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Migration, Acculturation and Social Mobility Among the Untouchable Gold Miners in South India: A Case Study

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G. N. Ramu is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana. The data for this article were collected in a Kolar Gold Field (KGF) community in 1964-65 while the author was an assistant professor of sociology in the KGF College. Further fieldwork was conducted in 1967 in eleven Madras villages from which the miners had emigrated. This paper was prepared during a summer research appointment supported by the Research Board of the University of Illinois. The author wishes to express his indebtedness to Paul Wiebe, Bernard Farber and Norman Denzin for their comments on earlier versions of the paper.

Abstract

This paper studies the factors of migration among the Paraiyans of South India. Migration is motivated by a desire to be free from the stigma of Untouchability and perpetual economic bondage. The Paraiyans by coming over to an industrial city try to project a new self free from the social constraints prevalent in their villages. The process of acculturation occurs through the Paraiyan's association with disparate individuals, clubs, trade unions and political parties. Migration to the city has caused them to feel a sense of emancipation from their Untouchable status and occupational immobility.

*Migration, adaptation culturelle et mobilité sociale
chez les mineurs hors-caste des mines d'or
de l'Inde méridionale*

Cet article étudie les facteurs de migration chez les Parias de l'Inde méridionale. La migration est motivée par leur désir de se libérer de la marque infamante de l'état de hors-caste et de l'esclavage économique perpétuel. En se déplaçant vers une cité industrielle, les Parias essaient de projeter une nouvelle image d'eux-mêmes, libérée des contraintes sociales répandues dans leurs villages. L'adaptation culturelle se produit grâce à l'association des Parias avec des individus divers, des clubs, des syndicats et des partis politiques. La migration vers les villes leur a donné le sentiment de s'émanciper de leur position de hors-caste et de l'immobilité de leur travail.

*Migración, aculturación y movilidad social
entre los mineros "intangibles"
de las minas de oro de la India meridional*

Este estudio examina los factores de migración entre los Paraiyanos de la India meridional. La migración se motiva por un deseo de librarse de la estigma de Intangibilidad y perpetua esclavitud económica. Los Paraiyanos vienen a una ciudad industrial para tratar de convertirse en un nuevo ser, libre de restricciones sociales que prevalecen en sus pueblos. El proceso de aculturación ocurre por medio de la asociación de los Paraiyanos con distintos individuos, clubes, sindicatos obreros y partidos políticos. La migración a la ciudad les ha hecho sentirse emancipados de su condición de "intangibles" y de inmovilidad obrera.

THIS PAPER ATTEMPTS to examine the extent to which the *lower caste status* causes migration among the Paraiyans of Madras State, South India, and also to describe the orientation process that permits the development of a new personality in the context of city life. The fieldwork for this paper was conducted in a gold mining community of the Kolar Gold Field in Mysore State during 1964-65 and in eleven villages of Madras in 1967.

Migration in India is generally understood in terms of economic factors. For example, Gist establishes that the pattern of migration is from rural to urban but industrial centers tend to be stronger "pull" areas.¹ Zacharia confirms Gist's position.² Prabhu goes a step further and suggests that, "Poverty and pestilence in rural areas have been the major causes of the city-ward movement of villagers."³ Eames and Schwab support Prabhu's assumption.⁴ Perhaps the greatest deficiency in most of these early studies of the internal migration in India is the tendency to attribute the "pull" of the city primarily to economic factors. If economic factors alone are the major causes, few authors have explained why the poor people in villages do not think of migration as a relief from their poverty conditions. Important as economic factors are, it is also necessary to consider the social forces that lead people to cities.

Davis examines migration in India from another perspective. While considering the causes for low rate of internal migration in relation to social stratification, he suggests that, "castes have geographical as well as social boundaries and since strangers are not welcome in a rigidly stratified society, the individual has not wanted to move far from his own caste milieu...Suppression of social mobility tends to the suppression of geographical mobility."⁵ It is true that formerly people did not move from one village to another since differences in terms of social stratification and mobility were not significant. In the changing context of industrialization and urbanization, the same factors that once suppressed mobility may act as stimulants.

The patterns of migration are at least partially based on local caste factors, such as ritual position, and the relative numerical and political dominance. In some villages, emigration has occurred in those castes occupying relatively high or low positions in the caste hierarchy; for example, Eames and Schwab report that Kshatriya and Chamar groups account for a majority of migrations from the village.⁶ Members of the upper castes leave their native villages to obtain a higher education and move into teaching or other bureaucratic positions.⁷ Such an emigration can be inter-

preted as an attempt to retain high social status, although the attempt may not always be successful.

Maintaining high status positions, however, does not explain the migration of the lower castes, in particular, of the Untouchables.⁸ Further, other caste groups whose economic conditions compare with the Untouchables seldom migrate. Therefore, it is important to seek causes other than economic to account for the migration of the lower castes such as the Untouchables. Three causes are suggested here: (1) caste segregation and strict enforcement of the norms of defilement and of commensality in the rural setting, (2) the bondage to the debt peonage which seldom permits occupational mobility, and (3) the ascriptive character of the socioeconomic structure.

Further, migration to a city in itself does not do wonders for a migrant. His emancipation from social discrimination demands new life-styles, new associations, new patterns of behavior, in short a new personality. In order to develop such a new personality the migrant undergoes a process of acculturation. It is only then that it can be said that he has adapted to the city life which, to some extent, is free from various characteristics of Untouchability.

These assumptions are discussed here in the light of the data collected from a sample of migrant Untouchable workers in the KGF.

The Setting

The KGF is located in the southeastern part of Mysore State. It is the fifth largest city in the Mysore State, with a population of 146,811 (1961 Census). It is an important city in India for it produces the largest quantity of gold in India; it also manufactures heavy earth movers. The city has two residential divisions separating those who work in the mines from those who depend on the industry in other ways (for example, businessmen, contractors, grocers and the like).

The social divisions among the mine employees can be identified primarily along class lines and secondarily along caste. The officers and the workers live in separate residential areas. Each of these groups is served by separate clubs and other recreational organizations. For example, officers are served by the KGF Club which houses many prestigious organizations like the Rotary Club, the Amateur Dramatic Society, etc. On the other hand, the workers have their own clubs but these are not as good as the officers' clubs. It should be noted here, however, that in spite of the stratification in terms of residence, class and caste, at the interaction level behavior is not generally governed

by such caste norms as defilement, commensal taboos and the like. The business and the entertainment agencies do not discriminate among their customers on the basis of caste, class or appearance.

Methodology

This study is part of a larger project dealing with the impact of industrialization and urbanization on the family in the KGF. The KGF has three mines: the Mysore mine, the Champion reef, and the Nundydroog mine. Of these three, the Nundydroog mine was chosen for the study, mainly because it was the newest and hence probably had the most recent immigrants. The focus of the study limited the selection to immigrant households, the husband being a lower-class worker, and residing in mining housing. From some 3006 houses in the area, 300 (ten percent) were chosen for the sample. However, this procedure excluded nearly seven percent of the lower-class workers who did not live in the mining housing.

The data were collected by interview and participant observation techniques. The interviews were conducted in Tamil (the respondent's language) by the author and two assistants. The interview focused mostly on the caste relations, economic conditions and the family life of the respondent before and after the migration. In order to know more about the respondent's past life, the author visited eleven of the eighteen village in Madras State from which the respondents had emigrated. The serious shortcomings of relying on retrospective accounts of the respondent have been recognized here. To some extent my trips to these villages and interviews of the relatives of the respondents have reduced the weakness.

Findings and Discussions

The major focus of the findings and discussion concern: (1) a brief statement on the socioeconomic background of the respondent, (2) the tradition-prescribed defiling and low prestige occupation as a cause of the respondent's stigmatized social life before migration, (3) Untouchability as a socially imputed stigma in villages, (4) Untouchability as a cause of migration, (5) the dependence of the emancipation of the respondent's self on the process of adaptation to the new urban setting.

THE RESPONDENTS. Over 83 percent of the respondents emigrated from eighteen villages of Madras State. The remaining 17 percent were second generation residents. The median length of residence of the

respondents is 20 years and the median age of the respondents is 43 years. The caste and religious distribution of the 300 respondents in the sample are: Hindu Paraiyan, 66 percent; Christian Paraiyan, 30 percent; and an aggregate of Buddhist, Moslem and peasant castes totalling 4 percent. This study relates to the 96 percent of the Hindu and Christian Paraiyan respondents. The Paraiyan is an Untouchable caste predominant in Madras State.⁹ Bishop Caldwell is reported to have derived this term from the Tamil word *Parai*, a drum used by the Untouchables when they act as drummers in village ceremonies.¹⁰ The Christian Paraiyan is an Untouchable caste consisting of the converts from the Hindu Paraiyan caste. Max Weber attributes such a conversion to the promise of a betterment of one's social status.¹¹ It has been observed, however, that the Christian converts do not lose their original caste identity after conversion.¹² For the present analysis, the Hindu and Christian religious groups are treated as a single caste group since there is no significant difference between them on the substantive issues dealt with in this paper.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION. According to the respondents, migration was motivated by two predominant factors: low caste status and economic bondage. There is a considerable interdependence between these two factors. The factor of economic bondage will be considered first.

TABLE 1. REASONS FOR MIGRATION
(PERCENTAGES)

Reasons	N=287
"Low caste status"	55
Economic bondage	30
Family feuds	10
No special reason	5
Total	100

ECONOMIC BONDAGE. Some 30 percent of the respondents indicated that the economic bondage in their native village led them to the KGF city. Further, they attributed the bondage to their low caste status. In the past, each of the respondents worked for a landlord. The work was mostly farming, cattle-tending, and other low-prestige jobs. Any other jobs considered as defiling and menial also fell to the respondent. For this he received an annual median salary of one hundred rupees plus food and clothing. This salary was adequate for a marginal living. But the cost of ceremonies related to birth, marriage and death often

led the respondent to debts. Generally he borrowed from his landlord. As he did not have other sources of income, some form of security had to be given for the loan. He therefore indentured his service and the services of the other members of his family.

This situation permits neither occupational change nor social mobility, for the bondage remained almost permanent. Why did the Paraiyan individual alone become an indentured laborer? Two main reasons may be pointed out — his low caste status and landlessness. In the rural context, a person belonging to a given caste, in ideal terms, has unique skills which supposedly no other caste person has. Thus he is morally obligated to serve his fellow villagers with his traditionally-defined occupation. A person could not alter the nature of his occupation as one cannot change his economic status without changing his caste status. And caste status can seldom be changed in the rural setting. For the respondents, this meant serving their landlords for generations.¹³

The respondents' attempts to achieve economic ability were generally disliked. As indicated in Table 3, nearly 82 percent were farmhands doing menial jobs. Some of these frequently tried to acquire some land through the State Revenue Department or by their own efforts, but such efforts were often sabotaged by the upper castes, as happened to Untouchables in a village in Mysore.¹⁴ Only twelve percent of the respondents had a few acres of dry land which barely met their daily needs. To supplement their inadequate land returns the respondents worked part-time for the landlords. In view of these circumstances, the respondents realized that mobility of any kind was not possible in their native setting. The only relief was to break off from the system and enter into other occupations in a different setting. This inspired the move to the KGF.

This move need not be considered as caused by economic factors. The basic reason was the prejudicial treatment accorded to the respondents by upper castes who disapproved of their efforts to become independent farmers. By becoming independent farmers, the respondents aspired to do away with their defiling jobs, and hopefully get rid of their Untouchable status.

LOW CASTE STATUS. While thirty percent of the respondents considered that their debt peonage was responsible for their low caste status, over 54 percent felt that their low caste was responsible for their peonage. As one respondent put it, "The Brahmins and Gounders know that no one but a Paraiyan works as an ass does, while remaining loyal as a dog; who will do the defiling jobs for these people if we were to quit? That is why they want us to be Paraiyans for ever." It was not so much the nature of the work the respondent hated as the segregation and other discriminatory acts toward them by the upper castes. Table 2 summarizes the kinds of treatment that respondents received before migration. It also records the present view on such things in the light of the respondents' life in the KGF.

It is evident from Table 2 that Untouchability prevails in the interactional scheme of the people. With the concept of defilement and related asymmetrical rules of behavior, Untouchability is an ascribed social status which prohibits commensal, ritual and marital relations with members of higher castes. The respondent's sight, presence, talk or touch disturbs the ritual purity of higher castes in villages. This is one of the reasons for residential segregation.

The respondent is born into a social role which has been designed and is continually enforced in the process of interaction with others. His caste status demands the observance of certain rules of conduct, of

TABLE 2. DISCRIMINATION TOWARD THE RESPONDENTS BEFORE AND AFTER MIGRATION (PERCENTAGES)

Discrimination	Before*		After	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
	N=287		N=287	
Residential segregation	98	2	—	100
Commensal taboo	100	—	—	100
Social distance	98	2	98	2
Prohibition against temple entry	89	11	—	100
Prohibition against school entry	79	21	—	100
Prohibition from using public wells	98	2	—	100

*Each row total is 100.

deference and demeanor toward the upper castes.¹⁵ For example, the respondent did not talk to his caste superiors while standing erect. He was expected to fold his arms and hold them close to his chest. If he should accidentally touch his superiors, the result is defilement; he is expected to make efforts to avoid such accidents. A respondent was not expected to wear head-cloths in the presence of high caste members, and he could not address them by name, although they in turn might summon him by derogatory words or nicknames.

Nadel observes that "the lower castes are despised, not only unhappily underprivileged; they bear stigma apart from being unfortunate."¹⁶ The stigma of Untouchability was one of the operative factors in the migration of the respondents. The respondents were stigmatized in their native settings. One of the main reasons for such stigmatization is the social psychology of caste relations. Caste is a kind of "sign-equipment" to use Erving Goffman's concept.¹⁷ This sign-equipment provides cues to others invoking a shared pattern of response from everyone. The respondents thus received the same kind of treatment from every caste Hindu despite his differential respect for different persons. As Berreman observes, "Individuals in low castes are considered inherently inferior and are relegated to a disadvantaged position, regardless of their behavior."¹⁸ In short, in sociopsychological terms, the respondent did not possess an identity because of what *he is*, but was *given* an identity deriving from what others *impute him to be*. Occupation, residence, diet, vocabulary, dialect, defilement, and other such traits were prescribed or imputed to the respondent in his native setting as part of his "sign-equipment." The only way that the respondent can change his sign-equipment is to move to a place where others have different indicators for the respondent's sign-equipment.

OTHER CAUSES. Over ten percent migrated to the KGF because of family feuds; nearly five percent had no specific reasons. The family feuds were mostly marital in nature, the sons rejecting the parental choice of their spouses and consequently walking out of the homes.

Before concluding this section, a question may be raised: how did the respondents know that life in the cities would be better? The respondents had reference groups in cities, from whom they learned of the striking difference in the social life in an urban setting. The respondents chose to migrate to the KGF because of such reference groups. But it should be noted that

by emigrating to the KGF, the respondent does not try to *decasticize* himself; rather, he seeks to lead a life free from the *stigma* of Untouchability and devoid of indentured labor. In other words, he intends to do all that is possible to project a new *self* free from the social constraints prevalent in his village.

MIGRATION AND CHANGE. According to the respondents, the most important changes that migration has introduced are in the sphere of (in rank order): interaction and life-style, occupation, and employee/employer relationship.

In a city, caste rarely enters the scheme of interaction. This does not mean it does not exist in the city. It does prevail, but on private, family and kinship levels. On the job, in clubs, in shops or cinema theaters, in hotels—in short, in most public places—it is considered an act of misdemeanor to refer to a person's caste background. Further, there are legal sanctions against such acts.

The respondents sought to live in a city because of such noncaste-based social life. In the KGF the respondent gets few cues to his Paraiyan status in his day-to-day interaction with others. The interaction is free from notions like defilement or social distance. Others no longer address him in a derogatory way. City life also demands changes in the life-style too—the respondent changes his deportment in relation to dress, hair style and the like. With his new cue he interacts with his neighbors, coworkers; even relative strangers seldom ill-treat him on account of his caste. In short, the respondent is in the midst of social realities which are different from the ones he knew in his village, and a redefinition of his own attitudes, feelings and expressions begins.

At the occupational level, most of the respondents are employed by the mine as gold-diggers, which by definition is manual work. In fact, every respondent started initially as a gold-digger. But nearly forty percent have moved up to other skilled and technical jobs (see Table 3). It is true that the change in the occupational status has not been significant, especially if one applies the standard measures of occupational mobility. But in view of the respondent's caste status and his former indentured bondage which seldom permitted mobility, the changes seem to him significant. In the KGF, the job is not part of caste. After preliminary interview and medical check-up, the respondent is admitted to a formal organization which institutionally recognizes and encourages mobility in the occupational sphere regardless of caste. Obvious is the fact that migration separates the respondent's occupational role from his caste-occupation role.

TABLE 3. OCCUPATION OF THE RESPONDENTS BEFORE AND AFTER MIGRATION (PERCENTAGES)

Occupation	Before N=287	Occupation	After N=287
Farm hands	82	Gold-diggers	60
Farming (own land)	12	Machinemen	29
Artisanry	3	Supervisors	3
Others (like cobblery)	3	Drivers	7
		Others (door boy, etc.)	1
Totals	100		100

The change in the nature of the respondent's occupation has also brought corresponding change in the employee/employer relationship. In the village, the respondent worked for the landlord who had relative superiority over him in ritual, economic, social or cultural spheres. But in the industrial bureaucracy, although each worker is supervised by the higher authority, the status hierarchy is relevant only to the job situation. In nonjob contexts the relationships can range from cordiality to hostility depending on mutual likes and dislikes. (Such a thing was not a possibility in the village; the respondent had to be cordial to his master.) In the KGF, on-the-job ill-treatment brings the intervention of the trade union or other high officials.

The entry of the respondent to the KGF and to the industrial occupation marks the beginning of an acculturation process which promotes the development of new patterns of relationship, conceptions of self, occupational skills, values and life-styles. The respondent who led a relatively segregated life in his village is now exposed to a system of relationships where success depends on one's initiative, drive, and sociability. This process is not automatic: a number of experienced, acculturated persons as well as institutional patterns help the respondent to adjust to the local setting.

The Agents of Acculturation. The process of acculturation is long and complex involving a variety of persons and institutions. I turn now to an examination of the respondent's direct and indirect relationships with his friends, colleagues, patrons, superiors and idols.

It was found that there are four types of persons with whom the respondent has contacts, interacts, or has been influenced directly or indirectly. For analytical reasons, these persons may be referred to as *the Other*. These others, in brief, provide role-models. The four types are (1) the Intimate Other, (2) the

Particular Other, (3) the Deviant Other, and (4) the Diffused Other. Each of these types may be considered briefly.

TABLE 4. VARIOUS OTHERS WHO HAVE INFLUENCED THE RESPONDENT (N = 287)

Other	Do the respondents recognize?*		How many? Range
	Yes	No	
Intimate	93	7	1-4
Particular	100	—	1-6
Deviant	12	88	1-2
Diffused	92	8	1-8

*Each row total is 100

The Intimate Other. The Intimate Other is the one with whom the respondent maintains personal and reciprocal relationships. These relationships are based on trust, understanding and confidence. The respondent labelled such relationships "close," "intimate," "more than a relative" or "best friend." The Intimate Other helps the respondent to cultivate urban life styles, manners or patterns of behavior. The Intimate Other introduces the respondent to such private gatherings as "bridge sessions" and occasional liquor parties. However, the respondent's relationship with these others depends on his sociability and the speed with which he adapts to their way of life. Only seven percent of the respondents did not have an Intimate Other.

The Particular Other. The Particular Other is the one with whom the respondent interacts daily, either on the job or in job-related situations such as a trade union official, etc. These others help him to develop formal roles and orient him to interact in normatively-defined ways. All the respondents indicated having at

least five such persons. In order to maintain the ongoing process of interaction with these others, the respondent internalizes a frame of new norms. As an illustration, with his superior officer the respondent is expected to maintain officially-prescribed patterns of behavior in deportment (subordinate conduct), in dress (uniform), and in safety measures. His acceptance of the job in the mine implies the acceptance of such norms. The Particular Other supervises the observance of these norms.

The Deviant Other. The Deviant Other is one who leads the respondent to commit deviant acts. In his exploratory relationships with many different persons, the respondent often associates with some fellow workers who are gold smugglers and violators of sex or liquor norms. Gradually some of the respondents become deviants. As deviants, they carry on their antisocial activities clandestinely while maintaining the facade of law-abiding workers. Twelve percent of the respondents admitted committing at least one undetected deviant act. It should be noted, however, that occasionally the social control agencies do catch such deviants; but usually flagrant violators are punished.¹⁹ Acts of adultery, bootlegging, and gambling are rampant but rarely discovered by the police.

The Diffused Other. The Diffused Other is the one who provides models for the respondent's way of life, style of dress, vocabulary, style of walk and speech. The respondent does not necessarily have direct contact with the persons who give him these role models. Rather, the "idols" range from national leaders and cinema stars to local mine officials. Each respondent indicated that he has at least one such Diffused Other. The Diffused Other influences the way the respondent presents the self he aspires to become. This kind of other is diffuse in the sense that the influence is neither specific nor total. The respondent will not necessarily derive the image he desires to project from one person—he may derive his style of dress from a cinema star and style of talk from his union leader, etc.

Besides these others, there are a few institutions/associations that assist the respondent in his process of adaptation to the industrial setting. These include the political party, the trade union, and the recreational association. The respondent, after becoming an employee in the mining industry, is encouraged to become a member of these formal associations which are locally important. His sustained contacts with these associations assist him in acquiring meaningful roles and further help him to redefine his self in relation to new situations.

The Political Party. Among the three associations

considered here, the political party significantly influences the respondent. In the KGF mines in general, the trade unions are controlled by the political parties. The most prominent among them are the Communist, the Congress (undivided), the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (the Dravidian Progressive Federation) and the Republican Party of India. Each political party controls at least one trade union. But the Nundydroog mine workers' union, which is of concern here, is controlled by a coalition of the Congress, the DMK and the "Independents" (nonpartisan group). The party affiliation among the respondents is the DMK, 66 percent; the "Independents", 26 percent; and the Congress, eight percent.

As the largest percentage of the respondents rated participation and promotion of the activities of the DMK as highly important, an examination of the causes of such a close affiliation is in order. Three main causes can be pointed out: (1) the DMK provides an ideological base for opposition to the dominance of the upper castes, specially the Brahmin, and to all other sociocultural derivatives from the Sanskritic knowledge; (2) the DMK provides cultural and linguistic alternatives to the Aryan culture and the Aryan language, Sanskrit, in terms of the Dravidian culture and the Dravidian language, Tamil; (3) the DMK provides strong cultural identity and, more recently, political goals. Thus, for the respondent who has experienced caste discrimination in rural areas, the DMK philosophy which rejects upper caste supremacy is appealing. Very often the respondent demonstrates that he no longer cares for his caste superiors in the KGF. For example, over 75 percent of the respondents stated that their attitude toward the Brahmin officers is either "indifferent or hostile."

The affiliation of the respondent with the DMK gives him new understanding of his past and at the same time helps him to reevaluate himself. Being a DMK is not an alternative to caste; but it does provide a feeling that his caste position as a Paraiyan is not what he is but actually what he is attributed to be.

Regarding the respondents who have affiliated with the Congress and the "Independents," their affiliation is motivated by the local union politics.

The Trade Union. All the respondents are members of the Nundydroog mine workers' union. Membership in the union provides job security. The union intervenes in the disputes between the worker and his immediate boss. This situation is, of course, contrary to the situation in the respondent's home village, where insolent remarks by the employers were tolerated helplessly. But now, his membership in the union makes him feel that he has a retaliatory right in the

event of maltreatment. Furthermore, his participation in union meetings, demonstrations, and strikes enhances the respondent's new identity and self-confidence.

The Sports and Fine Arts Association. The Nundydroog mine has over eighteen sports and fine arts associations (like drama clubs and literary clubs). These organizations were established primarily to promote the recreational activities of all workers regardless of caste affiliation. Over 92 percent of the respondents are members of these associations. Each membership enables the respondent to demonstrate his artistic and athletic skills.

In the process of acculturation into urban ways (aided by the Others and the associations) the respondent develops a new self, new pattern of interaction and forms of relationship. Neatly pressed slacks and shirts and well-groomed hair also help him with new cues of social indicators which are not caste-based. When once he is recognized in an interaction situation by *the Other* in terms of what he is rather than what he ought to be in terms of caste background, the major object of migration to the KGF is achieved. The cumulative result of the acculturation process is that, in the urban context, over a period of years the respondent gains a new personality which is quite divorced from his original Paraiyan status.

In contrast, his less adventurous relatives who have remained in different villages of Madras are still governed by the rules of Untouchability. In the villages I visited there have been rather violent reactions to the efforts of the Paraiyans to assert themselves by transcending the norms of defilement, entering the temples, and using such public facilities as the well. Residential segregation still persists in these villages and the Paraiyans continue to serve the landlords as indentured laborers.

On the other hand, in the KGF, the reaction of higher caste persons to the respondent's mobile status and life styles has been mixed. Some, who think the change is for the better, hold the position that regardless of the defiling nature of his job, a Paraiyan should not be considered as an Untouchable. A few others feel that the changes in interactional, commensal and occupational aspects of the respondent's caste do not imply a change in his caste status. *Despite these changes he remains a Paraiyan for he is born into it.* A Brahmin white collar worker reacted this way: "Even God cannot change the Paraiyan's caste position in this life; he has to be born into a different caste in his next life."

Conclusion

The main object of the present paper is to establish that noneconomic factors too are often the sources of migration. The noneconomic factor considered here was the low caste status of the respondent, which is the Paraiyan caste—an Untouchable caste predominant in Madras State. The respondent emigrated from his village in order to escape from the discriminatory treatment of the upper castes and also from the indentured labor which bound him for life. Thus the stigma of Untouchability and its extension, the defiling and menial occupation, were responsible for migration.

Migration to the KGF has brought a number of significant changes to the respondent. He feels emancipated from the burden of Untouchability. A separation from the traditional dichotomy of caste and occupation has occurred. Caste remains in the private domain of the respondent. His urban occupation is based on his skill and competence. The respondent has moved into an occupational system which institutionally recognizes mobility. An analysis of the data of the respondents' families suggested that the intergenerational mobility has begun. Nearly 80 percent of the children of the respondents do not hold manual jobs. Perhaps, in a few generations the descendants of the respondents will make up the differences in life chances with their caste superiors.

The process of acculturation is crucial for the achievement of the goals of migrants. The respondents migrated with a hope to destigmatize themselves from Untouchability. Had they not established contacts with the kinds of Others discussed earlier and not closely associated with the institutions around them in the KGF, they would have lived as before in small segregated groups in the heart of the KGF city. What appears in the development of a new personality of the respondent is his interaction with persons having cosmopolitan values.

However, it should be pointed out that there is a considerable risk in generalizing the findings of this study because of the local and regional nature of the factors involved. Not all migrants to cities get industrial jobs. This is because that when an agrarian society begins to industrialize, it is unlikely that the indigenous population is recruited to skilled and nonmanual jobs straight away. As KGF Mines is an extractive industry, the lower ranks consist mostly of manual jobs. This facilitated an easy entry of the respondent to the industrial system. Because of the heavy personnel turnover in this industry, a large section of the respondents were able to get a raise during their lifetime. This is unlikely to occur in other

industries. Further, the KGF mines, at the time of the respondent's entry, were managed by a British firm which followed fair hiring practices. Another factor is that not all migrants are ideologically motivated to develop a new personality as are the DMKs. In spite of such weaknesses, the low caste status can still be an important "push" factor in migration. Whether the migrants get what they aspire for depends on various acculturation agents.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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13. For the problems of mobility among the indentured lower caste people see Edward Harper, *op. cit.*
14. In Hosur village in Mysore the land-owning Okkaligas prevented the landless Holeyas from owning land or leasing it for cultivation. See G. N. Ramu, "Untouchability in Rural Areas," *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 29 (July, 1968), pp. 147-155.
15. For an insight into the social psychology of deference and demeanor in the interactional patterns of different caste persons, see Gerald Berreman, *Behind Many Masks*, Monograph No. 4, The Society for Applied Anthropology, 1962; and also "Caste in India and the United States," *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 66 (September 1960), pp. 120-127.
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19. For example, a report in a newspaper: "Three mine workers of the KGF have been arrested by the State CID officials under the Mysore Mines Act for an alleged amassing wealth. It was stated that the workers earning a daily wage of Rs. 1.25 have amassed property worth about Rs. 40,000 each. They are said to have earned this property by illegal means and failed to account for the same," *Deccan Herald*, Bangalore, November 14, 1964, p. 1.