EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES: A CASE STUDY OF ALIGARH CITY

ABSTRACT

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BY

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Education and Social Mobility among Scheduled Castes:

A Case Study of Aligarh City

Abstract:
The present study examines the patterns of education and its consequent effects on social mobility of the scheduled castes living in Aligarh City. The study is specifically concerned with the Jatavs who constitute an important sub-caste of the Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled castes are one of the most socially and economically backward sections of the Indian society, and in the caste structure it occupy the lowest rank, while a large number of sub-castes fall under this large blanket term, the Chamar, Dhobi and Harijans are generally most talked about sub-castes. These sub-caste groups are associated with the menial type of occupations such as scavenging, leather work, removing dead cattle from the village etc. These occupations are hereditary and for the upper caste groups they constitute the polluting groups.

Dr. B.R Ambedkar used to call them as "Untouchables" The backwardness and miserable condition of the scheduled castes is due to the ancient institution of the caste system. In India, the Hindu society is divided into four primary Varna which are the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. These Varna are divided into innumerable sub castes. The lowest in the Varna
hierarchy was Shudra and the lowest in the caste hierarchy are the Untouchables.

According to T. K. Oomen the traditional social organization of Hindu society was divided into five categories and most of the scheduled castes were designated as Panchamars, those of fifth order. They were ranked below the four Varnas of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Manu prescribed them residence outside the village and these of the shrouds of corps as their clothing, broken pots for meal, iron for ornaments, dogs and donkeys for their wealth. In the contemporary India scheduled castes known as Dalits. According to the manifesto of the Dalit Panther - Members of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Neo-Buddhist the working people the landless and poor peasants, women and all those who are being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion are called Dalits.

Codes of Manu prohibited education for the children of scheduled castes. In Manusmiriti it was categorically mentioned that the untouchables should not hear the sacred hymns. They were not allowed to use descent cultural language but they required to use crude language as a result they remained illiterate, ignorant and backward for centuries.
The British administration founded a modern system of education which opened its doors to all castes and communities in India. Many British exponents of modern education like Macaulay, David Hari, Duncan, Maharaja Saijee Rao Gayakwaad, Gopal Krishna Gokhley etc, and so many others advocated the universal modern education which includes the feeling “Education of all”.

In this context Srinivas stated in his major work on caste and social change in India, that the rate of mobility increased during the British rule as cities offered new vistas for education and employment. It is generally assumed that Industrialization, Urbanization weaken the demarcation of purity and pollution which is the basic concept of Hinduism. Western education has resulted in the spread of liberal democratic and secular ideology among the Indian intelligentsia. The advent of universal adult suffrage abolished the distinction between high and low as far as voting rights were concerned.

The education which was meant to broaden the mind, to sharpen the process of logical thinking, to provide knowledge and skill to an individual to bring him/her to a level that would lead to a gainful, creative and satisfying life, opened the door for the development of scheduled caste communities. Social mobility provides avenues for development of the scheduled castes. Social mobility is in itself a change which leads to the transformation of the downtrodden communities. In modern India scheduled caste people through
rational thinking, scientific outlook, and hard labor try to acquire higher social status and regulate social changes.

In the light of the above description the present research study is aimed at examining analyzing pattern of mobility among scheduled caste.

The researcher has gone through vast review of literature and found that a large number of studies have been undertaken on the topic of mobility and its various aspects as follows:

**Empirical studies and theoretical studies.**

These studies were conducted specially after partition of India and the pioneering efforts and contributions of Professor M.N Srinivas inspired both foreigners and Indian scholars to study mobility in the caste hierarchy. Such studies were conducted by Cohen, Bailey, Beteille, Hardgrave, Zelliot and others.

It must be pointed out that all the studies referenced in the study did not necessarily deal with the variables Education and Income and their effect on mobility. The studies conducted by Cohn, Bailey, André Beteille are basically general in nature.

Studies using different variables to analyze the different mobility patterns were conducted by various sociologists such as Andre Beteille, Anil Bhatt, Lynch,

The Jatavs of Aligarh form an interesting group which the present researcher has targeted for the present study. A Sociological study of education and its impact on pattern of social mobility among scheduled caste in general and Jatav in particular form the main body of the thesis.

The objectives of the study are given below:

1. What changes has taken place in the social and economic conditions of the Jatavs? How have these changes affected their relationship with other castes, especially the higher caste group?

2. What are the factors responsible for upliftment or deterioration of the Jatav community?

3. What are the salient features of the Jatavs of the Aligarh city?

4. To highlight their religious practices.

5. To understand the attitudes of Jatav community towards privatization of education reservation policy of the government conversion of Jatavs to other religions, TV’s programs, education and employment of women.

The study also aims to find out the level of politicization pattern of integration and isolation with regard to Jatavs and to other castes.
Because of the unique position of Aligarh city, the large Jatav population residing in this city, Aligarh has been selected for the purpose of the present study. The sample for the present research study was confined to the Jatav community, and a purposive sample was selected from the following localities, which are predominantly Jatav areas.

Naurangabad chhawani, Ambedkar nagar colony, Achal tank, Nai Basti, Khair Road, and Kothi Lank Ram. Naurangabad chhawani and Ambedkar colony represent the largest majority of Jatavs.

For the purpose of the study, fourteen respondents were selected through purposive sampling, which is well suited for conducting case studies.

The criteria for sample selection were based on level of education and income. All selected respondents were educated up to high school level or above with a minimum income Rs. 5000 per month.

Income and education have been used as independent variables.

The data collection was made through primary and secondary sources. The primary data collection was based on information obtained from the fourteen case studies. A Semi-structured interview schedule was prepared and used as the main tool for primary information. Intensive fieldwork was
conducted in the selected areas, and case studies were conducted in the homes or office of the respondents during the field work to give an insight into the standard of living, and other important social aspects, like occupational structure, group relationship and the like, non-participants observation were made by the researchers.

For the purpose of the present study, fourteen respondents were selected through the purposive sampling technique. Five hypotheses were developed to give a general direction to the study. The hypotheses were as follows:

1. Changes in occupation from traditional ‘defiling’ occupation to a ‘clean’ Occupation is an important agent of social mobility.

2. Educational achievements lead to better chances of obtaining better occupational positions and hence help in upwards mobility of the Jatavs.

3. With political participation exposure to mass media, scientific outlook, new technologies, urbanization and Sanskritization enhance social mobility.

4. In spite of giving up their traditional occupation of tanning, the upper castes hold the Jatavs in contempt and do not like to associate with them socially.

5. Conversion to Buddhism has enhanced status of the Jatavs in the caste hierarchy.
All the hypotheses were partially supported by the data.

Hypothesis (1) was supported partially. Those Jatavs, who had given up their traditional occupations, felt that they had improved their status in society. This is a debatable point, for they had not, in reality been accepted as members of an upper caste. Their mobility was restricted to economic gains only, and they enjoyed respectability from their compatriots as well as from their colleagues at work.

Hypothesis (2) was also partially supported. The selected respondents were educated at least up to class ten. Almost all of them had secured government jobs barring a few who were employed privately. But all respondents did not become socially mobile. That is, they did not ascend the ladder of the caste hierarchy.

Hypothesis (3) was not really supported by the data. Only very few respondents participated actively in politics and their participation in mass media was limited to television news. Not many of them read newspapers. Apart from this, almost all of them seemed to have 'de-sanskritised by giving up their belief in the gotra system. Instead, they were more interested in western styles of life and through mass media communication imbibed these western values. It appears that while
they became more acceptable to a particular 'class' of people who were westernized, they did not gain access to high caste positions.

Hypothesis (4) was almost fully supported by the results of the data. Almost all the respondents felt that even though they had given up their traditional defiling occupation of leather work, the upper castes continued to hold them in contempt. They however, clarified that at their place of work they had cordial relationships with their upper caste colleagues, but at the social level, they were rarely invited to their homes and almost never to their religious melas.

Hypothesis (5) was not supported by the data. Many of the respondents had converted to Buddhism but this did not affect their status in the caste hierarchy. Instead, they were called neo-Buddhists and they were then again set apart from the 'real and original' Buddhists. Even conversion to Christianity did not elevate their caste status, as convertee has followed their Jatav traditions and formed endogamous groups. Marriage alliances with upper castes were not forthcoming.

Apart from the above stated hypotheses, the researcher examined each variables of education and income in detail and the findings are given below:
The fourteen case studies of Jatav respondents show that several changes have taken place in Jatav community of Aligarh city. The important Changes are that only few people indulge themselves into the leather business. People of this community are now pursuing different non traditional clean occupations. Jatavs have become conscious about keeping their houses clean. They have left celebrations of unnecessary festivals such as Naag-panchmi etc. They have left superstitious. Several changes have appeared in the marriage practices which they have also shortened and many customs, rituals have been abandoned. Their forefathers paid attention to gotra but the coming up third generation members show no regard to the importance of gotra.

It is observed that the highly educated Jatav persons that also belong to higher professions form an exclusive class and attempt to move upwards in the society through various means they are developing their contacts with upper castes elite section.

It is observed that majority of the respondents inter-dine with persons of other castes but they do not attend their melas, as they are not invited. Some respondents feel that they are the members of Indian society and not of the Hindu society which is based on caste and caste system which supports untouchability. Persons who belong to high salaried professions are making contact with other castes.
They have given up many irrelevant customs and traditions and they also do not celebrate festivals of lesser importance. Most of them do not worship due to lack of time and interest while respondents' wives and daughters followed all proceedings of worship, observed fast. The male respondents do not go to the temple most of them teach moral and scientific education for their children/grand children. It is also observed that some of the respondents have faith in Lord Buddha but they considered themselves as Hindu. They are following Buddhism in their own way.

Some of them read Buddhist epics. Majority of the respondents favored reservation policy, only few advocated discontinuation of reservation policy. Government employment, reservation supports them and enhances their position in the society. The respondents made similar statements regarding conversion to another religion, they felt that this cannot solve the problem of Jatavs community and they should not go for it and face the problems. However, it is observed that majority of the respondents support conversion of faith towards the Buddhism. They were of the opinion that it is to right way to get rid of exploitation of dominant upper castes. Almost all respondents said that untouchability is still prevalent in the minds of higher castes. Few of them states that it exists not in rural areas instead of urban areas. various factors of social mobility viz education, reservation, democracy, sound economic position,
secular values, consciousness towards political sphere, replacement of occupation, hard labor, consciousness to raise his socio-economic status, political power, are responsible for the progress of the Jatav community.

On the other hand poverty, illiteracy, gambling, alcoholism, nature of Gulami, bad maternal care, lack of education background, disorganisation, lack of determination, dowry, ignorance, lack of unity, unemployment are the various factors that help in the deteriorate the Jatav community.

It is also found that majority of the respondent castes their vote in favor of B.S.P. on the other hand only fewer of them supports B.J.P. Mostly businessman advocated the B.J.P.

They are fully conscious of the provisions for protection of scheduled castes and laws for removal of untouchability. They have taken interest in the local parties.

Majority of them do not favor privatization of education, fewer of them and especially elder people said that T.V programs are destroying our children. Younger generations learned fashion trends from T.V and ideal thoughts of serials that give useful messages are neglected by us.

The study showed that Dr B.R Ambedkar is the role model of the majority of them. All respondents have positive attitude about higher education and employment for women.
In a nutshell it is argued about Jatav community of Aligarh city that after Independence people of Jatav community have tried to achieve sound economic and social positions in the society through various means and reservation of government employment, political power etc supports to them.

In this process people of the Jatav community have shifted their emphasis from Sanskritization to competition for entering into high prestigious professions such as I.A.S, P.C.S. engineers, doctors and tried to gain political power.

They have been following westernization in the social life. Younger generations have been intimating the western dress patterns, housing furniture, language, behavior pattern etc. some of the families those have enough consciousness are going ahead in education occupying high status and up to date his life style and in participating in the local policies and politics. The interaction with the higher caste in increasing higher education and better economic conditions bring prestige to them.

It is concluded that education and social mobility affect the downtrodden community. It is found that three major classes have emerged in the Jatav community. Elite section is also arises among these three classes who devoted to progress of the exploited people. The Elite section is also maintaining healthy relations with upper castes. Fewer people favored discontinuation of reservation
policy. Leather occupation considered as profitable one as other occupation. Untouchability still exists in society and affects the cultural and social life of the people. Jatavs are more inclined to westernization, globalization and trying to gain power prestige through every possible means. It is necessary here to state that Dr B.R Ambedkar is the role model of the vast majority of the Jatavs of Aligarh and cast their votes in favor of B.S.P and wish that Uttar Pradesh chief minister should be a scheduled caste woman.
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Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis "Education and Social Mobility among Scheduled Castes: A Case Study of Aligarh City" by Ms. Shephali Suman is the original research work of the candidate, and is suitable for submission for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

PROFESSOR SHADBANO AHMAD
SUPERVISOR

14 September 2002
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(SHAPHALI SUMAN)
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INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION:

The problem of inequality is as ancient as Indian society itself, and has attracted the attention of travelers, men of letters from time immemorial. Sociological literature on the problem grew out of the West, and by the early part of the twentieth century, Indian sociologists began a reevaluation of western interpretations in the light of Indian society and its ideology.

Classical thinkers of Europe, like Karl Marx, Max Weber took a keen interest in the pattern of inequality in India with special reference to the caste system and the attending traditional practices, customs and values. The caste system has historically exhibited great resilience and has accommodated itself to the changing conditions- right from the Vedic period to contemporary India.

More than one hundred and fifty years ago, Marx, on the basis of an extensive study of materials on India, had made an analysis of the Indian social system. He observed that with the development of modern industry and the railway system, the hereditary division of labour, which is the very bases of the Indian castes, and which act as definite impediments to Indian progress and Indian power will dissolve... (Marx, 1853) The expectations, so shared subsequently by many thinkers, including Max Weber, showed that modern economic relations stood in direct contradiction with the caste system. If these relations developed, the caste system had to disintegrate.
That the economic relations have altered is no longer a disputable fact. India is no longer an agricultural society of the stagnant Asiatic type. Capitalist relations have developed rapidly within its agricultural sector. Modern industry has advanced far enough to make India the industrial giant of the Third World. Today with the rapid growth of science and technology India is surging ahead. But has the caste system really "dissolved"?

Surprisingly it has survived despite enormous pressures of modern life and still seems to 'rise from the ashes' - even at the turn of the century.

What are the implications of the caste system in this era of globalization and all that it connotes? That the caste system has not only survived but has assumed new forms over the centuries is an historical fact. Social process such as Sanskritization, and westernization offer notable illustrations of adaptations as well as reassertion of the caste system.

The cultural variations in India, the rich historical backgrounds of different regions and communities responding in a multiplicity of forms to new economic challenges, notably to the process of modernization and globalization, offers fertile ground for the longevity of the caste system and a reexamination of some aspects of the caste system, especially those relating to patterns of social mobility.
Indian and international sociologists like Srinivas (1952), Dumont (1969, 1970), Beteille (1969b), Bailey (1955) and Leach (1960), tried to delineate specific conceptual and methodological areas relating to stratification in India. In this manner they highlighted the relevance of the indigenous categories of caste.

The complex structure and nature of the caste system in India, led sociologists to make cultural and structural analysis. (Leach, 1961; Dumont, 1960; Srinivas, 1952; 1955)

These studies conceived the caste system as a unique mechanism of social inequality, perpetuated through ritual conception of purity and pollution. They observed that caste and class constitute separate hierarchies — caste based on traditional components of status expressed through concepts of purity and pollution and class based on income, occupation and education. Both hierarchies have a tendency to combine in different ways and manifest themselves differently from one context to the other (Mayer, 1960; Bailey, 1963; Beteille, 1965, 1966, 1969a; Dumont, 1970, 1962; Leach, 1961, 1969; Gould, 1960 and Bougie, 1958). Though no typology of such patterns was worked out, examples were cited to illustrate the transformation from closed status groups based on caste to more open ones based on other secular components (Beteille, 1966, 1970, 1979). However, Marxist historian Habib (1985) challenged this view and argued that caste should be viewed primarily as a social formation based on division of labour and that the major elements of the caste system emerged gradually through new economic situations.
Changes in the caste system, like other systems of stratification have been explained in terms of isolated factors like tradition, religion, values and education (Singer, 1956; Kapp, 1963; Tilman, 1963; Dube, 1955, 1958 and Morris, 1967). As opposed to these studies, Rudolph and Rudolph (1967) argued that tradition and values can be adopted and transformed to serve the needs of society and that the caste system can adapt to changes brought about through modernization.

At the turn of the eighties, Beteille (1980 and 1985) argued that despite the fact that the caste system no longer provided the basis for the division of labour, yet the collective identities based on caste were remarkably durable. That the caste system continues to be a fairly rigid system does not hold much water. As far back as 1952, Srinivas examined the element of social mobility within the caste system. In his study of the Coorgs of Mysore, he explained that the processes of Sanskritization and westernization help to facilitate mobility. Subsequent studies showed that the process of Sanskritization affects the culture of castes in the lower and middle regions of the hierarchy, but is not as viable for the lowest caste group of Untouchables. The Untouchables (who in the caste hierarchy were accorded the lowest position), have been trying to achieve a higher status in society by sanskritizing their life style (Cohn, 1955; Patwardhan, 1966; Harper, 1968; Lynch, 1968 and Isaacs, 1967). However, these attempts were often failed by the upper castes (Cohn, 1955). Some of these studies indicated that whereas education, employment and political power act as passports to 'respectability', the weakening of traditions and values could hasten upward mobility of the Untouchables.
The main question is whether such changes in the system of stratification are being brought about through any real weakening of tradition and values or whether material changes have produced new forms of social consciousness involving only changes but no subversion of tradition and values.

The persistence of the caste system under these conditions inspired the present researcher to make a fresh study of one section of the Untouchables, that is, the Chamars of Aligarh City. A large number of Chamars of this city have given up their traditional occupation of leather work and now set themselves apart from those who have continued their association with that occupation. Such persons have disassociated themselves from their hereditary occupation and have acclaimed themselves as Jatavs. Thus, any Chamar, who had hitherto given up his hereditary occupation and has taken up non-traditional occupations feels insulted if accosted as a "Chamar". This fact itself is interestingly challenging as it points to latent desire among the Chamars to feel that they have upgraded themselves by changing their occupation and hence have achieved a higher status in society. This view on their part challenges some of the basic elements of the nature and capacity of the caste system to have undergone a structural change.

This has led the present researcher to examine the nature of social mobility among the Chamars (Jatavs) who fall under the umbrella of Untouchables.
The present study attempts to make reassessments of the past of the caste system with the objective of understanding the role of education and changes in the occupational structure of the Jatavs in bringing about changes in their status in society.

The notable historians Kosambi (1956) and Sharma (1958) have shown how the major elements of the caste system emerged gradually through new economic situations. Kosambi spoke of the formation of the 'Village Society' in India after the Mauryas and of its effect on caste organization; Sharma showed how peasants were gradually pressed down to the status of Shudras, the lowest Varna. The position of the 'Untouchables' vis-à-vis the upper-castes has been a major element in the caste system. Their exploitation, at one level by the entire upper-caste population too, is a process of historical growth. Irfan Habib (1963) has shown how the requirements of peasant agriculture for additional seasonal labour formed the basis for preventing the 'Untouchables' from cultivating the land themselves and so becoming a vast reserve of agricultural labour in pre-colonial times. This situation persists even today. In other words, the caste system has had a complex history and it has changed so much over the past two millennia that it would not be possible to say when, if ever, it was in its 'classic' form.

Recent studies illustrate that modern socio-economic influences of the past one hundred years have undoubtedly brought about many changes in the Indian social fabric. Education ceased to be the monopoly of a handful of castes. The growth of industry provided a
variety of occupational opportunities for those who acquired skills. Briefly then, this new ‘Open’ system of occupation provided opportunities for all (a constitutional right). What we experienced in effect was the transformation from “closed status” groups based on caste to “Open” ones which accommodate other components as well (Beteille, 1965, 1966, 1977, 1979, 1985). The opportunities for education and employment were, however, not equally distributed in society – this was so not only because of planning deficiencies but also because of the disabilities perpetuated by caste traditions. Obviously, the Upper castes were economically more powerful and were able to reap the harvest of educational opportunities. As a result, they were able to obtain much higher ranks in employment (Srinivas, 1952; Beteille, 1965, 1966, 1977; Isaacs, 1967; Morris, 1968). Thus, those who could obtain higher education entered the higher positions and those who could not – like the Untouchables – had to be satisfied with lower cadre jobs of sweepers in the city’s municipalities and hospitals, as garbage collectors or cesspool cleaners. So under the modern industrial set-up, the Untouchable castes continued to perform their traditional caste roles for want of better ones...

It is reported that very few Untouchables have moved into more skilled occupations. On the other hand, despite the many obstacles, there appears to be a steady rise in the number of educated Untouchables. This difference is apparent if we compare the Census Report of India of 1951 with that of 1981 and 1991 (See Census reports). Reservations in government jobs and seats in educational institutions as well as government scholarships have certainly helped,
but only marginally. A newspaper reported that reservations for scheduled castes in the education system have been wasted. On an average, only fifty percent of the reserved seats for scheduled castes have been filled. The percentage is even lower on the Medical and Engineering colleges (Hindustan Times, February 24, 1986). There are many who have now entered the civil services, have become lawyers, doctors, pilots and educationists (Isaacs, 1967). Yet, they constitute a very negligible minority and despite their high positions, face much humiliation from their high caste colleagues and subordinates. Recruitment of Untouchables into the various service cadres is strongly opposed by upper castes and, time and again newspapers report brutal attacks on the Untouchables. Such incidents have awakened all concerned people to the nature of mass exploitation of the Untouchables.

In effect then, caste and class hierarchies continue essentially to coincide as they did in the past – high castes being recruited to higher occupational positions (Morris, 1967; Beteille, 1965; Srinivas, 1970).

The mechanism of stability through change thus continues to reassert itself – with the desire to change on the one hand and the influence of traditions on the other – a working balance of counter-veiling forces have emerged without altering the fundamentals of caste relations. Thus, for example, while the call for abolishing Untouchability was constitutionally enforced, their inherent economic and educational deprivation prevented them from obtaining education and thereby from entering the job market. At the same time modern instruments ranging from rapid communications to fire arms and efficient forms of
organisation (of all those who have resources) have added to the effectiveness of upper caste pressures upon the Untouchables. Often, the successful sanskritized 'middling' castes turn out to be the most hostile and powerful opponents of the urges of the Untouchables. In other words, Sanskritization too helps to consolidate the isolation and repression of the lowest in the caste hierarchy. Like Sanskritization, efforts by the government to provide certain privileges for the Untouchables have strengthened rather than weaken caste alignments. For example, the educated Untouchables want to forget their former caste identity but have not yet been able to build up a satisfactory "identity" (Beteille, 1984). They also tend to discriminate against their own original caste group (Isaacs, 1967).

Conversion to Buddhism did not alleviate their situation either, particularly since the new-Buddhists were excluded from reservation (Parvathamma, 1968).

Thus, it seems that the caste system still remains triumphant and

Varnas were purely occupational groups. In the Vedic, Epic or later periods, the caste system witnessed mobility only in the terms of horizontal and within one's caste. Status and power were based on hereditary caste. The three upper castes of the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, & Vaishyas enjoyed eluted social status whereas the Shudras, i.e. the untouchables were at the lowest ebb of social hierarchy in status, ritual purity and socio-political leadership. Brahmins were regarded superior and enjoyed top position in the hierarchical stratification.

With the passage of time, the caste system also underwent changes and the four traditional Varnas were sub-divided into many sub-
castes. These sub-castes emerged on the scene as endogamous sub-groups within the Hindu fold. With the invasion and conquest by Moghuls, the caste-groups became the citadels of social status, political power, economic leadership, and various dominant upper castes were recognised by the ruling Moghuls as Zamindars who were not only landowning bosses of the area concerned, but also exercised political power and enjoyed superior status. The social distance between the ruler and the ruled gave further consolidation to the caste, sub-caste groups and kept their separate identities.

The establishment of British rule and the advent of western education gave further impetus to the caste system of India, to especially, the Brahmins to keep the hold on education. The Kshatriyas and the Vaishya also did not lag behind. In the initial stages of British rule, the rulers themselves wanted to maintain the superiority of the higher castes as is evident from the earlier records of the three universities of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay that the bulk of students consisted of the some of the three higher caste persons. The untouchables were kept away from education. Since the turn of the century, education became more open, and secular in character. The dominance of upper castes did not diminish but the untouchables also found access to the educational institutions. The introduction of the means of transportation, communication, technological industry, urbanization, all gave some opportunity to new social values and these came a change in the attitude of caste, based on occupation and new dimensions of social relations and social status could be witnessed. Rigidity of caste rituals, social distance and untouchability has further
declined since independence. It has been mainly due to constitutional guarantees to the untouchable (Scheduled Castes), and various social legislations. Social mobility has been changing perpetually, the process of westernisation among the upper castes and that of Sanskritization among the scheduled castes has marked the eruption of new social values, norms, social relations and hierarchical stratification. It is proved through many sociological studies that the caste system of ancient Vedic period does not exist today. Even the traditional theory though providing basis of the caste-stratification cannot sustain the breaking barriers of inter-cast relations in the changing milieu.

V.P. Sharma through his study of the Chhatisgarh region has tried to prove that highly educated persons of lower castes have more chances of social mobility than those of upper castes with similar education. The occupational hierarchy based on hereditary is no longer sustaining force. Freed & Freed in their study of a Delhi village have observed that caste system is observed along traditional lines but there is marked change towards untouchability, especially among the educated urban-oriented persons. The educated scheduled caste-persons are more critical of the caste system. Upper castes maintain the traditional Hindu view of capabilities inherent in castes. High rate of illiteracy among the lower castes works as a hindrance to change. This view has also been supported by H.L. Harit in his study “A sociological classification of scheduled castes and their socio-political trends”.
Subramaniam, Palaniswamy and Desingusethy have shown that the dominance of upper castes still persists in agricultural occupations. In their study of four South Indian village, they observed that the four intermediate castes of farmers dominate scene and even among them, it is the caste of Gowders which takes the lead. The Brahmins remain on the top of social hierarchy though not having any sizeable landholdings and the scheduled castes are at the bottom of the hierarchy.

The social relations are marked in the traditional Indian society not only by the size of land-holdings but also in the spatial segregation of residence areas in villages as well as urban towns and even metropolitan cities where caste-groups are clustered into various localities. In rural India, scheduled castes can be seen living on the periphery of the village and even they among themselves practice untouchability based on the cleanliness of day to day occupation. But, says Mudhiraj, that, the Bhangis also show some Sanskritization in order to rise in the social status. Study of Shyam Lal has shown that though the Bhangis and other Untouchable castes are changing their ritual performances and casting off their caste names, the overall situation does not show much improvement.

Parvathamma traces the root cause of this stagnation in the scheduled castes themselves. She blames the scheduled caste leaders for not being able to initiate in their own castes. She says that upper caste dominance and constitutional guarantees stand face-to-face. The dominant upper caste leaders do not allow the scheduled caste leaders
to have and exercise much political power. She suggests for more industrialization and urbanization in order to allow more competition along caste-lines.

With regard to the changing scene in the urban areas, the observations of Satish Sabherwal indicate that there is change in the hierarchical placement, stereotypes and socially approved interactions and civil rights. He maintains that the awareness of the scheduled castes to their constitutional rights and the pressure from the higher castes to get their jobs done even though Scheduled Caste officers, have been instrumental in changing the social and cultural values and inter-caste relations. Untouchability is now based more on occupation practiced by the individual than on his hereditary caste. The concept of pollution has also changed. Even the scavenger is not an Untouchable after bath. The conjunction of pressure from above with the pressure from below has produced new cultural patterns.

This change has been admitted by others also. Subramaniam and Francis admit that contact with urbanised areas has changed occupational choice. Quota reservation and higher education give more chances of vertical social mobility to highly educated persons of lower castes than to those of upper castes with similar or even better qualifications.

On the contrary, Greenwood's study of caste system in Kathmandu valley, gives credence to the idea of dominant caste. The caste system, according to the study in the valley, is believed to have originated either on the sanction of the King or through the concept of purity and pollution. The dominant caste of Newars in the valley
regards itself as the highest caste. But this study was more interested in tracing the origin of caste-system than it was in understanding the nature and processes of change.

The idea of dominant caste or even a group of caste dominating the entire caste in a region or area has very ably put forward by Hetukar Jha in his study of the origin, development, etc. of the Shrotriya Brahmins of Mithila. He observed that even among the Brahmins, the Shrotriya Brahmins established themselves on top but they too have various gradations among themselves. These gradations being based on the source of origin (Moola) give top position to those who have maintained their purity by keeping fewer contacts outside their Moola. There are five categories among the shrotries. The yogyas lead the list followed by Vanshas, Panjibadhas, Jayabars and the Avadatas. His study gives an idea how the caste(s) acquire dominance by maintaining ritual purity and keeping social interaction confined to one's own caste or sub-caste, but this system not being static keeps on undergoing change.

Sharma, while studying six villages in Rajasthan, observed the variables of caste, class, power, income, education, and rural-urban distinction to study change in rural stratification. He concluded that ritual-complex, migration, occupational mobility, caste-panchayat, jajmani system, all have undergone change. There are horizontal differences within the same caste proving that caste is not a homogeneous group. There are status-differences between the families of the same caste. The inscriptive and achievement factors cut across each other. The cleavages between caste and class, caste and power,
and power and class reveal the complex character of the process and factors of change in the rural stratification system.

Kaufman’s study of six Indian villages has also supported that rural stratification system is being changed due to technological occupations. Even agricultural practice and village services have undergone change. The caste-system is loosening its traditional tinge with the development of the village.

Panchanadikar and Panchanadikar have studied village Mahi in Gujarat. They admit that there are many changes in rural areas, but the concept of dominant caste holds good. In village Mahi, the person of Leuva caste dominates the scene. They own maximum land percentage, money shares in the cooperative societies, the membership of the cooperatives and the village panchayat. Their children are the forerunners of education from village school to college and university level. Despite all this, they say, that the political scene remains uncertain because of intra-group rivalry and inter-caste tensions. The untouchability is seen in its traditional form.

I.P. Desai’s study of untouchability in rural Gujarat shows that the rigors and strictness of the untouchability are not so strict now. The practice exists in two forms: in “private” life and in “public” life. In private life, even there is the practice of social distance among untouchables depending upon cleanliness of work. In public life, untouchability in the form of physical contact has lost its significance
except in village Panchayat. In the villages which have not been touched by development, the practice of untouchability is present in traditional form but not in traditional strictness. In developed villages, the rigours have declined and social mobility is visible along with change.

The concept of social mobility has been given well thinking by Sanwal in his book “Social stratification in Rural Kumaon”. According to him the economic sphere was seen as an open system based on political and ethnic status of the natives and the Varna of the immigrants. He studied the caste system from Chand rule, to Gurkha rule and the advent of the Britishers. Gurkhas assimilated themselves into the Kshatriya, fold of the Hindus and overthrew many of the Kshatriyas and Brahmins. Though the advent of British rule changed the caste-system, the ritual system did not change. Even the change induced by British rulers could not change the basis of stratification. Inter-caste tensions manifested themselves in the form of acquiring economic and political powers and educational qualifications. The study is an earnest attempt at understanding regional stratification and a clue to future research.

Venugopal has given an account of the earlier uprising against the traditional caste-system. The lingayal Movement of Karnataka was such an attempt in the twelfth century to overthrow the rigid, traditional, Brahmin dominated caste system. The movement was started by Basar, Prime Minister of the King of the Principalities of Karnataka. The movement preached through vernacular the futility of
ritual purity and pollution as being practiced. It pronounced the equality of all those who were the Linga and considered them ritually pure. The movement provided an opportunity to many lower castes to rise in the social status. But after a flourishing period of about three hundred years, the movement weakened and ended as a caste system itself, becoming another sect of Hinduism. This shows that despite facing many ups and downs, the caste-system in India has sustained itself though undergoing changes with requirement of times.

Gaborieu in his paper “Caste, Lineage territory and power in South Asia: Introduction”, shows that caste and lineage still holds significance in exercising power. He studied the institution of India and Nepal between 1948 and 1975.

Sharma, in his paper “Dominant caste: Perspectives and problems” agrees with the concept of dominant caste and elaborated further to show that the village leadership rests in the hands of a select group of different castes. This group is not representative of all castes, but has much influence in village Panchayat and politics. While it is true in respect of some village, the villages with one caste constituting more than 75% of its inhabitants, still have dominant caste as is shown by the study of Panchanadikar and Panchanadikar of Mahi village of Gujarat. Thus the concept of dominant caste, therefore, has a conflicting statement. The role of castes is changing with the increasing urbanisation and industrialisation, yet the scene is not very different in which the upper castes still hold the upper position by virtue of their higher economic, educational and socio-political status.
Various studies of caste system in India have shown that the traditional stratification is undergoing various changes. The hereditary occupation is no more a determinant factor of one’s caste. Yet the top position of hierarchy is occupied by the Brahmins and the lowest rung is manned by the Untouchables. The middle order has many castes, sub-castes of farmers, tenants, labourers and other many castes formed of various Kshatriyas and Vaishya castes. The Untouchables are being induced to rise socially, economically, politically and educationally by the constitutional guarantees and reservation of seats in all governmental institutions and services.

In the political field, the upper-caste leaders monopolise political power. The scheduled caste leaders do not have much freedom in exercising political power or introducing changes yet the rigours of untouchability, strictness of the traditional Varna system. The hereditary occupations are all undergoing changes and do not have same role in determining social status.

In industrialized towns, in Government colonies, in urban areas, there is a new type of social mobility based on likeness of occupation and emerging like a class organisation. Private and public life preferences mark the interaction determining social distance. There are cases of individual scheduled caste members attaining high social status by virtue of their occupational or political position. Yet the overall condition remains quite complex. The caste system, at some places seems to have finished and at the same time, at other places, it seems so rigid that individual status, occupation, education, social status, are all dependent on one’s caste. It is more so in the rural area not much
touched by development and urbanization. The class-type social structure can be seen in urban areas where occupation and not caste is the determinant of social status.

Sharda, (1991) in his introductory article "Introduction: Structural Inequalities and mobility in India." In the edited volume "Tribes, Castes and Harijans," Ajanta Publications, Delhi reviewed the literature concerning stratification and mobility. He added the findings and/or arguments of the papers included in that volume. It is clear from the discussion that "caste" has received considerable attention in the literature as well as in the papers included in that volume. He showed the influence of ideologists and Social Anthropologists who dominate the field of stratification in India. He emphasized that, studies of occupational mobility that dominated sociological research is rather a rare phenomenon in Indian sociology. In these studies the unit of observation was the individual, and it would be only through observing the life history of individuals that one could learn about the mobility experiences of a sample, both inter and intra-generational.

That the Untouchables remain economically dependent. The Untouchables in their vast majority continue to perform menial tasks for the upper castes and tend continuously to be exploited by them. In spite of all that has happened since India’s Independence, the words of a British administrator about them still ring true: they are the very “dregs of impurity – scavengers and removers of corpses....” (Crooke, 1896, P. 206).
REVIEW
OF
LITERATURE
Review of Literature:

An extensive study of material on India shows that an analysis of the caste system was first attempted by western sociologists. (See for example: Marx, Weber, Hutton and Blunt).

Let me begin with Marx (1843), who on the basis of his wide knowledge and study of materials on India and keen analysis of the Indian social system, believed that "modern industry, resulting from the Railway system, will dissolve the hereditary division of labour, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power". The expectation, so shared subsequently by many thinkers, including Max Weber, was that modern economic relations stood in a direct contradiction with the caste system; if these relations developed, the caste system would disintegrate. That the caste system has not disintegrated despite the many socioeconomic changes that have occurred over the past one hundred years, intrigued Indian and foreign scholars further. This led to more theorizing and more empirical research and soon a plethora of sociological literature appeared in print.

It was Ghurye, (1969) who was one of the forerunners to give a vivid description of the caste system and to point out that what the western thinkers had called caste, were actually Jatis and he thus in enumerated more than two thousand jatis, each associated with a particular occupation. Taking the cue from Ghurye, empirical studies on caste began to appear. The present review of literature is an attempt to highlight both theoretical and empirical studies carried out on caste, education and social mobility. The contributions made by international and Indian sociologists are captured in this review.
In his study on Coorgs of Mysore, Srinivas (1952), citing evidence from history showed that, the caste system which was considered to be a rigid system of hierarchy, with little or no mobility was far from true. He accepted the historical evidence and showed that the caste system was far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all times. He argued that movement has always been possible, and especially so in the middle regions of the hierarchy.

He showed how group mobility is possible and how the lower castes imitate the life styles of the upper castes and, over a period of two or three generations consider themselves as members of the upper castes whom they have imitated. They then try to establish themselves as 'higher' caste and to marry in the higher caste group to establish their credibility as members of that particular higher caste. This process was called Sanskritization.

Srinivas defined Sanskritization as “the process in which a low caste was able in a generation or two to raise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism and by sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon."

In an attempt to examine the empirical aspect of the process of sanskritisation, Cohn (1955) tried to capture the side effects of sanskritisation, when he studied the Chamars of Madhopur, a village in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. He analyzed the changes that had taken place in two castes, the Naniyas a low but clean caste and the other, Chamars an untouchable caste. He observed that both of these castes tried to raise their status through Sanskritization, migration, economic development after the abolition of the zamindari system.
His study revealed that when the chamars sanskritised their ritual and adorned the holy thread, the Thakur could not tolerate this and beat up the chamars. The latter moved court for violation of their constitutional rights but the Thakur and chamars were persuaded to settle the matter out of court. The study further showed that secular education had played a central role in the chamars’ efforts to improve their position. The Chamars also tried to change other religious practices.

Cohn further observed that the Lohar and Ahirs of Madhopur also tried to raise their status through imitating the behaviour pattern and mannerisms of the upper caste. The Ahirs chose to identify themselves as “Yadav Rajput” and Lohar claimed to be “Visvakarma Brahmin”, while the Chamars of Jaunpur district Azamgarh called themselves as 'Harijan Thakur'. But the chamars of Madhopur did not join the former. Cohn's study gave important direction to further studies in sanskritisation and social mobility.

Bailey’s (1957) study of Bisipara, a village in Phulbani district of Orissa showed that the ritual hierarchy corresponded to political and economic power. The warriors enjoyed a high ritual status and also monopolised the land and political power. Later on with the advent of the British rule the two low caste Boad and Ganjam distillers tried to raise their status through acquisition of wealth and land and had enjoyed political power. Both of these outcastes sanskritisation of their life styles. Bailey argued that it is fact that mobility increased
appreciably under British rule but the system was elastic enough to contain the enhanced mobility.

Isaacs (1964) wrote about what he called India's "Ex-Untouchables" (since untouchability had been constitutionally abolished). He was intrigued by situation of the then sixty five million Untouchables living in confinement to their traditional occupational positions within the traditional power structure of the caste system. He showed how the values of purity and pollution, were strongly associated with occupations which continued to be hereditary. The system was reinforced through the supremacy and solidarity of the upper caste, even in the wake of the process of modernization. Isaac's study is one of its kinds and is unique in the sense that he undertook a journey to India in 1963 to understand the reality faced by the Ex-untouchables.

Dumont, (1966) in a theoretical analysis tried to understand the caste system not in terms of it being an ultimate form of social distinctions generally found in the West, but rather in terms of its own principles which are based on her own terms as a society based on different principles for which new sociological concepts were needed. This book displayed the apparent irrationalities, contradictions, inherent in western concept of caste and it brings caste alive and raises the discussion of its significance to a new level.

Dumont argued that the Brahmins and the untouchables from two extreme ends in the vertical hierarchy of the caste system. Their
position are just exposed and associated with concepts of purity and pollution, peculiarly defined in the Hindu context respectively. The middle castes are diffused and the real conflict and antagonism are evident between the "Clean" and the "Unclean" castes, viz: the Brahmins and the Untouchables. Social distance on the basis of their position in the hierarchical order of purity and pollution, are culturally defined and prescribed, and, should not be confounded with any parallel system existing in western societies. Thus, for Dumont, the caste system is to be understood in terms of cultural categories and not through western ethnocentrisms.

Beteille (1969) argued that the in India, elite educational institutions and occupations are “caste-free” and designed on western styles of life. This has helped in bringing about a new distribution in the status hierarchy. Individuals belonging to different lower groups have tried to raise their status through Sanskritization or westernization. Some used the occupational system and others the system of political parties and associations. Consequently, inequalities have become more dispersed than in the past.

Beteille further stated that education along with income and occupation became the bases of new forms of social differentiation, which tended to cut across differences based on caste. He emphasized that the effacement of caste in the traditional sense does not bring to an end either differences in styles of life or their hierarchical gradation. He argued that marriage and residential arrangements were the indicators of social differentiation in contemporary Indian society.
He also found that new vertical divisions based on income, occupation and education allowed, by their very nature, a certain degree of individual mobility.

Hardgrave's (1969) study concerned itself with caste mobility by means of political participation and conversion of religious faith. His universe of study was Tamil Nadu. He observed that as the caste rose in wealth and political power, there was rise in ritual rank or social status. Nadirs had improved their status through the instrument of the caste association called "Nadar Mahajan Sangam". It was a modern weapon of upward mobility. The Nadirs of Tamil Nadu recognized the importance of education for social uplift during the 19th and 20th centuries. E.V. Ramaswami Naiker led the self respect movement in Tamil Nadu. The effect of this movement led the Nadirs to de-sanskritise their style of life. The sacred thread was thrown away and the use of Brahmin Purohits was discouraged. The movement for social uplift among the Nadirs of Kanyakumari started from the "breast cloth controversy". During the last century, the Nadirs have today became one of the most economically and politically successful communities in the south.

Hardgrave found that few Nadirs of Tamil Nadu converted to Christianity and the material conditions of the converts improved after conversion. Christianity taught them to feel that they were superior to what they originally considered themselves to be. The converts enjoyed a slightly improved economic position than their Hindu kinsmen. Education and Christianity gave the Nadirs hope of an
escape from their sufferings under the dominance of their Nair landlords even if their economic status did not improve.

Zelliot (1970) confined her study to Mahars of Maharashtra who perceived the importance of politics as a means of ameliorating their social condition. She observed that Mahar in the village community was a village servant. His touch was polluting and he did not come into direct contact with a caste Hindu. First of all, Mahars tried to claim religious rights as the equals of the caste Hindus by making three temple entry attempts. The claim to religious rights lost ground as the consciousness of the importance of education and political power articulated by western educated Ambedkar. They were prepared to reject Hinduism altogether. The figure of Chokhamela remained as a source of caste pride rather than a stimulant to claiming a place of worth in the Hindu hierarchy. Ambedkar stated that since success in the case of Temple Entry had been achieved, the movement should continue. He urged the depressed classes to try to concentrate their energy and resources on politics and education. The factors that led to the Mahar social awakening was military service and contact with the British, employment opportunities outside the village. The beginnings of education and all that Ambedkar had inspired them to do help them find their way into the political arena and equipped them for the use of political means towards a modern goal of social equality. Ambedkar converted to Buddhism along with a large number of Mahar, but religious conversion did not bring about much improvement in their social status.
Beteille (1970) in his “Caste Class and Power” stated that social mobility, economic change and political modernisation led to the creation of not only of a new set of relations, but also of new values, new attitudes and new aspirations. Some of the contours of the traditional structure tended to be blurred and new ones tended to emerge.

He found that the process of political modernisation provided scope to the individual to enter into networks of interpersonal relations in which village, caste and other traditional bonds were to be wholly decisive. He found greater tendency towards fusion than fission in caste.

Bhatt (1975) examined the relationship between ‘caste class and politics’, his analysis covered four states of India these were: Andhra Pradesh, Gujrat, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. He found that caste status was not necessarily a condition for politicization and the relationship between caste status and political activity. It was, rather because of the intervening effects of socio-economic status. And if the relationship between caste status and socio-economic status changed then if little relationship was to exist between caste, status and political orientation or influence then, caste activity would also change. Bhatt further stated that in a change from traditional to non-traditional occupation, low status castes generally moved to lower status occupations. Processes like education and urbanization, and the prevailing social conditions worked against lower status castes groups who wished to acquire a higher status in non-traditional occupations.
Finally Bhatt argued that for the low status caste, political sphere become a main avenue of social mobility.

Omen (1977) studied the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In this study he analysed the sources of change and their conversion to other religions and their mobility patterns.

Omen analysed that social reform movements were the main channels of mobility, and that they did not reject the caste system although they rejected their specific status within its fold. The attempt was simply to move up within the hierarchy through sanskritization. Their identity and self-perception retained an essentially Hindu caste identity. But as they gradually realized the limitations of this mechanism of mobility, the attempt to disengage themselves from Hinduism and the caste system started as it manifested itself in their conversion to Islam, Christianity and Buddhism. The attempt here was to change the system and to search for a new identity outside its fold.

However, conversion to new faiths did not bring about the desired result viz. bestowing a higher status; the scheduled caste converts became neo-Buddhist or neo-Christians and the scheduled tribe converts remained tribal Christians or with rare exceptions became untouchables, if they were assimilated into Hinduism. Scheduled castes converts continued to be social isolates within the framework of this new faith and the social differentiation continued to persist. Each category maintained the characteristic of caste.

The study indicated that there were various sources of change for the improvement of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. These were the state action, educational development, political action, political
associations such as Dalit, Panther, allotment of land, establishment of cooperatives etc. Omen observed that various developmental benefits are occupied by few sections of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, be it the distribution of land, entry into educational institutions or representation in legislative bodies and government services. Thus a cumulative process started operating for the categories with certain initial advantages. This led to substantial disparities between the various groups among the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes and it resulted in the emergence of a new prosperous class effecting social differentiation among the scheduled castes and tribes leading to class-mobility. In general, state action led to individual mobility.

He also observed that population of a particular social group come to be identified with one political party or another.

Omen has opinioned that neither social reforms, nor state action nor political mobilization of the scheduled castes and tribes, will not benefit the really poor and oppressed. The need of the hour was a mass movement of a wider scale with a systematic effort to restructure the prevalent power structure, particularly at the grass-root level so that development benefits really reached the poor.

Berreman (1979) focused attention on both traditional and emerging modes of mobility and change, which often grew directly out of the former as new opportunities and new perceptions occurred. Berreman's study was confined to North Indian city. He observed that the comparative conditions of two of the most despised caste groups
i.e. leather workers and sweepers and tried to prove the effect of occupation on status. He observed that "In a medium sized north Indian city, leather workers have been to a large extent occupationally displaced because commercially produced shoes have replaced their hand made products in the urban market, none of the leather worker caste can make a living at their traditional occupation since they face extreme competition. Others were landless labourers before coming to the city and have never did leather work. Most of them have sought to make a living in the city in a variety of unskilled occupations but their denigrated status, their lack of education and other resources, and the lack of opportunity to learn new skills have kept most of them from acquiring a secure livelihood. They are disorganized, deprived and despondent".

Sweeper's on the other hand, are essential to the functioning of the growing city. They were its only sewage and garbage collection system. This despised occupation assured them a vital role. The city has grown faster than their numbers and people of other groups are unwilling to do their defiling work. Therefore, virtually all of them are employed. Most sweeper families have the guaranteed income of municipal employment supplement by the less reliable income of employment in private households. Perhaps most importantly the municipal employees are effectively unionized with a professional bargaining and the viable threat of strike against this common employer always available. As a consequence these people are reasonably secure though not prosperous. The differences in outlook between sweepers and leather workers looks very much like a difference in personality. Sweeper's as a group one self-confident, optimistic outgoing people. Leather workers, on the other hand are
characteristically despondent and evasive, exhibiting feelings of insecurity and inferiority in out group interactions. Both these depressed castes are unaware of the opportunities of legislation and developments.

Pimpley (1980) confined his study to education among the school and college students belonging to scheduled castes in Punjab. The study showed that school students have lower educational aspirations than the college students. The educational aspirations were found to have been significantly affected by their father's education. The backwardness of these students was attributed to environmental factors including their family background and poverty rather than to any intrinsic shot which was inherent in them. Most of the respondents told him that the behaviour of their classmates towards them was not desirable to a large extent. The student's role models were the "government servants" and they felt that the status of the scheduled castes had improved but continued to be inferior to that of other castes.

The teachers, though, held less favourable opinions about the caliber of students belonging to the scheduled castes. A large majority of the teachers considered that the environment of their students was not conducive to good academic performance.

The study also showed that acquiring education, particularly higher education can be seen as a major avenue for occupational mobility. Occupational mobility depends upon occupational aspirations. On the basis of their educational level the respondents aspired for non-traditional, non-polluting white-collar jobs. The student respondents
were unwilling to take up their father's hereditary occupation. Only six percent were willing to do so.

Interestingly, Pimpley categorised students into groups as: "difficult" category and "so-so" category. The "difficult" category wanted to join the professions, while on the other hand, students from the "so-so" category were interested in taking up lower level white collar jobs.

Khan (1980) analyzed the changing status of scheduled castes since independence in some parts of rural Karnataka. His study showed that until recently, the scheduled castes had no access to education and that their position had changed considerably mostly because of the various steps taken by the government during the last two decades. Khan observed that occupational mobility was noticeable among SC and that maximum changes had taken place in schools where the traditional social restrictions placed on the scheduled castes had almost disappeared. There was a significant change in the relationship between the caste Hindu masters and the scheduled caste employees. However servitude was widely practiced because of economic reasons. The study further showed that the working of government policies and programs and measures had not borne the expected results. There was a wide gap between what the government envisaged and what was actually found in rural areas.

Shah's (1984) study is confined to various aspects of caste, class and reservation. His research revealed that though economic differentiation had emerged within the untouchable caste, yet this did
not mean that a class based society had emerged. Individuals were
guided by economic considerations in their day to day actions and
social relationships. The researcher further stated that even though the
caste system appeared to be 'breaking down', it did not mean that
considerations of purity and pollution had disappeared from society.

Shah's findings clearly showed that the economic poverty affected all
castes equally, regardless of caste status. The Untouchables and the
upper castes are not equal in all other respects.

If a poor member of the upper caste wishes to enter an educational
institution, he would be allowed to do so; whereas, members of the
lower castes would be denied access to educational institutions-
as they have done in the past. Those who belonged to the higher castes
inherited the tradition of education whereas the others were denied
these opportunities. The members of the upper caste could move up
social ladder through caste associations organised by their caste
fellows and through other means. Such movement was denied to
the scheduled castes, which had to be aided by governmental
intervention. This study revealed the fact that upper caste officials
had negative attitudes towards SC, ST. They proclaimed that the
inefficiency in the administration was due to the appointment of BC
and OBC in the offices. Despite the availability of SC, ST candidates
for the reserved seats, such seats were not filled up. These differences
were based on caste prejudices and the stereotypic images of the
scheduled castes.

Desai (1984) in his article showed that the traditional relationships
between occupation and caste have broken down. In contemporary
India, caste has strong rivals which are identified as new secular basis of differentiation and stratification which are the products of the new economic and political developments. These are coupled with corresponding developments in social norms and in standards of behaviour and aspirations of all people. Apart from this, caste consciousness is getting weak in the face of interest conscious utilities.

He further mentioned that the areas in which the 'caste' is consciously used for its effectiveness are much wider than those primordial areas. It is political and economic. It may be stated wide or nation wide. The upper strata of all these primordial groups who indulge in these political and economic games use the primordial utilities and invest in them to strengthen their wider political and economic interests. They have been quite successful up till now. They have been supported by a section of the intelligentsia by spreading the illusion about the everlasting and unchanging nature of the primordial unities and thus spread pessimism among the people.

Dev & Lahiri (1984) analysed the process of mobility in Assam. They have shown that Assam is the only state in India which is free from the soils of untouchability. It is also free from the atrocities on the Harijan. They also found that the process of social change has brought about a complete shift in the division of labour in Assam. The profession of scavenger has disappeared from the province. The operation of the forces of modernization in Assam has put a severe pressure on the traditional occupational structure. The advancement in the field of education, the improvement in communications and the
spread of western culture motivated different occupational caste groups to participate in areas outside the domain of their hereditary occupation.

They also found that the social reform movements and secularization of political institutions and sanskritization which were initiated during the British period/ responsible for the advancement of scheduled caste in Assam. The study also showed that various scheduled castes were accommodated in different ways with the mainstream of power politics. This phenomenon brought about corresponding changes in the indigenous social system of Assam as a whole.

The study revealed that the fact that the function of the institution of satra facilitated the gradual upward mobility among Naths who are one of the highly mobile scheduled caste groups of Assam.

Parvathama (1984) conducted a survey for analyzing the socio-economic conditions of scheduled castes and tribes in Karnataka. The study showed that majority of the scheduled castes was living in a miserable condition. They live in separate colonies outside the village. More than fifty percent SC and ST were denied water facilities from the common village water sources. More than eighty percent of SC and ST were landless agricultural labourers working on others land in the village. Many of them were denied pursuing the menial type of occupations. There were only a few SC and ST having bank accounts. Marriage processions of SC and ST were not allowed to go through the upper caste locality or near the village temple.
The study also showed that the level of politicization of SC and ST in the Karnataka state is relatively low but they have knowledge of various constitutional provisions of the upliftment of the down-trodden including political reservation. A large number of SC and ST recognized the name of Gandhiji as a national leader but not many could identify Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as their leader. Only educated urban residents could recall Ambedkar's contribution to the advancement of SC and ST in the country. Many of them do not send their children to school because of their poverty stricken condition. Karnataka state follows all idiosyncrasies of the Hindu population. Economic concessions like land, education and employment with regular wages to the down trodden recommended by them as solutions for improving their present condition. Food habits and consumption patterns of SC and ST in the state is low. They are underfed and undernourished.

Brass (1984) studied the problem of adjustment and adoption of a modern political party to the traditional order in Uttar Pradesh. According to Brass, development of political consciousness affects the political effectiveness of the scheduled caste as a group, which has been hindered by the continued educational backwardness. This is true for most of the low castes of low caste groups which come under the constitutional definition of scheduled castes. The center of scheduled caste political activity has been in and around Bombay city and, it was during the nineteen eighties that it spread to other parts of the country like Uttar Pradesh.
During the course of field work he found that in Uttar Pradesh the Chamars are the best educated and the most politically conscious group among the scheduled castes. The Republican Party, which is the political vehicle of the militant scheduled caste movement, is dominated by Chamars in Uttar Pradesh. Chamars are invariably close to the very bottom in the status and economic hierarchies of rural Uttar Pradesh. Throughout the state, they are employed in the rural sectors primarily as agricultural labourers and, in the urban areas they are placed in inferior menial occupations as leatherworkers, factory workers, coolies or rickshaw pullers.

He further found that Chamars were not only in a majority (among all scheduled caste groups) in Aligarh district but also have a dynamic and popular leader like BP Maurya. Maurya had worked for the advancement of his community. Maurya had led a movement in Aligarh which had begun earlier in Bombay, for the conversion of the scheduled castes to Buddhism. As a result of his work among the chamars, and his education, Maurya had become the hero of his community.

Brass further stated that the scheduled caste vote had been a mainstay of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh since independence. Until the 1962 election, the Republican Party and its predecessors, the scheduled caste federation, achieved no success in Uttar Pradesh politics. For the most part, the scheduled castes in Uttar Pradesh accepted the patronage of the Congress government and cast their vote in favor of the congress party in return. The scheduled caste leaders, who had been given the Congress tickets in the reserved constituencies, were non-militant and had no power in the local or state Congress
organizations. The numerous organizations in Uttar Pradesh for the advancement of the scheduled caste and for the "depressed classes" were content to serve as agencies for the distribution of Congress patronage.

Brass further stated that the Republican Party leaders felt that scheduled caste members who joined the Congress betrayed the aspirations of the low castes. The Republicans were militant opponents of the Congress which they claimed, was dominated by the elite Hindu castes. To oppose the Congress, Republicans were willing to seek alliances with any party or individuals whose principles were not opposed to their own.

Brass mentioned in his work (1984) before independence the Congress never seriously attempted to organize the low castes, which remained largely outside the mainstream of nationalist policies in U.P. Besides this, the low castes did not form a significant political force in the pre-independence period and their demands were not clearly articulated.

He further mentioned that with the adoption of adult franchise and the spread of education, groups which were unorganized in the pre-independence period began to find leaders to voice their demands.

Viswanadham & Reddy's (1985) study focused on the educational achievements of scheduled caste. His research study was based on the assumption that scheduled castes are no longer a homogeneous community and that there are perceptible differences among them
with respect to class, status and power. He hypothesized that parental attitudes, perception traditions in regard to education can influence educational attainment among scheduled castes. The study was conducted in Hyderabad city. The study also showed that there was a close association between the social class position of the parents and the educational achievement of their children among scheduled castes. Most of the top achievers hailed from families with higher socio-economic status and a vast majority of the under achievers from low economic status groups. The findings of his study suggested that unless structural changes were brought about, they would continue to remain educationally backward.

Guru (1986) analysed the relationship between the process of Sanskritization and the provision of reservations. It was observed that reservation played a contradictory role in the process of Sanskritization. Scheduled castes have sought vertical mobility through reservation and they were more inclined to raise their social and economic development. They also tried to associate themselves with the political organizations for the sake of power and in this whole process they did not give too much emphasis on Sanskritization. Scheduled castes have shifted their emphasis from sanskritization to competition for position of office and power. The process of Sanskritization existed only in the educated elite section of scheduled castes in urban areas and it does not incorporate the rural people.

The study revealed the fact that through the process of Sanskritization scheduled caste seeks horizontal mobility, but on the other hand the
economically backward upper castes seek downward social mobility by the process of de-Sanskritization, as they have to adopt lower caste status in order to enjoy reservation benefits.

Reddy (1986) studied patterns of non-formal education and social change. In this study he pointed out that non-formal education was an important means to stimulate and mobilize masses of the poor section of people to liberate themselves from ignorance and disadvantage and to gain equality and social justice. A number of voluntary organizations are promoting non-formal education in India.

Reddy stated that non-formal education dealt with the problem of the drop-outs. Voluntary organizations tried to improve the worse educational conditions of poor masses and gave them access to education through their educational programs. The poor who were not able to get education through formal institutions could now have access to education. The study revealed that non-formal education is people's education and it helps in the liberation of people from ignorance and leads to changes in society.

Malhotra's (1986) study confined itself to the analysis of education and development in India and the social disadvantages faced by SCs. The study revealed that progress of scheduled caste students in various aspects of their "cognitive" development such as intelligence and reading ability and their school achievement might be slower than that of their counterparts who belonged to the higher caste groups. He further stated that the dropout rate among SC student was higher than in the other groups. They were less aware about the availability of
scholarships and about opportunity for further education and future vocation. His study showed that education was a valuable activity. This kind of motivational aspirations among scheduled caste parents was weak.

Malhotra also observed that under the constitutional provisions, the state government, within its resources (both financial and human) should extend special facilities to the scheduled castes. There was no lack of sincerity on the part of the government, but the problem was so complicated and multi-faceted that the government alone could not remove the disparities that existed between them and the members of the higher castes. Voluntary agencies also worked for the amelioration of SCs but in spite of the best efforts made by the government and voluntary agencies, not much could be done. Hence it is necessary to change the attitude of society. The stigma of untouchability has not yet gone, although much work has been done in this regard at the political level to do away with it.

Kapoor's (1987) study is confined to Jatavs of Dehradun city. The study has shown that at first instance educational and economic developments have taken place among the Jatavs through the help of state administrative measures. Factors like education, reform movements and urbanization, sanskritization have significantly added to their status change. On the other hand, when they were trying to move to widen their social horizons towards the higher castes, the intra-caste rift was also growing visibly. She also observed the
emergence of a middle class among the Jatavs of Dehradun - a city where rate of literacy is very high.

It should be noted that Jatav and chamar are synonymous. More recently, it has been observed that the appellate "Jatav" is more acceptable than chamar which is considered degrading.

Padhy & Mahapatra's (1988) study on the reservation policy examined the recent trends of reservation policy in India. It was also observed that there was a strong demand that reservation should be based on economic criterion as well. But it was observed that the benefits of reservation were reaped by some economically affluent and socially influential communities who got their name included in the list of scheduled castes on the plea that they were educationally backward. This was the case with Ahirs, Kurmis and Mandals in North and Lingayats in the South.

Researchers also noticed that where the association between caste and occupation was strengthened, it reinforced castism and delayed the transformation of the social structure; where with the weakening associations would lead to social mobility. People have entered into modern secular occupations and appreciated the modern technological changes. They are however, unable to take up alternative occupations with higher returns. They therefore, suffer economic insecurity.

The study also indicated that in the various services reservation policy had yielded poor results. Recruitment in class I, II and class III services, were low. Besides, those who were able to enter the services
under the reservation scheme, were unable to attain managerial and higher administrative services.

Sachchidananda’s (1988) study focused on the emergence of scheduled caste elite in Bihar. This study concerned itself with five scheduled castes categories which were as follows: the chamar, Duradh, Musahar, Dhobi and Pasi.

The researcher found that with the growth of education different forms of mobility were in evidence. He observed that elite under study had been most active in the propagation of education. Elite sections of scheduled caste were keen to see that the advantages conceded to them were made available for the common mass of scheduled castes. Some of the elite have been instrumental in promoting the caste solidarity and political consciousness among the people. The elite have been most active in prohibiting the practice of child marriage and encouraging freedom in the choice of mates. They have also taken interest in preventing marriages from breaking up and tried to encourage widow remarriage. The elite were not basically against the caste system and their efforts were directed towards rising higher in the scale of traditional social hierarchy so that they could come nearer to the caste Hindus. These efforts were neither motivated entirely by secular values nor by sanskritised norms. The elite have adopted both the traditional prestige system as well as the modern prestige symbols such as education, occupation, power and the western style of life. The elite serve as reference models for the masses.
This study revealed the fact that in education employment and representation in legislatures, some scheduled castes had a larger share than others. The result was that more backward among the scheduled castes continued to be relegated to the background while the most advanced sections become still more advanced and prosperous.

Prakash's (1989) study is based on the socio-economic changes among scheduled castes of Lucknow. The results showed that among scheduled castes employed in class I, class II, class III, class IV government services, the impact of occupation on life styles of scheduled caste in class I services was most significant. The study revealed that scheduled caste members employed in class I services had integrated more easily with high caste members. Since they were placed in a higher position in the occupational hierarchy and have higher educational qualifications, they were more easilyacceptable and were invited by high caste members to their homes on social occasions. Castism however continued to exist and some times scheduled caste members employed in class I services were discriminated. The study showed that scheduled caste members of class I grade have a high sense of political efficiency and lowest degree of fatalism and high degree of modernity as compared to their colleagues who were employed in class II, class III and class IV government services.

Gill & Singh (1989) in their study on reservation and its repercussions on scheduled caste and non-scheduled caste are two distinct segments
of society. The researcher stated that "... scheduled castes have a stigma of inferiority complex. People regard them as low caste people not as human beings and this stigma is attached to them in one form or another by birth which cannot be ritually or socially eliminated. As a result, they are segregated even when they have joined the mainstream with sufficient degree of social intercourse. Non-scheduled caste could not afford to lose their single seat which was beneficial for the scheduled caste. The study revealed the fact that non-scheduled caste have been protesting since 1972. They have one genuine grievance regarding promotions in services for scheduled caste and they agitated against some provisions of reservation. It had unintended consequences because of this, scheduled caste employees concerted themselves in the form of political mobilization and protest as manifested in the formation of scheduled caste employees welfare association. Both of them wanted to maintain their status quo.

Gill and Singh argued that all power has remained in the hand of the caste Hindus to the exclusion of scheduled caste and the non-scheduled caste have a vested interest hardly any structural change can be expected. It is only the consciousness the true consciousness of these under-privileged caste that will bring structural changes in society by replacing the existing system either through political mobilization or militant protest.

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He further found that chamars were not only in a majority (among all scheduled caste groups) in Aligarh district but also have a dynamic and popular leader like B.P. Maurya. Maurya had worked for the advancement of his community. Maurya had led a movement in Aligarh which had begun earlier in Bombay, for the conversion of the scheduled castes to Buddhism. As a result of his work among the chamars, and his education, Maurya had become the hero of his community.
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He further mentioned that with the adoption of adult franchise and the spread of education, groups which were unorganized in the pre-independence period began to find leaders to voice their demands.

A study of Hindu caste and schedule caste children was conducted by Prakash & Sen in 1985. This study was concerned with five different psycho-social variables viz: the intellectual level of these groups, the socio-economic status of parents, their concept of self, social prejudice as practiced, aggression, frustration, etc as measured by different psychological tests and scales. His study was related to Ballabhgarh of Haryana.

The results showed that if stimulating environment were provided to the scheduled castes, they may come up to the level of the caste Hindu children and they may sometimes surpass their performance. He observed that the scheduled caste children from comparatively high income group showed better performance in Raven's test than their counter-parts, namely the caste Hindu children coming from similar economic background.

The other findings on self-concept and social prejudice showed that the caste Hindu groups showed better performance than that of the scheduled caste groups. The false high caste pride, land holding and other material possessions perhaps enhanced the concept regarding "self". On the social prejudice scale the caste Hindu children were influenced by their parents and grand parents to follow the traditional pattern. The P.F. study showed that the children of other castes of Hindu were found to dominate and assert and to indulge in self-
criticism as compared to scheduled caste children, who were more practical and could solve their problems. They were more pragmatic. The tendency towards adaptive adequacy was more marked among the scheduled caste group. Whereas, among the caste Hindus, the ego defensive tendency was prevalent. Historically, the caste Hindus had continuously dominated the scheduled castes and the submissive behaviour of the scheduled caste individuals could thus be explained.

Reddy's (1986) study was concerned with non-formal education and social change. In this study he pointed out that "Non-formal" education became an important means to stimulate and mobilize masses of poor for action to liberate themselves from dependency and disadvantage and to gain equality and social justice. This process was going on through a number of voluntary organizations at work the place of work. Eswara Reddy states that non-formal education had dealt with the problems of the dropouts and also to improve the access for education to a large number of people of diverse conditions to those, who were not able to get education through formal institutions. This in itself was a reform within the educational system. He further stated that non-formal education had shown its potential as liberation of education which sought basic changes in society. It was people's education. It was evident that non-formal education proved to be a powerful instrument of social change in India and other developing countries.

Singh (1986) observed that conversion had not brought about vertical mobility for the converts. He found that large scale conversion to
Islam during the Muslim rule in India have offered a structural outlet for the deprived Hindu castes for social, economic and cultural mobility. But the extent to which the converts succeeded in it was always limited. Ashrafs (the four immigrant Muslim groups) generally maintained their social distance from these converts in matters of marriage and kinship ties. They never recognized them as their equals. The caste hierarchy continued within the convert Muslims and in most cases traditional occupations and caste rituals were also maintained. But converts had enjoyed some advantages—being a Muslim in a political set-up where Muslim kings and chiefs were the rulers did offer security and other peripheral benefits to these groups.

Singh had observed that in all traditional societies which exhibited a closed system of social stratification, no legitimate structural means were available to climb up in social hierarchy. The change of faith or of customs and rituals might have offered a relative relief.

Guru (1986) analysed the relationships between the process of sanskritization and the provision of reservations. He observed that reservation played a contradictory role in the process of sanskritization. It enabled the scheduled castes to undergo a process of change through sanskritization and enabled them to seek upward mobility. But, on the other hand, it compelled the economically backward upper castes to seek downward social mobility by a process of de-sanskritization, as they had to adopt lower caste status in order to enjoy reservation benefits.

His study clearly showed that reservation was a practical necessity for removing the economic backwardness of scheduled castes and it
compelled the upper castes to undergo the process of desanskritization. The process of sanskritization does not incorporate the rural people and scheduled castes because of its complications. The scheduled caste elite groups become a submissive or isolated phenomenon forming separate housing societies in the urban sector. Sanskritization created a cultural gap between different scheduled caste groups and, therefore, sanskritization failed to bring about the horizontal cultural integration of scheduled castes. His study also showed that after independence the scheduled castes have given up the chase for sanskritization and turned towards competition for economic and political power. Scheduled castes have shifted their emphasis from sanskritization to competition for position of office and power.

Pathak (1987) analysed the impact of conversion status in the society. The study revealed that conversion to various religions took place because of structural and economic conditions in which people wanted to avail themselves of temporal gains and material benefits and also wanted to escape the stigma of untouchability attached with their low status. The study indicated the fact that conversion has not brought about vertical social mobility but led to horizontal mobility. The converts, especially the Christians, have been able to attain high education, occupation and are economically better off than their counterparts in other castes and religious groups. They have not been able to shake off the stigma of untouchability completely. This social standing has not improved much, more so in the rural areas. In the urban areas there are more chances to get upward social mobility. The
converts are excluded from the framework of interaction with the Hindu castes and have not been able to achieve the social status enjoyed by the members of the original community of their adopted faith. The converts are looked down upon by these people.

Thakur, Sharma and Kaur (1989) pointed out through results of their survey that scavenger household with scanty sources of income, debt problems, and large number of dependents, constituted the weakest among the weaker sections of scavengers. Most of them were engaged in unclean and low quality work and suffering from unemployment and/or underemployment. His study showed that major part of the household income was spent on less nutritive food items a very little was spent on the other necessary requirements. They were unable to save any part of their income. This study revealed the fact that benefit of government education facilities had by and large been limited to the households in the higher income group among them. Small groups of low income scavengers had taken some cash compensation or other incentives to send their children to school.

Thakur, Sharma and Kaur further stated that “the success of minimum needs program and the anti-poverty program in general depended upon the availability of sufficient funds honest and efficient administration as well as the active involvement of the beneficiaries in these vital undertakings."

Uplankar (1989) in his study protective discrimination and the equality of opportunity showed that over the years since independence, more and more SC students from low class status were
beginning to have access to higher education. However, they were mainly drawn from urban background. The occupational aspirations of the SC students were influenced more by their class status compared to non-SC students. His study revealed that majority of the low class SC students had low occupational aspirations of the non-SC students were relatively evenly distributed.

He opined that reservation should be based on economic criterion. He said that by making the 'policy' more dynamic, open and progressive to eliminate the upper class scheduled caste members or families from the purview of the "policy" and to enable only the power sections among the scheduled castes to get the benefits of reservations.

Gill & Singh (1989) in his study on reservation, pointed out that scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes were two distinct segments of society. They stated that scheduled castes have a stigma of "inferiority complex". People regarded them as a low caste people not as human beings and this stigma became attached to them in one form or the other by birth. These were not ritually or socially eliminated, and as a result, they were segregated even when they had joined the mainstream with sufficient degree of social intercourse. Non-scheduled castes could not afford to lose every single loss or gain of the scheduled caste groups. He stated "...it is a fact that they have been protesting since 1972. Non-scheduled castes have one genuine grievance regarding promotions in services for scheduled castes and they concerted themselves in political action. Their concerted protest has its unintended consequence because of this scheduled castes employees concerted themselves in the form of political mobilization
and protest as manifested in the formation of scheduled castes employees welfare association. Both of them wanted to maintain their status quo.”

Gill & Singh argued that all power had remained in the hands of the caste Hindus to the exclusion of scheduled castes and the non-scheduled castes had a vested interest. Hardly any structural change could be expected. It was only the consciousness of the true consciousness of these underprivileged castes that would bring structural changes in society by replacing the existing system either through political mobilization or militant protest.

Pandey’s (1989) analysis of the mobility pattern among scheduled castes of Varansasi city, showed that education was not the only decisive factor in the social mobility among the scheduled castes by which there has been much more improvement in their socio-economic and cultural status and consequently it led them towards upward social mobility without an occupational base. P.N. Pandey observed that the highly educated scheduled castes of elevated social standing form an exclusive group and attempt to move upwards by seeking marital relations among the upper castes and by developing contacts with the elite sections of society.

Pandey further stated that socially mobile scheduled castes of comparatively better social status recognized their obligations towards their caste fellowmen, who had a low level of social and
economic status. For them, model of reference were the elite groups of their own caste-men and even the higher caste Hindus. And finally Pandey argued that the role of sanskriritization in this context was limited.

Pundeer (1995) noticed 'social change among SCs in North India'. He observed that SCs of North India tried to enter newer types of 'clean' prestigious occupations through job reservations. In this manner they were able to achieve occupational mobility. In the village, more and more SCs tried to acquire land and to escape from bondage labour. Untouchability was also reduced in the village areas. SCs actively participated in the country's democratic processes and attained positions in the power structure of the villages. SCs also sanskritised their customs and tried to raise their status through every possible manner and wanted to enjoy the fruits of modern developments.

Pundir also found that Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar was the role model of a vast majority of the SCs of north India.

Rao (1996) analysed contemporary Dalit ideology. He observed that Dalit or backward class protests and movements were directed by the ideologies of Mahatma Joytiba Rao Phule and Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar. The researcher's study was confined to a south Indian village called Thalupuru in the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh. He stated that "In the villages where a vast majority of the Dalit lives the ideologies of the national or regional celebrities..." Dalits engaged in
everyday protests promoted and shaped by caste ideologies. The Dalits were highly influenced by the local ideologies that served their interest.

The study showed that dissent existed among the Dalits. The Dalits were conscious of their deprivation, exploitation and powerlessness. They espouse the Hindu egalitarian ideology that supported their cause and applied it to justify their attempts for securing equality.

The two chapters on Introduction and Revised Literature have much in common and are very repetitive. Possibilities of merging them or at least eliminating the duplication may be explored. A conclusion or sum-up would be welcome.
RESEARCH
DESIGN
Research design:

The Jatavs of Aligarh form an interesting group which, the present researcher has targeted for the present study. A sociological study of education and its impact on patterns of social mobility among scheduled castes in general and Jatavs in particular form the main body of the thesis.

It is necessary to mention here that Archana Kapoor (1987) had studied Jatavs of Dehradun City in which she tried to explore the salient features of certain changes which may have occurred among the Jatavs, and the factors responsible for their socio-economic transformation. Kapoor’s study showed that education and economic changes have taken place among the Jatavs through the help of state administrative measures. She observed that urbanization and sankritization were responsible for their status change. On the other hand, she also reported that while the Jatavs tried to maintain inter-caste relations with members of the higher caste, the intra-caste tensions surfaced simultaneously. She also observed that a middle class also seemed to emerge rapidly among the Jatavs of Dehradun.

Similarly P.N Pandey (1989) analyzed the role of education in social mobility among the scheduled castes. He examined the attitudes of the latter towards “education” and "social mobility” with reference to a number of scheduled caste groups. He tried to find out a functional alternative to sanskritization and westernization in the process of social mobility. His study was confined to Varanasi and survey included thirteen sub-castes of the scheduled castes community at large. His study showed that Chamars were in majority followed by the Dhobi sub-caste.
Pandey's study (1989) showed that education was the most decisive factor in social mobility. This upward mobility led the scheduled castes to improve their socio-economic status. His study further showed that highly educated scheduled caste members formed an exclusive group and attempted to develop marital alliances with members of the upper caste and maintain relations with upper caste elite section of society.

While both the studies cited above appear somewhat similar to the present study, it may be noted that the present study deals with one sub-caste of the Scheduled Caste namely Jatavs of Aligarh city. Apart from this, the present study is directed towards certain aspects not taken into consideration by either Kapoor or Pandey. This study has used a different methodological approach and has tried to elicit insights which have not been attempted by either of the two authors stated above.

This study is confined to the Jatavs of Aligarh city and the researcher has developed a few working hypotheses. The present research also examines the religious and ritual practices of the Jatavs and their attitudes and beliefs in Buddhism. The study uses the case study method to gain deeper insights into various aspects of their lives through a qualitative analysis. The selected case study sample comprises of Jatavs who now pursue different non-traditional occupations ranging from highly placed government servants (on reserved quota) to small entrepreneurs. The present study also elicits information about the forefathers and members of the present generation and their off-springs. In a way, it is a four generational study, with ego being the third generation respondent.

In the light of above discourse, the study had been planned.
Objectives of the Study:

Scheduled castes have always been associated with those occupations that are considered as defiling and menial. The Jatavs are enlisted as scheduled caste in the Indian Constitution. Whether the members of the Jatav caste have made progress with the help of education and by giving up their hereditary occupation, and entering into newer types of occupations? Do the members of the Jatav community feel insulted if they are addressed by their traditional appellate Chamar? This term chamar is associated with leather or chamda. Have the Jatavs realized the importance of education for attaining sound social position in the society and are they really mobile? What kind of changes do they experience in their lives? Under the changed socioeconomic situation in India, coupled with the processes of democracy, modernization and globalization, are the Jatavs well represented in high status occupations? In the light of above discourse and questions raised, the research study had been planned.

The present research study is confined to the Jatav caste and attempts to explore some of the problems of education and to examine how their educational and occupational status has helped them to become socially mobile.

The objectives of the study are as follows:

1. What changes have taken place in the social and economic conditions of the Jatavs? How have these changes affected their relationships with other castes, especially the higher caste groups?
2. What are the factors responsible for upliftment or deterioration of the Jatav community?
3. What are the salient features of the Jatavs of the Aligarh city?
4. To highlight their religious practices.
5. To understand the attitudes of the Jatav community towards privatization of education, reservation policy of the government, conversion of Jatav to other religions, education and employment of women.

The study also aims to find out the level of politicization pattern of integration and isolation with regard to Jatavs them and to other castes.

Before proceeding further, it is important to define the variables used for the present study.

**SOCIAL MOBILITY:**

The multi-linguistic demographic dictionary (1951-58) defines desirable social mobility as “social mobility is referred to as movement of individuals between different social status groups”.

Social mobility process explains the overall status changes of either individuals or of groups, it discusses on another point, that is, occupational mobility as a most important part of social mobility. Occupational mobility refers to movement of individuals from one occupational prestige category to another”. Social mobility assumes/occupational mobility. As such occupational and social mobility are very much interrelated in the sense that social mobility deals with the overall mobility of a person or group or a
Family of which occupational mobility is one of the most important dimensions. Social position or social status signifies certain rank with respect to the possession of certain goods or value esteemed and desired by a majority of the society.

In this concentration, it is that Jatavs are becoming socially and economically upwards community in the society. The Jatavs made progress; the replacement of occupation, education and social mobility provide them opportunities to develop and accommodate themselves into the changing society.

**EDUCATION:**

In India education of untouchables or their children was considered as an offense by certain sections of society. Even in social codes like Manusmriti it was categorically mentioned that the untouchables should not hear the scared rituals. As a result education was denied to the untouchables and they remained illiterate, ignorance and backward for centuries. The British administrators founded a modern system of education which opens the door for all castes and communities in India. Many British exponents of modern education like Micaville, David hari, William Jones, Hastings, Duncan’s and other along with Indians like Maharaja Saiji Rao Gayakwaad, Gopal Krishnan Gokhley, Raja Ram Mohan Rai, Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and many others advocated the course of modern education.

The education which meant to broaden the minds, to sharpen the process of logic, reasoning, to provide knowledge and skill to individuals and to bring him/her to a level that would lead to a gainful successive and satisfying life is basically responsible for the social mobility of scheduled
The traditional concepts of rituals purity and impartially has lost its importance in contemporary India. Today Indian society governed by the scientific secular outlook. So the changes in the position of scheduled caste are more explicit than in the past.

**SCHEDULED CASTES:**
The Hindu society based on four primary castes. The Brahmins, the Kshatiriyas, the Vaishyas, and the Shudras. The lowest in the caste hierarchy was shudras and the lowest in that class was the untouchables. They were neither allowed to eat food nor were they allowed to wear decent clothes. They were neither wearing nor allowed to bear arms and not allowed to have possession of wealth; they were not allowed to use decent cultural language but instead were required to use rude language. They were forced to live outside the village, education also denied for them. They bearded religious cultural disabilities but also economic.

According to T.K. Oomen "The traditional social organization of India" Hindu society was divided into five categories and most of the scheduled castes were designated as panchamars those of the fifth order. They were ranked below the four varnas of the Brahmins, the kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the shudras.
Universe of the study:
For the Purpose of present study Aligarh city is chosen, which is located in the western Uttar Pradesh. Aligarh is famous in all over India for its brass and iron locks besides it is also famous for its university named Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh Muslim University represents the Aligarh culture which is based on fraternity, students belong to various caste and communities have been getting education through this institution. Apart from this there are three degree colleges which spread education among mass known as Dharam Samaj Degree College, Shri Varshney Degree College and Tikaram Girls Degree College. These colleges are affiliated to the Dr. B. R. Ambedkar University Agra; large number of students study in these colleges of Aligarh. The students who wish to go in engineering, medicine or any other creative functional stream which accommodate them into changing society try to get admission in Aligarh Muslim University. Apart from this, various intermediate colleges are also part of the academic scenario of Aligarh city.

SAMPLE SELECTION:
The sample for the present research study was confined to the Jatav community, and a purposive sample was selected from the following localities, which are predominantly Jatav.

Naurangabad chhawani
Ambedkar colony
Achal tank

10

1
Nai basti. — |
Khair Road. /
Kothi Lank Ram.

Naurangabad bad chhawani and Ambedkar colony represent the largest majority of Jatavs.

For the purpose of the study, fourteen respondents were selected through purposive sampling, which is well-suited for conducting Case Studies. The sample was drawn from different mohallas (localities) of Jatavs. Ten cases were selected from Naurangabad Chhawani and Ambedkar Colony as the latter merges into the chhawani area, thus giving access to a majority of Jatav population living there. Four samples were selected from Nai Basti, Achal Tank, Khair Bus Stand and Chuharpur. The criterion for sample selection was based on level of education and income. All selected respondents were educated up to high school level or above with a minimum income Rs. 5000 per month.

Income and education have been used as independent variables.

TECHNIQUE OF RESEARCH:
The data collection was based on both the sources that are primary and secondary.

In the primary sources structured interview was the main tool, personal interviews with the important Jatav persons ‘case studies of respondent’s observations were made.
Among the secondary sources census report of government of India particularly of 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, Manorama year book 1981, 1994, employment news paper, Frontline 2001, Chronicle 2001, AmarUjala Newspaper 1997 were consulted. District gazetteer taken into consideration about the scheduled caste to find out their population percentage, number of caste rates of their growth and rate of literacy. Besides this information made available from the Harijan and social welfare office government statistical department of Aligarh city had been also utilized. For the primary information intensive fieldwork was conducted in the selected areas. Fourteen respondents from different background as industry worker, retired persons, member of Nagar Nigam were selected in the sample. However to have an insight into the level of education, standard of living, occupational pattern formal and informal observational data has also been used wherever possible.

HYPOTHESES:
The present study is purely exploratory and descriptive in nature, and therefore no specific hypotheses have been envisaged. However, to give a general direction to the study and keeping in view the importance of income and education as independent variables, the general hypotheses which have surfaced are as follows:

1. A change in occupation from traditional ‘defiling’ occupation to a ‘clean’ occupation is an important agent of social mobility.
2. Educational achievements lead to better chances of obtaining better occupational positions and hence help in upward mobility of the Jatavs.

3. With political participation, exposure to mass media, scientific outlook, new ideologies, urbanization, and sanskritization, enhance social mobility.

4. In spite of giving up their traditional occupation of tanning, the upper castes hold the Jatavs in contempt and do not like to associate with them socially.

5. Conversion to Buddhism has enhanced the status of the Jatavs in the caste hierarchy.

In order to test the hypotheses case studies were undertaken and they are included in the next chapter.
CASE STUDIES
STUDY # 1

Mr. Sahani, a forty nine year old cashier at Indian Overseas Bank lives comfortably on his Rupees twelve thousand per month income. His graduate degree came in handy for this job. He has come a long way and has attained a high position among his compatriots. This is all the more creditable as both his father and grandfather were "landless" laborers. The senior most Sahani was illiterate but he was able to send his son (that is, Sahni’s father) to school for about five years.

Sahni’s wife completed her high school before her marriage. Even though she is a simple housewife and her three children are well educated. Respondent’s daughter completed BA, MA, B ed. and eldest son is completing his graduation, while the younger son is in high school. They are all studying at the Government College, where medium of instruction is Hindi; they have taken advantage of the scholarship and free ship program for scheduled castes. They live comfortably in a three-room set, which was built by Sahani.

Respondent’s father and grandfather were followers of Hinduism and, while they followed maintained rites and rituals of Hindu marriage, they did not give much importance to gotra. The respondent said that he believes in Humanism more than in any particular religion. He, however, worships lord Shiva, Lord Buddha, who was himself a great humanist. Like his father and grandfather, he follows the Hindu marriage rituals he does not believe in gotra. He is a member of the pippal gotra but did not
take his wife's gotra into consideration before entering into the marriage alliance.

The respondent felt that religious and moral education for children is important and he made sure that his children were given religious and moral education along with teachings of Lord Buddha.

The inter-personal relationships of the respondent are somewhat mixed. He maintains informal relations with his high caste colleagues as he works at the Indian overseas Bank where they have to work together. He inter-dines with them as they invite him for various occasions such as marriage, birthday parties etc. However, the respondent never goes to melas organized by other caste such as kali ka mela, Agrasen Maharaj ka mela etc. as they generally do not invite him. The high caste melas are not for the "low" castes, he reiterated. On the other hand, when invited, he goes to house of other castes to attend their religious Katha sessions, such as Katha of Bhagwan Satya Narayan.

Reflecting on question about changes that have taken place in the Jatav community, the respondent said that several changes have taken place even though alcoholism, ignorance of education, poverty, gambling etc are the burning problems, which are faced by the Jatav community.

The respondent considers himself as a member of Indian society and not of the Hindu society. He appeared somewhat concerned that the higher caste members feel superior to the lower caste people.
On the matter of conversion he said that conversion to another faith is not conducive for the scheduled caste. Some benefit can be gained only if mass conversion is carried out. Conversion at the individual level has failed to change the life of that individual as it did not raise the ritual rank of the convertee... The better way to mobility is through government employment and reservation which are mainly responsible for the advancement of the scheduled caste community.

On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy he said that discontinuation of reservation policy will be detrimental to the Jatav community. He said that without reservation children of scheduled caste will not be recruited in government employment, and the chances of biased selection will continue. He prefers government employment to his son.

The respondent considered leather occupation at par with other occupations. He said that making of leather products is not defiling because today’s leather product manufactured by machines. Talking about untouchability, the respondent firmly states that feelings of untouchability continue to exist in about forty percent of the population... Generally it is more prevalent among women of higher castes, and in the villages.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is the role model of respondent and he supports the BSP. His vote will of course go to the B.S.P.

On the issue of privatization of education, he is of the opinion that it is not conducive for the weaker section of society in general and scheduled castes in particular. Education in private institutions is very expensive, and, they also demand large sums of money as donation. Such exorbitant sum of money can only be paid by the: creamy: layer. So, if privatization of
education continues, it will create a dis-balance in the society and will increase the gap between the “high” and low”. The respondent reacted favorably toward TV programs, which he felt helped children to learn about culture, life of our own society and that of other societies.

He was in favour of higher education and believed that women should be encouraged to take up a career.
STUDY # 2:

Mr. Nagar is working as teacher. After completing his graduation and UEI, he had joined Primary school of government and earns Rs. two thousand per month, a meager sum for a man of fifty-two who has to support his illiterate wife and five children.

Respondent’s father and grandfather were landlords; his father was a literate person who had some knowledge of Urdu, and Hindi while grandfather was illiterate. Their eldest daughter had married six year ago, after completing her intermediate along with her younger brother. The other son and daughters are studying in various classes, viz: eleventh and seventh class. Their children have been getting education through government college/school where medium of instruction is Hindi.

Respondent lives with his family in three room set house, which is built by him and he has nuclear family. Their house showed lower middle class life pattern.

Respondent’s father and grandfather were Kabir-panthi but after 1956 when Dr B.R Ambedkar adopted Buddhism, they converted to Buddhism. Both of them do not worship idols. They follow rites and rituals of Hindu Marriage, but did not pay attention to gotra. The respondent has faith in Buddhism, and performed the marriage of his daughter through Buddhist rites and rituals, even though he is a member of the ‘Naagar’ gotra.

The respondent teaches the preaching’s of Lord Buddha to his children. He goes to Buddha vihar as well as reads Buddhist literature and has vast knowledge about it.
The respondent maintains formal relations with persons of other castes. He inter-dines with them as they invite him on various occasions such as Birthday Party, marriage etc. However he does not wish to go to their houses for religious occasions such as Devi ka Bhandara, Jagran, Katha of Satya Narayan. He does not attend the melas of other caste, as they do not invite him. Reflecting on questions about changes that have taken place in the Jatav community, he said that lots of changes occurred in Jatav community. Untouchability has been reduced. Jatav community of Aligarh city obtained ten Percent educational development. Their economic development lies between two to five percent. Before twenty years ago Jatav community of Aligarh had hundred Percent of Poverty but at present Jatav community got five percent development, which is limited to a few persons. This community has been getting self-respect and place in society. Secularization, education, replacement of leather occupation has supported the advancement of the Jatav community. On their other hand, nature of Ghulami, bad maternal care, disorganization lack of determination are the main factors which are responsible for the pitiable condition of the Jatavs.

On the matter of conversion, he said that it is the only solution for the Protection of scheduled caste from the exploitation of upper caste. It also changes ritual rank of convertee. It is the right way to remove the Castism and stigma of untouchability. These days person of higher caste practices untouchability towards ‘Bhangi’, which is the lowest unclean caste among scheduled castes. According to him Buddhism is the best religion of the world. It is based on humanity. The exploited person should adopt Buddhism, which was embraced, by Dr. B.R Ambedkar in 1956 at Nagpur.

On the issue of reservation and government employment, the respondent said that reservation played an important role for the advancement of the Jatav community and without reservation, the scheduled caste communities
can not make progress, while government employment provides them satisfaction and social prestige in the society. On the other hand he said that reservation can also create idleness among youngsters and it generates tensions between higher caste and scheduled caste.

On the questions of discontinuation of reservation policy, the respondent said that reservation policy should be continued because without it, chances of bias will mark the selection process. Reservation will help in the placement of educated scheduled castes at par with higher caste persons who holds higher positions in various departments of Indian government offices. Otherwise, the high caste will continue to recruit their own caste fellowmen and will not give a chance to the members of the scheduled caste. This will be highly disadvantageous to the scheduled caste community.

The respondent considered leather occupation as defiling. He said that higher caste especially Brahmin and Kshatriyas considered it as disgraceful, menial type of occupation. However at present it's a profitable business. Persons of other castes have also adopted this occupation.

Talking about untouchability, the respondent said that it exists in rural areas. Dr. B.R Ambedkar and Nagraj are the role models of respondent and he cast his vote to B.S.P.

On the issue of privatization of education respondent said that privatization of education may not be conducive for the scheduled caste communities. Respondents had positive attitude towards various programs of TV and cable network. He observed that TV’s programs affect our day-to-day life. Sometimes it produces negative results on children. He also had a positive attitude towards higher education and employment for women. He said that girls should be self-dependent.
Study #3

Mr. Dinkar, a graduate is working as field officer with State bank of India. He earns Rs. fifteen thousand seven hundred per month and is forty-six. Although the occupation of his uneducated grandfather was agriculture his father also took up some business and contract work along with agriculture and could manage to get education up to secondary level only. Respondent's wife also a graduate is a simple housewife performing her duties very well and running the house smoothly. They have four children all are studying in various classes viz B.A second year, Eleventh, Ninth and Seventh. They have been studying at government college and A.M.U having medium of instruction English and as well as Hindi.

He lives with his nuclear family in a three room set built by him/ his father grandfather were followers of Hinduism and worshiped Lord Shiva, Devi Durga and Jaharvir. Though they had greater faith in rites and rituals followed at Hindu marriage they did not pay great attention to gotra. He also believes in Buddhism and worships Lord Buddha occasionally but still considers himself as a Hindu. He maintains formal relations with so called higher caste persons and inter-dines with them when ever invited by them on various occasions but does not attend melas organised by them as he is seldom invited. He neither reads nor teaches his children any religious epics as he is not an orthodox about religion. Reflecting on the changes in Jatav community he considers education as the most important factor responsible for the development and upliftment of the Jatav community. He believes that it is by getting higher education only that they can move up the social ladder and gain self respect. He considers alcoholism & custom of dowry as two burning problems of Jatav community in modern times that are not letting the people of community rise.
On the matter of conversion he replied that mere conversion to another religion does not solve the basic problems of a person viz. poverty, illiteracy, gambling etc. It does not enhance the social position of the convertee either as it takes time to get absorbed in a new religion or they are considered as neo Buddhist, neo Christian etc.

On the issue of reservation in government jobs he is of the view that it supports Jatav community, a great way in getting government jobs. A person with a government job has a social status & is respected by people of all castes. The reservation policy helps a person getting a government job which otherwise could have been very difficult due to poor resources & improper guidance in this community, making the survival very difficult. He is in favour of continuation of reservation policy as he feels that their children can not compete with higher castes due to poor resources & lack of educational background, especially in rural areas.

He considers leather occupation as disgraceful because people in this occupation especially those involved in dying & cutting of leather do not get respect from people of other castes & considered as Chamar & hated by others as they are treated as untouchables.

Talking about untouchability he said that it is still prevalent in our society particularly in rural areas, although it has been considered as a crime in our constitution, the mindset of the people has not changed much.

Dr B. R. Ambedkar is his role model & he casts his vote in favor of B.S.P. He is against the privatization of education as he feels that it will discourage the children of poor sections of society, which constitute mainly of
scheduled castes. He has positive attitude towards T.V. programs & cable T.V & does not consider cable T.V as any threat to Indian culture & values. He feels that cable T.V helps in improving ones personality by getting exposure to outside world. He also supports employment of women for the improvement of their social status & independence.
Mr. Lai, forty nine year old, working as development officer with L.I.C. getting a monthly salary of Rs. Five thousand. His father & grandfather were uneducated farmers. Due to the problems faced by them because of their illiteracy, they always wished that Manohar Lal could take higher education and become a govt. officer. His father gave him all the support financial as well as moral for his studies. Manohar Lal also showed his sincerity and hard work. He received education up to M.A, B ed. Soon after that he started looking for govt. jobs & finally he managed to get one.

His wife also cooperates with him and took care of the family properly with his little income. She is a graduate too which helped her in running the house smoothly and she managed to save some money also from his salary which helped them in buying two-room set house. They live in that house with their two children comfortably. Their eldest son is doing his graduation while the younger daughter is in inter-mediate. Both are studying in govt.-aided colleges having the medium of instruction Hindi.

His father, grand father and he himself are firm believers in Hinduism & consider themselves as Hindus. His wife worship lord Shiva & Devi Durga regularly and practice all the rituals of Hinduism. During the marriage ceremonies of their children they followed all the rites and rituals of Hinduism, not paying any attention to “gotra” as they have no faith in “gotra”. He feels that scheduled caste communities have no culture of their own & imitate culture of twice born castes, which have great culture of their own.
He maintains formal relations with the other caste person, inter-dining with them whenever invited on occasions like marriage etc. but does not attend melas organised by higher castes as he is rarely invited.

He reads various epics of Hinduism such as Gita, Ramayana, Mahabharata, etc. He also knew ‘Gayatri Mantra’. He is in favour of giving his children religious as well as moral education.

Reflecting on the question about changes that took place in Jatav community, he said that by and large, they have made progress as they have become well educated & have been recruited to various govt jobs. However only a minor section of Jatav community has been able to acquire social status and improve economic position, they have been accepted in to the main stream of the country & got respect by other castes persons, though limited to educated class only.

On the other hand a major section of Jatav community has not been able to improve their living standard because of their rural background, economic position, large family size, illiteracy & poverty. These factors do not let them come out of the vicious cycle of poverty.

On the matter conversion he is of the view that it cannot solve the problems as a convertee keeps carrying on some of the traditions of his old religion and does not easily mingle with the new faith. Moreover among convertee also the matrimonial alliance is still based on caste, defeating the very purpose of conversion e.g. a Brahmin Christian does not marry a Jatav or a Bhangi Christian.
He is pro-reservation in govt. jobs as he thinks that it gives an opportunity for scheduled castes to get govt. jobs which otherwise would have been difficult and helps in improvement of their social and economic position. However he feels that it has got some negative aspects also as the position gained through reservation does not draw the same respect & people find it difficult to accept a person who gets a job through reservation.

On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy, he opposed the discontinuance as it will harm the Jatav community in a great way & put the question mark on their future.

He considers leather occupation as a profitable one & does not relate it much to the social aspects. Talking about untouchability, he said that it existed in villages & more in minds of higher caste women.

Dr. BR Ambedkar is his role model & he caste his vote in favour of B.S.P.

On the of privatization of education, he is of the view that it will be harmful & a great hindrance in the progress of scheduled castes as most of them are very poor and can not afford to spend much on education which will become expensive after privatization.

He has a positive attitude towards cable T.V. & feels that educational programs are very beneficial for the youngster. They also get better exposure to outside world but he feels that certain restrictions are necessary. He favors higher education and employment for women.
Mr. Maurya, a thirty three year old businessman, educated up to high school, earns Rs. twenty thousand per month.

Respondent’s father studied up to secondary level and worked as a field laborer while his grand father was an illiterate person. His wife is educated up to primary level and they have five children all studying in various classes viz: BA II nd year, High school, Seventh, Sixth and Fifth. All children have been studying in both type of school i.e. private as well as Govt. having medium of instruction English as well as Hindi.

Respondent lives with his family in a five room set house built by him and reflecting a lower middle class pattern considering the fact that rooms were small and not ventilated.

Respondent’s father and grand father were devotees of Lord Shiva, Devi Durga and Jaharvir, besides Lord Buddha, they did not paid attention to gotra at the time of marriage ceremonies of their children, that took place as per Hindu rites and rituals. Respondent also believes Buddhism, but does not worship any idol. He has also joined ‘Nirankari Mission’ and keeps healthy relation with Nirankaris and preaches his children about ‘Nirankar’. He does not read any religious epics and wishes to perform the marriage of his children as per Buddhist rites and rituals.

Respondent maintains formal relations with person of other castes and inter-dines with them whenever invited by them on various occasions. He attends the melas and other religious function of other castes.

Reflecting on question about changes that have taken place in Jatav community, he said that several changes have taken place. He is of the view
that education, reservation; consciousness about social status enhances the social and economic position of the Jatav community, while intolerance is responsible for their lack of unity. Unconsciousness and unawareness are the main hurdles that exhibit the major section of Jatav community. Due to his scheduled caste background, he feels that he is a member of Indian society and not of Hindu society and identified himself as member of Jatav community.

On the matter of conversion, the respondent said that conversion to another religion can not solve the problems of a person, as it takes very long time to absorbed in another religion so one should face the problem head on.

On the issue of reservation and Govt employment, respondent feels that if helps scheduled caste in a great way in their upliftment, though it creates a kind of social division in the society as reservation policy is not acceptable to people of other caste, sometimes it result in the form of atrocities on scheduled caste.

On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy, he finds it very difficult for scheduled caste to get Govt jobs without reservation as they do not have proper guidance and no resources will be available to them. On the other hand he prefers to set up a business for his children instead of a Govt job.

Respondent considers leather occupation at par with other occupation and does not feel inferior in taking up this occupation. Reflecting on untouchability, he feels that it still prevalent in the society, schedule castes are treated as inferior beings by other castes and referred to as ‘Chamars’ that signifies disgust and disgracefulness.
Dr. BR Ambedkar is his role model and he is pro BSP.
On the issue of privatization of education, he is of the view that it will be hazardous to the poorer section of scheduled caste as they find it very difficult to send their children to schools due to the poor resources.
Respondent has positive view about cable TV and consider it conducive for youngsters in a sense that it gives better exposure to outside world and activities going on around the world.
Respondent is in favour of higher education and employment for women.
STUDY # 6

Chandan Singh Gautam, a sturdy man of fifty-three received his bachelor's degree from an Indian university, and gradually upgraded himself, and is now working as an Account Officer in the Telephone Department. His income of Rupees fifteen thousand per month is far beyond what his father and grandfather could ever dream of.

His grandfather was an agriculture laborer and his father, had to work very hard to make a living by plough his own land. Though both were illiterate and discontented with their life, they aspired to educate their children so as to emancipate them from drudgery and poverty that the backward Jatav community was gripped in. Chandan Singh is now grateful to his father for supporting him in his efforts to obtain a graduate degree. His spouse, educated up to primary level in the village school, is a simple household lady, and has borne him seven children. The eldest son has secured a postgraduate degree and currently looking for employment, next two sons have passed B.A. and B ed. examinations and they too are looking for jobs and rest are students of B.A. and B.Sc. inter-mediate and high school. All the children received education in government-aided institutions where medium of instruction is Hindi.

Chandan Singh lives with his family members in a five-room set, which he built himself and house reflects the status of middle class.

Speaking about religion, Mr. Gautam, the respondent expressed least reverence to Hinduism, which his forefathers accepted, and which, he said, has been degenerated to this age, following his own inward impulse, he embraced Buddhism in 1971, and worships lord Buddha. He teaches the
preaching of Lord Buddha to his children but does not recite any religious hymns. His wife and daughter are devotees of Devi Durga, besides Nagarcot and Jaharvir. They do not heed to gotra but follow the rites and rituals of the Hindu marriage.

He felt that persons of other castes maintain an informal relation with him in the Telephone Department as they have to come to him for their work, he inter-dine with them when they invite him on occasions like marriage ceremonies, birthday party etc. but he felt that he is avoided by them on religious functions especially where a Brahmin priest presides. This has created deep heart burning against their attitude and he does not attend their religious functions and melas.

Answering questions about ethical changes in the Jatav community, he affirmed that several changes have taken place due to the impact of the socio-economic, political and educational changes in the country. Education, he ascertained, is solely responsible for their emancipation and reform, which up to some extent has improved the pitiable condition of the Jatav community. He hopes that they would make further advances in education and would move up higher in the social order, thus effacing the feeling of inferiority which prevails among them. He admitted that alcoholism, ignorance, lack of unity, dissipation etc. are the main problems that grip the Jatav community, further he felt that he is the member of Indian society not of Hindu society which divides people on the bases of caste. Therefore, he firmly believes in Buddhism, which denounces all claims to superiority on grounds of birth or caste and preaches that a man’s eminence or lowliness is determined by his own actions and conduct.
Responding on the question of conversion, the respondent reminded that freedom of religion is the fourth constitutional right and it is the right way to eradicate the stigma of untouchability. He added that it also enhances the rightful rank of the convertee among his co-religionists but convertee’s family could achieve equal rank and status in the society only after two or three generations only. Further, he wished that all Indian citizens should be treated equally both at the religious as well as social levels.

Discussing the issue of reservation and government employment, the respondent inferred that both are necessary for scheduled caste and without this, they cannot make any progress. He impatiently said that if the reservation policy will be discontinued, the children of the Jatav community would be unable to get any job, though reservation generates some negative consequences also such as, flaring up of a feeling of jealousy and hatred, turning to enmity of the higher castes of Hindu against the poor and ignorant people of the scheduled castes, he wished that reservation policy should be continued. The respondent also desires a government job for his son.

The Respondent considered leather occupation as defiling and its polluting qualities affect the mind and health of the workers. He thought that it was deplorable that the Jatavs who were engaged by big business houses, did not know how to apply scientific knowledge for manufacturing leather products and the tanners are not economically sound even to use machines or even basic tannery technology. They still continued to use the outdated tanning methods for making leather products. This phenomenon is widely apparent in cities, where tanneries are established, such as Kanpur and Agra.
He praises the government for extending financial assistance to the home-tanners even though this was given only to a small percentage of workers. Commenting on untouchability, the respondent lamented that the upper caste Hindus have a feeling of antipathy and hatred against them as an effect of Vedic ethics regarding untouchability, though government has taken some steps to eradicate the malice, it has deep rooted in the Hindu society. He said that kindness, love, humanity and equality should be the bases of fraternity and cooperation among all people.

He regarded Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as his role model and cast his vote in favour of BSP.

Answering a question on ‘privatization of education’, the respondent opined that it generates some deteriorative effect on the poor section of the society. As the private institutions are fed back by the high donations and fees and the Jatav community is too poor to afford it, in a sense, the doors for education will be closed for them. However, he had positive views towards TV programs such as programs by UGC, news and serials aimed at reforms in the society. His family members also expressed interest in reading newspaper and magazines such as Sarita and competition success.

Lastly, questioning on the matter of female education and career, his prompt answer exposed him as a much emancipated man as he welcomed and urged female education as indispensable and women’s participation in the national uplift equally important and inevitable.
Study # 7

Dharampal Singh, a fifty-two years old Clerk at head Post Office lives happily with his family with a income of 6000 per month. Despite the fact that his father and grandfather were illiterate he got education up to intermediate. Respondent’s father and grandfather were field laborers and did not posses any land. Respondent’s wife is a simple household lady with no academic record but she knows how to sign her name. They have seven children and the eldest son studied up to MA, LLB while two daughters studying in intermediate and rest of children are studying in high school. Their children are studying through Government College where medium of education is Hindi.

Respondent has a family of nuclear structure, he lives with his family in a house of seven rooms, which shows the status of lower middle class pattern and built by Mr. Dharampal itself. Respondent’s father and grandfather were followers of Hinduism but they did not paid attention to gotra when tie up the knots of matrimonial alliances of their children other wise they performed the marriages through rites and ritual of Hinduism. Respondent too believes in Hinduism, he worships lord Shiva while his wife has faith in Devi Durga. Respondent has “Nemoria gotra” but he does not pay any attention to it. He performed marriage of his eldest son through simple formal arrangement with out considering rites and ritual of Hinduism. Respondent teaches religious education to his children and they imitate father’s religious mannerism. He does not read any religious epic due to lack of time other wise he considered himself as a religious person.
Respondent maintains informal relations with person of other caste. He inter-dines with them as they invite him on various occasions such as marriage, birthday party etc. besides the religious function such as Katha of 'Bhagwan Satya Narayan'. However he does not attends melas of other caste.

Reflecting on question about changes that have taken place in the Jatav community, respondent said that several changes have taken place in the Jatav community, like community has getting self-respect, while education and democracy is the strongest factor for the development of Jatav community. On the other hand alcoholism, gambling, custom of dowry etc. are the main hurdles, which restrict the progress of Jatav community.

On the matter of conversion, respondent said that conversion to another faith cannot solve the problems of convertee such as poverty, gambling, illiteracy etc. so person of scheduled caste should try to raise his position through various means.

On the issue of reservation and government employment, he said that reservation provides great assistance to the schedule caste community specially those who do not have sound economic position. On the other hand government employment enhances the social position of a person as well as gives mental satisfaction to the person.

On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy, he said that reservation policy should be continued because without reservation policy the chances of biasness will be open and schedule caste community find it difficult to get Govt. jobs.
Respondent considered leather occupation at par with other occupation. He said that it is a profitable occupation and people of higher caste adopt this occupation because it is still considered disgraceful for us. On untouchability, he said that it exists only ten percent in the society and it is more visible in the backward rural areas where higher caste dominate the village. Further, he said that he is formally attached to the Hindu society.

Dr. BR Ambedkar is the role model for him and he casts his vote in favour of BSP and before BSP he casts his vote in favour of RPI. He, himself and his eldest son actively participate in political campaigns.

On the issue of privatization of education, he said that it create deteriorative effect on society as most of the private institution provides only degree and do not bother about the quality of education, they are more inclined to money and prefer quantity over quality.

Respondent reacted positively toward TV's program; he said it is a good source of information besides newspapers and magazines, his family also exposed to newspaper. He is also in favour of higher education and employment for women.
Dinesh Kumar, a thirty-two year old businessman dealing in hardware products and earns around Rs. twenty thousand per month. As far as his educational background is concerned he studied up to intermediate and soon after started the above said business.

Respondent’s father and grandfather were also engaged in business, they were engaged in business of stones and timber respectively. Respondent’s father has some knowledge of Urdu while grandfather was illiterate. Respondent’s wife too is an illiterate household lady, they have two children and both are infants.

Respondent lives with his parents and brother in a big house which has eight-nine rooms, the house is well maintained and showed the middle class life pattern.

Respondent’s whole family have faith in Hindu religion and worship lord Shiva, Devi Durga, Laxmi-Ganesh, Hanuman etc. However respondent’s parents did not paid attention to gotra, while performed marriages through Hindu rites and ritual. Respondent himself teaches moral education to their children, according to him a person should have a scientific attitude, though he does not read any epic due to lack of time but he knew Gayatri mantra. Respondent maintains informal relations with persons of higher caste and he inter-dines with them as they invite him on various occasions such as marriage, Birthday party etc. but he does not attend the melas of other caste. Reflecting on question about changes that have taken place in the Jatav community, respondent said that various changes have occurred in Jatav
community*. Persons of other castes now recognized us; we are getting place in Hindu society as well as in Indian society and stigma of untouchability has been removed. As far as occupation, Jatav community is concerned, People of Jatav community had replaced their traditional occupation before twenty year ago and engaged in different different occupation. Further he said that education is the strongest factor, which is responsible for change in society. On the other hand, Poverty and Alcoholism are the burning problems which, grips the poorer section of the Jatav community. These problems create hurdles in the avenues of progress. Despite his Jatav background, respondent felt that he is member of Indian society as well as Hindu society.

On the matter of conversion, respondent said that it is the best way for the protection of scheduled caste community as it enhances the ritual rank of a person. Exploited people should adopt another faith because it gives mental satisfaction to person who had tolerated exploitation of higher caste.

On the issue of reservation and government employment, he said that reservation in government employment gives strength to Jatav community and without reservation people of scheduled caste community cannot move up with the social ladder. Further he said reservation is not alms, it is our right that Indian government provides for us.

On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy, he is of the opinion that reservation policy should be continued. Respondent considered leather occupation at par with other occupations and said it is a profitable occupation and people of other castes are doing it successfully. He states the reasons of failure of Jatav community in this
occupation he said leather business demands more money, and scientific procedure for the making of leather product, but Jatav community has lack of these recources and If government of India provide assistance for the establishment of leather business then Jatav community too can do a lots of things in this business, otherwise it is difficult for them to even sustain in this business.

Talking about untouchability, he said that it exist unintentionally in the urban society where as intentionally visible in the rural areas.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is the role model of respondent and he supports the BJP. His vote will of course go to the BJP.

On the issue of privatization of education he feels that it is useful for all section of society, as it does not create any deteriorative effect on society, further privatization of education generates talents, efficiency and laborious persons. Respondent reacted negatively on the impact of TV programs on youngsters and said TV programs create hallucinations on the youngsters and produces harmful effect. Respondent has exposed to TV, newspaper and magazines and said it is reality that only male members of his family read newspaper, magazines especially business magazines while female members do not have time for it, but he is in favour of higher education for women and believed that women should be encouraged to take up a career.
Study # 9

Mr. Bhimsen is a retired Dy. S.P. and receiving Rs. six thousand per month as pension, he is sixty year old. He has joined the police force after completing his intermediate.

Respondent's father and grandfather were agricultural laborers; they had neither land nor education. Respondent's wife is educated up to high school; she is a simple household lady. They have four children, their eldest son got education up to M.sc. and working as Income tax officer, his other two sons have studied up to MA, LLB, and M.sc., while fourth one has done BA and three of them are preparing for competitive exams. All sons got education through government colleges where medium of instructions is both Hindi and English.

Respondent lives with his family in a big house which he built at his own cost and the house is well maintained. Respondent's father and grandfather were the devotee of lord Shiva, however they did not pay attention towards gotra when they made matrimonial relation and performed the marriage of their children through the customs of Hindu religion. Respondent also believes in Hinduism but he doesn't believe in idol worship, while his wife worship lord Shiva and keep fast on Monday & Poornima (full moon night).

Respondent did not teach religious education to their children, while he himself reads various epics of Hindu as well as other religion such as Gita, Ramayana, and Quran etc; he also knows the Gayatri mantra. Respondent maintains formal relation with the persons of other caste and freely inter-dines with them as they invited him on various occasion such as marriage and Birthday party, he also goes to their house on various religious
occasions such as Havan and Katha etc. However he doesn’t attend the melas of other caste as he is not invited there.

Reflecting on questions about changes that have taken place in the Jatav community, Respondent said that various changes have taken place in the Jatav community over last twenty years. In general Jatav community has made progress. Jatav people have acquired education and have been recruited in Government jobs. They are trying to organize themselves on political level because they felt that power is the key of all progress. However respondent said that higher status and sound social as well as economic position is been limited with those people who have consciousness about to raise their social status. Now days children of Jatav community compete and defeat the children of higher caste. Jatav community has been getting progress and place into the main stream of the country but majority of people still face the problems of poverty and illiteracy. Further respondent said that Jatav community of Aligarh city haven’t recognized themselves and due to the unconsciousness Jatav remain backwards.

On the matter of conversion, respondent said that conversion separates the convertee from his own fellowmen. People who convert their religion take too much time to adjust in new religion. Respondent said that conversion would provide a positive result if it goes on mass level, however it does not enhance the ritual rank of the convertee. Only after two or three generation convertee hardly gets the social position.

On the issue of reservation and Government employment, respondent said that reservation enhances Jatavs’ economic condition. It provides...
employment to them and on the other hand reservation has some negative aspect too, for example, higher caste continue to consider scheduled caste as inferior one as they thought person of scheduled caste got employment just because of reservation and do not have the required ability.

On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy, respondent said that reservation policy should not be discontinued as person of scheduled caste will not be able to get employment. Respondent considered leather occupation as defiling, in fact he believed that today, it is a profitable business and adopted by the person of other caste.

Talking about untouchability, respondent said that feeling of untouchability still exists in the society while more cases are seen in rural and hilly areas.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is the role model of the respondent himself and his family cast his their votes in favour of Congress party.

On the issue of privatization of education, he said it would create disbalance in the society, as poor people will not be able to send their children in private institutions.

Respondent has positive attitude towards various programs of TV, he said that it generates knowledge among society. He also have positive attitude towards higher education of women.
Mr. Pippal, a sixty-two years old retired Zila panchayat officer lives peacefully with his family in an income of Rs. six thousand per month which he receives from his pension. As far as his education is concerned he holds a Bachelor degree.

Respondent’s father and grandfather were illiterate field laborers and his wife too, is an illiterate household lady having six children. Their two eldest daughters passed high school only while eldest son completed B.Sc. engineering and working as executive engineer, another son completed graduation and after that engaged in business and besides that he actively participated in BJP’s political campaigns, once elected as Councilor from B.J.P. in the Nagar Nigam of Aligarh. The other younger sons are doing graduation and intermediate; all children studied through Government College where medium of instruction is Hindi.

Respondent lives with his family in Kothi type house, which he built for himself, house is well maintained and showed the status of upper middle class.

Respondent’s father and grandfather was followers of Hindu religion and worshiped lord Shiva, Ganesh, Devi Durga etc. However they did not paid attention to gotra when tie up the knots of matrimonial alliances of their children, otherwise they followed all rites and ritual of Hindu marriage. Respondent also have faith in Hindu religion but besides that he worships Lord Buddha. Respondent also does not believe in gotra system but followed the rites and rituals of Hindu marriage; he reads Gita a prominent Hindu epic. Further he taught moral education to their children, he gave them education of secularization.
Respondent maintains informal relation with persons of other caste and inter-dines with them as they invite him for various occasions such as marriage, birthday party etc. Further he also attends their religious functions such as Katha of Satya Narayan, Bhandara etc. However he does not attend the melas of other caste, as they do not invite him.

Reflecting on question about changes that have taken place in Jatav community, he said that several changes have occurred in Jatav community over last twenty years. Indian constitution, various laws, which are made in favour of scheduled caste community, and education, provide scope for the development of Jatav community. On the other hand poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and unorganisation are the main hurdles, which grip the Jatav community.

On the matter of conversion respondent said that conversion to another faith cannot solve the problem of poverty, illiteracy, untouchability etc. It helps the person under certain limitations and cannot enhance ritual rank of convertee. The process of assimilation into another faith takes too much time, which further restricts the growth of convertee. On the other hand convertee also follows certain features of their old faith, which keeps him separate from his new religion.

On the issue of reservation in government employment, respondent said that reservation supports people of scheduled caste community and without it scheduled caste communities could not raise their economic position, while government employment provide mental satisfaction to them in comparison of business and employment in private sector. Further respondent said that reservation has some negative aspect too, due to reservation people of scheduled castes face harassment from higher castes.
On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy, respondent said that without reservation chances of biasness would be open and children of scheduled communities would not be able to get government employment so reservation policy should be continued till schedule caste community stand strong at par with other communities.

Respondent considered leather occupation as defiling. He said that Jatav community had suffered lots of exploitation and harassment just because of leather occupation, which is considered defiling disgraceful by the higher caste so Jatav community should not engage in this occupation.

Talking about untouchability, respondent said that it is increased in our society and particularly exists in the minds of higher caste but they followed it unintentionally.

Respondent said, his mother as well as all great men of India are role model for him, he caste their vote in favor of BJP and before BJP he himself and his family was associated with Congress (I).

On the issue of privatization of education, respondent said that it is beneficial for all section of society as Montessori schools provide proper education to children and it does not generate any negative effect on society.

Respondent had positive attitude towards TV Programs; he said that News on TV and other knowledgeable program gives lot of things to learn. Respondent also had positive attitude towards higher education and career for women.
STUDY #11

Mr. Suman, a forty-two year old cash officer at State Bank of India is educated up to B.A., L.L.B., and earns Rs. twelve thousand per month as his salary. His grandfather & father both were timber merchants. His grandfather was an uneducated person while his father had some basic knowledge of Hindi and Urdu. His wife is educated up to intermediate and is a simple housewife. They have four children, one son and three daughters; eldest son is studying in high school & two daughters studying in eight and seventh class while the youngest one is an infant. All children are studying at public school, having medium of instruction Hindi as well as English.

Respondent lives with his family in a two-room set house, which is built by his mother and reflecting a middle class pattern & is well maintained. Respondent’s father, grandfather and he himself have faith in Hinduism and worship Lord Shiva and Devi Durga. His wife keeps fast on several religious festivals such as Maha Shiv-ratri, Janmashtami, etc. His father died in his early childhood and the responsibility of the family were taken up by his mother who herself is a religious lady who worships Lord Shiva, Devi Durga, Laxmi, etc. although she did not pay much attention to gotra at the time of marriages of her children. On the other hand, respondent’s younger brother married a Christian girl and was accepted by whole family, which reflects the liberal thoughts of the whole family. He gives his children moral education while his daughters follow their mother in religious matters.
He does not have enough time for daily worship, though he reads various epics such as Gita, Mahabharata, Durga Chaalisa, etc. on occasions like Navdurga, Maha Shiv-ratri, etc.

He maintains informal relations with people of other castes as well as other religions. He attends their function such as marriages & birthday parties and inter dine with them, however he is seldom invited to their melas.

Reflecting on the question of changes that have taken place in Jatav community, he feels that Jatav have been able to raise their living standard and acquire higher social status & respect from other castes. They are comfortable in accommodating themselves with the changing society and inclined to the modern civilized society and trying to acquire more & more modern gadgets and gizmos to mark their identity in the society, although limited to the educated class of Jatav only consisting of only about ten percent. Now a day, people of Jatav community are competing with people of other caste and getting success. Today they are engineers, doctors, judges, lawyers, I.A.S., I.P.S., etc. which could not have been possible last twenty or thirty years ago.

According to him, education, secular values, standard of living, knowledge & sound economic position have been the key factors in the advancement of Jatav community while alcoholism, poverty, illiteracy, gambling and unconsciousness towards development are main hurdles gripping a major section of Jatav community. Due to his scheduled caste background, he feels more as a member of Indian society rather than Hindu society.

On the matter of conversion, he is of the view that it cannot solve the problems of Jatav community & they should not go for it & face the problem head on. He feels that conversion to another faith was more
effective & advisable some fifty or sixty years ago when the condition of scheduled castes was miserable and pathetic & they had no right to raise their vote against social hierarchy and stigma of untouchability, but now they have constitutional rights against practice of untouchability. Further he said that still ninety percent of the scheduled castes follow Hinduism & only about ten percent associate themselves with Buddhism even though they also don’t have proper knowledge of Buddhism, practicing Buddhism in their own ways, like going to Buddha Vihar once in the year on the occasion of Buddha Poornima or celebrating this festival at home.

On the issue of reservation and government employment, he finds these as strengthening factors for Jatavs. He said that reservation in its initial stage was of great help to scheduled castes as people of scheduled castes were not well educated at that time but now a days they have gained higher education and are conscious enough towards education of their children, so reservation policy in modern times in less desired and should be discontinued.

Respondent considers leather occupation as a profitable one and at par with other occupations. However people of Jatav community do not want to indulge in this occupation because of the stigma of being called 'chamars' by higher caste people.

Talking about untouchability, he feels that it is still practiced by about forty percent of people & continue to exist in society. He thinks that it is more visible in cities rather than in villages as he came across several cases of this. He feels that if one goes to see a house to hire it on rent, the owner at once asks about one’s caste and prefers to keep the person belonging to his own caste; otherwise the priority goes to Brahmins & Thakur. If you live in a colony & try to interact with others, they try to find out your caste at the first meeting itself. They do not mingle with a Jatav or a Chamar family and
maintain a formal relation with them. First they will see your living standard, education, posts held by male members of the family & interact accordingly. Although male members of higher caste families do maintain some relations with Jatav families, female members especially above fifty do not want to maintain any relations with Jatav families at all & always try to maintain a distance with them. The children do not hesitate in mixing up with children of Jatav families. Even the educated female members of middle class higher caste families do not have much feeling of Castism and untouchability.

Jatav are also looked down upon as inferior beings even by backward classes. Untouchability is more prevalent among old generations & is still practiced by them the way it used to be in the past; otherwise it is not so important a factor now days among educated middle class families of higher caste as they visit houses of Jatav and inter-dine with them. Talking about villages, he responded that houses of Jatav are still found in the outskirts of villages reflecting the state of Castism there, although the practice of untouchability has decreased to a great extent. They meet each other at wedding ceremonies and other festivals & can drink & eat with them. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Jyotiba Phule & Vivekananda are his role model & he casts his vote in favour of B.S.P.

On the issue of privatization of education, he feels that privatization will not be beneficial for the poor section of the society as heavy fees are charged by private schools/colleges & cannot be afforded by the poor in general & by scheduled castes in particular. He has positive attitude towards T.V. programs as he feels that it gives more opportunities to learn to youngsters & a better exposure of outside world. He was also positive about higher education and employment for women.
Mr. Gautam, a sixty three old retired upper divisional clerk from govt. press & a former president of Bhartiya Baudh Maha Sabha is presently working as a contractor & earns Rs. four thousand per month. He is educated up to M.A.

Respondent’s grandfather was an uneducated field labourer while his father also a contractor has thirty-five bighas of land & had some knowledge of Hindi & Urdu. His wife is an uneducated housewife and is well mannered & cultured. They have four children, eldest son has done diploma in mechanical engineering, two daughters studied up to B.A., B ed. & M.A., B ed., while youngest son has completed B.U.M.S. All children have studied at govt. colleges having medium of instruction Hindi.

Respondent lives with his family in a big house, built by him and his father jointly. The house is well maintained & reflects middle class culture. His father & grandfather were both followers of Hinduism but after 1956 his father & family associated themselves with Buddhism. His father as well as grandfather did not pay attention to gotra while performing marriages of their children as per Hindu rituals & rites. He is a firm believer in Buddhism & performs marriages of his children as per Buddhist rites & rituals. He feels that if scheduled caste community could not identify themselves with Hinduism, how they could maintain gotra. He worships Lord Buddha & goes to Buddha Vihar on Buddha Poornima & celebrates birthday of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. He reads Buddhist epics such as Dhammapada, Buddha charitam by Kumara Sambhay & preaches teachings of Buddhism to his grandchildren, though he had vast knowledge of Hinduism & knew Gayatri
mantra. He maintains informal relations with persons of other castes & inter
dine with them however he attends their functions half-heartedly.

Reflecting on question about changes in Jatav community, respondent feels
that Jatavs are getting respect in the society and education is the strongest
factor behind it. There are people like Mr. M.L. Gautam, an I.A.S. who
devoted their lives in spreading awareness & education among scheduled
caste. Mr. Gautam helped establishing a degree college at Dhansari, Aligarh
named ‘Dr. Ambedkar Janam Shatabdi Degree College’. Another is Mr.
Ramdev who established a junior high school for scheduled caste in rural
area. Jatav have become conscious about keeping their houses clean and are
leaving the superstitious behind. They educate their children, however a
large section of Jatav community is uneducated & only about 10% of Jatav
have been able to get education & achieve success. Jatav follow
Ambedkarism though limited to old generations only. The new generation
though shows great respect for Dr. Ambedkar but does not follow
Ambedkarism. Alcoholism, gambling & poverty are main hurdles in
progress of Jatav community.

On the mater of conversion, he responded that conversion creates an impact
only if done on a mass level, quoting the example of converted Christians
who educated their children properly & about 20% of children of converted
Christians are well settled.
On the issue of reservation & govt. employment, respondent feels that both are supportive to Jatav & without these Jatav could not have made progress to the level they have.

On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy, he said that without reservation a major section of Jatav community would find it very hard to get govt. jobs, so he is in favour of continuation of reservation policy.

Respondent considers leather occupation as a profitable one if carried on at export level though he does not prefer to opt for this occupation for himself as well as his family due to the stigma attached to it of being called as 'Chamars' - an untouchable class.

Talking about untouchability, respondent thinks that it is still prevalent in our society, particularly among middle class & less educated people.

Dr. Ambedkar is his role model & he as well as his family vote in favour of B.S.P. He himself is an active worker of B.S.P.

On the issue of privatization of education, respondent feels that it may not be conductive for the poor section of society in general & scheduled castes in particular. Due to heavy fees charged by private institution, the poor will not be able to send their children to school/college, which will block their progress.
Respondent had positive attitude towards various T.V. programs & was in favour of cable T.V. as it provides great opportunities for youngsters to learn many things which they do not come across otherwise. He had positive attitude towards higher education employment for women.
STUDY # 13

Mr. Dharam Singh Ram, a sixty three year old retired district judge, educated up to LLB, earns Rs. eight thousand per month as his pension and is presently practicing law. His father and grandfather were both educated businessmen dealing in raw materials of shoes, raven oil and atta chakky. His father worked as commission agent also and earned Rs. one thousand per month, although the business of his grandfather was of small-scale type. His wife is an uneducated household lady. They have four children, eldest son studied up to L.L.B, next is their daughter who studied up to M.A, and other two younger sons both studied up to B.Sc. Engineering. All children studied at government colleges having medium of instructions Hindi as well as English. Respondent lives with his family in a six-room set house, which is built by him; the house is well maintained and reflects middle class culture. His ancestors were followers of Hinduism, however his grandfather and father did not pay attention to gotra while performing the marriage of their children as per Hindu rites and rituals. He believes in Hinduism along with Buddhism and does not worship any God or Goddess of Hindu religion. On the other hand his wife worships Lord Shiva, Ram, Hanuman, etc. He teaches religious education to his grandchildren but does not read any epic of Hindu religion.

Respondent maintains formal relations with people of other castes, interdine with them whenever invited on various occasions, however he does not attend melas of other castes.

Reflecting on question about changes that have taken place in Jatav community, he feels that only about ten percent of Jatavs have been able to
improve their social position to a satisfactory level as industrial
development has not affected them much. They are trying to get higher
education & paying more attention to current affairs of the country & wish
to come in mainstream. Further he said that lot of improvement has been
observed after the abolition of Zamindari since after that landless farmers of
Jatav community got some land & they could manage to send their children
to school.

The leather workers and tannery owners have left their occupation due to
hatred of higher castes & emergence of sales tax after independence due to
which they had to pay a huge amount as sales tax & huge commission for
business dealings. Nowadays nobody thinks of leather occupation as defiling
because of the modification made by new technology, making leather
manufacturing simple & more profitable. Education, reservation,
consciousness towards their right & secular values provide scope for
development of Jatav community, while gambling & alcoholism are the
main hurdles in the progress of Jatav community.

On the matter of conversion, respondent feels that conversion to another
faith cannot solve the problems of Jatav community & they should face the
problem head on.

On the issue of reservation and government employment, respondent views both of
these as supportive to scheduled caste communities & cannot imagine the
progress of scheduled castes without these. However he feels that
reservation to some extent creates some idleness among youngster, as they
do not have to compete with candidates of other castes.

On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy, respondent said
that reservation policy should continue because without reservation, chances
of biasness will open.
Respondent considers leather occupation at per with other occupations &
desires to set up a tannery for his son if financial assistance is provided by
Govt.

Talking about untouchability, he feels that it is still prevalent in society to
some extend though not visible publicly.

Sir McDonald Ramsey is his role model & he along with his family casts his
votes in favour of B.S.P.

On the issue of privatization of education, he feels that it will be harmful for
the poor section of society as they'll not be able to send their children to
school/colleges due to heavy fees charged by private schools/colleges.
Respondent has positive attitude towards T.V. programs, especially the
educational ones & considers it conducive for younger generation. He has
positive attitude towards higher education & employment for women.
Study #14

The respondent Shri Singh is educated up to High school and is fifty nine years old. He has retired from U.P.S.E.B. as technician grade-II & earns Rs. six thousand per month as pension. His wife Smt. Maya Devi, fifty years old, is Councilor of Nagar Nigam Aligarh is educated up to matriculation, & does not earn any amount as a member of Nagar Nigam.

His father & grandfather were both uneducated farmers having ten bighas of land in their village.

Respondent has three sons. His eldest son, a graduate, is working as a cashier in planning department of a village called 'Jawan'. Other sons have completed graduation & is preparing for job, the youngest son left his studies after high school & is also looking for a job. All of his children have studied at Government-aided colleges where medium of instruction was Hindi.

He lives with his family in a three-room set, which is built by her husband with her daughter in law & grandchildren, the house reflects lower middle class life style & is not properly constructed.

Respondent's grandfather & father are both followers of Hinduism & used to worship Nagarcot wali Mata & a local Devi Mata of their village. On the other hand, her family & she herself show their faith in Buddhism & worshiped Dr. Ambedkar as their god. Her family neither worships any god nor goes to any temples or Buddha vihar.

It is interesting that when his elder son got married, his wife did not allow her daughter in law to worship any Hindu god. They all celebrate Holi, Diwali, Raksha-bandhan and Buddha Poornima & believe in humanism & they
celebrate birthday of Dr. Ambedkar with great enthusiasm & worship him as god of the downtrodden.

His family did not pay attention to gotra at the time of marriages of their children & showed their ignorance about gotra. He does not read any religious epics.

The respondent maintains formal relations with other caste persons of Nagar Nigam Aligarh & inter dines with them whenever invited on various occasions. He does not attend melas of other castes as he is seldom invited.

Reflecting on question about changes that have taken place in Jatav community, respondent feels that many changes have taken place, like they are getting better education and respect in society, they have given up belief in superstitions and alcoholism.

He believes that reservation policy is the main factor which is responsible for the progress of Jatav’s, although this progress is limited to only about 7% of Jatav. A major section of Jatav community remains poor and undeveloped due to various evils inhabited in their community such as alcoholism, gambling, ignorance, unemployment and lack of education.

On the matter of conversion, he is of the views that conversion to another faith cannot solve the problems of schedule castes and they should struggle to overcome these problems at their own.

On the issue of reservation in Govt jobs, he feels that only about 13% of scheduled castes get benefits of reservation & rest are left behind. Further he feels that reservation is quite helpful for Jatavs, while it is hardly acceptable to higher castes, which in result gives rise to social tension.
On the question of discontinuation of reservation policy, respondent said it should be continued because without reservation support, the poor section of scheduled castes may not be able to get (govt) jobs, as they don't have proper resources.

Respondent considers leather occupation as profitable and at par with other occupations. He said that nowadays it is adopted by other castes also but in case of Jatav most of them are engaged in dyeing and cutting of leather and working as mere labourer, while the profit is earned by the owners, which generally belongs to higher castes.

Talking about untouchability, respondent feels that it still exists in our society, especially in rural areas. He too, experienced it in Khandoli a village of Agra. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is his role model & He casts his vote in favour of B.S.P. along with his family.

On the issue of privatization of education, respondent consider privatization of education is quite harmful for the poor section of the society in general & scheduled castes in particular. Private institutes demand heavy fees and donations, which making it impossible for the poor to send their children to these institutes.

Respondent has positive attitude towards T.V. programs & finds these programs are quite helpful for youngsters in learning process. He has positive attitude towards higher education & employment for women.
RESULTS
RESULTS

For the purpose of the present study, fourteen respondents were selected through the purposive sampling technique. Five hypotheses were developed to give a general direction to the study. The hypotheses were as follows:

1. Changes in occupation, from a "defiling" occupation to a "clean" occupation is an important agent of social mobility.

2. Educational achievements lead to better chances of obtaining better occupational positions and hence help in upward mobility of the Jatavs.

3. With Political participation, exposure to mass media, scientific outlook, new ideologies, urbanization, and Sanskritization, enhance social mobility.

4. In spite of giving up their traditional occupation of tanning, the upper castes hold the Jatavs in contempt and do not like to associate with them socially.

5. Conversion to Buddhism has enhanced the status of the Jatavs in the caste hierarchy.

All the hypotheses were partially supported by the data. Hypothesis (1) was supported partially. Those Jatavs, who had given up their traditional occupations, felt that they had improved their status in society. This is a debatable point, for they had not, in reality been accepted as members of an upper caste. Their mobility was restricted to economic gains only and they enjoyed respectability from their compatriots as well as from their colleagues at work.

Hypothesis (2) was also partially supported. The selected respondents were educated at least up to class ten. Almost all of them had secured government...
jobs barring a few who were employed privately. But all respondents did not become socially mobile. That is, they did not ascend the ladder of the caste hierarchy. Hypothesis (3) was not really supported by the data. Only very few respondents participated actively in politics and their participation in mass media was limited to television news. Not many of them read newspapers. Apart from this, almost all of them seemed to have 'de-sanskritised by giving up their belief in the gotra system. Instead, they were more interested in western styles of life and through mass media communication imbibed these western values. It appears that while they became more acceptable to a particular 'class' of people who were westernized, they did not gain access to high caste positions.

Hypothesis (4) was almost fully supported by the results of the data. Almost all the respondents felt that even though they had given up their traditional defiling occupation of leather work, the upper castes continued to hold them in contempt to a certain extent. They however, clarified that at their place of work they had cordial relationships with their upper caste colleagues, but at the social level, they were rarely invited to their homes and almost never to their religious melas.

Hypothesis (5) was not supported by the data. Many of the respondents had converted to Buddhism but this did not affect their status in the caste hierarchy. Instead, they were called neo-Buddhists and they were then again set apart from the 'real and original' Buddhists. Even conversion to Christianity did not elevate their caste status. As convertee continued to
Factors of Social Mobility

Factors that enhance or bring about deterioration in the position of the Jatav community, was correlated with education. Almost all respondents emphasized the importance of education as the strongest factor that opens the doors of development in the Jatav community. Some respondents felt that different factors like hard work, entry into prestigious occupations etc, were important.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The results of the cases studied showed that the forefathers of most of the respondents believed in the Hindu religion. They worshiped various gods and goddesses of Hindu religion, such as, lord Shiva, Laxmi, Ganesh, Devi Durga, Nagarcot wali Mata, Jaharvir etc. Most of the respondents also followed the Hinduism, they celebrated some important festivals such as Holi, Deepawali, Dashera, Rakhi, Mahashivratri etc. but generally ignored festivals of less importance, perhaps because of lack of time at their disposal. Their other family members, especially wife and daughter worshipped went to the temple to offer ‘Jal’(water) to god. They observed fast on Mondays, Thursdays, and on poornamasi (full moon’s night).
The male respondents did not go to the temple. They, however, read religious epics like Gita, Mahabharata, and they imparted religious and moral education to their children.

It is also found that while some of the respondents had converted to Buddhism and others had faith in Lord Buddha but they continued to consider themselves as Jatavs or Hindus. They followed Buddhism in their own way and celebrated Buddha Poornima and went to Buddha vihar once in a year, and when they could not go, they celebrate the occasion at home. Few of the respondents also believed in what they termed as "humanism." (By this they perhaps meant to give equal importance to human values of justice and equality as well as to all religious beliefs.) These respondents used to worship various Gods and Goddess such as Lord Shiva, Devi Durga along with the lord Buddha and Dr. B.R Ambedkar, few of them had intense faith in Buddhism and they were trying to spread the values of Buddhism. These respondents would read Buddhist literature and they were great followers of Dr. B.R Ambedkar. These respondents taught Buddha's teachings to their children and grand children.

The foregoing results show that religious feelings are not only deeply ingrained, but the respondents consciously try to inculcate moral and religious values in their children.

**Relations with other castes**

It was observed that a majority of the respondents maintained formal relations with persons of other castes. They visited the houses of other castes as the latter invited the respondents on various occasions such as
Katha of Bhagwan Satyanarayan, marriage and birthday parties etc. But they did not go to melas organized by the other castes as they were not invited due to stigma of untouchability. Some respondents felt that they are members of Indian society and not of the Hindu society, which was based on the caste system and from where untouchability originated.

Some respondents, who were economically not sound, felt uneasy in the company of other castes, especially Brahmins. On the other hand, few respondents had very cordial relations with their upper caste colleagues at their place of work. Some of them maintained informal friendly relations with persons of other castes and communities, such as Muslims and Sikh's alike. Unlike some of their compatriots they attend melas of other castes when they were invited - on seldom occasions. It appears that those Jatavs who held high cadre positions and were in the high salary bracket were more amenable to establishing contacts with other castes as well as with upper castes. These respondents also appeared to have accommodated themselves well with the changing society. They had given up their traditional attire and have taken to wearing western style dresses. They have taken full advantage of the new technology available today. Some of the respondents own motor cars, mobile phones now, along with other consumer goods. They have also learned to speak the English language and have become conscious towards their changing environment and are trying to update themselves on all matters that concern their status. The members of the other caste are now also taking interest in this 'new' 'class' of Jatavs, and, maintain informal, friendly relations with them.
Reservation and Govt. Employment

On the issue of reservation and government occupation, almost all of the respondents said that both support Jatav community and without these two Jatav community would not have been able to make progress to the level that they have made today. They said that without reservation, a major section of Jatav community will find it very difficult to get government jobs. On the other hand few of them said that reservation in its initial stage was of great help to scheduled castes as people of downtrodden communities they were not well educated, but now a days they have gained higher education and are conscious enough to move towards education of their children, so reservation policy in modern times is less desired and should be discontinued.

Conversion

On the issue of conversion, respondents have similar statement that it cannot solve the problems of Jatav community and they should not go for it and face the problems instead. Almost all respondents said that conversion to another faith was more effective and advisable. Some fifty or sixty years ago, when the condition of scheduled castes was miserable and pathetic, they had no right to raise their voice against social hierarchy and stigma of untouchability, but now they have constitutional rights against the practice of untouchability. On the other hand it is found that wherever exploited people, particularly scheduled castes, and specifically Jatav community, convert to another religion, like Buddhism they are able to get rid of exploitation of dominant upper castes. They support the conversion of faith towards the Buddhism. According to them it is the only religion which preaches equality in society and emphasizes true humanity. Dr B.R.
Ambedkar also converted to Buddhism. It is therefore necessary for Jatavs to convert as well and follow the path of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

**Untouchability**

Almost all of the respondents felt that untouchability is still prevalent in our society. It is more visible in villages than urban areas. However it is generally accepted that untouchability is practiced in lower sections of the society and people of higher class do not think much about it.

The respondents felt that untouchability exists even today in urban areas. A major section of the respondents considered leather occupation as a profitable one and at par with other occupations. However people of Jatav community do not want to indulge in this occupation because of the stigma of being called “Chamars” by higher caste people.

It was seen through participant and non participant observation that majority of the respondents who indulged themselves into the leather occupation, did not pursue tanning, cutting, and dyeing. They only sold and purchased leather goods for the purpose of enhancing their business.

**Political Participation**

The case studies show that almost all respondents cast their vote in favour of BSP (Bahujan Samaj Party); on the other hand few of them cast their vote in favour of BJP and other parties, some of them are active workers of BSP. Almost all respondents were of the opinion that a scheduled caste person should be elected to the post of a chief minister and/or Prime minister. He/she will manage the state/country as competently and efficiently as any
other caste person. They saw it as a weapon for improving the pitiable condition of downtrodden communities.

Educated persons are fully conscious towards provision for protection of scheduled castes and laws for removal of untouchability. The untouchability (offences) Act 1955, outlaws all the imposition of disabilities on the ground of untouchability in virtually all fields of activity except home life, private religious ceremony and private employment.

The constitution of India includes several articles which are meant for the abolition of all sorts of disabilities.

It is found that almost all respondents cited Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as their role model and few of them pay great respects to other celebrities such as Vivekananda, Jyotiba Phule etc. It is also a fact that following of Ambedkarism is limited to older generation only. The new generation though shows great respect for Dr. Ambedkar but does not follow Ambedkarism.

**Privatization of Education**

On the issue of privatization of education almost all of the respondents agreed that privatization will not be beneficial for the poor sections of society as heavy fees are charged by private schools/college, and cannot be afforded by the poor in general and by scheduled castes in particular. Only the creamy layer can send their children to these private school / colleges.

**Higher education and career for women**

Almost all respondents have positive attitude about higher education and employment for women. However in practice lower class hardly educates their girls. Though middle class has been providing education to their girls
but after completion of the gradation of girl, parent's first attempt is to arrange partner for her. Higherv class, which belongs to high status, wants that their daughter should be an I.A.S, P.C.S, doctor and engineer. It is observed from society that persons who have consciousness towards changing environment of our society motivate their daughters for higher education and career. It is also noticed that daughters who have got education through convent /public schools are inclined to enter the job market. These daughters are highly conscious about changing position of women in the society, human rights, family and marriage life. She is a more career oriented. It is also a fact that a working woman supports the family in addition to her housewifely duties. Fewer educated middle class parents motivate the girl to be a career oriented.

Almost all respondents felt that education is the strongest factor affecting social mobility.

**CHANGES**

It is found from case studies and through participant and non-participant observations, that several changes have taken place within the Jatav community of Aligarh city. The important change is that only few people now indulge themselves in leather business. Ninety nine percent of these communities now pursue different non traditional occupations. Lower caste members are working in different factories like lock, iron, die-casting and brass etc. On the other hand, middle and upper 'class' members of the Jatav community have been recruited to different government jobs. Now a days they have been able to uplift their living standard, and have been able to acquire a higher social standing and to command respect from other castes.
They are competing with people of other castes and have been successful in achieving their goals. They have qualified as engineers, doctors, judges, lawyers, civil servants, etc. These positions were the stronghold of the upper castes and entry to these coveted positions was blatantly denied to the lower castes even thirty years after India gained independence and was declared a democratic State. Most of the people of the Jatav community worship Lord Buddha. They have given up their belief in superstitions and are trying hard to educate themselves. Most of them have their own community schools and colleges to impart education to those who cannot afford public schooling. Jatavs have become conscious about health, hygiene and cleanliness.

They are not borne out in the case studies. The respondents said that about 7 to 10% of the community have improved their lot. Majority are still lagging behind.

What recommendations come not from the study for improving the conditions of Jatavs and doing away with the social vices of caste-casteism?
DISCUSSION
AND
CONCLUSION
Discussion and conclusion:
The foregoing results show that religious feelings are not only deeply engrained, but the respondents consciously try to inculcate moral and religious values in their children.

The study is unique in its quest to study those Jatavs who had reaped the fruit of reservation policy of the government of India. An analysis of the case studies shows that some hypotheses were upheld while others were partially supported by the data. The position of the Jatavs vis-à-vis the upper caste is interesting. On the one hand, they feel that their colleagues at work maintain cordial formal relations with them. On the other hand, the Jatavs rarely get invited to the religious melas organized by the upper castes. A discussion on these relationships will be in order.

Relations with other castes
It was observed that a majority of the respondents maintained formal relations with persons of other castes. They visited the houses of other castes as the latter invited the respondents on various occasions such as Katha of Bhagwan Satyanarayana, marriage and birthday parties etc. But they did not go to melas organized by the other castes as they were not invited due to stigma of untouchability some respondents felt that they were members of Indian society and not of the Hindu society, which was based on the caste system and from where untouchability originated. Some respondents, who were economically not sound, felt uneasy in the company of other castes, especially Brahmins. On the other hand, few respondents had very cordial relations with their upper caste colleagues at their place of work. Some of them maintained informal friendly relations with persons of
other castes and communities, such as Muslims and Sikh’s alike. Unlike some of their compatriots they attend melas of other castes when they were invited - on seldom occasions. It appears that those Jatavs who held high cadre positions and were in the high salary bracket were more amenable to establishing contacts with other castes as well as with upper castes. These respondents also appeared to have accommodated themselves well with the changing society. They had given up their traditional attire and have taken to wearing western style dresses. They have taken full advantage of the new technology available today. Some of the respondents own motor cars, mobile phones now, along with other consumer goods. They have also learned to speak the English language and have become conscious towards their changing environment and are trying to update themselves on all matters that concern their status. The members of the other castes are now also taking interest in this 'new' 'class' of Jatavs, and, maintain informal, friendly relations with them.

It may be noted that a few respondents also informed the researcher that some changes have occurred in the cosmos of Aligarh city. For example, today, upper caste members welcome mela of Dr B R Ambedkar’s birthday and distribute sweets on this occasion. This is the first time that Aligarh city has witnessed such inter-caste celebrations on the occasion of Ambedkar’s birthday mela.

This clearly indicates that a conscious effort is being made by the upper castes to mingle with the members of the lower caste. It can also be deduced that feelings of untouchability have minimized or have been discarded. The distinction between 'high' and 'low', spread of feelings of fraternity and brotherhood are being ushered in. On the other hand, various caste associations such as Brahman Mahasabha, Vaishya Mahasabha, Varshney
Samaj, and Agarwal Samaj continue to make marriage alliances within their own caste groups.

It can then be deduced, that while inter-dining, participation in festivals and melas, no longer remain confined to particular caste groups, and are rather celebrated jointly, and the upper caste groups continue to set themselves apart as far as marriage alliances are concerned. The barriers of purity and pollution may have loosened its hold in inter-caste relations but endogamy continues as a rule. The exception being arises, in cases where a young man and woman of different castes, by their own choice decide to marry. Such cases have occurred but they are not much appreciated by either of the caste groups.

**Changes**

It is found from case studies and through participant and non-participants observation that several changes have taken place in the Jatav community of Aligarh city. The important change is that only a few people indulge themselves in leather business. Ninety nine percent people of this community have been pursuing different non traditional occupations. Jatavs from lower socioeconomic class are working in different factories such as lock, iron, die-casting and brass etc. On the other hand middle and upper class people of Jatav community associated with different government jobs. Now a days they have been able to uplift their living standard, acquiring higher social status and respect from other castes. They are competing with people of other castes and getting success. They become engineer, doctor, judges, lawyers IAS, PCS, etc., which was not possible last twenty or thirty years ago. Most of the people of Jatav community worship Lord Buddha, they have left superstition and getting education, most of them have their
own community. Jatavs have become conscious about keeping their houses clean. They have left celebrations of unnecessary festivals such as Naag-panchmi etc., several changes have been appear in the marriage practices such as they have shortened rituals of marriage like bridegroom did not take interest in the several unnecessary customs of the marriage. Now a days bridegroom indulge themselves only two or three day custom of haldi Chadhana, and days of sending peeli chitthy (letter of wedding program) is also shortened due to lack of time. Their fore father paid attention to gotra but in the coming up generation the concept of gotra was neglected.

It is observed that highly educated Jatavs who also belong to higher profession and form an exclusive 'class,' are trying to move upward in the society and developing their contacts with the upper caste elite section, these are the socially mobile people and have better social status, these are trying to pay attentions to the problems of their own caste fellow men, who have a low level of social and economic status. These people are; Mr. M.L. Gautam, an IAS, who devoted their lives in spreading awareness and education among scheduled caste. Mr. Gautam has established a degree college at Dhansari Aligarh named Dr. Ambedkar Janam Shatabdi Degree College. Another is Mr. Ramdev a sales tax commissioner who established a junior high school for scheduled castes in rural areas. However, it is also a reality that a large section of Jatav community is still uneducated and only been able to get education and achieve success.

It is pointed in the above analysis that after independence, people of Jatav community have tried to achieve sound economic and social position in the society through various means like reservation, Govt. Employment, political power etc. In this process people of Jatav community had shifted their emphasis from Sanskritization to competition for entering into the highly prestigious professions such as IAS, PCS and engineering and tried to gain
political power. They have been following westernization in the social life. Younger generation has been following the western dress pattern, housing furniture, language, behaviors pattern etc. Some of the families have enough consciousness and going ahead in education; they have left out non-traditional occupation, keep their life style up-to-date, participate in politics and interact with the higher caste. Higher education and better economic conditions bring prestige to them; they maintain relationship with person of higher castes.

**Factors of social mobility**

On the question of factors that enhance and deteriorate the Jatav community, almost all of the respondent said that education is the strongest factor that opens the door of development in the Jatav community, various respondent said that different factors which is responsible for the progress of Jatav community are as follows: -

- Replacement of occupation,
- Hard labour,
- Cooperation,
- Reservation,
- Consciousness about to raise social and economic position,
- Democracy,
- Standard of living,
- Knowledge,
- Sound economic position,
- Secular values,
- Consciousness towards their rights,
- Political Power.
These were the major factors that enhance the status of Jatav community and factors that are deteriorating to Jatav community are as follows:

- Poverty
- Illiteracy
- Gambling
- Alcoholism
- Nature of Gulami
- Bad maternal care
- Lack of educational background
- Lack of determination
- Custom of dowry
- Ignorance
- Lack of unity
- Unemployment

**Reservation and Govt. Employment**

On the issue of reservation and government job, almost all the respondent said that both support Jatav community and without these two, Jatav community could not made progress to the level they have, they said that without reservation, a major section of Jatav community will find it very difficult to get government jobs. On the other hand, few of them said that reservation in its initial stage was of great help to scheduled castes as people of downtrodden communities were not well educated at that time, but now a days they have gained higher education and are conscious enough towards education of their children, so reservation policy in modern times is less desired and should be discontinued.
In this connection the similar fact showed by the Usha Rao in her work “deprived castes” (1981). According to her scheduled castes do not feel confident to stand a chance in open competition and strongly support the continuation of the policy of reservation, there is a definite feeling among scheduled caste that the program has been very much instrumental in the improvement of their status.

Another study of Goyal (1973–74) reveals the above fact. Goyal states that reservation in jobs is considered as very useful policy in the interest of the scheduled castes and has served a very useful purpose.

Mr. Subharao (1982) has gone through reservation policy, he mentioned in his article ‘pro-reservationists vs. Anti-reservationists’, that anti reservationists said that the reservation should be on the basis of economic conditions and not on the caste basis while on the other hand pro-reservationists point out that the anti reservation attitudes arises from the dominant communities and natural resentment is being kept away from governmental concessions and losing its monopoly over the elite professions.

Subharao is of the opinion that reservation should no longer be based on the criteria of caste alone; it should be linked to the factor of economic criteria.

**Conversion**

On the issue of conversion, respondents have similar statement that it cannot solve the problems of Jatav community and they should not go for it and face the problems instead. Almost all respondent said that conversion to another faith was more effective and advisable some fifty or sixty years ago when the condition of scheduled castes was miserable and pathetic, they had
no right to raise their voice against social hierarchy and stigma of untouchability, but now they have constitutional rights against practice of untouchability. On the other hand it is found that wherever exploited people particularly scheduled caste and specifically Jatav community change their Hindu religion to Buddhism than most of the members of Jatav community said that it is the right way to get rid of exploitation of dominant upper castes. They support the conversion of faith towards the Buddhism. According to them it is the only religion which is based on casteless society and on true humanity and as Dr B.R. Ambedkar also adopted the Buddhism therefore person that belonged to Jatav community must follow the path of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

It is through newspaper “voice of Buddha” found that mass conversion of Dalits to Buddhism took place at trivandrum in kerala on the day of Buddha Poornima on Sunday may 26, 2002. This program was undertaken by the all India confederation of SC/SC organizations headed by Shri Uditraj, nearly fifteen thousand people of scheduled caste/backward castes embraced Buddhism on 9 June 2002 under the guidance of Mr. Uditraj at kurukshtra-haryana and nobody raises their voice against the conversion movement and people of Jatav community have praised it.

**Untouchability**

Almost all respondent said that untouchability is still prevalent in our society. It is more visible in villages than urban areas. However it is
generally accepted that untouchability is practiced in lower section of the society and people of higher class do not think much about it. It is analyzed and some studies showed that untouchability exist in urban areas also and one of it, shows that if one goes to find out a house to rent then owner of the house at once ask them about their caste and prefer to keep persons belonging to his own caste, otherwise priority goes to Brahmins thakur. Even if a live in a colony and try to interact with others they will try to find out his/her caste at the first meeting itself. They do not mingle with Jatav or a Chamar and maintain formal relations with them. First of all they see the living standard, educations posts held by male members of the family and then show the interest accordingly.

Andre Beteille in his caste old and new states that the new educational system plays a very significant role. Education along with income and occupation becomes the basis of new forms of social differentiation, which tends to cut across differences based on the caste.

Horton and hunt in his work “sociology” mentioned that education, occupation and income are the main factors which lift one’s class and status, however there are many ways for skillful climbs to speed up the mobility process, one of these is to change in standard of living to gain acceptance at a new status level and one must achieve a materialistic standard of living means moving to appropriate neighborhoods, decorating one’s house in appropriate manners driving a car which is neither too humble nor too ostentatious, and so on. The outward appease must fit after one is solidly established one may ignore some of the apparel’s especially at the upper class level.
**Leather occupation**

The major part of the respondent considered leather occupation as a profitable one and at par with other occupation. However, people of Jatav community do not want to indulge in this occupation because of the stigma of being called “Chamars” by higher caste people.

It is analyzed through participation and non-participation observation that majority of the respondent who indulged themselves into the leather occupation but they do not pursuing tanning, cutting, and dying, they only sell and purchase the leather goods for the purpose of business.

From present study case the family which known as Sahyogi family associated with ‘Joota vyavsaay’ (shoe business), member of their family pursuing the traditional occupation but it is limited with the sell and purchasing of the shoes and shoe manufacturing. They had never done dying, cutting leather tanning, skinning etc., this family has have been acquired social prestige and status through education, political participation and wealth gained through shoe business.

Some other families who indulge themselves into the shoe making come under the lower middle and middle class. They do not have sound economic position.

G.D. Berreman (1979) studied two deprived castes i.e. Leather worker and sweepers, his study confined to north India.

Berreman observed that leather workers have been to a large extent occupationally displaced because commercially produced shoes have replaced their hand made products in the urban market, many people who
indulge themselves into leather occupation face extreme competition. Other were landless laborer before coming to the city and have never done leather work. Most of them have sought to make a living in the city in a variety of unskilled occupations but their denigrated status, lack of education and other resource like lack of opportunity to learn new skills has kept most of them from acquiring a securing livelihood.

Anil Bhatt (1975) found that scheduled castes change their traditional occupation to non-traditional occupation but majority of them generally move to lower status occupation. So therefore they remain backward. Factors as education, un-urbanization, other aspects of advancement and the prevailing social conditions restrict them to acquire higher status.

Political participation

It is analyzed from the case studies that almost all respondents cast their vote in favour of BSP (Bahujan Samaj Party); on the other hand few of them cast their vote in favour of BJP and other parties. Some of them are an active worker of BSP. Almost all respondents were of the opinion that a scheduled caste person should be a Chief Minister, Prime Minister. He/she will manage the state/country as other castes person. They saw it as a weapon for improving the pitiable condition of downtrodden communities. This fact has been appeared in the research studies of various sociologists. Few of them are as follows:-

Andre Beteille in his work “Caste, Class and Power” mentioned that a new element of political power, independent of caste and class has emerged. It is through participation in village panchayat, various political parties and
political networks that mobility takes place among the lower caste groups of Sripuram.

Another work is done by Hardgrave on the Nadars of Tamil nadir. His study reflects the caste mobility by means of political participation. His study showed that Nadars of Tamil Nadu have changed social position through participation in politics as a modern weapon of upward mobility in the society.

Another study is done by Omen Lynch on Jatavs, a scheduled caste community in Agra. This study clearly showed that the Jatavs were traditionally bound to do polluting leather work, but later succeeded in reaching a higher status. Lynch also states that Sanskritization is often used along with other techniques such as political participation pressure. He says that in modern India political participation is a functional alternative to Sanskritization. It is through their political participation as a means of mobility in urban Agra Jatavs have become a political entity.

Educated persons are fully conscious towards provision for protection of scheduled castes and laws for removal of unsociability. Practice of untouchability declared an offense through the act of 1955. It outlawed all the imposition disabilities on the ground of untouchability in virtually all fields of activity except home life, private religious ceremonies and private employment, reservation of seats for scheduled caste in parliament and state legislature. Person of Jatav community had been one of the main candidates of MLA’s, MP’s election.

Bhagwan Devi was the Deputy Mayor of Aligarh city. Lower class people also have politics and they have fully aware about the national affairs. They knew that who are PM, CM, Home minister etc. On the other hand persons that belonged to business class activity participate in BJP's political campaigns.
Role model

It is found that ninety nine percent of respondents’ role model is Dr. BR Ambedkar and rest of the respondents pay great respect to other celebrities such as Vivekananda, Jyotiba Phule etc. It is also a fact that existing in Jatav community that following Ambedkarism is limited to old generation only. The new generation though shows great respect for Dr. Ambedkar  but does not follow Ambedkarism. The above-mentioned fact also appears in the research study of Pundhir. He mentioned in his article "social change among see in north India" that Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is the role model of the vast majority of the sees of north India.

Privatization of education

On the issue of privatization of education (almost all the respondent) the research study showed that privatization will not be beneficial for the poor section of society as heavy fees are charged by private schools/college’s cannot be afforded by the poor in general and by scheduled castes in particular. Only cream layer class can send their children to these private school/college’s.

On this issue Jha states that the formation of human capital is tremendously influenced by the standard of education made available by the educational institutions, particularly in the developing countries like our...
qualitative improvements in the system of education according to him privatization of education can be found a solution bring things rail.

**Higher education and career for women**

Almost all respondents have positive attitude about higher educations and employment for women. However in practice lower class hardly educates their girls. Though middle class has been providing education to their girls but after completion of the gradation of girl, parent's first attempt is to arrange partner for her.

Higher class, which belongs to high status, wants that their daughter should be an I.A.S, P.C.S, doctor and engineer. It is observed from society that persons who have consciousness towards changing environment of our society motivate their daughters for higher education and career. It is also noticed that daughters who have got education through convent /public schools are inclined to enter the job market. These daughters are highly conscious about changing position of women in the society, human rights, family and marriage life. She is a more career oriented. It is also a fact that a working woman supports the family in addition to her housewifely duties. Fewer educated middle class parents motivate the girl to be a career oriented.

Factors that enhance the position of Jatav community and deteriorate it, almost all respondent said that education is the strongest factor which social mobility takes place in Jatav community. Replacement of occupation, hard labour, cooperation, reservation, consciousness about to raise social and economic position, democracy, standard of living, knowledge, sound
economic position, secular values, consciousness towards rights political power are the other factors which is responsible for the progress of Jatav community. On the other hand poverty, illiteracy, gambling, alcoholism, nature of gulami, bad maternal care, lack of educational background, unorganization, lack of determination, custom of dowry, unconscious ignorance, lack of unity, unemployment are the various factors which deteriorate the Jatav community.

In this connect it is said about that various sociologist also gives these factors for the deterioration and progress in the scheduled caste except few of them.

Almost all respondent has positive attitude towards TV. programmed and believe that these programs are quite helpful for youngsters in learning process. TV's programs give a better exposure of outside world.

On the other hand it is observed that when male members of the family watch news on TVs other members of family including children do not show much interest in news and other educative programs of UGC's. They generally see TV serials, chitrahar etc.

While older people said that TV's programs are destroying our children. Young guys learnt fashion trends from TV and ideal thoughts of serials that give useful messages are neglected by us.

Most of the children of respondent do not see UGC's programs.

1. It is found out from the present research study that the hypothesis which is envisaged to give a direction to the study has been tested. It is finding out through case studies, and with the help of observation that replacement of occupation is an important agent of social change. It is also proved that education, occupation, income living standard change the attitude of other castes towards the Jatavs in the society.
In the light of above description it is concluded that education and social mobility affect the down trodden community. It is found that three major classes have been existing in the Jatav community. Elite section also arises among these three classes who devoted to progress of the exploited people and tried to support them. This elite section is also maintaining healthy relations with upper castes people, some of them favored discontinuation of reservation policy. Leather occupation is considered as profitable one.

2. As other occupation untouchability still exists in society in latent form. In this process of change Sanskritization has little scope. Jatav people are more inclined to westernization and globalization and trying to gain power, prestige through every possible means.

As perhaps firth would put it, organizational changes are in the offing, but structural change has yet to see the light of day.
APPENDIX
Notes and References

1. Caste is popularly understood as the division of society into a "Four fold – Varna hierarchy with the Brahmans at the head, followed in order by Khatriyas, Vaishyas or traders, Shudras or servants and labourers and lastly the Untouchables (persons engaged in defiling, polluting occupations – Caste in the above sense is referred to as Varna and has an All India application (See Srinivas, 1952, p. 24-31).

2. The concept of Sanskritization was first introduced by Srinivas (1952). It refers to the tendency of the lower castes to imitate the life style of the upper castes in an effort to move up the caste hierarchy.

3. The Untouchables (so named because of their hereditary defiling occupations) form the lowest strata of the caste hierarchy. Their low ritual status have been subject to a variety of disabilities. Chamars, Dhobi (washer man), Harijans etc. were included in the Census of India as 'scheduled castes'.

4. Varna: four-fold hierarchical division of Hindu society

5. A very small number of Untouchables have moved into skilled occupations. Recent newspaper reports have highlighted this fact. See for example Hindustan Times (a national daily: June 7, July 5, and


******************************************************************************


Indian society has been traditionally stratified into castes which are termed as closed system. A closed system is one in which different components are combined in the same way.

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<td>&amp; Panchanadikar, J.</td>
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DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF SCHEDULED CASTES:
Scheduled castes in Indian population represents a sizeable portion of the population as there has been a speedy growth in their population during the last decade, according to the census of 1991, the total number of the members of scheduled caste is 13,82,23,277 out of the total population of 84,63,02,188. During the last ten years the population of the country, in general and that of scheduled caste in particular has enormously increased. According to 1991 census the state Uttar Pradesh has 2,92,76,455 persons belonging to scheduled caste out of the total population of 13,91,12,287 it indicates that 29.3 percent of the total scheduled caste population is resides in U.P. and it is the only state in India which has an eight digit population of scheduled caste.

In Uttar Pradesh alone, 66 scheduled castes live in various areas.

1. Agariya  
2. Badi  
3. Bandhik  
4. Bahaliya  
5. Baiga  
6. Baiswar  
7. Bajoniya  
8. Bajgi  
9. Balahar  
10. Balari  
11. Balmiki  
12. Banmanus  
13. Bansphor  
14. Barwar  
15. Basor  
16. Bawariya  
17. Beldar  
18. Beriya  
19. Bhantu  
20. Bhuiya  
21. Bhayiar  
22. Boria  
23. Chamar, Dhusiya, Jatav, and charmi  
24. Chero  
25. Dabgar  
26. Dhangar  
27. Dhanuk  
28. Dharkar
The census of 1961 and 1971 also maintain the chamars or Jatav’s as the largest group among the scheduled castes.

The chamars or Jatav castes have various sub castes which are as follows:

1. Jatiya
2. Jaiswar
3. Dhoria,
4. Rangiya
5. Chudaieya
6. Gulia
7. Koril
8. Dhusiya or Jhusiya

9. Dom
10. Dushadh
11. Gharami
12. Ghasiya
13. Goal (Gawal)
14. Haboora
15. Hari
16. Hela
17. Kalabaz
18. Kanjar
19. Kapdiya
20. Korwal
21. Kharaha
22. Kharot
23. Kharware except Banwasi
24. Khatik
25. Koos
26. Korba
27. Lalbayee
28. Majhabi
29. Mushar
30. Nat
31. Pankha
32. Parhiya
33. Pasi or Tarmali
34. Patree
35. Kawat
36. Sahriya
37. Sanoria
38. Sansiya
39. Shilpkar
40. Turaiya
41. Manjhawar
42. Kori and
43. Gond.
Among these various castes, Jatiya and Jaiswar are the predominant castes. Both make claims to be superior standing and engaged in agriculture, field labourer. Among chamars or Jatavs most important caste is the “Mochi” a purely occupational off shoot from the chamar. The word “Mochi” is applied to those who make shoes, leather aprons, baskets, harness, portmanteaux etc.

This denotes occupation rather than caste. Mochis are divided into two main classes those who make and cobble shoes, which are real chamars, and those who make saddles and harness. The tanning sections of the chamars of whom the chamars is one, seem to occupy the lowest rank whenever they are found. He is a cultivator, a shoe-maker and a tanner.

Jatav considered themselves highest among the scheduled castes; some of this community believes that their name “Jatav” is taken from Jat, an agricultural caste.

‘Briggs’ (1920:23) argued “some say that their name is derived from the word ‘Jat’ meaning camel driver, otherwise their name connects them with Jat caste”. At present the chamars of U.P adopted a new name Jatav and do not like to be called as chamar. Which is now considered demeaning and
disgusting? Majority of them related to clean and prestigious occupation which is secular, modern or governmental and non-governmental, some of them cultivating land and do not make leather work, only a small group of people engaged in leather work so this name doesn’t seem realistic therefore the whole chamar caste calling themselves as “Jatavs”.

The Jatavs are the highly mobile scheduled caste of U.P. and they tried to raise their status through imitating the behaviour pattern, mannerism of upper caste and through education, modern gadgets and political mobilization etc.

The purpose of the present study is to confine Jatavs as scheduled caste. The Jatavs are generally are in the process of upward mobility. Persons belonging to Jatav caste would feel insulted if they were called by their old name “Chamar” which is now considered demeaning.

According to P.K Brass, Aligarh district has the heaviest concentration of chamars. Chamars constitute close to 22 percent of the population of the district and are numerically dominant in all but two of the six tahsil of the district.

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ALIGARH: THE ENVIRONMENT

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF DISTRICT
The district is named after its headquarters town Aligarh which itself receives this name from celebrated fort of Aligarh originally built in 1524 by Muhammad Khan. The government of Koil under the Lodhies. It was rebuilt in 1717 by Sabit Khan, a Turk man governor during the reigns of Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad shah, and its name was changed to SabitGarh. In 1757 it was taken by the Jats and was named Ramgarh. It received its present appellation of Aligarh in the time of Afrosyab khan, who succeeded Safedar Jang, the nawab viz, is of Avadh, in 1782 as Air-ul-Umra.

The district of Aligarh comprises the northern most portion of the Agra division and lies in the upper Ganga-Yamuna doab. It extends from 27°29 N lat. to 28°11 N lat. and 77°29 E. long to 78° 38 E long. To the north the boundary is purely conventional and touches the district of Bulandshahar; on the north east the Ganga separates it from district Badaun; on the east and south-east lays the district of Mathura; and on the west it is separated from Haryana by the river Yamuna. The greatest length of the district is about 120 Km. from the Yamuna to the Ganga near the northern border and the maximum breadth from north to south is same 72 Km.

According to the central statistical organization the district covered 5,024 Sq. Km in 1971 and stood 27th in the state in respect of area. According to the board of revenue the area of the district for the some year stood 5,030 Sq. Km.

Balwant Singh, District Gazetteers, Aligarh - Uttar Pradesh.
Census of India 1991, Services-1 India (Final population totals)
Schedule Caste population in Relation to Total Population in India & UP

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<td>Population of India</td>
<td>437313115</td>
<td>547367926</td>
<td>683997512</td>
<td>846302688</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC population of India</td>
<td>44445952</td>
<td>7995896</td>
<td>82480251</td>
<td>138223277</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population of U.P</td>
<td>73746401</td>
<td>88341144</td>
<td>110885874</td>
<td>139112287</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC population of U.P</td>
<td>18548916</td>
<td>15399881</td>
<td>19095413</td>
<td>29276455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of SC population in U.P</td>
<td>25.15</td>
<td>17.43</td>
<td>17.22</td>
<td>21.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of SC of UP to SC of India</td>
<td>41.73</td>
<td>19.25</td>
<td>23.15</td>
<td>21.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of SC Of UP to Pop. Of India</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>3.46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage of SC population in India</td>
<td>10.16</td>
<td>14.61</td>
<td>12.06</td>
<td>16.33</td>
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Source: Census report 1981-91
**Research Question**

Specific questions that have been taken up for analysis are as follows:

1. Social Background: The educational background of respondent, and other family members.
2. Occupation, income and the educational background of their family.
3. The respondent’s views regarding changes that have taken place in the Jatav community.
4. The respondent’s views regarding integration and isolation with their own community and other castes communities.
5. Respondent’s views towards untouchability.
6. Respondent’s role model.

**Politicization of respondent**

1. Awareness of provisions for protection of scheduled castes.
3. Awareness of special representation of scheduled castes in parliament state assemblies.
4. Awareness of laws for upliftment of scheduled castes.
5. Political party of Jatavs and their participation in politics.

**Attitude of respondent towards various aspects.**

1. Respondent’s attitude towards Government job.
2. Respondent’s attitude towards their traditional leather occupation.
3. Respondent’s attitude towards reservation policy.
4. Respondent’s attitude towards conversion of faith into another religion.
5. Respondent’s attitude towards privatization of education.
6. Respondent’s attitude towards T.V. programs.
7. Respondent’s attitude towards higher education of women and her career.
**GLOSSARY:**

<table>
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<th>Term</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaharveer</td>
<td>A great warrior and saint, The places where Jaharveer died known as holy place of scheduled caste. This place situated in Rajesthan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagarcot</td>
<td>A pilgrimage of Jammu where people worship Devi Durga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagar Nigam</td>
<td>Municipal Corporation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotra</td>
<td>People of same gotra are believed to have the similar blood and so their inter marriages prohibited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joota Vyavsay</td>
<td>Shoe Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aligarh Udyog</td>
<td>An association of businessmen of Aligarh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vayapar Mandal</td>
<td>The name Chamar derived from the Sanskrit “Charamkara” which literally means leather worker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamar</td>
<td>Worship of snakes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naag Panchami</td>
<td>9 days fast of Devi Durga.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nav Ratri</td>
<td>Fifth day of spring, people wear yellow dresses on this occasion.</td>
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