IDENTITY AND CULTURAL REPRODUCTION: A STUDY OF CASTE SURNAMES

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

PRADEEP KUMAR

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI-110067

INDIA

2015

जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
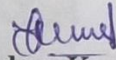### NEW DELHI-110067

Tel. : 2670440
Fax : 2674253

Chairperson
Centre for the Study of Social Systems
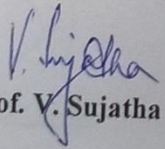School of Social Sciences

Date: July, 2015

DECLARATION

This is to declare that the dissertation entitled 'Identity and Cultural Reproduction: A Study of Caste Surnames', submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, is my own work. This dissertation has not been submitted, in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of this or any other university.
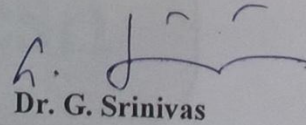
Pradeep Kumar

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. V. Sujatha

(Chairperson)
Chairperson
CSSS/SSS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

Dr. G. Srinivas

(Supervisor)
Associate Professor
Centre for the Study
of Social Systems
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1
Introduction

Introduction

Caste system in India is one of the most studied discourses in Indian sociology since its inception. Caste system, its structure, changes taking place in it and certain aspects that are remaining constant have been studied by many scholars and researchers and yet very little literature is available that directly engages with how caste identities are reproduced over generations, especially the significance of caste surnames or names in reproducing caste identities.

Therefore, this study will try to understand how caste surnames become an important instrument of caste identity in today's context of increased modernization, urbanization and globalization. Caste as an institution is regenerating itself with the changing social, cultural, economic and political situations even after independence as Indian constitution strives to achieve equality to all citizens, by providing equal opportunities and rights. There are some observations and generalizations in the empirical studies of sociologists and social anthropologists that other forms of caste identity like dressing, food habits, ritual status, and customs are getting affected by the process of Sanskritisation, Westernisation, De-sanskritisation, Asparshyeekaran, etc. Due to changing situations, caste surnames are becoming more important than other forms of caste identity.

Hence, this research will be specifically focus on changing forms of caste identities such as caste surnames. It will try to define caste surnames, trace the historical origin of caste surnames, and identify the process of rise to prominence of caste surnames at the time of British census, role of caste surnames in various self-respect movements in pre and post-independence periods. By doing so, it will be able to draw linkages between how caste surname based identities work as socio-cultural capital and help in reproduction of culture.

Caste system enforces hierarchy in society based on birthderiving its legitimacy from a hypothetical 'divine origin' and 'religious sanction'.As part of caste system, differentiated social

status of castes is derived from the purity-pollution scale that results in hierarchy among castes. It is deeply rooted in the functioning of all social institutions in India (Siddique, 2008:4). There are around 2800 castes and sub-castes with all their peculiarities in India.

The word caste comes from the word 'casta' meaning race. The Portuguese seafarers, who arrived in the west coast of India for trade in the fifteenth century, were the first ones to use it in the Indian context (Jodhka, 2012:2).

According to Ghurye, the caste stratification of the Indian society had its origin in the Chaturvarna system. According to this doctrine, the Hindu society was divided into four main Varna's─ Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. The Untouchables were added to this later on. The caste system functions as a closed group whose members are restricted in their choice of occupation and degree of social interaction in a manner that is reminiscent of European Guilds in the middle Ages (Siddique, 2008:4). These restrictions have led to large socioeconomic differentials between different caste groups. According to Ghurye, to define caste is very difficult because it is a complex phenomenon. Any definition may not be able to cover precisely all the features of caste. The Indological studies have emphasized on the outstanding features of the Hindu society when it was ruled by the social philosophy of caste, unaffected by the modern ideas of rights and duties, may be discerned to be six (Ghurye, 1932:2-27). They are:

      1) Segmental division of society

      2) Hierarchy

      3) Restriction of commensurability and social intercourse

      4) Differential civil and religious privileges and disabilities

      5) Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation

      6) Restriction of marriage

M.N. Srinivas criticized varna based studies, saying that these are not able to explain mobility of caste system properly. He says, "I shall now describe the features of caste system implicit in the Varna system and then try to see how they differ from, or conflict with, the system as it actually functions"(Srinivas, 1962:67).

The arrival of the British rule in India has also brought changes to Indian economy, educational system, communication systems, rule of law, which made Indian society to mobilize in its values, traditions, institutions, etc. After India gained independence, constitutional democracymade Indian society more modern, reduced caste rigidities and paved way for a class based system. Now, all Indian citizens irrespective of their traditional caste privileges and dis-privileges have fundamental rights of equality, right of expression, right to religious freedom, right to education, etc.Such a promise and guarantee of equal rights to all citizens is a radical departure from the hierarchical societal values that existed for thousands of years in Indian society, it made Indian society more modern in its outlook. Despite all these changes, the institution of caste continues to exist by changing and adapting to contemporary situations. One of the new perspectives emerging about the caste system is increased use of caste related surnames. Caste surnames though existed throughout caste history; they have become a more prominent form of caste identity in the recent times.

While caste affiliations remain ubiquitous in modern India with surnames, marriage arrangements, sub-caste endogamy, dress and food habits often-characterizing caste distinctions (Dubey, 2011:40). Castes are divided into sub-castes and each sub-caste is further divided into sub-sub-castes. At every level, all groups are endogamous. Endogamy, according to some thinkers is the essence of caste system. Risley distinguished seven types of castes, which are:

> (i) Tribal castes (ii) Functional caste (Occupational Caste of other caste) (iii) Sectarian caste (iv) Caste formed by crossing (v) Caste of national type (vi) caste formed by migration (vii) caste formed by changes in customs. In the fifth groups of castes, he draws upon castes with territorial names (Ghurye, 1932:183).

Caste surnames are closely related to above divisions. Most of the surnames used in Hindu traditional society denotethe ritual status of castes andtheir affiliation with other castes. However, there cannot be a single criterion for defining and identifying surnames as they exist in India today. Nevertheless, in most of the cases, it is easy to identify the caste of an individual solely by their surname or title. Caste surnames are recognizable by the meaning it connotes. In generality, most of the surnames used today have implicit or explicit linkages with the caste system.

Caste surnames are generally derived from occupation, sect, caste or sub-caste, tribal connection, gotra, regional or local connection, and any other historical perspective. The Surname is the most important component of a person's name, and it shows which caste the person belongs to. There are common surnames that everyone can identify a person' caste only with the surname, for example among Punjabis─ Kapoor, Chadha, Khanna, Gill, Arora, Garg, Bansal, Saini, Sharma, Sidhu, Singh, Kaur, Sandhu and someother surnamesthat are known only to locals like─ Bhola, Brar, Sahota, Dhaliwal,Sekhon, Toor, and Salh. In Bengal,Kayasthasurnames include Das, Sen, Dey, Dutta, Mitra, Ghosh, Bose; Brahmin surnames include Ganguly, Banerjee, Chatterjee, Mukherjee, etc. that are well known. A Brahmin name is often the name of the clan or *gotra,* but can be an honorific title such as Chakravarti or Bhattacharya. On the other hand, the lower castesoften use surnames like Das, Charan, Jatia, Ravidasi, Ramdasi, Regar, etc. that indicate their social status. The wider prevalence of surnames even today is contributing to continuation of caste hierarchies and making the caste system ever-present and caste identities distinguishable. It paves way for direct or indirect caste discrimination as caste becomes identifiable.

In ancient India, Manu (the Hindu Law giver)tried to impose Varna identity, which now is seen in the form of caste system due fissiparous nature of varna by way of names. Name itself had become a sign of identity. However, an attempt will be made here to focus mainly on caste surnames, not on names. The colonial interventions on the Hindu society made it difficult to identify caste of anybody by his/her name. Though remnants of name based identity can be seen in the names of last two or three generations, which used to take name from Hindu samskar of naming at the time of birth. Nowadays this (Namkaran) is becoming less attached to Hindu rituals. So now new forms of caste identities are emerging based on caste surnames.

Constitutionalism implemented in India after independence has helped in reduction of caste atrocities, untouchability or other discriminatory practices. Caste surnames also play an important role in exclusion of certain groups and simultaneously inclusion of other group by making many easily identifiable. Therefore, the findings will be trying to ascertain these new sociological dimensions, which have come into existence due to strict rule of law and its

embargo on direct caste discrimination in the form of new caste identities. Further, LPG (liberalization, privatization, and globalization) has aggravated it because more people are getting social-economic transformation due changing gross domestic rate against earlier existing rigid social structure. Society is moving from ascribed status to achieved status.

For the present study we have used Identity as a concept. The term 'identity' is derived from the Latin word 'idem' which implies sameness and continuity. This concept has been studied in both Psychological and Sociological manner.

> There is no clear definition of identity in modern sociology. It is used widely and loosely in reference to one's sense of self, and one's feelings and ideas about oneself, as for example in the terms 'gender identity' or 'class identity'. It is sometimes assumed that our identity comes from the expectations attached to the social roles that we occupy, and which we then internalise, so that it is formed through the process of socialisation. (Scott and Marshall, 2009: 333)[1]

From the above lines we know that there is no clear cut definition of identity; so we make an attempt to see what ethnic identity means. According to Cokley, ethnic identity "refers to the extent to which one identifies with one's ethnic group. It is the meaning, strength, and salience of one's ethnic identity" (Cokley, 2005: 517). We can extend this argument to the caste identity and say that it refers to the extent to which one identifies with one's caste group. It is similar to what Dr. Ambedkar has said about Hindu society. He says "Each caste is conscious of its existence. Its survival is the be-all and end-all of its existence…" and he goes on to say that "each caste endeavours to segregate itself and to distinguish itself from other castes."[2] In the present study identity is referred to as caste identity, meaning a strong feeling of oneness among its caste members and dislike for others.

We now define what is culture and cultural reproduction and in what manner it is used for this study. There are many definitions of culture. A dictionary definition of culture is 'culture is all that in human society which is socially transmitted. Symbolic and learned aspects of society'[3].

---

[1]Oxford Dictionary of Sociology.
[2]Ambedkar on Nationalism: Caste prevents Hindus from forming a real society or nation, http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/mmt/ambedkar/web/section_6.html.
[3]Oxford Dictionary of Sociology on culture.

Patterson defines "culture is production, reproduction, and transmission or relatively stable informational processes and their public representations, which are variously distributed in groups or social networks" (Patterson 2010: 139). Pierre Bourdieu, a French Sociologist, developed the concept of cultural reproduction. Through his study on education system of France he argued that the dominant sections of the society use education as a medium to perpetuate existing social relations and reproduce them. Bourdieu(1973) defined cultural capital as the symbols, cultural goods and values that are transmitted through class differentiated families and that are used strategically used as resources in social interaction. Here we can argue that names and specific surnames are the cultural symbols that the dominant sections use for advantage in the society. It is nothing to be surprised in India to find the upper caste surnames in the market places and shops which dominate the particular area. For example, the names of shops in Bersarai, Delhi if we see the names of shops in the market they are Sharma and Sharma printers, Agarwal sweets, Pawar Printers etc. we cannot find any shops with any lower caste names.

Lamont and Lareau (1988) agree with Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital they say that he built the argument based implicitly on Weber's and Goffman's theories on 'status', "Bourdieu argues that cultural capital is used by dominant groups to mark cultural distance and proximity, monopolize privileges, and exclude and recruit new occupants with high status positions" (Lamount and Lareau, 1988: 158). They go on to say that

> Cultural capital can improve our understanding of the way in which social origin provides advantages in social selection. In particular, by focusing on the "investment" practices, it stands to yield a more active and dynamic model of social reality. Further work on cultural capital, which unravels cultural reproduction while highlighting individual strategies, stands to make an important contribution to research on culture, power, and social stratification (Lamont and Lareau, 1988:165).

Here we can argue that the social markers of individuals like names and surnames are some kind of "investments" that aid people from dominant social groups in the market and job prospects.Orlando Patterson (2010) distinguishes seven broad mechanisms of cultural reproduction: 1) enculturation 2) institutional 3) structural 4) frequency dependent 5)communication based 6)reinterpretative and 7) embedded.

According to Patterson, 'enculturation or social learning' is the most familiar mechanism of cultural reproduction. It is the socialisation of individuals through 'social learning' and 'imitation' transmitted within and between generations.He further views that cultural institutions are hegemonic and counter-hegemonic. Cultural institutions ranging from simple salutations to complex formal rites can be defined as routinized process that has become normative. The main force of reproduction and persistence is simply the fact that the process in question has become a part of the taken-for-granted, normative world.

They are part of the shared definition of a reality that is experienced as objectively and externally real" (2010: 141).; in 'structural reproduction he says that a "persisting structural condition continuously re-creates the cultural patter in question even in the absence of cultural institutionalization." He cites from different studies how poverty, ghettoization, honour, etc., over a period of time have become institutionalized and reproduced by both mutual reinforcement or independent of the structural context that generated it; 'Frequency-dependent reproduction', Patterson says that, occurs when individuals in the society "disproportionately" select a variant of a cultural process as it is most frequent or least frequent. He gives that example from a study of Lieberson (2003) the naming patterns that emerged in the West, till the early nineteenth century more than half of all the boys and girls were given one the three most popular names, now it is reproduction of tastes or "popularity of tastes" that choices were exercised.; Communication based reproduction of culture is the result of the "dynamics of communication itself"; Reinterpretation mechanism is the adoption of the cultural process through the representation of its meaning or practice in terms of another, established process. Examples give here are that of the ways different cultures re-contextualise and interpret practices that existed earlier. Patterson says,

> Fascination of reinterpretation is that it can operate as a mechanism of both change and persistence, accommodation and contestation, and domination and counter-domination depending very much on the perspective of the agents involved, the context in which the interpretation takes place, and whether the issue is temporal connections in a single culture or lateral connections between different cultures (2010: 146-7).

Here, we can give the example of a similar cultural reproduction that is taking place in Tamil Nadu under ViduthalaiChiruthaigal party's initiation is the name changing movement. The new cultural practice of disowning the Hindu/Sanskrit names and adopting Tamil or Buddhist names

by reinterpreting the past and how the 'Dravidians' were enslaved by the Brahmanic forces that the Hindu/Sanskrit names were a reminder of such enslavement. More about this is discussed in Chapter four of this dissertation. Patterson's seventh and final mechanism of cultural reproduction is 'embedded reproduction' which he says is the most covert of all the means of cultural reproduction. Cultural embedding he says "is the mechanism by which a process survives through its insertion into the core of a culture's dominant institution" (Patterson 2010: 147). He cites the example of how secular beliefs that are overt in Christianity like the ideas of freedom, anti-slavery were covertly turned to inner spiritual one by the Church.

We can see that Bourdieu(1973), Lamont and Lareau (1988) and Patterson (2010) help us to understand the concept of cultural capital and social reproduction.But when it comes to caste surnames and caste titles a few scholar have mentioned it in British period. Ghuryehas mentioned that E. A. Blunt was the Superintendent of 1911 census of the United Provinces to write about caste nomenclature for the first time. But Blunt himself finds study of caste nomenclature tedious. "Nobody has ever attempted a detailed analysis of caste nomenclature; nor would such analysis yield results commensurate to labour involved. But it is necessary to examine its necessary features since the name of sub-division is generally the only clue that we possess to its origin" (Blunt, 1931).

Caste surnames are the surnames used by individual or group based on various features which help in identification of one's caste identity. But caste titles may not be directly linked to caste identity. Caste titles are titles given by King; British Govt etc. based on certain achievements or duties for example Chuadhari, Raibahadur, etc. Caste title is derived from ruler, occupation, and place like village, town or region, etc.

Surnames in North and South India are having regional variations. Kumar in North is indicating unmarried status of an individual while in South it is prefixed and used for respect. In many parts of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka many groups do not use surnames, also in some parts of the North India.

But surnames like 'Ram' are specific to certain regions like U.P. Caste surnames of certain groups show propriety and exclusionary in nature like Dwidi, Trivedi, Chaturvedi of North India, and Panda in Orissa etc. This legitimacy is derived from the cultural capital which they own. But at the same time all surnames cannot claim higher status although having great personality in India. For example Ambedkar though leading and well respected figure in Dalits is still not popular title or surname in Dalits like Brahmins.Caste surnames and titles also show internal division among same caste group. For example Diwedi, Trivedi and Chaturvedi show achievement of reading Vedas among same caste group.

Caste based names according to Blunt are based on following features:

a) Locality
b) Eponymous
c) Occupational name
d) Sectional names derived from caste
e) Totemistic
f) Nicknames
g) Based on some social custom
h) Referring to origin
i) Referring to religious belief
j) Names recalling castes of the Puranas (Blunt, 1931: 37-42 as quoted byGhurye 1969:184).

Research Objectives

1. To critically analyze historical origin and formation of caste surnames.
2. To understand how caste surnames play an important role in identification of caste of individuals.
3. To examine how caste surnames contribute to accumulation of cultural capital
4. To understandthe role of caste surnames in various self-respect movements in pre and post-independence periods whether pro or against social mobility.

Research Questions

The specific questions for the research are:

1. How caste related surnames are derived and when their usage has become prominent?
2. Whether caste surnames a tool of caste identity?
3. Whether caste surnames work as agent of social capital and help in cultural reproduction? How the use of caste surnames differs at individual level and at group level?
4. Who asserts caste surnames at individual level more for distinction and who asserts caste surnames at group for self-respect or for Sanskritization?
5. Whether consciousness about use of caste surnames different among various caste groups?
6. Which caste group is seen using caste surnames more?
7. How caste surnames play an important role in self-respect movements? How a small sub-caste group asserts surname based identity of its conglomerate caste group to avoid identity crisis?

Research Methodology

The present study is based on secondary sources of data. Books and journal articles are the major sources of data collection.   Information from various websites, newspapers, and magazines was also used as sources of data.

Chapterization

The present study is divided into five chapters that deal with different aspects of identity and cultural reproduction through caste names and surnames. First chapter deals with the theme of research and provides an overall introduction. It discusses significance of this research in the context of current sociological discourses on caste. Second chapter deals with review of literature. It focuses on studies on caste system in general and caste surnames in particular. Analyzing various approaches in studying caste during the British rule like indologist that includes the studies byDanzilIbbetson, Risely, Hutton, Nesfield further extended to Ghurye,

Ketkar. Later in 1950s and 1960s during which time caste studies were based on structural functionalist approach by M.N. Srinivas and Louis Dumont. This period covers mainly village studies. Subsequently, writings that used Ambedkarite perspective to critique caste system, by ShyamLal andSukhdeoThorat are discussed to understand the current status of caste.

Third chapter deals with caste identity and social capital through names. It also covers development and prominence in usage of caste surnames. This chapter focuses on tracing origin of use of surnames, its theoretical aspects, typology, etc. Which caste group in ancient time started using caste based surname first? What were the reasons behind use of caste surnames? What was the effect of Islamic invasions and British era on use of caste surnames? Does it perpetuate use of caste surnames more among certain groups? It also tries to understand how caste surnames play an instrument of identity for certain caste groups by their distinction. This distinction provides them cultural capital to certain groups while working as an exclusionary system for other groups which are at lower strata.

Fourth chapter will deal with mobilization for and against caste identity. These mobilizationscan beunderstood through anti-caste struggles, caste associations and religious conversions. Caste surnames have become part of agenda of many self-respect movements. Scholars like M.N. Srinivas see it as part of Sanskritization while scholars like ShyamLal see it as a process of Asprasheekaran. This chapter deals with analysing whether use of caste surnames is part of asserting self-respect or is it trying to imitate upper caste groups for Sanskritization. Some anti-caste struggles tried asserting it while some others used it in sanskritised way. Hence, it is used at collective level. But it is used at individual level also in case of matrimonial alliances and in personal names also to move away from collective level. In this way, it will also try to understand how caste is transforming itself inthe present world through usage of caste surnames. Last chapter i.e. fifth chapter presents the summary and conclusion.

Chapter 2
Review of Literature

In this chapter we would be dealing with literature available on caste and different theories that have been dealt with the origin of caste, development and its changing notions. We would also discuss how identity based on caste surnames propagates cultural reproduction in the contemporary times. The main factor for the cultural reproduction of caste identities through surnames is the employment of the social capital of caste.

Review of Literature

There is a lot of literature available on caste system. Caste is one of the most studied topics in Indian Sociology. Identity is also one of the most important sociological concept that has The earliest mention of name based identity is found in the ancient Hindu codes written by Manu as 'The laws of Manu'.

Manu divided society based on the Varna, which were further solidified by his law of naming ritual (Namakaran). Naming was based on logic of identity which helped in cultural reproduction of patriarchy and caste dominance of Upper castes. "The name of a priest should have (a word for) auspiciousness, of ruler strength, of a commoner property, and name of a servant should breed disgust. The name of a priest should have a word for secure comfort, of a king it should have protection, of a commoner it should be connected with property, and of a servant it should be connected with service. The names of women should be easy to pronounce, not harsh, of patent meaning, auspicious; they should captivate the mind and heart, end in a long vowel, and contain a word of blessings (Doniger, 2014:31-33).

But, focused studies on caste started from the 1600 A.D when British, French, Portuguese and Dutch came to India for trade, later defeated her and started ruling different parts of it. But British dominated others foreign invader and overpowered other invader to very limited parts of the country. In order to establish their rule for long time they started understanding socio-cultural and religious characteristics of it.

Division of society into various caste groups or Jatis was distinguishing feature they found here. Religion and Jati were intertwined closely, thus making both inseparable from each other. Other religions like Muslim were also having this institution, though theoretically Jati was not part of Arab Islam where all followers have equality of status irrespective of birth.

Earlier studies on caste were based on study of Vedas, epics, Puranas, etc. known as Indological approach. But initially, the focal point of study was not caste but Indian traditions, customs, rituals. First importance of caste was mentioned by board of company in 1816 which mentions that civil service officers to understand caste properly for better rule in India. Abbe Dubois argued this in his book "Hindu Manners and Customs and Ceremonies,1972". He says Board of Control wrote: "There is nothing perhaps of more importance to the Hindoo community than that their distinctions of caste should be well understood by the civil officers of the government in the interior of the country, yet there is no subject at present on which it so difficult to procure correct information" (Dirks, 1988:22).

Last decades of 19th century started studying caste by way of ethnography which involves in depth study of culture and society from close involvement with society. At this point of scholarship of caste, various theories of origination of caste evolved. The Orientalist and colonial administrator identified the origin of the system of caste in India and they speculated that it originated from the racial mix of the Aryans arrived in ancient days (Jodhka, 2012:10-11).

Occupational theory was advocated by Nesfield. According to Nesfield caste system originated from occupation of the group. Like European guilds, same occupational associations were further stratified into caste groups based on birth. Functional attributes converted to occupational stratification. But he was also surprised to find no clear cut position for agriculturalist.

Racial theory was propounded by Risley and Mazumdar, which finds racial differences between migrant Aryans and Original inhabitants known as Dasa of India. Risley further tried to establish this argument by anthropometry. He measured nasal indices of North-Western and Northern caste and found that nasal indices of Brahmins and Untouchables have large differences. H. H.

Risley was census commissioner for 1901 census and his details were summarized by him in his book "People of India".

Risley distinguished seven types of castes based on Tribal, Function (occupation), Sect, Caste formed by crossing, Caste of national type, migration, caste formed by changes in customs. Risley as Census Commissioner was the first person to categorise caste groups based on above types. He categorised 12 groups out of which 11th group was of *ati sudra*.

Simon Charsley (1996) opines that Risley's naming of various caste groups during caste census was based on seven types. This led to the start of conceptualisation of word 'untouchables'. Hence, this name 'Untouchable' is derived from Sudra group. The lowest among Sudra is Ati-sudra (who can pollute Ganges water). The groups of Sudra were having four categories. In this, Ati-Sudra were the last, which further divided into 'A' (Chamar, Balai, Raigars and others) and 'B'(Bhangi, Dhonaks, Thoris) (Charlsey, 1996). This competition for getting benefit from state later intensified. So, Backwardization like process has started before independence. Agitation to get benefit of reservation by upper caste based like Jat in OBC and Gujjars in ST is visible in this way, years before. Hence, caste status and caste identity is negotiable in many ways.

Political theory of caste is advocated by G. S Ghurye. He saw caste system as tool by Brahmins to politically overpower original inhabitants and also to maintain top hierarchy above Kshatriyas, Vaishya, Shudras and keep untouchables away from Dwij group at the lowest level. Ghurye argued,

> I may conclude that caste in India is a Brahmin child of the Indo-Aryan culture, cradled in the land of Ganges and the Jamna and hence, transferred to other parts of the country (Ghurye, 1932:176).

According to Marxist scholar DD Kosambi, caste system originated due to negotiation between pre-stratified Hardpan civilization priests and Invading Aryans. Priest negotiated for performing rituals while Kshatriya settled for the retainment of power. This led to creation of Varna based system where others were kept at lower bottom hierarchy. "In search of origins Kosambi often attempted to distinguish between the origin of the caste system and later

developments within the institution… He contextualised this in terms of a pre-existing stratified society, that of the Hardpan civilisation. The first plank of the argument was that urbanism presupposed social hierarchies. This in itself is unproblematic and may seem almost self-evident. Where Kosambi stepped in with a degree of imagination and, some would perhaps feel, unwarranted speculation was in suggesting that priesthood and ritual authority were probably important in maintaining social control in Hardpan society. From this, he went on to suggest that survivors of the Hardpan priesthood negotiated with the Aryan ruling elite. These complex negotiations and interactions, according to him ('On the Origin of Brahmin Gotras', originally published in 1950), resulted in the emergence of the fourfold Varna order, with the Brahmana claiming ritual superiority, while conceding political precedence to the Kshatriya (Kosambi as quoted by Kumkum Roy, 2008).

In 1909, S. V. Ketkar was one of the early Indian scholars who traced history of caste by way of Indologist approach based on the evidence of Laws of Manu during the 7th century A.D. Ketkarhad criticized Western scholars for taking caste amusingly due to their folly of the institution. "Whatever may be the case, an Englishman says that caste in India is an interesting institution. It is quite natural that no other feeling than that of amusement should occur to the English mind. He can afford to laugh at absurdities and contradictions in such an antiquated and complicated institution. The greater the folly of the institutions of the strangers, the greater is enjoyment felt" (Ketkar, 1909:3).

The voice of Ketkar is more like reformer who see caste as a problem. He shows great respect for the sages who formed it but also accepts that like other human beings they were also prone to error. "But I write this book for those who, with best respect for those sages, are prepared to admit that those sages were men, and that they were liable as men to err, and that, if they have erred, it is neither a sin nor an impossibility to correct them" (Ketkar 1909:4).

Ketkar argued that caste system is based on the birth and membership is confined to group members only. Another feature of caste is that members were forbidden, by inexorable social law, to marry outside the group. Every group is having a special name by which it is called and

further it is divided into sub-groups. Group and sub-group may be called caste at different juncture. Hence, difference between caste and sub-caste is not absolute but comparative.

He further raised questions on the ethnological studies by arguing that ethnologists are not able to define race properly. Whether it is similar looking persons or members of group from same parentage? He also raised question on Risley's anthropometrical data which is not clearly able to chalk out descent from Aryans or Dravidian from Rig-Veda period" (Ketkar 1909).Further, Ketkar sees difference between caste and race. He says that racial distinction of western ethnographers cannot be applied universally to whole India. Varna may have existed before which is gone by and it should not confuse us.

Later in 1930s studies on caste discourse were continued by Govind Sadashiv Ghurye with his well-known book 'Caste and Race in India'. This literature on caste was published on C. K. Ogden's Series on 'History of Civilization'. It works as a basic source for students of anthropology and sociology. Ghurye argues that caste is derived from race. He was of the opinion that the Indo-Aryans belonged to the larger Indo-European stock that spread from its homeland after 5000 B.C. The branch that entered India about 2500 B.C. carried with it the early Vedic religion, and the 'Brahman variety' of the Indo-Aryan civilisation developed later in the Gangetic plain, along with the caste system.

Ghurye mentioned that racial interpretation of Varna as colour and the idea that the 'dasas' described by the Aryans were the 'dark' and 'snub-nosed' natives they encountered when they entered India (Ghurye, 1969:165). Caste derives from the Varna classification of the early Vedic age, which referred to skin colour and differentiated the 'Arya' and the 'Dasa'. The caste system originated as an endogamous institution as the Indo-Aryan Brahmins attempted to maintain their purity by keeping themselves apart from the local population (Ghurye, 1969:125).

Famous Marxist historian and mathematician DD Kosambi opines that use of caste based surnames started by Brahmins to distinct themselves from other varnaand maintain superiority

among Varna. Evidences of this are found in various puranas like MatsyaPurna. But lowest caste that of Sudras were having no gotras:

> Apparently only the Brahmins have gotras, for the lowest caste, that of the Sudras, has no gentilic organization at all in our scriptures; tribes and guilds were enrolled later by deriving them as mixed castes (cf. Manusmrti, x.8, 11, 13, 18, 22, 23, 34 etc.) from the principal four without imposition of the gotra system. For the ruling warriors and the trader-yeomen, the Kshatriya and Vaishya castes respectively, we have the Brahmanic ritual such as the initiation ceremony etc., but their gotras are restricted. In the first place, Brahmin gotras are grouped into larger units (probably corresponding to the phratry) by common pra-varas, of which Baudhayana recognizes 49 sets in a far larger—almost unlimited—number of gotras, while in theoretically accepted lists as they now exist (GPN, pp. 207-85), we find not less than 73. For the Kshatriya and the Vaishya, however, there is only one pravara each… All this implies that the gotra is a purely Brahmanic institution which has been extended to the other two upper castes by Brahmin superiority. (Kosambi, 1950:48).

So, Kosambi opines that Hindu names and surnames are based on caste affiliation. It may be related to deity like mother goddess, Gotras, local cult, Totemistic symbols, occupation etc. For example

> "Bolhai's senior worshippers, now inhabiting a single village sixty kilometres away, all have the surname Vaji ('horse'). According to him caste is class in primitive level of production. In many cases the bond is simply of peasant families, all related, joining in general agriculture. But many castes were the equivalent of medieval guilds following specialised professions such as basket-makers, herb-vendors (Vaidu), diggers (Vaddars), and fishermen. Some of these still try to remain in the middle Ages with the rest of isolated village life. The tribal origins of many such castes is known: e.g. Kaivarta in Bihar and Bengal for "fisherman', Bhoi in Maharashtra. Totemic features also manifest themselves. Clan villages like that of the Vaji mentioned above are paralleled by others where every original inhabitant has the same surname: Crocodile (Magar), wolf (Landge) peacock

(More), the sacred pipal tree (Pimple) speak for themselves. Whatever the origin, some totemic observances still remain" (Kosambi, 1964:44-48).

So, there is a similarity between typology in origin of caste based surnames among various scholars. Above theories on of caste surnames are based on Indologist approach. Whether it is the writing of Blunt, Ghurye or Kosambi, Most of them are based on interpretation of ancient text. Kosambi's Marxist interpretation of ancient history sees caste as primitive class. Origin of surnames according to him is also based on Totem, cult, deity worshipping etc. So, we can say that it is similar to Blunt's argument. But above scholars have not mentioned miscellaneous category which may not be part of above divisions. Another argument which is visible here is that Brahmins were among the first caste group to use names and surnames based on caste to keep themselves in tight endogamous groups, which can be identifiable by names or surnames. While for Kshatriya's and Vaishya it was restricted. Lowest castes were not allowed to follow these above socio-capital identity instruments.

Another great scholar who worked on the caste institution was Dr B. R. Ambedkar. His first paper on caste was presented in Columbia University titled "Caste in India: Their mechanism, Genesis and Development". Ambedkar criticized Senart' idea of pollution as characteristics of caste on the lines that idea of pollution is limited to religious flavour, "The idea of pollution has been attached to the institution of caste, only because the highest rank is the priestly caste: while we know priest and purity are old associates. We may therefore conclude that idea of pollution is a characteristic of caste only when it has religious flavour" (Ambedkar, 1916: 6).Ambedkar also criticizes Nesfield's understanding of caste as a group with no messing outside caste due to positive prohibition. But according to Ambedkar social restriction is a natural result of caste system. Caste as a self-enclosed group restricts messing or social intercourse.

On the definition of Dr.Ketkar,Ambedkar seems pretty convinced that prohibition of inter-marriage and membership by autogenichas two characteristics. With above these arguments, Ambedkar gives his own features of caste: "Thus the conclusion is inevitable that Endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to caste, and if we succeed in showing how endogamy is maintained, we shall practically have proved the genesis and also the mechanism of Caste

…Thus the superposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of caste" (Ambedkar, 1916:3-4).

Ambedkar see identity based on caste and its role in cultural reproduction of caste groups as a significant matter. He argued that separate name for a caste makes it highly organized group like a corporation which is based on birth. He gave example of western countries where washerman, carpenter, cobbler exist but without any certain name like caste. But in the context of India, each occupation is given a particular caste name which makes it permanent and involuntary group. As Rodriguez observes,

> It is the name which the caste bears which gives it fixity and continuity and individuality. It is the name which defines who is its members and in most cases a person carries name of caste as part of his surname. Again it is the name which makes it easy for the caste to enforce it rules and regulations. It makes it easy in two ways. In first place, the name of the individual prevents the offender in passing off as a person belonging to another caste and thus escapes the jurisdiction of the caste. Secondly, it helps to identify the offending individual and the caste to whose jurisdiction he is subject so that he is easily handed up and punished for any breach of the caste rules (Rodriguez, 2013:102-103).

In his most prolific essay 'Annihilation of caste' Ambedkar raises his voice vociferously against caste names such as Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya or Shudra as labels against equality. These chaturvarna work as a form of cultural identity and make cultural reproduction easy. He criticizes Arya Samajists, who supportvarna not caste by saying that varna is based on Guna (quality) of the individual. But the point to ponder here is that Varna itself becomes birth based and led to fissiparous caste or sub-caste.

> If European society honours its soldiers and its servants without giving them permanent labels', why should Hindu society find it difficult to do so is a question, which Arya Samajist have not cares to consider. There is another objection to the continuance of these labels. All reform consists in a change in the notions, sentiments and mental attitude of the people towards and things. It is common experience that certain notions and sentiments, which determine a person's attitudes, become associated with certain things. The names Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudras are associated with a definite and fixed notion in the mind of every Hindu. That notion is that of a hierarchy based on birth, act accordingly (Ambedkar, 1937:26).

In 1950s M.N. Srinivas came at the centre stage of sociological writings on the caste system. He argued against his mentor Ghurye and other scholars, who claim that caste system is rigid for any kind of mobility. Many sociologists mentioned above have defined caste as a closed group. For example, M.N. Srinivas notes,

> A sociologist would define caste as a hereditary, endogamous, usually localized group, having a traditional association with a particular occupation and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relations between castes are governed, among other things, by the concepts of pollution and purity, generally, maximum commensality occurs within the caste. In the above definition it is assumed that a caste group is always easily identifiable and it does not change its boundaries (Srinivas, 1962:3).

But according to Srinivas this is not true. Caste is fissiparous in nature in which a caste group is fission off to sub-castes or sub-sub-caste. In the long historical process a large number ofcastes have been formed and scattered over a large area.Srinivas' concept of 'Sanskritisation' means the adoption of customs, rites and belief of the Brahmins or other twice born castes by the lower caste people. Earlier he has called this process as Brahminisation but later gave saskritisation word because it involves two other twice borns also. "In short, it took over as far as possible, customs, rites, and beliefs of the Brahmins and the adoption of the brahminic way by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden. The process has been called sanskritiastion in this book, in preference to Brahminiastion, as certain Vedic rites are confined to the Brahmins and the other two "other twice born castes".

Saskritisation may also involve imitation of caste surnames of twice born castes, in order to move to higher ladder in hierarchy. But Srinivas has not mentioned this in his concept of sanskritisation. According to Srinivas initially there was confrontation between lower and upper caste due to this imitation. "The theoretical existence f a ban on their adoption of brahimincal customs and rites was not very effective, and this is clear when we consider the fact that many non–Brahminical castes practice many Brahminical customs and rites. A more effective barrier to the lower castes' taking over the customs and rites of the higher castes was the hostile attitude of the locally dominant caste, or of the king of the regions" (Srinivas 1962:44). Similarly tribes also adopted the customs and traditions of Dwij caste. Rites......vratas, mangalsutra, kanydan, marital tires, harikathavachan, etc. rituals may be due to spread of the education.

On Varna and caste, Srinivas argued against Ghurye and other Indologist that by saying that Varna model is not depicting the real image caste system in Indian society. At field level, village is not always having hierarchy of Varna based chaturvarna. "The Varna refers at best only to the broad categories of the societies and not to its real and effective units. And even referring to

broad categories of the societies' it has serious shortcomings. It has been seen that untouchable are outside society but are as matter of actual fact they are integral part of the society (Srinivas, 1962:65).

But on matter of cultural reproduction by virtue of caste surnames, hardly any reference is found in the writings of M. N. Srinivas. The issue is paid nearly no attention till this time, though many caste groups or individuals were facing identity crisis and getting marginalized while others were able to reproduce their cultural and maintain in the changing time of social change by processes of Sanskritisation, Westernization and Modernization. Reproduction of culture is given less emphasis except in the writings of Ambedkar, who always argued that caste system based on certain features like endogamy, birth based, pollution and purity help in the reproduction of dominant caste groups but at the same time marginalizing lower groups.

Another contemporary of Louis Dumont who wrote 'Homo-hierarchicus' in French in 1966 which was later translated, was another writing on the caste system and its implications. According to Dumont caste is a system based on social, political and economic structure which is not stratification of society but a form inequality which earlier scholar like Ambedkar has said "Caste system is not division of labour but of labourers, "an economic phenomenon [like exploitation] presupposes an individual subject," whereas in caste society, "everything is directed to the whole … as part and parcel of the necessary order" (Dumont, 1966:107).

Dumont sees individualism as characteristics of western society while collectivism as part of Indian society. Hierarchy as it exists in traditions and in gradation of hierarchy ranks some groups superior while some groups inferior. "Dumont highlights the state of mind which is expressed by the emergence in various situations of castes. He calls caste system as a system of ideas and values which is a formal comprehensible rational system. His analysis is based on a single principle-the opposition of pure and impure. This opposition underlies hierarchy which means superiority of the pure and inferiority of impure. This principle also underlies separation which means pure and impure must be kept separate. According to Dumont the study of the caste system is useful for the knowledge of India and it is an important task of general sociology. He focused on the need to understand the ideology of caste as reflected in the classical texts, historical examples etc. He advocated the use of an Indological and structuralist approach to the

study of caste system and village social structure in India. Dumont in his Homo Hierarchicus has built up a model of Indian civilization based on non-competitive ritual hierarchical system" (Dumont 1988).

Andre Beteille, who was a student of M. N. Srinivas, defined caste as a small group based on endogamy, values, and hereditary membership. This system is somewhat having hierarchy based on purity. His book 'Caste, Class and power' is based on the ethnological study of Agarharam village of Tanjore district in Tamil Nadi. Beteille is of the opinion that caste or jati groups are caste conscious in the village life in some part while at other parts argued that it seems that caste boundaries are getting blurred. But institutions like gotra, is followed strictly in socio-ritual life like in case of marriage (Beteille, 1971:48).

Sanskrit is taught and followed by large part of Brahmin population, while Tamil is mainly followed by Non-Brahmins and Adi-dravid due to influence of DMK movement. So caste based identity and cultural reproduction thus exists in Tanjore district. Though on caste surnames almost no reference is made in Beteille's writings.

Dipankar Gupta argued about the changing contours of caste in his book 'Interrogating Caste' that single universally accepted definition is not possible. It keeps on changing depending upon the situation of area. Gupta has highlighted many competing hierarchies in the Indian society not a single. According to Gupta caste is defined as, "a form of differentiation wherein the constituent units of the system justify endogamy on the basis of putative differences which are semaphored by the ritualization of multiple social practices" (Gupta, 2000:141).

Socio-political power is changing the hierarchy of caste and making concepts of pollution and purity based hierarchy of dilutes which Dumontian sociology argues. The purity and pollution according to Gupta were added in later discourses of caste system to marginalize untouchables. He cites myths of origins, caste revolts and movements of caste mobility in support of this contention of discreteness.

Marc Galanter (1984) in his book 'Competing Inequalities:Two perspectives' opines that implementation of Indian constitution system has made many backward communities to take advantage of affirmative action. But when it comes to Indian judicial system, he argues that here, delivery of social justice is not done properly. He sees administrative policies and Govt initiatives more useful than judiciary for facilitating equalities. But he see it as a moderate success.

We now proceed to discuss the caste identity feeling in different works. Professor Shyam Lal has also mentioned in his book "Untouchable castes in India The Raigar movement (1940-2004)" that change in socio-political situations in caste diachronic level due to Raigar socio-religious and educational consciousness and due to role of various Raigar saints , socio-cultural movements, contemporary leadership. At synchronic level due to positive discrimination and rise of socio-political consciousness, rise in caste consciousness and caste based solidarity in general and Raigars in particular, Raigars are asserting independent identity or to mobilize people for collective action.

According to ProfessorShyam Lal untouchables like Chamar felt that their caste name is very derogatory. "In the middle of twentieth century, particularly in the fourth decade the chamars had asserted a distinct identity and had even refused to be referred as chamars. It was felt that word referred to them as chamars, meghwals, bhambis, balais etc. was derogatory, insulting and humiliating. A meeting on the caste's genealogical history took place at Jaipur. In the meeting, MunishWaranand in the course of this deliberations mentions that Chamars, Bhambis, Jatias, Meghwals, etc. are descendants of the common stock" (Shyam Lal, 2006:8-9).

In order to raise their social level they started using Bairwa as caste name as well as surname and linked Bairwa with some reference in Mahabharat. Juthalal, one the early reformer also supported MunshiWaranand to give up all traditional menial things and accept name as Bairwa. Hence, surnames started playing an important role in socio-politico mobilization in hierarchy and dignity before independence.

Chamar is as a caste group included Bhambi, Jatia, Jatav, Mochi, Ramdasi, Raidasi, Raigar etc. Most of them were doing tanning of leather or were landless labourers. But social mobility by Raigar movement helped in raising status of Raigars in comparison to other low untouchable caste of same category. Social mobilisation was carried out by the process of sanskritisation which follows traditions or customs of upper caste. Likewise, Raigars started following surname of upper caste. He further says,

> The raigers now don the sacred thread. Moreover, Raigars patronymics are adopted and Bhatt, Chauhan, Sukhadia, Rathi,, the clan same endings of Brahmins, Rajpputs, Aggarwals, and Maheshwaris have been added to their names. For example Balotia has been changed into Bhatt and gradually changed to Bhatt. Another clan such as Swansia, Khatnawalia, and Randia have been changed into Chauhan, Sukhadia, Khanda (Also Khanna, Khandekar, Naval) and Rathi. The first clan name appears to be of a Rajput, the second looks like Aggarwal- a trading community while the last symbolizes the clan of Maheswari again a business community (Shyam Lal, 2006:29).

This book is one of the secondary sources directly related to identity and cultural reproduction based on caste surnames. Shyam Lal argues against Srinivas that process of imitation is not only from bottom to top in hierarchy but also from top to bottom. Process of Ashparsheekaran carried out imitation of habits like non-vegetarianism, use of leather etc by upper caste to lower caste. Religions like Buddhism and Jainism also helped in conversion from upper to lower caste. But change of caste or imitation of caste surnames, traditions led to retaliatory action against the lower caste. "Moreover, the material prerequisites for sanskritisation, the generation of an economic and political base was beyond their reach. The untouchables did not possess economic resources which could be translated into power and thus could not make a convincing case for raising social status" (Shyam Lal 2006: 40).

Professor Shyam Lal in another book 'From Higher Caste to lower caste:The Process of Aspashyeekaran and myth of Sanskritisation' again argued that the process of Bhangisation in Rajasthan against the Sanskritisation. He observed during his field research among the Bhangis of Jodhpur, Rajasthan that these were higher castes and converted to lower castes during historical process. Remnants of their affiliation to higher caste can be proved by the surnames they use have resemblance with higher caste. He further explained the process of Asparsheekaran,

> I shall briefly discuss the Chamars, Balais, Bhambis, and Meghwals of Rajasthan. In Rajasthan, from the early period, traditional Chamars admitted the outsiders into their fold. Gunarathi writes that for the Rajasthan region, the Chamars are grouped into two main categories- Adak and Sadak. The term 'Adak' was used for the traditional Chamars in general, whereas the term 'Sadak' was used particularly for those who were recruited from higher caste to Chamars caste (Shyam Lal, 1997:63).

Anthropological Survey of India provides rich source on all communities, their history, socio-economic status, surnames etc. In this series edited by K.S. Singh, 11 volumes on national series include 2 volumes on SC/ST covering all communities. 32 volumes specifically cover all communities of states and Union Territories.

K. S. Singh also mentions that identity of communities has historical links in Manu era. "The identification of the communities and their listing has had a long history which started from the early period of the history, with Manu. Regional lists of the communities figured in the Sanskrit works. Medieval chronicles contained a description of the communities located in various parts of the country. Listing in the colonial period was undertaken on an exclusive scale, after 1806. The process gathered momentum in course of the census from 1886 to 1941" (K. S. Singh, 1994: 13).

In state like Haryana, Identity based on varna system is recognized by 79.27% of the 95.12% of the communities. Kshatriya status is claimed by 48.78% of the communities which is much higher than 15.9% of the national average. The Kshatriya model is more adopted by lower group at hierarchy. This claim is lower than Brahmins status (17%), Vaishya status (4.88%) and Shudra statua (26.8%). Hence self-perception of communities is high (29.27%), middle (42.68%), and low (28%) (Singh, 1994:16).

First census started in the year 1871. But census of 1931which was the most comprehensive of all censuses on India fully covered for the first time the primitive tribes and exterior castes known as ST and SC respectively. Formulation of a new policy by the census in 1951 no doubt marked a departure from the traditional recording of race, tribes or caste, a task which was becoming unmanageable even during the last years of the colonial period, and restricted the enumeration to the SC,ST and Anglo Indians only (Singh 1992:20).

Opening up industries to private sector have made new form of caste identities to come in place like caste related surnames. Sukhdeo Thorat and Kathrin S. Newman (2010) have produced similar empirical results in labour market, health and education in their book Blocked by Caste: Economic Discrimination in Modern India. They assert, "…this research will be raising new possibilities and potentials in current sociological discourses based on caste system" (Thorat and Newman, 2010:28).

They highlighted how caste continues to be playing a role in the access to resources and material wealth. Though there was an argument that market does not discriminate on the basis of colour, gender or other ethnic identities their work shows how there is a lot of discrimination in the points mentioned: 1. Market discrimination: Labour and other markets (Selection or employment, Wage, Promotion) 2. Non-market discrimination: Health, Education and Food related institutions (Public health services, health outcomes, segmented schooling in primary and secondary education, PDS) 3. Discrimination induces inequalities: Capital assets and poverty (Denial of property rights, lack of creation of ownership, minority outcomes, and caste-ethnicity-religion linkages).

Newman in her study of labour market of USA observed that blacks were discriminated in age and education with whites for jobs. A black having same qualification and age in comparison to white is having less chances of getting job when same age and merit based white is also applying. Surnames are used as a form of identity to distinguish applicants. Further question about family background, social status etc.Make getting job more difficult, while whites are pre-judiciously treated more meritorious than the Afro-Americans.

As Kaushik Basu has written in foreword mentioned that discrimination of labour markets, there was always the question of whether the employees were actually discriminating against some racial groups or whether their choice of workers of a certain race was influenced by the fact that these workers had some indicators of higher productivity, such greater education, more experience, and better grades. To crack this puzzle Bertrand and Mullainathan designed a novel research experiment. They sent out fictitious resumes in response to actual advertisements for jobs in Boston and Chicago newspapers. Some of the resumes had names that conventionally

used by Whites-Allison, Anne, Carrie, Brad, Brendon, and Geoffrey, and some were given names associated with blacks such as Aisha, Ebony, Keisha and Dranell, Hakim and Jamal. The aim was to find out how call-backs for job interview vary by race even when other characteristics are same. Since the resumes were created by the authors, they could control other characteristics such as education and experience. The authors found that applicants with black names need to send 15 applications to get one call-back; white named candidates needed 10. A Black person needs eight years of experience to get same number of call-backs (Thorat, 2010: xiv-xv).

Another very recently published literature is edited by Gregory Clarke (2014) 'The Son also Rises: Surnames and History of Social Mobility'. This book covers many countries of the world like USA, China, India, Latin America, and Sweden, U.K., etc. to establish the argument that family names or surnames are an important tool of social mobility. Our current social status is influenced by our parents and grandparents.

Economic historian Clarke used technique of tracking of family names over generations to measure social mobility and resistance in growth of social status. Over generations inheritance of abilities and lineage play an important role in social mobility of a person. Whether it is communist China or capitalist USA or Japan certain surnames have been able to evolve themselves over the time. Clarkes observes,

> Using surnames to track the rich and poor through many generations in various societies—England, the United States, Sweden, India, Japan, Korea, China, Taiwan, and Chile—this book argues that our commonsense intuition of a much slower rate of intergenerational mobility is correct. Surnames turn out to be a surprisingly powerful instrument for measuring social mobility. And they reveal that there is a clear, striking, and consistent social physics of intergenerational mobility that is not reflected in most modern studies of the topic (Clarke, 2014: 8).

A study on Indian caste surnames established the fact that most of upper caste elites are generally overrepresented in most of white collar jobs. "The surnames of Kulin Brahmins are the most overrepresented of all surname types among modern Bengali elites. They are more than four times as frequent among physicians registered in recent decades as in the general population. These names are likely to be familiar to anyone who has met Indian physicians, professors, or engineers in the United States. Other surnames associated with the high-status Brahmin and Kayastha castes in Bengal are also overrepresented, though not to the same degree as Kulin

Brahmin surnames. These include the surnames *Basu/Bose, Datta/Dutta,Ghosh, Kundu, Mitra,* and *Sen* or *Sengupta,* which were all high status in the nineteenth century. These surnames form the "other elite Hindu" group in figure. *Basu, Ghosh,* and *Mitra,* for example, are associated with the KulinKayastha (scribe) subcastes, which were regarded as next in status after Brahmins in pre-modern Bengal. As with Brahmins, *Kulin*denotes a superior sub-caste (Clarke, 2014:148).This study has established that there were very low social mobility rates for lower castes and Muslims in India, once again strengthening the argument of this dissertation that caste identity is reproduced in different forms. The same can be seen in the table below.

Table 2.1Physicians and Judges among Surname Groups

FIGURE 8.2. Relative representation of surname groups among physicians and judges.
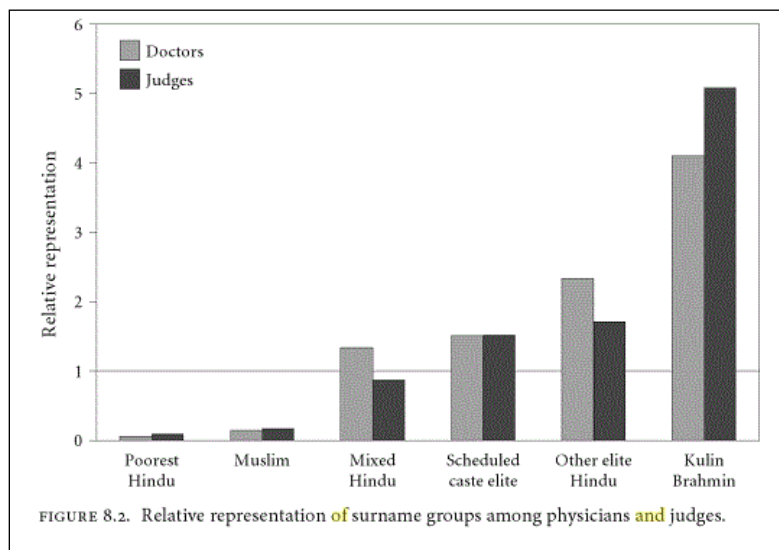
Source of table: Clark, 2014:148

From the above Table 2.1, we can see that the representation of Kulin Brahmins among the physicians and judges is quite high compared to the rest of the social groups. The author of the book argues that Kulin Brahmins are the most over represented Bengali surnames among the elites of this society. He further states that these are names that could be commonly found if anyone met Indian physicians, engineers or professors in the United States.

The above discussed works are some of the available literature on identity based on surnames and cultural reproduction. Though most studies did not givedue importance to surnames and

social advantages in the studies of caste. Starting from the time of British ethnographers, Indologist, Historians caste is the topic which got more preference in writings. But when it comes to identity based specifically on caste surname little was written before independence. Ambedkar was the only writer pre-independence who pointed out role of caste titles or surnames as a tool of identity, further helps in establishing social and cultural capital for a group in social mobility.

Later, in first decade of 21st century literature on caste has covered importance of caste surnames based identity. Professor Shyam Lal, Sukhdeo Thorat wrote on the Ashparsheekaran against Sanskrtisation and cultural capital of caste identity, respectively. Above mentioned study on surnames based identity as cultural capital by Gregory Clarke further establish the fact that many surname over the decades have been able to reproduce due to inheritance and descent in USA also.

In the next chapter we would be looking at how caste identity and social capital aid individuals from upper castes in terms of jobs and access to resources and thus help in cultural reproduction.

Chapter 3
Identity and Social Capital through Caste Names and Titles

This chapter will be exploring how caste based names and surnames work as an instrument of identity. This identity further helps in creating social capital for a group of people. This chapter will be divided into three parts. First part will be discussing about what is social capital? How it is different from cultural capital? Second part will cover issues about mobility in caste system based on names and surnames in Indian society through empirical studies carried out by various scholars. Third part will cover how caste based surnames work as a tool of identity and perpetuate discrimination.

Social Capital and Caste Identity

The group of people who are linked by immediate kinship are considered as family, which is the basic unit of the society. The family in rural or urban set up is immediately associated with name of the family. In the due course of time every individual will be associated with the name of the family. Family often extends in the case of membership and in the case of number of family members, this is often named as patrilineal or matrilineal kinship groups leading to large number of individuals sharing the same family name.

Extended family or kinship often personifies itself into the caste name. Different regions of the country havedifferent names which reflect the caste, clan and family surname. This names of family, caste and clan helps the individual or families to associate themselves, which also prevents them from marrying within the clans (who are generally considered to be sharing the fraternal bonds) or to marry within the caste groups. The names of the family or the caste groups are often given by the others who use that as a term of address. Alec J. Jeffreys (2011) in his foreword to the book Surnames, DNA, and Family History opines that, "we are all intrigued by our origins, and one of the most powerful proxies for our family identity is our surname, at least in those societies where surnames are inherited down the generations". Redmondset al (2011)while emphasizing on how the surnames became an important topic to study and to

understand the naming and other phenomena which becomes hereditary writes, "Scholars who have studied surnames have placed great emphasis on the related topics of meaning and etymology and have, understandably, concentrated on names which have survived, but they have had less to say about the numerous by-names which never became hereditary" (Redmonds et al, 2011: 21).

The same can be applied here while studying how important it is to understand the politics behind the surnames or the caste names which are internal part of the Indian society especially when it comes to understand the role of surnames or caste names in the light of social capital. In the concluding remarks the authors of the book 'Surname, DNA, and Family History' write that, "the study of surnames is of particular interest to family historians, but it also has wider implications. Surname distributions have much to tell us about the stability and mobility of the British population as a whole over the past few centuries. They demonstrate that, despite the mobility of numerous individuals, most families remained within the neighbourhood or 'country' that had been familiar to their ancestors" (Redmonds et al, 2011: 217). Though the book has been written in the context of Britain, it is very apt even in the context of India to understand the surnames and their importance of it in the social capital.

Social capital works because of the relationships individuals share with the close group of people in their respective networks, the flow of information is restricted within these groups and correct and key information at the right time plays an important role in the development of the organization and in turn in the individual maximizing the profits. These networks also help in exerting pressure on the agents who are in the decision making processes, where it becomes easy for the individuals who have connections to influence them and gain undue advantages in recruitments and selection of candidatures. Individuals with social capital are also preferred by the organizations as they lend credence and can provide added resources to the organization individually. Being a member of the network gives public recognition to the individual giving him credibility and acknowledgement over his claim over the resources (Lin, 2001: 21).

The access to the different networks is unequally distributed, where the individual with more superior relationships or membership in various networks with more valuable connections have a

upper hand over his peers. Social capital of these individuals is more enhanced than the others which inevitably lead to the exclusion of the individuals with not so superior connections. As Bourdieu asserted, Social capital will not help in the advancement of oneself but also will compensate for the deficit of other resources and skills (Field, 2008: 82-83).

At the present times, social capital is used in an empirical frame to explain several micro-macro level outcomes such as the performance of democratic institutions, functioning of schools, operations of services such as health, water and so on and the implementation of government policies pertaining to economic development and welfare (Bhattachatyya et al, 2004: 16).

Social capital brings in charisma, respect, networks and symbolic traits – such as the values of hierarchy in food habits, in way of greeting, in residential exclusion etc., of the society for individuals who are born in the upper castes. While for the people from other castes who are located at the bottom rung of the social structure, it results in stigma, disrespect, exclusion from resources and cuts them out without help from any type of networks.

This social and cultural capital stemming from caste has reflected in the domination of upper castes in nearly all the spheres of Indian society, but it is pretty evident in the functioning of Indian democratic politics and Bureaucracy, Judiciary, Industries, Universities, Media and can now be seen in the civil society organizations (Non-Governmental Organizations).

Social Mobility in Caste System

Social capital in India is owned by only certain communities who have historically been the dominant sections, they alone have the connections, which are mostly based on the primordial identities and these connections are not only used to gain favours and undue advantages to individuals belonging to their own communities but also these connections and the social capital they carry is of the value that, lack of this capital becomes a definite hindrance for the sections which do not have the capital of same value. The marginalized and the downtrodden communities of India such as the Dalits, Tribes and minorities lack the social capital as they have been historically alienated and excluded from the land owning rights. The hegemony of the

upper caste communities in India is also manifested in the networks they belong to and the alienation of the depressed classes from these networks.

However the social capital here works in different style, where the person who gets benefited by making use of the social capital just need to use it in the right time in the right place by showing that he or she belongs to the same caste, region or religion. The surnames that give away the identity help a lot to materialize this social capital. The oneness possessed by the people who are in the top or for that matter who want to extend their network in the hope that the fellow who belongs to the same caste, creed or region will help him back in the time of need is the sole principle in which the social capital strives.

Pandian (1983) writes that, "Researchers in India are well aware of the fact that if a person is asked a question about his caste identity, he may give one of several replies 1) his caste name, which is not shared by other castes but may be shared by the subcastes of his caste; 2) his caste title(s), which may be shared by other castes and which could also be the caste name of some other caste; or 3) the varna category (Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisiya and Shudra) within which he includes his caste". Here Pandian emphasizes on the fact that the caste identity is directly linked to the title or surnames, the caste person uses to identify him/herself. On further discussing about the caste, Pandian (1983) describes how the caste titles are conceptually linked with the dominance which is shown in the spheres of politico and economic along the blend of the group. The supremacy or power of the group overtakes any individual or the wish of the powerless group to change the caste title will lead to the caste conflict, author says that "is a significant part of the authority structure which every villager comprehends" (Pandian, 1983:190-197).

The whole notion of this naming is highly interlinked with the phenomena of the association and disassociation of people in the manner of 'selfing' and the 'othering.' One tends to be within own group in order to get the benefit over the minimum available resources and the same in the process of 'othering' which will exclude the 'others' from avoiding them as competition. The caste system which is highly exploitative in nature is a perfect example how one can favour his own caste member and avoid the other castes from achieving the status which the upper castes are already enjoying. Sharma reminds the readers from the words of Dumont, "the important

thing about caste was not the nature of the caste group (who it included, what it called itself, how many sub castes it included, etc.) but the nature of the relations between groups. Too often the system is taken as a mere collection of blocks and their arrangement is neglected" (Dumont, 1970:32, as quoted in Sharma, 2002:21). This argument emphasizes on the point that, it is the system which we are dealing which has its own historical advantages for the upper castes as it has been arranged which one should understand to understand the politics behind the social capital and the superiority of the upper caste over the social capital.

Strategically they have excluded and alienated the lower caste from accumulating the means of production in the form of land or any kind; apart from that they have also excluded the lower caste and Dalits from attaining education. As the means of production was not controlled by the lower caste they were left with no choice other than to render their physical labour to earn their livelihood. If they would have been given the opportunity of attaining formal education, which they would have also mastered, they would have also have had the equal opportunities to control the means of production.

Discrimination Through Caste Surnames Based Identity

With the differences in the democracy in India and the Western democracies where, the democratic norms which cover the western democratic institutions have been historically evolved in response to the developments, whereas the discriminated sections such as the Dalits, minorities, tribes do not view the state and its institutional formalities as their own as they do not find any resemblances of their issues or their lives. The civic communities cover the public sphere in the western democracies, in India public sphere is mostly not covered by the civic communities; these communities do not intervene in most of the issues. Most importantly in the western democracies, the civic communities and the state operate as individual entities but whereas in India, the civic communities for their own sectarian interests want to use state as an instrument to their own end, using state's power to intervene and even at times alienating certain communities their democratic rights (Bhattachatyya et al, 2004: 25).

Authors Thorat, Kundu, and Sadana (2010), describe how the restrictions imposed by the exploitative caste system on the low-caste untouchables to own any private property or any private enterprise in the past by the customary law, showed its impact when it comes to the establishing their own private enterprise in the modern era, leading to objecting them from attaining either the economic capital or the social capital. Authors by making use of the NSS data and based on the fourth economic census (1998 and 2005) proved that the private enterprises owned by the SCs (Scheduled Castes) and STs (Scheduled Tribes) was much lower than their share in the country's population. The share of the HCs (Higher Caste) was much above their share in the total population of the country, in case of OBCs (Other Backward Castes) the share of owning the private enterprises were fairly close to their share in the total population, these phenomena was observed in the rural areas. It will be appropriate here to quote Sharma (2002) who reminds us that the transformation of caste discriminations takes more sophisticated forms when compared with the rural to urban areas, she mentions that, "Caste has not gone away but has been transformed. It has been less to do than formerly with ritual relationships and is more evidently another dimension of competition for different kinds of resources in a modern capitalist society with a large agrarian base" (Sharma, 2002:74). Gupta (2000) further enlightens that, how trying to understand the caste hierarchy from the single model will be fool's errand and he says that, "It is difficult to dislodge the belief that a single caste hierarchy is universally acknowledged and accepted by everyone in the caste system. In fact it is more realistic to say that there are probably as many hierarchies as there are castes in India" (Gupta 2000:1).

The authors (Thorat, Kundu and Sadana (2010)) further extend their observation in the urban set up and finds that the similar phenomena is prevailing same in the rural areas as well as in the urban areas, the authors mention, "The share of the SCs in private enterprise is much lower than their share in total population. While their share in their country population is about 21 percent, they account for only 6 percent of the country' private enterprise, which is three-and-a-half times less than their share in the urban population". However the OBCs and STs maintain their shares in the ownership of the private enterprises, fairly close to their share in the total population, unsurprisingly the HCs share was much above their population share. The authors conclude that this disparities between the SC, STs when compared with the high share of HCs and fairly close share of OBCs in controlling the private enterprises in the rural and urban areas is "these results

clearly revealed the negative consequences of the historical denial of property right (that is right to undertake production and business except for some occupations that are considered as impure and polluting) to the SCs, and was evident in their meagre ownership of private enterprise and business in rural and urban areas". As mentioned above this study has proved that the HCs and relatively compared with the SCs and STs, OBCs also stand a upper hand in materializing the social capital with more efficacy and for obvious reasons of owning the property by the HCs and OBCs historically through the customary law framed and followed mostly by the upper castes in the caste system, gave them a step ahead in mobilizing the economic capital. Here the economic capital and the social capital are intertwined and shares a symbiotic relationship (Thorat and Newman, 2010: 311-327).

Authors, Thorat, Mahamallik and Sadana (2010), in '*Caste system and Pattern of Discrimination in Rural Markets*' throw some light on the discriminations personified against the SCs by the HCs in the rural market set up. The authors start the chapter by mentioning that 'the caste system' has fixed the fundamental characteristics of the fixed economic rights for each caste, with restrictions on change implies the 'forced exclusion' of the lower caste from certain economic rights (or occupations) that the higher caste enjoy" further they continue to say that "in the market economy framework, the inter-caste occupational immobility would operate through restriction on lower-caste persons in various markets such as land, labour, capital, credit, other inputs and services necessary for any economic activity" (Thorat, Mahamallik and Sadana,2010:148). This chapter is very important to understand the phenomena of caste discrimination in the setup of market which is generally believed to be free from the caste discrimination and also widely argued that market economy will give free will for those who are hardworking and meritorious. However the authors with their scientific and systematic study had disproved that how the market economy either in the rural or the urban set up is not free from the caste discriminations as the customary laws framed and enforced by the upper caste within the caste system are very relevant in the modern era. The market which is linked up with so many social factors was unable to free itself from the clutches of the caste discrimination, apart from that, it appears that, market economy in fact established the symbiotic relationship with the caste and its exploitative nature. The authors tries to prove this point by clearly analyzing each and every possible aspect which determines the rural labour market under different headings such as,

wage payment interval, caste and the land market, homestead land and residential houses, agricultural land-rental market, agriculture input market, market in sale and purchase of farm and non-farm goods, sale and purchase of vegetables and milk, traditional caste occupation (Thorat, 2010:148-176).

The education which is important factor to understand and predict the future came in handy for the upper castes to seize the opportunities which are upcoming in the future such as in the political sphere and in seizing the business opportunities. The lower caste which had to struggle for their livelihood were generally deprived of this political and other economic opportunities which opened up for all the people in the society. During the colonial and post-independence period, the upper caste members seized the opportunity to elevate themselves in the political and economic sphere either with their education or with the already accumulated wealth they possessed. The caste survey done by the colonial regime to identify the people is another important factor to understand why the names of the caste had become an epitome of identity politics which any caste group plays in the modern context as well. Sharma writes that "If colonial rule did not actually invent caste, there it certainly ensured its continued existence and exerted a powerful influence upon its modern form" (Sharma, 2002: 9).

It was very necessary for the upper caste to boast off their caste names as their castes were and are highly respected and by using their caste name they obviously stand in advantageous position as his/her caste members who are already in dominant position, will recognize and rally behind them to save and preserve their own caste members. However the lower castes who are newly finding their options are at the vulnerable position as there was no one to help them out from within.

Pandian (1983) while discussing about the caste titles and their importance in the wake of the power structure embedded in the caste systems notes that, "The symbols of corporate authority are often fused with the symbols of political economic dominance. Politically and economically, dominant castes use these symbols as titles, and often as caste names as well. The authority of the dominant castes is accepted by other castes, and certain labels become regional labels of corporate authority and of political economic dominance".

Deshpande (2011) argues against the popular belief that the caste discrimination is not present in the urban set up; she says that "A popular belief about the caste system in India is that the present day inequalities are a result of past discrimination, primarily confined to rural areas. The notion is that labour markets in urban areas, especially in the formal private sector are essentially meritocratic" (Deshpande, 2011:182). Author further argues that "The evidence indicates that lip-service to merit notwithstanding these markets show a deep awareness of caste and religious (not to mention gender) cleaves and indeed perpetuate caste discrimination in the present" (Deshpande, 2011:183).

To support her arguments author also has highlighted other works such as Bhattacharjee (1985), Dhesi and Singh (1988), Banerjee and Knight (1985), Lakshmanasamy and Madheswaran (1995), Banerjee and Bucci (1994), etc. to prove that there is wage discrimination for the upper caste and lower caste employees in the urban sector. Author opines that the 'education gap itself embodies pre-market discrimination which cannot be directly measured.' And author in the concluding remarks of this section further explains that "the study compares discrimination in the public sector versus the private sector and finds that SC employees face discrimination in both sectors, but that the discriminatory effect is much smaller and decreasing in the public sector, as compared to the private sector, where the discriminatory effect is high and unchanged".

Author also take the help from the works of Thorat and Attewell (2007) and Siddique (2009), these studies are first-of-its-kind which emphasized on understanding the caste discrimination based on the mere names of the candidates who want to apply for the jobs in the highly educated segment. These two works concentrated on the modern formal urban set up jobs, in this study, the researchers sent out mails or applications by using three different names, one with the high caste name, one with Muslim name and another which indicates the lower caste name. The researchers had found out undoubtedly and unsurprisingly that, the call for interviews were given more to the applications with the upper caste name though the researchers made sure that the application with the upper caste name had less qualifications than required, though the other two applications are in fact over qualified and highly eligible for the jobs, if the jobs had to be given, based on the criteria of merit. Siddique(2009) mentions, "she found that high-caste applicants

had a 20 percent higher chance of being called back. Testing for the interaction between caste and gender, she found that the effect of being low-caste for female applicant reduces that call back probability by 37 percent".

Deshpande (2011) mentions about the study conducted among the students from JNU, DU, and JMI which comprised of men and women students from the Dalit and non-Dalit background. The analysis was done under many sub-sections. The research tries to find out the diverging expectations of the candidates who were about to pass out from the above mentioned universities with post-graduate degree aspiring for jobs and the expected salary and the time period for the expected job to be realized and all. The study finds that the Dalit students favour public sector jobs as the affirmative action has been implemented in the public sector where the non-Dalit students are not so much in favour of the public sector whereas, the non-Dalit students were confident and aspired to find the jobs in the private sector.

The Dalit students on an average expects the salary of Rs. 19,510/- against the non-Dalit students whose average of the expected salary stands for Rs. 24, 470/-. While the Dalit students whose parents are mostly farmers are reluctant to use the family background but the non-Dalit students showed interest and hope in finding the jobs or the business opportunities with the help of family business, family connections and parental education. While using the medium of job search, the Dalit students highly depended on the newspaper advertisements as the public sector cannot recruit people without giving an newspaper advertisement whereas the non-Dalit students were well informed and were interested in the mediums such as, university-sponsored placement cells, answering newspaper advertisements, submitting resumes by hand and over the internet, and turning to family connections and off campus 'head hunters' or placement firms. While indicating the time period to find a job, the Dalit students expressed that they are likely to find their ideal job which they aspire in the period of 9.6 months (average of the total responses from the Dalit students) against the 5.25 months (average of the total responses from the non-Dalit students) (Deshpande, 2011:196-198).

The Dalit students also expressed in this research that, the job interviews or the interviewers showed discrimination while conducting the interviews, as their names or the surnames in the

certificates clearly gives away their caste background. The discrimination was very subtle, the interviewers were concentrating on the questions which makes the interviewee uncomfortable, and the questions are often off the grid and irrelevant for the job which they have been called upon. Lot of students expressed that the questions were directed in the way to tell them 'they can't fit in the private sector' and 'they have come this far just because of the affirmative action' and often the questions were asked in the tone that 'why should we give you this job for a person being form the reserved category' on the other hand the non-Dalit students expressed that the interviews were casual and general chit-chat type and asking more of the likes and dislikes of the candidates who were attending the job interviews. And in case if the job interviews didn't last long and the individual feels that they will not be getting the job they simply state that, they have perfect qualification for the job but the job has been given for the person within the organization and they are sure that they will get any job based on their true merit. And forgetting about all the privileges, the non-Dalit students had been enjoying, either through their social capital, or through the socialization and with all the economic privileges with which they have been raised, tend to express that, the job was given to them on the basis of merit (Deshpande, 2011:200-201). While explaining the demand-side story: what are employers looking for? Author takes the help from the study of Jodhka and Newman (2007) and points out that, the employers are with the notion that "workers should be hired strictly according to merit" when confronted with the question of why does they ask or consider about the family background the employers had replied that "merit was formed within the crucible of the family" (Jodhka and Newman 2007 as cited by Deshpande, 2011:202).

In the concluding remarks the author points out that, "All available evidence suggests that social and cultural capital (the complex and overlapping categories of caste, family background, network and contacts) plays a huge role in urban, formal sector labour markets, where hiring practices are less transparent than they appear at first sight. While Dalits are severely disadvantaged in this setting, an effective affirmative action programme has the potential to turn things around" (Deshpande, 2011:212).

The names of the caste or surnames not only help them in the social capital but also in the social mobility. Often the caste names of the lower caste were given by the upper caste people in order

to differentiate themselves from the upper caste. The lower caste names are often interlinked with the stereotypes attached to it with the look down approach. Why the lower castes were forced to accept such names will be a great historical sociological study, which one should understand the domination of the upper caste over the lower caste in the form of naming and humiliating them by mere addressing them with that look down approach. Sharma (2002) gives an obvious reference,

> Currie (1992) has drawn attention to the fact that the whole debate is complicated by a distinction between willing acceptance of hierarchy (with consent to its basic principles) and unwilling acceptance of hierarchy, there is an appearance of consent, but people work within the system because they cannot otherwise survive (Sharma, 2002:57).

Gupta adds how the lower caste when they don't have choice to resist but to accept the hegemony says that, "Not only do different castes have different hierarchical elaborations, but in addition, these castes which currently find themselves in extremely humiliating and subordinate positions defer to accept the theory of karma, especially when it comes to caste ordering" (Gupta, 2000:2). The lower caste whether they want to continue with the name given by the upper caste or to change it is a matter of contextual and situational determinants which play a key role rather than the willingness of the lower caste.

However, the lower caste or Dalits, whenever they have a chance, fight the hegemony of the upper caste and never refused to use whatever weapon available in their possession to come out of the stereotypic look down approach. In the process of social mobility, the lower caste first try to alter or completely change the name so that they will escape the look down approach associated with their caste names. The occupational caste groups who practices carpentry in state of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh names themselves as *Vishwakarma Brahmins*, the caste group which is called as '*Mangali*' who traditionally used to render the services of barbering to the other caste started calling themselves as '*Nai Brahmins*'. These are very few to name here, however the phenomena is such, by naming their caste either by joining the prefix or suffix with the upper caste name which already was well respected among the other caste is a way out for the lower caste to get out of the stereotypes attached to their caste names. In this process the lower caste often employ the Sanskritized terms and create oral stories which are eventually portrayed as a myth associated with their caste. The myth generally shows that the lower caste group were earlier upper caste, however they have offended or got a bane from the god or

goddess and hence forth they have been living under the shadow of lower caste. Similarly, the Pradhan (one of the upper caste community among the Newars) in the Kathmandu stopped marrying the brides and grooms from the *pradhans* in the Sikkim. The general notion is that the *pradhans*in Sikkim are not 'genuine' *pradhans* as most of the lower caste who have migrated from the valley to Sikkim and Darjeeling region named themselves as *pradhans* in order to escape the social stereotypes associated with their original caste names. So the *pradhans* from valley generally avoid having any marital alliance with the *pradhans* from the Sikkim and Darjeeling. This instance shows how the lower caste people generally employ the technique of adopting the upper caste names in order to come out of the look down approach.

Similarly, the tribal population who live adjacent to the villages, where the non-tribal population live, generally adopt the surnames of the non-Tribalas tribal names are socially degrading among the other communities. The tribal groups in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh and other agency regions, generally contains the suffix as *Raju*, *Rao*which is again an upper caste suffix observed in the adjacent non-tribal regions of the same State. The *kondaReddies* who reside in the Godavari districts of the Andhra Pradesh generally use their surnames as Reddy which is again the upper caste surname. As Dr. Ramdoss (2010) puts it while emphasizing on the importance of name or surname points out that

> The effect of a name should never be underestimated. What is in a name, one may wonder? Well, what isn't? The first thing we learn about a person after greeting him or her is his or her name. Names not only reflect our personality but also give us the first inkling of the religion, race or community we belong to. We are named after our ancestors, family members, after popular icons, clan, occupation, religion or even the locality we are from. There is a confusing array of names, surnames, middle names, nicknames, given names. You name it, it is there. But what concerns me most are the adhesive caste names the so-called intellectuals go by while vociferously demanding that casteism be abolished.[4]

Author of this article also cautions the reader that mere changing the name or avoiding the surname is not going to abolish the caste system, however he also points out that, it is a step towards eradicating at least the stereotypes revolving around the surnames and names of the caste which generally gives away the caste of the person, which indeed plays a key role for any

---

[4]Ramdoss, Ambumani (2010).*What is in Name?* The Hindu newspaper

individual who believes in the making use of the caste he/she comes from to turn the opportunities in their benefit. Caste is one vicious trap in which every individual inevitably gets trapped, irrespective of whether the individual want to get affiliated with the caste in which he or she was born into. However by changing the names, as the author suggests, will be for sure a step towards to minimize the impact of the surnames of the caste to judge a person before even knowing that person.

Along with fighting the caste surnames, it is also important to fight to eradicate the human behaviour or the character of the human beings with the caste which they belong to. It is commonly believed that the upper caste people are hardworking and honest whereas the lower caste people are preying upon the hard work of the upper caste and generally lazy to work. These general stereotypical notions which are imbibed among the people in the Indian society is another major reason how the corporate sector recruiters generally rejects the people with the surnames or the names which reveal the identity of the person as lower caste.

Jodhka (2008) writes that, "for those who have traditionally been at the receiving end, at the bottom of the hierarchical system, it has always been a system of domination that denied them opportunities and deprived them socially and economically. The available official data clearly shows that a large majority of Dalits continue to be landless and asset-less." He further states "they (Dalits) have been helped in their endeavour by various government policies, including the quota system. However, given their social and cultural situation, they remain relatively weak in terms of ownership of social and cultural capital. The idea of merit and the manner in which it has come to be codified in relation to caste and reservation in India directly works against them. Consequently, even after attaining education, Dalit candidates invariably find it harder to find good jobs" (Jodhka, 2008).

This is the main reason why we more often read about the caste conflicts between the upper caste and lower caste, as the powerless lower caste people try to change the name or surname of their kids, similar to the upper caste with the hope that, changing their names or the pattern of naming will lead to regain the lost social respect from the other communities. The BBC news on 2nd December 2011 published an article which says, a Dalit boy was killed by strangling for mere

sharing the name of the upper caste neighbour's son' name. The upper caste person had warned the Dalit father to change the name of his sons as the names were similar to his own sons. The upper caste person could not even tolerate the sharing of name with the Dalit family and killed the son of the Dalit person, though he denied the charges filed by the police. This news article is an exclusive example of how the society and upper caste perceives the name and its role to be played in the larger context of the society.

Pandian (1983), writes that how the caste titles act as vehicles of leadership and decision making within the caste and if the caste happens to dominant and possess politico-economic power within the village the caste titles will act as a vehicle to show the power over the other castes too. The author says "Thus, the validation of titles has two contexts, within the caste and in inter-caste relationships". The author observation is fitting to the above incident as noted by BBC news report, where the upper caste person was unable to tolerate the fact that his son shares the same name as the Dalit person's son. The political education through different identity movements or the opening up of different economic opportunities or with the emerging chances of controlling the political dominance even by the powerless in the past might have motivated the Dalit person to stand for his rights, however the arrogant and intolerant casteist attitude of the upper caste person resulted in the death of the Dalit boy. The violence invoked by upper caste, in the context of the helplessness is an evident factor how the upper caste still perceives and dreams of building the Indian society on the lines of caste discrimination and exploitative caste system.

However, it is very important for the Dalits or any sensible upper caste person who wants to see the Indian society as egalitarian society to fight the evils of the caste system and for that one has to change the surnames or have to work for de-stereotyping the surnames of the caste one belongs to. As a part of the self-respect movement and the larger Dalit identity movement in the south India, the Dalit and other deprived classes started adopting the phenomena of naming their children with respectable terms such as *Anna*, *Akka*, *Swami*, *Dora Saami*, (the names of the children who are named in this period will be similar to Ramanna, Vimalakka, Vellai Swami, whereas the first names are mere names and the suffix which looks like the part of the name are respectable terms with which, one addresses the elders or the higher caste people) as a part of their names. So an upper caste person who does not have the habit of addressing the Dalits with

respectable terms should address the youngsters also with the suffixes which indeed emphasizes on the respectable terms. In this context Dr. Ramadoss (2010) writes "My great-grandfather's name is AanaiGounder, my grandfather's name is SanjeevarayaGounder, where 'Gounder' denotes a caste name. My father's name is S. Ramadoss, while mine is AnbumaniRamadoss, which is just a patronymic, generic name. [5]

This social revolution of eliminating caste names began two generations ago in Tamil Nadu. The dropping of the caste tags of Mudaliar, Nadar, Gounder, Thevar, Iyer, Pillai, Vanniyar, etc., in the last 30 years or so is a great social change that needs to be acknowledged and followed in all other parts of the country".

The surnames were used pompously only by the upper caste where they are very well aware of the benefits they get through 'social capital' but not the lower caste who believes that this will work in their disadvantage in the concept of social capital. Jhodka (2008) writes that "I have been told by several friends that the Dalit applicants tend to avoid mentioning their belonging from reserved category with the fear that, it would work against them because of the wide spread prejudice among the corporate employers against them. Their belonging to SC or ST is invariably read by the employers as a sign of their deficiency, that they are not meritorious enough. They were after all admitted in the college only against a reserved seat!"

The social capital works in the similar lines of the economic capital, which generally invested by the individual to maximize the profits from the initial capital at the cost of others human labour. Deshpande (2011) while writing about the importance of the social capital or established networks one possess in the job hunting or the professional labour market states that "prospective employers and employees prefer to learn about one another from personal sources whose information they trust. This is an example of social capital" (Despande, 2011:190). By the help of Social capital, people are able to accomplish different tasks, which they would be difficult for them to accomplish individually. People form networks and use them as resources for their individual and community growth and based on their position, they use this as capital for their

---

[5]Ramadoss, Anbumani (2010), http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/article596313.ece

overall growth. The modern organizations, where the responsibilities are defined based on the positions rather than the individuals, networks play an important role where the formalities and procedures are ignored for the work at hand to be finished, people try to contact their peer groups in order to find out the substitutes and accomplish the task, here networks and the relationships come into play (Field, 2008:4).

Putnam (2008) has defined Social Capital as, 'features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, than can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions' (as cited in Field, 2008: 4). Social capital distinct from other capital as a resource, which increases with its usage, depletes when not used and is a public good (Bhattachatyya et al, 2004:17).

Social Capital is the capital which is captured and nurtured through relations. Whatever might be the market place political, economic, and labour or community, individuals engage in interaction and networking in order to maximize their profits. Social capital is the capital by which individuals access the resources through their connections and the networks in which they are part of (Lin, 2001:20).

Social networks are valuable assets where, networks help and form the basis of the social cohesion, which help individuals to cooperate with each other, though they do not know them on a personal basis but for their mutual development (Field, 2008:4).

Bhattacharyya (2004) gives us other insight about how the lower-caste or Dalits who are supposed to build the social capital are quite succeeding in the process only when it comes to communal solidarity should be forged in the context of social and political action against the upper and middle castes which provide them chance to upward mobility in these two spheres namely political and social. However, author tries to explain how the Dalits or lower castes are failing to build that social capital in the sphere of economic activity. Author further says that "economic position have divided the Chamars from other groups of their own community such as the Balmikis and Musahars and sections of the rural poor such as the MBC's with whom they have common economic interests" (Bhattachatyya et al, 2004:27). But this phenomenon will not

be observed in the upper caste, where they tend to materialize the social capital in all the spheres such as political, social and economic because of the obvious advantage they have over the generations historically.

It is just a continuation for the upper caste to maintain the social capital and get benefit out of it. Whereas the social capital has to be built and make it realize when it is necessary is all together a new chapter for the Dalits and lower caste, and the economic sphere stands as a challenge for the Dalits and lower caste who seems to be failing and showing the symptoms of rift in materializing the social capital in achieving the economic needs. In this regard Sharma (2002) points out that, the economic concept as class which cannot be considered as communities but exist only where people share specific component of their life chances determined by their economic positions. However, the status group or which she calls castes where the recruitment to both is exclusively through birth has its own role to play in determining the social capital which they try to build, maintain and achieve the ends with it.

As mentioned above, the notion of oneness which starts with associating and disassociating the individuals based on different criteria such as caste names, place that individual belongs to or the religion that individual follows or in some instance the gender to which a person belongs to, plays a key role in evoking the social capital. The association and disassociation works differently from context to context. The person from the sub-caste will be easily getting incorporated into the caste when they sought political strength through the number of people being associated with that caste. However, the same sub caste individuals will be discriminated when the minimum resources has to be shared among all the caste members equally. The game of associating and disassociating is highly determined by the available resources or in the modern context the available job or business opportunities. When there are limited resources available the larger association gets narrowed down by disassociating the members in the name of sub caste, language or the region they belong to and in the process of disassociating the cultural differences will be viewed with high value to show the difference between the people in order to take the advantage of the situation.

The evoking the social capital works very well with the upper caste who already have wide social network which were established because of the obvious privileges they have been enjoying either in the form of education or in the form of controlling the means of production. However the social capital for the lower caste is not that favouring as they have been deprived by the chance of the getting into the top position where one can have real influence and get their own creed to get the job. Ignoring the historical factors the people from the upper caste always feel that the Indian state is discriminating them through the affirmative action i.e. the reservations for the deprived castes. The question of meritocracy and hard work arises among the upper caste individuals, who generally tend to believe that the lower caste person had made it that far just because he/she has the reservations in his/her support. This notion of oneness works better in the context of discriminating rather than helping someone.

Mosse, (2006) writes that "The attempt to synthesize the social and the economic in a theory of "Social Capital" poses questions about the relationship between norms, networks, associations, and collective action. But this also introduces unresolved problems as too many different social phenomena are bundled together, and the statistical concept of social capital is unable to grasp the historical dynamic between collective action, associations, and democratic practice. As theory, social capital is too vague about the mechanisms by which social interaction produces values or collective action, and as policy its causal relations are too unidirectional (from associations to collective action or democratic process) to be useful".

However, Gurumurthy (2013) author of 'Caste as Social Capital' notes, "Caste now seems to be emerging as social capital, as a vehicle for economic development. Social capital is the product of relations-as distinct from contracts-that creates kinship among people. Caste constitutes natural kinship". Author further says that "According to Economic Census of India (2005) which covered 42 million non-farming enterprises employing 99 million people, the OBCs owned 43.5 per cent of all enterprises, as against their share of 41 per cent in total population; Scheduled Castes (SCs) owned 9.8 percent of all enterprises, against their population of 16.4 percent; Scheduled Tribes (STs) owned 3.7 percent against their population of 7.7 percent". Though author mentions that the schedule caste and schedule tribe are having less than their share in the total population, fails to explain what are these non-farming enterprises where the SC and ST

managed to get hold and the conditions that favoured the situation and is silent on explaining why the same phenomena is not applicable in the political representations and also in the education sector either at the student or the faculty representation. The author seems to be in support of the caste system when he states that "Caste in politics has indeed done a lot of damage. But caste in economics seems to hold high potential for India's growth" And the author also states that "Take Tirupur, one of such clusters dominated by the Gounder community, which now exports close to $ 3 billion of knitwear. A study by Boston Consulting scholars has shown more than two-thirds of the exporters to have studied not even till Std 12, with less than a tenth of them being graduates. Another example is the diamond business in India, which is entirely driven by the Palanpuri Jain and Patel communities. Nine out of ten diamonds in the world are cut today in Gujarat. Of the 35 leading diamond exporters of Surat, only two had completed higher secondary education and others even less" Author seems to suggest that the education is not a factor to earn the money, what one has to do is to evoke the social capital which is already established by the caste which one belongs to.

On the contrary, Arora (2010) in his article titled "On caste privilege" describes how the upper caste still manages to bag the social capital they have accumulated over the generations and how the lower caste, women and Muslims who are marginalized still lacks the equal opportunity to claim as equals in the spheres of Indian democracy. Author further compares how the whites in America know about the blacks and how the white majority accepts the blacks in the popular culture and also in the political spheres, treating blacks as inferiors either verbally or in actions in America will definitely lead to legal action and sometimes the politicians are forced to step down from their office and the author compares the similar situation to Indian scenario where the then "chief minister of Gujarat, NarendraModi, continues to thrive even after calling the 'Dalits, the Mentally Retarded Children' and says that the Balmikis gain 'spiritual experience' from manual scavenging".

Author further describes the recruitment of Dalits and adivasis in the elite reputed institutions such as JNU, IIT Madras, IIT Bombay where the representatives of the Dalit and Adivasi faculty is less than 2-3% and author also elaborates how in the modern sector, which is considered as merit based, is rejecting the meritorious applicants from Dalit and Muslims. He shows how the

discrimination is merely based on their ascribed status, which is caste. In this context, it will be apt to argue that, the surnames or for that matter the names of the people which reflects their caste names is one of the main reason why the candidates who apply for the jobs get rejected even before attending the interview, just because their 'names' say so that they are Dalits and the other stereotypes attached to it such as they are not meritorious, they will not work hard or most importantly they do not belong to the same social group as the recruiter of that reputed companies in the modern sector.

While emphasizing on how the elite people who obviously belongs to the upper caste often reluctant to let go their caste names Dr. Ramdoss (2010) writes "I am deeply intrigued when Mani Iyer or Ravi Verma or Rahul Shashtri talks or writes about a casteless society, or labels others as being caste fanatics. Their intellectual posturing is exposed when they stubbornly refuse to let go of these commonly used suffixes which are purely caste, sub-caste or sect names. Their blatant flaunting of their caste is indeed ironic in itself and most devious simply because it is so subtle, and on the surface unapparent".

The utilization of name or surname which reflects the caste name to take advantage in the sphere of social capital is a form of corruption. In the country like India, which is plagued by the notion of corruption often supports (at least through practice, though rejects verbally) the form of corruption such as favouritism and nepotism. Stealing the opportunity or giving way for your own caste group over the others is a clear discrimination and is evidently based in the concept of social capital. Often the society which includes our parents and the relatives, who are main reason for our socialization, preaches and practices the favouritism and nepotism in day to day life. This leads to the belief that one should be part of this big network where a person from a particular caste should save or give opportunity for the other person of the same caste; it is a mandatory rule for being part of the caste. The social capital which was established by the Dalitand deprived communities so far, should also be studied to understand the phenomena of social capital in totaland how this social capital of Dalit works. In a study titled, 'Caste and the Power Elite' the authors have shown that upper castes occupy all the important positions in the public institutions of Allahabad.

Table 3.1Share of Upper Castes in Positions of Power and Influence, Allahabad (%)

Reference Group[a]	Upper Castes		Brahmin and Kayastha	
	In Entire Group	Among Those "Identified"	In Entire Group	Among Those "Identified"
Leaders of teachers' unions (17)	100	100	76	76
Allahabad Press Club, office-bearers (16)	100	100	75	75
Proprietors of advertisement agencies (11)	91	91	55	55
Hospital doctors (99)	89	94	37	39
Bar Association, executive committee (28)	86	96	68	76
Prominent publishers (12)	83	100	42	50
GBPSSI faculty (15)	80	80	60	67
Advocate Association, executive committee (14)	79	100	57	73
NGO representatives (30)	77	88	47	54
Union leaders (clerical & manual workers) (49)	76	88	55	64
Allahabad University faculty* (112)	76	77	54	55
CDOs and BDOs (20)	75	88	40	53
Reporters of media houses (62)	74	85	53	61
Ashok Nagar residents (62)	74	82	32	36
Former presidents, AU students' union (79)	73	89	44	54
Prominent artists (55)	71	89	47	59
Allahabad Press Club, members (104)	71	80	56	63
Police officers (district and block levels) (28)	68	100	39	58
IIIT Allahabad faculty (47)	68	100	36	56
High court judges (75)	68	81	32	38
High court lawyers* (100)	67	88	44	58
Traders' association (6)	67	80	0	0
College principals (16)	56	69	19	23
Junior engineers, Allahabad municipality (20)	55	79	30	43
Total (1,077)	75	87	46	54

In the table the abbreviations stand AU = Allahabad University. BDO = Block Development Officer. CDO = Chief Development Officer. GBPSSI = G B Pant Social Science Institute. IIIT = Indian Institute of InformationTechnology. In brackets, size of the group. Asterisks indicate cases where a sample was taken, due to the large size of the group; in such cases, the number in brackets is the size of the sample.The first column indicates the proportion of persons identified (with reasonable confidence) as upper caste in the entire group. The second column indicates their proportion in the subset of all those (within the relevant group) whose caste could be identified. These figures can be interpreted as lower and upper bounds, respectively, on the actual proportion of upper-caste persons in the relevant group. Similarlywith Brahmins and Kayasthas in the third and fourth columns.

From the above table it is evident that all the posts are dominated by upper castes and among the upper castes Brahmins and Kayasthas occupy a prominent share. For this survey the authors

collected names of "people in positions of power" in Allahabad city from institutional websites(High court, Indian Institute of Information Technology, Allahabad University), lists of employee names, names from Allahabad Press Club, names were collected from other bodies as well. A total of 1852 names were collected and each surname from the list was associated to a caste group. From the table the authors have calculated that 75 percent of the "powerful positions" were captured by the upper castes while their population in the state of Uttar Pradesh was only 21 percent. In this, the Brahmins and Kaysathas cornered more than 50 percent of the positions that is four times of their share in the population of the state. The authors conclude by stating that the privileges of the upper caste are reproduced and maintained by

> Every time an upper-caste person marries within his or her caste without good reason, he or she helps to perpetuate the caste system and the privileges of the upper castes. Of course, there may be a good reason, for instance being in love with someone who belongs to the same caste. But when endogamous marriage is practised simply because it is considered the norm, it is a form of caste discrimination (Agarwal et al, 2015:49).

This chapter made a small attempt to understand the relationship between the caste surnames or titles used by the different castes to achieve the ends in the political, economic and social spheres. But it turned out that, the historical advantage the upper caste stand in maintaining the social capital either in the rural labour market or in the urban professional market gives them the upper hand to exercise or maintain the social capital which they managed to build over generations through controlling the means of production, or achieving the education status or getting into the top position in the politics, bureaucracy, or framing the business networks, which again come in handy to the upper caste to pull the younger generations of the upper caste to these higher positions. Whereas, the Dalits and lower castes who are at the receiving end of the exploitative caste system not only suffer the loss, who were humiliated in the past, also seems to continue even in the market economy or the urban formal labour market which shows itself as if it strives to achieve the meritocracy.

Different scholars disproved that the social capital which is invoked by mere saying the name, surname or title which ones' caste possess is playing a vital role in getting this social capital rejuvenating making it a vicious cycle where the lower caste are deprived entry. In case, if the lower caste or the OBCs managed to build the social capital which is a huge task all together, are managing to succeed only in the spheres of the political and social that too only when they fight

the upper caste hegemony, but they seem to fail to maintain that social capital in the sphere of the economic relations. This might be because the insecurity they faced because of not holding means of production in the past, and they don't want even the same caste person to come as a competition hence the lower caste is failing to materialize social capital in the sphere of economy.

Chapter 4
Mobilisations for and Against Caste Identity

This chapter deals with the way caste identity is being used for mobilising the groups and communities for various purposes. It tries to engage with the complexities related with the engagement with castes by different sections in different ways keeping in view with their existing circumstances. In this context Identity of various caste groups play significant roles. Names of people are not always distinct from names of castes; it is usually the names of castes that turn into the caste title of people. So, caste names and caste titles are very much embedded in the caste system. But in some cases, it is not necessarily so; Adi-Shudras is a preferable identity for ex-untouchables, it is not a caste title that people carry with their names. However, the 'Yadav as a caste identity is also a common surname for the people of the Yadav communities. The anti-caste struggles for dignity have worked towards abolition of caste based identity. Certain castes have asserted caste identity through imitation of a caste title similar to upper caste titles for the sake of social mobility. Certain groups also assert caste based identities as a means of recognising lower caste titles and thereby working towards their empowerment through the idea of acknowledging the community as lower caste.

This chapter is divided into three sub divisions. Firstly, an insight into the Manusmriti- the Lawgiver for the Hindu way of life, and what it has to say about names of people would be useful to get an understanding of the dynamics behind caste titles.

The second division of the chapter is based on the mobilisation against caste identity. It covers anti-caste struggles and religious conversion to make Hinduism free of caste system i.e. abolition of caste system in Hinduism or getting converted to casteless religion like Buddhism. It has been loosely sub-divided in chronological manner. These struggles have employed several methodologies to fight caste discrimination, from annihilating the material basis of caste to theoretical level. Caste is very closely knit to the religious and social practice of Hinduism, and it is also directly an outcome of the Brahminical Hindu social order. Many anti-caste leaders have strongly advocated for the abolition of Hindu religion for the eradication of the caste system. Several of these leaders- JyotiraoPhule, IyotheeThassar, Periyar and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar-

promoted moving away from Hinduism and even conversion to Buddhism. They argued it as one of the most humanitarian religion which used to be practiced by the Sudras.

On the other hand, some of the movements are not for annihilating identity of caste. But these movements wanted to organise the caste or sub-caste group for assertion of caste identity. An examination of organisations that asserted their caste identities and argued against social practices those are demeaning for them,like All India YadavMahasabha, All Indian BairwaMahasabha, etc. establishes this facet of caste mobilizations. So, the third division of this chapter deals with mobilisationsemphasizing the caste identity. The argument that caste has to be completely wiped out by wiping out caste based identities is a phenomenon is not acceptable for many. By acknowledging caste hierarchies, superiority and stigma that goes with the respective castes are the means to address caste based issues is the broad understanding on which radical caste based organisations are working. These groups can be both political parties like ViduthalaiCiruthaigalKatchi and BahujanSamaj Party; as well as literary groups like the Dalit Panthers. Individual writers who identify themselves as Dalit also take this radical stand and retain their caste titles. But, there is another socio-political aspiration for caste based groups which exist for social mobility. These consist of the Brahmin and Sudra castes or are the border-lining castes between the Sudra communities and the upper castes who want to be identified as upper castes in the hierarchy.

Fourth division of the chapter will cover use of caste based surnames at individual and family level. It discusses the way Individuals use their surnames for matrimonial purposes or personal gains. Thus, use of caste based surnames in pro and against mobilisation for caste identity can be seen at two levels. One is at collective level for the whole community for social mobilisation and another is at the individual level.

The Hindu Social Order and its Decrees on Social Positions

According to the Hindu religious belief system, the four varnas comprising the Chathur(four)varna system are Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. They are arranged in a hierarchical order as per the Manusmriti. At the top of this power structure are the

Brahmans, who are the keepers and interpreters of the sacred texts and performers of rituals. Kshatriyas are the rulers and warriors; the Brahmans and Kshatriyas together lord over the Vaishyas, the cultivators and traders and Sudras, the servant class engaging in menial jobs. There is another group below the Sudras who don't fall under the Chathurvarna fold, nor mentioned clearly in the Manusmriti. They are beneath the four Varnas and called as achhoots (untouchables), occupying a position at the very bottom of the social order (Jodhka, 2015:2) The Manusmriti uses terms such as 'Mlechha' or 'Chandala'[6] to make references to theavarnas (outside the four varna). 'The law of varna means that everyone will follow as a matter of dharma-duty the hereditary calling of his forefathers ... he will earn his livelihood by following that calling'[7]

The entire Manusmriti is an elaboration of the roles of the people belonging to different Varnas. Several examples may be derived from the text of Manu to support the former statement. As per the Laws of the Manu which guides the social and religious life of the Hindus,

> (Seniority comes) not through years or grey hair or wealth or relatives; the sages established this law: 'The man who has learned the Veda with all its subsidiary texts is great among us.' The seniority of priests comes from knowledge; of rulers, from manly power; of commoners, from wealth in grain; and of servants alone, from birth (Doniger, 2014:155).

The ordering of different Varnas is clearly intended to support the theory of Brahminical supremacy. As per the hierarchy of the seniority, Manu has a law to be able to find out which person falls under which order of the Chathurvarna just be the sound of the name of a person,

> The name giving should be done for him on the 10th day (after birth) or the 12th day, or on an excellent lunar day or moment, or under a constellation that has good qualities.
> (The name) of a priest should have (a word for) auspiciousness, of a ruler strength, of a commoner property, and (the name) of a servant should breed disgust(Doniger, 2014: 30-35).

Further, she argues,

> A man should not marry a girl who is a redhead or has an extra limb or is sickly or has no body hair or too much body hair or talks too much or is sallow; or who is named after a constellation, a tree, or a river, or who has a low-caste name… (Doniger, 2014: 30-35).

---

[6] S.M. Michael (Ed.) 2007, Introduction to Dalits in Modern India Vision and Values.
[7] See Zelliot (1992:154).

Thus, it is clear from the above lines that by the sound of the name of an individual, the individual's position in the Chathurvarna system is identified. All the honour and stigma that follow the people belonging to each Verna from birth are uncovered with a single noun or two of their 'name/s'. The Manusmriti shows the inbuilt system of ranking from the superior to the subordinate in the society; respect is to be granted according to this ranking. Though the Laws of Manu state precisely the social structure through the four Varnas as it is meant to be in Hindu society; caste in reality is a far more complex and widespread across the subcontinent and beyond.

How is Caste Different from Varna?

The Manusmriti does not refer to caste, but refers to Varnas and that there are four Varnas to be maintained. Over time, as the economy grew more complex, and as new communities emerged through "fission, fussion, intermarriages, migration, and the emergence of new occupations, the Varna system got transformed into the jati system, which is essentially a system of regional caste groupings" (Deshpande, 2013: 14). While the jati system shares many similarities with the Varna system, jatis are not a clear sub-set of varnas. Even the exact number of jatis is not known with certainty—the count is close to 7,000 communities, with wide variation in sizes, some with more than a million members and others with less than 1,000 members (Singh, 1994). The Varna-jati link is fluid, be it at the very top or at the very bottom of the hierarchy of communities.

The Varna-jati model of social organisation prescribed by Brahminic Hinduism incorporates various occupational groups into its structure. Hierarchy and separation based on the notions of purity and pollution are its organising principles. The entire internal coherence of Hindu social organisation is sustained by the ideology governing the caste system (Michael M., 2007:184). According to Brahminic Hinduism, the idea of dharma is 'the socio-cosmic order which organises the empirical world'(Biardeau, 1989: 41). In this doctrine of Hinduism, order and rank of the Varna-jati model are eternal; the karma (fate) doctrine and the Varna-jati system together place the individual within a clear circle of duties.

The sacred literature of Hindus, largely a creation of Brahmins throughout the ages, naturally lent support to the idea of Brahminical supremacy and the benefits that would flow to the king and country if the Brahmins were kept happy and prosperous (Srinivas 1998: 23). The four Varnas were ranked, both in their order of birth and the excellence of their sacrificial function by the lawgivers. The Brahmins were the first to be born and they performed the most excellent function at the sacrifice. Virtues in this system, however, is not defined in terms of outdoing the functions of the higher castes; rather it lies in the performance of one's own caste's duties; "it is more virtuous for the cobbler to tan his polluting hides and to beat the drum at the village temple than to imitate the superior ways of the Brahmin scholar" (Michael, 2007:25). In this way, by each caste observing its particular duties, the universe survives as a whole.

In the Rig Veda, the word 'Varna' clearly refers to the colour of skin and hair of the people of two different races, the Aryan Varna and the Krishna (referring to Kshatriya) Varna. Nowhere in the Rig Veda is the word Varna used for the fourfold stratification of society (Michael, 2007:49). There is a loss of the other two Varnas found in Manusmriti and not in the Rig Veda. The distinction of Vaishya is not being distinctly visible even in present day social structure and the difficulty in tracing the communities that fall under the Vaishya Varna. The Brahman and the Sudra distinction in present social structure are clear with respect to tracing communities which fall under either. However, Kshatriya as a Varna do not seem to exist in the southern states of India.

At some point in its evolution, the Shudras split into two groups, giving rise to the group of Ati-Shudras who did the most menial jobs. They were regarded as 'untouchables'. These individuals were considered too low to be assigned a Varna, and were thus emerged as 'avarna', in contrast to 'Savarna'. They were a part of the Varna system by being outside its fold or by virtue of being excluded. First reference to the practice of untouchability arose later than the varna system itself, it is old enough to be considered an integral part of the caste system. Deshpande argues,

> … the identification of the ex-untouchable jatis in terms of their placement in the Varna scale is relatively more straight forward, as compared to the other jatis, where it is more difficult and controversial to assign them a Varna status… there is plenty of evidence to suggest that ex-untouchable jatis (Ati-shudras) are subjected to a variety of deprivations, discrimination, oppression, violence, exclusion, and a stigmatized ethnic identity.

Having said that, we should note that under the jajmani system—the traditional system of reciprocal obligations under the caste system—there are various rules governing a whole range of social and economic interactions between jatis. Thus, a variety of interactions might be prohibited (or conversely, certain interactions allowed) between a set of jatis. This suggests that untouchability itself is not a dichotomous concept. But there are jatis below the line of ritual purity that, traditionally, would be considered completely untouchable in that all contracts with them would be shunned (Deshpande, 2013:14-15).

The identity the upper castes want to impose on the lower castes and the identity that the untouchable communities believe about themselves are different. The identity the upper caste gives for the untouchables is 'pariahs', meaning 'outcaste', originally a Tamil word drawn into English. The Dalit leaders however call themselves as 'Adi-Sudras', as the natives of the land, the original people of this region and not the invaders.

Use of Caste Based Surnames at Collective Level

Though "the man who has learned the Vedas is great amongst us", by the Laws of Manu, a Vaishya or Sudra is not permitted to read the Vedas or rule the kingdom, thereby the servants remain in servitude, in the lowest realm of the order of the ranking with least respect from the superior Varnas. It was not until very recently in history that school education was made available for the masses in India, thereby breaking the basic code of Manusmriti (that the learned are the Brahmans) and taking a step towards the liberation of the social position of the lower castes. Many movements have taken place to get rid of this caste based hierarchy in society and many methods were followed in the movements for the lower castes to live with dignity in a society with caste biases.

A brief account of the Modern anti-caste struggle and the ideology on which these struggles were based shows a pattern to the way in which they recognize the identity of 'Dalits'. They recognise Hinduism as the evil, as the perpetrator of caste. They recognize that as long as people are within the fold of Hinduism, caste system will be a burden on the lower castes. IyotheeThassar believed that Hinduism is not the religion of the lower castes and that their original religion was Buddhism. Thus, denunciation of Hinduism and conversion or re-conversion to other religion was an early mechanism to the escape the stigma of being lower caste. However Sree Narayana

Guru did recognize Hinduism as the background for caste, and viewed caste as separate to religion. The struggle was for the social and economic betterment of the lives of the untouchable communities, through which they believed that caste could be done away with. But, what makes them fall under one chapter is that they directly fought for the eradication of caste and did not assert on caste identity for political space. This latter trend is a more recent phenomenon.

Hence, we will try to see the close link between Hindu religion and demeaning caste identity of the lower castes. It is important to address this stigma of low caste identity, because on the basis of this argument mass conversions take place to Christianity in southern Tamil Nadu and Kerala, under Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to Buddhism, to Sikhism in the Ad-dharm movement, to Islam and Christianity in the Namasudra movement.

Jyotirao Phule: Pioneer of 'Non-Hindu' Identity for Sudras

Jyotirao Phule was a pioneer who viewed the caste system as not merely domination and conquest by Brahmans, but he more significantly pointed out that the non-Brahmans are the exploited masses. He theoretically united the sudras (non-Brahmans) and atisudras (Dalits) together in this manner and was a forerunner in making this distinction. All non-Brahmans are shudras and the atishudras are the more oppressed and occupied the downgraded position in society because of their "heroism in fighting Brahman domination" (Omveldt, 2006). He recognised the Dalits as the natives of the land, thereby giving them the identity of the original inhabitants of the land.

As it is the Hindu social structure that is the cause for the oppressed state of the non-Brahmans, Phule felt the need to establish a religious alternative. In the book SarvajanikSatya Dharma, which he wrote towards the later part of his life, he specifies "a noble-minded equalitarian theism", which also projects strong gender equality for males and females. He saw "Hinduism" not as an "ism", not as any religious philosophy but as a bunch of superstitions used as weapons of domination.

Another angle from which Phule treated the caste exploitation is by theorising the exploitation of the peasant by the bureaucracy as Gail Omvedt (1993) writes in her book Reinventing Revolution. She argues that Phule wrote of the problems of agriculture and drought, and outlined plans for remodeling society through reconstructed village (a few decades later, Periyar engages in an equivalent project and writes an essay titled, Village Reconstruction).

JyotiraoPhule along with his wife SavitribaiPhule in the mid-19th century, in Maharashtra found the SatyashodhakSamaj or "truth-seeking society", which dedicated itself to rationalism. The society organised weddings without Brahman priests, focused on education for both untouchable boys and girls; besides which they were also reformists who supported widow remarriages and opposed child marriage (Deshpande, 2013). In their criticism of upper castes, the Phules had not elapsed to criticise Brahmanical patriarchy. Jyotirao Phule was the pioneer reformist in pointing out caste's negative dimensions and disabling effects on those located lower down in the hierarchy.

Iyothee Thassar's Notion of Tamil Buddhism

The religious alternative that Jyotirao Phule was advocating was being formed by Iyothee Thassar around the same period in Tamil Nadu. Iyothee Thassar established the Dravida Mahajana Sabha in 1891 and during the very first Census urged the untouchables (Paraiyars) to register themselves as casteless Dravidians in his assembly. He pleaded for the re-establishment of Tamil Buddhism as he believed that it is the original religion of the Dalits. He had sought out Colonel Olcott of the Theosophical society in Madras and then went to Sri Lanka to meet the great Sri Lankan monk Anagarika Dharmapala and other Lankan Buddhists (Omvedt, 2008). Subsequent visit to Sri Lanka by him and his followers led to the establishing of the Sakya Buddhist Society in 1901. The name came from Buddha's Sakya clan, who were believed by Iyothee Thass and his followers to be the ancestors of the Tamil Paraiyas.

Iyothee Thassar formed one of the first alternative identities for the untouchables. This identity that he proposed was not a definitive one, but he insisted on an open-ended identity into the fold of which everybody was welcome, provided they did not ascribe to the practice of caste

discrimination. In the essay 'Rediscovering God: Iyothee Thassar and Emancipatory Buddhism' G. Aloysius points out that the Dalits were given names: "the avarnas, the Shudras and the ati-Shudras, the untouchables, the depressed classes, the Panchamas, and the outcastes". He pointsout of the contradictions that caste names be used even under the circumstances of modernity. Under the definite conditions of modernity, the component of subjectivity enters the construction of identities, making it a process of "self-identification"; a 'self-directed and determined act or a series of acts' (Harvie, 2000).

On those lines of Modern thinking IyotheeThassar repeatedly promulgated that the names given by the opponents will always be degrading, signify an inferior status and that the recipient group ought to reject them. But IyotheeThassar pointed out that the new emergence from passivity to activity or subjectivity requires the rejection of the externally imposed identity indicating the newly acquired/achieved status of equal respect and dignity. IyotheeThassar also suggested that they were Dravidians, but more precisely, non-caste Dravidians. Either as a Tamil or as a Dravidian, castelessness, however, is the most crucial component of one's own self-identification.

> And since the ascriptive, discriminatory, and degrading caste-identity is "other-determined," the now freely chosen self-identification will be conduct-based and egalitarian; and in contrast to the other-imposed insulatory identity, self-identification will be open-ended, that is, ideological spiritual and potentially universal. Since this is all Buddhism is about, the Dalit subalterns above everything else are Buddhist (Aloysius 2007).

IyotheeThassar and his followers felt that the turn to Buddhism was actually a return to the ancient religion of Dalits.

> Other Dalit leaders in the 1920s had also shown an inclination to Buddhism. These included BhagyareddyVarma, the distinguished first-generation leader of the Hyderabad Adi-Hindu movement, and Acchutananda of Uttar Pradesh, who pioneers the Adi-Hindu movement there and believed that sants like Ravidas and Kabir were in fact propagating a form of Buddhism. A turn to Buddhism was also discussed among Kerala Dalit's and OBCs in the 1920s, though in the end the Vedanta approach of Shri Narayana Guru prevailed (Omvedt, 2008:34).

Periyar and the Self-Respect Movement

In the neighbouring Tamil speaking county, a more radical anti-caste movement was developing in the early 20th century compared to that led by Sree Narayana Guru in Kerala. E.V. RamaswamyNaiackar, known as ThanthaiPeriyar (great sage), gained an intimate knowledge of the evils of popular Hinduism and also of the exploitation of the masses by Brahmins. Periyar was convinced that casteism and Hinduism go hand in hand and he wanted Hinduism, as it was, to be wiped out completely. As Michael observes,

> Periyar realised that the important feature of all new ideologies of the elites was the 'Aryan view of race'. The 'Aryan view' was adopted enthusiastically by the Indian elites as a new model for understanding caste. That is, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishya were believed, almost as a matter of definition, to be the descendants of the invading Aryans, while Shudras and Untouchables were believed to be the descendants of the native conquered inhabitants. In this new language of caste and race, to claim 'Aryan' descent was equivalent to claiming 'twice-born' status, and to claim 'Dravidian' or 'non-Aryan' descent was almost equivalent to saying that one was a 'Shudra'. The high caste elites of India began to take Aryan and Sanskritic culture as the basis of 'Indian nationality' (Michael, 2007:118).

Thus, Periyar organised all non-Aryans or non-Brahmans, but he did not organize people on the basis of an identity that was towards one caste. Periyar started off his political activities joining the Indian National Congress, but he soon quit it on the lines of Indian elites taking Aryan and Sanskritic culture as the basis for Indian culture and Indian nationality, and as the Indian National Congress being elite and Brahminical in its approach. Periyar saw the Brahmins as the representatives of Hindu arrogance and the stronghold of social injustice and Congress as a tool of Brahmin domination. Periyar sought to defend the rights of the Dravidians against Aryan domination. Thus, in 1925, he organised the 'Self-Respect Movement'.

Periyar publicly ridiculed the Puranas as fairy tales, not only imaginary and irrational, but grossly immoral as well. Naicker attacked the Hindu religion as the tool of Brahmin domination. Through the Self-Respect movement conducted weddings around Tamil Nadu without being officiated by a Brahmin priest and devoid of Hindu ceremonies. A different future for men and women in Indian society had been dreamt of by Periyar through his concept of "Self-respect Marriage" that had, "the imaginings of a different future, one where issues of caste, gender and sexuality could be reconfigured and rearranged for the mutual respect of men and women". (Rao,

2003: 26). Periyar deleted his caste surname 'Naidu' from his name in the First Provincial Self-Respect Conference at Chenggalpattu and thereby condemned caste identity and the caste system. And appealed to his followers to give up caste names and not identify themselves upon caste lines.

His movement took a turn towards racial consciousness and became a 'Dravidian' movement, seeking to defend the rights of the Dravidians against Aryan domination. It blamed the Aryans for introducing an unjust and oppressive social system in the country. Designed as a movement of Dravidian uplift, seeking to expose Brahmin tyranny and the deceptive methods by which they controlled all spheres of Hindu life. In 1939, Periyar became the head of the Justice Party, and in 1944, he changed its name to 'DravidarKazhagam'. While continuing the Self-Respect Movement, he advocated for an independent Dravida Nadu (Dravidian State of Dravidistan).

The Dalit leadership that began in the nineteenth century by pioneers like JyotiraoPhule and E.V.R. Periyar "looked down upon the "superstitions" of mainstream Hinduism and also included caste as part of the "barbaric" customs, something that no upper-caste Hindu reformer had done". Education for empowerment was an early method propagated to relax the untouchables from the fold of caste. JyotiraoPhule and IyotheeThassar had a dream for a reformed society either by a reformulation of Hinduism or through a (re)conversion to Buddhism thereby striking at the roots of the caste values.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and the Dalit Identity

Though the Namasudras did gain political mileage and Periyar did start a political party for the non-Brahmans, it was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who used caste to forge a movement that would unite the lower castes into one political identity. This he did after he became totally disillusioned with the idea of reform within Hindu caste society (Susan Baylay, 1999).

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar among his many measures to remove the untouchables from the fold of the caste Hindus, appealed to the Untouchables not to eat dead meat; propagated the wearing of white clothes during weddings, funerals and other rituals because white is a symbol of purity (What Path for Salvation). He also called upon the Dalit's, especially the women to dress

properly, to be neat, clean, and presentable (Moon andPawar, 2003). Besides such material methods of intervention, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar also upheld education for the social and political liberation of the Untouchables; and mass conversion to Buddhism for their emancipation. Conversion from Hinduism was a means to remove the untouchables and other lower castes from the fold of Hindu social order.

One instrument used along with mass conversion to Buddhism lead by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, name change was a significant mechanism to step out of the caste system. In a speech delivered by Dr. Ambedkar to the Bombay Presidency Mahar Conference in the year 1936 he stresses on the necessity of change of name along with conversion of religion;

> But as soon as the Hindu comes to know that the person with whom he is talking is an Untouchable, a sense of hatred germinates in his mind. He thinks that he is deceived. He gets angry, and ultimately this temporary friendship ends in abuses and quarrels. Such experiences are not new to you. Why does all this happen? The names that depict your caste are considered so filthy that even their utterance is enough to create a vomiting sensation in the heart of Hindus. Thus by calling oneself a Chokhamela instead of a Mahar, you try to deceive the people. But you know, people are not deceived. Whether you call yourself a Chokhamela or a Harijan, people understand what you are…
>
> A change of religion, followed by a change of name, will be more beneficial to you. To call oneself a Muslim, a Christian, a Buddhist, or a Sikh, is not merely a change of religion, but is also a change of name. That is a real change of name. This new name will have no filth attached to it. It is an overall change. No one will search for the origin of it. The change of name as Chokhamela or Harijan has no meaning at all. In this case, all the hatred, contempt, etc., attached to the original name passes to the new name. So long as you remain in the Hindu religion, you will have to change the name. [To seek change] by calling oneself a Hindu is not enough. Nobody recognises that there is a man called a Hindu. So also, calling oneself a Mahar will not serve the purpose. As soon as you utter this name, you will not be allowed to come near. So I ask you, why should you not change your name permanently by changing your religion, instead of changing to one name today and another tomorrow, and thus remaining in the state of a pendulum?" (Ambedkar, B.R., What Path to Salvation? 1936).

Even for that matter Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had a change of surname in his childhood. His original surname was BhimraoSakhpal. Knowing that Bhimrao would face social prejudices because of his untouchable maker surname, his teacher, Mahadev Ambedkar, Brahmin, changed his surname to 'Ambedkar' in school records.

Hence, According to the Indian constitution untouchability has been eradicated and the ex-untouchable communities are categorized as 'Scheduled Castes'. This does not mean that

untouchability and casteism has been eradicated from the everyday lives of people. Untouchability exists in transformed forms as the society grows; in different forms caste and caste based discrimination is widely prevalent, whether it is in the urban cities or the villages or inside the country or far abroad. Thereby, the complete annihilation of caste seemed like a fetched and idealistic dream that the idealistic early 20th century stalwarts dreamt of a caste free society. The immediate need was to address the caste based issues on local levels and the dream of a caste free society as the distant and ultimate aspiration.

The only means to attain any progress is to unite under the banner of community, take up the issues of the group and fight for the cause. JyotiraoPhule united the Sudras theoretically in his writings and his reform also functioned through bringing them under one label. Periyar believed that all non-Brahmin castes are being exploited and dominated by the Brahmans and thus the Brahmans have to be fought and thrown away from the political milieu. It was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who mobilised the different castes those fell under the margins of society and brought them together under the banner of caste for a battle in the political front.

The idea of 'Anti-caste' is however strong a tool for struggle, it is not an identity; religion, language, caste, ideology or so can be an identity on the basis of which people get mobilized. Many caste based societies and movements have existed and continue exist and occur. There is only one reason for these societies and movements to come into existence that is to assert themselves and the identity of their community, for their own betterment in society.

Socio-Political Mobilisation through Identity Assertion: Caste Based Organisations/ Movements within Hinduism

1. Sree Narayana Guru's Reinterpretation of Modified Hinduism for All

The SNDP (Shree Narayana Dharma Paripalana) Movement was an significant movement in Kerala, led by Sri Narayana Guru who established a new social identity for the Izhavas, a former Untouchable caste which constitute about 26 per cent of Kerala's population and have suffered from educational, religious, economic and political disabilities. This movement was based on the

reinterpretation of orthodox Hinduism; Sri Narayana Guru gave the Izhavas a new religion of one God, one religion and one caste which changed their lifestyle and social outlook.

Sree Narayana Guru institutionalised his activities by forming the SNDP; he established a set of religious institutions, like temples, priests, monks and monasteries that are parallel to that of Brahmanical Hinduism. At the beginning SNDP focused on temple entry for Izhavas, non-violent occupation of the streets leading to the temples, admission to government school and political representation[8], and facilitated their protest and challenge against the religious, economic, educational and political supremacy of the upper castes. The SreeNarayana Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) movement's intervention in Kerala in its early years lead to the lower-ranking Dalit communities (Pulaya and Cheruman) to wear better clothes and for the relatively higher of the Dalit communities (Ezhava or Tiyya) to move among Nayars and Namboodri Brahman women at meetings. One way in which Sree Narayana Guru differed drastically from other anti-caste leaders in the period was in his assertion to Hinduism, he did not see the Hindu social order as the root cause of casteism, but he promoted reform within Hinduism.

Lower caste communities which organize themselves on the name of caste, though have organised themselves under the banner of caste, ultimately want to do away with casteism. But, organizing themselves as such because of the need of the hour, for fighting for their rights which cannot be achieved without coming together on the name of caste. The identity may be limited to a single community, such as the Dandora Movement which comprises of the Madigas or the Dalit panthers, under which people from many lower caste communities came together. There is also a different trend simultaneously occurring, certain caste groups fight for their rights to be acknowledged as a higher caste. This phenomenon is different from the earlier one because they are not asserting lower caste identity and fighting for equality in society, these groups are fighting to fall under a higher stratum in the structure.

2. Namasudra Movement- The Social Mobility of Untouchables

In the far east of the Indian subcontinent, in Bengal, a movement emerged in the 1870s, namely the Namasudra Movement. Sekhar Bandhyopadhyay (2005) has elaborated its various dimensions in his long essay 'The Namasudra Movement'. It was not a movement firstly based

on the knowledge of a degraded position in system and thereby wanting dignity in the society. But, their fight for a dignified identity started after the economic situation of the community grew much better. The Namasudra movement in Bengal is about an untouchable caste named Chandals, transforming itself from a marginal multitude into a settled agricultural community. The rapid reclamation of the marshy wastes of Eastern Bengal in the nineteen century provided the Namasudras with an opportunity to better their lot as pioneer cultivators, while previously they lived primarily on boating and fishing, in a region that remained under water for more than six months a year (Bandhopadhyay, 2005: 3). A growing sense of self respect, arising out of their gradual transformation into a peasant community in course of the nineteenth century, made them conscious of the contempt Hindu society treated them with and the economic exploitation that the high caste Hindu gentry subjected them to.

The newly prosperous Chandals, in the late nineteenth century, had started feeling a large gap still existing between their recently achieved higher economic status and the continuing social position. A large number of Namasudras had embraced Vaishnavism, which at least theoretically, made no formal distinction between higher or lower castes (this trend of viewing Vaishnavism outside the caste structure is visible even in Karnataka, writer AravindMalagatti in his life narrative 'Government Brahmana' angers over his family members because they were holding onto Vaishnavism as the faith that has come for their recue.) A sizeable section among the Namasudras had embraced either Islam or Christianity through the successful efforts of the missionaries to avoid the stigma of untouchability. Those who remained within the fold of the Hindu society were still held to pollute by their touch. Nevertheless, their evolution as a peasant community- relatively better off than before- made the Namasudras conscious of their low ritual position and social degradation, as well as the economic exploitation perpetrated on them by the high caste Hindus. The barbers, washermen and sometimes even the scavengers refused service to the Namasudras. And for officiating in their religious and social ceremonies, they had their own Brahmins who were dreadfully called Barna Brahman or Chandaler Brahman and were not received on equal terms by the other members of the priestly caste. The movement was a story of social segregation, protest and political separatism.

The Namasudra movement is a good example of how caste system is not about class or occupation or dharma; but it is a social dogma that is imposed. The Namasudras were scattered in their conversions to different beliefs, but their identity remains as the Namasudras. What was becoming evident is that by tough reform and mere denunciation of Hinduism and conversions from Hinduism to other religious beliefs was not sufficient to do away with caste. Caste was following people through economic mobility, upward mobility of class did not do away with the label of low caste. This is the crisis in the anti-caste agenda, an untouchable may prosper economically but caste follows because it is a dharma imposed by birth.

3. Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha

The Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha, the origins of which go back to a Paraiah Mahajan Sabha formed in 1892 in Madras appears to have been the first such organization. In 1918, the Sabha appealed to the government to abandon their disgraceful name 'Paraiah' and to give them the highly respectable name 'Adi-Dravida', denoting the original inhabitants of the Dravida land. In 1922, the Provincial Legislative Council passed a resolution recommending that the name 'Adi-Dravida should be given to the Paraiahs.

> It drew upon the idea of original (adi-) inhabitants of the South (dravida) – indeed of most of India – conquered and reduced by an alien people from the North, thought of as Aryan and/or Brahman. Subsequently the movement spread, first to Telugu-speaking parts of Madras Presidency which would later form Andhra Pradesh, and then to Mysore. 'Adi- Dravida' remained the Tamil version (though particular caste sections were soon mobilizing under their own separate designations) but Adi-Andhra and Adi-Karnataka became the equivalents for the other two linguistic regions… the Mysore government, with progressive intentions, decided that unity should be imposed and that the Adi-Karnataka' version should officially replace 'Panchama'. In deference to the policy, at the 1931 Census both Holeyas and Madigas were returned as AdiKarnatka, whatever their own choice of name (Deliege, 1994).

Notably, the word 'Dravidar' refers to the middle castes of peasantry- Kallars, Gounders, Mudaliars, Pillai and Nadar. By referring to the lower castes as Adi-Dravidar, the Adi-Dravidars are asserting that they were the original inhabitants of the land and the dominating castes were the outsiders or that they followed the path of the Aryans of domination and discrimination. The identity they are forming (or re-forming according to the argument of the Adi-Dravidars) for themselves is one that is not aspiring for a better position in the caste ladder, they do not want to be absorbed into the tag of 'upper caste', they want to be independent in identity and as the occupants and the rightful people of the land.

Several such societies came into being following the Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha such as the Adi-Keralotharna Sangham (AKS), Adi-Hindu Social Service League, Ad-Dharm Mandal, Adi-Hindu MahajanaSabha (Kshirsagar, 1994: 70-74). The ideology on which these people's societies were functioning was that they were the original inhabitants of the land before being conquered by Aryans. They appealed to the government for reservations in education and employment sectors, separate electorates and local level issues. These societies do not address a defined section of people organising themselves on the linguistic and caste identity. The movements and castes as identities of people, at the end of the day, is a generalisation and does not fit precisely to the communities referred to. In some parts of Karnataka, Holeyas call themselves Adi-Karnataka, and Madigas, Adi-Dravida (Karanth, 2004) even though these caste people are Kannada speaking people.

4. All India Yadav Mahasabha

Contrary to Adi-Dravida identity, the Yadav identity (predominantly in the northern states of India) aspires towards the identity of 'Kshatriya' varna, which is second to Brahmans in the order of varnas according to the Hindu social order.

> At the core of the Yadav community lies a specific folk theory of descent, according to which all India pastoral castes are said to descend from the Yadu dynasty (hence the label Yadav) to which Krishna (a cowherder, and supposedly a kshatriya) belonged. Thus, alhough the yadavs are divided into different subdivisions (yaduvanshi, goallavasnhi, Nandavanshi, etc.), there is nonetheless a strong belief amongst them that all Yadavsbelong to Krishna's line of descent, the Yadav subdivisions of today being the outcome of the fission of an original and undifferentiated group (Lucia Michelutti, 2004:49).

By the end of the 19th century, selected depictions of Krishna, together with the construction of a 'suitable' past, began to be elaborated by the Ahir/Yadav caste associations. The Yadav caste associated societies used these sets of religious symbols to improve Yadav status in the traditional Hindu caste hierarchy. By 1924, the AIYM (All India YadavMahasabha) advocated vegetarianism and teetotalism, a lifestyle similar to the Brahmans. By advocating a lifestyle similar to that of the Brahmans would place the Yadavs also higher in the caste hierarchy. Lucia Mitchelutti situates that in principle, internal inequalities and hierarchies between different subdivisions were suppressed by making all Yadavs, ahirs, Goalla, Gopas, and other 'pure' and 'superior' KrishnavanshiYadavs. These were measures to sanskritise all the subdivisions within

the Yadav communities and widen the demography of the Yadavs. Widening the demography of the Yadavs within one label was important agenda for the AIYM because the Yadavs' social leaders and politicians realised that numbers were a significant political instrument. The Mahasabha and other Yadav caste associations for the sake of official proof for their communities' demography wrote petitions to the British representatives demanding separate record for their community and the merger of several pastoral subdivisions under the Yadav caste appellation.

Therefore, the ancestor-god Krishna was not only used as a symbol of kshatriyahood, and thus a high ritual status, but as a unifying symbol common to hundreds of herder castes scattered all over India. "…I tell you the Mahabharata is a true epic. There is a description of a 56 croreYaduvanshi Army. We can therefore safely say that this Krishna Bhavan is dedicated to 180 million Yadavs" says Laloo Prasad Yadav in a speech given to the AIYM Convention in Vaishali of December 1999 and thereby indoctrinating the spirit unity to the wide-ranging communities identifying themselves as Yadavs(LuciaMichelutti, 2004:49).

It is usually only the borderline communities like the Yadavs who are socially and economically thriving, for whom an upper caste identity is achievable to assert upper caste identity.

> In general it is the strongest amongst castes, able to be most independent and with the best levels of developed human resources, who have most scope for self-assertion. The poor, the weak and the dependent may still be left with little alternative to acceding to the ways in which others see and define them. A policy of caste assertion is likely to be good for those able to achieve it, for a new generation of leading Untouchable castes able to raise their standing in the society as hose now thought of as once borderline Untouchables, such as Eravas of Kerala (Aiyappan,1943& 1965) and the Nadars of Tamil Nadu (Hardgrave 1969; Templeman, 1996), were able to achieve at an earlier period. For Chamars, Mahars, Pallars, Pulayas, Malas, Madigas, even Holeyas – though only the first signs of the rehabilitation of their ancient name have yet been observed – and a few others, assertion is possible (Robert Deliege, 1996).

But, that is not to say that there have been no instances of low castes attaining upper caste identity through assertion. Even lower castes, who are clearly on the margins of society assert upper caste identity if the chance is available. AnujaAgarwal in her essay 'Caste Consciousness of a Marginal Community' narrates the story behind how a low caste community attained Rajput lineage. Bedia, a community spread out over the northern states of India which lives off prostitution claims its origin to be from the Thakurs- an upper caste name for the Rajputs, to

which all the offspring of Bedia men are said to belong to. A woman in the community was said to have had a son off a Thakur, he had to be given a *got* (clan lineage) because without which no Thakur would give his daughter to him in marriage. "That was the time that the Kesula tree was in bloom. They decided to keep Kesia as the *got* of the new-born" (AnujaAgarwal, 2004:231). The Kesia origin lies there. They have originated from the Thakurs. The NaglaBedias, therefore, often attach Chauhan or Rathore along with their *got* to underline their descent from the Rajputs: "'we are KesiaChauhan', or 'Kesias are Rathores', they say" (Anuja Agarwal 2004:231-7). Bedias who do not live in identified Bedia localities pass themselves off as members of upper castes, most often as Thakurs or Rajputs so that the stigma attached with being a Bedia is removed from their identity.

5. Dalit Panthers

Dalit Panthers Party, a radical movement was started by educated youth from the ex-untouchable community in 1972. The main objective of the organisation was to fight the organisation was to fight caste oppression and untouchability and to create a counter culture (Raj Kumar, 2010).It was motivated by African-American 'The Black Panthers'. Dalit Panthers derive ideological inspiration from Ambedkar, Phule and Marx. They had a militant outlook unlike past dalit organisations. The word 'Dalit' instead of 'Harijan' is popularised by this movement. The Dalit Panthers in Maharashtra emerged as a renaissance in Marathi literature. They spearheaded a'Namantar Andolan' to change the name of Marathwada University in <u>Aurangabad</u>, <u>Maharashtra</u>, to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University.

6. Dandora Movement

The Dandora movement in Telugu speaking Andhra-Telangana states was a movement for self-respect and rationalisation of reservations for the Scheduled Castes category. It gained momentum in the early 1990s. Under the leadership of Krishna Madiga it gained a mass following. It was this movement which also had a role in the social front. The Dalit castes have names with derogatory notions attached to them. The Dandora movement played a major role in reducing such notions. K. Purushotham (2010) argues, "the movement has achieved on the social front has been immeasurable especially insofar as the Madiga identity and self-respect is concerned. The very term, "Madiga" used to be considered derogative and unmentionable and

could attract the atrocities act if the non-Dalits addressed them by it. A term associated with filthiness became a symbol of identity and self-respect ever since Manda Krishna and others of the Dandora movement began to attach it to their names. The rest of the castes too are now adding the names of Dalit castes to their names just like the upper castes those suffix the names of their respective castes (like Reddy; Rao and Chaudhury). This is a symbolic achievement of the self- respect movement". Also, Madiga Reservation Poratasamiti was formed to support for sub-categorisation of reservation within SC into A, B, C and D group. MRPS leaders like Manda Krishna Madiga feels that "The innocent Madigas were neglected and were defeated in life, not because of their lack of intelligence but because of their lack of human relations and hypocritical behaviour, of which the Malas have excelled. But to a Madiga revolt is lifestyle."[9] This can be seen as internal mobilization among SC communities by asserting caste name as surname for asserting dignity, but within Hinduism.

7. Yohannan Movement in Kerala

The Dalit leader of the Kerala untouchables is first converted to a Christian, changing his name to Yohannan in the historical backdrop of large-scale conversions of Dalits that took place from the 1850s to the 1940s. He broke away from the formal Church structure once discovered that there were strong caste discriminations being practiced by the church even though Christianity is egalitarian in outlook. Yohannan took on the role of a prophet possessing already charismatic personal attributes. He became installed as a divinity among the local people, especially women, who exhibited a strong attraction for him.

The prophetic tradition that Yohannan developed had the power to inscribe a new identity on the people who believed in him (Sanal, 2015:243). Yohannan's wife informed the followers in a spirit-medium speech that they should become part the Yohannan community, after the founder:"I made you one caste, which had been drawn from various castes, and established a Sabha for you. That is the seat of those who do not have caste, and group rivalries. Henceforth you will be known in a new name, that's what Johannar community. The state and government could recognize you in that name" (Sanal, 2015:98). The communities such as Pulayas and Parayas were referred to as slave castes in these writings and this continued until the early

---

[9]See Madiga Reservation PorataSamithi, http://www.mrps.info/movement.html

decades of the twentieth century. The Johannan Community followed the disciplinary mechanism, the missionaries were successful in transforming the lower castes and in course of time they evolved as socially presentable selves, as was the goal. This particular transformation is crucial for it engulfed both the religious and secular realm with equal force.

Christianity though egalitarian in theory is not having equality among various Christian caste in Indian context. So, it was a particularly useful new marker of identity because—in theory at least—the Christian worldview is egalitarian and anti-caste.

8. Ad-Dharmis

The organisation names Ad-Dharm Mandal was founded by Mango Ram in 1926. The philosophy behind the Mandal was that all the so called untouchables- the Chamars, Churhas, Sainis, Bhangres, Bhils, etc. were the original inhabitants of India and that their religion is Ad Dharm. "They had a rich culture and civilization. However, the Hindu qaum came from outside and enslaved the original people, who were approximately 70,000,000. The Hindus destroyed the original *qaum*, destroyed their history and culture. Therefore, the organisation called upon all the untouchables to unite to regain their communal pride (quamiat) and their religion (mazhab)" (Kshirasagar, 1994:70-71). The Ad-Dharm Mandal opened branches in different parts of northern states of India and in Bengal. They tried to bring about new awareness among the people of the Depressed Classes.

Currently there are a total of thirty-seven Scheduled Caste communities in Punjab. Ad-Dharmis were originally Chamars, but changed their name in the 1920s after the famous Ad-Dharm movement. The colonial census of 1931 had listed them as a separate religious community but in post-partition Punjab, they are listed as a Hindu Schedules Caste in Punjab (Jodhka, 2004:166).

Sikhism rejects the idea of a caste system, adopting standard surnames like Singh for male and Kaur for female to disguise caste identities. This kind of clear demarcation by use of uniform surnames for all followers is special feature of Sikhism and is generally not found in any other religions.

9. Viduthalai Ciruthaigal Ideology

This ideology opines that If someone says that I shall serve the Tamilians by remaining a Hindu, it merely means that the man is making a living in the name of Tamil and the Tamil race-any Hindu or Hindutva will never allow Tamil society advance.

Viduthalai movement do not want to to call themselves Hindu. So they question "Why should we carry Hindu names?"That is why they should be cast away. On that basis, Viduthalai Chiruthaigal has taken up changing Hinduized names into Tamil names as a symbol of opposition and resistance to the anti-forcible conversion law.

Even today, some people ask, "If we change the name, will everything change? If it is said that nothing is going to differ because of change of name, then why did he [the Brahmin] change the name of this land, the villages, man, god, temples? Who gave him the right to change the name of the god we worship? Who gave him the power? Why did the necessity arise" (Thirumaavalavan, Thol, 2004:136-7). Through the distribution of application forms for change of names 108000 applicants were mobilized and the "monumental task of giving them sweet Tamil names that would be the equivalent of their existing names was carried out. A movement that is not merely a based on linguistic nationalism but forcibly was developed into a 'caste annihilating nationalism" (Thirumaavalavan, 2004).

Similarly he says that the imposition of Hindutva identity on the Dalit's using "power and privilege to permeate in the cultural field, on a society that was non-Hindu, today unknown to themselves the Dalit'ss wander with the burden of Hindu names…But the cheri people who are called Hindus are not permitted to enter any temple in the village" (Thirumaavalavan, 2000:160). So under his leadership there started a movement to change names from Sanskritised Hindu names to Tamil names. In Chennai on 6 December, 2002 Thirumaavalavan and his partyViduthalai Chiruthaigal gathered with the slogan 'We shall change the Hindu names; we shall take names in beautiful Tamil.' More than 8000 people discarded their Sanskrit names and adopted Tamil names on that particular day. And on 14 April, 2003 (which coincides with Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Birth anniversary) in a programme organised in Madurai more 10800 people were given new Tamil names (Thirumaavalavan, 2004:164). This practice of changing names to Tamil still continues.

The State in Tamil Nadu through its police forces and courts, is biased against the Dalits and does not provide them with justice or intervene to help when they are being killed. Rather than addressing the basic issue of unequal social power at the local level, the response of the state in most cases is to provide economic compensation to Dalit's (Pai, 2014: 43).

Caste titles and meanings of names clearly give away the caste and thereby the hierarchy of individuals, as by the laws of Manu. So, the leaders of the anti-caste struggles had to formulate mechanisms to push caste far away from the names of people. But, from the early anti-caste stalwarts, along with other mechanisms to distance caste, name change and denunciation of names was a process.

The name dynamics amongst the non-Brahman castes is varied according to the region and its caste movements. According to the angle the movement takes the assertion or denunciation of caste names and surnames by the people belonging to different castes are practiced. The aspirational castes change their caste names similar to that of the upper castes along with changes in custom, ideology, ritual and way of life in keeping with the high caste norms and practices (Srinivas, M.N., 1971).

> …caste names are important ideological markers, and it is no accident that the first thing a caste does when undertaking to improve its status, is to change its name. That was the case with Shanars, now known as Nadars ('Lord of the Land') or the Ahirs, who prefer to be called Yadavas. Even the Kanbis of Gujarat, though by no means a low caste, prefer to call themselves Patidars, as a sign of their social aspirations. A number of other untouchable groups have also chosen similar action. The Koris of Kanpur call themselves Koli Rajput and, in Tamil Nadu pallars have recently taken to claiming that their true name is Tenentra Kula Vellalar, which links them with the local high-caste Vellalars (Deliege, Robert 1995).

Besides the aspirational castes, there are two trends in the radical and progressive groups. First, to denounce caste names and claim equality with the upper caste; secondly to maintain caste names as a marker of asserting the hierarchy in society and working towards upliftment. The method that PeriyarE.V.Ramaswamy followed is the former method of denouncing his caste name of 'Naidu', though a forward caste in south India. Periyar deleted his caste surname 'Naidu' from his name in the First Provincial Self-Respect Conference at Chenggalpattu and thereby condemned caste identity and the caste system. However, the more recent trend is of

keeping case names and fighting the systems that is casteist. Dalit writers from all over the country write under their caste names; OmprakashValmiki, AravindMalagatti and UrmilaPawar to name a few. A low-caste Dalit boy has been killed in the northern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh for sharing a name with a man of a higher caste. Neeraj Kumar's father Ram Sumer had been asked to change the names of two sons as they were the same as those of JawaharChaudhary's sons.

As a supportive argument one can mention that taking of upper-caste clan names such as "Sharma" and "Verma" by lower castes in northern India is an act of defiance by the lower castes and not something by which they want to camouflage their identity. These lower castes are often amused at the discomfiture of the upper castes at the confusion created by the "borrowing" of caste names. In fact many upper-caste persons have indicated their fear of the real danger involved in such borrowing of names "what if by mistake we marry our children to one of them" From the point of view of the lower castes it is not that they want to pass off as Brahmans or upper castes but that they have an ideological difficulty with being "branded" by a name or to concede the "rights" of the upper castes to the use of certain titles (Mitra, 2014:28).

There is no direct evidence in contemporary literature about the status of the depressed castes. It is noteworthy however, that many divisions of these castes bear the names of higher castes (or clans or tribes), a fact which suggests that members of the lower castes so named were once the servants of the respective higher castes (Habib, 1963:120–22 as quoted by SubhadraMitra 2014).

This same use of names was found in traditional Kerala, and even today it is common to find members of the Pulayan or Cheruman caste (one of the main untouchable castes in Kerala) listed in the voter registration records with their names preceded by the name of their former landlord family (probably at one time their owner). Even Marxist members of this caste sometimes identify themselves in this way, saying, for example, "ñaaiñaK-mana decerumakkal" (We are Cherumakkals) (Mohan, 2014:11).

During the past few decades, members of this caste have stopped using their traditional name, due to its derogatory associations, and prefer to call themselves Harijan, or Adi-Dravidas which means original Dravidians. The latter term is based on the belief that the Paraiyans were the

original settlers of the land, later displaced by those who imposed the caste system upon them (Mohan, 2014:53).

In formal and informal classification, social groups are represented by their respective caste names. But anti-caste struggles saw crossing these boundaries of stereotyping by creating another categories. Names which were having association with caste group were changed by taking new names.

For example "Pulayas designated themselves Cheramars, signifying putative descent from the historical Cheras, while the Parayas became Sambavas, signifying a pure Saivite connection (Ayyankali, 1989:212). However, we also find the process of erasure at work in this context. Decades after they had come into general use, some Dalits were raising doubts about the value of these new names. Social categories are always in the process of construction. This was the general situation, then, when the PrathyakshaRakshaDaivaSabha was formed. The PRDS tried to break the caste mould and introduce new categories, and to this end slavery was re-theorized by the movement as an experiential category rather than a socioeconomic one. But even more crucial to the PRDS search for a new Dalit identity was religion"(P.Sanal Mohan, 2014:243 edited by John Mancher and SubhdraMitra).

There is another way people from lower castes improvise to get some sort of livelihood. In the recollection of Hazari (1969) "Although I accepted the low wages and the long hours, I did not keep the job for more than a few weeks. One day, my mistress called me to say that I had deceived her with regard my caste. She had found out that my father was working as a sweeper, while, by name, she had thought I was a Hindu of the caste of a water- carrier. She gave me my wages to date and dismissed me. This was a great blow to me in more than one respect. She had never asked me about my caste I had thought her intelligent and educated enough not to bother about her servants' caste or creed"(Hazari, 1969, cited in Channa, SubadhraMitra and Joan P. Mencher 2014). Like Hazari many Dalit autobiographies reveal how they hid their low caste origins to find a job or be accepted in their colleagues' groupings.

Not only were the lower castes themselves started movements to come out of their degraded social status, many concerned higher caste Individuals and groups were also involved in it. During the freedom struggle, Gandhi also did his bit for the naming of Dalits as a single unit by calling them 'Harijans' or the children of god. Though this was not accepted by the community leaders like Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and others nevertheless it came to be associated with the untouchable castes. Even now some people says they are 'Harijans' when some stranger enquires about their caste. "Gandhi himself taking the term(untouchables), soon became uncomfortable with it and created his own substitute intended to be more positive. 'Harijan', for him 'man of God' but usually glossed as 'children of God', was intended to give them a spiritual value superior to those who customarily discriminated against them, 'men of evil' (Gandhi, 1956: 16), but it was not a positive value which could be expected to appeal to many of the ordinary sufferers. The work of the HarijanSevaSangh, Gandhi's upper-caste organization dedicated to their 'upliftment' by material and Hindu spiritual means, was nevertheless welcomed and supported by some. Local jatis in some area of the South did adopt the term as a caste name in place of such older and stigmatized names as the Kannada 'Holeya' and Tamil 'Parailay'. For those so labelled it was transformed in practice, that is to say, changed into no more than a euphemism for the older names of particular castes. Others often subsequently found the Gandhian enterprise and its label patronizing. Profane reading of the term represented it as covertly derogatory, if people were being called 'children of God' that was tantamount to denying them human fathers, declaring them bastards (Deliege, 1994).

Once caste became a means for political consciousness and unity, it became entrenched forever within the Indian polity as a factor of political mobilization (Mendlesohn and Vicziany, 1998; Brass, 1990). In the context of the newly developing political identities, the re-working and writing a new subaltern history is an important vehicle of self-assertion (Channa et al, 2014).Yet, as Dr. B.R. Ambedkar says caste system is not division of labour, 'but division of labourers'. So, social mobility through education and employment were not sufficient for the lower castes to live with dignity in a society driven by caste, more affirmative action was necessary. These were provided and continue to be provided by progressive and movements and leaders.

In this chapter we have discussed different social movements that were initiated by the lower castes to fight for dignity. Further, how the various caste associations of the lower caste have lost their radical position over a period of time against the caste system and consolidated as separate caste associations as in the case of the Dravidian movement Tamil Nadu. These movements emerged in the process of fighting for a share in the resources of the government or in the political power. We have also shown how lower castes individuals have to lose their livelihood if their employers found out their caste status.

Chapter 5
Conclusion

> At my office, many of my fellow officers and subordinates undervalue my worth because of this surname. In the early days I used to get angry. In my rage, I would clash with people … This surname [Valmiki] is now an indispensable part of my name. 'Omprakash' has no identity without it … 'Ambedkar' signifies a Brahmin caste name; it is a pseudonym given by a Brahmin teacher of his. When joined with 'Bhimrao', however, it becomes his identity, completely changing its meaning in the process. Today 'Bhimrao' has no meaning without Ambedkar.[10]

The identity of an individual, as being a member of the society, is carried along in myriad ways; be it nationality, ethnicity, gender, caste and other forms. Wherever the individual goes his/her identity is followed him. Many accounts of individuals revealing their caste identity is found in most autobiographical works and personal narratives. The most common question is asked especially in North India is the second name or the surname of a person when she/he encounters strangers at public places. In the present study, an attempt has been made to see how caste identity i.e. through names continues to be a marker to ascertain where the individual belongs in the social hierarchy. This research specifically focused on changing forms of caste identities such as caste surnames. It attempts to define caste surnames, trace the historical origin of caste surnames, and identify the process of rise to prominence of caste surnames at the time of British census and role of caste surnames in various self-respect movements in pre and post-independence periods. By doing so, it was able to draw linkages between how caste surname based identities work as socio-cultural capital and help in reproduction of culture. The lines quoted in the beginning of this chapter are from OmprakashValmiki'sautobiography which show the way identity of an individual is based on the surname that one is given or adopts. The life chance of the Individual has bearing on the surname or social capital if he/she has migrated to different place in search of work or livelihood.

Caste has gone on to show how it can adjust to different circumstances with ease. The Individuals higher in the hierarchy have control over the resources that can alter the nature of the society we live in. It is in the interest of the dominating groups or communities, caste as a systemsustains. People here in the subcontinent address one another by their surnames which is a

---

[10]OmprakashValmiki, (2003) Joothan A Dalit's Life, p.132.

standard practice. It can be observed that if people have upper caste surnames, they are addressed by their second name and inversely if one had a lower caste surname or neutral second name they are addressed by first name. For example, say Anand Sharma speaking to MukulDubey, they would address one another like "Dubeyji how is the weather today?"; the response by MukulDubey would be "Sharmaji the weather is slightly … today". And the conversation between a lower caste person say Sunil Kumar and an upper caste person DhirenPhatak, the conversation would be "Phatakji how is the weather?" and the response would be "Sunilji the weather is …".The point can be noted here is that in our day to day conversations we reproduce the caste by playing the caste role although unconsciously.

In the literature review chapter, we have tried to engage with the various studies and materials available on the evolution of caste according to different theories and perspectives. D.D. Kosambi argues the Hindu names and surnames are based on caste affiliation. It may be related to deity like mother goddess, Gotras, local cult, Totemistic symbols, occupation etc. He opines that Brahmins might have been the first to use caste surnames so as to be distinct and maintain a superiority of their varna. One more interesting thing the researcher has come across is the concept of Aspashyeekaran coined by ShyamLal. He has tried to connect it with ambiguous surnames by arguing that these untouchables were Dwij castes during historical period. But violation of marriage rules outside their caste made them as outcaste and adopting a new caste. This is visible through the use of surnames of upper castes by the lower castes. This is a new direction the researcher has tried to look at the society not just in terms of Sanskritisation process of the lower castes but also the upper castes following the patterns of the lower castes.

In the third chapter we have discussed how the caste becomes a capital for some and a liability for the others. The upper castes have a major stake in the access and control over resources. We could see how the caste surnames play a role in job interviews. We have also witnessed lower caste people adopting the upper caste titles to overcome discrimination when they migrate to a new place. Members of dominant castes have used their caste surnames to avail the benefits in getting jobs or business contract. The benefits of the social capital by the dominant or upper castes have been shown in this chapter.

In the fourth chapter we have discussed how the 'Manusmriti' the social-religious code for the Hindu way of life has prescribed what names an individual is given on the basis of the caste he/she is born into. It has also dealt about the coming of the Britishers with the introduction of various welfare measures. It has helped the people in realising the benefits of education especially the lower castes and have been able to rally their castes by forming caste associations and demanding a share in the democratic polity of the country. It further has shown the contributions of anti-caste struggles, religious conversion which wanted Hinduism free of caste system i.e. casteless within Hinduism or getting converted to casteless religions like Buddhism, Sikhism.

We have seen how the names of individuals and communities have played important roles in the social mobility. We should not be surprised to see people are attacked for having names of upper caste persons. The role of caste and social capital in job market and other aspects of life are important for further studies. We can see how the caste resists and adapts to different changes in the economy and society. In his study on the new capitalist classes in India, Harish Damodaran has shown that most of the new capitalists are from the traditional trading class 'Vaishyas' in north India. In a book on the Indian Institute of Technology'sbySandipan Deb, it has shown that the networking of the alumni is like a club and the upper castes have a social capital because of their common education. He has not shown any lower castes as part of this elite group.

References

Arora, Namit. 2010, "On Caste Privilege" Shunya, Delhi.

Baylay, Susan. 1999, The New Cambridge History of India: Caste, Society and Politics in India From the 18th Century to the Modern Age. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Bhaskar, Vijay and M. Kalaiyarasan. 2014, "Caste as Social Capital" Economic and Political Weekly, March No 10, Pp. 34-38.

Bourdieu, P. 1973, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction" in R. Brown Ed. Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change: Papers in the Sociology of Education, Tavistock, London.

…………, 1986, Distinctions, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Burt, Nan Lin and Ronald B., 2001, Social Capital: Theory and Research. Aldine Gruyter, New York.

Clarke, Gregory, 2014. The Son Also Rises: Surnames and History of Social Mobility. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Cokley, K. 2005. "Racial(ized) Identity, Ethnic identity, and Afrocentric Values: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in Understanding African American Identity." Journal of Counseling Psychology 52, P. 517-526.

Charsley, Simon. 1996. "Untouchable: Whats is in Name" The Journal of Royal Anthropological, Vol II No 1, Pp. 1-23.

Deliege, Robert. La 1995, Religion Des Intouchables de l'Inde. Oxford University Press, Paris.

Deshpandee, Ashwini. 2011,The Grammer of Caste:Economic Discrimination in Contemporary India. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Driver, Edwin, D. 1962. "Caste and Occupational Structure in Central India," Social Forces, Pp. 26-31.

Dubey, Amaresh and Sonalde Desai. 2011. "Caste in 21st Century India Competing Narratives" Econoomic and Political Weekly, Vol. 46, Issue 11, P.40.

Dumont, Louis. 1980, Homo Hierarchicus:The Caste System and Its Implications. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Bhattacharya, Dwaipayan et al. 2004, Interrogating Social Capital. Sage Publication, New Delhi.

Ferguson, Harvie. 2000, Modernity and subjectivity. Charlottsville:University Press of Virginia.

Field, John. 2008, Social Capital. Routledge, New York.

Galanter, Marc. 1984. Competing Inequalities: Two Perspectives, University of California, Berkely.

Ghurye, G.S. 1932, Caste and race in Indian. Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

Gupta, Dipankar. Ed. 2004, Caste in Question:identity or hierarchy. Sage Publications, New Delhi.

……………. 2000, Interrogating Caste:Understanding Hierarchies and difference in Indian societies. New Penguin, New Delhi.

Gurumurthy, "Caste as a Social Capital" The Hindu Business Line, May 16, 2013. "Indian Dalit Boy Killed Over High Caste Name". BBC, 2011.

Jayal, Nirja Gopal. 2001, "Democracy and Social Capital in Himalaya:tale of Two Villages" Economic and Political Weekly, Feb March Pp. 655-664.

Jodhka, Surinder S. 2012. Caste. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

…………. 2008. "Caste and the Corporate Sector" Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, vol. 44, Issue. 2, Pp. 185-193.

Kapur, Devesh, Chandra Bhan Prasad, Lan, 2010. Rethinking Inequality: Dalits in Uttar Pradesh in the Market Reform Era, Economic & Political Weekly, Vol. 45, No. 35, P. 39-49.

Ketkar, S V. History of caste in India. 1909 Delhi:Low Price Publications.

Kosambi, Damodar Dharmanand. 1964, The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India. Routledge Publication, London.

………….. 1950, On the Origin of Brahmin Gotras.

Kshīrasāgara, R. K. 1994, Dalit Movement in India and Its Leaders, 1857-1956. MD Publications, New Delhi.

Kumar, Sukhdev Thorat and Narender. 2008B.R. Ambedkar:Perspectives on Social Exclusion and inclusive policies. OUP, New Delhi.

Lal, Shyam. 1997, From Higher caste to Low Caste. Rawat Publications, Jaipur.

Lamont, Michele and Annettee Laureau. 1998, "Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments." Sociological Theory Vol.6, No.2, Pp. 153-168.

Lieberson, Stanley 2003, "Popularity as Taste: An Application to the Naming Process." Onoma, P. 235-76.

Lin, Nan. 2001, A Theory of Social Structure and Social Action . Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Michael M. S. 2007, Dait in Modern India: Vision and Values. Sage Publication, New Delhi.

Mohan, Sanal. 2015, Modernity of Slavery: Struggles Against Caste Inequality in Kerala. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Moose, David. 2006, "Common Property and Social Capital in South India: An Anthrpological Commentry", Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 54, Issue 3, Pp. 695-724.

Motsh's, G. 1998, Religion as emancipatory identity:A buddhist movement among Tamils under colonialism. New Age International Publication, New Delhi.

Newman, Katherin S. and Sukhadeo Thorat, 2010, Blocked by Caste: Economic Discrimination in Modern India. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Omvedt, Gail. 1993, Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India. The East Gate Publications, New York.

Pai, Sudha. 2014, Dalit Assertion. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Pandian, J. 1983, "Political Emblems of Caste Identity: An Interpretation of Tamil Caste Titles" Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 56, No. 4, Pp.190-197.

Passeron, Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude. 1990, Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture. Sage Publication, New Dekhi.

Patterson, Orlando. 2010, "The Mechanisms of Cultural Reproduction Explaining the Puzzle of Persistence." In Hand Book of Cultural Sociology, by John R. Hall , Grindstaff, Laura and Ming-Cheng Lo Hall. Routlege, New York.

Pawar, Urmila and Minakshi Moon. 2005, We Also Made History: Women in the Ambedkarite Movement. Kali for Women, New Delhi.

Ramdoss, Ambumni. 2010, What is in Name. The Hindu Newspaper, Chennai.

Redmonds, George, Turi King, David Hey. 2011, Surnames, DNA and Family History, Oxford University Press, Newyork.

Rodrigues, Valerian. 2002, The Essential Writings of B.R. Ambedkar. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Scott, John and Gordon Marshall. Eds. 2009, A Dictionary of Sociology. Oxford University Press.

Sharma, Ramsharan. 1999, Ancient India. NCERT, New Delhi.

Siddique, Zahra. 2008, "Caste Based Discrimination: Evidence and Policy" IZA, September 2008:1.

Singh, K S. 1994, People of India: Introduction Volume I. Anthropological Society of India, Kolkatta.

……………. 1994, People of India: Volume VIII: Communities, Segement, Synonyms, Surnames and Titles. Anthropological Society of India, New Delhi.

…………. 1994, People of India: Haryana Volume XXIII. Anthrpological Societiy of India, Kolkatta.

…………. (n.d.) "A note on the Series, People of India - Anthropological Survey of India".

Smith, Brian K. and Wendy Doniger, 2014, The Laws of Manu. Penguin Classics, New Delhi.

Srinivas, M. N. 2007. Social Change in Modern India. New Delhi:Orient Longman Pvt. Ltd.

…………….. 1962, Caste in Modern India. Media Promoters and Publishers Pvt Ltd., Bombay.

Subhadra Mitra Channa, Joan P Mencher. 2014, Life as a Dalit. New Delhi:Sage Publications.

Swain, Ashok. and Hans Blomkvist. 2001. "Investigating Democracy and Social Capital in India" Economic and Political Weekly, Feb-March P. 639-643.

Thirumaavalavan, Thol. 2004, Uproot Hindutva. Samya Publication, Kolkata.

……………….., 2000, Transendence in Modern Tamil Buddhism, Religion and Society . Samya Publication, Kolkata.

Websites

www.mrps.info. n.d. http://www.mrps.info/movement.html (accessed July 12, 2015).

www.ansi.gov.in/people_india.htm

Ambedkar on Nationalism: Caste Prevents Hindus from Forming a real Society or Nation, http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/mmt/ambedkar/web/section_6.html(accessed July 12, 2015).

"Identity", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. 2008. (July 24, 2015). http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3045301074.html