SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION
TO BEGIN WITH

In the preceding eight chapters the total work has been described in comprehensive details, as far as possible and practicable. It may also be conceded that limitations and constraints were not altogether absent. In case whenever possibilities were found out, solutions have been made, and where not, inabilities were confessed. It is not unlikely that in such an enormous work everything would be fine. The unsolved areas may be taken into consideration in future works, to be carried out by other interested scholars, and the present author desires to follow up the work.

The work is characterized by a number of special issues. Neither caste nor status even nor power is a new area of research. But unlike many issues, these dimensions have been worked out by many a scholar over a very long period of time, covering varied situations of space and time. In a way the three concerned issues are so vital with such a wide network that in any single area research may be carried out with new aims and scopes in furtherance. Such exercise is still of worth but in doing so all the three dimensions could not be covered. These three issues are of discrete nature in a way, and the same time there are many similarities, despite dissimilarities, interrelationship and interdependence among them. As a matter, any one the issues can not be understood without minimum understanding of other issues. At the same time, all
the features may be looked into in an integrated manner. In such integration there are the specific properties of respective issues and the total cohesive feature gives rise to other properties. In such cohesion there are birelational properties as of caste and status, and caste and power, and so also birelational properties in which contributions are present from all the three sectors.

For the purpose of clarity the summary part has been described into eight parts, following eight respective chapters. In cases overlapping is difficult to restrict for obvious reasons of amalgamation. Such natural course has not been attempted to turn down. Rather, such treatment is a better form both understanding and expression. In making synthesis of the total work, abstraction can not be ruled out. In the context of such endeavour, final results are incorporated. These are also the inferences, not too much different from conclusion. In spite of the same in the context of conclusion final emergent results will be included and this will not be devoid of comments in the level of interpretation.

SUMMING UP

In introducing the work, a brief background on the context of power, status and caste has been presented. In cases the origin of all the three basic issues has been sought for, at least with the utilization of logical approach. Similar attempts
have hardly been made earlier by most of the scholars who dealt with the features. In course of discussion, viewpoints of scholars from other disciplines have been corroborated. This treatment in the perspective of historicity is useful in the context of transformational change of the three prime issues, both independently and conjointedly.

It may be pointed out that the succession in the order of arrangement of power, status and caste has not always been strictly followed. In response to relevance and necessity rearrangements have been made. The focus is laid on the city of Calcutta, the prime centre of urban complex in the state of West Bengal. The caste hierarchy is a very old tradition in this case, started from the very inception of this locality. Power and status have undergone through major changes and in cases conspicuous alterations have taken place. With caste as a system, the change is relatively slow, gradual and the traditional character has not been thrown out by the people belonging to different castes.

The issue related to power is governed by many factors. In the present case there are three successive stages. The earliest one, before the invasion of the British, power was in nascent form. During the British rule, the major power was in the domain of political control. Later, with the onset of independence, power turned more complicated with the involvement of many new characters as new political affiliations.
numerous economic sectors, muscle power. Simultaneously other characters made significant change with the shifts in their characters. In the power game, ups and downs took place which brought about a new dimension in the total set up.

Status is more a theoretical label than a practical operation. In achieving the required level of gaining status, a good deal of inputs are essential. But the outputs are not always identified unless the situation arises. Status of a person is more known to them who give status than the person who gains the same.

The evaluation aspect of all these three features shows that results are dynamic. The change on estimation largely depends on various kinds of social change. This involves a number of characters, comprising wealth, education, polity, prestige, family background, profession etc. In cases, the concept of class may be equated to power and status, both taken together as a single factor. In the present, class has not been touched upon with a view to segregating power and status.

The framework constitutes a large dimension with the components of methodology, population, power, status, caste and interrelationship.
The basic problem has been laid on three dimensions, viz. power, status and caste, of the society, in this case on the Bengali Hindus of the city of Calcutta. Each dimension has its own layout with constituent factors and the results thereof. In all the three dimensions, the same population is set, but they behave in different ways when concerned with the dimension in specific manner. The members themselves belong to different castes, stronghold of power and level of status but the behaviour pattern differs on the basis of individual or the individuals of same constituents forming a group. Any one of the three dimensions can not be conceived of in isolate manner, rather all of them form the total composition. In each dimension there are constituent characters, as profession, economy, prestige, political affiliation. All these constituents are present in all dimension in variable form. But one such constituent, as economy, in one dimension has a distinct role which is different from the same constituent of other dimension. There are interplays of characters within a single dimension and of all the three dimensions. It may be said that the property of one character in one dimension differs when the same character is considered placed in other dimension. The constituent characters give rise to final makeup a specific dimension. Similarly, the dimension itself plays a great role of each of the constituent characters.
In addition to the same there are interactions among the three dimensions. In cases change in one dimension also brings out change in other dimensions. It may be stated that the base level dimension is of caste, of two other dimensions the vertical one is of status and the rest one is of power.

In the present project, the main problem is to identify the three basic units and to find out the foundation characters on which they are laid. Change is often found in all the three sectors and in such cases, factors responsible for such change are to be identified. Not to estimate the value but to make a comparison among these three units has also been endeavoured. It is necessary to state that beside caste, which is a special phenomenon in India and naturally in West Bengal and so also in Calcutta, other two units, power and status, are found to be present with equal importance in many other parts of the world. In this connection, works on status and power in U.S.A. is worth-mentioning. The concept on these basic issues to the population at large is an interesting area of investigation. In this case variation and even difference is met with, depending on the composition of the population and the temporal dimension in formulating the concept. The concept is never static but changes are present in different grades of the same population. Even a single grade expresses different concept at different period of time.
The work is based on empirical data and for the same as well for the problem, methodology under consideration for operational purposes is to be dealt with. In simple term the basic methodology anthropological in nature, both in theoretical and practical premises. In theory building activity, the hypothesis has been drawn on the basis of major contributions already been made by different scholars. The same hypothesis has been tested on the basis of reconoitering work. This work has been useful in making identification of the main area and the components therein. This has also helped in drawing out the schedule for survey in the form of questionnaire and case studies. In fact, this has rendered great assistance in limiting the frame of work with the identification of both the points, initial and final.

An indepth survey has been conducted with the base of questionnaire. For standardized information, the author himself has carried out the survey. To collect the data in better form for the purpose of analysis, in cases where possible, the questionnaire has been made structured. This has been possible with help of primary data pulled from preliminary survey. For each informant there are the provisions of background information and also of separate issues, as power, status and caste. The questionnaire method supplies quantitative data. For qualitative data, participant observation, geneological and case study methods have been applied.
In almost all the circumstance during collection of data the author made attempts to be unbiased. In course of the analyses of quantitative data, the analytical information recorded by other methods have been incorporated for both the purposes, conformity and nonconformity, as the case may be.

In case of background information, there are points which may bring out the informant with his family setup, economic condition, educational level, amount of exposition etc. These data have been utilized in connection with demographic analysis and categorization. Data from two major categories have been found to be useful and in the said case the criteria of division are gender and age groups. Initially age groups were made with 10 years interval, starting from 20 years. Later through lumping two major groups were framed, younger generation from the age of 20 to 39 years and older generation from the age of 40 years and above. Determination of economic condition is not difficult but an impossible task. However, in this case economic condition was estimated on the basis of items under possession. For each item a score was given. From the total score the identification is made and accordingly divisible units were found out. Both attitude and motivation on the one hand and practical manifestation and operation have been taken into consideration in the data part. Only those analyses have been conducted which are relevant in the context of the problem under consideration. Emphasis has been
laid on comparison and estimation. For this purpose, scoring method has been utilized in terms of percentage. Statistical method could not be applied for a number of constrains, lack of computer facility, dirth of programmer and above all for financial handicap.

The universe of study is the city of Calcutta. It is not strictly limited to the jurisdiction of Calcutta Municipal Corporation, but in exceptional cases of necessity, nearby regions were included. In dealing with the universe, the background on the genesis of Calcutta with the growth of population, urban complexes and other information of necessity have also been included within the historical framework. Facts and figures on the areal dimension of Calcutta vis-a-vis of population have also been incorporated. All these facts and figures are related to power, status and caste and their transformation. In the same context, references have also been made on economy, education, prestige, family tradition. It is to be pointed out that the British played a very important role on the growth of Calcutta and overall development of the population of Calcutta. They monitored and controlled the power structure and status framework. On caste system they played significant role at least to minimize the hierarchy.
Conditions of power, status and caste were in the process of continuous change. Alteration in one sector made shift in other sector. In cases the changes were manipulated by them for their own political, administrative and economic interest. At the same time, they also brought about positive changes to minimize the distance in the sectors of caste, status and power. The discussion on these aspects has been extended to post-independent period and even slightly thereafter.

In very exceptional cases, in the works either on caste or status or power, population has been described and discussed indepth. Afterall the above issues, independently or conjointly, are related to people. Without such basic information, how the works can be understood? This is a great enigma. To overcome the dilemma, the author has treated the population in necessary details in accordance with relevant features.

The total sample is 755, with 443 (58.67%) males and 312 (41.33%) females. Leaving aside five age groups, starting from the age of 20 years, there are two main divisible units of the population on the basis of age. The constituent groups are younger generation, from the age of 20 to 39 years (306, 43.77%; males 213, 28.20% and females 193, 25.56%) and older generation from the age of 40 years and above (350, 46.22%; males 230, 30.46% and females 120, 15.76%). In dealing with
caste, the sample population constitute five sections. These are Brahmin (159, 21.05%), Vaidya (92, 12.18%), Kayastha (162, 21.46%), other castes (225, 29.80%) and scheduled castes (74, 9.80%). A total of 43 samples are of unidentified form.

Family is the basis unit which is found in two forms, viz. simple, consisting of only couple with unmarried children (481, 63.71%) and composite, any other forms with different relational members (274, 36.29%). Number of members per family varies from 1, in exceptional cases, to 12. Major concentration is found in which the family is composed of 3 (201, 26.62%) to 4 (193, 25.56%) members. In case of family with 5 (122, 16.16%) and 6 (110, 14.56%) members, the number goes down and there is abrupt decrease when this limit is crossed. In fact at present the family is a very small unit, mostly simple in nature and the range of number of members varies between 3 and 6.

Clan is an important marker. But there is a good deal of discrepancies. Some clans are strictly connected with only one caste, but in other cases there are clans which have multistate affiliation. There are 16 clans within the sample consisting of five caste-based divisions. A total of 79 samples without the knowledge or expression of clan indicate restriction in divulging the clan and thereby the caste identity is reserved. In other cases, especially among younger generation, both males and females, clan is not any consideration.
Education is found to be distributed in eight levels, as illiterate (35, 4.77%), pre-primary (44, 5.83%), school (105, 13.91%), school final (120, 15.89%), higher secondary (98, 12.98%), college (85, 11.26%), graduation (223, 29.53%), post-graduation (30, 3.92%). Higher frequency of samples with graduation as level of education does not signify high spread of education where about 40% of the population is just literate. But the sample appears to be of representative nature.

There are seven-fold occupational pattern. The major occupation of the sample include professional, service, teacher, business, labour, student, housewife. The rest sample belong to unemployed and unidentified categories. In this case the samples have been devided not only on the basis of profession but also on the basis of generations. Besides the numerical frequency, further estimation is difficult to make. It is true that when from such samples data are taken on power, status and caste, the result may be taken as representative to the pulled population.

In case of economic condition there are three major levels as expressed from the scores based on items of possession. The lower economic group with the score limit upto 10 constitute 255 persons (33.77%). The middle group with score between 11 and 40 has 329 samples (51.80%). The upper group with the score above 40 comprises 140 samples.
In fact about two-third of the samples are well off from moderate to higher level. The lower level population are not poverty stricken despite their living in slums. It appears that standard of living has gone higher with the total population, as revealed from the samples.

All these attributes supply information on the sample population and thereby the identification of the sample in socio-economic set up is not difficult. The samples under study are representative from all points of view.

Power has crucial importance in social life. This is not true only during presentday in Calcutta but also at all times in all parts of the world in one way or other. Away from theoretical consideration, empirical studies have been conducted in a few cities in United States, obviously in urban situations. Those studies are naturally devoid of castes, but clan system was very much involved. In the conceptual scheme, power elites have often been pointed out. Following the same line, to begin with, similar study was initiated in India. At the primary stage, this was on power structure and decision making. These works were focussed on the arena of the greater society with cluster of members in stead of individual plane. In rural situation in India, power has bearing on caste and status is not too far from power. Most of these works were done between 1950s and 1970s, in few cases even later. Most of earlier works are
related to rural condition in which structural patterns are very much involved. From those, this work is different for its centre in an urban complex, coverage with the Bengali Hindus and related to very present times, 1980s.

Essential and main character for power are found to be education, wealth, political position, family background, profession, prestige and muscle power. Consideration of these characters in priority order is neither uniform nor equal. There is a good deal of variation depending on the total background of the sample. The preference is maximum on the trait of education; wealth and even political affiliation are placed much lower. Other characters do not appear to be traits of significance. The trend is almost same with both genders, and groupwise difference is not very marked.

The same result of priority ordering of characters has emerged with the application of scaling technique with scoring method. Most of the samples, especially of younger generation, desire to have power. But they themselves mostly do not have any positive attitude towards a man of power. On the other hand, the feeling of being associated with a person of power is common among the younger generation individuals. Power of high magnitude is paid to political and professional characters. The latter character primarily includes education of higher level. Exactly in the same way power is attributed to political
and educational personalities. Person of power, by name, also indicate the same trend in which the position of concerned person is of only importance. No cases have been found where power is assigned to female personalities, both by males and females.

Power is concerned with the content character, primarily education, political affiliation and wealth. These characters are placed almost in the same level. At times fluctuation may be observed but stable change of level is totally absent. Mongering for the inclusion of oneself in the power structure is felt during youth, but it subsides later without any repentance. Persons of power are continuously involved in the power game and there is always a tendency for escalation. Political affiliation acts in triggering effect if the same is provided with education. Education, as a character, works both independently and dependently. In case of the latter, the association is close with political affiliation. A man of power with wealth has a stronghold on political affiliation. In other way round, power with political affiliation elevates the economic condition. In such cases, education has no significant role to play.

Status is more a conviction of mass than the concerned persons of status conceived. This is further thought of in both the dimension of spread and level. Status has little
role with the family background but the same character enhances with the accumulation of other characters. Unlike power, status takes more time for elevation and its state is more stable. Status in urban complex is different from its rural counterpart. In the latter case it is very local in nature, compared to former situation. Status in the milieu of the city of Calcutta encompasses the region with further extension.

Status has also a direct correlation with occupation, mostly away from traditional profession. This shows that hereditary occupation may not gain the status, rather switching over to other higher occupation accelerates the process and progress of status. This is noticed among many communities, belonging to lower castes. In case of higher castes such changeover is noticed. Brahmin as a priest has a lower status than a Brahmin with high education, remarkable profession and great prestige.

Like power, there are a number of constituent characters which contribute to status. The characters are almost same in both the cases and so also with their values. But in case of status, family background, profession, prestige have very important roles and close to relationships. Similar conditions are not present in the same way in case of power. Samples of higher proportion, have the attitude to elevate their status and their desire to be associated with persons of status.
In the framework of status, political, educational, financial and professional attributes are provided with higher values. Other attributes do not contribute much in enhancing status, except in very exceptional cases. In the urban complex, status is a least factor in terms of locality because it is overshadowed by persons of higher status to a great extent.

Status is paid to high political as well as administrative authorities than persons from other walks of life. The same persons with high status are also to be provided with education and wealth. Despite everything, when men of higher status are taken together, the credit of high degree is paid on the trait of family background, other characters being equal. This has revealed very conspicuously when status has been judged not by position but by personality.

Status is found to travel in traditional manner, based on family. At least such familial character constitutes score of higher number. To gain status without this character is naturally difficult and even in such cases the contribution of other characters must be of higher order. This trait of family background is perhaps a display of traditional character, despite the influence of modernity and its additional traits.
Caste system is a very old tradition in India. Genesis of this system has been dealt with on the basis of available hypothesis, at times substantiated with historical and anthropological records. It shows that a system of occupational division was present associated with hierarchy. The term caste is coined from Portuguese word, casta. The system still prevails in this country in rigid manner in some states and more in rural areas. Compared to the same, the situation is comparatively flexible in West Bengal. Caste rigidity is not followed with most of the Bengali Hindus of Calcutta. This does not mean that exceptions are altogether absent. In fact, caste is of lowest priority of consideration, except in case of marriage in which caste endogamy is still followed. Deviation from this norm is not of significance.

Caste mobility is not a new phenomenon. It worked since earlier days. The movement is always on the upper side. The characters which are associated with caste are not given much stress nowadays. Even at times, some (very few) really ignore caste. The situation is different in case of scheduled and backward classes who do not want to expose themselves in caste consideration for lower level placement. But they also try to enjoy the privileges for being in the lower level. Reactions of upper castes are minimum and temporary. In fact, a kind of acceptance has been made by them. This is evident from the fact that 53.77% of the samples are against reserva-
tion. In case of reservation, upper caste groups do not mind to sacrifice privileges at the cost of them, and this is mainly for education (47.08%). In jobs the objection is on high pitch, only 8.73% favours the same.

Caste system is in a mixed condition with regards to belief and operation. Some people do not believe but operate, and even others do not operate but have the belief. In the sample 43.97% and 42.52% do believe and do not believe in the system, respectively. Inclination to own caste members is found among more than 50% of the samples while the rest follow the same in different degrees. Marriage of intercaste type is a conspicuous tester; only 25.29% does not prefer intercaste marriage and a greater proportion of the same belongs to older generation. This figure is of course on the attitude part.

There is appreciable amount of distance between idea and reality. Though perceptible gain is continuously underway with the latter.

Caste was considered to be related with other character. This stigma has come to an end, except in case of education, 44.90% and 45.96% are in favour and against this kind of relationship. With other characters, as wealth, status, power, profession, the sample populations have no agreement with such correlation.
The most interesting result is on the gradation of occupation in a seven-fold scheme. The professionals are clerk, cobbler, driver, goldsmith, grocer, priest, scavenger, sweeper and teacher. Priest has the highest priority in quantitative scores. But low level occupations of scavenging and sweeping have been given even the first priority by very samples. It is to be noted that the priests, only of Brahmin caste, are not considered as high as it was earlier, especially among the younger generation. The score of teacher is steady, perhaps for the fact that it is related to education. Goldsmiths and grocers are not considered to be of very low level, as levelled earlier in the lower base. It is true that at present, except very low level occupation, most of the occupations are not given any stigma. At the same time priests are taken as belonging to high level occupation.

Power, status and caste are independent features but each one of the factor has impact and influence on other factors. In this case the variation is often found. As the linkage between caste and status is closer than status and power and the latter in turn is closer than caste and power. All these three factor have at least seven constituent characters. These are wealth, education, profession, family background, prestige, political affiliation and muscle power. Despite the commonness of constituent characters, there are differences in the association of major characters. Power has four major constituent characters, these are wealth, education, political
affiliation and muscle power. In case of status the number is four; education, profession, prestige, and family background. With caste, the characters are also four in number; these are: wealth, profession, prestige, and family background. The total number of characters for all the features are four, but not a single character to all of them. In case of power and caste the characters in common are profession, prestige, and family background. The other uncommon characters are wealth for caste and education for status. With power except wealth, which is common to both power and caste, and education, common to power, status, other two characters political affiliation and muscle power are uncommon.

The main characters, seven in number, have also interrelationship among them. Wealth has six such characters. In case of education, profession, prestige, and family background have four characters each. There are only two characters of correlation with both political affiliation and muscle power.

The total interrelationship is indicative of the fact that almost all the characters are mixed in nature in which capability of the individual is mixed with the prevailing circumstance. For variation, both in capability and situation, categories of peoples are formed with distinct attributes.
Instead of conclusion, finale is a better term. The latter indicates the termination with last section. Conclusion should be of higher credibilities. Confidence on that part is there but for inclusion of large number of characters, concerned with diverse issues, covering an enormous area, the major findings have been put forward in brief but comprehensive manner.

The present work is characterized by two main special features. One, it deals with power, caste and status, both independently and conjointly. Secondly, prior to this work, to the knowledge of the present author, perhaps no work was taken into consideration in an urban complex like the city of Calcutta.

This city has passed through various stages with change in economy, politics, society and culture. As a result, the present situation is the product of total culmination. More or less the same people are living here through generations, especially with Bengali Hindus. Other immigrants are not totally different. They had a different set up in a strictly non-urban condition. But with their shift in new environment, the adaptation mechanism worked in accelerated manner. Difference between local and immigrant populations dissolved within no time. In the circumstance of this kind, the population maintains a good deal of homogeneity. Heterogeneity is more marked for their
character of conditions which include economy, family background, profession, political affiliation, education and such other criteria. As a result their responses and reactions are different from one another.

In the same milieu, the factors like caste, status and power are of varied forms and functions. Power, for example which is one of the major constituents of the present work, is conceived in different forms. This is evident from the identification of characters which constitute power. It is the common belief that political affiliation is the major source of power. It is true to certain extent especially when it is associated with education. It turns more stable if further association is formed of family background, prestige etc. Wealth or economy of relatively high level cannot be ignored. But this character is found in direct association withforementioned characters. Simple wealth does not make assemblage with family background or profession or education. On the other hand one or more such characters have direct link with wealth. A power without those characters is a force which is being avoided instead of paying minimum respect. In immediate local situation power is considered with resourceful reasons. But this temporary and opportunistic in nature. Power is given due importance when the same also contains education and such other characters of positive form. With power, the importance does not make much shift from position to personalities. Moreover, power is never stable from both ends, the possessor and the estimator.
Status is more stable and has greater value of permanance. There is no complex of hatred or fear or avoidance. Rather positive complex is added in case of status with marks of respect, regard and likings. In this case the most essential parts are education and profession which may further be associated with family background and prestige. Neither political affiliation nor muscle power has any direct bearing with status.

Persons are more inclined to elevate status than power. In case of younger generations, power is slightly more preferred to status. The situation is just different with relatively older generation. In case of power there is both gain and loss, depending on the condition and the change. Such risk is absent with status. People want more to be associated with man of status than man of power. In cases, deviation is observed which is connected with defensive or offensive mechanism. Man of status is more identified in terms of person than position. The achievement of position is possible for the personality not the other way round.

Caste consideration is more in a nascent state than in exposed form. Notion of caste hierarchy is feeble, except in cases of insecurity and challenges. Upper castes without the expression of their caste belongings remain fixed with their level. Lower castes seldom confess their caste position with a view to attaining higher level for non-identification. In case ofprevileges they come out and after the gain they
place themselves in a state of non-identity. In this regard they prefer to reservation. The upper castes hardly bother unless they are placed in unfavourable situation. But such feelings do stay for long.

Caste identity is seldom found in any specific area which were rigid earlier. Only as a form of tradition in the selection of mates still caste endogamy is followed. Any deflection from the same is not given major importance and acceptance within the caste-oriented society is not challenged.

Caste is not considered to be of any significant relationship with wealth, education, status, power, occupation and behaviour. Although variation on the above characters can not be totally denied in the arena of caste system. Occupation was one of the major criteria of caste hierarchy. This has been wiped out to a great extent in case of Brahmin priests and low caste scavengers and sweepers. Even for such caste based occupation, the concept of purity and pollution is not strictly followed.

All the features, power, status and caste are related to one another. In such frame of relationship there are degrees of difference. All the above features have more or less the same constituents of characters. But the action of characters in terms of assemblage act in diverse forms. Status is favoured
in positive form, the composition of characters like family background, education, profession, prestige and wealth. These characters are linked to another than of simple discrete nature. Caste is neither favoured nor strongly opposed from within. But power is hardly favoured. This is avoided except in cases of intense need connected with socio-economic survival.

There are the net results in brief which may be taken as conclusion. That does not mean furtherance of researches should be stopped. The whole features and factors are never static. Changes are there and change in one character makes change on other character and even feature. This brings about the change in the society. For making identification and understanding changes works are to be carried out. In such course of work the result of the present work may be considered as a base line, in any level, to show the change.