

**PATTERNS OF DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN SUB-CASTES AMONG DALITS AND
ISSUES OF ACCESS TO HEALTH RESOURCES: A STUDY OF VILLAGES OF
SONBHADRA DISTRICT, UTTAR PRADESH**

*Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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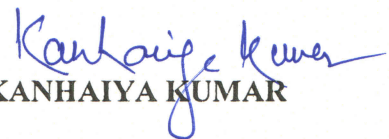
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DECLARATION


I hereby declare that this thesis entitled "PATTERNS OF DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN SUB-CASTES AMONG DALITS AND ISSUES OF ACCESS TO HEALTH RESOURCES: A STUDY OF VILLAGES OF SONBHADRA DISTRICT, UTTAR PRADESH", submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is my original work. This thesis has not been previously submitted for the award of any other degree of this or any other university.



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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation and consideration of the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


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List of Abbreviations

ANC	Ante-Natal care
ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activist
ATM	Automated Teller machine
CBR	Crude Birth Rate
CD Block	Community Development Block
CDR	Crude Death Rate
CHC	Community Health Centre
DCHB	District Census Handbook
HH	Household
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Service
IMR	Infant Mortality rate
IRDP	Integrated rural Development Program
LPG	Liquified Petroleum Gas
MMR	Maternal Mortality rate
MP	Madhya Pradesh
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
PDS	Public Distribution System
PHC	Primary Health Centre
RGI	Registrar General of India
SBI	State Bank of India
SC	Scheduled Caste
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
TV	Television
UP	Uttar Pradesh

Glossary

<i>Agjar Dev</i>	<i>A local deity believed to protect from the snakes</i>
<i>Amla</i>	<i>Phyllanthus emblica</i>
<i>Ashvin</i>	<i>A month of the Hindu calendar falling between September-October as per the English calendar</i>
<i>Asthan</i>	<i>Place</i>
<i>Bahera</i>	<i>Terminalia Belerica</i>
<i>Baishakh</i>	<i>A month of the Hindu calendar falling between April-May as per the English calendar</i>
<i>Baoli</i>	<i>A water body</i>
<i>Barhi</i>	<i>the twelfth day after the birth</i>
<i>Bhaat</i>	<i>Rice</i>
<i>Bhoomi Dev</i>	<i>A local deity believed to protect the community</i>
<i>Bhut</i>	<i>Ghost</i>
<i>Bidi</i>	<i>A type of cigarette with unprocessed tobacco wrapped in a leaf</i>
<i>Biradari</i>	<i>Sub-caste</i>
<i>Buddhia</i>	<i>A female deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Chait</i>	<i>A month of the Hindu calendar falling between March-April as per the English calendar</i>
<i>Chakwar</i>	<i>A Variety of Greens</i>
<i>Chhati</i>	<i>A ritual performed on the 6th day after the childbirth</i>
<i>Dahej</i>	<i>Dowry</i>
<i>Daswa</i>	<i>(the tenth day after the death)</i>
<i>Dih</i>	<i>Place</i>
<i>Dulha Dev</i>	<i>A local deity believed to protect grooms at the time of wedding from evil spirit</i>
<i>Garha Dev</i>	<i>A male deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Ghorbaj</i>	<i>A plat with herbal and medicinal properties</i>
<i>Golmukhi</i>	<i>A female deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Gotra</i>	<i>Clan</i>
<i>Halko</i>	<i>A male deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Halwai</i>	<i>A person who cooks food on the special occasion</i>
<i>Harhar Dev</i>	<i>A male deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Hasni Devi</i>	<i>A female deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Hatia</i>	<i>The local market</i>
<i>Jalebi/ Ghurhdor</i>	<i>A kind of sweet</i>
<i>Jeth</i>	<i>A month of the Hindu calendar falling between May-June as per the English calendar</i>
<i>Jhago Devi</i>	<i>A female deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Kachcha Food</i>	<i>The food cooked in water</i>
<i>Kali Mitti</i>	<i>Black soil</i>
<i>Kallo Dev</i>	<i>A male deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Kanyadan</i>	<i>A ritual performed at the time of marriage by the bride party</i>

<i>Khajo Rani</i>	<i>A female deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Khassi /Bakra-Bhaat</i>	<i>A main course comprising of boiled rice with a mutton curry</i>
<i>Khurmma</i>	<i>A kind of sweet</i>
<i>Kul Dev</i>	<i>A male deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Kul Devi</i>	<i>A female deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Kuri</i>	<i>Clan</i>
<i>Lakktho Bunia</i>	<i>A sweet offered to local deities</i>
<i>Machhli</i>	<i>Fish</i>
<i>Mahto</i>	<i>Head of the caste panchayat</i>
<i>Mahua</i>	<i>A tree with fleshy fruits, the nector of which may be used as an alcoholic drink</i>
<i>Malida</i>	<i>A sweet offered to the local deity</i>
<i>Mangta Baba</i>	<i>A local deity believed to protect the entire village</i>
<i>Mundan</i>	<i>A ceremony during which the head of the child is shaved for the first time</i>
<i>Murga-Bhaat</i>	<i>A main course comprising of boiled rice and a mutton curry</i>
<i>Neem</i>	<i>A tree providing timber and with medicinal properties</i>
<i>Neemo</i>	<i>A female deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Ojha</i>	<i>A sorcerer</i>
<i>Panchit</i>	<i>Esteemed members of a caste panchayat</i>
<i>Patta</i>	<i>A government lease</i>
<i>Phalgun</i>	<i>A month of the Hindu calendar falling between February-March</i>
<i>Pitra</i>	<i>Ancestors believed to have acquired a status close to the God</i>
<i>Pucca Food</i>	<i>The food cooked in oil</i>
<i>Purua hawa</i>	<i>the wind that blows from the eastern direction</i>
<i>Rot</i>	<i>A sweet offered to the local deity</i>
<i>Sarai</i>	<i>A variety of Greens</i>
<i>Sawan</i>	<i>A month of the Hindu calendar falling between July-August, as per the English calendar</i>
<i>Seerni</i>	<i>A local sweet</i>
<i>Semi Pucca Houses</i>	<i>Partially concrete houses</i>
<i>Shirni</i>	<i>A sweet offered to the local deity</i>
<i>Terhi or Badka Kaam</i>	<i>Thirteen days after the death</i>
<i>Tola</i>	<i>A settlement</i>
<i>Tulsi</i>	<i>A sacred as well as a medicinal plant</i>
<i>Veer Dev</i>	<i>A male deity of a particular clan</i>
<i>Verandah</i>	<i>A roofed platform along the outside of a house, level with the ground floor</i>

CHAPTER -01

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION: CASTE AND SUB-CASTE IN INDIA

This chapter situates the discussion on caste and sub-caste in India in the wider context of social stratification. At the outset, it discusses the society and social structure from a sociological perspective followed by a discussion around the concept of social stratification. Moreover, it discusses how the social order shapes the Indian social structure. The same brings our focus to two related aspects of social hierarchy and differences and their role in the understanding of Indian society from a caste perspective.

Since caste plays a vital role in India and the caste-based graded inequality affects the lives of Dalits in different manners, it is imperative to understand multidimensional nature of social exclusion at the sub-caste level among Dalits regarding different aspects/patterns of exclusion.

The chapter also discusses the origin and definitions of the term caste followed by various theoretical perspectives to understand caste. It then traces the historical background of 'Dalits' in India and their current status. The last section of the chapter discusses the sub-caste in India and sub-caste among Dalits.

Sociological Understanding of Society and Social Structure

This section deals with the nature and structure of society. The various characteristics of society are also discussed. It attempts to describe as to what constitutes a society. What do we mean by the structure and social structure of society? What constitutes social relations and how they lead to the social organisation? The concepts like structure and social structure are thus discussed from the perspective of various sociologists and social anthropologists. This exercise is essential as we attempt to understand the social relations in this research.

Nature and Structure of Society

Society is one of the most cardinal concepts of sociology and also for the other social sciences. It is also one of the vaguest and general concepts in sociology. Sometimes it is used as 'association' like *co-operative society*, *agricultural society* or as a company; *I work for the society of workers*, and it also has different meaning as an open society or closed society or rural and urban society, primitive and modern industrial society and more. Aristotle said 'Man is a social animal' that means he lives either in social groups or communities/society. The statement also explains that man cannot live as a man, without a society. Therefore, human life and society almost go together. George Simmel (1950) also noticed that sociability is the important element which defines the true essence of the society.¹ The *sociality of man* always belongs to a society or group of one kind or other, and without it, he cannot exist.

Different authors have attempted to define society in many ways. Kingsley Davis in his book titled 'Human Society' identified society as an organism and that it exhibits a certain level of association. The association also develops further as a 'web of social relations' (MacIver and Page, 1962), while Spencer mentioned 'social organism' as an attribute of society. He defined the process by organizational structure and said that the idea social organism comes from the biological organism. Both exhibit the same process and developed from simple to complex².

Human society is not only complex and dynamic but also diverse by its nature. Differences are found not only across the societies but also among people and groups in a particular society. It thus appears that the difference is the principal element of the society and the diverse nature of society results because people who constitute society also differ. The level of difference of human being depends on their physical development, their mental status, moral behaviour, spiritual temperament, intellectual endeavours, on their noble work and criminal activity, to mention a few. Social sciences like anthropology

¹ Sociability- Sociability is the art or play form of association, related to the content and purposes of association in the same way as art is related to reality. While sociable interaction centers upon persons, it can occur only if the more serious purposes of the individual are kept out, so that it is an interaction not of complete but of symbolic and equal personalities. While it is a departure from reality, there is no deceit in it unless one of the persons involved tries to exploit it.

² "As the lowest type of animal is all stomach, respiratory surface or limb, so primitive society is all warrior, all hunter, all build or all tool maker. As society grows in complex, division of labour follows....."

accounted for the human difference by the physical traits like skin, colour, height, and texture of hair. Psychology, similarly, considered human differences such as intelligence, ability, attitude and mental health. Sociology looks at the human differences by social status, social rank, social capital and social network. The unique combinations of these physical, social and psychological qualities create visible differences between the individuals and thus the society emerges with a unique social structure.

Structure and Social Structure of Society

The term structure refers to some kind of ordered arrangements of parts or components in a relationship with others. The word structure is frequently used in various disciplines with their respective meanings. For instance, Chemistry deals with the structure of the molecules; Physics attempts to understand the structure of atoms; Anatomy and Physiology cover the structure of organisms while Sociology and Social Anthropology study the social structure of society.

Social structure is one of the fundamental concepts of sociology. The idea of structure traces its origin in the work of Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim. Spencer compared societies to/with the living organism and portrayed biological analogies. He argued that society is similar to human body where all parts of human body are interrelated; like that family, religion, state and so on also construct the society and contribute the overall stability of the social system. Durkheim also used the term *verstehen* for understanding the social structure. The phrase social structure is applied more often than not to any recurring pattern of social behaviour but more especially as ordering interrelationships between different elements of a social system or society (Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, 1991:517). However, it is a continuous process of defining the general meaning of attempting compendious definitions of social structure. Collins' dictionary of sociology also assesses to delineate social structure as 'more or less enduring patterns of social arrangements within a particular society' (1991:597).

The concept 'social structure' is widely used by different sociologists and social anthropologists. It invariably implies different meanings. Radcliffe-Brown (1940) suggests that social structure comprises of 'social relations of person to person'. He argued that social structure links human beings, at a given point of time where they share a certain set of relations. Firth (1951) defined the social structure as a 'totality of society'.

All these definitions by various scholars highlighted the fundamental idea of structure and social structure by showing the arrangement of elements, or as patterns, yet they do not identify the elements. Neither did they discuss as to how patterns are maintained nor they elaborate on the patterns of social behaviour, and also whether these patterns oppose the system.

Social Stratification: Concept and Approaches

The imagination of an egalitarian society is a long-lived dream of human society. The main vision behind it is ‘the notion of equality’.³ It implies that in a society, there will be no space for the rank, prestige, occupation, status, position, authority, identity, wealth and that the concepts like oppression, exploitation, exclusion, discrimination, and poverty will disappear. In such a situation, the social reality of ‘power of people’ will have its true meaning (Haralambos 2007). Every individual will have an equal chance to succeed to whatever statute are open in society. However, there are no purely equalitarian societies, but only societies differing in degree of stratifications. The degree of stratification also deepens along with the values of society because all societies exhibit some system of hierarchy through which members of its societies are placed. Sorokin (1959: xx) said that “*un-stratified society with the real equality of its members, is a myth that has never been realised in the history of mankind.*” Even Russia which dreamt of a ‘classless society’ could not achieve it. Unfortunately, the dream of egalitarian society remains unachieved, and the concept of stratification also exists.

Social stratification is virtually substitutable with social inequality, strata, rank, layer, gradation. Social stratification is a universal phenomenon, commonly found in all the societies; either in simplistic or most complex in nature. There is hardly any society known where all individuals are equal in all respects. Hence, the differentiation becomes the key component of the human society. Society breathes on the principle of differences, and it is inherent in the nature of the society.

³ In sociology, equality is a legal term whereas diversity is a descriptive term. Equality is derived from a legal definition such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or the American with Disabilities Act, or the Equal Pay Act. These laws are focused on removal of any qualities, not the promulgation of diversity.

Bottomore (1965) discussed the *biological distinction* such as sex, age or race and *acquired distinctions* such as power, wealth or prestige as some general features of differences which are very common in every society. In detail, unequal distribution of power, prestige and wealth; between individual and society are leading causes of social inequality. In many societies, distribution of wealth is marked as differences; power refers as the degree by which individual can impose their will on other with or without the consent of others while prestige relates to honour associated with the social position, individual qualities and style of life. Hence, the unequal distribution of power, prestige and wealth in any society contributes to social inequality which further leads to social stratification. It means that social inequality refers to the existence of socially created inequalities while social stratification is a particular form of social inequality (Beteille, 1969). It also refers that those social groups which are ranked one above other concerning their power, wealth and prestige have some common interest, identity and similar lifestyle which creates some degree of differences from the other members of social strata. The Indian caste system also provides an example of the social stratification system.

Stratification turns out to be a fundamental idea while studying Indian social system. In Indian social scenario, caste becomes an important and essential element of social stratification while understanding the society. The nature of caste itself leads to so many restrictions and barriers for every individual, and further, it creates a wider range of gaps between the caste categories such as upper and lower, and further within caste categories. The present research work tries to understand the linkages between inter and intra-caste interactions through the lens of stratification. The hierarchal nature of caste also generates a range of different patterns of discrimination and exclusion in it and within its system.

Social stratification is a universal phenomenon, almost found in every human society with different forms and degrees. All individuals are differentiated by specific norms and criteria, and these norms and criteria also evolve over a period (Cancian, 1976). It means that social stratification has deep-rooted linkages with culture, economy and polity of that society. Therefore, social stratification continues to be of much interest and concern to sociologists, anthropologists, economists, historians as well as political scientists for studying caste and class. In the context of India, caste remains a potent force while class is often equated with stratification in Western society.

While discussing social stratification, Sharma (1997) stresses that since it refers to the hierarchical social ranking of the people in society, it is neither deterministic nor one-dimensional. He rightly argues that social stratification is multi-faceted and multi-causal. For instance, while discussing stratification in Indian society; caste is one of the most significant factors with the socio-economic, political, historical and to some extent, psychological dimensions.

The discussion on stratification raises some important questions such as;

1. What is the role of social stratification while discussing it at caste and sub-caste level?
2. How different perspectives correlate stratification at sub-caste?
3. What should be a common perspective to understand stratification and its linkages with caste and sub-caste?

Various scholars have attempted to study the nature of stratification in Indian society in its simplicity as well as complexity in different manners (Ghurye, 1961; Beteille, 1966; Dumont, 1972). The further discussion is to understand the complexities at caste and sub-caste level for evolving a comprehensive framework towards social stratification.

Social Stratification: Approaches

The study of stratification hinges on two main things. One of these is the historical and cultural aspect mentioning how it evolved and secondly the socio-economic factors responsible for it. Any study dealing with the social stratification is incomplete without the theoretical understanding, and it requires that some of the relevant existing approaches be discussed. Structural-functional, Marxian and Max Weber's approaches are some of the most popular and frequently used approaches to understand stratification (Allard 1968).

Structural-Functional Approach:

The 'functional theory of social stratification' in the 20th century explained the origin of inequality by functional necessity. As per the functional theory of social stratification, social stratification meant differential ranking of human individuals who compose a given social system and their treatment as superior and inferior, relative to one another in certain socially important respect.

. It was first propounded by the American sociologist Parsons (1937), and further, Davis and Moore (1945) consider inequality as essential for the maintenance of social structure. Broadly, Tumin (1953) briefs social stratification as an arrangement of society with hierarchical positions based on the power, property and social evaluation. Similarly, Parson briefly distinguishes stratification and differentiation as “social” and “non-social” respectively. Power, authority, achievements and possessions come under social while age and sex fall within non-social. Sorokin (1959) elaborated it as ‘the differentiation of the definite population into hierarchically superposed classes’ which are upper and lower layers.

The above-discussed approach mainly focuses on status distinctions in a modern western society based on capitalism. Thus, social stratification not merely has a ranked hierarchy but also has homogeneity in nature.

Marxian Approach

The basis of the Marxist approach is economic determinism. The classical Marxian view on stratification is entirely different as compared to the structural-functional perspective. Karl Marx in his grand conflict theory tried to brief the structural explanation regarding class, class-conflict and its changes. By land, labour and capital, Marx discusses the modern society which is based on the ‘capitalist mode of production’.⁴ Although Marx did not conceptualise social stratification yet he mentioned the formulation of the class and class struggle. ‘Mode of production’ is one of his key contributions that resulted in the formation of a class. Society was further divided into ruling and oppressed classes. The struggle between these two classes determined the social relations of individuals and society (Adams & Sydie, 2002).

It thus appears that from the Marxist perspective, stratification results from the means and relations of the production, which generate ownership over the means of production. In the context of social stratification, Marx highlights ‘domination’ and ‘subjugation’ over the production. ‘Bourgeoisie and Proletariat’ were identified as the two major social

⁴ The capitalist mode of production is characterized by private ownership of the means of production, extraction of surplus value by the owning class for the purpose of capital accumulation, wage-based labour, and, at least as far as commodities are concerned, being market-based.

classes. Marx considered class not only as a social reality but also as a mirror for looking at the totality of social relations in a given society (ibid).

Max Weber's Approach

The concept of stratification gets manifested in the work of Max Weber. The weberian conceptualisation of stratification revolves around the idea of 'power'.⁵ Weberian theory of stratification is also accounted as a critic of Marxian theory. In his work "Class, Status, Party" Weber said that parties live in a house of power and parties are oriented towards the acquisition of 'social power' which also influences the communal action.

Class, Status and Parties are three crucial orders while observing power in a society. Weber draws a clear distinction regarding the economic, social and political order. By referring to these three orders, Weber propounded a multidimensional theory against the unidimensional theories. The power results in the social honour or prestige which may even be the basis of the political power.

All the approaches discussed above were given for the western society, and the major thrust of these approaches was to explain the class-based society. However, in the Indian context, caste plays a crucial role in the stratification. Thus, though it becomes important to contextualise stratification in the light of various approaches, we must also carefully examine the specific context in which one is studying stratification.

Most studies during the sixties and seventies of the 20th century studied caste from a functionalist perspective. Risley, Hutton, Ghurye, Srinivas and Dumont are some of the prominent scholars who analyzed the positive function of the caste system as its organic character; Jajmani system, Inter-caste relation, and Intra-caste solidarity. The common consciousness was that division of labour is desirable and inter, and intra-caste relations were seen as positive for the Indian society. Hutton (1963) and Risley (1969) considered caste as a useful institution for Hindus while Indian scholars claimed caste as a secular credential and considered it 'the democratic incarnation' (Sharma,1997). Yogendra Singh (1974) also described it as systematic teleology which follows the hierarchical 'brahminical' model and historicity as the causality of the structural-functional approach.

⁵ Power is a chance of man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others, who are participating in the action

Since the 1940s, the Marxist approach was frequently used for describing the Indian caste system. In 'Asiatic mode of production' Marx (1965) discussed Indian society and viewed it as a pre-capitalistic society as it was neither classless nor static. Further, the Asiatic mode does not deny the role of class contradiction and class structure. Kosambi (1958) also suggested that Indian society was never in a static stage and caste and caste-based stratification and exploitation existed. In Indian society, caste-class linkages are the core of the Marxist ideology. Dandekar (1978) enlisted five classes, namely, a pre-capitalist class (cultivator, agricultural labour), independent worker, employer, white collar and blue collar worker. He described that Indian society has multi-class structure but the conflict and strikes are not very common in the society as in India, 'state' is the largest employer that can't exploit their workers. Thus, the Marxist approach is quite different for the Indian society but rather than the class conflict situation; elite conflict, caste lobbies and pressure groups are common.

Indian scholars including Beteille (1966), Sharma (1974), Bhatt (1975), Aggarwal (1971) and others are influenced by the Weberian theory of stratification. They define caste in relation to class and power. As mentioned earlier, functionalist scholars describe it as a singular institution based on its function, the Weberian approach of stratification, on the other hand, is multidimensional. Class and power along with caste status were considered an economic and political dimension of social hierarchy. While studying caste from the perspective of stratification, mobility and changes, Sharma (2001) applied multidimensional approach, including structural and cultural features, and examined the relevance of the 'caste model' of the Indian society.⁶ By using caste, class and power in a village study in Tamil Nadu, Andre Beteille (1969) made a distinction between caste, class and power. In the same way, Anil Bhatt (1975) described stratification in terms of caste, class and politics and Aggarwal (1971) also studied caste, religion and power to analyse stratification from a multidimensional framework.

The Weberian approach is mostly preferred for the Indian society because of its multidimensional approach as compared to the functionalist and Marxist approach. Taking into account the organic character, jajmani system and caste-based solidarity, functionalist approach only brings forth one side of the coin and misses the issues of

⁶ Caste, class, caste and class consciousness, power structure and value orientation were taken as focal point to understand the multidimensionality of caste system (Sharma, 2001).

changes and mobility. The Marxist approach is quite different for the Indian society because as compared to class conflict; Sharma (2010) argues that caste-based lobbies emerged for their rights. The Weberian approach, on the other hand, can be helpful while understanding and interpreting the caste and sub-caste relations regarding the unequal distribution of power and status among the different caste groups.

Social Stratification in Indian society: Relevance of Hierarchy and Differences

As discussed above, stratification is one of the key concepts to study Indian society. Social stratification in one way is an order where people are placed in different categories or ranks, a very common feature of most of the societies. Stratification also encompasses grading individuals based on the concept of differences. Gupta (1991) mentioned caste as an excellent example of social stratification and explained that it widely, separates and places Hindus in a hierarchical system. The separation is only counted when hierarchy and differences are externalized and socially demonstrated. For instance, differences in rituals, dress, tonsorial style, and marriage practices, to name a few, led to some separation from one caste to another, but it cannot be counted as social stratification unless these differences are made socially visible.

Beteille (1977) argues that social stratification is multidimensional and that the human population is differentiated publicly and demonstrably, not only by any one factor but a host of factors. It cannot be understood only by the purity/impurity basis, but social practices, occupation, lifestyle, rituals and taboos demonstratively differentiate one caste from another. It means social stratification has a multi-faceted reality. Dumont (1988) also observed that in Indian society, the caste system is an extreme form of social stratification which coexists with occupational, linguistic, sexual, and religious stratification. By the multifactorial nature of the social stratification, caste creates different forms of differentiation within the society which can be visualized as multiple forms of inequality and differences.

Gupta (1991), Veena Das (2004), Bailey (1963) and Beteille (1996) also note that 'if inequality is the base of stratification in any society, then it can be understood as hierarchal, and if the base is differences, then various social orders face each other as horizontal and on equal axes.' For example, owing to patriarchy and gender status (purity and impurity), male and female were considered as vertical and not as horizontal axes

while ranking the society. Similarly, linguistic differences are also not considered as hierarchal but vertical.

Thus, it is evident that in Indian society, both the concepts are significant yet encroach on each other (Sharma, 2010). Gupta (1991) explains that stratification is not only about categorising people into different strata but also providing an analytical base for understanding social order and mobility. That means stratification also informs about the social statics and social dynamics where hierarchy depicts statics while differences show the dynamics within that static social order. Thus social stratification admits both hierarchy and differences, but due to the rigid caste system, Indian society is less prone to mobility as compared to the class-based societies.

Idea of Hierarchy in Indian society

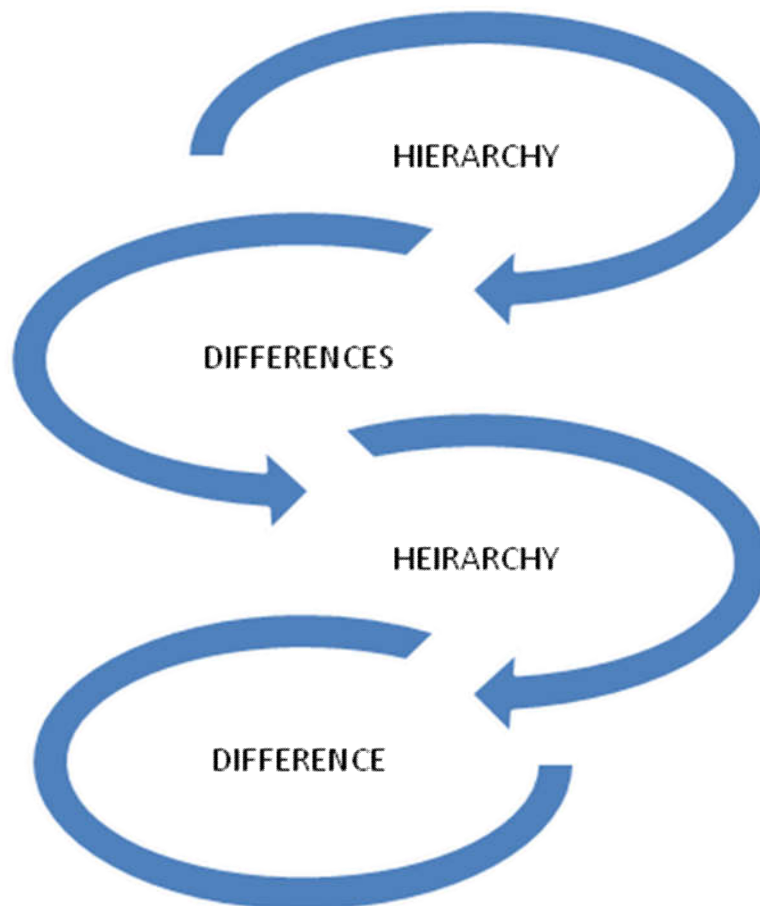
Usually, the hierarchy is used for ordering the social units according to their social ranking and ranking also includes their internally significant social norms and values such as socio-cultural-economic and power terms. Dumont argued that hierarchy is a regular ordering of a phenomenon on a continuous scale 'such that the element of the whole is ranked in relation to the whole' (1988:66). Only quantified units such as height, weight, income and power can be arranged in a hierarchical order. For instance, the high-income group and the low-income group can be arranged in a hierarchy of income.

Superior and inferior or higher and lower is the common nature of hierarchy, and it always has a single axis dimension. In the *binary opposition* between purity and impurity, Dumont (1988) gave a *single true principle* of ranking in relation to the whole for understanding hierarchy in Indian caste system. Bougle (1971) defined hierarchy in Indian caste system as an arrangement of hereditary groups, segregated by the social values and interdependence by nature. That means hierarchy, discreteness, segregation; ordering and interdependence coexist for understanding caste in Indian society. For example, in India, the caste system is considered as a natural hierarchy because caste has some internal significance and which later determine the ordering of the caste groups in a ranking in their society which is a rigid and static system of stratification. For instance, Brahmins were ranked at the top due to the ritual hierarchy (Dumont, 1988:19).

On the other hand, the hierarchy is one kind of stratification where the strata/layers are arranged vertically, and it can only be appropriate when the vertical arrangement along

with their variables can be measured on a continuous scale. Capitalist/Proletariat or certain language in a certain region cannot be arranged in hierarchal order due to their measure. However, if these could be measured in terms of income or prestige of any language in the certain region, then these could be put under hierarchy. Therefore, by measurement, it is potential that many forms of the hierarchy can be found in any society. Gupta (1991:8) explained hierarchy in terms of *continuous hierarchy* and said that under a hierarchy of income earners, it is possible that within that hierarchy so many different language groups, religious followers or regional disparities could also exist in that scale. These differences further lead to their arrangement in a hierarchical order. Thus, it became a continuous hierarchy of stratification.

Figure 1.1 Forms of Stratification



The idea of Differences in Indian society

Social stratification is a universal feature of any society, and therefore all the systems of stratification cannot only be considered as a hierarchy, but further differences can also be valorized. It means that within the social stratification, hierarchy and differences exist parallel. However, differences are dominant in some stratification system as compared to hierarchy (Gupta 1991:7). As compared to hierarchy, differences are not arranged vertically but horizontally or even separated. It also has a common axis dimension (like OX axis).

For example- In the hierarchy of income, all individuals cannot be equal. By religion, language, age, sex, and religion, people can be differentiated. We can only consider differentiation when it is measurable as in case of income, power, prestige, status, number, etc. Within the hierarchy, income, religion (by prestige or number), age (young people as comparing old person) can be considered as a differentiation unit. Moreover, further, it again leads to hierarchy. India, being a secular country, has people following many religions, and anyone religion cannot be placed over another. These religions thus cannot be seen as falling into a hierarchy but as differences.

Gupta (1991) argues that differences regarding language, religion, race or sex are differences that in themselves do not contain the property of inequality because this may however not be the popular understanding of these differences. For example- by Varna system, caste groups are ranked in a particular way; Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras are considered as a hierarchical order of caste, but within the caste groups, so many sub-caste lies as the unit of differences and the differences further make the hierarchy within their own differences. As Gupta argues, it is a continuous process, but one cannot say that they are unequal because they come still under certain caste group. For instance, in the caste-based hierarchy, Brahmins occupy the topmost position. However, not all Brahmins are on the top. Among the Brahmins, the only priest is ranked at the highest position while contra-Brahmins are considered as the lowest among them.

While adding together hierarchy and differences within social stratification, it can be said that “*social stratification is social hierarchy of social differences*” (continuous hierarchy and differences---till family---- caste and sub-caste, clan, lineage, extended family, kindred (Related to blood or marriage) and it only emerged when hierarchy and difference could be counted. In Indian society, caste is an important example of

stratification, where caste groups are hierarchized on their rank status, and further, these caste groups are differentiated on their sub-caste reality. Thus, while discussing the sub-caste in Indian society, differences become important.

A comprehensive idea is needed for an understanding of stratification at the caste and sub-caste level. Two sets of alternative ideas; *the idea of 'subjective and objective' in the class system and another is causes of stratification* are used. Ossowski (1963) suggested a scheme of 'gradation'⁷ to understand the social structure which refers both subjectively evaluated and objectively measured rank. Richard Centers (1961) argued that the class has a subjective component while strata are determined by objective dimension. He noted class as a subjective component as it depends upon the class consciousness (as a feeling of group membership) and objective dimensions such as occupation, income, power, education, function and intelligence. Lenski (1966) emphasised causes of stratification rather than its consequences. Ossowski, Centers and Lenski, thus, gave an alternative perspective to understand the class system more comprehensively.

Similarly, the present study aims to understand the stratification of the society from the caste as well as sub-caste perspective. For a comprehensive understanding of stratification, both caste and sub-caste reality should be taken into account. The stratification at the level of caste has been objectified through the legislative measures and affirmative action. However, the subjective dimension of the sub-caste level experiences has not been taken into account. Holistic understanding of the processes that lead to social stratification requires both objective as well as subjective aspects of caste.

Caste in India: Definitions and Theoretical Understanding

Caste in India

The Indian caste system is unique among the different systems of social stratification, and no other system of stratification is comparable to the caste. The Indian caste system exhibits a level of differentiation, which is frequently visible in the day to day social restrictions, disability or discrimination. Social stratification is a social hierarchy of social differences implying that Indian society is divided into caste and sub-castes. The Indian society thus represents a stratified structure wherein norms, values, culture and

⁷ Gradation is based on objective criteria, such as income, wealth and property, which are bases of the class division and it becomes synthetic when two or more incommensurable criteria are involved.

restrictions of varied nature govern the society. Due to restrictions, the nature of caste in Indian society seems like a closed hierarchical status group. Caste is an important institution of social structure in India. In Hindu social system, caste is an important and complex institution, which is inevitably based on various types of restrictions and social norms. Caste is one of the ancient social institutions prevailing in India since time immemorial.

The caste system emerged from the Varna system and is omnipresent till today. The strong forces of industrialization, modernization, urbanization, and education, initiated some changes in the caste system, but they neither destroyed nor weakened the caste system (Rao, 2007:190). Since this study tries to explore the caste and the sub-caste situation with particular emphasis to certain 'lower' caste groups of Indian society, the present section tries to discuss the caste and sub-castes in India, as well as the prevailing forms of the social restrictions or discrimination.

The origin of the word 'caste' lies in Spanish and Portuguese languages. However, the Latin word 'castus' means pure. Though there is evidence that the word caste was used since the 15th century, it was frequently used after the 17th century or in the colonial period. In Europe, it was roughly applied to the hereditary classes which also match with the usage of the word 'caste' in India (Ketkar 1909).

Since the word caste emerged in the colonial period, many writers like; John C. Nesfield (1885), S.V. Ketkar (1909), J.H Hutton (1963), E. Senart (1980), Herbert Risley (1969), Ghurye (1957) defined caste as a static Indian Hindu system of social stratification. According to G.S. Ghurye, caste is highly complex in nature, and thus is bound to fail to define itself (Ghurye, 1950:41). Caste can be seen in society in different forms, such as, *“segmental division of society; hierarchical division of society and restriction on feeding and social intercourse; civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections; restrictions on the occupational choices and restrictions on the marriages”* (Ghurye, 1969:10). Scholars from different disciplines like history, anthropology and sociology tried to define it by its emergence and characteristics. Srinivas defined caste as *“social structure”* (Srinivas, 1962:24). Majumdar and Madan, defined caste as a *“closed group”* with social boundaries (Madan, 1989:34). On the basis of characteristics, *“caste is a group having two characteristics, (a) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all the persons so born, (b) the member is forbidden by an*

inexorable social law to marry outside the group” (Ketkar,1909:12-13). Thus, caste is primarily a social system based on the ascribed status and is a result of the birth. Gender, body type, and age are some of the ascribed forms which further lead to the hierarchy in the society.

Beteille (1966) defined “caste as a small and named group of individuals which is characterized by endogamy, hereditary membership, and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by the tradition of a particular occupation and it is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchy system.” While according to traditional thinkers, caste ideology is the brainchild of Brahmins and the key to the order of ranking lies in the notion of ritual purity. So far, all the traditional views are mainly based on the *three-line theory*⁸ (Quigley: 1993:4). However, all the traditional views are inadequate to understand the reality of caste based social hierarchy since it only focuses on upper three castes, while worst and lowers castes are always kept out.

The concept of caste is also understood through materialistic and idealistic interpretation. Under the materialistic interpretation, the main vision is the inequalities. Higher caste people are wealthier than lower caste people. Therefore, the idiom of purity and impurity exist in society by the caste differences while the idealist explanation describes caste as a cultural construct and it is the product of the religious ideas. Dumont also analyzed higher castes as pure and lowers castes as impure. Hocart used both visions and said, “It is really important to understand the caste in Hindu society on the basis of idealistic and materialistic view, which allows one to consider the historical and sociological understanding of the caste”. The framework is referred to as *Hocart’s interpretation of caste* (Quigley: 1993:4).

Thus, the above discussion on caste takes into account its structural and cultural view. Different authors have attempted to define caste in different ways (**Table 1.1**). For instance, Bailey (1963) tried to cover various aspects by giving three types namely rigidity, cultural and structural type. The rigidity type emphasizes on a set of *religious beliefs, status rigidity and immutability*, based on pollution and purity syndrome and status rigidity. The cultural type refers to *birth ascription, hereditary specialization of roles and corporation and interdependence* between caste groups while the structural

⁸ *Three line theory* contends that though the Indian system is composed of four castes, quite often the attention was given to the three castes namely Brahmins, Kshatriya and Vaishya.

type suggests organizing principle of competition). Joan Mencher (1974) discussed caste from the bottom-up perspective as a cultural and structural phenomenon while Bayly (1999) discussed caste in its traditional, colonial and modern aspects. The traditional aspect used *multiple status hierarchies* for the intercaste and intra-caste relations; The colonial aspect gave a functionalist interpretation of caste while the modern aspect suggested that caste is the product of a historical encounter between India and western colonial role/knowledge.

Table 1.1 Approaches to Understand Caste in India

Approaches to Understanding Caste in India				
Approach	Functionalist	Interactionist	Indological Structure list	Bottom Up
Thinkers	Ghurye, GS	Andre Beteille and Dipankar Gupta	Dumont	Joan Mencher
Restrictions	Restrictions on food/eating; civil and religious rights;	Social Interaction Rituals and cultural practices; inter-dining;	Status and Power; Varna; feeding/eating	Political Empowerment
Choices	Choice of occupation; functions specific to caste	Economic position;	Purity and Pollution	Assertion
Physical	Physical	Colour, Physical appearance and dress	untouchability	Rejection of norms
Social	Social	Endogamy	marriage restrictions	
Institution	Institution to Understand Social System			
Differentiation	← Differentiated by →			
	Endogamy		Commensality	
British period till present	British as promoter of Caste Caste has emerged as an important identifier for poverty, oppression, domination, exclusion and privileges		Differences are discrete categories no continuous	

Thus, we find that different scholars have attempted to understand caste differently. One of the prime concerns, however, among sociologists, anthropologists and historians have been to define caste in context of its complexity. Therefore, discussion on caste from a theoretical perspective is imperative. Thus, the theoretical moorings on understanding caste in India are presented as follows in the next section;

Theoretical understanding of Caste system in India

Scholars have attempted to explain the caste system from different perspectives, especially functionalist, conflict and interpretative. Discussions and debates are still going on its understanding. Risley (1969) has revived caste as “racial differences”; while Nesfield (1885) related it to “occupational bases”. Senart (1980) described it as “a close corporation” (Ambedkar, 2004:133). While these scholars and some others gave traditional meaning to understand caste, grand theories like-conflict and functionalist explained it differently. Interactionists and Dumont also give a different perspective to understand the caste system. Various theoretical perspectives are used to understand the caste system comprehensively. We discuss the frequently used four approaches, namely, conflict, functionalist, structuralist and interactionist approach, as several scholars attempted to understand the caste system.

Mencher (1991:93) adopted the bottom-up approach to interpret the caste system within conflict perspective. She studied untouchables of the rural Tamil Nadu and described their socio-economic condition and economic exploitation. Further, she found that the political empowerment of the untouchables led to the class-consciousness. Consequently, they stood for their rights and negated the Brahminical view of the caste system.

Ghurye approaches the caste system from a functionalist perspective. He argues that with specific characteristics, caste is a product of some restrictions. It is a segmental division of society wherein people from all castes have functions specific to their caste that helps to balance the society. Hierarchy, restrictions on feeding, civil and religious disabilities, and privileges of the different sections, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, restrictions on marriage creates some boundaries for all the castes. By these restrictions, people of all society have to do their respective work according to their castes and this way society may sustain by its function (1991:35).

Interactionist perspective gives attention to the interaction for understanding the society and the caste system. According to Beteille (1991), interaction is the main way to understand the caste in the social system. Beteille (2012) studied Sripuram village of Tanjore district and found that at the social structural level, many castes were constituted on the basis of their function and caste division was based on the actual social interaction. He described the threefold division of the society which is based on the caste system, by their colour, physical differences, dress sense, culture, language and ritual differences, different food habits and economic status with limited interaction among the castes. Thus, caste is defined by interactions. According to him, interactional differences create some gaps which lead to the hierarchy among them.

Dumont analyzed caste system differently. He used the Indological⁹ and structural aspect to understand the caste system. In his work, *Homo Hierarchicus*, Dumont expressed his views on caste in India on different issues like- stratification, varna system, marriage restrictions, untouchability, feeding restrictions and caste Panchayats. To analyze the caste, he took traditional sources and, on that basis, described the structure of the society. His understanding of the caste system was based on the concept of purity and pollution. He said that the fundamental characteristic of caste is the status and power which comes from the notion of purity and pollution associated with a particular caste. In this way, Dumont attempts to answer the question as to how and why the Brahmins enjoy a monopoly in the religious domain. According to Dumont, the essential feature of the caste system is “the disjunction between power and status” (1972:57).

All the perspectives mentioned above suggest the caste system in India as an institution to understand the social systems. Indian social system thus exhibits unique character as it is based on the caste hierarchy. The same is not seen anywhere in the world except for some neighbouring countries. Indian society is thus stratified into castes and sub-castes. Some scholars like Sharma (2010) suggest that during the colonial period, British did not allow the caste to die and now it became a single powerful category for the poverty, oppression, domination, exclusion and privilege. The nature of power can easily be seen at inter and intra-caste level., Srinivas (1996) mentioned that the core of hierarchy depends upon the differences of the caste and, castes are separated by the endogamy and commensality.

⁹ The use of Indian mythology to understand Indian society is called Indological approach. Ghurye though introduced the Indological approach, Dumont used the Indological approach to define caste in structural way and his understanding of caste is based on structuralism. He thus uses the Indological approach to define Caste system in India.

While enquiring the caste system historically, Jaiswal (1999) considers difference as an essence of the caste system which is composed of discrete categories and is not having a continuous hierarchy. Thus, it is evident that sub-caste reality is also an essential dimension while discussing the caste.

Dalits in India: Tracing their history and current status

The term 'Dalit' is a social, academic and political category and has not been defined by the existing law of the land and the constitution and is not a caste, but is a constructed identity. Intellectual communities do not use the terms such as 'Untouchable' and 'Harijan' in the contemporary period. They, however, use the word Dalits in place of other specific words (Kumar, 2003). Dalit has become a part of national and global political discourse as well as the academic (Guru, 2004). The term 'Dalit' represents the political and advanced way to refer to this group. Oommen (2005) while defining Dalits includes Scheduled Tribe and other Backward Classes along with Scheduled Castes. Kumar (2002, 2005) argues that only the ex-untouchables who have suffered the worst kind of exploitation and social exclusion can be termed as Dalits. Ram (1995) uses Dalits and untouchables or the Scheduled Castes interchangeably. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, a separate schedule was created in the name of Scheduled Castes which includes all those castes that were originally considered "untouchables".

Untouchables, deprived, servile classes, depressed classes, weaker section, Harijans, Scheduled Caste and Dalits are some of the familiar terms used to define Dalits in Indian Society (Michael, 1999:16). Dalits are considered as the lowest caste of Indian social system, and it refers to those castes who belong to the lowest rank of the Hindu caste hierarchy and whose touch is also considered as polluting by the Hindu religion. According to B.R. Ambedkar, *Dalits are those people, who are born in specified caste, and due to birth, they are facing social and economical exploitation* (quoted in Micheal, 1999:18). Mahatma Gandhi called them Harijans (God's people).

The word 'Dalit' is a Sanskrit word.¹⁰ It is used to refer to the downtrodden people of the society. The word 'Dalit' was used for the first time in 1920-30s but is being frequently used since the 1970s when it was used during the Panther Movement to refer to people

¹⁰ Exact Sanskrit meaning of the word Dalit is crushed. Grammar= Noun "Pad-Dalit"=Crushed by foot.

who were exploited and deprived. According to Indian social system, Dalits can be defined as *'those people, who are facing inhuman behaviours, injustices, discriminations, social vulnerabilities, social exploitation, and political and economic deprivation from a long time'* (Kamble, 1982:17).

Dalits thus refer to oppressed, crushed, or broken people. They are not only excluded from the main body of the village, certain occupations and day-to-day life interactions but also from the modern institutions like the judiciary, education, bureaucracy, market and media (Kumar 2009:26). The origin of the term 'Dalit' can be traced back to the movement of untouchables for social justice and political rights led by Dr B.R. Ambedkar. It replaced the old terms such as Harijan which sounded ritualistic, having religious connotations. Social exclusion of Dalits is justified by the religious texts based on *dharma and karma* (Kumar, 2005:516).

The term Dalit is also meant to remind everyone about social injustice and discrimination, the communities still suffer and to inspire the Dalits themselves to continue to fight for their social, political and cultural rights. The term Dalit in the present study is confined to the ex-untouchables listed for the administrative purposes as Scheduled Castes. Dalits are those castes who are recognized as Scheduled Castes (SCs) by the Constitution and deserve special assistance as regards education, employment and political representation. One may argue that Hindu society is fundamentally based on the idea of exclusion. It is also important to trace the historical background and status of Dalits in Indian society. The next section discusses the same.

Historical Background of Dalits:

The caste system that exists in present-day society is a result of a long process. The origin of caste and untouchability lie deep in India's ancient past and the evidence of those origins is provided by archaeological and literary sources. Since the word Dalit came to be used in the recent past, the state of untouchables can be understood from the historical records covering different time frames (Narayan, 2004: 210-212). Chandra and Mitra (2003) identify three broader periods as the ancient, medieval and modern, and discuss the characteristic and nomenclature associated with the untouchables. The nomenclature, characteristics and the period of kingdom during the ancient and medieval period are given in **Appendix I**.

a. Untouchables in Ancient Period

- *Vedic and Pre-Buddhist Period (4000-1000 B.C.)*
- *Brahminical Period (1000-600 B.C.)*
- *Maurya Period and Post Maurya Period (322-184 B.C, 184 B.C.-600A.D)*
- *Harsh Vardhan and other Periods (606-700 A.D.)*

b. Untouchables in the Medieval period

- *Rajput Period (700-1200 A.D.)*
- *Muslim Period (1200-1757 A.D.)*

c. Dalits in Modern Period

- *Pre-independence or colonial period (1757-1947 A.D.)*
- *Post independent period (1947-)*

a- Untouchables in ancient time:

In ancient times, certain 'lower' caste people were treated as untouchables. Literature shows that they had no social status, no rights and were compelled to live without human dignity. All types of menial works had to be done by them, and therefore so many social restrictions were forced on them. Untouchability was the curse faced by untouchables whose roots could be traced into the ancient times. The ancient period can further be classified into four different time frames, as follows:

Vedic and Pre-Buddhist Period (4000-1000 B.C.), Brahminical Period (1000-600 B.C.), Mauryan Period and Post-Maurya Period (322-184 B.C, 184 B.C.-600A.D), Harsh Vardhana and other Periods (606-700 A.D.).

In the *Vedic period*, Aryans came from middle Europe, wrote *Rig Veda* in which there is no mention of *Shudra*, except in the *Purushasukta*, which is considered to be of a later origin. *Purushasukta* contains a myth about the origin of the fourfold social structure which mentions four caste systems based on the *Varna* (colour) (Ghurye, 1932:143). They subdued the dark-skinned non-Aryans who were living in India because of their race, language, and religion. Aryans considered themselves as superior. They considered non-Aryans as non-humans or *amanushya*, and they described them as *Krish Varna* (quoted in Michael, 1999:45) or dark-skinned, and *anasa* or without a nose. In four folded division of the society, *Shudras* were at the fourth position in the caste system. They were treated as slaves or serfs as in Europe. They also mentioned some outcastes, the fifth

division, out of the *chaturvarna*, considered as *Nishadas* or *Upmanyus* in Manu's analysis.

In the post *Rig Vedic* period, called *Brahmanical Period*, *Brahmins* and *Upanishad* are included. *Aitareya Brahmanas*, *Pancavimsa Brahmanas*, *Satapatha Brahmanas*, *Taittiriya Brahmanas*, *Vajaseneya Samhita* and *Atharva Veda* also refers to the origin of castes and describes the *Shudras* as a servant or other than a servant, who washes the feet of his superiors (Chandra, 2003:184-186). In the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* (composed around tenth century B.C.) the words *Chandala* and *Paulkasa* occur, but there is no indication that they were untouchables. However, around 8th century BC, *Chhanadogya Upanishad* described the word *Chandala* and explicitly said that “those persons, whose actions were low, will (quickly) attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a Chandala” (quoted in Michael, 1999:46). The *Gautama Dharma Sutra* (in the 7th century BC) for the first time tried to explain the origin of the *Chandalas* and said that the *Chandala* is the young child of a male *Shudra* and a *Brahmin* woman and is the most condemnable among those born in the indirect order or *pratiloma Vivah*. Gautama calls *pratiloma* castes as *dharmahina* or without religion. The *Apastamba Dharma Sutra* also says that after touching a *Chandala*, one should dip into water, on talking to him one should converse with a Brahmin, and on seeing him one should look at the luminance of the sky such as the sun, the moon, or the stars.

In the Maurya Period, the political situation of India had changed. In this period, *Chandra Gupta Maurya*, a *Shudra*, was the king of India. He tried to eradicate all the restrictions to *Shudra* which were forced by the *Brahmins*. During this period with the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, the social restriction was less effective. The grandson of *Chandra Gupta Maurya*, *Ashoka* followed Buddhism and changed his religious policies. Universal brotherhood and tolerance became the central elements of the religion. This period is also called as the Golden Period of India. However, this situation did not continue for long.

Later, the *Sunga Kingdom* strictly followed the *Brahminical* religious laws, and after him, *Kanwa* and *Kushans* also took forward this system. In this period called *Post Maurya Period* (2nd BC), Manu wrote the *Manu Smriti*. On the basis of *Varnashram Dharma*, our society is divided into four Varnas: *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya*, and *Shudra* (Michael, 1999:47). The mythological belief is that for the prosperity of the world, the creator

(God) created four castes and divided their works and position for the welfare of the society. All these Varnas have origin from different parts of the body of the God, from Mouth-*Brahmin*, Arm- *Kshatriya*, Thigh-*Vaishya*, and Feet-*Shudras*. Mouth, arms, thighs and feet signify different qualities such as – *Knowledge*, which is expressed by speech or mouth; *Power*, which resides in the arms; *Wealth*, which is acquired by trade and, travel, undertaken by the thigh or walking and; *Submission* as the feet go as driven by the other parts of the body (Jhunjhunwala,1999:137).

The first three *Varnas* are called *Divija*, or the twice-born and *Shudras* who are born only once. According to ‘Manu,’ the untouchables were not to own any property; they could only be manual labourers (Chakravarti, 2004:282). They must serve the *Divija* by their labour, art or craft. According to Manu, *Shudras* preferred to serve the *Divija*, because they provided security for his Bhoga. Manu also ruled that the *Chandalas* and *Shvapakas* should live outside the village The Gita also describes the Varna system. According to the Gita, “the four Varna were created according to the division of Guna and Karma” (quoted in Michel, 1999:21). *Shudras* remained poor and economically dependent upon upper caste people. By the theory of divinity and Karma, all socio-economic-political discriminations and deprivation are faced by them. Due to rituals, religious sanction and social order system, *Shudras* (Dalits) have a low social position in society, and they are not allowed to do works which are considered pure.

In the period of *Harsh Vardhana*, no more information was found about the condition of *Shudra*. Only *Hieun Tsang* analyzed the social structure of the society and mentioned that all people from unclean works lived outside the village.

All historical sources show that the conditions of the untouchables were worst during this period. Even the change of kingdoms did not bring any change in their position in the society. From Aryans to *Harsh Vardhana* to the medieval period, their conditions remained more or less the same. Untouchability, poor social condition, serving other castes, living outside the village, marriage and dining restriction were some of the main characteristics. During the period of *Maurya*, called the *Golden period of India*, their condition was a little better (Michel, 1999).

b- Untouchables in the medieval period:

The medieval period, starting from 700 A.D. can be segregated into two parts; First was period of *Rajputana* and second was *Muslim* period. In the period of the *Rajputana*, India was divided into many states, and governance was with the *Rajputs*. In this period no social changes were seen regarding caste. Same conditions continued to prevail in the society. During the period of the *Muslims*, the caste system became stronger because people became more conscious about their religion and culture. During this period, some movements by *Kabir*, *Nanak*, *Chaitanya*, *Tukaram*, *Abdul Rahim Khankhana* and *Namdeo* helped society to become liberal to some extent.

Shudras and low ranked people in society were so classified, mainly due to social stratification based on the *Varnas* and work (*Karma*). It reflected on the structuring of society based on the differential social status of various groups and castes of the people- a standard feature of human societies. The base of the *Varna* hierarchy also influences the legal system of society whereby the *Brahmins* are placed highest in the social structure and enjoy all the facilities, while *Shudras* are at the extreme lowest position in society. In this period, no further information is found on the status of lower caste women. It only described the conditions of lower castes as extremely poor.

c- Dalits in Modern India: Rights and Preventions

The Modern period can further be classified into two periods-colonial period and independence period. The status and nomenclature of Dalits during the Colonial Period is given in **Appendix II**. During the colonial period, Census surveys were carried out for understanding social structures/realities. They also focused on these people who had migrated to one side of the social structure. Census started in the year 1881, and the process to define untouchables continued. However, after fifty years in the year 1931, by some criteria, Census scheduled some castes, and they were referred to as Scheduled Caste. After the independence, the government of India started a development vision for them, who had migrated from society, through not only the Constitutional rights but also by the Acts and Provenance.

During the colonial period, the word Dalit began to be used. It was a Hindi or Marathi translation of depressed classes (Omvedt, 1979:772). From 1881, Census started to define the people and social structure and also focused on untouchables. Census of India gave enumerative and descriptive analytical framework which was useful for defining Dalits. The 1881 Census simply described and enumerated castes in various provinces and states based on Varna categories, in which Dalits generally appeared at or near the end of the list. On the other hand, the 1891 Census adopted a standard classification of caste according to the occupation, which was assigned to them by their traditional work. Field labourers, leather-workers, scavengers, watchmen, and village menials were some of the occupations of Dalits (Michael, 1999:77). In the 1901 Census, Risley was the Census Commissioner of India, who classified Hindu caste in seven categories (*recognized as native public opinion*) (Pradhan, 1986:197). The 1911 Census provided a separate enumeration of those castes and tribes which either did not conform to or were excluded from certain aspects of Hindu religion. Ten criteria were used to determine category status of caste or tribe. In the 1921 Census, discriminated castes and tribes were named as depressed classes. In 1931, Scheduled Castes were also systematized by Hutton, who was the Census Commissioner and chose to call them as 'exterior caste' due to their traditional position in Hindu society.

Hutton (1933) noted while referring to the scheduled castes that the term did not signify any reference to occupation

Scheduled caste it is not intended that the term should have any reference to occupation as such but to those castes which by reason of their traditional position in Hindu society are denied access to temples, for instance, or have to use separate wells or are not allowed to sit inside a school or house but have to remain outside or which suffer similar social disabilities (p.417).

Due to inherited pollution and exterior caste, they had to face some problems or disabilities that were categorized in three ways;

1. Barred from public utilities, such as the use of roads and tanks.
2. Their religious disabilities which debarred them from the use of temples, cremation grounds, mats and some other institutions.

3. Their disabilities involved in a relationship with private individuals, such as the services of barbers and the admission to tea-shops, hotels or theatres owned by private individuals.

The Government of India, in the year 1935, defined Scheduled Castes as “*such castes, races, and tribes corresponding to the classes of the persons formally known as the depressed classes as his majesty in the council may specify*” (Government of India Act, 1935, cited in Michel, 1999: 24). Moreover, after that, Government of India Act, 1935¹¹ (*Bharat Sarkar Adhiniyam, 1935*), determined these forms of deprivation, particularly social and economic (Chatterjee, 1996:963 and Thorat, 2009:2), which are:

1. They occupy a low position in the Hindu social structure.
2. Their representation in government services is inadequate.
3. They are inadequately represented in the fields of trade, commerce, and industry.
4. They suffer from social and physical isolation from the rest of the community.
5. There is a general lack of educational development amongst a significant section of this Community.

During this period, some parallel events were also going on which also talked about Dalits. In 1930s *Dalit Bandhu (friend of Dalits)* was the first newspaper for them, which was published from Pune in 1930s and focused on their struggle (Pradhan, 1986:125). In the same period, the British government called them as scheduled castes. B.R. Ambedkar in ‘*The Untouchables*’ (1948) also called them ‘Broken men’ and referred to the original roots and reasons of the Untouchability. Later *Panther* and *Neo-Buddhist* movement also defined Dalits in different ways. According to ‘Neo-Buddhists,’ Dalits are the working people, the landless and poor peasants, women, and all those who are being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion’ (Omvedt, 1972:72). During this period, the word Dalit was mostly used in the print media and with a narrow meaning signifying only the caste.

¹¹ Government of India Act, 1935 was passed during the “Interwar Period” and was the last pre-independent constitution of India. The Act was originally passed in August 1935 (25 & 26 Geo. 5 c. 42), and is said to have been the longest (British) Act of Parliament ever enacted by that time and scheduled the castes.

In the colonial period, Census was a major work which provided a useful entry point into communal (Hindu, Muslim and SCs etc.) analysis of the castes in Indian society. Census of India mainly saw caste as a religious section of Indian Hindu social organization. This view supported that caste is a social base of Indian society, and all social relations are shaped around it. Thus, caste is a useful lens compared to the class to understand Indian society. In the pre-independence period many restrictions and social controls were prevalent in the society which created significant gaps between the upper and lower castes. Lower castes did not have any prestige and power in society, and that is why they were exploited in almost all spheres of life, be it social, political or economic. In their social life, they had to face different types of problems all over India. They started, viewed and ended their life in poverty. Due to caste-based occupation restrictions, they could not get a job or other works to improve their economic status. Due to the low economic condition, their nutritional status has also been poor. Famine and diseases have been a common form of death among Dalits.

Dalits in the Post-Independence Period:

After independence, Dalits were later listed in the Constitution of India as Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes under Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes (SC and ST) Order 1950¹². Since the enactment of this Act and acceptance of the reforms by Indian political parties and leaders, these castes and communities whose names have been listed as scheduled have come to be known as Scheduled Castes. After independence, framers of the Constitution focused on the development of the Scheduled Castes, and they gave some Constitutional rights for advising discrimination and exclusion. Constitution of India gives the power to define the Scheduled Caste in the Article- 341. In this Article, the President of India is authorized to specify the castes to be notified as SCs. After the notification, the President of India in consultation with the Governor of the concerned state makes a public notification regarding the inclusion of that particular caste in the list

¹²Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes (SC and ST) Order 1950- After independence, the Constituent Assembly continued the prevailing definition of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and gave (via articles 341, 342) the President of India and Governors of states responsibility to compile a full listing of castes and tribes, and also the power to edit it later as required. The actual complete listing of castes and tribes was made via two orders *The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950*, and *The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950* respectively.

of the Scheduled Castes. Thus, President of India advises for the inclusion of the castes in the list of Scheduled Castes and it is promulgated by the Parliament.

The government efforts in independent India to improve the social and economic conditions of Scheduled Castes through the Constitution of India are discussed further: The Preamble of the Constitution of India aims to provide '*for the all citizen of India – **Justice of:** social, economic and political, **Liberty of:** thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, **Equality of:** status and of opportunity, and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of individual and the unity of nation*'. For achieving these goals, some specific provisions have been made in the Indian Constitution to remove the social disabilities and also provisions to guarantee certain minimum rights for every citizen to enjoy their life. It also contains some duties for the state for the socio-economic development of the backward classes; especially Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). The rights are guaranteed under fundamental rights which are contained in Part III of the Constitution, and the duties of the state are imagined under the directive principles of state policy under Part IV of the Constitution. Article 46 under directive principles of the state policy makes the following provisions:

The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from all social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Directive principle of State- Constitution of India, Part-4).

To achieve these objectives and accelerate the development of the weaker sections of the society, especially SCs and STs, certain safeguards and protective measures have been provided by the Constitution of India. The father of Constitution envisaged that by these measures, these downtrodden people could be brought in to the mainstream of the society. They also gave a brief outline to define these safeguards and notified them under respective Articles as under 366(24) and 341. The Constitutional safeguards for SCs are given in **Appendix III**.

In independent India, the Constitution of India thus facilitates Dalits to empower themselves in various socio-economic, educational and political spheres by several Constitutional rights as mentioned above. However, due to a long history of caste-based discrimination and exclusion from society; these rights did not result in much change. Further, the discrimination and exploitation within the societies also did not reduce much.

Thus, the Government of India sanctioned several Laws and Acts at a later stage to provide the equal social right for all the citizens, especially SCs and STs. Constitutional and Legislative rights are given to all excluded citizens and there lies the assumption that by taking all these steps, they can enjoy their life better. The Acts were passed, and some changes have occurred to support them for providing rights to SCs/STs. Some of them are- *The Protection of Civil Right Act; 1955 and 1977, The SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act; 1989 and 1995, The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Ordinance; 1975, The Empowerment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry latrines (prohibition) Act; 1993 (Appendix IV)*. These legislative sanctions are done at the central level, and some states like- Bihar, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Tamil-Nadu, Uttar-Pradesh, and Rajasthan have also adopted various measures and passed Acts for implementation of the Constitutional Provisions in respect of the removal of social disabilities. ‘*The Removal of Civil Disability Act or The Removal of Social Disability Act* is the primary concern of the states. However, even after more than seventy years of independence SCs have to face various types of problems in their social, economic, and political sphere. They are suffering from these problems since time immemorial without any fault.

The social and economic conditions are essential prerequisites for the development of any section of the society, which may help not only the nation but also the society. The Indian society is a caste-ridden society and all activities like economical, political, educational and socio-cultural, revolve around the notion of the caste. That is why the SCs and STs throughout the country occupy the lowest rank in the society, and the levels of suffering also vary from region to region, caste to caste and also within sub-caste. By virtue of their suffering, they are considered as the disabled masses, and these disabilities combine to form several types of disabilities.

Status of Dalits in India

About 3000 castes are found in India, out of which 779 are SCs, and further they are divided into many sub-castes (Rao, 1989:23). However, according to 2011 Census, there are 1244 Dalit castes in India. Backwardness is a relative phenomenon in all the SCs and their sub-castes, and it is difficult to measure their backwardness because they are facing these subjugations and exploitation since time immemorial. Most of the SCs are still engaged in doing unclean works with low wages. Due to their low socio-economic, educational and political status in society, Dalits have not come to the mainstream of the

society. After sixty years of reservation, they are still at the margins of the society. Due to the ongoing exploitation, exclusion, and discrimination, they are still deprived of human dignity. Exclusion of one segment of the society from the development process will not bear true fruits of all-round development of the nation. Benefits and opportunities of development should reach to every individual and every segment of the society. The same can happen only when there is good availability of necessary infrastructures such as road, proper water and sanitation facility, education, health and housing facilities. Out of all these, better health and education are the primary needs and aspects for the development of these people because it directly affects the individuals.

Illiteracy, rural background, non-ownership of productive assets, insecurity of employment, untouchability, and their exploitation by the upper caste people are the main factors which are responsible for their abject poverty and underdeveloped status. So, these can be considered as a prime instrument for improving the conditions of the Dalits. Some scholars have tried to define the causes of deprivation among Dalits regarding the class analysis of Indian society, in which class or occupational categories are predominantly subsumed as peasants, agricultural labour and factory workers. The occupational categories thus had come into being from their working status. It can be seen from the Marxist writings, subaltern studies and in the Dalit Panther manifesto.¹³ Some scholars see the cause of deprivation regarding collective analysis of castes. In their view, Dalits are the people within Hindu society who belong to those castes which Hindu religion considers as polluting by virtue of hereditary occupations.

Sub-caste in India and Sub-caste among Dalits

Writings/studies on caste in India can be divided into two major traditions such as macro and micro level writings. Macro-level writings discuss and analyze caste at country level while micro-level writings are generated by the anthropologists wherein they discuss caste, not as an extensive unit, but they describe its intensiveness by field studies in rural India. Micro-level studies on caste were initiated by those scholars who did intensive

¹³ Subaltern studies emphasize and are concerned about the marginalized and those located at the base levels of the society rather than the elite.

fieldwork in certain villages in some parts of the country and selection of villages was based on their own choice.

The major thrust of the micro-writing can be divided into two ways; one is the 'caste with the *holistic manner* wherein caste was considered as a component of social structure especially in rural communities. The colonial works (Census till 1941), Dube's book (1958) 'Indian Village' and Srinivas's work (1952) 'Religion and Society among the Coorgs in South India' was the result of this holistic nature. Shah, A.M (1999:199) also supported this argument and said that till the year 1941, Census briefs caste in a holistic manner. The second major thrust of micro-level studies focuses on caste as a *basic institution*. Mayer's book (1956) 'Caste and Kinship in Central India' and Bailey's work (1958) 'Caste and Economic Frontier' focus on caste as a basic institution. Thus, the micro-level studies came up with the complete idea of the sub-caste in India.

The word sub-caste is the subsection of caste, and it was commonly used for the word *Biradari* (Jat-Biradari). The understanding of the sub-caste comes from the idea of differences, and it does not connote real differences in status or occupation as compared to caste, but it has great importance within their caste itself. So far, "sub-caste originated as a group within the caste; which marry among themselves and attend the communal feasts held on the occasions of marriage and funerals, and at the time of the meeting of caste *Panchayat* or committee for the judgment of offenses against the caste rules, and its expiations by a penalty feast. At the time of this feast, only all adult members of the community are invited who live in a certain area"(Russell 1916: 10). Russell further discussed that, in Central Province, near about 250 caste groups are there, and it further contains 2000 sub-castes. Only Hindus know about their caste and sub-caste within a circle of villages (*ibid.*).

The main reason for the subdivision of any caste is differences of occupation, origin, or of abstaining from or sharing of food. However, these differentiations are usually confined to their internal relations, and it is rarely recognized by the outsiders. For social functions, the caste consisting of the number of these endogamous groups who generally occupy the same position is roughly determined according to the reputation of its traditional occupation or origin. Thus, marriage, occupation, and food are the main thrust to discrete any caste in their sub-caste. Sometimes the synonyms of castes and migration are commonly used for defining their sub-caste. For instance, the caste of *Pan* or betel-vine

growers and sellers is known indifferently as Barai, Pansari or Tamboli. Also, at times due to the migration, a particular caste uses some different name for its subdivisions within the caste as washermen are known by different names such as Dhobi, Washi, Baretha, Chakla and Parit. Synonyms and migration can be the factors for explaining the nomenclature of sub-caste, but these cannot be used as factors for origin.

Origin of Sub-caste

The origin of sub-caste can be extracted from the 'micro writings on caste.' Colonial scholars, such as Mayer (1960), Hutton (1961) as well as Indian scholars Ghurye (1957), Karve (1958) and Majumdar (1958) attempted to explore the origin of sub-caste from the different parts of the country. Broadly the origin can be understood by two major ideas; which are as follows; sub-castes have arisen out of *fission from a parent group* and another as that they emerged as *independent groups* (Chauhan 1966). Ghurye (1957) in his major work '*Caste and Class in India*' analyzed caste and sub-caste on the basis of their name. Ghurye notes:

"A close study of names of the various minor units, the so-called sub-castes, within the major groups reveals the fact that the bases of distinction leading to the exclusive marking off of those groups were: first territorial or jurisdictional separateness; second, mixed origin; third, occupational distinction; fourth, some peculiarity in the technique of one and the same occupation; fifth, sectarian differences; sixth, dissimilarity of custom; and last adventitious circumstances, suggesting certain nicknames".(Ghurye 1957:34)

Mayer (1956:119) in his major work "Some Aspects of Caste Hierarchy" discussed different forms of origin of sub-caste and the idea was based on the 'fission from a parent group (Caste).' He conducted his fieldwork in different parts of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and the processes of origin instanced by the village level studies in Mewar and Malwa. He mentioned that Gujarati and Malawi weavers and Mewar and Marwar barber in Sadri village came to be known by the *territorial separateness*. By the *mixed origin*, Bhilala sub-caste is the result of the Rajput and Bhil parentage. The Kumbhars from Mewar, who make pots and also cultivate land, is known as Gadhede (who keep donkeys) and Khated (who work on the field) is origin by the *distinct nature of work*. Various sub-castes of lather workers are known as bola, jatiya chamar and mochi,

and they work differently as usage of raw hides, repair work and making new shoes; originated by the *sectarian differences* (Mayer 1960:36). *Dissimilarities in customs* like; widow marriage or food habits in groups, among the Bhagat Bhils of Rajasthan and Gujarat are also illustrated as the origin of the sub-caste. Thus, Mayer attempted different aspects of the origin of the sub-caste in different parts of India.

Karve's (1953) observation on caste and sub-caste is broadly based on the traditional literature, and she defines them as *units of endogamy*. She states:

"Each caste is sub-divided into many sub-castes which in their turn form a hierarchy within the caste. Thus the whole caste system is a very intricate structure which places social groups on innumerable and minute steps indicative of status and function. Each sub-caste is generally an endogamous group spread over one linguistic region" (1953:7).

However, in her later work "What is Caste" (1958), she contradicts the argument of origin of sub-caste as 'fission from the parent group,' and argues that sub-castes have "independent origin." For substantiating her argument, she identified eight endogamous units of Kumbhar and five endogamous groups of Kunbu sub-castes. The eight endogamous units of Kumbhar sub-caste lived in different regions and used the specialized technique of production. The use of techniques like a small wheel, big wheel, the making of bricks or clay figurines delimited the differences among those sub-castes. She further explained that two of the groups spoke accent language which was related to that sub-cultural area; three of the eight groups indicated migration from the north and one of the group attempted on the part of the group to raise its status from a tribal to the caste status. Similarly, Kunbi; one of them lived in coastal plains, practised rice cultivation and called themselves of fighting traditions and also distinguished themselves by its name while the other lived on the Ghats, practised dry cultivation and followed different ritual practices but also claimed the same fighting tradition. Both of them had Brachycephaly¹⁴. The remaining three groups had been identified as they migrated from Telangana border of Maharashtra and also originated from the tribes. The other two lived in Berar and parts of Khandesh and Nagpur region. They were not from the fighting tradition, and they had Dolichocephaly¹⁵. They were different in manner of speech, dress,

¹⁴ Brachycephaly is a condition characterized by a short broad head with a cephalic index over 80.

¹⁵ Dolichocephaly is a condition characterized by a relatively long head with a cephalic index under 75.

and appearance. One of them appeared to be a migrant group with pastoral traditions which Karve associated with the north.

Finally, she concluded that the endogamous groups bearing the common names like Kumbhar and Kunbi of Maharashtra are so diverse in many ways like their production technique, peculiar tradition, and sub-cultural distribution. This means that they are not a subdivision of the major caste group which resulted in the fission but separate entities having independent origins. She argued that “the difference in the territory, religious practices, and techniques rather reflect the separate existence and history of these entities that serve as causes of their separation from large units.” (Karve 1958:133)

Hutton (1961) while citing an example from the Risley work argued that the evidence from Maharashtra about the origin of endogamous groups as having an ‘independent origin’ is only one side of the coin and questioned whether is it a part of the fission from a larger group or not. Alternatively, it could have happened with the endogamous groups only. In Bengal, the fishermen were called as Kaibartta, and a section among them started doing agriculture work. Further, they came up in two groups such as Haliya (those who wielded the Hal or started Plough) and Jaliya (those who continued to associate with the *Jal* or water) The former claimed a higher status but agreed to give their daughters to the latter if paid heavily. "Eventually the Haliya Kaibarttas broke away entirely, banning all inter-marriage with the Jaliya Kaibarttas and succeeded in getting recognition as a separate caste under the name Mahishya" (Hutton 1961:55).

The evidence of practising hypergamy in the higher group and endogamy can also be found in many other parts of the country. Thus, Hutton suggests

"The process of separation is generally the sequel to the segregation of a part of the caste into a sub-caste which for a time has accepted wives from other sub-castes while refusing to give daughters to such sub-castes, thus establishing first of all the position of a superior sub-caste, the claim to superiority generally being based on a change of occupation. The final step is to refuse to take wives from other sub-castes and then to adopt a new name and deny all association with the caste of origin." (1961:51).

Majumdar (1958:357) also tried to explain how an aboriginal tribe, came under Hinduism by enrolling themselves as one different caste group. Karve also mentioned that the Manwa Kunbi was also a tribal group in the Telangana Region (1958:127). So far as the caste is concerned, its sub-caste also may have arisen from the diverse sources. Hutton (1961:94) also gave another example of the origin of sub-caste, which resulted from a political judgment. Maharaja of Alwar created a new caste from the Minas, who laid down at the same time rules to govern hypergamy between the new and the old castes.

Finally, the origin of sub-caste can be related to the political decisions, migrations, change of customs and elaborate processes such as hypergamy and endogamy. It also showed some mechanism wherein some castes and tribes evolved into a new sub-caste. Not many studies have dealt with the origin of sub-caste in India, and there exists a little knowledge regarding this aspect of caste. The marginal section of society or lower strata of the society was not given much attention. The main reason behind that was colonial literature only focused on the upper strata. Thus, it is crucial to understand the origin of sub-caste among Dalits. The oral history of their origin can yield valuable insights about their origin, and the same will be helpful in understanding the sub-caste among Dalits.

As regards the social status, wide gaps exist between the upper and lower castes in India. In Indian society, people who are at the lowest level of the caste system are called Dalits and have a harrowing history.¹⁶ During the period of ancient India, historical studies showed that lower caste people faced intense discrimination. Out-castes were at the lowest rungs in the society. They had to face many restrictions due to their lower rank in the society. From the history to the present time, their lives have not changed much. They are still depressed and are called depressed classes or Dalits in Indian society. The next section deals with the Dalits and will focus on the sub castes reality among them.

¹⁶ Dalit is the word chosen by the castes at the bottom of Indian social hierarchy to describe them. It does not figure in the Indian constitution at all. It is the term asserting identity and unity. In the constitutional parlance and Govt. of India documents use the term "Scheduled Castes" (SCs) over Dalits.

Sub-caste among Dalits

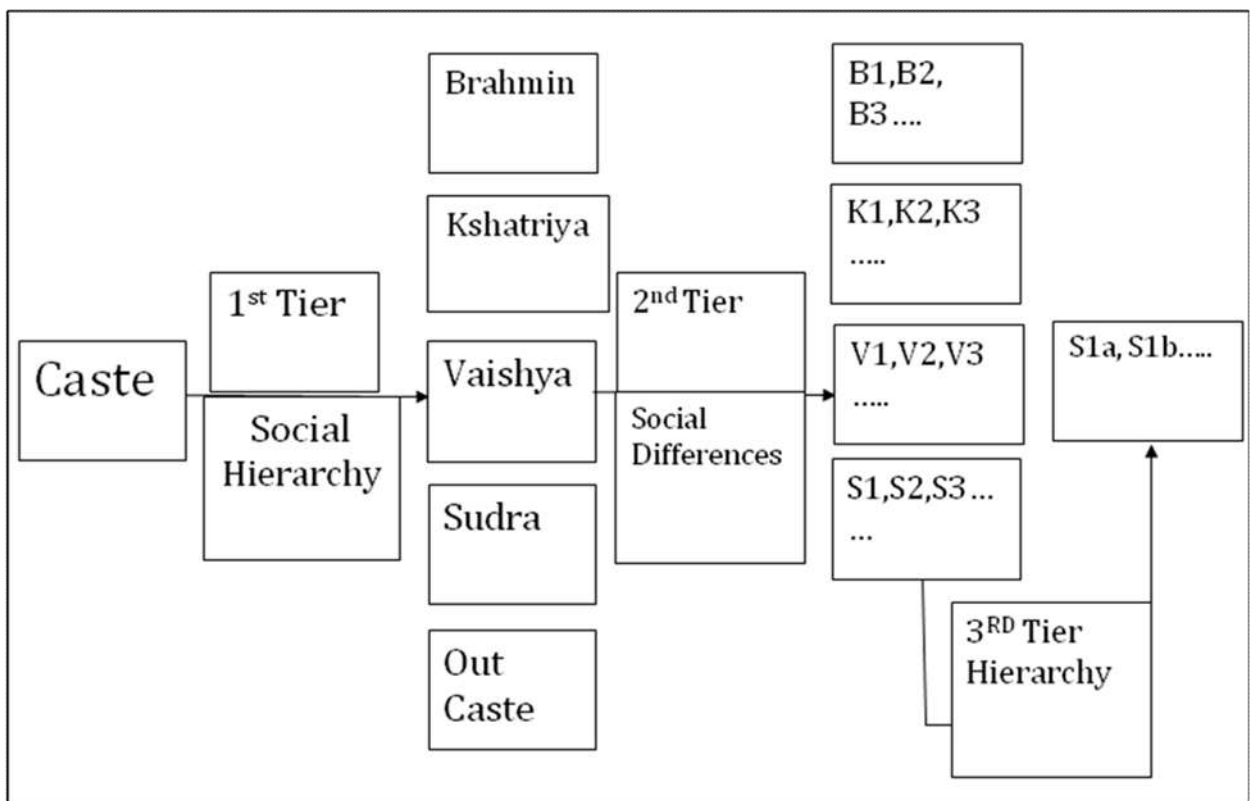
The subsection of castes among Dalits, as conceived from the Constitution are all seen as falling under the umbrella term- The Scheduled Castes. It thus suggests that Dalits are a homogenous group. Due to the existing provisions of reservation in India, Dalits are mostly counted as a homogenous category. In contemporary India, from the constitutional provisions for reservation, the society is thus broadly categorized into two categories- (a) reserved and, (b) non-reserved category (Rao, 2009). From a sociological and social anthropological perspective, however, the sub-divisions of each of the Dalit castes may not necessarily be exhibiting similar characteristics. Thus, a sociological understanding of the sub-caste acknowledges the differences and hence the heterogeneity within the Dalit castes.

However, various scholars argue that over the years, various State governments, guided by the political motives, brought amendments to the law to selectively pass the benefits of the reservations in direct recruitment to govt. Services, to the selected castes within the list of SCs. This practice is referred to as providing 'quotas within quotas'. Scholars take different positions on the issue. The evidence from Haryana suggests that the share of certain categories of SCs that could avail such benefits increased substantially as the amendment was introduced. The study of all such changes thus has a potential to give interesting insights about the issues of inequality within the list of SCs and should not be merely looked as vote-bank politics (Jodhka, 2009).

The idea of sub-categorization only results in the political power-mongers for their vote bank among the reserved categories at intra-caste level. The sub-categorization was first introduced in Punjab in 1975 for reaching near about 25% of state population (ibid.), and Dalits were categorized Balmikis and Mazhabi Sikhs. The categorization was based on the idea that the first preference is given to these two caste groups among the Dalits in the recruitment to government services. After that, various states such as Haryana, Andhra-Pradesh, Uttar-Pradesh, Bihar, and Tamil Nadu also initiated or implemented such reservations (Rao, 2009). The sub-categorization of castes among Dalits has focused mainly on the political dimension, but I.P. Desai (1976) in his work 'Untouchability in Gujarat' gave the sociological dimension to understanding untouchability among the Dalits itself.

This present study argues that the Dalits are a heterogeneous group and attempts to understand the heterogeneity among the Dalits at their sub-caste level. **Figure 1.2** illustrates the caste hierarchy till the 3rd tier. The present study thus strives to understand the 3rd tier of hierarchy among the Dalits. Moreover, it aims to understand the patterns of discrimination among Dalits and at their sub-caste level.

Fig 1.2 Hierarchy and Differences till 3rd tier



Chapter 2

Social Exclusion and Patterns of Caste-Based Discrimination

This chapter discusses the concept of social exclusion and varied patterns of discrimination. It attempts to delineate various ways in which scholars have approached the concept of social exclusion. The same is done by discussing various definitions of social exclusion and the theoretical frameworks to understand social exclusion, followed by a section on the different ways in which various countries, specifically developed countries and India, approach the concept of social exclusion. It also brings attention to how caste in the Indian context leads to discrimination of varied nature and social exclusion. The chapter then discusses and details the varied patterns or aspects of discrimination in the Indian society. It then focuses on the various ways in which caste-based inequalities interact with other inequalities resulting in exclusion from access to health care services.

Origin and the use of the term ‘Social Exclusion’:

The term ‘social exclusion’ traces its origin to Western European countries. It was first used in France in 1974 to refer to individuals who could not be covered by the social security system. Over the years, the scope of the term broadened to refer to unemployed, homeless, mentally and physically challenged, substance abusers, young and elderly, single parents, and suicidal who were not protected by the social insurance (Silver 1994:18). The political economy of social exclusion suggests that there were two main reasons for the usage of the concept. One of the reasons was to justify the welfare notion of the state and other was to bring attention to the policy formulation for the process of social integration. The 1980s was the period of economic crisis and political turmoil. It included restructuring and the crisis of welfare state as the old welfare state provisions were insufficient and incapable of dealing with these issues. Another challenge was to formulate a social policy that prevented the rupture of social bonds or solidarity. Thus, the social exclusion was considered to be an outcome of the rupture of social solidarity and failure of the welfare state (ibid.).

The usage of the term social exclusion though signified a variety of unprivileged and underprivileged groups of population; the term somehow came to be equated to the poverty in the most European Union Poverty Programs (Room, 1995). However, some international agencies based in European countries in their usage of the term have broadened the scope from material or financial deprivation to the lack of social and cultural capital. Thus, the term social exclusion encompasses individuals and groups that are not only materially disadvantaged due to lack of employment but also without sufficient means to acquire education. Further, the concept evolved into a multidimensional concept in the late nineties owing to the success of the Labour Party in Britain in the 1997 elections. The concept gained such popularity that not only Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) of United Kingdom (UK) acknowledged 'social integration and exclusion' as a priority among others in social sciences research but also funded a centre for the analysis of social exclusion at the London School of Economics and Political Science. The World Health Organization (WHO), realising the role of social exclusion in shaping the health experiences of the population, also set up a Social Exclusion Knowledge Network (SEKN) under the Commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH) in the year 2006. (Taket et al., 2009). Thus, we find that the word 'social exclusion' has evolved as an essential concept in social sciences, and of late, the concept is predominantly used in both Northern and Southern countries in the writings on social stratification, caste, class, race, and ethnicity.

Kabeer (2000) notes that although the concept of social exclusion has emerged from the discussions on issues of poverty; inequality and justice in the social policy discourse of northern countries that have undergone specific social and economic changes, the discussions on the significance of the concept in the developing countries have also increased since the late nineties. Albeit she expresses her reservations as to whether the use of such a concept that has emerged in the specific context of northern countries can serve justice to the challenges of altogether different nature in the global South. She also notes that it will promote the idea that the complexities of southern realities must be understood in the framework developed for the northern model.

Despite such concerns, Kabeer finds potential in the complexity and multidimensionality of the concept. She argues that the concept of social exclusion, in different contexts, is not

only referred to problematic groups and conditions but also processes.¹⁷ However, the challenge lies in linking problematic groups, conditions and processes. The concept of social exclusion thus provides a lens to draw linkages across groups, conditions and processes as well as observe these collectively to understand social exclusion, rather than taking into account each of these as distinct problems or ways of understanding exclusion (ibid.). Thus, the operationalisation of the concept though aggravates the complexity of understanding social exclusion; it still gives an opportunity to bring together the conditions, processes and outcomes in a holistic manner.

Social Exclusion: Definition, Meaning and Theoretical framework

It is widely acknowledged that the term social exclusion signifies different meanings under varied contexts. The context refers to not only spatially different constituencies but also diverse domains within the same constituency. For instance, the academic and policy circles in a given region may differently define social exclusion. Given the varied ways in which social exclusion is understood across different contexts, it is a worthwhile exercise to observe and analyse some of the various ways in which social exclusion has been defined.

Among the various ways in which social exclusion is defined, the most popular definition comes from France. The French definition of the concept suggests that it is the ‘rupture of social bonds’. One of the characteristics inherent in this definition is the lack of effective participation of individuals or groups in socio-cultural, economic and political systems. The inability to fully participate in the various dimensions of everyday life leads to exclusion and lack of social integration.

International Institute of Labour Studies (IILS) characterises the social exclusion as follows. Social exclusion is a negative state of the process, regarding resource allocation mechanisms, culture and social identity. It thus reflects disadvantage of an individual or group regarding denial to goods, services and resources regarding access and utilization. Further, it depends on the subjective or objective features of individuals or groups, in which they express their lives (UNDP, 1999). Walker and Walker, for instance, define

¹⁷ Kabeer identifies that various studies identify social exclusion to refer to problematic groups such as beggars, rural landless or asset-poor, unemployed, and ethnic minorities while certain others use the concept to refer to problematic conditions such as poverty, unemployment, isolation, ghettoisation and family breakdown. Still others perceive problematic social, economic and political processes from a social exclusion perspective.

social exclusion as, “the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political or cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society. Social exclusion may, therefore, be seen as the denial of the civil, political and social rights of citizenship” (1997: 8).

The above definition, by Walker and Walker, discusses the lack of social integration. However, the focus on citizenship not necessarily suggests that social exclusion has to be understood from the perspective of political science. It is instead an issue that is of as much relevance to various social sciences such as sociology, economics and history, to name a few, as to political science. The definition by Hills et al. (2002) suggests that social exclusion cannot be studied from the perspective of any single discipline as, it encompasses at least four dimensions, namely “consumption, production, political activity and social engagement”. Silver (1994) argues that the concept involves the exclusion of people from employment, livelihoods, education, minimum consumption, the welfare state, citizenship and dignity. It thus is clear that a concept as multidimensional as social exclusion cannot be understood from the perspective of a single discipline.

Kabeer (2000) identifies different forms of disadvantages, drawing from Nancy Fraser’s different forms of injustices. She suggests that Fraser’s conceptual framework recognises a continuum comprising mainly of ‘economic’ and ‘cultural’ forms of injustice. Along with this continuum, however, the economic and cultural interact to form hybrid forms of injustice referred to as bivariate collectivities. The economic forms of injustice are often manifested in the exploitative and poorly paid work conditions, restricting access to or denial of opportunities to attain an adequate standard of living. The cultural forms of injustice include social discrimination whereby a dominant group exercise their power over another group to impose the dominant values on to them and also represent themselves superior. The communication and behaviour of the dominant groups often reflect their prejudice against the other categories of people. However, for some social groups, economic forms of injustice is often bound with socio-cultural devaluation, and are referred to as bivariate collectivities. The examples of bivariate collectivities include caste, gender and race. We will, however, elaborate as to how caste is an example of ‘bivariate collectivity’ in the Indian context. The caste system exhibits not an only economic disadvantage, whereby certain caste groups are restricted to certain stigmatised and menial occupations. The social discrimination is evident in the ritual practices as well

as the concepts of purity and pollution that restrict not only eating, marriage and interaction but also result in spatial segregation. The resolution of the economic and social forms of disadvantage are often sought in redistribution and recognition respectively. The complexity inherent in the bivariate collectivities requires both redistribution and recognition. Kabeer emphasises that the division of forms of disadvantages as economic and social are however drawn for a heuristic purpose. The two are in fact inseparable and interrelated. Using Fraser's framework of injustice, Kabeer thus attempts to draw attention to the two critical aspects, namely economic and cultural forms of injustice and the interaction between the two.

Arjan de Haan (2000) notes that other than the multiple dimensions of deprivation, that most definitions of social exclusion signify, the vital factor is the co-existence of multiple dimensions of deprivation. This suggests that multiple deprivations co-exist at a given point in time. He, however, notes that what is often missing in the definitions of social exclusion is the emphasis on social relations and processes that shape the exclusion. He argues that since the exclusion takes place in relation to others, quite often one of the groups subjugates and excludes another, the social exclusion resulting from deprivation should be analysed in the context of social relations and processes.¹⁸ It is thus evident that de Haan urges to move beyond mere description of deprivation to the processes and relations that result in social exclusion. He further highlights that one group may be excluded by many others at a given point in time. For example, landless may be exploited by the landowning class; the scheduled caste may be restricted of participating completely in social life by priests, the political groups may exercise their power by not letting access to the legal rights. Thus, we find that a particular group in India, as in the example cited above, landless, scheduled caste and poor could be exploited and excluded by several other groups at a given point of time. This example by de Haan is the most basic example of multiple deprivations the rural poor experience at a given point in time. The reality of social life is, however, complex, wherein there could be different levels of discrimination and exclusion for a given population at a given point in time. Thus, we find that the concept gives a lens to understand the various ways in which deprivation and exclusion restrict specific groups from enjoying their full potential. The multidimensionality of the concept, as stated earlier, refers to the complexity as well as the enormous potential it

¹⁸ An analysis of social relations exhibits various ways in which one group is deprived of access to resources and/or benefits.

holds in understanding the experience, process, social relations underlying the process and outcomes for the not so privileged sections of the society.

Sen (2000), on the similar lines, draws attention to the relevance of relational issues in deprivation. He argues that it is essential to differentiate between exclusion that has constitutive relevance, and the exclusion that itself may not be negative but leading to certain deprivations that constitute an exclusion. Explaining the latter, he cites the example of landlessness and access to credit services; both might not be directly leading to exclusion. However, they affect the income generating potential and thus lead to poverty. Sen further distinguishes between active and passive exclusion. The former is the intended denial of opportunities and services while the latter refers to unintended exclusion. Similarly, Sen also notes that unfavourable inclusion may also lead to deprivation. He thus emphasises that it is important to understand the process of exclusion or unfavourable inclusion that lead to deprivation.

Quite often, the inclusion and integration are considered as antonyms of exclusion. Kabeer (2000) captures the complexity inherent in the process of social exclusion by arguing that the society is segmented not merely in a dichotomy of exclusion and inclusion. Social exclusion is to be understood as a group phenomenon. The social groups, however, experience exclusion or privilege as the institutions play a significant role in shaping this experience. The institutions prescribe norms, rules and distribute assets to help form specific social groups and group identities with a common interest. These social groups thus could exercise principles of inclusion and exclusion as per their shared interest. Thus, the analysis of institutions is crucial while understanding how social exclusion may play at the local, national or global level.

Further, the exclusion and inclusion intersect to form clusters of advantage and disadvantages. She also suggests that these segments can be characterised in multiple ways such as 'privileged inclusion', 'secondary inclusion', 'adverse incorporation or problematic inclusion', 'self-exclusion' and 'hard-core exclusion'. The privileged insiders refer to individuals or groups that occupy such positions in various institutions of a society that they can exert their collective influence in shaping the rules and norms that govern the major decisions of social life. Secondary insiders do not enjoy such a privileged position, but they avail some of the privileges about their subordinates. Workers in the formal sector, for instance, are subordinate to the management but better

off than those in the informal sector. Women have been identified as a problematic group in the development debates. They thus refer to a group whose simultaneous inclusion and exclusion leads to their exclusion. The self-exclusion refers to a group who due to their specific cultural values and priorities though do not fit into the dominant social groups and hence devalued. Further, they do not perceive themselves to be poor or excluded. The hard-core exclusion refers to the exclusion wherein multiple institutions of society interact and interlock the disadvantages for a particular group or section of the society (ibid.)

Silver (1994) discusses at length the three paradigms of social exclusion that are situated in different notions of integration and citizenship. The three paradigms are *solidarity*, *specialization and monopoly*. The three paradigms are grounded in the political philosophy of republicanism, liberalism and social democracy respectively. The *solidarity* paradigm, prevalent in France, is rooted in the Rousseau's idea of solidarity and suggests that national solidarity implies political rights and duties. The exclusion is the rupture of social bond between the individual and society. It emphasises moral and cultural interests over the economic. The cultural boundaries identify the poor, unemployed and ethnic minorities as 'outsiders' and excluded. It is the responsibility of the state to ensure the inclusion of the excluded. Republican citizenship thus promotes solidarity by addressing concerns of the marginalised. The *specialization* paradigm is situated in Locke's idea of liberalism. It draws on the idea that individuals are social actors with the ability to move across boundaries of social differentiation and economic division of labour. Discrimination is understood as an exclusion that may result from unenforced rights and market failure. The liberal tradition suggests that the group distinctions result in discrimination against individuals and restrict their full participation. The *monopoly* paradigm draws on the Weberian idea of power and social hierarchy. The group monopolies are considered the cause of exclusion. The power relations constitute a hierarchical social order whereby certain groups monopolise power and restrict outsiders' access to resources. The group distinctions and inequality, however, can be overcome through social democratic citizenship.

It is thus apparent that there are various perspectives and philosophical principles through which social exclusion can be understood. The paradigms suggested by Silver also suggest that quite often the solutions to social exclusion are rooted in the political

philosophy in which social exclusion is problematised. Thus, there are as many different perspectives to tackling social exclusion, as are the ways to understand it.

As a negative state of the process; none likes to be excluded from his social environment and also from the social situations. Thus, social exclusion becomes an involuntary condition for individuals or group which is imposed by the society or state. In India, exclusion is embedded not only in social inter-relations but also it is represented by the institutions. Oommen (2015) in his recent work "Social Inclusion in Independent India" focuses that exclusion, discrimination, isolation and deprivation can be observed across caste, ethnicity, backwardness, religious minorities, linguistic minorities, gender, refugees, foreigners, outsiders, people from north-east India, poor and persons with disabilities. He emphasizes that a comprehensive, inclusive policy is needed for them. Thus, as discussed earlier, we find that the challenges concerning social exclusion in India are multi-pronged. However, we will emphasise the challenges related to caste and its role in understanding social exclusion. It is important to note that the caste does not operate in isolation to the disadvantage of groups or sections of the population. The interaction of caste with other economic, political and socio-cultural institutions shapes the experiences of excluded and marginalised sections of society. We will now attempt to understand the social exclusion with specific reference to India.

Discrimination and Exclusion across the World and in India

The term social exclusion, as discussed earlier refers to the lack of participation in mainstream society, in socially valued activities and it refers to the multidimensional, multi-layered and dynamic nature of the process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and the economic, social, cultural or political spheres. It also affects both the quality of life of individuals, and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole adversely. Saith (2001) notes that the European Commission realising exclusion in the light of 'participation' and 'agreed common minimum decent living standard' defines social exclusion " about the social rights of citizens to a certain basic standard of living and participation in the major social and occupational opportunities of the society". Silver (1994), also, similarly defines social exclusion as "a rupturing of the social bond. It is a process of declining participation, access and solidarity. At the societal level, it reflects inadequate social cohesion or integration. At the individual level, it refers to the

incapacity to participate in normatively expected social activities and to build meaningful social relations".

As discussed earlier, the concept of social exclusion varies across contexts and countries. In the context of developed countries, the term encompasses more extensive socio-economic problems of the people. Since the concept emerged in relation to the welfare state, those who were not protected by the state were regarded as socially excluded, or in Lenoir's words, 'social misfits'. It is significant to take note here that in the west the term has interchangeably been used both as a concept and as an approach. As the concept became popular in France in the 1980s, it was primarily seen and framed to address growing unemployment and lack of income among members of society those who previously enjoyed regular employment and income. Therefore, the exclusion initially was seen in the context of and consequence of growing precariousness in the labour market, culminating in rampant unemployment and loss of regular income. In Europe, the ongoing research on poverty and deprivation, with certain economic indices, began to analyse the concept/approach of social exclusion within this framework. In brief, it may be argued that the concept of social exclusion, originated in France and adopted in European countries, has been viewed as exclusion from the participation in the various socio-economic and cultural activities of life and from decent living standard, which is a norm in the developed societies. That is why social exclusion has come to be defined by the majority in terms of *participation* in the socially valued activities and *quality of life*.

In contrast, social exclusion in India is an entirely different concern. Unlike developed countries, participation in the economic activities and a decent living standard of living for all is not a norm, though is endeavoured continuously and emphasised by the state, in its policies for poor and the disadvantaged sections in India. However, its immediate concern is to see how the destitute, hungry and the malnourished could be taken to a subsistence level and prevented from dying an unnatural or inhumane death. The exclusion or social exclusion in the Indian society fundamentally emanates from the structural conditions, such as location in the caste system. As discussed earlier, caste forms the foundation of Indian society around which the life of an individual operates. In fact, one is born in a particular caste and dies in that. She/He can change her/his religion, but not the caste. Unlike the class of status of an individual which may change in her/his generation, caste cannot be changed even through conversion. In a class system, one can

at least remove the stigma of being a member of the 'lower' class in the lifespan. On the other hand, in the caste system, member of a 'lower' caste or a 'Dalit' cannot change her/his caste membership, even after becoming economically, politically and educationally forward. She/He cannot wipe-off the stigma of her/his being a *lower caste* throughout the life because Dalits are primarily seen in terms of their 'low' birth status. Thus, even when members of these communities attain higher socio-economic status, their social devaluation continues (Geetha, 2007).

An attempt is made in the present study to locate exclusion within the caste system, as stated above. Although the concept of social exclusion is a recent addition in the Indian academic literature, yet, it is gaining currency in contemporary times; and new scholarship is pervasively emerging across the disciplinary boundaries. It is heavily used in the Dalit literature to unearth the various facets of a Dalit's life in which she/he experiences discrimination, marginalisation, and deprivation, and finally 'exclusion' from the 'mainstream' society. She/He is excluded from the socially valued activities and domains which make an individual capable of using her/his potential to the maximum to live a dignified and decent life.

The following definition captures the essence of social exclusion in the Indian context as *"when individuals or groups are denied access to resources and opportunities, on the basis of birth, in any form, existing in the social, economic, cultural and political domain which are valued by the members of society and are required by the individual to realise her/his potential.* Thorat (2002) argues that *"social exclusion is the denial of equal opportunities imposed by certain groups of society upon others which leads to the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic, and social functioning of the society "*. Certainly, Thorat's definition in a very subtle manner indicates towards the caste system in which Brahmins deliberately debar and deprive Dalits of all productive resources, opportunities, and socially valued activities, which they monopolise to establish and sustain their domination and hegemony in the society. To achieve their hegemony over people, they have created differentiation based on purity-pollution which culminated into the categories of "haves" and the "have-nots", "privileged and disabled", and "entitled or ineligible". Dalits have always been part of the latter conditions in each of these dichotomies. His definition provides insight to the nature of exclusion in the Indian society which ostensibly lies in caste and has been a deliberate

process for the centuries by one section of society which enjoyed a privileged position in all the spheres. Therefore, in this whole process, the Dalits were the perennial subjects of discrimination and exploitation and remained marginalised, disadvantaged, and excluded in all the systems, despite their exceptional and enormous physical labour contribution in the society.

Undoubtedly, in Indian society, the caste system is mainly responsible for exclusion or discrimination. Thus, next section will deal with the historical roots of the exclusion or discrimination in Indian society and further, we will discuss why it is needed for understanding exclusion within the sub-castes among Dalits (Double Exclusion).

Caste as an element of social discrimination and exclusion in India

The exclusionary practices came up with the idea of *Varna*. As Ghurye mentioned, the only four order of *Varna* scheme were untouchables. Groups such as Ayogava, Chandala, Nishada, and Paulkasa, were outside the *Varna* scheme. In the Vedic period and later period, the meaning of exclusion reflected social restrictions for the lower caste groups. In the colonial period, exclusion was practiced by means of social disabilities as mentioned in the census report 1911 (on the basis of ten criteria) and further briefly described in 1931 Census (Exterior caste) and Depress classes in Government of India Act 1935 (the shift of nomenclature is already mentioned in one of the sections above titled Dalits in India). After independence, the Government started many inclusive policies and rights (already mentioned in the section Dalits in India) for the Dalits to bring them in the mainstream of the society.

Various scholars also tried to understand the caste-based exclusion in different ways. Ghurye (1969) in 'Features of Caste System' defines social restrictions in terms of exclusion while attributing caste as a segmental division of labour, hierarchy, restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, civil and religious disability, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation and marriage. Dumont (1972) tried to demonstrate exclusion in terms of purity and pollution. Karve (1958) also mentioned exclusion in terms of the owning and using of public utilities. Beteille (1966) defined exclusion in terms of social structure and social interaction basis.

The idea of exclusion is deep-rooted in the Indian society, and the caste creates forced exclusion by using its fundamental characteristics such as fixed civil, cultural and

economic rights (Ambedkar 1987). Sastry and Reddy (2010) cite the argument of Ambedkar that the anti-social spirit (exclusion) is not confined to the caste only, but it has gone deeper and has poisoned the mutual relations of the sub-caste as well. Thus, it becomes important to note that the understanding of exclusion is needed not only at the caste level but sub-caste dimension is also important due to the double forms of exclusion.

There are also differences within and across castes as well as sub-castes as regards their socio-spatial arrangement of the housing. Caste discrimination has existed not only in the form of social hierarchy but also in the location of habitations (Sivagnanm and Sivaraj, 2002). Indian villages are armament of various small hamlets, and sub-hamlets (poorvas, pattis, aans or tolas) spread out across the village (Narayan, 2007). Dalit settlements were to be located on the outskirts or the peripheries of the village, and the location of the Dalit colony is towards the southern-western direction of the village (Judge and Bal. 2008). The 'untouchables' lived inside the village, and the untouchables lived outside the village in separate quarters (Jodhka, 2002). Thus, it is also imperative to identify the socio-spatial arrangement of housing with respect to caste and sub-caste. Thus, it follows that caste system is the axis around which the cycle of discrimination and exclusion revolves. However, the various spokes experience discrimination differentially with respect to their respective location at the sub-caste level. Thus, the next section discusses the literature on patterns of discrimination in Indian society.

Patterns or Aspects of Discrimination in Indian Society

It is a fact that both the caste system and untouchability are found to be rigid in the rural areas compared to urban areas. However, now, some changes are taking place in villages also. Marriott (1955) argues that these changes, for the untouchables or depressed caste groups, are seen in the form of their fight and struggle for their rights with the upper and landowning castes. These are also due to some modifications in the interdependence of the castes and also in their tendency to find common causes in their economic or political interests. However, outside the common causes and interests, members of the dominant castes in villages generally abuse, beat and grossly underpay the non-dominant castes, including untouchables (Srinivas, 1987).

Mendelsohn and Vicziany (1998) suggest that the untouchables or Scheduled Castes in villages lie at the very bottom of Indian society in both status and economic terms. They suffer from subordination, discrimination and poverty in relation to public policy and the role of the State. Ram (2008b) has also discussed the nature and forms of social discrimination against Dalits in different regions of India. He has explained their assertions and movements in the existing socio-economic and political arrangement. Despite that, the SCs are marginal especially in the economic sphere, compared to the non-SCs in rural India. According to Shah (2001), a vast majority of the SCs are 'have-nots', i.e., landless agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers and artisans. The SCs in villages face socio-cultural as well as economic problems. The reasons behind their being landless are given by Nanchariah (2000). He argues that the high percentage of their landlessness is not only due to their weak resource position but also the discriminatory working of the land market which reduces their access to purchase and leasing of agricultural land. Thorat (2004), while referring to the economic discrimination suggests that the landless SCs are made to work for undesirable and low-paying jobs. The labour market also has discriminatory working for the SC workers, producing a low employment rate and low wage earning. He says that the SC households generally are in less-remunerative occupations like agricultural labour. Several other scholars also note that there is no occupational mobility among SCs as there is a lack of job choice for the SC individuals (Srinivas 1964, Beteille 1965).

There is ample literature that suggests low occupational status, low wages and poverty among the SCs. All such problems are considered as the main impediment to their educational attainment. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, through its Reports for 1999- 2000 and 2000-2001, reflects the trends around the SCs' educational status. It affirms that they are deprived and discriminated against in the educational field, causing their high drop-out rate. The SCs' drop-out rate during 1990-91 was as high as 49.35 per cent at the primary level, 67.77 per cent at the middle level, and 77.65 per cent at the secondary level. It was primarily the case in rural areas. The other reason for drop-out is the location of schools. Salam (2004) argues that the schools, in many areas, are situated in localities inhabited by dominant castes, which are hostile to students belonging to the lower castes. Members of the high-ranked castes groups and the dominant actors of villages often see education for the working and labouring castes as waste and also a threat. This denial is linked to the widespread perception that members

of the low ranked castes are incapable of being educated. If they are educated, they pose a threat to the village hierarchies and power relations. Apart from these, the other discriminatory behaviour also causes problems in receiving an education. The discrimination by teachers, peer groups and by the larger society condemns them to low self-esteem, severely affecting their performance in school and causing them to drop-out in large numbers. For the poor SC students, the Mid Day Meal Scheme appears to be an incentive to attend the schools. However, Thorat and Lee (2005) note that there are reports of massive scale exclusion and discriminatory treatment in the operation of the Mid Day Meal Scheme in schools. It thus suggests that the SC children attending lower level of schooling remain at a greater risk of being poor.

In the health sphere also, the SCs are having low access to the nutritional and health services due to their poverty, illiteracy, low educational level and discriminatory practices. The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) has also found that there is a significant difference between the Scheduled Caste children and non-Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes children in the infant mortality, child mortality and under-five mortality rates. According to NFHS (2015-16), more than three-fourths of the SCs children are anaemic, and about half of them suffer from malnutrition and undernutrition. The data further reflects that 56 per cent of the SC women are anaemic. Rege (1995) situates the plight of SC women in the rural areas regarding their health problems since as high as 80 per cent SC women are engaged as agricultural labourers.

Further, discrimination in all other spheres continues to exist as untouchability is not the fast-fading remnant of our 'feudal' past or contemporary reality (Shah 2006). The SCs also experience discrimination in their access to public services like food security, housing schemes, public water sources, post-office services, participation in the village political institutions such as village panchayat. The SCs are thus socially oppressed and economically marginalised (Jogdand, 2000). Thus, we find that the SCs are poor and trapped. Sen (1985) argues that poverty means the absence of one or more capabilities that are needed to achieve minimal functioning in society in which one lives. He elaborates on it and reveals that being poor is to be hungry, lacking shelter and clothing, being sick and not cared for, and remaining illiterate and not schooled. The livelihood systems, the socio-political and economic forces thus shape the life chances among SCs.

The multidimensional conceptualisation of poverty by Mehta and Shah (2001) also helps to understand the forces that shape the life experiences of the SCs. According to them, poverty is the total of a multiplicity of factors that include not just income and calorie intake but also access to land and credit, nutrition, health and longevity, literacy and education, drinking water and sanitation, and other infrastructural facilities. This situation of pronounced deprivation in the well being of the SCs is seen for generations together. So, it is clear that the poverty of the SCs is chronic and generational (Thorat, 2004).

Thus, it follows from the above review of literature that the Scheduled castes due to their respective location in the system often bear the brunt of discrimination and hence exclusion in almost every sphere, be it economic, socio-cultural, education and health as well as political. We shall now address issues associated with each of these axes individually.

Socio-Cultural Aspects of Discrimination

The socio-cultural axes of discrimination can be better understood by examining the working of the Varna system for centuries. The religious doctrine and traditional law fixed the relative positions of the four varnas, and ideas of ritual purity differentiated between the top three strata and the Sudras. To touch a low-caste or anything touched by him brought ritual pollution (Klass, 1993). Davis (1949) summarises the main criteria for delineating an 'unclean' caste as; (i) inability to be served by clean Brahmins; (ii) inability to be served by barbers, water-carriers, tailors, who serve the caste Hindus; (iii) limitation on contact with caste Hindus because of possible pollution; (iv) inability to serve water to caste Hindus; (v) inability to use public conveniences such as roads, ferries, wells, or schools; (vi) inability to enter Hindu temples; and; (vii) inability to dissociate oneself from a despised occupation (Owen, 1968:39).

Social honour in the caste system is very closely tied to ritual values. The ways of life, which are highly esteemed, are generally associated with a large number of ritual restrictions. Thus, there are restrictions among Brahmins on the eating of various kinds of food. Together with this,“ there are ritual prescriptions about the manner of dress and the caste mark. These restrictions and prescriptions symbolise different ways of life and serve to mark out the different status groups which are their bearers. Although status groups are a feature of societies of different kinds, nowhere are they so sharply defined as in the

caste system. It is, in large measure, owing to the attachment of elaborate ritual values to the pursuit by different castes of different styles of life”(Beteille, 2012:188-189).

In brief, the significant features or characteristics of caste system are: (i) segmental division of Hindu society, (ii) hierarchy, (iii) restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, (iv) civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections, (v) lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, and (vi) restriction on marriage (Ghurye, 1932). Similarly, Dutt (1931) also describes, in detail, the features of the caste system as (i) members of a caste cannot marry outside it; (ii) there are similar but less rigid restrictions on eating and drinking with a member of another caste; (iii) there are fixed occupations for many castes; (iv) there is some hierarchical gradation of castes, the best recognized position being that of Brahmins at the top; (v) birth determines a man's caste for life unless he be expelled for violation of its rules; (vi) transition from one caste to another is not possible; and (vii) the whole system turns on the prestige of the Brahmins. Likewise, Srinivas (1987) also views caste as a segmentary system and, in his opinion, every caste is divided into sub-castes. According to him, features of the caste are (i) Caste is the unit of endogamy; (ii) Its members follow a common occupation; (iii) It is the unit of social and ritual life; (iv) Its members share a common culture; and (v) Its members are governed by the same authoritative body, viz., the panchayat (Klass, 1980).

Thus, the specific features or attributes of the caste or caste system, as discussed in the literature are briefly mentioned below as:

Endogamy: The rules restricting marriage to members of one's own caste implies a concern for maintaining the purity of descent or caste. "...these restrictions are frequently viewed as "rigid," but it is not so clear, as what are the boundaries of the endogamous group, whether *gotra* (descent) or clan or sub-caste or sub-sub caste, or region wherein caste found in one region gets somewhat blurred or not the same or similar in ranking in the varying caste-hierarchy" (Klass, 1980).

Hierarchy: Hierarchy is the core or essence of the caste system. It refers to the arrangements of hereditary groups in rank order, enthroning status of the Brahmin caste (s) at the top and putting the untouchables at the bottom-most. The middle rungs of the

hierarchy are the most flexible in which castes of the middle ranks or statuses are fixed. Thus, the top and bottom ranks or statuses are fixed or closed (Bailey, 1963).

Hereditary Membership: a person born in a particular caste remains its member until death, passing the membership on to his / her children, though the temporary expulsion or exclusion is possible “for violation of the caste rules”. In other words, the transition from one caste to another, high or low, is not possible in the caste system (Klass, 1980:34).

Purity and Pollution: Purity and pollution or impurity is another dimension around which the caste system is structurally and functionally built. As stated earlier, the distance between two castes is maintained by the principle of purity and pollution or impurity. Hence, a member of a pure caste must not come into contact with an object polluted by a member of an impure caste. According to Bougle (1971), there are three fundamental characteristics of caste, and these are separation or exclusion or repulsion, hierarchy and interdependence or the division of labour (Srinivas, 1997). The settlements of the lower castes, especially the untouchables or Dalits in villages have remained situated at a distant location, to avoid impurity or pollution to the ‘upper’ or pure castes (Chakravarti, 2003).

Restrictions on commensality: Not only commensality or commensal relations like dining and drinking, smoking stem pipe, but also dress, speech and customs used to be restricted to the members of the caste. Any violations of the code of conduct regarding these were severely punished. However, one observes that there are some relaxations among violations in the present time.

Occupational differentiation: Each caste was traditionally assigned a specific occupation which its members ought to perform. In this sense, caste was nothing more than the “systematization of the traditional occupational differentiation”. Interestingly, castes were frequently known by their occupations, such as Lohar (Blacksmith), Sunar (Goldsmith), Kumhar (Potter), Teli (Oil presser), Chamar / Chambhar (Leatherworker). Not only the occupations were placed in a hierarchy of high and low or clean and unclean, but also the castes traditionally associated with them were treated accordingly. Although the member of a pure caste may (and does) own land, its cultivation as an occupation by him is treated ironically as impure.

Caste Panchayats: The above-mentioned attributes of a caste are to be preserved or maintained by an order maintaining body or a Panchayat or council. The elders of each caste in a village together maintain the social order by exercising their authority collectively. Every member of caste is answerable to the authority of its caste panchayat whose authority may extend to the members of the same caste found in other villages.

There is no denying the fact that the caste system has divided Indian society, particularly the Hindu social system, into small segments, enjoying different types or forms of status, power and prestige. As a result, members of a caste realize that their prime responsibility is to their caste than to the wider society. It may, thus, be easily inferred from the above that the caste system or the caste form of social stratification system is primarily based on the parameters or dimensions of the segmental divisions of the population. These divisions are placed vertically in the descending order- the Brahmin caste with all its sub-castes, at the top and the untouchable or Scheduled Caste, with their sub-castes, at the bottom. Also, in such an arrangement, the majority of castes are placed in the middle order(s). Further, each segment or caste is notionally placed, on the permanent basis, in the hierarchy-which is primarily religious. Each caste practices endogamy and commensal relations, and its membership is hereditary. It is assigned specific status or rank determined in reference to that at the top, the Brahmin, in the caste hierarchy. The members of each caste are to be engaged in the hereditary occupational pursuits; yet, the caste maintains the functional interdependence, social structural separation, with ascending repulsion (Bougle, 1971), from the subsequently lower segments or castes, and with the notion of purity and pollution. Interestingly, in this form of social stratification system, religion or the religious purity of a segment or caste enjoys supremacy over economy and polity or politico-economic position, i.e., economic and political power and authority is subordinated to it (Beteille, 1965). In other words, the status or rank of caste in caste-hierarchy was, in one way, influenced by economy and polity in the earlier times, and, in some way or the other, it continues even today. It has been so as the caste-hierarchy was said to be solely derived from the ideally or ideationally drawn Varna-hierarchy. That is why Dumout (1970) has stated that interaction based on one's economic and political power position cannot over-ride one's ritually determined caste status or rank. Secondly, since members of each segment or caste were to strictly adhere to its essential institutional norms like endogamy and commensal relations, hereditarily determined occupational pursuits, religiously assigned status or rank and related purity

and pollution, the varying degree of discrimination, poverty or richness and exclusion or need-based functional inclusion or inter-dependence were very much embedded in the caste-based closed stratification system (Bailey, 1963). In other words, each caste placed vertically or in ascending order discriminated, in all the stated spheres, against the caste placed below it, despite its dependence on it in one aspect or the other. Not only that, but it had a considerable degree of hatred or repulsion, both in attitude and behaviour, against the latter. Although exceptions inevitably were there at the individual level wherein some members of caste had gone beyond the prescriptions or prescribed norms attached to it, but the exceptions or violations of norms were accommodated or brought back through adhering and administering both the prescribed and forbidden norms either voluntarily or under compulsion.

Apparently, both the prescribed and forbidden norms were to be administered more stringently on members of the castes lower or lowest than those higher or highest in the hierarchy. In sum, the lower or lowest castes were not only discriminated against but were the most degraded or downgraded and deprived of all human resources. Hence, members of those castes remained perennially or chronically poor in economic resources, and spatially, religiously and socially excluded from members of the other castes and communities. Though some of the aspects of the economic level at which discrimination occurs have already been discussed as caste often determined occupation, the next section focuses explicitly on economic aspects of discrimination.

Economic Aspects of Discrimination

The relevance of caste system concerning economic aspects of discrimination cannot be undermined, and it is not yet bypassed. Thorat and Attewell (2007) argue that the advocates for the marginalized sections often try hard to establish that the inequalities could be observed in modern sectors of society. In a correspondence study, they replied to job advertisements to each call as an upper caste Hindu, Muslim and Dalits. The study concluded that the discriminatory practices were operational even at the first stage of the application process. The study reveals that the private enterprises advertently practice discrimination along the caste lines. Thus, the prospects of getting even a call to appear for the interview were bleak for those belonging to marginalized sections. Further, the authors refuted the incidence of economic discrimination being operational at the rural level as well as among the less educated masses. The results of the study showed that the

graduates and postgraduates in urban India in the private sector were discriminated along the caste and religion by their respective names.

Thorat and Newman (ibid.) argue that scholars from India and the United States have addressed market-based discrimination from the perspectives of caste and race respectively. The discrimination is not confined to the entry of marginalized sections to certain sectors of the economy but also the unequal treatment received by them. The discrimination thus could be in the realm of hiring, wages, conditions of work, and further prospects of growth. The literature on discrimination suggests that the two people with the same academic and professional attributes required for a job often were discriminated along their individual attributes of caste and religion that had no bearing on the productivity.

The role of caste system in regulating the economic life has already been discussed. Various scholars such as Dirks (2001), Akerlof (1976), Scoville (1991) have identified the role of caste hierarchies in dividing the population into different economic groups. Thus, caste system and the hereditary nature of occupation has been a rule than the exception. Thorat and Newman (2007) also bring forth the aspect of involuntary inclusion whereby the scheduled castes are often restricted to occupations that have lower social status in the economy. Thus, the varied patterns of economic discrimination find expression not only from exclusion in specific sectors but also involuntary inclusion to certain other sectors as well.

Spatial Aspects of Discrimination

‘Space’ evidently plays an important role in knowledge and in knowing the world. Knowledge of ‘space’ is a part of social and cultural processes (Shields, 2006). “Durkheim audaciously proposed correspondence between social structure and the society’s notion of space laying the ground for structural anthropological studies. He provided the example of the Zuni Indians, concluding that their space was nothing else than, ‘the site of the tribe, only indefinitely extended beyond its real limits’” (Shields, 2006). Place persists as a constituent element of social life and historical change.

Human societies are spatial phenomena -they occupy regions of the earth's surface, and within and between these regions material resources move, people encounter each other and information is transmitted. It is through its realisation in space that we can recognise

that society exists in the first place. Apart from its existence in space, a society “also takes on a definite spatial form which can be put in two senses. First, it arranges people in space and locates them in relation to each other, with a greater or lesser degree of aggregation and separation, engendering patterns of movement and encounter that may be dense or sparse within or between different groupings. Second, it arranges space itself by means of buildings, boundaries, paths, markers, hamlets, clusters of settlements, zones, and so on, so that the physical milieu of that society also takes on a definite pattern. In both senses, a society acquires a definite and recognizable spatial order” (Hillier and Hanson, 1984).

Space has three necessary and sufficient features (Gieryn, 2000):

Geographic Location: A place is a unique spot in the universe. The place is the distinction between here and there, and it is the place by which people sense and appreciate near and far. Places have finitude, but they fit together logically because the boundaries are elastic.

Material Form: Place has the feature of physicality. Whether built, created or just come upon, artificial or natural, streets and settlement structures, or rocks and trees, the place is stuff. It is a compilation of things or objects at some particular spot in the universe. People work places. Material culture is significant in social life. Social processes in the form of difference, power, inequality, collective action happen through the material forms.

Space has Meanings and Value: Without naming, identification, or representation by ordinary people, a place is not a place. Places are doubly constructed, and most are built or in some way physically carved out. They are also interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined. A place, with a gathering of physical features, becomes a space only when it ensconces history or utopia, danger or security, identity or memory. Spatial order is one of the most striking means by which we recognise the existence of the cultural differences between one social formation and another, that is, differences in how members of those societies live out and reproduce their social existence (Hillier and Hanson, 1984:27). Hence, the landscape is not just sediment traces, but historiography read through embodied presence, peregrination and pilgrimage. This view of social space is mobile and topological. It emphasizes qualitative heterogeneity, varying not only from

place to place, region to region (some being sacred, others as profane); but it is not locked within one topology.

Space stabilizes and gives durability to social structural categories, differences and hierarchies; arranges patterns of face-to-face interaction that constitute network-formation and collective action; embodies and secures otherwise intangible cultural norms, identities, memories and values. These consequences result uniquely, but incompletely, from material forms assembled at a particular spot, in part via the meanings that people invest in a place (Gieryn, 2000).

Socio-spatial segregation leads to the exclusion of groups, individuals from every sphere of social lives whether it be political, economic, cultural or psychological. Social exclusion means a process by which individuals or groups are losing objective opportunities to participate on processes of communication and social processes, which have a very high meaning for gaining behaviour goals, which secure their social integration, their identity and their material reproduction of life. Social exclusion is a social process, by which people get disintegrated on the level of their behaviour and their conditions of life.

One of the significant concerns here is that space, its structure, character and possibility of acting and living, of fulfilling interests and needs, is responsible for integration and the identity of the actors in this space. Moreover, the relationship between this structural frame of conditions for integration on the one hand and the definition and valuation of a certain status of space by the society on the other hand – this connection is the key to the process of exclusion. Spatial segregation is the main reason for social exclusion (Baum, 2008). Socio-spatial segregation is in history for a long time always a symbol of social exclusion. It is no longer a symbol, but the central condition for social exclusion at all, because socio-spatial exclusion does not only mean a spatial distance but means a cultural, social and socio-economic distance (Baum, 2008). Spatial segregation means a process of spatial exclusion because of the socio-politico-economic principles of access to chances and because of the mechanism of distribution.

The significant consequences of spatial segregation may be cited as:

(i) Social segregation is a process of psycho-social exclusion from communication processes, interactions, participation through discrimination or by losing the status or reputation.

(ii) Socio-structural segregation is an exclusion from constitutional ideas of values and norms, from principles of integration or ideas, how members of societies should be integrated. The consequence is that people are excluded from social contexts of action, in which they ensure their identity or their status as a condition of integration.

(iii) Socio-political segregation is a kind of exclusion from social supports and social security. For instance, in Germany, this kind of exclusion is historically founded in social policy, mainly centred on the integration in the working market. People, who do not work, have no chance to be supported by social security; they have to ask for social help and welfare. The dilemma of spatial segregation in an urban context is that people are inhabitants of a city, without being urban, without having the chance to participate in the urbanity or urban public spaces as inhabitants of the city. Such deprived quarters are meanwhile structurally so strong excluded that people in such quarters have the feeling that they no longer belong to the city as a social system (Baum, 2008).

Thus, space is material and cultural at the same time. It is contested and negotiated to produce diverse and concrete effects. Spatialisation and socio-spatial segregation become a distinctive “way of life” (Pandey: 2003). Space and spatial relations are both expressions of social practices - space is produced and a means of creating further space - space is a resource. Space is produced in society and is used to re-produce space, structures and society. ‘Social life is both space-forming and space contingent’ (Pandey: 2003).

In India, the villages are the conglomeration of various small hamlets and sub-hamlets (poorvas, pattis, aans or tolas), spread out across the village. Most of the names of the pattis are based on the names of the castes that predominately inhabit them (Narayan, 2007). As Dumont (1998:159) has said, ‘India tends to appear as a worm whose segments are the villages’. In these Indian villages, there is a peculiarity in the description, there are real great characterisations and is also a certain amount of idealizations (Ibid: 159-60). The villages show factions in everyday lives.

In *Caste, Class and Power* (2012), Beteille’s central concern was the phenomena of caste, class and power , mainly its political aspects and their changing relations. He has maintained that the fundamental importance of the caste structure to the social life of the village can be seen in its settlement pattern which segregates three primary segments of the Sripuram village, namely, Brahmins, Non-Brahmins and Adi-Dravidians from one another. The settlement pattern of the village reflects the basic cleavage to the traditional

structure (Beteille, 2012: 3-5). He further maintains that the physical structure of the village is in some measure, a reflection of its social structure. The village has certain clear territorial divisions, and social values are attached to these spaces. The pollution attaches not only to the groups and individuals but also to spaces. The same is true for the purity (Beteille, 2012: 19-20). Hence, the settlement pattern captures the traditional structure of the village.

Caste discrimination has existed not only in the form of social hierarchy but also in the location of habitations. Sheltering patterns of the so-called untouchables were such as to keep them separated from the mainstream society denying them civic amenities and other services available to the others. In fact, the settlements itself was evidence of these inequalities. For instance, the dalit settlements were/are located in-variably in the downstream of the villages, which is unsanitary in all possible manners (Sivagnanam and Sivaraj, 2002).

Socio-spatial identity may allow caste group members to position themselves within the social matrix, which in turn will likely provide a sense of purpose in their existence therein (Jaspal, 2011). The maintenance of caste hierarchy is performed through the process of categorisation regarding social and spatial spheres of the life. Religious festivals provided other opportunities for representatives of the different castes to participate in a manner appropriate to their rank in the system, and often in such a way as to express the distinctive occupations or cultural forms of the participants. In all these social relations-whether juridical, economic, or ritual-structural distance was expressed in terms of spatial segregation. The member of a higher caste was ritually polluted if a lower-caste person approached within a specified distance-the greater the gap in rank, the greater the spatial separation (Miller, 1954).

The abandonment of caste-based segregation may be construed as a potential threat to the continuity principle since it entails social change which may be inconsistent with one's self-conception and with the collective construal of the established social matrix (Jaspal, 2011).

Sharma (2003) has demonstrated in his work on caste that the spatial organisation of many Indian villages coheres with caste, which maintains the segregation of the stigmatised SCs and the Higher Caste Groups. Spatial segregation indirectly ensures that social representations of the SCs remain negative since they encourage separation by the

SCs' alleged impurity. Despite the Indian government's efforts to facilitate the integration of the SCs into Indian society, primarily through the co-education of other caste groups' children and those of the SCs', segregation tends to persist.

The patterns of rural settlement in the Uttar Pradesh show correlations with both the physical and cultural background. Larger agglomerations are more characteristic towards the drier west in an area which has had less security in the past. Towards the east, the fragmentation of settlement seems to be related to such a variety of factors as greater security in the pre-British days, more surface and underground water, and different land tenure and social conditions. In the Himalayan area relief is one of the main factors determining the distribution and dispersal of settlements.

According to Ahmad (1952), four main types of rural settlements may be distinguished within the Uttar Pradesh. These are: (i) compact settlements; (ii) "cluster - and - hamlet" settlements; (iii) fragmented or hamlet settlements; and (iv) dispersed settlements. The distribution of these various settlement types is markedly related to features of the physical setting.

Political Aspects of Discrimination

It cannot be negated that the political power often rests with upper castes and class and has been studied by various scholars such as André Beteille (2012) in his study on caste, class and power in a South Indian village. The case of Uttar Pradesh, however, has been a curious case for many academicians and political scientists who studied the caste politics in the region as unlike any other state in India, Uttar Pradesh has witnessed the reign of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), a political party that runs along the caste lines and represents Dalits. The attempts by various scholars (Srinivasulu 1994, Ilaiah, 1994) to decipher the meaning of caste politics in Uttar Pradesh has often been studied from a perspective of hope and change as a lowermost caste woman leader, albeit at times in coalition with other political parties ruled the State thrice. Ilaiah (1994) even proposed Kanshi Ram as 'a harbinger of a new paradigm in social science discourse'. Badri Narayan (2016) in his recent book 'Fractured Tales: Invisibles in Indian Democracy' addresses the phenomenon from a different perspective. He cites his engagement with the political party and shares his reflection and experiences wherein mostly people from dominant caste namely

Chamar among Dalits are actively engaged in politics. It brings to our attention the invisibility of other Dalit castes in the state politics. The same also refers to the differential access to power and resources within the Scheduled Castes.

The importance of the 73rd amendment in Indian constitution in bringing the political power to Scheduled Castes cannot be undermined. The political scenario of Uttar Pradesh has also been studied by scholars like Jens Lerche, who have attempted to view the whole phenomenon from a class perspective

Health and Exclusion

Health is an essential and important component for human beings. For the positive development of society, it is imperative that all members of the society should be in a good state of health. Broadly health is defined as complete social, physical and mental well being and not merely an absence of disease or infirmity (WHO). The state of health and well-being is a function of a multitude of factors such as- socio-economic condition, availability of basic facilities, living condition, hygiene and proper sanitation, safe environment, good working condition and a healthy diet.

Koos (1954) also stated that 'health is imponderable', this implies that health not only needs a definition but different approaches to understanding it. Helen and Berni (2004) described two main approaches namely medical and sociological approach. The medical approach suggests that health and illness are individualized incorporating notions about the absence of disease, while sociological approach refers to the multiple dimensions of health, some of those being social, political, economic and structural dimensions. In the 1980s, WHO approached health as an ideal. However, in the 1990s, health promotional approach came to be increasingly used as health is related to availability of resources and capacities. The socio-ecological approach suggests that health is about multifaceted relationships of determinants of health with attention paid to health equality, popular, cultural, or lay approaches regarding the personal perception of health. Each of these approaches has its limits, and no single approach can define its comprehensive nature.

Thus, understanding of health is broadly recognized by the range of social, economic, cultural, and environmental factors which give an idea of understanding health in terms of people's capacity to have the access to the resources that they really need to be healthy,

and to adapt, respond to, or control the challenges and changes in the environments that surround them (Helen and Berni, 2004).

The scope of health is so vast that it starts with the individual and ends at the national level. In the contemporary scenario, the colossal nature of inequality is widespread globally and the gaps between the developed, developing and undeveloped countries are becoming wider. The degree of health inequalities also differs in different countries. It is a result of massive inequality or increasing social exclusion, which is recently recognized as a major determinant of health (Marmot and Wilkinson, 1998, Helen, 2004, 246). While discussing the Australian health policy, Helen said that ‘the relationship between social exclusion, poverty and poor health have not yet headed the health policy reforms’. She also considers the appropriateness of the terms social exclusion or inclusion while defining health. Because of the poverty and inequality, she, however, suggests the use of the term social exclusion over inclusion.

While discussing the *capability* deprivation, Sen (2000, 05) said that ‘poverty is a lack of freedom to be able to do certain things that are valued’. That means poverty creates an exclusion from a wider range of opportunities such as- land ownership, education and economic participation. Sen also explains the capability deprivation as a process and outcome. He thus tried to link it with inequality where he discussed as for how poverty occurs as a process and how it further excludes individuals or groups wholly or partially, actively or passively while participating in the society where they live, thereby discussing these as the outcomes. Thus, as discussed earlier, poverty, inequality and social exclusion are broadly used as determinants of health.

The earlier phase of research on health broadly focused on the poverty and social inequality only. The studies on health care utilization by Castairs (1955) and Marriot (1965) suggest that health care utilization was not only associated to the lack of knowledge and poverty but also social status and social categories enhance or hinder the utilization of health care services. Debabar Banerji (1982) in an extensive study covering 19 villages across India highlighted the interaction of socio-economic, political and cultural factors in shaping the health culture of the population. Other like Djurfeldt and Lindberg (1975) and Zurbrigg (1984) also identified poverty as an important determinant of access to the healthcare services. Qadeer (1985:190) also identified four types of inequalities as; inequality in resource distribution, inequality in access to health

services, inequality in the participation of the service provider and community and inequality of health status. She argued that these inequalities also affect the health outcomes of a community.

The current discourse of public health and social determinants of health suggest that health should not be approached from a completely bio-medical perspective. Rather, socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental aspects are equally important and impact the status of health in multiple ways. Some of the differences in the health status emanate from rural-urban differences, inter-regional disparities, inter-caste group, different income groups and gender differences. These structural determinants of health thus add to the process of exclusion and outcomes often get reflected in poor accessibility and many barriers in the utilization of services (Nayar 2007).

In India, caste is an important social identity and one of the prime factors leading to social exclusion. Those at the 'lower' rungs of society, specifically, Dalits have to face different forms of exclusion, in different spheres and by different personnel. The caste-based exclusion is evident in the data collected by the National Family Health Survey (3rd and 4th round). The data shows that huge disparities were found in the utilization of the health care services among the scheduled communities. Several scholars note that the level of utilization of services is lower among Dalits as compared to non-Dalits (Acharya 2002, Kulkarni and Baraik 2006, Ram et al. 1998). Some studies suggest that caste-based discrimination takes place in different forms, spheres and that even the providers of health care services also discriminate against certain 'lower' castes (Acharya 2010a, 2010b 2013, Kumar 2011).

The health status of Dalits is very poor due to their lower socio-economic status. It is however imperative to assess the factors that shape access and utilization of health care services among Dalits at the sub-caste level. The present study attempts to draw linkages between access and utilization of health services across sub-castes among Dalits.

The notion of social justice aspect of discrimination- Badri Narayan (2009) conducted a study among the Dalit youths and tried to understand the notion of social justice, and in his study, he also found that notion of social justice is also changing throughout the generation. Thus, this study will focus on the understanding of the phases of injustice or humiliation faced by different generations among the sub-caste of Dalits.

Based on the aspects mentioned above, this study attempted to understand the various patterns of discrimination and bring forth a holistic understanding of exclusion or discrimination among the Dalits and also at their sub-caste level. The next chapter discusses the study area.

Chapter 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH DESIGN

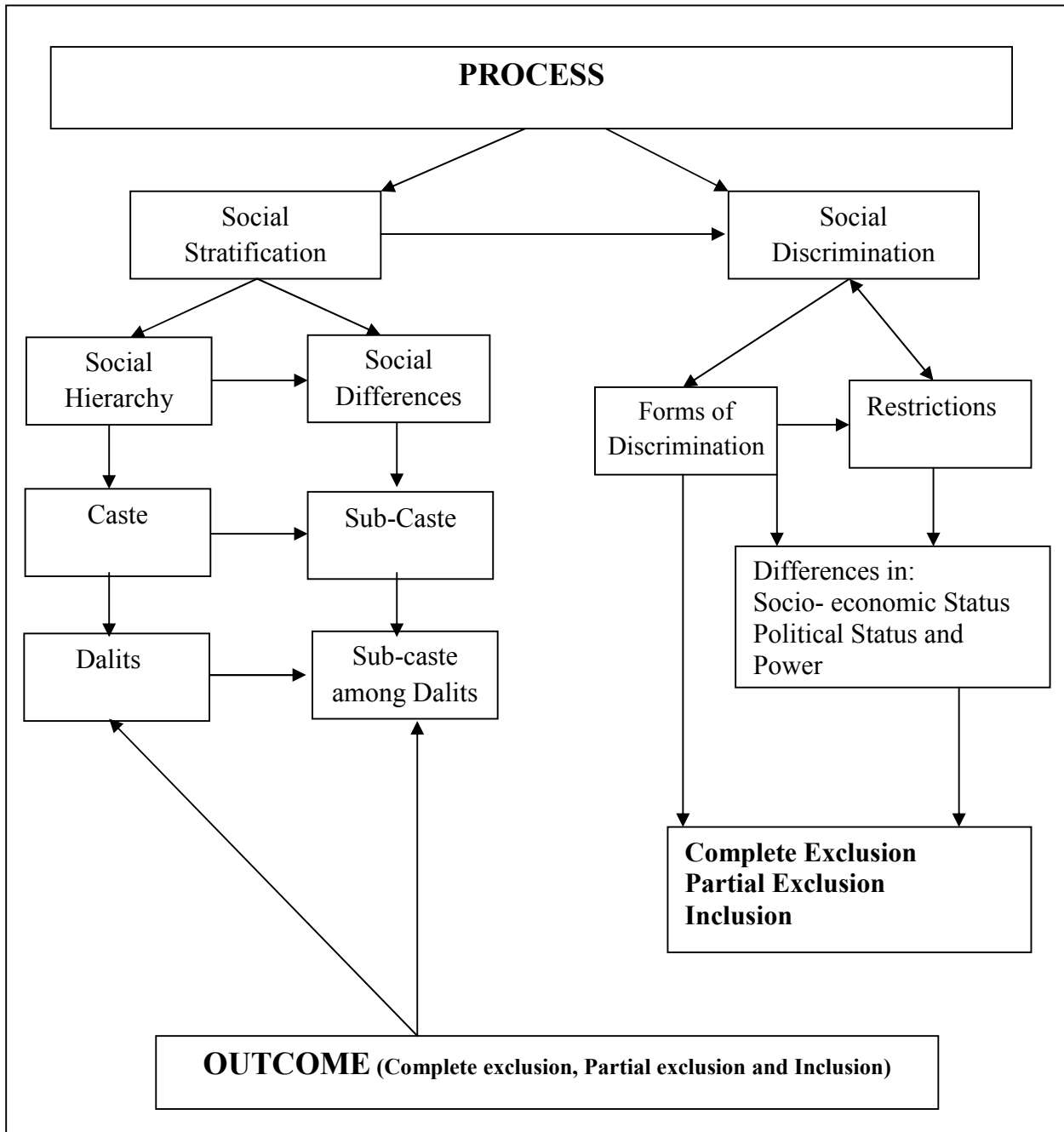
The present chapter discusses the conceptual framework used in the study to address the complexity inherent in understanding the various ways in which social exclusion operates in the lives of people belonging to relatively less privileged castes. The chapter also discusses the research design, methods and methodology, research tools, data analysis framework as well as the research area. It includes the criteria and the rationale used for the selection of the study area by exploring different secondary data sources, followed by the details regarding methods and tools as well as the mode of analysis.

The conceptual framework of the study

Heterogeneity is the basic tenet of any society. Stratification by caste, class, gender, race, and ethnicity, can be observed in almost every society. In India, socio-cultural heterogeneity plays an important role in the stratification of the society. Caste is a crucial component of social structure in India. Further, sub-caste and sub-caste groups also lead to hierarchy. The sub-caste level hierarchy also creates some boundaries, restrictions and forms of discrimination among Dalits. One of the findings of my M.Phil research was that sub-caste level discrimination is one of the crucial factors which affected the lives of Dalit community at different levels. On the basis of numeral, educational and political bases some of the Dalits were found to be more powerful and in a better position among the Dalit community. Due to the socio-political power thus acquired by some Dalits, discrimination against the other sub-caste group among Dalits was observed (Kumar, 2010).

Drawing from previous research, the present study attempted to understand discrimination at the level of sub-caste among Dalits. The sub-caste level discrimination was studied at two levels; one at the level of hierarchy and differences, for a better understanding of the sub-caste reality among Dalits and secondly, the various patterns of discrimination that affect the social life of Dalit at their caste and sub-caste level (**Fig 3.1**).

Fig 3.1 Conceptual Framework of the study



Hypothesis

Dalits and the sub-castes among Dalits experience different forms of social exclusion due to their lower socioeconomic status in society. Though the historic exclusion and segregation in certain areas have affected Dalits collectively, the ‘lower’ sub-caste among Dalits are more vulnerable, and they have relatively limited access to resources as compared to other Dalits.

Purpose of the study and Research Question

The present study aims to understand the holistic notion of discrimination faced by the Dalits and their sub-caste in the study area. It also focuses on the different forms of discrimination. Thus, the study endeavours to examine a better understanding of discrimination taking into account Dalits as well as their sub-castes. The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the *socio-cultural and economic disparities* among Dalits at their caste and sub-caste level?
2. What is the role of *socio-spatial segregation* in disparities at caste and sub-caste level among Dalits?
3. What role do caste relations play in *everyday life* of Dalit population?
4. How do caste and *social identity affect access and utilization of healthcare services*?

▪ Objectives

The broad objective of the research is to understand patterns of discrimination and exclusion among Dalits at their caste and sub-caste level in the villages of Sonbhadra district of Uttar-Pradesh.¹⁹

The specific **objectives** of the research are:

1. To study the trajectory of socio-economic disparities among Dalits at their caste and sub-caste level.

¹⁹ The rationale regarding selection of the district as well as the villages is discussed in the next chapter.

2. To understand the role of socio-spatial segregation in disparities at the caste and sub-caste level.
3. To understand the dynamics of caste relations and inter-generational experiences of discrimination among Dalits at the caste and sub-caste level.
4. To understand the inter-linkages between social identity and access to health care services and utilization.

Research Design

As discussed earlier, social exclusion is understood as being a dynamic, relational and a multidimensional process that involves outcomes. Moreover, it is clear that social exclusion is a multidimensional phenomenon. Miller (2007) suggests that mostly exclusion results from a limited subset of different dimensions, which are not perpetual. Material poverty, for instance, refers to one of the many aspects of the exclusion. It may involve the absence of resources in the form of goods, opportunities and standards of living. The inability to participate in the key activities of the society is another dimension of exclusion. It clearly indicates that social exclusion is multidimensional. Further, exclusion can be operationalised by taking into account the experiences of people. Approaching exclusion as multi-dimensional not only gives a broader image as for how major social groups by their caste identity, gender, age, ethnicity, class, regional and other such characteristics experience exclusion but also suggest inclusive policies that are framed taking into account multiple factors for the amelioration of various forms of exclusion.

In order to understand the nature of discrimination such as socio-cultural, economic, socio-spatial, political- historical, notion of social justice, as well as health inequality among Dalits and also their sub-caste, the present research builds on an extensive review of relevant literature, and a field study in the selected villages of Sonbhadra district of UP. While conducting this study, the focus was on understanding the ‘who’, ‘where’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions of exclusion. It is thus crucial to elaborate on the suitability of the research design for the present study. The research design also helps us to understand the relationship between social exclusion and social research.

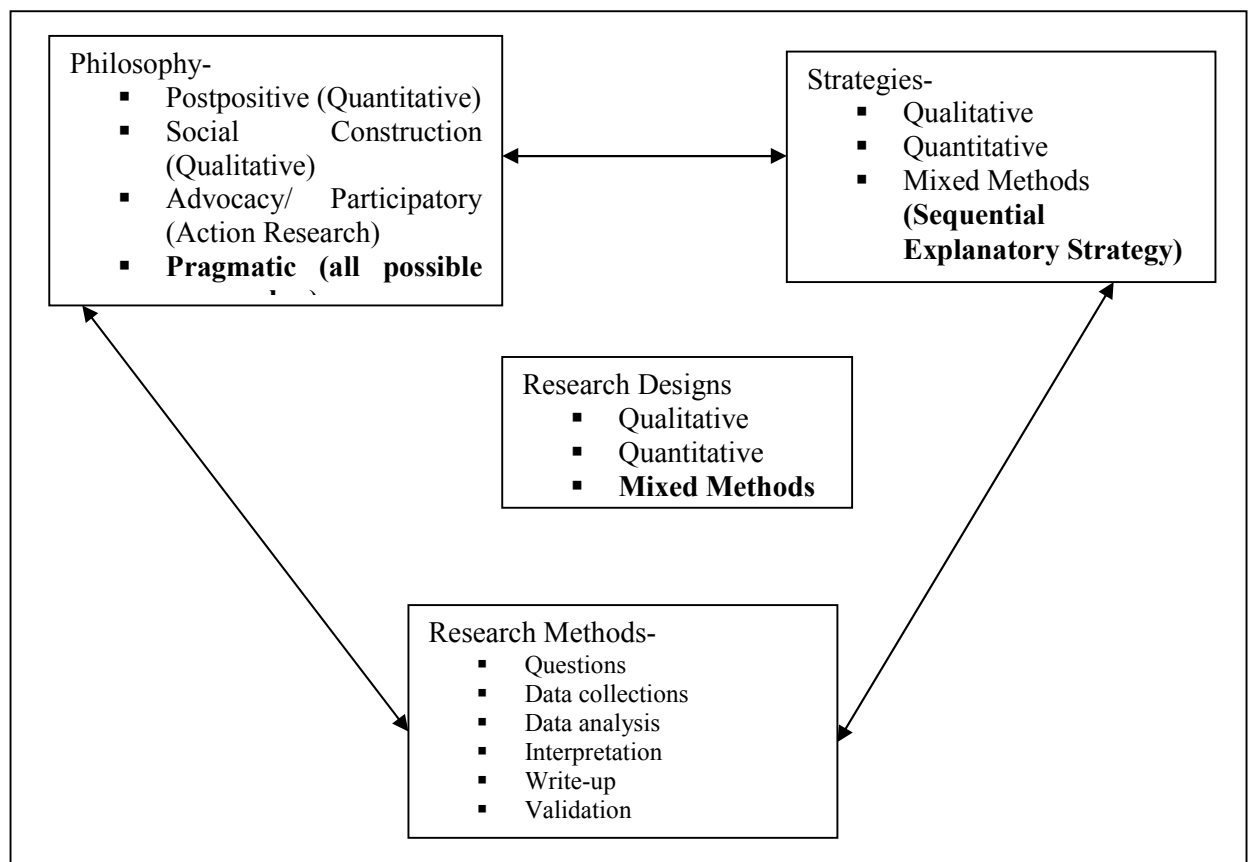
Research design includes the plans and procedures for any research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection (Creswell, 2007). Broadly, there are three types of research design, namely, qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods. They are frequently understood in a frame as if using words or open-ended questions suggest that the research design is qualitative while using numbers or closed-ended questions imply that the research design is quantitative. The mixed method research design lies between both qualitative and quantitative research design. Newman and Benz (1998) suggest that not necessarily these two research designs be viewed as popular opposite or dichotomies, Instead, the two correspond to different ends on a continuum. It means a study can be moving between more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa and the mixed method resides in the middle of this continuum. The present study used a mixed method research design to understand the multidimensional aspects of social exclusion.

Creswell (2007) argues that the research design is the plan or proposal to conduct research that involves the intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry and specific methods. The philosophy involves the choice regarding the research design. The strategies and methods thus follow from the choice of research design. The strategies such as using quantitative experiments or qualitative case studies and specific methods of collecting data based on quantitative instruments or through observations are thus closely associated with the choice of research design.

There are various research designs involving different philosophies, strategies and methods of data collection (**Fig. 3.2**). The present research is situated in the pragmatic tradition. Since the research made use of the 'pragmatic' philosophy, it mostly used the mixed methods research design. Rossman & Wilson (1985) note that the pragmatic research design emphasizes on the research problem and uses all approaches to understand the problem. Pragmatism is used to understand the situations, actions and consequences rather than focusing on any single idea. Many scholars have attempted to understand the problems of social science research and used pluralistic approaches to derive knowledge about the problems (Morgan 2007, Patton 1990, Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998). It thus implies that pragmatism is not committed to a particular philosophy, but it applies in mixed method research and tries to draw liberally from both quantitative and qualitative design when it is needed (Cherryholmes 1992).

Since an understanding of the caste-based exclusion requires a multidimensional approach, the pragmatic philosophy involving mixed methods research design was found to be appropriate for the study. The same facilitated the use of multiple methods, different perspectives and assumptions as well as different forms of data collection, measurement, operationalisation and analysis.

Figure 3.2 Research design framework for the present study



Source: Adapted from Creswell (2007). The highlighted portions in the above figure refer to the philosophy, strategy and methods used for the present study.

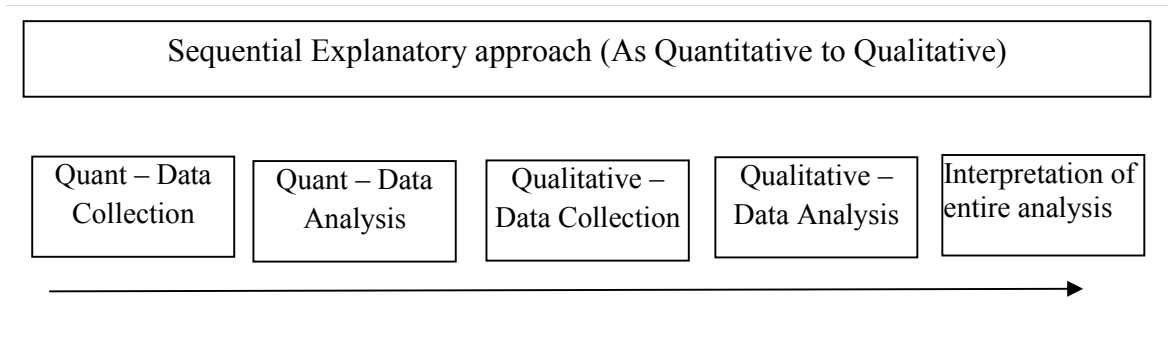
Methods and Methodology: Strategies of Inquiry

Methodology helps to provide specific directions for procedures in research design. A mixed method approach was selected for this research. Mixed method approach traces its origin to the year 1959 when Campbell and Fisk used a multi-methods matrix to examine multiple approaches to validate their research design. The research designs of social and health sciences often address complex problems, where using an either/or approach

involving qualitative or quantitative methods is inadequate. The mixed method approach in such instances provides a better way to understand the complexity of research problems. Clark (2007) suggests that the mixed method approach gives the flexibility to merge qualitative and quantitative data into one large database. Further, both qualitative, as well as quantitative data can be used simultaneously to reinforce/substantiate the findings.

A sequential explanatory strategy was used for this study (Fig. 3.3). Morse (1991) notes that the sequential explanatory approach is generally used to explain and interpret quantitative results by collecting and analyzing follow-up qualitative data or vice versa. For this research, the villages were selected in the first phase. The household data were collected during the second phase. During the third phase of fieldwork, the in-depth qualitative information was collected. Thus, the present research made use of both quantitative as well as qualitative methods, and consequently both quantitative and qualitative data followed by the analysis.

Figure 3.3 Sequential Explanatory approach for this study



Research Tools and Techniques

Cargan suggests that the “research instrument means merely constructing and administering a tool capable for measuring the attitudes and behaviour of a sample subject. The implementation of research instrument requires some tasks like means of communication with the sample (selection of language, cultural pattern and norms of society), the format of the communications instrument, provide instructions to the respondents, control access to the instrument and transmit the communications instrument” (Cargan, 2008:50).

The tools used for the present study (**Appendix V**) included the interview schedule, case study, group discussion and observations. Each method is likely to be more appropriate for collecting data on various facets of the research and hence strengthens the study. So, all these tools were used to collect data. In-depth interviews, case studies and group discussions were carried out with the selected respondents. The study also made use of observation and narratives. The role of key resource persons was crucial for the study. The key informant interviews were also conducted. A field diary was maintained during fieldwork. The data thus collected was largely both qualitative and quantitative.

The interview schedule covered specific questions such as the socio-demographic profile, nature of work, health issues, and various forms of discriminations (viz. socio-cultural, spatial, economic, political-historical, notion of social Justice/ humiliation.) within the Dalits and their sub-caste. After conducting the in-depth interview, some of the respondents were selected for the case studies. Field notes and field diary not only helped in reflections but also aided in triangulation. Group discussions on themes emerging from interviews and case studies were also carried out. Narratives were used to present the data in its thick form. The observation was also an inevitable part of the research. However, the extent of participation depended upon the convenience of the participants. A summary of research objectives, methods and the tools used for the study are given in **Table 3.1**.

Table 3.1 Methods and Tools of Data Collection

Objective	Research Strategies of Inquiry		
	Quantitative	Qualitative	Tools Used
To see the trajectory of socio-cultural disparities among Dalits at their caste and sub-caste level.	Food Choices, Pattern served, Religious Faith and Practices different sub-castes.	Patterns of discrimination regarding food practices. Out-caste marriage and degree of discrimination Experience of discrimination in daily life Food practices, Sociogram of food practices, Marriage and social	Household Survey Schedule, In-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions Patterns of discrimination regarding food practices. Out-caste marriage and degree of discrimination Experience of

		punishment,	discrimination in daily life
To understand the economic disparity among Dalits at their caste and sub-caste level.	Family Income, number of working persons, land ownership, Land Holding, Primary and Secondary Occupation, Concentration Index	Occupation and Sub-caste Identity Perceived Occupational Identity and hierarchal grouping of sub-caste.	Household Survey Schedule, In-depth interviews
To understand the role of <i>socio-spatial segregation</i> regarding disparities at caste and sub-caste level	Distance-based location,	Space and Degree of exclusion	Household survey schedule
To understand the dynamics of caste relations and inter-generational experiences of discrimination among Dalits at the caste and sub-caste level.		Land ownership, Education, Clothing, Source of water, Celebration at the marriage, Restriction on mobility, housing condition Discrimination in availing services.	Interview with the three generations of the members of the household, Narratives Case Reports
To understand the <i>inter-linkages between social identity and access to health care services and utilization.</i>	Ranking of the severity of illness and disease The course of Treatment by ranking or preference for a particular health resource	Perceptions about Illness and Disease, The course of Treatment (Case Reports) Narratives In-depth Interviews	Household Survey Schedule Narratives In-depth Interviews

Rationale for the selection of the Study Area

Indian society has the caste-based hierarchical social structure. People at the ‘lower’ end of hierarchy face social exclusion and discrimination. Even after the independence and despite the existing constitutional safeguards, status of majority of deprived sections still needs to be improved, and the socio-economic condition of Dalits and those of the sub-castes among Dalits is poor. The issue of sub-caste level discrimination is crucial among Dalits as they face ‘double exclusion’ by their caste as well as sub-caste status. The historical process of social exclusion and caste-based discrimination across and within has led to deprivation and denial of services. Therefore, an additional bias due to social differences operates that makes the sub-castes among Dalits more vulnerable. This section discusses the rationale for the selection of the study area.

Various secondary data sources reflect the poor status of Scheduled Castes from different perspectives. These data sources reflect the poor situation of Dalits in the country and hence were useful in the selection of the study area. The study thus used various secondary data sources such as Census of India (2011), the fourth round of National Family Health Survey (2016), National Crime Record Bureau (2016) and the Handbook of social welfare statistics (2016), to name a few, for selection of the study area. The different datasets provide information on various attributes. For instance, The Census of India lists the population or demographic data as well as the socio-economic profile. The NFHS data discusses different health indicators. NCRB is a useful data source as it gives information about the violence and atrocities against SC while the Handbook of social welfare statistics details the government initiatives and welfare schemes for the overall development and progressive inclusion. The secondary data from multiple data sources are analysed with a focus on the status of Scheduled Caste population to select the study area, given the nature of the research problem.

As per the Census 2011, Scheduled Caste population is notified in 31 States and Union Territories (UTs). The Census shows that a total of 1,241 Scheduled Castes are notified in different states and UTs. The SCs constitutes 16.6% (201.4 million) of the total population (RGI, 2011). Dalits are predominately higher in the states of Punjab (31.9%), Himachal-Pradesh (25.19%), West Bengal (23.51%) UP (20.70%) and Haryana (20.17%). However, by numeric strength UP has the highest concentration in India **(Table 3.2)**.

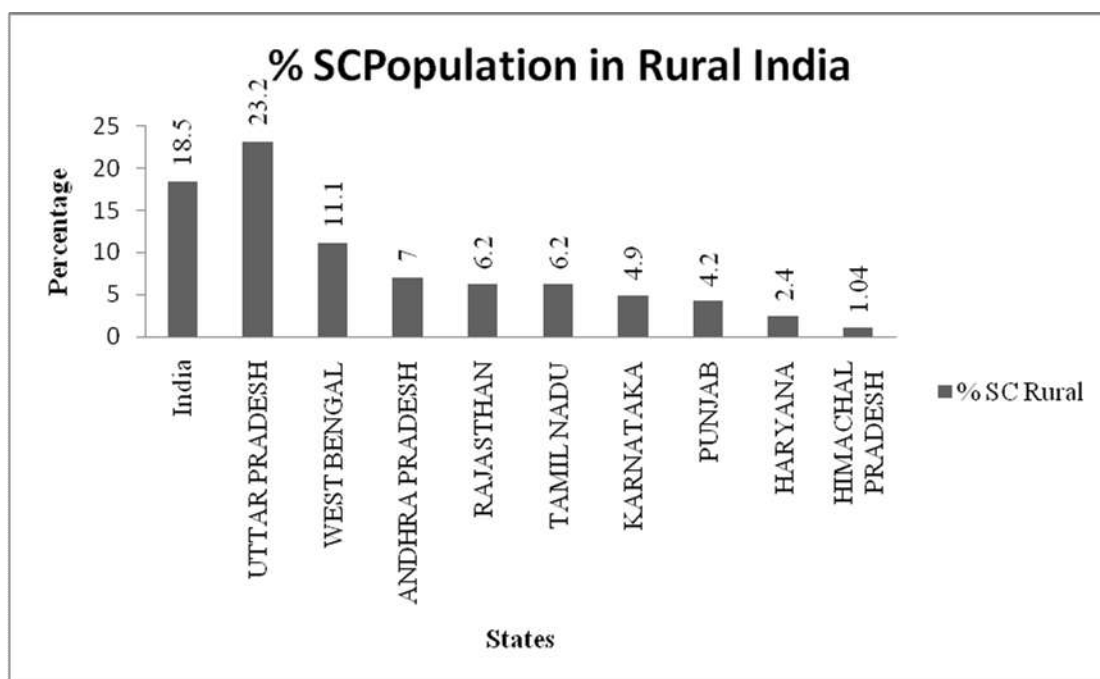
Table 3.2 also shows other states that have the higher numeric strength of SC population. All these nine states constitute approximately 77% of the total SC population of India. The Census data also shows that the percentage of SC population is higher in rural areas (18.5%) compared to the total SC population (16.63%).²⁰ Uttar Pradesh constitutes approximately 23.2% of the total rural SC population (**Figure 3.4**). It is thus apparent that a considerable percentage of SC in rural India is concentrated in Uttar Pradesh.

Table 3.2 States by the Size of SC population

S.N	State	Total Population	SC Population	% of SC Population
1	Uttar-Pradesh	199812341	41357608	20.70
2	West Bengal	91276115	21463270	23.51
3	Bihar	104099452	16567325	15.91
4	Tamil Nadu	72147030	14438445	20.01
5	AP	84580777	13878078	16.41
6	Maharashtra	112374333	13275898	11.81
7	Rajasthan	68548437	12221593	17.83
8	MP	72626809	11342320	15.62
9	Karnataka	61095297	10474992	17.15
10	India	1210569573	201378086	16.63

²⁰ The total population of rural India is 833748852, out of which 153850848 are SC (18.5%). The total rural SC population of India is 153850848 while that in UP is 35685227 (23.2%).

Figure 3.4 Percentage population of SC in Rural India



Source: PCA, Census, 2011

Other than the Census, NFHS data also reflects the socio-economic development through various indicators such as availability of electricity, toilet facility, solid fuel for cooking, number of pucca houses, persons per room, and literacy rate. The data showed that the illiteracy rate among women is worst in UP when compared to that of India. Only 42.9% of households got electrified in the rural areas of UP. The demographic indicators like fertility, child preference, use of contraceptives, pregnancy outcome, mortality rate, Antenatal care (ANC) and status of children under five years as well as anaemia and health insurance coverage is also below when compared to all-India level (**Table 3.3**). The data on wealth quintile and the wealth quintile by social categories shows that more than 52.4% and 50 %of SC households respectively in UP are concentrated in lowest and second wealth quintiles.

Table 3.3 Housing and Health indicators 2015-16

Indicator	India	UP
Housing Indicator		
Household with electricity	88.2	70.9
Toilet facility	61.1	45.8
Solid fuel for cooking	54.7	66.7
In anyway smoke at a house	42.6	54.2
Living in a pucca house	56.3	33.1
Mean no. of Person/room used for sleeping	2.9	3.4
No schooling female (total respondents)	27.6	35.7
Demographic Indices		
Total wanted fertility rate	1.8	2.1
Total Fertility rate (under age 15-49)	2.18	2.74
Percentage of women who want more sons than the daughter	18.8	31.3
Percentage of men who want more sons than the daughter	18.7	27.9
Percentage of use of contraceptives method by currently married women (15-49)	54%	46%
The traditional method (Rhythm) in a rural area	3.5	13.1
Pregnancy outcome (miscarriage)	5.7	8.6
Pregnancy outcome (Stillbirth)	0.7	1.4
Health indicator		
Under-five mortality rate	50	78
Neonatal mortality	29.5	45.1
Perinatal mortality rate	36	56.4
Birth delivered under health facilities	79	68
No ANC care	16.4	23.7
Percentage of those who received all the recommended type of ANC	20.9	5.9
Percentage of children under the age of 12-23 months by coverage of all vaccination	62	51

Percentage of children under 0-71 months received any services under ICDS	56.3	38.8
Mother received no services under ICDS from an AWC during pregnancy	46.3	61.1
Percentage of stunting children under 0-59 months	38	46
Prevalence of any Anemia (<11.0g/dl)	58.5	63.2
Percentage of households with Health insurance coverage (at least one person)	29	6.1

Source: NFHS-4, ICF and IIPS, 2017

Further, the National Crime Report Bureau (NCRB) data also shows that the status of UP is poor regarding different parameters, as follows;

- The data shows that approximately 9.5% of the total Indian Penal Code (IPC) crime was reported in UP. The percentage of the crime rate in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Kerala were 8.9, 8.8 and 8.7% respectively (Table-1a.1, p.9).
- UP also contributes the highest percentage of reported cases under offences affecting the human body which is 11.2% followed by Madhya Pradesh (9.2%) and Maharashtra (8.9%) during the year 2016 (Table-1a.4, p.12).
- Uttar Pradesh reported the highest number of cases of murder, accounting for 16.1% followed by Bihar and Maharashtra with 8.5% and 7.6% respectively during the year 2016 (Table-2A.1, p.91).
- Uttar Pradesh (15,898 cases) also reported the highest number of cases of kidnapping & abduction accounting for 18.1% followed by Maharashtra and Bihar with 10.6% and 8.3% respectively during the year 2016. (Table-2C.1, p.109).
- Uttar Pradesh reported 14.5% of total cases of crimes against women followed by West Bengal (9.6%) during the year 2016. (Table-3A.2.1, p.134).
- The atrocities against SC/ST population have increased by 5.5% in 2016, and Uttar Pradesh accounted for the highest number of cases of atrocities against Scheduled Castes (SCs) with 25.6% followed by Bihar and Rajasthan with 14.0% and 12.6% respectively during the year 2016. (Table – 7A.1, p.289)
- Taking into account, the atrocities against SC under the SC/ST (Prevention of atrocity) act 1989 in urban areas like metropolitan cities, the state capital of UP, Lucknow (262 cases) reported the highest number of cases with 16.2% followed

by the Patna and Jaipur with 14.9% and 13.5 % respectively during the year 2016 (Table-7B.1, p.313).

The NCRB data thus show that the crime situation in UP is awful. Also, the Dalits residing in UP face atrocities of various kinds. The overall status of Dalits in UP regarding literacy and certain other indicators is given below;

- The literacy rate among Dalit women in rural areas of UP is poor, and it is only 47.3% while at India level the literacy rate among Dalit women is 52.6%.
- The Crude Birth rate (CBR) is as high as 27.2 in UP. The rural and urban CBR in UP is 28.1 and 23.3 respectively. The corresponding figures for India are 22.9 and 17.3 respectively. The CBR for India combining both rural and urban areas is (Sample Registration System –SRS- Statistical Report, RGI, 2013).
- The total Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) is as high as 53 in rural areas of UP. The IMR for India is 44 (SRS- Statistical Report, RGI, 2013).

The Indian Constitution strives to minimize the discrimination and exclusion against Dalits through constitutional provisions such as abolishing the practice of untouchability (Article 17), equality before the law (Article 14), protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Article 46), special measures through reservation in government services and educational institutions; and representation in democratic political institutions (Articles 330, 332 and 73rd Amendment Act, 1992). However, despite the existing constitutional safeguards, the situation of the Dalits is poor. The secondary data gives enough evidence to suggest that Dalits in Uttar Pradesh exhibit poor socio-economic and demographic indicators. They suffer from the extreme forms of atrocities and violence against them. The violence and atrocities severely affect their health, psyche and morale. Further, we aim to discuss the exclusion and discrimination Dalits face due to their sub-caste. The same is a relatively less explored research area. Since the present study aims to explore and understand different forms of discrimination among Dalits at the level of sub-caste, Uttar Pradesh is a suitable state as a considerable proportion of SC population is concentrated in the state, as discussed earlier.

Selection of Villages

The study was conducted in the two villages of the Sonbhadra District of Uttar-Pradesh, and the selection of villages was based on the composite index. The composite index was constructed using the secondary data. However, the final selection of the villages was based on their suitability for the present research. Visits to some of the villages were made to get an overview of the castes structure. Other than that, the accessibility and availability of transportation and communication facilities also shaped the final selection.

The District Census Hand Book (DCHB), Census of India provides data at the village level for demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population and gives information on civic amenities and social facilities. It gives information about the availability of educational and health facilities, drinking water, post office and telegraph services, communication, bank and credit societies, and recreational facilities. Further, it also provides data on different dimensions such as types of civic amenities, educational institutions as government and private and medical facilities by their strength and distance. The importance of distance while accessing the amenities and facilities like distance <5, 5-10 and more were also taken into account in the selection of the villages. The data for the selection of the study villages was thus based on DCHB 2011 for Sonbhadra District.

A composite index was constructed using village-level data from DCHB, Sonbhadra 2011 on civic amenities and social facilities. Weights on a 10 point scale were given to various amenities and facilities. Weights were also given to the distance at which education and health institutions and other amenities were located.²¹ The score for each village was computed using the weights. These scores were used to derive the average score for all amenities and facilities for each village. The villages were arranged in ascending order by their respective composite scores. The villages were then divided into quartiles.

A ten point scale was used for each amenity and thus, if any amenity was in the village, it was given more weight-age. And if any amenity was away from the village, lesser weight-age was awarded. Weight reduced with distance. Less than 5km (< 5km) was given a score of 0.5, 5-10km (<5-10km) and 10 or more (10+km) given a score of 1 and 1.5 respectively. The weight of each amenity was based on the ascending or descending

²¹ The details regarding the weights given to various amenities and composite index are discussed further.

order of that amenity or facility. The selected amenities and their assigned scores are given in **Table 3.4**.

Table 3.4 Amenities and facilities, and their assigned scores

Amenities and facilities	Types/ categories of amenities	The score given to each amenity (including the distance) to determine its weightage
Education facilities	Primary school	01
	Middle School	02
	Secondary School	04
	Senior Secondary School and Schools for disabled (if any)	06
	Colleges (including engineering college, medical college, management, vocational training institutes, formal training centers)	08
Medical facilities	Primary Health Sub Centre, and TB Clinic	01
	Primary Health Centre and Mobile Health Clinic	02
	Maternity and Child Welfare Centre, Dispensary Family Welfare Centre	04
	Community Health Centre	06
	Hospital Allopathic, Hospital Alternative Medicine, and Veterinary Hospital	08
Drinking water and Sanitation	Tap Water Untreated, Uncovered Well, No Drainage, Open Kuccha Drainage, No System (Garbage on road/street)	02
	River/Canal, Tube Wells/Borehole as well as Community Toilet Complex (excluding Bath) for General Public was given six points, while Tank/Pond/Lake and Spring along with Open Drainage, Open Pucca Drainage	04
	Covered Well, Hand Pump and program for sanitation as 'Is the Area Covered under Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC)? Community Toilet Complex (including Bath) for General Public and Rural Production Centres or Sanitary hardware outlet availability near the village	06
	Tap Water-Treated, Closed Drainage, Open Pucca Drainage Covered with Tiles Slabs, Community waste	08

	disposal system after house to house collection and Community Bio-gas or recycle of waste for production use	
Postal services, & communication transportation	District road (Kuccha Road), Navigable waterway	2
	Sub-post office, major district roads, Mud road and footpaths.	4
	<i>Pakka</i> road ;post office, telephone (with landline), courier services, state Highway and railway station	6
	Internet Cafe, Mobile Phone Coverage, bus along with National Highways	8
Banking & Credit Facilities	Credit societies	2
	Non-agricultural Credit Societies (NCS) and Self Help Groups (SHG)	4
	Commercial Banks, Agriculture Credit Societies (ACS)	6
	co-operative banks and services of Automated Teller Machine (ATM)	8
Leisure Activities	Cinema and news paper	4
	Community Centre with/without TV, Sports Club, Stadium/Auditorium and Public Library	6

Education and medical facilities were weighted from lower to a higher level. Also, the distance was assigned a score, and consequently the score was calculated. Similarly, scores were assigned for various amenities such as drinking water and sanitation, banking and credit facilities, postal services, communication and transportation facilities as mentioned in Table 3.4.

Among the drinking water and sanitation facilities, scores were given on the basis of cleanness, safe, and easy availability while among the postal, communication and transportation facilities, weights were given on the basis of services and connectivity. The coverage and effectiveness were the criteria among the banking and credit facilities. The scores were assigned similarly for several other amenities and facilities such as leisure activities and power supply and electricity.

Thus, the villages were classified on the base of weights, which were obtained by their civic amenities and social facilities. The weight-age of each amenity was separately

calculated. The weight-age of each amenity was normalized by subtracting the actual value of amenity of a particular village with a minimum value of the entire village. It was further divided by the subtraction of maximum value and a minimum value of the entire village (Chandramouli, 2003:75-81). In this way, the index of one amenity was found, and similarly, indexes for all the villages were found with respect of all the amenities.

$$Z = \frac{X - X_{\min}}{X_{\max} - X_{\min}}$$

Where:

Z= Index for one variable (amenity)

X = value of the indicator or variable for the particular amenity

Xmax = Maximum value of indicator or variable of the particular amenity

Xmin = Minimum value of indicator or variable of the particular amenity

By finding the index for one amenity (like-Education) composite index was calculated by the addition of all amenities (like-Medical, drinking water, post office, bank and credit society, communication, leisure work and power supply) and divided by their number. This composite index was a normalized value of the entire village because it was average of all the indexes, which may produce comparatively good data for the choosing the area.

$$\text{Composite Index} = \frac{Z_1 + Z_2 + Z_3 + \dots + Z_n}{N}$$

Where:

Z₁ to Z_n = Index of all the variables.

N= number of the variables.

The villages were arranged in ascending order of the composite index. The composite data were then divided into four quartiles (Zero-Q₁, Q₁-Q₂, Q₂-Q₃, Q₃-Q₄). The villages from the poorest quartile named Arangpani and Rehta were selected (**Appendix VI**). The other selection criteria for selection of the villages were accessibility and availability of facilities of communication. The preference was given to the village which was not so far

from the block headquarter or not far from the main road because of the reasons of convenience.

Sample population and Sampling Technique

The study was conducted in the villages Arangpani and Rehta of Myorpur block of Sonbhadra District to understand the social status and various forms of discrimination at the sub-caste level. The selection of villages was based on the secondary data sources. The main concern was to cover major Dalit castes such as Chamar, Dharkar, and Baiswar from the above-listed villages. The other selection criteria included finding out their sub-castes. The familiarity with the Sonbhadra district and contacts with local population established during earlier research were also used for the present study.

The selection of respondents was based on sequential sampling. The fieldwork for the study was conducted in a phased manner. It involved three phases. The second phase of the data collection was informed by the first, and similarly, the third phase data was based on the second. The initial phase of fieldwork focused on the selection of study villages, already shortlisted with the help of the composite index. The first round of fieldwork was conducted in November and December 2015. The second round was conducted from August to October 2016. The main focus during this round was to conduct household interviews while discussing general Information of households, housing condition, and availability of government benefit schemes, general consciousness about the caste and sub-caste and understanding of discrimination from respondents' perspective. The third and final round of fieldwork was carried out from January to March 2017. The primary work during this round was to revise the questionnaire based on the earlier interaction with respondents from the field and to focus on the objective related questions. As mentioned earlier, the data collected during fieldwork included both quantitative as well as qualitative. The tools and techniques used during the fieldwork included a household survey schedule, semi-structured interview schedule, checklists for conducting focus group discussions. Other than that, the case study method was also used during the study. Observations were noted in the form of field notes, and a case diary was also maintained during the course of fieldwork.

A total of 290 households from three Dalit castes, namely Chamar, Dharkar and Baiswar were selected for the present study. The sub-castes within each Dalit castes from the selected village were identified. The respondents from the Chamar caste reported their

sub-castes as Chamar, Ravidassia Chamar and Dhusiya Chamar. Those belonging to Dharkar caste reported Benbansi, Bansphor, Lakharhara and Kharush while Khandait, Rautia and Sohagpuria were the sub-castes among the Baiswar. A total of thirty households from each sub-caste were selected for the present study except for Kharush sub-caste. Twenty households from Kharush sub-caste were selected on account of meeting the selection criteria for the study (**Table 3.5**).

Table 3.5 Sampling Technique used for research

Village	Caste	Major Sub-caste(30 Each)	Sample
Arangpani	Chamar	Chamar, Ravidassia Chamar, Dhusiya Chamar	90
	Dharkar	Benbansi, Bansphor, Lakharhara, Kharush*	110
Rehta	Baiswar	Khandait, Rautia, Sohagpuria	90
Total Number			290

- There were only 25 households of Kharush in the study village, and among them, 20 fulfilled all the selection criteria, so 20 households of Kharush were selected for the study.

Data sources

The present research has used secondary as well as primary data. The sources of secondary data included;

- 1- RGI (2011), Primary Census Abstract (PCA) Census of India, 2011
- 2- RGI (2011a), UP special, 2011.
- 3- RGI (2013) PCA, series-1, India, SC table, A-8, 2013
- 4- DCO (2013a), PCA, SC table (H series), Vol-I,2013
- 5- DCO (2013b), PCA, SC table (H series), Vol-II,2013
- 6- DCO (2013c), PCA, SC table (H series), Vol-III,2013
- 7- DCO, UP-DCHB (Sonbhadra District), 2011
- 8- District Level Household Survey (DLHS-3) round, health profile of Uttar Pradesh.
- 9- The crime of India, 20016, National Crime Bureau Record, Ministry of Home Affairs.
- 10- National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4) data, 2016

The primary data was collected from the respondents and the participants in the study villages.

Statistical Package and Tools for Data Analysis

After collecting the data from the field, data was analyzed. The collected data was quantitative as well as qualitative. The quantitative data was fed in MS-Excel and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for data analysis. The cross tables were generated to understand the associations between different indicators. Further, the concentration curve was drawn to visualize the disparity levels among the sub-caste among Dalits. The qualitative data were analyzed by identifying various themes. Sociogram were made for a better understanding of the social relations among the different caste groups.

Ethical concerns

The Ethics Committee at the Institutional Ethics Review Board (IERB) gave the ethical clearance to the present study (**Appendix VII**). The research was carried out in an ethical manner whereby all the respondents were well informed about the purpose of the research. Their consent was sought for inclusion in the study. Also, the respondents were assured that their names and other attributes revealing their identity would be kept confidential.

CHAPTER-04

PROFILE OF THE STUDYAREA

The present chapter details the profile of the study area. It largely included the rationale for the selection of the District. The socio-demographic and health indicators from various secondary data were used. Similarly, the selection of Tehsil, Block as well as the study villages is also discussed in the chapter. A brief profile of the study villages is also given. The socio-demographic composition as well as the availability of civic amenities and social facilities are also discussed.

Study Area

As discussed in the previous chapter, Dalits or SCs in India constitute 16.6 per cent of the total population (RGI, 2011). More than half of the Dalit population is concentrated in the six states of Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu (Census, 2011). The study area was chosen depending on the proportion of the Dalit population in the country. Uttar Pradesh was also chosen as it has the highest proportion of Dalits in the country and also represents a state which is not so well to do in terms of various socio-demographic indicators such as IMR, MMR, TFR, CBR, CDR as well as high rates of crime and instances of atrocity and violence against Dalits.

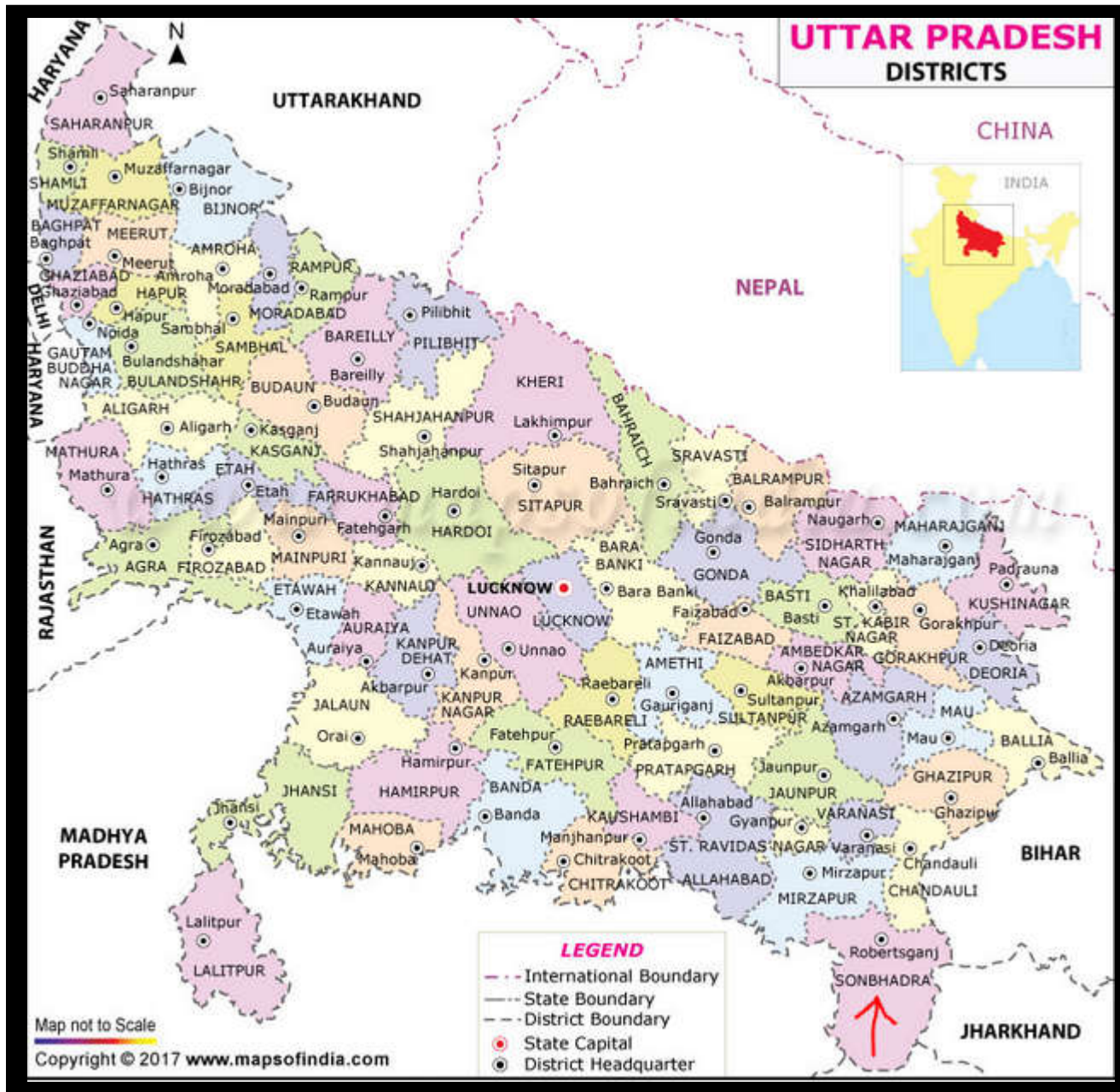
Uttar Pradesh is the most populous and fourth largest state in the country. It is situated in the northern part of India. The state is spread over an area of 2,40,928 sq. Km. There are 71 districts, 312 Subdivision/districts with 915 blocks and 106774 villages (DCHB, Sonbhadra, 2011). The share of the Dalit population in UP is more than 20% of the total population. As compared to other states, the Dalit population has the largest composition on a population basis in UP and has the 4th largest share of the Dalit population in India after Punjab (31%), Himachal Pradesh (24.7%), and West Bengal (23%) (RGI, 2011).

In rural areas, Dalits face different problems such as illiteracy, poor housing condition, poor nutritional status, lack of basic health facilities, lack of sanitation and pure drinking water facilities. Low socio-economic condition, exploitation, discrimination and other social problems lead to several other problems in their lives. The situation of certain sub-

castes among Dalits is worse as they have differential access to resources primarily due to their sub-caste.

The various indicators of health and development including household facilities such as, electricity, toilet facility, solid fuel for cooking, number of pucca houses, persons per room; and certain health indicators, such as use of contraceptives, pregnancy outcome and mortality rate, Ante-natal care (ANC) and status of children under five years as well as anaemia and health insurance coverage is also below the India level (**Table 4.1**). The table also shows the socio-demographic characteristics of India and UP with special reference to Dalits. It shows that UP has poorer status in terms of the general population and also with Dalits when compared to India. Sonbhadra district of UP is selected as the study district. The rationale behind selecting this area is that the percentage of SC population in the district is higher than the State. The percentage of SC population in Sonbhadra is 22.64% while that of UP is 20.70%. The higher percentage of SC population and also other socio-demographic and health indicators show that the status of Sonbhadra district is poor when compared to UP. Hence, this district was selected for the study. The selection of sub-district or Tehsil and the block is also based on some socio-demographic indicators from secondary sources. The selection of villages is primarily done by using the composite index.

Map 4.1 Administrative Map of UP



Source: <https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/uttarpradesh/uttar-Pradesh-district.htm>

Rationale for the selection of District, Tehsil and Block

Sonbhadra district was selected for the study. It is situated in the south-eastern part of the state. The district came into existence in the year 1989. Before that, it was part of Mirzapur district. Robertsganj and Dudhhi sub-divisions of Mirzapur became Sonbhadra district. This district is a semi-hilly area. Vindhyaachal and Kaimur Valley cover it by three sides, and most of the part is covered by the forest. The district is spread into 6905 (in square Km) area. Area-wise, the district stands 2nd in the state and the 137th position in India. Robertsganj is the districts headquarter which is more than 380 km far from the state capital. By the administrative setup, the district is divided into three sub-districts (Tehsil), namely, Robertsganj, Dudhhi and Ghorawal, and eight community development (CD) blocks. The blocks include Ghorawal, Robertsganj, Chatra, Nagwa, Chopan, Dudhhi, Myorpur and Babhani with a total of 1429 villages.

The total population of the district is 1862559. The population density in the district is very low with 270 persons/ Sq. Km. About 83.12% of the total population of Sonbhadra district lives in the rural areas. The percentage of the SC population residing in the rural areas in the district is approximately 25%. The corresponding percentage at the state level is however approximately 22.9%. The caste structure of the district with respect to Dalits is unique as most of the Dalit castes such as Chamar, Dharkar, Baiswar, Kol/Kori, Kharwar, Ghasiya, Mushahar, Pasi, Sonkar, Dobhi are found in this district (DCHB, 2011).

Table 4.1 Selected Socio-Demographic Indicators of UP and Sonbhadra District

Socio-Demographic Indicator	UP	Sonbhadra
Total Population (in Numbers)	199812341	1862559
Total SC Population	41357608	421661
% of SC Population	20.70	22.64
% of Rural Households	76.79	81.29
% of SC Homeless households (in rural areas)	32.11	46.06
% of Total Rural Population	77.73	83.12
% of SC Population (Rural)	22.9	24.9

Sex ratio	912	918
Child ratio in rural areas (Age group 0 to 6 year)	906	933
SC Sex ratio in the rural area	912	930
Female Literacy rate	47.3	42.8
Gaps in male Female literacy rate among SC (Rural)	23.8	23.8
Labour force participation rate (Rural Areas)	33.4	41.4

Source: DCHB, Sonbhadra District, 2011

Table 4.1 and 4.2 show the socio-demographic as well as the health status of the district. It is evident that the Sonbhadra district is far behind with regard to different socio-demographic and health indicator when compared to UP. The percentage of rural households and percentage of the total rural population is higher in Sonbhadra district as compared to UP. Although, the sex ratio, child sex-ratio and sex ratio among SC (in rural areas) are better than UP. The situation of homeless, literacy rate and workforce participation in Sonbhadra district is poor. The situation of Dalits in the district is also poor. The data shows that approximately 46% of SC households in rural areas are homeless. The gap in male-female literacy rate among SC population is also high (24%).

The district level health information also reflects that the housing, sanitation and other health indicators in the district are also very poor (NFHS-4). While only 43% of households have the electricity, only 9% are using an improved sanitation facility. A mere 4% of households use the clean fuel for cooking. The percentage of women availing antenatal services is low (5%). More than half the women of reproductive age and children in the age group 6-59 months are anaemic. The insurance coverage is also not good in the district as only 7% of the households had any usual member covered under the health insurance/scheme (**Table 4.2**). The poor health outcome is also the result of poor infrastructure. DLHS-3 (2013-14) also mentioned that in terms of health infrastructure, Sonbhadra district ranked 60th among the 71 districts.

Table 4.2 Selected Health Indicators of District Sonbhadra

NFHS-04 District level Indicator (Rural Areas)	Sonbhadra District
HH with Electricity	42.9 %
HH using improved Sanitation Facility	9.3
HH using Clean fuel for cooking	3.8%
HH with any usual member covered under health insurances/scheme	7.3
Women (15-49 years) who are illiterate	49.9
Mothers who had at least four antenatal care visits (%)	16.6
A mother who had full ANC	5.3%
Children age 12-23 months with full immunization	27.9
Children age 6-59 months who are anaemic (<11.0g/dl)	57.5
Non-Pregnant women age 15-49 who are anaemia (<12.0g/dl)	61.2

Source: NFHS-4, 2017

Other than the rationale mentioned above for the selection of the district, the familiarity with the district during the M.Phil study was also one of the reasons for selection of the district, In Sonbhadra district, Duddhi Tehsil was selected for the study. **Table 4.3** shows the rationale for selecting the Duddhi Tehsil. As compared to other Tehsils, Duddhi is the second largest populated Tehsil in rural areas, and more than 92% of population lives in the rural settlement. As compared to other Tehsils, Duddhi has the highest proportion of SC population in the rural areas (30%). Ghorawal and Robertsganj, on the other hand, have 28% and 25% SC population in the rural areas. The overall sex ratio and child sex-ratio (0-6 years) are good in rural areas in the selected Tehsil as compared to the other Tehsil. However, the sex ratio among the SC is lower when compared to another Tehsil. The female illiteracy rate and the gap between male and female literacy rate (in rural) are also quite higher as compared to other Tehsils. The **Table 4.3** also shows that the percentage of the main worker, marginal worker and non-worker (in the rural areas) is poor as compared to others Tehsils. Only 17% of the population in the rural area worked as the main workers. The corresponding percentage in Ghorawal and Robertsganj is 27% and 20% respectively. The percentage of marginal and non-workers in Duddhi is 23% and 60% respectively. Thus, this Tehsil was selected for the study.

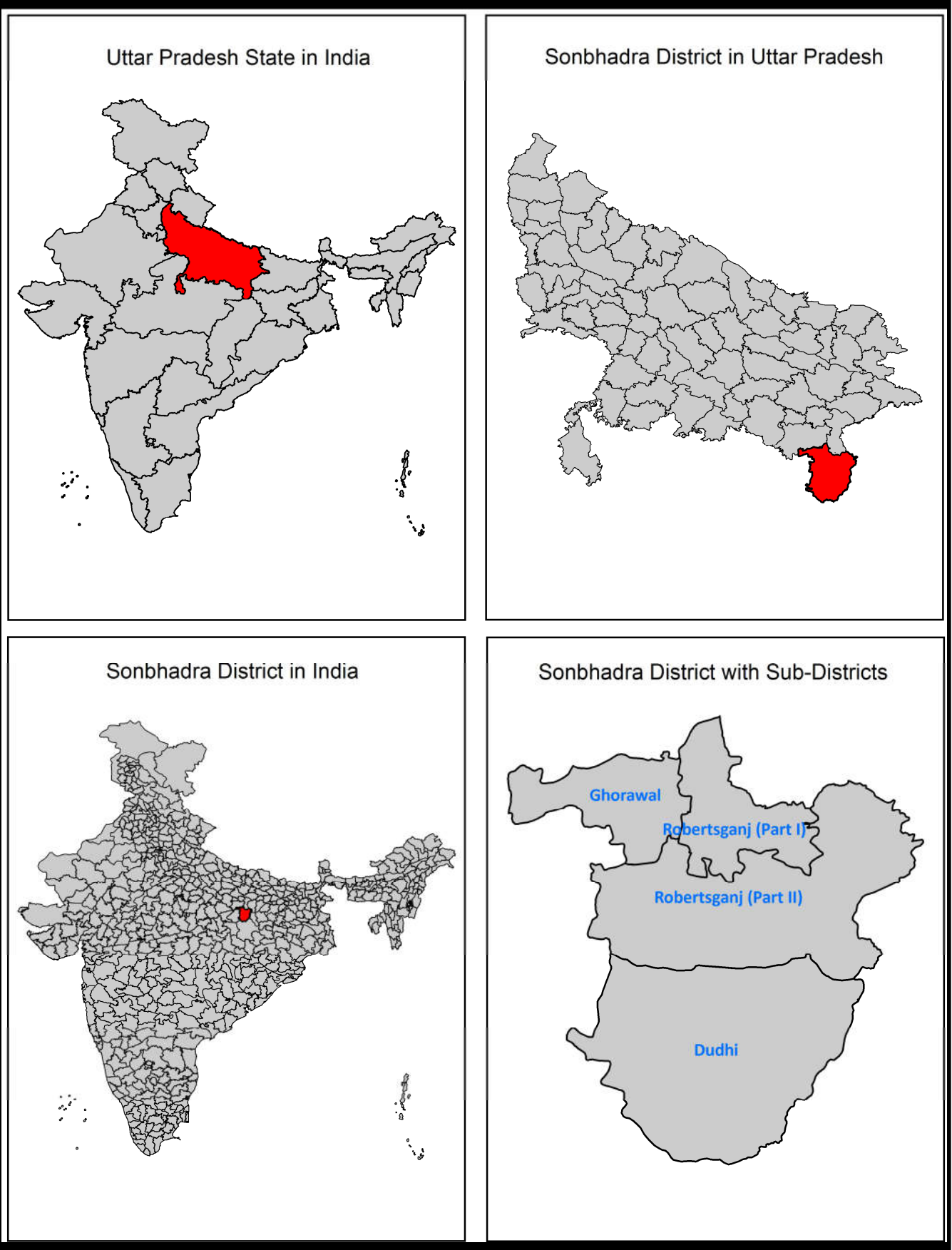
Table 4.3 Selected Socio-Demographic Indicators of Sub-Districts (Tehsil) of Sonbhadra District

Socio-Demographic Indicator	Ghorawal	Robertsganj	Duddhi
No of households in rural area	47804	135799	87219
% of households in rural areas	70%	85%	92%
Total population in rural area	283255	776300	488662
Total SC population in rural area	79311	194075	156371
% SC population in rural area	28	25	30
Sex ratio in rural areas	927	926	929
Sex ratio among SC in rural areas	933	933	918
Child ratio in the rural area	929	930	939
Total literacy rate in rural area	51.9	48.9	46.3
Female illiteracy rate	57.6	61.4	64.8
Gaps in male-female literacy rate (Rural)	22.25	24.25	26.15
Percentage of the main worker in the rural area	27.6	20.4	17.4
Percentage of the marginal workers in the rural area	17.4	20.2	23.2
Percentage of non-workers in the rural area	55	59.4	59.6

Source: DCHB, Sonbhadra District, 2011

As per the above rationale, the Dudhhi Tehsil was selected for the study. Dudhhi is further divided into three community development blocks, namely Dudhhi, Babhani and Myorpur. **Map 4.2** illustrates as to how the study area was selected.

Map 4.2 Location of the Study Area



Source: Delnet, 2017

Table 4.4 Selected Socio-Demographic Indicators at the Block-Level

Indicator	Myorpur	Duddhi	Babhani
Total population	225687	159001	103974
Total SC population	88017	34344	10556
% of SC population	39%	21.6	10.15
Total no. of inhabited villages	109	99	71
Villages having no school	23	08	11
Sex Ratio	919	929	952
Sex Ratio among the SCs	914	914	943
Child sex-ratio	931	938	956
Gaps in male-female literacy rate (Rural)	25.59	27.16	25.78
Gaps in male-female literacy rate (Rural) among the SCs	27.32	25.85	26.98
% of villages with medical facilities	15.71	18.56	20.25
Percentage of the cultivable area to total area	31.17	52.57	58.5

Source: DCHB, Sonbhadra District, 2011

Myorpur block was selected for the present study. The **Table-4.4** shows that Myorpur is the largest populated block of Duddhi Tehsil. It has maximum share of the Dalit population (39%) as compared to other blocks. Out of 109 inhabited villages, more than 20% of villages have no formal school. The sex ratio, child sex-ratio, sex ratio among the SCs as well as gaps in male and female literacy rate (in rural) among SC, are all poor as compared to other blocks. Only 15.71% villages are covered by medical facilities.

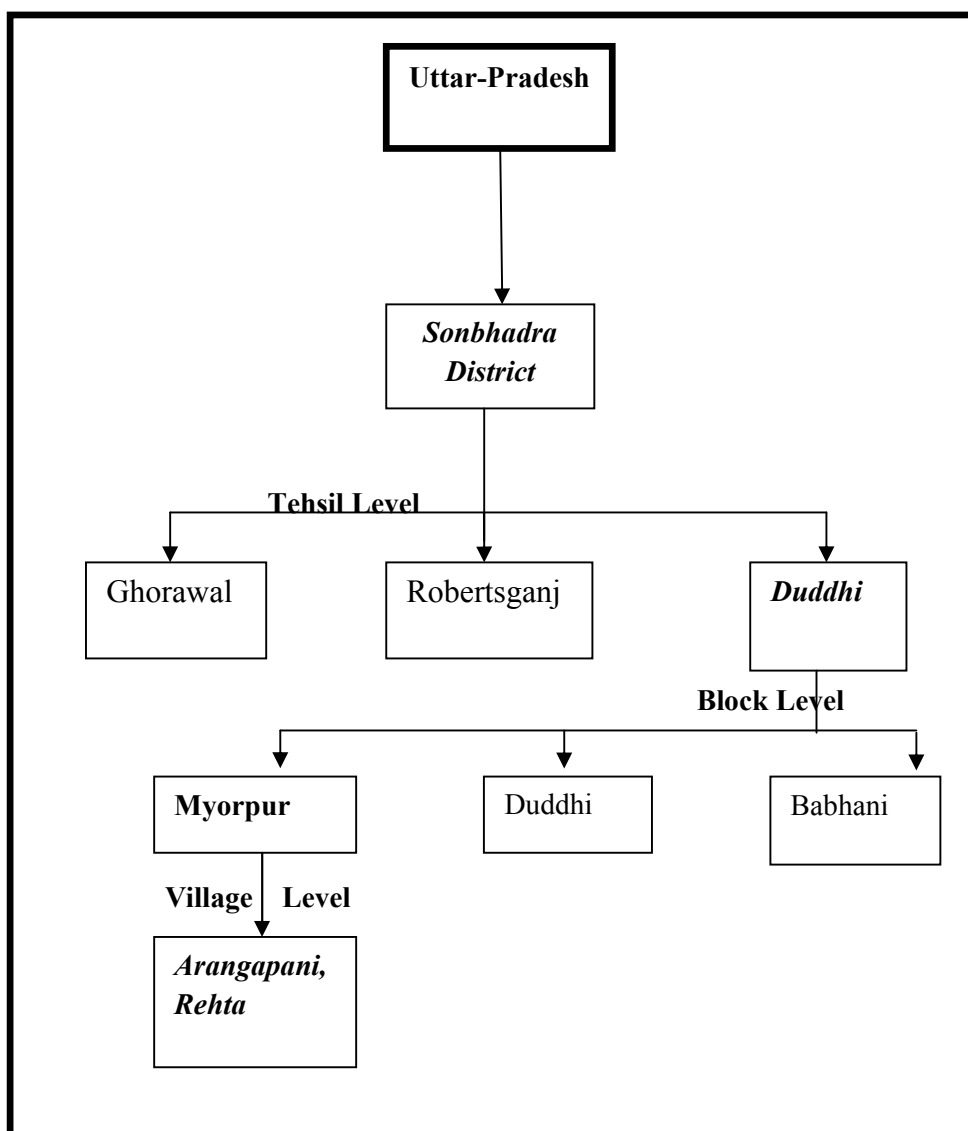
Myorpur block is not as good as compared to other blocks of the Tehsil regarding access and availability of civic amenities and social facilities. The availability of facilities like education (79%), medical and health (19%), communication (10%), power supply (25%) and the condition of the roads (37%) is also poorer as compared to other blocks (DCHB, 2011).

Table 4.5 Percentage of Dalit Population in the Study Area

Area	Total population	Dalit population	Percentage of Dalit Population
UP (State)	199812341	41357608	20.69 %
Sonbhadra (District)	1862559	421661	22.63 %
Duddhi (Tehsil)	670183	174247	26 %
Myorpur (CD Block)	225687	88017	39
Arangapani (Village 1)	6661	3330	49%
Rehta (Village 2)	3778	2587	68%

Source: DCHB, Sonbhadra District, 2011

Figure 4.1- Selection of study villages



A Brief Profile of Sonbhadra District

Administrative Structure

Sonbhadra is located in the southeastern part of UP. The district is situated between the 23°52' and 25°32' North latitudes and 82°72' and 83°33' East longitudes. The district is bound to Bihar and Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh on the east, west and south respectively. Mirzapur and Chandauli districts are situated to its north. The Tehsils of Robertsganj and Duddhi from the Mirzapur district were transferred to the Sonbhadra district, and it was created in the year 1989. Ghorawal Tehsil came into existence after

1991 census (DCHB, 2011). The district comprises of 66 Nyay panchayats, 479 Gram Sabhas and 1,424 revenue villages. A total of 1,363 are inhabited villages while there are 61 uninhabited villages in the district. Eight villages out of 12 forest villages are uninhabited (DCHB, 2011).

Physical geography

The district, on the basis of physical geography, is divided into two divisions, namely, the middle Pahari division and the Son Valley division. The former starts from Vindhya range through Kaimur mountain range and up to the Son River. The Son Valley division is situated in the southern part of the district, and most part is covered with forests and mountain ranges. Each of the divisions has 4 Vikas Khands. The Vikas Khands, namely, Robertsganj, Ghorawal, Chatra and Nagwa fall under the middle Pahari division while Chopan, Myorpur, Duddhi and Babhani are located in Son valley (DCHB, 2011).

Climate Condition and Drainage system

The climate of Sonbhadra is different from that of the districts situated in the westernmost part of the state. The winters are particularly cold. The minimum temperature during winters is 4.4°C. The days are extremely hot during summers while nights are relatively cold. The average annual rainfall in the district is approximately 1065 mm. The kaimur region of the district witnesses maximum rainfall. During the rainy season, the rivers Son, Karmnasa, Chandraprabha and Rihand are mostly flooded. The small rivers dry up during hot weather. The district also suffers from drought conditions due to uncertainty in the rainfall (DCHB, 2011).

Natural and Mineral Resources

Various regions in the district have different kinds of soil. Among various kinds of soil, red soil, sandy and Domat matiya are primarily found in the district. Red soil is however found in the plateau region. A large part of the district is covered by forests. The various varieties of trees include Bargad, Pipal, Sheesham, Mango, Neem, Bamboos, and Jamun. Other than these, Kulu and Semal trees yield gum and cotton. Tendu tree leaves are also found in the district. Limestone, marble, iron ore, mica, coal, magnesite and dolomite are among the minerals found in the district. The district has an abundance of coal reserves largely situated near Singrauli (DCHB, 2011).

Agriculture and Industry

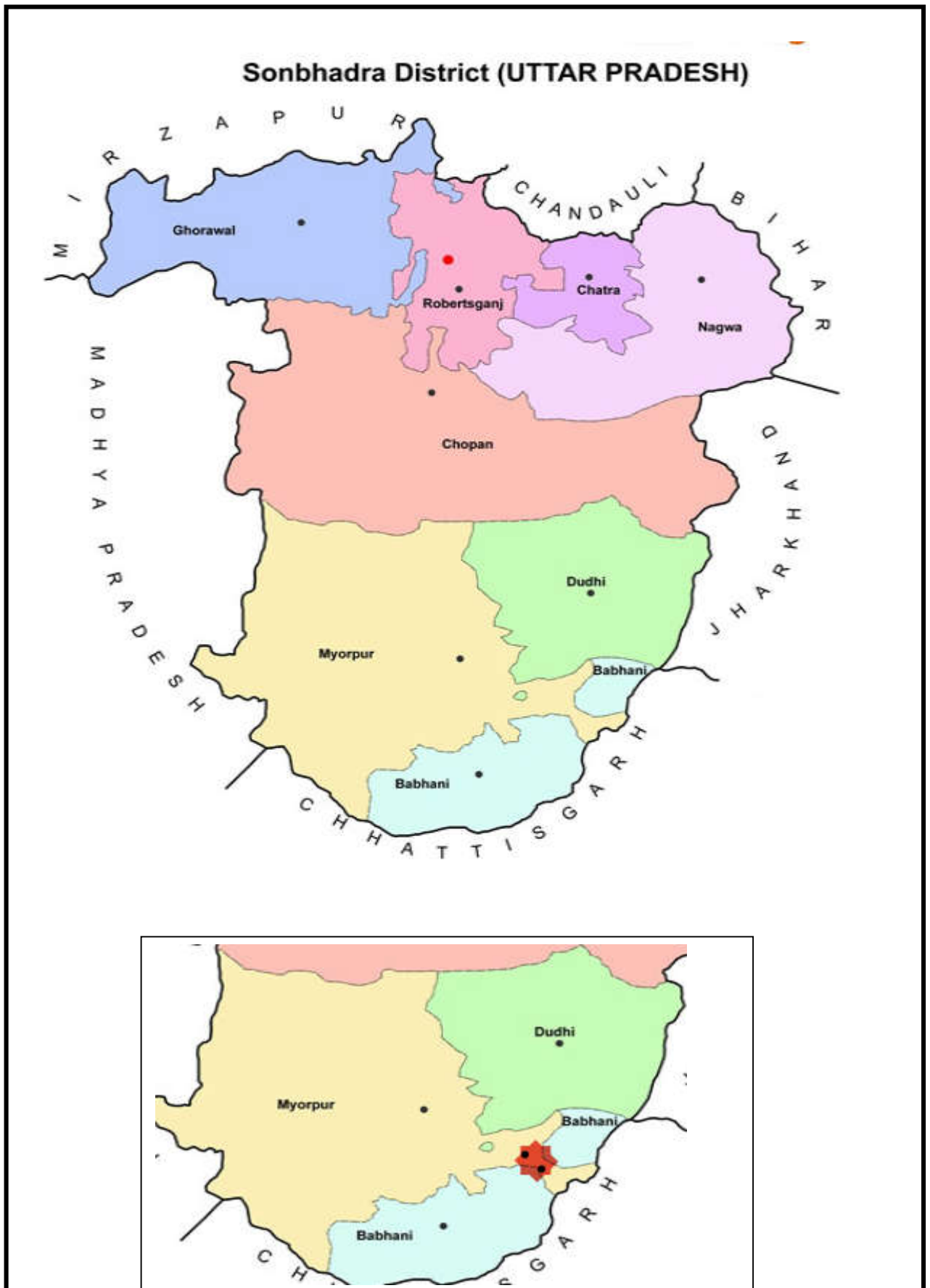
Wheat, barley, gram, peas, oilseeds, paddy, maize and pulses are among the main rabi and kharif crops grown in the district. Apart from these, Sugarcane and certain vegetables are also grown. As high as 90.32 per cent area in the district is irrigated through canals. Wells, tanks and lakes are other sources of irrigation in the district. The district has 13 industrial units. Among them, Hindalco Aluminium Factory, Churk; Dala Cement Factory, Obra; Shakti Nagar and Anpara thermal power projects are noteworthy. The district is the 'Thermal Power city' of the state as there are many power supply stations. NTPC power station at Anpara, Shaktinagar, Beejpur, Obra Dam and thermal power station and Rihand Dam-cum-Hydro-Electricity power station are some of the important power stations situated in the district. The district is rich in natural resources like coal and water. Due to the availability of coal mines, falls and rivers like Son and Ganga, Sonbhadra is an important provider of electricity to the state. Other than that, the natural resources like forest resources such as Tendu leaves and gum-yielding trees play an important role in the Bidi and Raisin industries respectively. Handicrafts and carpet weaving also play an important role in the economy of the district (DCHB, 2011).

Civic Amenities and Social Facilities in the District

In Sonbhadra, approximately 92.6% of houses are situated in the rural areas. Among them, 38% of houses are in good condition. A mere 2% of houses are in a dilapidated condition. More than 94% of houses have tiled roofs. As high as 94.12% houses have walls made of the mud and un-burnt bricks (DCHB, 2011).

Hand-pumps and the wells are the main sources of drinking water in the district. The supply of drinking water by hand-pumps and wells constitute almost 58% and 38% respectively (DCHB, 2011). Kerosene and electricity are the main sources of light in the houses. Most houses (94.22%) use kerosene while very few (4.35 %) have the power supply in the district (DCHB, 2011). Most households neither have latrine facility nor separate kitchens in their houses. More than 95% of households have no latrine facility in their houses. Approximately 70% of houses have no separate kitchen in their houses. Firewood (75.5%) and cow-dung (20.92%) constitute the main sources of cooking fuel. More than 11.46% people use banking facilities, 21.13% have a radio, and 44.89% have a cycle (DCHB, 2011). It is evident from the data on the civic amenities and social facilities that the population in Sonbhadra district is excluded from the mainstream developme

Map 4.3 Locating Study Village



Village Profile(s):

Since the study attempts to understand different aspects of discrimination and exclusion among the Dalits and strives to bring forth a holistic understanding of exclusion or discrimination not only among the Dalits but also at their sub-caste level, the two villages were selected. The two villages selected for the study in Myorpur block are named as Arangpani and Rehta. The main objective of the study was to understand different nature of discrimination at different Dalit castes and also at their sub-caste level. Chamar, Dharkar, Baiswar, Kol/Kori, Kharwar, Ghasiya, Mushahar, Pasi, Sonkar and Dobhi are the caste groups among the SC or Dalits in Sonbhadra district (DCHB, 2011). To understand the different patterns; three caste groups, namely, Chamar, Dharkar and Baiswar were selected for the study. Both Arangpani and Rehta have more than 50% SC population. Chamar and Dharkar constitute a good number of population in Arangpani while in Rehta; Baiswar caste was selected for the study.

As per the geographical coverage, Arangpani and Rehta are spread in an area of 336.43 sq. Km and 1421.5 sq. Km respectively. Both the villages are located in the south-eastern part of the district. Most of the villages is covered under the mountain and forest areas. The distance between these two villages is 7km. Taking into account the administrative distance from the Myorpur block office; Arangpani is 17km far while Rehta is situated 22km away. Arangpani is 38km away from the Dudhhi Tehsil office while Rehta is situated at a distance of 33km. Both villages are more than 100km away from the district headquarters situated at Robertsganj. The location of both the villages is mentioned with the black dots in **Map 4.3**. Rehta is close to the border of Chhattisgarh. Arangpani is situated close to the border of MP, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. The distance between the Border States and the village is less than 40km.

The climate of the area is quite different as compared to other UP Villages because it is situated in the high land plateau and the forest areas. The day and night temperature also varies considerably. In summer, the days are very hot and the nights are relatively cold. It is very cold during the winters. The average annual rainfall is recorded as 1065mm (DCHB, 2011). Red soil is mostly found in both the villages and little bit Domat matiyar, and Balui soil is also found in some parts.

Arangpani has most of its area covered under the mountains and forests. It is surrounded by the mountains and forests from three sides. The nearest forest area from Arangpani is less than 1km away. Bargad, Sheesham, Mango, Bamboos, Jamun, Mahua and Tendu trees are largely found in the forest. Dharkar caste people are dependent on the forest produce. Quite often they can be found collecting resources from the forest. Rehta village is also surrounded by the forest, and those from the Baiswar caste largely depend upon the forest. The leaves of the 'Tendu' trees used for making 'biri' are also found in the nearest forest. The major crops in both the villages are quite the same. Wheat, barley, gram, peas and oilseeds are grown in the Rabi season while kharif crops include paddy, maize and pulses. Some of them also cultivate sugarcane and vegetables as cash crops.

Field survey report of the study villages:

Arangpani

Arangpani came into existence after 1953 when Rihand Dam was built. All the families were rehabilitated in this village from Chairiya village.²² Chairiya village was about 100 km away from the Rihand Dam. The Arangpani Gram Panchayat is the sixth largest populated Gram Panchayats in the Myorpur block. According to the 2011 census, the total population of this village is more than 5000 (DCHB, 2011). Arangpani Gram Panchayat comprises of eight small villages/Tola; Arangpani, Japri-Tharah, Barwa-Tola, Jharia-Tola, Kanshi-Khur, Khukhari Mahuwa, Chairi and Telia Garbin.

Social composition: Arangpani has a total of 1244 households in eight different settlements. As high as 80% population living in Arangpani belongs to SCs and STs. The remaining population belongs to the OBC communities. Chamar and Dharkar caste groups are predominantly high in number while Kol/Kori, Kharwar and Ghasiya are less in number. Gond, Baiga, and Pahariya are the most common STs in the village. Among the OBCs, Bin, Biyar, Baniya and Teli are common. The total population of the village is 6661. Among them, the total SC population is 3300 comprising of 1695 male and 1605 female. The ST population in the village is 1938 with 1019 male and 919 females. The number of Chamar households is higher in the Arangpani, Barwa-Tola, and Jharia-Tola while that of Dharkar caste households is higher in the Khukhari Mahuwa, Chairi and Telia Garbin.

²² Chairiya village was located in the district of Singrauli. It was the eastern part of the MP and the adjoining Southern part of the Sonbhadra district.

Caste and Sub-caste composition of SC: Out of a total of 1244 households in the village, 607 households belonged to the Scheduled Castes. Among the Scheduled Castes, a total of 272 households belonged to the Chamar caste with a population of 1521. The number of Dharkar, Kol/Kori, Kharwar and Ghasiya households was found to be 187, 66, 47 and 35 respectively. The caste-wise population distribution is shown in the

Table 4.6 Caste wise Distribution of Dalit Population in Village Arangpani

Caste	No. Of Households	Population	% Population
Chamar	272	1521	45.67
Dharkar	187	975	29.27
Kol/Kori	66	384	11.53
Dharkar	47	245	7.35
Ghasiya	35	175	5.25
Total	607	3300	100

One of the characteristic features of those from Dalit caste and sub-caste, residing in the Arangpani village, was that households from a specific caste stayed in the close vicinity referred to as *Tola*. The Chamars also identified themselves as Chamars, Ravisadiya Chamars and Dhusiya Chamars. Similarly, among the Dharkars, the sub-castes, namely, Bentbansi or Banbasi, Bansphore, Lakarhara and Kharush were identified. Chamar and Ravisadiya Chamars stayed in the same area called as Arangpani with more than 100 HHs each while Dhusiya Chamars lived in a different *Tola* called as Barwa-Tola. A total of 57 HHs resided in this *Tola*. Kols and Kharwars stayed in a *Tola* named Jharia-Tola. Bentbansi or Banbasi and Bansphore lived in Khukhari Mahuwa, and their total household numbers were found to be 55 and 58 respectively. The households from the Lakarhara sub-caste were 49 in number, and they lived in the Tolia Garbin area. A total of 25 households belonging to the Kharush sub-caste were found in the Chairi village.

Civic amenities and social facilities in Arangpani: The available education facility in the village was only till the middle level. The educational institutions providing further education were situated at a distance of 10-15kms. There was one primary and one middle school in the village while the secondary school was situated approximately 3 km

away in Lilasi. The senior secondary school and Degree College are in Myorpur. No government health facility was available in the village. The nearest health institution, a PHC was situated 8km away in Kirwil. The Community Health Centre (CHC), Maternity and child welfare centre, family welfare centre and TB clinic were situated at a distance of 17 km in Myorpur. There were two Registered Medical Practitioners and practitioners without professional training in the nearby villages. The Communication services have not yet reached the village. The Post office, cyber cafe and courier services could be used from Kirwil at a distance of 8km. The mobile services were available in the village. A computer centre/shop was also there in the village, but it was being used for uploading songs and movies in the mobile phones. As regards the water and sanitation facilities, the hand-pump was the source of water. Mountain water pond (*Baoli*) and hand-pumps were the main sources of drinking water while *Baoli* was used for cleaning clothes and other purposes. Open kachcha drainage system was found in the village and drain water created a small water body. No facility of community toilet complex was found in the village. No system of sanitation was available in the village. Limited transportation facility was available for the village. Only two private buses operated in the village that linked the village to Myorpur and Dudhi. Village is connected by the black topped pucca road (pitch) under Pradhan Mantri Sadak Yojana. The major connecting roads within the village were made of bricks while remaining were kachcha. There was no bank in the village. One State Bank of India (SBI) ATM was recently installed. However, it rarely worked. Other services like one Public Distribution System (PDS) shop and a community hall were available in the village. The village also organised a local market (Hatia) on every Wednesday. Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) centre, Anganwadi centre and ASHA were there in the village.

Religious practices: The population in Arangpani predominantly followed Hinduism. However, many little tradition²³ practices were also practised. The village had temples of Nath Baba, Agela Baba and Bhangi Baba. The temple of Gram Devta was also found in the village. An Ambedkar statue and a Ravidas temple were also found in Arangpani. Banwasi Sewa Ashram, founded by Rajni Prem Ji from Dudhi, was also there in the village but not many people were interested in this group. People in the village worshipped Ambedkar, Kanshi Ram and Mayawati like God. It was observed that the

²³ Little traditions: Those traditions which are arise from the village level and local communities are the main sources. It is also called as local tradition.

anniversaries like Ambedkar Jayanti, Ravidas Jayanti, and Kanshiram Jayanti were celebrated in the village. All the villagers came for celebrating such occasions, and some funds were also allocated for organising the program.

House structure: It was observed that most houses built under the Indira Awas Yojana had one or two mud rooms, which were traditional and a room with *Verandah*. The size of the mudrooms was 6×8 or 10×15 ft. As many as 40% of houses in the village had two or three rooms while 17.5% of houses had four rooms. Very few (2.5%) houses had houses with one room in the village. Most of the houses had tiled roof and walls were built of mud. No separate kitchen was found in any of the houses. Generally, they cooked their food in the *verandah* of the house. Most Dalit houses got separate latrine facility under the Gramin Swachhata program. But the lack of awareness and water supply restrained their use, and they were forced to continue going outside the house for the toilet. They mostly used the land near the pond or Baoli. The details regarding structure of house, type of fuel used, source of drinking water, and the availability of toilet facility and its location across all the respondents from various sub-castes is given in **Appendix VIII**.

Socio-Political Structure: In Arangpani, Chamars constituted the dominant caste. The political power thus mostly lied with them. At the time of fieldwork, all the Panchayat members and the Pradhan of the village were Dalit. Out of four Panchayats members, one was a woman. Due to their less number, the other Dalit castes like Dharkar, Kol, Ghasiya and Kharwar never joined the political mainstream.

Health problems

Malaria, Filaria and Tuberculosis were reported as the common diseases prevalent in the village. Snakebite and malaria were reported as the major causes of death in the village. The local healers and Bengali Doctors, who did not have any formal qualification, were frequently approached for the treatment. Childbirth and related care for women was usually provided by Dais²⁴. Gastric ailments and water-borne diseases were a major cause

²⁴ Dai- Dai is a senior woman of the village, who handles most of the deliveries case and also belonging to Dalit community.

of morbidity among people of the village because of the mineral contamination and the presence of the microorganism.

Rehta

Rehta village comprised of five small villages. Three out of five small villages/*Tola* were inhabited while two were uninhabited due to the dense forest. The three villages were named as; Bahar Tola, Kachar Tola and Barada Tola. The village was largely covered under the forest.

Social composition: Rehta had a total of 586 HHs residing in three different settlements. More than 93% population belonged to the SCs and STs. The remaining was from the OBC community. Among the SCs and STs, the number of those belonging to the Baiswar caste and Pahariya tribe was predominantly high. Chamar, Ghasiya and Mushar were the other SCs, while Baiga and Gond were among the other tribes. Some households of Bin, Biyar and Teli classified as OBC community also lived in the village. The total population of the village was 3778 with 2014 males and 1764 females.

Caste and Sub-caste composition of SC: Rehta had a total of 410 households belonging to Scheduled Castes. The number of households belonging to Scheduled Tribes was 130. HHs of ST and near about 46HHs of OBC is counted in the village.

The total SC population in Rehta was 2587 with 1337 males and 1250 females. The STs had a total population of 924 with 479 males and 445 females. Baiswars had three sub-castes, namely, Kandait, Bannait and Sohagpuria. They all lived in the village at three different geographical locations named Bahar Tola, Kachar Tola and Barada Tola. The geographical segregation was easily visible in the village where Kandait lived in the Bahar Tola, Bannait and Sohagpuria lived in Kachar Tola and Barada Tola respectively. However, those belonging to STs and OBCs also lived in these settlements.

A total of 410 households of Baiswars were found in the village. Among them, 95 households reported belonging to the Khandait sub-caste. The number of Bannait and Sohagpuria households were found to be 88 and 93 respectively. As regards the numeric strength, the population of Khandait was highest. Khandaits had a total population of 617. Among them, 328 were male and 289 female. Bannait had a total population of 580

with 311 male and 269 females while Sohagpuria had a total population of 566 with 295 male and 271 females.

Civic amenities and social facilities in Rehta:

The available education facility in the village was only till the middle level. The educational institutions providing further education were situated at a distance of 10-15kms. There was one primary and one middle school in the village while the secondary school was situated approximately 3 km away in Oari. The senior secondary school was located at a distance of 10 km in a small township called Parasi. Rest of the educational institutions are either in Myorpur or Dudhhi at a distance of more than 20Km. No government health facility was available in the village. All the health institutions such as PHC, CHC, Maternity and child welfare centre, family welfare centre and TB clinic were situated 10km away from the village. Some treatment facilities were however available in the Oari at a distance of 3 km where two Registered Medical Practitioners and practitioners without professional training provided treatment. ICDS, Anganwadi centre, ASHA were found in the village. The communication services have not yet reached the village. The Post office, cyber cafe and courier service could be used from Oari at a distance of 3 km. The mobile services were available in the village. As regards the water and sanitation facility, the village fully depended on the hand-pump, bore well and *Baoli*. *Baoli* and hand-pumps were the main sources of water. *Baoli* was also used for washing clothes and other purposes. Open Kachcha Drainage system was found in the village and drain water created a small water body. No facility of community toilet complex was found in the village. No system of sanitation was available in the village. The transportation facility was very poor in the village. No public means of transport were available to reach the village. One could reach the village through a personal conveyance. Most households had a cycle as a means of transportation. The village was connected by the black topped pucca road (pitch) under Pradhan Mantri Sadak Yojana. The major connecting roads within the village were made of bricks while remaining were kachcha. The banking services were not available in the village. ATM facility, commercial and co-operative banks were located in Oari, at a distance of 3 km. The agricultural credit societies were found at a distance of 19 km. Other services like PDS shop, community hall, assemble polling station, and electricity was there in the village. The regular Mandis/market was situated in Parasi. The weekly market (Hatia) was in Changa village at a distance of less than 2 km).

Religious practices: The population of Rehta is predominantly Hindu. Many little tradition²⁵ practices were also practised. There was a temple of Mata Rani and Hanuman Ji in the village. Pahariya tribe had some specific worship places in the village. Temple of Gram Devta was also found in the village. Ambedkar statue was also there in Rehta.

House Structure: As observed in the Anganpani village, most houses built under the Indira Awas Yojana had one or two mud rooms, which were traditional and a room with *Verandah*. The size of the mudrooms was 6×8 or 10×15 ft. As many as 40% of the houses in the village had two or three rooms. Very few (2.5%) houses had houses with one room in the village. Most of the houses had tiled roof and walls were built of mud. No separate kitchen was found in any of the houses. Generally, they cooked their food in the *verandah* of the house. No toilet facility in the house was available in this village, and people mostly used the land near the pond or *Baoli* for toilet purpose.

Socio-political structure: In Rehta, Khandait were the dominant sub-caste caste. They had landholding as well as the highest numeric strength. So the political power was usually with them. At the time of the fieldwork, all the Panchayat members and the Pradhans of the village were Dalit. Out of two Panchayats members, one was a woman. Due to their less number, the other Dalit casts like Chamar, Ghasiya and Mushar stayed away from the political scenario.

Health problems:

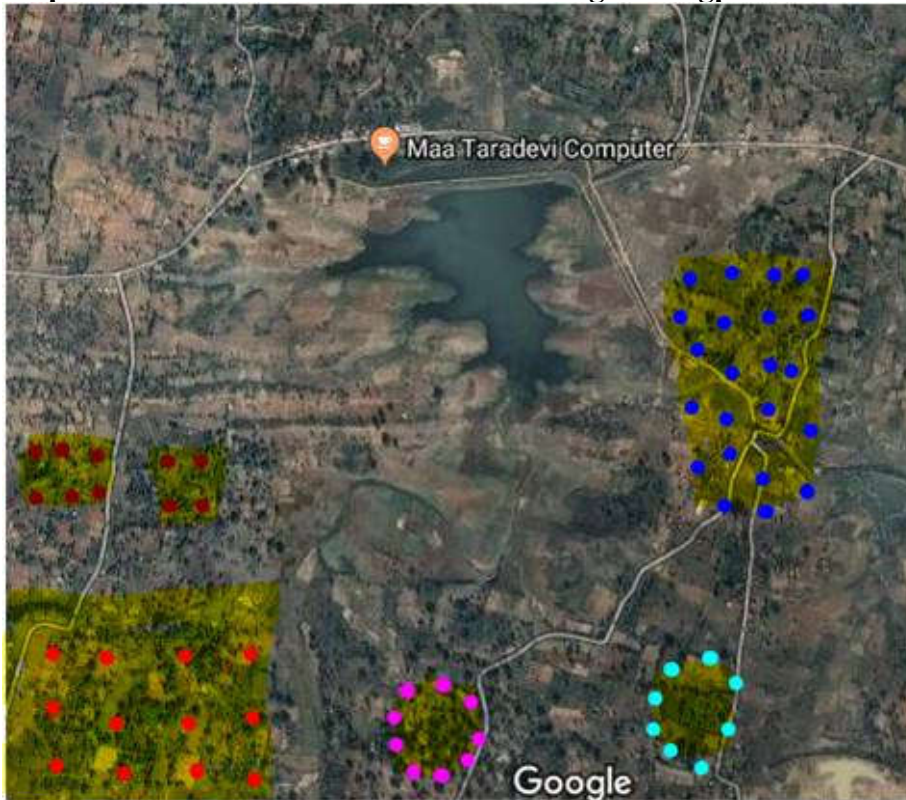
Malaria, Filaria and Tuberculosis were the common diseases prevalent in the village. Snakebite and malaria were reported as the major causes of death in the village. The local healers and Bengali Doctors, who did not possess a formal qualification, were approached for the treatment. Childbirth and related care for women were usually provided by Dais²⁶. Gastric ailments and water-borne diseases were a major cause of morbidity among people of the village because of the mineral contamination of water and the presence of the microorganisms.

²⁵ Little traditions: Those traditions which are arise from the village level and local communities are the main sources. It is also called as local tradition.

²⁶ Dai- Dai is a senior woman of the village, who handles most of the deliveries case and also belonging to Dalit community.

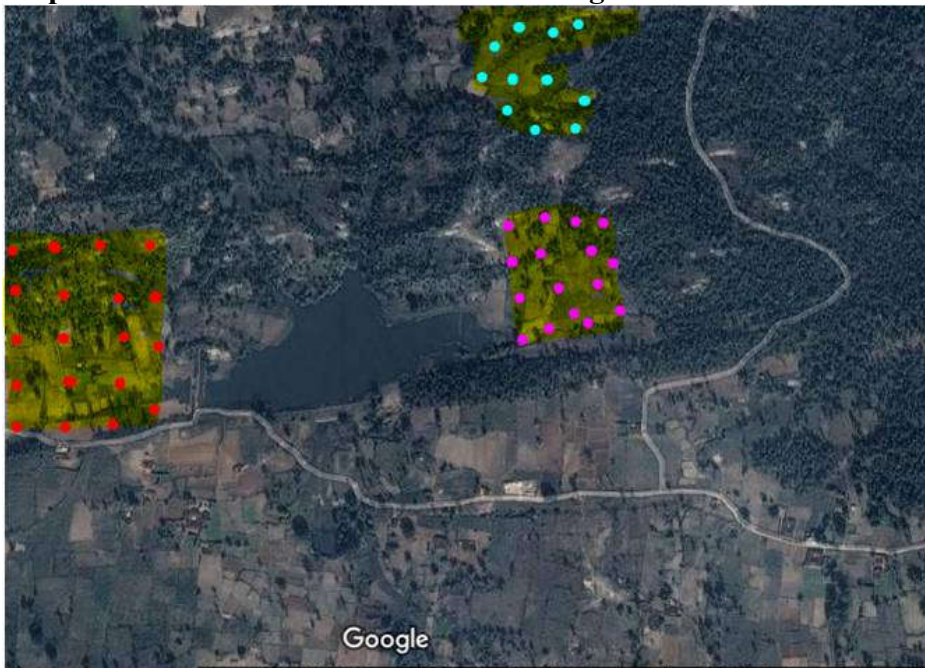
The chapter thus gave a broad overview of the selected villages. The socio-demographic composition of both the selected villages was discussed. The caste and sub-caste composition of the village was also given. The religious practices, housing structure, socio-political structure, health problems, as well as the caste-wise distribution of village population were also discussed. The next chapter details the socio-demographic and economic profile of the respondents from various sub-castes among Dalits.

Map 4.4 Location of Sub-castes in the Village Arangpani



Red Dotted_ Chamar and Ravisadiya Chamar, Maroon Dotted_ Dhushiya Chamar, Blue Dotted_ Bentbansi and Banspor, Purple Dotted_ Lakarhara, Aqua Dotted_ Kharush

Map 4.5 Location of Sub-castes in the Village Rehta



Red Dotted_ Khandait, Purple Dotted_ Bannait, Aqua Dotted_ Sohagpuria

Chapter-05

Socio-Demographic and Economic Profile: Differentials across Caste and Sub-Castes among Dalits

This chapter discusses the socioeconomic profile of the respondents belonging to the selected castes and sub-castes. The economic characteristic of the household regarding land ownership, household income, and occupation pattern among various caste and sub-caste are discussed. The association between various socio-economic characteristics are explored. Further, the perception of the respondents about caste and sub-caste are discussed in this chapter. An attempt was also made to understand the experience of discrimination at the level of the family as well as at the level of caste.

Socio-demographic profile of the respondents

The socio-demographic data were collected with the help of the household interview schedule. The collected data includes information on age, sex, education level, marital status, type of family, occupation, number of working members in a family, monthly income, land ownership (if any), to name a few across the selected sub-castes. The data thus helps in understanding their socio-economic attributes in terms of various forms of exclusion, as discussed earlier in the conceptual framework.

Age-wise distribution of the respondents across caste and sub-caste level

Age: The age-wise distribution of the respondents shows that across all the castes selected for the present study namely, Chamar, Dharkar and Baiswar, about 70 per cent were in the age group 20-60 years. Among Chamars and Baiswars, about 9 per cent of the selected respondents were aged above 60 years. The respondents from the Dharkar caste aged above 60 years constituted about 15 per cent of the selected respondents. Those below the age of 20 years among Chamars were close to 1 per cent. The corresponding percentage among the Dharkars and Baiswars was about 6 and 3 per cent respectively **(Table 5.1)**.

The age-wise distribution at the sub-caste level among Chamars suggests that more than half of the selected respondents from the Chamar and Dhusiya sub-castes were in the age group 20-40 years while those among the Ravidasiya sub-caste constituted about 60 per

cent in the age group 30-50 years. Those from the Dharkar caste, Bentbansi, Bansphor, and Kharush respondents in the age group 20-40 years constituted about 46, 53 and 55 per cent respectively. Almost half of all the Lakarhara respondents were in the age group 30-50 years. The age-wise sub-caste level distribution among the Baiswar suggests that the Khandait respondents in the age group 20-40 years constituted about 53 per cent. The corresponding percentage among the Bannait and Sohagpuria constituted about 63 per cent (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Distribution of Age by Caste and Sub-Caste among Dalits

Dalit Caste		Age Group (in completed Years)						Total Number (%)
Caste	Sub-Caste	<20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60+	
Chamar	Chamar	1 (1.1)	9 (10)	7 (7.8)	7(7.8)	3 (3.3)	3(3.3)	30 (100)
	Ravidasiya	--	6 (6.7)	9 (10)	9 (10)	4 (4.4)	2 (2.2)	30 (100)
	Dhusiya	--	10 (11.1)	7 (7.8)	4 (4.4)	6 (6.7)	3 (3.3)	30 (100)
Total		1 (1.1)	25(27.8)	23 (25.6)	20 (22.2)	13(14.4)	8 (8.9)	90 (100)
Dharkar	Bentbansi	3 (2.7)	7 (6.4)	7 (6.4)	6 (5.5)	3 (2.7)	4 (3.6)	30 (27.3)
	Banbasi-Bansphor	1 (0.9)	9 (8.2)	7 (6.4)	7 (6.4)	3 (2.7)	3 (2.7)	30 (27.3)
	Lakarhara	2 (1.8)	6 (5.5)	7 (6.4)	8 (7.3)	2 (1.8)	5 (4.5)	30 (27.3)
	Kharush	0	6 (5.5)	5 (4.5)	4 (3.6)	2 (1.8)	3 (2.7)	20 (18.2)
Total		6 (5.5)	28 (25.5)	26 (23.6)	25(22.7)	10 (9.1)	15 (13.6)	110 (100)
Baiswar	Khandait	--	11(12.2)	5 (5.6)	7 (7.8)	4 (4.4)	3 (3.3)	30 (100)
	Bannait	1 (1.1)	11(12.2)	9 (10)	3 (3.3)	3 (3.3)	3 (3.3)	30(100)
	Sohagpuria	2 (2.2)	12(13.3)	7 (7.8)	4 (4.4)	3 (3.3)	2 (2.2)	30 (100)
Total		3 (3.3)	34(37.8)	21(23.3)	14(15.6)	10 (11.1)	8 (8.9)	90 (100)

Sex-wise distribution: The sex-wise distribution of the respondents across the selected castes and sub-castes shows that about 67-71 per cent of the selected respondents were male. The proportion of the female respondents was highest among the Chamars (33%), followed by the Dharkars (32%) and the Baiswars (29%) respectively (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Distribution of Sex by Caste and Sub-Caste among Dalits

Dalit Caste		Sex		Total Number (%)
Caste	Sub-Caste	Male	Female	
Chamar	Chamar	19 (63)	11 (37)	30 (100)
	Ravidasiya	19 (63)	11 (37)	30 (100)
	Dhusiya	22 (73)	8 (27)	30 (100)
Total		60 (67)	30 (33)	90 (100)
Dharkar	Bentbansi	20 (67)	10 (33)	30 (100)
	Banbasi-Bansphor	23 (77)	7 (23)	30 (100)
	Lakarhara	17 (57)	13 (43)	30 (100)
	Kharush	15 (75)	05 (25)	20 (100)
Total		75 (68)	35 (32)	110 (100)
Baiswar	Khandait	21 (70)	09 (30)	30 (100)
	Bannait	23 (77)	7 (23)	30 (100)
	Sohagpuria	20 (67)	10 (33)	30 (100)
Total		64 (71)	26 (29)	90 (100)

Education: The distribution of the selected respondents as regards their education level shows that the prevalence of illiteracy is very high among the Dharkars (86%) and the Baiswars (87%) as compared to Chamars (59%). The data shows that as high as 86-87 per cent of the selected respondents among these two castes were illiterate. The percentage of illiterate respondents among the Chamar caste (63-73%) was relatively lower compared to the other two castes (about 60 per cent). As regards to the Sub-castes among the Chamars, Dhusiya were worst off with more the 73% illiterates. Among the sub-caste Chamars, a little over half (50.5%) were illiterate. The Ravidasiya with more than 53% were better than Dhusiya but worse than Chamars. While the Chamars had at least one respondent educated up to class 12th, the Dhusiya has all of eight educated only up to primary level. It is notable that none of the respondents among any of the sub-castes, both in case of Dharkar and Baiswar were educated beyond primary level. Among the Dharkar, the Bentbansi have most respondents (20%), and among Baiswar, the Khandait (17%) who have completed primary level. The latter also have two respondents who completed a middle level of education.

It is thus evident that all the selected castes among Dalits show high levels of illiteracy. Very few respondents (about 8 per cent) among the respondents belonging to the Chamar caste have attained education till the matriculation level. The percentage of respondents with a primary level of education among both the Dharkar and Baiswar castes was below 15 per cent. The corresponding percentage of respondents among the Chamar caste was about 18 per cent (Table 5.3)

Table 5.3 Distribution of Education by Caste and Sub-Caste among Dalits

Dalit Caste		Level of Education Attainment (in Completed)					Total (n with %)
Caste	Sub-Caste	Illiterate	Primary	Middle	10 th	10+2	
Chamar	Chamar	15 (50.5)	4 (13.3)	5 (16.7)	5 (16.7)	1 (3.3)	30 (100)
	Ravidasiya	16 (53.3)	4 (13.3)	8 (26.7)	2 (6.7)	--	30 (100)
	Dhusiya	22 (73.3)	8 (26.7)	--	--	--	30 (100)
Total		53 (58.9)	16 (17.8)	13 (14.5)	07 (7.7)	1 (1.1)	90 (100)
Dharkar	Bentbansi	24(80)	6 (20)	--	--	--	30 (27.3)
	Banbasi-Bansphor	25 (83.3)	5 (16.7)	--	--	--	30 (100)
	Lakarhara	28 (90)	2 (6.7)	--	--	--	30 (100)
	Kharush	18 (90)	2 (10)	--	--	--	20 (100)
Total		95 (86.3)	15 (13.63)			--	110 100)
Baiswar	Khandait	23 (76.6)	5 (16.7)	2 (6.7)	--	--	30 (100)
	Bannait	27 (90)	3 (10)	--	--	--	30(100)
	Sohagpuria	28 (93.4)	2 (6.6)	--	--	--	30 (100)
Total		78 (86.7)	10 (11.1)	02 (2.2)	--	--	90 (100)

Marital Status: As regards the marital status of the respondents, many as close to 80 per cent respondents belonging to the Chamar and the Dharkar castes were married while more than 70 per cent Baiswar respondents were also married. Among the Chamar caste, the sub-caste group by the same name has most married respondents (87%). The other two sub-castes had 80% each. In case of Dharkar caste, the sub-caste Bentbansi (80%) had most respondents married as compared to the other two castes. It is noteworthy that respondents ranged from 17-18% widowed. They were most among the Baiswars (18%) followed by Dharkar (17%) and Chamar (17%). Among all the sub-castes, Bentbansi,

Banspor (27%) has the highest widowed followed by Dhusiya Chamars and Khandait Baiswar with 20% each. (Table 5.4)

Table 5.4 Distribution of Marital Status of Respondents by Caste and Sub-Caste among Dalits

Dalit Caste		Marital Status of Respondents			Total
Caste	Sub-Caste	Married	Unmarried	Widow	Number (%)
Chamar	Chamar	26 (86.7)	--	4 (13.3)	30 (100)
	Ravidasiya	24 (80)	1 (3.3)	5 (16.7)	30 (100)
	Dhusiya	24 (80)	--	06 (20)	30 (100)
Total		74 (82.2)	01 (1.1)	15 (16.7)	90 (100)
Dharkar	Bentbansi	24 (80)	2 (6.7)	4 (13.3)	30 (100)
	Banbasi-Bansphor	22 (73.3)	--	08 (26.7)	30 (100)
	Lakarhara	23 (76.7)	2 (6.7)	5 (16.7)	30 (100)
	Kharush	18 (90)	--	02 (10)	20 (100)
Total		87 (79.1)	04 (3.6)	19 (17.3)	110 (100)
Baiswar	Khandait	21 (70)	3 (10)	6(20)	30 (100)
	Bannait	20 (66.7)	5 (16.7)	5 (16.7)	30 (100)
	Sohagpuria	23 (76.7)	2 (6.7)	5 (16.7)	30 (100)
Total		64 (71.1)	10 (11.1)	16 (17.8)	90 (100)

Family Type: As regard to the family type, the distribution of respondents across various castes suggests that most respondents (about 65-70 per cent) had joint families. The respondents from the Baiswar caste, however, had the highest percentage (about 37 per cent) of nuclear families among all the castes. However, at the sub-caste level, we find that above 70 per cent respondents from certain sub-castes such as Lakarhara and Kharush had joint families. Ravidasiya, Bansphor and Bannait from Chamar, Dharkar and Baiswar caste respectively had 70% respondents reporting joint family (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Distribution of Family Type by Caste and Sub-Caste

Sub-Caste	Type of Family		Total Number (%)
	Joint Family	Nuclear Family	
Chamar	20 (66.7)	10 (33.3)	30 (100)
Ravidasiya	21 (70)	09 (30)	30 (100)
Dhusiya	20 (66.7)	10 (33.3)	30 (100)
Total	61 (67)	29 (33)	90 (100)
Bentbansi	19 (63.3)	11 (36.7)	30 (100)
Bansphor	21 (70)	09 (30)	30 (100)
Lakarhara	24 (80)	06 (20)	30 (100)
Kharush	15 (75)	5 (25)	20 (100)
Total	79 (72)	31 (28)	110 (100)
Khandait	18 (60)	12 (40)	30 (100)
Bannait	21 (70)	9 (30)	30 (100)
Sohagpuria	19 (63)	11 (37)	30 (100)
Total	58(63)	32(37)	90 (100)

Economically Active: The number of economically active family members per household among the selected respondents varied from a minimum of one to a maximum of three members. Only three Bentbansi households had four economically active members. Among the Dharkars, about 50 per cent of all the respondents had two economically active members at the level of the household. The corresponding percentage among the Baiswar was the highest (about 62 per cent) among all the selected castes (**Table 5.6**).

Table 5.6 Distribution of Number of Economically Active Caste and Sub-Caste

Sub-Caste	Number of Working Member				Total Number (%)
	01	02	03	04	
Chamar	16 (53)	11 (36/	03 (10)	--	30 (100)
Ravidasiya	11 (37)	15 (50)	04 (13)	--	30 (100)
Dhusiya	09 (30)	14 (47)	07 (23)	--	30 (100)
Chamar (Total)	36 (40)	40 (44)	14 (15)	--	90 (100)
Bentbansi	09 (30)	11 (36)	07 (23)	03 (10)	30 (100)
Bansphor	12 (40)	14 (47)	04 (13)	--	30 (100)
Lakarhara	11 (37)	16 (53)	03 (10)	--	30 (100)
Kharush	06 (30)	14 (70)	--	--	20 (100)
Dharkar (Total)	28 (25.4)	55 (50)	14 (21.9)	03 (2.7)	110 (100)
Khandait	06 (20)	21 (70)	03 (10)	--	30 (100)
Bannait	09 (30)	18 (60)	03 (10)	--	30 (100)
Sohagpuria	09 (30)	17 (57)	04 (13)	--	30 (100)
Baiswar (Total)	24 (26.7)	56 (62.2)	10(11.1)	--	90 (100)

Family Income: The income-wise distribution of the respondents belonging to different castes and sub-castes at the level of household shows that the income per household varied from a minimum of less than Rs. 2,000 to more than Rs 10,000 per month. The Kharush, Sub-caste of Dharkar were the poorest. It was found that as high as 90 per cent of all the respondents belonging to the Kharush sub-caste had a monthly household income below Rs. 2000. The data also shows that about 73 per cent respondents from the Khandait sub-caste had a monthly household income above Rs. 10,000 while about 50 per cent respondents from the Ravidasiya sub-caste had monthly household income in the range of Rs. 4,000-6,000. It is noteworthy that the other than Kharush, no other sub-caste reported family income less than Rs. 2000 (<2000 INR). Also notable is that among the Baiswar, none reported family income less than 6000 INR. Also, among the Baiswars, more than 62% households have more than two economically active family members (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 Distribution of Family Income by Sub-caste

Sub-Caste	Family Income (in 1000 Rs/Month)						Total Number (%)
	<2	2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10	10+	
Chamar	--	--	09 (30)	09 (30)	08 (26.7)	04 (13.3)	30 (100)
Ravidasiya	--	--	15 (50)	05 (16.7)	08 (26.7)	02 (6.6)	30 (100)
Dhusiya	--	06 (20)	09 (30)	05 (16.7)	05 (16.7)	05 (16.7)	30 (100)
Total Chamar	--	06 (6.6)	33 (36.3)	19 (20.9)	21 (23.1)	11 (12.1)	90 (100)
Bentbansi	--	09 (30)	12 (40)	05 (16.7)	04 (13.3)	--	30 (100)
Bansphor	--	16 (53.3)	12 (40)	02 (6.7)	--	--	30 (100)
Lakarhara	--	11 (36.7)	08 (26.7)	11 (36.7)	--	--	30 (100)
Kharush	18 (90)	02 (10)	--	--	--	--	20 (100)
Total Dharkar	18 (16.2)	38 (34.2)	32 (28.8)	18 (16.2)	04 (3.6)	--	110(100)
Khandait	--	--	--	03 (10)	05 (16.7)	22 (73.3)	30 (100)
Bannait	--	--	--	07 (23.3)	17 (56.7)	06 (20)	30 (100)
Sohagpuria	--	--	--	11 (36.7)	12 (40)	07 (23.3)	30 (100)
Total Baiswar	--	--	--	21 (22.8)	34 (37)	35 (38)	90 (100)

Land Ownership: As regards the landholding, very few respondents (about 3 per cent) from the Chamar caste owned land while about 25 per cent of respondents from the Baiswar caste owned land. Within the Baiswar, however, as many as about 73 per cent respondents belonging to the Khandait sub-caste owned land. The data shows that though the respondents across all the castes did not own land, some of the respondents had *patta* and leased land. Landlessness is highest among Sohagpuria (77%). All other sub-castes are landless ranging between 13-45% except Bannait (60%) yet another sub-caste of Baiswar caste (**Table 5.8**).

Table 5.8 Distribution of Land Ownership by Caste and Sub-Caste

Sub-Caste/ Caste	Nature of Land Ownership						Total Number (%)
	Landless	Leased	Patta	Owned	P+L	P+O	
Chamar	--	07 (23.3)	--	02 (6.7)	13 (43.3)	08 (26.7)	30 (100)
Ravidasiya	04 (13.3)	02 (6.7)	10 (33.3)	--	08 (26.7)	06 (20)	30 (100)
Dhusiya	06 (20)	01 (3.3)	10 (33.3)	01 (3.3)	07 (23.3)	05 (16.7)	30 (100)
Total Chamar	10 (11)	10 (11)	20 (22)	03 (3.3)	28 (30.8)	19 (20.9)	90 (100)
Bentbansi	06 (20)	15 (50)	--	--	07 (23.3)	02 (6.7)	30 (100)
Bansphor	07 (23.3)	09 (30)	09 (30)	--	05 (16.7)	--	30 (100)
Lakarhara	08 (26.7)	01 (3.3)	15 (50)	--	06 (20)	--	30 (100)
Kharush	09 (45)	05 (25)	06 (30)	--	--	--	20 (100)
Total Dharkar	30 (27.3)	30(27.3)	30(27.3)	--	18(16.36)	02 (1.7)	110(100)
Khandait	--	--	--	22 (73.3)	--	08 (26.7)	30 (100)
Bannait	18 (60)	--	12 (40)	--	--	--	30 (100)
Sohagpuria	23 (76.7)	07 (23.3)	--	--	--	--	30 (100)
Total Baiswar	43(47.8)	17 (18.9)	--	22(24.5)	--	08(8.8)	90 (100)

Income and type of family: The data showed that there was some association between the type of family and the household income across various castes and sub-castes. The joint families across various sub-castes reported higher monthly household income. Among the respondents from the Chamar caste, about 70 per cent respondents with joint families and belonging to the Chamar sub-caste had monthly household income in the range of Rs. 6,000-10,000. Similarly, 65 per cent respondents with joint families among the Ravidasiya sub-caste had a monthly household income of Rs. 6,000-10,000. Those belonging to the Dhusiya sub-caste with joint families and monthly household income in the range of Rs 8,000 to 10, 000, and above Rs. 10,000 constituted about 47 per cent of the selected Dhusiya respondents (**Table 5.9a**).

Table 5.9a Distribution of Family Income and Type of Family with Sub-caste of Chamar

Sub-Caste	Type of family	Family Income (in 1000 Rs. Per Month)					Total Number (%)
		2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10	10+	
Chamar	Joint	--	02 (10)	06 (30)	08 (40)	04 (20)	20
	Nuclear	--	07 (70)	03 (10)	--	--	10
Total		--	09 (30)	09(30)	08 (26.7)	04 (13.3)	30 (100)
Ravidasiya	Joint	--	05 (25)	05 (25)	08 (40)	02 (10)	20
	Nuclear	-	10 (100)	--	--	--	10
Total		--	15 (50)	05 (16.7)	08 (26.7)	02 (6.7)	30 (100)
Dhusiya	Joint	01 (4.8)	05 (23.8)	05 (23.8)	05 (23.8)	05 (23.8)	21
	Nuclear	05 (55.6)	04 (44.4)	--	--	--	09
Total		06 (20)	09 (30)	05 (16.7)	05 (16.7)	05 (16.7)	30 (100)

Among the Dharkars, as many as 68 per cent of respondents belonging to the sub-caste Bentbansi with joint families had a monthly household income in the range of Rs.4,000 to 8,000. Within the Bansphor caste, about 91 per cent respondents with joint families had a monthly household income in the range of Rs. 2,000-6,000. Among the Lakarhara sub-caste, about 67 per cent respondents with nuclear families had a monthly household income in the range of Rs. 2,000-4,000 whereas all the respondents belonging to the Kharush sub-caste with nuclear families had a monthly household income below Rs. 2000 (Table 5.9b).

Table 5.9b Distribution of Family Income, Type of Family with Sub-caste of Dharkar

Sub-Caste	Type of family	Family Income (in 1000 Rs. Per Month)					Total Number (%)
		<2	2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10	
Bentbansi	Joint	--	02 (10.5)	09 (47.4)	04 (21.1)	04 (21.1)	19
	Nuclear	--	07 (63.3)	03 (27.3)	01 (9.1)	--	11
Total		--	09 (30)	12 (40)	05 (16.7)	04 (13.3)	
Bansphor	Joint	--	08 (38.1)	11 (52.4)	02 (9.5)	--	21
	Nuclear	--	08 (88.9)	01 (11.1)	--	--	09

Total		--	16 (53.3)	12 (40)	02 (6.7)		30
Lakarhara	Joint	--	07 (29.2)	08 (33.3)	09 (37.5)	--	24
	Nuclear	--	04 (66.7)	--	02 (33.3)		06
Total		--	11 (36.7)	08 (26.7)	11 (36.7)	--	30
Kharush	Joint	13 (86.7)	02 (10)	--	--	--	15
	Nuclear	05 (100)	--	--	--	--	05
Total		18 (90)	02 (10)				20

Among various sub-castes of the Baiswar Caste, all the respondents belonging to the Khandait, Bannait and Sohagpuria sub-castes with joint families had a monthly household income in the range of Rs.6, 000-10,000 while those from the Sohagpuria sub-caste with nuclear families had a monthly household income in the range of Rs. 4,000-6,000 (Table 5.9c).

Table 5.9c Distribution of Family Income and Type of Family with Sub-caste of Baiswar

Sub-Caste	Type of family	Family Income (in 1000 Rs. Per Month)			Total Number (%)
		4-6	6-8	8-10	
Khandait	Joint	--	02 (9.5)	19 (90.5)	21
	Nuclear	03 (33.3)	03 (33.3)	03 (33.3)	09
Total		03 (10)	05 (16.7)	22 (73.3)	30
Bannait	Joint	--	12 (66.7)	06 (33.3)	18
	Nuclear	07 (58.3)	05 (41.7)	--	12
Total		07 (23.3)	17 (56.7)	06 (20)	30
Sohagpuria	Joint	--	12 (63.2)	07 (36.8)	19
	Nuclear	11 (100)	--	--	11
Total		11 (36.7)	12 (40)	07 (23.3)	30

As regards the landholding pattern, an association was observed between the type of family and landholding status. Among the Chamar sub-caste, all respondents had some amount of land, and about 75 per cent of all the respondents with joint families had land in the range of 2-6 acres. About 40 per cent respondents with joint families owned more than 6 acres. Among the Ravidasiya and Dhushiya sub-castes, the landless households with nuclear families accounted for about 40 and 56 per cent respectively. The respondents with joint families among the Ravidasiya and Dhushiya sub-castes having land in the range

of 2-6 acres constituted about 70 and 91 per cent respectively (**Table 5.10a**). It was also found that the association between landlessness and type of family was not very clear among various sub-castes of Dharkars. Both joint, as well as nuclear families, were landless among various sub-castes of Dharkars. However, the data shows that about 74 per cent respondents from the Bentbansi sub-caste with joint families owned land in the range of fewer than two acres to 2-4 acres. The respondents from the Bansphor and Lakarhara with joint families constituted about 81 and 88 per cent respectively (**Table 5.10b**).

Table 5.10a Distribution of Land Holding and Type of Family with Sub-caste of Chamar

Sub-Caste	Type of family	Landholding (in acres)					Total Number (%)
		Landless	<2	2-4	4-6	6+	
Chamar	Joint	--	--	05 (25)	07 (35)	08 (40)	20
	Nuclear	--	03 (30)	07 (70)	--	--	10
Total		--	03 (10)	12 (40)	07(23.3)	08 (26.7)	30
Ravidasiya	Joint	--	--	06 (30)	08 (40)	06 (30)	20
	Nuclear	04 (40)	02 (20)	04 (40)	--	--	10
Total		04 (13.3)	02 (6.7)	10 (33.3)	08 (26.7)	06 (20)	30
Dhusiya	Joint	01 (4.8)	01 (4.8)	16 (76.2)	03 (14.3)	--	21
	Nuclear	05 (55.6)	01 (11.1)	03 (33.3)	--	--	09
Total		06 (20)	02 (6.7)	19 (63.3)	03 (10)		30

Table 5.10b Distribution of Land Holding and Type of Family with Sub-caste of Dharkar

Sub-Caste	Type of family	Land Holding (in acres)				Total Number (%)
		landless	<2	2-4	6+	
Bentbansi	Joint	03 (15.8)	06 (31.6)	08 (42.1)	02 (10.5)	19
	Nuclear	03 (27.3)	07 (63.6)	01 (9.1)	--	11
Total		06 (20)	13 (43.3)	09 (30)	02 (6.7)	30
Bansphor	Joint	01 (4.8)	03 (14.3)	17 (81)	--	21
	Nuclear	06 (66.7)	01 (11.1)	02 (22.2)	--	09
Total		07 (23.3)	04 (13.3)	19 (63.3)		30
Lakarhara	Joint	03 (12.5)	--	21 (87.5)	--	24
	Nuclear	05 (83.3)	01 (16.7)	--	--	06
Total		08 (26.7)	01 (3.3)	21 (70)	--	30
Kharush	Joint	05 (33.3)	05 (33.3)	05 (33.3)	--	15
	Nuclear	04 (80)	01 (20)	--	--	05
Total		09 (45)	06 (30)	05 (25)		20

Among Khandaits, no clear association was observed as regards the type of family and landholding. The respondents from the nuclear as well as joint families owned land in the range of 4-6 acres and above 6 acres. The data shows that about 56 per cent respondents from the nuclear families had landholding in the range of 6 acres and above. However, among the Bannait and Sohagpuria, it was found that all nuclear families were landless. Among the Bannait, all the respondents with joint families had landholding in the range of less than 2 acres. As many as 37 per cent Sohagpuria respondents with joint families owned land in the range of 2-4 acres (Table 5.10c).

Table 5.10c Distribution of Land Holding and Type of Family with Sub-caste of Baiswar

Sub-Caste	Type of family	Land Holding (in acres)					Total Number (%)
		Landless	<2	2-4	4-6	6+	
Khandait	Joint	--	--	--	07 (33)	17 (66.7)	21
	Nuclear	--	--	--	04 (44.4)	5 (55.6)	09
Total		--	--	--	11 (36.7)	19 (63.3)	30
Bannait	Joint		18 (100)	--	--	--	18
	Nuclear	12 (100)			--	--	12
Total		18 (60)	12 (40)		--	--	30
Sohagpuria	Joint	12 (63.2)	--	07 (36.8)	--	--	19
	Nuclear	11 (100)	--	--	--	--	11
Total		23 (76.7)	--	07 (23.3)	--	--	30

The occupation-wise distribution across various sub-castes among Chamars suggests that about 70 per cent of respondents belonging to the Chamar sub-caste reported cultivation as their primary occupation. The corresponding percentages among the Ravidasiya and Dhushiya were found to be about 47 and 40 per cent respectively. Some of the respondents even reported cultivation as the secondary occupation. The corresponding percentage among the Chamar, Ravidasiya and Dhushiya constituted about 23, 40 and 37 per cent respectively. Other than the cultivation, about 30 per cent of respondents from the Chamar sub-caste reported working as an agricultural labourer. Among the Ravidasiya and Dhushiya sub-castes, the percentage of respondents who worked as an agricultural labourer was found to be 40 each. Some of the respondents among the Ravidasiya and

Dhusiya castes (about 13 and 20 per cent respectively) also reported working as daily wage labourers as their primary occupation (**Table 5.11**).

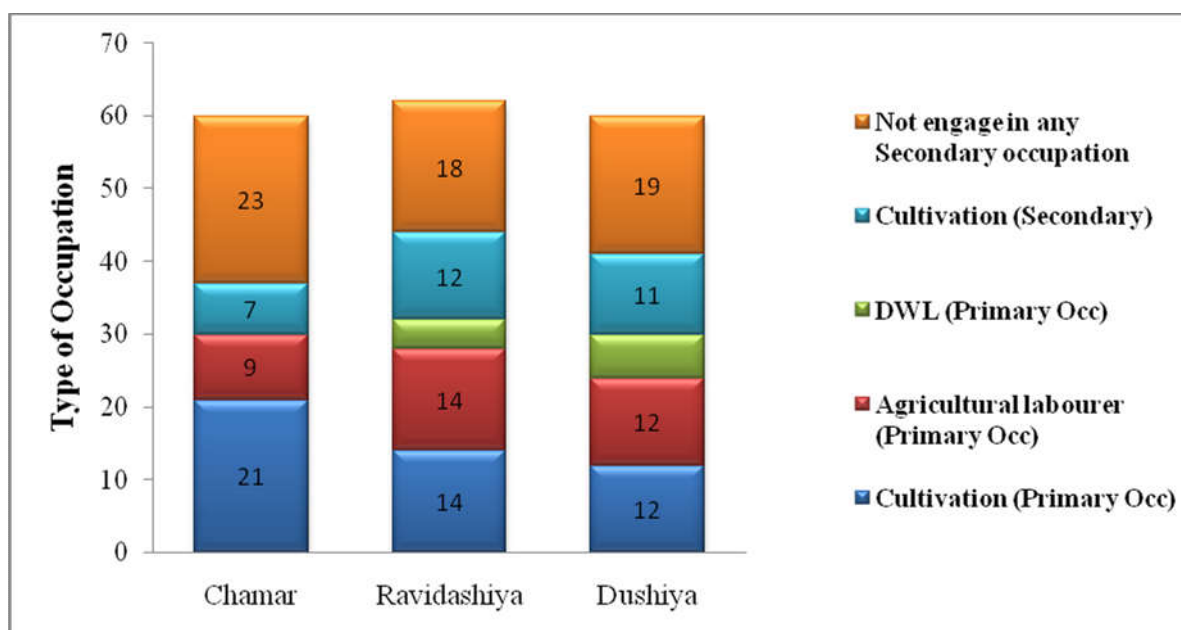
The percentage of respondents belonging to the Chamar, Ravidasiya and Dhusiya castes who reported that they were not engaged in any secondary occupation constituted about 76, 60 and 63 per cent respectively (**Fig.5.1**) this affects the tack of opportunity available to engage in secondary work for these groups.

Table 5.11 Distribution of Primary Occupation by Sub-Caste of Chamars

Sub-Caste	Primary Occupation			Total Number (%)
	Cultivation	Ag Labour	DWL	
Chamar	21 (70)	09 (30)	--	30 (100)
Ravidasiya	14 (46.7)	14 (40)	04 (13.3)	30 (100)
Dhusiya	12 (40)	12(40)	06 (20)	30 (100)
Total	47 (51)	33 (36.3)	10 (11)	90 (100)

Note- Ag Labour- Agricultural Labourer, DWL- Daily wage Labourer

Fig. 5.1 Nature and Type of Occupation among Various Sub-castes among Chamars



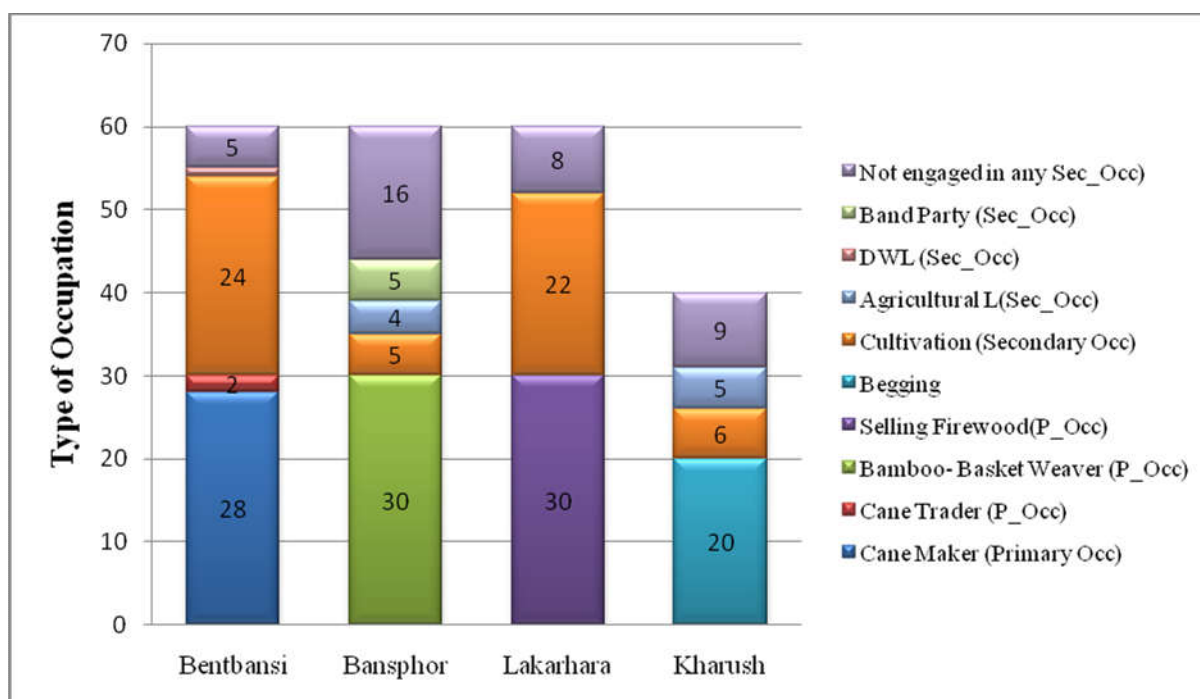
About 93 per cent respondents from the Bentbansi sub-caste among the Dharkars reported cane making as their primary occupation. About 7 per cent reported cane trading as their primary occupation. Bansphor and Lakarhara respondents reported making bamboo baskets and selling firewood as their primary occupation while all Kharush respondents informed that begging was their primary occupation (**Table 5.12**).

About 80 per cent and 3 per cent Bentbansi respondents stated cultivation and daily wage labour respectively as their secondary occupations. About 17 per cent respondents from the Bentbansi reported not being engaged in any secondary occupation. The corresponding percentage of respondents reporting not being engaged in any secondary occupation among Bansphor, Lakarhara and Kharush were 23, 27 and 45 per cent respectively. Among the Bansphor and Kharush however, about 13 and 25 per cent respectively reported agricultural labour as their secondary occupation. The data also shows that about 17 per cent respondents from the sub-caste Bansphor stated working as a daily wage labourer as their secondary occupation. Other than that, about 30 per cent respondents from the Bansphor sub-caste reported playing musical instruments at wedding ceremonies as their secondary occupation. As high as 73 per cent respondents from the Lakarhara sub-caste informed cultivation as their secondary occupation, while the corresponding percentage among the Kharush was found to be 30 per cent (**Fig. 5.2**)

Table 5.12 Distribution of Primary Occupation by Sub-Caste of Dharkar

Sub-Caste	Primary Occupation					Total Number (%)
	Cane Maker	Cane Trader	Bamboo basket weaver	Selling firewood	Begging	
Bentbansi	28 (93.3)	02 (6.7)	--	--	--	30
Banbasi-Bansphor	--	---	30	--	--	30
Lakarhara	--	--	--	30	--	30
Kharush	--	--	--	--	20	
Total	28 (25.2)	02 (1.8)	30 (27)	30 (27)	20 (18)	110

Fig. 5.2 Nature and Type of Occupation among Various Sub-castes among Dharkar

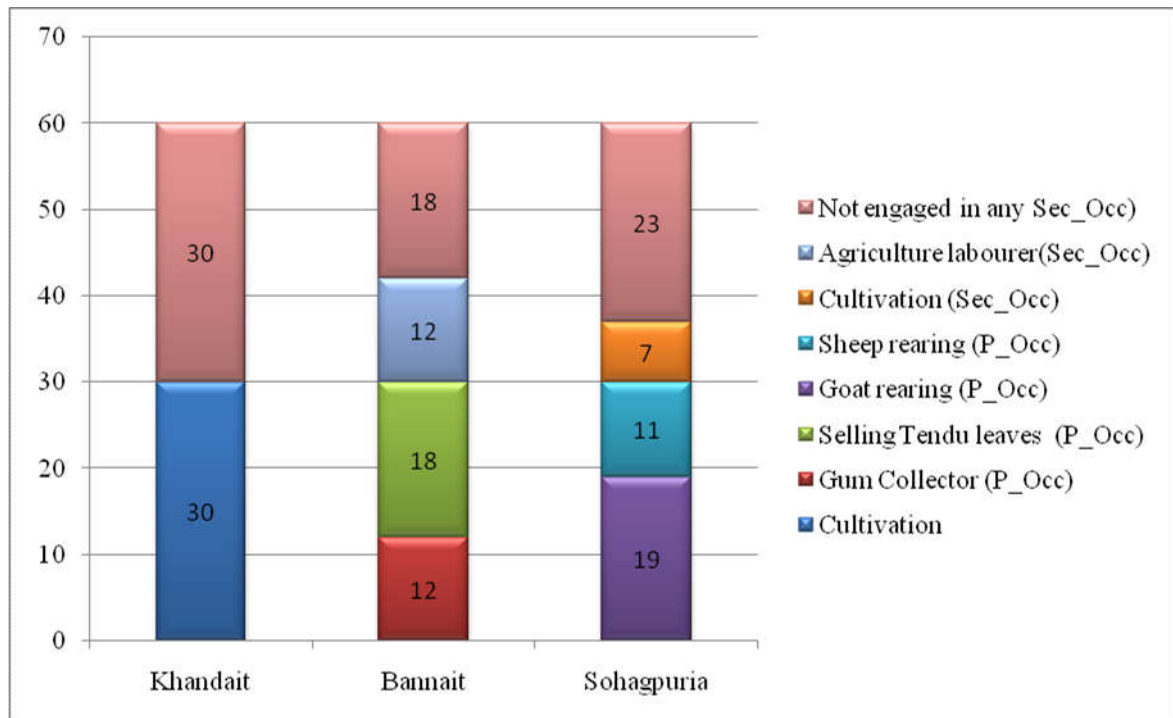


All the Khandaits reported cultivation as their primary occupation. No Khandait respondent stated being engaged in any secondary occupation. As many as 60 per cent Bannait respondents reported collecting Tendu leaves from the forest and selling them as their primary occupation while about 40 per cent Bannaits reported collecting gum from the forest and selling the same as their primary occupation (Table 5.13). The percentage of Bannait respondents engaged in agricultural labour as a secondary occupation was about 40 per cent. The primary occupation of the respondents belonging to the Sohagpuria sub-caste was goat and sheep rearing. However, about 23 per cent respondents reported cultivation as their secondary occupation (Fig. 5.3).

Table 5.13 Distribution of Primary Occupation by Sub-Caste of Baiswar

Sub-Caste	Primary Occupation					Total Number (%)
	Cultivation	Gum Collector	Selling Tendu leaves	Goat rearing	Sheep rearing	
Khandait	30 (100)	--	--	--	--	30 (100)
Bannait		12 (40)	18 (60)	--	--	30 (100)
Sohagpuria				19 (63.3)	11 (36.7)	30 (100)
Total	30 (27.27)	12 (10.90)	18 (16.36)	19 (17.27)	11 (10)	110 (100)

Fig.- 5.3 Nature and Type of Occupation among Various Sub-castes among Baiswar



Perception about caste, sub-caste and Restrictions and Differences: An attempt was made to understand the perception of the selected respondents about the caste and sub-caste. The respondents often reported their understanding about the caste and sub-caste while keeping their own caste and sub-caste identities as the reference point. The respondents frequently identified various castes among the Dalits on the basis of their hereditary occupations and the social hierarchy. As regards the social identity of the respondents, they were asked questions regarding their understanding of caste and sub-caste. Thus, the identification of the respondents belonging to a particular caste and sub-caste used in the study evolved from their perceived as well as reported social identity during the household survey. The respondents were asked questions such as what they meant by caste and sub-caste. The respondents largely reported caste as well as the sub-caste in terms of various characteristics. Some of the responses regarding caste included caste as a classificatory device that divided the society, determined occupation and economic status, responsible for discrimination and restricting social relations. Some of the respondents also reported caste as an administrative category. Their opinion about the caste also reflected notions about restrictions of varied nature and the concepts of purity and pollution. It was, however, a difficult exercise to collate all the responses of the

respondents from various sub-castes. Thus, the responses obtained from all the respondents are given in the (Table 5.14).

Table 5.14 Perceptions about the caste across the respondents from the selected sub-castes

Sub-caste	Perceived Knowledge about caste*	N (with %)
Chamar	Division of society	20 (66.7)
	Don't know, but it is hereditary	07 (23.3)
	Caste as Jati	03 (10)
Ravidasiya	Caste is based on Occupation	12 (40)
	Caste as Upper and Lower caste (hierarchical)	10 (33.3)
	As a division of society	08(26.7)
Dhusiya	The result of previous birth	16 (35.3)
	Lower Jati	07 (23.3)
	As purity and pollution	07 (23.3)
Bentbansi	it is hereditary	14 (46.67)
	Occupation based	10 (33.3)
	Restrictions on marriage	06 (20)
Bansphor	Work is caste	13 (43.4)
	Restrictions of social relations	15 (50)
	Based on Discrimination (Bhed-Bhav)	02 (6.6)
Lakarhara	Work is caste	24 (80)
	Don't know	06 (20)
Kharush	The result of work done in a previous birth	12 (60)
	Don't know	08 (40)
Khandait	As scheduled (Anusuchit)	12 (40)
	By birth	12 (40)
	Based on Social and religious ritual	06 (20)
Bannait	As Anusuchit Jati (Scheduled Caste)	14 (46.7)
	Caste as Poverty	06 (20)
	Dependent on others (Nature)	10 (33.3)
Sohagpuria	Occupation is caste	22 (73.3)
	Don't know	08 (26.7)

The responses regarding the sub-caste suggested that the sub-caste was often referred to as *Biradri*. It was believed to be a division of *Jati/Jat*. Some of the respondents in their narratives even used the two together as *Jat-Biradari*. The membership to each caste and sub-caste was determined by birth in a specific caste/sub-caste. The respondents' perceptions about various sub-castes were centred around the restrictions related to food culture, marriage, rituals as well as the skills specific to a particular sub-caste as mentioned in the (Table 5.15)

Table 5.15 Perceptions about the sub-caste across the respondents from the selected sub-castes

Caste	Perceived Knowledge about sub-caste (Kuri)*	N (with %)
Chamar	Counted as <i>Biradari</i>	12 (40)
	Restrictions on Marriage	10 (33.3)
	Restrictions to take food and water	6 (20)
	Counted as pure respect to other sub-caste	2 (6.6)
Ravidasiya	Restrictions on Marriage	13 (43.4)
	Type of food (Vegetarian)	10 (33.3)
	Same but divided based on occupation	07 (23.3)
Dhusiya	Marriage is the main criteria of Sub-caste	14 (46.7)
	We are the same (Chamar), but others consider us impure	09 (30)
	Due to the poverty and landless, we are lowest	07 (23.3)
Bentbansi	Marriage within sub-caste	12 (40)
	Same but due to the different and better skill	10 (33.3)
	Same but different due to our rituals	08 (26.7)
Bansphor	Marriage within sub-caste	15 (50)
	Same but due to the different skill	15 (50)
Lakarhara	Marriage within sub-caste	16 (53.3)
	Different occupation	12 (40)
	Kachcha Food	02 (6.6)
Kharush	Curse	20 (100)

Khandait	Marriage within sub-caste	11 (36.67)
	Nature of Food (Pakka food)	13 (43.3)
	Landholding	06 (20)
Bannait	Marriage within sub-caste	10 (33.3)
	Food restrictions with others	12 (40)
	Different from their occupation	08 (26.7)
Sohagpuria	Marriage within sub-caste	16 (53.3)
	Different from their occupation	14 (46.7)

* Sub-caste with reference to other sub-castes of caste

Further, the respondents were asked about their understanding of discrimination. The respondents often expressed their opinions about the discrimination from exclusion or inclusion perspective. Other than the socio-cultural aspects of discrimination, various responses included landlessness, lack of status or power as an outcome of discrimination (Table 5.16).

Table 5.16 Perceptions about the Discrimination across the respondents from the selected sub-castes

Caste	Perceived Knowledge about Discrimination	N (with %)
Chamar	Caste is the main cause of discrimination	12 (40)
	All are same but the less preferred or favoured is excluded	10 (33.3)
	Government is not doing anything to eliminate discrimination	6 (20)
	Lack of infrastructure is Discrimination	2 (6.6)
Ravidasiya	Untouchability is discrimination.	14 (46.7)
	Caste-based inequality	09 (30)
	Food is the main source of discrimination	07 (23.3)
Dhusiya	Lower-social status is exclusion	14 (46.67)
	Unequal status is discrimination	10 (33.3)
	The notion of a caste being polluting is discrimination	06 (20)
Bentbansi	Preference to someone over the other is discrimination	13 (43.4)
	Social distance is discrimination.	15 (50)

	Lack of social power is discrimination.	02 (6.6)
Bansphor	Discrimination comes from the Caste	16 (53.3)
	Lack of Dignity is discrimination.	14 (46.7)
Lakarhara	Poor social life is discrimination.	11 (36.67)
	The work identity and caste based exclusion lead to discrimination	13 (43.3)
	Cannot say anything	06 (20)
Kharush	The difference in the group is discrimination.	10 (33.3)
Khandait	Poverty is discrimination.	12 (40)
	Not getting any facilities is exclusion	04 (13.3)
	Differences are discrimination.	04 (13.3)
Bannait	Caste leads to exclusion	11 (36.67)
	Engaging in violence against anyone is exclusion.	13 (43.3)
	Untouchability is discrimination	06 (20)
Sohagpuria	The time lag in availing government services	12 (40)
	Occupation impurity and keeping away from anyone because of his caste identity is discrimination	18 (60)

The respondents were further asked to corroborate their experiences of discrimination at the personal, family and the community level. Most respondents reported discrimination at the community level (**Table 5.17**). It was thus evident that sub-caste level discrimination existed in the study villages.

Table 5.17 Distribution of Forms of Discrimination Faced at Different Level

Sub-Caste	Forms of Discrimination Faced by Respondents			Total Number (%)
	Individual Level	Family Level	Community Level	
Chamar	06 (20)	10 (33.3)	14 (46.7)	30 (100)
Ravidasiya	09 (30)	12 (40)	09 (30)	30 (100)
Dhusiya	10 (33.3)	06 (20)	14 (46.7)	30 (100)
Total Chamar	25 (27.8)	28 (31.2)	27 (30)	90 (100)

Bentbansi	06 (20)	15 (50)	09 (30)	30 (100)
Bansphor	07(23.3)	06 (20)	17 (56.7)	30 (100)
Lakarhara	05 (16.7)	08 (26.7)	17 (56.7)	30 (100)
Kharush	09 (45)	04 (20)	07 (35)	20 (100)
Total Dharkar	27(24.6)	33 (30)	50 (45.4)	110 (100)
Khandait	08 (26.7)	10 (33.3)	12 (40)	30 (100)
Bannait	10 (33.3)	06 (20)	14 (46.7)	30 (100)
Sohagpuria	13 (43.3)	04 (13.3)	13 (43.4)	30 (100)
Total Baiswar	31 (34.5)	20 (22.23)	39 (43.27)	90 (100)

This chapter broadly discussed the socio-demographic as well as economic attributes of the respondents from various castes and sub-castes. The land as well as income distribution showed that there were sub-caste level differences among each of the selected castes. Some respondents from the sub-castes Chamar and Ravidasiya in the village Arangpani owned land. Others from these sub-castes received land on lease and *patta*. They were mostly engaged in agriculture as cultivators. Those belonging to other sub-castes also worked as agricultural labourers. Similarly, in the Rehta village, some of the respondents from Khandait sub-caste owned land and also perceived themselves superior over the other sub-castes. Thus, we find that the economic differences existed at the level of sub-castes. The next chapter discusses the patterns of discrimination across the sub-castes among the selected castes.

CHAPTER -06

PATTERNS OF DISCRIMINATION ACROSS VARIOUS SUB-CASTES AMONG DALITS

Introduction

This chapter largely attempts to understand the patterns of discrimination and exclusion among the selected castes and sub-castes within Dalits. The same is achieved with the aim to understand patterns of discrimination at the socio-cultural level such as the food culture, marriage preferences, religious practices, and everyday interaction, to name a few. Further, the economic aspects of discrimination, as well as the patterns of spatial disaggregation, are discussed. Finally, we discuss the inter generational experience of discrimination among the selected Dalit castes and sub-castes.

Socio-cultural aspects of discrimination

The socio-cultural aspects of discrimination were explored about the caste and sub-caste-based restrictions regarding food practices, marriage, and everyday interaction across the sub-castes. The differences in their religious beliefs and practices were also examined. Other than that, Everyday interaction

Food Practices

Food is the universal and basic need of human society. Since the progress of the 'primitive' society, the hunting and gathering of food has been the centre of human activities. The food culture however acquired a complex nature as the time passed. The complex culture of food is a set of many factors which can be observed in different societies in different ways, such as, the type of food, occupation, occasion or many other factors are useful while understanding the material and social culture of any society (Renaud 1931, Gunkel 2016). Lévi-Strauss also discussed food culture in a semiotic framework and argued 'Food as a system of communication, a language with rules and called as positioned food'.²⁷ It implies that food is a system of communication, a type of

²⁷ The semiotic framework refers to a philosophical theory of the functions of signs and symbols.

language through which society express identities and relationships, including gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, festivity (Strauss 1966).

In Indian society, food culture is significant regarding material as well as social culture. It differs across caste, religion, region, and occasion, to name a few. Largely two types of food culture can be observed in Indian society; *Kachcha* and *Pakka* food. Quite literally, the *kachcha* signifies raw, partly done or imperfect while *pakka* is just opposite of *kachcha*, ripe or perfect. As per the rituals and cooking practices, *kachcha* and *pakka* foods refer to the medium in which the food is cooked. The *kachcha* food is cooked in water while the *pakka* food may be cooked in oil/ghee or milk. Food culture leads to assimilation as well as restrictions and boundaries determined by *Kachcha* and *Pakka* food. *Kachcha* food may be served on a daily basis while *pakka* food may be served on special occasions such as the birth, marriage and death. This section tries to draw linkages across the nature of food regarding daily diet and on special occasions with the nature of food, meanings of private and public dining and patterns of discrimination, if any, prevailing among the Dalits. The nature of food and the patterns of discrimination were assessed at three different levels, namely, family and caste, community, and village level.

Food Choices

The data collected on food practices reflect that among all the selected Dalit castes, the predominant grains include rice and wheat. However, certain respondents from sub-castes Bansphor and Lakarhara reported intake of coarse grains like Barley and Millets. Other than that, most respondents from various sub-castes reported pulses of various types and seasonal vegetables as a constituent of their food. Quite often, the type and variety of pulses in the diet of various sub-castes was determined by the availability. Though most respondents from various sub-castes could afford to buy seasonal vegetables, Kharush respondents reported having *Chakwar* and *Sarai*, varieties of Greens.

It was also found that different sub-castes among the selected castes preferred certain types of meat. Except for those belonging to the Ravidasiya sub-caste who practised vegetarianism, all the selected sub-castes stated that they ate meats of various types. For instance, the Chamar sub-caste preferred Fish and Chicken. However, they reported that they also ate Pork some 30-35 years ago as they found other varieties of meat such as fish and chicken expensive and hence could not afford the same. As their economic status got

better with time, they stopped eating the pork. The different types of grains and meats that constituted the diet among all the selected sub-castes is shown in **Table 6.1**

It was thus found that the inherent differences in food intake across the selected sub-castes could be associated with their respective socio-economic status. The differences in the quality and quantity of food intake were though a reflection of the socio-economic status, the food culture specific to their sub-caste also played an important role.

Table 6.1 Food choices among various sub-castes

Caste	Sub-caste	Food Intake	
		Grains and Vegetables	Type of Meat
Chamar	Chamar	Rice, Wheat, Pulses and Seasonal vegetables	Fish, Chicken
	Ravidasiya	Rice, Wheat, Pulses, Cheese and Mushroom, and Seasonal vegetables	Vegetarian
	Dhusiya	Rice, Wheat, Pulses, and Seasonal vegetables	Pork, Chicken
Dharkar	Bentbansi	Rice, Wheat, Pulses, and Seasonal vegetables	Pork, Fish
	Bansphor	Rice, Barley, Wheat, Pulses, and Seasonal vegetables	Pork
	Lakarhara	Rice, Barley, Millets, Pulses, and Seasonal vegetables	Pork
	Kharush	Rice, <i>Chakwar and Sarai</i>	As and when available
Baiswar	Khandait	Rice, Wheat, Pulses, and Seasonal vegetables	Fish, Chicken, Mutton
	Bannait	Rice, Wheat, Pulses, and Seasonal vegetables	Fish
	Sohagpuria	Rice, Wheat, Pulses, and Seasonal vegetables	Lamb and Chicken

Patterns of Discrimination as regards the food practices

The restrictions in the food practices with respect to serving *kachcha* and *pakka* food on certain special occasions within each of the three castes reflect that the idea of purity and pollution operate at the level of caste and sub-castes. Also, the norms regarding personal and private dining as well as sitting arrangements during such events within each of the

Dalit castes reflect the degree of discrimination as well as a social distance within sub-castes across the selected Dalit castes. We shall now detail the patterns of discrimination as reflected in the data on food practices within the selected Dalit castes during Private and public dining.

(a) Private dining

As regards the private dining, it was found that all the sub-castes preferred to dine with members from their respective sub-castes. Their preference for dining with their own sub-caste was shaped by their notions of impurity associated with certain other sub-castes. It was also found that by economic prosperity and the perceived notion about the superiority of the sub-caste, certain sub-castes identified themselves as the ‘upper’ sub-castes and thus discriminated against those lower to them in the hierarchy. Thus, the ‘upper-most’ sub-castes among each of the three Dalit castes did not allow the lower-most in the hierarchy to dine with them. However, those from the upper-most sub-caste shared food and interacted with other sub-castes immediately lower to them. The respondents from the ‘lower-most’ sub-castes reported that even if they wished, they could not offer the food to the ‘upper’ sub-castes due to the social distance between them.

Various respondents belonging to different sub-castes reported the specific reasons for their choice of sharing food during the private dining with other sub-castes. For instance, both Chamars and Ravidasiya sub-castes among the Chamar caste perceived themselves to be superior over the Dhusiya sub-caste. They could thus share food with each other. However, the Ravidasiya sub-caste was found to be predominantly vegetarian and hence could take vegetarian food from Chamar sub-caste. One of the respondents, belonging to the Ravidasiya sub-caste shared,

Dhusiyas eat non-vegetarian food. How can we eat with them? Moreover, they are so dirty. Among the Dhusiyas, humans and animals share a common space. (R, 45 years old, Ravidasiya, Daily wage labourer)

Even during the focus group discussions, both Chamar and Ravidasiya respondents pointed out that they considered Dhusiyas dirty as they lived with their animals.

Jahan unke Jeev-janvar hain, wahin Marhaiya hai aur charon taraf gandagi hai (Their animals live around their huts, and it is dirty all around).

Thus, we find that the ideas regarding the sub-caste purity are also associated with the nature of occupation and living standards, and in turn determine the food practices across various sub-castes.

The two 'upper' sub-castes belonging to the Dharkar castes, namely, Baintbansi and Bansphor, similarly, informed that they could share food with each other and considered themselves superior over the other two sub-castes, namely Lakarhara and Khadush. Their interaction as discussed earlier in the sociogram is also minimal.

One of the respondents belonging to the Bentbansi sub-caste reported that both Bentbansi and Bansphor share a common lineage and engage in occupations related to bamboo as;

Hamara aur bansphor ka ek hi vansh hai. Hum dono veer vanshi hain, veer mane baans briksh aur hum logon ka mukhya dhandha baans briksh hi hai ,tab hum log toh ek dusre ke yahan kha sakte hain. Ab hum Lakarhare ya kharush ke yahan nahin khate hain (B, 58, Bentbansi, Cane maker)

we and bansphor both share common ancestors. We are Veervanshi. The word Veer means bamboo tree, and our chief occupation is related to Bamboo. So, both of us can eat at each others' place. We however cannot eat along with Lakarhara and Kharush.

Thus, it is evident from the above narrative that as observed among the Chamars, both Bentbansi and Bansphor share commensal relations with each other. On the other hand, among the Baiswar, Khandaits also perceive themselves to be superior over other sub-castes but unlike Chamars and Dharkars, they did not take food from any of the other sub-castes, as one of the respondents narrated;

Ab jaise hum log kheti karte hain, humare paas jameen hai, humara kaam dhandha unse accha hai toh hum kaise unke saath kha sakte hain. Ek toh jungle-2 ghoomta hai, doosra janwar charaata hai, unke yahan ha hum khate hain, na unka pani peete hain (M, 38, Khandait, Cultivator)

(Since we cultivate and own land, our occupation is superior to their occupations. How can we eat with them? (Referring to Khandaits) One roams around the forest while the other (referring to the Sohagpuria), grazes animals. We neither eat nor drink water from these).

It is thus evident that the ideas of purity exist even at the level of sub-caste and certain sub-castes discriminate against the others by not accepting food or water from them on account of their perceived superiority over the other sub-castes.

(b) Public Dining

The responses obtained concerning food practices during certain special occasions suggest that the Chamars and Ravidasiya Chamars served the *pakka* food on specific occasions. The Dhusiya chamars, on the other hand, invariably served the *kuchcha* food. The similar pattern was observed in other Dalit castes wherein each sub-caste displayed a level of hierarchy concerning their economic status as well as their perceived caste purity. Other than the type of food (*kachcha* or *pakka*), there were also certain restrictions as to who could cook the food for whom. The *kuchcha* food was shared among the same sub-caste and was cooked by the family members who offered food, relatives, friends and neighbours from the same sub-caste. The *pakka* food was invariably cooked by a *Halwai*, a professional not belonging to any of the Dalit castes. It was largely reported that when a Halwai cooked food, it was perceived to be free from any caste-based impurity.

Table 6.2 Pattern of food served by different sub-castes during special occasions

Dalit caste		Special Occasions (Nature of Food)					
		Birth			Marriage	Death	
Caste	Sub-caste	Chhati	Barhi	Mundan			10 th day
Chamar	Chamar	K	K	--	P	K	P
	Ravidasiya	K	K	--	P	K	P
	Dhusiya	K	K	--	K	K	K
Dharkar	Bentbansi	K	K	P	P	K	P
	Bansphor	K	K	P	P	K	K
	Lakarhara	K	K	K	K	K	K
	Kharush	K	--	--	K	K	K
Baiswar	Khandait	K	--	P	P	K	P
	Bannait	K	--	--	P	K	K
	Sohagpuria	K	--	--	P	K	K

K- Kachcha Food, P- Pakka Food

It was quite often a case that among all the three castes namely Chamar, Dharkar and Baiswar, selected for the study, the dominant castes and the intermediate castes served *pakka* food on certain occasions while the lowermost in the sub-caste hierarchy often served *kuchcha* food. The major occasions regarding the birth rituals during which the food is served included *Chhati* (the sixth day after the birth), *Barhi* (the twelfth day after the birth) and *Mundan* (Tonsure or ceremony during which the head of the child is shaved for the first time). The death rituals that involved serving the food included *daswa* (the tenth day after the death) and *terhi* or *badka kaam* (thirteen days after the death). It is, however, important to note that not all the sub-castes perform the rituals related to the birth. For instance, those belonging to the Baiswar caste do not perform *Barhi*. Only Khandaits perform the *Mundan* ceremony. All such details and type of the food (*kuchcha* or *pakka*) served during the occasion are shown in **Table 6.2**. Also, the invitees for the *Chhati* and *Barhi* are predominantly from their own sub-castes while on other occasions, they may invite those belonging to other castes and sub-castes, as per their social network and relations. Accordingly, whenever the invitees are from a different caste or sub-caste, *Pakka* food is served. The social interaction across the sub-castes and the restrictions regarding sharing of *kuchcha* or *pakka* food are shown in the sociograms for each sub-caste (**Fig. 6.1a, 6.1b and 6.1c**)

Fig. 6.1a Sociogram of Food Practices of different Sub-castes among Chamar

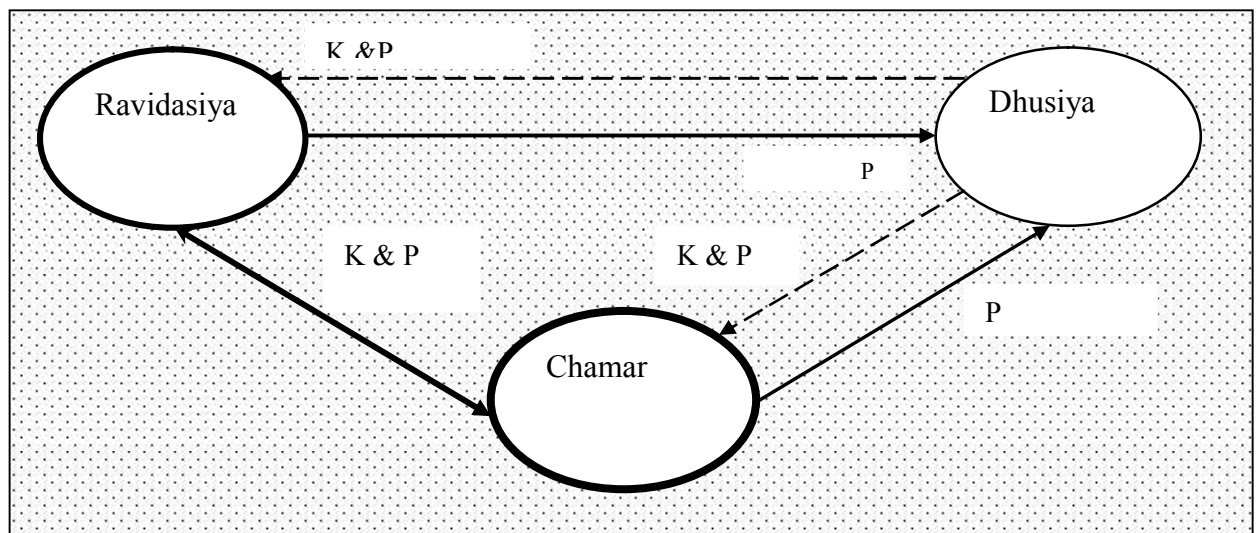


Fig. 6.1b Sociogram of Food Practices of different Sub-castes among Dharkar

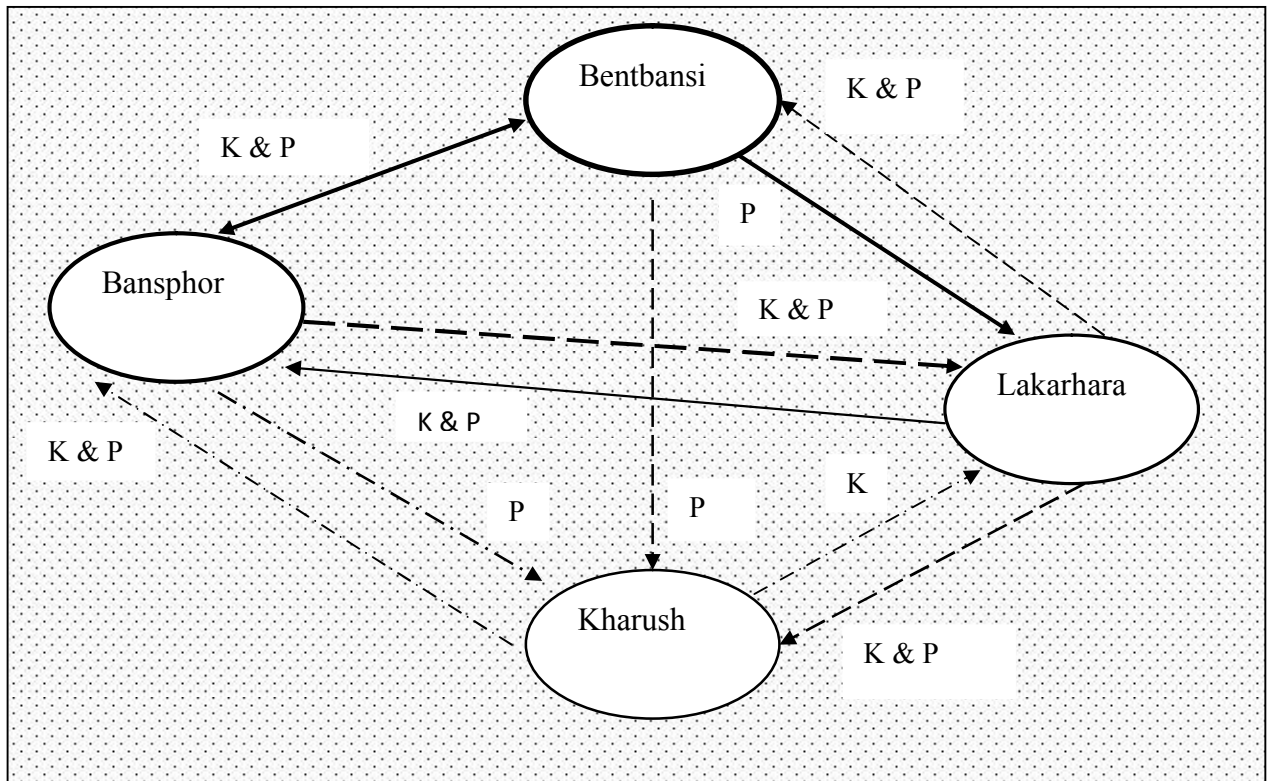
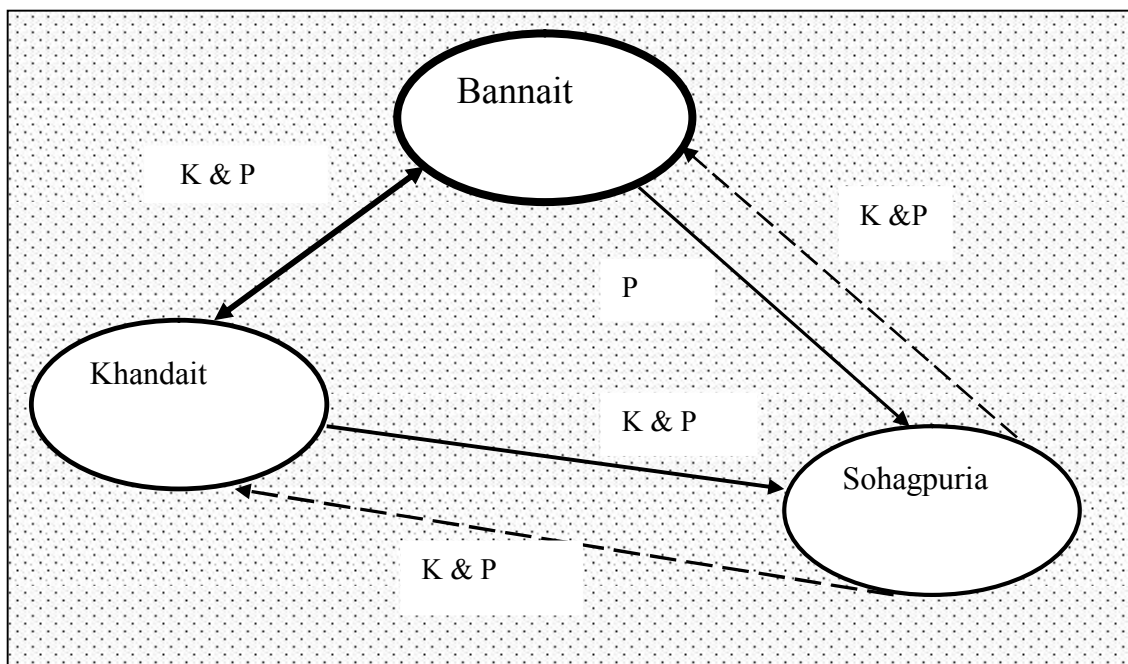


Fig. 6.1c Sociogram of Food Practices of different Sub-castes among Baiswar



The norms regarding sharing water are similarly governed by the perceived ideas of purity of the respective sub-castes. A corollary, however, can be drawn between water and *kuchhca* food. The sub-castes that share *kachhca* food practice no restrictions on sharing water, while the 'higher' sub-castes that are served *Pakka* food practice restrictions related to sharing water. In case, the water is shared, a separate utensil is used to serve water. If a separate utensil is not available, the utensil is cleaned before serving the water to someone belonging to the 'upper' sub-caste.

As regards the invitation during the public dining occasions, those from their own sub-castes are given the utmost preference followed by anyone who possesses considerable socio-economic status in the village. Even one of the respondents mentioned that;

Apani jaat biradari walon ko toh sabase pehle bulate hain, unko kaise chhor sakte hain? Those belonging to their sub-caste are invited on a priority basis. How could they do away without inviting them? (T, 35, Rehta Village)

Further, the invitation might also involve an element of subjectivity whereby the host may invite someone based on their respective social relations and interaction. Also, there were instances where Chamars who would not otherwise invite Dhusiya on specific occasions, invited relatively well-off Dhusiya. The 'upper' sub-caste may not necessarily invite those from the 'lower' sub-caste. One of the respondents from the Bentbansi sub-caste while referring to the lower sub-castes reported that they often came uninvited as:

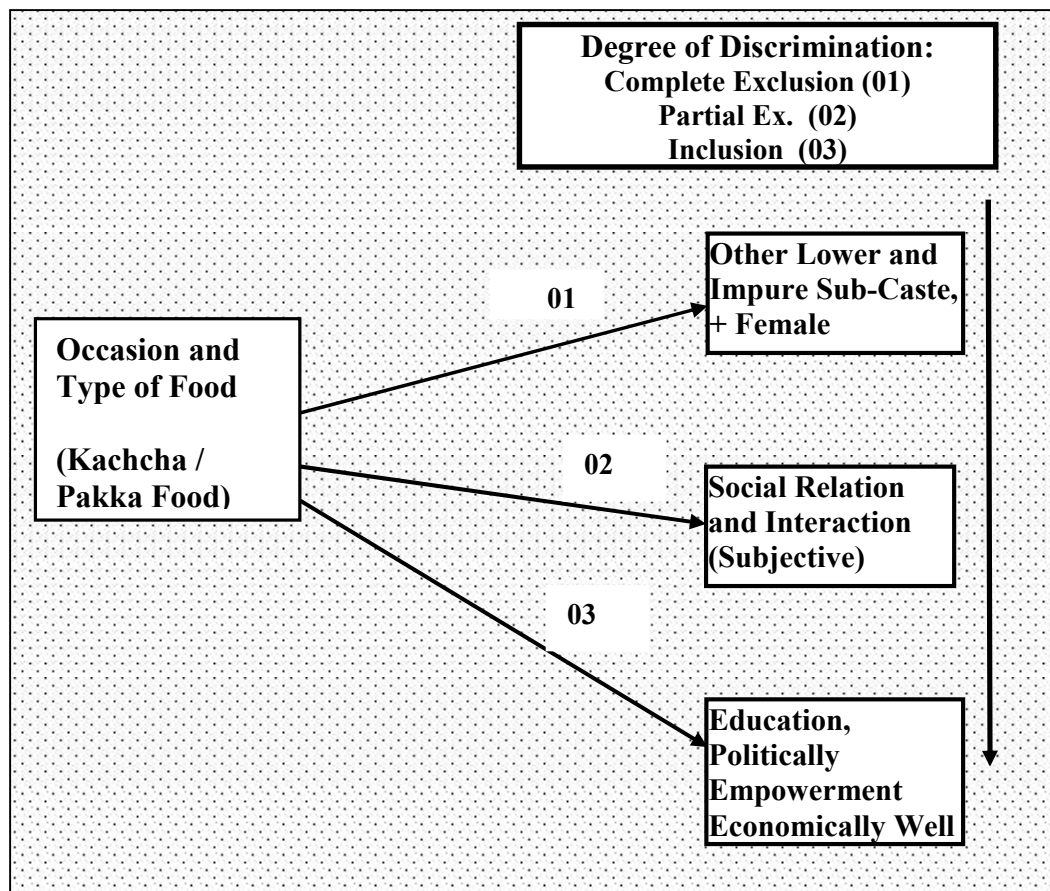
Bulane ki zarrorat hi nahi, woh toh khud hi aa jate hain (there is no need to invite them as they come without an invitation) (R, 45 years, Chamar Sub-caste, Arangpani)

As regards the sitting arrangement and priority in serving the food, most respondents mentioned that the esteemed members of the village such as *Panchit* or members of the caste panchayats were served the first, followed by members from their respective sub-castes. Those belonging to the lower sub-castes may at times be made to wait or even made to sit separately.

Thus, the section broadly discussed various aspects of discrimination regarding food practices during the public and private dining. However, there are some instances of

inclusion that often resulted from certain shifts in their characteristics related to economic status, political position or the attainment of education. The patterns of complete exclusion, partial exclusion and inclusion regarding food practices among the sub-castes depicting the degree of discrimination are shown in the **Fig. 6.2**

Fig. 6.2 Nature of Food and degree of Discrimination experienced by Respondents



Marriage

One of the characteristic features of the caste is endogamy. The respondents mentioned that strict endogamy was quite often the rule. The marriage across different sub-castes, irrespective of the sex of the person, was prohibited. The accepted marriage combinations often included the marriage among dominant sub-castes and certain intermediate sub-castes. The rules of marriage involved no punishment, whenever a boy of the lower sub-caste married a girl from the sub-caste higher than him. On the other hand, if a boy married a girl from a lower sub-caste than him, the married girl often argued, abused and negotiated to reduce the punishment.

As regards the responses of various respondents, almost everyone reported that strict endogamy at the level of sub-caste should be practised. It was, however, to be noted that an alliance with someone from the same *gotra* or *kuri* was forbidden. Most respondents mentioned that any deviation from the prescribed rules of marriage could result in dire consequences such as a social boycott. The most often quoted phrase was *lotta pani se alag kar dena*. The latter implied a form of social boycott wherein social interaction and dining were prohibited for deviating from the norms that guided marriage choices.

In the event of any deviation from the prescribed marriage rules, one could observe various degrees of discrimination in the form of social punishment pronounced by the respective caste panchayat. A caste panchayat for each sub-caste in the village also regulated the marriages and ensured the compliance with accepted marriage combinations. Any deviance necessarily involved punishment. Thus, it was through punishment that the compliance concerning rules of marriage was ensured. However, occasional cases of deviance were also observed. A caste panchayat for each sub-caste often comprised of five elderly males of the village belonging to the respective sub-caste. As regards the punishment, the respective socio-economic status of each deviant determined the extent of punishment. It thus is evident that the caste panchayat often took account of the respective socio-economic status of the deviant and accordingly announced the punishment. There was also a scope of negotiation wherein deviant had every right to bargain and put forth his case by expressing his inability to bear the expense inherent in punishment. The range of punishment showed wide variations across the sub-castes, and quite frequently the economic status of the deviant played an important role in determining the severity of the social punishment. Some of the social punishments among the Chamars and Bentbansi sub-castes included taking the groom to *Ganga Ji* or *Banaras* to take a bath and serving a feast to the whole village. The items served were also well-defined by the respective socio-economic status of the deviant. For instance, the *machhli-bhaat* was a punishment for one with fewer means. The *murga-bhaat* and *bakra-bhaat* were similarly the punishments for intermediate as well as well-off deviants. Further, depending upon the economic status of the deviant, the amount or quantity of meat was also defined. It is, however, to be noted that the punishment was often based on the discretion of the caste panchayat who could exempt someone from a severe punishment keeping in mind the economic status of the deviant. Also, the practice of sending the groom to *Ganga Ji* or *Banaras* was only practised among the Chamars and Bentbansi.

Case1. During the fieldwork, one such case was reported wherein a man belonging to the Chamar sub-caste was married to a Dhusiya Chamar girl from a different village. Since the groom and his family were receiving a fair amount of dowry, they concealed the sub-caste of the bride from their relatives and others from the village. However, at the time of marriage, some of the relatives came to know about the sub-caste of the bride. By that time, most relatives of the groom had taken a meal offered by the groom's family. The marriage rituals were completed afterwards. However, when the *barati* returned to the village, they accused the groom, and his family of the impurity caused to them by having a meal with the Dhusiya Chamars. They complained to the caste panchayat of the Chamar sub-caste in the village against the groom and his family. The caste panchayat found the groom and his family guilty of not following the marriage rules and also hurting the sentiments of all those who accompanied them to the marriage. The caste panchayat then ordered that the groom, his family, and all the attendees of the wedding from the village be taken to the Gangaji and return only after the purification ritual. On their return, they were also ordered to offer a feast of *khassi-bhaat* to all those belonging to the Chamar sub-caste. The groom and his family not even attempted to bargain or request the caste panchayat for any relaxation in this punishment. Consequently, after taking all the attendees to Banaras and offering the above-said feast to the sub-caste members, the groom and his family were pronounced as assimilated to the sub-caste.

Among various other sub-castes also, some cases of deviance were observed. Some of those even included elopement. However, the caste panchayats from other sub-castes did not pronounce the punishment of visiting Banaras for a purification ritual. For instance, caste panchayats from Dhusiya, Bansphor and Lakarhara sub-castes, to name a few, pronounced a punishment wherein the deviant couple was made to wash the feet of the members of the caste panchayat and eventually take a bath with the same water.

Case 2. One of the caste panchayat members of the Dharkar sub-caste reported that one of the Bentbansi boys of their villages eloped with a girl from the Lakarhara sub-caste from a different village. When the married couple returned to the village after two to three days, they were asked by the caste panchayat to appear for the pronouncement of social punishment. The couple refused to appear for the same. Some elderly members of the Bentbansi sub-caste approached the family and threatened them that if they did not appear in front of the caste panchayat, they would have to face the dire consequences. The parents of the groom then requested him to appear in front of the caste panchayat. The

caste panchayat then ordered them to organise a feast of *murga-bhaat* (Chicken-Rice) to the Bentbansi sub-caste. Hearing this, the newly married man requested that they may be exempted from this punishment as they did not have enough means to organise the feast. The caste panchayat, however, refused her request as they had not obeyed the order of the caste panchayat earlier. The woman also pleaded for the relaxation, but it was of no effect. Suddenly, the woman started wailing and abusing at the same time. To maintain the respect of the caste panchayat, their punishment was quickly reduced to the shaving of the head of the man. They were even told that it is the minimum punishment that could be reduced. If they did not follow the same, they would be forced to leave the village along with other family members. The father of the man then convinced him to follow the punishment.

If someone is not able to fulfil the conditions spelt as social punishment, they face the social boycott by the sub-caste members. They thus lose the right to sit with other members of the sub-caste. Even the deviant family loses the right of death rituals in the village. One of the Sohagpuria sub-caste respondents reported one such case.

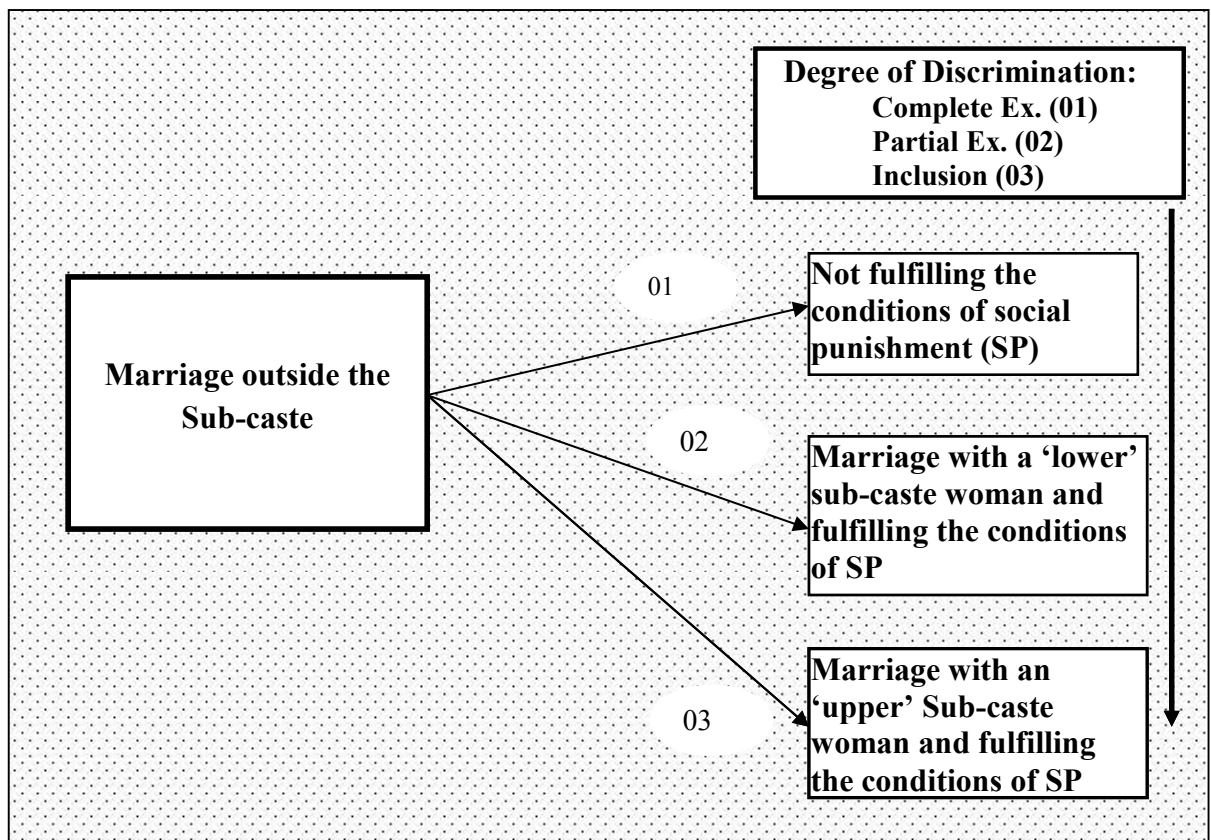
Case 3. Among the Sohagpuria sub-caste, one of the men married a woman from a lower sub-caste. The caste panchayat pronounced the social punishment. The man somehow could not fulfil the conditions pronounced by the caste panchayat. Consequently, they faced social boycott. After a few months, the father of the man expired. Since they were already facing the social boycott, none from their sub-caste came to express the grief or to participate in the death rites. Since the man could not cremate his father in the village due to the social boycott, he had to take the dead body of his father on a bicycle away from the village and cremate.

It was however observed from the responses of various respondents that various forms of punishments signifying different degrees of discrimination that regulated the marriage preferences among all the sub-castes proved more deleterious to the lowermost sub-castes in the hierarchy as they were burdened with meeting the cost of punishment. It was thus evident that the lowest sub-castes bear the brunt of violating rules of marriage more than other sub-castes in the hierarchy.

Thus, the section broadly discussed various forms of punishments and the degree of discrimination resulting from outcaste marriage. Those who could not fulfil the conditions of the punishment were completely excluded from the sub-caste while the

ones who married a woman from the 'upper' sub-caste when fulfilled the conditions of social punishment were assimilated in the sub-caste. Those deviants who married with the woman from the lower sub-caste were partially excluded as they were not given their due space in the rituals at the level of the sub-caste. All the instances of the complete exclusion, partial exclusion and inclusion as regards the marriage practices at the level of sub-caste are shown in the figure below (Fig. 6.3)

Fig. 6.3 Marriage outside the Sub-caste and consequent degrees of Discrimination



Religious Faith and Practices

This section describes the religious practices among the various castes and sub-castes in the selected villages regarding their religious faith, belief in *Pitra*, Gods and Goddesses, and the rituals including offerings of various types. The period of the year during which special rituals are performed are also given. All these practices and rituals reflect the differences inherent in the religious faith among various sub-castes among Chamars, Dharkars and Baiswars. It was also found that these differences in the religious practices and rituals not necessarily lead to discrimination among the Chamars and Dharkars of the village Arangpani. However, those belonging to the Khandait sub-caste were observed to discriminate against the Bannait and Sohagpuria by restricting the entry to their temples in the Rehta village.

Almost all the sub-castes identified three distinct places wherein they performed religious rituals of various kinds. One of these places inevitably was situated within the household. A designated area within the inner household was thus used for carrying out religious performances. Such area often had stones or motifs of various shapes marked with vermilion. Another area for religious performances was situated close to the door. This area was often a raised platform which could have some sacred plant such as *Tulsi*. Among certain sub-castes, such a raised platform was devoid of any visible signs of a sacred place such as a plant or an idol. The third site of religious performance was located outside the house. It was usually farthest from the house and was believed to be a site of village deities. The differences in each of the sub-castes concerning religious practices also suggest that each sub-caste had its own set of deities with their distinct names as discussed further. Further, Chamars and Dharkars in the village Arangpani believed in *Mangta Baba* while the Baiswars in the Rehta village believed in *Dulha Dev*. The former was believed to protect the village while the latter was believed to protect the bridegroom from any adversity. *Dulha Dev* was worshipped at the time of marriage and offered Rot/ Shirmi while *Mangta Baba* was worshipped by offering *mahua* during *Jeth* (May-June).

Religious faith and practices among the Chamars

As regards the religious faith of Chamars, all households had an inner-household site referred to as *Dev Asthan*, meant to worship the *Kul-Devta* and *Kul-Devi*. They believed that their *Kul-Devta* and *Kul-Devi* protected them from any kind of misfortune. Both *Kul-*

Devta and *Kul-Devi* varied among various *Kuris*. However, the respondents reported the *Kul-Devta* and *Kul-Devi* that were common to their respective sub-castes. For instance, the *Kul-Devta* among the Chamars, Ravidasiya and Dhusiya included *Garha Dev*, *Harhar Dev* and *Kallo Dev* respectively. The names of *Kul-Devi* specific to Chamar, Ravidasiya and Dhusiya included *Pajiro Devi*, *Majho Devi* and *Phullo Devi*. Although these deities were worshipped all through the year, they were offered special items at the time of a significant life event. The offerings also varied across each household. The respondents however shared that on special occasions, the *kul-devta* specific to each sub-caste were offered *Murga* and *Mahua* while the *Kul-Devi* from each sub-caste were offered *Rot* and *Malida*.

Another site of worship was located in the household complex. The same varied across the households. Most households belonging to the Chamar and Ravidasiya sub-castes had a specific location in their house where a *Neem* tree was planted. This site was referred to as *Neem Asthan*. They believed that the *Neem* tree protected them from any evil spirit by not allowing it to enter the house. The tree was however watered on a regular basis throughout the year. Other than that, the Chamars in the village Arangpani had a worship site located at a distance from their houses. *Agjar Dev* was worshipped at the site. All those belonging to the Chamar caste believed that the *Agjar Dev* protected the community from snakes. *Seerni* was offered to the *Agjar Dev* during the *Sawan* (July-August) month (Table 6.3a.)

Table6.3a Religious faith and Practices among various sub-castes of Chamar

Religious Faith	Chamar			Offerings	Location	Period
	Chamar	Ravisadiya	Dushiya			
Protection from any misfortune	Garha Dev	Harhar Dev	Kallo Dev	<i>Murga</i> and <i>Mahua</i>	Inner HH (<i>Kul-Devi, Devta</i>)	Any Significant life event
	Pajiro Devi	Majho Devi	Phullo Devi	<i>Rot</i> and <i>Malida</i>		
Protection from any evils sprite, not to enter in the house	<i>Neem Asthan</i>	<i>Neem ASthan</i>	--	Water	HH Complex	Throughout the year
Protects the entire community	Agjar Dev (protection from Snakes)			<i>Seerni</i>	Community level	<i>Sawan</i> (July-August)

Religious faith and practices among the Dharkars

Among the Dharkars, the *Dev Asthan*, meant to worship the *Kul-Devta* and *Kul-Devi* was also situated in the inner household. They too believed that their *Kul-Devta* and *Kul-Devi* protected them from any kind of misfortune. The *Kul-Devta* among the Bentbansi, Bansphor and the Lakarhara sub-caste included *Mal Dev*, *Nath Dev* and *Buddha Dev* respectively. The names of *Kul-Devi* specific to the Bentbansi, Bansphor and the Lakarhara sub-caste included *JhagoDevi*, *Golmukhi* and *Neemo Buddhia*. Although these deities were worshipped all through the year, they were offered special items at the time of a significant life event. The offerings also varied across each household. The respondents however shared that on special occasions, the *kul-devta* specific to each sub-caste were offered *Murga* and *Mahua* while the *Kul-Devi* from each sub-caste were offered *Lakktho Bunia*.

Another site of worship was located in the household complex. The same varied across the households. Most households belonging to the Bentbansi, Bansphor and Lakarhara sub-castes had a specific location in their house where a specific plant or tree was worshipped. This site was referred to as *Pooja Asthan*. They believed that the plant or tree at the *Pooja Asthan* protected them from any evil spirit by not allowing it to enter the house. It was also watered on a regular basis throughout the year. Other than that, the Dharkars in the village Arangpani had a worship site located at a distance from their houses. *Bhoomi Dev* was worshipped at the site. All those belonging to the Dharkar caste believed that the *Bhoomi Dev* protected their community from any adversity. *Khurmma* was offered to the *Bhoomi Dev* during the *Phalgun* (February-March) month. The respondents from the Kharush sub-caste did not report any of their religious faith and practices (**Table 6.3b**).

Table 6.3b Religious faith and Practices among various sub-castes of Dharkar

Religious Faith	Dharkar			Offerings	Location	Period
	BB	BP	LH			
Protection from any misfortune	Mal dev	Nath Dev	Buddha Dev	<i>Murga</i> and <i>Mahua</i>	Inner HH (<i>Kul-Devi, Devta</i>)	Any Significant life event
	Jhago Devi	Golmukhi	Neemo Budhia	<i>Lakktho Bunia</i>		
Protection from any evils sprite, not to enter in the house	<i>Tulsi</i>	<i>Tulsi</i>	<i>Neem</i>	Water	HH Complex <i>Pooja Asthan</i>	In the <i>Chait</i> month (March-April)
Protects the entire community	Bhoomi Dev			<i>Khurmma</i>	Community level	<i>Phalgun</i> (Feb-March)

Religious faith and practices among the Baiswars

Among the *Baiswars*, the *Dev Asthan*, meant to worship the *Kul-Devta* and *Kul-Devi* was also situated in the inner household. They too believed that their *Kul-Devta* and *Kul-Devi* protected them from any kind of misfortune. The *Kul-Devta* among the Bannait and Sohagpuria sub-caste included *Veer Dev* and *Halko Dev* respectively. The names of *Kul-Devi* specific to the Bannait and Sohagpuria sub-caste included *Hasni Devi* and *Khajo Rani*. Although these deities were worshipped all through the year, they were offered special items at the time of a significant life event. The offerings also varied across each household. The respondents however shared that on special occasions, the *kul-devta* specific to each sub-caste were offered *Murga* and *Mahua* while the *Kul-Devi* from each sub-caste were offered *Jalebi/ Ghurhdor*. The respondents from the Khandait sub-caste did not report any *Kul-Devta/Devi*.

Among the *Baiswars*, only the Khandait sub-caste reported a worship site located in the household complex. The same however varied across the households. This site was referred to as *Durga Asthan*. The Khandait respondents believed that the *Durga Asthan* protected them from any evil spirit by not allowing it to enter the house. Though the *Durga Asthan* was worshipped throughout the year, sweets and fruits were offered in the month of *Chait* (March-April).

Table 6.3c Religious faith and Practices among various sub-castes of Baiswar

Religious Faith	Baiswars			Offerings	Location	Period
	Khandait	Bannait	Sohagpuria			
Protection from any misfortune	--	Veer Dev	Halko Dev	<i>Murga</i> and <i>Mahua</i>	Inner HH (<i>Kul-Devi, Devta</i>)	Any Significant life event
	--	Hasni Devi	Khajo Rani	Jalebi/ Ghurhdor		
Protection from any evils sprite, not to enter in the house	<i>Durga Asthan</i>	--	--	Sweet and Fruit	HH Complex	In the <i>Chait</i> month (March-April)
Protects the entire community	Small Temple of Durga Ji, and Kali	Ban Dev	Yam Dev	<i>Mahua</i>	Community Level	<i>Sawan</i> (July-August)

Other than that, the Khandaits had constructed a small temple of Durgaji/Kali in the village Rehta at some distance from their houses. Since the Khandaits traced their lineage from the Rajput caste, they considered themselves superior over the Bannait and Sohagpuria. They thus did not allow Bannait and Sohagpuria to enter the temple. It was the only case of discrimination as regards the religious practices among Baiswars. Bannaits and Sohagpuria believed in Ban and Yam Dev respectively. They had their respective designated places situated in the forest. In the month of *Sawan* (July-August), both the sub-castes offered *Mahua* at their respective sites of worship in the forest (**Table 6.3c**).

Experience of discrimination in everyday life

This section discusses the experience of discrimination among various sub-castes in everyday life. The spheres within which the experiences of respondents were situated included panchayat meetings while availing services from the tailor, barber and other such service providers, visiting houses of ‘upper’ sub-castes, to name a few.

As regards the experience of discrimination at Panchayat meetings, most of the respondents belonging to the ‘lower’ sub-castes among the selected castes reported that the caste and sub-caste identity and the economic status of a person determined the respect and attention one could acquire at the panchayat meetings. Most respondents

responded that those belonging to the 'upper' caste invariably were given more respect and attention at the panchayat meetings. Further, opinions of those belonging to the 'upper' sub-castes were sought. The relatively affluent persons from the 'lower' sub-castes were given some respect and attention but not comparable to the 'upper' sub-castes. Also, some of the respondents reported that those belonging to the 'lower' sub-castes were often made to wait for more while availing various government schemes as the Panchayat often favoured the 'upper' sub-castes over the 'lower' ones.

Some of the respondents mentioned that while availing services at a barber's shop if a person belonging to the 'upper' sub-caste happened to be in a hurry, they were made to wait for the services even when they reached and waited for their turn before the person from the 'upper' sub-caste. However, some respondents mentioned that those belonging to the 'upper' sub-castes were not necessarily given any special privilege at the barber's shop.

One of the respondents from Dhushiya Chamar shared his experience of discrimination at the tailor's shop in the village. He shared that the tailor refused to stitch clothes for him on account of the higher work burden during the festivals. The tailor, however, agreed to stitch clothes for the Chamar caste. A respondent from the Lakarhara sub-caste also reported a similar incidence where the tailor refused to stitch clothes for him but agreed to stitch clothes for a person from the Bansphor sub-caste.

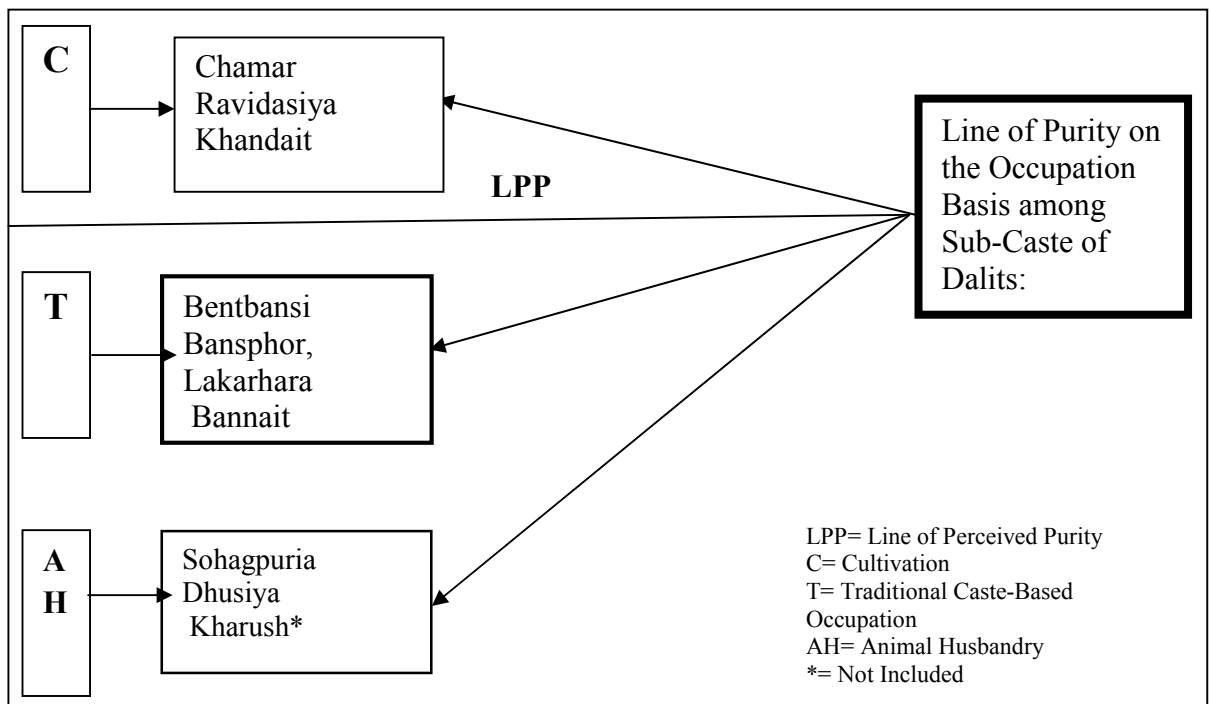
One of the respondents from the Bannait sub-caste who worked as agricultural labourer reported that during the harvest season, they could freely enter the 'upper' sub-caste households to keep the grains while for the rest of the year, they were prohibited from entering the house of 'upper' sub-caste.

One of the respondents from the Lakarhara sub-caste reported that at the village sweet shop, there are separate utensils to serve tea to different castes. Those from the Chamar and Ravidasiya sub-castes were served tea in cups while for everyone else the tea was served in steel glasses. Another respondent shared that since the tea shop in the village did not have many chairs if any of the 'upper' sub-castes arrived, those from the 'lower' sub-caste were expected to leave and make the chair available for the person from the 'upper' sub-caste. Other than that, sometimes the shopkeeper would also request those from the 'lower' sub-castes to vacate the chair.

Economic Aspects of Discrimination

As mentioned in the earlier chapter, there were differences at the level of sub-castes among the respondents belonging to each caste as regards the economic situation. The land plays a major role in rural India not only due to the economic reasons but also due to the status and prestige associated with it. Some respondents from the sub-castes Chamar and Ravidasiya in the village Arangpani owned land. Others from these sub-castes received land on lease and *patta*. They were mostly engaged in agriculture as cultivators. Those belonging to other sub-castes also worked as agricultural labourers. Similarly, in the Rehta village, some of the respondents from Khandait sub-caste owned land and also perceived themselves superior over the other sub-castes. In both the villages, the sub-castes that owned land in any form considered themselves superior as they perceived agriculture to be a pure occupation. The respondents from Bentbansi and Bansphor were engaged as cane makers and cane traders. Those from the Bannait and Lakarhara derived their livelihood from the forest products. All these sub-castes that were engaged in traditional caste-based occupation were considered intermediate. The sub-castes, namely, Dhusiya and Sohagpuria reared animals. These sub-castes were believed to be located at the lowermost tier in the hierarchy based on the perceived purity of occupation (**Fig. 6.4**)

Fig.6.4 Perceived Hierarchical Grouping of Sub-castes among Dalits on the basis of their perceived occupational purity



The land distribution among the various sub-castes of respondents belonging to the Chamar caste suggested that the instance of landlessness was highest among the Dhusiya sub-caste. On the other hand, all the respondents from the Chamar sub-caste had land. However, not all respondents from the Chamar sub-caste owned land. Some of them (about 7 per cent) owned land. Others (about 23 per cent) had land on lease. Some respondents (about 44 per cent) reported taking land on Patta as well as lease while those who owned some land as well as had land on patta constituted about 27 per cent. Among the Dharkars, the landlessness is highest among the Kharush sub-caste. However, some of the respondents from each Bentbansi, Bansphor and Lakarhara were landless. Similarly, among the Baiswars, the landlessness is highest among the Sohagpuria sub-caste (about 77 per cent). On the other hand, about 73 per cent of respondents from Khandait sub-caste reported land ownership. The land as well as income distribution showed that there were sub-caste level differences among each of the selected castes. The concentration curve for both land (**Fig. 6.5**) as well as income (**Fig. 6.6**) among the selected castes show the disparity at the sub-caste level.

Fig. 6.5 Distribution of Land and Disparity among Respondents belonging to various Sub-castes

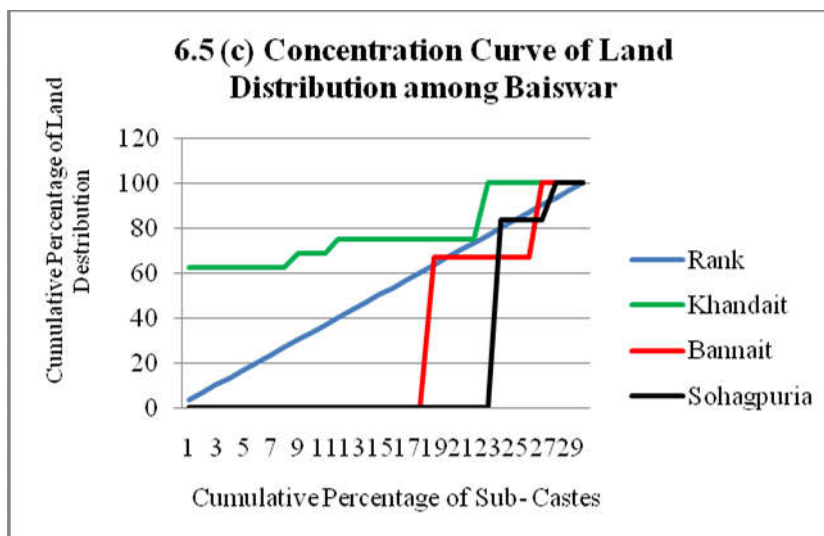
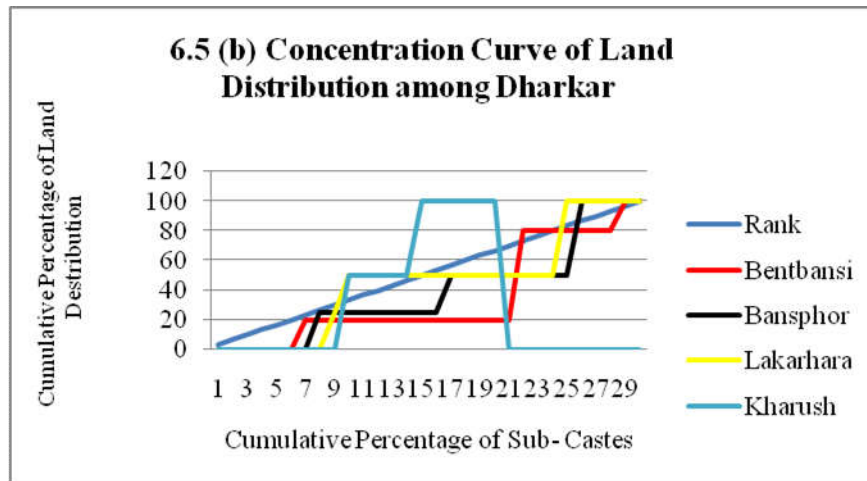
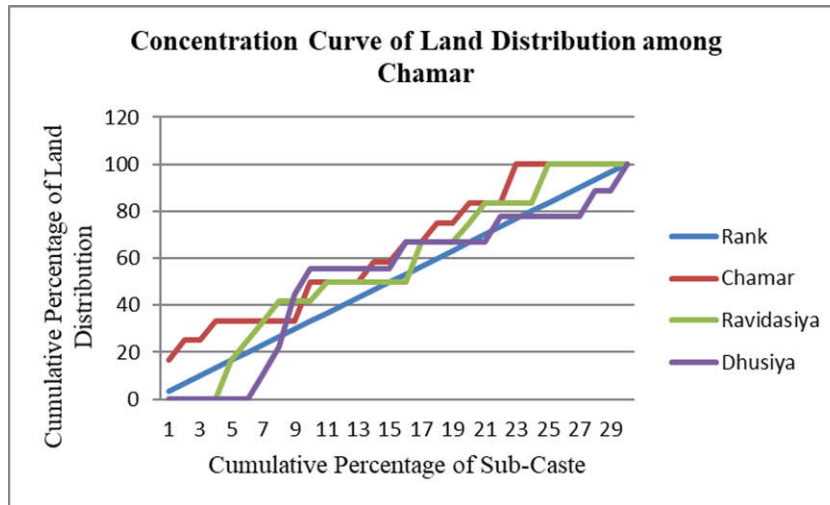
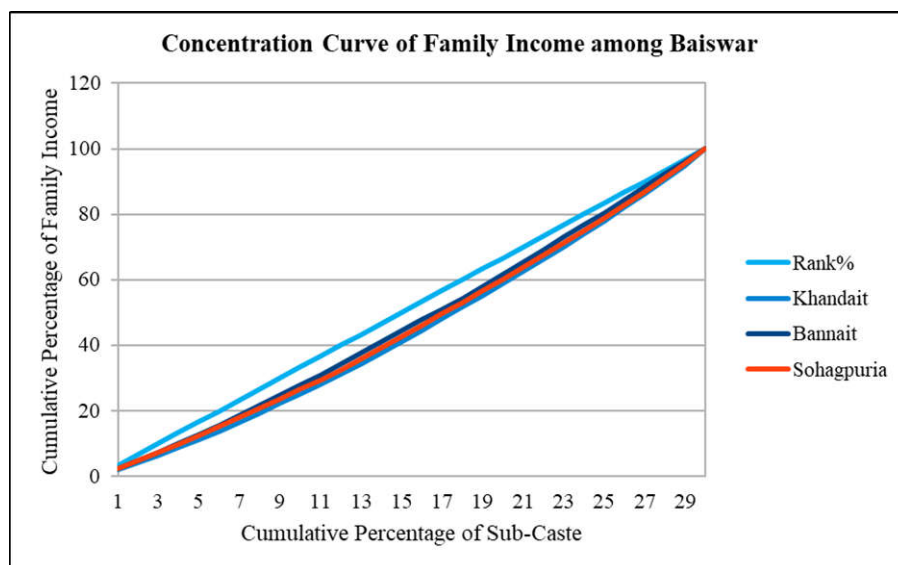
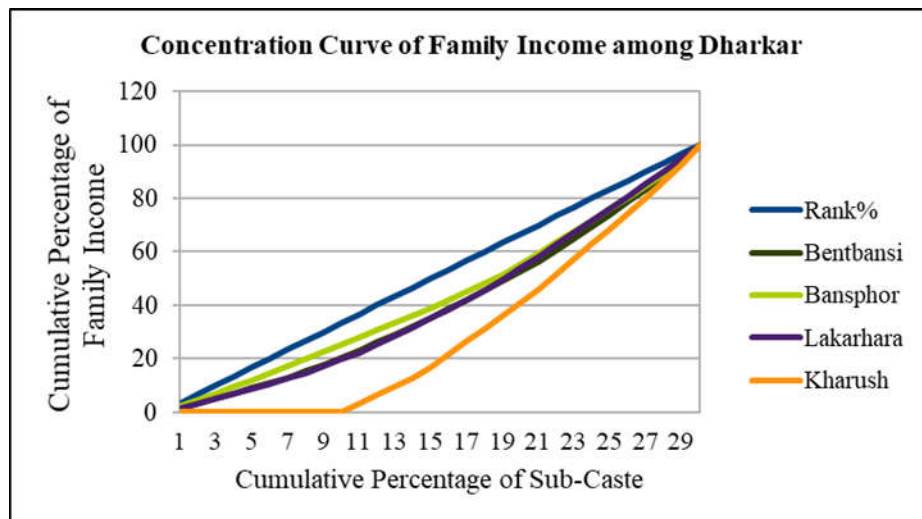
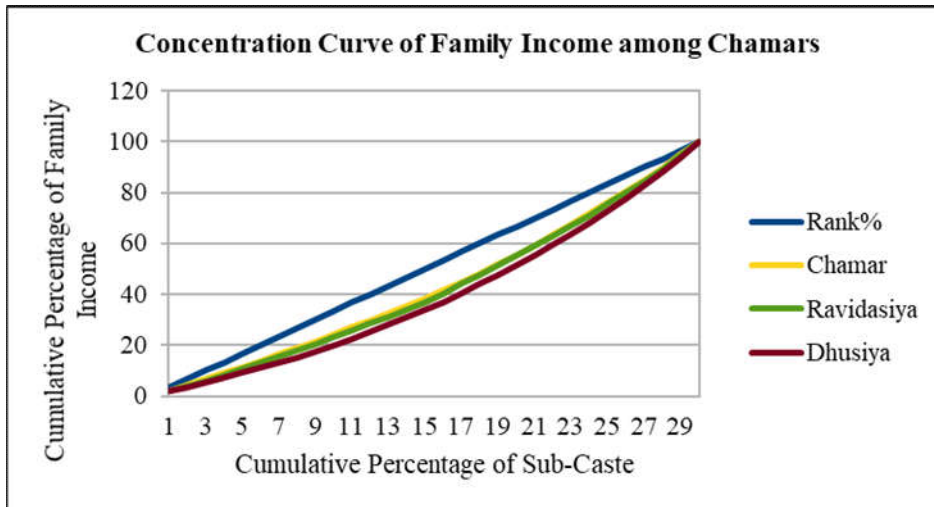


Fig. 6.6 Distribution of Income and Disparity among Respondents belonging to various Sub-castes



Socio-spatial aspects of Discrimination

Socio-spatial segregation leads to the exclusion of groups, individuals from every sphere of social lives whether it is political, economic, cultural or psychological. Space and spatial relations are both expressions of social practices - space is produced and a means of creating further space - space is a resource. Space is produced in society and is used to re-produce space, structures and society. 'Social life is both space-forming and space contingent' (Pandey: 2003).

Since both the Chamar and Dharkar castes in Arangpani village had been relocated from the district Singhraulsi due to the construction of the Rihand Dam, their responses often reflected their emotional connect to their respective previous settlements. Among the Dharkars, however, the adherence to their previous identity based on space was observed to be so strong that they still referred themselves as 'Paschimaha' suggesting that they occupied the west direction in their earlier settlement. On the other hand, the Baiswars though historically trace their origin to the Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh, they have been residing in the village for many centuries.

This section attempts to assess the socio-spatial arrangement among various sub-castes of Dalits regarding the availability of various facilities such as proximity to the water body, connectivity to the main road, type of road (*Kachcha/ Pakka*) and the distance from the main village. The Chamar and Ravidasiya settlements were situated at a distance of about 1-1.5 km from the main village. The Dhusiya and Bentabansi settlements were situated at a distance of about 2km from the main village. The Bansphor, Lakarhara and Kharush lived about 2.5 km to 4 km away from the main village with Kharush situated farthest from the main village. Further, the road was *pakka* near the Chamar, Ravidasiya and Dhusiya settlements while the road leading to the Bentbansi, Bansphor, Lakarhara and Kharush sub-caste settlements was *kachcha*. The sub-caste settlements in the village Rehta also showed the varying distance from the main road. The Khandait settlements were situated closest to the main road at a distance of <0.5 km. The Bannait and Sohagpuria were located at a distance of about <1.5km and 2 km from the main road.

One of the stark features, as observed in both the villages Arangpani and Rehta, was the distance from the water body (referred to as *baoli*) at which various sub-caste settlements were situated. The settlements of those belonging to the Chamar and Ravidasiya sub-castes were situated quite close (less than 0.5km) to the *baoli*. The settlement of

Dhusiya sub-castes was situated at a short distance (<1km) from the *baoli*. The Bentbansi, Bansphor, Lakarhara and Kharush sub-caste settlements were situated at a distance from the *baoli*, with Kharush located farthest (about 2km) from the *baoli*. The Bentbansi, Bansphor settlements were situated closer (about 1.25 km) to the *baoli* compared to the Lakarhara settlement (1.2km). The Baiswar sub-caste settlements in the Rehta village also were situated at varying distance from the *baoli*. The Khandait settlement was the closest (0.5km) to the *baoli* while the Bannait and Sohagpuria settlements were situated at a distance of about 0.75 and 1.5 km respectively from the *baoli*.

Experience of Discrimination

This section discusses the experiences of discrimination of varied nature as reported by the respondents from various generations belonging to the same household. Thus, an attempt has been made in order to assess the varying degree of discrimination in the responses of the respondents from the elderly generation to the youngest from the same household. The respondents from the elder most generation were above the age of 60 years. Those in the middle were aged 30-60 years while the youngest generation respondents were in the age group 18-30 years. At the time of fieldwork, not many households had members available from all the three generations. Even the households where members from all the three generations were available, not all could comprehend and respond to the questions in a manner that could be compared. Thus, very few households had all the three members who could narrate their experience of discrimination that could be compared. This section is thus based on the selected themes encompassing responses from the three generations.

Land ownership

Respondents from one of the households belonging to the Ravidasiya caste brought attention to the transitions in the land ownership. R aged 65 years shared that earlier one could observe discrimination in almost every sphere. As regards the land ownership, no Ravidasiya households in the village had land. They could only work as an agricultural labourer and hence did not have sufficient means to buy land. The respondent belonging to the second generation from the same household aged 42 years drew attention to the government initiatives, through which those belonging to the scheduled castes could get land on *Patta*. Acquiring land on *Patta* led to a change in the traditional caste-based occupations. It transformed the pattern of primary occupation among the SCs who could

then also engage in cultivation. Eventually, their economic situation got better, and they could even purchase a small amount of land. The respondent belonging to the third generation in the same household shared that his grandfather was landless due to the extreme forms of discrimination that prevailed during those days and that his father could get land on *patta* due to the shifts in government policy to uplift Dalits. It was due to such changes that they could acquire land of their own and hence remain no longer landless.

Education

As regards the education, the first generation respondent shared that at his time, acquiring education till primary level would get a job. He was also educated to the primary level but could not get a job due to the caste-based discrimination. He narrated as;

I studied till the primary level, but the headmaster of the school did not give me the Transfer Certificate (TC) as I belonged to the Chamar sub-caste. All those who attained education till the primary level and belonged to other 'upper' castes could easily get TC and consequently got jobs as a teacher. (C, 75 years, educated till primary)

The respondent from the second generation of the same household narrated that;

These days it is very difficult to get a job. Even if one passes a B.A, there is no guarantee of a job. Further, it is not easy to educate children as there are no facilities beyond the primary level. How can one educate children? (A, 48 years, educated till matriculation)

The respondent from the third generation shared that;

It is extremely difficult to get a job as per one's education level. It is not necessarily related to our caste. Even people from other castes find it difficult to get the job. But yes, the struggles of people from our caste in attaining education are of altogether different nature when compared to the people from other castes. (S, 21 years, educated till higher secondary)

The above narratives of the three members of a household belonging to the Chamar sub-caste suggest that the caste-based discrimination in attaining education seem to have diminished compared to the earlier years. Even those who have acquired education despite economic hardships and by overcoming struggles such as attending schools situated at a distance find it difficult to get a job. Even the hopelessness of getting a job after attaining a specific level of education has not deterred people from attaining education. The result of education may however not be a job as per the skill and education. Rather, education was perceived as leading to empowerment, imparting the ability to understand things in a better manner.

Clothing

Discussing the transformations in the way people from a particular caste could dress up, one of the respondents from the first generation belonging to the Bentbansi sub-caste mentioned that earlier the men from their caste were made to keep the upper parts of their body bare. They could then not wear any clothes to cover their upper body. The respondent from the second generation shared that as the time passed, no such restriction was observed among their caste and they could cover the full body with clothes. The third-generation respondent however shared that clothing to him was a matter of personal choice. One could wear whatever one liked. The caste had nothing to do with it. It thus is evident from the narratives of three respondents belonging to the Bentbansi sub-caste that caste-based discrimination as regards their clothing pattern has undergone significant changes. Earlier, there were caste-based restrictions as to what one could wear or not while at present clothing is an individual matter. Several other respondents narrated similar responses.

Similarly, among the women, one of the first-generation respondents belonging to the Dhusiya sub-caste narrated that the size of the *sari* for women from their caste used to be almost half the present-day women wear. Also, the *sari* covered the body only until the knee length. The second-generation respondent shared that the size of the *sari* was not any different for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes. The size of the *sari* was the same for everyone. The third-generation respondent also shared that they could wear anything they liked and no caste-based discrimination existed at least regarding clothing.

Also, one of the Bentbansi first-generation women shared that they were not allowed to wear shoes of any kind. All those belonging to the Scheduled Castes remained bare feet

throughout the year. The second-generation woman from the same household shared that no such practice existed at her time. The third-generation respondent however shared that they could even wear sandals or shoes of any kind.

All the narratives mentioned above reflect that those from the first-generation experienced worst forms of discrimination. Most first-generation respondents shared that discrimination existed in almost every sphere of life and that clothing was not an exception.

Source of water

The first generation of women belonging to various sub-castes among Dalits reported that the water source was often situated far away from the house. They had to walk a lot to fill water. The second generation women mentioned that the source of water used to be a *baoli* not very far from the house while the third generation responded filling water from the hand pump.

Celebration at the marriage

One of the first generation respondents from the Bansphor sub-caste mentioned that their traditional occupation involved playing musical instruments at the wedding of people from other castes. They were however not allowed to play the instruments when someone from their caste got married. It implied that they were not allowed to celebrate the wedding as per their choice and restrictions regarding the playing of musical instruments were in place. The second generation respondent reported that such practice ceased to exist at his time and when he got married, the musical instruments were played at his wedding. The third generation respondent expressed surprise at the earlier practice and believed that it was a matter of individual choice and economic standing. If one could afford, one could even arrange for a DJ at the wedding. Thus, the narratives clearly suggest the transformation in the cultural practices, with earlier practices prevalent at the time of the first generation respondents being most discriminatory in nature.

Restrictions on mobility

The first generation respondent belonging to the Lakarhara sub-caste informed that earlier there were restrictions on their mobility within the village. They could not walk beyond their respective settlements. They were not even allowed to sell the firewood in

the village. The respondent from the second generation informed that they were allowed to move beyond their settlements only during the afternoon or sunset when relatively fewer people were out in the village streets. The experiences of respondents from both generations thus suggest that the restrictions on mobility were in place as not even their touch, but the sight was considered polluting. The respondent from the third generation shared that no such practice existed and they were free to move within the village or outside.

Discrimination in availing services in the village

One of the first generation respondents from the Bannait sub-caste reported that those from their caste could cut their hair themselves. They were not allowed to avail the services from the village barber. The second generation respondent from the same household shared that they could get the haircut from the barber but were often made to wait for long as he catered to those from the other castes. The third generation respondent shared that some form of discrimination prevailed at the barber's shop as, despite their being in the queue, another person from the higher caste could avail the services before them on account of his engagement in other activities. Thus, the above narrative suggests that some form of discrimination is still prevalent as regards availing services in the village.

Similarly, the first generation respondent from the Sohagpuria sub-caste shared regarding availing the services of the tailor as;

The tailor hesitated in taking the measurements while stitching the clothes. He would often say that it is his work and that he did not need to take body measurement to stitch clothes. If anyone insisted on taking measurements, he would take measurements in such a manner that avoided touch. So, most people would not insist on taking measurements. (R, 76 years, illiterate, Rehta)

Both the second as well as the third generation respondents shared their experience of getting clothes stitched from the tailor and reported that no such discrimination was observed as the tailor measured without any hesitation. The third generation respondent from the Sohagpuria sub-caste further informed that he could get stitched any design or pattern as per his wish.

Thus, it is evident from the above narrative that the discrimination while accessing services of a tailor was extreme for the first generation respondents as untouchability was practised then. The second and third generation respondents, however, reported no such discrimination.

Housing condition

One of the first generation women from the Chamar sub-caste reported that the houses of those belonging to the scheduled castes were invariably *Kachcha* as their socio-economic condition was extremely poor. The second generation woman from the Chamar household mentioned that the economic condition was getting better, but still, it was not enough to build a *Pakka* house. The third generation respondent, however, narrated that though they had a *pakka* house as their economic situation improved, not many people from their sub-caste lived in *pakka* houses. Others from their sub-caste lived in a *kachcha* or semi-*pakka* house as per their economic condition. The respondents also reported from other sub-castes that the housing condition was determined by the respective economic situation of the household.

Thus, the chapter discussed the patterns of discrimination across the sub-castes among Dalits. It was evident that practices related to sharing of food were discriminatory. Commensality was a characteristic feature of the sub-castes that considered each other of the same level. Thus, it was found that among the Chamar caste, both Chamar and Ravidasia could eat *kachcha* as well as *pakka* food when visiting each other. Similarly, Bentbansi and Bansphor sub-caste respondents from the Dharkar caste shared commensal relations and could eat any form of food with each other. The Dhusiya respondents had very limited interaction with those from Chamar and Ravidasia caste. They could only serve *pakka* food to those higher in the hierarchy. Similarly, the sub-caste purity was maintained by strict rules of endogamy. Any deviation was punishable. The socio-spatial distribution of various sub-castes also suggests segregation. Further, the distance from each of the settlements to various amenities also reflected discrimination. Further, the prevalence of caste-based occupation among various sub-castes also indicated a lack of alternative employment. The landlessness among the 'lower' sub-castes was also an indication of the economic inequality among the sub-castes. Thus, the chapter detailed all such patterns of discrimination among the sub-castes of selected Dalit castes. The next

chapter discusses respondents' perceptions about their state of health and disease, and the issues of access to health care services.

CHAPTER 07

Understanding Health Problems and Issues of Access to Health Resources

This chapter deals with the perceptions of respondents about health, illness and disease across various sub-castes among Dalits. The assessment of health status across various sub-castes is thus based on their perceptions about health and ill-health. Illness and disease as a representation of ill-health and how illness is distinguished from disease, as perceived by the respondents from various sub-castes are discussed in the chapter. The understanding of the causes of ill-health also forms the content of this chapter followed by the measures taken by the respondents to get relief from illness and disease. The primary data on perceptions of health, illness and disease, as well as identification of minor and major ailments, referred to as illness and disease, as well as the preferred course of treatment are discussed in this chapter.

The present chapter is based on the understanding that the state of health is a multi-dimensional concept and can be affected by a number of factors such as socio-cultural, economic, psychological, political and environmental, for instance. The perceptions of health, illness and disease are not untouched by these factors. In other words, all these factors also shape the notions about health, illness and disease as well as the preferred course of cure. The chapter is also based on the understanding that the availability, non-availability or the distance at which health resources are situated also shape the health-seeking behaviour. Further, the individual caste as well as sub-caste status, as well as the economic status also shape the utilization of the available health resources. The chapter thus tries to draw linkages between the social identity, location and access to health resources in the selected villages.

Perceptions about Health, Illness and Disease

This section deals with the understanding of health, illness and disease as perceived by various respondents across the selected Dalit castes and sub-castes. It aims to capture the differences in perception of health, illness and disease among various caste respondents if

any. The respondents were asked to describe what they understood by health and ill-health. Their understanding of both health and ill-health largely reflected their or their family members' experiences of health and ill-health. The respondents often narrated their experiences of ill-health and the course of cure taken to recover their health status. Their experiences of ill-health as well as the preferences for the resort to cure helped in understanding not only their worldview about the state of health and ill-health but also the factors that shaped their access to a specific health resource.

Health

This section largely discusses the perceptions of the respondents about health. A variety of responses reflected the prevalent notions about health. Most respondents while responding to the question on perception about health took their respective state of health as a point of reference. Some of the respondents however also referred to the state of health or ill-health of a family member. Thus, their perception about health reflected self-assessment about their own or a family member's state of health. The most cited response for the perception about health, as regards the frequency was in the form of the absence of disease. Some of the respondents however also mentioned the illness or disease of a family member to refer to the state of health as being devoid of any illness or disease. Other than that, the health was also reported as a state of being whereby one could perform the bodily functions and everyday activities without any discomfort.

One of the respondents belonging to the Sohagpuria sub-caste shared the perception in the following words-

‘...One who is not suffering from any disease and does not feel any weakness while engaging in any kind of work is healthy.’ (N, 38 years, Tendu leaf seller, Village Arangpani).

One of the female respondents belonging to the Dhusiya sub-caste shared her perception about health, based on her experiences and using it as a reference as follows-

‘I often feel very tired. I face many difficulties managing all the household chores. Also, several other tasks such as collecting firewood and fetching water make me extremely tired. I do not consider myself healthy as I feel tired all the time. Being healthy means someone who does not feel tired, can work without any ailments’. (R, 42 years, Housewife, Village Arangpani).

The above narrative reflects as to how the respondents while sharing their perceptions of being healthy often assessed their respective health status. R in the above narrative shared that she did not consider herself healthy as she often felt tired. She thus, reported that being healthy implied ‘not getting tired while doing work’.

Thus, different respondents reported their varied perceptions about health. However, as mentioned earlier, most respondents perceived health as ‘a condition devoid of any disease or bodily discomfort’. The ability to carry out their everyday activities without any pain or discomfort was also frequently reported as a state of being healthy.

Illness

The illness and disease were perceived to affect the bodily function and consequently the state of health. The distinction between the illness and disease, however, was based on the perceived severity, duration and the expenditure incurred to cure a condition. ‘Illness’ was largely perceived to encompass minor diseases which could be treated without accessing medical facilities. The ‘disease’, on the other hand, was identified as a major ailment and required medical attention. Further, some serious conditions of diseases were even perceived to be fatal.

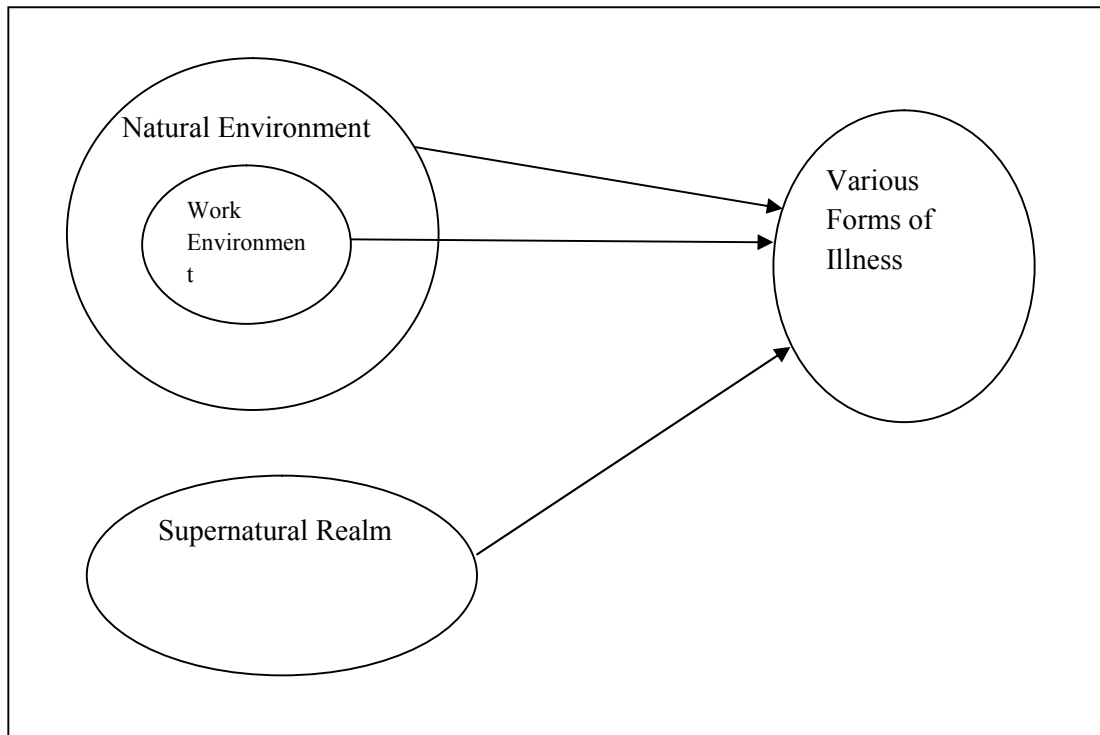
The most reported illnesses among various sub-castes across the two villages included a headache, body ache, joint pain, itching, fever and cold-cough. Since both the villages were situated in the same agro-ecological zone and had similar climatic conditions, there was a stark similarity in the reported illnesses. There were however differences in the prevalence of a specific illness in a particular household, and hence the respondents identified certain health problems that affected their family members frequently (**Table 7.1**)

Table 7.1 Reported Illness (by prevalence at the level of household)

Dalit Castes		Minor Illness						Total N (%)
Castes	Sub-caste	Headache	Body pain	Joint pain	Itching	Fever	Cough & Cold	
Chamar	Chamar	06	02	02	--	09	11	30
	Ravidasiya	05	04	05	--	11	05	30
	Dhusiya	--	08	01	09	08	04	30
Total		11	14	08	09	28	20	90
Dharkar	Bentbansi	05	09	08	--	05	03	30
	Bansphor	07	05	07	--	06	05	30
	Lakarhara	--	08	06	09	04	03	30
	Kharush	02	06	--	--	07	05	20
Total		14	28	21	09	22	16	110
Baiswar	Khandait	08	03	04	--	08	07	30
	Bannait	06	04	02	05	07	06	30
	Sohagpuria	09	05	03	07	03	03	30
Total		23	12	09	12	18	16	90

As regards the causation of illness, the beliefs about the causes of certain illnesses could be situated in three domains, namely, the natural environment, the work environment and the supernatural realm (**Fig.7.1**). Most respondents however perceived the causes of various illnesses in their natural environment. Their culture and beliefs often shaped their understanding of the causation of a particular illness. For instance,

Fig. 7.1 Domains of illness reported by the respond



headache was often associated with the hot climate and was perceived to be caused by the heat of the sun and high temperature. Similarly, the body pain was perceived to be caused by long hours of working in an uncovered area under the sunlight. The joint pain was similarly attributed to being caused by the *Purua Hawa*-the wind that blows from the eastern direction. The cold and cough were also believed to be caused by the cold weather. However, the consumption of vegetables grown with the use of pesticides was also believed to affect their internal system and hence leading to a cough and cold. Other than the climatic conditions or the natural environment, some of the illnesses were also attributed to the work environment. For instance, the respondents belonging to the Lakarhara, Bannait and Sohagpuria sub-castes whose occupation included working in the forest area attributed the itching and skin related disorders largely to their work environment. The third domain within which the respondents situated the causation was the supernatural realm. The notions about health, illness and disease were quite often shaped by the health beliefs. Some of the respondents mentioned their beliefs in the supernatural realm and also identified the causation in the supernatural realm. They believed in the evil eye, black magic and sorcery. Some of the respondents believed that

the fevers of various kinds were caused by the entry of an evil spirit to the body (**Table 7.2**).

Table 7.2 Beliefs about the causation of Illness

Illness	Belief about causation
Headache	Due to the heat of the sun and high temperature
Body Pain	Due to long hours of working in the open area (under the sunlight)
Joint Pain	Due to the <i>Purua Hawa</i>
Itching	While working in the forest area or unclean area germs attack on their skin
Fever	Caused by the entry of an evil spirit to the body (supernatural)
Cough and Cold	Consuming vegetables grown with pesticides affects their inner system

As regards the cure for various illnesses, one of the distinctions, as drawn between illness and disease, was the resort to cure. Illness could be cured by using home remedies, quite often inexpensive and from the items available in the kitchen or the immediate environment. For example, the pains of various kinds such as body pain and joint pain were believed to be cured by the message of the *Mahua* oil. Some even reported applying kerosene oil to cure the joint pain. The respondents who suffered from itching reported applying *kali mitti* to the affected area. *Ghorbaj* was used to cure cough and cold as well as during the fever. Some of the respondents reported chewing a small piece of *ghorbaj* to cure cough and cold as well as fever. The sesame seed oil was also used to cure cough and cold (**Table 7.3**)

Table 7.3 Reported home remedies to cure illness

Illness	Home Remedies
Headache	Application of camphor
Body Pain	Massage with <i>Mahua</i> Oil
Joint Pain	Massage with <i>Mahua</i> Oil or Kerosene oil
Itching	Applying Kali Mitti
Fever	Chewing <i>Ghorbaj</i>
Cough and Cold	Message with sesame seeds oil and chewing <i>Ghorbaj</i>

Disease

Most respondents shared that they perceived disease as a major illness. It implied that disease was perceived to be a severe condition of ill-health which when untreated could even lead to the death. Thus, various diseases as identified by the respondents included Malaria, Snakebite, Tuberculosis, Diarrhoea, Jaundice, and Kidney Stone. The complications during pregnancy and the ill-effects of consuming local liquor were also identified as diseases.

Table-7.4 Reported incidence of Diseases among various Sub-castes of Dalits

Dalit Castes		Diseases* (recall period of one year)							
Caste	Sub-caste (N)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Chamar	Chamar (30)	02 (6.7)	01 (3.3)	02 (6.7)	06 (20)	07 (23.3)	05 (16.7)	03 (10)	04 (13.3)
	Ravidasiya (30)	04 (13.3)	03 (10)	--	06 (20)	08 (26.7)	04 (13.3)	--	06 (20)
	Dhusiya (30)	02 (6.7)	--	04 (13.3)	03 (10)	09 (30)	03 (10)	08 (26.7)	01 (3.3)
Dharkar	Bentbansi	06 (20)	04 (13.3)	04 (13.3)	03 (10)	05 (16.7)	--	08	--
	Bansphor	04 (13.3)	03 (10)	05 (16.7)	04 (13.3)	01 (3.3)	04 (13.3)	09 (30)	--
	Lakarhara	03 (10)	07 (23.3)	03 (10)	06 (20)	02 (6.7)	--	09 (30)	--
	Kharush	04 (20)	01 (05)	02 (10)	03 (15)	04 (20)	01 (05)	05 (25)	--
Baiswar	Khandait	02 (6.7)	07 (23.3)	04 (13.3)	02 (6.7)	04 (13.3)	--	08 (26.7)	03 (10)
	Bannait	01 (3.3)	09 (30)	02 (6.7)	02 (6.7)	04 (13.3)	--	09 (30)	03 (10)
	Sohagpuria	03 (10)	08 (26.7)	03 (10)	05 (16.7)	04 (13.3)	--	07 (23.3)	--

Note-* Disease are listed as follows:1-Malaria, 2- Snake Bite, 3- Tuberculosis, 4- Diarrhoea, 5- Complications during Pregnancy, 6- Jaundice, 7- Complications from consuming local liquor, 8- Kidney Stone

The data were collected to understand the pattern of morbidity among the respondents from the selected sub-castes. A recall period of one year was taken to identify if there had been any incidence of disease in the family of the selected respondents. The figures corresponding to the incidence of each of the diseases among the selected respondents is given (Table 7.4).

The incidence of complications during pregnancy was highest among the Chamar caste (about 27 per cent). On the other hand, among the Dharkar caste households, there was a relatively higher incidence of Malaria (about 15 per cent), Diarrhoea (about 16 per cent) and ill-effects of local liquor (about 28 per cent) compared to other Dalit castes. Further, the incidence of snakebite was the highest (about 27 per cent) among the Baiswars.

As the respondents identified diseases largely concerning their severity and believed that when not treated, they could prove fatal. It was also important to understand the range of their perceived severity across various sub-castes. The same was understood by carrying out focus group discussions regarding the perceived severity among various sub-castes. The participants were asked to rank the various diseases within their sub-caste in order of the perceived severity with the most severe disease ranked I and the least severe at the rank V. The responses obtained from the participants from various sub-caste groups are given in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Ranking of Diseases (in order of perceived severity) as reported by respondents from various Sub-castes among Dalits

Rank of diseases / Sub-caste**	Chamar			Dharkar				Baiswar		
	CH	RD	DH	BB	BP	LH	KH	KT	BT	SP
I	1	1	2	7	7	7	7	2	2	2
II	2	2	7	1	3	2	5	7	7	7
III	7	5	3	5	4	5	1	1	5	4
IV	5	6	4	2	6	4	4	5	6	3
V	4	4	9	4	2	9	8	8	4	10

Note- * Diseases are listed as follows:1-Malaria, 2- Snake Bite, 3- Tuberculosis, 4- Diarrhoea, 5- Complications during Pregnancy, 6- Jaundice, 7- Complications from consuming local liquor, 8- Kidney Stone 9-accidents 10-Vomiting

**Sub-caste are listed as follows- CH=Chamar, RD=Ravidasiya, DH=Dhusiya, Bentbansi=BB, Bansphor=BP, Lakarhara= LH, Khadush= KH, Khandait=KT, Bannait= BT, Sohagpuria= SP

The data from the **Table 7.5** suggests that the Chamar and Ravidasiya sub-castes perceived Malaria as the most severe disease while the Dhusiya, Khandait, Bannait and Sohagpuria ranked snakebite as one of the most severe diseases that could even lead to death. All the selected sub-castes among the Dharkar identified illness resulting from consumption of the local liquor as the most dangerous as it could even prove fatal.

Access to Health Resources

The health resources refer to the personnel, facilities, funds, equipment, and space which is necessary to provide health care services to any population. In the context of the present study, we aimed to understand as to how various sub-castes among Dalits who experience varying levels of marginalization within the Dalit castes as per their socio-economic status are further excluded by the healthcare system. The geographic location of the health resources for the selected villages indicates that the health resources were barely accessible to the respondents in the selected village (**Table 7.6**). The data from the DCHB suggests that Primary Health Centre (PHC), Community Health Centre (CHC) and TB Clinic were situated at a distance of more than 10 km from the Arangpani village. The CHC was situated at a distance of 5-10 km from the Rehta village while the PHC, Primary Health Sub-Centre and the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre (MCWC) were all situated at a distance of more than 10 km from the Rehta village. The MCWC was situated at a distance of 5-10km from the Arangpani village. The **Table 7.6** thus shows that most healthcare institutes are situated far away from the selected villages, and the respondents barely had access to any health resources. It implies that the population in the selected villages was excluded from basic healthcare services. However, during the fieldwork, it was observed that there were two self-proclaimed doctors (without requisite medical education and training) in the Arangpani village while Rehta village had one such doctor. Other than that, there were a few traditional healers in both the villages. Thus, in the given context, where almost the entire population lacked basic health care services, an attempt was made to understand the health preferences of the selected respondents belonging to different sub-castes. Further, an attempt was made to understand the differences and discrimination among the selected sub-castes that further shaped their access to healthcare services. Thus, their respective socio-economic statuses,

as well as social support systems, were explored to understand their strategies to resort to healthcare.

Table-7.6 Availability of Health Resources in the Selected Villages

Health Resources*	Village Arangpani		Village Rehta	
	Number	Distance	Number	Distance
Community Health Centre	00	10+ km	00	5-10km
Primary Health Centre	00	10+ km	00	10+ km
Primary Health Sub Centre	00	NA	00	10+ km
Maternity And Child Welfare Centre	00	5-10km	00	10+ km
TB Clinic	00	10+km	00	NA
Hospital Allopathic	00	NA	00	NA
Hospital Alternative Medicine	00	NA	00	NA
Dispensary	00	NA	00	NA
Mobile Health Clinic	00	NA	00	5-10km
Family Welfare Centre	00	5-10km	00	10+ km
Non-Government Medical facilities (In And Out Patient)	00	NA	00	NA
Nutritional Centres-ICDS	01	00	00	10+ km
Nutritional Centres-Anganwadi Centre	01	00	01	00
ASHA	01	00	01	00
Health Resources (Field Survey)**				
Local Doctor (Bengali Doctor)	02	00	01	00
Healer	02	00	04	00

*Included-Numbers, Doctors Total Strength, Doctors In Position, Para Medical Staff Total Strength, Para Medical Staff In Position, If not available within the village, the distance)

** Resources reported during the fieldwork

Order of Preference of available health resources for Illness and Diseases

One of the important aspects that shaped the access to health resources was the geographic location of various healthcare facilities and personnel, as discussed earlier. Other than that, the health beliefs of the respondents also shaped their health choices and strategies to resort to cure. Most respondents among various sub-castes of Dalits preferred home remedies to cure illness while there was a wide variation in their preference for various health resources to cure disease (**Table 7.7**).

Table 7.7 Order of Preference of Health Resource for Illness and Disease

Sub-caste	Forms of Illness	Utilization of Health Recourses (Ranking)					Total N
		Health Centre	Private Hospital	Local Doctor	Healer	No Treatment	
Chamar	Illness	--	--	12 (I)	02 (III)	16 (II)	30
	Disease	08 (II)	04 (III)	12 (I)	03 (IV)	03 (V)	30
Ravidasiya	Illness	--	--	10 (I)	04 (III)	16 (II)	30
	Disease	07 (II)	03 (IV)	10(I)	05 (III)	5 (V)	30
Dhusiya	Illness	--	--	06 (III)	06 (II)	18 (I)	30
	Disease	04 (IV)	02 (V)	16 (I)	04 (II)	04 (III)	30
Bentbansi	Illness	--	--	09 (III)	04 (II)	17 (I)	30
	Disease	03 (IV)	03 (V)	15 (I)	05 (II)	04 (III)	30
Bansphor	Illness	--	--	03 (III)	05 (II)	22 (I)	30
	Disease	1 (V)	1 (IV)	18 (I)	02 (III)	08 (II)	30
Lakarhara	Illness	--	--	07 (II)	03 (III)	20 (I)	30
	Disease	02 (V)	02 (IV)	20(I)	02 (II)	04 (II)	30
Kharush	Illness	--	--	--	02 (II)	18 (I)	20
	Disease	--	--	10 (I)	05(II)	05 (III)	20
Khandait	Illness			18 (I)	06 (II)	06(III)	30
	Disease	02 (IV)	1 (V)	15(I)	09 (II)	03 (III)	30
Bannait	Illness	--	--	06 (III)	16(I)	08(II)	30
	Disease	01 (IV)	02(V)	14 (I)	07 (II)	06 (III)	30
Sohagpuria	Illness			14(I)	04(III)	12(II)	30
	Disease	01 (IV)	01 (V)	18 (I)	06(II)	04 (III)	30

The course of Treatment for reported diseases

We have earlier discussed the socio-economic disparities and varying levels of discrimination that operate at the level of sub-castes among Dalits. This section, however, builds on the data discussed in the earlier chapters and attempts to bring forth the lived

experiences of respondents as regards their healthcare utilisation preferences. It attempts to bring forth, with the help of various case reports, the complex ways in which the caste, sub-caste as well as the socio-economic status and individual characteristics such as age and gender interact and shape the healthcare utilization preferences or compulsions. The case reports thus reflect a variety of strategies of the resort to the treatment of diseases among different sub-castes. Thus, not only the social identity but the respective economic situation of the respondents and several such factors shape the course of cure. The case reports discuss the course of treatment taken by the respondents concerning the most reported diseases or perceived fatal conditions among various sub-castes. The case reports thus discuss the course of treatment for malaria, snakebite, ill-effects of the local liquor and the complications during the pregnancy.

The course of treatment for Malaria

Case 1. U, a 45-year-old woman from the Lakarhara sub-caste reported that her husband suffered from Malaria and could not survive. She narrated the course of cure as;

My husband had returned from the forest and complained that his body ached badly. He even had a fever and felt very weak. As soon as he returned from work, he told that he needed to go to the healer in the village. He returned with some herbal powder and had that with water. He waited for a day. Since he could not get any relief, he then went to the doctor (without requisite medical education and training) in the village. The doctor gave him some tablets. He did not get any relief even after taking medicine. But we hoped and wished that his condition might improve. After waiting for two days, we could see that his situation was getting worse than before. He could barely walk and shivered all the time. It was then that we (she and her elder son) decided to take him to the private hospital at Myorpur. My son took him to the hospital by a bicycle. The doctor there gave him 2-3 injections and sent back home. The same night he passed away. The entire course of treatment came to be around 2-3,000, and still, my husband could not be saved. (Arangpani village, reported monthly income of the household Rs.7000).

In the above narrative, we find that the course of treatment ranged from a traditional healer to the private hospital. Subsequently, the cost of treatment also varied from a minimal amount to almost half the amount of monthly income of the given household. The delay in availing a treatment from the private hospital also indicates that the economic burden of treatment from a private facility was avoided by seeking alternative

resorts to treatment. The given case also highlights that since there was no government health facility in the village, the residents had to rely on whatever health resources were available in their close vicinity.

Case 2. Another respondent, belonging to the Chamar sub-caste from the village Arnagpani reported that;

Once I had a very high fever. I was also feeling cold, and my body shivered. I approached the local healer and informed him about the symptoms. He told me that I suffered from Malaria. He asked me to chew a small piece of Ghorbaj and also gave a herbal powder. He asked me to make a paste of the herbal powder and apply all over the body. I applied the paste and slept for 3-4 hours. When I got up, I was all soaked with sweat. It seemed as if the paste released all the heat out from my body. I felt quite relieved. I continued applying the paste for 2-3 days and was cured within 2-3 days. I got cured within Rs. 100 and also saved myself from ill-effects of *angrezi dawai* (Allopathy) as well as the excessive expenditure (S, 35 years, reported monthly income of the household Rs.10,000).

The above narrative suggests that the respondent got relief from the traditional healer in the village. Another health belief that also guided the access to health services was the harmful nature of allopathic medicines. Most respondents identified the 'hot' nature of *angrezi medicine*. They thus preferred the local healers and also preferred Bengali medicine over the allopathic medicine. Other than that, the peer, friends and relatives also played an important role in guiding the access to health care services. The close kin, relatives, neighbours and peer group often played an important role in determining the course of cure.

The narrative also reflects the health beliefs about the allopathic system of medicine. Several other respondents also believed that the allopathic system though gave quick results; it caused a lot of heat inside the body. It thus implied that approaching a traditional healer was not only an economical option over the allopathy, the socio-cultural acceptability of the naturopathy was also a concern among the respondents.

Case 3. One of the women from the Khandait sub-castes reported:

I suffered from a high fever. I approached the local doctor. The doctor gave six doses (three days) of medicine and asked to visit again in case of no relief. On the second day itself, my condition had deteriorated, but I thought that I might get relief once I complete the course. The very next day, I fell very sick. My hand and feet were very cold, and I almost lost consciousness. My family members were worried, and my husband and son brought me to the hospital at Dudhi. The doctor at the hospital gave two injections and sent me home. They also gave some medicines. By late evening, I felt some relief. I continued the medicine and was feeling better in 2-3 days. The weakness, however, lasted long (J, 42 years, Rehta village, reported monthly household income Rs.12000).

The above narrative clearly reflects the similar pattern as the earlier cases where the first resort to cure was based at the level of the village itself. Even those who were relatively well-off and belonged to the socially dominant sub-caste accessed private health care services in the event of the severity of the disease. It is thus evident that the accessibility of health services emerges as a crucial factor in shaping the course of cure. It is, however, to be noted that the households belonging to the sub-castes that with better socio-economic standing and conveyance had a relative advantage of accessibility to healthcare services situated at a distance compared to those without means.

The course of treatment for snakebite

Case 4. P, a 34-year-old respondent, belonged to the Dharkar caste and Bansphor sub-caste. He was illiterate and worked largely in the forest as he worked with bamboos. He had six children. The reported family income was Rs. 3000. He shared the course of treatment for the snakebite as:

I was collecting fuelwood from the forest when a snake bit in my right foot. It was a very poisonous snake. I was almost unconscious due to the venom. Other men hurriedly took me back to the village. They took me to a healer. The healer chanted some Mantras and tied some herbs on my foot. Within half an hour, I was feeling better. The healer charged me Rs. 150 for the treatment.

The traditional occupation of Bansphor sub-caste requires them to work in the forests. The instances of snakebites were most common among Bansphor due to their active engagement in the forest. Thus, we find that the sub-caste defined occupational differences also made certain respondents more vulnerable to health risks such as snake

bite. The above case also shows the preferred course of treatment in the event of a snakebite. Most respondents belonging to various sub-castes in the village Arangpani reported approaching the traditional healer in the event of a snakebite.

The course of treatment for the ill-effects of consumption of local liquor

The consumption of local liquor was observed to be high in both Arangpani and Rehta village. However, the respondents from the Dharkar caste in the Arangpani village reported the ill-effects of local liquor consumption as most severe among other diseases. One of the key respondents even shared that there have been instances of death resulting from the consumption of local liquor.

Case 5. G, a respondent aged 52 years from the Dharkar caste and Bentbansi sub-caste informed that his son aged 29 years frequently consumed local liquor. He often fell sick after consuming local liquor. The local doctor was approached many a time for the treatment who would inject saline into his blood to cure him. However, in one such instance, he was extremely sick. The local doctor was also scared of his condition. He thus refused to provide any treatment and asked us to take him to the town. Though it was very late at night, we took him to a private hospital at Myorpur without any further delay. The doctor at the private hospital got him admitted. He stayed at the hospital for two days after which he was discharged. The reported cost of treatment at the hospital came to be around Rs. 4,000.

Since the respondent belonged to the Bentbansi sub-caste among the Dharkars, he could take his son to a distant health facility via a personal conveyance and also spend an amount close to Rs. 4000 for the treatment. Here, it should be noted that the economic disparities across and within sub-castes differentially shape the choices regarding the course of cure. One of the households from the Bantbansi sub-caste who did not have money and other means for the treatment of ill-effects of the local liquor reported the loss of life of one of their male members.

Another case report highlighted the aspect of the accessibility and affordability of health resources. As evident from the narrative derived from the following-

Case 6 J, a 64-year-old respondent belonging to the Sohagpuria sub-caste, was diagnosed with Tuberculosis. She was a habitual smoker and was suffering from a cough for the past

one and half year. She was diagnosed with TB at a health camp in the nearby village. J shared her experience as follows--

D, my grandson took me to a health camp in a nearby village called Kakari. Bada doctor (senior doctor) at the health camp told me that since I was suffering from a cough for a long time, it could be TB. He asked me to get my sputum tested, but I could not go as I did not have money for my treatment. Further, the hospital (CHC) is really far and to reach there, the cost of the visit is more than Rs. 100. I then approached a local practitioner. Who will go for the treatment to the hospital?

The health personnel were not able to inform the ailing woman that the cost of tuberculosis treatment will be zero in the public health facilities. She would only need to bear the cost of travel. If the dissemination of information were complete and correct, there would have been a possibility of accessing care which is available.

Access to healthcare facilities during Pregnancy and Childbirth

Pregnancy and childbirth were perceived as part of life, and women preferred to give birth to their children at home. It was a common practice to give birth to the child at home in both the villages. Dai often visited the pregnant woman, and in case of any problem related to the child in the womb, Dai was the first person to be contacted and brought home. It not only saved money but at the same time protected them from unnecessary harassment and tension. They delivered the baby at the hospital only if there was any complication. Delivering the baby at the hospital (due to complications) was often perceived as an event full of financial problems and stress. The mother was also perceived as being strong enough to deliver a baby without medical help.

Both the villages had a *Dai* who assisted women with the childbirth. *Dai* regularly visited the pregnant woman and assisted in the childbirth. She also visited the households where women recently gave birth to a child. She would occasionally message the new born and at times assist the mother. *Dai* often received an amount in cash or kind for her services. The amount would vary as per the sex of the child. At the birth of a son, Dai was not only given a cash amount for her service but also the gifts in kind such as clothes or sweets. However, the nature of gifts in kind would vary as per the economic condition of the household. One of the key respondents informed that in the Rehta village, *Dai* often preferred assisting women from the Khandait sub-caste. Since the Khandaits were

relatively well-off among the Dalit castes, the *dai* could get a good amount as well as gifts from the Khandait households, in the event of a birth of a boy.

Though most female respondents in the village perceived pregnancy as a natural process that did not require any medical attention, some of the women identified complications during pregnancy as a disease that could prove fatal at times. In the event of a normal pregnancy, they preferred *Dai's* assistance at the time of childbirth. *Dai*, however, examined pregnant women at regular intervals and even predicted the time of childbirth quite accurately. *Dai* from the Rehta village reported that through an optimum level of activity was essential during pregnancy, women in the village and nearby regions due to the terrain as well as their work burdens often led to the instances of stillbirth. *Dai* also informed that the anaemic condition and weakness among most women along with the fluctuations in the blood pressure often led to complications during childbirth that could not be handled at the level of the house. Further, she narrated that with her experience, she could predict quite accurately whether a woman would have or not have any complications during the childbirth. In the event of any cue of complications during pregnancy, *Dai* would inform the family to arrange for the pregnant woman to take to the hospital at Dudhi.

Case -07

G, a 26-year illiterate respondent belonged to the Dharkar caste and Lakarhara sub-caste. She lived in the village Arangpani with her husband, three sons and a daughter. The reported monthly income of the family was close to Rs 2000. She narrated:

I along with other women of the village had gone to the forest to collect fuelwood, and at that time, I was pregnant. While I was cutting wood for house purpose, I felt severe pain in my stomach and cried for help. Other women came to my rescue. Unfortunately, I delivered a premature child in the forest itself. I walked back home after 3-4 hours. Since there was no other adult female member at my house, I had a hard time managing everything on my own.

This narrative clearly reflects that women from certain sub-castes were burdened not only with the housework but also spent significant time in the forest collecting firewood. They also carried heavy loads of wood. The household composition played an important role in determining work burdens among women. The daughters often shared work burden with

mothers. Since some women had no family support at the household level, they were bound to manage everything on their own. In the above case, the woman only had a young daughter who was not able to provide support as regards the housework.

Case -08

N, a 47 years old respondent belonging to the Dhusiya sub-caste narrated the case of delivery of her daughter in law as follows:

R was 19 years old at the time of her first pregnancy. She was pregnant by nine months. She suffered from pain in the stomach and called me for help. I rushed and brought Dai along with me. Dai examined R and told that she could not handle her case. R was crying in pain and was taken to CHC Myorpur, where no doctors were available at night. In such a situation, we took her to a private hospital called Nath Nursing Home where she was operated after that. She delivered a child the doctors could not save the mother. We were asked to pay Rs. 4,000 as the cost of operation.

(Village Arangpani, reported average monthly HH income Rs 7000)

The above case highlighted the loss of life of a woman during the childbirth primarily due to the lack of basic health facilities. It is quite likely that the time lost in the travel to reach the CHC, unavailability of a doctor(s) and consequent shift to the private nursing home was an important factor leading to the maternal death which could have been avoided. Such incidences were quite common in both the villages and across all the Dalit castes except for Dharkar caste. It was also found that whenever there was some complexity in the pregnancy, Dai refused to handle such a situation. Death during the deliveries was frequently reported among all Dalit castes and sub-castes except for Dharkars. The plausible reason for the lower incidence of maternal deaths among Dharkar sub-caste was that *Dai* belonged to the bansphor sub-caste. Some of the women from various Dharkar caste reported that the assistance and support of *Dai* during the childbirth made the process free of any harassment or excessive expenditure. Further, they relied on her care and experience.

The decision-making regarding access to health care and various other matters in the household generally was the prerogative of the men, especially the elders or the husbands.

However, women mentioned their mothers-in-law and husbands often decided their pregnancies and access to any health resources. In a few cases, sister-in-laws also controlled their reproduction. The above cases show women's preference towards delivering at home. Women were usually afraid of the expenditure they had to bear if they delivered at the hospital. They however perceived that pregnancy was a natural process and could be managed at home. They prayed to God "to not show them the doors of the hospital".

One of the respondents even expressed her concern as

Bhagwan na kare kabhi aspatal ka muh dekhna pade

Most women reported that the affectionate atmosphere of the home was the ideal place to give birth to a child. A few women shared the experiences of those who had delivered babies at the hospital and often referred to themselves as being 'lucky' for not 'requiring' to deliver at the hospital.

It was a reflection of the lack of personal warmth and care necessary at the time of delivery when a woman underwent physical, emotional and mental stress. Often the overworked health personnel- the birth attendants, for instance, behave rudely with the mothers. It also corroborates existing studies (Kumbani et al., 2013; Chattopadhyay, 2015; Kandhari, 2015; Bodkin, 2017). Therefore, such behaviour compounded with additional expenses required for travel and medicine deter the women from accessing services for institutional delivery despite specific programmes of the government.

This chapter thus very briefly dealt with some of the cases reports portraying the course of treatment for various health conditions identified by the respondents as diseases among various castes and sub-castes. The belief system specific to their specific sub-caste practices and customs also determined their strategies of the resort to treatment. However, our prime focus was to understand the inter-linkages between social identity and access to health resources; their belief system inevitably shaped their choice or preference for a specific course of treatment. This section thus dealt with the health beliefs followed by health-seeking behaviour for general health problems, health risks and conditions as well as during pregnancy and childbirth.

Health-related other Resources

In addition to the conventional health resources discussed in the preceding paragraphs, the study villages had *Anganwadi* centres to address the health and nutritional needs of the children 0-5 years, pregnant and lactating mothers and adolescent girls in the rural areas. The *Indian government started the Anganwadis* in 1985 as part of the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) program to combat child hunger and malnutrition. As a part of the Indian public health care system, an Anganwadi centre provides basic health care which includes contraceptive counselling and supply; non-formal pre-school activities; and nutrition and health education. Nutritional supplementation; immunisation; health check-up and referral services also form an important part of the Anganwadi functioning within the public health systems.

In many ways, an Anganwadi worker (AWW) can understand the health needs of the population in a better manner when compared to a physician. Since an AWW is from the community, she has a better idea of the health problems as well as the ability to counter those problems. The role of AWW becomes very crucial in the light of the shortage of skilled health professionals in the country and especially in the less and poorly served regions like the study villages. Therefore, through the Anganwadi system, the public health system endeavours to meet its goal of enhanced health facilities that are affordable and accessible for local populations. Thus, the *Anganwadi* in the Arangpani village, situated near the settlement of Chamar sub-caste, was mostly attended by the children from the Chamar and Ravidasiya sub-castes. Such a pattern has been reported through other studies too. (Paul et al., 2011; Borooah et al., 2014). However, since the other sub-caste settlements were situated farther away from the Chamar sub-caste settlements, the children from other sub-castes could not come to the *Anganwadi*. Besides distance being a reason, there is also a possibility of social and economic differentials which could be responsible for keeping the children from other sub-caste groups away from the *Anganwadi* centres.

Further, the Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) from the Arangpani village also belonged to the Chamar sub-caste. The respondents reported that anyone who wished to get their child immunised could approach her. She, on the other hand, seldom approached the village population. The ASHA in the Rehta village belonged to the Khandait sub-caste. She belonged to a relatively well-off family of the village and was reported to be proud of the profession. She however barely kept any records of the pregnant women in

the village. She also did not approach any of the households for maternal and child health services including immunisation. The present study corroborates the observation on the ASHAs as regards their discretion of serving a particular group versus another (Verma and Acharya, 2017).

It has been fairly well argued that health is multidimensional. The socio-cultural environment and beliefs shape not only the perceptions about health and disease but also the course of treatment. Further, the economic and geographic constraints also determine the access to a particular health resource. Thus, the present chapter reflected not only the perceptions of health regarding illness and disease particularly but also the course of treatment as reported by various respondents. It captured the graphic details of the notion of health, illness and disease using the empirical data and illustrative narratives emerging from the field. It also reflected the differentials that exist among the respondents belonging to various sub-castes resulting in differential access to health resources and health outcomes.

CHAPTER 08

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present study is based on the understanding that social stratification needs to be understood from a holistic perspective taking into account both caste and sub-caste level experiences, and thus the emerging issues. The caste and sub-caste levels could be referred to as hierarchy and differences respectively. However, the hierarchy and differences share a bi-directional relationship whereby hierarchy leads to differences and vice versa. It was further evident from the literature that the social stratification has largely been understood from a caste perspective, wherein the emphasis is on the hierarchy within various caste groups. The differences, as well as hierarchy, within the caste groups, i.e. the sub-caste level experiences of disparity and discrimination respectively, rarely find mention in the literature. The present study, thus, aimed to address this gap and discusses the patterns of discrimination among the Scheduled Castes at the level of sub-caste. It is, however, to be noted that not all the differences lead to discrimination and refer to the specific identity of a particular sub-caste.

The secondary data sources reflect the poor status of Scheduled Castes using various socio-economic and health indicators. Also, the crime, violence and atrocities against the Scheduled Castes suggest that the prejudice and bias against the SCs exist in the society. Further, an earlier study conducted in the Ambedkar villages of Sonbhadra district to study the reach of development initiatives and affirmative action for the upliftment of SCs suggested that there were wide differences in access to the development schemes among various Scheduled Castes. Those belonging to a particular caste within the SCs could avail most benefits and schemes, specifically housing, residential *patta* allotment, allotment of agricultural land on *patta*, latrine, solar light, to name a few. On the other hand, certain other castes within Scheduled Castes could not access schemes meant for them. It was thus observed that the Scheduled Castes are not a homogenous category and that differences and discrimination of varying types existed within them. Specifically, the time lag in being able to access the facilities meant for them.

The understanding of the caste and sub-caste for the study follows from various disciplines. Different disciplines conceptualize caste and its further divisions differently as regards the Scheduled Castes (SCs). The political scientists identify SCs as an administrative category and the Constitution does not make any distinction between various castes mentioned in the list of castes referred to as the 'Presidential List of Scheduled Castes'. All the castes under the list of Scheduled Castes are thus envisaged to be the members of an overarching group. The sociologist and social anthropologists, on the other hand, even during the colonial period, provided the detailed caste accounts regarding their socio-cultural as well as occupation based identities determining their economic status. Thus, although these documents were meant to administer the colonies better during the colonial period, they formed the basis and identification of the marginalized communities that required affirmative action. Thus, the sociologists and social anthropologists often take into account the history, genealogy, socio-cultural as well as economic characteristics of the castes to differentiate them from one another. The postcolonial scholars, however, question whether the deprived or the marginalised sections belonging to certain castes can speak for themselves. It brings us to understand their perceptions about themselves rather than imposing our understanding of their socio-economic as well as political identities.

The present study thus made use of definition, perspective and approaches from the disciplines, namely Political Science, Sociology and Social Anthropology, and Subaltern Studies respectively. The Scheduled Castes as a category of castes that fall under the 'Presidential List of Scheduled Castes' are referred to as Dalits in the present study. The disciplinary training as a sociologist gave the theoretical lens and conceptual framework to understand the everyday experience and ways of life among various caste categories. Further, their perceived caste identities formed the basis of identification of sub-castes among them. However, for this research, the analysis links the perceptions as well as other responses of the respondents to give a complete set of findings.

The research questions for the present study included:

1. What are the *socio-cultural and economic disparities* among Dalits at their caste and sub-caste level?
2. What is the role of *socio-spatial segregation* in disparities at caste and sub-caste level among Dalits?
3. What role do caste relations play in *everyday life* of Dalit population?
4. How do caste and *social identity affect access and utilization of healthcare services*?

The broad objective of the research was to understand patterns of discrimination and exclusion among Dalits at their caste and sub-caste level in the villages of Sonbhadra district, Uttar-Pradesh.

The specific objectives of the research were:

5. To study the trajectory of socio-cultural and economic disparities among Dalits at their caste and sub-caste level.
6. To understand the role of socio-spatial segregation in disparities at the caste and sub-caste level.
7. To understand the dynamics of caste relations and inter-generational experiences of discrimination among Dalits at the caste and sub-caste level.
8. To understand the inter-linkages between social identity and access to health care services and utilization.

The study used a mixed method research design to understand the multidimensional aspects of social exclusion experienced by the specific groups. A mixed method research design was used as both quantitative and qualitative data supplement each other. The socio-economic, as well as demographic attributes of the selected respondents, were portrayed using the quantitative data. The composite index was used for the selection of villages while the concentration index was used to reflect the inequalities among the selected castes and sub-castes in the selected villages.

Their perceptions and experiences about various aspects of caste and sub-caste, food practices, marriage preferences, religious performances, and their understanding of the

health, illness and disease, to name a few were explored. The research also attempted to understand the perceptions of health, illness, disease, and the course of treatment for the diseases, they identified as severe, across various sub-castes. Various qualitative methods such as interview schedules, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions were used. Case reports and Narratives portray the lived experiences of the respondents.

Uttar Pradesh was selected as the state has the highest numerical strength of the Scheduled Caste population in the country. The District Sonbhadra was selected using various socio-demographic and health indicators. Similarly, the Tehsil and Block, namely Dudhi and Myorpur respectively were selected for the study. A composite index was used to select villages with available amenities and basic facilities. Among the various villages from the composite index, a total of two villages that met the requirements of the study regarding a considerable number of caste categories wherein the differences could be observed were selected. The Household survey schedule was used to collect information about the age, sex, education level, marital status, type of family, occupation, number of working family members, monthly household income, land ownership, to name a few.

As regards the social identity of the respondents, they were asked questions regarding their understanding of caste and sub-caste. Thus, the identification of the respondents belonging to a particular caste and sub-caste used in the study evolved from their perceived as well as reported social identity during the household survey. The respondents were asked questions such as what they meant by caste and sub-caste. The respondents largely reported caste as well as the sub-caste in terms of various characteristics. Some of the responses regarding caste included caste as a classificatory device that divided the society, determined occupation and economic status, responsible for discrimination and restricting social relations. Some of the respondents also reported caste as an administrative category. They largely referred to themselves as belonging to Scheduled Castes. They differentiated themselves from the Scheduled Tribes (ST). They identified themselves as belonging to *Anusuchit Jati*. Those belonging to the ST were referred to as *Anusuchit JanJati*.

The responses regarding the sub-caste suggested that the sub-caste was often referred to as *Biradri*. It was believed to be a division of *Jati/Jat*. Some of the respondents in their narratives even used the two together as *Jat-Biradari*. The membership to each caste and sub-caste was determined by birth in a specific caste/sub-caste.

As regards the education level, both Chamar, as well as Baiswar respondents, were found to be educated till higher level when compared to Dharkars. The most educated respondents among the Chamar and Baiswar castes were educated till the 12th and 8th standard respectively. No respondent from the Dharkar sub-caste was educated beyond the primary level. The sub-caste level analysis also shows that there were differences in the level of educational attainment among various sub-castes. The respondents belonging to the sub-castes with a better socio-economic standing had a higher level of education. It was also observed that the level of education was poorer among the sub-castes that lied lower in the socio-economic hierarchy of their respective castes.

Marriage outside the sub-caste was strictly prohibited. Any deviation from the prescribed marriage rules resulted in punishment of varying levels decided by the caste Panchayat. One of the significant observations was that though the caste panchayat decided the punishment keeping in mind the socio-economic status of the deviant, quite often it was those that lied lowermost in the hierarchy who suffered the most as they were burdened with meeting the cost of punishment. Those with insufficient means to fulfil the conditions of the caste panchayat faced a social boycott and experienced exclusion.

Another socio-cultural practice wherein the respondents experienced exclusion was related to the food practices, particularly during public dining. Those from the lowermost sub-caste were not even invited. However, if they were 'invited' or were still to attend, the event for some reason, they were often made to sit separately and served the last. The discrimination and exclusion regarding food practices were also visible in the food sharing patterns. The *kachcha* food was shared among those belonging to the same sub-caste. The 'lower' sub-caste could only serve *pakka* food to the sub-castes higher in the hierarchy. In such an instance, the *pakka* food was cooked by a *halwai* in his utensils. The utensils in which food was served were also different for the 'upper' sub-caste. By their economic status and perceived caste purity, the 'upper' sub-castes could share the *kachcha* as well as *pakka* food among themselves. The differences in the religious practices

The income-wise distribution of the respondents among the Chamar caste suggests that the income among selected households varied from a minimum of Rs. 2000 per month to more than Rs. 10,000 per month. However, about as high as 89 per cent of households

had a monthly income below Rs. 10,000. When analysed at the level of sub-caste, half of all the households from both Ravidasiya and Dhusiya had a monthly household income below Rs. 6,000. The corresponding share of the Chamar households below Rs. 6000 was about 30 per cent.

The income among selected Dharkar caste respondents varied from a minimum of Rs. 2000 per month to about Rs. 10,000 per month. About 78 per cent of all the selected Dharkar households had a monthly household income below Rs. 6,000. At the level of sub-caste, those belonging to the sub-castes Bentbansi (70%), Bansphor (94%), and Lakarhara (62%), reported a monthly income below Rs. 6000. All the Kharush households selected for the study had a monthly family income below Rs. 6,000.

The selected respondents from the Baiswar caste reported a minimum of Rs. 6,000 to above Rs. 10,000 as their household income. The sub-caste level analysis of household income showed that the Khandait respondents with a monthly household income below Rs. 10,000 constituted about 26 per cent of the selected households. The corresponding percentage among the Bannait and Sohagpuria sub-castes was however found to be about 80 and 75 per cent respectively.

The land distribution among the various sub-castes of respondents belonging to the Chamar caste suggested that the instance of landlessness was highest among the Dhusiya sub-caste. On the other hand, all the respondents from the Chamar sub-caste had land. However, not all respondents from the Chamar sub-caste owned land. Some of them (about 7 per cent) owned land. Others (about 23 per cent) had land on lease. Some respondents (about 44 per cent) reported taking land on Patta as well as lease while those who owned some land as well as had land on patta constituted about 27 per cent. Among the Dharkars, the landlessness is highest among the Kharush sub-caste. However, some of the respondents from each Bentbansi, Bansphor and Lakarhara were landless. Similarly, among the Baiswars, the landlessness is highest among the Sohagpuria sub-caste (about 77 per cent). On the other hand, about 73 per cent of respondents from Khandait sub-caste reported land ownership.

It was evident from the field that a socio-economic hierarchy existed at the level of sub-caste in each of the selected castes. For instance, among the Chamar caste, Chamars were located at the top, followed by Ravidasiya and Dhusiya. Similarly, among the Dharkars, the Bentbansi and Khadush occupied the top and the bottom positions respectively. The

Bansphor and Lakarhara the second and the third positions respectively within the hierarchy. Further, among the Baiswars, Khandaits perceived themselves as the most superior among the Baiswars followed by the Bannaits and Sohagpuria. However, it appeared that there were certain individuals within some of the 'lower' sub-castes who showed signs of economic mobility. These cases refer to the individual differences within the sub-caste.

The narratives of the respondents across the three generations among households belonging to various sub-castes suggest that there were inter-generational differences in the experiences of discrimination among the respondents. Most elderly respondents reported suffering extreme forms of discrimination including untouchability. They could neither own land, nor houses. They experienced various forms of discrimination in attaining education and job, faced restrictions regarding clothing, to name a few. The middle generation also experienced some forms of discrimination while the youngest generation reported experiencing the least discrimination. It was thus evident that the elderly generation experienced humiliation and worst forms of discrimination due to their respective caste/sub-caste status and poverty associated with it.

The respondents' perceptions about the health, illness and disease were also understood to situate their course of treatment in their respective worldview. Health was largely defined as an absence of disease or illness, a state of being where one could manage daily activities without any discomfort. The illness and disease were perceived to affect the bodily function and consequently the state of health. The distinction between the illness and disease, however, was based on the perceived severity, duration and the expenditure incurred to cure a condition. The illness was largely perceived to encompass minor diseases which could be treated without accessing medical facilities. The disease, on the other hand, was identified as a major ailment and required medical attention. Further, some serious conditions of diseases were even perceived to be fatal.

Most respondents situated the causes of various forms of illness in their immediate living or work environment. Their belief in the supernatural realm was also frequently cited as a cause of illness. As regards the course of cure, most episodes of illness were cured by following home remedies. The course of treatment of various diseases among the respondents suggests that the accessibility to health resources posed a major constraint among the respondents from both the villages. The respondents from both the villages

accessed the traditional healer and private practitioners since both the government and private health facilities were situated far away from the village. Other than the geographic location, the economic inequalities among the castes and sub-caste also shaped access to health resources. The respondents from the sub-castes who perceived their respective sub-caste superior over the others due to their relatively better off economic status and availability of conveyance could overcome the geographic barrier. It was however observed that even among such respondents, the recourse to the institutional health facilities situated at a distance was often reported as a last resort. It was thus evident that geographic location, social identity and the socio-economic status along with several other factors shaped the decision to resort to a particular health resource.

As regards women's access to health resources during pregnancy and childbirth, other than the accessibility of the health resources, their perception about pregnancy as a normal stage of life shaped their decision to prefer a *dai* over a medical practitioner. Further, their perceptions and beliefs about the harassment and economic burden of accessing institutional health facilities during childbirth also deterred them to avail institutional health facilities during the pregnancy and childbirth. Such beliefs and perceptions were often a result of prior personal experience or the experiences of relatives or close friends. It was also found that women's preference of a *dai* during the pregnancy and childbirth was not solely due to the economic or the geographic constraints. The trust, care and inter-personal relations also shaped women's preference of *dai* over other health resources.

To sum up, the study attempted to understand the patterns of discrimination and exclusion among Dalits at their caste and sub-caste level in the selected villages of Sonbhadra district, Uttar-Pradesh. It was found that a hierarchy existed at the level of sub-caste in both the villages. Some of the sub-castes within each Dalit caste, by their perceived purity, occupational pattern and the economic status enjoyed a higher status at the sub-caste hierarchy. The respondents from such sub-castes often discriminated against the others situated 'lower' in the hierarchy. Various forms of discrimination and exclusion were observed in the socio-cultural, economic and socio-spatial distribution among the respondents belonging to the 'lower' sub-castes in the hierarchy. Further, it was observed that there was an element of the time lag in availing any government scheme or benefits meant for all the Scheduled Castes among various sub-castes within each Dalit caste in the selected villages. Those who were situated at the higher level in the hierarchy could

relatively take better advantage of the policy initiatives meant for Scheduled Castes. It was partly due to their higher level of education as well as the dominance in the political structure at the level of the village.

It thus evident that within each of the Dalit castes, due to their sub-caste identity and economic condition, they experienced complete exclusion in a particular sphere while they were partially excluded in another. The same respondents could also experience inclusion in still another sphere. The inclusion, however, could be favourable or not. Thus, we found that the social exclusion operates at the level of sub-caste in a very complex manner. It was also evident that there were some respondents from the 'lower' sub-castes who achieved some form of mobility due to their education or economic upliftment. However, those from the other sub-castes discriminated against most respondents from the 'lower' sub-castes in different spheres of life as discussed in the study.

The social identity of the respondents and their economic status also posed challenges of varied nature in availing health benefits as well as accessing health care services. The public health care services in both the villages were situated far away from the villages. Therefore, they accessed whatever health facilities were available at the health facilities in their respective villages. It implied that the entire population in both the villages faced a geographical constraint as regards accessing public healthcare facilities. However, here the economic status understandably in interaction with the social identity determined the access to health care services. Those with a better socio-economic standing and conveyance had the relative ease of access to health care services compared to those situated at the bottom. Further, any adverse health outcomes also affected the poor households more, thereby pushing them further down the hierarchy. Thus, it may be inferred that hierarchy and differential; both are functional at the caste and sub-caste level. The trajectory of sub-caste differentials operates on the basis of social identity as well as economic conditions and overlap in terms of spheres.

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Appendix I

Tracing the History of Caste/ Untouchables in the Ancient and Medieval Period

Period	Year	Name	Characteristics	Kingdom
Ancient	4000-1000 B.C	Shudra, Dasas, Panis,	Krish Varna, dark complexion, <i>Anasa</i> (without nose), Upmanyus, Nishadas	Aryans period
	1000-600 B.C.	Shudra, Chandala	Toil, servant, marriage restrictions, feeding/eating restrictions, carrying a dead body	Brahmins
	322-600 A.D.	Shudra	Servant(seven types described by Manu)	Maurya, Pushapmitra Sungha, Kanawa, Kushana
	606-700 A.D.	Shudra	Unclean workers	Harsh Vardhan
Medieval	700-1200 A.D.	No changes occurred in the society; all the structures were same as those described by Manu.		Rajputs
	1200-1757A.D.	In this period, caste became stronger, and many restrictions were introduced in the society.		Mughals

Source: Adapted from Chandra and Mitra,(2003).

Appendix II

Status and nomenclature of Dalits during the Colonial Period

Period	Year	Name /Work /Characteristics	Authority
Modern Period	1881	Varna Categories were used for defining them. Moreover, they were listed in the chapter.	Colonial Census (Ripen)
	1891	Caste can assign by their tradition works- field labourers, lather workers, scavengers, watchman and village menials are such occupation who defines the Dalits.	Census
	1901	Classified Hindu caste in seven categories in 'as recognized native public opinion.	Risley
	1911	Ten criteria were used to determine whether the caste and tribes. Excluded	Census
	1921	Discriminated castes and tribes were named as depressed classes.	Census
	1931	'Exterior caste,' inherited polluted people	Hutton
	1935	Schedule caste and depressed classes	Govt. of India Act
		Landless and poor peasants who are exploited due to politically, economically and in the name of religion	<i>Neo-Buddhist</i>
	1948	Broken men	B.R. Ambedkar
		Harijan	M.K. Gandhi, Narsinh Mehta,
	The 1970s	Poor peasants, women and all those being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion.	Panther Movement

Source: Adapted from Chandra and Mitra,(2003).

Appendix III

Constitutional Rights and Safeguard for Dalits

Part-3 of the Constitution: Fundamental Rights

Article-14: Equality before the law.

Article 15: Prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

Article 16: Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.

Article 17: Abolition of untouchability.

Article 19: Protection of certain rights regarding freedom of speech

Article 23: Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour.

Article 25: Freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion

Article 29: Protection of interests of minorities

Part-4 of the Constitution: Directive Principle Of the State Policy.

Article 38: State to secure a social order for the promotion of the welfare of the people

Article 46: Promotion of educational and economic interests of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other weaker sections.

Part- 14 of the constitution: Services under the union and the states, public service commissions

Article 320 A: Functions of public service commissions

Part -16 of the Constitution: Special provisions relating to certain classes

Article 330: Reservation of seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the house of people.

Article 332: Reservation of seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the legislative assemblies of the states

Article 334: Reservation of seats and special representation to cease after sixty years, [at present the reservations have been extended up to 2010]

Article 335: Claims of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to services and posts

Article 338: National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Article 341: Defining Scheduled Castes

Part- 19 of the Constitution: Miscellaneous

Article 366: Definitions- 'Schedule' means a Schedule to this Constitution; and 'Scheduled Castes' means such castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within such castes, races or tribes as are deemed under article 341 to be Scheduled Castes for the purposes of this Constitution.

Source: <http://Constitution.org/cons/india>

Appendix IV

Government of India Acts for Protecting the Rights of SCs/STs:

Acts and Year	Year	Vision
The protection of Civil Right Act	1955 and 1977	An Act to prescribe punishment for the preaching and practice of 'untouchability' for the enforcement of any disability arising therefrom and for matters connected therewith.
The SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act	1989 and 1995	An Act to prevent the commission of offenses of atrocities against the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, to provide for Special Courts for the trial of such offense and for relief and rehabilitation of the victims of such offenses and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.
The Bonded Labour System (abolition) Ordinance	1975	An Ordinance to provide for the abolition of bonded labour system with a view to preventing the economic and physical exploitation of the weaker sections of the people, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.
The Empowerment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry latrines (prohibition) Act	1993	An Act to provide for the prohibition of employment of manual scavengers as well as construction or continuance of dry latrines and for the regulation of construction and maintenance of water-seal latrines and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto
Panchayati Raj Institutions	1991	33% reservation for the SC/ST women in all over the country in the tri-level Panchayat system.
Mondal Commission	1993	Reservation for the OBC and Minorities Caste in Government jobs.
Mehta Committee	2007	27% reservation for the OBCs in all central universities.
Manual Scavenging Act	2013	

Source: Adapted from Thorat (1999) Annexure-02, pp-159-160

HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Patterns of Discrimination between Sub-Caste among Dalits and Issues of Access to Health Recourses: A Study of Villages of Sonbhadra District, Uttar-Pradesh

Study Area Profile:	Date-	Place-
HH Interview Schedule No-	Name of Block/District-	
Name of Village-	Name of Ward/ Tola/Area-	

A- General Information:

[1] Name of Respondent -	[2] Age in Completed Year-
[3] Sex-	[4] Education (Completed)-
[5] Marital Status-	[6] Religion-
[7] Caste Group-	[8] Sub- Caste (Biradari)/Gotra-
[9] Occupational Identity-	[10] Type of Family-
[11] Total Family Member (M/F)-	[12] Cattle--
[13] No. of Working Members-	[14] No. of Dependents-
[15]- Family Income-	[16] Land Ownership-
[17] Land Holding (in Acers)-	[18] Type of Land-

[3] **Sex**- Male-1, Female-2, Others-3, [5]- **Marital Status**- Married-1, Unmarried-2, Widow-3, Seperated-4, Divorced-5, [6] **Religion**- Hindu-1, Buddhism-2, Others-3, [7] **Caste Group**- SC/ST/ OBC/General, [9] **Occupation Identity**- Pure-1, Impure-2, [10]- **Type of Family**- Joint-1, Nuclear-2, Other-3, [16] **Land Ownership**-Leased-1, Patta-2, Owned-3, Other-4, [18] **Type of Land**- Irrigated-1, Non-Irrigated- 2

B- Household Profile:

S.N	Name of HH Member	Rel. with Resp.	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Education	Primary Work	Secondary Work	Income from all Sources
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									

C- Housing Condition:

[1] Ownership of House	[2] Do you have record of the rights of your house- Yes-1, No-2
[3]Type of House-	[4]No. of Rooms (with size)-
[5] Drainage system- Yes-1, No-2	[6] Ventilation in Rooms (with size)-
[7] Separate space for cooking- Yes-1, No-2	[8] if yes-
[9] Fuel used for cooking-	[10] Do you have electricity connection- Yes-1, No-2
[11] Electricity connection taken from-	[12]Source of Lighting-
[13] Source of drinking water-	[14] do you process water before use-
[15] do you have toilet facility- Yes-1, No-2	[16] if yes, where is toilet located- inside-1, outside-2, sharing-3, other-4
[17] who constructed the toilet- Self-1, NGO-2, Goct-3, Others-4	[18]- Assets (list)-

[1]Ownership- Own-1, Rented-2, Leased-3, Other-4, [3] Type- Pucca-1, Kucha-2, Semi-Pucca-3, Others-4, [8] Proper Kitchen-1, Separate Space in House-2, Outside House-3, Common Kitchen-4, Other-5, [9] Fuel- Wood-1, Coal-2, Cow Dung-3, Dry Leaves-4, Agricultural Waste-5, Kerosene Oil-6, Gobar Gas-7, LPG-8, [11]- electricity connection- Elect. Dept.-1, Neighbor HH-2, Other-3, [12] Source of light- Kerosene lamp-1, Lantern-2, Petromax-3, candel-4, solar lamp-5, Elect Bulb-6, others-7, [13] Source of drinking water- own well-1, Own hand pump-2, Public H pump-3, Public tap-4, Public well-5, other-6, [14] Purify water- Boil-1, Bleach-2, Chlorine-3, Use of Phitcri-Alum filter-4, Electronic purifier-5, no treatment-6, others-7,

D- Government benefits from various Schemes:

[1] do you have voter ID card- Yes-1, No-2	[2] do you have ration card- Yes-1, No-2
[3] if yes type of card-	[4] do any family member get the social security benefits-
[5] do you have MNREGA card- Yes-1, No-2	[6] do you have RSBY card- Yes-1, No-2
[7]have you availed any other benefits from Govt. schemes	[8] JSY- Yes-1, No-2
[9] ICDS- Yes-1, No-2	[10] MDM- Yes-1, No-2
[11] Indra Awas Yojna- Yes-1, No-2	[12] Rural Electrification Prog- Yes-1, No-2

[3]- APL-1, BPL-2, ANTYODAY-3, No Card-4, other-5, [4] Old age pension-1, widow pension-2, ex. Service -3, no pension-4, other-05,

E- General Consciousness about-

a. Caste and Sub-Caste

[1] What do you know about Caste (<i>Jati</i>)

[2]What do you think about the Sub-caste (Biradari/Up-Jati)
[3] What are the other Sub-castes among your caste (Name some important)
[4] is there any hierarchical order of Sub-caste among your caste (Top or Bottom)
[5] Do sub-castes have any association with the occupation
[6] Could you tell me about the Gotra of your caste and your sub-caste
[7]What have you heard about the origin/ any other details of you sub-caste(Oral History), please tell
[8] Additional information about caste/Sub-caste, if any , please share

b. Understanding of Discrimination:

[1] what do you mean by discrimination (<i>Bhed-Bhav</i>)
[2] Have you faced any form of discrimination
a- Personal Level-
b- Family Level-
c- At societal/ Community Level-

[3] With which caste group have you faced discrimination most of the times;
a- Same caste (Sub-caste)
b- Upper caste (Inter caste)
[4] Do you exercise any code of conduct within and/ or across caste group
a- Sub-caste-
b- Inter-caste-

F- Socio-Cultural Aspects of Discrimination

❖ Food Culture:

[1] what is your major intake in food (grains)
[2] On special Occasions (birth, marriage, death), what is the nature of food cooked by you (Kacha and pucca)
[3] If <i>Kacha</i> , who cooks for whom
[3] If <i>Pucca</i> , who cooks for whom
[4] Do you take any help from anyone in cooking for the special events? Yes/No
[5]if Yes, is there any preferred person from a specific caste or sub-caste who can assist/ cook for you
[6] in Private/ Personal dining, who can join you
[6.A] sub-caste people (why can't others join you)
[6.B] Anyone or inter-caste groups too

[6.C] If anyone can join you, do people from other caste/sub-caste feel comfortable with you?
[7] In Public dining; which are the most and least preferred caste groups among the invitees
[7.A] Most-
[7.B] Least-
[7.C] What is the preference criteria for invitees for a public dining
[7.D] Do you follow any specific food culture on any special occasion
[8] Who are other caste and sub-castes; From which you can take water
[8.A] From which you can't
[9] When you host any event, does everyone take water from you
[10] When you are invited somewhere by someone (mention the caste or sub-caste only)do you take food together
[10.A] Separately -
[11] What is the sitting arrangement in the public dining
[11.A] If together (with which caste/ sub-caste)
[11.B] If separate (with which caste/ sub-caste)
[12] Do you use separate serving pots/ utensils for the special caste/ sub-caste groups

❖ **Marriage**

[1] Do you Prefer arrange marriages of your children: Yes/No
[2] What is your first preference as regards caste when you are looking for a match for your children
[2.A] For Boy
[2.B] For Girl
[3] If the preferred match is from within the sub-caste, why?
[4] Can anyone marry outside the sub-caste?
[5] If yes, does community accept that
[5.A] If no, what are the other complications
[6] Do you remember any marriage, which has happened outside sub-caste (any social group)
[7] Do you follow the Hindu marriage rituals or Buddhist rituals/ Traditional--- Community based self marriage process (Bhufa of Both side)
[8] Who performs the marriage rituals and why?

❖ **Religious practices**

[1] Tell something about your religious faith (at Household level)
[2] who guards your family from in and outside evils
[3] is any specific rituals for those faiths
[4] what are the others religious faith within your community
[5] is any specific common faith of your village and what are the rituals performed there
[6] what are the other little tradition among your caste and sub-caste group

❖ **Day to Day interaction**

[1] do you face difficulties while using the public sphere (like Panchayats Meeting or anywhere else)
[2] did you experienced your caste or sub-caste face any difficulties while using the services like Barber, tailor, potters (like priority or extra money or delay in services or not providing the services to you)
[3] Have you faced any restriction while visiting the house of upper sub-castes among you
[4] any others (observation based)

G- Economic Aspect of Discrimination

[1] Nature of your work; who is your employer
[1.a] What kind of work you do for him
[1.b] In which form do you get the wage
[1.c] are you satisfied with the wage
[1.d] Do you feel any discriminatory practices while working
[2] if you are self employed; are you an Entrepreneur
[2.a] What kind of product you make
[2.b] Who buys it?
[2.c] Do you think you get the right price of product
[2.d] Where is your shop located
[2.e] any others (observation based)

H- Socio-Spatial Segregation Aspect of Discrimination

[1] How long you have been staying here
[2] Is it your parental house
[2.a] if yes, why did your parent migrated to this place
[2.b] if no, why did you migrate here?
[3] is your house located in the center/ periphery of village
[3.a] if yes, which are the other castes or your sub-caste staying at/ nearby center/periphery of village
[3.b] why are they staying there?
[3.c] do you wish to stay there?
[3.d] if yes, how will you able to manage to live there
[4] Who are the other castes and sub-castes are staying near you?
[5] how is your relationship with others
[6] Does your house have proper connectivity with main road?
[7] What are the other problems you faced while staying here?

I- Caste Dynamics

a- Notion of Social Justice/ Humiliation

[1] what are the most common forms of discrimination
[1.a] young Generation (>25 years)

[1.b] Middle age group (25-60 years)
[1.c] old people (above 60 years)
[2] what do you think, is the nature /incidences of discrimination increased
[1.a] young Generation (>25 years)
[1.b] Middle age group (25-60 years)
[1.c] old people (above 60 years)

J- Health and Exclusion

[1] What do you think about health, illness and disease
[2] what are the major and minor forms of illness in your house (criteria for major and minor)
[3] where does you go for treatment (access)
[4] why do you prefer them (Utilization)
[5] what are the other places where you can get the treatment
[6] why don't you prefer them (Barriers)

[7] do you know about the alternative medicine or traditional medicine about some disease
[8] what kind of diseases are being treated there
[9] do you know anything about the herbals for the treatment
[10] what are the main disease among the your caste/sub-caste (occupational mean)

Village Name	Prim ary	Midd le	Second ary	Seni or Seco ndar	Govt Arts and Scienc	Total Education Score	Z1- composite Index of Edu	Community Health Centre	Primary Health Centre
Jogendra	2	2	2.5	4.5	6.5	17.5	0.6363636	4.5	0.5
Kuldomari	2	2	0	0	0	4	0.1454545	0	0
Ranahor	1	2	2.5	4.5	6.5	16.5	0.6	4.5	0.5
Auri	4	4	4	6	0	18	0.6545455	5.5	1.5
Nakati	0					0	0		
Partaliya	0	0	3.5	5.5	7	16	0.5818182	5	1
Garabandha	0	2	3.5	5.5	7	18	0.6545455	5	1
Rehta	0	2	3.5	5.5	7.5	18.5	0.6727273	5	1
Basi	0	2	0	0	7	9	0.3272727	5	1
Barwani	0	1.5	3.5	5.5	7	17.5	0.6363636	5	1
Chanduyar	0	1	3	5	6.5	15.5	0.5636364	4.5	0.5
Dharsari	0	2	0	0	7	9	0.3272727	5	1
Koharauliya	0	0	0	0	7	7	0.2545455	5	1
Koharaul	0	1.5	3.5	0	6.5	11.5	0.4181818	0	0
Mishra	0	1.5	0	0	7	8.5	0.3090909	5	1
Bhairwa	0	1.5	0	0	7	8.5	0.3090909	0	0
Jogi Chaura	0	1.5	3	5	7	16.5	0.6	0	0
Marrak	0.5	1.5	3.5	5.5	7	18	0.6545455	0	0
Paraswara Raja	0	1.5	3.5	5.5	7	17.5	0.6363636	0	0
Paraswara Babu	0	0	3.5	5.5	7.5	16.5	0.6	4.5	0.5
Parasawar Chaube	0.5	1.5	3.5	5.5	7.5	18.5	0.6727273	4.5	0.5
Barawa Bhatwari	0.5	1.5	3.5	5.5	7.5	18.5	0.6727273	4.5	0.5
Ranibari	0	2	3.5	5.5	7.5	18.5	0.6727273	5	0.5
Chil Kapand	0	2	4	6	0	12	0.4363636	0	1.5
Pipri	0	4	3.5	5.5	7	20	0.7272727	5.5	1.5
Belawadah	0	2	3	5	7	17	0.6181818	5	1
Sendur	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.0727273	4.5	0.5
Labhari	0	2	2.5	4.5	6.5	15.5	0.5636364	0	0
Makara	0	2	2.5	4.5	6.5	15.5	0.5636364	0	0
Pati	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Badura	0	0				0	0		
Asanhar	0	0	2.5	4.5	0	7	0.2545455	0	0
Tharpathar	0	1.5	3.5	5.5	0	10.5	0.3818182	0	0
Jokahi	0	0				0	0		
Belhatthi	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.0727273	0	0
Kharpathar	0	0				0	0		
Murdhowa	0	0				0	0		
Rantola	0	2	3.5	5	0	10.5	0.3818182	5	1
Kirawani	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.0727273	5	1
Khairahi	0	2	0	0	6.5	8.5	0.3090909	5	1
Govindpur	0	2	0	4.5	6.5	13	0.4727273	5	1
Gambhirpur	0.5	1.5	0	0	0	2	0.0727273	5	1
Kushmaha	0.5	1.5	3.5	0	0	5.5	0.2	5	1
Raspahari	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.0727273	5.5	0
Aurahawa	0	1.5	3.5	5.5	6.5	17	0.6181818	5.5	1.5
Darihara	0	2	0	0	6.5	8.5	0.3090909	0	0
Soroho	0	1.5	2.5	4.5	0	8.5	0.3090909	0	1

Gariya	0	2	3	5	6.5	16.5	0.6	5	0
Karakori	0	2	4	5.5	0	11.5	0.4181818	5.5	0
Harhori	0	1.5	3.5	5.5	0	10.5	0.3818182	5.5	0
Parani	0	2	3.5	5.5	0	11	0.4	5	0
Kundadih	0	1.5	3.5	5.5	6.5	17	0.6181818	5.5	1.5
Mewarpur	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
Baliyari	0	1.5	3.5	5.5	6.5	17	0.6181818	5.5	1.5
Bhaluhi	0	1	3	4.5	6.5	15	0.5454545	5	1
Nawatola	0	1.5	3.5	5.5	6.5	17	0.6181818	5.5	1.5
Baghmandwa	0	2	3	5	0	10	0.3636364	5	1
Bichhi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
Kota	0	2	3	5	6.5	16.5	0.6	5	1
Swanganj	0	1.5	3	5	0	9.5	0.3454545	5	1
Parari	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
Jogiya	0.5	1	3	5	6.5	16	0.5818182	5	1
Pipari	0	0				0	0		
Jhilo	0	2	4	5	6.5	17.5	0.6363636	4.5	0.5
Maharikala	0	2	3	5	6.5	16.5	0.6	4.5	0.5
Khamhariya	0	2	4	5	7	18	0.6545455	4.5	0.5
Mitihini	0	0				0	0		
Khairi	0.5	1.5	3.5	5.5	7.5	18.5	0.6727273	5.5	1.5
Adhavra	0	1.5	3.5	5.5	7	17.5	0.6363636	5.5	1.5
Sirsoti	0	2	3.5	5.5	8	19	0.6909091	5.5	1.5
Dorahar	0	2	3.5	5.5	0	11	0.4	0	1.5
Nemana	0	2	4	5	0	11	0.4	5	1
Jaraha	0	2	4	6	8	20	0.7272727	0	0
Pindari	0	2	4	0	7	13	0.4727273	4.5	0.5
Anjani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.5	0.5
Dharati Dandd	0	0	0	5	0	5	0.1818182	4.5	0.5
Sendur	0	1.5	2.5	4.5	6.5	15	0.5454545	5.5	1.5
Liladewa	0	2	4	4.5	0	10.5	0.3818182	4.5	0.5
Mahuli	0	2	4	5.5	8	19.5	0.7090909	5	1
Rajamilan	0	2	4	5.5	8	19.5	0.7090909	5.5	1.5
Banamahari	0	2	2.5	4.5	8	17	0.6181818	4.5	0.5
Kachan	0	2	4	6	8	20	0.7272727	5	0
Dewari	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
Kirwil	0	2	4	6	6.5	18.5	0.6727273	5	1
Karahiya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
Shishawa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Patkhirana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jalawa	0	0				0	0		
Piparahara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jhapar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nadhira	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.5	0.5
Rajasari	0	2	3.5	5.5	0	11	0.4	5	1
Babhani Diha	0	2	4	4.5	8	18.5	0.6727273	5	1
Supachuwa	0	2	4	5	7	18	0.6545455	5	1
Jamapani	0	2	4	5	6.5	17.5	0.6363636	5	1
Lavband	0.5	1.5	3	5	0	10	0.3636364	5	1
Fata Pakhana	0	1	3	5	0	9	0.3272727	5	1

Arangpani	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.0727273	4.5	1
Lilasi Kala	0	2	4	6	0	12	0.4363636	4.5	0.5
Chari	0	2	3	4.5	8	17.5	0.6363636	4.5	0.5
Chanaga	0	2	3.5	5.5	6.5	17.5	0.6363636	4.5	0.5
Kudari	0	2	4	6	8	20	0.7272727	0	0
Ajangira	0	1.5	3	5	6.5	16	0.5818182	4.5	1
Deohar Pashchim	0.5	1	3	4.5	6.5	15.5	0.5636364	4.5	1
Kharatiya Tola	0	1.5	3	5	6.5	16	0.5818182	4.5	1.5
Madhuban	0	2	4	6	8	20	0.7272727	4.5	0.5
Bodara Tola	0.5	1.5	3	5	6.5	16.5	0.6	4.5	0.5
Barah Pan	0	1.5	2.5	4.5	6.5	15	0.5454545	4.5	0
Karach Tola	0	1.5	3	5	6.5	16	0.5818182	4.5	0.5
Naudiha	0	1	2.5	4.5	6.5	14.5	0.5272727	4.5	0.5
Deohar Purab	0	1.5	3.5	4.5	6.5	16	0.5818182	4.5	1
Paripan	0	2	4	5	6.5	17.5	0.6363636	4.5	1.5
Sago Bandh	0	2	4	6	8	20	0.7272727	4.5	1
Bishram Pur	0.5	1.5	3.5	0	8	13.5	0.4909091	4.5	0.5
Kurpan	0	1	3	5	8	17	0.6181818	4.5	0.5
Ahir Burawa	0.5	1.5	3.5	5.5	8	19	0.6909091	4.5	0.5
Manaru Tola	0.5	0.5	3	5	8	17	0.6181818	4.5	0.5

Primary Health Centre	Maternity Sub And Child Welfare Centre	TB Clinic	Hospital Allopathic	Dispensary	Mobile Health Clinic	Family Welfare Centre	Total Score of Health Facilities	Z2=Composite Index of Health Fac
0	2.5	0	6.5	4	0.5	2.5	21	0.7636364
0	4	1	0	0	0	4	9	0.3272727
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0.5	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	1	3.5	26.5	0.9636364
							0	0
0	3	0	7.5	3.5	1	2.5	23.5	0.8545455
0	3	0	7.5	3.5	1	2.5	23.5	0.8545455
0	3	0	0	0	1	3	13	0.4727273
0	3.5	0	7.5	0	0	3	20	0.7272727
0	3	0	7.5	3.5	0	3	23	0.8363636
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0	3	0	0	0	0	3	12	0.4363636
0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9	0.3272727
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9	0.3272727
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0.5	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0.5	2.5	0	6.5	0	0	2.5	17	0.6181818
0.5	2.5	0	6.5	0	0	2.5	17	0.6181818
0.5	2.5	0	7.5	3.5	0	2.5	22	0.8
0	3.5	0	7.5	0	0	0	12.5	0.4545455
0.5	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	1.5	3.5	27	0.9818182
0	3	0	7	3	1	3	23	0.8363636
0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.5	0.2
0	2.5	0	6.5	0	0	2.5	11.5	0.4181818
0	2.5	0	6.5	0	0	2.5	11.5	0.4181818
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
							0	0
0	2.5	0	6.5	0	0	2.5	11.5	0.4181818
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
							0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
							0	0
							0	0
0	3	0	7	3	0	3	22	0.8
0	3	0	7	3	0	0	19	0.6909091
0	3	0	7	3	1	3	23	0.8363636
0	3	0	7	3	0	0	19	0.6909091
0	3	0	7	3	0	3	22	0.8
0	3	0	7	3	0	3	22	0.8
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.5	0.2
0.5	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	1.5	3.5	27	0.9818182
0	4	1	0	0	0	4	9	0.3272727
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0363636

0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.1818182
0	2.5	0	6.5	3.5	1.5	3.5	23	0.8363636
0	2.5	0	6.5	3.5	0	3.5	21.5	0.7818182
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.1818182
0.5	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	1.5	3.5	27	0.9818182
1	4	0	6.5	4	2	4	27.5	1
0.5	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	1.5	3.5	27	0.9818182
0	3	0	0	3.5	0	0	12.5	0.4545455
0.5	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	1.5	3.5	27	0.9818182
0	2.5	0	0	0	0	3	11.5	0.4181818
0	3	0	7	3	1.5	3	23.5	0.8545455
0	3	0	7	3	1	3	23	0.8363636
0	3	0	7	3	1.5	3	23.5	0.8545455
0	3	0	7	3	1	3	23	0.8363636
0	3	0	7	3	1	3	23	0.8363636
							0	0
0	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	7.5	0.2727273
0	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	7.5	0.2727273
0	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	7.5	0.2727273
							0	0
0.5	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	1.5	3.5	27	0.9818182
0.5	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	0	0	22	0.8
0.5	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	1.5	3.5	27	0.9818182
0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.0727273
0	0	0	7	3	0	0	16	0.5818182
0	0	0	0	0	0.5	2.5	3	0.1090909
0	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	7.5	0.2727273
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0.5	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	1	3	23	0.8363636
0	2.5	0	0	2.5	0	2.5	12.5	0.4545455
0	2.5	0	0	3	0	2.5	14	0.5090909
0	3.5	0	0	0	0.5	2.5	13.5	0.4909091
0	2.5	0	0	3	0	0	10.5	0.3818182
0	3	0	0	3	0	3	14	0.5090909
0	3	0	0	3.5	0	3	15.5	0.5636364
0	3	0	0	0	0	0	9	0.3272727
0	3	0	0	3	0	0	12	0.4363636
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
							0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0	3	0	6.5	3	1	3	22.5	0.8181818
0	3	0	0	3.5	0	3	15.5	0.5636364
0	2.5	0	6.5	0	0	2.5	17.5	0.6363636
0	2.5	0	7	0	0	2.5	18	0.6545455
0	2.5	0	0	0	0	3	11.5	0.4181818
0	2.5	0	0	0	0	3	11.5	0.4181818

0	2.5	0	0	0	0	2.5	10.5	0.3818182
0	2.5	0	6.5	0	0	2.5	16.5	0.6
0.5	2.5	0	0	0	0	2.5	10.5	0.3818182
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0	0	0	6.5	0	0	3	9.5	0.3454545
0	3	0	6.5	3	1	2.5	21.5	0.7818182
0	3	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	20.5	0.7454545
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	20.5	0.7454545
0	3	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	3	20.5	0.7454545
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	19	0.6909091
0	2.5	0	0	2.5	0.5	2.5	13	0.4727273
0	2.5	0	6.5	0	0.5	3	17.5	0.6363636
0	3	0	7	3	0.5	2.5	21.5	0.7818182
0	3.5	0	7.5	3.5	0.5	2.5	23.5	0.8545455
0	4	0	0	0	0.5	4	14	0.5090909
0.5	2.5	0	6.5	3.5	0.5	3.5	22	0.8
0	3	0	6.5	2.5	0	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0.5	2.5	19.5	0.7090909
0	2.5	0	6.5	2.5	0	2.5	19	0.6909091

Tap Water treated	Uncovered Well	Hand Pump	Tube Wells/Bore hole	Tank/Pond/Lake	Closed Drainage	Open Drainage	Community Toilet Complex (including	Rural Production Centres or Sanitary	
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	6	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	2	2	4	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	2	2	4	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	8
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	8
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	8
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	8
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	8
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	8
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	8
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	1	1	1	2	4	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	2	4	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	1	4	0	2	0	0
1	1	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	1	1	2	4	4	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0

0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	0	8	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	4	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	4	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	4	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	8
0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	8
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	1	1	1	4	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	6	1	4	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	4	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	1	1	1	4	0	2	0	0
1	1	1	1	4	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	4	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0

0	1	1	2	4	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	2	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	2	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	2	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	4	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
0	1	1	1	4	0	2	6	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	8	0	0	0
0	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	0

Community waste disposal system after	Community Bio-gas or recycle of waste for	No System (Garbage) on	Total Score of Water & Sanitation	Z3=Compo site Index of Water and	Post Office	Sub Post Office	Mobile Phone Coverage	Internet Cafes / Common Service
0	0	2	13	0.4727273	4.5	3	8	7
6	0	0	11	0.4	6	4	8	0
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	4.5	3	8	6.5
0	0	2	14	0.5090909	6	0	8	1
			0	0				
0	0	2	14	0.5090909	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	8	0.2909091	5.5	3.5	8	0
0	0	2	11	0.4	0	0	8	7.5
6	0	0	23	0.8363636	4.5	3	8	0
6	0	2	25	0.9090909	5.5	0	8	7.5
6	0	2	25	0.9090909	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
6	0	2	17	0.6181818	5	3.5	8	7.5
0	8	0	25	0.9090909	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
6	0	0	23	0.8363636	6	4	8	0
6	0	2	21	0.7636364	0	0	8	0
6	0	2	17	0.6181818	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	0	0	8	0
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	4.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	0	8	0
0	0	2	11	0.4	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	8	0	17	0.6181818	5	3	8	7
0	0	2	10	0.3636364	6	3.5	8	0
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	4.5	2.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	4.5	2.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	8	0.2909091	0	0	8	0
			0	0				
0	0	2	8	0.2909091	4.5	2.5	8	7
0	0	2	12	0.4363636	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
			0	0				
6	0	2	18	0.6545455	6	0	8	0
			0	0				
			0	0				
0	0	2	11	0.4	0	0	8	0
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	5.5	3.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	10	0.3636364	5.5	3.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	6	4	8	6.5
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	5.5	3.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	5.5	3.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	5.5	0	8	0
0	0	2	6	0.2181818	5.5	3.5	8	0
6	0	2	18	0.6545455	5.5	3.5	8	0
6	0	2	13	0.4727273	5	3	8	1

6	0	2	17	0.6181818	6	4	8	1
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	3	8	7.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	4.5	3.5	8	6.5
6	0	2	14	0.5090909	5.5	3.5	8	1
6	0	2	13	0.4727273	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	6	4	8	1
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	4	8	1
6	0	0	19	0.6909091	5	3	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	4	8	7.5
0	0	2	15	0.5454545	4.5	3	8	1
0	0	2	11	0.4	0	0	8	0
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	6	4	8	7
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	3.5	8	1
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	4	8	1
0	0	2	10	0.3636364	4.5	2.5	8	1
			0	0				
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	4	8	1
0	8	0	25	0.9090909	6	4	8	1
6	0	2	21	0.7636364	6	4	8	1
			0	0				
0	0	2	11	0.4	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	6	0.2181818	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	5.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	5.5	3.5	8	1
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	6	4	8	7
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	4	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	4	8	1
0	0	2	8	0.2909091	6	3	8	1
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	0	8	1
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	4.5	2.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	12	0.4363636	4.5	3	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	4.5	3	8	1
0	0	2	8	0.2909091	5.5	3.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	15	0.5454545	6	4	8	6.5
0	8	0	21	0.7636364	5	2.5	8	7
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	4	8	1
0	0	2	12	0.4363636	6	4	8	1
0	0	2	12	0.4363636	6	4	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	0	0	8	1
0	0	2	11	0.4	0	0	8	1
			0	0				
0	0	2	7	0.2545455	0	0	8	0
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	0	0	8	0
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	0	0	8	0
0	0	2	8	0.2909091	5.5	3.5	8	1
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	4	8	1
0	0	2	15	0.5454545	6	4	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	5.5	3	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	4.5	3	8	1
0	0	2	11	0.4	4.5	3	8	0

6	0	0	16	0.5818182	4.5	0	8	1
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	6	4	8	6.5
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	6	4	8	1
0	8	2	18	0.6545455	4.5	3.5	8	6.5
6	8	2	24	0.8727273	5.5	3.5	8	1
0	8	2	18	0.6545455	4.5	2.5	8	6.5
0	8	2	17	0.6181818	5	3	8	0
0	8	2	17	0.6181818	4.5	3.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	4.5	3	8	6.5
0	8	0	13	0.4727273	4.5	3	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	3	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	4.5	3.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	6	0.2181818	4.5	3	8	6.5
0	0	2	17	0.6181818	5	3	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	4.5	3.5	8	6.5
0	0	2	11	0.4	6	4	8	6.5
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	4.5	3.5	8	7.5
0	0	2	9	0.3272727	4.5	3	8	1
0	0	2	17	0.6181818	4.5	3	8	1
0	0	2	11	0.4	4.5	3	8	1

Private Bus Service	National Highway	State Highway	Major District Road	Black Topped (pucca) Road	ATM	Cooperative Bank	Sports Field	Total Score
6.5	6.5	4.5	2.5	1	4.5	4.5	4	56.5
8	0	1	4	2	5.5	5.5	4	48
6.5	6.5	4.5	2.5	1	4.5	4.5	4	56
8	8	1	4	2	6	5.5	4	53.5
7	7.5	5.5	3.5	1.5	5.5	5.5	0	60.5
7	7.5	5.5	3.5	1.5	5.5	5.5	0	60.5
7.5	7.5	5.5	3.5	2	5.5	5	4	65
8	8	1	4	2	5.5	5	4	54.5
7.5	7.5	5.5	3.5	2	5.5	5	0	52
6.5	7	5	3	2	5	5	0	49
8	8	1	4	2	5.5	5	4	58.5
7.5	8	1	4	2	5.5	5.5	4	62
8	0	0	4	2	5.5	0	4	47.5
7.5	0	1	4	2	5.5	5	4	53.5
8	8	1	4	2	5	5	4	55
8	0	1	4	2	5	5	4	37
8	0	1	4	2	5.5	0	0	45
8	0	1	4	2	5.5	4.5	4	37
7.5	7.5	5.5	3.5	0	5.5	5.5	4	63.5
7.5	7.5	5.5	3.5	2	5.5	5.5	4	64.5
7.5	7.5	5.5	3.5	1.5	5.5	5.5	0	61
7.5	7.5	5.5	3.5	2	5.5	4.5	4	64.5
0	0	1	4	2	5.5	0	0	26.5
7.5	7.5	5.5	4	2	5.5	5.5	0	62
7	7	5	4	2	5	5	0	58
7.5	7	4.5	2.5	2	0	5.5	4	50.5
6.5	8	1	4	2	4.5	4.5	0	52
7.5	7.5	5.5	4	2	4.5	4.5	0	57
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	12
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	33
7.5	7.5	5.5	3.5	0	5.5	0	0	54
8	8	1	4	2	0	0	4	41
8	0	1	4	2	0	0	4	27
7.5	0	0	3.5	2	0	0	4	40.5
8	0	1	4	2	0	0	4	42.5
7.5	0	1	4	2	4.5	5	0	48.5
7.5	0	5.5	3.5	2	4.5	5	4	55.5
7.5	0	5.5	3.5	2	4.5	5	4	55.5
0	6.5	4.5	4	0	4.5	4.5	4	41.5
7.5	6.5	5.5	3.5	1.5	4.5	5.5	0	51.5
7	7	5	3	2	4.5	5	4	54.5
7	8	1	4	2	4.5	5	4	52.5

7	6.5	4.5	3	1.5	4.5	5	0	51
7.5	7.5	5.5	3.5	2	4.5	5.5	0	60.5
7.5	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	5.5	0	55.5
7.5	7	5	3	2	4.5	5.5	0	52.5
7.5	6.5	5.5	3.5	2	4.5	5.5	0	59.5
8	8	1	4	2	4.5	6	0	52.5
7.5	7.5	5.5	3.5	1.5	4.5	5.5	0	54.5
8	6.5	5.5	3.5	2	4.5	5	0	57.5
7.5	6.5	5.5	3.5	1.5	4.5	5.5	0	60
8	6.5	5	3	2	6	5	0	52
7	6.5	4.5	3	0	0	0	4	33
7	6.5	4.5	3	1.5	4.5	5	0	57
8	0	0	0	0	6	6	4	42.5
7	6.5	4.5	3	2	6	6	4	58
7	0	1	4	2	6	6	4	46
								0
8	8	5	3	2	4.5	4.5	4	58
8	8	5	3	2	4.5	4.5	4	58
8	8	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	4.5	4	57
								0
7.5	8	1	4	2	5.5	5.5	4	62
7.5	6.5	1	4	2	5.5	5.5	0	56.5
7.5	6.5	1	4	2	5.5	5.5	4	60.5
7.5	6.5	1	4	2	5.5	5.5	4	54
8	8	1	4	2	4.5	5	4	61.5
8	6.5	4.5	4	2	4.5	6	4	64
8	8	5	3	2	4.5	4.5	4	58
8	8	1	4	2	6	6	4	57
8	8	1	4	2	6	6	4	54
6.5	7.5	5.5	4	1.5	4.5	4.5	0	55.5
7	8	4.5	3	2	4.5	5	4	60
8	8	5	4	2	4.5	4.5	0	52.5
6.5	6.5	4.5	0	2	4.5	5.5	0	53
6.5	6.5	5	3	2	4.5	4.5	0	56.5
7	6.5	5	3	2	4.5	5	0	55.5
8	6.5	5	2.5	2	4.5	5	0	52.5
8	8	1	4	2	6	5	4	57
7	6.5	5	3	2	4.5	5	0	57.5
8	8	1	4	2	6	6	4	48
8	8	1	4	2	6	6	4	48
								0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	12
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	12
8	8	1	4	2	0	0	4	35
8	0	1	4	2	0	0	4	37
8	6.5	1	4	2	4.5	5	0	50
7	6.5	5	3	2	4.5	5	0	57.5
6.5	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	4.5	4	58
8	6.5	5	3	2	6	5	0	52
0	6.5	5	3	2	0	5	4	41

8	7	5	4	2	6	4.5	4	54
8	6.5	4.5	4	2	4.5	4.5	0	58.5
8	7	5	4	2	0	4.5	4	53.5
6.5	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	4.5	0	53.5
8	6.5	1	4	2	6	6	4	55.5
7	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	4.5	0	53
6.5	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	4.5	0	47
6.5	8	1	4	2	4.5	4.5	4	57
8	6.5	4.5	4	2	4.5	6	0	57.5
8	8	1	4	2	4.5	4.5	4	58
8	6.5	4.5	4	2	4.5	4.5	4	61.5
6.5	8	1	4	2	4.5	6	0	54.5
8	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	5	0	55
7	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	4.5	0	54
8	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	4.5	4	59
8	6.5	4.5	4	2	4.5	4.5	0	58.5
7.5	6.5	4.5	2.5	1.5	4.5	6	0	56.5
8	8	1	4	2	4.5	4.5	4	52.5
8	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	4.5	4	53
8	6.5	4.5	2.5	2	4.5	4.5	4	53

Z4=Composite Index of (Composite Index =Z1+Z2+Z3+Z4/4

Quartile

2.0545455	3.9272727	Q1	7.5
1.7454545	2.6181818	Q3	21.5
2.0363636	3.6	Q2	15.5
1.9454545	4.0727273		
0	0		
2.2	4.1454545		
2.2	3.9636364		
2.3636364	3.9090909		
1.9818182	3.3272727		
1.8909091	3.7636364		
1.7818182	3.8909091		
2.1272727	3.8		
2.2545455	3.7454545		
1.7272727	2.7636364		
1.9454545	3.4909091		
2	3.1454545		
1.3454545	2.7090909		
1.6363636	2.9090909		
1.3454545	2.3090909		
2.3090909	3.8727273		
2.3454545	3.8909091		
2.2181818	3.7636364		
2.3454545	4.2181818		
0.9636364	2.2545455		
2.2545455	4.3636364		
2.1090909	4.1818182		
1.8363636	2.4727273		
1.8909091	3.2		
2.0727273	3.3818182		
0.4363636	0.7272727		
0	0		
1.2	2.1636364		
1.9636364	2.7818182		
0	0		
1.4909091	2.2181818		
0	0		
0	0		
0.9818182	2.5636364		
1.4727273	2.5636364		
1.5454545	3.0545455		
1.7636364	3.2545455		
2.0181818	3.1454545		
2.0181818	3.2727273		
1.5090909	2.1818182		
1.8727273	3.6909091		
1.9818182	3.2727273		
1.9090909	2.7272727		

1.8545455	3.2545455
2.2	3.8545455
2.0181818	3.5818182
1.9090909	3
2.1636364	4.2363636
1.9090909	3.1636364
1.9818182	3.9818182
2.0909091	3.7818182
2.1818182	4.1818182
1.8909091	3.2181818
1.2	2.4545455
2.0727273	3.8363636
1.5454545	3.1454545
2.1090909	3.3454545
1.6727273	3.4545455
0	0
2.1090909	3.4181818
2.1090909	3.8909091
2.0727273	3.7636364
0	0
2.2545455	4.3090909
2.0545455	3.7090909
2.2	4.2727273
1.9636364	2.8363636
2.2363636	3.4727273
2.3272727	3.5636364
2.1090909	3.2545455
2.0727273	3.0727273
1.9636364	3.2545455
2.0181818	3.6545455
2.1818182	3.4545455
1.9090909	3.5272727
1.9272727	3.4181818
2.0545455	3.6
2.0181818	4.0181818
1.9090909	2.8727273
2.0727273	3.5090909
2.0909091	2.9636364
1.7454545	2.1454545
1.7454545	2.1454545
0	0
0.4363636	0.6909091
0.4363636	0.7636364
1.2727273	2.3090909
1.3454545	2.8545455
1.8181818	3.4545455
2.0909091	3.9272727
2.1090909	3.8
1.8909091	3.0727273
1.4909091	2.6363636

1.9636364	3
2.1272727	3.4909091
1.9454545	3.2909091
1.9454545	3.9454545
2.0181818	3.9636364
1.9272727	3.9454545
1.7090909	3.6363636
2.0727273	4.0181818
2.0909091	3.9636364
2.1090909	3.8909091
2.2363636	3.8727273
1.9818182	3.4363636
2	3.3818182
1.9636364	3.9454545
2.1454545	4.0363636
2.1272727	3.7636364
2.0545455	3.6727273
1.9090909	3.5636364
1.9272727	3.9454545
1.9272727	3.6363636

INSTITUTIONAL ETHICS REVIEW BOARD
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

Name of the Ethics Committee: IERB-JNU

IERB Ref. No.2016/Student/101

Title of the Project Proposal: "Patterns of Discrimination between Sub-Caste among Dalits and Issues of Access of Health Resources: A study of Village of Sonbhadra District, Uttar Pradesh"

Principal Investigator: Mr. Kanhaiya Kumar (Ph. D student)

c/o Prof. Sanghmitra Acharya and Prof. Sanjay Srivastava (Supervisor) CSM&CH/SSS/JNU

Sponsor: ICSSR

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Collaborators' Name:

FOR OFFICIAL USE

The proposal was reviewed in a meeting held on 6th September, 2016 at 4:00 PM. The following members were present:

1. Professor Shiv K. Sarin, Chairperson
2. Professor S.C. Malik, Member
3. Prof. Ravinder Gargesh, Member
4. Advocate Omika Dubey, Member
5. Prof. Vijay Kumar, Member
6. Prof. Ashwani Pareek, Member
7. Dr. P. K. Gulati, Member
8. Dr. Paul Raj, Member
9. Dr. Madhav Govind, Member
10. Dr. Sushil Kumar Jha, Officiating Member Secretary

The committee resolved to

- Approve - indicating that the proposal is approved as submitted;
- Approve – after clarifications – indicating that the proposal is approved if the clarifications Requested are provided to the satisfaction of designated committee members;
- Approve after amendment/s – indicating that the proposal is approved subject to the incorporation of the specified amendments verified by designated committee members;
- Defer – indicating that the proposal is not approved as submitted but it can be reassessed after revision to address the specified reason/s for deferment;
- Disapprove – indicating that the proposal is not approved for the reason specified.

Comments:

RECOMMENDED


24/11/16
Officiating Member Secretary,
IERB, Ethics Committee

Date of Approval: 17.11.2016 (after acceptance of revisions) _____


Officiating Member-Secretary
Institutional Ethics Review Board
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

*(1st part to be filled in by PI and presented at the time of Review (Periodic, Continuing, Interim)).

Appendix 05 Housing Facilities and other Amenities among the selected Respondents in Villages Arangpani and Rehta

Caste	Total Res.	Type of Family	Lawful right house		Type of House		No. Of Rooms			Kitchen €	Fuel			Drinking water			Toilet	
			Yes	No	K	S P	2	3	4	No	Wood	Ag W	Dry leaves	Own Well	Public HP	P Well	No	Loc. Of Toilet
Chamar	30	Joint	20	--	16	04	--	15	05	15	05	15	--	05	15	--	16	04
		Nuclear	--	10	10	--	10	--	--	10	--	10	--	--	10	--	10	--
Ravi-dasiya	30	Joint	20	--	14	06	--	14	06	14	20	--	--	--	20	--	14	06
		Nuclear	05	05	10	--	10	--	--	10	10	--	--	--	10	--	10	--
Dhusiya	30	Joint	21	--	21	--	--	21	--	21	21	--	--	--	21	--	21	--
		Nuclear	--	09	08	01	09	--	--	09	09	--	--	--	--	09	09	--
Bentbansi	30	Joint	19	--	19	--	--	19	--	19	19	--	--	--	19	--	19	--
		Nuclear	--	11	11	--	11	--	--	11	11	--	--	--	11	--	11	--
Bansphor	30	Joint	18	03	21	--	07	14	--	21	21	--	--	--	21	--	21	--
		Nuclear	--	09	09	--	09	--	--	09	09	--	--	--	09	--	09	--
Lakarhara	30	Joint	24	--	17	07	24	--	--	24	24	--	--	--	24	--	24	--
		Nuclear	--	06	01	05	06	--	--	06	06	--	--	--	--	06	06	--
Kharush	20	Joint	15	--	15	--	15*	--	--	15	--	--	15	--	08	07	15	--
		Nuclear	--	05	05	--	05*	--	--	05	--	--	05	--	03	02	05	--
Khandait	30	Joint	21	--	--	21	--	--	21	15	--	21	--	15	06	--	12	09
		Nuclear	09	--	--	09	09	--	--	08	--	09	--	02	07	--	09	--
Bannait	30	Joint	18	--	18	--	--	03	15	18	18	--	--	03	12	03	18	--
		Nuclear	12	--	12	--	10	02	--	12	12	--	--	05	05	02	12	--
Sohagpuria	30	Joint	19	--	14	05	14	05	--	19	19	--	--	04	15	--	12	06
		Nuclear	11	--	07	04	11	--	--	11	--	--	11	--	06	05	11	--

Res.- Selected Respondent, Type of House- K- Kaccha House, S P- Semi Pacca House, *- no of room is 01, €- Separate Space for Kitchen, Fuel- Ag W- Agricultural Wastage, Drinking Water- HP_ Hand Pump, P- Public, Loc.- Location of toilet (not within house but situated within house compound).

**PATTERNS OF DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN SUB-CASTES AMONG DALITS AND
ISSUES OF ACCESS TO HEALTH RESOURCES: A STUDY OF VILLAGES OF
SONBHADRA DISTRICT, UTTAR PRADESH**

*Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

KANHAIYA KUMAR



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New Delhi-110067, India**

2018