CHAPTER - X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present study was designed to investigate the attitude of students of Bundelkhand region, towards various aspects of religion and untouchability. As no such study has been done in this area, the proposed study at the present juncture is very important. Government policy of reservation in jobs and education has resulted in deepening the caste distance in our society. The study pinpoints the view of students towards solving this problem. Moreover, this study is expected to be useful to planners, administrators and the institutions who are directly associated with the programmes for oppressed class.

The study was carried out in two postgraduate colleges of Jhansi city. 300 respondents were selected on random sampling basis. The study employed the methodological procedures which included the use of an attitudinal scale, interview schedule, observation and sampling procedures. Though the questions in the schedule were arranged haphazardly, the scale items were grouped under four main categories each in both religion and untouchability viz. social, practical, cultural and economic aspects. Questionnaire alone did not give true
picture of attitude of respondents. Therefore, in order to get the answers to the questions "how" and "why" the data was supplemented by the informations gathered during interview, and by the observation of the behaviour of the student community. The data was grouped in simple and compound frequency tables. Standard classifications were made to make the comparison easy.

In order to find out the genesis of attitude formation, the determinants of attitudes were discussed. The attitudes develop in the process of want satisfaction and are shaped by the information received. The attitudes of the individual reflect his personality.

This is an observed fact that the members of a group generally tend to hold similar attitudes. Group beliefs, group values and group norms are important determinants of attitudes. The degree to which various value system of the individual shape the development and organisation of his attitudes, depends upon the centrality of the value system. Since education broadens the outlook of the individual and creates higher values of life it vastly influences attitudes. To conform with the social group norms is a great requirement of the society, therefore, attitudes also develop according to the group norms. Thus the effect of group influences on the formation of attitudes is indirect and complex. Various groups have
their established pattern of attitudes and individual
has to adopt it to get social accommodation. Social
reformers, politicians and academicians are interested
in knowing how to develop new attitudes and how to
strengthen or weaken the existing ones. The present
study also is an attempt in this direction.

Attitudes develop through the identification
process. Emotional effects of certain kinds of experiences
elicit feelings that become attitudes associated with
the idea of pleasantness and unpleasantness and the
tendency to accept or reject. Through traumatic experience,
child may develop a permanent negative attitude only
after one experience.

In developing certain attitudes individual must
have support of likeminded persons. Numerous studies by
Psychologists and Sociologists have demonstrated that
the uniformity in attitudes among the members of a culture
group is due, in part, to the fact that the member of the
group come to hold common beliefs about objects, people,
events, issues etc.

At an early age the attitudes of the parents
are adopted almost directly by the child. Later in life,
schooling with all the associations made there, influences
child's attitude. Opportunities and experiences are an
integral part of socialization and may help to develop
attitudes.
A most revealing conception of the socialization process is Cooley's theory (1964) of the "looking glass self". This three stage process consists of the child's imagining how he appears to others, imagining the others' judgement of his appearance and the resulting feeling about his self. This conception of socialization process is very well applicable in understanding the interpersonal relationship between lower class and upper class. As the individual acquires many attitudes towards different objects, events and persons, his actions become stereotyped, predictable and consistent and thus, social life becomes possible.

The study of attitude towards religion and untouchability amongst college students is a subsystem of the entire system of attitude formation. Therefore, for this study, in the construction of the scale, background information of attitude formation for each respondent was also obtained such as age, sex, education, family income and membership of the religious group. Other informations about the attitude formation towards religion and untouchability were noted through naturalistic observation and interview techniques.

In order to ascertain the extent of correlation needed calculations were done.
150 respondents from each sex were selected on the basis of random sampling from the roll call register of the two colleges collectively.

The majority of them were in the age group 17 to 19 years followed by age group 19 to 21 years of age. Most of the respondents under study were students of B.A., B.Sc. and B.Com. (57.34%) followed by the students of M.A., M.Sc. and M.Com. (34.66%) and 8% were the students of LL.B. and others.

Out of 300 respondents, Hindus were 92.33% followed by Muslims 8.34%, Sikhs 6.33% and Christians 3%. Amongst Hindus 18.33% were from the lower castes.

Out of 300 respondents, 127 were from the families whose monthly income was 400 to 800 Rupees per month, 95 were those whose family income was between 801 to 1200 Rupees and 78 belonged to families with income above Rupees 1201 per month.

238 respondents were from service class families and 4 respondents were those whose family occupation was not decided.

In the interview of respondents, type of family to which they belonged was inquired. It was found that 66.33% of the respondents were from nuclear families
and 33.34% from joint families. Amongst 33.34%, 19% families were joint in the sense that their grand parents were living with them. Other points like values and norms of the families of the respondents, their schooling etc. were also enquired.

The attitude of the respondents was studied in terms of various aspects of untouchability, Viz. Social, practical, economic and cultural aspects as stated before. The table no. 10A and B indicates that 99.67% respondents scored above 60% there by showing liberal responses towards 16 items related to the social aspect of untouchability only 100 (33%) respondents scored between 45% to 60%.

Some items in the social aspect of untouchability highlight the reasons for having faith in the caste system. The results indicate that though, social life in India has been revolutionized still the caste system is with us. More than 50% respondents think that caste system exists in India because it provides certain benefits to the members belonging to the particular caste. The norms of ritual purity are not very rigid, because, most of the respondents have opined, that there is no hesitation in any kind of interpersonal relationship with the members of the lower castes. While on the other hand, caste is a point of debate in education, economic, social political and
bureaucratic fields.

The other questions in the scale regarding the social aspect of the issue solicited suggestions from students about measures to be taken to remove the practice and feeling of untouchability. In the opinion of the majority of the respondents feeling of untouchability and caste based inequalities can be removed by raising the socioeconomic level of untouchables. For achieving this goal, the education should be compulsory from very initial stage. Non scheduled caste and scheduled caste students should be exposed to the same environment in schools as well as in hostels, separate hostels lead to inbreeding and inculcation of several subtle and complex discriminations.

The table no. 11 (A and B) show that in the practical aspects of untouchability, 96.33% respondents scored 60% or above followed by 3.33% respondents who scored between 45% to 60%. Practical aspect of untouchability deals with the attitude of the respondents towards the interpersonal relationship with the members of the lower caste and towards the reservation policy of the government in education and jobs. It was found that people are becoming liberal in the interpersonal relationship with the members of the different castes. In schools and colleges, in reading rooms and play grounds the members
of the different castes come in to close contact. Students are in favour of having normal relationship with the scheduled caste neighbours. They are in favour of helping the members of the scheduled caste in every sphere so that feelings of inferiority in them can be removed.

Though respondents of the present study believe in educational equality, job equality and majority of them have expressed that no one should be discriminated on account of his caste and creed. Nevertheless, they think that the reservation is not the solution of bringing equality among the members of the different castes. In their view, it has increased the distance between lower castes and upper castes. The observational data and data based on interview technique also confirm this fact.

Table no. 12 (A and B) indicates that out of 300 respondents, 89.33% students scored 60% or above followed by 9.67% respondents who scored between 45% to 60% and only 1.00% respondents scored between 45% to 60% and none scored below 33%. The results suggest that disposition of students towards cultural aspects of the untouchability is positive, meaning thereby that in the cultural matters like dining, marriage, food habits and in the matter of dress and personal hygiene the difference is gradually diminishing. It was also found that caste restrictions
are of greater severity in the rural areas. Urban environment and work situations have introduced liberalism and rationalism in the traditional caste practices.

The table no. 13 (A and B) indicates that out of 300 respondents, 279 scored either 60% or above, followed by 21% respondents who scored between 45% to 60% in items connected with economic aspects. This aspect was taken into consideration because it is suggested that the traditional gap between upper castes and lower castes can be bridged if the socioeconomic status of lower caste group is raised. Result of the study also emphasize the fact that majority of the respondents support the common view that untouchables are brought up in unhealthy atmosphere because of their weak economic status and illiteracy, and majority of them are still engaged in low paid unskilled manual labour, mostly in ancestral occupations.

The discussion of the economic aspects with respondents solicited suggestions. They expressed that workers doing menial work should be well paid so that members of the other castes may be drawn towards menial work. Moreover, if all the menial work done by machines, the feelings of uncleanliness associated with manual work shall be removed and high caste persons shall not hesitate
to work with machines. The adoption of occupation should
be based on one's aptitude, interest and intelligence. One
should not be forced to adopt the occupation of one's
ancestors. Special aid should be given to untouchable
students. Special scholarships and books aid should also
be given to them but respondents expressed that these
privileges should be given on the economic basis and not
on caste considerations.

The findings reported and discussed demonstrate
a significant attitudinal change among the students towards
different aspects of untouchability. Although, in certain
spheres there exists a gap between the actual behaviour
patterns and the expressed social values of the youth.
The results, based on the oral statement of the subjects
as well as by observation indicate, that the pollution
aspect is now nonexistant, but in social, economic, political
and bureaucratic institutions caste considerations play
a crucial role. To illustrate further, let us focus on the
role of caste in occupational life. The government's to treat
preferentially certain lower caste groups enacted legislation.
This protective legislation was originally intended for
a period of 15 years from 1951, but was later on extended
for another 15 years due to pressures by concerned groups
(Beteille, 1965; Srinivas, 1962). This had a double
barrelled effect on the crystallization of caste sentiments and identities (Ramu, 1972). First, because of the advantage allowed to persons of "Untouchable" and backward caste status, some of the people have been encouraged to cash in on their caste identities as frequently as possible. Second, because government favouritism towards certain castes, other castes also feel justified to use caste identity for seeking jobs, admission to schools and colleges and in getting other benefits from the government. Thus very purpose of caste abolition is defeated.

The study also demonstrates that in general, the majority of the respondents have a liberal and sympathetic attitude towards untouchability irrespective of their sex, education, age and socioeconomic status. The informations gathered suggest that the attitude of the students towards untouchability is determined by the group values to which they belong. It is observed that with the increase of education and industrialization and as a result of efforts made by welfare and governmental agencies, the traditional values based on social hierarchy and religious conservatism are being replaced by modern egalitarian values of justice and equality.

The attitude of the younger generation is also changing gradually. Now they want that Indian society
should transform into a modern egalitarian society based on individuals achievement and equal opportunity for all regardless of one's caste, race and religion.

The attitude of the students towards religion was studied in terms of the same four aspects as it was for untouchability viz. social, practical, cultural and economic.

Out of 300 respondents, 290 scored above 60% while only 10 respondents scored above 45% and below 60% (see table 15A and B). The findings show that religion persists in the face of scientific progress. In the opinion of the respondents, religion implies relationship with man to man and with supernaturals because death, birth and some unknown phenomena in the cosmos can only be explained on theological grounds. Yet they have secular outlook as they believe that freedom to practice one's religion, is the right of the individual and his action towards others should not be based upon parochial and conservative religious faith. Out of 300 respondents 97.67% respondents scored above 60% showing that they do not believe in conservatism of religion, however, they do believe in practical utility of religion.

The study shows that modern generation is well aware of the conservatism of religion which is
harmful to the society and is an obstacle in the advancement. 79.34% respondents opined that there should be flexibility in religious ideas and thought and they should be modified according to time. The major illustration of the adjustment of religion to changing moral and social conceptions, we may cite the example of new ideas regarding equality of human beings and inviolability of human rights.

Findings of the study further show that respondents think that the institution of religion persists because of its utility. In the opinion of 77% respondents regular daily prayer regulates life. 82.34% respondents think that religion develops self confidence in a person and in the view of 94%, a person starts having faith in religion when all resources fail. In view of 76.67% respondents on the basis of religion people of a nation become united. The observation of the researcher as well as the historical evidences indicate that religion threatens social fabric as readily as it contribute to it. Though there are evidence of social disintegration on the basis of religion, yet the efforts are being made to educate people through propaganda for religious tolerance. The result is that educated mass have a secular and rational view towards every religion and refrain to indulge in antisocial activities in inter religion clashes.
The table 17 (A and B) reveals that out of 300 respondents 295 (98.33%) scored above 60% and only 5 (1.67%) scored above 45% and below 60%. The data gathered from interview, observation and from respondent answers indicate that religion still governs peoples' everyday life in an imposing variety of ways, some direct and some indirect. The findings suggest that respondents view religion as a part of culture and morality. In this sense, it supports the existing culture of a society by making its norms sacred.

Findings indicate that the religious values, if interpreted rationally, are of intrinsic worth, such as freedom from anger and exultation, from grumbling, non stealing, truthfulness, purity in thought, speech and action and so on. Only orthodox religious values based on hierarchy and punarjanma are assumptions which the ancient Indian thinkers of upanishadic times adopted to explain individual sufferings and social injustice. It seems, therefore, that young generation realise that so long as superstition pervades every aspect of life there can be no progress. Modern generation has a rational outlook towards life and religion.

The table no. 18 (A and B) reveals that out of 300 respondents 248 (82.67%) scored 60% or above, 41 (13.67%) respondents scored between 45% to 60% and 11 (3.67%) respondents scored between 33% and 45% and nobody scored below 33%.
The responses to the items related to the economic aspect of religion, suggested that, religious institutions are the sources of income; priests exploit the uneducated and poor in the name of god and collected money is being wasted in the churches, mosques, temples and gurudwaras. However, they expressed corruption lies not with the religious system but with the governors of it. The sanctity of the institution depends on its managers and their morality.

The results on all the four aspects of the religion indicate that the determinants of attitudes which were taken into consideration such as sex, education, are group and socioeconomic status did not influence the attitudes towards religion.

As Indian society is passing through a rapid process of change and social mobilization, numerous primary and secondary agents are working towards the creation of what Berger et al. (1974) have termed as "modern consciousness!" The role of traditional agents such as parents, family, teachers and political, leaders is also declining.

In general, it may be concluded that the attitude of the respondents towards religion is becoming secular and rational. Modernity did more than weaken the social centrality of religion, it tended to increase, to routinize,
to secularize and ultimately to bureaucratize much of organised religion.

It has been alleged that untouchability and religious dogmatism are systems of inequality sustained by certain religious concepts. 69.33%. Respondents think that the concept of ritual purity still exists but the situation differs from region to region. In industrial towns the religious base is weak, but in smaller towns it is not so.

The modern generation think, that untouchability and religious dogmatism are born out of religious superstitions. Likewise majority of the respondents expressed that the description of the origin of the caste system is an orthodox myth.

The study reveals that religious sanctions to the ideas of inequality, given in the Hindu scriptures, are based on old religious values and have been condemned by successive social Hindu reformer. Youth has developed a humanistic outlook on these matters but does not fully practice in actual life due to certain social, economic and political factors.

A large number of respondents (68%) of the present study expressed that when some one of the upper caste marries to a girl or boy of the lower caste one should do nothing about it or feel nothing about it. Remaining 42% respondents did not agree with the above view. Observation
also supports that moral force of caste is still strong particularly in the rural areas. Hindus are still so caste minded, that such legislation, as suggested by Unnithan (1956) has also failed to make a dent. He suggested that the government must declare as its national policy the encouragement of inter caste and inter communal marriage, a policy made legal by the Hindu marriage validity act enacted by the Indian parliament in 1949. The act provides that no marriage between Hindu shall be deemed to be invalid or ever to have been invalid by reason only of the fact that the parties there to belonged to deferent religions, castes, subcastes or sects (Kapadia, 1959).

The study has brought to light the facts that though untouchability and religious dogmatism arose out of religious factors, they are further enhanced by social, economic and political attributes. The oral statements of the respondents and observations confirmed, that economic dependance of scheduled castes i.e. their weak socio economic status and employment in low grade unskilled and dirty jobs, are the causes of persistence of the inferior position of the untouchables in the hierarchy.

In the same manner it is found that poor people are more orthodox and conservative, while rich class is not so rigid. The reason in psychological. Poor people
compensate for their lack of social status by emphasizing their religious status. The another reason for this difference is that because of limited means of knowing things, limited education and limited social circle, poors can not broaden their outlook.

As is already mentioned the study has attempted to unravel the fact that in a positive sense, an individuals dependence on his caste for assistance at certain times provides him confidence. It gives a sense of security that he is not alone in his success or failures. A collective feeling of caste and religion enables him to be confined into his caste kinship and caste group. It has a harmful effect also because intimate identification with the group reduces the chances of growth in individualistic terms, and in terms of cosmopolitanism. Likewise, religion can console us and give us strength in a time of personal, communal and national crises. Moreover, it inspires to bring about change in self and in society. This is one of the reason that the institution of religion persists even in the age of science.

The traditional hierarchical system though originated on the basis of interpretation of shastras, yet the privileged class tried to maintain it for their own benefits. On the other hand oppressed class did not
revolt against their disabilities. These are social attributes of religion and untouchability which the present study has highlighted.

Discussion with the respondents on the reasons for the perpetuation of the caste system, made it clear that the faulty circle of social, economic and political exploitation of the scheduled castes by the higher castes is strengthened by legal and judicial obstructions. The respondents viewed that the Governmental welfare schemes for the scheduled castes, though are beneficial but are poor in the quality and nature of benefits. Any programme which is formulated with a view to specially help a section of society and which involves money and machinery for its implementation, would certainly have some impact and benefit certain persons. However, the point of criticism and concern is related to the implementation of the programmes and to the extent they have really benefitted the people for whom they were conceived and designed. It has been alleged that in the process of implementing these programmes the executors of schemes or intermediaries gobble up a large proportion of benefits.

79% respondents opined that the privileges which are given to the untouchables are motivated by the political interests. This is an observed fact that at the time of election
many promises are made by politicians to secure votes from all the sections of the society and the minority groups are particularly exploited. The main problem is that to divide and rule policy of politicians has created hatred, bitterness, fear and distrust among various religious groups.

The present study also indicates that a general awareness has been created among the modern generation about untouchability and religion as a result of modernization process which diffuses among a wider population and touches public institution as well as private aspirations with its disquieting positivist spirit.

73% respondents believe that caste system should be abolished, majority of them have expressed that they want a casteless society. They want an "open" system society instead of "closed" system of caste based on stratification. In an open society all inhabitants shall enjoy equal power, material withdrawal, and prestige. On the other hand, respondents also expressed that reservation policy has increased social distance between lower caste and upper caste groups. Due to the governmental favouritism, the members of the scheduled castes have been encouraged to take benefits from their caste identities thus reinforcing caste divide. As a result the members of the upper caste often use caste channels for securing jobs, admission to schools and colleges and other benefits from the government. They
privately use influential caste leaders or kin for the promotion in desired fields.

The analysis of the responses of caste Hindus towards various spheres of interaction with Harijans, indicated that higher percentage of respondents gave liberal responses to the questions dealing with physical contact such as living with a scheduled caste neighbour, taking food with their scheduled caste classmates and sharing common room in a hostel. Only few respondents gave liberal responses in the sphere of marriage. It was found that the resistance is more to marriage with a Harijan girl than to a low caste girl. Moreover, it is observed that in the sphere of intimate interaction the view is held only at the ideal level which is not put into action. The impact of this attitude of the respondents, in society in general, is that in schools and colleges, in reading rooms and playgrounds, the members of the different castes come into close contact. The minor differences between the members of the different castes in the matter of dress, decoration and personal hygiene is also gradually diminishing.

The impact of the modernization process on the attitude of the younger generation is observed in every aspect of life. In urban contacts, modern type of dress
help, disguise one's caste status. At one time, the name was also the indicators of one's caste identity. Now-a-days, the people of the lower caste call their children by using the names which were once given to children of the higher castes only.

Regarding food habits, it can be said that the kind of food cooked and served at home matters more. In interdinning practices, class and cleanliness and settings in which food is served is more important than caste considerations. Because of the uncleanliness associated with the work of sweepers the interaction with them is minimal. In the opinion of 77% respondents the feeling associated with their work can be removed if proper measures are taken and machines are used for dirty work. Besides, it is inhuman to entrust dirty work to any one.

The students were in favour of special privilege and safeguards provided to the untouchables and minority groups. The responses to the various items, information during interview and observational data reveal that from every sphere of life the caste restrictions are loosening their bond day by day. The rigidity, however, continues to be maintained in inter-marriages between lower castes and upper castes and with the members of the other religion. Admission to the caste system and transformation by
sanskritization do not affect the principles of endogamy and hierarchy. Though the government of India, as mentioned before, has tried to struck at the root of the caste system itself by permitting marriages between the members of the different castes and religions, Practise of marriage with the Harijan boys or girls are very rare and no respondent reported such example.

The constitution of India prohibits discrimination on the adoption of occupation, but due to illiteracy and lack of vocational training, majority of low caste people are still engaged in their caste occupations. Likewise the menial professions are open to all but seldom have persons from other than lower castes adopted such professions as their own.

From the results of the present study, it can be concluded that attitudes towards untouchability and interaction with Harijan are becoming more liberal with time. However, the parents of the respondents are still conservative towards such areas of interaction as the acceptance of food from Harijans or eating the food cooked by them. Respondents said that they have no hesitation in accepting the food from a Harijan, if he is neat and clean.
The results of the present study are compared with the study of Mann (1979), who observed that caste norms still prevail, but are in lesser magnitude. Nearly the same changes in attitudes have been found. The results of the study by Ramu (1972) have also shown that caste rules are not rigid in the area of ritual purity and pollution, but caste is a cause of tension, conflict and hostility in the social, economic, political and bureaucratic matters as cited earlier.

The comparison of the responses of the present study with the study of Anant (1972) shows that results are parallel. There has been a general increase in the proportion of respondents giving liberal responses. Like Anant's study the increase in liberal responses is more pronounced in the sphere of interaction which are relatively public and peripheral than in those which are relatively personal and central to the traditional caste ideology.

While in Anant's study (1972) two-third of the respondents favoured reservation. 77.34% respondents of the present study are not in favour of reservation. Most of the scheduled caste respondents favoured reservation. The results of the study of Singhi (1979) emphasized that while 74.33% respondents thought that the reservation policy had fulfilled a useful purpose while 65% respondents of the present study opined that it had not. The change in these studies and present one is due to a change
in social, economical and political status of higher castes over a period of time.

It seems, therefore, that day by day resentment against reservation policy is increasing. Both studies show that even after more than 30 years of independance, the students feel, that the scheduled caste students are incapable of competing with those who belong to the upper caste. This lack of confidence, coupled with the desire for the continuation of special facilities, is a matter which needs attention in terms of what, where, for whom and for how long special facilities should be continued in the country.

72.67% respondents of the present study expressed that low caste students are inferior in intelligence and behaviour. Singhi (1979) examined teacher's impression in this connection. In the opinion of 29.66% teachers, scheduled castes students were slightly poorer compared with other students, 36.48% said they were much poorer. While in response to another question 71.67% teachers opined that they are basically inferior. Such a large number of teachers should consider these students inherently inferior is a reflection of the deep rooted stereo-typed ideas which even formal education is not able to wipe off.
When the causes were inquired which were responsible, for considering the schedule caste students to be inferior, 58.49% of the teachers attributed them to the experiences at home during the process of child hood socialization. Only 10% of the teachers did not think so. It seems most of those who believe that schedule caste students are not so intelligent as others, consider the atmosphere at home responsible for this inadequacy.

The opinion of the respondents in the present study was solicited. If the government is so keen about the welfare of the particular section of the downtrodden communities, the facilities and reservation should be given at initial stages of education in primary schools. Moreover, 83% respondents opined that economic uplift of the scheduled caste should be the primary aim. 96.67% respondents believe that in order to raise the educational status of the untouchables, schooling should be compulsory in which some education regarding social manners should be imparted.

The whole question of reservation has to be viewed in terms of the total educational policy of the government. The respondents suggested that scheduled caste students should be provided adequate facilities right from the early stages and thereafter, those who come up to the expectations of a minimal educational standard, should go up for higher educational pursuits.
Discussions during interviewing period with the respondents elicited opinion regarding reservation. Majority does not think that reservation policy is fair as large part of society is not in a position to afford. None of the respondent described it a rational decision to provide special facilities to one section of society at the cost of the other. The other arguments relate to the period of reservation. The rational that a section of society which has been provided institutionalized amenities so they could come on par with the rest of the society, is relevant only in terms of certain time dimensions. The special facilities, therefore, can not go on indefinitely. Any extension in terms of time, is a reflection on the failure of government planning in terms of the achievement of goals.

The study has investigated the impact of modernization process on the attitude towards religion. The attitude of the respondents towards religion is rational and secular. The modern generation has faith in religiosity, which in a broader sense is a faith in humanity.

The impact of the attitude of the respondents is that the educated mass does not make any difference on the basis of one's religious views. The people of different religion interact freely. Constitution allows
freedom to practice any religion to all citizens. Inter-
religion relationship in social, economic and political
and religious spheres is observable spheres. However,
88% respondents believe that religion is a point of dispute
and quarreling over matters that are of little significance.
The reason for this dispute are attributed to politicians'
practice to divide and rule. They create distrust and
incite riots. Some politicians or political party by
such action gains the support of a group of people in
elections. Discussions on this point led us to the
conclusion that blaming the opposition or instituting
inquiry does not solve the problem in any way. The
immediate need is a change of heart on the part of our
politicians.

The study has investigated whether the religion
and untouchability have become part of the social mores
for the upper class, as well as well for oppressed class
themselves. The study revealed that the caste rules
and the rules of religion have been the pressure forces
of groups according to which the system of India's society
is regulated. Though the pollution aspect has weakened,
even now caste and religious taboos are serving as a
cementing force for group formation. For within the
structure of a caste oriented society, individual's
behaviour is largely regulated in terms of the expected and accepted norms of the caste in which the individual is born. In short as discussed earlier caste represents a close clustering of the members on family cum caste lines, especially with reference to birth, marriages, death and financial obligations. Since Mores are the pressure forces of the group according to which the system of society is regulated, so the caste and religious rules have become part of the Indian social mores.

The respondents have expressed that caste/religious rules are established in order to maintain group welfare. Respondents (79%) stated that caste provides sense of security and fulfilment, moreover, it provides some of the benefits to the individual. Likewise, 82.34% respondents have expressed that religion prescribes rules of behaviour and it is like caste which provide their followers with an identity and a set of values which profoundly influence their social attitude and behaviour. Since when flikways, added to them concept of group welfare and standard of right and wrong, are concerted into mores. So the expressed view of the respondents towards caste and religion indicate that they have become part of social mores.

Respondents have expressed that they are very well aware of the fact that untouchability and religious
dogmatism expresses itself in many forms of social avoidance such as: sitting on a common floor, inter-dinning, admittance to the kitchen, touching metal pots, mixing in social festivals, admittance into the interior of a house and any kind of physical contact.

Even after independance, till very recent years, untouchability was strictly observed in India. Rules of religion are also compelling and forbidding pressures which constantly force the individual to act in a certain way. Hinduism forbids to eat beef, while rules of Islam permit it. In so many ways since childhood people are accustomed to behave according to caste and religious rules so these rules have conscious or unconscious social control over its members to act in conformity with norms which is one of the characteristic features of the Indian mores.

It is said about mores, that they are always considered right by the group that shares them. Thus mores are, generally, agent of conservatism. Indeed legalized efforts to change specific mores frequently fail because they evolved out of the vast amount of group experience. This is very true with the caste system and religious dogmatism. It is discussed earlier that though untouchability and religious dogmatism arose
out of old traditional norms based on Shastras but in order that the social frame may be kept intact and free from challenges, various prohibitive laws and punishments were prescribed. Younger generation has grasped this point. The majority of them have stated that it is not enough to make law to eradicate the age old social practices but there should be a new movement for educating the people through propaganda. The perceived view of the respondents clearly indicate that the age old practice of untouchability and religious dogmatism have become part of the social mores for the oppressed class as well as for the privileged class.

The study has very well emphasized the concept of sumner (1906). He asserted that mores can make anything right and prevent the condemnation of anything. But despite the strength of their hold, mores can change, usually slowly but sometimes dramatically. The study makes it clear that the attitude of the respondents in the matter of interaction with lower castes radically changed. The reason for this is as follows. The mores of the society were based on the social values and the traditional values based on hierarchy, aristocracy, age and sex have been replaced by the modern egalitarian values based on the ideals of social justice and equality as described
by Kuppuswamy (1979). "On the one hand there is a conscious, deliberate effort to change the social structure as a result of the assimilation of new social values. Because of the struggle for political freedom and the desire for economic reconstruction, new social values have been incorporated in society, based on the ideals of social justice and equality of opportunity. On the other hand, there is the fear that the old social values are being repudiated and destroyed by the values of social justice and equality which pose a challenge to the past privileges based on caste, aristocracy, age, sex etc."

The mores of untouchability and religious dogmatism are changing by moulding devices of values such as social indoctrination, habituation, education and propaganda through mass media, by changing the curriculum, by rewriting of books by personal techniques of leadership and authority, by impersonal techniques of ritual and ceremony and establishing the myths of freedom, equality and rationality. The study also emphasizes the causes of changes in the attitudes of the respondents which have come into existence automatically in response to education, industrialization and urbanization in the country.
In view of the respondents' illiteracy and poverty are main factors for the perpetuation of caste system and religious dogmatism. Therefore, the majority of the respondents are in favour of giving education to the people from the very childhood. It is observed that as a result of education, the disabled class has become conscious of their rights and privileges. Moreover, they have become aware of the changes that are taking place in the country and are trying to cope with them. Srinivas (1966) states that sudras are trying to emulate the rituals and practices of higher castes. He termed this process sanskritization.

However, the respondents during their discussion with the researcher have expressed that the education will be more effective in eradicating caste feeling and improving the socio-economic condition of the untouchables, if it becomes job oriented. When respondents were inquired whether migration of citizens from village area to towns has affected caste system and religion in any way, 83.67% respondents gave affirmative answers that urbanization has influenced caste system and religious dogmatism in various ways. Discussion on the above lines suggested that many people come from villages to urban centres for various economic transactions and employment where they come a-
cross new ways and ideas in respect to social interaction and inter-caste relations which they try to practice when they return to village. Finding the city dwellers observing less of untouchability, many of the educated ones, being partly oriented to city life, do not take it seriously at village level too.

During discussion respondents informed that due to urbanization new service opportunities and occupations further helped in making easy the pressure of caste rules. Finding the new occupation useful and profitable, the higher caste persons have started adopting them. A few of them started tailoring and running tea stalls, traditionally not meant for them because of their being locally recognized as low caste professions. Thus, urbanization, though has reduced the feeling of purity and pollution, it does not rule out tension, conflict and hostility in inter-caste relations because of scarcities in jobs.

The role of industrialization was also investigated. 77% respondents believe that untouchability can be removed if the difference of occupations is eliminated. It is observed that many degraded occupation now gaining prestige due to the effect of industrialization and urbanization have given a new meaning, dignity and prestige to various
types of work including traditional occupations. The leaders of India, educated in Western countries, tried to instill among Indian people a sense of dignity for manual work. However, the general status of the low caste people has not improved to desired level because very few people are engaged in good jobs in Industries.

The analysis of the views of the respondents as well as discussions with them led us to believe that slowly and gradually Indian caste system which used to be a closed system, is shifting towards an open class system. But due to illiteracy, poverty and lack of initiative to enter into the enterprising activities, still a bulk of the untouchables remain tied down to the traditional occupations.

The study has unravelled the fact that the younger generation has developed an ideal attitude of equality, justice and freedom towards all religions and castes. They wish that Indian society should transform into a modern egalitarian society based on individual's achievement and equal opportunity for all regardless of one's caste and religion. The majority of the respondents believe that inequalities of status are not the result of innate inferiority and superiority between upper caste and lower caste, but it is the result of their unequal environment into which they are born and brought up. If the
inequalities in their environment are removed, people will be able to find out their real potential. As a result of industrialization and urbanization and also due to modernization process started by governmental as well as welfare agencies, progress has been made in this area, but more then enough has to be achieved.

The study also reveals that though secular outlook has been inculcated among the younger generation but still one can witness street violence and social unrest due to the inter-religion tensions.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

On the basis of the analysis of the present study, it is recommended that a comprehensive solution of the problems regarding untouchability and religious dogmatism is required. These problems should be viewed not in piece meals but in totality dimension. Economic well being, educational upliftment, removal of traditional social stratification and injustices are some of the important ways to bring the downtrodden masses in the mainstream of national life. Although each of the factors mentioned above are independent, the empirical analysis of each factor separately can help in understanding the nature of its reality.
Since education plays a dominant role in status determination and occupational opportunities in several ways, and it also shapes, subtly personality and ideas, it is important to understand educational phenomena amongst the scheduled castes in particular to bring them at par with others.

A gradual process of elimination of the privileges and special protective measures for the scheduled castes, which threaten social fabric and national harmony, should constitute part of the planning itself. As a first step, the benefit of reservation should not accrue to children of parent who occupy, or have occupied, high positions by virtue of quota and also to those who are economically well to do.

The caste name is the main identifier and has immediate social visibility. It has the potential of creating certain consequences, therefore, it is necessary to encourage public to drop their caste surnames. In the long run this step shall have far reaching consequences for weakening the caste hierarchy.

Educational planning for scheduled castes students should be comprehensive. The planning should include education from the primary to university level. Within the existing national policy of education and the
institutions which cater to it, care must be taken to make special provisions for scheduled castes with a view to provide them personalized attention. Non scheduled castes and scheduled castes should be exposed to the same environment in schools as well as in hostels.

The emphasis should be given on teaching those subject which help in developing a secular and liberal trend among the young people. This process will take sometime, but in long run it will have an appreciable influence on social institutions.

Respondents have suggested that schedule caste children can be given preferential treatment as regards educational facilities, in regards to loans from the government and in the formation of cooperatives of various kinds.

The present study reveals that respondents are of antireservation attitude. Moreover, the recent antireservation agitations in the country necessitates to look over the controversy regarding reservation and make amends. An assessment of the views of the respondents on the programmes as a whole reveals that there has been much criticism of the programmes which provide special privileges to members of the scheduled castes. By providing
reservation we are depriving a large number of people in society who at the individual level may well be more backward economically as well as socially than untouchables.

Therefore, any schemes of privileges should be based upon a rational criterion of specific needs of specific individual rather than a scheme which provides privileges to a community as a whole. Attempt of government, if it forces reform for quick results, are bound to be counter productive as the malady is old and deep rooted. The policy, which was made for the amelioration of the sufferings of the depressed class has not succeeded in thirty years of the self rule. The fault undoubtedly lies squarely with the scheme itself or its implementation. Therefore, the government must review the whole situation in the light of its experience and failure.

To eradicate occupational differences many suggestions were provided viz. high salary for the workers doing menial work and use of machines for menial work. Emphasis should be given to technical and professional education. Business and jobs requiring physical labour should be encouraged with the exception of so called dirty menial work.
Suggestions were also forth coming to remove social and religious differences. National festivals should be celebrated in which members of the different castes and religion should be encouraged to join, so that feeling of national integration can emerge. Moreover, feelings of national integration should be aroused through various mass media. Special films and programmes broadcasted by Radio and Television should be used for general education by touching upon the problems of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes depicting their rights their conditions emphasizing a change in outlook. For quick result, a sort of cultural revolution is necessary to change the attitude of the masses towards the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe communities.

Special programmes and facilities are needed for the sons and daughters of sweepers and scavengers. Efforts should be made to locate such teachers, both male and female, who have shown competence and enthusiasm in working for the deprived sections of society. They should be suitably compensated both materially and honorifically. Part time teaching may be started for boys and girls so that they are able to join school after finishing their other work.
Advisory boards consisting of enlightened citizens, scheduled castes and scheduled tribe leaders and elites, administrators, school/college teachers be established at the local and state levels to review policy implementation from time to time.

A Directorate should bring out annually detailed data on scheduled caste in terms of enrolment, sex and age distribution.

Suggestion received from our respondents are meaningful. They have suggested improvement in economic status, educational status, improvement in job opportunities, improvement in disbursement of scholarship and hostel facilities, removal of social discrimination, changes in the reservation policy, improvement in the implementation of welfare programmes. Encouragement should be given to the marriages between lower and upper caste.

Further areas of research

The actual nature of discrimination should be probed with a view to understanding its magnitude and causes. It would be useful to find out the sub-categories amongst scheduled caste students who have been treated discriminately by which castes, on what occasion and why.
A study of successful people from scheduled castes will help in understanding the forces and factors which facilitated the achievement of their goals.

Studies to find out the impact of local leaders, prestige family groups, primary reference individuals etc. can be helpful in discerning their role in motivation for education.

Implementation machinery in terms of administrative, functionaries and administrative organization should be studied for proper execution of the programmes.

A study should be made on the constitutional provisions for privileges so that suitable changes can be implemented.

The present study reveals the attitude of younger generation towards untouchability and religion. The findings are primarily based on respondent's oral statements and in some areas they are based on observation which can be subjective in nature. The results are compared with other studies also. The outcome of the study provides several areas for further research and present facts which should prove helpful for planners and policy framers in providing them an insight to the problem. The finding are limited, general and qualitative in nature. The similar study can be planned and designed on national level.

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