

Social Mobility and Tribes: An Effect of Globalization

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Abstract

In globalisation, 'social mobility' and 'cultural capital' are very unique. And they are obvious to find at the everyday life of individual, group and community. The global village is conquered with cultural capital and that creates highly mobile, innovative and creative society. And it becomes a base for both developed and developing countries to cope with the globalised spirit of mobile society. Therefore, cultural capital and social mobility are intertwined entity to exhibit the global effect on most of the society; that could be modern or primitive. Every society is mobile in nature, and tribal society and tribes are also are mobile, they are not statics rather dynamic. And that's the influence and effect of globalisation through cultural capital and social mobility is indispensable to tribes. And it is always cultural capital, whoever possessed more, the social mobility will be greater in their life. And to mobile tribes, Cultural lag obviously becomes lesser and lesser and they develop more and more as those of mainstream society. So, how do to understand 'cultural capital' amidst tribes and how 'cultural capital' does help them to mobile in their life to achieve the certain quality of life and get accommodated at mainstream society? And how does globalisation brings mobility in tribal outlook? The paper explicitly dealt with the conceptual framework in sociological understanding of globalisation, cultural capital, social mobility, cultural lag and tribe in the frame of development. In fast growing global society, margin section of society always lags behind from that of the forward mainstream segment of society. And it is because of forms of capital that they possess and not the margin section of society- the tribes. Tribes always somewhere down the line culturally lag and can cope with the globalisation era of modern instruments very little. It is not true as well to say tribes are not capable of mobile but it is the mainstream or opportunist who did not allow or not gives the proper opportunity to this margin section of society. And many times margin section of society while coming up makes the mainstream jealous and uncomfortable. And for which they denied their quality, capability, and qualification in various forms. Therefore, tribes extremely lack social, economic, political, education, health facilities- since many times they are unaware of the government policy or many basic facilities.

Keywords: Social Mobility, Forms of Capital, Globalization, Cultural Lag, Tribes

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Introduction

Tribes are dynamic and transform in their very nature as those of OBCs, SCs and General and other section of society. In the phase of transition, tribes are always mobile in culture, religion, region, social, economic, and polity. However, colonial and British would categorise tribe for their administrative purposes of classification and enumeration. Yes, there was a time when they used to hunt and gather food for their livelihood and survival. They were in the position of survival of the fittest; it is because foods were not available all the time; so they have to search for food and gather them a daily basis. They used to live in extremely isolated places. Does time passes through and they also transit from hunting and gathering society to semi-settled as bar the term 'tribe' is used in different ways and they were and the term used by different administrators, census board, scholars and academician In the era of industrialization, urbanization and modernization; the term 'globalization' means many things- say for example- the interconnectedness of global village, the flow of capitals, the inter and intra-continental goods and services, social network of global information, technology and communication, the global cultural, economic, social and political integrity and others aspects as well. And in the roots of the interconnectedness of intricate and multifaceted occurrences that has established the ranges of powers and effects in the form of mobility to individual and groups both natural and convergence of cultural, social, political and economic. And as it is argued by Pierre Bourdieu in the forms of capital; the individual or group who possesses or have more capital in the sense of social, cultural and economic; are more progressive and more mobile than those don't possess or accumulate capital. And those who have capital know how to utilise the capital in best manner in the integrity of his/her own wishes and for the uplift of one's standard of life. In the same line, Louis Althusser would argue on the ideological state apparatus about education for the people.

Who is Tribe?

As literature brings to our notice, the tribe is a colonial construction by some anthropologist and sociologist. The tribe is a category which created by the colonial and British administrator in order to classify and enumerate for their administrative purpose. It is true that tribes are different by themselves and by others as well. Tribes have distinct and separate identity is a modern consciousness for many in India. Ray sees tribes from the "Janas with an egalitarian form of social organization as against those with a Jati system of

social organization” (Ray, 1972) where they share their life equally; they don’t have difference between them; they are homogeneous group, living together, share joys and sorrows collectively; they don’t create hierarchical or stratified system of living. Even others have identified tribes from caste more distinct in modern times, although it was not clear during ancient era (Be’teille 1986; Singh 1993; Roy Burman 1994) say for examples Bara would describe tribe as dasyus, daityas, Rakshasas and nishadas (Bara 2002), aborigines/aboriginals group (Risley 1903, Elwin 1944), So-called aborigines and backward Hindus (Ghurye 1963), Ethnic minorities (Pathy 1988), the fourth world (Sengupta 1982), tribes in transition (Desai 1960) and there are many other ways the tribes is been explained. The academicians and scholar also make the distinction of tribe and caste by differentiating tribe as excluded and isolated group who live at a hill station and have their own life depending on jal, jungle, and jamin. But now when we see in a globalised era- industrial, modernised and rapidly changing society, this social category of people are in transition.

Define of Mobility

Mobility is seen in the different field of work, occupation, education, economic, culture, and others. Mobility in the context of today can be discussed from the perspective of sociology and economy. And Oxford dictionary would describe “mobility as the ability to move or to be moved freely or easily or ability to move between different levels in society or employment”. And the same line Encyclopaedia of Sociology would provide an understanding of occupational and career mobility in adulthood which referred as an intra-generational social mobility. And Oxford dictionary of sociology gives the understanding of mobility as the movement of individual or group between the different positions within the system of social stratification in any society. To distinguish mobility generally; it can be of upward or downward, intergenerational from intra-generational or career mobility. In other words, it is referred to a family of origin and one’s own class or status position and it is also referred to experience during an individual’s career. And another way it refers between the structural and non-structural mobility too. But sociologists always have more attention toward intergenerational mobility particularly the role of educational achievement as compared to that of social background or of ascriptive characteristics. And now the vast literature on subject deals with mobility are on education, gender, culture, power, statistical techniques and the role of theory in social research.

Literature on Mobility

There are ample of literature which deals with many issues concerning on mobility- such as on education, gender, culture, economy, politics, power and others. In the ascriptive characteristics of mobility i.e. race, gives the explanation of occupational attainment. However, there have been many studies on elites recruitment (P. Stanworth and A. Giddens, 1974) which hugely a comparison on occupational based. Some sociologists have looks the study of social mobility in pre-industrial society contexts and some have at contemporary developing countries (H. Kaelble, 1977) but the more study is done on modern industrialisation and less on communist states of Eastern Europe. There are a number of studies on mobility by sociologists looking back to the history of mid- 19th-century writings of Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill and in 20th century Vilfredo Pareto and Pitrim Sorokin. In the writings of Sorokin would discusses “channels of vertical circulation exist in any stratified society, and as necessary as channels for blood circulation in the body” (P. Sorokin, 1927) and he understands social mobility as “any transition of an individual or social object of value- anything that has been created or modified by human activity from one social position to another” (P.133). He also defines social positions as “the totality of” an individual’s “relations toward all groups of a population and, within each of them, toward its members” (p.6). And in the same line, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore help to explore the idea of high reward motivates individual to undertake new training for the better position of society. And in the contrasting to the social position in “social space” gives more meaning to the social relations or “dimensions” and this social dimension or social relations has two important work to play in terms of vertical or horizontal (p.7) and it can be also seen in terms of ascending or sinking. And Sorokin talks in three different forms of social stratification: economic, political and occupational (p.11) because of its wealth and of its members; hierarchical domination of authority and prestige and inter-occupational or intra-occupational respectively. However, the role of caste and community in class mobility also plays an important role and the impact of modernization on the other in the mobility of the people (Jan Breman, 2013), in these authors pointed out the determinant of electoral behavior in the questions of respondents’ occupations and father’s income in the interplay of caste and class system which in turn help understand the class reproduction and social mobility. In this they put forth two types of question, “first, how much class mobility is there in India? Does son generally follow in their fathers’ footsteps or are the processes of modernization leading to

greater movement up and down; second, what role do caste and community play in these processes? Does membership of the scheduled castes and tribes inhibit one's chances of upward class mobility, and does membership of the upper castes protect one from downward mobility? Or are caste and class now essentially unrelated"? It primarily focuses on the experience of men and issues related gender inequality not as an individual inter-generational but collective social mobility. To go further into the interpretation of the paper, it suggests i.e. people can be stable, upwardly mobile, downwardly mobile, horizontally mobile in the caste and class system of social mobility at the occupational level. And the variable could be between the son's class and father's class in terms of higher salariat, lower salariat, business, petty business, skilled and semi-skilled, unskilled labourer, farmers and lower agricultural. And to support above class, caste and occupational mobility which happen because of landless. It is because of the new liberal era, which has created the uncertainty to the people say for example the Halpati caste tribal group who lost the traditional occupational which was based on economic, political, cultural and social nature due to increasing market production (Jan Breman. 1974) and which has created the labourer mobility in a contractual and impersonal. And this labour mobility has created the political consequences of change in the relationship of landlord and Halpits a tribal group. And this has brought them into an understanding of horizontal solidarity. In this, Halpatis were at the bottom of the Hindu society, sometimes they are not accepted by the Hindus, they were subjected caste Hindus in which they were the dependent and inferior position. And this kind of feeling has brought them lesser mobile. But the Swaraj Ashram voluntary social workers have helped them to uplift their social position and mobile in their livelihood. Although there was the commercialization of agriculture, the commodification of land resources, and green revolution through technological advancement and other things have made the life of labourer pauperization. But there was also the social intercourse of labour mobility among labourer which lessens the mobility at the arrogant manner and it has affected the economic condition and social dimension of the people. And there is a new process of change in the political scenario. In a way, Halpatis a tribal Hindu have yet to mobile at economic, social, cultural and political dimension to it but the things are the landlord, tenants and other dominants group resist them to move forwards, for which many times they have voiced against the landlord.

Cultural Lag and Tribe

Cultural Lag is a gap that creates a huge lag between the tribal society and technology. As it is defined “a cultural lag (William F. Ogburn) occurs when one of two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in a greater degree than the other part does, thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts that existed previously” (1966:96). It means tribes fail to adopt the advanced modern technology and it affects their social-cultural premises. Here Ogburn refers to technological determinist for the illustration of social change with respect to material culture. It creates huge disparities between their past and present, and it challenges them to overcome their social conflicts and problems. Previously sociologists were understood ‘cultural lag’ as biological factors in the process of social change, but he would argue as a cultural factor that explains the social change. He also argues that it is also the process of adaptation and adjustment of nonmaterial culture and technological transitions phases. And this process called by different names ‘cultural lag’, cultural delay’ or maladjustment’ between the new technological advancement and social world of the people (Ogburn, W. F.). And he explains the social change in modern societies in four heads relating to material culture; those are inventions, accumulation of inventions, their diffusion and the adoption.

Determinants of Social Mobility

The mobility studies in sociology is not a recent phenomenon, it has been from ancient period of pre-industrial contexts. And the idea of mobility become much popular in India because of pull and push factor in migratory practice soon after the post-independence. However, it was prevalent in rural society of India, in the form of caste system where the mobility is very less as compared to class stratification. And the caste hierarchy is a closed system of stratification where the Varna model is in operation- at the top Brahmin, at the bottom the sudras, and at the middle, the kshatriyas and vaishyas and the untouchable are excluded from the model; and tribes don't find its existence at Varna system. And this Varna model operates in forms of horizontal mobility in the stratification. And in this form of stratification, the mobility is much higher at the top level compared to bottom level; all the prestige, status and rank is enjoyed by the upper strata of the society. And the bottom level strata, always works for the upper strata of society, because of which the mobility of lower strata is always lesser than upper strata of society. The mobility in terms of ascription and achievement, income or occupation, social or cultural privileges, honours in terms of rank,

position, power and status, education achievement and others- everything determined by the forms of capital that the individual possesses or accumulate. And this capital always the upper strata of the society accumulate greater than the lower strata of society. And within the hierarchical system of a stratified unit of castes, the having lots of difference, lots of competition, wants to mobile and grow in the process of brahminization, Sanskritization, and westernisation (M. N Srinivas). In these processes, they upgrade themselves and become the upward mobile in the caste hierarchy of the social structure. However, in the process of stratified structure caste hierarchy, the entire caste group encompasses to each other in the relationship of occupation and social relationship (Andre Beteille) and untouchable are out of the system of stratification but then they too also influence by four Varna.

But tribe is another social category of people who don't come under the mainstream or Varna model; they are geographically isolated and excluded from the society, live in hilly and mountainous areas, their sources of living and livelihood is from Jal, Jungle, and Jamin, they are animistic in their religious practice, they don't have much difference within the group, they live, eat and have customary practices together (Bailey, F. G., 1961), they don't have the spirit of competition in the ladder to social, economic, political, cultural, or occupational mobility. They were ignorant of education, health, sanitation and other basic amenities; they were not aware forms of capital that they supposed to possess, social relationship with the mainstream society, they were ignorant of many policy and programmes of the government. However, many transitions have been taken place in tribal society; in respects to their culture, custom, tradition, religion, belief, economy, polity and others.

The very concept of tribe has been changing, as we notice that 'tribe' a colonial category, 'indigenous peoples' a global category, 'Adivasi' a self- proclamation or self-representation in India and it exclude the North East region of tribes, and Indian Constitution would pronounce this social category of people as 'Scheduled Tribes'. And if one would look the analysis of Vidyarthi who place the tribe into three phases of transition - the first phase is formative phase from 1784 to 1919 as a pre-independence stage, a primitive stage or hunting and gathering society living at remote place secluded from the mainstream society. And in this period the tribes were the barbarous and savage from the outsider perspective, it is because they don't own anything as an individual but as collective owned- say for example food, material, wealth and other things. It is the period where the tribes were in practice of jhum cultivation, semi-agriculturalist and sometimes nomad living. In my opinion, they never

were static but dynamic and changing in every way possible. The second phase is a constructive period (which starts from 1920-1940) in which tribes are been identified by various institutions and universities. They study on them conceptualised the term 'tribe' as a social category, a colonial construction, provided a definition of the tribe to distinct from tribe and caste and other things. The institution and university were the places where they have to explore the term 'tribe' and studies its nature, characteristic features and its uniqueness. In this phase, the tribes have moved to the place where they have become self-sufficient, self-ruled or self-governed, and become more settled family life in rural villages. The tribe also in this phase as Ghurye would tell the tribe has become backwards Hindus since they have come in contacts with mainstream society and started assimilating the culture and religion practice of Hindus. In the same times, they have integrated the lifestyle of Hindus and started education, agriculture and semi- skilled work. The third phase is an analytical period (starts from 1950) in which the mobility of tribes from the perspective of adoption of analytical and action-oriented approaches. The government and different agencies come forward to explore and execute different action-oriented programmes and policy. And in this phase, 'the policy of isolation' (Elwin 1960b) and 'the policy of assimilation' (Ghurye 1963) operates importantly. And the different measures come under the policy to rescue the tribes, such as protective safeguards, mobilizational strategies, and developmental measure. In this phase, the mobility of tribe is much faster than before, they become more educated, more skilled, more individualist, more independent, secure jobs and come to acculturate, modernise, integrate, assimilate and others. They become unique like that of other non-tribe and become one among the mainstream society.

And if one would analyze the transition that has to happen to tribes as A.R Desai would explain it in four heads; "first, tribal communities who usually confined to the original forest habitats and follow old patterns of life; second, semi-tribal communities who less settled down and practice agriculture and allied occupation; third, acculturated tribal communities through migrated to urban or semi-urban and they engaged in modern industries and vocations and they adopt modern cultural traits; fourthly, tribes now totally assimilating in the mainstream" (A. R. Desai, 1961). And Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose brings the idea of absorption of tribes into Hindu mainstream society; like by influence of Sanskritisation, Brahminical practice and tribes acculturated within the Hindu's way of life (Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose). And the mobility of tribes happens to be when they are assimilated and

integrated into the mainstream society. Mobility doesn't happen in isolation or excluded communities or groups of individual who stays away from the competitive society i.e. Industrial society

Commercialization of Agriculture: New Advance Technology/ Green Revolution

The commercialization of Agriculture is also a part of social mobility for tribal in which determine. Since the tribal livelihood depends upon the resources like land, forest, and water. When the new advanced technology were used in the agricultural field in the name of the green revolution (D N Dhanagare, 1987) in which there were "introduction of high yielding varieties seeds, use of high doses of fertilisers and pesticides directed at improving farm production. And this kind of programme gave rise to social inequalities in rural India specifically to that margin section of society i.e. scheduled tribes and scheduled caste. It is because they are not the landholding communities, or they are not aware of advanced instrument usages in agriculture, they don't possess surplus resource. And the credit facilitators don't entertain the margin section of society for fertilisers and irrigation. They provided only that landholder, those who have more land resources and those who can afford to spend for all advanced new introduced agricultural materials. In the process of the green revolution, there was high social inequality, regional disparities, and unjust exploitation of margin section of society by moneylender, landlords and another dominant group of the society.

Commodification of Resources: Accumulation by Disposition

For the tribe, the land is a major asset of livelihood and identity. And "land is the sources of production and accumulation of wealth for them, it is the source for grazing cows, gathering firewood and food" (Natural England, 2006) but since the new liberalism is introduced everything change the context and there is more dispossession of land from margin section of society specifically from tribes for the purpose of public purposes i.e. government hospitals, mining, agriculture, transportation, factory, industry, and others. And the land requires for the new public purposes needs huge hectares. In the process, the tribes land is sacrificed and they are displaced and rehabilitated where their livelihood is questionable to government or policy makers. And accumulation by dispossession of land is of indigenous people which later government donates to a private company at higher rates to establish a certain special economic zone, they utilise the land for profit purposes; by which many people are segregated and isolated, they lost their livelihood, job, and other social

relations. Meanwhile, when voice is raised by margin section of people basically by STs and SCs, they would tell it is for the purpose of your own development and a better life. To illustrate more on accumulation by dispossession; accumulation is a capitalist mentality that means to make a profit and in the process reinventing production and capital assets. Accumulation by dispossession is a concept used by David Harvey for neoliberal capitalist policies in many western countries; to the centralization of wealth and power in the hands of few by dispossessing the public of their wealth and land. And these neoliberal policies are guided mainly by four practices privatisation, financialization, management and manipulation of crises and state redistributions (David Harvey. 2003). And in this Harvey have a link to Karl Marx in the primitive accumulation and neoliberal modernity that dispossess capital class to gain power at the expense of the labour class.

Labour Transition: Shrinking of Resources

In “The division of labour in Society (Emile Durkheim, 1984)” talks about social solidarities in relation to types of society that Durkheim introduced “mechanical” and “Organic” solidarity as part of the development of society. And he stress the “mechanical solidarity” in the context of a traditional or tribal society where the unity and integration come from the uniformity of individual or groups; they feel connected to their similar work, education, religious practice, lifestyle. And their social solidarity is based on kinship ties of familiar networks.

But while speaking of tribes as their development in the mobility per se, it doesn't give a clear picture; however, the tribes are dynamic and have changed substantially concerning their social, economic, cultural, education, religious belief and others. And the mobility among the tribe comes to picture only after the colonial government and British rule. They have changed the Indian rapidly having their personal interest. But sooner or later in post-independence, tribes have incorporated with backwards Hindu tribes. They have acculturated, assimilated and integrated into the mainstream society. And by absorption of Hindu cultural and practice; they have also acknowledged the things better and starting thinking differently in order to have a better life. They have started living in rural society and started accumulating land for the purpose of settled agriculture and settling down in one specific place for dwelling. As tribes entered to post-independence, there was new introduction to new liberalism which has strengthened new advance technological innovative agricultural practice, industrialization, mechanization of many jobs, urbanization, and

westernization of things; that has altered the mindset of labourer at rural village, they have started to migrate to new metropolis, urban cities for job purposes. They have started staying away from the homeland and work for the uplift of their family, earn money at cities, educate the children and others. These very activities which they see at cities i.e. having a nice home, cars, sending the children to school, the new style of clothes, the food habits, new customs, and tradition; they accumulated at urban and industrial setting and when they go back; they reinvest in the local or rural context. Even, the plantation worker who work at different places to earn their living also save some for their children and wife and reinvest their capital for better to uplift their family and educated children, to earn better social status for their family and parents. On the other, they also are influenced by certain culture practice at the workplace at an urban setting which day by day it becomes habits for them and they again reproduce or reintroduce the same culture which they had acculturated during the course urban, industrial workspace.

Labour mobilization is not a single issues in India; it happens to be multiple issues, since the government always introduced new policy and programmes now and then; and those programmes sometimes helpful to people and sometimes not; because many times government introduces a mega project such as special economic zone, higher learning institutes, mega dams, big industries, to accelerate agricultural production- introduced new advanced technology as green revolution. These all are having a good idea of the development of the society but they never recognised the margin section of the society to develop but always get ruined in the process of development and only those already developed citizen or people, get more privilege to benefit out of it.

In the process of extracting land resources of tribe or margin section of society; the land resources get divided by siblings and get shrinking day by day and time comes they get nothing out it. Sooner or later they have to become a labourer or get an education in order to improve the lifestyle of the family and individual as well.

Forms of Capital and Mobility

The society is more mobile when their forms of capital are more utilised by the individual or group or community. Bourdieu's capital has attempted to explain the social, economic and cultural influence in the transmission of educational inequality, occupational inequality, gender, power inequality. And the question extent the idea of various forms of capital to apply to the ethnic tribal minorities to understand the difference between them in

terms of languages, dialects, educational achievement, job orientation or occupation, socioeconomic milieu and another indicator which influence the mobility of tribes. They are such financial resources, linguistic resources, parental behaviour about the family, education, and children; researcher, scholar, and academician always talk tribes from the vertical mobile point of view, it is because they don't integrate, assimilate or acculturate to the mainstream of society at rapidly but slowly and gradually. Therefore, they are not able to have social networking with the other communities in terms of economic, social or cultural relationship. So, tribes, in general, don't have the mediating resources which would connect the other communities in the society. And the tribes themselves are not a homogeneous group but a heterogeneous group. We know Bourdieu in his writing "the forms of capital" (Richardson, J., 1986) linked all capitals in an intertwined relationship, without the other capital, they can't survive; they will fail to mobile at positive manner. For Bourdieu, the social world is accumulated in terms of mechanical equilibrium between agents and accumulation of wealth in terms of capital. And the capital can be in the form of materialised, incorporated or embodied form in accumulated labour. It takes the time to accumulate as the capacity to produce and reproduce the identical and persistence social network or relationship. In brief, forms of capital are those which facilitate the individual or group to mobile in their social, economic and cultural hierarchy or strata and cover up with social ranking, prestige, honours, position, and power. The economic capital embodied for the individual to satisfy their material needs in terms of money and can be institutionalized as property rights; the cultural capital strengthen the formation of community life and adhere to certain condition or economic capital that can be utilized in form of educational qualifications; and social capital comes as social obligation to connect the individual, group, and community; and establishes economic capital to institutionalized in the form of title, rank, or of nobility. And these capitals are not single days accumulated, it takes a long duration to accumulate and established materialised social setting in the given society.

Analysis of Social Mobility, Tribes, and Globalisation

Indian society intricate with its nature, having multidimensional linguistic and dialect group, diverse religious background, and practice of mixed economic. It has also multi-cultural, social and political influences. The India society has accepted the competitive spirit of a global standard in the diverse field of education, health, transport, communication, technology, culture, music, clothes, and others. And on this account, although margin section

of society finds it difficult to accept and adjust, they never give up and try to acculturate, assimilate and integrate into the mainstream society. However, they are social, economically, politically, and culturally excluded and exploited at different times and space. But they never gave up; they stand together and try their best to move forward. And it is known that social mobility doesn't limit to intergenerational, upward, downward, vertical, horizontal, structural or non-structural mobility but it extends to education, occupation, gender, power, culture, economic, political and others. If one wants to see the mobility of tribes in specific like non-tribe then it will be more specific to investigate the experience and exploitation that they have undergone in the long duration of time. Although their growth and progress are gradual and slow; it takes time as an evolutionary way, as the social changes take place and society changes day by day. As Dr Elwin proposes four kinds of cultural development of tribe; firstly- a group of tribes who don't want changes, they want to remain the purest of the pure tribes; secondly- a section of tribes experiencing, 'the contact with the plains' and undergoing changes; thirdly- a section of tribes who uphold their tribal names but absorb into 'Backward Hindu' in the Hindu society or Christians. In this section of the tribe are affected by external forces or contacts that have to expose to their socio-economic and cultural life of Hindu society, missionaries, British administrators and others. They are mercilessly uprooted from their livelihood or mode of production (i.e. land, jungle, and water) and left choices like cultivators or artisans; fourthly- a section of tribe who are advanced, more privileged groups wants to retain their old tribal names and their clan and totem, rules and regulation and wants to observe elements of tribal religion; however they are already acculturated and assimilated into the Hindu fold of lifestyle and faith; they also incorporated and affected by global culture in a modern and European styles.

And in my understanding only the fourth section of society who are really mobilised in the process of modernization, globalisation, and westernisation. They do realise the value of social ranking, differentiation, humiliation, stigmatisation, hierarchy, stratification, and others. They know the real growth and progress of the society in the competitive world of others; in this context, they also incorporate to establish whatever the non-tribe does in the stratified system of social, cultural, economic and political hierarchy. To understand better, how the margin section of society experiences the mobility i.e. Schedule tribe.

Sanskritization, Brahminization, and Westernisation

These all are the process of life in the Hindu society as well as in modern society. Although, tribe a social category who lived isolated and secluded areas but had later because above mention process brought them to mobile in their life; not rapidly but substantially slow and gradual process; when tribes started to mingle in the plain areas and start to live in rural society leaving their forest settlement; then the atmosphere of competition and progress comes to picture; it is because visible social hierarchy which experience them to uplift and get better position, rank, honors in all sphere of life social, culture, economic and political; they start to intermingle; get socialized with the Hindu caste system; get absorbed; integrate, assimilate and become part of the society but the Varna model of Indian caste hierarchy doesn't allow them to be inside the model; so they fall outside the caste system. However, they keep good contact with Backwards Hindus and with others. In that way somehow, they come to know their lagging and try to grow and progress in life; so they start imitating non-tribes and they make reference group to compare them and grow the best way possible without losing their tribal identity, they do practice their belief, faith, and religion; their custom and tradition.

Commercialization, Commodification and Shrinking Resources

As the time passes, the tribe gets more troubles on their livelihood; since the introduction of new policy and programmes which don't suit them. They started to lose their land, forest and water resources which supposed to be their unique livelihood and tribal identities. This happens to be during the post- independence era- the new introduction of green revolution which causes the margin section of society harshly and they lost their agricultural land, even commercialization agriculture didn't support the margin section, land became the commodity, a sellable product; and also there was regional disparities and others which didn't support the scheduled tribes; and it creates a huge social inequality in society. Tribes were deprived and denied of their own land resources; so they started to move to an urban location in search of job and livelihood. Another problem in the tribal society; since the land resource is limited and generation of sibling growing; land resource get shrinking; so they start to move to the industry as a labourer, or so daily wages, and start educating their children for better future.

Industrialisation, Urbanisation, Mechanisation

Since the shrinking resource doesn't help the tribe, they start to move to urban areas, factory, industry, metro cities, where the jobs are available. And when are this kind of environment, they get to know many things i.e. education, lifestyle changes, behavior pattern changes, attitudes changes, belief system changes, foods, clothes and culture changes; they get absorbed into the modern western culture, belief and food, technology and cloth; these all affect their socialization in urban context; many parents realize about their responsibility, get much awareness on health and sanitation, their attitude toward children and their education; their expenditure grows and other things. And when they are back to their resident they carry their same learning and accumulated urban culture habit into the village and it gets the effect and reproduces the urbanity, however not adequate but some. And in the process of accumulation by possession in the capitalist system of economic, cultural and social; they also start to learn and get socialise at accumulation by possession in terms of social capital and cultural capital. They start to progress and grow in time as it changes.

Education and Occupation

In a modern and globalised era, education and occupation correlated to each other in the culture and social development of tribes. The occupation of parents determine the education of children in term of income; and if the parents are educated than the children more likely to get more educated than parents; sometimes it vice versa too, even if parents could not study during their age, to compliment they encourage their children the process of education and they give all necessary things for education (Deirdre Bloome and Bruce Western. 2011). The process of education it is always the parents' education determine the education of children's education. When the parents and children are educated more, they are likely to get the best job which offers them good incomes. And their mobility also determines because education and occupation that they hold. And in the process of mobility; the attitude toward education and college also determine the children to opt for best colleges and parents' encouragement and financial support. However, the educational attainment of children depends on the relation to the educational backgrounds of the parents (William G. Spady, 1967); and other times it just the opposite parents only faith on children and upbringing helps them to study better and come out with flying colours. And other times it the intergenerational mobility that happens in the educational mobility of family by their radical conservatism process (Patricia Bell and Richard A. Dodder, 1984). Even the parents are the

ultimate who shape the children in their socialisation and behavioural formation to cope up with the mainstream society to mobile in education (Elizabeth G. Cohen, 1965). In the same way, the number of siblings and educational mobility determine the relationship of ascription versus achievement in the process of parents' occupation (Judith Blake, 1985) and there is also discussion on the education and mobility- from achievement to ascription which dealt pre and post-industrial stratification system (John M. Kendrick, 1973); and in India it is the caste system of social stratification which model the people in a hierarchical ranking position.

Constitutional Provision and Tribal Laws

The government of India recognised the scheduled tribes under the fifth and sixth schedule of Indian constitution. And the Constitution of India (article 366) defines 'scheduled tribe' as "such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or group within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under article 342 to be scheduled tribe for the purpose of this Constitution". And to uplift Dr Elwin advocates 'the policy of isolation' and Dr G. S Ghurye introduced 'the policy of assimilation' and these two policies differentiate from the STs from another social category of people. However, the experience of exploitation, discrimination faced by tribes is similar to another social category mostly SCs. And Indian Constitution is framed such way that most deprived communities and margin section of society get incorporated and provided certain provision move forward in society; such like statutory recognition, proportional representation in the legislatures, the rights to use their own language for education and other purposes, the right to profess their own faith, and the right to pursue development according to their own genius, reservation in jobs and appointments in favour of tribal communities. And also DPSP of the Constitution looks at the educational and economic interest of the weaker section of society specifically for tribals. And Constitution also empowered the state to bring areas inhabited by tribes under the fifth and sixth schedules for the purpose of special treatment with respect to the administration of tribal people- to safeguard, protect and promote the interest of the tribal people. To regulate and implement the above policy and programme through the measurement to uplift of tribes are divided at broad category of three headings; first, is protective safeguards to prevent alienation of land from tribes to non-tribes and administer the tribal areas; second is mobilizational strategies to extend reservation for tribal for education, employment and politics and give certain percentage of seats reserved; third is developmental measures to do different activities to uplift and help them to mobile, such programme like Community development programme,

PAP, TRIFED, and others. However, this kind of programmes also creates a lot of confusion and problem for the people like displacement, rehabilitation, and other things. In the process there some privilege tribe gets mobile and some don't. This all policy and programmes are always trying to incorporate tribe within the fold of larger section of society.

Conclusion

The power of globalisation has always a new discourse, where new liberalism and privatisation brought the present scenario very differently. It has created job opportunities for the people and it has deteriorated the old custom and tradition of the society. And now it has become scary to the whole mechanism of life. As the globalisation incorporated into the tribal life, tribes have got to know, influenced by modernization, they are integrating with a larger section of the society. They are forced to mobile because of westernisation, modernization, and globalisation. They are trying their best to educate and do the best job and uplift their social, economic and culture ladder. However, the experiential level both STs and SCs seem to have similar problems like exclusion, deprivation, and discrimination, social and cultural stigma. Although tribe gets more privilege than Schedule caste; it is because the identity formation is much stronger in tribes than in caste. In this, it is more clearer and simple way to understand the life that evolves from the perspective of evolution. So, to understand tribal mobility at the globalised era the 'cultural capital' has helped lots to tribes in their social, education, occupation, gender, power, culture, political, and another field of life. The mobility doesn't come by itself, it has to earn by struggle and hard work. Although ascription way of mobility is there, the achievement of occupational or educational mobility is always through hard work and persistence. The mobility of tribe is always persistence and steady. Through my reading of articles and essays what I find is unique; tribes are in virtue of mobility but not rapid but slow and gradual in different phases of life from forest life, agriculture life, settled rural life, urban life and goes on to globalised lifestyles like those of European and Hindus. This all happen because of colonial policy, industrialisation, green revolution, the commodification of land, commercialization of resources, accumulation by dispossession process, urbanisation, industrialisation, mechanisation, transportation, better health facilities in cities, and other global cultures like foods, clothes, new technology and other things. In the process of mobility of tribe both push and pull factors operate and most importantly education, occupation and income determine the mobility of individual and group. On the other, the process of socialisation, reference group, Sanskritization,

westernisation, and other things as well help the individual to mobile in life. Tribal needs support and opportunity in order to mobile and get into the larger section of society.

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