Caste, class and education: The social construction of capabilities in a Tamil village

vorgelegt von

Lakshmi Narayanan Venkataraman

Research School Education and Capabilities (EduCap)

Contents

Tables and diagrams

Acknowledgements

The current research is a sociological revisit to a classical field-site in Tamil Nadu. In social anthropology, it is often called the *restudy*. For this, I revisited Sripuram with a modified framework of Prof. Andre Beteille. As I am aware of the pitfall of trying to get into master's shoes I have been in regular touch with him for consultation. This includes my meetings both in his office at the University of Delhi as well as his residence. In addition, both my email and telephone communication with him has also guided me for the successful completion of this thesis. For all these reasons, I whole-heartedly acknowledge his precious role in my scholarly engagements in Sripuram.

Like many students of Social Sciences, I too have got influenced both by Marx and Weber. In addition to this, I have also developed a keen interest in the developmental issues mainly through Sociological lenses. This introduced me to Amartya Sen's scholarly works on Capabilities where he has been critical of the economic determinism in spite of being an Economist. My continuous engagements with Capability Approach have inculcated in me the sense of freedom. That inculcation during my project years in EduCap has been nurtured primarily by my supervisor Prof. Hans-Uwe Otto. His regular suggestions have instilled the necessary confidence on me. I record my gratitude to him. My regular discussion, almost every available day with him over his kind offerings of coffee at the Universität has further nurtured my ideas. I immensely value this as a helpful input beyond my research project.

Though possible errors are mainly because of my own limitation as an amateur academic, the merits of my arguments are regularly nurtured by my second supervisor Prof. Holger Ziegler. His academic inputs have been supported by his generosity in giving me patient hearings during our regular meetings.

Abbreviations

ABL	Activity Based Learning
ALM	Active Learning Method
AWP&B	Annual Work Plan & Budgets
B.Com	Bachelors in Commerce
B.Ed.	Bachelor of Education
BNA	Basic Needs Approach
BPEd.	Bachelors in Physical Education
BRC	Block Resource Centers
BRTEs	Block Resource Teacher Educators (BRTEs)
CA	Capability Approach
CCE	Caste, Class and Education
CCP	Caste, Class and Power
CEO	Chief Education Officer
DCA	Diploma in Computer Applications
DCoop	Diploma in Cooperative Management
DEEO	District Elementary Education Officer
DIET	District Institute of Educational Training
DISE	District Information System for Education
DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
DPO	District Project Office
EA	Entitlement Approach
EUE	Educated underemployment
EUEYs	Educated underemployed youths
EUYs	Educated Unemployed Youths
FCs	Forward Castes

HCA	Human Capital Approach
HD	Human Development
HDI	Human Development Index
HM	Head Master
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IIM	Indian Institute of Management
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
MBCs	Most Backward Classes
MCom	Masters in Commerce
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MPhil	Master of Philosophy
NBs	Non-Brahmins
NCF	National Curriculum Framework
OBCs	Other Backward Classes
OC	Orphan Children
OCs	Other Castes
PGD	Post-graduate Diploma
PRI	Panchayati Raj Institution
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
REC	Regional Engineering College
RTI	Right to Information
SCs	Scheduled Castes
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
STs	Scheduled Tribes
TN	Tamil Nadu
VEC	Village Education Committee

Prologue

India as an ethnographic museum is known for its national notion of *unity in diversity*. It is a country of many religions, further divided in terms of diverse social hierarchies. The socio-economic reality, for instance, is not simply based on class dynamics as prevailing in many other countries. The intersectional factors like caste play an important role. The stratification of Hindu social system based on caste places individuals hierarchically according to their birth. The inheritance based on birth in caste structure most often plays a 'fixed' identity where the social mobility is discouraged. The broader classification of *varnashrma dharma* divides people in terms of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. This *ascriptive* social order based on the Hindu scriptures places Brahmins (or the "higher" castes) above "others". Kshatriyas who are traditionally known for martial valor and managerial roles are in the next layers of social stratification. Third, the Vaishyas who are known for their trade and commercial activities are above to the last layer of the "lower" castes. In the fourfold ascriptive division of labour, the "lower" castes are often addressed as Shudras (or Dalits or Harijans). The ascriptive nature of caste system is, thus, unique in the stratification where social status is mostly determined by birth.[1] In this backdrop, the current research attempts to analyze the intersections between caste, class and education. This intersectionality is conceptualized in terms of the social construction of the "mutually constitutive relations among social identities..." (Shields 2008: 301).

In this backdrop, the central analysis of the current research is specifically based on ethnographic fieldworks conducted in a south Indian village pseudonymously named

---

[1] Each layer in the four-fold classification is a conglomeration of diverse caste groups which often has the *endogamous* rules and regulations. These rules often determine other social aspects including the commensality even today.

Sripuram in Tamil Nadu. As the research has been conceptually influenced by capability approach (Sen 1999), the basic aim is to highlight the complex interactions between human *agencies* and *social structure*.[2] For this, *reflexive* insights and qualitative data have been collected from Sripuram. This Tamil village has been studied by renowned Indian Sociologist Andre Beteille in 1960s. He conducted his social anthropological fieldworks on *caste, class* and *power* dimensions.[3] By revisiting the same village after five decades, the present research attempts to analyse the *caste, class* and *education* of the poor at present. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, this analyses the role of education and its outcome across diverse social groups in the village. The observations of the *everyday* interactions and coping strategies of the poor in their socioeconomic spheres have successfully provided precious insights about both education and poverty in Sripuram. Thus, the sociological analysis highlights the issues of capability and functioning formations of the poor in Tamil Nadu. This naturally has a futurological implication where there is a correspondence between the rising un/under-employment and the inferior educational provisioning of the Indian state.

It must be mentioned that the concept of intersectionality is "a complex system assumes a methodology that sees everything as interactions, not "main effects"." (Choo and Ferree 2010: 136). This effectively highlights the *intangible* structural factors in educational outcome in the village. The intersectional analysis, thus, successfully "offer insights missed in even excellent sociological work." (Choo and Ferree 2010: 130). This is crucial in the present context, where even the acclaimed sociological works of M. N. Srinivas and Beteille, for instance, have somehow overlooked the intersectional dimensions in their contributions on

---

2 The concept of social structure is crucial in Sociology. It could be defined as the recurrent patterned arrangement which influence or limit the choice and opportunities available. In addition, the notion of agency in this research refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices.

3 See for instance Beteille (1965).

India.[4] This limitation is not a conscious self-restriction on the scholars' part; one must acknowledge the emerging interests of the intersectional research studies at present. Methodologically, intersectionality-specific studies have yet to capture the mainstream research. The present work underlines its importance as this is essential given the sociological reality that India is one of the most stratified societies in the World.[5]

India, it must be noted is historically known for its social stratification based on ascriptive status of caste system in the World. The inheritance based on ascription prefers 'few' at the hierarchy where they most often enjoy socio-economic privileges. The intersection between castes as well as economic variables often re/produces the "underclass". (MacDonald 1997).[6] This is largely due to socio-historic underpinnings of the country. As caste specific sociological depiction has been well-established in the mainstream literature, the present research analyses the intersectional aspects of caste and class dimensions. The current analysis of the social construction of capabilities is thus, specifically based on the educated un/under-employed youths as well as the deprived children in Sripuram.[7]

---

[4] This has been acknowledged by Beteille himself in his personal interviews with the author. In his view, gender as one important dimension has been "slipped out" of the central focus in their works.

[5] Though this is an inheritance based *division of labour*, one can find a complicated picture of variations across the regions in the country. In the present context in Sripuram, the villagers have been broadly classified into three groups. The Brahmins (at the top), OBCs or the Other Backward Classes (a combination of variety of middle level castes), and the Pallar (who often mentioned as Scheduled Castes or the SCs; Dalits and also sometimes be called as Harijans) at the bottom of the caste hierarchy.

[6] MacDonald, Robert (1997), (Ed.), *Youth, the 'underclass' and Social Exclusion*, Routledge, London.

[7] Capabilities in this research mean the *competence* or the *life skill* one learn out of the process of education. This definition attempts to understand whether the broader notions of capability formations are available to the poor or not. Consequently, the importance of capabilities has been analysed in light of its effects on the poor's ability to break the cycle of (economic) deprivation and (social) exclusion.

SITUATING SRIPURAM

Sripuram is one of the small villages of Tamil Nadu in south India. This village is located in the banks of river Kaveri. Although, Sripuram is an anonymised name for ethnographic reasons, the location of the village has been introduced to the Researcher by Andre Beteille. It must be noted that Beteille's fieldworks in 1960s has produced one of the eminent sociological texts on India. His oft-cited book, *Caste, Class and Power* is based on this multi-caste village (Beteille 1965).

Like any other village in Tamil Nadu, Sripuram is also inhabited by diverse socio-economic groups where the presence of different castes is visible. The physical location of the village is divided in terms of diverse streets which are mainly occupied on the caste lines. For instance, the *Agraharam,* where the erstwhile "higher" caste- the Brahmins lives, welcome anyone who enters the village from "outside". This is parallel to the other streets where the fellow-villagers of other social groups are living. For instance, the Other Backward Classes (henceforth OBCs) who are also often addressed as *dominant castes* in the literature, (Srinivas 1987) are living in the nearby streets which are next to the Agraharam.[8] The OBCs are the conglomeration of diverse caste groups of Kallar, Padayachi, and Vellalars among others in the village. Socio-economically they are occupying the middle layer in between the extreme positions of the Brahmins and the Pallars. Pallars who were historically occupying the lower-rung of the socio-economic hierarchy are often addressed either as Scheduled Castes (SCs) or Dalits in the village. Their erstwhile social position of the lower rungs of the hierarchy seems to be the reasons for their economic deprivation. For instance, they represent almost all indicators of *ill-beings* in the village. This includes the economic deprivation, illiteracy, unemployment and also educated under-employment in the village.

---

8 The concept of dominant caste is sociologically important where Srinivas defined them in terms of three crucial variables namely: numerical strength; politics and economic position of a caste. In this work, it denotes the OBCs who constitute a conglomeration of diverse castes in terms of the above mentioned three variables in Sripuram.

The physical presence of these three broader classifications of social groups of Brahmins; non-Brahmins (or the OBCs); and the Pallars reveals their distinct life-styles which are remarkably different from each other. Though the OBCs and Pallars are physically identical to the "outsiders", one can observe invisible forms of social unrests between them. These unrests are often being displayed to establish the primordial identities; the essential point is the social distancing process of Brahmins from all "others" in the village.

Brahmins of Sripuram, like anywhere else in the country, are generally known for their education-centric cultural capital where they have been historically occupying the higher echelons of the power structure. This is visible in terms of their socio-economic status where they owned most of the lands in the village till few decades back. The descriptions of Beteille have often addressed them as *Mirasdars* or the landowners in his work. This gave them power to 'control' the "others" who were economically dependent on their landholdings. The intersection of socio-economic aspects in relation to education has ensured their growth and development over the years. This is visible, for instance, the Brahmin women are most often highly educated and knowledgeable than *'even'* the men of other castes in the village. This is in contrast to the general presumption where women occupy lower rungs of the patriarchal hierarchy. In similar note, the Brahmin men are comparatively superior in their education and development indicators due to their erstwhile "higher" status in the intersection of both caste and class in Sripuram. This complex social reality convinces the Author to provide an analysis of on the social construction of capabilities in terms of caste, class and education in the village.

CHAPTER I   Introduction

> ...we know very little about the elementary school as an institution, about how it actually works or what goes on in it in the course of the ordinary school day, or the ordinary school year. We also know very little about the concrete setting, the rural or urban community within which the school is located and its relationship with it. (Beteille in Govinda 2011: xviii).

THE BACKGROUND

Historically, every developed society is predominantly literate. In contrast, almost all illiterate societies are largely poor in its social development indicators. Though this historical social fact has highlighted the intrinsic link between education and development, there are less sociological research works available on educational outcomes.[9] In addition, the impact of intersectional effects on outcome analyses is also an under-researched domain. As intersectionality is "the mutually constitutive relations among social identities..." (Shields 2008: 301) it is a unique reality in India where the society is not simply based on the class dynamics as in other parts of the world. The *caste* system with its *class* dynamics bestows on India the dubious distinction of one of the highly stratified society in the world. Caste, it must

---

9 See for instance Aschaffenburg & Maas (1997); DiMaggio (1982); DiMaggio & Mohr (1985); Dumais (2002); Dunne & Louise (2008); Ho Sui-Chu & Willims (1996); Katsillis & Rubinson (1990); Kingston (2001); Lamont & Lareau (1988); Lareau & Horvat (1999); Sullivan (2001); and Teachman (1987) among others.

be mentioned is a Hindu social institution which is an inheritance based ascriptive division of labour. According to this, the primordial identities based primarily on birth, places individuals in different social position. This intersectional 'uniqueness' of caste and class across the ascription and achievement, for instance, has been well documented by Gough:

> India is a peripheral segment of the (changing) world capitalist system, which is characterized by a single, although changing, mode of production and forms a single, although changing, social formation, there being only one of it in the world. (Gough 1981: 136)

In addition, the political economy of India has diverse complexities. For instance, in contrast to the popular developmental rhetoric of *trickledown effect*, it has been found that "the years of high economic growth were not accompanied by a spurt in employment generation and rise in average earnings of the workforce." (Breman 2010: 43). Due to this, the space of public institutions have shrunk where the poor are pushed to bond "only on the basis of primordial loyalties such as caste, ethnicity and religion." (Breman 2010: 46). The result is the re/production of social *status quo* in the country. This, newer social formation need to be understood as India has some of the poorest individuals in the world and the majority of them live in rural areas (Ayres & Simon 2003: 211).

This newer formations, furthermore, could vividly be seen even in the states where "high urbanisation and modern industrialisation seem to show a rather poor record in poverty reduction." For example, the case of Tamil Nadu (TN) has to be mentioned. TN's record in reducing the incidence of poverty (as officially defined) is quite impressive. But "it has an incidence of poverty and vulnerability at around 73 %" (Kannan & Raveendran 2011: 62). Although, the state is known for its economic dynamism over the years, it has been underlined that it is performing poorly in terms of the high rate of social exclusion and inequality in the country. (*ibid.*, p. 69). In their statistical measurement of poverty and

vulnerability, Kannan & Raveendran, thus, concluded that TN has the highest inequality in India. (*ibid*. p.64).

In light of this complex socio-economic reality, the present research underlines the necessities of studying the social construction of capabilities in TN.[10] For this, the research conceptualizes the educational outcomes of the poor as its central concern.[11] Educational outcome, in sociological sense, is not just an end product which is normally understood as the completion or achievement rate in India. The present work considers it as the process of learning in terms of theoretical notion of *functionings*. It must be noted that the concept of *functionings* has been defined extensively in the capability approach. For instance, Nussbaum has defined it as: "Functionings are beings and doings that are the outgrowths or realizations of capabilities." (Nussbaum 2011: 25). Since the concepts of functionings along with the notions of capabilities are the central tenet of capability approach, it is important to know the inter-links. Functionings "are the outcomes or achievements, whereas capabilities are the real opportunities to achieve valuable states of being and doing." (Robeyns 2006: 78).

---

10 Education, it must be defined in this context "is the process of learning the life skills and capabilities an individual or group gain either in the formal, non-formal mode or in both in a society." As the present research aims to understand the educational outcomes for the poor in different social groups, it fundamentally includes only the formal mode of learning. In view of the fact that the village under study has a differential stages as well as status of education in the diverse social groups, it is essentially a *socialization* of individuals in Sripuram.

11 Outcome in this study means the *functionings* of education. This broadly includes the achievement or significance or completion of education as well. To understand importance and significances of education, the researcher had conducted his ethnographic fieldworks both in school and the orphanage in the village. The research setting, however, also included the educated un / under-employed youths in Sripuram. Further details have been provided in the following chapters.

In this background, the research conceives capability formation in terms of intersectionality of social factors in the country. The capability-formation is conditioned mainly by two crucial factors in India. They are namely the intersectional aspects of caste-class dynamics in the local as well the wider socio-economic contexts from the "outside" forces. In this context, Dreze's analysis has established that the literacy achievement in India "depend crucially on the social context: the gender division of labour, the kinship system, caste-related norms economic entitlements, and so on." (Dreze 2004a: 354). Thus, the intersectional aspects of caste and class dynamics are crucial in the country where Sripuram represents one such social reality today.

Sripuram is a multi-caste village in Tanjore District of Tamil Nadu. The village lies about eight miles north of Tanjore city along the sacred Kaveri River. (Nicholas 1966: 139). This village has been studied by the renowned Sociologist Andre Beteille in 1959-60 with a framework on *caste, class* and *power*. The present research revisits Sripuram nearly after five decades to examine the social construction of capabilities in the village. The conceptual background of the research has been broadly motivated by three research concerns: (i) is poverty the sole variable in determining the educational outcomes for the poor in Sripuram?[12] If so, (ii) what kind of capabilities the poor acquire through education? And (iii)

---

12 The present research attempts to understand the educational outcomes of the poor in different social groups through three research variables (the *capabilities, social mobility* and *social capital*). It defines *poor* as "the people or groups who are either economically deprived or socially discriminated or both in their livelihood situations" in the village under study. To arrive at this definition the study considers two crucial factors namely the sociological conception of *relative deprivation* and the *subjective meaning* of the poor. The status of poor according to the *relative deprivation* is not simply based on the income inadequacies between the individuals and groups. It essentially means that the status and role of individuals and groups have to be understood mainly in terms of the societal context. The subjective definition, furthermore, has been based on people's meanings of their deprivation and social exclusion. As a result, these two factors have been combined to identify the poor across all the social groups in the village.

what is the role of social capital in educational outcomes of the poor among different castes in the village?[13] These concerns have been approached with the research plan to highlight the intersections of caste-class dynamics in education. Furthermore, intersectionality, in terms of this dynamics, appreciates the relationship between the educational attainment and the socio-economic conditions of the poor among different castes in Sripuram.

Thus, the central analysis is to understand the educational functionings in the occupations as well as other domains of life. The attempt has been made to underline the complexities of caste, class and education in Sripuram. To analyze the importance of the educational functionings and capabilities of the poor, theoretical strands of the capability approach have been consulted. To collect *thick* descriptions and *reflexive* insights, the Researcher has undertaken ethnographic fieldworks in Sripuram in Tanjore district.[14] Ethnographic fieldwork has been undertaken in various phases between 2008 and 2012 and the details have been mentioned in the following chapters.

The motivation of the present work is, thus, based on the established necessities of the literature where "more information is need on how family economic circumstances and processes" (Banerji 1997: 2058) affect the educational outcome. The central argument therefore holds the conceptual importance of the intrinsic complexities between education

---

13 Social Capital is an intangible asset an individual or group has due to his or her *ascriptive* status of being member of a particular caste or class. In the current research, the discussion on social capital gains momentum because of its analysis of economic and social mobilities of the poor. While migration to the nearby towns seems to be the *only* developmental avenue, the role of social capital is central to the intersectionality.

14 Reflexivity, it must be noted is a process of examining the behavior of the self and others.

and development. This is important because of the social fact that the educational outcomes at least in terms of the occupations are not *automatic* across diverse groups in any society.

TANJORE: CONTEXT OF THE DISTRICT

The district of Tanjore is famous for Hindu temples and Carnatic musics in Tamil Nadu. The district's name is often interchangeably used as Tanjore and Thanjavur in literature. It is often known for its fertility and vast areas of wet-paddy cultivation. For this reason, it is popularly known as the granary of South India. (Sivertsen 1963: 14). As Tanjore district owes much of its historical and contemporary significance to its physical characteristics (Beteille 1972 b: 126), it offers certain advantages "for the investigations of agrarian relations as an aspect of the broader problem of social stratification. It displays extremes of inequality in regard to both caste and class and a close, though changing relationship between the two." (ibid. p. 124).

In this regard, Tanjore is contextually important to the concerns of: what way does castes help or hinder educational outcome on class lines? In addition, Tanjore is also interesting mainly because of the changes in the land ownership patterns with the exodus of the *absentee-landlordism* of the Brahmins. Furthermore, to the continuing socio-economic reality of the old order where "a high proportion of the agricultural work force consisting of agricultural labor, of whom again the scheduled castes form a very high proportion (Guhan 1984: 210) in Sripuram. This has been contextualized with the economic reality where the "…colonial rule and capitalist development led to economic stagnation and poverty in Thanjavur." (Washbrook 1983: 567).

Sripuram, as mentioned earlier, is a multi-caste village in Tanjore district in TN. It has been researched by Andre Beteille for his sociological work on *caste, class and power* between 1959 and 1960. Nandy, while reviewing Beteille's work, for instance, considered it as a "well-selected village community" which is undergoing rapid and radical change. (Nandy 1966: 730). This change is often as a result of the social processes where the village has become a part of a much wider economic system in a variety of ways. Furthermore, this is mainly due to the intersectional aspects where "the class has attained a far greater measure of autonomy in relation to caste."(Chauhan 1967: 1120)

Though the name Sripuram is a pseudonym for ethnographic reasons of anonymity, the Researcher got introduced to the location by Beteille.[15] This village, as mentioned earlier, is known for its ancient religious heritage in TN and lies about eight miles of Tanjore city, alongside the sacred north bank of river Kaveri. In Beteille's description, the river has a twofold significance in the lives of the villagers. "It provides a copious supply of water for irrigation, and it is ranked high among the rivers held sacred by Hindus. Brahmins, particularly, prefer to live close to the river because religious merit is acquired by performing the daily *sandhya* rites on the waters of the Kaveri." (Beteille 2009: 20-22). In contrast, the river's water-flow today, is purely based on the political dynamics of Karnataka, the State where its origin lies. Furthermore, the Brahmins' are no longer performing the daily *sandhya* rites (at least in public) in Sripuram today.

---

15 Apart from the classical Sociological texts, the Researcher is in constant interaction with Prof. Andre Beteille since 2008.

The physical structure of the village reflects its social stratification where the *Agraharam is* inhabited by Brahmins, the *Kudiana* by non-Brahmins, and the *Cheri* by Adi-Dravidas.[16] Though the residential settlement pattern shows the conspicuous features of segregation between castes even today, Beteille's work underlined the nature of "...caste fusions between proximate segments have occurred due to secularization and westernization..." (Sinha 1973: 294).

The nature of change is remarkably different from that of earlier descriptions of Sripuram.[17] For instance, the *Agraharam* is no longer the exclusive residential street for the Brahmins. The increasing emigration of Brahmins outside the village is allowing the entry of non-Brahmins or the Other-Backward Classes (OBCs). This residential change in the *Agraharam* has been due to the exodus of the Brahmins for economic reasons over the years. Thus the Beteillian descriptions of Sripuram as an *Agraharam* village or a Brahmin village (Beteille 1965 a: 76) are no longer the social reality today. The Brahmins' exodus and the non-Brahmins' replacements are thus providing new flavor.

In addition, Beteille's terminology, the *Kudiana* is an inclusive name for the diverse streets where the non-Brahmins live in Sripuram. Essentially, it consists of seven different streets today.[18] Thus, one can observe that the *Kudiana*, [the street where the Non-Brahmins (or the OBCs) were reportedly living] is no longer a single residential unit. It has been

---

16 Agraharam is the place where the Brahmins collectively live *even* in towns in TN. The *interaction order* at present, however, is more 'democratic' than the descriptions of Beteillian period.

17 This has been dealt in detail in the chapter on Social change in Sripuram.

18 They are namely the *Sivan Koil Street*; *Kali Amman Koil Street*; *Perumal Koil Street*; *Odakkara Theru*; *Uppukkara Mettu Theru*; *Pillayar Koil Theru*; and *Kezha Theru* in the village. (It is to be noted that *Theru* means Street in Tamil).

changed into various streets in Sripuram today. Contrary to the sporadic changes in the two layers (of Agraharam and Kudiana), the *Cheri*, where the Adi-Dravidas are living, is still exclusive to the Pallars.[19]

It is appropriate to provide some more background information here. In the earlier work, Beteille had categorized the caste composition of the village into three major blocs: Brahmins, Non-Brahmin and the Adi-Dravida (Pallar). These segments were also characterized by distinctive styles of living often expressed in ritual terms. (Beteille 1965 a: 76). Though there is no visible change as being described in Beteille's caste scheme even today, one can observe the modification in the categorization of social class. According to Beteille's description, the threefold caste blocs in 1960s generally corresponded with the three principal economic classes such as the landowners (who were predominantly Brahmin), tenants (the Non-Brahmins), and the laborers (the Pallars). Today, one can find the changes in this scheme. This change is mainly due to education. Over the years, the Brahmins have given up their absentee-landlordism due to various socio-economic as well as educational factors. This alters the original scheme where the predominant landowners are mainly the non-Brahmins at present. Though most of the Pallar are still dependent on these *neo-mirasdars* (or the land-owners), the main point is the role of education in this change.

Although, Beteille's descriptions of the settlement pattern of the villagers are, relevant even today, there needs to be some modifications. The nomenclature of the three-fold classifications of castes needs to be changed. The non-Brahmins for instance as a cluster of

---

19 Pallars in Sripuram are the erstwhile 'lower' caste who is in the scheduled list of the caste groupings due to their social and economic backwardness in Tamil Nadu. They are part of the collective social grouping of the *Dalits* or the *Harijans* in the caste system today. They are also officially mentioned as the Scheduled Castes (SCs) or the *ex-untouchables* in Tamil Nadu. Beteille's descriptions of Pallar were mentioned as Adi-Dravida.

castes in the middle layer have been addressed in this work either as the *dominant castes* [in the notion of Srinivas (1987)] or simply as the official terminology of Other Backward Classes (OBCs).[20] In addition, the way one calls the caste by name has also got changed due to the broader political-economy in Tamil Nadu[21]. For instance, before Beteille's fieldwork, the present day Dalits in Sripuram were being addressed as *Pallan*. The political structure of Beteille's fieldwork period addressed them in the name of *Palla* and he also describes them as such. But today it has to be *Pallar* where the difference in the meaning is based on the progressive naming of the caste with 'respect'. Anyone who uses the earlier nomenclature of *Pallan* or *Palla* could be disproved or even be legally challenged at present.

THE AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In Asia, the majority of people live in villages. Ishwaran, for instance, affirms that the battle for free Asia is being fought in her villages (Ishwaran 1970: 1)[22]. As per the recent census figures, there are nearly seventy percent of the people who still live in the villages in India.[23] Though this justifies the necessity for the sociological research on rural social structure, the high noon of "village studies" in India has passed quite some time ago. (Madan 1984: 388).[24]

---

[20] The OBCs are basically the official terminology of the central government. In the present context, it includes the Backward Classes (BCs) and the Most Backward Classes (MBCs) in Tamil Nadu.

[21] For instance, according to the recent demographic figures of Tamil Nadu, nearly 70 % of the total population in the state is OBCs against roughly 23 % of SCs. In light of this demographic reality where roughly 93 % of the total population is non-Brahmins (which includes both OBCs and SCs), one find the broader policy decisions in light of the populist demands. (See for instance GoI 2011: 253).

[22] See Beteille (1972 b, 1974), Breman (1974) and Lerche (2010) among many others.

[23] As per the 2011 census, 69% of the population of India lives in the villages. (For further details, see for instance http://censusindia.gov.in/).

This is mainly due to the failure where Indian sociology, being relatively of recent origin, has not developed a tradition of its own (Beteille 1974: 7). In these scenarios, any attempt to study the social changes mainly through education in the lives of the poor is expectantly challenging. However, countering this challenge is necessary because India has some of the poorest people in the world and the majority of them live in rural areas. (Ayres & Simon 2003: 211). This requires the importance of intensive field studies of village life in order to "map the morphology and content of social change in wider terms." (Ishwaran 1970: 2). In this backdrop, the present research undertook ethnographic fieldwork between the years 2008 and 2012 in Sripuram.

As "each field study of a village cannot be understood except as part of a complex system of coordinates" (Ishwaran 1970: 6), today a village has become a part of a much wider economic system where the class positions are increasingly becoming important in relation to caste. The combination of these two axes, caste and class are crucial in determining the quality of lives in the villages. The agrarian relations are thus, influenced not only by considerations of inherited status but also by impersonal market forces and legislation (Nandy 1966:729). The correlation between the social rank of the caste and land ownership, for instance, is no longer present in Sripuram, with the principal landowners in the village mainly belong to the Non-Brahmins and in few cases Pallar themselves. Only two Brahmin landowners are there today.[25]

---

24 Social Structure is a patterned social arrangement that is both emergent from and determinant of the actions of the individuals. The nature of element in a structure depends on in its interrelations with other elements.

25 Though both of them are no longer interested in agriculture, one of them told that he is "not worried due to his small piece of land to toil" in Sripuram. (*From the field*).

Amidst these social changes, one can conceptualize the complexity of India. As in the words of Breman, the country has retained its character of a peasant society despite the accelerated process of urbanization and industrialization which it has undergone in the last few decades. (Breman 1974: xiii). In peasant society, low castes and untouchables have constituted the majority of the landless workers and have lived away from the high castes for centuries. This is particularly true of the ex-untouchables, who only come into contact with the higher castes on a professional basis. (Etienne 1968: 98). Since the exodus of the erstwhile higher castes from the agriculture for urban-centric employment today, these regular professional contacts have been increasingly disappearing. This, to a greater extent, increases the social distance in the village.[26] The functional role of education of the Brahmins' and their exclusivist styles of living are embedded in the distancing process.[27]

In this backdrop, it is important to refer Fuller's prediction. Fuller recently predicts that: "by the end of the century, only a small minority of Tamilnadu's Brahmins still resided in the countryside." (Fuller 2012: xv). The relative effect of this also influences the other castes' where education becomes an active agent for emigration. This is urbanizing the villagers where, the Brahmins, for instance, were "transformed during the twentieth century

[26] American Sociologist Bogardus attempted to empirically measure the degree of closeness among the diverse social groups. This is often known as Bogardus scale.

[27] It is pertinent to contrast Dreze here that "...remaining uneducated is almost unthinkable for the Tamil Brahmin..." (Dreze 2004a: 345). In the context of Sripuram, the functional roles of education of the Brahmins have to be contrasted with the backwardness of the "others". This is conceptually curical in light of the Pallars who are mostly the first-generation learners in the village. The result is social distancing due to differential educational outcomes.

from an agrarian class of landlords into an educated, urban middle class, whose employment ranges from well-paid, professional occupations…" (Fuller 2012: xix).

In light of this, the physical structure of the village is, in some measure, a reflection of its social structure (Beteille 2009: 19), the changes in the settlement pattern still show the same conspicuous features of residential segregation between castes in Sripuram. In Beteille's words,

> People who are close to each other in the social system tend to live side-by-side; people whose social positions are widely different live apart. Other things being equal, physical distance can be seen as a function of structural distance. (Beteille 2009: 19).

In contrast, the present day social reality is increasingly changing where one can find the caste-mixing of residential units in the Agraharam. Though, this is a structural beginning for potential changes in the future, one can still see the Pallar *only* in *Cheri* in Sripuram.[28] The notable change in Cheri is merely in its new nomenclature where it has become North Street (*Vadakku Theru*) today. There are no qualitative changes which education has brought over the years except in its continuous creation of educated un / under-employed youths in the village.[29]

---

28 *Cheri* is the place where the Pallars live in the village. It is marked by its visible marginal presence from the 'power centers' of Sripuram. Though the nomenclature of *Cheri* is ir/relevant today in the village, the present works use it in the notion of Beteille's descriptions. At present, it is often called *vadakku theru* (North Street) in Sripuram.

29 This has been dealt in detail in the outcome analyses of the poor in the following chapters.

CONCLUSION

As "research may generate in a topic by posing an intellectual problem that people had not thought of, or had not previously had any interest in" (Hammersley 2003: 35), the present work attempts to take up some novel analytical strands. Firstly, the central concerns of the current work, the social construction of capabilities are the first of its kind in India. This is followed by the ethnographic revisit to the classical field-site in the subject. And lastly, the adoption of qualitative poverty dimension for identifying the poor in terms of intersectional matrix adds a precious analytical flavor to the subject. For these novelties, C. J. Fuller has kindly acknowledged the importance of the present research in his new introduction to Beteille's *Caste, Class and Power* (CCP). To quote:

> First and most simply, *CCP*, like other ethnographies of the village studies era, is an important historical source about the social structure of Indian villages in the early decades following Independence. It is therefore invaluable to any scholar seeking to understand developments in Indian rural society over the last half century, and restudies of villages – including the one now in progress in Sripuram – can make a significant contribution to our understanding of today's rapidly changing India. (Fuller 2012: xxxi).

CHAPTER II   Theoretical survey

> As I have thought about the place of India within development studies I have come to the view that it has been a distinctly awkward case, often standing outside the frame of the leading paradigms, and seeming to constitute a case by itself. (Harriss 1998: 288)

INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, the current research attempts to undertake a brief survey of the developmental thoughts. The primary intention is to set the research background for the thesis on educational functionings of the poor. The discipline of development studies since 1960 has travelled from various paradigms. This includes, the human capital approach (HCA), followed by the basic needs, the entitlements approach, the human development school and lastly the capability approach (CA). Analyses of these five prominent theories of development, in this Chapter, provide the conceptual framework in highlighting the relevance of capability approach to the present research.

HUMAN CAPITAL APPROACH

The basic assumptions of human capital approach lie in its conception of the human beings as the *agents* of wealth producers.[30] The central proponents of the approach, both T W Schultz (1979 Nobel laureate) and Gary S Becker (1992 Nobel laureate) regarded the human abilities mainly as *economic* utilities. Consequently, education and skills were considered as *forms* of capital. Thus, education under HCA is predominantly arguing for creating productive abilities *for* economic growth.

As an economic paradigm, HCA's analysis is firmly based on *trickle-down* approach in development studies. The assumption of trickle-down believed that the accumulation of wealth by the rich is good for the poor since some of increased wealth of the rich trickles down to the poor.[31] For this reason, most of the research methods are analyzed on the primacy of (1) Rate of Returns Approach (RoR) and (2) Cost Benefit Analyses (CBA) in education.[32] This economic determinism, however, has failed to articulate the questions of why is there un / under-employment *even* among the educated? This is crucial in light of their incessant emphasis on the investment in education for the ideals of human capital formations. In addition, it is inadequate in its answers to know the reasons of decline in the standard of living despite the increased levels of educational attainment in society. As these concerns are crucial, the current research takes them up in its central analyses. This is

---

30 See for instance Becker (1962), (1964) and (1986); Gilead (2009); Schultz (1961) and (1962); and Sweetland (1996) among others.

31 Aghion and Bolton (1997), *Review of Economic Studies*, Vol. 64, No. 2, (pp. 151-172). (p. 151).

32 See for instance Schultz (1961); (1962) and Becker (1962); (1964) among others.

relevant in the case of India where the conception of education under the Ministry of human resource development (MHRD) is seemingly reduced to skill in the lines human capital ideals.

BASIC NEEDS APPROACH

Basic needs approach was propounded by the contributions of Paul Streeten, Frances Stewart, Shahid Javed Burki, Norman L. Hicks and Mahbub ul Haq among others. The central assumption of this approach is based on the critique of the HCA in development studies. The main concern was on the rapid growth without substantial poverty reduction generally due to *trickle-down* failure of the HCA.[33] For instance, Streeten & Burki argued that the "…aggregate economic growth appears to have done very little for the poorer half of the Third World's rapidly growing populations." (Streeten & Burki 1978: 411).

As economic growth alone is not sufficient to improve the conditions of life of the poor substantially, they suggested the basic needs *bundles*. This bundle consists of education, health, nutrition, water, sanitation and shelter as the basic minimum needs of the individuals and society to survive across the globe. The prerequisites of these bundles in their view were necessary due to "…the failure of growth of GNP to eliminate poverty which led to the new emphasis on basic needs" (Stewart 1980: 10).

Though the approach hold the basic minimum factors in terms of the bundles, some of the arguments give an impression that it is an extension of the HCA. For instance, Hick can be mentioned here. The "…expenditure on basic needs improve the productivity of human resources, and can therefore be considered a form of long-term investment in human capital." (Hicks 1980: 23). In addition, there are other theorists who hold the similar notion.

---

33 See for instance Hicks & Streeton (1979); Hicks (1980); Reader (2006); Stewart (1980); Streeton (1971); Streeton & Burki (1978); and Wheeler (1980) among others.

To Wheeler, for instance, the "...improvements in health, nutrition, and education have labor augmenting productivity effects, so that basic needs expenditures strongly complement capital accumulation in the development process." (Wheeler 1980: 436). Thus, the scholars have discarded this approach merely as a *misguided welfarism* over the years.[34] This could be due to obvious limitations of economic determinism.

ENTITLEMENTS APPROACH

In his research works on poverty and famines, Amartya Sen advocated the entitlements approach. The central assumption of this approach questioned the Malthusian theory (of the food supply falls relative to the size of the population). As Sen has identified the limitations of the Malthusian approach of the *food availability decline* (FAD), his analyses were based on three crucial assumptions.[35] The first is that famines depend not *merely* on production, but also on distribution (Sen 1976: 1273). This is followed by the fact that the famines can take place *even* without a substantial food availability decline (Sen 1981:459). And lastly, the famines can be analysed in terms of "failures of entitlement relations."

Based on these crucial assumptions, he investigated famines by focusing on variations on *endowments* and *exchange entitlement mappings*. This is what he calls the entitlement approach. Thus, Sen has redefined welfare economics by proving that starvation "...is a matter of some people not *having* enough food to eat, and not a matter of there *being* not enough food to eat" (Sen 1981: 434). This disproved the Malthusian approach to famine in the subject. In his view, the entitlement-sets of a person, "is determined by his original

---

34 As mentioned in Wheeler (1980:435).

35 See for instance Sen (1976), (1981), (1986) and (1987).

bundle of ownership (what is called his "endowment" and the various alternative bundles he can acquire starting respectively from each initial endowment, through the use of trade and production (what is called his "exchange entitlement mapping")." These conceptual categories, as we will see below, set the background for his future contributions in development studies.

The contributions of the entitlement approach specifically set the context for the current development paradigm, the capability approach. If a person, to quote Sen, "has not got enough food, this can be *either* because he did not have the *ability* to command that food, or because he *chose* not to exercise that ability " (Sen 1980: 616). The approach, like other mainstream thoughts in development studies, has however, been 'hijacked' by the economic determinism. Sen acknowledges it as: "the problem of world hunger is not purely economic one, even through the economic issues are of major importance and call for adequately deep investigation. Even, the notion of entitlement which has obvious economic content, cannot escape having legal connotations, political implications and *social* relevance" (*emphasis* mine, Sen 1987:31).

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT SCHOOL

Human development (HD) school is a conceptual extension of the earlier developmental thoughts. This school is propounded mainly by Mahbub-ul-Haq and Amartya Sen. Their work has been additionally supported by the research works of Meghnad Desai, Gustav Ranis, Frances Stewart and Paul Streeten among others.[36] According to this school, human development is a process of 'enlarging' people's *choices*. This is accomplished most

---

36 See for instance Apthorpe (1997); Aturupane & Isenman (1994); Desai (1991); Fukuda-Parr (2003), (2011); Fukuda-Parr & Kumar (2003); Gasper (2002); Haq (2003); Hopkins (1991); Kelley (1991); Lind (1992); McGillivray (1991); Mehrotra (2005); Nussbaum (2011); Rampal (2000); Sen (2000); Srinivasan (1994); Streeten (1994); and Trabold-Nübler (1991) among others.

fundamentally by living a long and healthy life, being educated, and having a decent standard of living. For the measurement, Haq and Sen created an index called the human development index (HDI). The index in the words of Srinivasan "is the equally weighted sum of deprivation of a country with respect to each of three components: life expectancy at birth, literacy, and real income per head." (Srinivasan 1994: 238).

Like earlier other approaches, the human development school is also critical of the trickle-down effects and economic determinism. For instance, it criticizes earlier paradigms in terms of (1) the growth failures in the poverty eliminations over the years; (2) the inadequacy of GNP as a measure of human well-being. These two concerns have been well articulated in the literature. For instance, McGillivray argued that the "...development levels ought not to be assessed by income measures alone and that one must take into account *social* and human welfare criteria" (*emphasis* mine, McGillivray 1991: 1461). In addition, Hopkins established how "...the poverty of the people in many countries of the developing world obviously has been no barrier to the affluence of their armies" (Hopkins 1991: 1469).

In contrast, to the basic needs bundles, the human development school holds three important variables (namely, longevity; knowledge and the living standards). However, its' index has also been criticized by various researchers. For instance, Streeten questioned the relevance of HDI. To him, "...the concept of human development is much deeper and richer than what can be caught in any index or set of indicators". So, "why try to catch a vector in a single number?" (Streeten 1994: 235). Among other critics, Srinivasan is vocal in his argumentation. For him, the components of HDI, namely, life expectancy and educational attainment, are, "functionings" in Sen's sense, but their *relative* values need not be the same across individuals, countries, and socio-economic groups (Srinivasan 1994: 240). Thus, these critical engagements require the development studies to accommodate the critiques into a newer paradigm. In this backdrop, Sen's unconsolidated writings have been incorporated in to a paradigm of capability approach.

CAPABILITY APPROACH (CA)

Capability approach is predominantly based on the works of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum.[37] Though, Sen is the founding figure of this approach, Nussbaum has extended it as the theory of social justice. The central tenets of the approach holds two important concepts called the capabilities and the functionings. It is appropriate to define them here: Whereas the capabilities are the substantive freedom, the functionings are the achieved outcomes. These two conceptual terms viz. both functionings and capabilities are thus the *evaluative spaces* of the approach. These evaluative spaces firmly hold the conceptual belief that the notion of development is a process of expanding the real freedoms. It means, the real purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices in all fields –social, economic, political etc. Accordingly, individual or the agential aspects of development become the central concern of the approach.

As a theoretical extension to the human development school, the relation between the CA and HD is differentially understood in the literature. Some view that the CA provides theoretical foundation for the HD (Robeyns 2005: 94), and others analyze it as a smaller input to the bigger approach of the HD (Gasper 2007: 357). Although the approach holds many promising concepts, it nevertheless has not prevented the critics to point out the limitations. For instance, Jackson whose critique sets the background for the present work points out that "the social context of capabilities has been latent in Sen's work but marginal and under-theorized" (Jackson 2005: 105). This limitation by not addressing the importance

---

37 See also for instance Dean (2009); Deneulin & McGregor (2010); Fukuda-Parr (2003), (2011); Gasper (2002), (2007); George (2010); Jackson (2005); Levine (2004); Migheli (2011); Nussbaum (2006), (2011); Reader (2006); Robeyns (2000), (2005), (2006); Saith (2001); Sen (1997), (1999), (1999a), (2004); and Zimmermann (2006) among others. In addition, capability perspective has been extended in to education research by Otto & Ziegler (2013); Saito (2003); Unterhalter (2003), (2003a); Walker (2006); and Walker & Unterhalter (2007).

of social structure makes the CA as neither successful in its operationalization nor it shuns its 'individualistic' tag so far. In addition, Robeyns have argued that "the disciplinary terrains are so far under explored" (Robeyns 2005: 110).

CONCLUSION

The present research, in light of the above-mentioned concerns on capability approach, attempts to explore the educational functionings of the poor in Sripuram. As a sociological research, the central analysis explores the role of social structure in educational functionings of the poor in Sripuram. Thus, the research holds capability approach as a conceptual framework for its analyses. In addition, theoretical implications of other discussed developmental thoughts have also been conversed in the relevant aspects of the analysis in the thesis.

Though these theoretical paradigms have been giving their conceptual grounding in education over the years, there are two central concerns in the subject. One is their unanimous op/position to the economic determinism in the analyses which is followed by their concern for the distributive justice in society. The brief survey in this Chapter, however, highlights the historical failures in these concerns. Firstly, the distributive justice has been an elusive goal over the years. Though this elusiveness is setting developmental failures across the globe, one cannot find any reason for the economic determinism in the subject. It seems that this is mainly due to the marginal sociological presence as well as the mainstream positivist ideals in social sciences at present.

These two central concerns therefore highlight the necessity of addressing distributive justice by conceptually avoiding economic determinism. In this regard, the present work attempts to address them by appreciating the intersectional social reality. This reality is critical as it is further complicated by neoliberal political economy which precedes the

importance of market in its developmental paradigm. In light of this paradigm, one has to conceive the fact that the nature of state and its withdrawal from the public policy commitments in development differs across the countries. The 'withdrawal' of the state in the First World, for instance, is comparatively tolerable due to the 'near-perfect' nature of the social welfare systems and well-developed infrastructure. This is in sharp contrast to the Third World where the countries like India are having a persistent macroeconomic pressure to 'open-up' the economy without adequately ensuring the social welfare. For instance, the absence of social insurance in terms of unemployment allowance and quality medical assistance *even* at the time of emergency in the country has to be noted. The result is the elite re/production of the social order where the poor are the worst sufferers. Their everyday encounters with the state are often asymmetrical one.[38] The result is the strengthening of unequal socio-economic structures in the country.

The role of education in this developmental complication often becomes important due to its promising "dynamic" ideals. Hence, it is pertinent to sociologically focus on educational functionings of the poor to highlight the importance of social structure in the analysis of educational outcome of the agency. Thus the present research aims to primarily address the concerns of Jackson (2005:105) mentioned above.

---

[38] For similar arguments, see for instance, Corbridge and et al. (2005), *Seeing the State: Governance and Governmentality in India*, Cambridge University Press, UK.

CHAPTER III   Review of literature

> The poor are often inconspicuous, inarticulate and unorganised. Their voices may not be heard at public meetings in communities where it is customary for only the big men to put their views. It is rare to find a body or institution that adequately represents the poor in a certain community or area. Outsiders and government officials invariably find it more profitable and congenial to converse with local influentials that with the uncommunicative poor. (Devitt as quoted in Chambers 1981: 7)

THE BACKGROUND

India is often understood as the most stratified of all known societies in human history. Caste system with its myriad forms of super-ordination and subordination, its many customs and taboos, is perhaps responsible for conferring India this dubious distinction (Gupta 1991). Aspects of social exclusion arising out of this dubiousness are more of an *ascriptive* in nature. In this backdrop, the central insights of the literature reviewed here predominantly underline the role of social structure on the issues of exclusion. It also highlights the absence of sociological works on educational functionings from capability perspective. Along with this limitation, there is also a compelling reason where the customary traditions of economists' comprehension of various indices of human development. This, most often hides social

differences between diverse groups at the aggregate level. This underscores the need to sociologically understand the CA paradigm in a complex social reality like that of India.

This is a crucial attempt, due to the fact that the inadequacies of the readily available "analyses" based on quantitative data-sets in various development reports can only be an indicative of the social trends. Naturally, scholastic comprehension of social reality could also calls for qualitative frameworks. In this backdrop, the present work, on the one hand, is intending to ethnographically understand educational functionings of the poor. On the other hand, it attempts to critique the mainstream literature. At a broader level, this attempt is poised to identify the dominant analytical schemes underpinned in different disciplines in finding out new paradigms to reflect on the emerging social realities.

The existing literature on educational outcomes can broadly be categorised into four: the developmental studies, sociology, economics and the inter-disciplinary understandings in education. While these subjects with diverse scholastic backgrounds attempt to throw light on subaltern issues, the capability framework of Amartya Sen is evidently absent. Only recently Thorat (2007) discusses them from the perspective of economics. It has also been found in this review that a very small number of works (Unterhalter 2003; and Zimmermann 2006) *sociologically* attempt to understand the CA perspective in education. Although there have been a good number of research works (Thorat 2005 and 2007, Nambissan 2000 and Wankhede 2001) on the subaltern studies, the CA framework with sociological perspective is almost absent in India. These inadequacies altogether set the background for the present research.

The definition of poverty has generally been driven by economic explanation all over the world. This is due to the "measurement" convenience, where, poverty line considers the minimum level of income needed for a bare minimum amount of food for survival, and nothing else (Tilak 2002a: 191). This survival based characterization, in turn, limits other analytical definitions. Contrary to this designation, Townsend's subjective characterization asserted that "…a family is deemed to be in poverty if the joint income of the members, *supposing it were all available and wisely spent,* would not suffice to purchase for them the necessaries of life…" (Townsend 1954: 133). This has also been underlined in other literature, where Levine (2004) defines poverty as the opposing pole to freedom. For him, poverty results either when the capability does not develop, or when the opportunity to exercise it is unavailable.

This chasm between definitions has also been widely acknowledged. This, in Beteille's words: "…those who adopt the head-count approach favour an absolute conception of poverty and pursue the specific and limited objective of finding out if the number and proportion of the poor as defined according to a fixed standard are decreasing or increasing. Others adopt a relative conception of poverty, mindful of the fact that as societies change, the standards by which poverty is assessed also change". Here, it may be noted as a matter of fact that the standards rarely move downwards, they generally move upwards (Beteille 2003: 4460). Appreciating the movements of these standards are crucial, as the well-being of the individuals will not *simply* be based on survival. Hence, the "official" definition of poverty has been theoretically simplistic as it arbitrarily puts the people above and below the lines of poverty.

In a nutshell, the students of poverty, as Beteille rightly argued, have been concerned less with its definition than its measurement (Beteille 2003: 4455) in India. This has arisen

out of Beteille's opposition to the economic determinism in the definition. This op/position is justifiable in light of the data collection limitation where people generally avoid giving the *exact* income figure to the strangers.[39] Given the non availability of income figures where the nature of economy is 'roughly' arranged in the *informalities* (of the unorganised sector for instance), the people's effort to not to appear shameful in the public has to be seen. This underscores the urgency to go beyond the economic variables.

In addition, the understanding of this definitional chasm is crucial in Indian context as the problem of poverty mostly go hand in hand with social exclusion. For instance, Sengupta and et al pointed out that despite high growth, more than three-fourths of Indians are poor and vulnerable to a level of consumption not more than twice the official poverty line. This proportion of the population, which can be categorised as the "common people", is much higher among certain social groups, especially among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (Sengupta and et al 2008: 49). This complexity is mainly because of social structure which stratifies the groups in terms of their ascriptive status in the country. In this context, the disturbing question of Beteille gains significance: "[A]re poverty and inequality in fact increasing?" The Indian experience in the second half of the 20th century underlines the difficulty to answer the question even if poverty is defined narrowly in purely economic terms (Beteille 2003: 4457).

The process of social exclusion arises out of the axis of deprivation and exclusion, therefore, give the sociological scope to observe the analytical categories. But a major problem in the study of inequality is to "identify the spaces and to analyse how they are related to each other through encompassment, exclusion or inclusion" (Beteille 1993: 753). In India, much of the research on poverty since independence in Beteille's assessment has been

---

[39] The Census enumerators and other quantitative data collectors, it must be noted, are the officials who most often "formally" works on this.

driven by the concern for growth and development (Beteille 2003: 4457). It became clear that development and growth is not the same thing. Where growth leads to increase of poverty and inequality, it could hardly be called development in any meaningful sense of the term (*ibid*, p. 4458). This assessment gains significance as Sen also suggested in his *Development as Freedom* where the "policy debates have indeed been distorted by over-emphasis on income poverty and income inequality, to the neglect of deprivations that relate to other variables, such as unemployment, ill-health, lack of education, and social exclusion (Sen 1999: 108). " This can be observed in line with the position of Beteille where he suggests that "the unequal power, like unequal esteem, is a far deeper source of inequality than unequal income." (Beteille 1993: 755).

However, there are important caveats which have also been found out in the literature. For instance, Beteille has established that the relationship between poverty and inequality is neither clear nor direct. As poverty and inequality are analytically distinct concepts, he concludes that they vary independently of each other, and it is misleading beyond a point to treat the one as a marker of the other (Beteille 2003: 4455). This caution gives scope to the present analyses which is adopting the relative conception of deprivation. Furthermore, Beteille underlines that those who use an absolute concept of poverty find it easier to delink poverty and inequality, particularly when their concern is mainly inequalities of income and expenditure. On the other hand, those who adopt a relative concept of poverty tend to argue that there is a close if not inextricable relationship between inequality and poverty (*ibid*. p. 4456). This is crucial as the absolute poverty persists even in countries that are economically advanced and have little population growth. In Beteille's judgment, this has led sociologists to be sceptical about the assumption of a simple relationship between poverty, inequality and economic backwardness (*ibid*. p. 4457). Hence, in terms of the definition, social inequality is not just a matter of the distribution of goods and resources among individuals, but also one of the relations among persons with a component of

evaluation built into them (Beteille 1993: 755). This gains momentum in adopting subjective definition of poverty in terms of relative deprivation.

THE ISSUES IN MEASUREMENT

In India, as mentioned above, the students of poverty have been concerned less with its definition than its measurement (Beteille 2003: 4455), the dominant stream of measurement still follows the economic determinism where one can observe the absence of diverse perspectives. In this backdrop, Townsend's argument for a subjective designation of poverty is important, as it discusses the social structures of the poor.

> In considering the spending habits of poorer people, it seems that due regard must be paid to the conventions sanctioning membership of their community, to the influence of economic and social measures currently adopted by society as a whole…(Townsend 1954: 133).

The complexities of India's social structure add an additional dimension to the discussion. Although the majority of scheduled castes live in villages, Wankhede's assessment, for instance, highlights that the urban based castes present a positive picture of progress as compared to the rural population when the overall progress is measured (Wankhede 2001: 1555). In addition to this complexity, some of the literature complain the reductionist understanding which sees education basically as a 'social safety' measure for countries to protect the disadvantaged from further marginalisation caused by globalisation and as a means to exploit the skills and knowledge of their domestic workers in the world market (Rampal 2000: 2524). As a result, the present work underlines the need for a comparative perspective in the research.

In light of this, when it comes to the measurement, it is important to discuss the perspective of CA as it provides a necessary theoretical grounding. Regarding the role of CA in education, Tilak (2002a) has discussed a conceptual trajectory of this perspective and

impressively argued for this approach. To him, the human development approach recognises education primarily not as an instrument or means of development, but as development itself, while lack of the same constitutes not just a cause of poverty, but poverty itself. Educational deprivation or poverty of education becomes an integral part of human poverty. Accordingly, standard of living, quality of life, human development, human poverty, and so on, are measured in terms of, *inter alia*, educational status of the population (Tilak 2002a: 195). This has further been strengthened by Unterhalter where she extols the capability approach:

> It allows us to look not just at a narrow measure of benefit (usually equated with income), but generates a wider range of insights about what participants value and how achieving short-term functionings relate to wider concerns with capabilities. These encompass not just capabilities in relation to a project but in relation to society. (Unterhalter 2003a: 668).[40]

Moreover, Walker & Unterhalter's argument is important to be contextualised here:

> ...it is evident that enrolment is not a useful measure of whether people learn and that the many different interpretations of literacy make this a particularly imprecise indictor of knowledge and capacity to engage in practical reason. (Walker & Unterhalter 2007: 250).

In this backdrop, the outcome analysis of the present study gains momentum as the human capability perspective offers an integrated approach on the role of education as a direct measure of well-being and freedom, as an indirect influence on social change, and as an indirect influence on economic production (Tilak 2002a: 204). Though, the review of literature highlights diverse aspects, their empirical gap sets the conditions for the current work.

---

40 Alkire, Sabina (2002), "Valuing Freedoms: Sen's Capability Approach and Poverty Reduction", Oxford University Press (p. 281). As quoted in Unterhalter (2003a: 668).

In addition, although the literature on capability perspective argues various issues in detail, some of them are inter-changeably using human development and capability approach in the analysis. But a close reading of the arguments underlines that the capability approach is broader in its conception which goes beyond calculus part of the human development. Though, both are drawing broadly from the perspectives of Mahbub-ul-Haq and Amartya Sen, the capability approach draws more from Sen's contribution. This is in addition to Nussbaum's contributions in terms of her precious works in social justice. The current work with the perspective of CA attempts to analyse the educational functionings of the poor. This is crucial in the context of Sripuram as CA "...is unique in its emphasis on assessing development by how well it expands the capabilities of all people" (Fukuda-Parr 2003).

THE COMPLEXITIES

As the review of literature mentioned in this Chapter captures the social realities, here is an attempt to understand the complexities to throw some light on the unexplored issues so far. This is essential as "...the issue of how to address and accommodate culturally, historically and socially marginalised communities is complex and there are no universal answers" (EPW Editorial 2003: 4284).

Firstly, the caste-and untouchability based exclusion and discrimination for Thorat are essentially *structural* in nature and comprehensive and multiple in coverage, involving denial of equal opportunities, particularly to excluded groups like the former 'untouchables'. But in the case of Tribes (or often called the *Adivasis*), he underlines that the exclusion is not systemic or structural in nature and therefore, the process of exclusion is different, although in outcome it is similar to that of former 'untouchables' in many respects, if not all (Thorat 2007: 12). This underscores social complexities in light of the *mistaken* commonsense which most often assumes the SCs and STs as 'homogeneous' marginalized groups in the country.

Tilak's work is also an 'eye opener' as it highlights three important issues which are complex in nature. His analyses explain that the poor have a disadvantage whether they are in rural or urban areas, or whether they are boys or girls (Tilak 2002b: 14). To provide evidence for the complex issues, he underlines "...the deprivation in education does not end with enrolment in schools. The poor are more likely to drop out of the system, relapsing often into illiteracy and ignorance (*ibid*. p. 17)". In addition, Gang et al found that "...while there is little difference in the poverty rates between SC and ST households, the causes of the incidence of poverty in these two social groups are not the same" (Gang et al 2004: 21). There "...is a difference in the strength of the poverty reducing effect of occupation for SC and non-scheduled households that leaves more SC households in poverty." (*ibid*. p. 17). These complexities have, however, not been discussed in detail in the literature. It most often considers the situation of SCs and STs as homogeneous ones. Besides this, recently Sengupta and et al in their analysis underscores that the poverty trend among Muslims seems to be more disappointing than even among SC/ST population (Sengupta and et al 2008: 52). These complexities in Sripuram, have however, 'naturally' been addressed where there is no Scheduled Tribe or the Muslim men in the village.

To complicate further, it is appropriate to mention Thorat as "Andhra Pradesh was the only State that had both Human Development Index (HDI) and Human Poverty Index (HPI) lower than the all-India average. This means that it had both low attainment and low deprivation whereas indices for other States indicate a different relationship, where low HDI is matched with high HPI" (Thorat 2007: 25). This underscores the limitations of 'generalizability' in the country. It is mainly because of the complexity of society in its structural and institutional arrangements. Hence, a deterministic way of explaining social exclusion and deprivation either through indexing the people in numbers or through the

finalities of identical arguments is not sufficient to understand the social reality.[41] The present research with its ethnographic observation thus attempts to deconstruct these complexities in Sripuram.

THE CRITIQUES

Among the available literature, Collins' critique is pertinent to mention. In her position against absolutism, she forcefully criticises the official definitions of poverty for their measurement which are usually compiled by 'experts' who themselves are not poor (Collins 2005: 10). The knowledge of households, she further adds, who are poor about the complex negotiation between means and ends and the stressful impact of a scrutinizing social assistance system has much to teach those who write and speak about poverty but who do not experience it themselves (ibid. p. 28). Collins has, thus, taken a firm ground against absolutism by quoting Max-Neef: "...[A]n income poverty line represents an abstraction from lived experience in which important contextual factors are not taken into account".[42] This underscores the limitations of 'statistical' finalities of the subjective well-being.

There are essential caveats one can highlight out of the reviewed literature here. For instance, the guidance of Collins can be mentioned again: "[A]ssuming homogeneity can lead

---

[41] This, for instance, primarily includes in considering all the SCs as homogeneously poor and socially excluded. In addition to this perception at the societal levels, the mainstream academia, especially in education research is critical of the private players. This is despite the fact of the notorious quality services of the government schooling as well as common man's intelligence in rejecting it. In this backdrop, there is an experiential fact that most of the government servants including the academicians *themselves*, do not send their children to these schools for quality reasons. The gap between the academia's personal "choice" and professional "voice" is a paradox in the country.

42 Max-Neef, M. (1991). *Human scale development: Conception, application and further reflections*, Apex Press, New York. (As quoted in Collins 2005, p. 10)

to a masking of the differences that exist within communities based on gender, age, ethnicity or some other factor. Assuming harmony can lead to a failure to take into account intra-communal differences." (Collins 2005: 14). Related to this, Wankhede also raises the same point in Indian context:

> ...while analysing their social and cultural background, the scheduled castes in general in the country and in the state in particular do not form a monolithic group and have a social hierarchy and practice of untouchability among themselves. Therefore, the issue of treating them as a homogeneous category is still to be questioned seriously. (Wankhede 2001: 1558).

These critiques are significant to the present work in its attempt to compare the marginalized groups with non-marginalized along the lines of caste and class dynamics in Sripuram.

Despite the fact that there have been numerous writings against the absolutist approach (Sen 1999; Tilak 2002a and among others), the central analyses of poverty studies, as mentioned earlier, have however, been 'dominated' by economic determinism in India. This, in Sen's perspective is 'dangerous': "[T]here is a danger in seeing poverty in the narrow terms of income deprivation, and then justifying investment in education, health care and so forth on the ground that they are good means to the end of reducing income poverty." (Sen 1999: 92). In recent times, this, however, has been 'hesitantly' admitted by a economist where "the high order of continuing "exclusion induced deprivation" of disadvantaged groups of SCs and STs indicates that addressing social exclusion is often a far more difficult challenge than material poverty." (Thorat 2007: 54).

Thus, economic inequality, it must be mentioned in this backdrop, "is not the only form of inequality and the distribution of income (or of expenditure) does not always provide the most revealing picture even of economic inequality." (Beteille 2003: 4458). On his critique on Sen, Beteille adds that, "the strength of Sen's urge to demonstrate the importance

of the norm of equality as the basis of a just society leads him to neglect the obvious fact that inequality too is supported by norms" (Beteille 1993: 755). In light of this, it is pertinent to contextualise Townsend's perspective. He has sociologically attempted to adopt the subjective definition:

> It is true that the method suggested is basically a method measuring the extent of malnutrition not attributable to wasteful spending, but I think it would give the fairest index of poverty, particularly if the results gained by its use were correlated with other findings based on standards of over-crowding, household amenities, *education* and so on" (*emphasise* mine, Townsend 1954:135).

Although it is meaningful to include education in his method, it is also reductionistic when he emphasizes the extent of malnutrition. For example, the *fast-food* culture of the rich and the non-poor could be malnourished even though they are not poor. While the mainstream sociological perspective naturally adopts subjective definition of poverty which is relative in its conception, Beteille raises doubt about them. To him, "where the concept of absolute poverty is too narrow and restrictive, that of relative poverty is too vague and subjective" (Beteille 2003: 4462).

ANALYTICAL SCOPE

Thus, the review exercise, illustrates a variety of analytical categories along with various caveats. This has enlarged the scope for the present work which has expediently taken them in its ethnographic reflexivity. In this process, the current research attempts to take up an inter-disciplinary perspective of sociology of education in the paradigm of capability approach in India. This is an exploratory in its design as most of the research on education and poverty "has focused on the human capital dimension of education, more specifically education as a means of reducing poverty..." (Tilak 2002a: 198) in the country. This limitation has also been aptly captured as "the attempts made in developing concept and

methodology to assess the impact of social exclusion on human deprivation are, however, limited in number" (Thorat 2007: 2) in India.

The implication of capability approach to the sociology of education, in Unterhalter's assessment is with "...the ethical concerns with the individual on which both Sen and Nussbaum draw give a much fuller and more demanding means to evaluate and call for accountability with regard to education than human capital theory. She further adds that, "It provides a new perspective for addressing distributional issues and concerns with educational equality." (Unterhalter 2003a: 668).

Beteille's suggestion could be mentioned regarding this. Intellectuals in a democracy, he suggested, "take pride in being critics of the establishment, and since planning and development are to be the responsibilities of the government, evidence of increasing poverty and inequality received special attention." (Beteille 2003: 4458). But the review exercise highlights the absence of work in sociology on CA in India. This sad-state of affairs can be seen in light of Beteille's earlier complaints: "The poverty studies in India have been the preserve of economists rather than sociologists" (Beteille 2003: 4455) in the country. This has resembled to other literatures also. In addition, Gang and et al underlines that, "In spite of the existence of large gaps in poverty rates between scheduled and non-scheduled groups, very few studies have specifically and systematically investigated the causes of the disparity" (Gang and et al 2004: 2).

The existing analyses also point out the discourse gaps where Nambissan complained that "...schools have failed to provide adequate academic support to dalit and adivasi children, a majority of whom come from non-literate and poorly educated homes, is also a factor that is usually ignored." (Nambissan 2000) Further, she adds that little acknowledged by school actors and indeed by researchers is the experience of social discrimination experienced by dalit and adivasi children within the portals of the school.

In addition, the analysis of Sengupta and et al clearly brings out that the impact of better education on poverty reduction was not uniform among different social groups (Sengupta and et al 2008: 55). This specifically supports the adaptive preferences of the EUEYs and EUYs of the present work where the differences in functionings as well as capability formations are presented in Sripuram. This difference gap can be seen in other literature like Gang and et al, which, underscores the same point. To quote, "…the likelihood of being in poverty differs across groups. For example, education may be less effective in reducing the probability of being poor in scheduled households relative to non-scheduled households" (Gang and et al 2004: 13). Thus, it is important to note that the chronically poor are largely excluded from effective access to institutions even at the most local level, and that their institutional links are generally thin (Cleaver 2005: 902).

Considering the key role of education as an agent of change, Wankhede's suggestion of: "[I]t is worth seeing educational achievements among those deprived sections" (Wankhede 2001: 1553), comes with a caveat of mistaken treatment of the caste system in terms of a homogeneous category. In brief, one can observe that any simple dis-aggregation by social groups, for example education (literacy rate, enrolment ratio), health (child mortality), access to resources (land ownership, employment rate), and urbanisation, underlines that the SCs and the STs lag behind other sections of Indian society (Thorat 2007: 3). For this reason, adequate care has to be given "…whether the focus is on pre-primary, primary or post-primary education, there continues to be a need to understand *how* the purported link between education and poverty reduction can be realised in particular contexts" (Rose and Dyer 2006)[43] This is crucial because, "…the success and failure of all our programmes and polices including those for promoting economic growth, will have to be

---

43 Rose, Pauline and Caroline Dyer (2006), "Chronic Poverty and Education: A Review of the Literature", *Background paper for the 2007 Chronic Poverty Report*, Overseas Development Institute, London. (As quoted in King et al 2007, p. 351).

reckoned in terms of how they have fulfilled this basic objective of improving the welfare of the common people" (Sengupta and et al 2008: 49).

Capability perspective, in this background, is essentially an apt focal point as: "Amartya Sen's ideas provide the core principles of a development approach whose flexible framework allows policy-makers to analyse diverse challenges that poor people and poor countries face, rather than imposing a rigid orthodoxy with a set of policy prescriptions" (Fukuda-Parr 2003, p. 302). This is in light of the recent suggestion of economics' limitations where "...both social and economic deprivations are facts of life in India, but the social deprivation arising out of social identity (i e, caste/community) seems to be so deeply entrenched that it cannot be brushed aside by addressing only economic deprivation" (Sengupta and et al 2008: 60). This underscores the importance of crossing the disciplinary boundaries to understand the elusive nature of social reality. The inter-disciplinary nature of CA, thus, provides the perspective for intersectional analysis of the social construction of capabilities in Sripuram.

CONCLUSION: THE WAY AHEAD

Most of the literature reviewed in this Chapter entails the disadvantaged status of the scheduled castes and tribes in almost all spheres including education (Beteille 2003, Nambissan 2000, Wankhede 2001 and Tilak 2002b). This, historic tragedy reinforces the poverty trap in the process of capability formations. Hence, the thesis on educational functionings is significant where the outcome analyses of the current work attempts to understand social dynamics involved in the intersection of economic deprivation and social exclusion of the poor in Sripuram. In this effort, the current work contrasts the marginalized groups (who have been constitutionally scheduled) with the non-marginalized from a comparative perspective. In light of the socio-economic mobility of the poor, the

intersectional analysis of caste and class in educational outcomes add a newer dimension to

the understanding of the structural process in India.[44]

---

44 Social Mobility is the movement of individuals or groups between different positions in the society. In this backdrop, the present analyses the significance of education on both upward as well as downward aspects.

CHAPTER IV　　　Research method

> The lack of fieldwork tradition in the social sciences (excluding social anthropology and sociology) has had adverse results on their growth and development. Most importantly it had alienated from grassroots reality and led to fanciful assumptions about the behavior of ordinary people. It has resulted in a woeful ignorance of the complex interaction of economic, political and social forces at local levels. (M. N. Srinivas 2009:518-519).

INTRODUCTION

To recapitulate the central argument, the present research attempts to understand the educational functionings of the poor with an intention of interpreting the social construction of capabilities. In this effort, the evaluative spaces of CA namely the capability and functioning formations have intersectionally been conceptualized. Given the fact that the ethnographic work "…is an exercise in 'thick description', trying to interpret meaning in terms of what people understand, think about, and how they describe their behaviour" (Geertz 1973),[45] the present work has adopted it as a research method. This is understandably with an awareness of the fact that ethnography, "…is both a method (data collection

---

[45] as quoted in Srivastava 2004: 42

technique) and a methodology (a theoretical and philosophical framework)" (Brewer 1994: 231).[46]

Ethnography as a written account primarily focuses on a particular community and analytically describes its way of life and institutions in a given society. In Gerald D. Berreman's definition it is, "...a written report summarizing the behaviours, and the beliefs, understandings attitudes, and values they imply, of a group of interacting people." (Berreman 2004: 156). In this context, the present work employs it for data collection and interpretation. While observation is the primary research tool, to document the oral accounts of the respondents, the qualitative follow-ups have also adequately been employed. This includes the everyday interactions in the fieldwork and the follow up discussions telephonically conducted in the study-period.

For an in-depth qualitative understanding, the Researcher has conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Sripuram.[47] Observational aspects of the fieldwork were supported by semi-structured interviews to study the poor household's meanings and interpretations of educational outcomes in their cultural settings.[48] For documenting *thick* ethnographic descriptions, participant observation method has been used for the primary sources of data

---

[46] For related ethnographic works, see for instance, Adler & Adler (1987 & 1995), Anderson (1989), Atkinson and et al (1999), Beals (1978), Brewer (1994), Fine (1993), Foley (2001), Hammersley (1985 & 1990), Hine (2007), Jenkins (2006), King (2000), Lofland (1995), Lyon (1999), Miller (1994), Ogbu (1981), Preissle & Grant (1998), Sanders (1999), Sarangapani (2003), Stanley (1990), Stoddart (1986), Trujillo (1999), Walford (2001), Whitaker (1996), and Willis & Trondman (2000) among others.

[47] Related discussion on fieldworks in India can be seen in Beteile (1972a) and Srivastava (2004) among others.

[48] Srivastava (2004) lucidly defines observation as, "...a *systematic viewing*, which is intentional and planned" (Srivastava 2004: 27, *emphasis* mine)

collection. To understand the macro structures, the Researcher has also made use of the relevant academic literature as well as policy documents on the subject. This has successfully paved the conceptual ways for understanding the context of capability and functionings formations through the issues of education quality and employability. Subsequently, the Researcher has engaged with diverse social groups during the data collection period in the village.

The selection of the village was based on social stratification system and its composition of different groups. The data collection and analyses have, thus, been primarily based on *reflexive* field notes. This has been accompanied by handling of all available sources of information on the subject. This includes Researcher's visit to the nearby towns in Sripuram along with his everyday living in the village during the fieldwork periods. The Researcher has visited the district as well as state head-quarters for collecting the secondary sources of information to substantiate the central arguments. Furthermore, the Researcher also consulted some of the libraries both in Tamil Nadu and New Delhi in the different phases of the study.

THE CONCEPTUAL FACTORS

In India, the socially marginal members namely the SCs suffer both in terms of exclusion and economic deprivation. Since, the study aimed at the subjective definition of analytical categories, the choice of research method has naturally been ethnographic. Hence the economic deprivation has been conceptualised in terms of the theory of relative deprivation.[49] In this process, exclusion is understood mainly from sociological perspectives.

---

49 According to sociological literature, relative deprivation is a social situation where "individuals consider themselves deprived when they compare their personal circumstances with those they believe to prevail in their *reference group*." (*Emphasis* mine. Mann 1983: 326).

It must be mentioned in this context that the learning outcomes of the marginalized section are meager in India. This is due to various *structural* as well as *systemic* factors. The current research attempts to understand both these factors in capability as well as functioning formations of the poor in Sripuram. Since analysis of this kind is due in the country, attempts have been made to document the complex social realities involved in the educational outcomes of the poor. Thus the conceptual analysis of functionings can be a guiding force to identify the analytical categories. At theoretical levels, capability approach has navigated the arguments of educational functionings in the study.

THE APPROACH

Ethnography is a qualitative approach to study the cultural patterns and perspectives of the people in their natural settings. The main assumption underlying the advocacy of this qualitative method has succinctly been documented by Hammersley (1990):

> ...the nature of social world must be *discovered;* that this can only be achieved by first-hand observation and participation in 'natural' settings, guided by an exploratory orientation; that accounts of the findings of such research must capture the processes involved and the social meanings that generate them. On the basis of these assumptions, ethnography is directed towards producing what are referred to as 'theoretical' 'analytical' or 'thick' descriptions (whether of societies, small communities, organizations, spatial locations, or social world)." These descriptions must remain close to the concrete reality of particular events but at the same time reveal general features of human social life. (Hammersley 1990: 598).

Thus, it must be mentioned that ethnography is methodologically "trying to interpret meaning in terms of what people understand, think about, and how they describe their behaviour" (Geertz 1973).[50] This is in contrast to the methodologies of positivistic

frameworks where the importance of scientific 'objectivity' has been stressed. Against these two extreme methodological positions, there are approaches which blend both to come out as a mixture of methods and triangulation in research. But, given the nature of the present enquiry and the ethnography's importance, "...lies in its depth penetration of a topic or area, it yields explanatory insights into the reasons why people, groups, and organizations act as they do, and how conflicting social forces are resolved" (Adler and Adler 1987: 17), the current work has adopted it as the research method. As ethnographic research trends have already "...stormed the ivory tower and has become more central to academic knowledge production at the end of the twentieth century than ever before" (Anderson 1999: 452), the current research believes in its radical potentials. This provides the methodological route in understanding the subjective definitions of poverty and other chosen analytical schemes. While the purpose of the study is to describe, analyse and interpret educational outcomes, the attempt has successfully situated the research in the larger theoretical framework of capability approach. Also, given the fact that these subjective endeavors, "cannot easily capture in interviews and quantified information" (Madan 2004), the study has the following research processes.

RESEARCH PROCESSES

The research method has primarily been on the systematic observations, the qualitative descriptions of the poor has been supported both by field-notes and interview transcripts. The present work considers this method as close to reality than data produced by structured interviews or questionnaires. To capture the field in all its "naturalness" (Stoddart 1986: 108), both observation method and semi-structured interviews have been conducted. The observation of their daily routines in relation to in-depth analysis has yielded rich qualitative inputs for the research. Moreover, by attending every possible community gathering,

---

50 as quoted in Srivastava 2004: 42

informal dialogues have also been initiated with educated un/under-employed youths; children; teachers; community leaders and parents of the economically poorer households in the village. Relatedly, the participant observation has been primarily based on the ethnographic process of *disattending* in order to understand educational outcomes of the poor. The observations of the Researcher as a participant in this process were in the notion of invisibility in the field.

> The invisible researcher is the ideal researcher who sees without being observed and, consequently, captures the natural field without tainting it. (Stoddart 1986: 108-109).

Hence, for documenting the oral accounts of the villagers, qualitative follow-ups have also been collected. While, the contextualised exercise enables a deeper understanding, the researcher had to build up an ethnographic picture of the village in terms of education, employment etc. Besides, conceptual mapping of the village, the Researcher builds a profile of the community. The documented oral accounts out of ethnographic data collection processes have been transcribed by the assistance of software (f4) in developing reflexive insights. The analysis has further been assisted by qualitative software packages like Atlas Ti and VennMaker.

Ethnographic focus[51]

CATEGORIES	RESPONDENTS
Educational outcomes of the poor	EUEYs; EUYs; OCs
Capabilities acquired [through education]	EUEYs; EUYs; OCs
The role of *social capital* [in educational outcomes]	EUEYs; EUYs; OCs; Teachers; & Opinion leaders

For the observation, the field visits have been planned in terms of Malinowskian dictum of *immersion-detachment-immersion*.[52] In addition, if the field area is one's own society as in the case of the present work, Srivastava's suggestion has been taken care of: "…[T]he field happens to be easily accessible and…they can always go back to the field for a couple of weeks in the midst of writing up their work." (Srivastava 2004: 19). Furthermore, to theorize the observed reality in writing, the researcher attempted to undertake the method in terms of of what Adler and Adler calls them, "withdrawing some months and returning for another extended period…" (Adler and Adler 1987: 9). In this backdrop, the Researcher has

---

51 It must be mentioned that EUYs are the *educated unemployed youths*; EUEYs are the educated under-employed youths; OCs means the *Orphan Children*. The *opinion leaders* primarily include the influential locals like the Panchayat President, VEC "Members", Orphanage administrator and other important people across all castes in the village. Discussion with these leaders had provided the details of the social structure of the village. In addition, the discussion with all the 16 teachers in the local School though has been recorded, the Researcher could transcribe only 3 of them, due to the factors of identical views as well as time factors in finishing this work.

52 According to this, Malinowski suggests the importance of maintaining a safe distance from both the influences of field as well as literature. The intention is to make use of both primary as well as secondary data to deeply reflect upon to develop a *thick description*.

conducted fieldwork in several phases since 2008.[53] The different phases of the fieldworks have been supported by regular discussion with the research supervisors in the study period.

In the end, it must be stated that the research methods such as participant-observation and semi-structured interviewing are "…in need of greater exploration" (Adler & Adler 1987: 6), in India. Though, this may not the answer to all questions, "…it can address some issues better than any other approach" (Adler & Adler 1995: 27). Ethnographic research, in this backdrop, is crucial in light of the mainstream positivist research trends in the country.[54]

THE NATIVE FACTORS

In terms of methodology, the strands of cultural relativism had been reflected upon by the Researcher. Given the fact of the ethnographic attempt to document the subjective definitions of educational outcomes of the poor, the nativity plays an important role. As "imperfect knowledge of the language introduces limitations to the research" (Berreman 2004: 184), the present work has got the natural advantages in field primarily due to Researcher's skill as a native speaker. This has allowed the Researcher in understanding the

---

[53] The details of these phases include, for instance, February and March; then, in August to October in the year 2009. This is followed by a fieldwork in 2010 in the months of March to May. The next phase had been in the months of July and August in 2011 and finally, the last phase had been conducted in the months of March to June in 2012.

[54] For similar ethnographic research works on India, see for instance: Ciotti (2006), Dyer (1996, 1996a, 1997, 2000), Dyer & Choski (1998), Dyer and et al (2004), Fuller & Narashimhan (2007, 2008a, 2008b), Jeffrey (2002, 2009, 2010, 2010a, 2011), Jeffrey & Dyson (2008), Jeffrey & et al (2005, 2010), Sarangapani (2003) and Thapan (2009) among others.

respondents' perspectives instead of merely relying on local informants' version. This is advantageous as:

> If the ethnographer cannot understand any of the conversations between interpreter and the informant, he is completely at the mercy of the interpreter; what he learns is filtered and inevitably interpreted, and to an extent, distorted before he hears it. (Berreman 2004: 185).

Relatedly, Srinivas also acknowledges the native factors through the language proficiency. Thus, in terms of language, the "gate-keeping" factors have naturally been "controlled" in this work. This has allowed the Researcher to grasp the intricacies of everyday social reality in the village. While there is a difference between the knowledge of the investigator acquired by being a natural member of a society and the one he acquires by consciously undertaking its study (Srivastava 2004: 22), the present study is in different district in contrast to the native place of the Researcher in Tamil Nadu. This, to a greater extent, has controlled the factors to maintain *value-neutrality* in the research. Also, the Researcher, though a native Tamil, has not lived in Tamil Nadu since 2003.

ADVANTAGES OF STUDYING ONE'S OWN SOCIETY

Apart from the above discussed linguistic advantages, there are other benefits when one studies one's own society. For instance, if the researcher keeps her/his criticality open, s/he will have the benefit of going beyond the expected portrayal of the society. An outsider will painfully take time to understand the society and its dynamic setting. The native researcher can utilize this precious period for scrutinizing the factors which operate beyond the surface. For this, the native researcher has a definite advantage over the outsider. This has methodologically helped the Researcher as well.

There is a further advantage when the "…insider who takes up the posture of an outsider, by virtue of his training as an anthropologist or a sociologist, and looks at his own

culture, hoping to be surprised. If he is, only then may he achieve new understandings" (Madan 1975: 149).[55] This newer understanding with a "depth of the involvement of the insider in his society is likely to invest his work with relevance and urgency which the outsider work is not likely to possess." (Srinivas 2004: 419).

Although, the ethnography or even to an extent the qualitative sociology is not the dominant research paradigm in India, one must also take notice of the growing interest to study one's own society. This, in Srinvias's words, "...it is not unlikely that in the near future, information about cultural and social phenomena and their analysis and interpretations, at least in a few Third World countries, is likely to come mostly from the indigenes" (Srinivas, M.N. 2004: 418). For stressing the indigene based research, Srinivas, for instance, cited a study in South China. To quote, "Fei was able to produce within two months a first-rate study of a village in South China, an enterprise that would have taken an outsider several years." (Srinivas, M.N. 1997: 22).

Among all these reported advantages, there is a caution mentioned in the literature. The fieldwork in one's own society, for Srinivas, "...is far more difficult than fieldwork in an alien society..." (Srinivas, M.N. 2004: 413). But at the same time he also considers the study of one's own society not only feasible but *essential*, for it is best that a culture is studied by both outsiders and insiders. Alone, neither is complete (*emphasis* mine, Srinivas 1997: 22). It must be mentioned that, restudy is a newer research paradigm in India. This shall be seen in light of the disappearing trend of village studies and ethnographic methods at a time of positivist research trends in the country. The current work on revisiting a classical field-site

---

55 As quoted in Madan 2004: 203. [Madan, T.N. 1975, 'On living Intimately with Strangers', in Andre Beteille and T.N. Madan (eds), *Encounters and Experience: Personal Accountants of Fieldwork*, Vikas, New Delhi (p. 149).]

of Sripuram is, thus, an exploratory research attempt as there is no empirical information available on this village after Beteille's fieldworks (in 1959-60).

ENTRY IN TO THE SITE

To understand the systemic view of the educational outcomes of the poor, an initial attempt has been made.[56] As this has been discussed in detail below, it is pertinent to mention about the selection of Sripuram. The selection of Sripuram has been based on month long visits in various villages of Tamil Nadu in the year 2008 by the Researcher. Since the village social structure has to have the 'representativeness' of various caste groups, considerable time and energy had been invested to find out the best possible one. In this research process, various criterion based on the conceptual explorations guided the Researcher.[57]

In terms of fieldwork, the settlement pattern of the village especially the social structure, the social distance between the inhabitants have been undertaken in the initial phase. Along with this, the necessary details like the socio-economic statuses, the educational and occupational details, both infrastructure and other amenities have gradually been gathered. Consequently, the Researcher has also made use of different phases of field works both for the collection of primary and secondary data sources. In this, some of the state-specific education reports, books and other writings were collected on Tamil Nadu. The continuous fieldworks over the years have allowed the Researcher to establish rapport and reciprocity with the village community as well as with some of the officials in the state. This,

56 Based on the research plan in accordance with the University rules and availability of funds, the Researcher has undertaken the fieldwork in Sripuram between 2008 and 2012.

57 The continuous discussion with Prof. Beteille is the most valuable of all along the precious literature on the subject. This has been institutionally supported by the research supervisors.

to a large extent eases the researcher to move between both formal and informal ways of interactions with them. The field trips have also allowed the Researcher to consult libraries and meeting experts on the subject.

Thus, the primary data collection had been gathered through participant observation method and semi-structured interviews.[58] Based on everyday field notes, reflexive accounts have been documented. Besides, to maintain consistency across sources and informants, the research notes have been updated immediately after each day's of fieldwork. This has offered insights for further analyses. The semi-structured interviews have been audio-recorded with the permission of the respondents. These audio-files had been transcribed both by the Researcher as well as an external agency for further analyses. This altogether provides empirical base in support to the field-notes and make use of the reflexive process of ethnographic interpretation.

CONCLUSION

In light of the details of the research method, it is pertinent to mention about the presence of the Researcher in the field. The Researcher as an 'outsider' at times could not resist himself to give his perspective when educated un/under-employed youths fail to get a career direction. For instance, Researcher's interaction with Iyappan, (a 33 years old Pallar EUEY), has "conceptually" helped him in understanding his "faults" of merely accumulating degrees without "freedom". He was stating to the Researcher that he is currently investing his 'waiting period' (for the salaried employment in Government service) by concentrating on the contents of the subject *instead* of escalating his qualification further.

---

58 Srivatsava defines participant observation as a "technique of observation in which the investigator participates in the social life and organizational activities of the people he/she studies." (Srivastava 2004: 452).

In addition, Selvam, 22 years old Non-Brahmin OBC male EUEY has got motivated by the research works on EUEYs of this study. Recently he has moved out of the village where he was forced to work in the informal economy for livelihood reasons. His daily-wage works as a *Coolie* was degrading as he was forced to take up any jobs despite the fact of having a Bachelor degree in Business Administration. His intention was to monetarily support his family. His regular interaction with the Researcher has, however, changed his *coping strategies* over the years. He was also recently reporting a 'confident' picture as he went to Chennai in search of a 'matching' job at present.

Thus, ethnography as a critical framework, "...remains crucial for an intensive understanding of the local situation, and from this, one spreads out to look at the relations the local communities have with the outside world." (Srivastava 2004: pp. 42-43). This will be essential "in light of the fact that the mainstream quantitative academics (including sociologists) continue to belittle qualitative studies" (Anderson 1999: 452) in the country.

CHAPTER V   Caste, class and education: Intersectional implications of capability formation In Sripuram

The theoretical compatibility and historic links between intersectionality theory and qualitative methods imply that the method and the theory are always already necessary to one another. Intersectionality theory, by virtue of its description of multidimensional nature of identity makes investigation through qualitative seems both natural and necessary. (Shields 2008: 306).

INTRODUCTION

India as an ethnographic museum is known for its national notion of *unity in diversity*. It is a country of many religions, further divided in terms of diverse social hierarchies. The socio-economic reality in India, for instance, is not based on class dynamics as prevailing in many other countries, the intersectional factors like caste plays an important role in the country. The current Chapter attempts to analyze the interactions between caste, class and education. This interaction is conceptualized in terms of intersectionality which is "the mutually constitutive relations among social identities…" (Shields 2008: 301). The stratification of

caste as a social system places individuals hierarchically according to their birth. The inheritance based on birth in the caste structure most often plays a 'fixed' identity where the social mobility is discouraged. The broader classification of *varnashrma dharma* divides people in terms of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. This *ascriptive* social order based on the Hindu scriptures places Brahmins (or the "higher" castes) above "others". Kshatriyas who are traditionally known for martial valour and managerial roles are in the next layers of social stratification. Third, the Vaishyas who are known for their trade and commerce activities are above to the last layer of the "lower" castes. In the fourfold ascriptive division of labour, the "lower" castes are often addressed as Shudras (or Dalits or Harijans).[59] The ascriptive nature of caste system is, thus, unique in the stratification where the social status is mostly determined by birth.[60] The central analysis of the Chapter has been conceptually influenced by capability approach (Sen 1999), in highlighting the complex interactions between human *agencies* and *social structure*.

Intersectionality, it must be mentioned is "a complex system assumes a methodology that sees everything as interactions, not "main effects"." (Choo and Ferree 2010: 136). This effectively highlights the *intangible* structural factors in educational outcome in the village. The intersectional analysis, thus, successfully "offer insights missed in even excellent sociological work." (Choo and Ferree 2010: 130). This is crucial in the present context, where even the acclaimed sociological works of M. N. Srinivas and Beteille, for instance, have

---

59 In Sripuram, the Pallars are the lower castes who are being addressed as Dalits in the village.

60 Each layer in the four-fold classification is a conglomeration of diverse caste groups which often has the *endogamous* rules and regulations. These rules often determine other social aspects including the commensality even today.

somehow overlooked the intersectional dimensions in their contributions on India.[61] This limitation, is not a conscious self-restriction on the scholars' part, one must acknowledge the emerging interests of the intersectional research studies. Methodologically, intersectionality-specific studies have yet to capture the mainstream research.[62] The present work underlines its importance as this is essential given the sociological reality that India is one of the most stratified societies in the World.[63]

INTERSECTIONALITY OF CASTE AND CLASS

The primordial identities of caste and its sociological relation with economic class positions of the individuals have a conceptual importance to the intersectional analysis in the country. The analyses across caste and class factors have been presented by Beteille on Sripuram. The class system in his view "overlaps to a considerable extent with the caste structure, but also cut across it at a number of points." (Beteille 1965: 4). As convergence between these factors is structurally continuing *even* today, "...there has been considerable modification of the

---

61 This has been acknowledged by Beteille himself in his personal interviews with the author. In his view, gender is one important dimension which has been "slipped out" of the central focus in their works.

62 Though, intersectionality is a newer paradigm on India, see for instance : Aylward (2010), Berger & Guidroz (2009), Bowleg (2008), Bredström (2006), Cassidy & Jackson (2005), Choo & Ferree (2010), Cole (2008, 2009), Conwill (2010), Davis (2008), Grabham and et al (2009), Hancock (2007), Hankivsky & Cormier (2010), Ken (2008), Lutz and et al (2011), Lykke (2010), Pastrana (2004), Purdie-Vaughns (2008), Shields (2008), Solanke (2009), Taylor and et al (2010), Verloo (2006), and Winker & Degele (2011) among others for related discussion on other contexts.

63 Though this is an inheritance based *division of labour*, one can find a complicated picture of variations across the regions in the country.In the present context in Sripuram, the villagers have been broadly classified into three groups. The Brahmins (at the top), OBCs or the Other Backward Classes (a combination of variety of middle level castes), and the Pallar (who often mentioned as Scheduled Castes or the SCs; Dalits and also sometimes be called as Harijans) at the bottom of the caste hierarchy.

traditional congruent relationships between caste and social class..." (Mencher 1970:210). The result is that the capability-formation of the human agencies are conditioned both by the intersectional factors in the village as well the wider socio-economic contexts of the country.[64]

The newer forms of caste and class as a consequence of the social changes, have to be methodologically contrasted with the earlier descriptions on Sripuram. For instance, this is in contrast to the description where "a villager's caste determined his position in the class system and power hierarchy..." (Nandy 1966: 729), it has been subsumed by educational status of individuals today. Consequently, one can observe an increasing dissociation of caste and class in the village. This dissociation, in the words of D'Souza is mainly due to the emerging social changes: "With the change from a static, traditional social order to a more dynamic one, the economic and political systems gradually detach themselves from caste and acquire a more autonomous character" (D' Souza 1999: 301).

The class positions in this newer form are often determined by the occupational outcome where the role of education is instrumental in India. In addition, Driver's findings are pointed the "...considerable independence between social class and the caste hierarchy, between caste and several status-groupings, and between social class and some status-groupings. Such independence means that the concept of 'status summation' has quite limited applicability today in urban South India" (Driver 1982: 251). This underlines the importance of the intersectional analysis. In light of this importance, it is also pertinent to mention Delige's analysis:

---

64 The notion of capability in this Chapter means the competence or the life skill one learn out of education. This is primarily to analyse the broader notions of *freedom* or the ability to take independent decisions. Consequently, the importance of capabilities has been understood in light of its effects on the cycle of economic deprivation and social exclusion.

> ...the problem of class in rural India has historically been twofold: first, castes have corresponded only very imperfectly to social classes, and second, the analysis of Indian society in terms of classes has been particularly fraught because of the non recognition of such categories by Indian themselves. However, class analysis may be increasingly useful today... (Deliege 2011:52).

As a result of these intersectional aspects, the first noticeable change in the village is the working relationship between the OBCs and the Pallars at present. This is in contrast to the caste based economic interdependence of the earlier time where the Pallars used to work for the landowners or the *Mirasdars* as agricultural labourers or *Pannayal*. These *Mirasdars* who were predominantly Brahmins in the earlier years have almost withered at present. The OBC "neo-elites" have replaced the old order. The result is that the Pallar Pannayal works under the OBC Mirasdars where one can see complete absence of Brahmins in the agriculture today. This marks the changed social reality as "the correspondence between caste status and class positions has probably diminished over time, where the stratification system has become more open." (Fuller 2012). It must be noted that there are only two Brahmin landowners in the village at present: both of them are disinterested in agriculture. This highlights that "...the caste hierarchy and occupational hierarchy are not parallel to one another." (Driver 1982: 228). However, this does not mean that the Brahmins have been economically poor over the years. The *life chances* of the Brahmins are nevertheless expectantly better than the Pallar even if they are similar in their economic status in Sripuram. This can mainly be due to the historic reasons where the "lower" the caste the greater the chances of being socio-economically poor in the country.

In this context, one can observe the increasing ir/relevance of land-ownership as a central criterion for identifying the poor in the village today. This necessitates the need to appreciate the newer forms at present. These newer forms can be understood mainly in terms of intersectionality of caste, class, gender, education and employment status of the individuals. The caste based *class determinism* can therefore be avoided by giving

importance to other relevant forms of analyses. In addition, fieldwork in this ethnography underscores the intersectional aspects within the family structure in Sripuram. At present, the relative deprivation of individuals within the family structure is not the same as that of its class positions in the village. The disadvantage often goes hand in hand across age, gender and disability aspects. However, the numerical enumeration of poor often overlooks the intersectional dynamics.[65]

In light of this changing economic sphere, the pattern of living as a homogeneous unit based on the caste factors has also begun shifting in Sripuram. This can be contrasted to Beteille's description where "people belonging to the same group of castes live together, but not necessarily people belonging to the same class" (Beteille 1965: 43). Today, one can see the newer pattern of living in the village. This is apparently visible in the *Agraharam* . Though, this striking shift has been partly due to the emigration of the Brahmins, one can trace the influences of the broader politico-economic forces which are intersectionally playing from "outside". It can be argued that neither the class nor even caste may *exclusively* constitute a community in future. The interplay of various societal factors which the Chapter argues in terms of its intersection plays a "deterministic" role in the village.

CASTE, CLASS AND EDUCATION

The interrelations between castes, class in/and education has brought significant changes in the social system. These interrelations are *exclusive* in its nature and form for the villagers. The notion of exclusiveness should be observed in light of the primordial identities. The role of state in this social dynamics has been "supportive" of the erstwhile "lower" castes for its

---

65 See for instance, Ayres & Simon (2003); Deaton & Dreze (2002); Gang and et al. (2004); Jha & Jhingran (2005) and Tilak (1999), (2002a), (2002b), (2005) (2007); among others.

political reasons of *vote-bank*.[66] The notion of vote-bank has to be understood in light of the predominant population base of the non-Brahmins where the political class depends upon them for their electoral survival in Tamil Nadu. For instance, according to recent demographic figures, nearly 70 % of the total population in the state is OBCs against roughly 23% of SCs. In light of this demographic reality where roughly 93% of the total population is non-Brahmins (which includes both OBCs and SCs), one find the broader policy decisions of the populist demands. (See for instance GoI 2011: 253). This justifies the Brahmins exodus to the "greener economic pastures" of nearby towns. This exodus in Sripuram has to be seen in the absence of infrastructural and other economic opportunities like that of any normal village in the country.

The *dominant castes* who have the direct socio-economic relationships with the Brahmins, are increasingly emulating the latter in their economic planning today. Education is the first domain where they follow them in their livelihood strategies in Sripuram. The broader political economy often influences the changing nature and forms of caste in the village.[67] This is explicitly visible due to two important policy steps: the anti-untcouhability laws and the Reservation policy in the country.[68] As these policy steps are predominantly in

66 Vote bank is a sociological concept reportedly coined by M N Srinivas to denote the political class' strategies of treating the primordial identities like caste and religious factor as a "fixed-deposit" to win elections in India.

67 The author has been researching on this field-site since 2008.

68 Reservation policy in India is often contrasted in line with the affirmative policies of the United States (US). However it must be noted that there is a remarkable sociological differences in the nature of discrimination between the caste and racial exclusion in India and the United States respectively. As per this policy, the government reserves a certain percentage of seats in both the education and employment for the erstwhile "lower" castes as well as tribes in India. (See for instance, Thomas E Weisskopf's works for a comparative works on India's Reservation Policy and US's Affirmative Action).

support of the erstwhile lower castes, there is unrest as well as livelihood desperation among both Brahmins and the OBCs in the village. Their perceived marginality in the protective discrimination policies in both education and employment makes them, to a large extent, conscious of their caste identity as well as "competitive" in both fields. This competitiveness can be seen in their approach to education which is most often based on the instrumental ideals for occupational outcome and economic mobility. This confirms the inroads of the human capital notion in education. The consciousness is thus complicated because of its intermeshing with class factors. As class is not only an economic but also a social category, these complications are often reinforced by education. This has been captured by Vishnu, a "secular" Brahmin in the village. He defines his secular outlook mainly in terms of his detachments from the caste-system in the village.

> Due to the Reservation policy, the teaching is mostly being taught by the people who do not have the *knowledge* these days. (*From the field*).

Vishnu who is known for his "secular" identity in Sripuram is an intellectually inclined Brahmin individual. His public lecture in the local school celebrations as well as in the nearby villages earned him the reputation. His personal opinion about the Reservation policy, mentioned above, however contradicts this reputation. However, the radical opinion like this cannot be said in public spaces which are predominantly in support of the affirmative action policies of the state. The presumed priority of caste as the micro-level determinant of social contexts suggests how caste, class and education can be seen working together to draw boundaries and re/produce complex inequalities in the system as a whole. In this intersectional social process, there is an urgent need to conceptualize the implications for the capability and functionings formation.[69]

---

69 Functionings "are the outcomes or achievements, whereas capabilities are the real opportunities to achieve valuable states of being and doing." (Robeyns 2006: 78).

In the present day modernity where the changes in the ascriptive division of labour are high, caste system mainly treats education as an important factor for socio-economic mobility. The structural contestation for economic mobility has however been under-researched in India. In addition, any mobility analyses in this context have to take care of the changing dynamics of *capabilities* of the individuals. For instance, the division of labor is not merely an *economic* arrangement in the village. The social structure most often places the inheritance based on hereditary affiliations. Though the increasing educational outcome is changing the landscape of the hereditary affiliations mandated mostly by individuals' ascriptive status, the generational failures of the Pallars, for instance, are not allowing them to break the cycle of socio-economic exclusion. The role of social capital plays a differential role to preserve the status quo in newer forms and nature. This has to be seen in light of the fact that though the social construction of economic success is mostly approached through education, the enabling avenues of informal channels like the "reference" plays a detrimental role to the Pallars' agency-freedom.

Although the convergence between caste and class has continued even today, the educated elite are not drawn mainly from the Brahmins alone who have been historically known for their literate tradition. This *functional* growth in education, however, does not ensure diverse caste men to economically thrive in any employable source. The present day competition and achievement will initiate a cycle of status-change but not eliminate social inequality. This could be due to "the principle of equal or equitable distribution, without regard to the recipient's merit, will be an indirect reinforcement of the ascription principle."(Fonseca 1971:103). Thus, the occupational outcomes of the villagers are mostly shaped by the intersectionality of factors in the society. The consequence of this intersectionality could be adding a newer strand to the existing socio-economic inequalities. This has to be seen in light of Atal's analysis: "If ascription tends to *perpetuate* the

phenomenon of inequality, achievement-orientation *creates* new forms of inequality." (Atal In Fonseca 1971:92).[70] The occupational outcome of the educated un/under-employed youths highlights these newer forms in Sripuram.

Individual's social capital as mentioned earlier often holds the final say in their capabilities and functionings formations in Sripuram. This is despite the fact that their personal agency approach education for economic mobility in the village. The probability of entry into each layer or stages of employment and education has thus increasingly decreased across the intersectionality of social factors. In this backdrop, one can observe that the lower the class and caste; higher the chances of being immobile. Contrary to this, Vishnu's opinion from Sripuram has to be mentioned:

> The earlier social order restricted the *Vedic* learnings to the Shudras and manual-learnings to the Brahamanas. But the politicians over the years interpreted it differently. Their interpretations often blamed the Brahmins as the one who prevented the Shudras from education. (*From the field*).

Though, an explanation like this provides a 'convincing' justification in support of the Brahmins; it most often overlooks the fact about opportunity deprivation. The enabling conditions for human flourishing are different for the diverse social groups. In this backdrop, the Brahmins ir/respective of their class position have been competing well with their peers in the system. This is mainly due to their realization that the economic mobility can be reached mainly through education. This is in confirmation with their socio-economic position where there is a class-based difference in the kinds of schools which they attend. The educational reality in Sripuram is somewhat similar to the common arguments where the "social classes differ considerably in years of schooling" (Driver 1982: 232). Though one can see the class differences in the type of schools individuals go, the striking fact is the

---

70 Atal, Yogesh (1971), "Role of Values and Institutions" In A. J. Fonseca (1971), *Challenge of Poverty in India*, Vikas Publications, Delhi. (pp. 87-104).

increasing continuation of education across the diverse social groups in the village. The qualification of escalation or the degrees without any *real freedom* can be a reason for the functionings failure, but the agency's sustained educational engagements to a smaller extent provides them the opportunity to be reflective of their personal choices and freedom in life.

To reiterate the class differences in the attainment of education, it must be mentioned in light of the quality predicaments. This is important:

> Without a significant commitment by the state to improve the quality and reach of government education, a dual-track education system in which traditionally excluded castes and classes are only able to access the lowest quality education opportunities may become a permanent feature of the Indian education system aggravating socio-economic inequality. The community "has been unable to prevent the decline in the quality of schooling. (Hill and et al. 2011: 105).

Thus, like in other parts of the country, the local School in Sripuram, for instance, is largely segregated on the basis of the *class* positions. The fee-demanding 'quality' private education institutions are most often the "preferred destination" of the non-poor. The economically poor, in contrast, are mostly seen in the fee-free local School in the village. The fee-free school is, like any other government institution, is notorious for its low quality of teaching-learning processes in the state. This can be addressed in terms of the systemic variables. Along these systemic variables, the intersectional social factors in terms of caste and class in education are reinforcing the failures in functionings which in turn ensures the capability deprivation in the village. The consequence can be seen in terms of the interplay of diverse factors in systematically ensuring these failures in the village.

On the one hand, the intersectional process of caste and class dynamics, is making education a tool in the re/production of an unequal social order, on the other hand, the systemic limitations in terms of quality ensure weak conversion factors. The villagers irrespective of the financial burdens are attempting to send their children to fee demanding

private schools. This could be due to their *adaptive preferences* in search of an educational outcome. Though their desperation for quality in education for their wards could be due to their agency-rationality, it has also to be seen in light of the human capital ideals. The agency-rationality is seemingly being exploited by the private education providers. The non-poor across all the castes in Sripuram, for instance, often competes to the same "quality" institutions in Meenakshipuram.[71] The rising "demand" convinces the private schools to keep increasing the fee structure. This once again systemically excludes the poor in terms of their inability to pay the school-fees. Individuals' financial inability can be seen in light of their re-entry to the local School in the village. If they happen to be from the Pallar (which is most often the case), the structural factors of intersectionality pushes them further to the educational margin in Sripuram. Consequently, they are deprived of the *conversion factors* to enhance their capabilities and functionings. The competitive approach to education by the non-poor, who are mostly from the castes other than Pallars of Sripuram re/produces as well as reinforces the "status-summation" in the society. This necessitates the importance of analyzing the intersectionality. The intersectional discussion on caste, class and education provides a useful starting point for account of social change in Sripuram. In terms of this, one can underline the fact that Sripuram is losing its rural character. This is due to various intersectional factors where education is the primary one.

CONCLUSION

In India, the socio-economically backward groups are mostly being conceived as the SCs and STs. Though this is largely true, the complexity of the social stratification, however, also needs to be re-evaluated. This is critical because in the present day social reality, the ascriptive status cannot command the same economic influence as it had earlier. For this

---

71 Meenakshipuram, a pseudonymous named small town is one of the block head-quarters in Tanjore district. This is the nearest small town to Sripuram in the district.

reason, one can see the marginal men even in the erstwhile higher castes at present. Though this is most often economic in nature, the interplay of various researchable variables has to be captured about the social complexity. The disaggregation features of this complexity have been seen in the intersectional aspects across the social groups in Sripuram. The cumulative effects of the socio-economic factors found in the village thus set the ethnographic rationale for adopting intersectional analyses. This has successfully allowed the Researcher to look at the issues in totality instead of being carried away by the "empirical" reductionisms.

CHAPTER VI   Education quality, employability and capability: The newer development triad

> ...education is one of the toughest problems that Man is called upon to handle. The effort must however be made because, in the last analysis, it is education alone that stands between Man and Catastrophe. (Naik 1979: 185).

INTRODUCTION

In India, although there is a celebrated claim about the growth of education in Tamil Nadu (GoTN: 2003: 10), one has to look at the decreasing enrolment rates in the government school over the years. Education thus subtly lies between these two extremes realities where the basic issue is unaddressed at present. In Sripuram, even the poor are increasingly emigrating out of fee-free government schooling for quality reasons. There are mainly two factors. One is the denting image of state, at least, in school education. An effect or even cause to this denting image can be seen in the second factor of the establishment of various types of private schooling in Tamil Nadu. Though this education "shops" are working mostly for commercial interests, their public image is increasingly popular. This could be visible in villagers' increasing enrolments. The parental desires for good quality education of their children, thus, drive them outside Sripuram *in spite* of the presence of local School. The local

School in the popular view is the destination for the orphans in Sripuram.[72] Most of the villagers are also of the view that "only the people who cannot afford the fee-demanding private schools are entertaining the local School." Thus, the essential point is the decreasing image of the local School which has been "celebrated as a site of secular values in modernizing the village" few decades back.[73]

EDUCATION OUTCOME IN SRIPURAM

The analysis of caste-wise enrolment rate is expectantly crucial as it will give the picture of educational outcomes in the local School.[74] In terms of outcome analysis, enrolment rate of the caste-wise categorization depicts the education patterns of social groups in the village. In this context, a cursory analysis of the enrolment figures from 1990 to 2013, mentioned below, has adequately underlined that there is a sharp decline of enrolment from the *Agraharam*. This trend is being increasingly emulated by the OBCs where one can also observe their exodus from the government school.[75]

---

[72] It must be noted that the Orphanage in Sripuram caters the educational needs of the children from broken families in the surrounding villages in Tanjore district.

[73] Notes from Beteille's personal communication to the Researcher.

[74] See for instance De & et al (2010), Thorat (2010), and Young (2009) among others.

[75] The emigrations of villagers from the local School are mostly *involuntary* due to the perceived quality predicaments of the state system at present. This confirms the similar status of the government schools in the country.

Enrolment rate [Caste-wise figures 1990-2013][76]

Year	Brahmin		OBCs[77] [Non-Brahmin]		SCs		Total		TOTAL
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	
1990	11	18	146	515	81	131	238	664	902
1991	11	11	147	374	100	123	258	508	766
1992	10	10	172	383	109	127	291	520	811
1993	3	7	185	386	94	133	282	526	808
1994	8	10	159	392	92	148	259	550	809
1995	6	8	174	445	90	145	270	598	868
1996	6	7	200	430	99	150	305	594	899
1997	5	4	221	396	99	122	325	522	847
1998	5	4	208	264	102	118	325	522	847
1999	6	3	219	268	99	110	315	386	701
2000	6	5	206	250	102	129	324	381	705
2001	7	5	214	237	97	123	318	384	702
2002	5	4	209	223	94	126	308	453	761
2003	5	4	208	224	80	98	283	326	609
2004	4	4	182	214	76	89	263	307	570
2005	6	2	186	208	70	80	262	290	552
2006	5	4	177	201	65	70	247	275	522
2007	6	2	182	203	69	68	257	273	530
2008	8	2	167	192	66	77	241	271	512
2009	1	2	146	181	79	85	226	268	494
2010	1	6	141	185	77	81	219	272	491
2011	0	4	127	157	58	57	185	218	403
2012	0	5	121	138	48	58	169	196	365
2013	0	3	96	107	52	59	148	169	317

76 This shall be seen in light of the current year enrolment of 274 children. A sporadic decrease of children from the strength of 902 in 1990 to 274 in 2013-14 highlights people's exodus from the government schooling in the village. This enrolment figures can also be considered as a completion-rate due to the "all-pass" policy of the government. This in the admissions of the Head Master has been the practice since 2002 in the School.

77 This includes both Backward Classes (i.e. the BCs) and Most-Backward Classes (i.e. MBCs) in the village.

Though, the figures from the SCs are relatively constant in contrast to the other social groups, the decreasing enrolment of the erstwhile higher and middle-level castes in the village is being "keenly" watched by them as well. The decrease in enrolment figures confirms this where one can see the economically well-off Pallar households' education strategies of sending their children to the private schools in Meenakshipuram. This differential approach to education due to the intersectional social factors of caste and class most often creates a newer stratum even among the erstwhile lower caste in the village. For this reason, one can observe a thin layer of socio-economic distance between the educated households like that of Iyappan in Keezhatheru today.[78]

In addition to this, the Researcher's unannounced field-visits to both local School and Orphanage provide the picture about education quality in Sripuram. An assessment of basic literacy and numeracy skills of the children reveal the lack of quality in education. The assessment of quality was based on simple tests by the Researcher on students' ability of (1) reading from comprehension; (2) writing from dictation; and (3) numeracy skills. Though this assessment has been regularly conducted at intervals of various field-work periods, most of the children have failed. Though there are few exceptions among them, their failures in general symbolize the systemic issues in Sripuram. These issues are, however, often being overlooked by the teaching "officials". This has to be seen in light of their promptness in leaving School immediately after the office-hours despite the fact that some of them at times come late in the morning.

---

78 Keezhatheru is the street where the SCs are *exclusively* living in the village. This street has other names such as *vadakkutheru* (North Street) in Sripuram. It is to be mentioned that Beteille discussed Keezhatheru in the nomenclature of Palla Cheri. Though some of the village elders are remembering this name, the tag of *Cheri* (means slum in Tamil) has disappeared from the everyday usages. As discussed earlier, though, the exclusivist residential unit of other castes (of both Brahmins and OBCs) are changing today in Sripuram, Keezhatheru is still the exclusive residential unit of the the Pallars. These *subtle* changes have mostly been due to various socio-economic factors over the years.

Furthermore, the state's "generous" effort of all-pass policy somehow promotes children to the next level of education ladder even without any 'meaningful' learning. For instance, Ganapathy, a Teacher from the local School opines that:

LAKSH:	Government is reportedly having a policy called "All Pass". What do you think about that? Is it useful to the students?
GANAPATHY:	In my opinion, the government's policy of "All Pass", is a foolish decision.
LAKSH:	Hmm
GANAPATHY:	Students should not stop their education in mid-way. If we fail, the student will stop. That is the reason why the government brought the scheme of "All Pass".
LAKSH:	Hmm
GANAPATHY:	But the scheme destructs the brilliant students. Even the bright student also carried away by it where his standard is going down.
LAKSH:	Hmm
GANAPATHY:	Students are often having the mindset of being "pass" even before appearing for the exam.
LAKSH:	Hmm
GANAPATHY:	So there is no interest in learning.
LAKSH:	Hmm

GANAPATHY: There is no creativity among the students. There is no aim to get first mark as they know that they will certainly pass whatever it may be the case.

In this backdrop, some of the teaching staffs are accepting the decreasing trends of quality but cites their inability to discipline children due to various factors in their informal interactions. At present, they primarily cite the government regulations to prevent the capital punishments in the School. In this context, another Teacher metaphorically complains:

On the one hand, the government expects us to provide quality teaching. But on the other hand, they tie our hands (with newer regulations) only to hold a chalk-piece! (*From the field*)

In this background, the assessment failures of 8th standard children, are more worrisome as they are relatively older in age than the others in school. It seems that their failures in educational functionings (mainly in terms of literacy and numeracy skills) are setting the stage for inferior capability formations. This, for instance, has often been cited as a challenging reason by the educated un/under-employed youths. Most of the youths have said that the students of Sripuram often perform poorly in Meenakshipuram.[79] For instance, it is appropriate to mention Mala. Mala is a 24 year old female from Pallar caste with a Bachelor degree in History. She compares the local School with Satsangh School in Meenakshipuram:

---

[79] It must be mentioned that Sripuram residents have to send their children after 8th standard to Meenakshipuram even today. This was the same educational situation in Beteille's fieldwork period in 1959-60 as well in the village.

MALA: I started realizing what education is only after going to Satsangh School in Meenakshipuram. I started getting interest to study there only.

LAKSH: [silent to comfort].

MALA   They will normally fail you for one year if you go out of this School.

LAKSH: Hmm

MALA   Because we never get anything out of this School. So after joining there for 9th, *mere* thinking about 10th public exam was too scary.

Thus, the dual developmental deficits both in terms of functionings and capabilities have to be analysed from the intersectional social facts. As the system of education is mostly determined by class as well as caste factors, the extreme difference in quality often perpetuates the mainstream social order. As a microscopic reality, Sripuram reflects the educational status of Tamil Nadu. For all the 'expected' systemic reasons, it seems that the notion of quality exists only in the "official" reports. The threatening size of voluminous reports on various aspects with an endless number of figures and facts are seemingly not reflecting the everyday complexities of the School. This is seemingly due to the inferior status of subordination of the Head Master who is expected "merely" to be subservient to the hierarchies of education bureaucracy. Any innovation, even for improving the outcomes of education is often discouraged as a "deviancy" from the bureaucratic frameworks.

EDUCATION QUALITY AND EMPLOYABILITY IN SRIPURAM

In the increasing trends of modernity, the reasons of un/under-employment are mostly due to issues of education quality in any country. India is no different where the developmental demands of post-colonial society have "seemingly" been met by the "certified" knowledge. As

functional literacy becomes the passport for any salaried employment, one needs to highlight the importance of quality at present. Quality in education is primarily determined by the "stakeholders", where there are two central factors that need to be mentioned: the parental negligent due to socio-economic deprivation (*involuntary*) as well as the bureaucratic apathy of the state (*voluntary*).

Though quality is a crucial determinant of employability, the system most often fails the poor. For instance, most of the poor in Sripuram are dependent on the fee-free government institutions, at least, in school education. As the state-owned schools in the country are known for their poor quality outcomes in education (see for instance, Valeskar 2010, Kumar 2004, Kumar & Sarangapani 2004 among others), the attributes of employability of the poor get failed even in the initial years of education itself.

In this context, it is pertinent to mention about Iyappan of Sripuram. Iyappan is a 33 years old educated under-employed youth who has multiple educational qualifications in hand. This include: Bachelors in Commerce (B.Com), Physical Education (B.PEd), Diploma in Computer Application (DCA), Cooperative Management (DCoop), Jewel appraisal and Post Graduate Diploma in Yoga. As an educated youth from Pallar caste, his employment status has been different in different phases of fieldwork. This is mainly due to the volatility of employment status. Sometimes he works in the informal economy in Meenakshipuram, or he just passes his time in helping "others" for his political aspirations.[80] The Researcher, when asked him about quality of education and its relevance for the employability today, he is of the opinion that:

---

[80] In the recent fieldwork (in April 2012), he was working as a *contract-teacher* for Physical Education in a nearby government school. Though, it is a temporary job under the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA), he told the Researcher about his financial burdens to bribe *even* to get this short-term assignment. He hopes to get a permanent position there itself by "working hard". SSA it must be noted is a centrally sponsored scheme in line with the global goals of Education for All (EFA) in India.

LAKSH	As you've studied in so many different institutions, may I ask you their role in career? I mean, what are their roles in making you successful in your career?
IYAPPAN	
LAKSH	[Trying to explain more as Iyappan did not understand]. What is their role in getting a salaried employment? Is there any use of these institutions?
IYAPPAN	Nothing. Whatever we get is simply with our skills and smartness.
LAKSH	So can we say that you went to all these institutions *just* to get the degree certificates? Nothing else?
IYAPPAN	Not really. But the schools are useless. Our success depends only on our effort. If one studies well, he can have a good life ahead.
LAKSH	Anything else?
IYAPPAN	Nothing

It must be mentioned that Iyappan's criticalities of the school education is important as a EUEY in the village. His experiential opinion as a Pallar youth, furthermore, strengthens the case of education which is deplorable in nature. In addition to this, there is an ironic side where the state institutions are *still* having 'good' public image of their quality in higher education. Due to this, one can see a *reverse immigration* of the non-poor in government higher education institutions, where the poor and deprived often fail to get entry due to heavy competition. The poor's inability to enter into the fee-charging private schools as well as their exclusion from the quality higher institutions in the name of merit and fee-barriers most often make them content with their "preferences" in the available alternatives. These adaptive preferences can be conceptualized in line with Sen's notion of the poor's complicity in perpetuating their own deprivation. Their un/under-employability has also to be

90

understood when the employers' expectations are increasingly high due to the "culture of competitive aggressiveness". (Kumar 2004:21). The economically poor like that of Selvam and others, for instance, went to private colleges even though they are notorious for their quality predicaments in Tanjore. Their rationale is seemingly to "stand in the queue" for salaried employment at least with a certificate in hand.

Thus, employability becomes the crucial factor for occupational outcome in education.[81] This has to be seen in light of the heightened market capitalism in the country. Though approaching education merely in terms of employability limits the concept of functionings, it is one of the leads for broader capability formations of the people at present. The notion of capability in terms of individuals' ability to take independent decisions in addition to the necessary life-skills, for instance, is mostly determined by their earning abilities. Due to this, the occupational outcome becomes an important developmental factor in functionings analysis of capability approach. In this backdrop, it is pertinent to mention the views of Iyappan again:

LAKSH   As you are "working hard" even to get (this temporary) job with lots of degrees and diplomas, what are the normal hurdles you face in your effort to get a salaried job?

IYAPPAN   The hurdles are mainly due to large number of educated people trying for limited available sources of job. Also, there is a high level of competition. Whoever is ready to bribe more will get the best bid. This is the situation in Tamil Nadu today.

LAKSH   Is this for the salaried employment in the government?

---

[81] For further discussion on employability, see for instance: Hinchliffe & Jolly (2011), Støren & Aamodt (2010), Tomlinson (2008) and Venkataraman (2013) among others.

IYAPPAN   Yes it is.

LAKSH   Hm hm…

IYAPPAN   No one appoints us *simply* because we have a matching qualification to the available job. It will mostly be determined by the amount we bribe them.

LAKSH   Is this the same for private sector?

IYAPPAN   Not really. They do not need to be bribed.

LAKSH   What are the hurdles in this sector?

IYAPPAN   I do not know. (Thinking)

LAKSH   Is English language skills necessary for them?

IYAPPAN   Yes it is. But they will "closely" have an eye on our activities.

In addition, the dimension of quality in education in the context of Sripuram can be seen in progressive changes of students' knowledge, behaviour, attitudes and values. These intangible aspects are both crucial for the occupational outcomes and also have a central role in capability formations. This sets the background for the necessity of approaching quality in education in light of employability. However, it must be reiterated that though, there is a conceptual limitation of looking education quality in light of employability; the current analysis is attempting to understand broader implications beyond the instrumentalism. Thus the analysis is inclusive of the ideals of both human capital as well as capability approach in education.

The present research considers employability as an aspect of quality in education as this includes the "usefulness" for people's work and career domains. This has been

conceptualized by the Researcher mainly in his regular interactions with the educated un/under-employed youths in Sripuram. The above mentioned case of Iyappan aptly highlights the decaying incidents of public institutions in terms of quality services and dysfunctional entry barriers in the country. The consequence can be seen where the poor are often left with these inferior institutions in contrast to the exodus of the non-poor.

In this background, the local School, though, managed by a Brahmin family over the years, is not being perceived as 'their' School by the *Agraharam* at present. This is in sharp contrast to the past where the School caters mainly to the Brahmin children. The employment-centric 'quality' pressures from the macro-economy push the non-poor (who are mostly the Brahmins in Sripuram) to the private English medium schools in Meenakshipuram. In this backdrop, the above-mentioned enrolment figures have to be seen. The every-day visits of the Researcher to the local School in Sripuram, as mentioned earlier, reveal that the inferior nature of educational quality is due to various systemic factors. This includes: the incessant trainings, policy confusions due to the change of political regimes and other crucial factors in the institution. This neither ensures the avenues for capability formations nor provides any basic skills. The result can be seen in their everyday life where it is very difficult to find a handful of individuals who have been successful even in terms of getting into a salaried employment. This institutional failure can be seen in both the local School as well as the Orphanage in the village.[82]

In this backdrop, the systemic mismatch between education and employment most often provides a lesser *life chances* to the poor. Though, this can also be due to weak social

---

82 The only caveat is that we can still find few "successful" Brahmin youths who were from the local School in Sripuram. However, their success could mostly be due to the historicity of their (knowledge-centric) background. Also, one has to be aware of the increasing decrease of Brahmins' enrolment in the Government School.

capital, the essential point to be highlighted is the role of education in re/producing the social hierarchy in Sripuram. The systemic role in social re/production of privileges is sociologically important where it is rare to find one well-placed individual among the Pallar who graduated from the local School ever since its inception in 1925. Though it is also difficult *even* among the Brahmins today due to their recent *enrolment exodus* out of the Government School for the reasons of declining quality, the essential point is that the differential outcome across diverse social groups in the village. For these reasons, it seems that the individuals' un/employability in the formal labour market is mainly due to the inferior 'quality' education which they receive over the years. The predominant reason, at least, from the local School perspective is due to the over-bureaucratized education system and its failures to match labour market expectations. For instance, the only Teacher who took the challenge of enrolling his daughter in the local School for his ideological reasons in education regretted in his telephonic talk with the Researcher (on September 25, 2013). He was disappointed about his daughter's inabilities in terms of interpretative skills and English speaking ability. These basic abilities, in his opinion, is not available in the government schools where his daughter was 'forced' to study due to his "ideal faith" on the government system where he is professionally thriving as a Teacher. His daughter with an Engineering degree 'reportedly' fails to get recruited in the campus interviews so far.

Thus, one can conceptualize that the inferior quality of the 'fee-free' Government School most often adds burden of employment to the poor's future. The unemployable education out of this School for the girl child is a double burden in the village. In this backdrop, where an individual, being a girl in a patriarchal order, living in a village is often pushed to the social margins. This is crucial from the intersectional perspective where the case of Karuppaiah in Sripuram could be an important case to be mentioned.

Karuppaiah is an economically poor from Vellalar (non-Brahmin / OBC) caste. He has 6 daughters. Though, all of them are "highly" qualified (like M.Com, MPhil etc), are working

in the informal economy (which also includes the unrecognized private schools) in Meenakshipuram. The economic necessity of the family drives these women to survive in the informal economy where they fail to get a 'decent' employment according to their qualifications. Due to this, they become a "negative" reference group for the poor to justify education's uselessness in the neighbourhood.

In addition, it must be noted that none of Karuppaiah's daughters have got married despite age-specific eligibilities. This is important in the context of Indian village where marriage is considered a natural stage, everyone is expected to "compulsorily" go through in life. As a collectivist social order, individuals are often ridiculed of any "deviancy" from the normative societal expectations. Employment-specific failures of Karuppaiah's daughters despite having various qualifications confirm that "the children are strongly affected by the human capital possessed by their parents" (Coleman 1988: S110). These young women's educational success has neither ensured them the broader notions of capabilities nor *even* the skill to market in the employment avenues. This is negatively influencing their neighborhood's approach in education. Generally, the OBCs often view this case as a systemic failure of the poor. In contrast, the Brahmins view the same as agentic failures to acquire the quality education in their degree "accumulations". This, to a greater extent, is true if we contrast with the case of Iyyappan, a Dalit youth who has so many degrees in his hand. His status of being un/under-employed, is not visible due to his continuous socio-political engagements in the village, his case, holds the "grain of truth", where individuals often accumulate degrees without 'real' freedom. (Jeffrey and et al. 2010). [83] The agentic rationale

---

83 As mentioned earlier, Iyappan has done Bachelors in Commerce (B.Com), Physical Education (B.PEd), Diploma in Cooperative Management, Diploma in Computer Applications (DCA), Post Graduate Diploma in Yoga, and Jewel appraisal. As he had 'finally' finished his degrees in 2009, he, by his own admission, neither has a salaried employment till date nor did he learn anything valuable from the system as such in his educational engagements (between 1986 and 2009). [*From the filed*].

of qualification escalation in their "waiting period" for salaried employment, the poor most often fails due to the 'entry-barriers' in terms of 'cultural capital' and meritocratic demands of the hegemony.

In addition to this, there is an interesting fact which needs to be mentioned. Individuals (with few exceptions like Iyappan) are generally not complaining about the institutional roles in their failures in getting a secured employment. However, when the Researcher enquires specifically about education quality in terms of their inability to get a salaried employment, the educated un/under-employed youths provided a critical picture about it. They generally take self-responsibility for their unemployment instead of blaming "others". This can be due to their inability to perceive the importance of socio-economic forces' influences in lives. The inferior quality of Government School, for instance, though, a stark social reality in the country, none of them, had pointed it out as the only reason for their failures. This can also be due to the influence of neoliberal socio-economic reality where the failures are most often considered as the "individual cases" by the state.

In neoliberal reality, the employment-centric notions of education in the wider society also force the Pallars to be part of the HCA ideals. The shrinking employment avenues in the village and the changing nature of political economy often facilitate this reinforcement in Sripuram. The result is the increasing enrolment in the private schools *even* by the poor for quality reasons. This aspect has however been analyzed in the mainstream literature generally in terms of the systemic comparisons.[84] In light of these intersectional education

---

84 Though, the literature has been successful in focussing on quality, one can still find the vacuum in sociological insights in education research in India. [See for instance, Bajpai & Goyal (2004); Dyer (1996); Jain (2004); Kumar (2004), (2007); Mili & Kumar (2006); Muralidharan (2006); Naik (1979); Pandey (2006); Rampal (2004); Rao and et al. (2004); Velaskar (2010) among others.]. Analysing employability and capability, in this backdrop, is once again an under-researched area in Indian sociology.

facts, one can presume that there is an active interaction between rising unemployment and the inferior educational provisioning of the government. The mainstream employment research has to conceptualize this nucleus aspect.

The trends of under-employment like that of Selvam and others in Sripuram reveal that it is a form of hidden unemployment. The systemic failures due to quality make them 'misfits' in economic livelihood. This is seemingly because of the fact that the employable education is generally determined by the labour market where the definition of quality often holds the ideals of human capital approach. The result is that the poor constantly engage in the rate of returns and the cost-benefit analyses of education in their everyday lives. To a greater extent, this forbids them from the central tenets of capability approach. Thus, neither the individual agencies treat education in the broader notions of capabilities nor does their employment-centric approach assure them any job out of it. The primary reason for this dichotomy is systemic one where the relevance of quality debate appears.

EDUCATION QUALITY AND CAPABILITY IN SRIPURAM

The present research understands capabilities as the accumulation of diverse set of functionings in individuals' lives. For this, the central arguments have been collected from the participant observation of both orphan children and the educated under/un-employed youths in Sripuram. As these groups have been conceived essentially as poor in the study, it is pertinent to mention about the importance of education quality in the capability formations. The process of becoming adults from childhood is mostly being shaped by educational institutions, where any shortcoming in quality in education system is costly for the capability formations. This is due to the intrinsic links between the evaluative spaces of both functionings and capabilities.

In this backdrop, it must be noted that the education system in Tamil Nadu like that of any other states in India has generally been unsuccessful in its intrinsic mandate of converting the natural abilities into capabilities. Philosophically, education is expected to shape individual's choices and preferences for growth and development. As capability approach "...honours individual choices and seeks to avoid authoritarian outcomes" (Jackson 2005: 103), education system is seemingly failing to identify agentic potentialities in Tamil Nadu. This can mainly be due to the institutional multitudes without any direction for the broader aspects of capabilities and functionings formations. The state system, for instance, is most often unsuccessful in the educative process in school education. The inferior quality has been systemically 'ensured' by the programme specific bureaucracy and the lethargic parents. The sufferers are naturally children whose individual agencies' often do not know the broader educational implications for future. This has to be explained in the context of Sripuram. Although reading habits have to be cultivated among the students, the local School for instance, does not *even* have a Library and also not having any concrete plan to establish one in the days to come. This has been found out in the field-visits of the Researcher over the years. The School administration, however, showed an old cup-board (of dusty books) as the "Library". For the official requirements, the authorities are even maintaining a register with "live" entries. This highlights the educational fact where the necessary *avenues* of functionings as well as the *conversion* factors for capability formations are visibly weak in the village. This weak-links are being seen in the everyday lives of both orphan children and the EUEYs and EUYs who are *just* "waiting" to secure a salaried employment through education.

This raises an important question. Are the poor individuals powerful enough to exercise their educational functionings for their capabilities? Answering this question in the neoliberal state requires complex analyses. The political economy has been 'carefully' withdrawing from the social sector commitments in India. The poor, irrespective of their caste affiliations, does not have any avenues other than to stay in the government schools. This dependency is despite the quality predicaments in the government schools. The social

re/production at a broader level stabilizes the status quo in favor of the non-poor. The non-poor who are mostly from the erstwhile higher castes in Sripuram are able to send their children to the fee-demanding private schools in Meenakshipuram. Though, quality is the oft-cited reason for their exodus, one can see the adaptive nature of these institutions to the labour market demands. For instance, the popular image of Information Technology in Tamil Nadu is increasingly guiding these private schools where computer education becomes a new subject to be taught. In contrast, the local School is being "bombarded" by the diverse guidelines of the government which most often get changed to the tunes of the different political regimes. This neither ensures the avenues of capabilities nor *even* responds to the labour market demands. The result is systemic re/production of misfits where the *functional illiteracy* is the reality.

This failure shall also be seen in light of the meritorious teachers. In Tamil Nadu, the entry in the teacher-training institutes requires a higher per cent of marks. Hence, only the meritorious students, (who have got good marks in the schooling) are allowed to get trained in these institutes. Most of the enrolments in these institutes are genuine mainly due to the vigilant civil society in the state. However, it is surprising how these "quality" students are becoming bad teachers. Though these teachers are earning phenomenally higher salaries and other benefits than their colleagues in private schools, most often they do not provide the quality teaching. Thus, the poor and the marginalized become the worst sufferers of this *vicious circle* of inferior schooling. This, to a large extent, does not ensure better life-chances as well as what the development literature concerns, the *conversion factors* for both functionings as well as capability formations.

As the ability to realize one's own capability is mainly decided by education, it is pertinent to conceptualize it in light of the paternalistic social structure and the weak individual agencies. This conceptualization has been on the following aspects in Sripuram. For instance, the aspects of independent decision making can be seen in villagers life in terms

of taking up a career on their own instead of going by the ascriptive caste-based division of labour; the increasing number of caste exogamy; emigration out of village against "others" preferences and the assertive reasoning etc. The essential point is whether these aspects are functional or not and are having the potential seeds of capabilities due to individual's *choices* and *preferences* in life.

In this backdrop, the aspect of capability-formation is mainly conditioned by intersectional factors of caste-class dynamics in the village. In addition, one can observe the influences of wider socio-economic contexts of the state. For instance, the political economy of Tamil Nadu, is revolving mainly around the demographic figures where nearly 94 % of the population is non-Brahmin.[85] Hence, the policy decision-making at the macro level has been more or less accommodating the interests of "non-Brahmins" in the name of social welfare. Though, this has a rationale due to historic injustices over the years against the erstwhile lower castes, the central argument is the perceived fear of the "others". The erstwhile higher castes (or the Brahmins of Sripuram in this case) are seemingly afraid of the shrinking role of state. As said earlier, the policy of Reservation is 'practically' reserving 69% for the non-Brahmins where the remaining 31% is open to all including the meritorious "others". This to a greater extent convinces the Brahmins to approach education generally in terms of its occupational outcome. This has to be seen in light of their past where they have historically been known for approaching education for knowledge-sake.

This changed nature has also to be seen in light of a newer reality. Though education *itself* is a capability, the broader notions of functionings formation and employment choices are available only with the higher levels of knowledge at present. Hence higher education is becoming an important factor for the capability formations. The nature of capability

---

[85] This includes nearly 71 % OBCs and 23 % SCs in the state. This is based on the recent census figures of 2011. See for instance, GoI (2011).

formation, in this backdrop, is mainly determined by the opportunity sets available in the village. This has, however, not been explicitly discussed in the mainstream research where it has been analyzed generally in terms of human capital notions. This limits the capability specific analysis in India.

CONCLUSION

Thus the central arguments of this Chapter highlight that the social backgrounds of individuals are still central in determining both functionings and capabilities in Tamil Nadu. Though, the development literature underlines that "both capabilities and functionings are, to a large extent determined culturally" (Jackson 2005: 117), this has been an under researched subject in India. The functionings failures, in this backdrop, have to be contrasted against the commonsense where Tamil Nadu is often "celebrated" as one of the developed regions in the country. The failures in the evaluative spaces of capability approach questions the celebration in light of the notions of Dreze and Sen:

> One way of seeing development is in terms of the expansion of the real freedoms that the citizens enjoy to pursue the objectives they have reason to value, and in this sense the expansion of human capability can be, broadly, seen as the central feature of the process of development. (Dreze & Sen 1999: 10, In *India. Economic Development and Social Opportunity*).

CHAPTER VII   Poverty and education in Sripuram

There is a danger of seeing poverty in the narrow terms of income deprivation, and then justifying investment in education, health care and so forth on the ground that they are good means to the end of reducing income poverty. (Sen 1999: 92).

THE POOR: DEFINITION AND IDENTIFICATION

Poverty "persists even in countries that are economically advanced and have little population growth, and this has led sociologists to be skeptical about the assumption of a simple relationship between poverty, inequality and economic backwardness." (Beteille 2003: 4457). Poverty in Tamil Nadu, one of the high growth regions of India, reflects the conclusions of Beteille. In this backdrop, social classes in Sripuram are often re/produced by the *life styles* of the individuals. Hence, the class positions can be understandable in individual's occupational structure in the village. Though individuals' consumption patterns most often signal their social class in the village, the relative deprivation of individuals within their family, for instance, is not the same like that of its class positions. This disadvantage often goes hand in hand across age, gender and dis/ability aspects.[86] However, the numerical

---

86 See for instance Ayres & Simon (2003); Aturupane & Isenman (1994); Banerji (1997), (2000); Bebbington (1999); Beteille (1972), (2002a), (2003); Cleaver (2005); Collins (2005); Connell (1994);

enumeration of poor often overlooks the intersectional dynamics around them. The class analyses in Beteille's view are thus non-sociological:

> The majority of the studies of poverty using head-count measures have taken the individual or household as the unit. The 'classes' with which these studies deal are statistical rather than sociological categories. (Beteille 2003: 4459).

It is important to mention that the sociological notion of class is a hierarchical categorization of people, where they may share a common *means of production* and economic interests in society. In a highly stratified society like that of Sripuram, these characteristics and patterns are different for the diverse caste groups. This is sociologically important as "the life of an individual cannot be adequately understood without references to the institutions within which his biography is enacted." (C. Wright Mills as quoted in Lareau 2003: 14).

Although, deprivation is not always material in nature, non-material domains have been generally overlooked in the mainstream literature. The present work considers conceptualizing the poor's voicelessness and powerlessness as their capability deprivation. This, from an intersectional perspective on poor, has a corrosive effect on Pallars due to their socioeconomic marginality in Sripuram. According to Sen's perspective, this is crucial:

> What the capability perspective does in poverty analysis is to enhance the understanding of the nature and causes of poverty and deprivation by shifting primary attention away from *means* (and one particular means

---

D'Souza (1979); De and et al. (2000); Deaton & Dreze (2002); Dreze & Sen (1999); Fonseca (1971); Gang and et al. (2004); Gupta (1984); Harriss (2007); Jha & Jhingran (2005); King and et al. (2007); Laderchi (2001); Levine (2004); Mendelsohn & Vicziany (1998); Saith & Wazir (2009); Sen (1973), (1999); Thorat (2010); Thorat (2007); Tilak (1999), (2002a), (2002b), (2005) and (2007); and Tooley (2004) and (2007); Townsend (1954); Viswanathan & Srivastava (2007); and White and et al. (2003) among others.

that is usually given exclusive attention, viz., income) to *ends* that people have reason to pursue, and, correspondingly, to the *freedoms* to be able to satisfy these ends. (Sen 1999: 90).

This has been well-established in the capability approach literature. For instance, Nussbaum argues that

> Poverty involves heterogeneous failures of opportunity, which are not always well correlated with income; moreover, people in positions of social exclusion may have difficulty converting income into actual functioning, so income is not even a good proxy for capabilities. In general, income is a means to an end, and capabilities are the end. (Nussbaum 2011: 143-4).

In this context, the present research with its theoretical framework of capability, attempts to understand everyday aspects like the household characteristics, consumption patterns of the different caste groups in the village. As a result, this has provided indications about the nature and characteristics of poor in Sripuram. Other aspects like the livelihood dependencies often provide clearer picture about the extent of class positions.

As a sociological study, the present ethnography adopts observational research as its data collection method. Hence, the identification of poor has mainly been based both on income and non-income factors. This is based on the research literature that understands the insufficiency of income as the only poverty dimension (cf. Sen 1999; Beteille 2003; Harriss 2007; Saith & Wazir 2009; Kannan & Raveendran 2011 and among others). For instance, it is appropriate to quote Harriss:

> Mainstream poverty research – even after experts had generally accepted the need for multidimensional view of poverty that goes beyond income/consumption measures to take account of holdings of assets and hence of longer run security – has generally failed to address the dynamic, structural and relational factors that give rise to poverty. (Harriss 2007: i).

It is pertinent to note that the statistical establishment of decreasing poverty trends over the years is often understood as an effect of the neoliberal economic policies without appreciating the historical social processes behind it. This signals the fact that the poor's existence in society often tend to be ignored by the "official" figures. The multidimensional social deprivation conceptually questions the homogeneous economic categorization of the poor in India. However, the mainstream analyses, as said above, are still holding the predominance of income-based definition as identification of the poor in the country. This, in Sen's words, is not conceptually helping the poor. To quote:

> The Indian poor may not be accustomed to receiving much help, but they are beginning to get used to being counted. The poor in this country have lately been lined up in all kinds of different ways and have been subjected to several sophisticated head-counts. (Sen 1973: 1457).

There are many practical difficulties in the identification process. For instance, the oft-cited criterion of the asset-ownership to identify the poor is not useful in Sripuram as no erstwhile higher caste (Brahmin, as in the present case) men in the village own any land today. Hence, the sociological literatures have constantly been consulted for the process of identification.[87]

In an objective sense, the relative deprivation describes "a situations where people possess less of some desired attribute, be it income, favourable employment conditions or power, than do others." (Dreze & Sen 1999: 16, In *Poverty and Famines*). In Sripuram, the sense of deprivation among the Pallar is a mixed one across generations. Most of the older generations often view their deprivation either as a functional necessity due to the social stratification or simply their *Vidhi*.[88] This is in sharp contrast to the present day youths who

---

87 The *cultures of poverty* arguments of Oscar Lewis as well as the *relative deprivation* theses of Peter Townsend are few of the related sociological leads on the subject.

88 It means *karma* or the fate in Tamil.

are more assertive due to the influence of the favourable political economy in the state. The younger generations' increased levels of education and their exposures of the outside often make them question the historical injustices of the caste system. These beliefs are mainly being shaped by mass media and the political leaders in the state.

The observable *social facts* of human deprivation such as the housing conditions, standard of living, joblessness and the livelihood insecurities in their everyday life in the village provides the guidelines to identify the poor.[89] People's personal attempts of "not to appear shamefully in public" (Sen 1999), often eludes the reality to the Researcher. For this reason, the present work draws from the ethnographic advantages of disattending to make the poor comfortable with the Researcher's presence in their cultural settings. This has been made possible by living in the village in different phases of the fieldwork period.

The definition of poor has been, thus, based on the identification of their livelihood. For instance, the economic poverty of the people and their socio-cultural marginality along with the deteriorating housing conditions have given the clue. For this reason, it can be said that the socio-cultural marginality is often the cause of the poverty of the poor. Thus, the present research lays emphasis that the poor occupies the lowest rungs of the social hierarchy and it is socially inherited and perpetuated (D'Souza 1979: 10).

The research is based on the observation as well as questioning the poor about their definition of wellbeing and poverty instead of being carried away by the straight jacket standards of the "others". According to *The Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey in Britain*, it is important to understand poverty in terms of the people's subjective notions of being

---

89 Though the nature of social facts is *external* to the individuals, they constrain their behavior.

poor, having a relatively low income and lacking socially perceived necessities. (as quoted in Wolff & De-Shalit 2007: 110).

Poor's visibility in the social structure is often obscured by the complexity. The domestic workers of the womenfolk and the casual laborers of the men in the village make their 'humble' presence less visible. Their economic dependency on the village social structure is patterned on the basis of caste-class dynamics. In Sripuram, while both Brahmin and Pallar occupy the polar opposite in the caste structure, it is not difficult to locate the extremes in their social class positions. In other words, the identification of a rich Pallar is as easy as that of the poor Brahmin in the *Agraharam* . In the latter's case, it is apt to quote Coleman. The economically poor Brahmin whose social standing is relatively high in contrast to the Pallars:

> ...is a case in which the human capital of the parents, at least as measured traditionally by years of schooling, is low, but the social capital available to the family for the child's education is extremely high. (Coleman 1988: S110).

Thus the problems of subsistence are often observed in relation to the economic realities of life in the village. This often sufficiently provides the picture of social capital and the aspects of mobility in their life. Since the habitus determines the a/symmetry of opportunities, the observation of their everyday life provides the picture of poverty and affluence. In consequence, the Researcher explores the poor who do not have any economic means to maintain themselves during the period of unemployment despite their education. In addition, the Orphanage with its deprived inmates provides an added shade about the poor in Sripuram.

The everyday observation has provided additional aspects as well. The alienation of few people from common property resources, for instance, is one such aspect which cannot

be fully quantifiable. The lack of voice as well as welfare of people in everyday life provides the framework for identifying the poor in the village. As the 'quality' of public resources most often has a lasting impact on poor's wellbeing, the present research conceptualizes the role of local School. The inferior educational quality of the School and its limiting factor in both capability as well as functionings-formations in their lives has been observed. In this quality predicament, the agency-goal formation of children in the local School is expectedly inferior due to the exodus of the non-poor.[90] As a result, the *narrative imagination* out of this social re/production is providing a sub-cultural capability-set in Sripuram. Thus, "...the suffering of the poor may depend on the condition of the non-poor." (Dreze & Sen 1999: 10, In *Poverty and Famines*).

In case of extreme poverty, it can be further said that both economic constraints and humiliation are *experiential* social reality which cannot be quantified. The subtler aspects like this often have a greater say in educational functionings and capability formation for the poor in Sripuram. For instance, recently Unterhalter reports about Nigeria that even the smaller things like not having the washing powder justifies the child-exclusion from the school.[91] Thus the present works conceptualizes poverty as an issue of injustice from capability approach perspective. Therefore it raises the question, what does education mean to them in their poverty?

---

90 Agency refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices.

91 At the International Conference on Children's Capabilities and Human Development: Researching Inside and Outside of Schools at the Faculty of Education, *University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, UK (on 11-12th April 2011).

POVERTY AND EDUCATION

The link between poverty and education is one of the complicated subjects. It has been analysed differently by various literatures.[92] For instance, Tilak explains that "…the problem of underachievement in education is essentially a problem of poverty and economic backwardness is not totally correct." (Tilak In Rustagi 2009: 64). Though, this has the support base in literature (cf. Bhatty 1998a; and Banerji 2000), others have observed that the children of poor families are less likely to be enrolled in school than children of better-off families (Jha and Jhingran 2005: 22). Amidst these contrasting academic positions, it is certain that poverty affects the process of socialization. This in turn influences education as well as occupational outcome negatively. This sets the background for the present work.

According to capability perspective, the role of education in development is both *intrinsic* as well as *instrumental* in nature. It is intrinsic due to its value as an *end* in itself. It means, being educated itself is a mark of development. In addition to this, it is also an instrumental due to its *means* to 'merely' get an employment. In simpler terms, the educated are expectedly better placed in the labour market than the uneducated. Hence, any research works on poor's developmental avenue automatically holds the importance of education in its focus. Despite the formidable constraints, "education seems to provide the best hope for overcoming poverty and vulnerability. The speed of change has been faster wherever the educational attainments are higher."[93] (Sengupta and et al. 2008: 59). This is also true in its reverse side where "poverty and vulnerability is closely associated with low levels of

---

92 See for instance Ayres & Simon (2003); Banerji (1997), (2000); Connell (1994); De and et al. (2000); Jha & Jhingran (2005); King and et al. (2007); Tilak (1999), (2002a), (2002b), (2005) and (2007); and Tooley (2004) and (2007) among others.

93 The increasing economic alienation of EUYs in Sripuram unfortunately disproves this at present.

education and informality of work status." (Kannan & Raveendran 2011: 60). Hence, there is a close correspondence between poverty and vulnerability and educational *incapability*. (*emphasis mine, ibid.,* p. 69).

The poor's educational dependencies on 'fee-free' government schooling which are notorious in their quality standards highlights that the poor are sufferers of everything beginning with less good education in the country. This necessitates to research on educational outcomes of the poor in Sripuram. This is based on the question: Is poverty the sole factor in determining the educational outcomes for the poor in Sripuram? For this, the ethnographic observations of the lives of the poor in Sripuram underline that though education is seen as one of the essential means of upward mobility, the Brahmins in Sripuram approach it to sustain their social status along with economic mobility. In contrast, for others including OBCs and Pallars, it is seemingly for economic mobility. This in a way reinforces that "there is no uniform trend regarding the demand for education among poor and deprived groups" (Jha and Jhingran 2005: 288).

This highlights the fact that though the poor's beliefs in education are not automatic, it mainly differs across the social origin. This is due to the structural influences where individuals' preferences are institutionally shaped in society. For this reason, the Brahmin poor are better placed than the economically deprived in other castes. In this regard, it can also be said that the effort to break the cycle of un-employability from the same educational background by the poor is different across diverse caste groups. The upper castes, mainly the Brahmins in this case, are mainly studying the labour market trajectories. The result is that parents often send their children to extra-curricular trainings along with their college degrees. They most often send them to type-writing or short hand courses as extra-curricular aspects. These efforts are mostly 'voluntary' in nature. As these are increasingly reduced its employment charm at present, they are gradually being replaced by the "computer courses". In contrast, the Pallars' decision to send the adolescent to the college is a 'luxury' itself.

110

Furthermore, it has serious gender dimension as well. For differential outcomes, some of the Pallar who are poor are even thinking that education is unnecessary. For them, "the short-run opportunity costs of education are perceived to be greater than the uncertain future benefits." (Ayres & Simon 2003: 224).

This differential outcome can also be seen from the systemic perspective where the non-poor are increasingly going to the private schools for 'quality' reasons. This is systemic because "…any meaningful notion of quality education for the poor is impossible to attain in the present context." (Velaskar 2010: 58). Due to the elite-exodus from the government school system, the poor are often left with lesser-*life chances*. This is mainly due to inferior quality standards in the government schooling system. This, in turn, provides a weak social capital base. In addition, their parental economic poverty has also ensured a weak-habitus to the children. The result is the vicious cycle of deprivation in their lives with a lesser educational outcome.[94] In consequence of this, their transition to the formal labour market is not smooth enough. As a result, it is very difficult to find the "social climbers" from this complex reality in Sripuram. These systemic limitations often convince the poor to go for private schools for the 'perceived' notion of quality education in Meenakshipuram. This in Bhairavi's words:

> …is mostly due to poor's belief that where one goes to what kind of educational institution does determines the economic mobility in our village today. (*From the field*).

---

94 Ganapathy, N. (25th July 2011), Will the government schools be saved?, *Dinamani*, Tamil Nadu (p. 6). Ganapathy raises an interesting question: "It will be interesting to know that how many people will accept if there is legal provision which states that only the government school children will be admitted to the government colleges." (Translation from Tamil).

These diverse educational realities, altogether, change the definition of quality mainly in terms of market-centric notions. Given the close correlation between caste and economic status, Hill and et al. writes:

> ...the private schools tend to be dominated by higher caste groups, although there are examples of low income families managing to send their children to private schools. (Hill and et al. 2011: 102).

This is in contrast to the social reality of the poor where the primitive mode of production along with inferior labour market implications has been affecting them. Due to this, the migration towards the nearby towns (mainly Meenakshipuram) is becoming the only developmental avenue to the economically poor villagers at present. The differential outcome in education has an important role for pushing people to go out of the village. This has been a limiting factor since the initial years where the children's engagements with relative and absolute forms of poverty and inequality have grave implications on their educational outcome in the village. For these reasons, the higher aspirations of the poor do not have any option other than making education a competitive ideal as per the human capital approach in Sripuram today. This from the perspective of CA empirically disproving the ideals of education in line with the intrinsic notions. Poor's approach in education seemingly convinced merely for generating skills. This shall be contrasted in light of the central arguments of CA and its conceptual critique to the instrumentalism of the human capital ideals in education.

EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES FOR THE POOR

The central analysis in this Chapter is specifically based on two important groups whom the Researcher has identified as poor. They are namely the Orphan-Children and the educated

un-employed youths in Sripuram.[95] Firstly, the Orphan children have been identified as poor, mainly because they are socio-economically impoverished and whose everyday life depends generally on the Orphanage. Their deprivation of family is specifically due to the parental demise or *broken family* structures. All of them are coming to the Orphanage from extreme socio-economic hardships. Though they are the 'lucky' ones to get into the institutional membership, their deprivation is manifold in nature. This has convincingly allowed the Researcher to conceptualize them as poor.

Next are the educated un-employed youths in Sripuram. Both the identification as well as definition of this group is based on the framework of Jeffrey and et al. (2010). These young men are aged between eighteen and thirty-five who are unable either to find any employment despite having education credentials of Degree or Diploma. Though, most of them hold a under-graduate bachelor's degree as an educational qualification, some of them are even having post-graduate degrees as well.

For the observation research, the individual cases have been chosen mainly based on their class positions. For instance, the youth who are unemployed from the poor households have been given preference in the analysis due to the central aims of the research. These youths have been conceptualized as poor mainly because of their earning-handicaps due to their chronic unemployment. This conceptualization along with the Orphan-children has successfully allowed the Researcher to understand poverty in Sripuram.

95 The detailed discussions of the educated under-employed youths (EUEYs) are available in the Chapter on adaptive preferences below.

Outcome analyses[96]

Respondents' details	Number of people
EUYs (5 males & 5 females)	10
EUEYs (8 males & 5 females)	13
Orphans (4 each from 6, 7 & 8th standard—2 male & 2 female children)	12
Teachers (14 + 2 Vocational teachers)	16
Opinion leaders	10
TOTAL	**61**

THE CONTEXT

Sripuram has two educational institutions namely the Orphanage and the local middle School. The Orphanage is a place where the socio-economically deprived children live to 'educate' themselves primarily in the local School or at the nearby villages. The Orphanage as a 'total institution' functions with its organizational regimentations. As it departs from basic social arrangements, there is a mounting incompatibility with wider society. The everyday lives of hapless inmates, for instance, are being 'structured' as well as 'regimented' by the

---

96 As an ethnographic study, the Researcher has collected the primary data from almost all the available sources in the village. In this research process, he has naturally given a central focus to these 61 men for the current research objectives. The details of caste and gender have been given in the Annexure.

Orphan management. The dominant role of institution is directing almost all aspects of children's lives. Their everyday *interaction order* and their schooling are 'shaped' mainly by the institutional rules and regulations. The interaction constraints of the Orphans by the wider society in general and *Agraharam* in particular convince the author the nature of unsympathetic social milieu. For this reason, the social exclusion of the orphans has to be seen as an *invisible* form of discrimination. This is invisible due to the active role of the state in "ensuring" anti-discriminatory laws in the country. In light of this, the children's *adaptive preferences* are mostly structuring a sub-cultural *habitus* within their institutional living. The institutional demands, in Goffman's notion, however, 'mortify' the inmates which in turn 'structure' the self of the orphans. As the "total institution" restricts the *presentation of self* of the children according to their 'desired' ends, the latent structure and processes are thus 'formalised' by the institutional regulations.

The Management controls all aspects of everyday routines of the children. This is continuously being re/produced almost all days of the years with very few exceptions of holidays. In holidays, the children are generally 'allowed' to visit their parental or relative's home, where one can see a lesser 'institutional' planning. The Management's control ranges from its regular preparations of food to monitor the children's personal activities like sleeping, bathing and playing *inside* the institution. It also includes the regulations of children's interaction order with the society *outside*. Though the Orphanage is situated 'inside', the *everyday* institutional interactions generally consider the society as an 'outside'. This is also being regularly re/produced where newcomers are 'strictly' socialised to the institutional role-expectations.

The child deprivation, in this context, is generally due to *parental poverty* and the *broken family* structure in the Orphanage. The children, for these reasons, are institutionally dependent. Their dependency has to be underlined in light of the institutional inadequacies of un-supportive 'welfare' regimes. This can be seen in the "irresponsible" support structure

of the social welfare regimes and the institutional regimentations. Hence their ruthless livelihood has to be conceptualised in light of educational functionings and capability formations. As the institutional failures can be seen in the old pupils' lives where none of them have 'achieved' anything significant in life, the Orphans are generally aware of their inferior educational endowments and inheritance of inequalities. This is mainly due to the opportunity deprivations in their lives. This re/produces weak *conversion* factors where they are *learning to labour* (Willis 1977).

In addition, this is also 'practically' being capitalised by the everyday demands of both local School administration and the Orphanage management. The two influential families of the School and Orphanage administrators order any child to do the household chores at will. This, further pushes the children to the societal margins. This marginality is further re/produced in the School due to the teachers' negative stereotyping. This primarily includes the general notions of poverty-illiteracy continuum in the country. The parental poverty, however, compels them to be a mute spectator of this, "re/production drama". This is primarily due to their survival struggles of broken family structure. In fact, some of the parents are eagerly 'watching' it as a trajectory of 'growth' in their institutional visits in Sripuram. The economically deprived who are also most often the socially excluded perceives their children's 'affiliation' to the influential families an *enabling condition* for functionings and capability formations. The notion of enabling conditions discussed in the capability literature is important for sociological reasoning.

THE ORPHAN-CHILDREN

The institutional linkages between Orphanage and the local School are very important. Though the Orphanage is currently owned by a woman whose Husband 'practically' runs it at present, the school management was the founder. Over the years, the school management intends to sell it to others to unload their administrative burden. This burden is mainly due

to the School management's perceived apprehension of the incessant errands who are missing from the Orphanage. The apprehensions of the legal implications of missing children convince them to hand-over to the present owner.

However the clientele for both institutions are mostly the poor. This is simply because "…it is not unusual to come across villages, in which the local government school caters primarily to the poorest…" (Vasavi 2009: 135).[97] The Orphanage, for instance, caters to the needs of the children who have lost either of their parents. As these children are coming from families of extreme economic hardships, they get an 'automatic' entry into the local middle School. Their 'educational stay' is mostly assured till they finish their studies (up to 8th standard) in the School. Though some of the children are "lucky" enough to get the extension to stay for few more years to finish their schooling up to the higher secondary level in Meeanshipuram, this is often at the discretion of the Orphanage management.

Childhood, it must be mentioned, is a developmental stage where an 'individual' becomes an adult. These development processes for the Orphan-children are, however, limited. This is due to un-supportive state which fails to enable the necessary avenues of the *conversion* factors in their everyday life. The Orphanage management seems to be unprofessional where the '*functional*' Head is also working as a full-time Teacher in a nearby village. In addition to these role-conflicts, the absence of basic amenities in Sripuram provides a weak infrastructural base for the children. Their social vulnerability is further increasing due to inferior cultural capital and parental poverty. This often places them at the social margin in the initial years of their lives. In these multiple-disadvantages, neither

---

97 It is appropriate to quote Hill and et al. "Given the close correlation between caste and economic status, …the private schools tend to be dominated by higher caste groups, although there are examples of low income families managing to send their children to private schools." (Hill and et al. 2011: 102).

education ensures any potential future nor do children themselves become aware of its implications.

ORPHAN-CHILDREN: THE SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES

The children's engagements with forms of poverty and inequality have grave implications on their educational outcome. Due to this, one can observe their everyday educational encounters mainly in terms of *adaptive preferences* which gradually push them out of the learning system. This is generally happening to the Pallar children in Sripuram. Though these children are not from the Orphanage, their occupational outcome over the years have also been minimal like that of the orphans. This highlights the essential development fact that the educational success is mainly determined by the social background of the children.

As the social class differences in children's life experiences can be seen in the details of life (Lareau 2003: 35), it is pertinent to look at the social structure as well. It reveals that parents from different social background differ in their conception and involvement in their children's education. This, in effect, shapes both the educational outcome as well as social capital. Thus, the expectations from education across diverse social groups are mainly shaped by caste-class dynamics in the village. In case of the Orphans, the negative stereotyping, for instance, affects their experiences as well as expectations from education. The broken family structures of these children, in this context, compel them to take the institutional membership as a relief to their economic poverty. This temporary economic relief can be contrasted to the established claim that the parents across all social classes "pay close attention to their children's education" (Lareau 2003: 198). This could be due to the fact that the "…children from the least well-off families do not have a fair chance at attaining the level of economic security most other families manage to attain." (Bowles and et al 2005: 1).

This highlights the importance of the urgency to "understand the individually insignificant but cumulatively important ways in which parents from the dominant classes actually facilitate their children's progress through key social settings." (Lareau 2003: 278). In contrast to this, there is an additional dimension at the social structure, where the OBCs in general and the Pallar in particular are withdrawing their children *even* at "the slightest indication of failure or poor performance." (Sarangapani 2003: 29). The children's engagements with relative and absolute forms of poverty and inequality, have thus, grave implications on their education outcome.

ORPHAN-CHILDREN: THE INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSIONS

The educational impacts on Orphan-hood as well as the institutional roles in children's *functionings* are crucial for capability formations. As there is a major risk factor for orphan-children being poor in adulthood, this also has an adverse implication for their capabilities and well-beings. The *functionings* failure in education is being determined by the intersectional factors of parental death, inferior institutional services and insensitive social milieu. The orphan children's future as well as present status of capability formation has shrunk them as 'underclass' in Sripuram. The social stigmatisation of children, for instance, is primarily due to their poverty-stricken orphanhood. However, there are some rare cases where the extreme poverty pushes children into the Orphanage despite the presence of parents. These 'lucky' children are offered admission which is competitive among the poor in the region. The parents of these children reportedly use their social capital to "influence" the Management for admission. The institutional membership of these children is shaping their socialisation of becoming an 'orphan' in Sripuram. Though this is a "rational strategy" of the poor, some of these children are unfortunately socialised as an 'orphan' *even* without the parental tragedies.

As majority of the children have lost either one or both parents, the maternal orphan-hood among them in general has a permanent adversity than other (Beegle and et al. 2007). Almost all children's family background is marked by the severities of economic poverty. Their diverse caste background with similarities of economic *unfreedom* (Sen 1999), to a large extent, homogenises them to create a 'collective conscience' inside the Orphanage. The sub-cultural interaction order in the institution exemplifies this 'collectivities'.

The institutional failures of both the local School and the Orphanage has been visible in their "life-time welfare loss" (Beegle and et al. 2007: 1). While the failure of Orphanage is mainly due to successive 'welfare' regimes which are unsupportive, the School is notorious for its education 'quality' in the locality. Thus the traumatic institutional suffering ranges from Orphanage regulation to inferior schooling which create a web of *deprivation trap* for the children. Their physical presence in the institutions becomes a 'waiting period' to 'escape' to the "uncertain" outside world. Furthermore, the agonising trauma is reinforced by similarities of socio-economic backgrounds of the inmates. The higher the ageing, there is an 'increased' chance of becoming a pessimist. Informal interaction with orphans confirms this. For instance, the older children are very apprehensive about their future than the younger ones. The consequences of intergenerational effects are however often 'one-sided' where their pessimism inroads into the younger children.

In addition to these well-being failures, the institutional socialisation of Orphanage generally reinforces the social construction of gender. The structural forces are operating in this construction where the everyday roles are 'assigned' according to sex. The sexual *division of labour* allocates 'hard' manual works to boys. The girls, in contrast, are assigned to take care of the 'softer' institutional roles like cleanings and 'caring' of the younger inmates in the Orphanage. This social re/production very often constructs the similarity of gender values *inside* the institution. The normative structures of the Management ensure this perpetuation of re/production. This is most often governed by the political economy of the State. The

children who are subservient to the Management's "never-ending" demands are naturally the 'preferred' inmates. Consequently, they become a 'reference-group' for the new-comers' anticipatory socialisation. In light of this, the instutionlaisation of membership regulates the *adaptive preferences* of the everyday encounters of the orphans in Sripuram. Given the institutional affiliations of Orphanage and schooling, the children are expected to be in the institution according to the temporality of the day. The non-school hours are thus expectedly being spent inside the Orphanage. This normative structuring ensures neither educational attainment nor *even* their 'active' participation in the Orphanage. In consequence, the social exclusion is *institutionally* re/produced in their everyday lives.

Though schooling is not simply about keeping the students inside the institution, the prevalent bureaucratic approach in education firmly believes in 'disciplining' the children. While, individuals do have their *own* ways of learning, the institutionalism of this nature is hardly sensitive to the diversities. This is due to the official beliefs that the students are a homogeneous group to be 'moulded' according to the bureaucratic guidelines. At the institutional level, both the local School and the Orphanage function on these beliefs. Though one cannot entirely blame them due to their subservient status in the hierarchy of bureaucracy, the main point is their inability in finding the possible avenues of 'innovation'.

In the hierarchy of bureaucracy, the institutional status of the Orphanage is practically "autonomous" due to the inactive role of the state. Given their tender age as well as the strict institutional structures, the orphan children do not have the "avenues" for their personal agency. Due to their age-specific innocence, they perceive themselves *powerless* in everyday institutional encounters. In addition to this capability deprivation, neither the institutional support nor the family care is available to them. This, in result, has serious implications for their ill-being where the cosmetic supports *even* in the name of social welfare are very limited. Their educational outcome from the local School is also very minimal. This, in turn, fails them in almost all aspect of their present as well as future lives.

The social inclusion processes are unsuccessful due to the isolated institutional presence of the Orphanage in the village. This is due to the villagers "safe distance" from its financial dependencies. This *distancing* process is happening across all caste groups where no one bothers the institutional presence in their everyday life. The weak financial as well as functional supports from the state as well as the people's negligence are negatively influencing the capability formations of the orphan children. This often leaves them to the mercies of philanthropists. Due to these cumulative disadvantages, one cannot see enormous change in their educational outcome both in the past and the present.

Lastly, the systemic expectations of the manual labouring from the children are often taken for granted. This is due to their vulnerable status. This has multiple disadvantages especially when they are from the erstwhile "lower-caste" groups in the Orphanage. In addition to this, *even* for the school administration as well as the secretary's family, the Orphan children are preferred servants to be "employed". This is mainly due to the fact that no one questions this forms of 'socialization' if being caught red-handed when the young works as the "un-official" peons.

ORPHAN-CHILDREN: THE QUALITY CONCERNS

Based on the preceding discussion on the social class differences it must be mentioned that:

> ...schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context; and that this very lack of an independent effect means that the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood, and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school. For equality of educational opportunity through the schools must imply a strong effect of schools that is independent of the child's immediate social environment, and that strong independent effect is not present... (Coleman, J. *et al* 1966: 325)

The Orphan-children, in this context, are most often the first generation learners of their broken family structure. As the school and the teachers "are not equipped to cope with children who are first generation learners in their families" (Banerji 2000: 801), they seemingly do not learn anything valuable for their future. There is a discrepancy between "the learning at primary schools and the lived educational experiences..." of the children at home. (Singh 1995: 735). Though this is not due to the particular institutional structure of the village concerned, the problem lies somewhere-else. The state's welfare policies are often not proactive enough to take care of the practical realities of the society. For instance, the indifferent implementation of the education policies without any intention to genuinely improve their lives could be the main reason. The recent incidence of politicisation of the textbooks in the *samacheer kalvi* (Education for All) is an illustration to be noted in Tamil Nadu.

As the "...children of more highly educated and economically successful parents tend themselves to complete more schooling and earn more..." (Duncan and et al 2005:23), the Orphan children's failures are often seen as "normal" in the village. For instance, none of the children from the orphan-schooling has so far got any secured employment with few 'reported' exceptions. These exceptions, however, are 'unverifiable' as no one has any record about their details in the School and Orphanage. This underlines the fact that the occupational outcomes of education are mostly determined by the enabling conditions of institutions. Though intersectional variables like caste and class are also important, the institutional failures have over the years been reinforcing the status-quo in newer forms and nature.

Thus, the systemic inadequacies and the structural exclusion are due to socio-economic stratification which cumulatively pushes them to margin. The result is their persistent struggles against the *opportunity deprivation* which encircle them into trap of everyday social exclusion. As the process of becoming adults from the childhood is also

mainly being shaped by the educational institutions, it must be noted that any quality failure in the school is costly for the capability formations. In this context, the agency-goal formation of the children in government school is expectedly inferior due to the exodus of the non-poor. The "narrative imagination" (Nussbaum 2006) out of this social re/production is providing a sub-cultural capability system in Sripuram. This institutional inadequacy is affecting the Orphan children in their present as well as future lives. They are at a disadvantage "both because they inherit lower *endowments* and because capital constraints on their parents limit the market value of the endowments that they do inherit." (Becker & Tomes 1986: S16).

Thus, the intersections of caste-class dynamics and institutional inadequacies reveal the complexities of social reality. Often this intersectional sociological reality has however been overlooked in India. In the words of Lareau: "Social scientists interested in determining the dominant factors shaping children's lives are often preoccupied with a hunt for single determinants—they hope to be able to point to, for example, the overriding importance of income *or* education." (Lareau 2003: 64). Thus, the central question should be to know the complex factors from everywhere from home to School that put the children at a disadvantage.

ORPHAN-CHILDREN: CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Sripuram Orphanage caters mainly to the needs of the local middle School. The local School, for instance, functionally depend on the Orphanage for its yearly "enrolment-drives" at present. The increasing exodus of non-poor is systematically accommodating more poor. For this reason, the Orphanage becomes the main stakeholder to the local School. But, the institutional care of the Management cannot be criticized as a sole reason for unsupportive 'welfare' regimes; one can observe the formalism of the institutional regimentation, which separates Orphanage from the wider society. Though the Orphanage as a 'total institution' physically exists in the village, its 'social distance' is relatively high. For this reason, the

educational failures of orphans are perceived to be less valued when the 'normal' children themselves are struggling for outcome in the village. Thus the impacts of institutionalisation of children could be seen in their behavioural disorders. These well-being damages can be seen in their emotional, behavioural and even intellectual disorders. Along with their dysfunctional family background, this shapes their attitude toward life. Due to all these factors of economic poverty and dysfunctional families, the children spend a significant amount of time in the Orphanage.

Lastly, it must be mentioned that the institutional gate-keeping is ranged from Management's continuous refusal to grant access to the official figures of the inmates and their unwillingness to allow the Researcher 'inside'. The challenges of gate-keeping, however, motivated the Researcher to see the institutional dimensions from the 'distance' in the village. The smaller opportunities have, at times, allowed the Researcher to observe its *everyday* functionings. The orphans who are studying in the local School were prompt in allowing those windows of opportunities. The informal interaction with the children outside the Orphanage, in the end, has provided a detached picture. This picture has been re/produced without being 'channelled' through the gate-keepers. For instance, the Researcher's enquiries about the alumni have provided a shocking institutional insensitivity. Neither the School administration nor *even* the Orphanage Management has any idea about the previous graduated children in their institution. Their failure to keep track of the 'gone cases' gets justified in their bureaucratic formalism. It seems that they are 'ready' to do whatever the Rule book says. Nothing beyond.

In this backdrop of discussing the conceptual linkages of poverty and education in the developing the central arguments of the social construction of capabilities, it is pertinent to discuss the educated unemployed youths in Sripuram. It must be mentioned again that the aspects of economic unfreedoms in terms of poverty is being conceptualised in light of both orphan children and educated un/under-employed youths. As the educated under-employed

youths are being discussed separately for the purpose of analysing the adaptive preferences, the following section is discussing the educated unemployed youths in Sripuram.

EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT

Educated unemployment is disincentive for the education completion rate. In India, the social capital theory has the convincing answers for the differential educational outcomes. This is due to the fact that the outcomes in education are higher for the erstwhile higher castes. This is primarily because of the ascriptive inheritance of 'knowledge' capital. This is true even if they are not getting an adequate occupational outcome. Often the temporary arrangements can have the vocational routes "to win the breads". This conceptually convinces to analyze under-employment within the unemployment frameworks. This newer framework is also based on the conceptual appreciation of the fact that the underemployment of the educated youths hides the severities of the unemployment in their everyday life.[98]

As there have been very few attempts to examine the coping strategies that educated young people adopt to negotiate unemployment in India, the present research aims to understand the distribution of unemployment in each social group despite their education-status. The educated unemployed people's everyday life has provided the clue for quality and capability debates in education. The comprehension of these debates has been done by the observation of the educated unemployed youths in Sripuram by probing questions like:

> Why one has to be educated?; How your ascriptive statuses (like the caste membership) help you in getting an adequate employment?; How the educational qualification helps you to get an entry into the formal labor market? How confident are you in breaking the cycle of poverty through education? And who helps you in finding a job? (*From the field*).

---

[98] The central arguments of EUEYs have been discussed in detail in the following chapters.

These broader questions have further been driven by two central concerns of the capability formations: how education helps your everyday life? And whether education changes you to take decisions independently in life?

In Sripuram, the cultural differences in learning become an explanation for the educational failures. In school education, due to the elite-exodus, the poor are often left with the lesser-*life chances*. This is mainly because of the low-quality. As this has been well established in the literature, the inferior quality in turn provides a weak social capital base.[99] In addition, their parental economic poverty has also ensured a weak-habitus. The result is the vicious cycle of deprivation in their lives with lesser educational outcome. As a result of this, their transition to the formal labour market is not smooth where it is difficult to find the social climbers from this complex reality in the village.

Furthermore, the traditional professions like agriculture become an option for the educated failed men which mostly do not expect any qualification in the village. The manual laboring in the unorganized sector also becomes the preferred destination of these men due to its informal economic nature. This is happening across all the castes in Sripuram today. This is important, in comparision to the findings where the Brahmins' are better placed. (cf. Upadhya 2007). Natesan for instance, an educationally failed individual who is a Brahmin by birth has economically been forced to work in the informal economy in Meenakshipuram. His economic deprivation due to his failure in the education system pushes him further down in personal life where he could not find the bride to marry. As Brahmins' are mostly known for their educational successes, it makes difficult for Natesan's Father to find a bride for his marriage. Thus Natesan, who is working in an unsecured job, becomes a negative reference

---

99 See for instance Naik 1979; Dyer 1996; Mehrotra & Buckland 2001; Kumar 2004; Kumar & Sarangapani 2004; Nussbaum 2006; Kumar 2007; UNICEF 2000; Støren & Aamodt 2010; and Velaskar 2010 among others.

point in the *Agraharam.* In a recent visit to Sripuram in 2012, the Researcher found that he has lost that job too. Continuous telephonic conversation has revealed that he could not find any job till date.[100] This reiterates the central argument that the working status of educated unemployed youths is vulnerable due to the labor market volatilities. The result is their everyday dependency to their family becomes the only source for socio-economic issues.

In addition, the failure in occupational outcome, it must be noted, is not only present among the educationally failed individuals. In Sripuram, often the educated-unemployed are also landing up in jobs below their caliber. Due to this, they are insecure about their future given the informal nature of the economy (of the unorganized sector). These educated under-employed are mainly *functional illiterates*. This means, though they may hold a certificate of being 'educated', often do not have the functional literacy or skills in their field of study. For instance, Raman, a commerce graduate degree holder is not aware of the basics of his subject when asked in the casual interactions. This is similar to the case of Iyappan who has more degrees in hand than anyone in Sripuram. He struggles to analyse *even* the ordinary issues in hand. However, most of these *dysfunctional* literates are not willing to take up the manual works (in agriculture for instance) due to its inferior value in the village economic system. Thus, their *presentation of self* in everyday life (Goffman 1959) is structured around their economic failures. Consequently, they mostly rely on all possible avenues in the informal economy in Meenakshipuram.

The reflexive observation on the educated unemployed further underlines   aspects of structure and agency in Sripuram. Individuals' negotiation as an agency with the structure in its predominant discourse of "knowledge society" often compels the former to be inside the education system till they get a formal employment. While there is no growth-avenue for the personal economic development, "the individuals often resort mainly to education. This

---

100 The last interaction of the Researcher was on 25/09/2013.

socio-economic process is often called *fallback* strategies" (Jeffrey and et al., 2010). This in turn makes people to approach education basically for the employment prospects. In addition, this also could be due to enrolment drive of the educational bureaucracy as well as the potential prospects in the labour market. However any failure in this approach pushes them to *live on the edge* (cf., Kieselbach and et al., 2001). Thus, the prolongation of education for employment and the earning-handicaps due to chronic unemployment offer the important insights to understand poverty in the village.

Thus it could be conceptualized that given the informal nature of economy, the uneducated are less affected by the unemployment issues in Sripuram. Though the educated unemployed are often unwilling to take up the manual works, most of them "rightly" consider these works as under-employment, based on their education and class positions. Consequently, they keep their waiting period long. The extreme poor who is educated cannot, however, keep waiting for a matching employment for too long. The case of Selvam can be mentioned here. Selvam is a 22 years old non-Brahmin male with a Bachelor degree in Business Administration. His qualification has not got him any salaried job where he is forced to work as a *coolie* for economic livelihood. His under-employment highlights the differential education outcome due to the ascriptive status in providing the lack of choice in "opportunity sets". This in turn creates an unequal social structure. The differentially distributed resources extend this inequality across the social groups in the village. As a result, the lack of opportunity further encircles the capability deprivation in the social structure of Sripuram.

In addition, the skill pressures on the human agencies are however very much historical in nature. The emergence of monarchy, for instance, from the primitive communism was tentatively because of the ability of few individuals who were successful in finding fire. The survival of the others depended very much on their efforts. They have been valued for their *functional* social contributions. In the present phase of globalization, the

129

nature of skill-pressure on the human agency is high in different form. Anyone who is not well-qualified to market oneself cannot even dream to survive. The educational functionings in this phase, has mainly been treated by its human capital implications on the individuals' lives.

The educated unemployed youths' sufferings in Sripuram are seemingly due to their personal as well as systemic failures. It is personal due to their failures to establish an intellectual sophistication in their chosen subject even though some of them hold a post-graduation degrees and diplomas. In addition, it is also systemic failure due to low or inferior quality of teaching processes. Infrastructures as well as the curricular and pedagogic limitations are becoming barriers for the agential growth.

For instance, the unemployed Kumar who is from the OBCs, one of the dominant castes of the village, is making use of his ascriptive status to enter into the local politics. His regular visits to the Panchayat office has allowed him enter into the close networks of the President. This close proximity with the village political elite is not automatic where the ascriptive status plays an important role. In contrast to this reality of 2009, he left his political attempts in 2010 and started working as a Security Guard in a Bank at Meenakshipuram. His politico-economic failures thus reveals that the status of being unemployed despite having educational qualifications questions the very notions of self-identity. Hence the theoretical notions of capabilities will not serve any "valuable" purpose till one gets a socio-economic livelihood. This also underlines the methodological importance where the status of being unemployed are dynamic due to labour market volatility.

NATURE OF EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT

The nature of educated unemployment has been categorized in two central aspect in this work.[101] The first is the *institutional* and the *individual*-specific one. The qualitative interviews with educated unemployed youths in Sripuram have revealed that the (i) occupational mismatch; (ii) credential-gap; (iii) functional illiteracy; (iv) qualification escalation; and the (v) skill-loss as the important features of institutional factors in their lives. Though, these five features are, determined by the institutional factors, their active interaction with the individual or the personal factors of the agency complicates the nature of educated unemployment. This primarily includes the (1) family poverty; (2) fatalism; (3) discouraged searches; and (4) the disinterestedness to work. This can be depicted as:
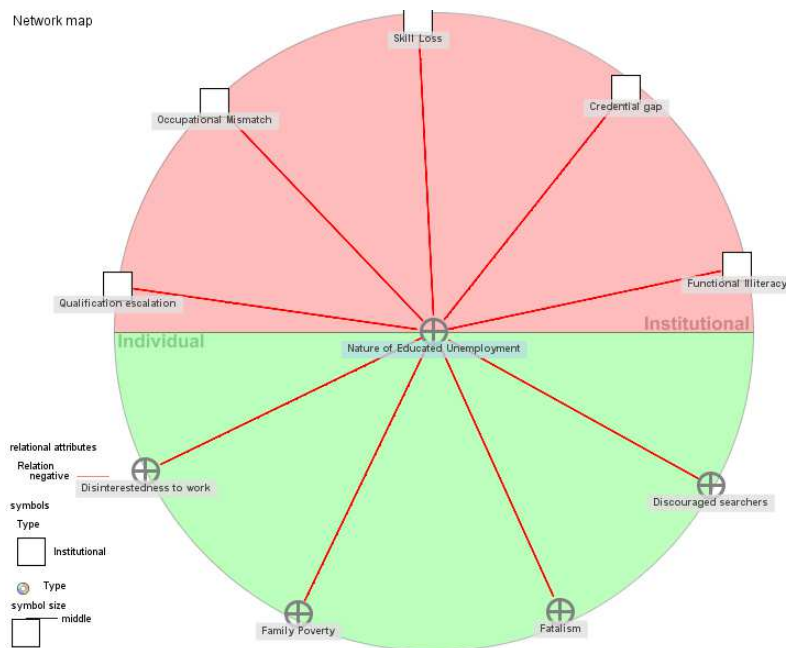
Figure 1   Nature of educated unemployment

---

101 The audio-recorded interviews of the EUYs were being transcribed with the help of F4 software. This has further been coded in Atlas Ti for analysis to depict through VennMaker.

Active interactions between these factors of individual and institutional domains are intersecting in the nature of educated unemployment in the village. This intersection, as mentioned earlier, runs across caste, class and gender domains where the intangible roles of social structure can intersectionally be conceptualized. The interaction between various features of this intersection is negative where the power and privileges are often re/produced in their everyday lives. This provides the details of the social constructions of capabilities in the village.

CAUSES OF EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT

In this background, the central causes of educated unemployment can broadly be categorized in three domains. In terms of institutional domain one can observe the factors of (I) dysfunctional education quality; (II) credential gap; (III) absence of institutional interactions; (IV) Institutional dependency of the individuals both in terms of *voluntary* and *involuntary* in nature; and most importantly (V) corruption. These factors with their active interaction are institutionally reinforcing the causes of unemployment among the educated youths in the village.
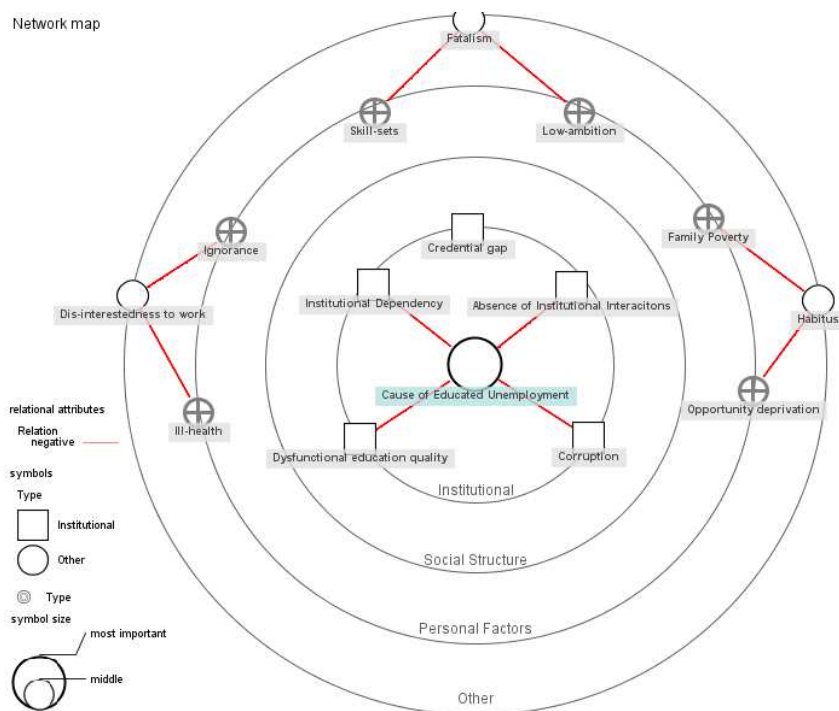
Figure 2 Causes of educated unemployment

In addition, the *personal domain* like that of the (1) family poverty; (2) ill-health; (3) ignorance; (4) low-ambition; (5) absence of skill-sets; and lastly (6) the opportunity deprivation pushes them to the economic margin in society. These six factors under the personal domain can be conceptually placed in between the institutional and social structural influences in the village. However there are other factors like that of fatalism; disinterested to work; and the *habitus* which essentially complicate this intersection. The everyday interactions of these intersecting factors reinforce the deprivation trap of development. The absence of institutional interaction, for instance, pushes the youths to be system-dependent where the corrupt practices often get institutionalized.[102] For instance, the case of Iyappan can be seen in light of his 'rationale' for getting a salaried government job at present. In addition, the systemic factor like that of the dysfunctional education 'ensures' the credential

---

102 Relatedly, this aspect has been empirically discussed in the following chapter on adaptive preferences in this study.

gap where the individual agency does not have the functional literacy. Similarly, the family poverty with its habitus does 'ensure' the opportunity deprivation where individuals' self-esteem takes a back-seat.

EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE UNEMPLOYED YOUTHS IN SRIPURAM

The living pattern of the unemployed youths highlights the potential reasons for their un/employabilities. A normal day begins differently for the diverse caste groups. For instance, Vasu and Natesan in the *Agraharam* begin their day at six with newspapers and coffee in the morning. After finishing them, the usual routines follow like bathing and break-fast. Then the 'working' hours begin with their plans to go to Meenakshipuram "to do the usual works like purchasing groceries or going to bank for the family." Half of the day has gone this way and come home for lunch time. The regular after-noon nap follows the daily lunch. They receive their evening coffee immediately after they wake up to "refresh". Then, they sit outside to observe the street sometimes. This will be further followed by planning their evening to bathe or merely washing the face to go to the nearby temple for the day. The day slowly goes with their gossips in the locality in the evening. Then, they take refuge in television to see the news to "update" their knowledge. They are patient to wait for the dinner to be prepared by the women of their family by making use of their time by watching the drama serials in the television. Once the dinner is over, they will not 'waste' time to sit inside their homes. The usual gossips with the neighbors will be continued till they end up their day.

In contrast to these Brahmin youths, the OBCs and SCs are more or less spending their normal day differently. Their day generally begins at seven with the noises of the school going children in the locality. After brushing the teeth, they mostly go to the tea-stall to read the daily newspapers with a coffee or tea in the morning. Then around 8.30 some of them generally go to the nearby "field" to excrete. If the day is expected to be busy, they bathe there in common pond and come home for the break-fast. Then the 'tough' time starts. Either they

have to join their peers in the street to plan for the day or go to Meenakshipuram to roam around the areas. Normally, they do not come home for the lunch if they are in Meenakshipuram as it will take bit of time to reach Sripuram. If the day is "successful" some of them go to the near-by theater to watch a film to pass the time (Jeffrey 2010). Sometimes, they come back for the lunch and sleep in the house. The evenings are quite 'lively' with the return of the working men and women from the agricultural fields and other odd-jobs in Meenakshipuram. The usual interactions about the day and politics will occupy most of their time which is followed by the dinner in ending the day.

An observation of the unemployed as well as unmarried women's everyday life gives the impression that their days are generally "the waiting period to get married". Their family members are also expecting them 'to get ready' by learning the techniques of cooking and caring for children before their marriage. A normal day of the Brahmin women who are not working is different in nature than the men in Agraharam. Their whole day is full of demanding works in the kitchen. Their role in getting children to study is automatically expected. If they find free hours, most of them are spending time in worshipping in the local temples. Also, in case of the women in OBCs and SCs who are not working, the same day is different in nature than their men. They will be fully occupied in the kitchen to prepare food for the day. Their role in sending the young children to the School is *automatic*.

In almost all their lives irrespective of the caste and class factors, the present day technologies are playing a crucial role in passing the day. This may be either in front of television or on mobile phones. They more often engage themselves to spend their leisure hours in the village. By this way, they are relatively aware of the world than the preceding generations in the village. Thus these technologies are contributing to their social capital formation to a large extent. Though some of them (mostly the OBCs and SCs) may have the inferior habitus due to inter-generational illiteracy and poverty, these gadgets of 'modern' communication makes them confident to face the day-today challenges well. The emergence

of interaction order out of these *instruments of freedom* at times increases their independence in taking their decisions. Though this may at times be against the established patterns of the society, it seems that the smaller avenues of this kind provide them the *conversion factors* for their capability formations.

Everyday observation of these individuals is revealing the nature of the education system and its uselessness in their daily lives. Although every one of them is differently educated across the diverse castes in the village, none of them finds their education useful to actualize their living. It seems that the only purpose of education is to help them to read newspapers in the morning "to form their opinions" on each and every issue. Beyond that, most of them expect helps even for the usual works in the banks and other government offices in their lives. The government's rhetoricism on the enrolment drives and infrastructural investments in one after another policy notes have been overlooking the importance of quality. The functional aspects of education in terms of the "practical reason" for the everyday life have generally been ignored. This is a sad social reality at time when education becomes the only possible route in addressing the uncertainties of underdevelopment.

CONCLUSION

The process of modernization structurally pushes out the *mis-fits* who refuse to walk with the time. The role of education with its differential outcome across diverse social groups in the village reinforces the deprivation trap. This vicious circle, however, has been predominantly analyzed at the institutional levels. But the intersectional aspects of this trap and its complex social reality have to be explicitly highlighted.

The observations on the orphan children and educated unemployed youths in Sripuram have thus revealed the role of social structure in human agencies' educational

outcomes. This has a futuristic implication where there is a positive correlation between the rising unemployment and the inferior educational provisioning of the government. The mainstream employment research has to conceptualize this nucleus aspect. Thus, the ethnographic evidence of the poor has highlighted the inferior educational outcome and its effects on the capability gaps in the village. Observations of the everyday interactions and coping strategies of the poor in their socioeconomic spheres have, thus, provided the precious insights about both education and poverty in Sripuram.

CHAPTER VIII

Adaptive preferences and the social construction of capabilities in Sripuram

A starving fox saw a cluster

Of luscious-looking grapes of purplish luster

Dangling above him on a trellis-frame

He would have dearly liked them for his lunch,

But when he tried and failed to reach the bunch:

"Ah well, it's more than likely they're not sweet—

Good only for green fools to eat!"

Wasn't he wise to say they were unripe

Rather than whine and gripe?

 [-- Fables, Jean De La Fontaine 1621-1695; as quoted in Greene & Elffers 1999: 301].

INTRODUCTION

The present chapter attempts to analyse the *caste, class* and *education* of the EUEYs at present. Based on ethnographic fieldworks, the paper analyses the role of education and its outcome across diverse social groups in the village. The sociological analysis highlights the capability and functioning formations of the youths. Observations of the *everyday* interactions and coping strategies of the EUEYs in their socioeconomic spheres thus provide

the insights about both education and poverty. This naturally has a futurological implication where there is a correspondence between rising un / under- employment and the inferior educational provisioning of the Indian state. The structure of the Chapter is thus organised in terms of the nature of educated under-employment; the adaptive preferences (APs) of the EUEYs and the social construction of capabilities in light of their functionings failures in Sripuram.

EDUCATED UNDER-EMPLOYMENT (EUE)

This research conceptualises educated underemployment (EUE) in terms of the youths' involuntary or unplanned breaks in their careers in labour-market. The youths who are aged between 18 and 35 years represents the functionings failures due to their inabilities in getting a salaried employment in Sripuram. These failures, given the grave implication on their well-being is being analysed in terms of the *evaluative spaces* of capability approach (Robeyns 2005). These evaluative spaces namely functionings and capabilities are decisively influenced by the intersectionality of caste and class positions of the individuals in both education and employment. In this backdrop, the central argument of this chapter analyses the aspects of the intersectionality of caste and class positions in the village.

The definition of under-employment also focuses on the educated youths' failed efforts to obtain a salaried job in life. This is in light of the fact to know: "how their economic necessities push them to go for any job instead of merely "passing-time" or just to "wait" (Jeffrey 2010) in life. Jeffrey's discussion of the educated unemployed youths in terms of the "culture of limbo" (2010: 2), for instance, considers the conceptions of both un / underemployment as a "waiting period". In contrast, the present chapter, discusses only about the under-employed youths in Sripuram.

Furthermore, the EUEYs' inabilities to marry due to their economic constraints force them to be single. Their perception of the others in terms of intersectional perspectives of caste and class most often shapes their subcultural social values in life. These values in turn form the basis of their motivation in forming the necessary traits for employment. Individuals' in/abilities in making use of their "waiting period" both in terms of un/under-employment, thus, are being shaped their subcultural social values. The EUEYs' inabilities to secure white-collar job which often connote "development", leaves them to the low-quality employment. Their subjective rationalization in terms of their APs is piling them as the reserved "army of labour" in the informal economic arrangements. Barbara Harris-White, for instance, reports that informal economy in India accounts for nearly 93 % of the workforce in the country in 2000. This workforce has neither any social welfare benefits nor even being covered under the legal-economic frameworks where their livelihood is at the "mercies" of the market. The forms of under-employment which are mostly visible in terms of "inadequate employment" are thus, involuntary in nature.

In this backdrop, the present Chapter probes the conditions under which, education dis/empower the individual agency in Sripuram. This is conceptualized in light of the possible conversion factors in the inter-sectional social arrangements of their agency-formations. The notion of intersection is conceptualized in terms of how the structural characteristics of caste and social class play out in capabilities and functionings-formations of the EUEYs. Thus, the central argument attempts to underline the "temporal anxieties" (Jeffrey 2010) by highlighting the nature of social arrangements under which the EUEYs are attempting to shape their personal and collective agency in the village.

The EUEYs' coping strategies, from the perspective of CA, explains their APs and "agency-freedom" in Sripuram. The work-life status of these youths, it must be noted, is a *continuum* between under-employment and unemployment. For instance, Nirmala's transition between different jobs made her unemployed even in the transitory periods of

under-employment. It must be noted that despite severe socio-economic constraints, Nirmala, a 27 years old Pallar (Scheduled caste) woman, has a Bachelor's degree with 'higher' levels of type-writing skills in both English and Tamil. These constraints forces her to do any job which is available "on the way" to thrive with her aged parents.

This highlights the fact that the transition from education to employment is not "automatic" in nature. The 'deterministic' role of intersectional factors can be seen in the functionings and capabilities of the EUEYs. As lack of access to training and employment has been a key factor in underclass formation (Faist 1993: 309), the systemic inadequacies mainly in terms of the quality predicaments and policy failures can be seen in light of its adverse effects on the educated youths in the country. The EUEYs of current research highlights these effects in their *coping strategies* in Sripuram.

In light of these coping strategies, the social re/production of privileges mandated by the intersectional factors in the power hierarchy of caste structure is an important sociological issue. The village India represents the prevalence of primordial identities in contrast to its rhetoric of "modernising" image. As these identities are continuously changing in light of various factors including education and economic mobility, an intersectional analysis of these changes underlines the newer form and nature. Sripuram represents one such village in Tamil Nadu where the primordial notions are evolving according to the newer social realities. This evolution is being understood in terms of the combination of internal as well as external social forces in the village. These forces present the picture of the changing social order in Sripuram.

In light of this changing social order, the intersectional process of employment has to be seen in its implications for the capability deprivations. The continuous underclass formation due to social re/production through education in employment and occupational outcome conform a weak conversion factors. The consequence is visible in the EUEYs who

are mostly from the socio-economically vulnerable households in the village. This underlines the fact that education neither ensures them capability to live a life according to their personal "reasons"; nor *even* the functionings to approach the everyday economic un/certainties. Education in this backdrop confirms the notions of "degrees without freedom" (Jeffrey and et al 2010) in Sripuram.

In this constraint of "freedom", the challenges of employment, are high among the Pallars and the OBCs in the village. The OBC women, for instance, though relatively educated similar to other castes are neither allowed to go out of the village in search of salaried employment to Chennai and other places in Tamil Nadu, nor even able to find casual works like that of Pallars in Sripuram, thanks to the caste-based restrictions. These restrictions are most often based on the feeling of "superiority" and family-honor in the village. For instance Sunitha, a non-Brahmin / OBC woman is not able to "go out" despite having a Post-Graduation degree with various other skill-sets. Though she is aware of the possible avenues in getting a salaried employment, her APs are being limited within the borders of Meenakshipuram. Her parents' reasons of "safety and security" restrict Sunitha's socio-economic mobility.

In light of these preferences, the everyday lives of the EUEYs are becoming the "waiting period" either to get married or hope for a "natural" transition to happen. Thus, the absence of access both in terms of salaried employment avenues as well as the informal sources of economic livelihood questions the ir/relevance of education in their lives. This can be seen in their livelihood dependencies on the male members of the family. Though this dependency is generally on their fathers and elder brothers (till they get married), the essential point is the economic exclusions of the EUEYs in the village. The exclusion though subtle in nature generally places women EUEYs in the marginalities of patriarchy.

In addition, the access to salaried employment avenues is formalized to recruit the "matching" or qualified candidates. This most often systemically excludes the neo-literates and the socio-economically disprivileged. These neo-literates who are the first-generation educated men of their families do not have the dispositions and interpretative skills. Their habitus and social capital most often do not match the market demands. Thus their inability to match the cultural capitals of the anticipatory roles generally keeps them out of employment. Furthermore, the informal economy recruits the new employees generally through the social processes of "reference". This reinforces the hierarchy where the "plum-posts" are being allocated according to the social powers and privileges. The economic marginality of the erstwhile lower castes like that of the Pallars can be seen in light of this in Sripuram. For instance, given the "perceived" social status, if a Brahmin tries for a similar job where other caste youths also tries, chances of getting it is still higher for the former in the informal economy. This shall be seen in light of individuals' "clean" image make-over like that of "vegetarian" or "tee-to-taller" in the neighborhood. Though there are few exceptions, the incidence of unorganized work status is generally "higher among lower social status groups" (Sengupta and et al 2008).

The incidence of under-employment manifests that the nature of unemployment in disguised forms. This necessitates the under-employment of the youths in terms of disguised unemployment in Sripuram. In terms of public responsibility for job training avenues of the educated youths, one can find an institutional vacuum in the country. For instance, the District Employment Office or in common parlance the "Employment Exchange" though "properly" situated in every district headquarters are not serving any purpose to provide even the information of various career avenues to the youths. Their systemic existence is merely to register the job-seekers and "use" their details for keeping the seniority list for the changing "tunes" of the government policies. In this backdrop, it is important to mention Karthi's opinion on the institutional ir/relevance. Karthi is a 24 years old OBC man and has a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration.

LAKSH:	Do you register yourself in the Employment Office?
KARTHI:	Yes I did. I registered my qualification once I complete 12th standard.
LAKSH:	Do you find any use out of it?
KARTHI:	To my knowledge, there is no use out of it.
LAKSH:	Hmm…
KARTHI:	They may send an Interview card when one turns 60 or 70 years. So, there is no use of them.

In addition, the government job (*arasaanga velai*) in neoliberal economic order is also increasingly decreasing in nature. As a neo-liberal democracy, India is seemingly left the school-to-work transition to the mercies of the market "self-regulations". This withdrawal unfortunately re/produces the social privilege through education in employment. The social re/production in light of the intersectionality of caste and class is retaining the caste underclass formation. The Pallars of Sripuram is an example to this formation where the distributions of life chances such as education and employment provides the markers of capability deprivation.

Thus, individuals' under-employment shall also be conceptualized as socio-economic dysfunctions. One reason for persistently high social inequality between different caste groups in access to good quality education and employment is mainly found in public policies. The nature of policies is targeted in default of their focus on the ascriptive identities in the country. In addition to this, there is no institutional avenue for training of non-university goers with the exception of few Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) and Diploma institutes. This has systemically made the country as one of the highest educated un / under-employment in the World.

Individuals' entry in to the labour market in India is mostly denoting the linkages of quality of the institution they attended. This is mostly due to the segmentation of educational credentials at the systemic levels. The "superior" quality education services are inaccessible to the poor and socially disprivileged groups. This is mostly due to the competitive entry where the economic and cultural capitals of the non-poor make it inaccessible. In light of these lesser life-chances, education becomes a re/productive avenue of power and privileges of the society where the erstwhile lower castes like that of the Pallars of Sripuram inherits the inequalities in life. The relative disadvantages of OBCs in general and Pallars in particular vis-à-vis Brahmin youths in overall unemployment did however decrease over the years though at a very slow pace. This decrease is mainly due to the accommodative avenues of informal economy in the absence of vigorous employment policy at the macro levels in the country. (Jeffrey 2010).

This highlights an important social fact that the non-attendance at universities mean deprivation and marginalization in the labour market at present. From the policy perspective, one can understand the limits of 'increasing' enrolment in higher education without any occupational outcomes to the youths. Though increasing enrolment in higher education is intrinsically important, it has to be substantiated by the occupational training for agential functionings also. The incessant failures mentioned in terms of EUEYs functionings highlight the underclass formation. This consequently has a grave implication for the broader notions of capabilities of the educated youths in the country.

This underscores the fact that individuals' economic success is mostly dependent on his/her ability to embrace the process of modernity at present. Education as an important factor of "modernity" most often fails the poor in its promises of capability formation. This is due to the afore-mentioned reasons of their in-accessibilities to the quality institutions. The non-poor who are predominantly the Brahmins of Sripuram are however, able to ensure better life-chances to their future generation by their excessive-focus on education based

145

economic mobility in the village. An interesting aspect of the Brahmins of Sripuram is that the class positions are not limiting their qualification escalations. In other words, there are no marked differences in their educational strategies of the poor and non-poor Brahmins in the village. This could be due to their socio-historic notions of generally treating "knowledge as a capital" in life. In light of these complex socio-economic factors of qualification escalation, the competition to garner the opportunity-sets for salaried employment, highlights 'invisible' contestations of castes in reinforcing as well as re/producing newer inequalities in the village.

ADAPTIVE PREFERENCES OF THE EUEYS

The concept of adaptive preference, according to Elster's interpretation is based on "the sour grapes" phenomenon. This, in other words, the agency's self-subordinating beliefs. In contrast, the CA concerns about the agentic resignation to extreme deprivation. The ongoing debate in CA literature revolves around the considerations of justifying APs either in terms of rational or irrational resignation of the individuals.[103] In contrast to these extreme academic positions, the present research attempts to understand the APs mainly in terms of the subjective rationalities of the EUEYs.

The concept of APs, in this backdrop, are being analysed in terms of individuals' lower occupational expectations; "adjustments"; fatalism; fall-back plans and the changing career trajectories due to unavailability of matching jobs. This also includes the EUEYs' subjective labour market experiences in light of socio-economic exclusions. In light of the fact, how the employers' expectations shape the EUEYs' preferences and expectation-formation in the village is the nucleus of the current analysis. This is conceptualised in terms of the

---

[103] See for instance, Bruckner (2009), Cudd (2011), Khader (2009, 2011, 2012), Teschl & Comim (2005), and Watts (2013) among others.

endowment differences of the individuals in terms of class positions which are visible in their educational functionings in Sripuram. The autonomy deficits of the EUEYs and the absence of choices in light of APs highlight their economic hardships; agential rationality; relative deprivation and coping strategies. These issues have been discussed in detail below.

In Sripuram, the unequal patterns of employment and mobility among equally qualified social groups underline the fact that the intersectional factors of caste and class continues to be a powerful predictor of development. However, the "functional" side of the APs, can be seen in EUEYs keenness to cultivate their networks. This altogether rationalises the white-collar crimes like the ability to make use of the "recommendation" and other monetary "considerations" as an enabling condition for the labour market entry. The notion of "recommendation" are colloquially referred as the "referencing" and "intro" by them in the village.

In this backdrop, the role of nepotism is important factor to be mentioned. Individuals' ability to get the "favour" decides not only at the formal selection level but also in the access of the information of the vacancy itself. This highlights the fact that the information is a *scarce capital* in the village. For instance, Muthu, 23 years old OBC male with a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration works as a causal labourer in the informal economy complaints:

> **LAKSH:** What kind of hurdles you face to reach your aim of working in a Company with a good position?

> **MUTHU:** I do not get job wherever I go. No one responds positively. After the Interviews, they just send me out. I even do not know where the jobs are available. English and Computer becomes a necessity for everything. They expect a lot from us.

Thus, the access to the "inside-track" is being planned either by political or economic means. In addition, the aspects of monetary considerations highlight the influences of the corrupt demands of the officialdom. Though this will be discussed in detail below, the essential point is the disabling conditions of the EUEYs are determined mainly by the "recommendations" and "monetary" considerations.

The education system in India, it must be noted, is known for its quality predicaments. The bureaucratized institutions including education and employment for instance are systemically overlooking their role in addressing the "human flourishing" (Nussbaum 2006). This, from the perspective of CA is essential conversion factor which needs to be urgently theorized. However, the liberal frameworks like that of CA in general and the conception of APs in particular, has to be carefully analyzed in collectivist societies like India. This is important as individuals most often view themselves in relation to their primordial identities either in terms of family, caste and class or altogether.

In nutshell, agency choices are restricted according to the paternalistic social structure. For instance, the parental logics on the EUEYs' aspirations are at times scuttling in the name of "duties" and "respects" in the village. The disabling conditions of systemic notorieties are thus complicated by the patriarchic family system and the paternalistic social structure in the village. In this context, Raman's case is an instance to be mentioned. Raman is a 35 year old male who did Bachelor's in Commerce along with other skill-trainings like type-writing and computer courses. Despite these qualification escalations, he fails to get a salaried employment so far. He has "adapted" his preferences in employment by capitalizing his ascriptive status of Brahmin in the village. He initially started working as a Priest by his Brahmanic rituals (*vaitheeham*). Though he began this as a part-time job, his inabilities to get a salaried employment over the years have made it full-time now.

LAKSH: So, due to your disappointing failures, you initially started working in *vaitheham* as a side business.

RAMAN: Yes. Now, the sub-way becomes the main-way. [Frustrating tone]

LAKSH: Hmm. How confident you are about this work? I mean about the income and growth?

RAMAN: I cannot visualize it. Somehow it is fetching some money. It may give some hope.

LAKSH: Did you get support from anyone in the difficult situations you've explained earlier? I mean, friends in any stages so far?

RAMAN: None. Everyone went with their own life. No one helped me in any of these difficulties. I had to stand on my own in all these issues. No help at all.

Though, this highlight the functionings-failures due to Raman's economic constraints, the essential point is the deprivations of other EUEYs who are from the erstwhile lower caste in the village. In contrast to this case of a higher-caste man's failure, the economic *unfreedoms* (Sen 1999) of the Pallar EUEYs like that of Mala, Nirmala and Mahesh, for instance, underscores the complexities of functionings-failures in light of the social exclusion in the village. These complexities analyzed from the perspective of CA highlights reinforcing factors of intersection in the village. Given these opportunity deprivation, it is pertinent to conceptualize the subjective rationalities of the EUEYs in the village.

SUBJECTIVE RATIONALITIES OF THE EUEYS

The EUEYs' subjective rationalities in light of their APs highlight the following aspects in Sripuram. First and foremost, the aspects of corruption emerge as agency rationality. This is contrary to the moralistic positions where individuals' rationalization considering it as an

"enabling" condition of conversion factor in the village. The EUEYs' "bribing" abilities in making use of their social capital bases, both in terms of family-habitus and friendship-networks, rationalizes it.

In this backdrop, it is important to mention about a EUEY woman in Sripuram. Nirmala is a 27 year old Pallar woman who represents multiple disadvantages of socio-economic constraints in life. Her living in the rurality with severe infrastructural and opportunity deprivations, in light of the constraints of being a woman in a patriarchal social order, highlights the "monetary necessities" of EUEYs in the village:

LAKSH: So you mean to say that all are appointed through bribe?

NIRMALA: I cannot say that for everything. But, these days, money becomes an important factor. Otherwise, you need to have a political influence. Through these things only, one gets job these days.

In light of these twin factors of money and political influence which Nirmala complaints, there is an additional aspect which needs to be discussed. The avenue of information itself is a capital which is scarce in nature. It is a *scare capital* mainly because of the economic constraints and rural habitus of the EUEYs. The rationality-formation, in this backdrop, overlooks the "deterministic" roles of the macro-economic forces in their life. For instance though most of the EUEYs are "reasonably" escalating their qualification generally in terms of clerical skills, these trainings are dysfunctional at present. This predominantly includes type-writing and introductory courses on computers. Learning type-writing at a time of the information revolution, for instance, could be helping them merely to type "fast"; it is not useful in light of their functional inability to work with computer programmes. Their economic constraints most often prevents them either to learn the computer operations further, or even to learn it from the quality training institutions. This is generally due to the high fee-structures of these institutions in the country.

RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

Relative deprivation is a conception of individuals' self-experiences of being deprived of something to which one believes oneself to be entitled in the society. This is sociologically significant in understanding how the EUEYs' perceive their APs in the village. For instance, Iyappan, one of the "highly" educated youths with diverse skill-sets questions the Researcher. When enquired about his failed efforts for a salaried employment, he ends his explanation with a question of "What else can I do?" Assertions of these types, highlights the deprivation where Iyappan represents the socio-economic marginalities. This is crucial in his case of being a Dalit in the village. This can be contrasted with Raman whose everyday struggles as a EUEY has been aptly captured by his assertion: "I need to struggle a lot *even* for small things in life." In this background, the current section discusses the details of two individuals (Raman and Muthu) whose everyday struggles depicts the general picture of the other EUEYs in the village.

The marginalities of the EUEYs can be seen in their public invisibilities. This could be due to their conscious attempts of "not to appear shameful" or in light of others' economic successes in the village. Individuals like Raman, for instance, compare his inabilities in getting a salaried employment mostly by comparison with his peers either in College or even in the School. This in Raman's words denotes the opportunity deprivation where his notion of "climbing the ladder" like others "if I had the chances" in life. His emotional outbursts often rationalizes his earlier decisions as "idiotic" where he "feels bad about that the jobs" he did not join. This agony questions the ir/relevance of education in shaping individuals' choices and freedom. The EUEYs' inabilities to take an *informed* choice highlight the capability deprivation in life.

In contrast to Raman's self-blame and his inabilities to "not even to sleep" in the night, Muthu's views of his family poverty most often relates it with "others" prosperity. This

is seen in his view of family-poverty when he says that "we are at the platform". Though, this underscore the relative deprivation in light of the neighborhood prosperity, it is essential to underline that the EUEYs are self-critical in their outlooks. This can be additionally seen in his views of the "present with the past":

> **MUTHU**: My family was very poor but now we are slowly growing. This is because my brothers and I are working now. Earlier, we *even* did not have food for three times a day. In fact, we go to the School for food. We went there at least to get a one-time food for the day.

These two factors, i.e. the family poverty and the opportunity deprivations are highlighting the fact that most of the EUEYs' do not have personal choices in life. This is mostly due to the *unfreedoms* (Sen 1999) determined generally by the intersectional social factors. In this backdrop, it is pertinent to mention Raman again. He is of the "firm" view that the relative deprivations of the individual like him are determined by the caste-factors in the village.

> **RAMAN:** There will not be any problem if you are a SC today. In their caste, there may be someone who helps [in low voice]

> **LAKSH:** Why no one is helping in your caste?

> **RAMAN:** In Brahmin caste, people are self-centered where everyone concentrates mostly on their own family. Of course it is natural. But they should at least show some sympathy to the people who are in need of helps like me.

Thus, it is appropriate to mention the self-criticalities of the EUEYs in the context of relative deprivation. Muthu's opinion of the inabilities of the poor further presents the nature of deprivation in the village:

> **MUTHU:** People like me, who, are going for the Interviews from the villages do not have all those facilities to improve. But for the people from the Town have opportunities to learn

Computer even in their early age. Their parents train them
in all these things. That is why they come up early in life.

COPING STRATEGIES

The socio-economic constraints, most often, shape the variations in the coping strategies of diverse castes in the village. Though, there are economic constraints, the Brahmins of Sripuram, for instance, generally, do not have the issues in social exclusion. This is mainly due to their "higher" status in the caste hierarchy. The Brahmin EUEYs, like that of Raman and Jayanthi, in this backdrop, are relatively better placed in comparison to others. In contrast, the Pallar EUEYs' constraints as in the case of Iyappan; Nirmala; Mahesh and Mala, underscore the intersectional deprivation trap. This shall be seen in their APs and coping strategies. For instance, Iyappan, despite being economically well-off EUEY with multiple education credentials, do not have the dispositions like that of Jayanthi. Jayanthi, who is 10 years younger than Iyappan in age with a similarity of education qualification, has however, the confidence and dispositions to make use of her skills and credentials.

Though both Jayanthi and Iyappan are working as "contract teacher" in nearby government schools at present, the differences in terms of their "clarity" in escalating their education strategies are different. The role of family and neighborhood in habitus-formation is seemingly an important factor. Jayanthi's house which is adjacent to the locally influential villagers provides her the enabling conditions for capability formations. This is in addition to her educated family-members' everyday assistance as well as advise to Jayanthi. Iyappan's neighborhood is however notorious for all the *ill-beings* of the village. The Pallar locality where Iyappan lives is known for regular street-fights due to alcohol addicts. This is in addition to the illiteracy and unemployment where, their everyday socio-economic dependencies are mostly based on the "others". This predominantly includes the OBC landholders' (*Mirasudars*) in the village.

In this backdrop, the coping mechanisms of the EUEYs despite their education credentials differ due to the intersectional factors. Though, under-employment is being addressed as a "waiting period", it is not practically being utilized. Almost all the EUEYs of Sripuram with rare exceptions like that of Jayanthi, for instance, do not enhance their skill-sets. Their inability to make use of the under-employed years for strengthening personal skills are seemingly a "costly-error" at a time of life-long-learning ideals in the country. These errors are however being determined once again by the caste-class factors in the village. For instance, the high caste individuals have the better chances of enhancing the additional skill-sets due to *family habitus* as well as economic avenues. Thus the skill-enhancements are being determined by the intersectional factors of both caste and class dynamics in education.

In this backdrop, the economic uncertainties on the one hand, and the hard manual labour in agriculture on the other are increasingly forcing the EUEYs to stick to their regular efforts for a salaried employment. Their failures over the years in search of a "white-collar" job convince them to work in the informal economy. The APs of the EUEYs shall be seen in light of these economic constraints in the village. Informal economy, it must be noted, is known for its job insecurities in the country. The uncertain employment most often leaves the EUEYs anxious in their attempts to enter the salaried "white-collar" job and the everyday struggles in finding work in Meenakshipuram. Thus, most of the EUEYs are torn between formal and informal economy which are in polar opposites on their economic "expectations" on the labour. This shall also be seen in light of the youths who do not have *enabling conditions* in life. The consequence can be seen in their inabilities in functionings-formation. In this backdrop, the nature of capability deprivation can be seen in Sripuram. This deprivation, for instance, can be observed in EUEYs psychological stress where it is pertinent to remember Raman's complaints about "his inability to sleep" due to his employment worries. The psychological effects of relative deprivation and economic unfreedoms combined by social exclusion thus strengthen the capability failures of the EUEYs in the village.

CORRUPTION AS A CONVERSION FACTOR

Contrary to the popular morals against corruption, the EUEYs in Sripuram generally rationalize it as an "enabling" condition. For instance, Iyappan's efforts of "*arranging* a job" signifies the depth of this rationalization in the village. His regular usages of metaphor to describe the necessities of money confirms with other EUEYs' explanation in the village. Iyappan's awareness of the need to arrange 8 to 9 Lakhs (0.1 million) rupees for a teacher position in Management Schools underscores the current "market rate" in Tamil Nadu. In his view, this rate can also get increased in future to earn a monthly salary of 30,000 rupees.

As a sensitive issue, corruption has been "allowed" to understand mainly by the possibilities of ethnographic fieldwork. The Researcher as a native-speaker, is able to collect the subtler forms of corruption in the village. For instance, the notions of corruption is colloquially mentioned in terms of "something"; "paisa" (money); "deal"; "to correct" by the EUEYs. For instance, Raman's rationalization can be seen in this context:

RAMAN: I think, we need to give "something" to them *even* to clear the Exams.

LAKSH: hmm...

RAMAN: Yeah. Not in Thousands. One has to bribe them in Lakhs of rupees. It seems that then only we can get it clicked.

LAKSH: Did any of your known people "have" it like this?

RAMAN: I heard about it in Tanjore. People were telling. Of course I did not see them.

Individuals' rationalization like this is available across almost all caste groups with a rare exception of Sundaram. This could be due to his ideological positions in political life. In this background, the youths of Sripuram are currently being influenced by the new political

outfits like that of "We, The Tamils" (*Naam Tamilar*). This cultural-political outfit shapes the moralistic behaviors by continuous debates in the state. This is in contrast to the previous generation which spends their time generally in alcohol and other "casual" activities, the present day youth is being shaped by Sundaram a politically sensitive EUEY in the village. His regular news gatherings from various sources of newspapers; television and internet place him at the helm of affairs to influence the youths for *Naam Tamilar Movement* in the village. The coping period in this backdrop, is sometime being used for political action in the village.

Raman's views, on the necessity of money in recruitment, echoes like other castes in the village. For instance, Nirmala who is a 27 years old Pallar woman opines the same:

> **Nirmala:** For 12 vacancies, they invited 57 people for the interview. My Sister also went but people got it after paying bribe. So she came back empty.

Though this systemic reality is unacceptably shocking, the Researcher's persistent effort to understand the intensities of corruption further reveals the broader aspects:

> **LAKSH**: Do you think that one cannot get a job or employment, without money?
>
> **IYAPPAN**: Of course. Money is the determining factor today. For the opportunities coming out of Employment Office, we do not need any money. But for the position in the Management School or any others are mostly determined by money only.
>
> **LAKSH** Any other means?
>
> **IYAPPAN** Appointments in all the Aided Schools are mostly by money.

In light of this, the Researcher's continuous probe with Iyappan concludes that:

IYAPPAN: No one appoints us simply because we have a matching qualification to the available job. It will mostly be determined by the amount we bribe them.

In addition to these affirmations, Raman's regular institutional visit to the District Employment Office highlights the mundane plights of the EUEYs.

RAMAN: I offer them some tea or snacks in the nearby shops to get the necessary information. What to do? We can get it only by these things. I request them by these things.

In light of their agentic dependency on the system, the EUEYs reveals about the necessity of money for their entry into the salaried employment. Though there are variations across diverse departments and sector, the nuances needs to be mentioned. For instance, in its drive to make profit, the private sector may not compromise on the recruitment quality of the employees. However, the information about any forthcoming vacant position is being generally circulated among the close-network of people by the current employees. For instance, Karthi, 24 years old EUEY admitted that:

KARTHI: Even I did wrong things. For instance, when I was working in a Company, there was a vacancy. Instead of advertising it, I just inform my own circle and took them inside. Today, everyone does like this in their workplace where no one gets the information about the job availabilities.

These empirical realities altogether highlights the aspects of corruption also in terms of the need to have "reference" to the recruiters. The Researcher when questioned about these complexities to Sundaram, an EUEY who influences the youths by his political activism in the village:

LAKSH: Is the systemic corruption at the government school the primary reasons for the low levels of education quality?

157

SUNDARAM:	It is also a corruption.
LAKSH	What kind of corruption one can do in Government schools which are notorious for economic inabilities?
SUNDARAM	Non-performance of the assigned duty for which one draws a salary itself is a corruption.
LAKSH	Yes.
SUNDARAM	People work so hard till they get a government job. They stop it abruptly once they get in to it. This is because of their insensitivities.

Thus, the EUEYs admission in terms of the monetary necessities has been seen in the systemic expectations of "reference" to influence the recruiters' decision-making. The economic constraints of the poor most often do not have these *enabling* avenues where their education credentials seemingly places them to toil in the informal economy in Meenakshipuram. In these systemic barriers, the inefficiencies of the officialdom, the one Sundaram mentions above adds an additional flame to the burning fire of white-collar crime in the country.

OPPORTUNITY DEPRIVATION

Sripuram, as mentioned earlier, is a small sized village whose economic dependencies on Meenakshipuram can be seen in people's everyday life. This dependency predominantly includes from education to health in meeting almost all basic needs of the villagers. This shall be seen in light of the infrastructural issues in Sripuram where the villagers do not have any avenues of economic growth and personal development. Agriculture is the dominant mode of production in the village. In light of this, the severity of economic constraints of the poor in Mala's opinion is important to mention:

MALA: For me, it seems that the nature of suffering at present is people's opportunity to find food now seems to be more difficult than the past in Sripuram.

In this backdrop, the notion of opportunity deprivation can be seen in the socio-economic constraints of the villagers. This is in addition to the livelihood necessity to emigrate to the greener avenues of the nearby towns like that of Tanjore or Chennai. This leaves the villagers to worry. Their concern can be seen in light of Kumaran's opinion of the educational status of the youths at present.

LAKSH: It seems there is no employment opportunity as such in Sripuram.

KUMARAN: Yes

LAKSH: The village exists simply by depending on Meenakshipuram.

KUMARAN: hmm

LAKSH In that situation, what kind of hurdles youths are facing here?

KUMARAN: Due to the family poverty, everyone needs money. So the youths are not able to study.

LAKSH: hmm

KUMARAN The family is also not compelling youths to study. No one does it. So, youths are just going out to fetch some money initially for fun by working in odd jobs. This is how they drift-away from their studies. Naturally, they regret about it later in life. Generally, no one realizes that the education is important.

LAKSH: Ok

| KUMARAN: | They realize it only very late in life. |

In contrast to these extreme cases, everyday struggles of Mahesh can throw a different light on the severities. Mahesh, a 24 years old SC with a Bachelor's degree, describes his attempts to get a salaried employment. His economic unfreedoms reinforces the opportunity deprivation in the following way:

| MAHESH: | There are plenty of Interview invitations lying in my house. I got the invitations from so many companies like Silicon Water Solutions etc. I have applied to so many places where they inform me to meet them directly with all the certificates. If I need to go there, I have to have 1000 rupees for Chennai. The same will be the case for Coimbatore as well. |

| LAKSH: | |

| MAHESH: | Due to the severe financial constraints, I *myself* "reject" them instead of the normal practice of what they do with the candidates. [Frustrating tone] |

| LAKSH: | |

| MAHESH: | Their invitations are just lying in home. |

This depicts the opportunity deprivation of the EUEYs in the village. The Researcher's continuous efforts to know their expectations from the Government provided the clues about the urgency of the issues by these marginal men. In Mala's views "the Government should provide good education and create some specific job opportunities for the villagers." This is agreeable to almost all the caste groups where a Brahmin EUEYs aseerts that the people will not leave Sripuram if the opportunities are locally available in the village. This in Jayanthi's opinion "will certainly be good if the opportunities are made available here".

CONCLUSION

Education from the perspective of CA aims for human development. The functionings failures in ensuring *even* the basic expectation of occupational outcomes of the agentic development, question the very relevance of education. The promises of education, in nutshell, underline a treatment like that of placebo in both functionings and capability formations. This is contrary to the *Pygmalion effect* where the educational outcome can 'reportedly' be influenced by the expectations of others. The failures of EUEYs' functionings formations thus highlight the nature of capability deprivation. This underscores the inter-sectional social factors of caste and class in both education and employment of the EUEYs. Their economic *unfreedom* in light of the afore-mentioned intersectional factors in the social arrangements re/produces the powers and privileges. In this social re/production, the forms of capability deprivation can be seen in the EUEYs' adaptive preferences in Sripuram.

In this backdrop, academic positions with few exceptions are however, most often stereotypical about the social reality in India. There are few 'holy-cows' which cannot be touched. This primarily includes the critical position against the 'positive' discrimination of the Reservation policy and the egalitarian rhetoric in almost all spheres. Though, the mainstream academic institutions, for instance, is accessible according to the Reservation policy, the academia's personal spaces of scholarship generally prefers the meritocratic dispositions. These dispositions are most often not available to the erstwhile lower castes in terms of the English speaking and interpretative skills. This is in addition to the institutional entry-restrictions which are mostly based on the human capital ideals of "competitiveness" which push Dalits to the developmental margin. Though being Dalit does not automatically ensure the entry either in employment or even in education, their "natural selection" in the ideals of affirmative action and Reservation policy should be relooked.

CHAPTER IX   Capitals and capabilities in Sripuram

The educational system legitimates economic inequality by providing an open, objective, and ostensibly meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions. The educational system fosters and reinforces the belief that economic success depends essentially on the possession of technical and cognitive skills – skills which it is organized to provide in an efficient, equitable, and unbiased manner on the basis of meritocratic principle. (Bowles & Gintis 1976: 103).

INTRODUCTION

In continuance with the central arguments, one can thus observe an invisible contestation of castes in Sripuram. This contestation is seemingly to garner the shrinking resources and economic alternatives. The system of education plays an instrumental role where the success of any caste in this contest is primarily decided by educational outcome at present. Almost all caste groups treat education in the instrumentalist human capital notions. Any scholastic effort to convert them into the notions of capabilities, thus, seems to be initiated mainly from

the employment centricism. This is primarily due to the intersectional dynamics of caste and class positions of the poor in the village.

Along with this structural reality, even the human agency treats education neither in the broader notions of capabilities nor do their employment-centric approaches assure them economic avenues out of it. The primary reason for this dichotomy is systemic one, where the relevance of quality appears.

CAPITALS AND CAPABILITIES: THE HUMAN CAPITAL

Education in the economic process of globalization forces a skill-centric market pressure on the human agencies. The structural withdrawal of the state, even from the domains of knowledge system, leaves the agency alone.[104] In consequence of this, the Darwinian law 'naturally' gets applied where the 'fittest' only survives. Any notions of capabilities, thus, have to take care of the intersecting complexity of structure-agency dualism.

In the market-centric 'knowledge' economy, the process of learning becomes another commodity to commercialize.[105] The above-mentioned skill pressure makes it a competitive field, where the withdrawal of state facilitates the globalised political economy.[106]

---

104 See for instance Jha, Praveen (August 13, 2005), "Withering Commitments and Weakening Progress: State and Education in the Era of Neoliberal Reforms" *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 3677 to 84).

105 See for instance, Tooley and Dixon (December 2006), " '*De facto*' privatisation of education and the poor: implications of a study from sub-Saharan Africa and India", Vol. 36, No. 4, (pp. 443–462).

106 Relatedly, also in Connell's analyses the school system,'…has become the main bearer of working-class hopes for a better future' (1994: 134).

Consequently, the structural 'false consciousness', in fact, misunderstands the notions of capabilities merely as skill. This is seemingly "facilitated" by neoliberal market fundamentals in the country. As this falsity is convinced of the human capital ideals, the perpetuations of employment centric notions are evidently available in the everyday lives. In the present phase of economic globalisation, individuals' survival in employment are, thus, based mainly on their skills. If anyone is not qualified to 'market' her innate abilities and skills cannot be employable. Educational functionings, in this context, are increasingly being understood in the notions of human capital approach. This is being systemically conceptualized by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) in the country. For instance, it is pertinent to mention the Annual Report 2012-13 of MHRD:

> The improvement in higher education is being brought through restructuring academic programmes to ensure their relevance to modern market demands… (GoI 2012-13: 58).

In this backdrop, the status of un-employability symbolizes systemic limitation of education. The inferior quality of pedagogy neither ensures the broader notions of capability nor even the employability to the human agency at all levels. The systematic state withdrawal from public policy commitments has gradually allowed the labour market to define 'quality' in education. These definitions are generally market-centric notions of employability instead of the constructivist ideals of the *National Curriculum Framework* (NCERT 2005). The increasing market-centric approach in education by the parental agencies, furthermore, pushes the children to the nursery schools even before they are ready for it in Sripuram. Entries into 'quality' nursery schools, it must be noted, are highly competitive where admission often requires superior social and economic capitals in Tamil Nadu.

The social re/production, in this broader context, stabilises the status quo in favour of the non-poor and the erstwhile higher castes. This is important in neoliberal economic reality where children in private schools have current learning and future wage advantage than

those in government schools. These schools often hold the ideals of human capital as an important aspect for 'successes' in educational outcome.[107]

Also, it is to be noted that the lower educational outcome of the social groups including the erstwhile higher castes limits their life chances in escaping the economic *unfreedoms*. This restructures the social roles and status among them. For instance, the *Brahmaniyam* of the revivalist youths often takes the forms of *Kurukkal* today.[108] This is in sharp contrast to the tradition where *Kurukkals* are from a particular sect of Brahmin where they used to study the rules of *Ahamam* in the separate system of Veda pathsalas.[109] The role dilution between *Purohit* and *Kurukkal* by the EUEYs underscores the newer forms of Brahminism in the village.

The increasing un/under-employment among the Brahmins is compelling them to take up this revivalist role of the Brahmaniyam. This profession is though, monetarily less-rewarding, at times one can see an intrinsic competition among the EUEYs of the *Agraharam* even for these positions. The recent political discourse in Tamil Nadu has, however, removed an entry restriction on the traditionality of this service by ascription. The

---

107 In contrast, Sen argues that despite the usefulness of the concept of human capital as a productive resource, it is important to see human beings in a broader perspective than that of human capital' (1997: 1960).

108 Kurukkal's ways of life are both caste as well as religious mandated in nature. They professionally thrive by their role in officiating *Smartha* Brahmin 'dominated' temples in the village.

109 Ahamam is a Vedic knowledge about the priestly roles for the *Smartha* Brahmins in Tamil Nadu. Normally, it is being studied at Vedha Pathsalas (a kind of 'school' system where one graduate to become a *kurukul*).

State government under the Hindu Religious & Charitable Endowment Department recently ruled that anyone can become *Kurukkal* by pursuing a degree in the institutions which are established by the Government .[110]

This decision would have been unthinkable in Beteille's period where these jobs were structurally reserved only for a particular sect of the Brahmins. This sends a shock wave among the Brahmins who are known for their orthdox living. Nevertheless, most of the unemployed Brahmin youths are increasingly taking up the roles of a *Kurukkal* in any available temples in their locality without knowing the nitty-gritty's of the rules of *Ahamam* so far. They often cite the lower educational outcome as the primary reason.

In contrast, the truants of the education system (who are mostly from the Pallar households) and the unemployed youths are developing their own sub-culture in Sripuram. Though this has its own version of functional capabilities, agentic effort to break their deprivation trap and economic mobility efforts are drawn mainly from their educational backgrounds. For instance, Natesan, a Brahmin EUY with a bachelor's degree in Commerce had initially "succeeded" to become an accountant in a petty-trade in Meenakshipuram. Individuals like him in the village are gradually marketing their un-employability in the informal economy for economic necessities. This structurally allows them to be "active" in village affairs like that of *Brahmothsavam* and other festivals in their temples.[111] Most often, the temple-activities provides them the social approval of being a 'good person' in the village.

---

110 For further details see http://www.hrce.tn.nic.in/

111 *Brahmothsavam* is a typical Brahmin festival in Vaishnava as well as Smartha temples.

In Sripuram, although education-induced migration provides economic benefits to the Brahmins, the caste structure has an additional complexity. Today, the older generation, for instance, feels that they have been left-out by their offspring. On the one hand, some of them are nostalgic about their earlier status in the caste system in comparison to the present; on the other hand, they are emotionally constrained by their inability to permanently leave the village like their children. Emigration, however, is seemingly the economic necessity where there is no "greener" avenue in Sripuram. The younger generation, thus, moves out of Sripuram for employment and other economic reasons. While the village does not have any lucrative opportunity for developing their economic status, they often create their own nuclear families in the nearby towns where they work. This most often leaves their parents in the village where *Agraharam* is becoming an "old age home" of the left-out elders at present.

But the harsher sides of employment have so far, not caught the "other" castes (including the OBCs and Pallars in this case) in the village. They rarely leave the elder alone unlike that of the Brahmins. Most often their adaptive preferences in light of their agentic rationality convince to search for a job in nearby towns in the district to live with their family in the village. This is also due to the fact that educational outcome for them is comparatively low. Specifically in the case of Pallars, they stand again at the margin of development. The lesser social capital due to educational deprivation, to a greater extent, perpetuates their developmental deficit. For instance, given the same level of education (Bachelor of Commerce in this case), some of the Brahmin youths are working in Chennai with stable jobs but still "ambitiously" looking for further opportunities. In contrast, EUEYs of other castes like that of Jeeva, with a similarity of education credential, looks for opportunities only in Thanjavur. In the case of Jeeva, he is still unable to find one such opportunity mainly because of his everyday commitments in helping his Father's small-scale business in the village. As fall-back strategies of both these men are extremely different, the essential point is that the erstwhile

higher castes, given their historicity of knowledge oriented livelihood can afford to take the risk of investing their living only on education without getting 'diverted' on the mundane issues. But for others, it is seemingly impossible, except in few rare cases of "committed" individuals. The case of Pallars, for instance, is exceptionally depressing where their inferior social status limits their economic oppurtunites and choices in Sripuram.

In addition, the agenda of Reservation Policy in the government sector seemingly slows the promotional avenues for the Brahmins by the preferential quota for the erstwhile lower castes. Consequently, the Brahmin youths are mostly concentrating on higher levels of outcome in education by their developmental strategy of looking outside the public institutions. Their employment-centric education "strategies" are contrary to the ideals of capability approach, they generally aspire for the "meritocratic" private sector in lieu of the human capital perspective. Thus, the unsupportive state structure, with its notorieties of quality and preferential treatments to the erstwhile lower castes in the public institutions, pushes the Brahmins generally towards the private sector. This is in light of the emerging market-driven neoliberal democratic values where knowledge becomes 'capital' for the surplus-drive for profit.

CAPITALS AND CAPABILITIES: THE SOCIAL CAPITAL

The approach to education is mostly determined and shaped by social capital today.[112] Caste based social capital plays both functional as well as dys/functional roles in Sripuram. The unemployed individuals who are unwilling to work for one or other reasons, for instance, are being 'supported' by its invisible hands. Their role is being taken for granted in all the local affairs of Sripuram. There the role of education and its differential outcome negatively

---

[112] See for instance, Cleaver (2005), Coleman (1988) and Migheli (2011) among others.

influences others in the village.[113] For instance, if a EUY roams "around" the village aimlessly like that of Sanakaran, the poor gets an adequate example for their subjective rationalities of sending their children to work. These reluctant justifications often get rationalized according to the intersectional dynamics of the family. Since, there are no proper official records on birth and death rates in the village administration, even local bureaucrats do not accurately know how many children are outside the School. This re/production of "reasons" often substantiates the poor in opting out of education system.

In contrast, the unemployed individuals who are willing to work have to compromise their 'market values' according to their socio-economic status. This is important given the social reality where the migration to the nearby towns is the only developmental avenue for the poor. But those who are unwilling to move out of Sripuram like in the case of Raman and also Natesan will have to economically compromise their survival in the village. The harsher realities of under-employment are visible where most of the degree holders are working in the informal economy for the meagre salaries in Meenakshipuram. An interaction with Natesan, a Brahmin EUY, for instance, has revealed that the poor irrespective of caste background do not often have the necessary social capital even at the time of need. His case highlights this:

NATESAN   Till 2006, I was working in the Cycle-Mart in Meenakshipuram. Then, my Brother met an accident.

LAKSH   Yeah. He was telling me the otherday.

---

113 Thorat establishes the similar findings. The reason for the 'poverty differential across social groups, within religious communities lies in the fact of the initial unequal and discriminatory access to skill and education (as well as land and capital endowments) and unfree occupational mobility' (2010: 53).

NATESAN   Both my Father and me were taking care of him as Mother cannot do those works. So, I spent my entire time to take care of him.

LAKSH   So, you left the job?

NATESAN   No. I did not leave the job. They *themselves* told me not to come as I was not able to work regularly. He has to be in the hospital for 3 months. No one helped us *even* at that time. No help for the financial side even from the cycle-mart. I was just expecting them to financially help me *at least* from my future salary. But none came to see nor even enquired with care. No one, including my colleagues and the Boss had bothered *even* to come and see.

Economic deprivation of the poor, for instance, most often is being academically conceptualized in terms of social exclusion. Though, the erstwhile lower castes are still at the developmental margin, an essential point is that the poor irrespective of caste background, as mentioned above, do not often have the necessary social capital in life. In addition, the economic reality of the poor has also a gender dimension where women are unequally placed in the social structure. In this, the role of caste is also visible where the Brahmin women are relatively better placed than the 'others' in the village. The Pallar women, in contrast, are at the social margin where their livelihood is mostly dependent on the male members of their households. However, there are few smaller economic avenues like the cattle rearing and casual laboring in the nearby agricultural fields for avoiding the deprivation trap. These smaller avenues are visibly insufficient. In this context, Mala, a 24 years old Pallar woman EUEY opines that:

To a greater extent, people in village do not have any work to do. They just sit in home idly. For me, it seems that the nature of suffering is at present that people's opportunity to find food now seems to be more difficult than the past. Today, people survive mostly due to persons like me who are just educated to get something outside to sustain the family. (*From the field*)

The informal network which is often formed along caste-lines ensures the agential social capital in the village.[114] This abstract arrangement is often exclusivist in nature due to the stratified social structure. The interplay of caste and class dynamics complicates the formation of the network. Hence the agentic-structural interactions are mostly being mandated by these complications. For instance, some of the Brahmin youths, who have gone outside and become successful in their economic mobility share that they usually help the fellow villagers based on their 'level of friendships'. Given the "superior" economic-cultural location, clearly, the social capital of the *Agraharam* youths are higher than those of others in the village. For a non-Brahmin, the help will generally be from their sustained association in the *Agraharam*. Although no one deliberately does this at the time of economic need, there is an essential point which needs to be discussed. The formation of peer groups since childhood is one of the foundations for developing a wider social network for the later years. This is significantly absent for the Pallars, due to the structural "restrictions" where their position is distant to the power centers. Their educational deprivation and the inferior occupational outcome, perpetuates this even for the few privileged Pallars today. In contrast, individuals like Karthi who is a 25 years old male EUEY from a OBC caste, has been actively assisting in the temple services of the Agraharam. By his own admission, at times, it helpfully places him nearer to the Brahmin "networks".

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CONVERSION FACTORS

The educated youths' social capital or the aggregate network of resources has been categorized in terms of caste; family; politics; friends; institution; and the village. This web of social organization seemingly plays a deterministic role in individuals' capability and functionings formations in Sripuram. For instance, the EUYs' quality of life and standard of

---

114 For instance Jackson explains that "Allowing for the social context of capabilities requires explicit recognition of social structures, both personal and impersonal, as some capabilities may be due to employment or other roles and membership of social networks" (Jackson 2005: 107).

living are primarily determined by their family-habitus. In this context, the parental education is an important aspect. Social capital formations of the poor, for this reason, are determined generally by the interaction between these aspects, where politics-based social capital like that of influential "connections" comes around. This is primarily due to the individuals' image-making and the adaptive preferences in life. In addition to this, the institution based avenues like that of career-planning; skill-formations are being shaped by the welfare regimes where the Reservation policy, for instance, becomes important. The consequence can be seen in the agency-rationality where it can be conceptualized as:
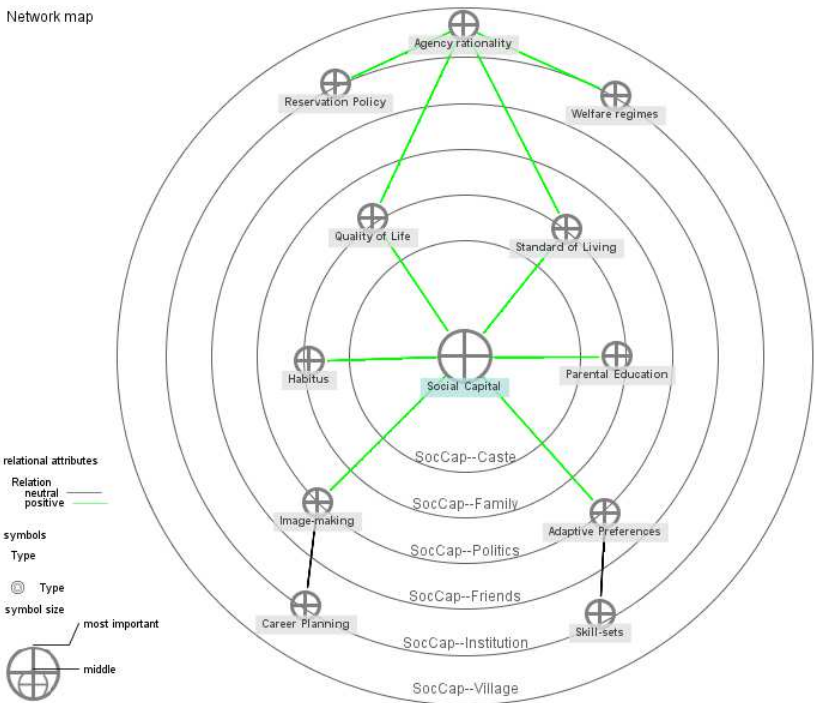
Figure 3   Social Capital

The nature of interaction is different for different factors. For instance, while the notion of social capital could be functional to the non-poor and the erstwhile higher caste whereas the very same plays against the poor in the village. The result can be seen in the case of individuals' institutional dependency and adaptive preferences. The credential gaps of the educated unemployed youths, for instance, push them to the margin where their literacy

172

becomes a dysfunctional factor to be made use of. The case of Iyappan, an individual who has multiple degrees is an instance of *qualification escalation.* As a Pallar youth, his dispositions are seemingly drawn in terms of caste and politics. These two factors are important in the present day welfare regimes where the erstwhile lower castes are making use of the Reservation Policy as a state sponsored social capital in India. However, the very same factors work against the polarization of the 'others'. Intangible aspects of social exclusion in terms of exclusivist social order play against them. As mentioned earlier, the welfare regime, though successfully addressing the caste specific issues in terms of "protective discrimination", the erstwhile higher castes are "increasingly" withdrawing from the everyday interaction orders. The result is the invisible forms of social exclusion where the 'structure' dictates the lives of the depending human agencies. These social processes can also be seen in terms of the conversion factors.

According to capability literature, the conversion factors represent 'how much functioning one can get out of a good or service'. This, in the present context, is predominantly being understood by the educated un / under-employed youths in terms of corruption. As corruption is increasingly institutionalized, one can understand it in light of the institutional dependencies of the individuals in Sripuram. The everyday observation of the Researcher and his casual interactions with the villagers confirms its 'central' role as a conversion factor. At times, it is shocking that most of the villagers are rationalizing it as important factor for functionings formations. The Researcher's attempt to understand it from moral perspectives often gets ridiculed as they consider it an "idealistic talk". Though these aspects have already been discussed in terms of EUEYs' adaptive preferences, one can depict the conversion factors as:
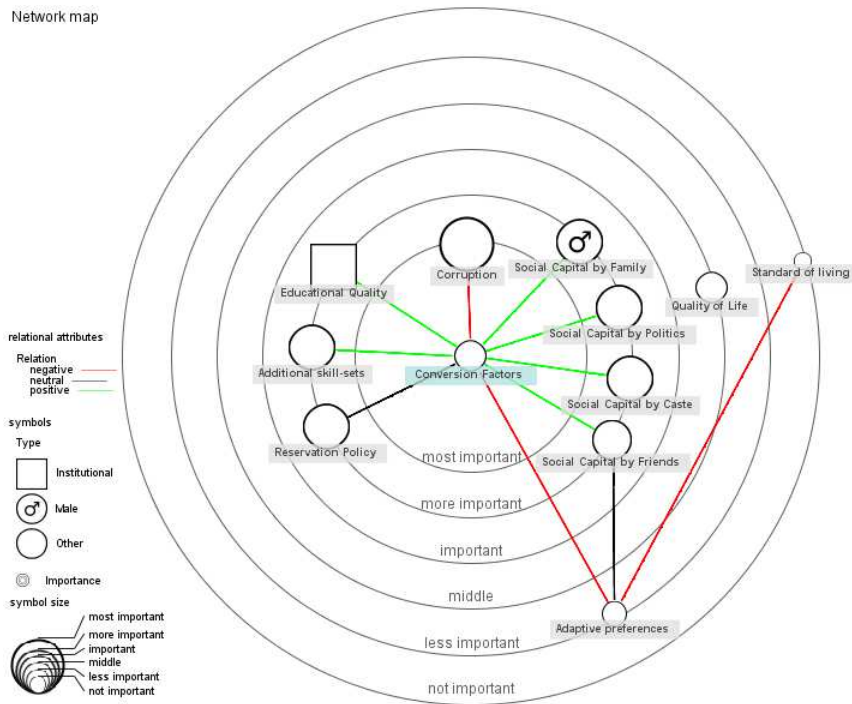
Figure 4 Conversion factors

In terms of conversion factors, there are numerous aspects which play a deterministic role. These include: the institutional aspects like the education quality and family based social capital. These institutional factors have to be described in detail as both are diverse in nature. For instance, the family based social capital is mainly gendered in nature in Sripuram. This is predominantly due to the patriarchal social structure where women are economically subservient to the male members in the family. The nature of 'economic determinism' most often shapes the social structure where the gender discrimination is being institutionalized. Though there are exceptions to this 'social rule' where the erstwhile higher caste women are increasingly assertive due to education and employment, the central point is their dependency to the male-headship in the family.

For this reason, social capital by family, caste and even politics, plays a deterministic role, where the patriarchal structure gets socially re/produced. In addition, the education quality and Reservation Policy, for instance, play a significant role where individuals are

174

drawing the avenues of conversion in life. The social processes of these avenues altogether 'ensure' the *quality of life* and *standard of living* to the poor. Though this could be a social re/production of inequalities, poor's subjectivities most often rationalize them in the village.

EMIGRATION FOR ECONOMIC MOBILITY

Education is a process of socialization of individuals. Different social groups' are shaping this process according to their structural locations in the village. The structural locations in Sripuram, in this context, rest mostly in terms of the caste-class dynamics. For this very reason, educational outcomes of the Pallars are increasingly low in contrast to the "others". The cultural habitus and the social capital shape their functionings intrinsically different from others. This is also true to others where the same system of education successfully produces "employable" individuals. The caste system invisibly plays its role where the Brahmin youths with their social capital, at times, finds it easy to get a job in Chennai even if they are similar in their educative process like others. The gender dimension runs almost a parallel to this social reality, where only very few women have, so far, been successful in shaping their educational functionings with a "natural" exception of the Brahmanical supremacy.

The unavailability of economic opportunities and resources, in addition, to the opportunity deprivation in Sripuram, as mentioned earlier, convinces that the migration is as the only avenue for social and economic mobility. The success of any economic migration to the nearby towns and cities are, however, determined mainly by the social capital. In this context, the migration pattern of the Brahmins out of their education is mostly similar. Their preferred destination is generally towards Chennai (formerly known as Madras).

The economic aspirations for mobility often drive them out of the village where the role of social capital is phenomenal. This is in sharp contrast to the 'others' in Sripuram. The

employability of the Pallars is mostly determined by the extent of their skills. Expectantly, neither they have adequate social capital due to the historical reasons nor they have the opportunity to enhance their innate capabilities. This is important because, being human; the nature bestows few core capabilities. The process of learning from education system enhances one's capabilities with the workable skills. Pallars, however, given their inferior economic positions in the village, have to depend on the fee-free education from the government. The notorious quality of government institutions neither motivates them to learn nor provides them any other *enabling* conditions for functionings. The result is the ornamental presence of education in their livelihood. In this context when asked about the emigration for the economic mobility among the different castes, Santhanam, who is a Teacher in the local School, suggest that

> The younger generation shall be educated well but at the same time they need to be settled down in the village to uphold their caste traditions. Otherwise the livelihood balance will be lost and people will suffer. (*From the field*).

The functionalist interpretations of this nature structurally define the emerging reality of emigration sponsored mobility in the village today. In addition, Bhairavi, an influential 'intellectual' in the village, argues that

> The education-induced migration creates *nuclear* families in society, which in turn produces households and individuals as islands in the urban anonymity. The result is even very close relatives cannot be entertained in these families against our national tradition of having a wider *kinship* networks. The younger generation today, therefore, is not having the higher level of social capital which we had from our family system. (*From the field*).

In light of these interpretations, one has to conceptualize the youths in Sripuram. The limited employment oppurtunites and economic mobility pushes the educated youths out of their village. Mostly, Chennai is the prominent destination for them. The unemployed Brahmins

(whether with education or not) normally take up the odd-jobs like the cook or *purohit*. In this, their social capital also helps them to be increasingly mobile even in these jobs in Tamil Nadu. In contrast, other castes' men have to find out the possible economic avenues and entries anywhere in the "outside" world. Non-Brahmins, however, do not have a higher social capital except the afore-mentioned "state patronage". This is mostly true in the case of Pallars. But this patronage is generally viewed by the Brahmins and other high castes as a vote bank politics. In their notion, the Reservation policy merely promotes the backdoor entries of the "unqualified" candidates to the system.

The consequence of this can be seen in the newer social formation in line with the endogamous unification of castes to shake-off the sect-wise differences. For instance, the marital restrictions between different sects within the Brahmins are no longer relevant. In fact, some of the present generation Brahmins are not even aware of the "traditional" differences between the *Smarthas* and *Vaishnavas* in the State. As this is in sharp contrast to the descriptions of Beteille, the essential caveat is that although some of them may know the difference, they do not know the details as per the strict classification of the sects in their Caste. To a greater extent, this is a significant change in the village.

In this newer social formation, the role of education is important. Further, the increasing process of modernisation democratises the institutions. For instance, the *Archahars* who have been traditionally occupied by a sect of Brahmin cannot be *naturally* appointed from their ascribed status in Tamil Nadu today.[115] The role allocation needs to have the government approval where the politics has the final say while the demographic

---

115 They are often called as *Kurukkals* in Tamil which means the priests in the Hindu temples. Though, it is primarily denotes about the *Smartha* Brahmin, the colloquial usage denotes also for the non-Brahmins in the state.

figures determine the political economy of the state. The consequence is that higher the caste, lower the status in political system today.

Given the demographic realities of literacy figures, the erstwhile lower castes are not having the same level of social capital in their livelihood. Hence the Reservation policy has to be understood from the perspective where the state provides the necessary capital for their empowerment to level the unequal society out of the system of stratification in Tamil Nadu. However, the interplay of multiple factors like the state-patronage for the Pallars by the Reservation policy and increasing privatization of both education and economic sector with their implications for the Brahmins provides a complex picture.

In addition, one must also be aware that not all the Brahmins are highly educated as well as economically rich.[116] In Sripuram, Narashimhan, for instance, complained that "the only developmental option available for the *madapalli Brhamanan* is to catch the train to Madras without ticket."[117] Although few cases of this type are available in Sripuram, the Brahmins are rather skillful "enough" to survive in the economic deprivation than the others. Here, the role of the social capital and education outcome plays an important part.

The Brahmin youths' failures in labour market, however, put them into another kind of deprivation in their personhood. If they cannot migrate to the bigger cities like Chennai, they have the option of becoming a *Purohit*. But, most of them have not been able to find a bride for their marriage. This unconsciously constructs inferior outlook in their social interaction in the Agraharam. This shall be seen in light of the positive gender dimensions in

---

116 For instance, Driver established that the caste hierarchy and occupational hierarchy are not parallel to one another now (Driver 1982: 228).

117 Madapalli Brahmins in colloquial terms denotes the economically poor Brahmin.

the Agraharam. The Brahmin girls are increasingly advised by the elders "to study further for getting good husbands". Contrast to this, the other castes is not facing the problem of this nature. This is seemingly due to their lesser preferences on educational credentials and occupational outcome than the primordial identities. This is also increasingly being seen due to the lesser educational past unlike the Brahmins in the village.

THE HABITUS

In complex social structure like that of the present case, the interaction order lays the foundation for the social capital. This, however, cannot ensure the basis for the habitus formation given the structural location among different caste men. Law prevents the visible forms of exclusion where the "invisible hands", at times, withdraw from the interaction order with the erstwhile lower castes. Often, this withdrawal *itself* provides the power to influence others to the erstwhile higher castes. In simpler term, no one can legally challenge higher caste men if s/he refuses to have the interaction.

The social capital of the Brahmins in Sripuram is ensured in the Agraharam. The membership in the Agraharam neighbourhood is mostly an ascriptive one. This automatically creates the natural endowments to their human agency. As mentioned earlier, the social change in the Agraharam is, however, changing its residential patterns where the economically well-off OBCs from outside are entering to live permanently in Sripuram. The structural tension between the Brahmins and the newcomers in the Agraharam as a "full member" confirms this social fact. The exodus of Brahmins towards the nearby towns facilitates this social process. The result is a newer social arrangement which is "unacceptable" to the remaining orthodox Brahmins of Agraharam. Their "unacceptability" is often being observed in terms of their preference to have the similar habitus like that of the earlier years to their children.

The changing nature of economic avenues and caste in its new avatar, thus, structurally convinces agential exodus from the village for employment reasons. However, differential education outcome prevents the exodus in some cases due to diverse social capital. For instance, even the higher levels of educational success of the daughters of Karuppaiah, a OBC agriculturist are not ensuring them as "the children are strongly affected by the human capital possessed by their parents" (Coleman 1988: S110). Their failure in the salaried employment negatively influences the neighborhood. These functionings-failures have to be seen in light of the potential deprivation of capabilities of the poor in the village.

This can be contrasted from the habitus of Brahmins. The life cycle of normal Brahmin's celebrations (of the *rites de passage*) starts from birth, *ayush-homam, upanayanam* marriage, *shashtiabdapoorthi, sadhabishekam* and death rites.[118] These are the typical occasions where the kin-groups get-together in family. These life-cycle events, in a way, ensure their social capital. However, this is *exclusive* in nature and not available to 'others'. No new entry can be allowed except from the ascriptive membership of the family by birth. This aspect of habitus-formation has, however, increasingly reduced due to the exodus of the younger generation and urban ways of life. In contrast, the social encounters of other castes happen across caste system mostly in Shiva temple in Sripuram. This is due to the

---

118 Firstly, Ayush-homam means the ritual naming of the child. Though the naming ceremony is widely done for all the caste groups, the Brahmins are specifically calling it as *ayush-homam*. It roughly means the "prayer for a long life" to the one year old child. In contrast, the "others" (including the OBCs and Pallrs) are generally calling it as *punniyajanam* in Tamil. The expression of *punniyajanam* symbolises the "purification" after the birth out of "human-dirt". Secondly, *upanayanam* is the ceremony of sacred thread for the Brahmin youths. According to the Hindu scriptures, this ceremony will baptize the Brahmin boy in to the *Brahmacharya* (or the Bachelorhood). Thirdly, *Shashtiabdapoorthi* is where the married Brahmin couples celebrate their marriage after the *groom* attains the 60 years of age. This is in contrast to *Sadhabhishekam* where the groom's 80 years of age will be celebrated as a successful married life. It must be noted that the non-Brahmins (including all the OBCs and Pallars) do not have these ceremonies.

exclusivist nature of the Sri Vaishnava Brahmins. For this reason, the *Smartha* temple plays an important centre for the social capital formation even for the non-Brahmins.

The newer modes of communication like television and mobile phones ensure the potential avenues of social capital for the non-Brahmins. These same avenues consolidate the existing cultural and social capital of the Brahmins in Agraharam. As this was non-existing during Beteille's time, this in a way "influences" newer forms of caste system today. The afore-mentioned contestation of castes is being consolidated by these newer avenues in the village.

Although, the reach of telephone among the social groups reflects similarities of their positions in society, the mobile phones are largely changing the nature of socio-economic hierarchies. Today, almost all the Pallars households "proudly" own a handset. This, at times, can be seen even among the poorest of the poor who financially struggles to "maintain" it. This, however, gives a newer space for them to improve their social capital where their sustained interaction in market and non-market spheres for habitus-formations.

In contrast to these social realities which are increasingly complex in light of the opportunity deprivation, the state's governance and developmental efforts in Tamil Nadu are deficient even in ensuring the basic needs.[119] This has not provided any avenues for capability formation to the poor so far. The re/production due to their social capital often reinforces the existing arrangements in newer forms. For instance, given the stringent anti-untouchability laws, the nature and forms of social capital have increasingly been intangible over the years. However, one can see them in terms of subtle traces in Sripuram. The display of economic

---

119 In the fieldwork period in 2012, the Researcher found that the entire state of Tamil Nadu with a population of 70 million people do not have the regular supply of electricity and water. Electricity, for instance was available only for 15 odd-hours for a day. This shall be seen in light of various official reports in celebrating it as one of the developed states of India.

success through education, for instance, can often be seen in the name-plates of the houses. Their symbolic presence in the streets of Sripuram provides the clue of the educational outcome in general and the social capital in particular.

CONCLUSION

Education under the human capital approach is, thus, mostly being treated as the solution provider for all development-ills. Capability approach in education shall not become prey to this mis/understanding. The recognition of social structure, for instance, could be a way-out. Thus, in the context of Sripuram, the knowledge-centric life styles of the Brahmins along the increasing trend of modernity of the OBCs and the state-supportive political economy to the erstwhile backward castes of the Pallars is, however, convincing the castes to come out of their orthodox principles today. The changing social and economic reality alters them too. The adaptive preferences of their human agencies in relation to the structural reality have, unfortunately been overlooked by the mainstream academic narratives. This, from the perspective of CA, can be stressed that the agency herself should decide which one is basic among the available capability alternatives. The capabilities without any normative listing could be the 'absolute' entitlement for each agency.

Thus, the central thesis of this Chapter underlines that the analyses of social structure in capability approach are mostly absent. The dominant academic analyses on these aspects have so far been mostly on the institutional approach where the role of social structure in capabilities has predominantly been overlooked. For this reason, the present research identifies the importance of the changing nature of social stratification. This is evidently crucial as the theoretical engagements between capital and capabilities will enrich the sociological contributions in development studies.

CHAPTER X   Conclusion: Social change in Sripuram

> We have waited for long. It is time we go to the villages ourselves. So far as I am concerned, I propose to go without pomp...to a village and stay there for three or four days and get in real touch with the people. Once in a year or twice this should not be difficult for us. (Lal Bahadur Shastri 1964).[120]

In education studies, capability approach successfully offers a scholastic critique to human capital approach (HCA). Contrary to the predominant critiques which are assailing the limitations of HCA (Nussbaum 2010 and Robeyns 2006 among others), the present ethnographic research finds the prevalence of the employment-centric instrumentalism in Sripuram. This emerged out of the present work's attempts in analysing the intersectional social factors in education. The central argument of the work has highlighted the social construction of capabilities in Sripuram. This underscores the complex interactions between individual agents in their caste-class positions where the thesis has contrasted the constitutive cum intrinsic aspects of education with instrumentalist notions of HCA.

Ethnographic visits to the local School and Orphan in the village underlines the fact that the institutionalized welfare structures with its poor learning outcomes are re/producing the deprivation-trap. The reflexive analyses from the fieldwork have further found that the

---

120 Indian Express, (June 26, 1964), as quoted in Etienne 1968: 286.

children's wellbeing is mostly based on their institutional presence and human agency in the social structure. The children, in turn, receive an *ill-being* due to their distance in the social structure as well as the hierarchical stratifications in the village.[121] In addition, their everyday life is also at the institutional margin due to poor infrastructure of the Orphanage as well as the mediocre education quality of the local School. Given these manifold disadvantages, the analyses conclude that neither the broader notions of capabilities nor even the narrower views of functionings are proximate to their agential well-being in Sripuram.

By the consolidation of various theoretical as well as conceptual insights on education and development, the present research highlights the complex nature of social reality. This is due to the sustained interactions between diverse sociological aspects. One probably could appreciate this complexity by the readings of the newer research paradigms like that of CA. This is crucial as well as critical because of the fact that the social reality cannot have the finality in academic comprehension. This underlines the necessities of conceptualizing structure-agency dualities in education outcome.

The differential educational outcomes of the social groups have been conceptualized in light of the systemic segregations along the socio-economic differences. As this segregation questions the notions of social justice in the country, it is important to note that the poor shall not be left alone in the government schools which are notorious in quality. This is important because of the reason that "with adequate social opportunities, individual can effectively shape their own destiny and help each other." (Sen 1999: 11). One possible explanation could be to increase the standards of quality to make the government schools attractive for all, including the non-poor.

---

121 Relatedly Barabara H White wrote about *Illfare* in India.

In addition to the discussion on the deprived children, the central arguments discuss the functionings-formations as well as failures of the EUYs and EUEYs in Sripuram. The educated un/under-employed youths' adaptive preference and coping strategies in the informal economy in Meenakshipuram as well as in Sripuram, thus, highlights the social construction of capabilities. In this social construction, the current thesis underscores how the intersectionality of caste and class plays a complex role in education and employment. In this backdrop, it is pertinent to discuss the social change in Sripuram.[122]

SOCIAL CHANGE IN SRIPURAM

Historically, changes in social institutions according to Beteille "have been qualitative and divergent rather than cumulative and unidirectional…" (Beteille 2009 a: 98). In this context, the changes can broadly be understood in terms of caste as well as education in Sripuram. As a restudy of a classic sociological field site, Beteille's descriptions about five decades ago have thus provided the conceptual background to understand the process of change. This has allowed the present work to compare the social reality in relation to his descriptions. For instance, Beteillian descriptions of Sripuram as an *Agraharam village* or a Brahmin village are no longer the social reality today. The Brahmins' exodus from the village for various socio-economic reasons and the immigration of the non-Brahmins inside the *Agraharam provides* a newer flavor to these descriptions. It is appropriate to quote Fuller in light of this newer reality:

> To this day, in Sripuram and other Brahmin villages in Tamilnadu, *Cheris*
> remain separated from the main village settlement areas and are

---

[122] Detailed discussion on social change in India can be seen for instance: Beals (1964, 1970), Davenport (1964), Gray (1965), Ishwaran (1970), Kumar (1987), Mangalam (1965), Mencher (1970), Rolnick (1965), Sengupta (2008) and Sivertsen (1963) among others.

exclusively inhabited by Dalits, but *Agraharams*, on the other hand, though still clearly demarcated, now have both Brahmin and Non-Brahmin residents, with the Brahmins often being in the minority, so that old rules restricting access have been abandoned. (Fuller 2012: xxxii).

The residential changes can further be explained by the population as well as household figures of the village today. In order to understand change, it will be interesting to compare the present day population with Beteille's description of 1960.

Social Change in Sripuram: Population

Caste Group	1960	2010
Brahmins	341	210
Non-Brahmin	688	820
Adi-Dravida	371	460
TOTAL	1400	1490

The 2010 figures have been collected by the present research against the 1960 figures given by Beteille (2012: 26).

Thus, the total population of all communities living in Sripuram can be around 1500. This includes Pallar (or Scheduled Castes) 460 (Male 183; Females 152 and Children 65 males and 60 females). The OBCs (including the MBCs and BCs) are 820 (350 Male; 320 Female and Children 80 males and 70 females). Lastly, the Brahmins 210 (100 Male; 90 Female and Children 10 males and 10 female).

These figures are in sharp contrast to population of 1960 as per Beteille's fieldwork in the village. One can observe the notable decline both in population as well as the number of households in Brahmins. In contrast, the other two segments, the Non-Brahmins and the

Pallar are relatively stable in the figures over the years. Furthermore, it is important to look at the number of houses in Sripuram today in contrast to 1960.

Social Change in Sripuram: Households

Caste Group	1960	2010
Brahmins	92	65
Non-Brahmin	168	209
Adi-Dravida	89	103
TOTAL	349	377

The 2010 figures have been collected by the present research against the 1960 figures given by Beteille (2012: 26).

Though the total number of houses is relatively stable by an increase of 28 houses in the past five decades, there are few noticeable points to be explained. In the total 209 non-Brahmin households, 8 are Christians. They live in a small street within the *Kudiana*. The number of OBCs households' altogether (including the 25 'outsiders' who are living in the Agraharam) could be around 234 households today. In the *Kudiana,* or the Non-Brahmins' street, there are around 13 houses either unoccupied or empty flats. This is in sharp contrast to the Agraharam where 17 houses remain unoccupied. The interesting point could be unavailability of any such empty flats in Pallar *Cheri* where, as mentioned earlier, it is still an exclusive residential unit of the Pallars.

The caste based residential segregation is changing with class factor in Sripuram. This can be seen in the increasing entry of non-Brahmins' in the village. At present, the settlement pattern of the *Agraharam* is no longer consistent with the cleavages between castes. Today, the 25 OBC households in Agraharam are increasingly 'secularizing' their orthodox ways of living. Though, these households are representing the middle-class family structure, one can see the potential force in diluting the caste rigidities in the years to come.

In addition, the empty houses in *Agraharam* are slowly being purchased by the non-Brahmins from outside Sripuram. Financially, some of them are richer in comparison to the local Brahmin residents. This, further, alters the living patterns where the relationships are getting "formalized" in the *Agraharam*. This is quite unusual in terms of the village standards. In this backdrop, the competition for purchasing land is different for the diverse social groups in Sripuram. The Brahmins who are better educated than the "others" are generally interested to buy the houses outside the village. The economic rationale is to have it as an investment. The Pallar, on the other hand, are gradually competing to buy the agricultural lands. Some of the OBCs, who got lands from the Brahmin absentee-landlords, are gradually leaving the agricultural profession like the Brahmins. This symbolizes the gradual agentic exodus from agriculture where the role of education is influential in the village.

CASTE AND CHANGE

The nature and form of caste system is no longer the same as the earlier descriptions. This could generally be due to 'hostile' political economy of the anti-Brahmin movements in Tamil Nadu. Though, these movements have 'practically' abolished the Brahminism as a dominant ideological frame, it has given birth to the Dravidian politics (based on non-Brahmin identities) at present. The result of this, although there is a widespread societal change, caste still remains important as a form of primordial identity. These identities are generally not explicit in Tanjore town due to urban anonymity; it is still visible in everyday lives of the villages like Sripuram. For instance, it has a greater social capital-centric control on individual's life in the village. The result is the newer form of caste where "…it is becoming less and less meaningful to speak of the caste system as a rigid, hierarchical, tightly linked socioeconomic system." (Mencher 1970:197).

In light of this changing reality, the higher levels of social distance between caste groups hold symbolic importance in interactions of the village. This is 'naturally' being respected by older generations, although, the present day youths are no longer bothered about it. This is seemingly due to the present generations' agential assertiveness to exercise their identity to 'question' the status quo. This is also happening *even* amongst the Brahmin youths who are increasingly secular in their outlook. This can be mainly because of the broader political economy where the role of education is important.

As Brahmins are historically known for their knowledge-centric ways of lives, one can presume the 'effects' of education in changing their orthodox caste principles. These changes are mainly due to newer political economy which is increasingly leaning towards the numerical majority of the population in the country. In this context, it must be noted that the percentage of population of non-Brahmins constitute almost 93% in Tamil Nadu. Thus, in contrast to Beteille's description, the present day Brahmins' are relatively "sensitive" to the significant others. The cultural relativist reality is parallel to the newer identity-formations of the Pallars in Sripuram. In addition to this, the political dynamics more often *secularizes* the caste groups in the demographic structure. In these sporadic changes, one can however, find the stability of endogamy. In terms of the marital rules, somehow, the caste as a social system is thriving in the lives of the villagers in Sripuram. This is in sharp contrast to the urban locations like Chennai where one can see the growing incidents of marriages outside one's own caste today.

Further, one can even observe the changes in the nomenclature over the years. For instance, the *Kudiana*, (or the streets where the Non-Brahmins or the OBCs live) are no longer a single residential unit. It has been changed into various streets. The way one calls the caste by name has also got changed due to the broader political-economy reasons. Before 1960, the present day Dalits for instance have mostly been addressed as *Pallan* in Sripuram. The political structure of Beteille's period has changed it to *Palla*. Today it is *Pallar*. The

difference in the meaning is a progressive naming of the caste with much 'respect'. Anyone who uses the earlier nomenclature of *Pallan* can even be legally challenged due to the socio-political processes over the years in Tamil Nadu.

Furthermore, each caste has its own traditional dressing pattern where one can find the distinctive styles of clothing. The normal day marks the similarities between Brahmins and others except on specific occasions and festival days, where the same fact can be seen *even* within the divisions of Brahmins. In this context, one can observe the social changes from the broader political-economy perspective. The historical importance of Sanskrit as a cultural-religious language of the Brahmins, for instance, has been disappearing. The subtler aspects like the 'purity-norms' of the food is changing. If the food is vegetarian, Brahmins are generally dining, in the weddings of other castes with the exception of orthodox men. This is a remarkable departure available only in the urban localities of Tamil Nadu as it is rare to find them eating with non-Brahmins in the village.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As education is one of the primary forces for individual's economic mobility, it is important to understand its role in social change. Due to various socio-economic factors, Sripuram is losing its rural character at present. Education is primarily one among them. Although, the changing socioeconomic relationships within the village are due to education, this aspect is somehow being overlooked in the mainstream narratives.

The changes in population as well as households over the years have indicated the patterns of both mobility and migration of the social groups. The changes in Agraharam, for instance, are mostly due to education induced emigration of the Brahmins. Given their superior position in social hierarchy, their emigration is generally for economic mobility in the village. This is in sharp contrast to the changes in other segments where economic

190

mobility happens mostly in the informal economy in Meenakshipuram. This is seemingly due to the low levels of education or even the absence of it for some Pallar households. In addition, the differential educational outcome reinforces the status quoist order where economic and social mobility of the individuals are confirming the hierarchical nature of the social structure. However, the present day youths who are educated, for instance, provides Pallar a new reality in the village. This is important from the perspective of CA:

> Non-farm jobs, better-paid wage labour and landowning, as well as education, have enabled a modicum of economic independence and changed the position of Dalits in the village. While change may not have led to employment, it heightened Dalits sense of entitlement and confidence in relation to their erstwhile superiors. (Still 2010: 6).

However, the shrinking employment avenues as well as the educated youths' aversion towards the manual labor push them out of the village. Due to this, one can mostly see the older generation-residents in Sripuram. In addition, the numbers of Brahmin residents, as mentioned earlier, are decreasing from Beteille's description. This, it may not be surprising to see Sripuram without any Brahmin households in the next three or four decades. The increasing emigration of the educated youths to the nearby towns clearly shows that education is an active agent which urbanizes the villagers in Sripuram. Though the absence of opportunities in the village is oft-cited reason, the role of education in e/migration is important in Sripuram today.

The continuous emigration of Brahmins has not only changed their ways of life, it has even altered the flavor of Sripuram. Their patronage to the local temples, furthermore, is no longer taken as seriously as it was in earlier time. The local School has almost lost its compositional character due to Brahmin's institutional exodus from it. However, the descriptions of Beteille in 1960 as well as the present fieldwork clearly confirm the functional role of the local School in social change. For instance Beteille reports that,

> As more and more Adi-Dravida children go to school and come into
> contact with both Non-Brahmin boys and girls, differences in speech tend
> to be leveled out, at least to some extent. (Beteille 2009: 54).

This to a greater extent, is true even today due to the inter-mixtures of various castes in the local School. However, one can see the dysfunctional class differences due to the non-poor's exodus to the private institutions in Meenakshipuram. This re/produces newer gap in social hierarchy, in terms of their economic positions in the village.

Furthermore, the division of labor in the village is not merely the economic arrangements. The social structure most often places the inheritance based on the hereditary affiliations at superior levels. Though the increasing educational outcome is changing the landscape of the ascriptive status, the generational failures of the Pallars are not allowing them to break the cycle of economic deprivation and social exclusion. The role of social capital once again plays a differential role in preserving the status quo in newer forms and nature. However:

> ...the educated as well as the urban-employed have brought into the
> village secular values from the outside world. Such slight changes as could
> be noticed with regard to the relaxation of the ritual practices of pollution-
> purity rules were consequences of these new elements... (Ishwaran 1970:
> 193).

These changes are crucial as well as sociologically significant. This in Beteille's argument: "In a field such as education, the demands of policy are important and urgent. But research directed solely by the requirements of policy tends to lose sight of the long-term changes taking place in a society." (Beteille In Govinda 2011: xvii). The social construction of capabilities in light of the differential functionings of education due to the intersecting factors in change shall be conceptualized in CA.

Epilogue

In India, the socio-economically backward groups are mainly conceived as the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). Though this is largely true, the complexity of social stratification needs to be appreciated. This appreciation is critical where the ascriptive status cannot command the same economic influence as it has had earlier. For this reason, one can see the marginal men *even* in erstwhile "higher" castes at present. Though this is most often economic in nature, the interplay of various factors discussed in the Chapters (5, 6, 7, 8 and 9) comprehended in capturing the complex social realities like that of Sripuram. The disaggregation features of this complexity have been seen in the intersectional aspects across the social groups in the village. The cumulative effects of socio-economic factors present in Sripuram set the ethnographic basis for adopting intersectional analyses. This has successfully allowed the Author to look at the issues in totality instead of being carried away by the "empirical" reductionism.

In India, the quality of opportunities, to large extent, is being determined by the intersectional social forces. These forces are predominantly shaped by the identities of caste, class and family. The intersectional analysis is important as mobility can no longer be viewed as a phenomenon of movement of individuals only from the *ascriptive* considerations of caste. The niceties of sociological factors and the availabilities of resource in socialising the next generation urgently need to be researched. This urgency has to be seen in terms of the role of intersectionality in reinforcing its influence in recruitments *even* in the informal economies of the village India. In addition, it must also be noted that the inequalities of opportunity of the erstwhile "lower" castes are expectantly lower given their historical exclusion in society. As this has been well-established in academia (Breman 2004, Gorringe

and et al 2009 among others), the present research argues that it is high time to underscore the emerging intersectional complexities of the poor and marginalised. The need of the hour is to study the mobility trajectories of the "upper" stratum in the country. This is essential for broader theory-building. This could be a possible research lead for the future studies in social sciences.

Theorisation, it must be reiterated, is one of the crucial mandates of academia instead of continuously reinventing the same old wheels about the poor and the marginalised. In light of this, sociologists can also counter the economic *determinism* in India. For instance, if the qualitative studies take up the issue of intersectional employment history of the parent(s), it could certainly be a value addition to the conceptual levels. This will possibly allow academia to theorise the matrices of mobility. The sociological as well as ethnographic research works, for instance, can make use of the insightful inferences on the intergenerational mobility by their sustained "field" observations. This is conceptually essential given the statistical limitations. It is astonishing that even the National Sample Survey (NSS) is under-sampling the rich. As this is also visible in the mainstream academia, the consequence can be seen that the measures understate the actual degree of inequality of income in India (Weisskopf 2011:45).

Thus the emphasis in status-attainment research of the "higher" castes and classes will certainly show how individual agencies are being shaped by intersectional forces in India today. In this backdrop, another probable research lead could be to understand how the non-poor who are most often being represented in the erstwhile "higher" castes are cultivating their children's talents and abilities at present. This is important as it have the functional conversion factors for broader *capability* and *functionings* formations (Sen 1999). The analysis of this nature will also lead us to understand both micro as well as macro *social processes* through which how the family-of-origin re/produces the latter-life wellbeing of the non-poor and the "higher" castes.

This is important in India as the mainstream research has so far been unable to counter the inconvenient "truths" in the country. For instance, there is no conceptual

scrutiny of why the educationists' personal choice of sending their *own* children to private schools despite their "professional" op/position to privatisation of education in India. These inconvenient intersectional truths are crucial to understand how the policy-elites are convinced about the market principles despite their "strong" academic opposition. It could probably be due to their "awareness" of academia's personal *choices* and professional *voices* at present.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, Patricia A. and Peter Adler (1987), "The Past and the Future of Ethnography", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 16, No. 1, (pp. 4-24).

Adler, Patricia A. and Peter Adler (1995), "The Demography of Ethnography", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (pp. 3-29).

Afridi, Farzana (2005), "Midday Meals in Two States: Comparing the Financial and Institutional Organisation of the Programme", *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp. 1528-1534.

Ahmad, Shakeel (2000), "Traditions of Learning And modernization: A case of Machhti, Ghazipur, U.P.", *Operation Blackboard Project: An Ethnographic* Study, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

Allan, George (2003), "A critique of using grounded theory as a research method", *Department of Information Systems and Computer Applications*, Portsmouth University, UK

Anderson, Gary L. (1989), "Critical Ethnography in Education: Origins, Current Status, and New Directions", *Review of Educational Research,* Vol. 59, No. 3, (pp. 249-270).

Anderson, Leon (1999), "The Open Road to Ethnography's Future" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 28, No. 5, (pp. 451-459).

Apthorpe, Raymond (1997), "Human development reporting and social anthropology", *Social Anthropology*, Vol. 5, Issue 1, (pp. 21-34).

Aschaffenburg, Karen and Ineke Maas (1997), "Cultural and Educational Careers: The Dynamics of Social Reproduction", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, (pp. 573-587).

Atkinson, Paul and Martyn Hammersley (1994), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications, London.

Atkinson, Paul, Amanda Coffey and Sara Delamont (1999), "Ethnography: Post, Past, and the Present", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* Vol. 28, No. 5, (pp. 460-471).

Aturupane, Harsha, Paul, Glewwe and Paul Isenman (1994), "Poverty, Human Development, and Growth: An Emerging Consensus?" *American Economic Review*, 84(2), (pp. 244-249).

Aylward, Carol A. (2010), "Intersectionality: Crossing the Theoretical and Praxis Divide", *Journal of Critical Race Inquiry*, Volume 1, Number 1, (pp. 1-48).

Ayres, Ron and Manuela Torrijos Simon (2003), "Education, Poverty and Sustainable Livelihoods in Tamil Nadu: Inequalities, Opportunities and Constraints", *Review of Political Economy*, Volume 15, No. 2, (211-229).

Ayyar, Vaidyanatha R.V. (2005), "What Lessons Can DPEP Offer?" *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration*, Volume XIX, No. 1, (pp. 49-65).

Banerji, Rukmini (1997), "Why Don't Children Complete Primary School: A Case Study of a Low-Income Neighbourhood in Delhi", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 2053-2063).

Banerji, Rukmini (2000) "Poverty and Primary Schooling: Field Studies from Mumbai and Delhi", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 795-802).

Bawane, Jyoti (2000), "A Rural School Experience: Space for Dynamic Movement-A Case of Masod Village in Maharashtra", *Operation Blackboard Project: An Ethnographic* Study, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

Beals, Alan R. (1970), "Namahalli, 1953-1966: Urban Influence and Change in Southern Mysore", In K. Ishwaran (Ed.,), *Change and Continuity in India's Villages*, Columbia University Press, New York. (pp. 57-72).

Beals, Alan R. (1978), "The remembered village as ethnography", *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* Vol. 12, No. 1, (pp. 109-115).

Beals, Alan R. (1964), Review of "When Caste Barriers Fall: A Study of Social and Economic Change in a South Indian Village" By Dagfinn Sivertsen, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 66, No. 6, Part 1, (p. 1429).

Bebbington, Anthony (1999), "Capitals and Capabilities: A Framework for Analyzing Peasant Viability, Rural Livelihoods and Poverty", *World Development,* Vol. 27, No. 12, (pp. 2021-2044).

Becker, Gary S. (1964), *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*, Columbia University Press, USA.

Becker, Gary S. (1962), "Investment in Human Capital: A Theoretical Analysis", *The Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. 70, No. 5, (pp. 9-49).

Becker, Gary S. and Nigel Tomes (1986), "Human Capital and the Rise and Fall of Families", *Journal of Labor Economics*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (pp. S1-S39).

Bell, Daniel (1977), "On Meritocracy and Equality", In Jerome Karabel and A.H. Halsey (Ed.,), *Power and Ideology in Education*, Oxford University Press, New York. (pp. 607-635).

Berger, Michele Tracy *&* Kathleen Guidroz (2009), (Ed.), The Intersectional Approach: Transforming the academy through *Race, Class, and Gender*, *The University Of North Carolina Press*, USA.

Berry, Sara (1985), *Fathers Work for their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility, and Class Formation in an Extended Yorübä community,* University of California Press, California.

Beteille, Andre (1964), "A Note on the Pongal Festival in a Tanjore Village", *Man*, Vol. 64, (pp. 73-75).

_____ (1965), *Caste, Class, And Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village*, University of California Press, USA.

_____ (1965 a), "Social Organisation of Temples in a Tanjore Village", *History of Religions*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (pp. 74-92).

_____ (1972), "Pollution and Poverty", In J. Michael Mahar (Ed.,), *The Untouchable in Contemporary India*, The University of Arizona Press, U.S.A. (pp. 411-420).

_____ (1972 a), "The Tribulations of Fieldwork", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 1509-1511-1513+1515-1516).

_____ (1972 b), "Agrarian Relations in Tanjore District, South India", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (pp. 122-151).

_____ (1974), *Studies in Agrarian Social Structure*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

_____ (1983), *Equality and Inequality: Theory and Practice*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

_____ (1990), "Some Observations on the Comparative Method", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 25, No. 40, (pp. 2255-2257+2259-2263).

_____ (1993), "Amartya Sen's Utopia", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 753-756).

_____ (2001), "Equality and Individual Achievement", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 427Date:02/11/2002 URL: /02/stories/2002110200101000.htm"|http://www.thehindu.com/2002/11/02/stories/2002 110200101000.htm

_____ (2002), *Sociology: Essays on Approach & Method*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

_____ (2003), "Poverty and Inequality", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 4455-4463).

_____ (2007), "The School and the Community", *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration,* Volume XXI, No. 3, (pp. 191-201).

_____ (2009), *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi (2nd Edition/Sixth Impression).

_____ (2009 a), *Marxism and Class Analysis*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. (2nd Impression).

_____ (2011), "Foreword", In R. Govinda (Ed.) *Who Goes to School? Exploring Exclusion in Indian Education*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. (pp. xvii-xix).

Betraux, Daniel & Paul Thompson (1997), *Pathways to Social Class: A Qualitative Approach to Social Mobility*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Bhatty, Kiran (1998 a), "Educational Deprivation in India: A Survey of Field Investigations", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 1731-1740).

Bhatty, Kiran (1998 b), "Educational Deprivation in India: A Survey of Field Investigations", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 1858-1868).

Borgatta, Edgar F and Rhonda J.V. Montgomery (2000), *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Macmillan Reference, Ney York, (2nd Edition).

Bowleg, Lisa (2008)," When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges of Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research", *Sex Roles* 59, (pp. 312–325).

Bowles, Samuel & Herbert Gintis (1976), *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York.

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis (1988), "Contradiction and Reproduction in Educational Theory", In Mike Cole (Ed.,), (1988), *Bowles and Gintis Revisited: Correspondence and Contradiction in Educational Theory*, The Falmer Press, UK. (pp. 16-32).

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis (1988), "Prologue: The Correspondence Principle", In Mike Cole (Ed.,), (1988), *Bowles and Gintis Revisited: Correspondence and Contradiction in Educational Theory*, The Falmer Press, UK. (pp. 1-4).

Bowles, Samuel, Herbert Gintis, and Melissa Osborne Groves (2005), "Introduction" In Samuel Bowles, Herbert Gintis, and Melissa Osborne Groves, *Unequal Chances: Family Background and Economic Success*, Princeton University Press, Princeton. (pp. 1-22).

Bowles, Samuel, Herbert Gintis, and Melissa Osborne Groves (Ed.,), (2005), *Unequal Chances: Family Background and Economic Success*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Bredström, Anna (2006), "Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist HIV/AIDS Research?", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 13(3): (pp. 229–243).

Breman , Jan (1988), *The Shattered Image: Construction and Deconstruction of the Village in Colonial Asia*, Foris Publications Holland, The Netherlands.

Breman , Jan (2010), "India's Social Question in a State of Denial", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 42-46).

Breman, Jan (1974), *Patronage and Exploitation: Changing Agrarian Relations in South Gujarat, India*, University of California Press, California.

Breman, Jan (1987), *The Informal Sector in Research: Theory and Practice*, The Comparative Asian Studies Programme (CASP), Erasmus University, Rotterdam.

Breman, Jan (1996) *Footloose Labour: Working in India's Informal Economy*, Cambridge University Press, Great Britain.

Breman, Jan (2004), "Returns of Social Inequality: A Fashionable Doctrine", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 3869-3872).

Brewer, John D. (1994), "The Ethnographic Critique of Ethnography: Sectarianism in the RUC", *Sociology*, Vol. 28, No. 1, (pp. 231-244).

Bridges, David (2006), "Adaptive preference, justice and identity in the context of widening participation in higher education", *Ethics and Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (pp. 15-28).

Bruckner, Donald W. (2009), "In defense of adaptive preferences", *Philosophical Studies*, Vol. 142, Issue 3, (pp. 307-324).

Bull, Rodney and Ian Shaw (1992), "Constructing Causal Accounts in Social Work", *Sociology*, Vol. 26, No. 4, (pp. 635-649).

Caillods, Francoise (1998), "Education Strategies for disadvantaged groups: Some basic issues", IIEP Contributions –No. 31, *International Institute for Educational Planning*, Paris.

Caldwell, John C. and et al (1985), "Educational Transition in Rural South India", *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (pp. 29-51).

Cassidy, Wanda & Margaret Jackson (2005), "The Need for Equality in Education: An Intersectionality Examination of Labeling and Zero Tolerance Practices", McGill Journal Of Education, Vol. 40, No 3, (pp. 435-456).

Chakrabarty & Bhamik (2011), "Whither Human Capital? The woeful tale of transition to tertiary education in India", Working Paper Number 1019, *William Davidson Institute*, University of Michigan.

Chambers, Robert (1981), "Rural Poverty Unperceived: Problems and Remedies", *World Development*, Vol. 9, (pp. 1-19).

Chauhan, I S (1967), Review of "Caste, Class, and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village", By Andre Beteille, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 2, No. 25, (pp. 1119-1120).

Choo, Hae Yeon and Myra Marx Ferree (2010), "Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities", *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 28, Issue. 2 (pp. 129-149).

Chopra, Radhika and Patricia Jeffery (2005), (Ed.,), *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Ciotti, Manuela (2006), " 'In the past we were a bit "Chamar" ': education as a self-and community engineering process in northern India", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 12, (899-916).

Clark-Deces, Isabelle (2011), "The Decline of Dravidian Kinship in Local Perspectives", In Isabelle Clark-Deces (Ed.,) *A Companion to the Anthropology of India*, Wiley-Blackwell, UK. (pp. 517-535).

Clark-Deces, Isabelle (Ed.,), (2011), *A Companion to the Anthropology of India*, Wiley-Blackwell, UK.

Cleaver, Frances (2005), "The Inequality of Social Capital and the Reproduction of Chronic Poverty", *World Development*, Vol. 33, No. 6, (pp. 893-906).

Cole, Elizabeth R. (2008) "Coalitions as a Model for Intersectionality: From Practice to Theory", *Sex Roles* 59, (pp. 443–453).

Cole, Elizabeth R. (2009), "Intersectionality and Research in Psychology", *American Psychologist*, Vol. 64, No. 3, (pp. 170–180).

Cole, Mike (Ed.,), (1988), *Bowles and Gintis Revisited: Correspondence and Contradiction in Educational Theory*, The Falmer Press, UK.

Coleman, J. *et al* (1966), *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, U.S. A.

Coleman, James S. (1988), "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital", *American Journal of Sociology,* Volume 94, (Supplement S95-S120).

Collins, Stephanie Baker (2005), "An understanding of poverty from those who are poor", *Action Research*, Volume 3(1), (pp. 9-31).

Connell, R. W. (Summer 1994), "Poverty and Education", *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 64, No. 2, (pp. 125-149).

Conwill, William Louis (2010), "Domestic Violence Among the Black Poor: Intersectionality and Social Justice", *Int J Adv Counselling* 32, (pp. 31–45).

Cudd, Ann E. (2011), "Review of Adaptive Preferences and Women's Empowerment" by Serene J. Khader, Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews.

DiMaggio, Paul (1982), "Cultural Capital and School Success: The Impact of Status Culture Participation on the Grades of U.S. High School Students", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 47, No. 2, (pp. 189-201).

DiMaggio, Paul and John Mohr (1985), "Cultural Capital, Educational Attainment, and Marital Selection", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 90, No. 6 (pp. 1231-1261).

D'Souza, Victors (1979), "Socio-Cultural Marginality: A Theory of Urban Slums and Poverty in India", *Sociological Bulletin,* Vol. 28, No. 1-2, (pp. 9-24).

_____ (1999), Review of "Caste, Class, and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village", By Andre Beteille, *Sociological Bulletin,* Vol. 48, No. 1 & 2, (pp. 298-302).

Das, Amarendra (2007), "How Far Have We come in Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, (January 6, 2007), (pp. 21-23).

Das, Veena (Ed.), (2004), *Oxford Handbook of Indian Sociology*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Davenport, William (1964), Review of "When Caste Barriers Fall: A Study of Social and Economic Change in a South Indian Village" By Dagfinn Sivertsen, *Science*, Vol. 145, No. 3629, (p. 257).

Davies, Philip (2000), "The Relevance of Systematic Reviews to Educational Policy and Practice", *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 26, No. ¾, (pp. 365-378).

Davis, Kathy (2008), "Intersectionality as buzzword: *A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful", Feminist Theory,* Vol. 9(1), (pp. 67–85).

De, Anuradha, Tanuka Endow and Sourindra Ghosh (2010), "Educational outcomes and poverty: Some findings from a household survey in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh", *RECOUP Working Paper No. 32*, Research Consortium of Educational Outcomes & Poverty (RECOUP).

Dean, Hartley (2009), "Critiquing Capabilities: The distractions of a beguiling concept", *Critical Social Policy*, Vol. 29(2), (pp. 261-278).

Deaton, Angus and Jean Dreze (2002), "Poverty and Inequality in India: A Re-Examination", *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.3729-3748.

Deem, Rosemary (1996), "The Future of Educational Research in the Context of the Social Sciences: A Special Case?" *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, (pp. 143-158).

Deliege, Robert (2011), "Caste, Class and Untouchability", In Isabelle Clark-Deces (Ed.,) *A Companion to the Anthropology of India*, Wiley-Blackwell, UK. (pp. 45-61).

Deneulin, Severine and J. Allister McGregor (2010), "The capability approach and the politics of a social conception of wellbeing", *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 13, No. 4, (pp. 501-519).

Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Ed). (2005), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications, U.S.A.

Department of Elementary Education & Literacy (Year not known), Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan: Framework for Implementation, MHRD, New Delhi.

Desai, Meghnad (1991), "Human Development: Concepts and Measurement", *European Economic Review*, 35, (pp. 350-357).

Deshpande, Ashwini (2008), "Caste and diversity in India", In John B. Davis & Wilfred Dlfsma, *The Elgar Companion to Social Economics*, Edward Elgar, UK.

Dore, Ronald (1976), *The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification and Development*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London.

Dreze, Jean & Amartya Sen (1997), *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Dreze, Jean & Sen (1999), The Amartya Sen & Jean Dreze Omnibus, *Oxford University Press*, New Delhi. (Comprises of three volumes namely: (1) Poverty and Famines; (2) Hunger and Public Action; and (3) India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity).

Dreze, Jean (2002), "On Research and Action", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 817-819).

Dreze (2004a), "Patterns of Literacy and their Social Context", Veena Das (Ed.), (2004), *Oxford Handbook of Indian Sociology*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. (pp. 345-361).

Dreze, Jean, (2004b), "Democracy and Right to Food", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 1723-1731).

Dreze, Jean and Aparajita Goyal, (2003), "The Future of Mid-Day Meals", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp.4673-4683).

Dreze, Jean and Geeta Gandhi Kingdon (1999), *School Participation in Rural India*, DEDPS No. 18, The Development Economics Discussion Paper Series, London.

Driver, Edwin D. (1982), "Class, caste, and 'status summation' in urban South India", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Vol. 16, No. 2, (pp. 225-253).

Dumais, Susan A. (2002), ''Cultural Capital, Gender, and School Success: The Role of Habitus", *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 75, No. 1, (pp. 44-68).

Duncan, Greg, Ariel Kalil, Susan E. Mayer, Robin Tepper, and Monique R. Payne (2005), "The Apple Does not Fall far from the Tree" In Samuel Bowles, Herbert Gintis, and Melissa Osborne Groves, (Ed.,), *Unequal Chances: Family Background and Economic Success*, Princeton University Press, Princeton. (pp. 23-79).

Duneier, Mitchell (1992), *Slim's Table: Race, Respectability, and Masculinity*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Dunne, Máiréad and Gazeley, Louise (2008) "Teachers, social class and underachievement", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29: 5,(451 — 463).

Dyer, Caroline (1996) "Primary Teachers And Policy Innovation in India: Some Neglected Issues", *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol. 16, No. 1, (pp. 27-40).

_____ (1996a), "The Improvement of Primary School Quality in India: Successes and Failures of Operation Blackboard", *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian Studies*, Number 4, University of Edinburgh.

_____ (1997), *Operation Blackboard: Policy Implementation in Indian Elementary Education*, PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, UK.

_____(2000), "Education for All and the Rabaris of Kachchh, Western India", *International Journal of Educational Research* 33 (pp. 241-251).

Dyer, Caroline and Archana Choski (1998), "Education is like wearing glasses: Nomads' views of Literacy and Empowerment", *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol. 18, No. 5, (pp. 405–413).

Dyer, Caroline and et al (2004), "Knowledge for teacher development in India: the importance of 'local knowledge' for in-service education" *International Journal of Educational Development*, 24 (pp. 39–52).

Dyer, Caroline with Archana Choski and et al., (2004), *District Institutes of Education and Training: A Comparative Study in Three Indian States*, Department for International Development: Educational Papers, UK.

Epstein, Scarlett (1967), Review of "Caste, Class, and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village", By Andre Beteille, *American Ethnologist*, New Series, Vol. 69, No. 2, (pp, *Economical and Political Weekly*.

EPW Editorial (2001), "School Lunch: Unpalatable Carrots", Retrieved from http://www.epw.org.in/showArticles.php?root=2001&leaf=06&filename=3137&filetype=html

_____ (2002), "School Meals: Food for Thought", *Economical and Political Weekly*.

_____ (2003), "TRIBES: Ethics of Research", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (p. 4284).

Etienne, Gilbert (1968), Studies in Indian Agriculture: The Art of the Possible, *University of California Press*, California. (Translated from the French by Megan Mothersole).

Faist, Thomas (1993), "*From School to Work:* Public Policy and Underclass Formation among Young Turks in Germany during the 1980s", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2, (pp. 306-331).

Fine, Gary Alan (1993), "Ten Lies of Ethnography: Moral Dilemmas of Field Research", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* Vol. 22, No. 3, (pp. 267-294).

Foley, Douglas A. and et al (2000-2001), "Anthropology Goes inside: The New Educational Ethnography of Ethnicity and Gender", *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 25, (pp. 37-98).

Fonseca, A. J. (1971), (Ed.), *Challenge of Poverty in India*, Vikas Publications, Delhi.

Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko (2003), "The Human Development Paradigm: Operationalising Sen's Ideas on Capabilities", *Feminist Economics,* 9(2-3), (pp. 301-317).

Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko (2011), "Theory and Policy in International Development: Human Development and Capability Approach and the Millennium Development Goals", *International Studies Review*, 13, (pp. 122-132).

Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko and A. K. Shiva Kumar (ed.,), (2003), Readings in Human Development: Concepts, Measures and Policies for a Development Paradigm, *Oxford University Press*, New Delhi.

Fuller, C. J. (1983), Review of "Rural Society in Southeast India" By Kathleen Gough, *Man*, Vol. 18, No. 3, (pp. 614-615).

_____ (2011), "The Modern Transformation of an Old Elite: The Case of the Tamil Brahmins", In Isabelle Clark-Deces (Ed.,) *A Companion to the Anthropology of India*, Wiley-Blackwell, UK. (pp. 80-97).

_____ (2012), "Introduction to *Caste, Class and Power*", In *Caste, Class and Power*, Oxford University Press, Delhi. (Oxford India Perennials).

Fuller, C. J. and Haripriya Narasimhan (2007), "Information Technology Professionals and the New-Rich Middle Class in Chennai (Madras)", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 41, Issue 1 (pp. 121-150).

Fuller, C. J. and Haripriya Narasimhan (2008a), "From Landlords to Software Engineers: Migration and Urbanization among Tamil Brahmans", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50(1), (pp. 170-196).

Fuller, C. J. and Haripriya Narasimhan (2008b), "Companionate marriage in India: the changing marriage system in a middle-class Brahman subcaste", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 14, (736-754).

Gang, Ira N., Kunal Sen and Myeong-Su Yun (2004), "Caste, Ethnicity and Poverty in Rural India", *Tulane University*.

Gasper, Des (2002), "Is Sen's Capability Approach an Adequate Basis for Considering Human Development", *Review of Political Economy*, Vol. 14, No. 4, (pp. 435-461).

Gasper, Des (2007), "What is the capability approach? Its core, rationale, partners and dangers", *The Journal of Socio-Economics* 36, (pp. 335-359).

Gautam, Indra (2000), "Educational Perspectives in the Eastern Slopes: A Case study of Sihphir Village, Mizoram", *Operation Blackboard Project: An Ethnographic* Study, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

George, Ann (2010), "Towards Holistic Understanding of the Lives of the Poor: Reading the Life History of Viramma (a Poor Dalit Woman) Conjointly with Martha Nussbaum's List of Capabilities", *Indian Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 4, No. 2, (pp. 351-367).

Gilead, Tal (2009), "Human Capital, Education and the Promotion of Social Cooperation: A Radical Critique", *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 28 (pp. 555-567).

Gist, Noel P (1954), "Caste differentials in South India", *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 19, No. 2, (pp. 126-137).

Goffman, Erving (1959), *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Anchor Books, New York.

Goffman, Erving (1967), *Asylum : Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Gough, Kathleen (1971), *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistant*, Cambridge University Press, Great Britain.

Gough, Kathleen (1981), *Rural Society in Southeast India*, Cambridge University Press, USA.

Government of India (GoI) (2012-13), *Ministry of Human Resource Development Annual Report*, New Delhi.

Government of India (GoI) (2002), *National Human Development Report 2001*, Planning Commission, New Delhi.

Government of Tamil Nadu (GoTN) (2003), *Tamil Nadu Human Development Report*, Social Science Press, Delhi.

Government of India (GoI) (2011), *India Human Development Report 2011: Towards Social Inclusion*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Govinda, R. (2011), *Who Goes to School? Exploring Exclusion in Indian Education*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Grabham, Emily, Davina Cooper, Jane Krishnadas and Didi Herman (2009) (Ed.), Intersectionality and Beyond: Law, power and the politics of location, *Routledge-Cavendish*, USA.

Gray, Hugh (1967), Review of "Caste, Class, and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village", By Andre Beteille, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 30, No. 1, (p. 251).

Gray, Hugh (September 1965), Review of "When Caste Barriers Fall: A Study of Social and Economic Change in a South Indian Village" By Dagfinn Sivertsen, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 16, No. 3, (pp. 276-77).

Greene, Robert & Joost Elffers (2006), *The 48 Laws of Power*, Viva Books Private Limited, New Delhi.

Guhan, S (March 1984), Review of "Rural Society in Southeast India" By Kathleen Gough, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 86, No. 1, (pp. 209-10).

Gupta, Dipankar (Ed) (1991), *Social Stratification*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Gupta, Dipankar (2009), *The Caged Phoenix: Can India Fly?*, Penguin Books India, New Delhi.

Gupta, Shiv Prakash (1984), "Conceptualising Poverty", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 33, Nos. 1 and 2, (pp. 63-74).

Guru, Gopal (2002), "How Egalitarian Are the Social Science in India?", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 5003-5009).

Hammersley, Martyn (1985), "From Ethnography to Theory: A Programme and Paradigm in the Sociology of Education", *Sociology*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (pp. 244-259).

_____ (1990), "What's Wrong with Ethnography? The Myth of Theoretical Description", *Sociology*, Vol. 24, No. 4, (pp. 597-615).

_____(2003), "Social Research Today: Some Dilemmas and Distinctions", *Qualitative Social Work*, Vol. 2(1), (pp. 25-44).

Hancock, Ange-Marie (2007), "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm", Vol. 5, No. 1 (pp. 63-79).

Hankivsky, Olena & Renee Cormier (2010), "Intersectionality and Public Policy: Some Lessons from Existing Models", *Political Research Quarterly*, XX(X), (pp. 1–13).

Haq, Mahbub ul (2003), "The Birth of the Human Development Index", In *Readings in Human Development*, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and A. K. Shiva Kumar, Oxford University Press, Oxford. (pp. 127-137).

Harriss, John (1986), "The Working Poor and the Labour Aristocracy in a South Indian City: A Descriptive and Analytical Account", *Modern Asian Studies*, 20(2), (pp. 231-283).

_____ (1998), "Development Studies and the Development of India: An Awkward Case?", *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, (pp. 287-309).

_____ (2007), "Bringing politics back into poverty analysis: Why understanding social relations matters more for policy on chronic poverty than measurement", *CPRC Working Paper 77*, Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC), UK.

Hart, C S (2012), Review of Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 33. No. 4, (pp. 607-613).

Hicks, Norman and Paul Streeten (1979), "Indicators of Development: The Search for a Basic Needs Yardstick", *World Development*, Vol. 7, (pp. 567-580).

Hicks, Norman L. (1980), "is there a tradeoff between growth and basic needs", In *Poverty and Basic Needs*, World Bank, Washington D.C. (pp. 22-25).

Hill, Elizabeth, Meera Samson and Shyamasree Dasgupta (2011), "Expanding the School Market in India: Parental Choice and the Reproduction of Social Inequality", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI, No. 35, (pp. 98-105).

Hinchliffe, Geoffrey William & Adrienne Jolly (2011): Graduate identity and employability, *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 4, (pp. 563-584).

Hinchcliffe, Geoffrey & Lorella Terzi (2009), "Introduction to the Special Issue 'Capabilities and Education' ", *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, Volume 28, Number 5, (387-390).

Hine, Christine (Not Mentioned), "Virtual Ethnography", *Centre for Research into Innovation*, Culture and Technology, Brunel University, UK.

Hine, Christine (2007), "Multi-sited Ethnography as a Middle Range Methodology for Contemporary STS", *Science, Technology & Human Values*, Vol. 32, No. 6, (pp. 652-671).

Ho Sui-Chu, Esther and J. Douglas Willms (1996), "Effects of Parental Involvement on Eighth-Grade Achievement", *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (pp. 126-141).

Hockings, Paul (1977), "The Abbe Dubois, an early French ethnographer", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Vol. 11, No.2, (pp.329-343).

Hopkins, Micahel (1991), Human Development Revisited" A New UNDP Report, *World Development*, Vol.19, No. 10, (pp. 1469-1473,).

Howe, Kenneth R. and Michele S. Moses (1999), "Ethics in Educational Research", *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 24, (pp. 21-59).

Ishwaran, K. (1970), (Ed.,), *Change and Continuity in India's Villages*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Ishwaran, K. (1970), "Mallur: Internal Dynamics of Change in a Mysore Village", In K. Ishwaran (Ed.,), *Change and Continuity in India's Villages*, Columbia University Press, New York. (165-195).

Islam, Maidul (2011), "Flawed Idea of Justice", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI, No. 32, (pp. 116-121).

Jackson, William A. (2009), *Economics, Culture and Social Theory*, Edward Elgar, UK.

Jackson, William A. (2005), "Capabilities, Culture and Social Structure", *Review of Social Economy,* Vol. LXIII, No. 1, (pp. 101-124).

Jami, Froagh Ahmad (2000), "School-No Man's Land: A Qualitative Account of "School and Society Relationship" in Kheria Village (in Hardoi District of U.P.)", *Operation Blackboard Project: An Ethnographic* Study, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

Jayaraj, D and S Subramanian (2005), "Out of School and (Probably) in Work: Child Labour and Capability Deprivation in India", Research Paper No. 2005/55, *UNU-WIDER,* United Nations University.

Jayaram, N (1977), "Higher Education as a status stabilizer: Students in Bangalore", *Contributions to India Sociology*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (pp. 169-191).

Jeffrey, Craig (2002), "Caste, Class, and Clientelism: A Political Economy of Everyday Corruption in Rural North India", *Economic Geography*, Vol. 78, No. 1 (pp. 21-41).

Jeffrey, Craig (2009), "Fixing Futures: Educated Unemployment through a North Indian Lens", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51(1), (pp. 182-211).

Jeffrey, Craig (2010), *Timepass: Youth, Class, and the Politics of Waiting in India*, Stanford University Press, California.

_____ (2010a), "Timepass: Youth, class and time among unemployed young men in India", *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 37, No. 3, (pp. 465-481).

_____ (2011), "Great Expectations: Youth in Contemporary India", In Isabelle Clark-Deces (Ed.,) *A Companion to the Anthropology of India*, Wiley-Blackwell, UK. (pp. 62-79).

Jeffrey, Craig & Jane Dyson (2008), *Telling Young Lives: Portraits of global youth*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia

Jeffrey, Craig, Patricia Jeffery and Roger Jeffery (2005), "When schooling fails: Young men, education and low-caste politics in rural north India", *Contributions to India Sociology*, Vol. 39, No. 1, (pp. 1-37).

Jeffrey, Craig, Patricia Jeffery and Roger Jeffery (2010), *Education, Unemployment and Masculinities in India*, Social Science Press and Orient BlackSwan, New Delhi.

Jenkins, Tim (2006), "Bourdieu's Bearnais Ethnography", *Theory, Culture Society*, Vol. 23, No. 6, (pp. 45-72).

Jha, Jyotsna and Dhir Jhingran (2005), *Elementary Education for the Poorest and other Deprived Groups: The Real Challenge of Universalization*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi.

Jha, Praveen (2005), "Withering Commitments and Weakening Progress: State and Education in the Era of Neoliberal Reforms", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40, No. 33, (pp. 3677-3684).

Jones, Nicola and Andy Sumner (2007), "Does mixed methods research matter to understanding Childhood well-being? ", *WeD Working Paper 40*, WeD - Wellbeing in Developing Countries, ESRC Research Group, UK.

Kainth, Gursharan Singh (2006), "A Mission Approach to Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan" *Economic and Political Weekly* (July 29, 2006), (pp. 3288-3291).

Kannan, K P and G Raveendran (2011), "India's Common People: The Regional Profile", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI, No. 38, (pp. 60-73).

Katsillis, John and Richard Rubinson (1990), "Cultural Capital, Student Achievement, and Educational Reproduction: The Case of Greece", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 55, No. 2, (pp. 270-279).

Kaul, Rekha (1993), *Caste, Class and Education: Politics of the Capitation Fee Phenomenon in Karnataka*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Kelley, Allen C. (1991), "The Human Development Index: "Handle with Care" " *Population and Development Review,* 17, No. 2, (pp. 315-324).

Ken, Ivy (2008), "Beyond the Intersection: A New Culinary Metaphor for Race-Class-Gender Studies", *Sociological Theory* 26:2, (pp. 152-172).

Khader, Serene J. (2009), "Adaptive Preferences and Procedural Autonomy", *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (pp. 169-187).

Khader, Serene J. (2011), *Adaptive Preferences and Women's Empowerment*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Khader, Serene J. (2012), "Must Theorising about Adaptive Preferences Deny Women's Agency?", *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, Vol. 29, No. 4, (pp. 302-317).

Kieselbach, Thomas and et al (Ed.), (2001), *Living on the Edge – An Empirical Analysis on Long-term Youth Unemployment and Social Exclusion in Europe*, Leske + Budrich, Opladen, Germany.

Kingston, Paul W. (2001), ''the Unfulfilled Promise of Cultural Capital Theory'', *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 74, (pp. 88-99).

King, James R. (2000), "Inconsistencies in Education and Ethnography Offer Rays of Hope", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 29, No. 6, (pp. 747-755).

King, Kenneth, Simon McGrath and Pauline Rose (2007), "Beyond the basics: Educating and training out of poverty", *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27 (pp. 349-357).

Kothari, Uma and Martin Minogue (2002), *Development Theory and Practice: Critical Perspectives*, Palgrave.

Kumar, A.K. Shiva (year not known), "Poverty and Human Development in India: Getting Priorities Right", Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/ocational_papers/oc30.htm

Kumar, Krishna (1987), "Reproduction or Change? Education and Elites in India", In Ratna Ghosh and Mathew Zachariah, *Education and the Process of Change,* Sage Publications, New Delhi. (pp. 27-41).

_____ (2004), "Quality of education at the beginning of the 21ˢᵗ Century: Lessons from India", *Background paper prepared for the Education For All Global Monitoring Report 2005 The Quality Imperative*, UNESCO.

_____ (2007), "EFA and the Quality Debate: Perspective from India's National Curriculum Framework, 2005", *Lecture delivered at the London International Development Centre*, London (on 5ᵗʰ December 2007).

_____ (2011), "Teaching and the Neo-Liberal State", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI, No. 21 (pp. 37-40).

Kumar, Krishna and Padma M. Sarangapani (2004), "History of the quality debate", *Background paper prepared for the Education For All Global Monitoring Report 2005 The Quality Imperative*, UNESCO.

Kumar, Ravi (2000) "Education in the times of Extremist Violence: A Case of Rampur Chai Village in Jehanabad, Bihar", *Operation Blackboard Project: An Ethnographic* Study, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

Kumar, Sanjay, Anthony Heath and Oliver Heath (2002), "Determinants of Social Mobility in India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 2983-2987).

Laderchi, Caterina Ruggeri (2001), "Participatory methods in the analysis of poverty: a critical review", *QEH Working Paper Series – QEHWPS62*, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford.

Lamont, James (2011), "India's abject return to talk of Hindu growth rates", *Financial Times*, Europe Edition (p. 11).

Lamont, Michele and Annette Lareau (1988), "Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments", *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 6, No. 2. (pp. 153-168).

Lareau, Annette (2003), *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*, University of California Press, California.

Lareau, Annette and Erin McNamara Horvat (1999), "Moments of Social Inclusion and Exclusion Race, Class, and Cultural Capital in Family-School Relationships", *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (pp. 37-53).

Lee, Stacey J. (2007), "Theorizing Class Through Ethnography", *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (pp. 33-36).

Lerche, Jens (2010), "Agrarian Crisis and Agrarian Questions in India", *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (pp. 104-118).

Leßmann, Ortud and et al (2011), *Closing the Capabilities Gap: Regenrating social justice for the young*, Barbara Budrich Publishers, Germany.

Levine, David P. (2004), "Poverty, Capabilities and Freedom", *Review of Political Economy*, Vol. 16, No. 1, (pp. 101-115).

Lind, Niels C. (1992), "Some Thoughts on the Human Development Index", *Social Indicators Research*, 27, (89-101).

Lister, Ruth (2009), "A Nordic Nirvana? Gender, Citizenship, and Social Justice in the Nordic Welfare States", *Oxford University Press*, (pp. 242–278).

Lofland, John (1995), "Analytic Ethnography: Features, Failings, and Futures", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (pp. 30-67).

Lutz, Helma, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar & Linda Supik (2011), (Ed.), Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies, *Ashgate Publishing Limited*, UK.

Lykke, Nina (2010), Feminist Studies: A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing, *Routledge*, New York.

Lyon, Eleanor (1999), "Reflections on the Future of Applied Ethnography", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 28, No. 6, (pp. 620-627).

Mach, Bogdan W. and Wlodzimierz Wesolowski (1986), *Social mobility and social structure,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. (Translated by Barbara Zawadzka).

Madan, T. N. (1984), Review of "Rural Society in Southeast India" By Kathleen Gough, *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (pp. 388-390).

Maertens, Annemie (2011), "Does Education Pay Off? Subjective Expectations on Education in Rural India"; *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI, No. 9, (pp. 58-63).

Mander, Harsh (June 2010), "'Words from the Heart': Researching People's Stories", *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, Vol. 2, Number 2, (pp-252-270).

Mangalam, J. J. (1965), Review of "When Caste Barriers Fall: A Study of Social and Economic Change in a South Indian Village" By Dagfinn Sivertsen, *Social Forces*, Vol. 43, No. 4, (pp. 622-623).

Mann, Michael (1983), *Macmillan Student Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Macmillan, London.

Marnane, Patrick J. H. (1967), "Individual Social Mobility in India", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 16, No. 2, (pp. 60-66).

Maxwell, James D. & Mary Percival Maswell (1995), "The Reproduction of Class in Canada's Elite Independent Schools", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 16, No. 3, (pp. 309-326).

McGillivray, Mark (1991) The Human Development Index: Yet Another Redundant Composite Development Indicator?, *World Development*, Vol.19, No. 10, (pp. 1461-1468,).

Mehrotra, Santosh (2005), "Human Capital or Human Development? Search for a Knowledge Paradigm for Education and Development", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 300-306).

Mehrotra, Santosh and Peter Buckland (2001), "Managing School Teacher Costs for Access and Quality in Developing Countries", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 4567-4579).

Mencher, Joan P. (1970), "A Tamil Village: Changing Socioeconomic Structure in Madras State", In K. Ishwaran (Ed.,), *Change and Continuity in India's Villages*, Columbia University Press, New York. (197-218).

Mendelsohn, Oliver and Marika Vicziany (1998), *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the State in Modern India,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Migheli, Matteo (2011), "Capabilities and Functionings: The Role of Social Capital for Accessing New Capabilities", *Review of Political Economy,* Vol. 23, No. 1, (pp. 133-142).

Miller, Gale (1994), "Toward Ethnographies of Institutional Discourse: Proposal and Suggestions", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (pp. 280-306).

Mitra, Sanjay and Shashi Kant Verma (1997), "Why Governments Devolve: A Study Using Data from Indian States", Development Discussion Paper No. 586, *Harvard Institute for International Development.*

Myrdal, Gunnar (1974), "What Is Development?", *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, (pp. 729-736).

Nabokov, Isabelle (2000), "Deadly Power: A Funeral to Counter Sorcery in South India", *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 27, No. 1, (pp. 147-168).

Naik, J. P. (1979), "Equality, Quality and Quantity: The Elusive Triangle in Indian Education", *International Review of Education*, XXV, (pp. 167-185).

Nambissan, Geetha B (September, 2000), "Dealing with Deprivation", *Seminar Magazine*, Can be accessed at http://www.india-seminar.com/semframe.html

Nandy, Santosh Kumar (1966), Review of "Caste, Class, and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village", By Andre Beteille, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 31, No. 5, (pp. 729-730).

NCERT (2005), *National Curriculum Framework 2005*, National Council of Educational Research And Training (NCERT), New Delhi.

Nicholas, Ralph W. (1966), Review of "Caste, Class, and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village", By Andre Beteille, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, (pp. 139-140).

Nussbaum, Martha C. (2006), "Education and Democratic Citizenship: Capabilities and Quality Education", *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 7, No. 3, (pp. 385-395).

_____ (2010), *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

_____ (2011), *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*, Harvard University Press, USA.

Nutrition Foundation of India, (2003), "A Report of the Workshop on Mid-day meal programmes in schools in India-The way forward", New Delhi.

Ogbu, John U. (1981), "School Ethnography: A Multilevel Approach", *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Issues in School Ethnography, (pp. 3-29).

Omvedt, Gail (2003), "Caste and Hinduism", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 5003-5004).

_____ (2004), "Caste System and Hinduism", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 1179-1180).

Otto, Hans-Uwe and Holger Ziegler (2013), *Enhancing Capabilities: The role of social institutions*, Barbara Budrich, Germany.

Pal, Shukti (2000), "A Case of Jatrapur Bhootpara Adivasi Primary School in West Bengal", *Operation Blackboard Project: An Ethnographic* Study, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

Pandian, M S S (2008), "Writing Ordinary Lives", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 34-40).

Panikkar K N (2011), "India's Education Policy: From National to Commercial", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 38-42).

Pastrana, Jr., Antonio (2004), "Black Identity Constructions: Inserting Intersectionality, Bisexuality, and (Afro-) Latinidad into Black Studies", *Journal of African American Studies,* Vol. 8, No. 1 & 2, (pp. 74-89).

Pathak, Avijit (2002), *Social Implications of Schooling: Knowledge, Pedagogy and Consciousness*, Rainbow Publishers, Delhi.

Pathy, Suguna (2003), "Destitution, Deprivation and Tribal 'Development' ", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 2832-2836).

Pattenden, Jonathan (2011), "Social Protection and Class Relations: Evidence from Scheduled Caste Women's Associations in Rural South India", *Development and Change*, 42(2), (pp. 469-498).

Prasenjit, Maiti (2003), "School Children Are Hungry in India", Retrieved from http://www.boloji.com/analysis/063.htm

Preissle, Judith and Linda Grant (1998), "Exploring the Ethnography of Education", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 27, No. 1, (p. 3-9).

PROBE Team, (1999), *Public Report on Basic Education in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Purdie-Vaughns, Valerie *&* Richard P. Eibach (2008)," Intersectional Invisibility: The Distinctive Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiple Subordinate-Group Identities", *Sex Roles*, 59, (pp. 377–391).

Raina, Vinod (2002), "Decentralisation of Education", In R.Govinda (Ed) (2002), *India Education Report: A Profile of Basic Education*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, (pp.111-120).

Ramachandran, Vimala and et al. (2005), *Teacher Motivation in India*, Educational Resource Unit, New Delhi.

Ramkumar, N (2000), "A Primary School in a Rural Urban Divide- A Case of Srirampura, Karnataka State", *Operation Blackboard Project: An Ethnographic* Study, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

Rampal, Anita (2000), "Education for Human Development in South Asia", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 2523-2531).

Raza, Moonis and et al (1990), *School Education in India: The Regional Dimension*, NIEPA, New Delhi.

Reader, Soran (2006), "Does a Basic Needs Approach Need Capabilities", *The Journal of Political Philosophy,* Vol. 14, No. 3, (pp. 337-350).

Robertson, David (1993), "The Penguin Dictionary of Politics", Penguin Books, England.

Robertson, Susan L., Lois Weis & Fazal Rizvi (2011), "The global auction: the broken promises of education, jobs and incomes", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 32:2, (pp. 293-311).

Robeyns, Ingrid (2000), "An Unworkable Idea or a Promising Alternative? Sen's Capability Approach Re-examined", *Discussion Paper Series (DPS) 00.30*, Center for Economic Studies, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. (Available online at n.be/ces/discssionpapers/default.htm"|http://www.econ.kuleuven.be/ces/discssionpapers/ default.htm).

_____ (2005), "The Capability Approach: a theoretical survey", *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 6, No. 1, (pp. 93-114).

_____ (2006), "Three Models of education: Rights, capabilities and human capital", *Theory and Research in Education*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (pp. 69-84).

Rogers, Rebecca and et al., (2005), "Critical Discourse Analysis in Education: A Review of the Literature", *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 75, No. 3, (pp. 365-416).

Rolnick, Phyllis J. (1965), Review of "When Caste Barriers Fall: A Study of Social and Economic Change in a South Indian Village" By Dagfinn Sivertsen, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 71, No. 2, (pp. 223-224).

Roy, Dayabati (2008), "Whither the Subaltern Domain?–An Ethnographic Enquiry", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 31- 38).

Rustagi, Preet (2009), (Ed.,), *Concerns, Conflicts and Cohesions: Universalization of Elementary Education in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Sainath. P, (January 21, 2001) "Hero by name and deed" *The Hindu*, New Delhi.

Saith, Ashwani & Rekha Wazir (2009), From Poverty to Wellbeing: Alternative Approaches to the Recognition of Child Deprivation in India, *Background Paper for the Institute* (Retrieved on 29th November 2011).

Saith, Ruhi (2001), "Capabilities: the concept and its Operationalisation", *QEH Working Paper Number 66*, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford.

Saito, Madoka (2003), "Amartya Sen's Capability Approach to Education: A Critical Exploration", *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 37, No. 1, (pp. 17-33).

Sanders, Clinton R. (1999), "Prospects For a Post-Modern Ethnography", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 28, No. 6, (pp. 669-675).

Sarangapani, Padma M. (2003), *Constructing School Knowledge: An Ethnography of learning in an Indian village*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Schultz, Theodore W. (1961), "Investment in Human Capital", *The American Economic Review,* Vol. 51, No. 1, (pp. 1-17).

Schultz, Theodore W. (1962), "Reflections on Investment in Man", *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. LXX, No. 5, Part 2, (pp. 1-8).

Scott, Susie (2010), "Revisiting the Total Institution: Performative Regulation in the Reinventive Institution", *Sociology*, 44(2), (pp. 213-231).

Selwyn, Ben (2011), "Liberty Limited? A Sympathetic Re-Engagement with Amartya Sen's *Development as Freedom*", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI, No. 37, (pp. 68-76).

Sen, Amartya (1973), "Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment: Some Conceptual Issues in Measurement", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 8, No. 31/33, (pp. 1457-1459+1461+1463+1464).

Sen, Amartya (1976), "Famines as Failures of Exchange Entitlements", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 11, No. 31/33, (pp. 1273+1275+1277+1279-1280).

_____ (1980), "Famines", *World Development,* Vol. 8, (pp. 613-621).

_____ (1981), "Ingredients of Famine Analysis: Availability and Entitlements", The Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 96, No. 3, (pp. 433-464).

_____ (1983), "Development: Which Way Now?", *The Economic Journal*, 93, (pp. 745-762).

_____ (1986), Food, economics and entitlements, *Working Paper 1,* World Institute for Development Economics Research*,* United Nations University.

_____ (1987), *Research for Action: Hunger and Entitlements,* WIDER; United Nations University.

_____ (1997), "Human Capital and Human Capability", *World Development*, Vol. 25, No. 12, (pp. 1959-1961).

_____ (1999), *Development as Freedom*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

_____ (1999a), *Commodities and Capabilities*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

_____ (1999b), "Poverty as Capability Deprivation" In *Development As Freedom*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, (pp. 87-110).

_____ (2000), "A Decade of Human Development", *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (17-23).

_____ (2004), "Capabilities, Lists and Public Reason: Continuing the Conversation", *Feminist Economics*, 10(3), (pp. 77-80).

_____ (2005), "How Does Development Happen?", *Cato Journal,* Vol. 25, No. 3, (pp. 455- 459).

Sengupta, Arjun, and et al. (2008), "India's Common People: Who Are They, How Many Are They and How Do They Live?", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 49-63).

Sengupta, Mitu (2008), "How the State Changed Its Mind: Power, Politics and the Origins of India's Market Reforms", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 35-42).

Sharma, Jyotirmoyee (1967), Review of "Caste, Class, and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village", By Andre Beteille, And "Tradition and Economy in Village India" By K. Ishwaran, *Man*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (pp. 152).

Sharma, K. L. (1973), "Downward Social Mobility: Some Observations", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (pp. 59-77).

Shaw, John (2006), "Hans Wolfgang Singer", In David Simon (Ed.), *Fifty Key Thinkers on Development*, Routledge, New York. (pp. 242-247).

Shields, Stephanic A. (2008), "Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective", *Sex Roles*, 59, (pp. 301-311).

Singh, Avinash Kumar (1995), "The Cultural Construction of Home and School Knowledge in Tribal India", *Prospects*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, (pp. 735-747).

Sinha, Murli M. (1973), Review of "Caste, Class, and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village", By Andre Beteille, *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (p. 294).

Sivertsen, Dagfinn(1963), *When Caste Barriers fall: A Study of Social and Economic Change in a South Indian Village*, Universitetrsforlaget, Humanities Press, New York.

Solanke, Iyiola (2009), "Putting Race and Gender Together: A New Approach To Intersectionality", *The Modern Law Review*, 72(5) (pp. 723-749).

Srinivas, M.N. (1987), *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

_____ (1997), "Practicing Social Anthropology in India", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 26, (pp. 1-24).

_____ (2009), *The Oxford India Srinivas*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

_____ (2010), *The Remembered Village*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. (7th Impression).

Srinivasan, T. N. (1994), "Human Development: A New Paradigm or Reinvention of the Wheel?" *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 84, No. 2, (pp. 238-243).

Srivastava, Vinay Kumar (1991a), "The Ethnographer and the People: Reflections on Field Work", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 1475-1481).

_____ (1991b), "The Ethnographer and the People: Reflections on Field Work", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 1408-1414).

_____ (1999), "The Future of Anthropology", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 545-552).

_____ (Ed) (2004), *Methodology and Fieldwork*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Stanley, Liz (1990), "Doing Ethnography, Writing Ethnography: A Comment on Hammersley", *Sociology*, Vol. 24, No.4, (pp. 617-627).

Stewart, Frances (1980), "Country experience in providing for basic needs", In *Poverty and Basic Needs*, World Bank, Washington D.C. (pp. 9-12).

Still, Clarinda (2010), "Spoiled Brides and the Fear of Education: Honour and Social Mobility among Dalits in South India", *Modern Asian Studies*, Published online by Cambridge University Press (03 September 2010).

Stoddart, Kenneth (1986), "The Presentation of Everyday Life: Some Textual Strategies for "Adequate Ethnography" ", *Urban Life,* Vol. 15, No. 1, (pp. 103-121).

Støren, Liv Anne & Per Olaf Aamodt (2010): The Quality of Higher Education and Employability of Graduates, *Quality in Higher Education*, Vol. 16, No. 3, (pp. 297-313).

Streeten, Paul (1971), "Basic Human Needs", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (pp. 29-46).

Streeten, Paul (1994), "Human Development: Means and Ends", *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 84, No. 2, (pp. pp. 232-237).

Streeten, Paul and Shahid Javed Burki (1978), "Basic Needs: Some Issues", *World Development*, Vol. 6, No. 3, (pp. 411-421).

Strickland, Ronald (2005), "Nothing that is Human Alien to Me: Neoliberalism and the End of *Bildung*", *Review of Literatures of the European Union (RiLUnE)*, (pp. 29-40).

Sullivan, Alice (2001), "Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment", *Sociology,* Vol. 35,No. 4,pp. (893–912).

Surti, Tehzeeb and Nandini Majrekar (2000), "Schooling on the Margins of Development: A Study in Kathifarya Shivrajpur, Panchmahals District, Gujarat", *Operation Blackboard Project: An Ethnographic* Study, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

Swaminathan, Padmini and et al, (2004), "Tamil Nadu's Midday Meal Scheme: Where Assumed Benefits Score over Hard Data", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 4811-4821).

Sweetland, Scott R. (1996), "Human Capital Theory: Foundations of a Field of Inquiry", *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 66, No. 3, (pp. 341-359).

Talib, Mohammad (1992), "Ideology, Curriculum and Class Construction: Observations from A School in a Working Class Settlement in Delhi", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 41, No. 1-2, (pp. 81-95).

Taylor, Yvette, Sally Hines & Mark E. Casey (2010), (Ed.), Theorizing Intersectionality and Sexuality, *Palgrave Macmillan,* UK.

Teachman, Jay D. (1987), "Family Background, Educational Resources, and Educational Attainment", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52, No. 4, (pp. 548-557).

Terzi, Lorella (2007), "Capability and Educational Equality: The Just Distribution of Resources to Students with Disabilities and Special Education Needs", *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 41, No. 4, (pp. 757-773).

Teschl, M. and Comim, F. (2005), 'Adaptive preferences and capabilities: some preliminary conceptual explorations', *Review of Social Economy*, 63(2): 229-247.

Thapan, Meenakshi (1984), *Education and Ideology; The School as a socio-cultural system*, University of Delhi, Delhi. (PhD Thesis).

Thapan, Meenakshi (2009), *Life at School: An Ethnographic Study*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. (2nd Edition).

Thorat, Amit (2010), "Ethnicity, Caste and Religion: Implications for Poverty Outcomes", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 47-53).

Thorat, Sukhdeo (2005), "Reservation and Efficiency: Myth and Reality", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 808-810).

Thorat, Sukhdeo (2007), Human Poverty and Socially Disadvantaged Groups in India, Discussion Paper Series – 18, *Human Development Resource Centre*, UNDP, India.

Thorat, Sukhdeo and Joel Lee, (2005), "Caste Discrimination and Food Security Programmes", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 4198-4201).

Thorat, Sukhdeo and Katherine S Newman (2007), "Caste and Economic Discrimination: Causes, Consequences and Remedies", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 4121-4124).

Tilak, JBG (1999), "Education and Poverty in South Asia", *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, (pp. 517-533).

_____ (2002a), "Education and Poverty", *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (pp. 191-207).

_____ (2002b), "Education poverty in India", *Review of Development and Change*, Vol. VII, 1, (pp. 1-44).

_____ (2003), "Privatisation of Higher Education", In Jandhyala B G Tilak (Ed.), *Education, Society and Development: National and International Perspectives*, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, (pp. 557-574).

_____ (2005), "Post-Elementary Education, Poverty and Development in India", Paper presented on *8th UKFIET Oxford International Conference on Education and Development: Learning and Livelihoods* (13-15th September 2005), University of Oxford, UK.

_____ (2007), "Post-elementary education, poverty and development in India", *International Journal of Educational Development,* (27), (pp. 435-445).

Tomlinson, Michael (2008): 'The degree is not enough': students' perceptions of the role of higher education credentials for graduate work and employability, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 29, No. 1, (pp. 49-61).

Tooley, James (2004), "Could Globalisation of Education Benefit the Poor?", *Occasional Paper 3*, Liberal Institute of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Berlin.

Tooley, James and Pauline Dixon (2007), "Private schooling for low-income families: A census and comparative survey in East Delhi, India", *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27 (pp. 205-219).

Townsend, Peter (1954), "Measuring Poverty", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (pp. 130-137).

Trabold-Nübler, Harald (1991), "The Human Development Index – A New Development Indicator", *Intereconomics*, (236-243).

Trujillo, Nick (1999), "Teaching Ethnography in the Twenty-First Century Using Collaborative Learning", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 28, No. 6, (pp. 705-719).

Tyagi, Anjula (2000), "Primary Education: On the criterion of Reality-A Case of Dhaki Village (Uttar Pradesh)", *Operation Blackboard Project: An Ethnographic* Study, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

UNICEF (2000), "Defining Quality in Education", *Working Paper Series*, Education Division, UNICEF, USA. (A Paper presented at the meeting of The International Working Group on Education, at Florence, Italy on June 2000).

Unterhalter, Elaine (2003), "Education, capabilities and social justice", *Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2003/4: Gender and Education for All: The Leap to Equality*, UNESCO.

Unterhalter, Elaine (2003a), "Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries: the potential of Sen's Capability approach for sociologists of education", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 24, No. 5, (pp. 665-669).

Unterhalter, Elaine (2013), "Educating Capabilities", *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (pp. 185-188).

Upadhya, Carol (2007), "Employment, Exclusion and 'Merit' in the Indian IT Industry", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (pp. 1863-1868).

Varghese, N.V. (2008), "State is the problem and State is the solution: The chaning orientations in educational planning", *Directions in Educational Planning: Symposium to Honour the work of Francoise Caillods*, International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris.

Varghese, N.V. (1997), "Educational Planning at the District Level: Meaning and Scope" In Varghese, N.V. (Ed) (January, 1997), *Modules on District Planning in Education*, NIEPA, New Delhi.

Vasavi, A. R. (2009), "New Imperatives for Elementary Education", *Indian Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (pp. 133-142).

Velaskar, Padma (2010), "Quality and Inequality in Indian Education: Some Critical Policy Concerns", *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (pp. 58-93).

Velaskar, Padma (1990), "Unequal Schooling As a Factor in the Reproduction of Social Inequality in India", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 39, No. 1-2, (pp. 131-145).

Venkataraman, Lakshmi Narayanan (2013), "Quality, employability and capabilities: The enduring elusive triangle in Indian education", *ASIEN: The German Journal on Contemporary Asia*, (April 2013/ 127), (pp. S. 30-47).

Verloo, Mieke (2006), "Multiple Inequalities, Intersectionality and the European Union", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 13(3), (pp. 211–228).

Viswanathan, Brinda (2006), "Access to Nutritious Meal Programmes: Evidence from 1999-2000 NSS Data", *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.497-505.

Wagner, Jon (1993), "Ignorance in Educational Research: Or, How Can You "Not" Know That?", *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 22, No. 5, (pp. 15-23).

Walford, Geoffrey (Ed.) (2001), *Ethnography and Education Policy*, Elsevier Science Ltd, UK.

Walker, Melanie (2003), "Framing Social Justice in Education: What Does the 'Capabilities' Approach Offer?", *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 51, No.2, (pp. 168-187).

Walker, Melanie (2006), "Towards a capability-based theory of social justice for education policy-making", *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (pp. 163-185).

Walker, Melanie (2010), "Critical Capability Pedagogies and University Education", *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol. 42, No. 8, (pp. 898-917).

Walker, Melanie (2012), "Introduction", *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, Vol. 13, No. 3, (pp. 331-334).

Watts, Michael (2013), "The Complexities of Adaptive Preferences in Post-compulsory Education: Insights from the Fable of the Fox and the Grapes", *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*,

Walker, Melanie and Elaine Unterhalter (Ed.,) (2007), *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Wankhede, G G (2001), "Educational Inequalities among Scheduled Castes in Maharashtra", *Economic and Political Weekly,* (pp. 1553-1558).

Washbrook, D. A. (1983), Review of "Rural Society in Southeast India" By Kathleen Gough, *Pacific Affairs,* Vol. 56, No. 3, (pp. 565-567).

Weiner, Myron (1991), The Child And the State in India: Child Labor And Education Policy in Comparative Perspective, *Oxford University Press*, New Delhi.

Wheeler, David (1980), "Basic Needs Fulfillment and Economic Growth: A Simultaneous Model", *Journal of Development Economics*, 7 (pp. 435-451).

Whitaker, Mark P. (1996), "Ethnography as Learning: A Wittgensteinian Approach to Writing Ethnographic Accounts", *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 69, No. 1, (pp. 1-13).

White, Howard and et al., (2003), "Comparative Perspective on Child Poverty: a review of poverty measures", *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (pp. 379-396).

Whyte, W F (1967), *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, The University of Chicago Press, USA (11th Impression).

Willims, J. Douglas and Alan C. Kerchoff (1995), "The Challenge of Developing New Educational Indicators", *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, Vol. 17, No. 1, (pp. 113-131).

Willis, Paul (1977), *Learning to Labour: How working class kids get working class jobs*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Willis, Paul and Mats Trondman (2000), "Manifesto foe *Ethnography*", Ethnography, Vol. 1(1), (pp. 5-16).

Winker, Gabriele and Nina Degele (2011)," Intersectionality as multi-level analysis: Dealing with social inequality", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 18(1) (pp. 51–66).

Wolff, Jonathan & Avner De-Shalit (2007), *Disadvantage*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Young, Marion (2009), "Basic Capabilities, Basic Learning Outcomes and Thresholds of Learning", *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (pp. 259-277).

Zaidi, Annie, "Food, for education", Retrieved from Vol: 22 Issue: 05 URL: http://www.flonnet.com/fl2205/stories/20050311000704900.htm Accessed on 5th November, 2007.

Zajda, Joseph (2002), "Education And Policy: Changing Paradigms And Issues", *International Review of Education,* 48(1/2), (pp. 67-91).

Zimmermann, Benedicte (2006), "Pragmatism and the Capability Approach: Challenges in Social Theory and Empirical Research", *European Journal of Social Theory,* Vol. 9, No. 4, (pp. 467-484).
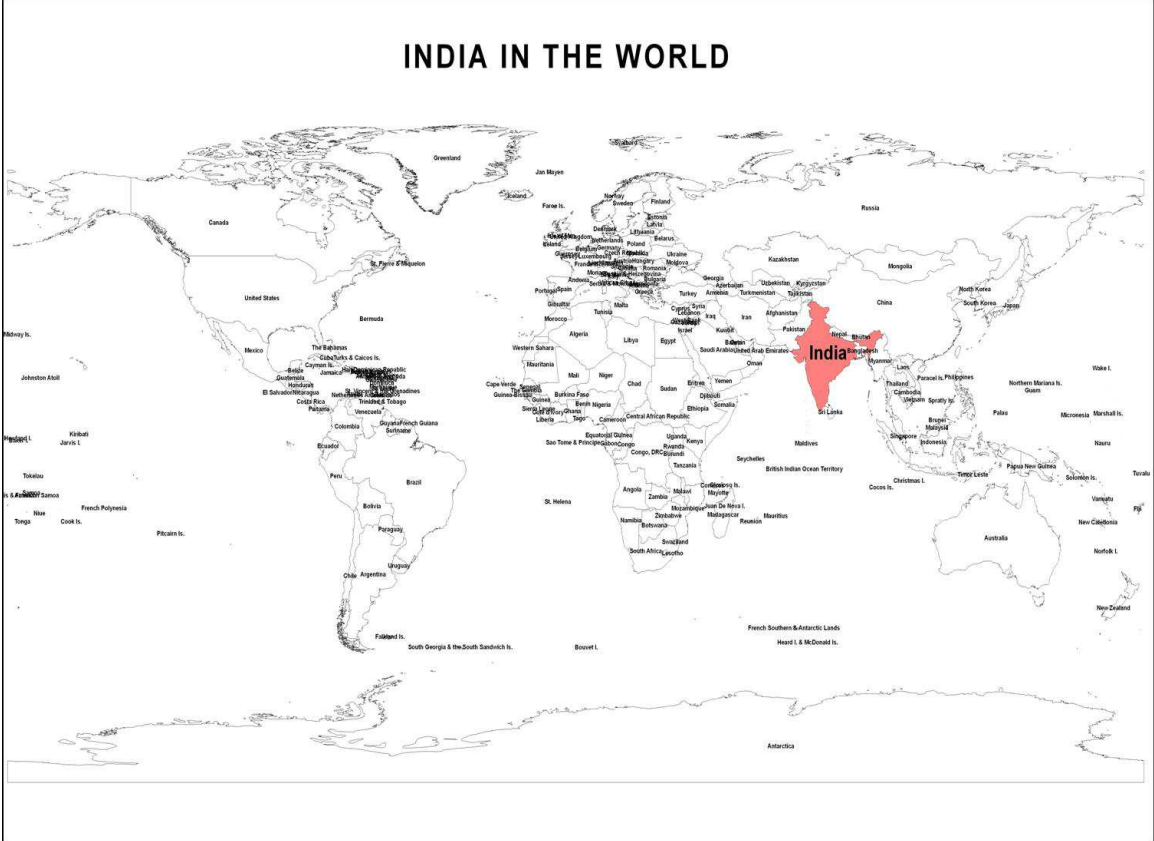
Annexure

Annexure 1

Figure 1 India in the World

Annexure 2

TAMIL NADU IN INDIA

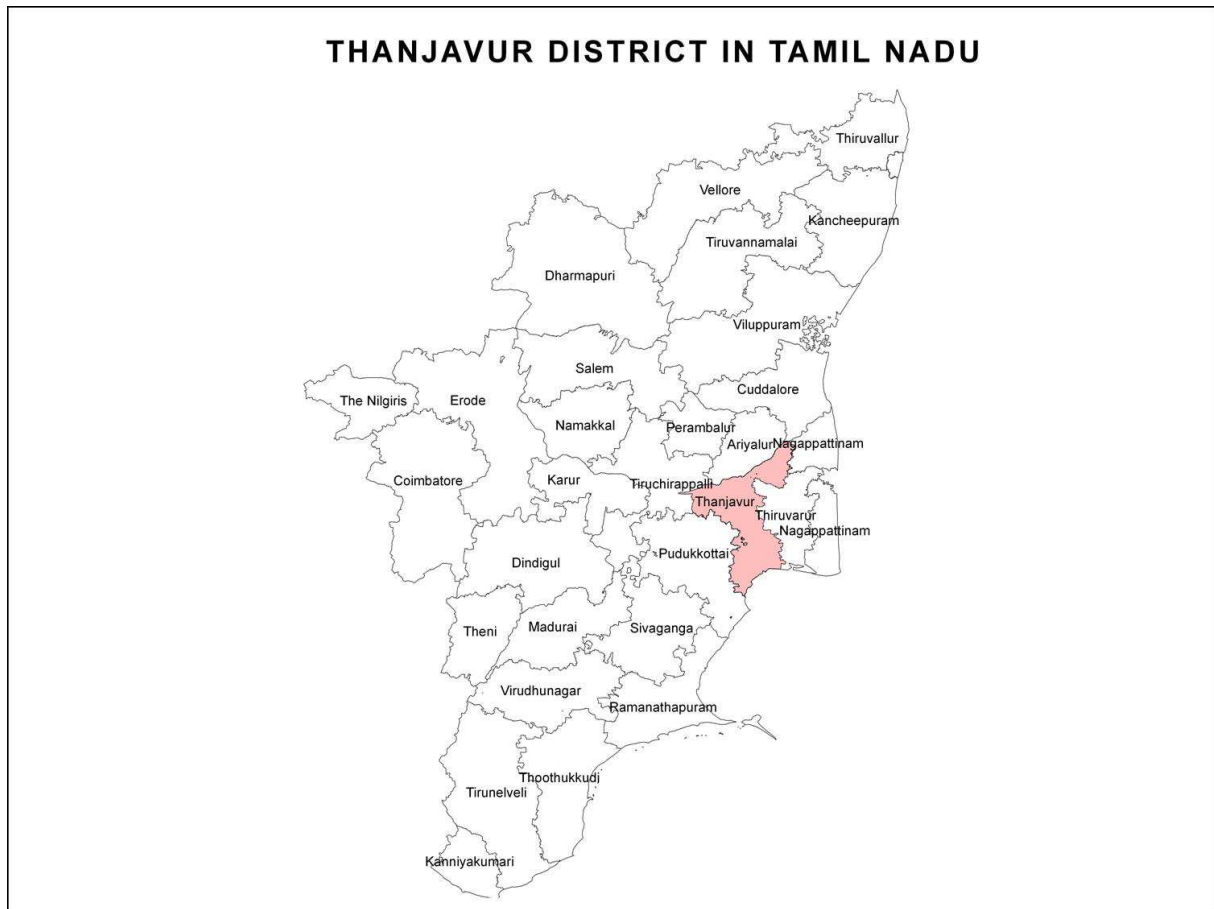**Figure 2 Tamil Nadu in India**

Figure 3 Tamil Nadu District Map

Figure 4 Thanjavur in Tamil Nadu

Figure 5 Thanjavur District Map

Annexure 6

Figure 6 Sripuram in Bird's eye view

Annexure 7

Field leads for EUYs and EUEYs

Personal

- Name

- Age

- Caste

- Marital status

- Family Details & Occupation

- Class (Cultural Construction of Class)

Education

- Qualification

- Details of training and further education?

- Future / Life-plan through education

- Institutional preparations for the profession. [School / college / university's role in the preparation for your own occupational future]

- Obstacles and strategies of development through education

Employment

- What is your works in a normal day?

- Reasons for unemployment / underemployment

- How you regard education in the light of your failure to obtain a salaried job?

- What has changed since you have become un/under-employed?

- What are the important aspects of having a job?

- Necessary personal traits for the labour market success

Institutional

- Experiences with welfare institutions such as employment office, youth welfare department etc

- What kind of state support you need?

Capabilities

- Individual decision making (Ex. Job / Marriage)

- Impacts of *opportunity deprivation* on youth

- Social capital outside village (Chennai / Mumbai)

Miscellaneous

- Changes (socio-economic) since 1990s (in Sripuram / TN / India)

- Reservation Policy effect on youth

- Lifestyle factors (Ex: Being in the Dalit *habitus*)

Annexure 8

Telephonic interview: Teachers

Personal details

1. Date of Birth [Age]

2. Caste

3. Religion

4. Gender

5. Family details [Children's education background]

6. Educational qualification [What was your **major field** of study for your highest graduate degree?]

7. Any other qualification & Training?

8. Reasons for choosing teaching as a career [Would you change to another career if you had the opportunity? **OR** If you could go back to your college days and start over again, would you become a teacher or not?]

9. Year of joining & previous employment [What was your MAIN activity the year before you began teaching at the School?]

10. Have you ever worked as an elementary or secondary teacher in a Private School?

11. How long you have been working as a Teacher in Government school?

12. How long you have been working as a Teacher in this School?

13. In your first year of teaching, did you participate in a teacher induction program? [in-service training]

14. Do you teach also in the week-ends? [Tuition services]

Education bureaucracy

1. Recruitment process [Secondary grade Teacher Education Training]

2. How important do you think to have a B.Ed or Teacher Training Certificate in your profession? [Practical relevance]

3. **Training**: In the past 12 months, have you participated in any professional development activities that focused on methods of teaching?

4. How many class-hours you will have in a day? Who allots the class-schedules?

5. How would you describe examination system?

6. What is your opinion about the all-pass policy?

7. Are you aware of the NCF?

Institutional factors

1. How many students are there in your class?

2. What are the subjects you teach in this school? Are subjects given by the School or you take up by your choice? If choice is not by yours, what are the extra preparations you make? Is there any change over the years? If it is a same subject, do you change your styles of teaching in every subsequent year?

3. What are the challenges you face in teaching?

4. Institutional inadequacies [Absence of Library; Staff-room; Separate toilet; Clerk; Peon]

5. How would you describe the relationships between employees in the school? [Perception on other staffs & relationships across Gender; caste factors]

6. Who is sending the children to your school? Or what is the profile of the children in your school? Do you have an explanation why? [Are only the economically poor sending their children to our school? If so, why?]

7. What could be the reasons for the enrolment decline over the years? [In contrast to 900 in 1990, the total strength is around 360 at present]

8. Do you think you have some power to make a change?

9. What makes you satisfied and unsatisfied in your work?

10. Do you have any of the issues in the class? [Student absenteeism; Student disrespect for teachers; Students dropping out; Lack of parent involvement]. How do you monitor the errands?

Educational outcome

1. Details of daily preparations for Teaching

2. Education Quality in Government School in general

    a. Private School *versus* Government School

    b. Learning [Functionalities of Education; Skill/knowledge mismatch]

    c. Learning hurdles [Reading; Writing; Problem-solving skills]

    d. Do you give home-works to the students?

    e. Are there any learning differences between

        i. Local children & the Orphanage?

        ii. Boys and Girls?

        iii. BCs and SCs

3. Do you think that pupils are equipped with the knowledge for the employment? [Reasons of unemployment or under-employment of the former students]

Social structure

1. How would you describe your cooperation with parents? Or what is your opinion about the parental involvement in their children's education? [Opinion about *lethargic* Parents]

2. Opinion about the local community [social structure]

3. How are pupils getting along in and outside of the classroom in your opinion? [Are the children dividing themselves according to their gender / caste factors?]

Research ethics

1. Any other details

2. Further contact details [Email & Landline]

3. Anonymity

Annexure 9

Educated Unemployed Youths in Sripuram

S. No.	Name	Age	Gender	Caste	Class	Qualification
1	Tharani	24	Female	Brahmin	Middle	M.A.
2	Natesan	36	Male	Brahmin	Lower Middle	BCom.
3	Ambi	59	Male	Brahmin	Lower Middle	SSLC
4	Vasu	39	Male	Brahmin	Upper Middle	HSC.,
5	Palani	24	Male	OBC	Upper lower	MSc(IT)
6	Kamala	21	Female	SC	Poor	Teacher Training
7	Rambha	26	Female	SC	Poor	M.A. & MPhil in Economics
8	Meena	33	Female	SC	Poor	MCom.,
9	Ravikumar	23	Male	SC	Poor	BA & MSW (disc)
10	Sri Devi	23	Female	SC	Poor	Nursing course

Educated Unemployed Youths in Sripuram: Caste & Gender

Caste	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Brahmins	3	1	4
OBCs	1	0	1
SC	1	4	5
TOTAL	**5**	**5**	**10**

Educated Under-employed Youths (EUEYS) in Sripuram

S. No.	Name	Age	Gender	Caste	Class	Qualification	Work
1	Jayanthi	24	Female	Brahmin	Middle	BBA; DCA; & Type-writing	Para-teacher
2	Raman	39	Male	Brahmin	Lower Middle	BCom; DCA & Type-writing	Purohit
3	Sundaram	23	Male	Forward	Middle	BSc	Contract teacher
4	Sunitha	36	Female	OBC	Lower Middle	M.A., B.Ed., DCoop	HM in an *unrecognized* school
5	Selvam	22	Male	OBC	Poor	BBA	Casual labourer for daily wage
6	Karthi	25	Male	OBC	Middle	BBA; Diploma in Mechanical Engineering	Transition between EUE to EU
7	Kumaran	23	Male	OBC	Middle	Diploma in Air Condition Mechanic	Agriculturist and AC Mechnic
8	Jeeva	31	Male	OBC	Middle	M.Com discontinued	Working in his Father's tea stall
9	Iyappan	33	Male	SC	Middle	B.Com; B.PEd; DCA; DCoop; Jewel appraisal and PG Diploma in Yoga	Para-teacher
10	Mala	24	Female	SC	Poor	B.A.,	NGO
11	Nirmala	28	Female	SC	Poor	B.A.,	NGO
12	Mahesh	25	Male	SC	Poor	BBA	Casual labourer for daily wage
13	Muthu	24	Male	OBC	Poor	B.BA.,	Casual labourer for daily wage

EUEYs in Sripuram: Caste & Gender

Caste	Gender		Total
	Male	**Female**	
Brahmins	2	1	3
OBCs	5	1	6
SC	2	2	4
TOTAL	**8**	**5**	**13**

(The data of Brahmin also includes one forward non-Brahmin caste man)

Annexure 11

Interview Details

S. No.	Name	Duration
1.	Jayanthi (EUEY)	32:30 minutes
2.	Raman (EUEY)	123:99 minutes
3.	Sundaram (EUEY)	59:03 minutes
4.	Sunitha (EUEY)	09:38 minutes
5.	Selvam (EUEY)	35:49 minutes
6.	Karthi (EUEY)	26:37 minutes
7.	Kumaran (EUEY)	16:51 minutes
8.	Jeeva (EUEY)	33:30 minutes
9.	Iyappan (EUEY)	67:68 minutes
10.	Mala (EUEY)	19:04 minutes
11.	Nirmala (EUEY)	24:37 minutes
12.	Mahesh (EUEY)	53:56 minutes
13.	Muthu	31:37 minutes
14.	Kumar (EUEY)	29:57 minutes
15.	Tharani (EUY)	24:17 minutes
16.	Natesan (EUY)	105.86 minutes
17.	Ambi (EUY)	43:27 minutes
18.	Vasu (EUY)	34:57 minutes
19.	Palani (EUY)	58.50 minutes
20.	Kamala (EUY)	09:40 minutes
21.	Rambha (EUY)	26:45 minutes
22.	Meena (EUY)	16:35 minutes
23.	Ravikumar (EUY)	69:19 minutes
24.	Sri Devi (EUY)	08:22 minutes
25.	16 Teachers	Roughly 60 minutes each

INDEX

Declaration

I hereby declare that the research project entitled *"Caste, class and education: The social construction of capabilities in a Tamil village"* is an original research work. This current version or another version has not been previously awarded for any other academic degree.

In this regard, I claim the sole authorship of this research and its contents. For this, I have not used any other sources than those explicitly indicated and where due acknowledgement has been made.

_____

Lakshmi Narayanan Venkataraman

Bielefeld

2013