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PATTERNS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY AND MIGRATION IN A CASTE SOCIETY

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This paper is an attempt to explore the patterns and ramifications of social mobility among twelve different castes in five South Indian villages. The focus is on social rather than cultural mobility and the purpose is to determine the extent of individual mobility in terms of shifts in occupation, educational betterment, and attitude to ward migration. Social mobility is extremely limited but the process has started, particularly among the castes on the lower rungs of the social ladder. Traditional restrictions on the choice of occupations and the conventional bond to native villages are weakening as urban contacts increase and new aspirations rise above the level of available opportunities.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS and sociologists have always been concerned with patterns of mobility within the caste system. Most studies in the past, however, have dwelt on cultural rather than social mobility. McKim Marriot's (1955) concept of "universalization" and Srinivas' (1952, 1966) concept of "Sanskritization" essentially refer to adaptations of cultural values and customs, especially of the Sanskritic tradition. Panikkar (1961) documented the mechanisms of mobility which operated through the ages and Mandelbaum (1970:427) has provided a systematic account of how "recurrent change among Jatis arises from consistent efforts by members of lower jatis to raise their ranking." Pocock (1964) stresses the contradictions between "ideal" tradition and actual practice—the paradoxes that facilitate and legitimize mobility in the caste system. Ghurye (1961) and Rao (1964) also emphasize cultural factors that induce as well as sustain

mobility drives among different caste groups. But the patterns of social mobility with its multi-dimensional aspects of career shifts, physical mobility, and inter-generational mobility remain to be verified empirically.

Again, most of the mobility studies have focused on collective rather than individual mobility. While Mandelbaum (1970:471) has discussed individual passing and percolation with reference to cultural mobility, he believes that "individual mobility, by itself, is limited and ephemeral." Although from the point of view of a given caste group collective mobility is far more important than individual mobility, the forces of modernization, new economic opportunities, educational revolution, and new political processes have brought forth the importance of individual aspirations and attainments for social climbing in the secular world.

The present study is, therefore,

centered on two definite objectives:

- (1) to delineate the patterns and ramifications of social mobility along several dimensions, particularly the extent of inter- and intra-generational mobility among members of different caste groups in the areas of occupation, education, and place of residence.
- (2) to find out respondents' willingness to leave their native villages in search of better opportunities.

Although a general theory of social mobility is still an elusive goal, literature on stratification abounds in mobility studies. According to Lipset and Bendix (1964:1-2), "The term (social mobility) refers to the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society—positions which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical values. When we study social mobility we analyze the movement of individuals from positions possessing a certain rank to positions either higher or lower in the social system."

No stratification system is entirely open or closed. An open society is one in which the individual attains a position commensurate with genetically determined talents—a society wherein "the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons" (Davis and Moore, 1966:47). A completely closed system of stratification obtains in a society wherein the individual's status is rigidly and permanently determined at birth, leaving no room whatever for social climbing. These are extreme conditions which do not exist in real life. Lipset and Bendix (1964:1-8) argue that "changes in demands for performance" and "changes in supplies of talent" nec-

essitate on-going processes of mobility in any dynamic social system.

Dahrendorf (1959:57-61) has been concerned with barriers to vertical mobility, particularly various structural constraints like differential educational opportunities and mechanisms of recruitment. The importance of motivational factors has been well documented by Veblen (1934:30-32) who postulates that every individual is motivated by the desire to maximize a favorable self-evaluation and, through invidious comparison, is involved in the incessant struggle for pecuniary reputability." Political socialization theory (Lipset and Bendix, 1964) dilates upon the tendency of mobile individuals to adopt the political attitudes and styles of perception of the destination class. Lipset and Zetterberg (1966) have introduced structural and motivational factors into the explanation of social mobility.

In recent years sociologists have made extensive use of Markov chains in the study of social mobility. Markov formulation has served as a fruitful theoretical framework facilitating not only the analysis of social mobility but the projection of growth and migration trends as well as the measurement of social distance. Spilerman (1972) has attempted to rectify some of the methodological shortcomings in the traditional Markov model by introducing a regression procedure which allows a heterogeneous population to be examined together with changes in the transition probabilities.

Jackson and Curtis (1972:701-713) have found that multidimensional additive models adequately represent the effects of social stratification on the individual. "The essential

difference between "mobility" theories and "multidimensional rank" theories—when they differ—is that they posit different mechanisms to account for the effects of stratification on individual behavior. For example, a "mobility" theory might specify hindered interaction in primary groups as the intervening mechanism; while a "multidimensional" theory might be based on processes of socialization and re-socialization.

Sanskritization, Westernization, and politicization seem to sum up for Srinivas (1966) the dynamics of change in caste structure. He defines Sanskritization as "a process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, 'twice-born' caste" (1966:1-45). By means of this process—which has been operative throughout history—low castes have been able to rise to a higher position in the social hierarchy. Srinivas (1966) hastens to add, however, that such shifts are positional, and not structural.

Isaacs (1965) demonstrates convincingly that the consequences of social mobility for private life and public life are entirely different. Educated urbanites of untouchable origin could forget their caste liabilities in professional or business circles but their family life and intimate relations are restricted to members of the same jati status. Mandelbaum (1970) has singled out power, wealth, and cultural adaptations as the most fundamental conditions facilitating mobility. Having dealt with such mobility tactics as individual passing, percolation, and the open jati campaign, Mandelbaum (1970:469) concludes that the most

recurrent mobility campaign "entailed dissociation from degrading customs and association with elevating practices, of both scriptural and modern origin." Several others (cf. Rao, 1964; Bailey, 1957; Mayer, 1960) have shown how a number of low castes have discarded demeaning practices like meat-eating and consumption of liquor, and started adopting respectable practices such as wearing of the sacred thread.

METHODOLOGY

The present enquiry is an exploration into the patterns of mobility and migration in five South Indian villages. The specific purpose of the study was to determine the extent of intergenerational as well as intragenerational mobility among various caste groups, particularly in the areas of education and occupation. It also sought to delineate the patterns of physical mobility and underlying motivations that induced change of residence.

Five villages of Dindigul Taluk, Madurai District, Tamilnadu, were selected for study. The selection of these villages was prompted by the fact that they represented most of the major caste groups in the region. All male adults between 18 and 60 years of age were interviewed. The sample size is 281.

The findings that follow should be understood in the light of several methodological limitations. First of all, the sample size is so small that not even percentage could be meaningfully used. Second, only a limited number of variables were selected, the enquiry was strictly exploratory, and no statistical procedures were employed. Third, the investigators had to rely heavily on the information furnished by villag-

ers on their educational and occupational background without any significant consistency checks. And finally, it will be difficult to deduce broad generalizations for the caste

society from a limited enquiry such as this which can only reveal certain major trends in the area under study.

TABLE 1—HIERARCHICAL GROUPING OF THE TWELVE CASTES AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

A	Naidu Pillai Kappiliar Devar Chettiar Konar Kurumbar	} (Farming) (petty-trading) (Cattle-keeping) (Sheep-rearing)
B	Asari Potter Washerman	(Carpentry, Smithy) Barber
C	Madhari	(untouchables)

Table 1 lists the castes in the conventional hierarchical order together with their traditional occupation.

Traditional *jajmani*¹ system prevails in these rural communities and serves to reinforce patterns of social stratification. Castes in the mid-tier (B in Table 1) constitute the service castes who perform certain essential services for the community and are paid in cash as well as kind. Untouchables are the laboring class at the disposal of the land-owning castes and dependent on them for their livelihood. They constitute the bulk of the agricultural labor force. Although there are no formal restrictions on the choice of occupations by lower castes, upper castes are in a position to control the activities of the former through stringent economic sanctions. Lack of education and the absence of an industrial

neighborhood also serve to sustain the traditional patterns.

RESULTS

Analysis and discussion of the findings may be subsumed under the following headings:

1. Occupational mobility.
2. Inter-generational mobility
3. Educational mobility
4. Physical mobility
5. Cosmopolitaness and mobility

Occupational mobility

Occupation is at once the index and determinant of social status. Income and property ownership are often related to this. In the traditional caste system every occupation is rated and ranked on the ritual scale and assigned to a given caste which transmits it from generation to generation. The occupation is evaluated in terms of the "theory of pollution." Service vocations like laundering, hair-cutting, and dealing in hides and skin are considered polluting and hence ranked low. The Madharis—an untouchable caste—

¹Jajmani system is an institutionalized arrangement under which lower castes receive payment in kind during the harvest season for traditional services performed over the year. The system bound together different castes in enduring and persuasive relationships.

who deal in leather goods constitute the lowest rung of the social ladder. Since the Asaris handle clean goods like metal and wood, their occupation is considered 'pure'. Agriculture is also clean and land-owning castes enjoy a considerable amount of prestige supported by wealth and ritual "purity."

In modern India the practice of untouchability is unlawful and the traditional caste councils which once enforced norms of pollution and purity are inactive. Upper castes can no longer hold the lower castes in servitude and insist on their continuing to render traditional services.

Government-sponsored programmes and vocational training for lower castes, free education, reservation of seats in schools, government services and institutions of local government, and the preferential treatment of backward castes in the matter of employment are all intended to liberate them from the clutches of tradition, and offer opportunities for self-employment and independent vocations. But to what extent have these programs been successful in the rural communities? How many of our respondents have "escaped" the traditional occupation and taken up an independent vocation?

TABLE 2—THE EXTENT OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG RESPONDENTS

	Caste groups											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total number of respondents	44	51	82	4	2	40	16	14	5	4	4	15
Mobile	..	2	6	4	..	..	1	2	..	1	1	2
Non-mobile	..	42	45	78	4	2	40	15	12	5	3	13

1. Naidu; 2. Devar; 3. Konar; 4. Chettiar; 5. Pillai; 6. Kurumbar; 7. Kappiliar; 8. Asari; 9. Washerman; 10. Potter; 11. Barber; 12. Madhar.

NOTE: This order of listing the castes will be followed in the subsequent tables.

Table 2 summarizes the extent of mobility among the twelve different castes. When social mobility is measured in terms of the difference between an initial and a subsequent status, we see that the extent of mobility among the various castes is negligible. The question of vertical mobility in a caste society is not a matter of simple definition. Upward mobility of a caste as a group through Sanskritization and cultural adaptations will take several generations. We are here concerned only

with individual respondents who, either willingly or unwillingly, because of the dynamic force of achievement motivation or of situational constraints, left their traditional occupation of caste heritage to follow new vocations. Simply because an untouchable has become a school teacher the status of untouchables as a whole, or even of his own family does not go up in the ritual hierarchy but he has become independent of the yoke of tradition, is no longer at the beck and call of

upper castes; he has achieved higher status in the secular hierarchy. Such changes, though negligible in terms of percentages, must be considered significant insofar as they involve opportunities for independent choice of occupation and self-development for the service castes and untouchables.

Among castes of the first tier social mobility has been essentially horizontal—movement from one occupation to another of the same status. A majority of the mobile respondents shifted from farming to small trades such as running coffee-shops or grocery shops. Others moved from general agricultural operations to more specialized tasks like digging wells or canal construction.

Among the service castes and untouchables mobility has taken place on vertical lines. The Asari (goldsmith) families and one potter family have taken to agricultural labor. One barber discontinued his traditional occupation and has become an owner cultivator, and two cobblers (untouchables) have abandoned customary leather work and joined the agricultural labor force. These changes have all occurred among the service castes whose occupations have hitherto been governed by custom and tradition. The institution of *jajmani*, the expectations of mutual obligations on the part of the village community as well as the service castes, and the practice of payment in kind had always kept these castes in a state of servitude and the choice of any independent vocation was taboo—and improbable, if not altogether impossible. The present study indicates that any evidence of vertical mobility, however limited in scope and extent,

comes from among the ranks of service castes. In other words, a few families in the lower rungs of the social ladder have been able to shake off the burden of involuntary occupation thrust on them by the weight of social sanctions and to follow vocations of their choice. The barber and the cobblers have, of course, abandoned “polluting” occupations in pursuit of clean ones. The Asaris who left goldsmithy to join the agricultural labor force may have lost some prestige in the ritual realm but are not worse off in the secular world. Even if they are not economically better off, the nature of mobility represented by them is an instance of “career skidding” rather than “social sinking.”

Inter-generational Mobility

Rise in occupation from that of the parental caste should constitute good evidence of the newcomer's shift from traditional occupations, though not necessarily his social acceptance by members of the upper castes. “Inter-generational mobility is viewed as the difference between father's status and son's eventual status” (Hawkes, 1972:294-300). We have compared father's occupation and son's occupation at the time of interview. Blau and Duncan (1967) have adopted a new approach: instead of trying to explain the difference between father's and son's statuses, they try to explain the son's status, and include the father's status among the explanatory variables. Hawkes (1972) has commended this method and mathematically demonstrated that our interpretations could be egregiously in error if mobility is measured as a difference between statuses. However, this methodological bias is not likely to

affect mobility studies in the traditional caste society where we are confronted by fixed occupational hierarchies with only occasional changes. In comparing the relationship between the occupations of fathers and sons, the underlying assumption is that "the occupation of the father will be a major help or hindrance to an individual in acquir-

ing vocational skill and motivation for achievement" (Lipset and Bendix, 1964:156-203). Customs, cultural taboos, restrictions on the choice of occupation, and caste barriers make intergenerational mobility in occupations extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible. Table 3 summarizes inter-generational mobility.

TABLE 3—INTER-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY: SON'S AND FATHER'S OCCUPATIONS COMPARED

Caste groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total no. of respondents ..	44	51	82	4	2	40	16	14	5	4	4	15
Mobile ..	1	4	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	4	1	2
Non-mobile ..	43	47	81	4	2	40	19	12	5	..	3	13

Potters have altogether abandoned their traditional occupations; they have taken to farming. Changes in people's life-style, particularly the sharp decline in the use of mud pots (which have been replaced by aluminium, brass, or stainless steel vessels) have rendered pottery an economic liability. The other representatives of service castes—two Asaris (goldsmiths) and one barber—also shifted from their traditional occupations to farming. Among other castes mobility has been essentially a matter of shift between agriculture and small trade, except for one Devar respondent who became a clerk in a lawyer's office. Once again, the significant factor is that any instances of vertical mobility are reported by service castes and that at least a few of their representatives have freed themselves of

the caste-bound occupations thrust on them by tradition.

Educational Mobility

Education is one of the conditions facilitating social mobility. To the extent it opens up fresh avenues of employment and new opportunities and generates higher aspirations, the amount and kind of education may be said to be significantly associated with chances for upward mobility. Table 4 gives the respondents' present educational status.

The literacy situation is not wholly unsatisfactory. Nearly 50 per cent of the respondents are literate. This is well above the national average of 33 per cent. What is even more significant is that the percentage of illiteracy is lower—43 per cent to be exact—among service castes and untouchables whereas it is 53 per cent

TABLE 4—RESPONDENTS' PRESENT LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Educational level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total no. of respondents	44	51	82	4	2	40	16	14	5	4	4	15
Illiterates ..	12	11	65	1	1	30	5	5	4	2	2	5
Primary ..	16	33	12	3	1	5	6	9	1	2	2	9
Middle ..	11	7	5	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	1
Secondary ..	4	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..
College ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..

among upper castes. It means that many of the lower castes are taking advantage of the new opportunities like fee concessions, scholarships, and free education accorded them.

This conclusion is further supported by the evidence on inter-generational mobility in education summarized in Table 5.

TABLE 5—INTER-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY IN EDUCATION: SON'S AND FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVELS COMPARED

	caste groups											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total no. of respondents	44	51	82	4	2	40	16	14	5	4	4	15
Higher	23	36	14	1	1	9	9	7	1	2	2	5
Same	19	11	68	1	1	31	7	5	4	2	2	10
Lower	2	4	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..

Generally speaking, our respondents have higher education than their fathers. Only ten out of 281 respondents have reported less education than their fathers.

Physical Mobility

The present investigation revealed that only 16 out of 281 respondents had moved to the villages where they now reside from elsewhere;

others were born and brought up in these villages. And all 16 respondents who migrated to these villages did so after they entered the labor market. Most of them came in search of jobs and to reside with their relatives—mothers-in-law, sisters, or aunts—whose families they assist in farming or small trade. Except for

one washerman who migrated from his birth place in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), all others have moved here from villages within a radius of 30 miles or less. These findings suggest that physical mobility is limited and influenced as much by kinship relations as by economic considerations.

TABLE 6—FREQUENCY OF MIGRATION AMONG RESPONDENTS

	Caste groups											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total no. of respondents ..	44	51	82	4	2	40	16	14	5	4	4	15
Moved at least once	2	9	13	..	1	4	1	2	2	..	..	2
Never moved ..	42	42	69	4	1	36	15	12	3	4	4	13
Lived in one other place ..	2	6	10	..	..	4	..	2	1	..	..	2
Two places ..	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
3 places ..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
4 places ..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Table 6 shows the frequency of migration. Temporary migration among the respondents is limited; only 36 out of 281 respondents had migrated from their birth places and the number of people who changed their places of residence more than once is even smaller. However, the process has started, and temporary migration is taking place mostly among the landless people who move from place to place in search

of work. Yet physical distance is an important limiting factor; people often move to adjoining villages. Of the 36 respondents who have lived one year or more in other places than their native villages, 18 lived in places which are within a distance of ten miles from their present dwelling area, eight lived in places within a distance of 20 miles, three within 30 miles, one within 40 miles and the rest within 70 miles. Migration

outside the district is rare and outside the State is absent. The pattern of temporary migration is also influenced by ties of kinship and friendship. Often a person moves to a new place where he already has relatives with whom he can reside. Out of the 36 respondents, ten migrated to villages where their brothers had established themselves, one stayed in his son's place, another in his son-in-law's house, six persons moved with their mothers-in-law and ten persons migrated to their maternal uncles' villages. Only eight out of 36 respondents moved on their own.

Cosmopolitanism and Mobility

Following Robert Merton's (1968) typology of local and cosmopolitan influentials, any individuals who confine their interest and orientation to their immediate environment, with little interest in the world beyond, may be called localites, and those whose interests extend far beyond the boundaries of the local system and who consider themselves in harmony with the larger world may be called cosmopolites. Peasants are generally considered to be at the localite end of the continuum, representing what Lerner and Riesman describe as "rooted individuals" whereas the cosmopolites who are frequently in touch with larger systems are labeled "gatekeepers," "cultural brokers," or "urbanites." Transportation facilities such as roads and railways enable the peasant to maintain actual contact with the world outside of his village. Several studies have established positive correlation between urban contact and other indices of modernization. As early as 1941 Redfield demonstrated that an increase in cosmopolite contacts constitutes one

sufficient cause of secularization and individualization. Rogers (1969:150) considers cosmopolitanism "an indicator of modernization, as well as a possible initiator of the process." And Morrison (1966:7-8) writes:

As an initial consequence of increased urban contacts in the development process, individual discontent will increase in the rural sectors of developing countries . . . In addition to the inherent economic necessity of these contacts for development, knowledge of the assumed benefits of modernization, including higher living standards, increased self-determination, and so on, is typically eventually spread by urbanites to the hinterland with something like missionary zeal as a part of development-program efforts. Whatever the exact causes of this phenomenon, development will involve increased urban-rural contacts. Immediately for at least some ruralites, if not eventually for all, these contacts will result in the ruralites aspiring to what the urbanites have, in particular, to higher material levels of living.

These studies stress the importance of peasants' visits outside their own villages, especially to urban centers. Even though the extent of migration is limited, temporary visits outside the native villages do play an important role in peasants' lives. Table 7 summarizes the visiting patterns; peasants do have contacts with towns and cities in neighboring districts as well as other States.

There are local organizations that arrange frequent sight-seeing trips and many farmers take advantage of these guided tours. Other reasons for visits to urban centers include attending social functions in the

TABLE 7—FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO OTHER PLACES

	Caste Groups											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total no. of respondents	44	51	82	4	2	40	16	14	5	4	4	15
Visited places outside the district ..	12	27	32	2	2	18	10	7	2	2	3	7
Never went outside the district ..	32	24	50	2	..	22	6	7	3	2	1	8
Visited places in only one neighbouring district ..	6	12	18	..	..	10	6	2	1	1	1	4
Visited several districts ..	5	10	13	2	1	7	4	3	..	1	2	3
Visited other States	1	5	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Other countries .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..

homes of relatives and friends, agricultural marketing, purchase of bullocks, medical treatment, vocational training, and pilgrimages to temples and other holy places. In short, the data indicate that farmers are no longer confined to their local world of isolation but involved in the affairs of the world beyond their little communities. Even though we cannot speak of integration of these rural communities into the mainstream of national progress, the age of isolation is definitely over and the stage of confrontation is well under

way.

As confrontation widens the horizon, the villagers' attitude toward migration changes too. Contacts with urban centers convince them that a higher standard of living is possible. Consequently, new expectations and aspirations induce people to migrate to other regions in pursuit of better employment opportunities. Table 8 shows the extent of willingness on the part of villagers to migrate to, and settle down in, other places.

TABLE 8—SHOWING THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE WILLING TO MIGRATE TO OTHER PLACES FOR BETTER SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

	Caste Groups											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total no. of respondents	44	51	82	4	2	40	16	14	5	4	4	15
Willing to migrate to other places permanently. ..	10	22	37	3	1	17	6	11	2	2	2	6
Unwilling to leave native villages ..	34	29	45	1	1	23	10	3	3	2	2	9
Will reside anywhere in India ..	8	27	7	4	..	4	3	8	..	..	..	2
Will migrate to other countries ..	3	9	..	2	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..

It is obvious that the desire to move out of their native villages for better socio-economic conditions has emerged among the villagers. Ruralites' conventional attachment and personal bond to their native village is breaking down. Nearly 42 per cent of the respondents are willing to migrate. And 33 per cent of the respondents are prepared to settle down anywhere in India in spite of the barriers of language, custom, and tradition. The figure is definitely impressive. People are no longer unalterably committed to the conventional view of the good life and folk tradition. The landless and service castes display a greater tendency to migrate than the landowners who are not willing to sell the lands which give them prestige and security. Considerations of kinship, lack of skill, and financial resources are among the reasons that restrict mobility.

Summary

(1) The extent of occupational mobility is extremely limited among the different caste groups. Only 19 out of 281 respondents have shifted from one occupation to another. Most of the shifts among caste Hindus were horizontal and occurred between agriculture and small trade.

(2) Changes have occurred among service castes and untouchables whose hereditary occupations are normally determined and regulated by tradition. Shifts into self-employment by service castes point to the weakening of the conventional ban on independent choice of vocation as well as the deterioration of jajmani system.

(3) There is very little variation in the stability of career patterns; among the caste Hindus, farmers

who own land are clearly most stable.

(4) If the real test of a rise or fall in the socio-economic hierarchy is the relative permanence of shifts, it must be construed as significant that some service castes (and all of the potters) have altogether abandoned their traditional occupation. Shifts into self-employment not bound by caste tradition ensure a greater degree of freedom and autonomy for the individuals.

(5) The situation with regard to literacy is improving; the vast majority of respondents have better education than their fathers, although the level of education is still inadequate to secure for them skilled jobs and higher-status vocations.

(6) Physical mobility is limited; the process of migration has, however, emerged among landless people who move to other villages in search of work. Peasants' contact with urban centers is also on the increase. Above all, a good number of respondents are willing to move out of their villages and settle down anywhere in the country.

Several implications emerge from the present study. First, the conventional view of life, sentimental attachment to the native village, the sense of security built into the caste system, and the bonds of kinship can no longer hold peasants back if avenues for betterment are open to them elsewhere. Caste tradition and the related liabilities with which individuals enter into the labor market,—low levels of education, lack of skills, absence of any industrial undertakings in the neighborhood, and the type of family background—act as impediments in the way of upward mobility but the motivation is there and the process is already

under way. However, in spite of various reform movements and philosophic trends that have come to play a vital role in the dynamics of social change in modern India, many of the traditional institutions of the caste system have not disappeared. Moreover, further studies involving massive data and statistical procedures are required to gain deeper insight into processes of mobility and migration in rural India.

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