws won't give them respect and equal status. They cited some examples of inter-caste marriages, where mostly the SC boys are in a good position and has married a FC girl.

Further, it was found that most of the respondents both rural, urban, male or female like to marry an educated person only. More no. of rural male respondents wish to marry a rural female when compared to urban male who wish to marry an urban girl only. Also most of the females wish to marry an urbanite.

For the choice of color and complexion, most of the respondents are not particular about color, complexion and beauty measures. They wish to go for an average looking person but most of them would prefer to marry educated and urban person.

With regard to the religious belief, more no. of respondents especially from Madigas are secular. Those who are religious, are mostly Christians and those who belong to Mala caste. Very few respondents are Christians and their parents had converted to this religion, not the respondents themselves. Though, most of them are non-Christians and Christians, too feel that the converted religion is not so useful.

Only few respondents feel that the converted religion is helpful in raising their educational, economic and social status.

With regard to pure and impure theory, most of the respondents do not believe that eating non-vegetarian food is impure and eating vegetarian is pure, though few of the sample respondents and mostly Madagas among them eat beef.

Further, the respondents reported that most of the University teachers and the upper caste peer group carries negative attitude towards the SC students in general. They feel that the SC students are not worthy enough to be in the University. And that they are dull and are coming for higher education, just because they have reservations. This kind of attitude may influence them to form a poor image of themselves and may effect their academic performance and their social interaction.

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND ADAPTATION OF THE SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS

This chapter is focused on the social interactions of S.C. students in and outside the university and how they adapt to different situations. The respondent's family environment in which they are born and brought up is explored, their interaction with the family members, and the expectations of their parents from the respondents are discussed. Further, their interaction with the wider society and in the village is explored and also their interaction with the fellow students and teachers is explored. Problems they face in interacting with others are discussed in considerable detail in this chapter. Their encounter with casteism is also explored

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT AND SOURCE OF INSPIRATION- RURAL RESPONDENTS

As already mentioned, an overwhelming majority of the respondents, 73.6% (78) are from the rural areas. The educational, social and economic background of the respondent's parents is very low. A great majority of the rural respondents come from the families where the parents are illiterate, and are from lower socio-economic levels. In the sample as large as 27.6 percent (29) of the fathers are illiterate and another 28.6 percent (30) can just read and write, and regarding literacy levels of the respondent's mothers, 51.9 percent (54) of them are illiterate.

Our data further indicates that almost one third of the rural respondent's parents are engaged as agricultural labourers or are marginal farmers. Among them 29.5 percent (31) fathers and 33.7 percent (35) mothers are working as agricultural labourers

Since most of the respondent's parents in the villages, working in the farms, are busy in earning their livelihood, they can hardly spare any time to look in to the matters of their children. Since most of them are illiterate or can just read and write, they are not in a position to guide their children in the matters of education. They cannot teach them the lessons, also cannot guide them as to what courses

take and due to lack of time cannot keep vigilance on their day to day progress in the schools. Thus, the rural respondents are not forced by the parents to go to school. They are not prepared for schooling. Their attendance is short, they are irregular in the classes.

Most of the rural respondents as a whole lack the academic environment at home and in the neighborhood. There is a lack of encouragement and support from the home. Since most of their parents and the relatives are not educated and are not in a good position to provide a reference group for the respondents to emulate, they do not function as role models to their children. These respondents can be called as disadvantaged children, who are coming from uneducated, rural and socio-economically backward homes.

Mostly these children do not take the schooling and studies seriously; the environment is such that it does not put any pressure on serious studies. Most of the respondents reported that they use to accompany their parents to the fields often. After school hours and during holidays, they are either engaged in some or the other works or used to play. Some of them reported that till they were doing matriculation or graduation they used to work as labourers during holidays. One of them reported that he worked as a tailor and another use to sell vegetables in the market.

Though the rural respondents scored average marks at schooling, still they joined for matriculation. Most of the rural respondents study further, solely by their interest and because they were disinterested in doing the agriculture labour. Very few of the rural respondents got an encouragement from their parents, relatives or teachers. This encouragement too was verbal. They just asked them to study further and hoped for getting a job. But they were not in a position to guide them in their studies and in making choices of the courses. These rural respondents somehow continued their studies, by overcoming the obstacles. They lost some years in between, as they reached to this level of higher education.

To form the aspirations and achieve the goals there has to be some encouragement and inspiration from the near and dear ones. Students normally get inspiration from various sources- from the people around, like parents, siblings, relatives, friends or any leader or model personality or from the books. Apart from the

personal abilities and efficiency, a person's achievements depends on the inspiration or the 'encouragement' they receive. Most of the rural respondents were not encouraged by their parents, as they are uneducated, not aware, and do not understand the value of education.

Very few rural respondents reported that either their fathers or relatives encouraged them for their studies. In some of the cases given below, the respondents reported that they were encouraged but were not guided by them.

For instance one of the respondents father even though illiterate, used to encourage the respondent saying "*Baga chaduvukoni, manchi uyogam thechukoni uriki peru thevali*", meaning 'study well, get good job and get a good name to your village'. Another respondent reported that his father use to ask him to study well and didn't allow him to work also. He use to say, "*Nevu chaduvuko babu, pane yeme cheyadu*", meaning you study child, need not do any work, but because of the financial problems the respondent worked in the fields during holidays till he completed his degree. He used to earn thirty rupees per day. He saved this money and after degree he got scholarship which his father asked to keep to himself to buy books. This money was sufficient till the third semester in the university. He spend them on clothes and books, later his father had send some money. In school too, since he used to study well and secured first class he was encouraged by the teachers. They used to ask him to study well and continue his studies without leaving.

In another case where the rural respondents father studied upto sixth class and is a landless agriculture labourer, encouraged him and his two younger brothers to study. The younger brothers are studying in schools. Their father knows the value of education and still clarifies the doubts of some people in their community who come for his help.

In another case the distant kin of the rural respondents, who are in a better position were the source of inspiration. As the respondents distant relatives are doctors, engineers and one is even collector (IAS), the respondents father wished that his son too should become, like one of them. Whenever the respondent's relatives used to come to the village from Hyderabad, the respondent too wished to go to Hyderabad one day and study. He finished his intermediate in the village and came to Nizam College, Hyderabad for doing his graduation.

Two of the rural respondents reported that their teachers and neighbours in the village encouraged them to study further. One of the rural respondents reported that his parents wanted him to get marry after Xth class, but as he was the one among the only three who passed Xth class in his school that year, all the teachers and neighbours in the village asked him to study further. His village people convinced his parents saying that *"let him study, he'll get a good job, his position will become better, and also your position will become better. If he studies and get good job, people will come and fall at your feet"*. Then the parents got convinced and dropped the idea of his getting married and asked him to continue his studies further. After intermediate, he joined for degree, in a college far from the village. He purposefully selected the college away so that he can study peacefully. He can stay in a room and can concentrate on his studies, because he reported that if he stays nearby the village, he will be engaged in all other activities and would not be able to study well.

Since this respondent passed the exam he continued with his studies. He reported that, what usually happens in the village is that the children in the villages continue their studies till 7th class with some gaps. Since he is quite grown up by then, if he fails in the exams, he pursues his father's occupation. Some continue till Xth class. Again if they pass they continue further or else they continue to work in the fields and hence the parents get them married.

One respondent reported that he got inspiration from a teacher's son who was pursuing Engineering course in the city. Though he has never met the person and when the teacher use to tell the students about his son, he got inspired to become one like that.

Apart from these, few of the rural respondents who got some kind of encouragement from their fathers or teachers, majority of them reported that nobody as such encouraged them. It was solely because of their own interest and efforts they have come up to this level of education. One of the respondents reported that he was greatly influenced by the autobiographies of the great people. In Loyola College, he read the autobiographies of George Washington, Dr. B R. Ambedkar, Karl Marx, Lenin, etc. who all raised from zero to such as peak position. The respondent felt that he too has to work hard and has to become something. Atleast, he should earn a respectable job. He reported that his aim is to become a civil servant, work for few years and then retire and

become a political leader.

URBAN RESPONDENTS-

Urban and semi urban respondents are in an advantageous position when compared to the rural respondents. These urban and semi-urban respondents have exposure to the outside world, which is totally lacking for the rural respondents. The urban respondent's family environment is somewhat better, their parents are educated and are in services or white-collar jobs. These children are better prepared for the schooling and are put into the schools at the right age. They get reinforcement from their parents, who guide them to study, to choose the courses and the careers.

According to one of the semi-urban respondent, his father encouraged all his children for the studies. The respondent's father was converted to Christianity, and had studied in Christian missionary schools. He was working as a health supervisor. Even though the respondent's mother was not in favour of higher education for her daughters as the education was expensive and again has to give dowry, their father still encouraged all of them to study well. That is the reason why the respondent is pursuing Ph.D., another sister is doing P.G. course and another sister is studying M.Tech.

Most of the female respondents from the urban area reported that their fathers and mothers have encouraged them to study. They even guided them to choose the subjects. In one of the case, the female respondent's father is a deputy director in a firm. Though she did personal management course in degree, her father asked her to join MA Anthropology, thinking that it would help her to become a civil servant, as her father wants a job, which confers status and power.

Another respondent who is the youngest of the five brothers and sisters is from a good socio-economic family background. Her father retired from the civil services. Their father encouraged all her brothers and sisters to study well. Now, all of them are in a very good position. The family is financially sound. All the children studied in good schools and colleges. They took coaching for preparing their exams. Finally, three of them are civil servants. Another brother is an executive. The respondent expressed that she is very much influenced by her father. In this case, the respondent's father himself is a role model.

In another case, a female respondent whose parents, both father and mother, who are working were the source of inspiration. Her father though was in a small post, he was an UDC (upper divisional clerk), still encouraged all his children to study well. The respondents are four sisters and one brother. In spite of, so many daughters her father encourage all of them to study well. All of them are pursuing higher education or are professionals. The parents educated them as they gave importance to education and wanted to see that their children settles well in the society. The respondent is pursuing Ph D. in Biochemistry and hopes to settle down well.

In few of the cases where the father expired (15%) their mothers encouraged the respondents to pursue the higher education. One of the urban respondent's mother worked as a teacher and supported him financially.

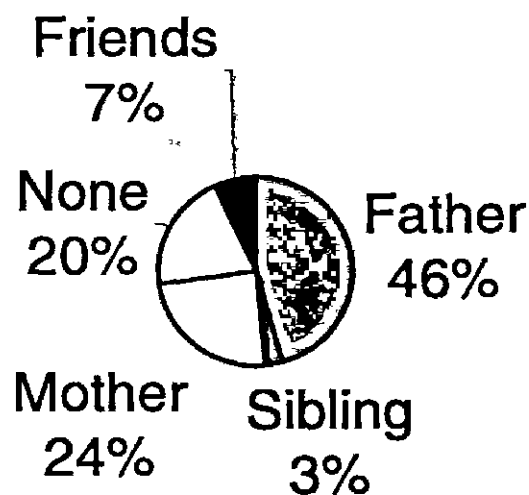
In a rare case, of an urban respondent whose father though was a constable did not show much interest for his studies. He didn't found his father to be a role model. His father never encouraged him or his sisters for the studies. According to his father's views, after one is twenty years old one should work and become independent. When his sister wanted to do M Ed. after B.Ed. he refused saying you can earn 50,000 rupees within two years, why waste two years and she started working as a teacher. After the graduation in Social Work, Philosophy and Economics, the respondent wanted to join MA social work (MSW). He wrote the entrance test and got 18th rank in the Osmania University. He was called upon and was asked to join. His father didn't show any interest to join his son to this course because there were no hostels and he may have to spend 800/- per month for room rent and food for which he refused. The respondent feels that if he would have done MSW he would have been in a good position. He was asked to join MA philosophy in HCU. The respondent reported that his father asked him to do agriculture work if he does not get a job soon, so to show his father his capabilities he continued his studies with more determination. Once the respondent came to the Central University he saw people progressing, his own friends either going abroad or getting good jobs like getting in to civil services, became role models for him. He too got determined to study and go for a good job.

The respondents were further asked as to who gave them moral and emotional support for their studies. Large percent (44) of the fathers supported them as given in

figure-5 1. Another 24 percent of the mothers too supported them morally and emotionally as in the cases where the fathers are expired and in some cases where the mother is also working. In this mother's role too is quite significant. Another 20 percent respondents though reported that none of them gave any moral and emotional support for their studies, they still tried themselves to carry on with their studies. These are the rural respondents who expressed that they pursued higher education solely because of their interest. A meagre 3 percent of their siblings and 7 percent of friends gave moral and emotional support for their studies. A negligible percent reported that all the above persons supported them

FIGURE 5.1

People Who Gave Moral/Emotional Support for studies



Thus an overwhelming majority of the rural respondents in the sample came

from the backgrounds that may be considered disadvantaged for education. Apart from the above factors there is lack of conducive environment for studies, lack of privacy, lack of books, study materials, basic amenities etc. As a whole, it is likely to create disinterest, distractions and difficulties in pursuing the education.

Inspite of the rural, and poor family background, their interest in studies and determination made some of them stronger to pursue higher education. Compared to urban respondents from somewhat better family environment, these rural respondents faced a lot of obstacles in their way to achieve higher education.

VILLAGE ENVIRONMENT

The SC settlements are segregated and isolated in all most all over the India, more so in Southern states. Their hamlets are clustered, are away from the main village. Even if they are within the main village they are segregated. The rural areas where agriculture is predominant, the SC families mostly work as agricultural labourers or have a marginal lands. Some of the SC families are engaged in their caste occupations like weaving, leatherwork, etc. Even today in some of the villages the jajmani relations are maintained with the landlords. Now, the landlords do not pay in kind but in cash. Even today, the age old tradition of caste organisation is prevalent and there is a superordination and subordination between the landlords and the labourers.

Still in remote places of Telangana region as reported by one of the rural respondent even today there is no entry in to the temple for the SCs. If anybody even steps on the stairs of the Hanuman temple, he is either ostracised or beaten up. Once a SC teacher whom the respondent knew was teaching the students under a tree, he was sitting on the steps of the Hanuman temple. The FC people of the village came and shouted at him, as to how a SC person can sit on the temple and teach. He was ostracised.

Even now the untouchability prevails in some of the remote villages in Telangana as reported by one of the respondent. He said, that in the tea or coffee shops in his village, they keep a basket with glasses especially meant for SCs. They have to take it, wash it, drink and then again wash and keep it in the basket, that is their utensils are maintained separately and not even the shopkeeper touches them.

The caste related norms and social distance is maintained among the different castes. The SCs are not allowed into the houses of the forward caste people and if the forward caste people do visit the SC hamlets, that is due to some purpose.

The rural respondents who are born and are brought up in the village environment become aware of their caste status from the childhood itself. They are taught about the behavioural norms and also to see how their parents interact with the other caste people

The elders or the old people in the village use to tell the respondents from the time when they were young to be away from the forward caste people i.e., to maintain a social distance. They use to say "*Namaskaram / dannam pettali, anigi menigi undali*" meaning we should salute them and remain suppressed as we are dependent on them for food.

Another parent commented "*choodu babu, memu podunne lesthe 'walla' mohammu chudali, memu vallaku vethirekamuga matladalemu*" meaning, 'see child we have to see their faces every morning, we cannot speak anything against them, we have to work with them and our whole survival is dependent on them'. These people had to depend on them for their daily food. Whereas the Kamma people have property and surplus grains, even if the SC people do not work they can survive for few months but the SC people cannot survive even for a day without working. So, the SC people do not take any risk and do not go for confrontation.

Describing their village environment one of the Madiga respondent reported that all the castes resides in one village, their houses are surrounded by the houses of Backward Castes. Their relations with dominant caste (Reddy) are cordial, maintain caste relations. They visit the houses of Reddy's but only till varendah. They don't touch each other.

In another case the Mala respondent reported that though his village has a separate settlement but is almost attached to the main village. Where Kammas are the dominant caste. The strength of the Malas and the Kammas is almost equal. He reported that there is suppression of the SC people, the SC people have to depend on Kammas for their daily survival and do not raise voice against them. In his village most of the SC are educated and are in good posts, some of them are doctors, engineer's etc.

Even then if a Kamma man passes by in the street of the SC community, the SC person sitting on the cot gets up, give the place to the Kamma man to sit and himself sit on the floor. The SC people are called for marriages but are given food after the FC people finish dining. The Kammas ill-treat the SC people and orally abuse them. They even do manhandling whenever there is any confrontation. The respondent reported that once his cousin brother and his father were badly beaten up with the sticks by the Kamma people, just because his cousin happened to step on the "*madi*", i.e., paddy plantation unintentionally. For such a silly reason also they manhandle the SC people.

Another respondent from the coastal area has seen dominant caste people harassing and abusing the SC people. Till graduation he too use to accompany his parents to the fields of Kammas where they worked as agricultural labours '*coolie*'. They use abusive language for their sisters and mothers like '*Yemme or ose*' etc. Even the FC women sitting cross legged (in a commanding or authoritative posture) commanded the SC men and called them '*Rai, O Rai...*' etc. The respondent expressed that all these made them to develop '*Kaksha*' meaning vengeance, for the upper caste people

According to one of the respondent, in Telangana the social situation has changed. Now there is much more awareness among the villagers and due to PWG (Peoples War Group) there are less harassment cases. The SC people literally worship them as Gods. They inturn support them. Now the FC people fear to call them '*ore*', '*re*'. They treat them amicably. Earlier they use to ill-treat them.

According to another respondent, the PWG activists support the SC and ST people, but the police curbs their activities, they make fake encounters and kill the innocent people. The PWG people who are working for downtrodden are chased and fired. He cited an example, in which the respondents known person was killed under the name of an encounter. The respondent personally knew that person, as he stayed in the respondent's room in the hostel. He was a poet and used to write very good poetry. He use to always carry a bag with his poetry and some books. Once when he went to his village, he was shot dead by the police. The police kept a pistol in his hand and declared him to be a naxalite who tried to attack the police and in the self-defence, the police killed him saying it to be an encounter. The respondent feels agonised to think of all

these things.

Now, the situation is such that the respondent fears to go to the village. He says, if he stays in the village for long period he won't be able to see any injustice done to his parents or other SCs. And if by any chance he says anything or does anything, people will allege him to be a naxalite and will put him into trouble and may even kill him in fake encounter

The respondents once are out of the traditional set-up and come to the urban areas, see that the super-ordination and subordination is not there in the cities. Here individualism, equality are stressed upon. The respondent too develops a new ideology of equality and secularism. So, he realises that their parents in the villages are suffering.

The SC students in the University are exposed to new ideology of independence and egalitarianism. They do not like the inequalities. They are aware of their constitutional rights, privileges and protection given to them, but when they see the oppression on their families and kin members, they are not able to digest it. Thereby, some or the other conflicts arises which have become common.

One respondent expressed that since he is educated and is aware of the things, he should be given respect. After becoming aware of the caste oppressions he feels bad to see that his parents and other villagers are being ill-treated. The parents instead do not raise voice, or confront but listen to whatever the FC people say.

The parents of another respondent who are in the rural areas are also dependent on the FC people. They have to respect them and obey them and suffer humiliation. In spite of the awareness, the age-old hang-overs of casteism still persist with many members of older generation. They tend to accept the tortures without much resistance. Whereas the respondents with higher education have grown aware and have developed different attitudes, but the younger generation are not able to change their parents attitude as they are still dependent on the FC for their survival.

Another respondent reported that though whenever he goes to the village, he is no more called as '*ore*' but is addressed as '*yem babu*' etc. He is asked as to what he is doing, when he'll be getting a job etc. To show his equal position the respondent does not stand up when any FC man comes to his house. Even if his father asks him to do so.

He says, that he is equal to others, educated and that it is his house and his cot. The FC people feel uneasy and goes away. Because of this kind of gesture one FC man even commented that "education does not mean you should forget your manners". To show his status equivalent to others, the respondent even try to sit cross-legged when a FC man comes to his house. The FC people gets angry and ask the respondent's father to mind his son's behaviour.

Thus, the younger generation SCs no longer want to live as before and are beginning actively to come out in defence of their rights and interests, which is leading to clashes between them and the rich high caste Hindus. The very emergence of self-respect among the SCs has become the real cause of atrocities on them. As a rule, the victims are the SCs

Respondent's interaction with their family / settlements-

Higher the education, better are the chances to secure a decent job. The respondents who are pursuing P G courses and doing research are expected to get a good job. The urban people are aware of the problems related to employment. They know that there is a tough competition everywhere but the rural people are not aware of the problems of unemployment. When they see that their wards are pursuing higher education they expect that he will get a good job. The parents who are illiterate doesn't even have any idea of what their children are studying. They only think that inspite of studying for so many years, they are still not doing any job and are not earning anything. The rural parents find difficulty in sending money to their children. They keep questioning when they'll get a job

One of the respondent who is pursuing Ph.D. reports that when SC students in the university go back to the village they are asked "*Why don't you get jobs, we hear daily from the radio, come to know from the newspapers that there are so many seats for SC and ST. All the jobs are there for you. You people only are not taking interest and availing the opportunity. You are wasting time by roaming about*". The respondent says, he cannot explain them the whole situation. He just smiles and go away. He says, he feels very bad when people ask him such questions. Parents too ask, when the respondents are going to get the job. They give an example saying, "*See, so and so is a*

conductor or teacher after doing just graduation. You have still not got a job". The respondent reported that he too was selected as a conductor and got a teacher job but his aspirations are higher which he cannot explain to everybody. Slowly he made his visits to the native place very less. He goes for just one or two days.

Similarly, many of the respondents expressed that whenever they visit their villages, the villagers question them, *"When are you going to get job, how many more years you have to study, when are you going to get married"*. One of the respondent expressed that only two questions haunt him, when he visit his village 'When will you get marry' and 'When will you get job'. The respondent feels these questions prick him like arrows, these questions are much stronger than the questions 'to which caste you belong'. He says, because of this he doesn't feel like going to the village. Even the parents keep asking such questions. The respondents are not able to answer them satisfactorily and convince them. Infact, the respondent expressed that they themselves are not sure when they are going to settle in life.

Due to the higher education the rural respondent expressed that they get respect from their own caste people when they go back to the villages. They tell others that such and such person's son or daughter is staying in Hyderabad and are studying in a very big college or University. The parents comes to them to get suggestions regarding the education of their children, like which subjects will be better, which school or college is good for their children etc, but the situation is not the same with the higher caste people in their village. Another respondent reported that though he is the only person in his caste to study till this level. Even then the FC people does not respect him. His own forward caste classmates are now mostly doing Cashew nut business and agriculture, as they had stopped their studies after Xth or Inter. He meet his classmates from FC outside the village, in picture halls and public places but never visit to their houses. He is not invited to his FC friends houses. They do not respect the individual not because of the education but instead feel jealous about it. They find the respondent's education a threat to their super-ordination.

The rural respondents when come to the universities get more exposure, they become individualistic and self conscious. They develop new ideology, ideology based on egalitarianism and individualism. They do not like suppression. With these

ideologies when they go back to the village, they become restless after seeing their parents being subordinated. There by, they do not stay back for long in the village. Even if they visit twice or thrice a year their stay is limited for a week or for 10-15 days. Very few rural respondents stay for a month and rarely a respondent stays for two months.

Table 5.1 shows that 69.6 percent rural respondents visit their village thrice in a year. Another 13 percent visit twice a year, whereas 11.6 percent rural respondents visit their native village only once in two years. Further, it is found that as large as 46.1 percent of the rural respondents just stay for a week in the village. Another 28.9 percent stay for 30 days. And a negligible 1.3 percent stay for two months. Though for summer holidays, one gets two months holidays but the rural respondents are not able to adjust themselves at the village environment because of the different attitudes and ideologies between them and their parents and other people in the village. Also they are pressurised to settle in life. Thus, they come back to the university early and try to pursue their interests in the studies.

The urban respondents whose parents stay in the urban areas but their relatives still stay in villages visit them in holidays. Table 5.1 shows that most of the urban respondents 42.9 percent either visit thrice in a year and 35.7 percent visit only once in two years. Though most of them, 44.4 percent stay just for a week or for 15 days.

Interaction patterns within the village again shows an interesting result. Since the rural respondents are born and brought up in the villages, they are considered to be a part of the village even though he has achieved a new status with higher education. Still the other castes in the village interact with him in the same manner as they interact with any other SC, who is illiterate or is in a traditional occupation. In spite of their higher education, the rural respondents find no difference in the attitudes of the FCs towards them and the social distance continues in the village. Whereas an urban respondent who is not a part of the village, when he visits his relatives is not much segregated. His interaction is extended to the other castes also.

Table 5.1 shows that when the respondents visit their village, as large as 70.8 percent of the rural respondents interact with their own jati people and another 12.5 percent interact with other SC people. Though, 11.1 percent rural respondents reported

that they interact with people from all the castes. A negligible percent of the rural respondents reported that they interact with backward castes and dominant castes.

Table 5.1

Rural Urban Wise Distribution of Respondents by their Frequency of Visit to Native Place and their Social Interaction

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
How frequently you visit the village				
Once in 2	8 (11.6)	5 (35.7)	1 (16.7)	14 (15.7)
Once in a	4 (5.8)	1 (7.1)	1 (16.7)	6 (6.7)
Twice in	9 (13.0)	2 (14.3)	-	11 (12.4)
Thrice in	48 (69.6)	6 (42.9)	4 (66.7)	58 (65.2)
Total	69 (77.5)	14 (15.7)	6 (6.7)	89 (100.0)
How many days you stay in village				
7 days	35 (46.1)	8 (44.4)	5 (62.5)	48 (47.1)
15 days	18 (23.7)	8 (44.4)	2 (25.0)	28 (27.5)
30 days	22 (28.9)	2 (11.1)	1 (12.5)	25 (24.5)
60 days	1 (1.3)	-	-	1 (1.0)
With which caste people you interact in the village				
SC	51 (70.8)	6 (50.0)	2 (33.3)	59 (65.6)
Other SC	9 (12.5)	1 (8.3)	1 (16.7)	11 (12.2)
BC	2 (2.8)	-	-	2 (2.2)
Dominant	2 (2.8)	1 (8.3)	1 (16.7)	4 (4.4)
Brahmin	-	-	1 (16.7)	1 (1.1)
All	8 (11.1)	4 (33.3)	1 (16.7)	13 (14.4)
Do you have friends from dominant caste in the village				
Yes	34 (45.3)	10 (71.4)	5 (62.5)	49 (50.5)
No	41 (54.7)	4 (28.6)	3 (37.5)	48 (49.5)
Do they show any discrimination at their house				
Yes	31 (48.4)	2 (20.0)	2 (28.6)	35 (43.2)
No	33 (51.6)	8 (80.0)	5 (71.4)	46 (56.8)

Regarding the urban respondent's interaction, 50 percent and 8.3 percent of them interact with their own jati and with other caste people respectively, but comparatively more no. 33.3 percent of the urban respondents reported that they interact with all caste

people. Not a single respondent both, rural or urban reported that they have any interaction with a Brahmin caste people.

It was further asked, whether they have friends from dominant caste in their village. Half the sample respondents reported that they have friends from dominant castes. Among them more number of urban respondent's i.e., 71.4 percent have friends from dominant caste compared to 45.3 percent of the rural respondents. Only 97 respondents answered this question.

Table 5.1 further shows that out of total 81 respondents who replied 48.4 percent of the rural respondents faced discrimination at their friends house in village when compared to 20.0 percent of the urban respondents.

Thus rural urban wise distribution shows that comparatively more number of rural respondents have friends from their own caste fellows when compared to urban respondents who have friends from all other castes apart from their own caste. Relatively large percentage (71.4%), of urban respondents have friends from dominant caste than rural respondents. Also more number of rural respondents 48.4 percent (31) have faced discrimination in the village compared to just 20 percent (2) urban respondents. Sex wise and caste wise distribution of the respondents by their interaction with the villagers didn't give any significant results.

SOCIAL SITUATIONS AND THE PROBLEMS THEY FACE-

In the villages, the interactions between the persons are totally governed by the caste-based rules. There are fixed norms and guidelines for social interactions but in the city, the situation is not so rigid and there is a flexibility in social interactions. The respondents were asked about their social experiences, i.e., what kind of problems they face in different kinds of social situations like rural situation, urban and semi-urban situation.

In the rural areas, people are particular about the caste of a person. Their interaction and behaviour is totally guided by the caste of the person. One of the respondents who is pursuing P.G. course from a History department had to go to a field trip to a village. There he had to hide his caste identity, when asked by the rural people, as he was sure that he won't get any response if he reveals his caste, also he would find

difficulty in getting food and shelter.

The respondents reported that they face very odd situations at times. In their own village, their caste is known to every one but once they go out there is a constant fear and anxiety as to when the other person will ask their caste identity. They expressed that it is not that they do not like to tell their identity but once they reveal their identity they are looked down or are not given importance. They feel isolated. Their other personal traits are not considered like their education, manners etc but their caste decides their whole interaction, which is usually cut short. The respondents do not mind to reveal their caste identity to their close friends or to known persons who understand them, appreciate their other personal traits and qualities. They become anxious to tell their identity in front of a stranger or a person with brief acquaintance. Some respondents told that they try to hide the caste name by telling lies and some live with constant fear of exposure.

The respondents reported that caste of a person is still important in towns and cities. The social discrimination is still prevalent there. It is obvious when one looks for a rented house. The FC people see to it that they do not rent the house to any SCs. The respondents in the study too face the similar situations. While studying in the colleges in the absence of hostel facility, they used to look for rooms to stay. They find it very difficult to get a room. Before letting it out, the owners used to ask the caste of the respondents. They told, that in such circumstances they have to either tell lie or keep searching till they get another accommodation. Even if the respondents say that they are Christians, the other caste people used to say '*Adde Christian ante Malodanna, Madigodanna aindacchu*', i.e., Christians means he must be either a Mala or Madiga.

Narrating the experience, during his college days, one of the rural respondents reported that he along with his '*Kapu*' friend in a town was going somewhere. On the way, they felt thirsty. They went to a house and asked for water. His friend immediately replied '*Kapu*' and when the old lady looked at the respondent for an answer, he kept quite. On realising that he belongs to some untouchable caste, the old lady asked the respondent to keep the vessel up side down '*borlapettu*'. Once they came out, the respondent's friend asked him, '*Why didn't you tell her that you too belong to kapu caste*'. The respondent replied that he did not want to tell a lie.

Though caste feelings have lessened to some extent in the urban areas, particularly among younger generation, they still continue to be deeply rooted among the older generation even in urban and semi-urban areas.

One of the urban female respondent whose father and mother are doctors reported that she personally never felt the social discrimination. She always felt normal being born in this caste. She recalls back some of her experiences but never had realised that she was discriminated in her childhood. She was staying in Tenali, a small town with her mother. Their neighbours were a Brahmin and a Vaishyas family. She recalls that though she used to visit their houses, but was not allowed into their kitchen. An old woman in the Brahmins family was very particular, she didn't even used to touch her and maintained a physical distance. She used to comment '*Madigollu mana intekke ravadam yemiti*' i.e., why SC people should come to our houses, but when the old lady was not there, the respondents used to even share the food with their children. When the respondent told her mother about the old woman's attitude, she asked the respondent not to go to their house.

Thus, few respondents feel normal that they are being born in this caste, they feel that they are just like any other human being with similar physical features.

In another instance, when respondent scored good marks in one of the subjects in school in the rural area, the teacher who was new immediately asked about the caste of the respondent. When he revealed his caste identity, the teacher surprisingly commented '*You don't look like a SC*'. Then the respondent immediately replied "*Madigollaku yemmana kommulu untaya*" meaning, do the Madigas have any horns.

Few respondents feel inferior, being born in this caste. The inferior status given to their caste becomes a part of their thinking. They too start feeling inferior and the feeling of lowness remains there in the back of their mind. They remember their caste status at every social interaction, even if, the opposite person is not so particular about it.

Citing an example in another instance a rural respondent used to visit his Brahmin friend's house in the city. They used to serve him water, tea etc., though they didn't show that they feel anything wrong about it even after knowing the caste of the respondent. But the respondent used to feel very uncomfortable taking tea at their house. He used to feel guilty. So, the respondent expressed that sometimes it is their

own conscious feeling of lowness that they are not able to come out of it. He felt inferior to be born in this caste.

One of the rural respondents expressed that when he used to visit a Brahmin friends family along with his other friends, he was asked to take dinner by the old lady. The respondent used to be in constant fear and anxiety, as she would ask his caste identity. So, he feared in revealing the caste name.

Table 5.2 thus provides an information on the respondent's feelings for being a scheduled caste and their interaction with the society. When asked how they feel being born in this caste, majority of them, 48.5 percent (49) feels normal, they feel that they are just like any other human being and that all humans are equal. Another 23.8 percent (24) feels superior and 16.8 percent (17) feel privileged, as they are given protection and privileges by the constitutions and are shown positive discrimination. Another small percent 8.9 percent (9) feels inferior and 2 percent (2) gave 'others' reasons like suppressed, oppressed etc.

Table 5.2 further shows that the rural respondents carry varied feelings regarding their position. Though majority of them feel normal 43.2 percent (32), 27 percent (20) feels superior, 17.6 percent (13) feels privileged and comparatively less percent, 9.5 (7) feels inferior. Comparatively a large percent of urban respondents 75 percent (15) feels normal than 43.2 percent (32) rural respondents. A small percentage of the urban respondents feel inferior / superior/ privileged.

This shows that even though their caste has low / inferior status for 'others', respondents do not feel inferior as they are educated and have developed their own identities.

In another case, a rural respondent used to visit their friends house in an urban area, where the forward caste people were quite friendly. In the beginning he had lied that he belong to a 'Reddy' (forward caste) caste. The lady used to serve food and introduced people that he is a Reddy fellow. The respondent used to feel guilty about it.

Caste wise distribution showed that not even a single respondent belonging to Madiga caste felt inferior, even though Madiga caste is considered to be lower in hierarchical in position when compared to Malas. Though Mala caste is at the top of hierarchy, among scheduled caste in A.P, still they felt inferior.

Table 5.2**Rural Urban Respondents and Their Identity of Caste.**

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
How do you feel being born in this caste				
Inferior	7 (9.5)	1 (5.0)	1 (14.3)	9 (8.9)
Superior	20 (27.0)	3 (15.0)	1 (14.3)	24 (23.8)
Normal	32 (43.2)	15 (75.0)	2 (28.6)	49 (48.5)
Privileged	13 (17.6)	1 (5.0)	3 (42.9)	17 (16.8)
Any other	2 (2.7)	-	-	2 (2.0)
Total	74 (73.3)	-	7 (6.9)	101(100.0)
Where do you feel more caste consciousness				
Village	64 (90.1)	14 (93.3)	6 (100.0)	84 (91.3)
City	4 (5.6)	1 (6.7)	-	5 (5.4)
Semi-Urban	3 (4.2)	-	-	2 (2.2)
Did you face any discrimination for being a scheduled caste				
Yes	39 (52.0)	6 (33.3)	4 (50.0)	49 (48.5)
No	36 (48.0)	12 (66.7)	4 (50.0)	52 (51.5)
Do you visit non-SC friends house				
Yes	67 (88.2)	17 (85.0)	8 (100.0)	92 (88.5)
No	9 (11.8)	3 (15.0)	-	12 (11.5)
Do they reveal your caste at their house				
Yes	25 (35.7)	5 (29.4)	-	30 (31.9)
No	45 (64.3)	12 (70.6)	7 (100.0)	64 (68.1)
How the family members look at the friendship				
Encourage	19 (27.5)	3 (15.8)	2 (28.6)	24 (25.3)
Discourage	13 (18.8)	3 (15.8)	2 (28.6)	18 (18.9)
Neutral	37 (53.6)	13 (68.4)	3 (42.8)	53 (55.8)
Do you feel comfortable at non-SC house				
Yes	53 (72.6)	16 (84.2)	4 (57.1)	73 (73.7)
No	20 (27.4)	3 (15.8)	3 (42.9)	26 (26.3)

Another question as to where do they feel more caste conscious, whether in village, in city or in semi-urban areas was enquired. Significantly high percent, 91.3

(84) respondents feel more caste conscious in the rural areas. Irrespective of their being from rural or urban origin, 90.1 percent (64) of rural respondents, 93.3 percent (14) of urban respondents and 100 percent (6) of semi-urban respondent feel more caste conscious in the villages, as every activity is guided by their caste status in the village. Whereas a negligible percent, 5.5 percent (4) of rural and 6.7 percent (1) of urban respondents feel more caste conscious in the city areas.

Irrespective of caste, sex, occupation of the father and the parents income, most of the respondents feel more caste conscious in the villages.

Table 5.2 also gives an information on the experience of discrimination by the respondents. Among the sample population 101, who responded nearly fifty percent 48.5 (49) reported that they experienced discrimination/ harassment/injustice because they belong to SC

Comparing the experiences of rural and urban respondents more number of rural respondents 52 percent (39) experienced discrimination when compare to less number of urban respondents 31.3 percent (6) which shows that there are more number of caste based conflicts in the rural areas compared to the urban areas.

Table 5.2 further highlights the social environment and the experiences of the respondents. Though most of the sample respondents 88.5 percent (92) visit their non-SC friend's house in city, as large as 68 percent (64) do not reveal their caste at their friends place. If the caste is revealed at the non-SC friends house, 56 percent (53) of the family members remain neutral regarding their friendship, still 19 percent (18) of the non-SC family members discourage the friendship of their children with that of the SC students. Which shows that still there exists caste feelings among the non-SC families. In course of the discussion with the SC students some of them pointed out that they did not like to reveal their caste names, because if they did, the outlook of the people would change and they would look down upon them as inferior.

It was further, enquired that whether the respondents feel comfortable at their friend's house in the city or not. Almost three fourth of the total sample (99) feels comfortable at their friend's house in the city but one fourth of the respondents (26%) do not feel comfortable at non-SC friends place. Rural urban wise distribution of the respondents by their interaction with non-SC didn't show any significant difference,

which shows that both rural and urban people feel the social distance, though in a small number.

CASTE BASED DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOL-

Many of the respondents especially who are from the rural areas come to know about their caste identities in the childhood itself. By the time they start going to school they become conscious of their caste. The parents of the respondents themselves mend their children's activities. They ask them to avoid the interaction with the upper caste children, restrict them from playing with forward caste children. They teach them how to address the upper caste people, like '*dora*', '*aiya*'. Even the upper caste child has to be called '*chinna dora*' by the grown up SC men.

The primary schools and the middle schools are near by to the villages, so the caste identity of a student is very obvious. The social interaction of the rural students are thus guided by their caste ranks. Recalling their childhood experiences, few rural respondents expressed that they faced discrimination by the teachers and by the peer groups when they were studying in schools.

One of the respondents from rural area expressed that he became conscious of the caste when he was studying in the 5th class. In the class all the students were friendly but when they used to go out of the classroom, the upper caste children used to tell the respondent to remain away in front of their parents "*you stay little away and don't touch me when my father is present*". The respondent use to feel bad and use to think why it is so. Here, the parents, who are from the village are more particular about the social distance to be maintained and in the absence of their parents the school children are friendly to each other.

Another respondent reported that while he studied in Guntur till 7th class, an urban area, he never faced any discrimination. Once he was in VIIIth class in his own village, he was teased by the FC students on the basis of caste. He even fought with the FC students on the issue of the caste system. He reported that the SC students were not given marks, were scolded and even beaten up by the teachers. The teachers did not cared for their studies whereas took personal interest for FC students.

One of the rural respondent reported that while studying in VII th class, he got

more than 450 marks. Government conducts exams for the admission into A.P. Residential Schools where the boarding and lodging is free, if the candidate is selected. To write this entrance also one should score atleast 450 marks to become eligible and only six students are supposed to write from each school. Even though the respondent scored 450 marks and gave his name for writing the exams, the respondent and another two SC students, who were eligible, were not allowed to sit for the entrance. Instead, one of the teacher's own daughters was given the opportunity. Again when he was in Xth class he was selected to represent the school in the volleyball team, but was never given a chance and instead a forward caste student represented the school. The respondent felt quite disappointed.

Another female respondent who studied in a small town expressed that she faced discrimination many a times. While in the middle school one Brahmin teacher who was newly appointed, called only the Brahmin girls to his house for a party. She felt very bad about it. Narrating another incident she told that her house was nearby to the school. The respondent's friends from the upper castes used to come from remote villages and far off distance. They used to come to the respondent's house, for taking rest. They used to take food, water and also relax for sometime. Once the respondent went to their house (Reddys house) in the village along with another SC girl, they were given tea in cups, but the same cups were spotted in the bathroom. She came to know that they keep the cups separately for SC's and that too at such an unhygienic place. The respondent didn't say anything at that time. She felt angry and upset. She then told about it to her mother and her uncle. Her uncle asked her not to talk about such things outside. In another incident, the same respondent reported that she used to go to the FC friends house. When that FC girl asked her mother to allow her to go to the respondent's house, the mother refused saying '*the SC people can come to our houses but we should not go to their houses*'.

One of the respondent, from the rural area recalls back that during schooling he used to go for tuitions to one of the Brahmins house. They used to make the Reddys and Brahmins sit near their puja place on the bench kind of thing called "*arugu*", whereas these SC students were made to sit on an entrance almost on the road, where people and cattles used to walk over. The teacher never touched the notebooks of the SC students,

she used to correct the answers with a long stick.

Analysing an urban environment, one can see that in the urban areas, the residential patterns of the SCs is not fixed or isolated. Though there are colonies on the name of Ambedkar or Jag Jivan Ram where mostly the poor SCs and other poor Backward Castes people reside, but a SC man who is educated and is in a good position is free to reside anywhere. They are not isolated. Depending on the economic position, they reside in different localities. Their identity is not easily revealed to the neighbours. They interact with all the people irrespective of caste. There is no obvious discrimination. Atleast externally nobody shows the caste feelings.

Table 5.3

Respondents Experiences on friendship and Caste Feelings in School.

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
Playing with forward caste students in school				
Yes	65 (87.8)	18 (90.0)	8 (100.0)	91 (89.2)
No	9 (12.2)	2 (10.0)	-	11 (10.8)
Friendship formed on caste lines in school				
Yes	28 (36.8)	-	1 (12.5)	29 (27.9)
No	48 (63.2)	20 (100.0)	7 (87.5)	75 (72.1)
Close Friend from forward caste in school				
Yes	64 (82.1)	19 (95.0)	8 (100.0)	91 (85.8)
No	14 (17.9)	1 (5.0)	-	15 (14.2)
Treatment by forward caste classmate in school				
Friendly	63 (81.8)	20 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	90 (86.5)
Ridiculed	4 (5.2)	-	-	4 (3.8)
Made fun off	1 (1.3)	-	-	1 (1.0)
Avoided	9 (11.7)	-	-	9 (8.7)
Eating with forward caste friend in school				
Yes	45 (59.2)	19 (95.0)	7 (87.5)	71 (68.3)
No	31 (40.8)	1 (5.0)	1 (12.5)	33 (31.7)
Eating at forward caste friends house				
Yes	31 (39.7)	19 (95.0)	7 (87.5)	57 (53.8)
No	47 (60.3)	1 (5.0)	1 (12.5)	49 (46.2)

The children of these urban families, whose economic position is better, do not face much of social discrimination. They study in good schools, interact with students from all the castes. Also the teachers in the urban schools are not particular about the caste. The students visit their friend's houses. The SC students during schooling sometimes even doesn't know that they belong to such and such caste, which is given an inferior status. Most of the time they do not experience any discrimination related to caste.

Table 5.3 gives a rural –urban wise distribution of the SC students and their social experiences in the schools, that is their interaction with the classmates. Though as large as 89.2 percent (91) of the respondents reported that they used to play with forward caste students while in school. A small percent 10.8 reported that they did not play with forward caste students. The percentage of rural and urban is almost the same.

Regarding friendship, hundred percent urban respondents reported that there was no friendship formed on caste lines in their schools in the urban areas, whereas 36.8 percent of rural respondents reported that friendship in the schools of the rural areas was formed on the basis of caste lines.

When asked whether they had any close friends from forward castes, though 85.8 percent reported that they had close friends from forward caste in their class but still the urban respondents outnumbered the rural respondents.

Further, it was inquired that how the forward caste classmates in the school treated the SC respondents. It was interesting to find that 100 percent urban respondents reported that the forward caste classmates in their schools treated them friendly. 81.8 percent of rural respondents too reported that they were treated friendly, there were cases, where 11.7 percent of rural respondents reported that, they were avoided and 5.2 percent rural respondents reported that they were ridiculed and a negligible 1.3 percent, rural respondent reported that they were made fun off.

Comparing the rural and urban school situation an interesting difference was found related to sharing of the food. As large as 95 percent of urban respondents reported that they shared their food with forward caste friends in school whereas only 59.2 percent of rural respondent shared their food.

And with regard to eating at forward caste friends house, as large as 95 percent urban respondents ate food at forward caste friends house in the urban area whereas only 39.7 percent of the rural respondent ate food at their forward caste class mates house. This shows that in the urban areas, there are not much of the caste-based restrictions and not much of a social distance is maintained. But in the rural areas, still social distance and caste-based restrictions are maintained

Thus, the rural respondents experienced caste discrimination more often than an urban respondents

CASTE BASED DISCRIMINATION IN COLLEGE-

The colleges are mostly located in either semi-urban or urban areas. Again the experiences of the rural respondents and urban respondents may vary when they come to college. Rural respondents mostly join the colleges near to their native place, mostly in the semi-urban areas. Whereas, the urban respondents join the colleges in the urban areas

Comparing the rural and urban wise distribution of the respondents and their caste based experiences in colleges, table 5.4 shows that 69.2 percent of the respondents do not feel that friendship is based on the caste lines. Comparatively more number (37.7 percent) of rural respondent's feels that the friendship is based on caste lines in colleges, than by urban respondents who form 10.5 percent.

Further, as large as 84 percent of the respondents feels that they had close friends from the forward castes in the colleges but still 16 percent reported that they did not had any close friends from forward castes in college

In urban colleges, 95 percent urban respondents reported that they were treated friendly by the forward caste in college and another 87.2 percent rural respondents reported the same. Few of the respondents reported that they were avoided, ridiculed or made fun of. Those who faced such a situation are the rural respondents.

Sharing of the food with forward caste friends in college and at their house shows that comparatively less number of the rural respondents shared food than the urban respondents. Comparing the school and college situation, more number of rural respondents shared food with forward caste friends in college and at their home, than

while they were at school. This is because the schools are situated near by to the villages where caste restrictions are more whereas the colleges are away from rural areas and are situated in semi-urban and urban areas where not much of social distance is maintained. Thus, the rural respondents face less of social distance once they are into the college than in schools.

Table 5.4

Respondents Experiences on Friendship and Caste Feelings in College.

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
Friendship on caste lines in college				
Yes	29 (37.7)	2 (10.5)	1 (12.5)	32 (30.8)
No	48 (62.3)	17 (89.5)	7 (87.5)	72 (69.2)
Total	77 (74.0)	19 (18.3)	8 (7.7)	104(100.0)
Close friends from forward caste in college				
Yes	65 (83.3)	17 (85.0)	7 (87.5)	89 (84.0)
No	13 (16.7)	3 (15.0)	1 (12.5)	17 (16.0)
Treatment by forward caste in college				
Friendly	68 (87.2)	19 (95.0)	6 (85.7)	93 (88.6)
Ridiculed	3 (3.8)	-	-	3 (2.9)
Made fun off	1 (1.3)	1 (5.0)	-	2 (1.9)
Avoided	6 (7.7)	-	1 (14.3)	7 (6.7)
Sharing food with forward caste friend in college				
Yes	57 (73.1)	18 (90.0)	8 (100.0)	83 (78.3)
No	21 (26.9)	2 (10.0)	-	23 (21.7)
Eating at forward caste friends house while in college				
Yes	50 (64.1)	16 (80.0)	7 (87.5)	73 (68.9)
No	28 (35.9)	4 (20.0)	1 (12.5)	33 (31.1)

CASTE BASED EXPERIENCES IN THE UNIVERSITY-

Few respondents reported that they expected the University environment to be intellectual, democratic and secular. They felt that even in such an environment, the caste feelings are prevailing. They expressed that in the university, day in and day out there are seminars and meetings on the emancipation of the caste and untouchability,

secularism, equality, liberalisation, etc, but still they feel that people are guided by the caste in their behaviour. Not only the fellow students, but also the teachers are reported to carry caste feelings.

Few of them further reported that the teachers take special interest in the performance of the students who belong to their own castes. That is Reddy teachers are interested in Reddy students, Kamma teacher is interested in Kamma students and Brahmin teacher is interested in Brahmin students, but this is not the case with the SC teachers. They reported that though SC teachers are sympathetic towards SC students, still few of the SC teachers do not take much of interest in the SC students.

They reported that the forward caste teachers do not show any interest to take the SC students under them for research. They give excuses saying that there is no vacancy at all. Even the SC teachers, do not give the SC students any guidance, they too simply say that they don't have any vacancies. The respondents commented that the SC teachers talk sweetly but do not give them any opportunity.

In the University, the reserved candidates are identified by putting a star mark in front of their names, i.e., SC-*, ST-**, PH-*** (physically handicapped). They feel that the star mark gives an easy identification of the people that they belong to such and such caste.

In OU one of the respondent reported that the teachers try to know the caste of the student as soon as he joins the university, either from the register or through the name itself. The names which are commonly identified to be of SC are with a suffix '*aiaha*', for example '*Mallaiaha*' '*Buchhaiaha*' etc. If the names do not indicate anything the teachers become quite anxious to know their caste. Some of the SC students whose names end with '*Swamy*' or '*Rao*', the students and teachers get confused. One respondent from OU, even told that the teachers try to put their hands on the shoulders of the SC boys and try to explore whether they are wearing any sacred thread, '*janjam*' symbolic to be a Brahmin.

Few respondents gave an account of their experiences in the university. One of the rural respondent reported that sometimes the teachers themselves create caste feelings among the students, if not directly, then indirectly. Citing an example, he said if a Brahmin boy is friendly to the SC boy and if the professor observes them, then the

professor (suppose to be a Brahmin) will call the Brahmin boy and will say " *see you are good at studies, you can even do better if you stop roaming around*" thus indirectly indicating to leave the friendship of a SC boy and concentrate on the studies.

One of the rural female respondent reported that a few years back, a teacher from one of the Humanities department passed a derogatory remark to a SC girl saying "*You are fit for marriage and producing children, you are not fit for studies*", on seeing the poor performance of the girl

One of the rural respondent, reported that he wrote entrance for two subjects (name of the departments withheld) in social sciences in HCU. He got into one course, took admission but left the course as he heard from other SC students and seniors that there is lot of discrimination in the department. He was in the waiting list for another course, but did not got the seat. The respondent then left to his native place without cancelling his admission. For one year he used to do agricultural work at his native place. In the subsequent year he again wrote for another course, got through and joined the course. In this department too, he felt that there is lot of partiality based on caste, gender, economic criteria, face value etc. He expressed that he felt quite disappointed after coming to the University.

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

On the basis of interviews, discussions and observation it was found that most of the rural respondents have friends from their own caste, especially, a SC student coming from poor socio-economic background and from illiterate family most often make friendship with another SC student of similar background. Their interaction with the forward caste student is very formal. It is limited to saying 'Hello'. The true friendship is with their own people.

It was analysed that the rural respondents are brought up in a rural environment, where the interactions are based on the caste lines. Since childhood they have been segregated and have very formal interactions with forward caste people. They are brought up by the fact that they are inferior in status. Which hampers them in interacting with others. Apart from this the respondents gave certain other reasons, as to why they have more friends from their own caste.

On the other hand the urban respondents, who have been interacting with different caste people in their day to day life, are able to form friends from the different castes. The urban respondents do not hesitate to interact with others, as they are well dressed, feel confident and interact freely with others since childhood, they do not suffer with any inhibitions. Since they are born and brought up in urban areas with lot of exposure and fluency in language, either Telugu, or Hindi, or English, they do not feel hamper in interacting with others. They easily make friends from all the other castes. While interviewing, one of the urban respondents reported that he even shared cigarettes with forward caste and Brahmin friends. Since he belongs to a economically sound family, wears good clothes and even maintain a bike in the university. He said he has good friends from all the other castes.

Another female respondent whose father was a Tehsildar, coming from semi-urban area too has friends from different castes. She expressed that some of the SC students especially from the poor and the rural areas see the things with some preoccupied notions in their minds. Any behaviour positive or negative by the other caste is judged by keeping their caste position in view.

Since the University environment is multilingual, multicultural, the rural respondents who are mostly coming from the Telugu background are not able to interact freely with the teachers and the students. The language of communication stops him in widening his social circle. One of the respondents reported that, on the first day of the class, when the students introduce themselves, the rural students are not able to speak out properly. Whereas the urban respondents introduce themselves in English. On the first day itself, the rural SC students become nervous and shy.

One of the respondent feels that most of the SC students coming from rural and from poor economic background, lack self-confidence, are shy, insecure, and have inferiority complex which makes them isolated. Their cultural background is different from those coming from urban and better socio-economic background. They are not able to cope up with it and thus try to retreat or try to be with the people who are from similar background.

According to another respondent friendship needs reciprocity. He stated that the SC boys coming from the rural background, do not have money to entertain their friends

and spend on luxuries. They cannot afford to dress well like, jeans and T-shirts, which make them feel uncomfortable and thus make them stay away from those who are dressed well i.e., in the company of forward caste and well to do students. Again if a person host a party 4-5 times the other person should treat him atleast once. Since the rural SC students don't have money they avoid going out with the other caste people. The respondent wants to have friendship with many but due to financial constraint limit himself. In the evening when the other people go out for entertainment or canteen the respondent do not accompany them, instead study in the room or be with his roommate who too is from SC.

So, when the student is not well off and has financial problems, he is unable to entertain his friends. Then the rural and poor SC students tend to make friendship with SC or BC students.

Another reason for the SC to form friendship within their caste and not interested in making friendship with FC people is because of vengeance towards the FC people. They see the FC people abusing, exploiting and ill-treating the SC people in the villages. The respondent commented that he does not like to make friendship with FC students in the university too. He feels that even though the FC students in the university are polite and formal in their behaviour but given a chance or if they go to village, they'll treat the SC people in the same manner as their other relatives do in the village.

All these factors make a rural SC person uncomfortable to mingle with the other caste people. They try to make friendship within their own caste who look alike, are sailing in the same boat. They feel that their problems can be better understood by their own brothers i.e., their own caste people. They feel free to talk to them, calling each other "*ore*" "*re*" (usually called for close friends), but they become conscious in front of others.

In another instance the male respondent opined that he has friends from his own caste. He expressed that he feels free with them, share problems and burdens which are most often common for them. The other caste students are just formal friends whose interaction are limited to "hello", "hai".

Few respondents reported that it is not just because of the varied reasons that

they are not able to make friendship with the FC students but also because, the FC students tries to maintain distance.

In the hostels, one of the rural respondent reported that the FC people maintain a distance with the SC students, they just say "hello", "hai". The FC students give a different kind of look "*oka rakanga choostaru*". They do not initiate the friendship and if the SC student try to make an initiative they do not encourage. So, the SC students have to form a friendship within their caste.

Another rural respondent reported that the forward caste students are not so free and do not form close friendship with a SC person. He cited an example where the respondent and another SC boy had good relations with a FC girl in their class. They were quite open and use to discuss freely all the matters, but once she came to know about the respondent's caste, she became reserved and maintained formal relations. He reported that even the SC girls who are coming from an urban area are not so free with the SC boys especially coming from the poor and rural background.

Some of the urban respondents have different opinion. They say that friendship is more influenced by the socio-economic background of a person than based on caste. The respondent feels it is the money which maintains relations. If you have money you are looked upon. He says a man maintaining a car have friends who are having a car, a man having scooter has friends having scooters. According to him, there is no social or caste discrimination, it is economic discrimination. A SC person who is an IAS, will be given respect and people will go to him for help. Now, even FC people are giving their daughters to marry SC man who is an IAS or IPS or IFS or in customs or revenue departments or vice-versa. Even if a SC girl is in the above position the FC boys are getting married to them. Here the caste is not important instead money and power are playing the major role.

Another respondent says urban people try to have friendship with urbanites. Students coming from the rural background form friendship with the rural students. Within the rural background again well off students from rural, form their own group. And students coming from rural and poor family have their own group.

Similar attitudes were expressed by another rural respondent who said with in the caste, again income play a key role. A well off SC student or a SC student coming

from rich or middle class sound background, maintains a different kind of position. He dresses well like any other well to do FC student, speaks well, thus form friendship with FC student, he further expressed that an urban and well off SC may not like to interact freely with SC's coming from rural background.

Another respondent too reported the same. He said that the SC students who are well off and are from good social background do not move with poor and rural based SC students. They even try to hide their identities and do not participate in any activities related to the SC organisation. One of the female respondent too reported that among SC few do not claim themselves to be SC. One example she gave was that of a SC girl whose mother is non-SC and father is from SC, so she feels an element of non-SC in her, so she does not agree to be from SC community.

Another respondent reported that some SC boys and girls, coming from better families "do not look like SC" (in the sense poor dressing, colour of the skin, body built). They try to be friendly with FC and try to hide their identity. Giving an example, according to the respondent, in his own class, there are two SC girls who deny to be SC, and "do not look like SC". In his class there are six SC boys, out of them two are well off and they are not free with rural respondents. So based on the economy, the SC population within the class are segregated. Though the respondent say, that from outside all the students seems to be friendly and moving freely with each other but the intensity of friendship varies.

FRIENDSHIP PATTERN AMONG SC GIRLS

Most of the SC girls in the sample are coming from urban or semi-urban areas, only few SC girls are from the rural areas (see table 3.4 in chapter 3). It is because the SC girls coming to this level of education most often may be coming from a better socio-economic background or from urban area. It is very less likely that a SC girl studying in the university is coming from a very poor rural family. Most often the girls in the rural areas and in poor families do not study more than primary education. They most often take care of the household responsibilities, like rearing younger siblings, cooking, or looking after the house if both parents go out for work.

Though most of the SC girls have friends from other castes, but they reported that the deep friendship is mostly with their own caste girls. One of the respondent reported that as long as the students are pursuing P G. course, they have friends from all the other castes. It is because they are quite busy with their semester system, classes, new environment, new friends, various cultural activities etc. and hence there is a less chance for them to understand issues like caste, and other things. Where as once they come to the research level of education, they have ample of time to think about all these issues. In the girls hostel, the SC girls who are well dressed, wear saris, salwar suits and are traditional in living styles are accepted as a friend by the other caste girls. The respondent replied that if any SC girl is fair, wear nice sarees, bindi, ear-rings are easily accepted for friendship and they do not hesitate to introduce them to others that she is their friend. But if the SC girl is not so good-looking, and not so well dressed the girl is not approached for friendship and are not introduced to the others as friends.

One of the urban SC girl who is pursuing M Phil in social sciences, is politically active, is outspoken, rebellious and vocal in nature. She feels that close friendship develops with like minded people only. SC girls close friendship may be with a SC girl only. The other caste girls may be just formal friends. The respondent told that whenever she use to say "hello", "hai" to other caste girls, they didn't respond. The respondent then didn't feel like making friendship and didn't even try for it. The respondent claimed that very few FC girls came forward to make friendship with her. She feels it may be because they are democratic, open and aware.

One of the female respondent, expressed that even today there are instances where the respondents have reported about the distance some of the FC students maintain, kind of untouchability. The female respondent expressed that she felt hurt, sad when her own classmate, a Brahmin by caste had hurt her feelings. She use to share all her feelings, problems, except when it is a matter of dining. Her Brahmin friend, who is a day scholar, once visited the respondent to her hostel room. She brought food for both of them in one plate and then divided the food in to two portions. When the Brahmin girl went out to wash her hands, the respondent felt hungry, and started eating from her own portion. Seeing this the Brahmin girl said "*how will I eat now, I don't like to eat like this*" and she didn't eat. Whenever the food is brought she has to take her

food separately first and then only the respondent can eat. Once again when three friends were having food separately in plates, the respondent holding the plate in left hand, held the spoon with her right hand to serve for herself. The Brahmin girl in turn shouted, "*If you want that I should not eat, you tell me, but don't do like this*". The respondent felt like crying and left the room. She felt bad that inspite of her being considerate and helping, by getting food for her and carrying to first floor the Brahmin girl is behaving in this manner. Even though she behaved like this the respondent didn't feel like taking any revenge. She continued her friendship and tried to adjust with her the way she wanted

One of the female respondent reported that due to few incidents within the Central University campus, the people have stereotyped the SC girls in a negative way. A case of suicide by the SC girl in HCU campus made people to form some kind of stereotypes. A SC girl from Mathematics department pursuing M.A. was having an affair with a Reddy caste boy pursuing Ph D in Telugu department. Their affair continued for nearly one and half year. The boy showed interest in her. He even use to go to church on sundays along with the SC girl and use to keep a poster of Ambedkar in his room. All this made the girl believe that his liking is genuine. Meanwhile he was engaged to other Reddy girl and was about to marry her. The SC boys from the university too warned the SC girl that this boy's intentions are not good, so better to cut of with him. But the girl just believed him. When it became almost sure that he was getting married, she hanged herself to the ceiling fan in her room in the hostel.

It was reported that instead of showing sympathy for the victim they commented that it was the fault of the girl so she had to suffer. The respondent opined that in this issue, very few girls turned out, very few supported, because she was a SC girl. Also the Reddy boy who was arrested got bail and married within few days. The SC student organisation took interest to see that the Reddy boy gets severe punishment. But he got a bail and was left scot-free. Later when he came to the university he was badly beaten up by the SC students.

The SC boys commented that, inspite of giving a warning to the girl that the Reddy boy was flirting with her, she did not listen to them and finally was ditched by her boyfriend. The respondents reported that the SC girls who come from poor and rural

background are more likely to be attracted towards forward caste boys, who are mostly fair, rich and comparatively good looking. The poor SC girls may think that if any forward caste boy wish to marry them, their fate will be changed. They'll get a social status and also economically sound family. The male respondents reported that the FC boys are not genuinely interested in the SC girls, they just want to pass time and flirt with the girls and later leave them. So, they try to warn the SC girls if they have any affair with FC boys. Sometimes they even try to make the parents of the girl aware about the situation.

The respondent compared this incident with another incident where the outsiders raped a University girl. The whole university became active, there were protests, and dharnas and the culprits were booked. The teachers and the students actively participated in the proceedings. But the respondents alleged that there was not much of a reaction from the other caste people in the case of suicide by the SC girl.

The above two incidents in the HCU campus are entirely different ones. The suicide case of the SC girl was a personal issue with an unfortunate ending but the rape case was a kind of accident without any involvement of the victim. Here identity of the victims as SC or non-SC is not relevant or is not considered upon. The reactions of the students and others in the university regarding these incidents were not motivated by the caste factor, but few respondents felt that the caste feelings are prevalent among the people, shows that, they try to see everything with a backdrop of caste, so they feel the differences

Because of the previous incidents in the campus related to the SC girls and cases like these give scope to stereotype the SC girls "All girls are alike"... and are sometimes troubled by the FC girls. These incidents made the FC girls to think about the SC girls in a negative way.

Few SC girls from urban background and from better socio-economic family have friends from different castes. One of the female respondent pursuing Ph.D. in life sciences who is having good friends from FC carry different attitude. According to her the SC people most often are occupied with their caste and their inferior status. So if any thing happens by mistake they infer in the caste lines. According to her, even in making friendship, if one feels *"I am a SC, she is a Brahmin"*, then according to her they

are creating a barrier". Once you have that in your mind, and by chance anything happens unintentionally, the SC person may feel, it is because of caste. But if they are not preoccupied with that idea, then they won't feel bad for anything, and can maintain friendship irrespective of caste.

One of the respondents feels that friendship should not be based on caste. If it is not true friendship. Making friends with people from the same caste will be like a frog in the well and one can develop inferiority complex and will not be able to interact or compete with the other caste people

Table 5.5

Rural Urban Wise Distribution of Respondents by their Friendship Pattern

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
Prefer friendship with whom				
SC	27 (35.5)	2 (11.8)	4 (50.0)	33 (32.7)
Non-SC	13 (17.1)	1 (5.9)	-	14 (13.9)
Any body	36 (47.4)	14 (82.4)	4 (50.0)	54 (53.5)
Total	76 (75.2)	17 (16.8)	8 (7.9)	101(100.0)
Do you feel any social distance with non-SC				
Yes	36 (46.8)	4 (21.1)	2 (25.0)	42 (40.4)
No	41 (53.2)	15 (78.9)	6 (75.0)	62 (59.6)
Do you try to make friendship with non-SC				
Yes	72 (92.3)	16 (94.1)	7 (87.5)	95 (92.2)
No	6 (7.7)	1 (5.9)	1 (12.5)	8 (7.8)
Do you have good friend from opposite sex in the class				
Yes	42 (54.5)	13 (65.0)	6 (75.0)	61 (58.1)
No	35 (45.5)	7 (35.0)	2 (25.0)	44 (41.9)
Do you have friends from opposite sex in the University				
Yes	45 (58.4)	15 (78.9)	6 (75.0)	66 (63.5)
No	32 (41.6)	4 (21.1)	2 (25.0)	38 (36.5)
How do you feel talking to opposite sex				
Free	47 (63.5)	12 (60.0)	5 (62.5)	64 (62.7)
Nervous	7 (9.5)	-	3 (37.5)	10 (9.8)
Comfortable	11 (14.9)	6 (30.0)	-	17 (16.7)
Uncomfortable	9 (12.2)	2 (10.0)	-	11 (10.8)

Table 5.5 shows the friendship pattern. 53.5 percent (54) respondents prefer friendship with any person irrespective of any caste. Another 33 percent (33) respondents prefer only SC for friendship. Comparatively more number of rural respondents 35.5 percent prefer friendship with their own caste people than urban respondents, 11.8 percent (2).

Though almost equal percentage of the rural and urban respondents, 92.3 percent and 94.1 percent respectively try to make friendship with non-SC, more number of the rural respondents 46.8 percent (36) experiences the social distance with the non-SC than urban respondents.

Comparatively, higher percentages of the urban respondents have friends from opposite sex than the rural respondents. When enquired how they feel talking to the opposite sex. It was found that most of them feel free and comfortable. Only 9.5 percent (7) and 12.2 percent (9) rural respondents feel nervous and uncomfortable.

Sex wise distribution too showed similar results except that more number of males than females feels the social distance with non-SC

In the classroom, there is a limited choice in making friendship based on caste, as there are few students in the class. In the hostels, where there are hundreds of students, choice of making friends can be flexible. Thus, the data shows that the sex wise distribution by their best friends in class and hostels are shown in following figures, which are shown in the following pages.

FIGURE 5.2A

Caste of the first best friend in the class (in %)

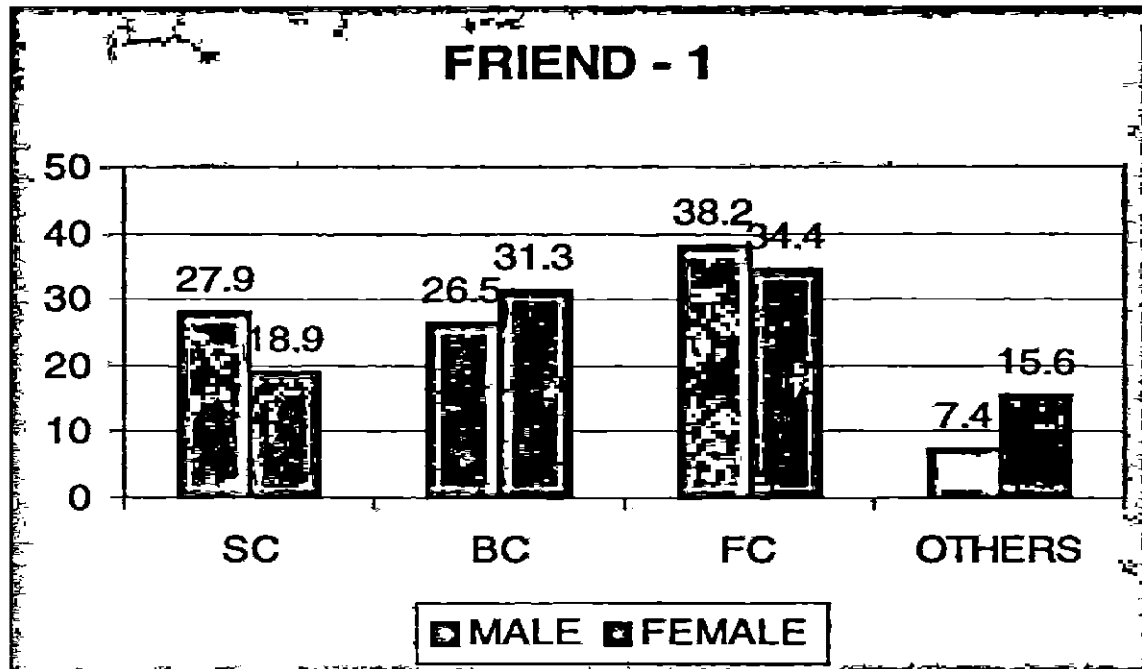


Figure-5 2 A, shows that there is no regular pattern regarding caste of the friend in the class. The respondents first friend can be of SC, BC or FC.

Figure 5.2B

Caste of the second best friend in the class(in %)

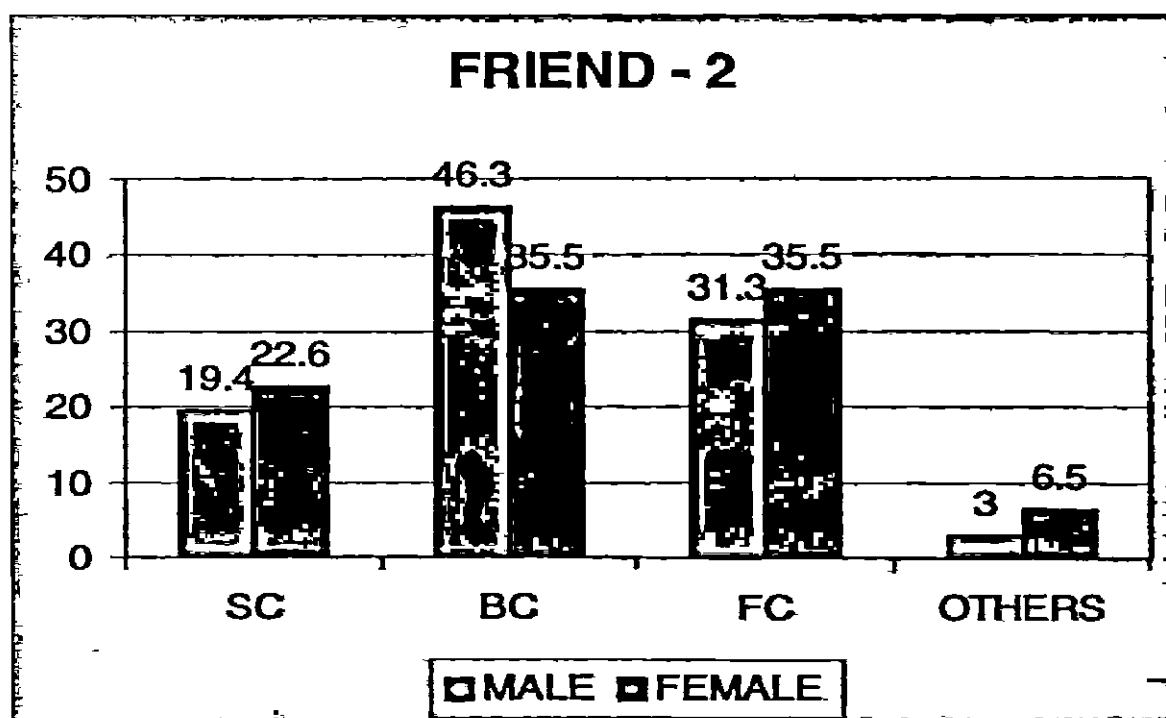
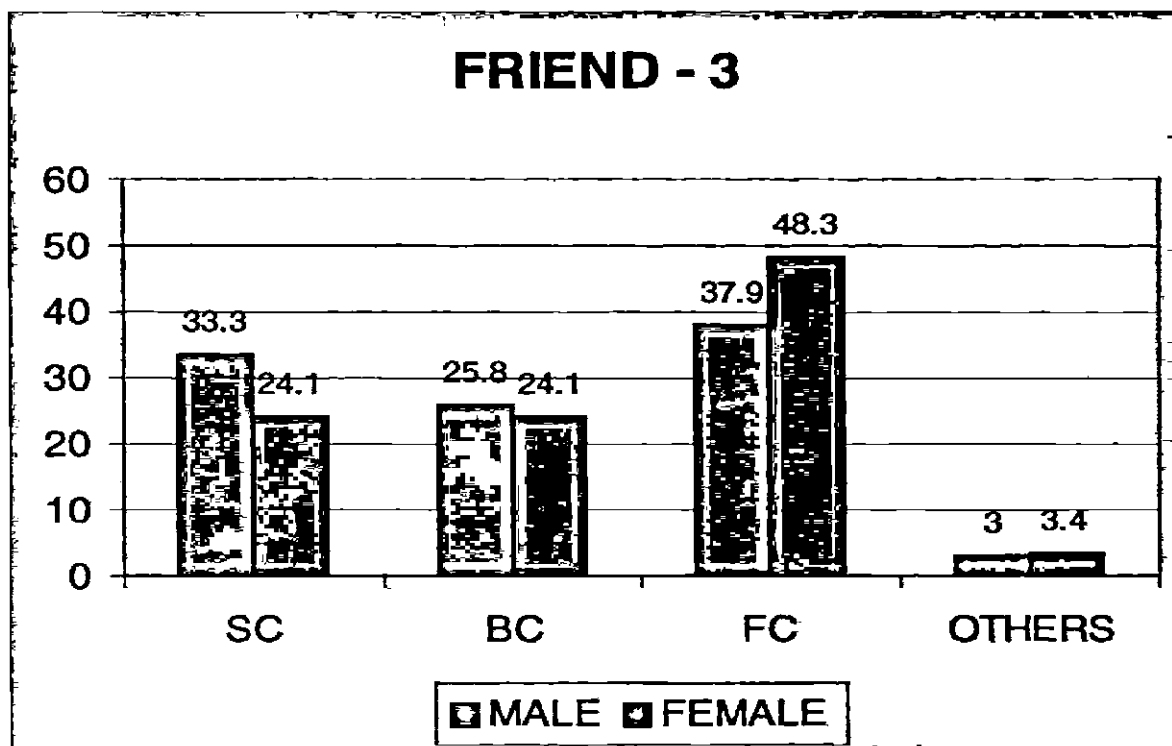


FIGURE 5.2 C
Caste of the third best friend in the class(in %)



Similarly figure 5.2 B and 5.2 C doesn't show any particular trend. Infact there second best friends are more from Backward Castes and third best friend are either from FC or SC or BC in decreasing order.

FIGURE 5.3 A
Caste of the first best friend in the hostel (in %)

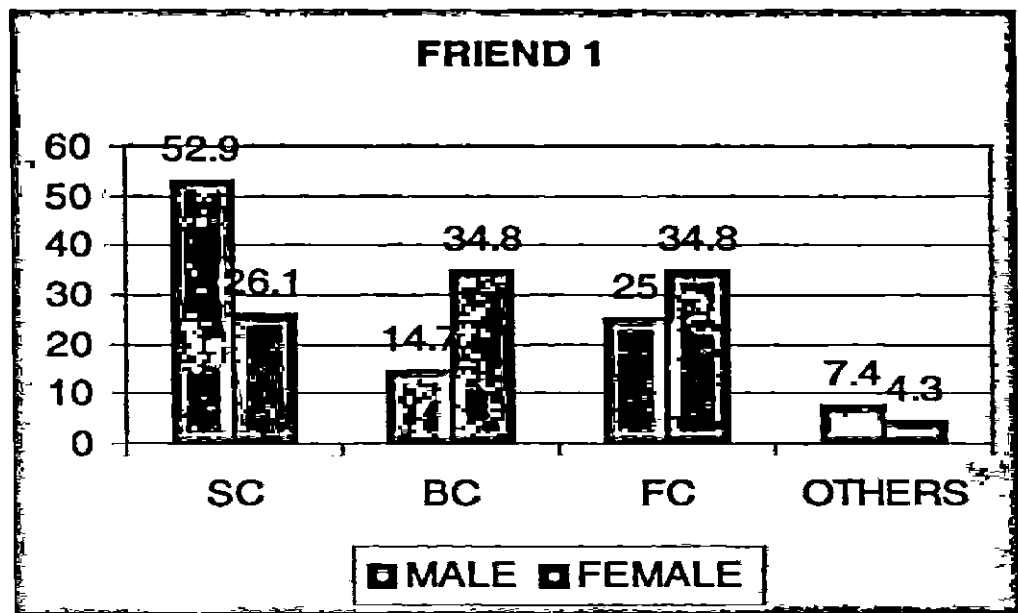


FIGURE 5.3 B
Caste of the second best friend in the hostel (in %)

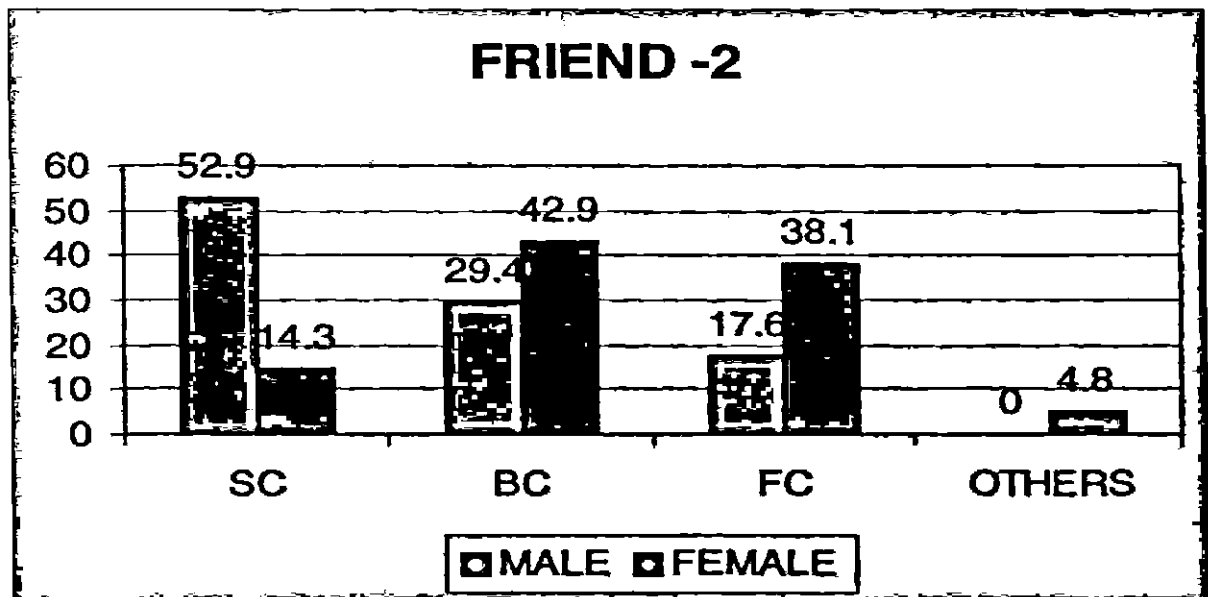


Figure-5.3 A, shows that in the hostel as large as 52.9 percent of male respondents first friend is from SC. Compare to less 26.1 percent of female respondents. More number of females have first friend from BC and FC than the males.

FIGURE 5.3 C
Caste of the third best friend in the hostel (in %)

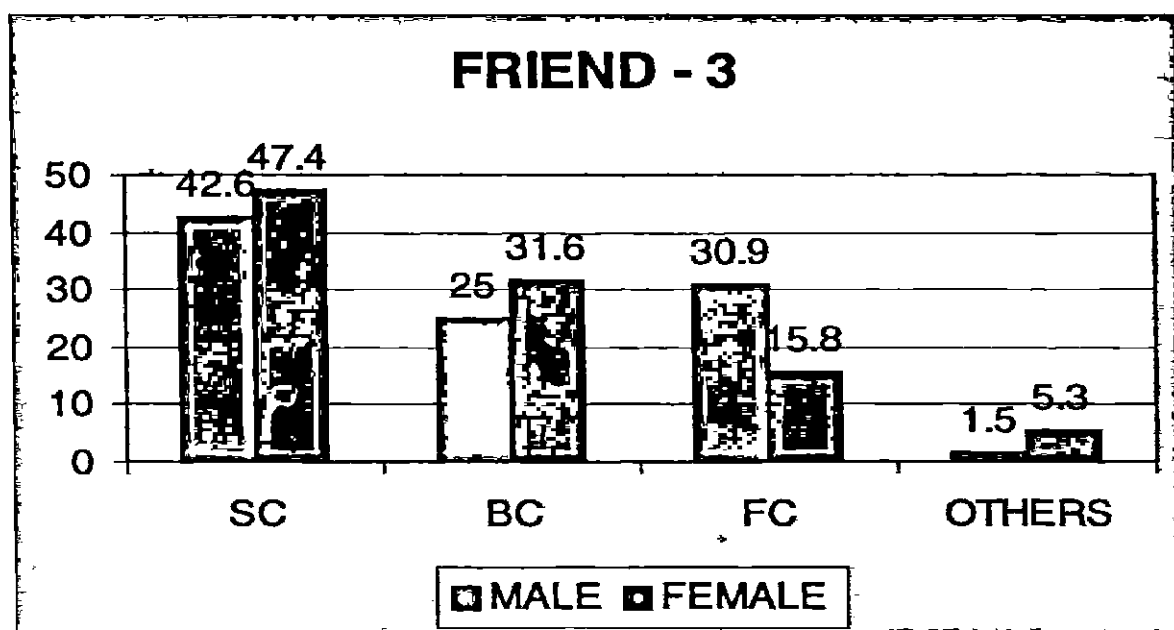


Figure 5.3 B shows that 52.9 percent of the male respondent's second best friend is from SC. And figure 5.3 C shows that almost the same percentage of male and female (42.6 % and 47.4%) respondent's third best friend is from SC.

Thus figure 5.2 A, B, C and table 5.6 shows that in the classroom the first three best friends are not from one particular caste. There are as many friends from other caste or even more than SC friends. But from the figure 5.3 A, B, C and table 5.6, it can be seen clearly that the first three best friends in the hostel who are from SC outnumber the friends from other castes.

Nearly fifty percent of the first best friends in the hostels are from SC. 46.2 percent (42) first friend in the hostel, 43.8 percent (39) second friend in the hostel and 43.7 percent (38) third friend in the hostel are from SC.

Table 5.6

**Caste of the First Three Best Friends in Class and Hostels by
Rural Urban Distribution of Respondents**

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
Caste of the first close friend in the class				
SC	19 (25.7)	5 (27.8)	1 (12.5)	25 (25.0)
BC	22 (29.7)	4 (22.2)	2 (25.0)	28 (28.0)
FC	28 (37.8)	5 (27.8)	4 (50.0)	37 (37.0)
Others	5 (6.8)	4 (22.2)	1 (12.5)	10 (10.0)
Total	74 (74.0)	18 (18.0)	8 (8.0)	100(100.0)
Caste of the second best friend in the class				
SC	15 (20.5)	4 (22.2)	1 (14.3)	20 (20.4)
BC	33 (45.2)	5 (27.8)	4 (57.1)	42 (42.9)
FC	22 (30.1)	8 (44.4)	2 (28.6)	32 (32.7)
Others	3 (4.1)	1 (5.6)	-	4 (4.1)
Caste of the third best friend in the class				
SC	23 (31.9)	3 (18.8)	3 (42.9)	29 (30.5)
BC	18 (25.0)	5 (31.3)	1 (14.3)	24 (25.3)
FC	28 (38.9)	8 (50.0)	3 (42.9)	39 (41.1)
Others	3 (4.2)	-	-	3 (3.2)
Caste of the first close friend in the Hostel				
SC	36 (50.0)	4 (36.4)	2 (25.0)	42 (46.2)
BC	12 (16.7)	3 (27.3)	3 (37.5)	18 (19.8)
FC	20 (27.8)	2 (18.2)	3 (37.5)	25 (27.5)
Others	4 (5.6)	2 (18.2)	-	6 (6.6)
Caste of the second best friend in the hostel				
SC	33 (46.5)	3 (27.3)	3 (42.9)	39 (43.8)
BC	23 (32.4)	4 (36.4)	2 (28.6)	29 (32.6)
FC	15 (21.1)	3 (27.3)	2 (28.6)	20 (22.5)
Others	-	1 (9.1)	-	1 (1.1)
Caste of the third best friend in the Hostel				
SC	26 (37.7)	7 (63.6)	5 (71.4)	38 (43.7)
BC	19 (27.5)	2 (18.2)	2 (28.6)	23 (26.4)
FC	23 (33.3)	1 (9.1)	-	24 (27.6)
Others	1 (1.4)	1 (9.1)	-	2 (2.3)

Rural urban wise distribution shows that 50 percent (36) of rural respondents have first friend from SC than 36.4 percent (4) of urban respondents. Again 46.5 percent (33) of rural respondents have second best friend in hostel from SC than 27.3 percent (3) of urban respondents. This shows that SC students from rural areas are more likely to have friends from their own caste.

HOSTELS-

In the Central University there are separate hostels for post graduate students and research scholars. Two PG students share one room whereas there are single rooms allotted for research scholars. In Osmania University, many of the hostel rooms are shared by more than two students, but for research scholars there are separate rooms and separate hostels.

In the hostels the SC students tend to make friendship with SC students only. Initially the room allocation is random. After few days or after a semester or two, the students make an internal arrangements. The SC student tries to either look for a SC roommate so that he feels free, safe and feeling of oneness. In a room, if two SC students and one Reddy student is there, it is most often that SC roommates are free and friendly, whereas the Reddy student stay aloof and do not mix up freely. When the caste of the roommate was asked it was observed as shown in table 5.7, that highest percentage 30.1 percent (31) are of SC when compared to different castes.

It was further observed that more number of the rural respondents 37.3 percent (28) had SC roommates, when compared to just 5 percent (1) of urban respondents. Here 'not applicable' stands for either day scholars or those who are not having any roommates and are staying single.

When enquired about the relations with the roommate out of 86 replied most of them 62.8 percent (54) had cordial relations and 36 percent (31) had normal relation except one exceptional case of conflict.

Most of the respondents 84.7 percent (72) dine with their roommate, 74.7 percent (65) go outing with their roommate, 78.3 percent (65) take financial help from roommate and 59.8 percent (52) do combine studies.

Table 5.7

**Rural Urban Wise Distribution of Respondents by Their Interaction
With their Roommates.**

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
What is the caste of your roommate				
SC	28 (37.3)	1 (5.0)	2 (25.0)	31 (30.1)
BC	9 (12.0)	2 (10.0)	-	11 (10.7)
FC	13 (17.3)	3 (15.0)	2 (25.0)	18 (17.5)
Brahmin	5 (6.7)	3 (15.0)	-	8 (7.8)
More than one	10 (13.3)	2 (10.0)	2 (25.0)	14 (13.6)
Not Applicable	10 (13.3)	9 (45.0)	2 (25.0)	21 (20.4)
Total	75 (72.8)	20 (19.4)	8 (7.8)	103(100.0)
How are your relations with your room mate				
Cordial	45 (66.2)	7 (58.3)	2 (33.3)	54 (62.8)
Normal	23 (33.8)	5 (41.7)	3 (50.0)	31 (36.0)
Conflict	-	-	1 (16.7)	1 (1.2)
Do you dine with your room mate				
Yes	56 (83.6)	11(91.7)	5 (83.3)	72 (84.7)
No	11 (16.4)	1 (8.3)	1 (16.7)	13 (15.3)
Do you for outing with your room mate				
Yes	52 (76.5)	9 (69.2)	4 (66.7)	65 (74.7)
No	16 (23.5)	4 (30.8)	2 (33.3)	22 (25.3)
Do you take financial help from your room mate				
Yes	51 (78.5)	9 (75.0)	5 (83.3)	65 (78.3)
No	14 (21.5)	3 (25.0)	1 (16.7)	18 (21.7)
Whether you do combined studies with your room mate				
Yes	41 (59.4)	6 (50.0)	5 (83.3)	52 (59.8)
No	28 (40.6)	6 (50.0)	1 (16.7)	35 (40.2)
Whether you share food/ clothes with your room mate				
Yes	35 (52.2)	10(83.3)	4 (80.0)	49 (58.3)
No	32 (47.8)	2 (16.7)	1 (20.0)	35 (41.7)

Out of 84 respondents, 58.3 percent respondents share food and clothes with their roommates. though most of them reported that they share food but not clothes.

SUMMARY-

Three fourth of the sample respondents who are coming from the rural areas are mostly poor and lack study environment at home. There is a lack of encouragement and support from the home. Since the parents and the relatives are not educated and are not in a good position, they do not provide a reference group for the respondents to emulate. Apart from the lack of conducive environment for studies, there is a lack of books, study materials, basic amenities etc. These respondents can be considered to be as disadvantaged children. In spite of all these factors, their interest in studies and determination made them to pursue higher education.

On the other hand, the urban respondents are at relatively advantageous position. These respondents have exposure to the outside world, are encouraged and guided by the parents. In some cases where the parents are educated and are in good position are the source of inspiration and role model for them.

The rural respondents become aware of their inferior caste status from the childhood because of the village environment, where the traditional set-up continues, but once they come to the university, they develop a new ideology, based on equality, individuality, and secularism. They feel agonised and angry to see that their parents suffer the suppression. They find difficulty in adjusting themselves to the village environment once they are out of it. They slowly reduce their visit to their native place.

They behave offensive and do not abide the caste rules when they visit their native villages, which sometimes lead to tensions. The respondents thus find difficulty in adjusting to the village environment so they are adapting themselves to urban environment and are reducing their visit to their village, both in frequency and the duration of stay.

Though most of the respondents feel normal being born in this caste. They feel they are just like any other individual, with similar features. Few respondents feel inferior, this feeling of lowliness remains in the back of their mind, which influences their behaviour and interaction. Few of the respondents felt superior and privileged as they are positively discriminated.

It was further revealed that nearly fifty percent of sample population experienced discrimination/ harassment or injustice because they belong to SC. Comparatively more number of rural respondents experienced the discrimination.

The respondent's interaction with their classmates in schools and colleges showed that the rural respondents faced more social distance with the FC friends in school than the urban respondents. This social distance somewhat reduced in colleges as they are away from the villages where the identity is not easily revealed.

Few respondents expressed that the caste feelings are carried among the students and the teachers in the university also. Most of the rural respondents have friends from their own castes, as they reported that they do not have money and good clothes to feel comfortable and reciprocate to their FC students. They reported that they have their own problems which can be easily understood and shared by their caste people, i.e., to rural SC students. Apart from that, they face language problem in communicating with others. And since childhood they are segregated and are maintained social distance with the FC people, they have inhibitions in interacting. Though few respondents reported that even the FC students do not encourage the friendship, they maintain social distance. In the hostels too, more number of rural respondents share their rooms with their own caste students than the urban respondents.

But the urban SC respondents, who are in comfortable financial position, reported that they have friends from all the other castes. And it is the economic criteria, which guides the friendship rather than caste.

The urban respondents, because of their advantageous position, are able to adapt themselves better in the university environment. They are able to cut across the caste boundaries in making friendship and are also accepted by others for social interaction. But the rural respondents, because of the many disabilities, they suffer from like, lack of money, lack of proper clothing, language problem, and their experiences related to caste discrimination make them inhibited in making friendship or interacting with others. Thereby, the rural SC students try to make friendship with their own caste people with similar background, who can understand their inherent problem and support them.

This shows that the rural respondents are at a disadvantageous position. They face more social problems, which continued from their childhood to schooling to college and are still continuing in the universities.

ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT AND THE ADAPTATION OF SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS

This chapter describes the respondent's performance and progress of studies through school and college. It deals with their choice of subjects in intermediate, their study habits, problems in understanding the subjects, respondent's interaction with the teachers in and outside the classroom, their interaction with the classmates and finally their aspirations, and the problems they face in harnessing their dreams are explored.

DETERMINANTS OF EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE-

Literature shows that there is a co-relation between the parents education and occupation with that of the performance of their child. I.e., higher the parent's education and occupation, better is the performance of the ward. In the present study too, the co-relation stands true

Almost three fourth (73.6%) of the total sample population are from the rural areas. Parents of these respondents who are engaged in lower occupational levels are not in a position to provide a conducive environment for education. They suffer with financial constraints, deprivation, and backwardness

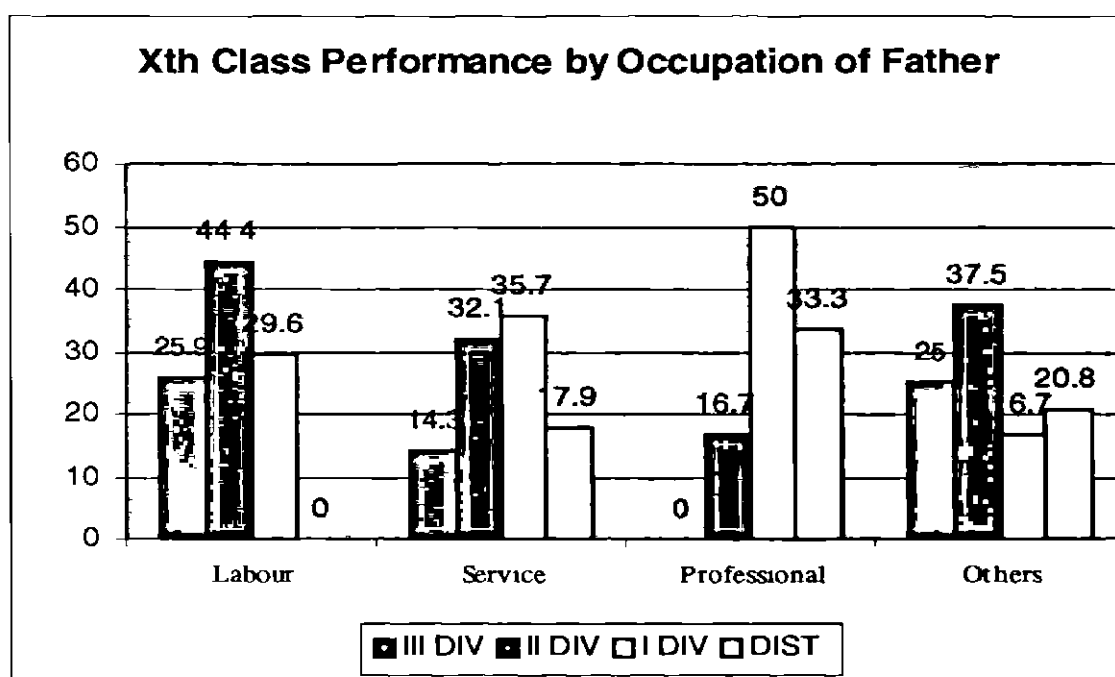
Whereas, the respondents whose parents are in service (27.6%), and are professionals (5.7%) are at an advantageous position as they can provide a conducive environment for the studies at home. The advantage that children from educated and white-collar occupation background get is reinforcement through out their educational career. Also the parents can guide them with their homework and advice them in the choice of courses, career etc.

Figure 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 depicts the influence of the fathers occupation on the performance of their children in Xth, XIIth and at the graduation level respectively. Figure 1 shows that maximum no. of respondents who got first division and distinction in the Xth class are the children of professional jobholders. Fifty percent

of the respondents got first division and 33.3% got distinction. Significant observation is that there are no respondents who got third division in this category.

On the other hand, the performance of the respondents whose fathers are agricultural laborers is not so good 44.4% i.e. the majority of them got second division and another 29.6% got first division. Significant observation in this category is that there are 25.9% respondents who got third division and there is not even a single respondent who got distinction. And the fathers who are categorized as 'other' who are mostly agricultural farmers, 37.5% of their children got IInd division and 25% got IIIrd division

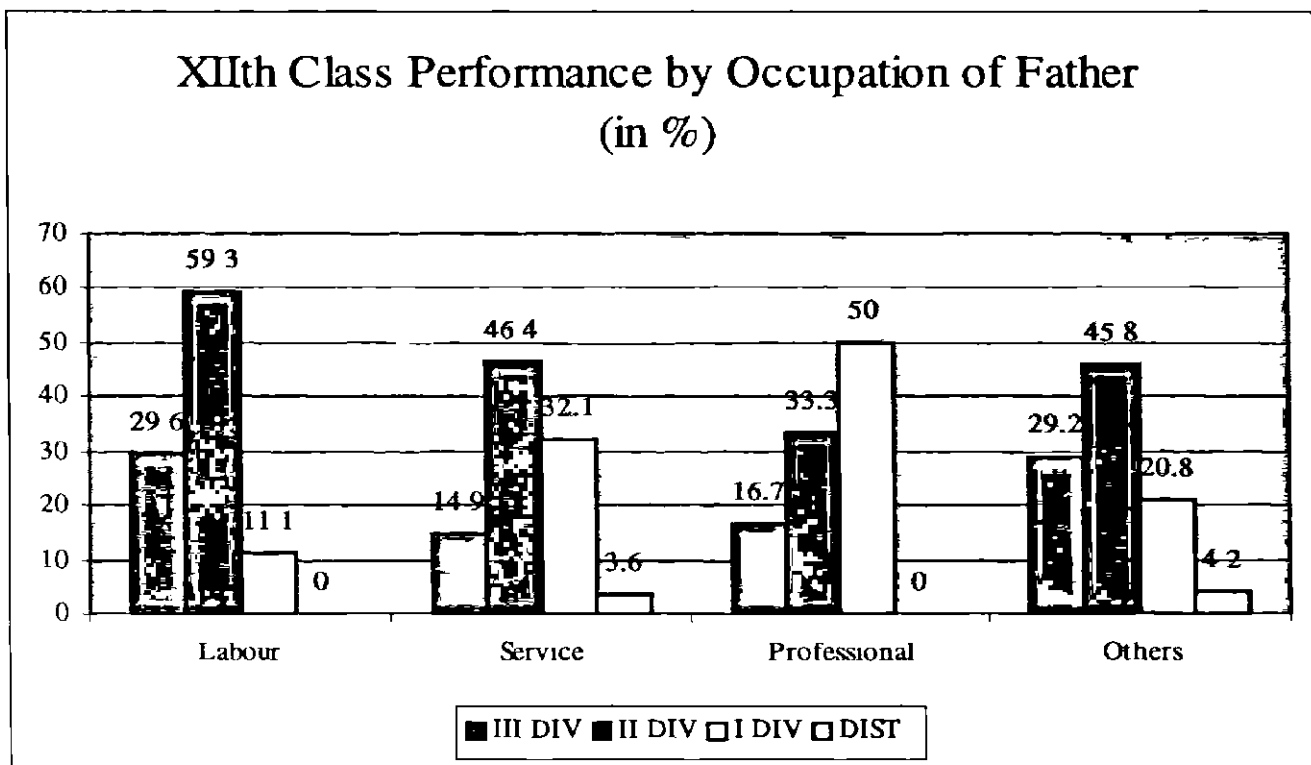
FIGURE-6.1



Performance of the respondents in XIIth and degree as shown in figure II and figure III also depicts the similar results. In XIIth class as high 59.3% respondents got IInd division and another 29.6% got third division whose fathers are engaged as agricultural laborers.

Students whose fathers are marginal farmers or petty businessman even did not perform well. 29.2% got third division and another 45.8% got second division. Whereas 50% of the respondents got Ist division whose father is a professional.

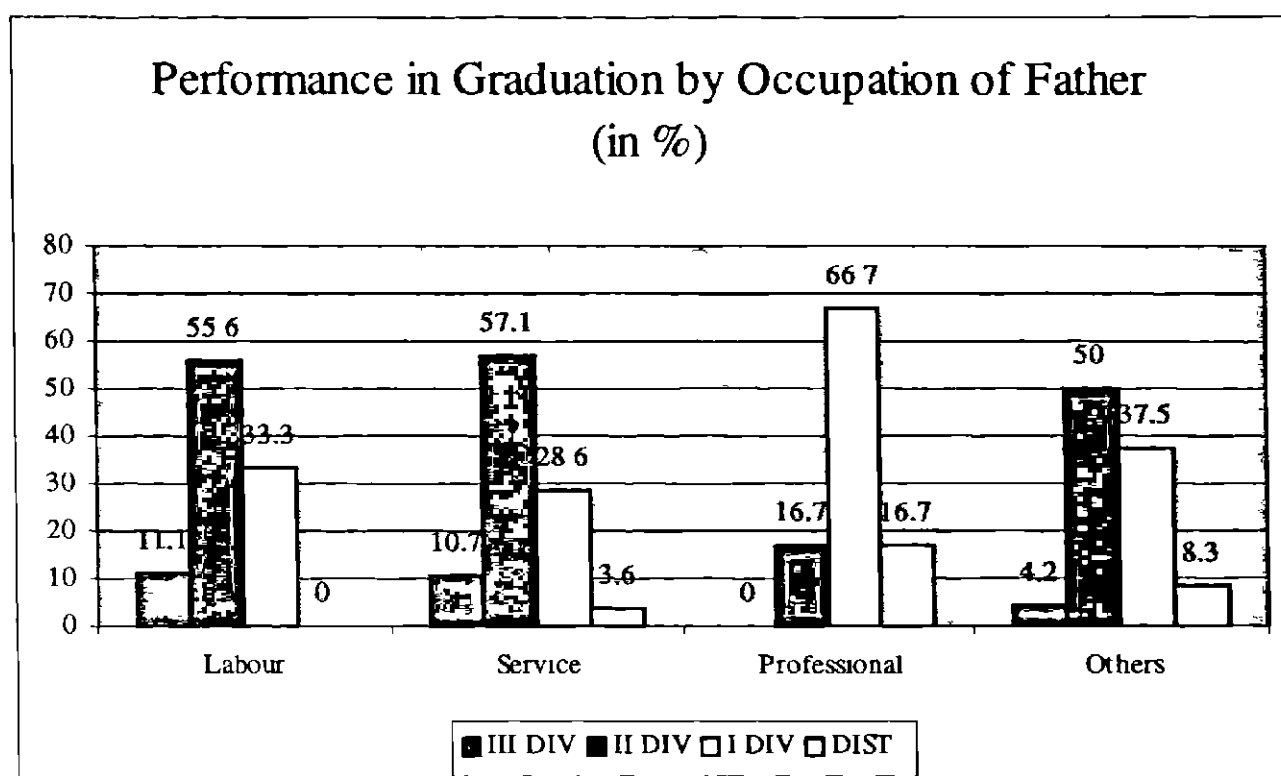
FIGURE-6.2



The performance in degree as shown in figure 6.3 too depicts similar trend. Most of the respondents whose fathers are agricultural laborers or farmers have scored IInd division or IIIrd division.

Almost 55.6% and 50% respondents got second division, whose fathers are laborers and marginal farmers respectively. As large as 66.7% respondents got first division and another 16.7% got distinction whose father is a professional.

Thus, it shows that the respondents whose parents are having higher occupational levels are performing better in their matriculation and degree as compared to the respondents whose parents are laborers.

FIGURE-6.3

Apart from the occupational level of the parents, the educational level of the parents is also an important characteristic because it also effects the educational performance of their wards. Studies too show that parent's education has a direct influence on performance of their children. Lower the educational level of the father, poorer is the performance of the respondent and higher the educational level of the father, better is the performance of the respondent.

Table 6 1 indicates that most of the respondents who got third division are from the families where both father and mother are either illiterate or can just read and write. Whereas, most of the distinction holders are from the families where the parents are graduates, post-graduates or professionals. Table 6.1 shows that out of 94 responses, 20% got IIIrd division, another 44% got IInd division and a negligible 4% got distinction, whose father is illiterate. Similarly 30 % respondents got IIIrd division, 50% got IInd division and only 3.3% got distinction, whose father can just read and write.

None of the students whose fathers are graduates or postgraduates or professionals have got Illrd division. Considerably high 37.5% (6), 33.3% (1) and 50% (2) of the students whose fathers are graduates or post graduates or professionals have got distinction.

TABLE- 6.1

Respondents Xth class performance by parents education

	Illrd Div.	II nd Div.	Ist Div.	Distinction	Total
Fathers Education					
Illiterate	5 (20.0)	11 (44.0)	8 (32.0)	1 (4.0)	25 (26.6)
Read / Write	9 (30.0)	15 (50.0)	5 (16.7)	1 (3.3)	30 (31.9)
Matric	2 (25.0)	2 (25.0)	4 (50.0)	-	8 (8.5)
Inter	2 (25.0)	1 (12.5)	4 (50.0)	1 (12.5)	8 (8.5)
Graduate	-	4 (25.0)	6 (37.5)	6 (37.5)	16 (17.0)
Post-Gradute	-	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)	3 (3.2)
Professional	-	1(25.0)	1 (25.0)	2 (50.0)	4 (4.3)
Total	18 (19.1)	35 (37.2)	29 (30.9)	12 (12.8)	94 (100.0)
Mothers Education					
Illiterate	13 (27.1)	17 (35.4)	17 (35.4)	1 (2.1)	48 (49.5)
Read/ Write	4 (16.7)	12 (50.0)	7 (29.2)	1 (4.2)	24 (24.7)
Matric	-	3 (27.2)	3 (27.3)	5 (45.5)	11 (11.3)
Inter	-	1 (14.3)	5 (71.4)	1 (14.3)	7 (7.2)
Graduate	-	3 (50.0)	-	3 (50.0)	6 (6.2)
Professional	-	-	-	1 (100.0)	1 (1.0)
Total	17 (17.5)	36 (37.1)	32 (33.0)	12 (12.4)	97 (100.0)

Similar is the case with the mother's education. Higher the level of the mother's education, better is the performance of their children.

Table 6.2 indicates similar results, leaving the exceptional cases of one or two students who have scored distinction in XIIth class, though their parents are illiterate. By and large the trend shows that the students whose parents are having higher level of education, perform better.

TABLE -6.2**Respondents XIIth class Performance by Parents Education**

	IIIrd Div.	II nd Div.	Ist Div.	Distinction	Total
Father's Education					
Illiterate	9 (36.0)	12 (48.0)	3 (12.0)	1 (4.0)	25 (26.6)
Read /Write	9 (30.0)	17 (56.7)	3 (10.0)	1 (3.3)	30 (31.9)
Matric	1 (12.5)	5 (62.5)	2 (25.0)	-	8 (8.5)
Inter	2 (25.0)	4 (50.0)	1 (12.5)	1 (12.5)	8 (8.5)
Graduate	1 (6.3)	6 (37.5)	9 (56.3)	-	16 (17.0)
PostGraduate	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	-	-	3 (3.2)
Professional	-	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	-	4 (4.3)
Total	24 (25.5)	47 (50.0)	20 (21.3)	3 (3.2)	94 (100.0)
Mother's Education					
Illiterate	13 (27.1)	26 (54.2)	7 (14.6)	2 (4.2)	48 (49.5)
Read /Write	6 (25.0)	12 (50.0)	6 (25.0)	-	24 (24.7)
Matric	2 (18.2)	7 (63.6)	1 (9.1)	1 (9.1)	11 (11.3)
Inter	1 (14.3)	3 (42.9)	3 (42.9)	-	7 (7.2)
Graduate	-	1 (16.7)	5 (83.3)	-	6 (6.2)
Professional	-	-	1 (100.0)	-	1 (1.0)
Total	22 (22.7)	49 (50.5)	23 (23.7)	3 (3.1)	97 (100.0)

Table 6.3 shows the influence of the parent's education on the student's degree performance. Here again the figures show that the students who have got third division are from the families where the parents, both father and mothers are either illiterate or can read and write or are just matric passed.

Thus table 6.2 and 6.3 shows that more than half the sample population has got II nd division or third division i.e. their performance level comes out to be just average or even below average. These students scored just second or third division through out their educational career. It is because of the family background, where both the parents are not educated and are in lower occupational levels. Thus, the academic performance of more than half of the respondents is just average or below average.

TABLE -6.3**Respondents Degree Performance by Parents Education**

	IIIrd Div.	II nd Div.	Ist Div.	Distinction	Total
Father's Education					
Illiterate	2 (8 0)	15 (60.0)	7 (28.0)	1 (4.0)	25 (26.6)
Read /Write	4 (13.3)	16 (53.3)	10 (33.3)	-	30 (31.9)
Matric	1 (12.5)	4 (50 0)	3 (37.5)	-	8 (8.5)
Inter	-	6 (75 0)	2 (25.0)	-	8 (8.5)
Graduate	-	7 (43.8)	7 (43.8)	2 (12.5)	16 (17.0)
PostGraduate	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)	-	1 (33.3)	3 (3.2)
Professional	-	1 (25.0)	3 (75.0)	-	4 (4.3)
Total	8 (8 5)	50 (53 2)	32 (34 0)	4 (4 3)	94 (100.0)
Mother's Education					
Illiterate	2 (4 2)	26 (54.2)	19 (39.6)	1 (2 1)	48 (49 5)
Read /Write	4 (16.7)	13 (54.2)	7 (29.2)	-	24 (24.7)
Matric	1 (9.1)	6 (54 5)	3 (27.3)	1 (9.1)	11 (11.3)
Inter	-	4 (57.1)	2 (28.6)	1 (14.3)	7 (7.2)
Graduate	-	1 (16 7)	4 (66.7)	1 (16.7)	6 (6.2)
Professional	-	-	1 (100.0)	-	1 (1.0)
Total	7 (7.2)	50 (51.5)	36 (37.1)	4 (4.1)	97 (100.0)

SUBJECTS TAKEN IN INTER-

After passing matric the students choose either sciences or arts subjects. Choice of the subjects is usually based on the percentage of marks one gets in matric. For opting sciences, one has to score above 60%. Since more than half of the sample respondents got either IInd division or IIIrd division, they are not eligible to opt for science streams. Thus, out of 106 students 60 opted for arts subjects and another 46 opted for sciences.

Usually sciences were preferred to arts, if one is eligible to opt for both. Science subjects need financial backing, as the fees are usually high. So the parent's income and rural urban residence also influence the choice of the subject. Place of residence, income levels, education and occupation are somewhat interlinked. The

rural people are not highly educated, i.e., they are illiterate or are primary educated which influences their occupations. I.e., the lower the educational levels, lower the occupational levels of the parents. All these factors influence the performance of their wards, which is generally average or below average. Thereby, many of the respondents are forced to take up arts subjects in inter.

Table 6.4 shows that overall 43 % (46) have opted for sciences, compared to 57 % (60) respondents who had opted for arts. Higher percentage of urban respondents 55% (11) opted for sciences when compared to rural respondent. Whereas 62% (48) of rural respondents opted for arts subjects.

Parent's income wise distribution of respondents shows that among the lowest income group (Rs 1-1500 p/m) 66% (33) opted for arts subject when compared to the highest income group (Rs 6000-15000 p/m) where 71.4% (10) respondents have opted for science subjects.

TABLE-6.4

Subjects taken in inter by Rural and Urban and Father's Income

	Sciences	Arts	Total
Rural	30 (38.5)	48 (61.5)	78 (73.6)
Urban	11 (55.0)	9 (45.0)	20 (18.9)
Semi-Urban	5 (62.5)	3 (37.5)	8 (7.5)
Total	46 (43.4)	60 (56.6)	106 (100.0)
Parents income in rupees per month			
1-1500	17 (34.0)	33 (66.0)	50 (56.2)
1501-3000	7 (58.3)	5 (41.7)	12 (13.5)
3001-6000	5 (38.5)	8 (61.5)	13 (14.6)
6001-15000	10 (71.4)	4 (28.6)	14 (15.7)
Total	39 (43.8)	50 (56.2)	89 (100.0)

Respondents were further enquired as to why they have chosen that particular branch. 60% (56) replied that they have chosen that particular subject "out of interest". Other replies were "out of compulsion" i.e., marks (9.7%), "parents advice" (20.4%), "other reasons" (9.4%). "Other reasons" includes financial constraints, lack of proper guidance etc.

GAP IN EDUCATION OR STAGNATION-

Literature indicates that there is lot of stagnation and drop out among the SC children. The reason behind it was explored and information was gathered from the interviews with the students. Some of the students reported that the parents especially in villages do not show much interest in the education of their children. Once they are of certain age i.e., ten to twelve years, they take them along to the fields for work.

The boys who studied till Xth or XIIth are not in a position to get a job, and they may not even have learned to do hard work. So, they find difficult to work in the fields and feel that they are not fit for agricultural labor. So, the parents feel it is better for them that the boys start working in the early age.

Another respondent reported that some times even the dominant caste people discourage the studies of SC students. He expressed that it may be because once they are educated they may become aware of their rights and privileges, they become aware that they are equal to others and that the others cannot dictate their lives. They even cannot be exploited or misled. They can fight for themselves if any injustice is done to them. So to keep them suppressed and to maintain their power and dominance they want that the SC people should not acquire knowledge. Thus, they try to mislead the parents of the SC children saying '*ekkuva chadivincehadu, chedipotharu, panikiraru*' meaning 'don't educate your children, they won't be of any use to you and they won't be able to work and they will be spoiled'.

In the course of discussion, the respondents reported that the SC students go to school or join the school very late. Their approach towards the education is very casual in the rural areas. They are neither forced to the school nor guided. There are no chances for them to be misled.

The respondent reported that by the time the SC students reach to Xth class they are physically grown up. They tend to get involve in different activities, like, gambling, eve teasing, or having an affair with a girl. Hence, they waste their time. If they pass Xth standard somehow, they may fail in XIIth standard, because they neglect the studies and involve in extra curricular activities. So, once they fail in inter they come back to do the parents occupation and find themselves not in a position to work. All the time they feel dejected, frustrated, keep doing things without planning. Once they become little educated they do not feel like working, as they start feeling

proud that they are educated and then they again try to pursue the education. Thus leading to few gaps in their academic career.

The present study too reveals that out of 106 sample more than half of the sample respondents, i.e., 54% (56) had a gap in their educational career at some or the other time. Out of these, 56 respondents, 59 % (41) males and 44% (15) females had wasted a year or more. When asked how many years of gap they had in whole of their educational career, it ranged from one year to five years. Out of 56 respondents, 66% (37) had one year gap, 21% (12) suffered two years gap, 11% (6) had three years gap and one respondent had suffered five years of gap.

More number of rural respondents faced a gap of more than one year. As reported in the earlier chapter that the rural respondent, due to financial constraint used to work in the fields. They were engaged in some or the other work, while they were in high school and college. Thus, the respondents were not in a position to solely concentrate on their studies. They had to work to survive thereby, affecting their education. Sometimes they performed poorly in the exams and sometimes had to drop out.

The other reasons for the gap in education were given as failure in exams, illness, lack of guidance, and for some it was due to financial problems

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE EXPERIENCE-

Perception about their teachers evaluation-

Based on the school and college experience of the respondents, few questions related to their perception about the teachers with regard to the evaluation of examination papers were asked.

As already reported in chapter V, few respondents expressed that the teachers carried casteist feelings in the school. One of the respondents reported that they use to favor the FC students and took special interest in them

Narrating his experience, one of the respondents reported that he stood first in the school in the VIIth standard public examination. Few people felt jealous and commented “*Madigodu yente school first ravadamu*” i.e., how is that a Madiga caste student is coming first. On hearing this, the FC people felt angry and jealous. The respondent was given a small present, a mirror, by the chairman of Mandal Praja

Parishad. The respondent felt that instead of this a small book would have been a better prize for him.

Regarding the teachers evaluation in the schools, a large majority of the respondents, 73% (73) out of hundred respondents felt that the teachers were impartial in giving marks. More number of urban respondents than rural respondents feel that the teachers are impartial. 27% of the respondent still feel that the teachers are partial in giving marks.

Further, it was asked whether they were discriminated against other caste students while giving punishment by the teachers. Out of 99 responses, 84.8% (84) felt that the teachers did not discriminated in giving punishment. Whereas, 15.2% (15) respondents reported that they were punished more in comparison with other caste students. One of the female respondent commented that “discrimination itself is a punishment”.

TABLE 6.5

**Rural Urban Wise Distribution of Respondents and Their Perception
About Teachers Evaluation in School**

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
Any discrimination by the teachers in the school				
Yes	15 (19.5)	4 (21.1)	-	19 (18.3)
No	62 (80.5)	15 (78.9)	8 (100.0)	85 (81.7)
Total	77 (74.0)	19 (18.3)	8 (7.7)	104 (100.0)
In school discrimination was done by				
All teachers	6 (18.8)	-	-	6 (15.4)
Few teachers	26 (81.3)	6 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	33 (84.6)
Marks and grade allotment in school were				
Partial	23 (31.9)	3 (15.0)	1 (12.5)	27 (27.0)
Impartial	49 (68.1)	17 (85.0)	7 (87.5)	73 (73.0)
Discrimination against OC while giving punishment by teacher				
Yes	12 (16.9)	2 (10.0)	1 (12.5)	15 (15.2)
No	59 (83.1)	18 (90.0)	7 (87.5)	84 (84.8)

Table 6.5 and 6.6 shows the rural urban wise distribution of students and their perception about teacher's evaluation in school and college respectively. It was asked if they faced any discrimination by the teacher in the school. A large percentage 82% (85) reported that they did not face any discrimination by the teacher. Only 18% (19) reported to have faced some kind of discrimination.

TABLE 6.6

Rural Urban Wise Distribution of Respondents According to Their Perception About the Teachers evaluation in College

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
Discrimination by the teachers in college				
Yes	9 (11.7)	1 (5.0)	1 (12.5)	11 (10.5)
No	68 (88.3)	19 (95.0)	7 (87.5)	94 (89.5)
In college discrimination was done by				
All teachers	3 (9.1)	-	-	3 (7.1)
Some teachers	30 (90.9)	4 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	39 (92.9)
Marks and grade allotment in college were				
Partial	16 (21.9)	3 (16.7)	1 (12.5)	20 (20.2)
Impartial	57 (78.1)	15 (83.3)	7 (87.5)	79 (79.8)

Table 6.6 indicates that few respondents experienced discrimination by the teachers in college. As large as 89.5% (94) respondents feel that there is no discrimination by the teachers in college. Whereas only 10.5% (11) of them feel that they are discriminated by the teachers.

Out of 42 respondents, 92.9% (39) feels that only some teachers in college discriminate whereas only 7.1% (3) feels that all the teachers discriminated. Again 79.8% (79) respondents felt that the teachers evaluation is impartial whereas 20.2% (20) feel that the teachers in the college are partial in their evaluation.

Rural urban wise distribution shows that more number of rural respondents experienced discrimination and felt that there is partiality as far as evaluation is concerned by the teachers in the college.

Summarizing the two tables, 6.5 and 6.6 about the school and college experiences, rural respondents faced more partiality and discrimination by the

teachers. But they reported that overall only a few teachers discriminated and were partial in their evaluation.

INITIAL PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES IN THE UNIVERSITY-

The students come from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds to the University. Their previous environment in which they lived may be totally different to the University environment, where there are people from different backgrounds. For the students who are coming from urban areas and from better socio-economic background may not face many problems in the university. Even if they face any, it may be temporary. But for those students, who are coming from rural or semi-urban areas, find the university environment totally different. Their standard of living, culture, and ideologies vary with that of the university. Interviews with the respondents revealed the problems they had faced when they had joined the university, and how they had adjusted to such an environment.

These respondents, who come from rural and poor economic background without much exposure, feel themselves to be odd man out in the university. They initially face a problem of culture shock. In the universities, especially HCU, the teachers, students and other employers are of varied backgrounds. In this university there are people of different languages, belonging to different states, regions and religions. Their lifestyles are different whereas the SC student who comes from the village feels alienated, anxious and lonely. If he has got some friends from his own village / district or his old classmates, he feels comfortable.

One of the respondents from HCU reported that when he had to appear for the entrance, he does not even knew that he has to write in English, but he still tried and got the seat. When he attended his first class, he could not understand her English and her accent as a non- Telugu lady teacher took the class. He kept quite. He observed that others were speaking fluent English. He felt terribly upset and inferior. He said he use to literally cry for two months. He use to just eat food, sit in the room, and cry and use to think where he has landed up, and how he is going to cope up such fluent English. He always felt like running away, leaving the course.

Another respondent from OU expressed that since he came from rural area, initially he felt isolated and difficult to adjust to a new place, new environment, and pollution (he faced health problems too). Since he had seniors and other students

from his district, they helped him to adjust. Belonging to one district make the students come together to help them. Some students who do not had any one from their districts, who had no helping seniors or any old classmates in degree felt isolated. Some of them may even leave the university after joining.

One of the respondents reported that the SC students face many problems when they come to university. Since they come from a poor and rural background, they find the university environment to be very elite, with high standards of education. The SC boy coming from a rural background suddenly finds himself in a totally new environment. He feels inferior as well as develop inferiority complex. If they try to cope with the new environment, some of them are successful while others feel quite disappointed.

Few of the respondents reported that the seniors, both SC and non-SC from their departments are of great help. And the other SC students in the hostels help them in coping up with the new environment. Most of the respondents reported that they usually face problem in getting an accommodation in the hostels or any other problem with regard to the admission. The individual SC senior students first try to accommodate them in their own rooms, till they get an independent room. Also, the seniors in their department try to encourage them in their studies by guiding them to libraries, or giving their old notes, papers etc.

Some of the respondents try to cope up with these situations and finally adjust themselves. Few respondents reported that, some of the students are not able to adjust with the new environment, so they leave the courses and go back.

Probably that is the reason why rural students due to the language problem when come to university sees the high standards, feels inferior, insecure and leave the course by the first semester. One respondent reported that he was encouraged by his senior SC students, so that he could cope up and there wasn't any problem.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS AND THEIR ADJUSTMENTS-

Government of India provides Post-Matric Scholarship for SC / ST in HCU- Rs 420/ pm for P.G. students, Rs 500 / pm and grant of Rs 1000/ per year for M.Phil. students and Rs 600/ pm and a grant of Rs 1500/ per year for Ph.D. students. As incentive scholarships, students getting rank under ten gets Rs 4500 award, and A.P. State provides rupees 500 for those who get rank below five. These scholarships are

given to the students whose parental income should not exceed Rs 33,400 per annum in case of non-professional courses and Rs 44, 500 per annum in case of professional courses

In OU, the Government of A.P. Social Welfare Department sanctions the scholarships for SC/ ST. They provide Rs 400/ pm for P.G. students, Rs 500/ pm for M.Phil students and Rs 600/ pm for Ph.D. students.

Threefourth of the sample respondent come from rural and poor economic family background. Therefore, the rural respondent's parents are not able to support their children financially. Most of the respondents are totally dependent on the scholarships for higher study. But the money they get as a scholarship is not even sufficient for their mess charges and fees. One of the respondents reported that the poor and rural SC students face lot of problems apart from all other problems. The main problem is financial. They are so much in need of money that their minimum needs are not fulfilled. Some of them don't have any money even to spend on essentials like toothpaste, soaps etc. They cannot even think of buying a new pair of dress or shoes. Most of them adjust themselves by wearing old trousers, shirts and hawai slippers. When they get up they don't have paste to brush their teeth, no soap, no proper clothes. All these make him so much worried and occupied that he is hardly able to concentrate on his studies.

Another respondent expressed that the financial problems, affects them in various ways, like they are not able to dress well, which make them feel uneasy, conscious, thereby not feeling confident to interact with those who are in a better position. Due to financial problems they limit their movements with others and confine themselves to their own circle who are in the same socio-economic position. And most important is that the financial problem further affects their studies. They are not able to xerox or buy the relevant material for their studies. Due to these financial constraints, they limit their needs and with minimal expenditure, try to pull on.

In the present study, out of 105 respondents 52 respondents reported that they use to get scholarships in the schools. Fifty-three respondents did not receive any scholarships. Rural urban wise distribution shows that 57.9% of rural and 27.8% of urban respondents received the scholarships, i.e., majority of the rural respondents received the scholarships.

When it was further questioned how much amount they use to get, 80.8% (42) got below Rs 100, another 13.5% (7) got somewhere between Rs 100-200 and another 5.8% (3) got between Rs 200-500.

In the college 78 respondents got scholarships out of 105 respondents. Whereas 27 did not receive any scholarship. Again more no. of rural respondents received the scholarships compared to urban respondents. Out of 75 respondents, who answered 58.7% (44) got the scholarship amount between Rs 100-200 monthly. Another 34.7% (26) got somewhere between Rs 200-500 and another 6.7% (5) got the scholarship above Rs 500.

In the university out of 105 respondents, 88 of them are getting scholarship or fellowships. Again more no. of rural respondents are getting scholarships than the urban respondents. Nineteen respondents reported that they are getting UGC fellowships. Out of 83 reported, 18.1% (15) are getting below Rs 400, another 69.9% (58) are getting the amount between Rs 400-600 and 12% (10) are getting between Rs 1800-4000. More no. of HCU respondents 63.1% (53) are getting the scholarships than the OU students i.e., 36.1% (30).

Except for those who are getting fellowships above Rs 1800, the scholarship amounts are just not sufficient. These scholarships are meant for fees and hostel accommodation and for food. Most of the time the students have to resist themselves from taking 'specials' i.e., non-vegetarian food or any other special feast to avoid the increase in mess bill charges. Some of them reported that they have to put leave for a day or two and prepare something in the hostel rooms or go without any food for the whole day only to minimize their mess bill charges. They reported that even these scholarships are not given so regularly and are often delayed whereby it creates a lot of inconvenience for the students. In spite of these scholarships, most of the respondents, nearly 80% depend on their parents for financial help. The rural respondents reported that even though they are dependent on their parents, but they too are not in a condition to support them comfortably. Very few respondents reported that they take financial help from their friends, relatives and brothers.

Since the source of income is not there, the respondents especially from rural and poor families try to limit their expenses. Most of the respondents (43%) reported that their monthly expenditure is below Rs 500, another 39% respondents reported that their monthly expenditure is in between Rs 500-1000. Only few respondents

(18%) expenses are in between Rs 1800-4000. These respondents are those who are either getting UGC fellowships or are coming from higher income families.

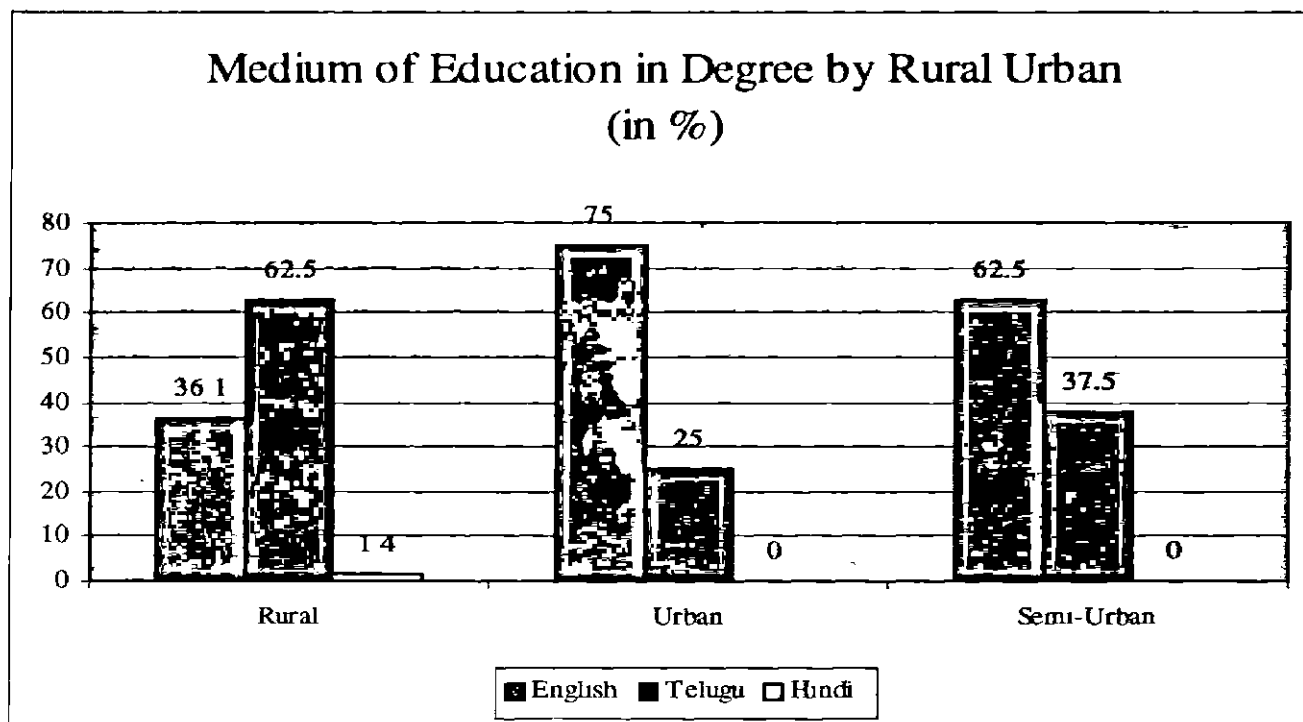
P.G. COURSES AND PROBLEMS IN UNDERSTANDING-

Little more than half of the sample respondents had their schooling and college education in Telugu medium. Due to lack of proficiency in the English language, these respondents, not only face problem in interacting with others freely but also face problem in understanding the lectures and in comprehending the subjects in the Universities.

The figure 6.4 indicates the rural urban distribution of respondents by the medium of education in degree. Fifty-three percent respondents till their completion of graduation studied in Telugu medium. Another 46% have studied in English medium. More no. of rural respondents studied in Telugu medium compared to urban respondents. Sixty-three percent (45) of the rural respondents are from Telugu medium, which is the regional language of the state. Where as great majority of the urban respondents, 75% (15) are from English medium. The rural respondents from Telugu medium face difficulty in understanding the lectures at post-graduate level where the medium of instruction is purely in English.

Due to the language problem one of the respondent reported that he use to feel shy and frightened to ask questions in the classroom. He felt that the teacher would think of him as a dumb fellow. Later the respondent felt he should atleast improve his English if not score good percentage. He use to rely mostly on dictionary to learn English. He tried talking to his Tamilian friends in English and asked them how to form sentences etc. Now the respondent feels he is able to speak English and is able to discuss the issues with the professors, he feels that he has improved his language and his performance has also improved.

FIGURE-6.4



Some of the respondents from semi-urban background reported that though they studied in English medium, they too faced problems in understanding the lectures. Some found the P G courses to be difficult, the reasons were difficult language, and use of technical terms by the lecturers and also the speed of lectures. They reported that when they couldn't understand the subjects, they use to study for more hours, referring to many books etc. So one can think of the plight of the students coming from Telugu background.

Few questions were posed about the P.G. courses as to know the problems they are facing in understanding and comprehending the subjects

It was asked whether they faced any problem in understanding the lectures, more than half of the sample population reported to have faced problem in understanding the lectures. 64.1% (66) faced problem and 35.9% (37) did not find any problem in understanding the lectures. More no. of rural respondents, 67.5% (52) than the urban respondents 44.4% (8) faced problem in understanding. Although very few, 7% (6) respondents faced the problem in understanding the lectures of all the teachers. But as high as 93% (80) out of 86 respondents faced the problem in understanding the lectures of some teachers. Another 6% (7) reported that they are not able to understand the lectures of all the teachers which shows that these students

face a serious problem and accordingly 8% respondents reported that they are not able to cope up with the course.

TABLE 6.7

Rural Urban Wise Distribution of Students in Understanding Lectures

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
Faced any problems in understanding lectures-				
Yes	52 (67.5)	8 (44.4)	6 (75.0)	66 (64.1)
No	25 (32.5)	10 (55.6)	2 (25.0)	37 (35.9)
Problem in understanding the lectures of –				
All the teachers	3 (4.7)	3 (18.8)	-	6 (7.0)
Some teachers	61 (95.3)	13 (81.3)	6 (100.0)	80 (93.0)
Reasons for not understanding the lectures-				
Speed of the lecture	14 (22.6)	2 (15.4)	-	16 (19.5)
Technical terms	7 (11.3)	1 (7.7)	1 (14.3)	9 (11.0)
Difficult language	18 (29.0)	3 (23.1)	2 (28.6)	23 (28.0)
Unprepared lectures	6 (9.7)	2 (15.4)	-	8 (9.8)
Unclear speech	7 (11.3)	1 (7.7)	2 (28.6)	10 (12.2)
Any other	10 (16.1)	4 (30.8)	2 (28.6)	16 (19.5)
Total	62 (75.6)	13 (15.9)	7 (8.5)	82 (100.0)

When enquired whether they were able to adjust or cope up with the difficult subjects, it was seen that the large percentages (92%) were able to cope up and only a small percent (8%) could not. Though it took longer time for the rural students to cope up with the subjects when compared to urban students. Though for most of the students 33.3% rural and 40% urban, it took just a month. Many of the rural students took two to six months to cope up with the subjects.

Further, the reasons for not understanding the lectures were found out. An analysis of the data presented in the table 6.7, shows that 28% (23) of the respondents felt difficult language to be the reason, for not understanding the lectures.

Among the reasons for not understanding the lectures were given as fooling, speed of lecture (20%), use of technical terms (11%), unprepared lectures by the teachers i.e., teachers coming to the class without any preparation (10%) and not so

clear speech of the teacher (12%). Twenty percent gave other reasons for not understanding the lectures. Other reasons were “disturbance in the class”, “lack of interest in the subject”, “lack of interest in that particular teacher” and “lack of motivation”.

This shows that majority of the respondents are not able to grasp the subjects because of English medium and that they find difficulty in understanding the speech of the lectures, because of difference in pronunciation and speed of the lecture.

University wise distribution of the respondents with regard to understanding lectures did not showed any significance difference. Respondents from both the universities are facing the same problems. Though in OU there is a provision to write the exams in Telugu medium, for social sciences, still the students are facing the problem of language.

In OU in order to improve the English language of the students, CEFIL (center for English and foreign languages) conducts classes every year. According to one of the respondent, the classes are of no use because in these classes when the student does not know how to form a sentence, they are asked to correct the sentences. Still some of the students attend few classes, but when they don't understand any thing, they stop going

In HCU too, the university conducts remedial coaching classes where the teachers are asked to conduct special classes, if the students demand. Teachers in English Literature Department give remedial coaching mainly for improvement in English language, for all students in the university. Secondly remedial coaching is also given in courses of different departments by the teachers and research scholars of the department. But there is not much of response from the student's side. The respondents reported that the remedial classes too are conducted by the same teacher, so when they cannot understand anything in the class, how they are going to understand the subject in the remedial classes. So, most of the students do not attend these classes.

INTERACTION WITH THE CLASSMATES-

To know how is the interaction with the fellow students or classmates, a question was put forth- whether the non-SC students hesitate to exchange books with the respondent. Majority of the respondents, 71% (75) reported that the non-SC

students do not have problems in exchanging their books. Only a few respondents 29% (31) reported that the non-SC students hesitate to exchange books with them. More no. of rural respondents i.e., 35% compare to 15% urban respondents feel that the non-SC students do not exchange books with them, which implies that few rural respondents find difficulty in getting cooperation from the non-SC students.

STUDY PATTERNS-

A question was framed to know the study patterns of the respondents. It was asked whether they study every day, or not so regularly or only during exams. 41% (43) replied that they study every day, another 42% (44) replied that they study not so regularly and only 18% (19) replied that they study only during exams. Among the respondents who study every day, rural students are more (47%) compared to urban respondents (20%). Comparatively more no. of urban students study either during exams or study not so regularly. This indicates that the rural respondents do try to put more efforts for their studies and try to cope up with the subjects, but still face difficulties because of the varied reasons, which are indicated under the sub topic “Problems in understanding the lectures”.

UNIVERSITY ENVIRONMENT-

Student Teacher Interaction-

Few questions related to student teacher interaction were raised. Questions like, whether you raise doubts in the class, whether the teacher clarify your doubts, whether the teachers maintain informal relations, whether you try to explain your personal problems to the teacher etc. It was found that in the Central University, where the medium of education and communication is purely English, where there are students and teachers of various backgrounds, most of the SC students face difficulty in interacting with the teachers. Mainly, due to the language problem. Telugu medium students expressed that they don't understand any thing in the class, as they are taught in English and since they don't understand any thing, they are unable to ask doubts, which have to be asked in English.

Whereas in OU, where people are mostly of Telugu background, the interaction is English as well as in Telugu, so there is not much of the problem for the students. Few students reported that they use to feel shy and frightened to ask doubts,

as they were not able to express their views clearly. They feared that the teachers might think of them as a dumb fellow. Though one of the respondents reported that, when he use to ask doubts, his classmates use to discourage, as they felt that the continuity of the lecture will suffer and another respondent reported that the class mates use to comment, "How dare you ask questions to a professor".

Rural urban wise distribution of the respondents and the student teacher interaction does not show any significant results. University wise distribution of respondents shows that students from OU were able to interact better with their teachers, as there was no problem of language.

Another respondent reported that the teachers do not put extra efforts in teaching and do not encourage the students to raise doubts. If they raise any doubts they are discouraged by fellow students and some times by the teachers as well. Some times they are given such a stare or look that they fear to ask question. And some time they feel shy to ask doubts. He reported that the teachers do not show any interest for them, they just give lectures and go off.

Table 6.8 shows that all most three fourth of the sample, 63.2% (67) respondents use to raise doubts in the class room and again as large as 77.4% (82) respondents use to meet the teachers to clarify their doubts. In response 72.9% (80) teachers use to respond to their doubts. So, it shows that there is not much of a problem with regard to the academic interaction with the teachers.

Though 71.4% (27) of the OU students use to raise doubts in the class, compared to 58.8% (40) of the HCU students. And 92.1% (35) respondents use to meet the teacher to clarify their doubts compared to 69.1% (47) of HCU students.

Regarding the social interaction of the students with the teachers. not much of interaction was found. As 61.5% (59) respondents reported that the teachers do not maintain any informal relations outside the class. Only 38.5% (37) respondents felt that the teachers maintained any informal relationship. Again, 59.7% (58) respondents felt that the teachers does not show any interest to know their personal problems, though, 45.7% (48) respondents did try to explain their personal problems to their teachers and 40.2% (39) reported that the teachers showed interest to know their personal problems. University wise distribution in social interaction did not show any significant difference.

TABLE 6.8**University Wise Distribution of the Respondents and Their Interaction With the Teachers**

	HCU	OU	Total
Whether you raise doubts in the class room			
Yes	40 (58.8)	27 (71.1)	67 (63.2)
No	28 (41.2)	11 (28.9)	39 (36.8)
Total	68 (64.2)	38 (35.8)	106 (100.0)
Whether you meet teachers to clarify doubts-			
Yes	47 (69.1)	35 (92.1)	82 (77.4)
No	21 (30.9)	3 (7.9)	24 (22.6)
Whether teachers respond to your doubts-			
Yes	49 (76.6)	31 (83.8)	80 (79.2)
No	15 (23.4)	6 (16.2)	21 (20.8)
Do the teachers maintain informal relations outside class-			
Yes	24 (38.7)	13 (38.2)	37 (38.5)
No	38 (61.3)	21 (61.8)	59 (61.5)
Teachers show interest to know your personal problems-			
Yes	27 (43.5)	12 (34.3)	39 (40.2)
No	35 (56.5)	23 (65.7)	58 (59.7)
Do you explain your personal problem to the teacher-			
Yes	33 (48.5)	15 (40.5)	48 (45.7)
No	35 (51.5)	22 (59.5)	57 (54.3)

STUDENTS PERCEPTION ABOUT THEIR TEACHERS EVALUATION-

Few questions related to the teacher's evaluation in the examinations were raised to the respondents. Almost three-fourth of the respondents reported that the teacher's evaluation of their performance is fair but one-third respondents still feel that the teacher's evaluation is not fair. Based on their experiences, most of the respondents reported that they did not face any kind of discrimination by the teachers in evaluating their papers.

One of the students pursuing M.A. in one of the social science department (name with held) in HCU, though came from a rural background and from Telugu medium feels that there is no discrimination in his department. He attends the classes regularly and his attendance is always above 90%. He expressed that he too faced difficulty in speaking English but he improved overtime. He use to take the help of his seniors. The head of the department and another professor also encouraged him. Once the respondent complained to the professor that he is not able to understand English, the professor convinced him by saying that sometimes those who can speak English very well too may not be able to score good marks. He said it is the subject knowledge, not very good English that is required. Later it was seen that one of his classmate who speaks very good English got only four out of fifteen marks, whereas the respondent got twelve out of fifteen marks. The respondent feels that there may be partiality in other departments, but not in his department.

Another female respondent coming from a better economic and urban background pursuing M.A. in one of the social sciences department (name with held) in HCU, is basically a meritorious student. She feels that the teachers are not partial, it is the students who do not study and put the blame on the teachers. She gave an example of two students who had approached the organization saying that one of the teachers in the department has not given them marks, which they deserve. The members of the organization straight away went to the head of the department and complained about the teacher. The head had to call the teacher to comment on it. The students of the same class, especially the respondent initiated and gathered people, went and told the HOD that the teacher is impartial and is very good. Later, all the students on whose complaint the issue was raised didn't open their mouth and they apologized. They never again commented that the teacher is partial. The respondent feels that if the teacher is really partial one should question him or her, but one should not blame unnecessarily the good teachers.

Another female respondent, who is pursuing Ph.D. in life Sciences in HCU, too reported that personally, she has not experienced any caste discrimination. She was born and brought up in an urban area. Her father was a Tehsildar (revenue department) who is now retired. Since childhood she has been a meritorious student. She was also an all rounder. She use to actively participated in sports and other cultural activities. She feels that she was never discriminated, neither in school,

college nor in the University. She got first class in M.Sc. Biochemistry, a Brahmin teacher took her for M Phil. So, she feels that there was no problem with the teachers. She feels it may be because she was always good at studies. Also because she came from an educated and better economic family. Since her father was a Tehsildar, people use to come to him, use to give respect and mingle freely with him.

Trying to analyze the University social situation, the above respondent who is pursuing Ph.D. reported that though she never faced any discrimination in the university, but realized that there still exists the caste feelings. She reported that when she joined M.Sc. in 1990, there was harmony among all the students. But the same year, due to the Mandal issue the university students got segregated on caste lines. Now broadly two categories, those who have reservations and those who do not have are found. All the SC / ST / BC came together and the other castes like forward caste, Brahmins became one. She feels, from that time onwards the caste associations and caste feelings have become obvious. Speaking about the teachers evaluation she feels, in some science departments the teachers are partial in marking, (Name of the departments withheld) She feels it is because there are more of Brahmins and other forward caste teachers in these departments, whereas in another science department there are teachers from all caste and are equally distributed. There is no monopoly of one caste. She feels that human beings are basically insecure, and to sustain themselves and for self-interest they form groups. That is why the caste feelings and caste groups are still present

One of the respondents reported that before joining the university itself, they came to know about the presence or absence of caste feelings through senior SC students. He reported that he had applied for both Kakatiya University and Central University and he even got seat in both the universities. He heard that there are many problems related to caste in both these universities, but he preferred Central University over Kakatiya University as HCU is located in the city where there is an easy accessibility of books and material.

Another respondent from one of the departments in Humanities (Name of the department withheld) was advised to join the HCU by his elder sister and friends. After he joined this university he realized that even at such an area, where all the people are educated, caste feelings are still prevailing. In his department he says, till 1989, there was no problem of caste, all the students were treated equally by the

teachers who happen to be non- Andhraties. He feels once the two teachers from Brahmin caste came to the department they started discriminating the students. This coincided with the Mandal issue too.

In course of discussion and interviews, some of the SC students reported that the teachers are partial in giving marks and that they do not get marks as expected. Few of them even reported that some teachers deliberately give less marks.

For example one of the respondent from one of the social science department reported that the teachers are partial in giving marks. In the first semester, six SC students were failed in the internals as well as in semester exams. The respondent commented that this was the first time he ever failed. He felt very bad. Two or three students even left the course after Ist semester. The respondent again wrote and was again failed. Finally, the third time he passed.

One of the students did his M Phil for three years, which is actually one-year course. According to the respondent when his guide was new to the university, he was quite cooperative and happy with his performance in M.Phil entrance. He himself asked the respondent to join under him. He was not knowing the caste of the respondent (the respondent is well built, tall with medium complexion). The respondent feels that later the other Brahmin teachers might have told about his caste and may have inculcated caste feelings to his guide. Thereby his guide became non-cooperative. He reported that he was harassed by not guiding properly. By not giving time to discuss The guide was busy with his own research and tours. He use to ask the respondent to read several books, ultimately once the respondent comes with the reading, he use to ask him to read further. Later, it took three years for him to finish the course.

One of the female respondents from one of the social sciences department in HCU expressed that 50% teachers are too good and 50% teachers do partiality. They are partial to the extent that they don't even look at the faces of the SC students, just skip their faces and only focus on the faces of upper caste students while giving the lectures. The SC students use to feel very bad. Due to this kind of behavior by the teachers they even lost interest in their classes and use to bunk most of their classes. The respondent reported that those teachers who showed discrimination, partiality, minimum interest towards the SC students, the SC students too lost interest in that

particular subject. They stopped attending the classes and ultimately scored less marks.

The respondent then told that she almost lost interest in the studies in the first two semester due to the prevailing caste feelings among the people. In the IIIrd semester a new teacher came who taught the subject very well. He focussed on the basics and explained the need, importance of the subject, he would try to give them a political perspective of the subject but before that he would explain why a subject should be studied, its definition, purpose etc. Later, he would link the theory with the empirical realities. The respondent reported that this teacher inculcated interest in the subject and gave equal importance to all the students. He would see that even the below average student too is able to understand his subjects.

Another respondent from one of the Humanities department HCU reported that the marks are not given up to their expectation. They are given 49.9% or less than 55%. So that they are no more eligible to write any competitive exams nor apply for lectureship. He reported that the teachers keep the list of the students with them, where their names are marked by a star, which gives an easy identification, about the castes and the teachers deliberately do not pay attention.

Another rural respondent doing Ph.D. in one of the social sciences department feels that in this university the caste feelings are very much among the students and among the teachers. He too feels that SC students are not given the marks up to their expectations. Even, if they score good marks they are always given a mark or two less than the other caste boy or girl. He feels that the teachers do not show much interest to help the SC people. He says if a SC is from a poor family and from rural background and does not know English, he is looked down. He is discouraged. There by that student feel bad and is not able to come out of that state.

The female respondent from one of the social science department, feels that the teachers are biased and do not give marks to the students. In the first semester she compared her answer sheets with the one of the students who got highest marks. She felt she had written better but still was given less marks. She feels that the teachers carry an opinion that SC students do not study well. They carry the first impression only. I.e., the entrance test ranking and the initial marks, which they get in first semester, are carried forward in the rest of the semesters.

Two female respondents from the Humanities departments in HCU reported a lot of partiality and discrimination. Once a Brahmin teacher commented to a SC student “You are also studying!” which means Brahmins usually study to this level (Ph D.) not the SCs. The respondents reported that in Science departments there is lot of partiality and teachers openly abuse the SC students. They feel that the SC students are given seats in the universities but they are not worth it. The respondent expressed that these teachers do not understand from which background the SC students are coming and with how many efforts. I.e., most of the SC students are coming from poor socio-economic background and with lot of efforts and after facing lot of obstacles they are able to reach to their level of education. The respondents feel that instead of encouraging them they are discouraged.

In another instance a SC boy failed in one of the subjects in one of the departments in Humanities. The boy went and asked the teacher why he failed. In front of all the other teachers, the professor commented, “*Gurranī, gadidhi ne oke chota katesthama*” meaning do we tie horse and donkey at one place? The respondent felt offended and then reported to the Progressive Students Forum. The members of the PSF went and asked the professor to apologize and the teacher apologized later.

In another incident reported by the SC student, a SC girl passed MA and M.Phil with good marks but was not given Ph.D. seat. In turn, she was given zero marks in the Ph.D. interview. Everybody raised voice against it. It was argued that when the same teacher guided her all through M.Phil. degree and submitted the dissertation successfully, then how can she get zero marks for Ph.D. interview. The lecturer deliberately wanted that she should not get a Ph.D. seat. The respondent reported that genuine cases like these make SC people believe that there exists caste feelings and FC people deliberately try to suppress them.

However, for the Ph D interview a panel of more than two teachers conduct the interview and evaluate the students performance. It is unlikely that the student might have scored zero marks. However, the comments of the respondents cannot be taken on face value, as it was not cross examined.

Though, few of the respondents reported that they were given less marks than they deserved but none of them tried for reevaluation of their papers. Few of them, though went to the students organization with their complaints.

Respondents from the OU too reported that the teachers in their university too are partial. They reported that even though they write exams equally good they are not given marks. They are not given atleast 55% or stops at 49%. Since 55% is must for eligibility to write UGC, net exams and lectureship. The teachers do not give above 50% thereby eliminating them at this level itself so that they do not come in competition for lectureship.

Another respondent reported that in OU some of the FC students even though do not study, they roam around but still are passed and sometimes they are given distinction also. The respondent complains that the teachers favor their own students i.e , the students belonging to their own caste. He reported that some of the FC students, even though they do not attend classes regularly and do all sorts of mischief, still they manage to get distinction. Where as, the equally competent student is suppressed, by not giving atleast first division. The respondent who got first division in graduation faced partiality after coming to OU.

Another respondent from OU commented that the SC students are never given a gold medal. According to him 70 to 80 percent students are given less marks than they expect. Remaining 20 to 30 percent SC students who are genuinely or extremely intelligent are given marks above first class because they cannot manipulate their answer sheets to the extent that they get less marks.

One of the respondents reported that in the Commerce College, many of the SC students got very less marks. They all came together and approached Dalit Students Association. They had a formal meeting and decided to talk to the concerned professor. Later there was a meeting of 10 professors and students. The DSA students complained of not getting marks as they expected. The teachers replied that there is no deliberate attempt to give less marks and that they do not show partiality. Since the answer sheets are in codes there is no scope for partiality but the respondents replied that in the strength of 30 students where the teacher every day corrects the papers could easily find out whose answer sheets they are by seeing the handwriting.

The DSA students suggested that let an answer sheet of FC and one SC be kept open, let one teacher from them and one teacher selected by DSA be allowed to evaluate and then give marks comparatively i.e., comparative evaluation.

In some cases, a student leader reported that few SC students do not study well and expect marks. They'll come to the organization complaining that they had written the exam very well but didn't get appropriate marks. Once there was a genuine case where the SC student didn't write the exam and expected marks. The students went to the dean and asked for an explanation, the dean told, 'how are we going to give marks, when the student has not written anything'. People say we are failing SC students but what about these cases. He then showed blank paper given by the SC student.

Another female respondent from one of the social sciences department in OU, feels that there is discrimination in the university. Always a gold medal will go either to Reddy or Brahmin students in OU. Only once in Science department a Christian girl got gold medal. In one of the Social Science department a Reddy girl got gold medal whereas a ST person was given just one mark less and was not given a chance to get a gold medal. He stood second in his class. But she expresses that mostly the first ten ranks goes generally to FC students.

Another respondent from one of the Humanities department in OU, feels that there is discrimination and in some department the SC students are not given marks. But one female respondent from an educated family where both her parents are doctors pursuing Science course in OU, reported that she didn't feel any discrimination by the teachers. She got 80% in Xth, 65% in XIIth (as she was preparing for EMCET) and got 68% in M.Sc.. She feels most of the teachers are quite considerate and sympathetic towards SC and BC students. But she feels that there are very few teachers who do not have good or genuine intentions "*chittasudhi*" to help the SC students. They purposefully feel like to suppress the SC students "*Anagathokadam*" They purposefully give less mark, do not give seats for research. Also, the respondent feels it may be because the students coming from poor economic background, Telugu medium, are good at studies may feel inferior. The teachers take an advantage and try to suppress them.

Table 6.9 shows that three-fourth of the respondent reported that the teachers evaluation for their performance is fair but one third respondents still feel that teachers evaluation of their performance is not fair. I.e., 66.7% (68) feels that the teachers evaluation is fair. But further when it was enquired, 'how many teachers are partial', as high as 74.4% (61) felt that 'few teacher' are partial, another 23.2% (19)

felt that 'majority' of the teachers are partial, and 2.4 percent (2) feels that all the teachers are partial.

It was inquired whether the teachers are partial to all the SC students. Though majority 61.6% (60) does not feel so but 38.4% (38) respondents do feel that the teachers are partial to all the SC students. Again, it was asked how many teachers are partial to all SC students. 56.4% (31) reported that few teachers are partial to all the SC students. 41.8% (23) feels that majority of them are partial and a negligible 1.8% (1) feels that all the teachers are partial to all the SC students.

TABLE- 6.9

Perception About University Teachers By Rural Urban

	Rural	Urban	Semi-Urban	Total
Teachers evaluation of your performance is fair-				
Yes	46 (61.3)	15 (78.9)	7 (87.5)	68 (66.7)
No	29 (38.7)	4 (21.1)	1 (12.5)	34 (33.3)
How many teachers are partial-				
All	2 (3.2)	-	-	2 (2.4)
Majority	16 (25.8)	2 (15.4)	1 (14.3)	19 (23.2)
Few	44 (71.0)	11 (84.6)	6 (85.7)	61 (74.4)
Are teacher partial to all students-				
Yes	31 (42.5)	3 (16.7)	4 (50.0)	38 (38.4)
No	42 (57.5)	15 (83.3)	4 (50.0)	60 (61.6)
If partial to all SC, how many-				
All	-	1 (14.3)	-	1 (1.8)
Majority	18 (42.9)	4 (57.1)	1 (16.7)	23 (41.8)
Few	24 (57.1)	2 (28.6)	5 (83.3)	31 (56.4)
SC teachers more helpful in teaching the same course-				
Yes	31 (40.8)	5 (29.4)	6 (75.0)	42 (41.6)
No	45 (59.2)	12 (70.6)	2 (25.0)	59 (58.4)
SC teachers will be more objective in evaluation-				
Yes	27 (38.0)	4 (28.6)	3 (37.5)	34 (36.6)
No	44 (62.0)	10 (71.4)	5 (62.5)	59 (63.4)

More no. of rural students 42.5% (31) feels that the teachers are partial to all the SC students as compared to 16.7% (3) urban students. The student's perception about the SC teachers was also gathered. It is the usual tendency to help their own caste members. Studies too reveal that caste play a major role in promoting their own caste fellows. Teachers belonging to a particular caste show more affiliation towards the students belonging to his own caste.

When asked, if the SC teachers will be more helpful in teaching the same course, 42% (42) agreed to this view, though rural student (40.8%) outnumbered the urban students (29.4%) in this view. That is, rural students feel that the SC teachers are more helpful in teaching the same courses. Most of the urban students do not find so.

The SC teachers according to the respondents are helpful in asking about their problems. Their help is verbal but in giving marks they feel all are equal and do not show any favor. In each department according to the respondent, the upper caste teachers take interests in their students, i.e., Reddy caste lecturer will be polite, helpful and supportive to Reddy students. Like wise, Kamma teacher, Brahmin teachers favor their respective caste students, but it is not the same with the SC teachers. Though being a SC teacher he is not at all partial, or supportive to SC students. He cited examples of few teachers. When they ask the SC teachers about this, they say 'all students are equal to us'. So the students feel that even their caste teachers are not helpful.

According to the respondent it is because these teachers are working under other FC people so the SC teachers are afraid of their own position and they try to be neutral. According to another respondent, the SC teachers are not liberal enough for SC students for they too fear the domination of the FC higher authorities.

When asked whether the SC teachers will be more objective in evaluation, 36.6% (34) reported Yes. Again rural respondents outnumbered the urban respondents about this view. Although a large percentage 63.4% (59) do not agree with the view that SC teachers will be objective in their evaluation.

The table 6.10 given below shows the university wise distribution of the respondents and their perception about teacher's evaluation. From the figures and interviews it is revealed that in both these universities HCU and OU, three-fourth

sample respondents feel that the evaluation of the teachers is fair, where as one third do not feel so.

35.4% (23) HCU students and 30% (11) OU students feels that the evaluation of their performance by the teacher is not fair.

23% (19) respondents feel that majority of the teachers are partial. Out of which 29% are from HCU and 12% from OU. Another 74.4% (61) feels that only a few teachers show partiality.

TABLE 6.10
University Wise Distribution of Respondents by Their Perception
About University Teachers

	HCU	OU	Total
Teachers evaluation of your performance is fair-			
Yes	42 (64.6)	26 (70.3)	68 (66.7)
No	23 (35.4)	11 (29.7)	34 (33.3)
How many teachers are partial-			
All	1 (1.8)	1 (3.8)	2 (2.4)
Majority	16 (28.6)	3 (11.5)	19 (23.2)
Few	39 (69.6)	22 (84.6)	61 (74.4)
Are teachers partial to all SC students			
Yes	30 (47.6)	8 (22.2)	38 (38.4)
No	33 (52.4)	28 (77.8)	61 (61.6)
If partial to all SC, how many teachers-			
All	1 (2.6)	-	1 (1.8)
Majority	19 (50.0)	4 (23.5)	23 (41.8)
Few	18 (47.4)	13 (76.5)	31 (56.4)
SC teachers more helpful in teaching the same course-			
Yes	30 (46.2)	12 (33.3)	42 (41.6)
No	35 (53.8)	24 (66.7)	59 (58.4)
SC teachers will be more objective in evaluation-			
Yes	23 (37.7)	11 (34.4)	34 (36.6)
No	38 (62.3)	21 (65.6)	59 (63.4)

48% (30) HCU students and 22 % (8) OU students feel that the university teachers are partial to all the SC students. Among them, 50% (19) HCU students and 24% (4) OU students feels that majority of the teachers are partial to all the SCs. Another 56% (31) both from HCU and OU feel that few teachers are partial towards the SC students.

When asked about their perception regarding the SC teachers. Students from HCU find the SC teachers to be more helpful in teaching the same course (46%) and more objective in their evaluation (38%) compared to OU teachers belonging to SC. Though the difference is not so significant.

The SC students from HCU find the teachers to be discriminating, may be because the standard of the university is high and the students inspite of putting their best efforts are not able to get the expected percentage. From the interview it is revealed that in OU, the marking is bit liberal and almost all the students are given passing marks.

From the discussions and the statistical data, it can be inferred that most of the urban respondents who are coming from a better family background feels that the teacher's evaluation is fair. Since these students are performing better in academics, they feel that they get the marks, which they deserve. Few respondents and mostly from rural background feel that the teachers evaluation is not fair and that they are not passed, they are not given 55% or 60%. They reported that, it may be true that they are not able to perform well, but it is because of various disabilities they are bound with. So they feel that the teachers should be considerate enough to pass them and give marks, as they have no future, if they fail or are just passed. And if they fail they are not in a position to go back to their parental occupations, as they are no more fit for it. The students feel that they should be given gracious marks, if they are not given, they are ready to demand for the marks, as the teachers won't loose anything but the students will definitely gain. Though most of the students feel that not all the teachers carry caste feelings or discriminate but there are few teachers who purposefully discriminate the SC students and show caste feelings in their behavior.

SUGGESTIONS-

Overall, few students reported that the teachers were very impersonal and did not showed any interest in teaching them. Few respondents gave suggestions, to

improve the interaction between the SC students and the teachers, and how the teachers can help the SC students to perform better.

According to a respondent, within one semester, the teacher can know the performance of the student, if the student is weak, the teacher should put extra efforts, explain him again and again, and should clarify his doubts, but this is hardly done by any of the teachers.

The respondent feels the students may lack interest in the subject or may not be attracted to the class, if the teacher is impersonal, just delivers lecture and goes away. He says the teachers should show interest in their studies and problems, then only the students will work hard to keep their impression on the teachers. So the interpersonal relation with the teacher is more important for the student to perform better.

The respondent opined that if a teacher shows personal interest in the student, encourage him or her to study and teach in simple language, the students tends to show interest in his subjects. To come to the expectation of the teacher and to prove his worth he will put more efforts, study hard and will score better. He will also feel interested in attending the classes.

According to another respondent the teacher should show personal interest on the students who come from rural background and have language problem. They should help them with study materials, books and should conduct special classes. Another respondent feels that the teacher should show special interest in teaching the SC students as they are coming from disadvantaged family background and needs special attention. He says, the teacher should come to the level of the below average student and teach him. If he doesn't understand, the teacher should call him separately, should try to understand his problem, and should try to teach in regional language. Teachers should concentrate mainly on average student, spend more and more time with students and repeating the lessons again and again. They feel that unless the weak students too scores well, the teachers cannot justify their job.

One respondent applied a phrase to the university teachers saying '*chepina chapakapoina ma jeetalu maaku vastaye*'. This phrase he said, he had heard in schools and in colleges, but is finding it here in the university. But the respondent feels that here few teachers are not bothered about the teaching, they get their salaries, and they are more interested in family matters and other matters.

EXPECTATIONS FROM THE UNIVERSITY TEACHERS-

A value projective technique consisting of open-ended sentences such as “university teachers should be-----” was framed in the questionnaires and got a wide response from the students as to what they expect from their teachers.

The respondents wrote that the university teachers should be more regular to classes, and should not take extra classes in the semester end. The teachers should be impartial, should be broad minded and helpful to the students in different ways. The teachers should be meritorious, informative with good scientific temper, they should be more friendly, lively, cordial amicable, intellectual and efficient in teaching.

The respondents expressed that the university teachers should be wise, cooperative, flexible and accessible to every one. They should encourage all and be impartial irrespective of caste, creed, sex and economic background etc.

They feel that the teachers should be free and frank, sympathetic towards SC / ST as they are undergoing transition period. They should keep in mind the standards of SC students and then teach. Some of the students reported that the teachers should try to know the psyche of the students and be able to understand the personal and academic problems of the students and should help atleast in the form of suggestions.

Few of the students reported that the teachers should be objective, democratic, secular and marks should be given based on their performance.

Another question was posed- what kind of method or techniques they would like their teachers to adopt? The question was “If you were to be the teacher, in what different method you would like to teach for the benefit of students. Describe----” Many of the respondents gave different teaching techniques, for example-

“I would prepare the lessons at home perfectly and teach the students in simple and better language, I will give notes, explain the topics clearly, give more importance and encourage the students coming from Telugu medium. And give special attention to SC/ ST students”.

“I will teach in a comprehensible language with moderate speed, using jargons but explain them and will try to get feed back. I’ll use B.Ed. rules and methods in teaching”.

Few respondents wrote, “First I’ll move friendly with students for making them fearless to ask doubts. I would make my students attend my lectures, out of interest and attraction and not out compulsion”. “I’ll make myself approachable and

spare time to discuss with students, develop personal affection with the students. I'll teach in such a way that most backward or dull student too can understand the subject. I'll repeat my lessons again and again. If a dull student gets good marks, then only I will think I have done justification to my job. I would also take special classes for the dull student if there is any need".

"First I will give general idea of the topic, if they understand I'll elaborate the topic and always try to observe the moods of the students and make them active by telling now and then something other than the syllabus. I'll give lot of examples, be lively and relate the subject to the practical environment, discussion and arguments will be part of the teachings.

"I'll give contemporary examples to explain the terms and concepts, give assignments and use clear tone while giving lectures". "I'll draw the attention from students with clear tone, cracking jokes in between and use method of cinema story".

"If the student is having inferiority complex, I will try to understand the students problem and give moral support and boost to them".

ASPIRATIONS

From the questionnaires, interviews and discussions, it was revealed that most of the SC students are preparing for civil services, as it is highly respected job with money and power. And it is solely considered, that the examination and interviews are foolproof and fair, with out any external factors like donations or recommendations

The respondents reported that the employment opportunities are very less and there is lot of mall practices going on for getting the jobs. In the private firms and other institutions, most of the jobs are given on the basis of recommendations or donations apart from the efficiency, which the SC people cannot afford. For doing the business, one needs finance which the SC people lack so they have to depend on those jobs where there is no nepotism, and where recommendations and donations are not needed.

Another respondent too reported that their way to progress is only through education. Through education only they can get jobs, especially with socially recognized jobs like UPSC, APPSC, where there is reservation and one can hope of getting a job if one works hard. So, most of them try for civil services. In this service

only he can earn money and bring up his family. There are no other choices for them to settle down in life comfortably. For doing business they need investment, which they lack. And in order to settle in academic line or teaching profession, i.e., becoming a lecturer is a long process and again is not sure of getting job after putting so many years in studies. So most of the SC students who are studying in universities try to go in to the civil services.

According to another respondent, most of the SC students are writing civil services because they have reservation in the government jobs, and these jobs are socially recognized. According to him the private institution, where efficiency and hard work is counted should also give reservations. If people think that SC people are not efficient for private jobs, they inturn should be given special training and should then absorb into private jobs.

Most of the respondents in OU too are preparing for competitive exams. Mostly Group I, Group II, Group III and RRB exams. Many of the students in OU have either done B Ed or are preparing for it. As there is mass recruitment for teaching post. They reported that atleast they are sure of getting a teachers job after B.Ed. Since they are economically poor and nobody is there to support them. They try to become independent soon. And at this age, their parents expect them to be earning. So they try to get jobs as soon as possible.

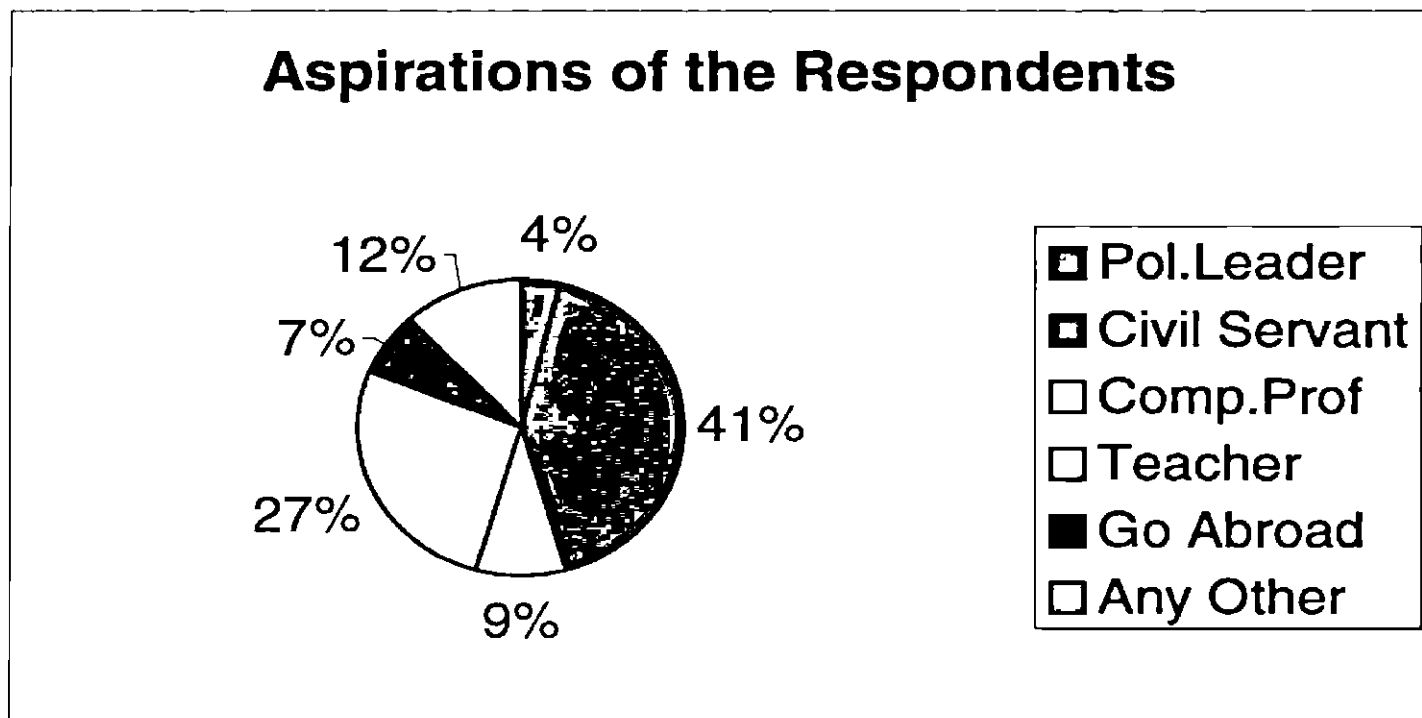
Another respondent who have just completed M.A. in History in HCU wishes to prepare for state civil services. For central civil services, he feels he lacks caliber and also there will be financial problem, he is asked to join for M Phil. by his head but he is not interested as the subjects in this university are academic oriented, he wish to join in OU for M.Phil. and prepare for civil services, where he feels he can get time.

Few respondents expressed that they would like to join government services, so that they can elevate their family status and are in a position to help others. Most of them reported that, if they become successful they would like to improve the conditions of their community. One of the respondents reported that he would like to join the police force so that he can check the atrocities on the SC.

Figure 6.5 depicts the career aspirations of the respondents. As large as 41% (44) of the respondents wants to become civil servants. Another large percentage, 27% (28) wants to become teachers / lecturers. Another 4% (4) wants to become political leader, 7% (7) wants to go abroad, 9% (9) wants to become computer

professional and another 12% (13) comes under 'any other' like, business, scientist etc.

FIGURE 6.5



Most of the respondents are preparing for some or the other competitive exams. Out of the total sample only 18.3% (19) are either UGC or CSIR holders. 23% (19) respondents who are in P.G. final year reported that they are preparing for UGC or CSIR test. 28.6% (24) of the research scholars are preparing for UPSC, 33.6% (28) are preparing for APPSC, very few 2.4% (2) each are preparing for RBI and LIC exams. 34% (36) of the total sample have done some or the other occasional courses like, typing, short hand and computers.

Though the levels of the aspirations are high for most of the respondents but to harness them they need financial and emotional support. For those respondents who are from better socio-economic background, their dreams can be fulfilled if they work hard. But for those who are from poor and rural areas, to achieve their goals is a difficult task. They need financial help, encouragement and coaching facility.

Few respondents while interviewing reported that though there are many coaching centers, in Hyderabad, both private and government sponsored. There are only two study circles, where the SC students are given free coaching, that too, to a selected few. They are the A.P. study circles and the Central University study circle,

which are the government sponsored coaching centers. Here, the SC students has to appear for written test, if they qualify, they are provided with coaching material and boarding which is free. But according to the respondents, the coaching in these institutions is not upto the mark. The lectures given by the teachers are not professional or civil services oriented, instead they are research oriented.

According to another respondent the private institutions like, Hyderabad Study Circle, Braintree, etc. have good coaching classes, with efficient teachers. According to the respondent the government should select few SC students and should sponsor them to send to reputed coaching centers.

Records say that SBI is giving free coaching to SC and STs but that SBI coaching will be for a week or 7 days which is not useful at all as compared to the coaching classes which goes on for one full year. FC students take coaching in the private coaching centers as they can afford to pay the fees, which are very high. The respondent reported that if the government is giving coaching for competitive exams, they should be serious in giving genuine coaching and see that the students pass out with success.

One of the respondents from Telugu department commented that he wants to prepare for JRF and also wish to write for civil services later. He commented that generally people carry a wrong attitude towards the SC and the reservations in the jobs. They say “you are a SC, go ahead, write civil services, you will get through”. The respondent feels there is so much misconception about civil services. Just being a SC dose not mean he will get through. He has to work hard, he too faces lot of competition. He is misled by the people and starts preparing for the exams, most of the time he may not succeed because of many drawbacks he face. But the respondent feels even though most of them prepare for civil services and are not successful, they atleast will gain some knowledge, which will be useful for them. Atleast with that caliber, he can get some or the other job.

SOLUTIONS-

Many of the respondents feel that the educational system should be changed. Most important are the schools where the foundation of the student is laid. According to one of the respondent, these schools, especially the government schools are of sub-standard. They should improve the standards of these government schools or they

should privatize the schools also. If the foundation is strong for the children, then only they can compete with other caste students and will not need any more reservations. According to another respondent, the whole education system should be changed. All the schools should have equal standards and the courses they teach in colleges should be job oriented.

SUMMARY

The marks scored by the respondents in Xth, XIIth, and degree shows that there is a direct influence of the parents education and occupation on the performance of the their children. The children from the disadvantaged family background i.e., poor, rural and illiterate family generally tends to perform poor or are below average or just average in their studies. Where as the children from the advantageous family background i.e., urban, educated, white collared jobholders and better socio-economic background, tend to perform well in their studies.

Again the subjects taken in inter i.e., Sciences or Arts too is influenced by the parents economic and residence. More no. of the urban students tend to take science streams than the rural where they might have scored less percentage, and due to the financial constraints had to opt for arts subjects. Also the students coming from rural areas are having more gaps in their educational career because of the financial problems, health problems and failure in exams which is due to lack of awareness, inspiration and guidance and support from their parents.

Regarding their experience related to caste discrimination in school and colleges, only few reported that the teachers discriminate and were partial in their evaluation but comparatively more no. of the rural respondents experienced discrimination than the urban respondents in the school and colleges.

The rural students when comes to the university face lot of initial problems in adjusting themselves to the social environment and also in coping with the higher educational standards. Their rural background, regional language, hampers them in adjusting themselves to the university environment initially. Individually and with the help of seniors, and their caste fellows they try to adjust to the environment. Most of them reported to face problem in understanding the lectures due to the varied reasons given in the chapter. Apart from the social and academic problems most of the poor and rural students face financial problems. They are not able to buy books, xerox

material and to cope up they did part time jobs, which again hamper their performance.

With regard to student teacher interaction, majority of the respondents feels that the teachers do not maintain any informal relations with them. They do not take interest in knowing their problem. The students wishes that the teachers should show personal interest in the student and should be friendly and humanitarian, for the SC students are undergoing transition.

Though majority of the students feels that the teacher's evaluation in the university is fair, still there are more than 30% students who feel that the teachers discriminate and do not give marks as they expect. Students from both the universities cited many instances where they were discriminated. Again more no. of rural student complained about it.

Thus, it shows that the urban students do not face much problem in adjusting themselves to the academic and social environment in the university but the rural respondent find many problems in adjusting to the university environment.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS- MOBILIZATION AND ADAPTATION OF SC STUDENTS

Adaptation is basically a biological concept, which is used, in biological theories of genetic evolution to refer to physiological or behavioural changes, which result in increased chances of survival in a given environment. By extension, the term has been applied to human behaviour and to socio-cultural evolution.

The purpose of any organisation is to maximise the benefits of its individuals. It's an adaptive strategy. The concept of adaptive strategy refers to a plan of action carried out over a specified time period by a specific group or aggregate of people to allow them to adjust to or cope with internal or external constraints (Charlotte Seymour Smith, 1986).

There is a growing awareness among the Dalit Students that they are denied human rights for centuries and are suppressed by the upper castes. This consciousness provokes the students against the existing social systems and their protest is expressed through various forms of agitation and struggles. To fight out the oppression on them they actively participate in the student union politics. They secretly enrol themselves as members of the political group, which is akin to their ideas, and actively participate in its activities. So, we find that the dalit students concentrate more on the Dalit student's problems in the colleges. Such activities seriously disturb the academic atmosphere on account of strikes and agitation. But in this way there are advantages for the dalit students to enhance their status and role in the student community and to defeat the dominating role of the upper caste and to survive and be equal with the other students (Ravi Prasad, 1997).

Also the negative role of the upper castes has made the dalit students to think of forming their own organisations, in order to fight for their rights and privileges that have been provided to them by the constitution.

Caste associations or caste-based organisations are formed to put pressure on the institutions or government for their defence. They adopt different ways and means to pressurise or defend themselves. Defence or offence is the mechanism or the strategy to

put pressure on the institutions. Some of these organisations are officially recognised while some are not recognised by the institutions.

In the earlier chapter the SC student's attitudes and their experiences were explored. In this chapter their problems and how they are trying to adapt in a given environment, are investigated. The SC students, in their endeavour to achieve higher education and a respectable position in the society, are facing lot of hurdles. Individually, they are putting their efforts to adopt themselves at various situations and trying to maximise their goals. By forming organisations, collectively or in a group, they are trying to achieve their goals in the university.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter, the student's organisations and especially SC student's organisations, in the university are studied in detail. In both the universities, what are the organisations that are active, what are their ideologies, what are their achievements and failures, are investigated. Also membership, mobilisation and participation of the SC students in these organisations is explored.

In these two universities, there are different student organisations. The purpose of these organisations is to fulfil their demands. The working of these organisations is almost similar. They conduct meetings and discuss local, national or even international issues. They invite people for giving lectures, mostly academicians, political leaders and sometimes from bureaucracy and human rights commission. The respondents who are the members of these organisations, attend meetings, take part in demonstrations, march rallies, processions and other minor works, like pasting posters, putting banners etc. These respondents who are not directly involved in these organisations but participate indirectly, that is contributing money giving donations or attending some meetings etc.

The respondents believe that through the activities of such organisations, the conditions of dalits would improve, and that these organisations give them a sense of security. It reveals that the students are joining the organisations in order to protect their rights, to develop their position and to have a sense of security.

The organisations like Ambedkar Students Association and Dalit Students Unions have started working in various colleges, demanding the proper implementation of the reservations in the educational institutions, increase of scholarships amount and for better facilities in the hostels.

From the study, it has been revealed that there are more problems and obstacles for the rural respondents as compared to urban respondents. Also the rural respondents have to make strategies in order to adapt themselves in the totally new environment. For the rural SC students, the university environment is totally new with varied culture. Since they are coming from rural areas, with Telugu as a medium of language, they face problems from the first day of admissions. They have to undergo different formalities, seek admissions into the university, and get an accommodation. The rural respondents are all alone when they come to the university. They get help from the SC organisation or individuals of their own caste. They feel new to the place. The seniors of their own caste help them in getting the formalities done. The rural students try to find rooms along with their own caste people so as to feel secure and to get support.

Few of the rural students try to put efforts personally in order to improve their performance. They try to learn the languages by reading English course books. Also by interacting with other students who are good at the languages. But most of the rural SC students, because of their inhibitions, do not interact with other people, and do not find ways to improve their language or performance. They seek the help of the organisations in order to survive in the campus. The rural SC students are not able to come out of the caste boundaries in interacting with others. Their close friends are mostly from their own caste or of backward caste. Compared to urban respondents, more no. of rural SC students are the members of the organisations and actively participate in it, as it safeguards their interest. In the Central University, the SC organisations are more active and are successful in mobilising the students and achieving their goals by any means, either peacefully or forcefully, either by agitation or by protesting.

Most of the respondents feel that dalit organisations are a must in such educational institutions, since their numerical strength is small and they are prone to harassment and problems, so they need support. Since these people are dependent on welfare scholarships, reservations, they face lot of problems in the implementation part of it. Every day they face some or the other problem. If a fellowship is stopped it becomes a question of survival in the campus. SC student individually feels incapable in handling such a situation. Even if he approaches alone, he is not cared for. So he has to gather people and ask for justification. If an organisation is there for common cause, it can solve their problems.

The SC students further face problems like stopping of the mess cards, failing in the exams, which the organisation people take care. He says demanding for marks may sound arrogant but asking for 40% marks to pass them does not harm anybody. Failing in one course means joining for recourse, which is wastage of time and money, again they won't get scholarship, further increasing their problems. The organisation also tries to see that the SC students get seats in M.Phil. and Ph.D. courses.

Table 7.1 gives the rural urban wise distribution of the students by their participation in organisations. Majority of the students 72.6 percent (77) feels that there is a need for separate SC organisations to safeguard their interest.

Both urban and rural respondents, 70 percent (14) and 73.1 percent (57) respectively feels the necessity of separate SC organisations in the Universities, though the urban respondents are not participating in these organisations actively.

Further, when it was enquired about their membership in these organisations a majority 74.5 percent (79) reported that they are not members of any organisation but participate in its activities only for genuine cases. Only 25.5 percent (27) reported that they are the members of these organisations.

Table-7.1

Respondents participation in Organisations by rural/Urban

	Rural	Urban	Semi-urban	Total
Is there any need for separate Organisations for SC				
Yes	57 (73.1)	14 (70.0)	6 (75.0)	77 (72.6)
No	21 (26.9)	6 (30.0)	2 (25.0)	29 (27.5)
Total	78 (73.6)	20 (18.9)	8 (7.5)	106(100.0)
Are you a member of any Organisation				
Yes	25 (32.1)	1 (5.0)	1 (12.5)	27 (25.5)
No	53 (67.9)	19 (95.0)	7 (87.5)	79 (74.5)
Played any lead role in the Organisation				
Yes	23 (30.3)	3 (15.0)	1 (12.5)	27 (26.0)
No	53 (69.7)	17 (85.0)	7 (87.5)	77 (74.0)
Opinion about these organisations				
Very Useful	35 (45.5)	4 (22.2)	2 (25.0)	41 (39.8)
Useful	17 (22.1)	6 (33.3)	2 (25.0)	25 (24.3)
Some what Useful	18 (23.4)	7 (38.9)	4 (50.0)	29 (28.2)
Not at all useful	7 (9.1)	1 (5.6)	-	8 (7.8)

Again, 74 percent (77) of the respondents reported that they did not play any lead role in the organisations. Only 26 percent (27) reported to have actively participated and playing a lead role in these organisations.

When enquired about their opinion on the usefulness of these organisations, 39.8 percent (41) felt that these organisations are very useful, another 24.3 percent (25) felt that they are useful and another 28.2 percent (29) felt that these organisations are somewhat useful. Only a small percentage 7.8 percent (8) felt that these organisations are not at all useful. More number of rural respondents 45.5 percent (35) than 22.2 percent (4) urban respondents felt that these organisations are very useful. Again, more no. of rural respondents (32.1%) than the urban (5.0%) are the members of these organisations.

Table 7.2

University wise distribution of respondents and their participation in organisations

	HCU	OU	Total
Need of Separate Organisation for SC			
Yes	55 (80.9)	22 (57.9)	77 (72.6)
No	13 (19.1)	16 (42.1)	29 (27.4)
Total	68 (64.2)	38 (35.8)	106 (100.0)
Are you a member of any organisation			
Yes	23 (33.8)	4 (10.5)	27 (25.5)
No	45 (66.2)	34 (89.5)	79 (74.5)
Did you play any lead role in these organisation			
Yes	20 (30.3)	7 (18.4)	27 (26.0)
No	46 (69.7)	31 (81.6)	77 (74.0)
Opinion about these organisations			
Very Useful	30 (45.5)	11 (29.7)	41 (39.8)
Useful	15 (22.7)	10 (27.0)	25 (24.3)
Some What useful	18 (27.3)	11 (29.7)	29 (28.2)
Not at all useful	3 (4.5)	5 (13.5)	8 (7.8)

Table 7.2 shows the university wise distribution of respondents by their participation in organisations. As high as 80.9 percent (55) of the respondents from HCU feel that there is a need for separate organisation for SCs where as 57.9 percent

(22) respondents from OU feel the same. Since in the OU, Progressive Democratic Students Union (PDSU), a student organisation is taking care of these SC students, which includes other BC caste and women as well. There is also a separate SC student organisation called Dalit Student Association (DSA) which is not very strong and active.

Comparatively, a higher percentage 33.8 percent (23) and 30.3 percent (20) respondents from HCU are the members of the organisations and have played a lead role in it respectively, than respondents from OU.

Again 46 percent (30) of respondents from HCU feels that these organisations are 'very useful' when compared to 30 percent (11) of respondents from OU. This shows that the respondents from both these universities feel the necessity of separate SC organisations but comparatively more number of HCU students actively participates in these organisations.

Sex wise distribution of the students and their participation in organisation indicate that half of the total female respondents (34) feel that there is a need of separate organisations. But, a very small percent 5.9 (2) are the members and another 8.8 percent (3) of them have played a lead role in these organisations. Most of the female respondents feel that these organisations are 'some what useful', whereas only few females feel that they are very useful.

UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD-

The University of Hyderabad, consists of various organisations, like, STUDENT UNION (SU), PROGRESSIVE STUDENTS FORUM (PSF), AMBEDKAR STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (ASA), BACKWARD CASTE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (BCA), WOMEN'S PROGRESSIVE FORUM (WSF)

The student union in the HCU is the registered student's organisation. It is not associated with any caste, creed or religion. Every year there are student elections, where the president, secretary, joint secretary, treasurer, sports and cultural secretary etc. are elected. This student organisation is funded and supported by the university. The elected candidates take care of the student's activities and their problems.

The Progressive Student Forum is an old organisation, which was an active organisation in the past, having students from different castes. But, it is said that the PSF was dominated by the dominant caste students and all the leadership posts were occupied by them. The respondent reported that they use to take decisions without consulting the

SC students, who were active participants and contributed a lot to their organisation. They used to utilise the manpower of the lower caste. It was reported that though the PSF used to deal with all kinds of problems, they sidelined or didn't give much importance or were indifferent to the problems of the SC students.

The dissatisfaction among the SC students in the PSF made them to form another organisation called Ambedkar Students Association, meant for all SC, BC and also women. The PSF is no more an active organisation, though there are few members associated with it and working for it. ASA was started on April 14, 1994. And has grown and is currently an active organisation in the University of Hyderabad. The Backward Caste Students Association is recently formed from the ASA, where the BC students were not satisfied with the working of ASA for the BC. The Women Student's Forum (WSF) was there earlier for the welfare of women students, but now this organisation is not active.

The issue where the conflict came between the members of PSF, was the case of a girl who was raped by the outsiders. The outsiders had friendship with the students from PSF especially the forward caste students. They used to move together in the campus. Three youth belonging to near by village outside the campus raped a university girl inside the campus in broad day light and that too on the eve of August 15th, the independence day. The victim identified the three culprits and they were taken in to custody. Few SC students from PSF tried to see that the culprits do not get any bail i.e., they tried for non-bailable warrant and they wanted that these culprits should get severe punishment and heavy penalty. But the few forward caste students from PSF proposed that the culprits could get away with the crime by paying two-lakh rupees compensation to the victim. On this judgement, there was a split in the organisation. The SC students were against the compensation as it gives a different meaning. According to them, giving compensation is not logical, in that way, by money one can buy the morality of a woman and any man can rape any woman and give compensation and can escape. They felt that it is such an offence, which cannot be equated by money and that the culprits should get heavy and severe punishment.

Before this issue itself the SC students were feeling sidelined in PSF organisation, later few SC students thought of having a new organisation where in they themselves can lead and make decisions and safeguard their interests. That is the interest of SC/ ST/ BC and women.

Few students organised a meeting and started their own association on the name of Ambedkar. To see the response of the students they called for a general body meeting, announcing that they want to start a new association. To their surprise the students turned up in large number. They expected twenty students whereas nearly hundred students turned out which gave them a moral boost to start this association. Every year they celebrate the birth centenary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, and on this eve they arrange lectures of the prominent people inside and outside the campus.

Apart from the lectures, these students regularly arrange meetings conduct seminars on various issues, especially concerned with them. The issues range from local to national and some times even international. According to the respondent the purpose of conducting these seminars, lectures is to make their people aware. The students coming from rural background are not aware of their rights, and the activities going on, around the world. Through these meetings the students are made aware of different issues, their rights and privileges and to make them realise that they have an organisation to safeguard their interests. The respondents reported that the speakers have a hypnotising capacity to change their minds.

The main objectives of Ambedkar Students Association are

1. To fight against the caste discrimination with regard to marks, seats allotment in MA/ M.Phil. / Ph.D. for scheduled caste students.
2. Bringing the problems of SC and ST (in the campus) to the notice of constitutional bodies (president, SC/ ST commissioner etc.)
3. Extending support to the outside agitation's in their fight against caste discrimination and Dalit cause (thus they extended constructive support to the organisations in A.P. Agriculture University, when an upper caste student had poured acid on a women student from oppressed class).
4. Contesting in student's elections, for they believe that the upliftment of SCs can be possible only through political power.

Membership & Activities-

According to a respondent, who is the leader of ASA, all the students i.e., SC, ST, BC and women may not participate actively in their association, but this association stands for their problems and it is always ready to help them. This association which is on the name of Baba Sahib Ambedkar, has similar ideologies as that of Dr. Ambedkar.

Three commandments "Educate, Agitate, Organise" have been endorsed by all the Ambedkarites and accepted by the dalit society. He asked them to "Educate, Agitate, and Organise". This slogan was given on the basis of his own experience of life. He endeavoured to "Educate" himself first. He got a number of academic degrees from various world famous universities abroad. After attaining high academic distinction, he thought of welfare of the masses in general and the SC/ST in particular. He then "Agitated" against the religious, social, economic and political-inequalities and indignities. This agitational approach made him to launch the next step to "Organise" the people into a powerful, ideologically oriented group. He edited many weekly papers and whipped up the feelings of self-respect, self-reliance, self-thinking and self-determination. His efforts were for the welfare of all the persecuted peoples.

According to Dr. Ambedkar, education is the path for emancipation from untouchability. So, according to the respondent, their responsibility (the associations) is to see that their children '*ma pillalu*' i.e., the SC students get education and they don't face problems in achieving it. Either in getting admissions, or getting fellowships or getting good marks.

The association does not have any registration, or any written membership. The students voluntarily become members. The organisation doesn't have membership fees. The active participants contribute whatever they have, for expenses like posters, xerox etc. If they are conducting any seminars they ask for donations from the employees both teaching and non-teaching. Teachers especially belonging to SC community, contribute money for conducting seminars and sometimes even a well to do SC students are approached for donations

The leader of the association is selected unanimously. One who takes part actively in student's affair and is interested in social and cultural activities is elected with everybody's consensus. Every month they conduct General Body Meeting where the active members of the association participate and arrange the activities. The main members of the association meet at one place, to discuss the problem and try to find ways and strategies to solve it. In the process one may suggest to go to Vice Chancellor directly whereas some may suggest to meet the person related to the problem. If they meet the concerned person they ask for justice or compensation. If it is not solved at the personal level they then directly approach Vice Chancellor to discuss the issue.

Most of the respondents reported that they would like to solve the problem peacefully. Otherwise their plan of action is in the order of Peaceful- Agitation- Violence. They reported that if the problem is not solved peacefully and amicably, they go for agitation and protest by putting up posters, taking out processions, going for strike or calling Bandh and boycotting the classes. Some times they 'gherao' the teacher or the V.C. in order to make their demands fulfilled. Even then if it is not sorted out, they go for violence. But it is rarely done as a last resort. It was heard that the SC students once even manhandled the professor regarding some issue.

According to the leader of ASA sometimes, even students from other castes too comes with their problems. But no forward caste is a member of ASA. According to the respondent, sometimes, even the SC students who are well off and whose parents are in a higher position, do not reveal their caste identity. They do not mingle with SC students, especially from poor and rural areas and maintain distance. The ASA members approach these SC students and ask to help their community people, atleast indirectly, by giving donations. They donate money and entertain such requests once or twice, but later they maintain a distance and stay aloof from the activities of the Associations.

Approach and Mobility-

At the time of admission itself, the association puts up a banner outside the campus; "ASA welcomes you". The students coming from this background become aware that there is an organisation, which takes care of them. With the help of a admission list, they are able to identify the students who belong to their caste. At the time of admissions itself, the volunteers of these associations try to help the students in various ways. This may be in the form of filling up of application forms, photocopying at the time of admissions, getting a hostel accommodation etc. If the students don't get the accommodation immediately, they try to accommodate them in their rooms, for the time being and then help them out in getting an accommodation in the hostel. Hence by helping the newcomers, they are propagating their association and making them as members, inturn obliging them to work for the organisation.

If they come across any problem, these students voluntarily go to the leaders of this association, tell their grievances and then this association takes action. Even if the student doesn't come voluntarily, and if they know any such incident occurred where their student is abused, harassed or beaten up, they voluntarily take an action.

Achievements-

The objectives of these associations are to see that no injustice is done to their caste people inside the university. They see that during admissions the SC quota is fulfilled for P.G., M.Phil., Ph.D. courses and that the students are not shown any discrimination or partiality. Also the students are not harassed for any reason. They help the SC students in getting scholarships, hostel room allotment, mess fee deposits and try to solve the problems related to hostels.

According to the respondent if all the seats are not filled up during admissions, they insist on filling the quotas. They have succeeded in doing so as well. Recently, six SC candidates applied for M.Phil. course in one of the dept. in Humanities stream in HCU, whereas the department had put up total three seats with two general or open and one for reserved candidate. The association further pressurised the university to increase two more seats for SC's. Later all the three got M.Phil. seats.

Giving another example of their achievements, the respondent reported that in one of the social sciences department, four SC students failed in M.Phil. course work. When they saw the last two-year records, no forward caste student failed in the course work. This according to the respondent was done purposefully. He expressed that it is because, if they pass course work, they will finish their dissertation work within six months and will get a degree. According to the respondent, when the SC students can clear the entrance exams and can pass the interview for M.Phil., they must be capable of passing the other tests. The case was taken to VC and then as a result, re-examination was conducted.

The ASA conducts meetings regularly in the blocks of Sciences, Social Sciences and Humanities and invite the students of the respective streams. They ask the students if they are facing any problems in the university. If any student comes out with any problem, the members of the association try to solve the problem.

Once ASA conducted a meeting at night in social sciences building, where ASA invited the students from Social Sciences and asked them to narrate their problems. The respondent and other students from one of the social sciences department complained, that they are failed in the exams. A group of ASA students went and asked the teachers. The teachers then called the respondent and asked them to go for recourse so that they

can understand the subject and may get through. Later, in the next semester, the respondent cleared the recourse.

To check the dropouts and to see that the SC students are regularly coming to the classes or meeting their respective guides (that the student is around and studying) the university proposed that the SC students should get signature on a form every month from the head via warden to get their mess card for the next month. The respondents expressed that now every month they have to literally beg for food as well. Also this kind of formality would waste their time every month. The respondent opined that all these kind of thing are hurdles for them and that this is all done to harass them. The ASA agitated on this issue. Now, as a result, instead of every month, they have to get signature from the heads twice in a semester.

Many respondents keep coming to the ASA complaining that they are given less marks or that they are failed in a particular subject. Few members gather and go to the concerned teacher, ask for justice and to give marks. The teacher either gives graceful marks or asks the student to write the exam again or take up recourse in the next semester.

Changes and emerging identities-

According to the respondent, before the formation of ASA, the SC students use to feel shy or ashamed of being a SC and they avoided revealing their identity.

The rural respondents, due to rural dialect, felt uncomfortable talking to others. Most of the respondents felt shy, and avoided talking to females. Due to the language problem, they were not interacting with others, especially with forward caste girls. But now, the respondents reported that due to ASA, the SC students have got a new identity. They have become confident, aware of their rights and now they assert their presence. They no more feel ashamed in revealing their caste. In fact they assert and tell that they are from SCs. Now the SC students don't feel shy to talk to the females. They are widening their social and co-curricular activities.

Now, according to the respondent the SC students have become active, He commented, "You can see them participating in co-curricular activities, they participate actively in 'Sukoon', the annual cultural programme, win the trophies, they were also made judges, and they have only organised the whole show".

The respondent reported that earlier the SC students felt lonely and their activities were very limited. Now under the shelter of ASA or due to the association behind them, they have organised themselves and are actively coming out and participating in different activities. He reported that the SC students can be seen interacting with people in shopping complexes, playing at sport shed, and having friends in ladies hostels. Earlier they use to feel shy to talk to the ladies, but now they feel comfortable talking to them. They go to the city to pursue other interests. They have thus become confident and aware of things. They are trying to form a separate identity 'THE DALIT IDENTITY'. Thereby asserting themselves in the society.

Problems and Obstacles the ASA is Facing

The leaders of the ASA reported that in HCU, they have organised themselves very well and they are able to mobilise maximum no. of students. In HCU, the ASA or dalit students have a strong position and a solid foundation, if any genuine issue comes up, maximum students participate in its rallies, agitations etc. The members of the organisation reported that they have adapted in such a way and made such strategies that nobody dare to touch them or they invite troubles. Among all the student organisations in HCU, the ASA is the most active and has become powerful. But in other universities like, Osmania University; Hyderabad, Nagarjuna University Warangal, the forward caste students are more dominating and their organisations are much strong. The SC students in these universities are harassed and sometimes beaten up.

The leaders reported that though their association is gaining name and fame and has taken a prominent position in the university, it is still getting pressures from the opposition. Last year, a SC boy was beaten up out side the campus. He was already warned. The respondent reported that the SC boy was beaten by the local goondas on instruction given by other group (PSF) by paying Rupees 500 to the local goondas. The respondent expressed that he himself is now facing a threat of a physical attack. He has escaped physical attacks twice.

Another respondent who is a senior most research scholar, has a good reputation from all the other castes and belongs to PSF reported that there were efforts to float a new organisation against the ASA to curb its activities and weaken them. One of the forward caste student was sent indirectly by a forward caste faculty to the respondent to form another association against ASA. He was told that they are ready to give him ten

thousand rupees per month to run the organisation. He will also be supported with goondas, but will have to appoint people according to their choice. The respondent was approached for this job since he was having good reputation, and was able to attract people and thus could break the ASA. The respondent felt very bad and disappointed and didn't showed any interest even after repeated inquiries.

According to another respondent pursuing Ph.D. who was from PSF reported that, PSF has done a very good job. It use to take care of all students. There were instances where the SC students were not given marks intentionally. They approached the teacher, threatened and made them to give marks. The earlier leaders of PSF left the university after completing their education but now the organisation lost its functioning because of leadership crises

Among the ASA, again the BC students felt that their problems are sidelined. To safe guard their interest, a new organisation called B C. organisation was formed, in which the members and leaders belong to backward castes. Thereby, a split occurred among the reserved candidates. Again among the SCs after the issue of ABCD categorisation within ASA, a cold war is going on between Mala and Madiga students. A new group called 'Madiga Sahitya Vedika' is formed. The students from ASA are again split into two and are associated either with Mala Mahanadu or Madiga Dandora, based on their jati. In the university, since majority of the SC students are Mala, even in the ASA, the Mala students occupy most of the key posts and leadership. Now, if any person comes with a problem, they are looking into the caste (Mala or Madiga or any other) of the person.

After Mala Mahanadu was established to fight against Chandra Babu Naidu's decision to categorise the reservations, the ASA has started functioning as the student's wing of Mala Mahanadu, in the campus. Dalit Sahitya Vedika is the Literary wing of the ASA. They educate and enlighten the SC students by writing on various issues, regarding dalits. Their writings constitute essays, poems, and cartoons, which reflect the injustice, atrocities and discrimination caused to their fellow beings in the society.

Now in HCU, ASA is totally managed by Mala students. If they organise any meeting or seminar, the Madiga students do not participate. The Madiga students have formed their own association called 'Dalit Students Union (Madiga Sangam)', which safeguards their interest. But the numerical strength of the Madiga students is quite less, which poses obstacle in pursuing their interest.

Now if any personal problem arises they are looking into the caste also. In such a case the Madiga becomes minority with less power and backup. So for pursuing their interest they will lack strength and nobody would take them seriously. Earlier in the University, if SC students called for bandh they use to call down the whole of the university. Now, they fear if they call for bandh, it may not work out, because of so many splits in the association.

Now the students too are facing problem in associating themselves with the organisations. If they are friendly to a person belonging to other organisation. The organisation does not encourage their friendship. That is if an ASA student is friendly to the students from PSF, the ASA students feels bad and vice versa. Among the SCs again the students are forming groups or friendship based on jati, i.e., Mala students moving around with Mala students and Madiga students having their own group. They feel that friendship should be pure and not attached to any organisation

The Dalit Students Union was formed in August 1997. It was carved out of its parent organisation, Dr Baba Rao Ambedkar Students Association. The DSU represents the Madiga students. In fact, the Madigas worked in close association with the other SC sections and Malas in the campus and played a very active role in the interest of scheduled caste students in the campus, in the past.

Despite the unity in the ASA, there was a discontent vindicated among the Madiga student leaders for poor percentage of representation of its community members in the university admissions and university jobs. Adding fuel to the fire, the university students union elections played its own role. The Madiga student leaders claim that they were neglected in the student's elections. They say that since Malas were in majority, they use to declare only Mala students as the candidature in student's election.

When this was the overall situation in the campus, the changes that were taken place in all over Andhra Pradesh started reflecting on the SC students in the campus. The demand for the categorisation of SCs into ABCD, mainly advocated by the MRPS (Madiga reservation porata samiti) leader Manda Krishna Madiga, started showing its impact in the university. As already stated, the Madiga Students were unhappy with their representation in institutions and for the supposed injustice caused in the hands of their counter part SCs. The Madiga students became active in the movement, and they floated the Dalit Students Union in August 1997.

Objectives of Dalit Students Union-

1. To organise lectures and meetings by the Madiga intellectuals and Madiga politicians.
2. Uniting all Madiga students in the campus to fight against poor representation of its members in admissions into MA/ M.Phil/ Ph.D.
3. To fight against discrimination in marks allotment by the faculty members.
4. To field the Madiga students in the students union elections and to bargain with the admissions in fulfilling above objectives.
5. Mainly it functions as a student wing of the MRPS in its fight against the government to categorise the reservations.

The respondents reported that the DSU is functioning very effectively in fulfilling the above objectives. It has succeeded to a large extent in uniting all its members. It opens reception counter in the admission hall at the time of admissions into MA/ M Phil /Ph.D. It helps the new comers in fulfilling the admission formalities. There itself, they list out their strength in different courses and help them in getting the hostel admissions. The leaders hold periodic meetings with its members, and there by get feedback from the students to run the organisation. They organise two feasts every year, one at the time of inviting the freshers (from their community) and second at the end of the year i.e. farewell. Their traditional food, beef is served in the feast on that day and is regarded as 'beef day'.

Negative or Apprehensive Attitudes towards Dalit Organisations

Though most of the students feel that the SC organisations are a must to safeguard their interest, few respondents reported that they are not happy with the ASA because of their aggressiveness and their way of approaching or solving the problem.

Ramesh (pseudonym) is not an active member of PSF, but works for it. He reported that the PSF was taking care of all the problems of students till recently. There were many SC students in the PSF. Though their problems too were taken up, the SC students were not happy with the PSF, for they thought it didn't take much interest in solving their problems. So the SC students formed ASA. He feels that the ASA students overdo things, they are aggressive and act in haste and take decisions fast. Their way of working is not liked by the respondent. According to the respondent, sometimes even the faults of the SC students are covered and supported by ASA.

He narrated an incident, where a girl supposed to be from SC (though she denies of belonging to SC) and a boy (forward caste) of the same class was friendly. A SC boy from other department use to tease the girl. She then reported it to her boy friend who went and had beaten the SC person. Though the condition of the SC boy was not serious, he was purposefully taken to Gandhi Hospital (Government Hospital) and reported that he is very serious and is in ICU. The ASA people quickly took action and pressurised the university to take action on the forward caste student. Thereby the forward caste student was suspended for a week. The respondent reported that it was the fault of the SC boy. He should not have teased the girl, who was not interested in him. Instead of punishing the SC boy, he was supported.

So, the respondent feels that if the SC boy would have been punished or would have asked to apologise, the ASA would have got name for justification and would have gained more respect and support from the people outside SC. But now, since the association is covering the faults of his own people and intum supporting their wrong activities, the FC people are not liking the ASA and also ridiculing the association. In this way the good actions of the association too are not valued or appreciated.

According to the respondent the ASA should fight for genuine cause and should do the justice, irrespective of caste, and only then they can survive and get a good name. These kinds of activities made the respondent to stay away from ASA. In his hostel, half the students are SCs and belong to ASA. Since he does not participate in their activities he is accused of not supporting the association. The respondent maintains cordial relations with all the people, the students, faculty, and non-teaching irrespective of caste.

Another respondent Ravi reported that, when he came to the University, PSF was active and included students from all the castes. ASA includes only dalits-meaning SC, ST, BC and women. Initially, though the respondent participated actively but then felt that these organisations are facing leadership crisis. So he didn't feel like being a member, as he is basically interested in studies. He feels he would have to waste time, if he become a member. Still, if any genuine case comes, he wishes to participate.

One of the respondent reported that he moves with all friends and does not want to associate himself with any organisation. But he sometimes participates when the need arises. He says, he and some of the BC students are good friends but when it comes to association he moves with SC organisation and his friend with BC organisation.

Another female respondent, from well to do urban family, moves with students from different castes. She has good friends especially from upper castes. Her friends are quite open to her. She does not mind her friends calling SC students as "Stars" or "*nakshatraputrudu*" (as the SC, ST, and PH student's names are indicated with the stars in the list). She commented that most of the time, the activities of the ASA provoke others. She reported that they want to be in the limelight and they want attention. They even over do things, they overreact, and they try to interfere in everything, which is not needed. This makes the others feel the presence of such an organisation, and that of the SC people. The people belonging to other castes develop a kind of antagonism for the SCs. She expressed that they are doing things, which are going against their own interest. They overreact for petty things, go for agitation, paste posters/ banners for every small issue, which is not needed. According to her, things can be solved in other peaceful ways without provoking others. She feels that they should fight for genuine cases only.

The same respondent commented that the FC students on seeing the posters of Mala Mahasabha and Madiga Dandora, pass comments and laugh. They comment that the SCs themselves are divided. They suffer with inferiority complexes. The respondent feels that the SCs deserve to be ridiculed, because they behave in such a way. The respondent reported that the SC students, especially from the organisation maintain distance, and do not mingle with others, they try to find people from their own community. They see the star mark and make friendship. A star marked boy will try to see a girl with star mark and approach for friendship. The SC boys approached her for friendship. The organisation people came to her and asked her to participate in their activities. She just said okay and didn't give it much of importance.

Another respondent doing MA in Pol. Sc. reported that he does not hold any key position in the organisation. He said he is not a member, but he participates occasionally in the activities of the organisation. When he joined the University, he did not have the hostel accommodation. The students from the organisation came to him and said "You don't have accommodation, you can stay with us for the time being and we will arrange an accommodation." The respondent stayed with them for twenty days. He was then given a hostel room. All the formalities were taken care of by the association members. According to the respondent, the association people attracted him towards their organisation. The respondent, for being helped by the organisation felt an obligation to

serve the organisation. He worked for the organisation for two months. He later felt that it is a wastage of time. He had to attend meetings thrice a week, paste posters, arrange seminars, etc. According to the respondent, the organisation is not working for the main cause i.e., "education". It is side tracked and the main focus has become the organisation itself, and all efforts are to maintain it. According to the respondent, the organisation is useful, but they should help in achieving good education and not become hindrance in their studies.

Another respondent reported that the PG courses are so hectic in HCU that they don't find any time to attend the meetings. The respondent was offered a post of co-ordinator in the organisation, which he refused, because he felt that it needs lot of responsibility and more importantly time. He then conveyed to the members of the association that he won't be able to attend all the meetings, but will definitely work, when genuine cases come up.

According to the respondent these caste based organisations are trying to segregate themselves. They are forming their separate association and identity based on caste, thereby not giving chance for others to mingle with. According to the respondent, the SC students should not introduce themselves as SC. The caste name should not come at the first place. They should not identify themselves separately, but should try to interact with others. According to the respondent, if one caste forms their own organisation, there is no scope for interaction with the other caste. He says the organisation might have developed due to the clashes between FC and the SCs but still forming and identifying themselves as SC at first place forms a gap between SC and non SC.

Another female respondent coming from better socio-economic background reported that she is not a member of any organisation. She came to know about the existence of an organisation only after one year. She expressed, "I don't keep telling others that I am from SC. If people know about my caste, there is no problem, but I purposely do not go and attach myself with any organisation and assert myself to be a SC." "I want to mingle with everyone." She feels they should not isolate and segregate themselves, but should be open and free and should come out of caste feelings and same should be followed by the others as well (FC). Then only, the caste system will weaken.

Reason for being aggressive and violent

According to one of the respondent the members of ASA are reactive and aggressive because they are the sufferers and have come up to this level of education crossing all the hurdles. So they have inculcated the feelings of aggressiveness and are reactive even to small issue. The respondents feel that the SC group is a minority and if they go for democratic rules, they are not cared for and they are not given any justice. So they have to apply violent methods to make things work out. They have to be offensive. This strategy of being offensive in turn acts as a defensive mechanisms. The respondent reported that if they are active, aggressive and offensive, then only, others are feared and thus do not try to trouble the SC people unnecessarily.

The respondents reported that though the constitution has given them privileges and concessions, the society is not able to digest it and is thus against it. This society or the forward caste people try to see that these privileges do not reach the SCs and they carry negative feelings and develop antagonism against the SC people. So, the dalit organisations have to fight this society in order to get the benefits and privileges meant for them, which are given by the constitution.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

In the Osmania University, there are four main organisations affiliated to their parent political party. They are Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad- ABVP (affiliated to BJP), Student Federation of India- SFI (affiliated to CPI (M)), All India Students Federation- ASIF (affiliated to CPI) and Progressive Democratic Students Union- PDSU (affiliated to CPI (ML)).

Apart from these organisations there are other organisations which are not so active and having numerically lesser strength. These include Radical Students Union- RSU affiliated to People's War Group- PWG. RSU is a students wing of CPI (ML) and PWG. There are students from RSU but they do not reveal their identity. RSU and PWG are banned. CPI (ML) is having four groups, 1) PWG 2) Jana Shakti 3) Chandra Pulla Reddy Group 4) Pyla Vasudevarai Group. And PDSU is having two groups 1) Tirugubatu 2) Vijrummana.

ABVP is the main organisation with a majority and more strength in OU. Majority of students especially from forward caste i.e. Reddys, Vellamas, and Brahmins belongs to ABVP. ABVP is currently most active, has muscle power and numerical

strength. They are independent in organising their activities and do not mingle with other organisations. Very few SC students are the members of ABVP. ABVP having the BJP ideology, are more tilted towards Hindu religion. PDSU consists of mainly SC, women and other minority students. PDSU, SFI, AISF all unite together to fight for issues. Other organisations, which are present, are only for namesake, like TDSU - Telugu Desam students union, Vidyarthi Janata Dal etc. Even Dalit Students Association- DSA was formed in 1995 with only SC students as its members managed by only two or three leaders.

Though all the forward caste students like Reddys Brahmins and Kammas were the members of the ABVP. But recently the Kamma students separated and formed their own organisation called "Telugu Vidhyarti Parishad" which is affiliated to the "Telugu Desam Party" headed by the Chief Minister Shri. Chandra Babu Naidu, which is dominated by the Kamma caste people.

The respondent reported that earlier in the Osmania University the organisation were based on ideologies but now they have changed or splited purely based on the castes which shows that the caste is becoming a dominant factor in determining any kind of activities.

Kranti Sangrama Parishad- KSP, was organised by K. Shankar which was affiliated to Bahujan Samaj Party. KSP was once against ABVP. It mobilised all the students from SC, ST, BC against ABVP during Mandal Commission. There are no elections in the University campus ever since in 1989 when one of the leader Krishna Vardhan Reddy was killed. Now even the hostels are managed by two care takers 1. Mess caretaker, 2. Hostel care taker.

The leaders in these organisations are unanimously elected by parent political parties. These organisers say they are independent of parent political parties but are supported by them.

One of the female respondent who is an activist of PDSU, reported that there were lot of problems in the women hostel. There was water problem in the ladies hostel and there were limited mess arrangements, with limited tables, chairs, plates, glasses and the dining room was too small, where, at a time only 30 students can dine. They had to stand in queue for eating and sometimes had to wait till the plates were washed and then served. There was an accommodation problem also which is now solved by building a

new ladies hostel with 300 students capacity. Earlier they had no official name or banner under which they can organise.

Later all the women students united from ladies hostel and organised themselves.

Since the women students were not affiliated to any organisation and were not having any name, even if they were fighting for genuine case, they were not taken care off and their cases were not considered at all. When they had to give anything in the press, they asked for organisation name for authenticity, because there was no name they were not taken seriously. Later they gave a name- Women Students Organisation- WSO, which worked for two years. Later any issue arises they join with AISF, SIF, PDSU and together they work for it.

These organisations demanded for putting up bulbs wherever needed, shelter at bus stops, which even on repeated demand were are not fulfilled. The respondent feels that these are the things which university administration should take care off. Instead, even after reminding by the students they are not working for it.

The respondent said though AISF, SIF, and PDSU are like-minded and fight for similar issues but their path is different and plan of action is different.

ACHEIVEMENTS-

The respondent gave a plan of action of PDSU i.e., how they worked for a cause. Suppose they come across an issue in order to solve it. They send memorandum to the concerned person and asked them to take action. At the same time they put posters, especially in Arts College to educate or make aware about the issue to the students in the campus. The other organisations may feel that there is no need to give any memorandum, or need not put any posters, they directly go for press statements. But the PDSU's first step is to educate the student community about the things, which are going on in the campus. They then call the meeting and invite all the other organisation to join them. They then go and meet the concerned authority, and give a week time to sort out the problem. After ten days they'll again go and check the progress and remind them. Even though they gave a weeks time, if they go immediately after a week they may say, "we'll do it tomorrow", and may postpone, so they go after ten days and remind them again. Second time if they do not respond within a given time, they sit for dharna. Even then if the issue is not solved, they shout slogans, form a rally, give press statements, and

go for agitation. Mostly by this time they realise the seriousness of the issue and the authorities take an action and the work is done.

In the case of VC appointment also, the organisation had fought together. The earlier VC according to the respondent did not do a single good work. There were many fraud cases in the university. The VC gave promotions to his caste people and other forward caste people, even though they were not eligible. Even though his term was over he was trying for an extension of six months to stay in the VC post, through ministers and top officials. The students formed together, collected all the material against him and send it to the governor. Subsequently, he had to retire. Now the present VC belongs to BC caste and he is sympathetic towards dalit students. Now even the dalit students can approach the VC and can talk to him, which was not entertained earlier. The respondent reported that the present VC takes interest in the student issues.

Next achievement of PDSU is the 30% reservation for women for P.G. courses which has been implemented since the last 2-3 years. Also, they had fought for job recruitment, especially the recruitment of SCs in the university, in which all the students, teachers, non-teaching staff had participated. The students who were aspiring to become lecturers and the teachers for getting promotion also participated. This case was taken up in the court and they won.

In the ladies hostel most of the girls are from PDSU. Only 2-3 girls are from ABVP. They some time create problems and make unnecessary issues. The PDSU activist in the ladies hostel made one hostel committee to check the mismanagement in the hostels. The mess bill used to come to Rs-600 per month. The PDSU activists called for meeting, they made people aware of high mess bill charges. They then elected one representative and formed a hostel committee. Which meet every week and discuss the problems in the hostel. They are now managing well without any fraud. And the mess bill is coming quite low. Whereas in the men's hostel, the mess bill comes to Rs-600 per month, which is due to fraud and mismanagement. The respondent reported that some students join voluntarily and some by force to become in-charge of the mess. They make an agreement with the caretakers and share the profit 50-50%. They mismanage the things and thus there is a rise in the mess bill. She reported that if a person is in-charge of the mess, he buys a bike within two months. This itself shows, the extent of mismanagement of money.

The chief warden and wardens gives an example of ladies hostel and the committee they have set up to the other hostels and ask them to organise in the same way. But she feels even these people do all sorts of mismanagement and tries to make money.

Atrocities by the ABVP People -

The male respondents told that with their strength, activities, violence, and muscle power ABVP has turned out to be a terror in the campus. Five years back, in the men's hostel, the Christian SC students used to arrange prayers in their hostel rooms. These activities of the Christian students were not tolerated by the ABVP students. The students of ABVP went with chains to warn the Christian students to stop prayers. They came in to the rooms and warned them not to conduct such prayers in the hostel rooms and left. One SC boy just commented "what is there if we conduct prayers" meaning it is none of their business if we are conducting prayers. This was heard by some ABVP students, they went and told the ABVP leaders. And the whole group in the broad daylight killed that student, very brutally. They cut his nerves with the blade at several points, he bled out and died in his room.

They did this to terrorise people because it is an easy way to show their presence and muscle power. The respondent expressed that to win a person in a positive way, to gain respect and to do good, it takes very long time. Whereas going for violence is an easy and fast method to draw attention and to get the things done.

After that incident no prayers or meetings of Christian boys are held in the men's hostel. The Christian girls however continue to offer prayers in the ladies hostels.

The RSU - Radical Students Union having affiliations with PWG threatened the ABVP activists, not to go for violence or they'll be in their hit list. Still the ABVP activists continued with their atrocities. They did not gave any freedom to students. They use to call for meetings, or rallies and use to shout in the hostels and asked all the students to join them. If the students are in their rooms they had to compulsory listen to ABVP and go behind them and listen to them or else they are beaten up. If the students want to escape the only way was that they should not be there around the hostel. Every week, one day in each hostel they conduct meetings, telling about their own organisation, propagating about their organisation, its formation, achievements etc. Every week same lectures are given. The students use to get bored. Even though the

students had exams they had to compulsory attend the meetings. They pressurised the students to listen them and follow them. They had to participate in their meetings and rallies unwillingly. If they refused or gave any reason they were beaten up openly. The ABVP activist openly beat the students in the Arts building. The students had to salute the ABVP leaders when they come across. They have created an atmosphere of fear and terror in the hostels and campus. . The ABVP activists organise seminars and lectures and call their own people, i.e., BJP activists, and other leaders, but if any other organisation proposed any other person's name, they refuse. They never call or listen to the leaders of other organisation. They work independently. All the students in the OU opposed the implementation of semester system for P.G. courses in the University. All the organisations opposed the implementation of semester system. Even then the ABVP didn't mix up with other organisations. Even though the other organisations gave invitation to the ABVP. They did not turn up. They had their own independent proceedings.

In order to promote their ideology (Hinduism) and to curb the activities of Christians and Muslims, the ABVP activists put some or the other hurdles and did not allow others to pray according to their religion. They even kept "KumKum or Tika" outside the hostels. All the students, irrespective of the religion, had to apply it.

The female respondent reported that the SC boys in the hostels are terrified by the atrocities of ABVP. Their male classmate narrated the atrocities in tears. The respondent reported that when such atrocities increased, the RSU and PWG, give statements and warn them that they would take revenge and kill the leaders. It was reported that, thus they killed "Chandra Reddy" president of ABVP. The situation in the university was quite tense.

The ABVP students turned the whole university atmosphere tensed and very much non-conducive for studies. Earlier the respondents feel the university environment was very academic and peaceful. The students use to breath a sense of freedom in the campus. The women students though may face problems of eve teasing and harassment, in the city, they use to feel a sense of homeliness, freedom, and confidence once they entered into the campus. The boys use to be very protective.

But now, the respondent feels that the students have changed. Though they have never harmed anybody, but they feel eve teasing has become a common phenomenon. The situation in the university is always tensed. Anytime there can be a bandh, anytime

they can destroy buses, block the roads, start dharna, rallies, and force people to join them. According to the respondent the administration should solve the problem, should understand and punish the culprits, but is not taking any action. Even a murderer, after killing somebody daringly in the broad daylight move around the next day with out any fear of being caught or of punishment. The respondent expressed that one can imagine how the students are terrified and are under pressure.

The respondents reported that always a sense of fear exists now, nobody knows when they'll be attacked. They feel if it continues, the university atmosphere will worsen and the students will become even more vulnerable. Presently due to the murder case and exams the ABVP is not conducting any seminars, even after the murder of Chandra Reddy they didn't learn any lesson. Still they are continuing their activities as usual. They reported that the administration is not much bothered about the student's welfare.

Another respondent too gave a similar kind of picture about the organisations in the campus. The respondent told that in the university the PDSU is having a ladies support, sympathy and domination. The ABVP earlier use to harass the girls, and according to their ideology the women should be at home, and be a housewife only, but with PDSU support women got security in the campus and developed independent ideology. In PDSU mostly the members are from SC, ST, and BC along with majority of women.

According to her, in the ABVP the students join the organisation on caste basis. All the FC join ABVP, without their own values and ideology and some of the BC, SC, and ST caste students too join ABVP because of the fear they have inculcated in them. If they do not join they will be beaten up. They have to forcefully join the ABVP in their meetings, in rallies, and have to forcefully apply "bindi".

One of the female respondent too reported that the ABVP people harass others, they are dominating, they beat the students without any cause, they have political connections. She commented that they are very dangerous – "*Bhayankaranga untaru*"

In the respondent's class, all the boys were forcefully made members of ABVP party. Only one student was from PDSU. He use to write nice poetry and stories. When the recent incident, the killing of ABVP leader occurred, all the PDSU students were taken for ride, they had to leave the hostels immediately because of fear. The ABVP students started burning the belongings of the PDSU students. The respondent's classmates from PDSU were not at the campus at the time of incident, the certificates

were spared as they were hidden by his classmates. Rest of his books, clothes, poetry and stories were burnt down in the hostels. The classmates stood at different places, at bus stops so that as soon as the PDSU classmate comes, they asked him to leave the campus immediately. He then left campus for few days. After everything was cooled down, he came back.

One of the respondents, reported that if a SC student goes against the ABVP, they trace the history of the student. If he belongs to PDSU or left wing, then he will be alleged as a naxalite and will book a case against him and put him behind the bars and trouble him. Since the SC students in OU are not having any strong Dalit Organisation, and due to dominant ABVP activities, the SC students feel vulnerable. They don't involve themselves actively in any activities and do not oppose the activities of the other organisations, thus remaining passive.

So the situation in this university is such that there is no freedom for SC students, they have to remain suppressed and mind their own business, they have to pass time and look for a small job and get out of it. If they revolt or raise voice they will be curbed. They will be put into lot of troubles

SUMMARY-

There are different organisations and also dalit organisations in both the universities. Most of the SC organisations are based on Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's ideology. Their motives are to educate their people, mobilize them and organize them in to a defined body to safe guard their interest and to fight for their rights. The activities of SC organisations in HCU are relatively peaceful except for few agitations, they are confined to university, whereas the organisations managed by the forward caste students in OU are more active, are influenced by outside politics and also sometimes the activities are violent. The rural respondents and comparatively more no. of males feel the necessity of separate dalit organisation. They participate actively in these organisations. These organisations are helpful, especially for rural respondents who face problems at every step, they can approach only these organisations for help.

The respondents reported that in OU the attendance is not so strict and because of non-semester system, the students find quite a lot of time to prepare for competitive exams. Most of them are already having B.Ed degree or are trying for it so that they can get out of the university soon and try for better jobs while continuing with teaching

profession. So the SC students in OU do not try to interfere in the activities of ABVP. Sometimes they even support them as long as they are there in the university. They do not want to invite troubles by having confrontations with them. They just try to pursue their self-interest and leave the university.

However, the situation is somewhat different in the HCU. Here the ASA is quite active and is successful in safeguarding the interest of their students. The students feel safe and comfortable in the campus, so they stay in the university till they find a suitable job, though in recent times, many splits have occurred within the organisation.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The scheduled castes have long suffered from extreme social and economic backwardness. They had no access to education in the past because of social and religious sanctions imposed on them. In spite of the legal provisions against discrimination on the basis of caste, the practice of untouchability and other forms of discrimination and prejudices are still prevailing.

The scheduled castes, are largely illiterate, backward, poverty stricken and continue to suffer from socio-economic disabilities. More than 81 percent of the population of scheduled castes live in rural areas. Till recently, they were devoid of the basic necessities like water, electricity, proper sanitation, roads and transport facilities. However, for the past few years, there is an improvement in their living conditions.

In spite of the constitutional benefits in the field of education provided for the scheduled castes, their literacy levels continues to be low. The performance of the SC children is not very encouraging. The problem of poor performance by scheduled caste students is not limited to school education only, but has been reported at the university level too.

The present study explores the way, scheduled caste students coming from different backgrounds face problems and how they cope up with different situations. The study also seeks to understand and analyze their hopes and aspirations.

The main objectives of the present study are enumerated below.

- 1 To study the scheduled caste student's attitudes towards the present caste system, educational system and welfare schemes provided to them.
- 2 To study the problems related to social interactions and how they adapt themselves to various social situations in and outside the university campus.
- 3 To explore the problems they face in the process of academic achievement and how they adapt themselves to their academic environment.

4. To explore the strategies they have found to adapt themselves in and outside the University.

The universe in the present study consists of the scheduled caste students drawn from the two universities, i.e., Central University of Hyderabad and Osmania University. OU is a state university in Hyderabad, capital of Andhra Pradesh, and HCU is one of the ten Central Universities located in the different states in India.

METHODOLOGY

This Ph.D. program is mainly based on primary data collection through intensive interviews, case studies and collection of quantitative and qualitative data through questionnaires. Data were collected during the year 1995-1997.

The secondary data was collected from books, magazines, journals, newspapers, and census reports from different libraries.

A total of 400 scheduled caste students, of both sexes, from these two universities were identified for sending the questionnaires. The scholar visited the concerned university hostels and efforts were put to hand over the questionnaires to the scheduled caste students, explaining the objectives and value of the present research topic. Questionnaires were sent by mail to the rest of the students who could not be contacted personally in the hostels and departments.

Both closed and open-ended questions were posed in the questionnaire to get quantitative and qualitative data. The questionnaires were coded and a covering letter was attached. The purpose of the study and the request to participate in the study, was stated in the covering letter. Also, it was assured that the identity of the person and opinions expressed in the questionnaires would be kept confidential.

After repeated reminders and personal contacts the scholar could succeed in collecting 106 filled –in- questionnaires from the scheduled caste students.

Thirty-five interviews were conducted and observations recorded wherever possible. Interviews with the leaders and activists of scheduled caste organisations and other student organisations were also conducted. Group discussions on the present status of the scheduled castes and their problems too were conducted. Twenty case studies of scheduled caste students were collected. Data was obtained in the

form of case histories that reflected different life-stages of an individual scheduled caste student, including the contemporary realities of their lives.

The scholar borrowed a value projective technique (Spindler and Spindler, 1990) consisting of open-ended sentences such as “ university teachers should be -----” and got a wide response from the students as to what they expect from their teachers. Similarly several open-ended questions like, “If you were a university teacher or professor, how would you teach so that your students would really learn the material”, gave a good deal of information.

All the hundred and six questionnaires collected, were analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) program. The graphs and tables were produced in Microsoft Excel.

The analysis and results of the study are presented in eight chapters, in this thesis including introduction and conclusion. The first chapter is the ‘INTRODUCTION’ the second chapter is, ‘SCHEDULED CASTES- A PROFILE’, the third chapter is ‘THE PROFILE OF THE SC STUDENTS’ the fourth chapter is ‘ATTITUDES OF SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS’ the fifth chapter is ‘SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE ADAPTATION OF SC STUDENTS’ the sixth chapter is ‘ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT AND THE ADAPTATION OF SC STUDENTS’ the seventh chapter is “STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS: MOBILIZATION AND ADAPTATION OF SC STUDENTS” and the eighth or the final chapter is ‘SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS’.

Students in this study do not form a homogeneous group. There exist considerable variations among them on the basis of their background- their caste i.e., jati, class, the place they belong, socio-economic, educational and occupational background of parents etc. The total sample population is 106. Of the hundred and six filled in questionnaires received, 64 percent (68) students responded from the Central University and the rest 36 percent (38) responded from the Osmania University.

Almost three fourth of the sample respondents were born in rural areas, i.e., 73.6 percent of the respondents were born in rural areas. Another 18.9 percent respondents are born in urban areas and the rest 7.5 percent are born in semi-urban areas. A fairly high percentage i.e., 65 percent of females belong to urban areas, compared to 35 percent in the case of males. 82 percent of the males come from rural areas for higher studies in the city, compared to a low percentage of (18 percent)

females from rural areas. The percentage of the unmarried to the total number of respondents in our sample is as high as 91 while the married constitute only 9 percent.

Nearly 87 percent of the student respondents have declared themselves as Hindus. 12 percent respondents stated that they are Christians and just one respondent out of 106 in the sample stated that he is a follower of Buddhism. Thus, the sample represents a large percentage of Hindus.

Majority of the respondents belong to Mala caste, representing 63 percent of the sample. Another 29.4 percent respondents belong to Madiga caste. A small 6 percent respondents belong to different castes that are categorized under 'others'.

The educational levels of the parents show that more than fifty percent of the fathers are either illiterates or can just read and write. Very small percentage of them have gone for higher studies like post graduation or professional studies. This indicates that most of the respondents are among the first generation who are pursuing higher studies

The data shows that more than fifty percent of the sample respondents have fathers who are either agricultural laborers or marginal farmers. Closely related to the educational level is the occupational level of the parents. Most of the respondents whose fathers are illiterate and those who can just read and write are either land-less laborers or are marginal farmers. Here again, 58 percent of the illiterates are laborers and another 50 percent of those who can read and write are marginal laborers. Those who are in service have some kind of formal education ranging from matric to post-graduation. Compared to the educational levels of the fathers, those of mothers are even lower i.e., nearly three fourth of them are either illiterate or can just read and write.

Thus a large percentage of sample respondents are coming from the family where both the father and the mother are illiterate, or at the most, can read and write and did not received any formal education. They may not show any interest in preparing them for schooling. They can hardly guide their children in the matters of education. Parents working as laborers or those who are marginal farmers can hardly find any time to look into the progress of their children in the schools or colleges after a hectic day of manual labor. After the school hours or on holidays, most of the grown up children, accompany their parents to the fields for helping them in some kind of works.

Another important factor, which may influence the motivation and performance of students, is the socio-economic status of the family. A student coming from rural area and from poor and illiterate family, with no property or any assets, is considered to be coming from a disadvantaged family background. Another student coming from urban and educated family, having necessary assets at home can be considered to be privileged or coming from a socially advantaged environment.

Overall, 49 percent i.e., almost half of the respondent's families are landless. They are the landless laborers who work as laborers or "coolie" at the landlord's fields. They are totally dependent and are at the mercy of landlords. Among those who have land, 33 percent of them have wet lands and another 19 percent of them have dry land. These land holdings too are marginal, ranging from one to five acres.

Even in this modern era, there are families where there are no assets at all. Some do not even have a radio. Most of the respondent's parents are staying in a thatched roof house in some remote rural areas, with no assets at all.

On the whole, the scheduled caste students in the two universities, as reflected in our sample, exhibit certain characteristics that are peculiar to their backwardness.

Many of the respondent's houses are segregated or their settlements are in the fringes of the main village. There is no informal interaction with the forward caste people. Especially there is no interaction with the educated younger generation.

The data shows that almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the sample respondents come from disadvantaged family backgrounds with meager resources and inconducive environment which pose obstacle in their proper and smooth progress in education. There is hardly any guidance or motivation for them.

In the fourth chapter, the attitudes of the SC students on various issues related to them, are explored. They were asked to write about the origin of caste system as per their knowledge. Very few respondents were able to provide with the information regarding the origin of caste system. Their views were similar to the three theories of origin of caste system, the Divine Plan Theory, Theory of Racial Antipathy and the Occupational- Functional theory. Though most of them did not believe in these theories. They felt that caste system is not created by God, and that it is created by the Brahmins for their own benefits. Many of the respondents expressed different

kinds of feelings- feelings of pain, agony, anger, anxiety, anguish and hatred for experiencing the caste prejudices.

Most of the respondents are unhappy on the position assigned to Harijans and the consequent humiliation to them, in the system. They feel that they will be happy if they are treated as equals and are not humiliated just because they are born in this caste.

Another rural respondent expressed that because of the inferior status assigned to their caste they start feeling inferior. And he feels that he is not able to adjust himself in this society. He feels uncomfortable to attend functions, religious functions like poojas etc., even though they are invited to such occasions. He feels that the feeling of fear, and fear of being isolated and fear of humiliation is still there in the minds of the SC people, as there are still cases of atrocities, arson and crimes against them. They are still humiliated, so even though a forward caste person invites for some occasion, he feels uncomfortable and anxious and avoids such occasions. He feels that SC people can mingle freely, only when there are no more caste prejudices and no more fear of being humiliated.

At the same time, many respondents appreciated and paid respectful regards to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who is considered to be a messiah and who had fought for their cause. He had showed a path for their emancipation through education and by changing to other religions, especially Buddhism.

Some of the rural respondents expressed that after joining the universities and acquiring knowledge about their rights and equality, their minds and hearts are filled with pain and agony, which is intense and cannot be expressed when they are discriminated.

Few respondents are in the favour of abolishing the caste system. But a majority of them wants to improve their position. They expressed that they would feel happy, if they are not ill-treated or humiliated and be treated as any other human being.'

Regarding the attitudes related to the present status of SC and their future, most of the respondents feel that the position of SC has improved, though inferior in many ways. They feel that even today a majority of SCs are illiterate, backward and poverty stricken. Though very few, urban respondents feel that the Status of SC is now equal to the forward castes. Few of the rural respondents opine that the position of SC has not improved at all. They feel whatever benefits the SCs have got are just

peripheral. Reservations are like crumbs to appease them that are not even implemented properly.

Both rural and urban respondents opined that if the reservations and other constitutional benefits continue and if the policies and programs for their welfare are implemented seriously, the position of Scheduled Castes will improve. More than half of the sample respondents i.e., 57% are optimistic and foresee the improvement in the position of SCs.

Some of the respondents however opined that the position of SC would remain the same. The benefits and reservations are utilised by the small group who are already in a better position. Most of the SCs are poor and rural based, their conditions continue to be miserable as they are not aware of their rights and opportunities provided for them.

Few respondents are not so optimistic in their view. They feel the position of SCs will deteriorate. They expressed that if most of the companies are privatized, then there won't be any reservation and the employment opportunities will further decrease

Most of them are not so optimistic about the situation as such. They reported that they would be happy if they are not ill-treated humiliated and discriminated. They just want to improve their position. One of the respondents expressed that they do not want a kind of Brahmin status but a status, where they are not attached to any inferior position and are treated equal.

Few respondents are of the view they do not want to abolish the caste system as such but want the caste system should not be attached to any discrimination or stigma. It should be free from all prejudices. They want to improve their status in the caste system but do not aspire to remove the caste system *quid pro quo*.

In order to improve the position of SC people, most of the respondents came to the conclusion that education is the only means for their upliftment. Even today, a large population of SC are illiterate and are unaware of their rights and privileges. These welfare measures should be made available to everybody, by making them aware of these facilities. There should be a kind of social movement for educating the people. So they express that these policies and programs meant for the welfare of SC should be implemented properly, and funds should be increased for their upliftment, especially in the field of education and employment, and should strictly implement it. Few of them

even suggested that more job oriented courses should be introduced in the universities, so that they become self reliant as soon as possible.

The respondent feels that nearly 80% of the SCs are poor and rural based. Their position can be improved only by equal distribution of land among them. They have to be self-reliant as most of the oppression is because they are land-less and resource less and have to depend on others for their survival.

Most of the respondents feel that inter-caste marriage is an important way to diminish the caste feelings. Another respondent is of the view that for the overall development of SCs, like socio-economic and political, focus on all these factors should be given equal importance.

Many of the respondents want the privileges and reservations to continue, even if the caste system is abolished, because they feel that the conditions of SCs are still very miserable.

Most of them expressed that the reservations should be based on economic criteria rather than caste. That is, they want the reservation for all the poor SC. Most of the rural respondents expressed that till now only a section of SCs have cornered all the benefits. They have formed a class of their own, and are not bothered about the development of the community as a whole. The respondents suggested to implement a creamy layer policy so that the well-to-do SCs can leave space for the more needy SC and gradually all the SCs could come at par with the others. Once all the SCs have come to certain stage of development, they can decrease or stop the reservations

During the course of interviews, majority of the respondents, especially from the rural areas, wanted the reservations to continue forever, i.e., for an indefinite period. They wanted the reservations to continue until all the SCs achieve a respectable position. Whereas 6.6% of them want for a minimum of 5 years, another 16% wanted for 6 to 10 years, and a small percentage of 5.7 and 6.6 want the reservation to continue for 16-20 years and 21 and above years, respectively.

From the literature and also through interviews and discussions, it was found that there were no inter marriages between Mala and Madiga. There were not much of social interactions. Only when the reservation and other government facilities were provided, did all of them fight together. The Mala are in a better position as compared to Madigas. There was never a cohesion between Mala and Madiga jatis. Malas maintain distance

with Madigas. Malas do not call the Madigas to their houses, to the māligion has. Even if they are called they are served separately.

Regarding the ABCD categorisation, more no. of Madiga respondents are in favour and more no. of Mala respondents are against it. Though most of the Mala respondents feel that this is all a political game, where they are trying to split the two communities. Caste wise distribution of the respondents about the opinion on the categorisation of SC's shows that most of the Madiga jati respondents, 77.8 per cent who will be benefited with the categorisation of separate quotas are in favor of categorisation. Only 18.3 percent of respondents who belong to Mala jati are in favor of separate quotas. Whereas as large as 81.7 percent of Mala respondents are against categorisation. 60 per cent respondents from the other castes (other than Mala and Madiga) are against the categorisation of SC's.

Regarding the attitudes towards marriage, inspite of higher education, more than 60 percent respondents prefer endogamy. Very few wants to go for inter caste marriages, as it is still not accepted in the society. Females have shown some kind of apprehension in marrying a man from a caste above them in the hierarchy. They feel her in-laws won't give them respect and equal status. Though they cited some examples of inter-caste marriages, wherein mostly a SC boy in good position married a girl from forward caste.

Further it was found that most of the respondents, whether rural, urban, male or female like to marry an educated person only. More no. of rural male respondents wish to marry rural females as compared to urban males who wish to marry an urban girl only. Most of the females wish to marry an urbanite

For the choice of colour and complexion, most of the respondents are not particular about colour, complexion and beauty measures. They wish to go for an average looking person, but most of them would prefer to marry educated and urban person.

Regarding the religious beliefs, more no. of respondents, especially from Madigas, are secular. Those who are religious are mostly Christians, and those who belong to Mala caste. Very few respondents are Christians and their parents had converted to this religion recently and not the respondents themselves. Most of them, non-Christians as well as Christians feel that the converted religion has hardly

affected their lives. Only few respondents feel that the conversion of religion has been helpful in raising their educational, economic and social status.

With regard to purity and impurity theory, most of the respondents do not believe that eating non-vegetarian is impure and eating vegetarian is pure. But only a few of the sample respondents, mostly Madigas, eat beef.

Further the respondents reported that most of the University teachers and the upper caste peer group carry negative attitude towards the SC students in general. They feel that the SC students are not worthy enough to be in the University. They are dull and are coming for higher education, just because they have reservations. This kind of attitude may influence them to form a poor image of themselves and may effect their academic performance as well as their social interaction.

Fifth chapter is focused on social interactions of S.C. students in and outside the university and how they adapt themselves to different situations.

Most of the rural respondents, as a whole, lack the study environment at home. There is a lack of encouragement and support from the home. Since most of their parents and the relatives are not educated and are not in a good position, they do not provide a reference group for the respondents to emulate. They do not function as role models to their children. These respondents can be called as disadvantaged children, who are coming from uneducated, rural and socio-economically backward homes.

Many of the rural respondents continued their studies because of sheer interest and also because of the fact that they were not interested in doing the agriculture labour. Very few rural respondents got an encouragement from their parents, relatives or teachers. This encouragement too, was verbal and occasional. They were not in a position to guide them in their studies and in making choices of the courses. These rural respondents somehow continued their studies by overcoming the obstacles with loss of some years in between and reached to the university education.

Very few rural respondents reported that either their fathers or relatives encouraged them for their studies. The respondents reported that they were encouraged, but not guided by them.

Urban and semi urban respondents are in an advantageous position as compared to the rural respondents. These urban and semi-urban respondents have an exposure to the outside world, which is totally lacking for the rural respondents. The urban respondent's family environment is somewhat better. Their parents are educated and are in service or white-collar jobs. These children are better prepared for the schooling. They are put into the schools at the right age and get reinforcement from their parents, who guide them to study, to choose the courses and the careers.

Thus an overwhelming majority of the rural respondents in the sample come from backgrounds that may be considered disadvantaged and non-congenial. Apart from the above factors, there is lack of conducive environment for studies, lack of privacy, lack of books, study materials, basic amenities etc. All these factors are likely to create disinterest, distractions and difficulties in pursuing education.

The SC settlements are segregated and isolated in most part of the country, but more so in the Southern states. Their hamlets are clustered and are away from the main village. Even if they are within the main village, they are segregated. In the rural areas, where agriculture is predominant, the SC families mostly work as agricultural labourers or have marginal lands. Some of the SC families are engaged in their caste occupations, like, weaving, leatherwork, etc.

The rural respondents who are born and brought up in the village environment become aware of their caste status in their childhood itself. They are taught about the behavioural norms and they also observe how their parents interact with other caste people.

Once the respondents move out of their traditional set-up and come to urban areas, they find out that the super-ordination and subordination does not exist in the cities. Here individualism and equality is stressed upon. The respondent too develops a new ideology of equality and secularism. So they realise that their parents in the villages are suffering.

The SC students in the University are exposed to new ideology of independence and egalitarianism. They do not like inequalities. They are aware of their constitutional rights, privileges and protection given to them. But when they witness the oppression on their families and kin members, they are not able to tolerate it. Thereby some or the other conflicts arises, which have become common.

The respondents have reduced their frequency of visit and duration of stay in the village during vacation. Even if they visit twice or thrice a year, their stay is limited for a week or for 10-15 days. Very few rural respondents stay for a month and rarely does a respondent stay for two months.

In the villages, the interaction between people is totally governed by the caste-based rules. There are fixed norms and guidelines for social interactions. But in the city, the situation is not so rigid and there is flexibility in social interaction.

The respondents reported that at times they face very odd situations. In their own village, their caste is known to every one, but once they go out, there is a subconscious fear and anxiety as to when the other person would ask about their caste.

Most of the respondents feel normal about being born in the caste they belong to. They feel they are just like any other individual, with similar features. Few respondents feel inferior. This feeling of lowliness remains in the subconscious, which influences their behaviour and interaction. The inferior status given to their caste becomes a part of their thinking. They are conscious about their caste status at every social interaction. Even though the other person is not particular about it.

The rural respondents become aware of their inferior caste status from the childhood. This is because of the village environment, where the traditional set-up continues. But once they come to the university, they develop a new ideology, based on equality, individuality, and secularism. They feel agonised and angry at the suppression of their parents. They find difficult to adjust themselves to the village environment once they are out of it.

It was further revealed that nearly fifty percent of sample population experienced discrimination/ harassment or injustice because they belong to SC. Comparatively more number of rural respondents experienced the discrimination.

The interaction of the respondents with their classmates in schools and colleges showed that the rural respondents faced more social distance with the forward caste students in school than the urban respondents. This social distance somewhat reduced in colleges as they are away from the villages, where the identity is not easily revealed.

Few respondents expressed that the feelings pertaining to caste are carried among the students and the teachers in the university also. Most of the rural respondents have friends from their own castes, as they reported that they do not have

money and good clothes to feel comfortable and reciprocate to the FC students. They reported that they have their own problems which can be easily understood and shared by the people who share the same caste, i.e., rural SC students. Apart from this, they face language problem in communicating with others. Since childhood they are segregated and have maintained social distance with the FC people. Therefore they have inhibitions in interacting with them. Though few respondents reported that the FC students do not encourage the friendship and maintain a social distance. In the hostels too, more number of rural respondent's share their rooms with their own caste students than the urban respondents.

But the urban SC respondents, who are in comfortable financial position, reported that they have friends from all the other castes. And it is the economic criteria, which guides the friendship rather than caste.

This shows that the rural respondents are at a disadvantageous position. They face more social problems, which continues from their childhood to schooling to college and are still continuing in the universities.

Chapter six describes and discusses the respondent's progress and performance through the school and the college. The marks scored by the respondents in Xth, XIIth, and the degree shows that there is a direct influence of the education and occupation of the parents on the performance of the their children. The children from the disadvantaged family background i.e., poor, rural and illiterate family, generally tend to perform poor or are below average or just average in their studies. Whereas the children from advantageous family background, i.e., urban, educated, white collared jobholders and from better socio-economic background, tend to perform well in their studies.

Again, the subjects taken in inter, i.e., Sciences or Arts, too is influenced by the parent's economic and residence status. More no. of the urban students, tend to take science streams than the rural respondents. This is because either the rural respondent has scored less percentage, or it is because of financial constraints, that he had to opt for arts subjects. Also, the students coming from rural areas are having more gaps in their educational career because of financial problems, health problems and failure in exams. This is due to lack of awareness, inspiration and guidance and support from the parents.

Regarding their experience related to caste discrimination in school and colleges, though only few reported that few teachers discriminated and were partial in their evaluation, comparatively more no. of rural respondents experienced discrimination than the urban respondents in the school and colleges.

When the rural students come to the university, they face lot of initial problems in adjusting themselves to the social environment and also in coping with the higher educational standards. Their rural background and regional language, hampers in adjusting themselves to the university environment initially. They try to adjust to the environment, individually or with the help of seniors and their caste fellows. Most of them have reported to face problems in understanding the lectures due to varied reasons given in the chapter. Apart from the social and academic problems most of the poor and rural students face financial problems. They are not able to buy books, photocopy the reference material and to cope up with all these they some times do part time jobs, which again hampers their performance.

With regard to student teacher interaction, majority of the respondents feel that the teachers do not maintain any informal relations with them. They do not take interest in knowing their problems. The students wished that the teachers should show some personal interest in the student and should be friendly and humane, towards the SC students who are undergoing transition.

Though a majority of the students feels that the teacher's evaluation in the university is fair, still, there are more than 30% students who feel that the teachers discriminate and do not give marks as expected. Students from both the universities cited many instances where they were discriminated. Again more no. of rural students complained about it.

Thus, it shows that the urban students do not face much problems in adjusting themselves to the academic and social environment in the university. But the rural respondent finds many problems in adjusting to the university environment.

Chapter VII is about the adaptation of SC students. How they are adapting to different situation and what are their adaptive strategies.

There is a growing awareness among the Dalit Students that they are denied human rights for centuries and suppressed by the upper castes. This consciousness

provokes the students against the existing social systems and their protest is expressed through various forms of agitation and struggles.

Caste associations or caste-based organisations are formed to exert pressure on the institutions or government for their defence. They adopt different ways and means to pressurise or defend themselves. Defence or offence is the mechanism or strategy to put pressure on the institutions. Some of these organisations are officially recognised while the others are not.

The SC students, in their endeavour to achieve higher education and a respectable position in the society, are facing a lot of hurdles. Individually, they are putting their efforts to adapt themselves in various situations and are trying to maximise their goals. Also they are trying to achieve their goals in the university by forming organizations.

In these two universities, there are different student organisations. Some are managed by dominant caste and some by the Scheduled castes. The purpose of these organisations is to fulfil their demands. The working of these organisations is almost similar. They conduct meetings and discuss local, national or even international issues. They invite people for giving lectures, mostly academicians, political leaders and sometimes from bureaucracy and human rights commission. By inviting outsiders, they try to establish networks and strengthen their organisations, thus maintaining social contacts. This is to make their own caste students aware of the problems and present situation.

The respondents believe that through the activities of such organisations, the conditions of the dalits would improve. These organisations give them a sense of security. It reveals that the students are joining the organisations in order to protect their rights, to develop their position like gaining their own people and to have a sense of security.

The respondents who are the members of these organisations, attend meetings, take part in demonstrations, march rallies, processions and other minor works, like pasting posters, putting banners etc. These respondents who are not directly involved in these organisations, participate indirectly, by contributing money, giving donations or attending some meetings etc.

There are more problems and obstacles for the rural respondents as compared to the urban respondents. Also, the rural respondents have to make strategies in order to

adapt themselves in the totally new environment. For the rural, SC students the university environment is totally new with varied culture. Since they are coming from rural areas with Telugu as a medium of language, they face problem from the first day of admissions. They have to undergo different formalities, seek admissions in to the university, and get an accommodation. The rural respondents are all alone when they come to the university. They get help from the SC organisation or individuals from their own caste. They feel new to the place and the seniors of their own caste help them in getting the formalities done. The rural students try to find rooms along with their own caste people so as to feel secure and to get support.

Few of the rural students try to put efforts personally in order to improve their performance. They try to learn the language by reading English course books. Some by interacting with other students who are good at the languages. But most of the rural SC students, because of their inhibitions, do not interact with other people. Hence they do not find ways to improve their language or performance. They seek the help of the organisations in order to survive in the campus. The rural SC students are not able to come out of the caste boundaries in interacting with others. Their close friends are mostly from their own caste or of backward caste. Comparatively, more no. of rural SC students are the members of the organisations and actively participate in it as it safeguards their interest. In the Central University the SC organisations are more active and are successful in mobilising the students and achieving their goals by any means, either peacefully or forcefully, by agitation or by protesting.

In the Osmania University, the ABVP organisation is dominant, and the forward caste students like Reddys and Vellamas are the leaders. The SC students either join ABVP by force or some other student's organisations like PDSU or DSA, which comprise of BC, women etc. Since the OU has a large student population, with different organisations the SC students are not dominating. Here the students try to be preoccupied with their courses and do some part time jobs. Most of them pursue B.Ed courses and try to find some job or the other, mostly teaching jobs and try to go out of the university. They keep a low profile, as the ABVP organisation is more active and powerful.

Though most of the students feel that the SC organisations are a must to safeguard their interest a few respondents reported that they are not happy with the ASA because of their aggressiveness and their way of approaching or solving the problem.

Few of the respondents commented that the activities of the ASA are mostly provoking others. They reported that the organisation wants to be in limelight. They want attention, and hence even over do things, overreact, and try to interfere in everything, which is not needed. They blow up even the small issues. They go for strikes and agitations for petty issues. They sometimes even manhandle the teachers. This makes the others feel the presence of such an organisation, presence of SC people. The people of the other caste develop a kind of antagonism for the SCs. They expressed that they are doing things, which are going against their own interest. The members overreact for petty things, go for agitation, paste posters, banners for every small issues, which is not needed. According to them, things can be solved in other peaceful ways without provoking others. They feel that they should fight for genuine cases only.

According to one of the respondent, the members of ASA are reactive and aggressive because they are the sufferers and have come up to this level of education crossing all the hurdles. So they have inculcated the feelings of aggressiveness and are reactive even for small issues. The respondents feel that the SC group is a minority. If they go for democratic rules, they are not cared for and are not given any justice, hence they have to adapt violent methods to make things work out. This strategy of being offensive, in-turn, acts as a defensive mechanism. The respondent reported that if they are active, aggressive and offensive, then only their interests can be pursued and also others will not try to trouble the SC students unnecessarily.

The respondents also reported that though the Constitution has given them privileges and concessions, but the people or the society is against it. This society or the forward caste people try to see that these privileges do not reach to the SCs and carry negative feelings and develop antagonism against the SC people. So the dalit organisations have to fight against this society in order to get the benefits and privileges meant for them, given by the Constitution.

From the interviews, discussions and observations, it can be opined that students did not imitate the Brahminical culture but a 'modern secular culture' and its attendant features of equality, homogeneity and this worldly pragmatism. The respondents did not believe in the Hindu caste system. They rejected the Hindu values and the caste codes. There are no signs of sanscritization, instead they are adopting western lifestyle and value system. They do not feel bad in eating beef and feels it is nutritious. They are becoming more independent and are taking pride in revealing their

caste identity. They no more feel shy or try to hide their caste. Instead, with the growing political awareness and their rights and privileges, they are asserting themselves in the society under their own 'dalit identity'. Their formation of organisation, and affiliating themselves to local, state and national politics, are creating their own niche. They are no more passive or mute spectators, but are actively coming out of it and revolting the caste system. Most of their affiliation and ideology is based on Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's philosophy. They are 'Ambedkarites'.

WORLD VIEW OF THE SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS

Worldview is a defined area of social life, which can be abstracted from observation of social life. Neither does social anthropology nor do its cognate disciplines, however, offer any widely accepted criteria for discussing worldview in a cross-cultural perspective. Geertz (1968) differentiates between ethos, which he calls the evaluative elements of a culture, and world view is the picture of the way things... are, their concept of nature, of self, of society".

The worldview of people is their characteristic outlook. It is the inside view, the ways in which a person of the group typically sees himself in relation to his world. It includes his mapping of that world, that is to say, the categories he uses in his perception of the familiar and of the strange. It includes the emphasis he places on what he sees, the choices he makes from among the alternatives he knows (David G. Mandelbaum, 1972).

Worldview of the university SC students is not based on the scriptures, traditions of village, but is largely based on modern democratic resources, i.e., the constitution of India. They are in the process of deriving their inspiration from Ambedkar's philosophy, which outline the issues of caste, downtrodden and deprived people in the contemporary modern society.

They have a feeling that their emancipation from the stigmatized lives is possible only by adopting the modern democratic universal principles, and Indian constitution is such a symbol for them. The reverence for Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is perhaps for the reasons that he is identified for shaping Indian Constitution and polity in which protective discrimination is provided to SC and ST, to give them the opportunity in various spheres of life. The reverence is also due to the fact that he

belonged to Scheduled Caste and inspite of all the hurdles he could pursue higher and became an epitome of struggle for dalits.

In the study none stated or identified any legendary figure from Indian history or of contemporary times except Ambedkar, who had put forth the vision and strategy for their emancipation. They strongly believe in the constitution of India and its spirit. They feel that the benefits of the constitution can only be realized after educating themselves and by occupying the decision-making positions.

These students feel that the forward caste groups are hostile and do not want them to progress. The forward caste people are not able to reconcile with the fact that the persons whose lives were under their control are now trying to be equals. They are against their interest and hence try to dominate and suppress them. They try to make sure that the SCs do not supersede in different areas like education, employment etc. The students feel that the constitution has provided them with concessions, privileges and safeguards. Through these privileges only, they can rise in life. Their people are represented in parliament, who act as a pressure group to safeguard their interest. Most of them believe that only political power is the way to improve their status. By grabbing power, they can develop their own community. So, a greater number of educated SC students are becoming politically active. At the university level they are trying to organize themselves. They are trying to mobilize their people, educate them and trying to make them aware of their rights and privileges. By organizing, they are trying to pressurize different authorities to fulfil their demands. While in the university itself, they are trying to affiliate themselves with the mainstream politics and wish to become political leaders in future.

The scheduled caste students believe in a secular identity, which is not shaped and influenced by the religious philosophy. Their ideology is transcending to modern democratic society largely influenced by the technological and economical changes. There is an indication of inner and apparent urge to be associated in the main stream line of politics and bureucracy. Education has been perceived as a tool to transit in to the world where their identities matter by their achievements and not by their ascribed status.

There is a perceptible rejection of caste system even from the functionalist and integrative point of view. Caste system, as of today, though still deep rooted in Indian social system (in terms of practice and in psyche) and quite alive in rural set-up, does

not seem to serve the purpose atleast for the educated youth, who are neither willing to follow traditional livelihood pattern, nor want to inherit the stigmas and disabilities associated with the ascribed status to them. The only utility that they feel about the caste system for them is the protective discrimination provided by the law. This is the reason why some of them are not in favor of abolishing the whole of the caste system, as it might lead to withdrawal of benefits. It is often explained that they have to be protectively discriminated because of the historical reasons for keeping their lot, aloof and deprived from the sources of knowledge, economy and political power which has rendered them backward, poverty stricken and power less.

The last fifty years or more are not just enough to bring out any significant change in their status. They feel the protective discrimination is not implemented with any great zeal and no desired result is achieved.

The various Legislative Acts and Constitutional Provisions have infact favored the forging ahead of the dalit identities. Infact caste is alive for them not because they cannot get away with it, but because caste status provides them the safeguards, security and pressure tactics. Moreover, the class mobility and social change is too slow to eliminate casteism in India. Therefore, lower status itself has become a tool for their economic and political empowerment in the society, where there is a large gradient in living standards among high caste and low caste. To remain dalit is a blessing in disguise because without the state intervention there is hardly any mechanism by the state or any will/ obligation on the part of the privileged lot of the society to bring the poor lower caste persons in to the mainstream. Reservation is considered as an important tool to force the social, economic and political change in the lives of the dalits.

Most of the SC students feel that the caste identities may not get extinguished in near future for the reasons that caste annihilation is not at all possible without political and economic equality. There is also a general feeling that reservation should continue for longer period till they are empowered.

Reservation has been perceived as a remedy for all evils, though it is a passive effort on the part of government and lacks the required dynamism, compassion and enthusiasm in implementing reservation policies. To some, reservation is a strategy in Indian polity as a short-term measure to appease and curb the feeling of revolt among

dalits against the system and as per their vision, the change would take place only when they are at the center stage of all sorts of development.

SC students are in the process of adopting the strategies to achieve their goals through three phases of struggle; first is peaceful, second is agitation and third is violence. But most of them believe in Ambedkar's philosophy of 'Educate, Agitate, Organize'.

The same worldview is not necessarily shared by those who have not experienced the bitterness of caste system as by an economically deprived, rural families. Students coming from well to do families feel alienated from the caste based organizations as they feel that it is the economic status, which really matters. The whole struggle to them is transcendence from a caste identity to a class identity. A sound economic background does not inflict a person with disabilities associated with lower caste status. However, the study has not explored the practical connotations of caste versus class status in the Indian context. But some feel that the class mobility does help in positive attitudes towards life. They feel that they can live without revealing their caste identity, as the caste may not matter in their occupation and urban living setup. Perhaps they wish to live with an illusion of being equal as the caste status is a big question when true interaction like matrimonial alliances are considered. Thus, there is a conscious effort to search the required strength and dynamism within them to establish their identities as dignified human beings in the society.

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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COLLECTING DATA FROM SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS

THE IDENTITY OF THE PERSON WILL NOT BE DISCLOSED

Code-

- 1.1- Respondent's Age- Sex- 1. Male / 2. Female
- 1 2- Present Education- course- 1. M.A. / 2. M.Sc. / 3. M.Tech. / 4. M.Phil / 6. Ph.D.
- Subject Semester / Year
- 1 3- Place of birth- 1. Rural / 2. Urban / 3. Semi urban / 4. Any other Specify.
-Name you're native district-
- 1.4- Place of upbringing- 1. Rural / 2. Urban /3. Semi urban / 4. Any other specify.
- Name the district-
- 1 5- Are you married- 1. Yes / 2. No
- 1 6- If married and have children, mention how many –
- 1.7- What is your religion- 1. Hindu / 2. Christian / 3. Buddhism / 4. Any other
specify-
- 1 8- What is your sub caste- 1 Madiga / 2 Mala / 3. Adi Andhra / 4. Any other
specify-
- 1.9- Give a description of your native place-
- a) Settlement of hamlet away from the main village- 1. Yes / 2. No
 - b) Drinking water facility- 1. Stream / 2. Tank / 3. Well 4 Tap 5 No
facility
 - c) Transport- Road to village- 1. Yes / 2. No, Bus facility to village- 1. Yes
2. No
 - d) Electricity to settlement- 1. Yes 2. No, Electricity to house- 1. Yes 2 No
 - e) School in settlement- 1. Yes / 2. No
- 1.10- Describe your family's relations with the dominant caste in the village—

FAMILY PARTICULARS

2.1- Father's age

Mother's age

2.1- Father's Education- 1. Illiterate / 2. Read-write-primary / 3. Matric / 4. Inter / 5. Graduate / 6. Postgraduate / 7. Professional.

2.3- Mother's education- 1. Illiterate / 2. Read-write-primary / 3. Matric / 4. Inter / 5. Graduate / 6. Postgraduate / 7. Professional.

2.4- Mention parents occupation- Father's

Mother's

2.5- Mention your grand father's occupation-

2 6- Parents place of residence- 1. Rural / 2. Urban / 3. Semi urban

2.7- Parents income per month in rupees (from all sources)-

2.8- Ownership of land holdings (in acres)- 0. No lands / 1. Wet land 2. Dry land

2 9- Do your parents own a house- 1. Yes / 2. No

- If yes, of what kind- 1. Thatched / 2. Bricks. In- 1. Village / 2. Town / 3. City

2 10- Ownership of assets- 1. Radio / 2. T.V. / 3. Fridge / 4. Scooter / 5. Car / 6. Any other specify-

2.11- Number of siblings (Brothers and sisters)-

2.12- Birth order of the informant-

2 13- Give information regarding brothers and sister-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F

AGE

EDUCATION

OCCUPATION

INCOME

MARRIED/

UNMARRIED

PARENT- CHILD INTERRELATIONSHIP-

3 1- Whether parents show interest in knowing your problems- 1. Yes / 2. No

3 2- Whom do you discuss your problems with-

3.3- Do your parents take interest in your studies-1. Yes / 2. No

-If no why-

-If yes upto what age they took interest-

3.4- Did your parents put extra efforts in bringing you up- 1. Yes / 2. No

- If yes how-

3 5- Who takes decisions regarding family matters in the family-

1. Father / 2. Mother / 3. Elder Brother / 4. Together

3.6- Who gave moral and emotional support for your studies-

1. Father / 2. Mother / 3. Sibling / 4. Friends / 5. All / 6. No one

3.7- Among the siblings who use to get maximum attention from parents-

1. Eldest / 2. Youngest / 3. Any other Specify-

If so Why-

3 8- Please tick whether your parents

1- Parents paid equal attention to sons and daughters

2- Paid more attention to sons

3 9- If sons are given more attention in what ways- 1. Food 2. Clothing 3

Monetary / 4. Love / 5 Care / 6. Support.

3.10- Which of the brother / sister you like or love most- Specify-

Why-

RESPONDENT'S EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE

CLASS	X	XII	DEGREE	PG	M.PHIL	PHD
PERCENTAGE						
YEAR						
PLACE (R/U/Semi U)						
MEDIUM OF EDU.						

4.1- Any gap in education in the whole of your study career- 1. Yes / 2. No

- a) If yes how many times specify-
- b) Specify when the gap occurred-
- c) Why the gap in education, describe-

SCHOOLING (Primary and Secondary)-

4 2- Information about SCHOOLING-

- a) Different SCHOOL for scheduled castes- 1. Yes / 2. No
- b) Separate sitting arrangement in SCHOOL- 1. Yes / 2. No
- c) Drinking water facility in SCHOOL – 1. Separate/ 2. Common
- d) Playing with forward caste students in SCHOOL- 1. Yes / 2. No
- e) Friendship was formed on caste lines in SCHOOL- 1.Yes / 2. No
- f) In SCHOOL did you have close friends from forward caste- 1. Yes / 2. No
- g) Treatment given to you by the forward caste classmate in SCHOOL- 1. Friendly /
2. Ridiculed / 3. Made fun off / 4. Abuse / 5. Avoided.
- h) Sharing food with forward caste student in SCHOOL- 1. Yes / 2. No
- i) Having food at forward caste friend's house while in SCHOOL- 1. Yes /
2. No
- j) Any incident of violence or harassment to you in the SCHOOL- 1.Yes / 2. No
No
If yes, Describe-

4 3- Any discrimination by the teacher in the SCHOOL- 1. Yes / 2. No

If yes, Describe-

4 4- In SCHOOL whether- 1. All the teachers discriminated you

2. Few teachers discriminated you

4 5- Whether marks and grade allotment in SCHOOL were- 1. Partial 2 Impartial

4 6- Whether you were discriminated against other caste students while giving
punishment in the SCHOOL- 1. Yes / 2. No

4 7- While studying in SCHOOL where you were staying- 1. Home 2. Hostel 3

Any other specify

4.8- Name of the place where the SCHOOL is located-

4.9- Distance of the SCHOOL from your own village-

5.1- Any scholarship you got in SCHOOL- 1. Yes / 2. No

If yes, how much per month-

5.2- What were the subjects taken in inter or PUC- 1. Sciences / 2. Arts.

Why- 1. Out of interest / 2. Out of compulsion (i.e., marks) / 3. Parents advice
/ 4 Any other-

DEGREE OR COLLEGE EDUCATION-

5 3- Name of the COLLEGE you studied-

5.4- While studying in COLLEGE where you were staying- 1. Home / 2. Hostel / 3.

Any other specify

5 5- Distance of the COLLEGE from your own place of residence-

5.6- Any scholarship you got in COLLEGE- 1. Yes / 2. No

If yes, how much per month-

5 7- Friendship was formed on caste lines in COLLEGE- 1. Yes / 2. No4.8- Distance
of the COLLEGE from your own place of residence-

5 8- Any scholarship you got in COLLEGE- 1. Yes / 2. No

If yes, how much per month-

5 9- Friendship was formed on caste lines in COLLEGE- 1. Yes / 2. No

5 10- In COLLEGE did you have close friends from forward caste- 1. Yes / 2. N

5 11-Treatment given to you by the forward caste classmate in COLLEGE- 1.

Friendly /2 Ridiculed / 3. Made fun off / 4 Abuse / 5. Avoided.

5 12- Sharing food with forward caste student in COLLEGE- 1. Yes / 2 No

5.13- Having food at forward caste friend's house while in COLLEGE- 1. Yes 2
No

5.14- Any incident of violence or harassment to you in the COLLEGE- 1.Yes 2. No

If yes, Describe-

5.15- Any discrimination by the teacher in the COLLEGE- 1. Yes 2 No

If yes, Describe-

5.16- In COLLEGE whether- 1. All the teachers discriminated you

2. Few teachers discriminated you

5.17- Whether marks and grade allotment in COLLEGE were- 1. Partial 2. Impartial

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION-

6.1- What are the reasons for joining this particular UNIVERSITY-

6.2- Why you have preferred this P.G. course-

6.3- Whether you found P.G. course contents difficult- 1. Yes / 2. No

6.4- Did you find the P.G. course interesting-1. Yes / 2. No

If no, why-

6.5- Whether- 1. All the subjects in P.G. were difficult

2. Some subjects were difficult

6.6- What efforts are put up by you to cover the difficulties, Describe-

6.7- Whether you were able to adjust with the difficulties- 1. Yes / 2. No

6.8- How much time it has taken for you to adjust-

6.9- Whether you face any problem in understanding lectures- 1. Yes / 2. No

6.10- Whether you face problem in understanding lectures of how many teachers-

1. All the teachers / 2. Some teachers

6.11- What are the reasons for not understanding- 1. Speed of the lecture / 2.

Technical terms / 3. Difficult language / 4. Unprepared Lectures by the teachers / 5. Disturbance in classroom / 6. Not so clear speech / 7. Any other reason / 8. Multiple reasons.

6.12- If you were to be the teacher, in what different method you would like to teach for the benefit of students. Describe-

ACCESSIBILITY OF THE TEACHER-

6.13-a) Whether you raise doubts in the class- 1. YES / 2. NO

b) If no, why you don't ask doubts. Give reasons-

c) Whether you meet the teacher for clarification of doubts- 1. YES 2. NO

d) Do you think the teacher is inclined to respond to you for clarification of doubts in the class and outside- 1. YES 2. NO

e) Do you think the teacher's evaluation of your performance in the exams is fair- 1. YES/ 2. NO

f) If the teachers are partial, How many- 1. ALL 2 MAJORITY 3 FEW

g) Do you think the teacher is partial to all scheduled caste students- 1 YES / 2. NO

h) If so, How many- 1. ALL / 2. MAJORITY 3. FEW

- 7.1- Do you think the scheduled caste teacher will be more helpful in teaching the same courses for scheduled caste students- 1. YES / 2. NO
- 7.2- Whether scheduled caste teacher would be more objective in evaluating the performance- 1. YES / 2. NO
- 7.3- Whether the teacher is inclined to maintain informal relation with the scheduled caste students outside the classroom- 1. YES / 2. NO
- 7.4- Whether the teacher show interest to know the personal problems of scheduled caste students-1. YES / 2. NO
- 7.5- Whether you try to explain your personal problems to the teachers- 1. YES / 2. NO
- 7.6- In your opinion UNIVERSITY TEACHERS should be (fill in the blank with whatever you feel)
- 7.7- Do you feel any social distance between you and non scheduled caste students in the class- 1 YES / 2. NO
- 7.8- Do you think that non scheduled caste in the class make friendship with you- 1. YES / 2. No
- 7.9- Who are your best three friends in the class and to which caste they belong-
Specify the CASTE
- FRIEND 1
- FRIEND 2
- FRIEND 3
- 7.10- Do you have good friends from opposite sex in your class- 1. YES 2. NO
- 7.11- Do you think that non scheduled caste students hesitate to exchange books with you- 1. YES / 2. NO
- 7.12- Do you- 1. STUDY EVERY DAY / 2. STUDY NOT SO REGULARLY 3. STUDY ONLY DURING EXAMS.
- 7.13- If you are in the hostel tick the caste of your roommate-
1. S.C. / 2. B.C. / 3. F.C. / 4. BRAHMIN / 5. NOT APPLICABLE 6. MANY
- 7.14- What is her / his subject-
- 7.15- How are your relations with your roommate- 1. CORDIAL 2. NORMAL 3. CONFLICT

8.1-a) Do you normally dine with your roommate- 1. YES / 2. NO

b) Do you go together for outing and entertainment- 1. YES / 2. NO

c) In case of need do you receive any financial help from your roommate-
1. YES / 2. NO

d) Do you do combined studies- 1. YES / 2. NO

e) Do you share clothes and food with your roommate- 1. YES / 2. NO

8.2-Who are your other close friends in the HOSTEL and to which caste they belong-
Specify the CASTE

FRIEND1

FRIEND 2

FRIEND 3

8 3-Whom do you prefer for friendship- 1. SCHEDULED CASTE / 2. NON
SCHEDULED CASTE / 3. BOTH

8 4-Do you have a friend from opposite sex- 1. YES / 2. NO

8.5-How do you feel talking to opposite sex- 1. FREE / 2. NERVOUS /
3. COMFORTABLE/ 4. UNCOMFORTABLE

PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZATIONS-

8 6-Do you think there is a need for an organization separately for scheduled castes to
protect their academic interest in the university- 1. YES / 2. NO

8 7-Are you a member of such an organization- 1. YES / 2. NO

8 8- Did you play any leading role in organizing or mobilizing scheduled caste
students during the last one year- 1. YES / 2. NO

8 9-In your experience these dalit organizations are- 1. VERY USEFUL 2. USEFUL
/ 3. SOMEWHAT USEFUL / 4. NOT AT ALL USEFUL

FINANCIAL STATUS

8.10-What is your monthly expenditure (include everything)- Rs-

8.11- Do you get scholarship in UNIVERSITY- 1. YES 2. NO

8.12- If yes, how much per month-

8.13- Who help you for the rest of the expenditure- 1. PARENTS 2. FRIENDS 3
BROTHER

8.14- How do you cope up without sufficient money- Describe-

9.1-Did you experience any problem with the administration during your stay in the UNIVERSITY-1. YES / 2. NO. If yes, specify-

INFORMATION ON PERSONAL HABITS-

9.2-Do you eat beef- 1. YES / 2. NO

9.3- Do you face any problems in adjusting with the food items provided in the hostel-
1. YES / 2. NO

9.4- If yes, mention how you are adjusting with the problem-

9.5- Do you feel eating vegetarian means pure and eating non-vegetarian food as impure- 1. YES / 2. NO

9 6- Do you smoke- 1. YES / 2. NO. If yes, 1. REGULARLY / 2. OCCASIONALLY

9 7- Do you drink alcohol- 1. YES / 2. NO. If yes, 1. REGULARLY / 2.

OCCASIONALLY

9 8-Mention your hobbies-

9 9- Did you participate in any co- curricular activities and games and sports- 1. YES
/ 2. NO

9 10- Any achievements in this area, Mention-

CAREER PLANS

9 11-You want to become- 1. TEACHER / 2. CIVIL SERVANT 3. POLITICAL
LEADER /4 GO ABROAD / 5 COMPUTER PROFFESIONAL 6. ANY
OTHER SPECIFY

9 12- Are you preparing for writing competitive exams- 1. UGC 2. UPSC 3
APPSC / 4 RBI / 5. LIC / 6. ANY OTHER SPECIFY-

9 13-Whether you are an UGC-JRF / CSIR holder- 1. YES 2. NO

9 14- Any other occasional courses you have done- 1. TYPING 2. SHORT HAND
3. COMPUTERS /4. ANY OTHER SPECIFY

9 15- Based on your experience what is the attitude of forward caste students towards
your own caste, Describe-

9.16- In University based on your experience what kind of impression you have
formed regarding the teacher's attitude towards scheduled caste students in the
class, Describe-

- 11.1 How are you introduced to their family members Do they reveal your caste 1. YES / 2. NO
- 11.2 If caste is known, how the family members look at the friendship- 1. ENCOURAGE / 2. DISCOURAGE / 3. NEUTRAL
- 11.3- Do you feel comfortable at non-dalits residence- 1. YES / 2. NO
- 11.4- How frequently do you visit your native place- 1. ONCE IN TWO YEARS / 2. ONCE IN AN YEAR / 3. TWICE IN A YEAR / 4. THRICE OR MORE
- 11.5- Don't you feel like visiting your native place more frequently- 1. YES / 2. NO
If no why-
- 11.6- When you visit your native place how many days you usually stay- Specify-
- 11.7- When you go to village whom do you like to interact with – 1. S.C. / 2. OTHER S C. / 3. B.C. / 4. DOMINANT CASTE / 5. BRAHMINS / 6. EVERY BODY
- 11.8- Do you have friends among dominant caste, Brahmins in your village- 1. YES / 2. NO.
- 11.9- Do you face any discrimination when you visit their families in the village- 1.
- 11.10- For how many years you have been in this university-

MATRIMONIALS

- 11.11-Do you wish to marry in your own caste- 1. YES / 2. NO
- 11.12-Do you prefer to marry-1. With in your own Caste / 2. Other SC / 3. B.C 4. F C. / 5. BRAHMIN / 6. NO CASTE BAR
- 11.13- Give reasons for preferring INTER CASTE MARRIAGES-
- 11.14- Who would you like to marry, tick the qualities of the person-
1. EDUCATED / 2. UNEDUCATED
1. RURAL / 2. URBAN
1. GOOD LOOKING / 2. AVERAGE
- COMPLEXION-1. FAIR / 2. MEDIUM 3. DARK / 4. ANY COMPLEXION

RELIGION

- 11.15- Are you- 1. RELIGIOUS / 2. SECULAR
– Are you converted- 1. YES / 2. NO. To which religion Specify-
- 11.16-Is converted religion helpful in changing your position- 1. SOCIAL / 2. EDUCATIONAL / 3. ECONOMIC STATUS / 4. NOT HELPFUL

1. What method you would adopt to redress your grievances 1. VIOLENT / 2. PEACEFUL 3. AGITATIONS / 4. FIRST PEACEFUL, THEN AGITATION AND LASTLY VIOLENT / 5. ACCORDING TO THE SITUATION.