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CHANGES IN THE LIFE OF JATAV WOMEN IN SOUTH-WEST DELHI: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Abstract

Historically, discourses on Dalits continue to be a matter of serious concern in social sciences research in India. Indian society is composed of the caste system, class inequality, and patriarchy that results in the construction of different types of problems for women. Many studies negotiate about gender equality, liberty, and empowerment but on the other side, there is not as much attention on women who belongs to Dalit communities. Women from Dalit communities have not been free from such problems. The beginning of women's participation in mobilizing themselves is challenging however mobilizing a community is filled with ongoing dilemmas. The denial of their basic rights as part of their historical past has affected their present situations. However, women who belong to the Dalit community are real subjects who tolerate various forms of harassment, humiliation, and abuse in their day to day life. This paper tries to focus on the understanding of the class, caste, and gender hierarchies that influence the lives and experiences of women who born in Dalit communities. For migration to mobilization, women of the Jatav community have been taken under consideration. Although, intersectionality between migration and changes in gender roles is a key concern of this study. Negotiating the various aspects of Jatav women who are living in Delhi after migration for different reasons. With the help of diverse methodologies in anthropology, the transformation has been observed among urban Jatav women to understand the thoughtful experiences of their struggles, issues, perspectives, and aspirations from their ongoing life. Although, with the help of case studies, insights of the Jatav women have observed. Therefore, this paper attempts to discuss the experiences of their past exclusion and how these women passionately want to remove the stigma attached with them.

Keywords: *Migration, Jatav, women, urban life, caste, mobilization, representation, participation, gender, current dilemmas.*

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Introduction

It has been a long history of Dalit marginalization in India. Dalits are facing multiple discrimination, varied types of exclusion, and humiliated for different reasons. On the other hand, Dalit women throughout the scenario have carried the bearing of dreadful conditions generated by oppressive social structure and within their own space (communities they belong to). In 2019, the study conducted by IDSN (International Dalit Solidarity Network working globally against caste-based discrimination) shows that Dalit women suffer multiple discrimination at the intersection of caste and gender discrimination. This research cited the *United Nations Rapporteur on Violence against women* which shows, “The reality of Dalit women and girls is one of exclusion and marginalization. They are often the victim of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights violations, including sexual abuse and violence. They are often displaced; pushed into forced and/or bonded labor, prostitution and trafficking” (Rashida Manjoo). According to *the Human rights watch*, said that. “The combination of caste and gender makes millions of Dalit women extremely vulnerable to discrimination and violence, including rape”. Dalit women are leading the way by standing up for their rights, they need global solidarity and justice to catalyze their access to rights and dignity (IDSN 2019).

In this same article, they highlight some of the key challenges faced by Dalit women and girls to the specific UN Global and targets and offer advice on what you can do to stand in solidarity with these women and be a catalyst for change (IDSN 2019). According to a Joint statement by seven UN Special Procedures mandate holders shows that “caste-based discrimination remains widespread and deeply rooted, its victims face structural discrimination, marginalization, and systematic exclusion, and the level of impunity is very high” (IDSN 2019: 9). Not even this, the IDSN study majorly focused on Caste and gender equality, fighting for justice, demanding decent work, inclusive education, poverty, hunger, health, water and sanitation, and action for change. Ending caste and gender discrimination is not the responsibility of Dalit women but of all human beings across the world, who care about human rights, dignity, justice and the UN global goals (Pg. 14). Involve as many groups as possible in taking coordinated action to end this form of discrimination (ibid). Consultation with and the effective participation of Dalit women is an essential component in the design and implementation of initiatives, policies, and programs aimed at combating caste and gender discrimination, as well as other decision-making processes that affect the respective groups, as per the Human rights-based approach (Pg. 14). When taking action always ensure meaningful participation of Dalit women at all levels and promote and amplify the voices of Dalit women wherever possible (ibid).

The struggle and existence have always been a sign of identity in the crisis of women with special reference to Dalit women. Dalit women have been facing triple burden but at the same time dealing with current dilemmas.

They are fighting for caste and gender equality, fighting for justice, inclusiveness in education, demanding decent work, demanding better health and hygiene, working for self-image, and focusing on urban centers for their recognition. The voices which were unheard in the past are now voices which can be heard from a few women's among Dalits. The women who are raising their voices want to bring balance in social, economic, and political aspects. Although, these Dalit women remember their severe discrimination, trapped in patriarchal societies, denial of freedom, gender inequalities, violence and rape, forced in prostitution (temple prostitution as Devadasis), and many more ill-behavior which is unforgettable. Despite these serious problems, they are surviving, unstoppable, and existing in contemporary life. Migration plays a crucial role in the gradual empowerment of Dalit women. Migration to urban spaces (whether urban villages or urban cities) has different reasons which have been explored in this study. An attempt has been made to understand women from one of the Dalit communities who find themselves privileged after migration to cities.

Therefore, research focuses on the Jatav women (included in the category of Dalits or Listed in Scheduled caste) to explore their stages of development after migrating to cities. Though study followed with migration memories, to understand the social process through the lens of gender, class and caste, a new definition of division of labor and division of power among both the genders and lastly to understand the participation of women in mobilizing their community as well as other Dalit communities in India. Therefore, the case study method has been used to see the mechanism of changes among women after migration to cities. In fact, in earlier days, migration of Jatav women depended entirely on men but gradually the equation of Jatav women and migration is changing. Now, few Jatav women are independently taking decisions whether related to the job, education, etc. Though fear is part of their life but taking a risk is only a remedy to permanently change the stigma attached in their life for many decades.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the *Handbook of Internal Migration in India* mentioned that internal migration is often associated with the urbanization, modernization and industrialization debate in India (Rajan and Sumeetha 2020). In addition, migration is gendered and also segmented depending on various caste/tribe, religious and regional identities (Rajan and Sumeetha 2020: 3). The debate on gender and migration is also relevant as the feminization of labor continues. Gender identities and livelihood strategies are in flux because of the accentuating internal migration (ibid). Social networks play a crucial role in enabling and sustaining migration to new locations (ibid). The internal migration phenomenon creates a classic relationship between labor and capital at both the source and destination areas (Rajan and Sumeetha M 2020: 4). In the

course of this relationship, the labor undergoes marginalization, fragmentation, violence, vulnerabilities, and lack of adequate access to social services, various levels of exploitation, exclusion, and lack of bargaining power (ibid). Often, upward mobility is very difficult to marginalized groups as they have limited access to better jobs in the destination areas. Only a few who settle down in the city can marginally improve their situation and perhaps create better scope for their children (ibid).

Migration from one area to another in search of improved livelihoods is a key feature of human history (ibid). De Haan and Rogaly (2002) mentioned that numerous studies show that the process of migration is influenced by social, cultural, and economic factors and the outcomes can be vastly different for men and women, for different groups and a different location (ibid). Rajan and Srinivasan (2018) mentioned that there was a quantum leap in the growth rate of female migrants from 0.4 percent in 1991 to 7.5 percent in 2011 (ibid). The census of India is the single largest source of data on migration characteristics of the people of India (Rajan and Sumeetha 2020: 5). Migration in the Census of India is of two ways-migration by place of birth and by place of last residence (ibid). When a person is enumerated in the census at a place, that is, a village or town, different from her/his place of birth, she/he would be considered a migrant by place of birth (ibid). The UNDP Human Development Report 2009 states that there are four times as many internal migrants in the world as there are international migrants (UNDP 2009: 22). The impact on gender relations as a result of migration is complex (Rajan and Sumeetha 2020: 9). Sometimes single women or widows accompany other family workers or kinsfolk in a migration stream (National Workshop on Internal Migration and Human Development in India: Workshop Compendium, 2012). Migration can lead to greater freedom, cash incomes, and change in attitudes among the migrating women (Shah 2006), but may also expose them to exploitation and sexual harassment at the workplace (Sardamoni 1995). Except in such cases, women have been generally known to participate in the migration streams along with male members of their households (ibid). This negatively affects the participation of these children in education (ibid). At the destinations, the women and the girl child also have to cope with household work and sibling care, and there is little change in gender relations as a result of migration (Gartaula, Niehof, and Visser 2011; Mosse *et. al.* 2002).

With increasing urbanization and pressure on land in rural areas, the Indian government has now realized the need for cities that can cope with the inherent challenges of urban living (ibid). Bhagat (2011) mentioned that Delhi can be seen as an example where historically urban migration was actively discouraged through policymaking but this is now changing with a focus on revitalizing nearby cities, such as Meerut, and building transport links and connectivity (Rajan and Sumeetha 2020: 10). Also, the National Capital Region surrounding Delhi is a nodal point where migration has recently increased

(ibid). Gurgaon and Noida are now centers of many export-processing companies and therefore attract migrants in large numbers (ibid). Therefore, this handbook is an attempt to address the lacunae of internal migration research in India and also make migrants more visible for their role in accelerating economic development (Rajan and Sumeetha 2020: 11). The sluggish pace of urbanization of Muslim, SC, and ST populations over time, in particular, must be an item of concern and policy intervention (Rajan and Sumeetha 2020: 16). This calls for focused empirical studies to identify the factors behind their low and declining access to urban and metropolitan space, resulting in what may be called urban exclusion (ibid).

However, one important fact that emerges clearly, notwithstanding the anomalies in the data, is that Indian women are traveling much more than they did in the past (ibid). Marriage mobility of women is traveling much more than they did in the past (ibid). The spurt in their migration must, therefore, be attributed to economic factors. The growth in the number of women migrants for employment during 2001-2011 was very high (ibid). The next segment of this book is about migration and gender dynamics. It is relevant that women have a great role in economic development. Recently, released census data on migration shows that female migration for work has rapidly increased between 2001 and 2011 (Rajan and Sumeetha 2020: 18). Studies on female migration in India, by and large, conclude that women's migration is driven by marriage and associated reasons (ibid). Neetha (2004) mentioned that earlier studies on migration focused only on male migration, assuming that female migration would not have many social and economic implications (ibid). Premi (1980) and Srivastava and Sasikumar (2003) examined that the existing theories based on the social, cultural, and economic factors are also male-centric and consider female migration by two factors-marriage and dependency on the principle bread-earner of the family (p.19). However, in recent times, because of the change in gender-specific demand of labor and increased educational attainment of women in almost all parts of the world, women have a chance to participate in activities outside their home boundaries (ibid). This change can also be noted from the change in roles, patterns, and causes of female migration in the developing countries (ibid). Sunetra Ghatak explains two related processes in the Indian economy, the feminization of labor, and the role of social networks in women's migration (ibid).

Tina Dutta and Annapurna Shaw attempt to unravel the nuances of middle-class women's migration to Indian cities (ibid). The field data further shows that the migration of women seems to be boosting women's agency. All migrant women under the study acknowledge that physical distance from home and economic self-reliance have somehow relieved them from patriarchal control and increased their bargaining power in their family to varying degrees, whether it is for marriage with a partner of their choice, working in night-shift jobs or living a lifestyle of their own choice, migration of women appears to be

smoothing the negotiation process (ibid). Neha Rai closely looks at the migration dynamics from a gender perspective through an extensive primary survey conducted in Uttar Pradesh (ibid). In the Social sciences, scholars ignore women's roles, aspirations, and experiences and make them invisible in migration, especially women who are left behind (ibid). Not only migrants but also the lives of women left behind should be examined (ibid).

It is important to note that rural to urban migration increased by 3 million per annum from 2001 to 2011 (p.20). Jajati K. Parida and Ravi K. Raman explore the trends and patterns of rural to urban migration and in turn study the employment patterns in urban India using both census and NSSO data (ibid). Arvind Pandey and Ajit Jha document employment patterns and occupational mobility of migrant workers living in selected slums of the National Capital Territory of Delhi (p.21). This study closely analyses occupational and employment mobility among migrant workers across social groups (p.21). Construction and manufacturing are seen as two important sectors where migrants find work. An analysis of the pre-migration employment status of the migrant workers indicates that before migration to Delhi, the majority of the migrant workers were agricultural laborers and cultivators (ibid). In contrast, a high percentage of SC and OBC migrants were agricultural laborers before migrating to Delhi owing to landlessness or limited landholdings (ibid). Vartak and Tumble mentioned that Indian society operates at the level of *jatis*, which may be considered as a subdivision of the *Varna* order (ibid, p.254). Detailed information on *jatis* and migration is not available in macro-level statistics, and researchers usually rely on a four-fold social group classification that has arisen in the vocabulary of reservations and quotas for education and employment (ibid). Migration to cities has offered many a respite from traditional oppressive structures (ibid). Most studies on migration that have considered caste have seen it as an identity or marker of migrants (ibid). They both mentioned that there is an interrelationship between caste and migration.

Kunduri (2018) in her paper seeks to contribute to an old yet deeply relevant subject of inquiry-that of the role of caste in industrial and urban landscapes. On the other hand, Dalit mobilization helping Dalits in different aspects of life. It is the collective action of a group to deal with problems by working collectively. Gail Omvedt advocates that Dalit mobilization in India should be studied from a multi-dimensional perspective. She mentioned that every movement is having initiation stage-consolidation stage-crystallization stage-maturity stage and disintegration stage. In the paper entitled, "Dalit politics in India and New meaning of caste" focuses on the rise of Dalit political mobilization in India and analyses the meanings of caste that emanate through the writings of some contemporary Dalit activists. It is argued that only a historical and structural perspective is capable of capturing the many manifestations of caste practices and ideologies over time (Waldrop 2011). There

is a vast literature on Dalit women migration in urban cities in social sciences research in India but at the same time, there is a scarcity of research on Dalit women mobilization. Therefore, this study has been done to see the intersectionality and interrelationship between migration and caste, migration and gender, migration and mobilization process, and lastly to explore changes in quality of life among Dalit women.

OBJECTIVES

In light of the above facts, the following objectives for this study are 1. To explore the past on migration through narratives of the Jatav women. 2. To examine the transition in the gender roles as well as in the gender relations among them after post-migration into the cities. 3. To encounter the participation of Jatav women in mobilizing the community. 4. To negotiate the quality of life in protecting, attaining, and aspiring their status in society.

AREA OF STUDY

The study was conducted in Vijay Enclave which is located in a south-west district of Delhi. Earlier this area was Mirzapur village that comes under the constituency of Najafgarh, Dabri Palam in Delhi. The village Mirzapur was first transformed into an urban village but later from two decades this urban village again transformed into one of the urban centers of South-west Delhi. The urban area Vijay Enclave is mainly situated near Palam Dabri Road that connects Dashrathpuri and Dwarka. Vijay enclave located at the outskirts of Dwarka and at the same time closely connected with Dashrathpuri which is located close to other urban centers like Janak Puri (one of the oldest and best planned residential complexes in west Delhi), Vikaspuri, Dwarka sub-city (recently, one of the developed areas situated in South-west Delhi and largest sub-city fall under the colony of Pappan Kalan), Indira Gandhi International Airport and Gurugram which is half an hour distance from Dashrathpuri. On the other side, from the last three years, DMRC constructed a metro station which is located near to Vijay Enclave. Infrastructural development has seen from the last two decades which transformed the village into urban space.

Vijay Enclave has around more than 1000 households. Whereas the population in Vijay Enclave mainly belongs to Haryana, Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Himachal Pradesh. The people migrated from these states and settled in this space. Different caste groups are living in this area but most of them belong to Dalits. There are specific Dalit communities like Jatav, Chamar, Bhangi, Mali, and Dhobi living in this particular area. It has been seen that upper caste communities (Brahmins, Vaishyas) settled after Vijay Enclave transformed into the urban colony of Delhi. Earlier, there was a small market but after transformation markets were expanded by insiders (mostly Dalits) and outsiders (who are recently settled upper caste). Although,

there are different blocks in the Vijay Enclave like A-block, B block, and G-block. A block (A1, A2) generally includes government schools, private schools. All sections of people send their children to school. B-block (B1, B2, B3) there are mostly Dalits living in a group. This block is also known as Vinodpuri. Dalits have their footwear shops, stationery shops, and coaching centers, etc. Lastly, G-block is connected with Palam Drain. This block is also known as *the Golgappa* colony. Here most Dalits make *Golgappa* (popular street food snack in India) which is distributed to many food shops in Delhi. Likewise, the upper caste is settling in these blocks and they started shops like confectionary shops, clothes shops, chemist shops, photography shops, electrical shops, etc. Therefore, the area under study has been selected because Vijay Enclave includes Dalit migrants, the transformation of space, Progress of Dalits (in every aspect), Community solidarity, changing gender roles and relations, ongoing changes of women life, etc. In short, the purpose of selecting this urban space is to purposely observe the Jatav community (part of Dalits) and to negotiate their life through different angles (as mentioned in objectives). Ongoing transformation is one of the main reasons to explore the changes among Jatav women. In short, this study was carried out to explore, analyse, and gain insights of the Jatav women in anthropological understanding.

METHODOLOGY

The objectives of the study has helped in establishing the research methodology for this study which would serve the purpose of research. The primary and secondary data has been used in the present study. It would have been an ethnographic study truly based on the narrations by the Jatav women. However, Secondary sources include research articles, journals, books, official records for a better understanding of research objectives. The sampling is purposive which is widely used in this study for the identification and selection of community as well as choosing women from this particular community. This data has been collected with the help of case studies. Case studies are taken as evidence of the stages which unfolds the process of change in respect to women's identities and representation in contemporary city life. Therefore this research attempts to observe the Jatav women through the lens of anthropological perspective.

CASE STUDIES AND ANALYSIS

1. Memories of the Jatav women on migration

From ethnographic data on Jatavs, there were different reasons and characteristics of women migration. Earlier, there was a concept of internal migration among Jatavs which was also a challenge due to evident reasons like social and economic deprivations, the burden of society (caste, class, and inequality) and fear of migrating to new space. Secondly, Jatav men were

more privileged than Jatav women and they got a chance for migrating in urban villages or cities. They migrated for education, employment, and personal reasons (marriage, relatives pressure) and patterns of migration mostly remain temporary, circular, and seasonal and in some cases permanent. Thirdly, Jatav women who had to remain unprivileged from historical times were dependent on men migration. Earlier, Jatav women migrated primarily for marriage and family reunification. Women more likely to move with their spouses and their spouses were decision-makers for them. The fourth point is the migration of women along with men leads to problems, changes, and challenges in migrated space.

In the context of the above paragraph, two points emerged which are as follows: first is men who were the drivers of migration and second are factors responsible for migration for men were social factors (marriage, family, education, skills, reproductive status or health, religion, etc.) and economic factors (employment, occupational status, the standard of living, housing, etc.). That time was pathetic for women as spouses, in-laws and maternal presence do not consider women's decisions which resulted in exclusiveness among the excluded. Jatav women were not included in decision making for themselves as well as for other people of the family. Rule of patriarchy was followed which does not allow them to raise voices within the community nor outside the community. In short, migration affects Jatav women's identity and creates barriers for their representation in different aspects of life. Every woman has different life experiences about struggle and survival but at the same time migration for a few women in urban cities brings the ray of hope to inspire themselves. Although these women faced the problem of adjustment, loss of status, health problems, exploitation, etc. but gradual consciousness have transformed these inspiring women who engage themselves in urban cities. Therefore, this section had covered women's life in their native place to come to the urban spaces of Delhi. Narrative of Jatav women, negotiating their migration memories with the problem and massive challenges:

Problems faced: Laxmi, 55 years old woman belongs to Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh. She migrated with her husband after marriage. Her husband was initially a small worker in a shoe factory in Delhi. Her husband migrated before with his paternal uncle. In Delhi, initially, they had rented houses which was equivalent to a bathroom which led to a lack of space. In a single small room, the paternal uncle of her husband, their children lived together. There was no privacy. The financial crisis was the reason that they can't afford another rented room. Secondly, working as a domestic maid in nearby places again was a challenge. Upper caste women treated her like an animal. In minimum salary, upper-caste women exploited and demean her. Many times, these women are forced to clean toilets and bathrooms. Thirdly, the problem of sanitation and hygiene, at the time of the menstrual cycle there were no extra clothes at home. There was a scarcity of clothes, hygiene products, open bathroom/toilets,

and unhygienic situations. The fourth problem was a concern for children as they were not getting proper food and basic needs. Therefore, all these problems become a major concern for her husband and Laxmi. For surviving in the city her husband opted for two jobs in the day-night shift whereas Laxmi was working as a domestic maid. The hard work of couples makes their family survive. Her two sons and one daughter are working in the government sector in Delhi. Laxmi has its property in Vijay Enclave. Her children respect and appreciate husband as well as her.

A mother of three daughters: Rinki, 25 years old, belongs to Bulandsher, Uttar Pradesh. After marriage, she came to Delhi. She was studying in a village but after marriage studies discontinued. She was good at studies but her husband does not support her. Her mother in law wanted her to start studies again but she got pregnant. Sudden pregnancy at a very small age disappointed her. Gradually, busy life with three daughters and family bridge a gap in studies and other interesting work which she decided to do. Mother-in-law supported her in many ways like admission to polytechnic for learning different courses which would help her in different ways. Her mother-in-law enrolled her in the 11th standard from open learning (she did 10th from the village). Financially supported by her in-laws as her husband does not participate at home neither he supports three daughters. Whereas her In-laws do not pressurize Rinki for a boy child but her husband harasses Rinki every time for this particular reason. Therefore, problems are part of her everyday life and her journey remains pathetic in city life. She is still struggling and investing her time to make her daughters stand up for her family.

2. Life after Migrating to urban cities: Changes in identities, representation, gender roles, and relations

The period when Jatav women entered urban cities along with men till women realized to change the past ideologies of the community, Jatav men, and the rest of the Indian society. Historically, women were entirely dependent on men's migration and obeyed the rule of patriarchy. Initially, after entering urban cities both the genders (whether men or women) faced the cultural shock as they brought nothing from the native place. They came in urban spaces for better education, employment and to improve their economic conditions which were getting worse in rural space or any other place which they belong to. After migration, they settled with their Jatav people (whether relatives, friends, and other family members) who are already living in urban cities of Delhi. With the support of their relatives and friends Jatav men initiated their life to better the social and economic status. While women throughout the scenario remained silent but at the same time migration to cities lately helped them in many ways.

Although, initial days of urban contact were full of hardships. Most of the women faced problems like adjustment problems (they do not find urban

life comfortable and most of the time taken them to settled down), loss of status (the place they left and the place they migrated both changed which resulted in a change in perception of people as well as decline self-esteem), health problems (initially few women worked as a domestic worker to earn money which also affected their mental as well as physical health), exploitation (women faced exploitations at home, outside the home, and at the workplace. These types of harassment, torture, and humiliation as part of their daily lives) and lastly, family and child care (a major challenge for women to look after their family as well as children). So, these were the major problems when they just settled in city life. One of the most important transformations has been seen through inter-generational changes among Jatavs. Migrant parents who settled in an urban city like Delhi and they faced problems of urban contact, educational attainment, and occupational struggle.

The migrants who accepted the challenge for improving their status are surviving with their family and on the other side who failed to accept the challenge get back to their native places. The Jatavs who accepted the challenges in city life never looked back but learned to forward a girl child, women's occupation, and problems associated with women. This somehow helped women to keep their views in front of the community. In short, Jatav men changed their thinking for women and participation in different aspects of everyday life. The consciousness started among Jatav men and women. These migrant women wanted their new generations to attain higher education and occupation which lack among their generations. Jatavs realized that girl child education is important to bring gender equality (in terms of division of labor and power), employment of both genders has been rising which ultimately transforming their social and economic status and participation of women in politics has been changing their identity and representation in society. Therefore, changes have been seen due to their shift to urban cities. Narratives of Jatav women, exploring the outcome of migration that changes identities, gender roles, relations, participation, and representation:

Support and Role of father: Shilpi, 53 years from Bulandsher, Uttar Pradesh migrated to Delhi due to education. She came to Delhi with her parents. Although, her father came to Delhi because of a government job in the Delhi cantonment area. Before coming to Delhi, her father was married to her mother. After five years, her father brings her mother to Delhi. But Shilpi was in a village with her maternal grandparents. Her parents left her in the village due to many reasons like a problem with the school change, lack of space in Delhi rented house, lack of basic amenities, etc. Her parents visited weekly to check performances in school. On the other side, her father manages resources and works hard for a permanent house in Delhi. Her father was a knowledgeable person who doesn't want to compromise for education. One day, her father visited to check the performance and he observed in the notebook that her daughter committed many mistakes in English and maths. Then, her

father realized that her daughter's performance was declining day by day. That day, her parents brought her to Delhi for better performance. After she came to Delhi, her father was admitted to MCD School near to the rented house. Her father's initiative helped her to become a good student of the school. She added good books of School as an achiever. Mother was a major supporter in terms of motivation and always wanted her children to compete with another caste. After school, she did teacher training and she got a job in MCD primary school in Vasant Kunj, Delhi. She observed that coming to cities had benefited their family in many ways.

Health and wealth: Sushma, 47 years Jatav women from Bulandsher, Uttar Pradesh. She migrated to Delhi due to her father's job. Her father migrated in the late 70s with his family and started living in west Delhi. Many years they lived in a rented house but later they found a permanent house in Tilak Nagar, West Delhi. Although her father struggled a lot to buy a house in Delhi it became possible because her mother was also working as a teacher in primary school. Even Sushma is working as a secondary teacher and teaches physical education in East Delhi School. She got a job after teacher training. At the age of 21 years, she got married. Her husband belongs to Meerut but his family migrated earlier in East Delhi. Her husband is working in a government office in Delhi. In the initial days, she faced many problems with her in-laws. Due to that, her husband separated from his joint family and shifted in the Vijay enclave (one of the properties purchased by her husband's parents). After three years they again shifted for her three children for more space. Shifting from one place to another was not that easy for Sushma. It affected health and wealth. Life became as stressful as she had worked at home and looked after her job. Traveling to east Delhi from South Delhi was the second reason for tension. Thirdly, look after her children's homework and teach them. Lastly, making food for the family. Therefore, migration and shifting affected Sushma's health and wealth of the family. Even after many huddles she stands for the family and represents herself for the community. Right now, she is participating in mobilizing community and self.

3. Participation of Jatav women in mobilizing the community

It has been seen in the above section that there are positive as well as negative consequences of migration among Jatav women. By looking at the positive side of migration it is relevant to understand how Jatav women are encouraged to participate in various activities of day to day life. Whereas, negative side shows Poverty, inequality, injustice, discrimination (class and caste) that bring exclusion in many ways. It is evident that women migrated to Delhi but participated very late. The key reason for the late participation of Jatav women is historical social exclusion which resulted in complexities and rigid social structure, especially for Dalit women. Roots of social exclusion have been deeply rooted in India that creates uneven pathways for Jatav

women. Not even this, inclusion policies were/are implemented for removing social exclusion from India but slight changes have been seen as per the expectation by Indian policymakers. Coming to cities (migrating) brings the level of consciousness about inclusion and exclusion process, educational relevance, occupational mobility, social status, improving their economic deprivation, etc. Thus, there is late participation of Jatav women then Jatav men.

Secondly, the ongoing rule of patriarchy is still prevalent but at the same time most of Jatav men are diluting the rule for Jatav women. Moreover, Jatav men from the last two decades became flexible for Jatav women, understanding their issues and problems, inspiring women for education and occupation, and addressing women whenever Dalits gathered for any occasions, meetings, etc. Thirdly, efforts made by Jatav women are tremendous even if they are facing the triple burden given by the Indian society. They made efforts for education which is the panacea to achieve everything. They spread education to their next-generation which leads to inter-generational changes. Few women are working in the government sector, business sector, and non-governmental organization. These women are supporting non-working Jatav women, families, and working for community mobilization.

So the last point is shifting the interest of women towards the process of mobilization. The emergence of Jatavs consciousness in contemporary India became the real source of mobilization. These Jatavs gained consciousness and manifested in the community/its development. The result of consciousness arises from political and cultural past, took ideologies of their leaders and implemented in their lives, and increased interest to work on the collective development of the community. After consciousness Jatavs decided for collective work in different aspects of life like social mobilization, resource mobilization, community mobilization, and socio-political mobilization. Although, Jatav men initiated the collective work for the community but at the same time Jatav women supported them. Initially, Jatav women had not participated in mobilizing the community but lately participated full-fledged. For Jatav women, the last two decades is the period to recognize, represent, and make their identities.

Nowadays women are working with men in many ways like visiting urban villages of Delhi to be aware about education, recent issues of social exclusion, giving free coaching to the children, negotiating gender issues in front of men, discussing health, negotiating the inclusive policies and its implications, etc. While few Jatav women participate in political parties and show their interest to become MLAs. Some women work with NGOs to bring more consciousness to contemporary issues. In short, women mobilization facilitates a process of change, awareness, support, action, and promote women for the betterment of the community. Narrative of the Respondents, negotiating the journey of Jatav women to reach the mobilization process:

From Housewife to working NGO: Vedwati, 58 years old woman. She migrated from Gurugram, Haryana. She had a long history of struggle and lived experience. Her life started in the small village of Gurugram. The village where she lived was surrounded by Jats households. Every time Jats humiliated based on lifestyle, social position, and low economic positions. Not even this, all lower caste work for them still they humiliate them every day. Her father and mother worked in farms of landlords (upper caste) and they don't have enough money to educate her and her five brothers and sisters. After marriage, she came to Delhi where her husband was a Gardener in government office (permanent job). Due to the financial crisis, she worked many years as a caretaker in a primary private school where she earns money, and at the same time teachers helped her in many ways. Soon after this, she joined a Non-governmental organization to work for Dalit women. During that time she was 45 years and she started giving free classes for many Dalit women. She trained women for doing their signature. On the other hand, she is interested in politics and many times participated in the work of BSP. She actively participates in NGOs as well as political work. Her aspirations are more but the low status of education restricted her in many ways.

To the Jatav women, for the Jatav women and by the Jatav women: Premvati, 60 years old. She migrated from Meerut, Uttar Pradesh. Marriage was the reason for migration. From the past 20 years, she is working for a political party and support Dalit movement for upliftment. Her husband supported her in every walk of life. In fact, with the help of political support, she did many transformations in the Vijay Enclave. She especially works for women, children, and the basic need of the community. Even after the death of her husband, she never stops herself but looks forward to working for the community. Her work inspired many women. She enables many women to participate in these social and political activities.

4. Current Dilemmas and Challenges of Jatav women in contemporary city life

The participation of Jatav women had started late and resulted in less representation with gradual changes in every aspect of life. It is the process of globalization that impacted Jatavs mobility, migration pattern, and changes in their lifestyle. Now both the genders are following the pattern of migration due to consciousness of achieving and attaining higher education, better occupational status, etc. The pattern of migration among Jatavs has been seen to access social, economic, and political status. Therefore, migration to cities becomes a beneficial tool for Jatavs in attaining resources, formation of their identities and representing themselves.

Historical past restrictions still prevail in Indian society which slows the migration rate of Jatav women. But now Jatav men understand how important it is to represent women in every aspect of day to day survival.

Jatav men are now diluting the idea of patriarchy, several past restrictions, and inspiring women for their more participation in day to day life to improve the economic conditions of the community. Thus, fluidity in the past social structure became the key source of increasing their participation in various activities. To access social and economic status, Jatav women have now started internal migration like intra-district, inter-district, and inter-states. There is rural and urban nature of migration like rural to urban and urban to urban. Jatav women changed the pattern of migration but also looked for international migration. The support of Jatav men and accepting the challenges by Jatav women is for improving economic conditions. It is evident that for achieving social status, better health, participating in politics, etc. there is a need for better economic status. Therefore, both the genders are working hard to improve economic status, so that they achieve and attain dignity and self-respect in the Indian society.

Looking at the challenges of Jatav women in contemporary city life they are as follows: first is a marriage which is affected by women migration. It became difficult to find a match when the women's job was transferable. The second challenge is balancing family and children. Although, women have the burden of looking at family and children. In these situations, few respondents sacrificed for children and left the job. The third challenge is the Health of women. Many times, the health of women is neglected by family members as well as at their level. For working women, stress and anxiety become part of their daily lives which never bothers men and women itself. The fourth challenge is in-laws who are not interested in educating her further or dislike the job, then it also becomes a major challenge. The fifth challenge is humiliation at the workplace. Sometimes, women lose their confidence and feel alienated from the workspace. Despite this, women work for raising economic status. Therefore, challenges become part of their everyday life. The major concern of Jatavs is more participation of women for the betterment of the community. Jatav women who represent the community are looking forward to the protection of women's rights, inter-generational improvements in education, and occupation. In contemporary city life, women are attaining, achieving, and protecting themselves to overcome the challenges. The upliftment of women in social and economic status is improving but at the same time growing the challenges. Narratives of Respondents, disclosing the current dilemmas in the contemporary city life of Delhi:

Support of husband: Priyanka, 34 years old, belongs to Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh. She is currently a lecturer in Mumbai and teaches B.tech students. Her husband is working in MTNL Company and he is a senior engineer. In their case, Priyanka migrated to Mumbai for a job whereas her husband takes transfer in Mumbai. She has two children but her husband supports her in many ways. They are accommodated in flats provided for staff who are working at that particular University. She is multitasking who is

looking at the home as well as her job in a balanced way. At some point in time, she realized that her life is busy and stressed but her husband equally helps her. She is mentally free from her husband and in-laws side. At the University, she had not faced any type of humiliation but her position and qualification which was appreciated by all other staff. She participates in different programs of University, where she sings, Dance, and motivates scholars to do such activities with studies. She changed her identity with hard work. Although there are riddles of a triple burden on women, hard work has changed her identity and representing herself as a good balance woman. Her aspirations are many more and she believes to achieve through hard work and concentration.

Concern for Job, not for marriage: Kanika, 28 years old belongs to Delhi but her father migrated from Meerut, Uttar Pradesh and mother belongs to Delhi. She is a Masters Student in Dietician and Nutrition from IGNOU, Delhi. Her parents never forced her for marriage but always motivated her for the job. Her concern is doing a job and living her life through her hard work. Although, she is expecting a reputed job by which she can reach other countries also. Her mother wanted her daughter to fly high to bring changes in society and change the perception of others about lower caste women. Marriage is secondary and nor does she want to take advantage of her future husband. She had seen her parents who are together but sometimes fought for social as well as economic reasons. Her mother wanted her to be independent in terms of economic and social aspects. Life is challenging but at the same time little better for women than the past and dark history of Dalit women.

MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION: Joining the Dots

Migration and mobilization among the Jatav women have been focused and extensively explored as the most relevant concepts of social sciences in Dalit studies. Intersectionality of migration in the context of gender and inequality has been explored through ethnographic fieldwork conducted on migrated Jatav women. Jatav women have been unprivileged since ancient times which has needed an introspection to understand their side of the story too. The men of this community are responsible for women's migration to cities. Though there are many other reasons for their migration, the key reason for migration among Jatavs is to achieve economic as well as social Stability with dignity in everyday life. During the research, it has seen that Jatav women initially faced various issues such as triple burden, migration, and lack of economic status which affected women in different aspects of life but at the same time migrating with Jatav men brings positive consequences in their everyday life. There are two sides of the coin, likewise, there are two types of impact of migration on Jatav women: one is negative consequences which affected women in many ways. As discussed in the above sections, memories of Jatav women mostly include Jatav women's suffering, trauma, and struggle

for survival after coming to cities, managing resources, following the rule of patriarchy, etc. These factors affected women when they started settling in a metropolitan city like Delhi. Second is the positive consequences when Jatav men realized how the women of the upper caste have been working for economic status in city life. This inspiration among Jatav men changes the whole of the notion of women's identity in their community. Now, these men have started motivating the women for their participation in improving the economic status of the Dalit communities. So, this shift in thinking process among Jatav men have revolutionized the status of the Jatav women in their community which was earlier left unfamiliar, neglected, and denied the concept of women's participation and representation in ongoing city life.

Since then, Jatav women initiated the process of mobilization along with Jatav men. They are now engaging themselves in different aspects of day to day to life. Despite major hurdles in their life, they are gradually attaining equity in gender roles and relations, positively looking at personal as well as professional sides, aspirations of women and next-generation women is becoming more self-centred, ambitious, considering the different opportunities, becoming professionally more stable than earlier, achieving recognition and representation, seeking professional courses for better jobs especially at international level, aspiring for aboard settlements for higher education and jobs. Beside this, women from lower caste are more struggling than upper caste women. If women of the Dalit communities are given attention by social scientists then it would be beneficial for women as well for policy makers to relook the whole process of development. In a nutshell, this research would be significant to the policymakers or inclusive policymakers to draft certain policies on the basis of their requirements and rights, on the other hand, it would be also significant for the women who belong to Dalit communities and would boost their inner self and motivate them to perceive their lives in a better way.

Notes

1. Jatav is a sub-caste of Chamar caste which comes under the category of Scheduled caste (as listed in the Constitution of India).
2. Case studies of Jatav women have been taken in the presence of Jatav men.
3. This paper is based on my M. Phil and ongoing Ph.D. research work on Jatavs.

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