DISCUSSION
AND
CONCLUSION
**Discussion and conclusion:**

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

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

**Relations with other castes**

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

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

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

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

Changes

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

It is observed that highly educated Jatavs who also belong to higher profession and form an exclusive 'class,' are trying to move upward in the society and developing their contacts with the upper caste elite section, these are the socially mobile people and have better social status, these are trying to pay attentions to the problems of their own caste fellow men, who have a low level of social and economic status. These people are;

Mr. M.L. Gautam, an IAS, who devoted their lives in spreading awareness and education among scheduled caste. Mr. Gautam has established a degree college at Dhansari Aligarh named Dr. Ambedkar Janam Shatabdi Degree College. Another is Mr. Ramdev a sales tax commissioner who established a junior high school for scheduled castes in rural areas. However, it is also a reality that a large section of Jatav community is still uneducated and only been able to get education and achieve success.

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

Factors of social mobility

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

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

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

**Reservation and Govt. Employment**

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

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

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

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

**Conversion**

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

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

**Untouchability**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political participation

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is found that ninety nine percent of respondents' role model is Dr. BR Ambedkar and rest of the respondents pay great respect to other celebrities such as Vivekananda, Jyotiba Phule etc. It is also a fact that existing in Jatav community that following Ambedkarism is limited to old generation only. The new generation though shows great respect for Dr. Ambedkar but does not follow Ambedkarism.

The above-mentioned fact also appears in the research study of Pundhir. He mentioned in his article "social change among see in north India" that Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is the role model of the vast majority of the sees of north India.

**Privatization of education**

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

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

**Higher education and career for women**

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

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

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

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

Almost all respondents have a positive attitude towards TV programs and believe that these programs are quite helpful for youngsters in learning process. TV’s programs give a better exposure to the outside world.

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

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

Most of the children of the respondents do not see UGC’s programs.

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

2. As other occupation untouchability still exists in society in latent form.

In this process of change Sanskritization has little scope. Jatav people are more inclined to westernization and globalization and trying to gain power, prestige through every possible means.

As perhaps S. P. Firth would put it, organizational changes are in the offing, but structural change has yet to see the light of day.