CHAPTER - VII

SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

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1. The Problem

Following specific questions have been studied in the present work:

1. What is extent of the scheduled caste protests?
2. What are the issues on which scheduled caste protests are taking place?
3. How far these issues of protests vary in rural and urban areas?
4. Against whom, the scheduled caste protests are directed?
5. What is the process of mobilization? What factors and conditions are conducive or otherwise to these protests?
6. What are the consequences/achievements of these protests?

The first question pertains to the numbers, various types and forms of protests by scheduled castes being observed in the recent years.

In the second question various issues on which scheduled caste protests are observable have been identified and studied. It means the occasions which cause the protests, in a way feeling of the deprivation on which the scheduled castes feel deprived or any other issues committed against the scheduled castes and depriving them from their rights.

In the third question variation among protest events in rural and urban areas and understanding differences and variations of issues on which protests have taken place in these areas, have been studied.
The fourth question identifies the various parties against whom these protests have taken place. Such as police administration, State government, development authorities, local leaders, other higher castes etc.

The fifth question refers to the process of mobilisation of scheduled caste people or type of change and study of those conditions and factors which are responsible for protests.

In the sixth question aims to find out the net impact or consequences/achievements of these protests.

2. Concepts/Terms

(i) Social Movement:

T.K. Oommen (1972 : 250-264) states that when an elementary collective behaviour, the crowd action, mass or public behaviour becomes organised behaviour then it becomes a social movement. He further states, when an elementary collective behaviour acquires leadership, an enduring division of labour, social rules and social values in short a culture, a social organisation and a new scheme it becomes a social movement.

Thus according to Oommen a social movement is an organised collective behaviour which has a culture, social organisation, leadership, rules and values and a new scheme. These are several other ways in which movements have been defined but the above meaning follows from very many of them and suits the Indian conditions.
Types of the Social Movements:

M.S.A. Rao (1978: 1-15) distinguishes between three levels of structural changes and thereby three types of social movements. Reformist, transformative and revolutionary. Reform movements aim at effecting middle level structural changes and the objective of revolutionary movements is to bring about radical change in the totality of social and cultural systems. These movements also vary in terms of conflicts embedded in them, conflict is the least in reform movements, it acquires a sharper focus in transformative movements and in the case of revolutionary movements conflict is extreme and largely based upon the Marxist ideology of class struggle.

(ii) Protest:

Joseph (1986: 108-115) states that protest is an attack on the prevailing system in an intellectual or organized way. This feeling is above any reason, tradition and power protest per se is rather good or bad but it is an effective means of achieving social change and mobility in a modern society. It is to be noted that most of the political and social changes of twentieth century have been accelerated by various protest movements.

Protest movements besides, they bring social change in society, they have some therapeutic effects for change. But this depends upon who protests and what are the aims. Protests are a means by which unhappy, frustrated and explolted people can find at least momentay satisfaction.
(iii) Scheduled Caste:

Scheduled caste were one of the groups which were most backward. The basic determinants of scheduled caste status were untouchability and impure occupation, other determinants were their low economic, political and educational conditions. After independence the scheduled castes (SCs) receive special mention in the constitution of India with special provisions from them in education, employment and political representation. Article 46 for instance declare. "The state shall promote with special care the programmes for educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and the particular of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Wankhee, 1999 : 28). In the present work the constitution criteria has been followed for identification of scheduled as there is no such sociological definition has been for mulated.

(iv) Degradation of Status and Deprivation of Economic and Political Power:

In the Indian society particularly the Hindu social system divides people into inferior and superior castes and accords them lower and higher statuses respectively. It divides the Hindu in to five major caste groups : Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras and Ati-Shudras or untouchables. These have been arranged in a hierarchical social order with the Brahmans at the top followed by the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras and the Ati-Shudras or untouchables. Nobody can
change one's caste membership from the one in which he or she is born each caste in the past was supposelly associated with a particular occupation which in turn determined the social and economic status of its members. The untouchables were assigned filthy menial and defilling occupations. Such as sweeping, scavenging removing nigh soil etc. It is also said that changing occupation from the given one was difficult and often discouraged besides the other characteristics of the caste system such as endogamy. Commensallity, purity and pollution were strictly observed and a few of these are observed even today. All these have cumulatively contributed to the degraded status of the untouchables (Ambedkar, 1990 : 289-90).

The second important reason due to which the untouchables could not protest against all indignities inflicted on them is that they were deprived of political power to rule over others. Nowhere in the Hindu Shastras there is mention of support to the untouchables to be the rulers, nor was it tolerated. According to one view, the Ati-Shudra is born from the feet of the creator were to be the slaves of others (Ghurye, 1987 : 59).

**Constitutional Remedies/Provisions**

The constitution of the Indian republic has provided a number of legal safeguards for the scheduled castes. Being the architect of the Indian constitution, Ambedkar was able to get a number of the provisions enshrined in the constitution in favour of the scheduled castes. While some call the act of providing certain exclusive special
provisions in the constitution for the scheduled castes. As compensatory discrimination, others term it positive discrimination or reverse discrimination and yet some other accept it as preferential treatment. The act of treating the scheduled castes as a special category is constitutionally valid under Article 46 of the directive principles in the Indian constitution.

3. A Brief View of S.C. Protests

Gopal Guru (1993 : 570-573) considers Dalit protests as a necessary outcome of an obscurantist Hindu tradition with its deep rooted prejudice against the Dalits. It therefore assumed that the movement is limited to achieving the objectives of advancement in socio-economic, civic and political fields within the existing order, without seeking a transformation of that society. This has constrained the understanding of the movement. Social science must now critically examine these assumptions and seek to study the Dalit movement from below.

Simon Charsley and Karanth (1999 : 31-107) have tried to understand the plight of the untouchables and their activities. The untouchables have protested against their humiliation and they have put forward the challenges to that mortification. The spirit of protest and its nature would help us understand the psycho-social setting of the untouchables which are very important in having a through knowledge of their actions and reactions.

Counter Noeman (1970 : 108-112) has indentified a few other
characteristics of protest movements, besides it brings social change in society, it has some therapeutic effect for change but this depends upon who protested and what are the aims. Protest is a means by which unhappy, frustrated and exploited people can find at least momentary satisfaction. At times it becomes a way of life that absorbs all energy, talent and love of participants and counter participants. There are a number of such writings on these issues.

On the basis of various formulations by sociologists we may say that the protest ideology which not only articulates the new values and new goals but also unveils the structure of social inequalities and injustices found existing in the prevailing social order of the society and protests mobilize justification for the rejection of an unjust structure. The position of the untouchables within it and the strategies available to them for registering their protest and of seeking an effective share in the power structure of Indian society could perhaps provide a framework for developing a more generalized ideology of protests for subnational deprived groups.

Efforts towards ameliorating lot of the scheduled caste dates back to the sixth century B.C. starting with the Buddhist revolt against the unequal social order and caste discrimination. Yet, more pronounced effort in this direction became a reality from the 12th century A.D. onwards. The effort of the Bhakti Movements particularly of Kabir, Ramanand and Ravidas in the north, Chaitanya in the east, Narasinh Mehta and Tukaram in the West and Ramanuja and Basava in the South India are worthnoting. The efforts of the neo-Vedantic
movements (19th Century) represented by institutions like the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and Prarthana Samaj and Individuals like Vivekananda, Dayananda Saraswati also opposed the practice of untouchability by contesting the scriptural sanction to such practices. Although they fully believed in the Varnashrama Dharma and its Varna/caste based division of labour which makes it obligatory for the untouchables to serve meekly the caste Hindus to attain better social status in their next birth. By and large, the main purpose of all these efforts or movements was only to correct the evils of Hinduism like untouchability and there by revive it (Oommen, 1990 : 258).

Later, particularly in the beginning of the present century Gandhi fought almost on the similar lines against the inhuman practice of untouchability. He appealed to the caste Hindus to treat the 'untouchables' with due respect. As a means to enhance their social status, Gandhi named them Harijans meaning the children of Hari or God. However, this cosmetic change did not help them in any way as the term Harijans remained a synonym to untouchables. Gandhi also believed that the occupation of an individual or a community was not determined by any man made force around but only by the God. He appealed to the untouchables to carry out his or her traditional duties which were his/her Dharma and Karma and that was the only way to attain moksha (Ambedkar, 1979).

It may be said that the Bhakti movements and the neo-Vadantic movements including that of Gandhi focused only on appealing to the caste Hindus to treat the Dalits or untouchables as their fellow human
beings. Their efforts towards eliminating untouchability were very limited. None of them questioned the rationale behind the caste system and its unjust social order.

The British Rulers in India on their part initially had two objectives, to sustain their political hold over the country and to popularise Christianity among its populace for them, the untouchables were not even the means to fulfill any of the two objectives though some of the latter had already embraced Christianity through the efforts of missionaries which had come to India much before and many were willing to do so as a means to escape from the tyranny of caste system. They too did not pay due attention to the rationale behind the caste system, its unjust social order and its logic of condemning a huge section of Indian population as untouchables. However, it may be noted that it was during the British rule in India, for the first time, the untouchables were treated as a separate political minority due to the efforts of Ambedkar and others. This was done considering the uniqueness of their socio-cultural life and vulnerability of their political existence. Accordingly, efforts were made to list them separately which portrayed their plight, did help them to some extent, to understand better their degraded socio-economic situation and political importance.

Unlike the non-Dalit individuals and organisations aiming primarily at reviving Hinduism, the Dalit Saints and Social reformers of the medieval period attacked the caste system. The sect or religion of Bhakti propounded by the Gurus such as Ravidas and Kabir was
popular during 13-17th centuries. It was held to be an egalitarian pre-
vedic religion practised by the Adi-Hindus, the original inhabitants of
India, from whom the untouchables bear to trace their lineage by the
turn of 19th century, the untouchable leaders and saints began to
propagate (Gooptu, 1993: 27).

Further, the growing interest of the untouchables in the Bhakti
religion had generated among them a need for achieving literacy in
order to acquaint themselves with religious scriptures and the writings
of the gurus. Their attempts to achieve literacy were also prompted
by the teachings of the medieval Bhakti Saints, moreover, the Bhakti
revivalism among the untouchables went hand in hand with the efforts
to improve their social and economic conditions for which literacy was
considered to be a prerequisite.

By the turn of the 19th century, numerous movements were
organised by the untouchables in different part of the country. The
focus of these movement was primarily against the social stigma
attached to their identity and to the unclean and unpaid or underpaid
occupations they were engaged in for instance, the Nadar movements
was organised by the Chaanan of Tamil Nadu. Through this movement,
the Chaanan identified themselves as Nadar (ruler) in the 1920s and
claimed for the Kshatriya status. They also worked to wards enhancing
their economic position and political power. The Nadar movement
could succeed, to a great extent, in eliminating the social stigma
attached to their caste identity (Hardgrave, 1969 : 81).
During the early 19th century in order to come out of their untouchable identity, the focus of the Ezhavas movements, popularly known as SNDP movement under the leadership of Sri Narayana Guru Swamy was more on getting access to all those ritual and other religious services which were denied to them under the Hindu fold (Shah, 1990 : 110).

The claim of Jatav Chamars of Agra in Uttar Pradesh for Kshatriya status by the end of the 19th century was also an attempt to uplift. The movement did not last for a longer period and could not succeed in achieving its goals. Attempts were also made by the Jatavs to imitate the life styles of upper castes as means to protest themselves from the humiliation of untouchability (Lynch, 1969 : 108). Ultimately, they gave up such claim, improved their economic and political power positions and embraced Buddhism. Unlike this, the Adi-Dharm movement of the Chuhras (untouchables) of Punjab was revolutionary in its aims and strategies. Dissatisfied with the untouchable status accorded to them in the Hindu social order, the chuhras traced their religious roots as Adi-Dharm outside the Hindu fold which was founded in the early 20th century. The members of this movement demanded to recognised Adi-Dharmis and not as the Hindu untouchables. Though this movement largely succeed in its objective, there emerged divisions among the followers on the sub-caste line. As a result, many renounced their association with Adi-Dharm and embraced other religious like Christianity and Buddhism (Juergensmeyer, 1980 : 86).

Yet the untouchables in some parts of the country resorted to
conversion as a strategy to end their problem of untouchability. Being influenced by the Nadar movement of Tamil Nadu and Ezhavas movement of Kerala, the Pulayas - the untouchable caste of Kerala - protested against the inhuman practice of untouchability, their political disenfranchisement and economic exploitation (Mathew, 1986:97-119).

Out of many things that Ambedkar, did for the uplift and empowerment of the untouchables, his conversion to Buddhism was an important decision. He felt strongly that there would be no scope even in future for the untouchables to have a dignified social life as long as they remained within the fold of Hinduism (Patwardhan, 1973 : 106).

Another important aspect of this self-initiative is their political empowerment as stated above but the Dalits have remained divided on the basis of their caste or sub-caste, religious, regional and linguistic differences. They have also been divided on account of their affiliation and support to different political parties in recent times, hence, continued their powerlessness. Ambedkar was the first one in realizing that unless the Dalits were brought together under one umbrella they might not gain the power and uproot the caste system and the notion of untouchability. For political empowerment of the Dalits, as early as 1936, he formed the Independent Labour Party. Ambedkar then dissolved the ILP and formed the All Indian Scheduled Caste Federation (AISCF) at an All India Depressed Class conference held in Nagpur in 1942. The AISCF was also dissolved in 1957 and after a few months of his death, the Republican Party of India (RPI) was formed (Ramaiah, 1998: 60).
The party aimed at ensuring justice and equality to all Indian citizens. The RPI believed that assisting the untouchable caste with special provisions was indispensable in its efforts to bringing about a balanced Indian Society free from exploitation of all kinds.

However, after Ambedkar the RPI weakened gradually and most of its followers took shelter in other political parties including the congress party which had greater political hold in most parts of the country. In 1992 there was another non-political attempt to unite the Dalits across their religious, regional linguistic, sub-caste political and ideological differences under the banner of Dalit Solidarity Programme (DSP). Though the Dalits have remained divided, the problem of caste discrimination suffered by them remains common and hence, the DSP attempted to unite them all on the basis of this commonness. It organised conscientisation programmes, at the national regional and district levels exclusively for the Dalits with a view to enthusing them to fight for their rights, self respect and dignity. Though conscientising Dalits through meetings and lecturer has been feasible in urban areas, it may not be so in rural areas where there could be stiff opposition from the caste Hindus against such programmes whether the DSP would be able to ensures protection to Dalits at this stage is still an issue for debate (Ramaiah, 1998: 62).

The SCs Movements and Protests in U.P. : Select Evidence

The S.C./Dalit movement in U.P. has specific characteristics
which distinguishes it from the Ambedkarite movements in other regions. It arose later than in Western and Southern India, and in the colonial period it was both weak and limited to a few pockets in the state (Pai, 2001: 246).

**SCs Movements and Protests in U.P.- The Colonial Period**

In contrast to parts of Western India which came under the influence of Ambedkar, U.P. did not experience any large scale anti-caste movement during the colonial period which resulted in delayed development of their political empowerment.

For lack of consciousness among SCs, the reasons lie in the rigid and unchanging character of the social structure in U.P. (Pai, 2001: 260).

**SCs Movements and Protests in U.P. During Post-Independence**

The formation of RPI in 1958 inaugurated a new and separatist phase in the S.C. movement in U.P., but it proved to be shortlived. The reasons for the brief existence of the RPI and its failure to mobilise the SCs in U.P. lie both within the S.C. community and the nature of the U.P. society and politics during this period. Three major factors were- lack of strong leadership, division among the leadership over the strategy to be followed and the ability of the congress as a broad-based dominant party to attract S.C. votes (Pai, 2001: 262).
SCs Movement and Protests in U.P. in Bahujan Party Phase

The fall of the S.P. - BSP coalition in June 1995 inaugurated a new Bahujan phase of the Dalit movement in which two contradictory mobilisational trends are visible: coalition-building with upper-caste parties and a deepening of the movement at the grass-roots level. The BSP leaders were particularly keen to implement their programme of Dalit upliftment, when in power as Mayawati had pursued Dalit oriented policies in the field of education, social welfare, employment generation and health for them (Pai, 2001: 264).

Dalits have attempted in various ways to organise numerous protest movements against socio-religious discriminations and atrocities meted out to them by the caste Hindus and others and to gain socio-economic and political rights. Though each of these attempts is unique and directed towards achieving equality and justice it has not yet achieved its goals completely.

4. Area of Study

For the purpose of present study district Meerut of Uttar Pradesh was selected as the area of study. The total area of the district according to the records is 3911 square miles. The total population of Meerut district in 241751, which is distributed as 132904 in rural area and 108848 in urban area. The population of scheduled castes in rural area is 287108 in urban area is 161,694, thereby scheduled caste constitute larger segment of the total population in rural areas and in
urban area. Thus the scheduled castes have been active in politics. They are artisans, workers, professionals, servicemen and there are several institutions and associations run by them.

5. Universe/Sample and Respondents:

The rural and urban area of the Meerut district would be the universe of our study. In the present study we have collected 100 news item from Dainik Jagran and Amar Ujala Hindi daily News papers Meerut edition during 1995-2000. 15 news items have been selected for detailed case study.

6. Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

At the first stage we have collected data of 100 events of protest by scheduled caste in Meerut district through two Hindi newspaper namely Amar Ujala and Dainik Jagran published from 1995 to 2000. At the second stage 50 event were selected for Interview.

At the third stage 15 events have been selected for intensive case studies. The data have been collected in two years from 2000 to 2002.

In the third stage the narratives of respondents coming through the case studies have been analysed qualitatively. Findings have been arrived at on the basis of fact collected though case studies.

At the first stage data of 100 news items have been presented in the form of tables related to all variables and aspects related to every objective/question. Simple statistics, percentages and
proportions have been presented in all tables and findings are arrived at. At the second stage 50 events have been presented in the form of table on nature and consequences of protests.

7. Finding

1. The largest number of events (37 out of 100) have been reported in the year 1997 and maximum events of protests (08 out of 100) reported in the year 1999.

2. The largest number of events (64 out of 100) reported from the rural areas. It means larger number of scheduled caste protests have been taken place in the rural area.

3. Numerically more events have been taken place in 1997 and proportionately larger segment of events in 1997, are related to rural area.

4. Larger number of protests have been related to land cases torture cases, killing/murder of scheduled castes.

5. Maximum land cases are reported in 1997 and maximum conflict related to Ambedkar statue have been report in 1997, a single crop case in 1998, panchayat conflict only one in 1995, corruption in development scheme 05 in 1997, torture cases against scheduled castes 06 in 1997 and maximum number of physical violence in 1997 and killing/murder of scheduled caste have been reported in 1998 and minimum in 1995 and 1996.

6. Maximum land cases have been reported from rural areas, reservation policy cases maximum have been taken place in rural area, rape cases from rural areas, corruption in development
schemes from urban areas, crop and panchayat conflict both from rural area. Maximum tourcher cases against scheduled caste have been taken place in rural areas. Conflict related to Ambedkar statues reported from rural areas, physical violence against SCs have been reported from rural area. Maximum killing/murder of SCs have been taken place in rural areas. Caste conflict have been taken place in rural, semiurban and urban areas.

7. In the year 1995 maximum land cases occurred in rural area. All two reservation policy cases reported from urban area, rape case from rural area corruption in development schemes from urban area, panchayat conflict from rural area. Tourcher cases against SCs from semiurban and urban area. Killing and Murder of SCs from semi urban area.

8. In the year 1996 maximum tourcher cases reported from rural area and minimum from urban area.

9. In the year 1997 maximum case reported from rural area like land cases, conflict related to Ambedkar statues and minimum case reported from urban areas.

10. In the year 1998 maximum cases reported from rural area. All 05 cases killing/murder of SCs reported from rural areas. A singal crop case reported from rural area.

11. In the year 1999 maximum cases reported from rural areas. 02 cases from urban areas. 03 Tourcher cases against SCs reported from rural areas.

12. In the year 2000 maximum cases reported from rural areas and 04 cases from urban areas. All two land cases reported from
rural areas. Conflict related to Ambedkar statues 1 reported from rural area and 02 from urban areas.

13. Maximum cases are presented before police administration and minimum cases before panchayat.


15. Maximum (52 out of 100) cases presented before police administration like 13 land cases, 4 reservation police cases, 2 rape cases, 10 tourcher cases, 4 conflict related to Ambedkar statues, 5 physical violence against S.C., 11 killing/murder of S.C. and 2 caste conflict case and only 01 crop case. The minimum (3 out of 100) cases presented before panchayat.

16. In the year 1995 maximum (5 out of 13) cases are presented before police administration like 2 land cases, 1 reservation policy case, 1 rape case, 1 tourcher cases against S.C., the evenly case presented before S.D.M., panchayat and state government.

17. In the year 1996 maximum (5 out of 9) cases are presented before police administration like 1 land case, 1 rape case, 1 tourcher case and 2 conflict cases. The minimum (1 out of 9) case
presented before development officers.

18. In the year 1997 maximum (20 out of 37) case are presented before police administration like 6 land case, 2 reservation policy case, 1 crop case, 3 toucher cases, 3 physical violence against S.C., 4 killing/murder of S.C. The minimum (1 out of 23) cases presented before S.D.M.

19. In the year 1998 maximum (14 out of 23) cases are presented before police administration like 3 land cases, 1 reservation policy cases, 1 crop cases, 3 toucher cases, 3 physical violence against S.C., 4 killing/murder of S.C. The minimum (1 out of 23) cases presented before S.D.M.

20. In the year 1999 maximum (5 out of 8) cases are presented before police administration like 2 toucher cases against S.C., 3 killing/murder of S.C. and evenly case presented before district magistrate. S.D.M. and state government.

21. In the year 2000 maximum (6 out of 10) cases presented before district magistrate like 1 land case, 1 reservation policy case, 1 rape case, 3 conflict related to Ambedkar statues and the minimum (1 out of 10) cases is presented before development officer.

7.1 Findings on the Nature of Select Events of Scheduled Castes

Protests in Meerut

Out of the total 100 events some details could be available of the 50 cases. On the basis of nature of protests we have found following results—
1. Maximum cases (12 out of 50) of protests have been led by the Local Dalit Leaders and only in one case protest was led by a non Dalit leaders.

2. On demand put forward in the protests we found land allotment and possessions, installation of or damage to Abedkar statues, and action against toturing by police, as the most in part demands only in one case dalit to dalit conflict has taken place on personal interests.

3. On the style of protests we find Dharna, Dharna and demonstration, and Dharna and Road Blockage were the major style of protests.

4. On the outcome/achievements of protests we find in maximum cases (36 out of 50). The events finished with assurance, in few (06) cases actual success was achieved.

5. Observation of 50 dalit protests indicates that awareness among the Dalits has been increasing a result of Dalit protests in the area.

6. The new Dalit party which emerged under the new opportunities and circumstances has shown involvement up to the local level in protests. Power of economic development, new occupations and modern professions appear to have succeeded in giving rise to the emergence of successful leadership from among the Dalits.

7.2 Findings of Case Studies of Scheduled Caste Protests in Meerut:

1. All protests cases to Dalits are mobilizesed by the local leader
of B.S.P. (a party of Dalits).

2. Most of the protests were led by the local dalit leaders and thus mobilization has a political element in mobilization.

3. In protests local Dalit leaders took initiative to increase their political participation who occupy some posts in their party organization.

4. The increasing Dalit protests appear to be a result of the increasing democratic awareness among Dalits and capacity to come together.

5. There increasing awareness of Dalits for their rights has contributed to their assertion and coming together for their grievances. The dalit appear to have achieved some gains in many of the cases.

6. The parties of high castes started understanding the dalit protests and giving way to dalit agitations, as on some occasions higher castes persons have joined hands in protests.

8. Bearings Empirical Research

Sudha Pai and Jagpal Singh (1997 : 2020-24) studied socio-cultural process of Ambedkarisation which has given rise to a new generation of politically conscious Jatavas in Western Uttar Pradesh. The impact of the socio-cultural process of 'Ambedkarisation' has thrown up a new generation which is politically conscious, better educated upwardly mobile and very aggressive towards those above them in the caste-class hierarchy. Our study showed that scheduled caste protests in this area came in such a form that the Dalits showed
there power in every field not only increased their economic status but decreased their dependence on high castes and gave an identity to their morale. The increasing Dalit protests is a result of the increasing democratic awareness, increasing awareness of Dalits for self interest and the increasing capacity to protest for small matters and the increasing political awareness. Thus we may state that the hunch or hypothesis of Pai and Singh are confirmed to some extent by our findings.

**Gopal Guru (1997 : 1876-80)** has studied the recent Dalit protest in Maharashtra. The state wide Dalit protest over the desecration of Ambedkar's statue in Mata Ramabai Ambedkar Nagar in Mumbai has been seen by many, particularly the non Dalits as an aspect of political manipulation by political forces in the state. Our study shows that the increasing Dalit protest is a result of the increasing political awareness. Thus we may state that hypothesis of Guru are confirmed to some extent by our findings. Our study shows that various protests have taken place abolition on Ambedkar statues and led by political leades from among the dalits.

**Vivek Kumar (2000 : 208-22)** has shown that we can see a new emerging face of Indian democratic system and this face is "Representative Democracy" which is stepping towards "participatory democracy" and this all is the contribution of Dalit Movement. A decade ago Dalits were represented by higher authoritative classes or some Dalit leaders nominated by them. But Dalit themselves have decided their agenda after the dawn of B.S.P. in U.P. and have tried to govern
in the three govt's. of 1993, 1995 and 1997, on their conditions. A Dalit woman Mayawati took decision on the basis of the policies of her 11 years old party for the first time in independent India after forming a government in 1995 and 1997. Our study shows that the most of the Dalit protests were lead under leadership of local Dalit leaders. The B.S.P. and Dalit leaders were also seen leading Dalits in Meerut district and most of the protests were made under the rule of Dalit lady Mayawati in 1997. All the protests show strong democratic values. In this manner we find that the hunch or hypothesis of kumar is appears to writing out as true.

**Muzaffar Arsadi (1997 : 21017)** has found that until the 1970s the rural conflict or contradiction centred around upper castes on the one hand and the dominant caste on the other. The second shift took place when dominant caste occupied the space left over by the upper castes, leading to new forms of contradiction between Dalits and the dominant castes. Our study has show that the Dalits are very conscious regarding their dignity they can make any protest regarding it. The protest are seen against the high castes of the areas. Thus we may state that the hypothesis proposed by Muzafar Arsadi is confirmed to some extent by our findings.

**Muzaffar Arsadi and S. Rajendran (2000:1610-12)** have studied that the Dalit politics adopted the symbolism of Ambedkar. The our study of scheduled caste protests shows that the in Meerut District the new Dalit party has succeeded in giving a successful leadership to Dalit protest as many protests have been led by these
leaders. Thus we may state that the hunch or hypothesis of Muzaffar and Rajendran is confirmed in the present situation.

Pradeep Kumar (1999: 17-23) has found that the B.S.P. was actually interested in asserting that the low castes, now termed Dalits in U.P. were in no mood to accept the patronage of the caste Hindus. This was natural for the kind of politics that the B.S.P. was looking forward to. The term like "bahujan samaj" harijan "scheduled caste" etc. demoted only social and administrative identities of these lower castes and smoked of either patronage or affirmative action on the part of the state. In short, these were too "soft" to be used in a political battle for assertion. While the B.S.P. succeeded in galvanising a very large section of the Dalits to its political programme which precisely meant nothing more than voting for the B.S.P. candidate in the Vidhan Sabha and Lok Sabha election. Our study shows that most of the protest were lead under leadership of local Dalit leaders. The B.S.P. and Dalit party were also seen leading Dalits in Meerut district. Thus we may state that the hypothesis proposed by Pradeep Kumar are confirmed to some extent by our findings.

A. Ramaiah (1998:63) has studied protest movements and scheduled caste identity and aimed at understanding the struggle of Pallars, scheduled caste in Tamil Nadu, to achieve an unstigmatized and respectful social identity and protested against socio-economic exploitations and atrocities meted out on them our study has shows that the Dalit protests were made against exploitation. Thus we may state that he hypothesis of Ramaiah appears confirmed to be some
extent by our study.

V.T. Rajshekar Shetty (1991: 2212-20) studied Dalit Movement in Karnataka and described post Ambedkar fragmentation followed by an upsurge of Dalit movement in the 1970's. Our study has shown that the Dalit protest as were made under leadership of local Dalit leaders of the B.S.P. and other Dalit party. Thus we may state that the hypothesis of Shetty is also supported to some extent by our study.

Simon Charsley and G. Karanth (1999: 31-107) have tried to understand the plight of the untouchables and their activities. The untouchables have protested against their humiliation and they have put forward the challenges to that mortification. Our study shows that the Dalit protests in Meerut district show increasing awareness among the Dalits and these protested against their humiliation. Dalit showed the power in every field and gave an identity to their morale. In his manner we find that the hunch or hypothesis of Charsley and Karanth is confirmed to some extent by our study.

Our study has focused on the nature and consequences of scheduled caste protests in Meerut Region. Increasing scheduled caste protests is a result of the increasing democratic awareness and rise about their interests which is seen the consequently led to scheduled caste protests on any incidents and reporting their presence in the democratic process.

9. Limitations of Study/Gaps in Research

Our study has been limited to the dalit situation of Meerut district
and has focused only on the Dalit protests which and published in two Hindi local news papers. 100 cases were reported which were analysed. Only select cases could be studied and thus the findings are only illustrative. This leaves the scope for a more detailed study of all such cases for a wider generalization and firm conclusions.

10. Difficulties/Lesson from Research

50 persons for interview and 15 for detailed case study were selected when these were contacted in the field, many people asked "who are you" and why do you want" to inquire about Dalit protests. Are you related from Bahanji's (Mayawati's) party. It became very difficult to explain our aims and interact with them. It was also found most of the respondents forget the actual dates and sequence of events on which protests had taken place. Thus rapport building and short memory of villagers were some of the major difficulties felt by the present researcher.