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Dynamics of Caste System –Exploring the Complexity of changes and Causation

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Issue

Historically, the caste system has regulated the social, cultural, economic and political life not only of the Hindus. The carry forward and spell over influence of caste system is also seen other religions through conversion from Hindu religion. Theoretical formulations by social scientists recognized that in its essential form, caste as a system of social and economic governance or organization is governed by certain customary rules and norms, which are unique and distinct (Akerlof 1976, Scoville 1991, 1996; Lal 1988, Ambedkar 1936 and 1987). The organizational scheme of the caste system is based on the division of people into social groups (or castes) in which the civil, cultural and economic rights of each individual caste are pre-determined or ascribed by birth and made hereditary. The assignment and entitlement of civil, cultural and economic rights among the caste is not only unequal but also hierarchal. As we down in caste hierarchy the entitlement reduces and the untouchables located at the bottom of caste hierarchy have much less rights. The most important feature of the caste system, however, is that it provides for a regulatory mechanism of its own to enforce the social and economic organization through the instruments of social ostracism (or social and economic penalties). Equally important is that ,the caste system is reinforced further with justification and support from philosophical elements in the Hindu religion (Lal 1988, Ambedkar 1936 and 1987).

The caste system's fundamental characteristics of fixed civil, cultural and economic rights for each caste with restrictions for change, implies "forced exclusion" of caste from equal rights, which other caste enjoys. Exclusion and discrimination in civil, cultural and in economic spheres, is therefore, internal to the system, and a necessary outcome of its governing principles. This theorization implies that the caste system involves the negation of not only equality and freedom, but also of basic human rights, particularly of the low caste 'untouchables'. The principles of equality and freedom are not the governing principles of the caste system. Unlike many other societies, the caste system does not recognize the individual and his/her distinctiveness as the centre of the social purpose. In fact, for the purpose of rights and duties, the unit of Hindu society is not the individual. (Even the family is not regarded as a unit in Hindu society, except for the purposes of marriage and inheritance). The primary unit in Hindu society is caste, and hence, the rights and privileges (or the lack of them) of an individual are on account of him/her being a member of a particular caste (Ambedkar, first published in 1987).

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Also due to differential ranking and the hierarchical nature of caste system, the entitlements to various rights become narrower as one goes down the hierarchical ladder. Various castes get artfully interlinked and coupled with each other (in their rights and duties), in a manner such that the rights and privileges of the higher castes become the causative reasons for the disadvantage and disability for the lower castes,

particularly the 'untouchables'. Castes at the top of the social order enjoy more rights – at the expense of those located at the bottom of the caste hierarchy.

In the traditional scheme of caste system the untouchables who are at the bottom of caste hierarchy suffered the most from unequal assignment and entitlement of rights. They are denied right to property ,occupation (except so –called polluting occupation and manual labor), education, civil and cultural rights .However it is necessary to recognized another roots through which untouchables faced denial of rights and entitlement. One of the unique feature of the caste system, namely hierarchal or graded entitlement of rights implies that every caste except the caste located at top of caste hierarchy - the Brahmin, suffered from exclusion in term of denial of some rights, although the type of rights denied vary depending on the social location of caste in caste hierarchy (Ambedkar 1987). Thus like other low castes the untouchable also suffered from social exclusion and discrimination involving denial of certain rights- civil, cultural, religious and economic rights. However beside this, the untouchable also suffered from the notion of “untouchability”, which is unique to the untouchable caste only (from which other caste don't suffered). Due to this unique stigma of untouchability, the untouchable are considered to be impure and polluting and hence considered unfit for social association and interrelation with caste above them. Since they are considered polluting and impure - untouchable and unapproachable, they suffered from physical and social segregation and isolation.The physical and social isolation is the unique feature of caste system from which only untouchable suffered. The isolation and segregation lead to non – freedom and restriction on physical and social interrelations resulting into denial of equal access in various spheres of society, culture and economy. The social isolation and exclusion resulting from the notion of untouchability involved denial of freedom and equal opportunities and rights due to polluting character of the untouchable people. In this sense the untouchable suffered from double denial disadvantage - namely denial of equal rights - civil, social, cultural, religious and economic, that are clearly specified in the customary laws of caste system, but also denial of rights and dignity due to their untouchable status involving “forced non- association and isolation ”, and lack of participation in various spheres of society, culture and economy. The lack of participation in communal life of society resulting from the notion of untouchability are far more comprehensive and wide spread in so far as it involve restrictions on physical and social association which take various forms and dimensions.

The caste system as social organization of Hindus had governed the social ,cultural and material life of people in the past in a particular way and continues to exert an influence in the present, if not in its original form, but in its modified form. However the caste system has also changed .Social scientists have tried to study the changes in the caste system taking its traditional forms and meaning as reference point, thus referring both to the original texts and also the empirical evidence around the time of its origin and thereafter.

However the while we have some idea about the nature of change , we know much less about the causes of changes in the caste relations –what caused change in some spheres and what prohibit changes in some other spheres? **The causation of change in the caste relations in multiple is an issue which require attention, as it will enable to develop perspective and policies where ever necessary ,to modify the negative features of the caste system .**

In this paper I tried to look in to the dynamic of caste system in India ,drawing mainly from the theoretical and empirical writings on the caste system. As regards theoretical issues related to dynamic of caste relations I mainly draw from the theoretical efforts by social scientists and economists in particular . For the empirical evidence I used the studies conducted by the social scientists in the state of Maharashtra covering a time span of about forty years ,since we passed the anti-untouchability Act in 1955. For the empirical studies **we mainly focus on the changes in caste relations between the higher caste and the low caste untouchables –capturing the changes in the practice of caste discrimination and untouchability by locating the social behavior of high caste Hindus, which are legally prohibitive under the present acts. The analysis is based on information collated by number of surveys from 1958 onward with a regular interval of about ten years ,that is 1960,1970,1980 1990 and 2000 . In the end we combine the theory with the empirical fact to develop a perspective on the sources causes changes in some spheres and persistence in other spheres of inter- caste relations .**

Empirical Evidence from Primary Surveys – Case of Maharashtra

I first begin with empirical evidence.The state of Maharashtra is selected mainly due to availability of primary surveys since 1958 and conducted regularly at the interval of about ten years up to 2000,giving us opportunity to study the changes for about forty two years . The surveys covered regions/district/villages form the different part of Maharashtra and therefore are representative in coverage.

The first survey was conducted in 1958, immediately after enactment of anti-untouchability act in 1955. The surveys include the Wai *taluk* survey by the Gokhle Institute of Political Science and Economics;(Pune), Gokhale Institute survey, 1962; *Harijan Sevak Sangh* survey, Pune 1970; *Harijan Sevak Sangh* and Gokhle Institute survey 1970, Marathwada Region survey by Collage of Social Work Bombay , 1991; and untouchability study ,2000, by Action Aid Delhi. (table 2) Thus form first survey in 1958 to last survey in 2000 , together these survey covered more than forty years period after the enactment of anti-untouchability act in 1955, (and fifty years after commencement of our constitution which accepted the principle of equality) and provide insights about the change in caste relations of higher caste with low caste

untouchables in rural area . Since these studies do not pertain to the same villages, before and after changes in the same village can not be studied. Nevertheless the studies enable us to get some idea about the changes in the practice of untouchability by looking at the snap shot of the situation at successive point of time and capture in some way the changes. In that sense these studies gives a unique opportunity to capture the changes in caste system during forty two years period between first study in 1958 and the last in 2000.

The public spheres covered by these studies are also similar. The 1991 and 2000 survey includes some additional spheres which were not a part of earlier surveys . The common spheres which were covered by all studies include location of untouchable colony, (or residential segregation), access to public places like drinking water, temple, restaurant, and services of village barber and washmen. The 1991 and particularly 2000 study cover more public spheres and include panchayat, fair price food shop, primary health centre, post office, police station, public transport, school, pooling booth, and public road. In the public services the 2000 study also added private service providers and include private glossary shop, cinema hall, cremation ground, and villages level common property resources (grazing land, fishing pond, public irrigation). Most of the studies included participation of untouchables in religious and cultural events, including the use of road for procession by untouchables. In the private sphere most of the studies include inter-personal relations in terms of visit by untouchable to the homes of high caste and discrimination experienced by them.

There is another aspect of these studies which need to be mentioned. The studies conducted in 1958, 1962 and 1990 were confined to some specific regions. Two studies conducted in 1970 and 2000 study however covered villages from all part of the state.

Wai Taluk Survey, Western Maharashtra – 1958

This survey was conducted in 1958 in 17 villages among the *Mahar* community of the Satara district in Maharashtra state. The survey covered 566 families from 17 villages in Wai taluk of Satara district in 1958. This is probably the earliest survey on the practice of caste discrimination and untouchability, after the civil rights movement of Ambedker during 1920 and 1955 and enactment of Ant-untouchability act in 1955.

The survey brought to the fore startling differences between the law and the practice of untouchability especially in the realm of public domain. The public spheres covered in the study were limited to public water sources, restaurants, temples, and get together around cultural and religious functions. The survey observed that separate water sources were demarcated for high caste and the untouchable community and the *Mahar* community was supposed to access water from their assigned sources in their locality. **Entry into the village temple for the *Mahars* was banned. The community faced discriminatory access to village restaurant, they were allowed entry to village restaurant only in 1 village out of the 5 villages where the restaurants exit. Inter-caste festivities were also restricted. In all the villages surveyed, inter-caste community meals were not allowed and there were only**

a few villages wherein, the higher castes joined the *Mahars* for tea on few important occasions; and in 16 villages, the *Mahars* did not have access to common services of the barber. Thus this survey though limited in coverage in term of number of village and region revealed that in late 1960's, the untouchable Mahar faced a wide spread denial of access to public services, the practices, which are considered illegal under the anti-untouchability Act of 1955.

Nasik and Buldhana Districts Survey- 1962

This survey includes 25 villages of Nasik and Buldana districts. Compared with the 1958 survey, the 1962 survey was regionally wide spread. The study found that in 85 per cent villages the untouchable lived in segregated localities, which is the common feature of caste wise residential pattern in village India. In about 80 per cent of the villages untouchables were not allowed to draw water from public sources; in 65 per cent villages they were denied entry into Hindu temples; in 90 per cent of villages inter-caste community meals were nearly uncommon. In case of restaurant untouchables were allowed access to 6 out of 8 villages and in the other villages they had a access but with discriminatory treatment in services, such as separate sitting, separate cup and untouchable requiring to clean serving cups and plates. Further, in 80 per cent of the villages, untouchables were denied access to common services by village watermen and barbers. This survey confirmed the results of 1958. These two together present the situation with respect to practice of untouchability and caste discrimination around early 1960's. It revealed that the residential segregation is ubiquitous in nature, to be found as common feature of residential caste based pattern in villages. The untouchables faced denial of access to the public services like public temple, water bodies and the services of the village barber and watermen. There was a limited opening to the untouchables to the village restaurant but with differential treatment. The survey indicated that there was also limited sharing and interaction between the high caste and untouchable in cultural and corporate life.

Harijan Sevak Sangh Survey - 1970

This was very important survey in terms of regional coverage and sample size. It draws villages from north, south and eastern regions of Maharashtra, with much larger sample of 192 villages, compared with 17 villages from only one region in 1958 survey and 25 villages in 1962 survey. Beside from two regions, it enables us to study the changes in the practice of untouchability ten year after the first two studies in the early 1960 and get some idea about the effect of anti-untouchability Act of 1955.

The 1970 survey found high incidence of untouchability and caste-based discrimination in all 192 villages. In 84 per cent of villages the survey found untouchables stayed in segregated localities; 75 per cent of untouchables were not allowed access to common water wells and in some villages untouchables had to fetch water from a distance increasing drudgery amongst them (the same was not the case with tapped water); in 73 per cent of the villages they could not partake in village feasts; in 33 per cent of the villages the untouchable could not enter restaurant, while in another 13 per cent of the villages separate and segregated arrangements were

made for them; and in 66 per cent of the villages public services supplied by washer men and the barbers were unavailable to them.

Harijan Sevak Sangh and Gokhle Institute Survey - 1970

The scope of this survey was even bigger than its predecessor as it covered 206 Villages (4,476 families) from 8 districts of Maharashtra.

It emerged from the survey that in 80% of the villages schedule caste settlements were segregated from the main dwellings; only in 22 per cent villages, untouchables were allowed to draw water from common wells; in 20 per cent villages untouchables were allowed to enter temples, while in another 10 per cent villages, could enter the temples, but were denied entry into their sanctum, conversely it means that in the rest 70 per cent villages they were completely denied entry in the Hindu temple. **Out of the 70 villages, where restaurant were available, in 30 villages (about 43 per cent) untouchable enjoy discrimination free access,** in 17 village, they faced discrimination in one form or the other, while in the rest 23 villages (about 30 per cent), they were altogether denied entry into restaurant. **The untouchables could avail the services of the barbers in 172 (about 35 per cent) villages out of the total 206 villages; in the case of community feasts, untouchable could participate in only 22 (about 13 per cent) villages, in the rest of the 184 villages, they were either denied complete entry or if allowed, separate arrangements were made for them.** In about 19 per cent villages discrimination was practiced in one form or another in social gatherings. Coming to the government spheres, the survey found that even in government institutions like the *Panchayats* and the Village Cooperative Committees discriminatory treatment was experienced by the untouchable members, which take the form of separate seating arrangements, sitting on the ground, while high caste member in the chair.

The picture emanating from two surveys in 1970s revealed certain patterns and dynamics of untouchability as practiced in Maharashtra. It emerged quite clearly that since in about 85-90 per cent villages, untouchable's settlements were outside the high caste dwellings; caste wise residential segregation was most prevalent. Both the surveys indicated that in 70-75 per cent of the villages' untouchable faced either a complete denial or access with discriminatory treatment in drawing water from common sources, entry into temples and community feasts or social gatherings. **The surveys point towards less discrimination in case of tapped water, with differential treatment in various forms. The restrictions on entry to village temple were fairly wide spread and where ever (about 20-25% villages) untouchable were allowed entry into village temples, they were not allowed to enter the sanctum sanctorum or touch the deity in temples. Similar was the case with village feasts, wherein, untouchables were either not included or if allowed they had to eat in separate queues with separate dining arrangements. In 60-65 per cent of the villages, the village washer men and the barbers did not provide services to untouchables. The untouchables could avail these village services only in 40 villages, and these villages happen to be which large in population size. The untouchability was also practiced in 30-35 per cent villages in government institutions like the *Panchayat*, co-operative societies, various village committees.**

Marathwada Survey - 1991

This study was conducted in 95 villages of the Marathwada region covering four districts in 1991. This region is relatively backward, compared with other regions of the State and known for high incidences of caste bondage and atrocities against the untouchable.

With regards to participation in village *Panchayats*, discrimination was practiced in various forms (Table 3). It range from not being invited for meetings (in such events the signatures or thumb of schedule caste members were taken after the resolutions in the office or at home); and if invited, a discriminatory treatment was given to SC members, (SC members were made to sit on the bare floor, served tea in different cups in etc). In about one fourth of the village the SC members were not allowed to participate, while in rest of the villages they attend the panchayat meeting. In about one third of the villages the SC members faced discriminatory treatment of various kinds. In the remaining villages the SC member seems to have access with discriminatory treatment.

With regards to access to civil amenities like places of drinking water, discrimination assumed various forms. In about 54 percent of the villages (52 villages), out of the total 95 villages surveyed, the high castes and untouchable persons shared common source of waters and in the remaining 44 villages (42%), both had separate arrangement. However in the 52 villages where the untouchable shared common facilities, well or tape with the high caste, they faced discriminatory treatment of various kinds, which include the untouchables not being allowed to touch the tap, pouring water into untouchable's pots from a respectable height, (so as not to defile them and water source) untouchables requiring to form separate line, allowing to take water after high caste persons have done so and other forms. The study also observed the instances where the high caste refused the untouchable water from their wells when, the untouchables well had dried up in the summer. Often, this would mean increased drudgery or use of unclean water. Coming to temple, the entry to the untouchables was banned in about 81 per cent of the total 95 villages. In the remaining villages where untouchables had gained access to Hindu temple also faced discriminatory treatment in one form or another.

The survey also gathers information about the social relations in private spheres and cultural and religious events. The untouchables faced restrictions on free passage to upper caste homes, particularly in inner portion of the home. In many homes of high caste separate cups and saucers were kept for the use of untouchables persons. During marriage celebrations, although the untouchables were invited in 70 out of the 95 villages, they were made to sit separately and served food after the higher castes had finished their meals. The untouchables were also made to sit either in the stables or on the road and were served (or dropped) food from a height to avoid the touch. The accesses to festivities pertaining to religious events were more restrictive. The survey found that untouchables in rural Maharashtra still bear the burden of traditional occupations. In more than 50 per cent of the villages, for the Mahar sub caste and about 71 percent in the case of sub-caste Matang, the practice of caste-based occupations was still prevalent. The *Mahars* were found to be sweeping roads, collecting cow dung, guarding the villages by night and clearing the streets of

the carcasses of dead animals. Another practice, which reflects in no uncertain terms, is the segregation in burial ground for the dead. In 94 villages, the cemeteries of the lower caste *Mahars* and *Mangs* were separate.

Action Aid Survey - 2000

This study was conducted in 2000 by Action Aid, in 500 villages from eleven states and Maharashtra with 50 villages formed the part of that all India study. For most of the public and private spheres the study defined discrimination, if there was a “complete denial” in access /participation/in use of the services/ in inter-relations in public and private spheres and/or (b) access/ participation/in use of the services/in inter-relations in public and private spheres with differential treatment. (table 4 (a) - 4(d) .Compared to the early 1960’s, when complete denial to the untouchable in various public spheres was observed on the vast scale, in the 2000 the situation seems to have improved. However access and participation in public spheres was not free from customary restrictions and differential treatment. Tables 5 (a) to 5 (----) shows the number of villages in which the discrimination was practices.It emerged from the survey that a “complete denial” on vast scale is rare. The most common form which untouchability takes is the access/ participation/inter-relation with differential treatment.

Begin with settlement pattern, the study found that in most the villages the **settlement of the untouchables was segregated from the high caste colony.** The segregation pattern, however vary across the sample villages. In 24 villages, the untouchable settlement were located in main village as a separate colony, in 17 villages on one side of the village, and in 7 villages half to one kilometer away from the main village. Residential segregation of the untouchables assumes importance as it effectuates accessibility to various civic amenities such as road, electricity, drainage, drinking water and other facilities that are available to the entire village. For untouchables, the segregated settlement create situation for their exclusion from the access to basic civic , educational and cultural amenities.

The untouchables faced less discrimination in access to public institutions such as government food shops (in supply of food items), post offices, pooling booth, police station, public transport, public road and panchyat. Complete exclusion from access to public institutions and uses of the services offered by these institutions is minimal. However they do experienced discrimination in accessing the services and in participation in some villages. The untouchables had a free access to the government approved food shops. However in four villages, the untouchables faced discriminatory treatment; among other behaviour include avoiding physical touch with untouchable’s buyers while delivering food items. The untouchables also receive the services of the post men in the majority villages without discrimination. In about 10 percent of the villages, however the untouchables faced differential treatment, which include, decline to enter the untouchable’s colony, calling the untouchables at place which is outside their colony to deliver letters, handing over latter to the person of untouchable caste to deliver in their locality. Transport services were accessible to the untouchables. In some cases segregation was practice by high caste, in forming queues and also in seating. In some cases the untouchables were not allowed to sit on front seats.

The survey did not find **restrictions on the right to vote in election, panchayat, State or parliamentary election**. However in some cases coercive methods were used by the high caste, which include accompanying the untouchables to the polling booths to ensure the vote for their candidates or party. The survey did not find any direct form of untouchability being practiced with regard to entry into the *Panchayat* offices, but it did observe covert forms of discrimination being practiced in five villages, which include setting with distance from high caste member to avoid the touch, making to sit on the floor near the doorstep of the *Panchayat* building and exclusion in the decision making process. The higher caste members of the *Panchayat* often did not even consult schedule caste members while taking decisions. This was particularly so in case of schedule caste women. The lack of participation in decision making process was reflected in, not inviting for the meeting, informing them about the decisions or alternatively work through their husbands. On a more positive note, the survey did find an increasing trend of political participation by the schedule caste in panchayat. In a number of villages, schedule caste held prestigious positions like the *Sarpanch* or Deputy *Sarpanch* in the *Panchayats*. This was possible because of reservation of seats to them in panchayat.

Two important institutions where the discrimination was found to be relatively of high degree in some spheres, if not all, **are the school and primary health centers**. In case of school in 85% the villages the untouchables children did not face visible discrimination. However in 14 to 16 percent of villages discrimination was experienced in high caste teacher behavior towards the untouchable students, in behaviour of high caste students towards their untouchable students colleague in the school and also in the behaviors of high caste teachers towards their colleague from the untouchable caste. In about 10 to 12 per cent of the villages the untouchable students face discrimination in the form of separate sitting in room during teaching hours and at the time of meal in the school. The discrimination was particularly visible in serving the meal in mid day meal schemes and in the *Anganwadi*. *Instances of serving less food and inferior quality food in mid day meal and anganwadi were quite common.*

The untouchables had access to **primary health centers (PHCs) in all the villages, however in 13 to 18% of the villages they faced discrimination in delivery of various services, reflected in different** treatment in side the primary health centre in sitting and in delivering various health services, in treatment by health workers and in the visit to the untouchable localities. The health workers who are supposed to visit every household for some common services or treatment avoid the visits to untouchable colony and the supply of necessary medicine. In some cases the health worker in order to avoid the visit would leave the medicine to the *Anganwadi worker* (village level community organization), to deliver the same to the untouchables, in the premises of *anganwadi*, instead of their locality.

Coming to the economic spheres, the survey observed significant shift away from the **traditional caste occupation in which untouchable were generally engaged**. However the remnants of the old customary restrictions in economic spheres were visible. The barber and washer men who provide services to the village generally avoid the untouchable households. There were also instances reported of untouchables not being able to sell their milk and in access to hotels and restaurants. Discrimination

was also found in hiring for some agricultural and construction in about 20 per cent of the villages.

As regard civic amenities, in 33 % of the villages the untouchables and high caste had separate agreement for drinking water. In other villages where there was a common place for drinking water, the untouchables faced discrimination, which include, having to wait till high caste persons turn was over, and not allowing touching the vessels of the higher castes. Temple entry was denied to untouchables in about 50 per cent of the villages. In 33 % of the villages there were separate cremation grounds for untouchables and the higher castes. The untouchables faced restrictions in access to grazing lands, fishing pond and irrigational facilities in some villages. In number of villages funeral processions and other procession were not allowed on the public road and space.

The private sphere pertains to access to high caste houses, use of new clothes, and interactions during social functions etc. In 51 per cent of the villages, untouchable faced restrictions in entry into the higher caste homes, being allowed entry only till the threshold or up till the courtyard. In 12 villages, untouchables and the higher castes did not inter-dine together during festivals, weddings and funerals. It was seen to be more profound in some villages than other. During the village dinner in some cases, the untouchable were required to sit at different place and food served in separate containers, often the untouchable had to carry own plates and yet in other instances the leftover food was sent to their houses. The high castes persons generally do not participate in the function organized by untouchables.

Social Ostracism –Atrocities and Violence

The anti-untouchability Act or Protection of Civil Right Act (PCR act) provides legal protection against possible discrimination of the untouchables by the higher castes in public spheres. However the legal safeguards under the PCR act were found to be inadequate for their failure to provide protection against various means used by the higher castes to prevent the untouchables from exercising their rights. Omission of these aspects under the PCR act was partly because of difficulties in capturing the behaviors and acts of the higher castes persons which amount to obstructions. Social behavior by the untouchables contrary to the customary rules and norms, and their efforts in seeking access to civil rights evoke violent reaction by higher caste persons. The continuing use of “customary means”- violent and otherwise against the untouchables imply that the PCR act and the Indian Penal Code, in spite of their punitive provisions, proved inadequate in curbing atrocities. This prompted the government to promulgate the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act on August 1989, which came in to force on 30th January 1990.

The term atrocity was defined to include about twenty-two “behaviors and acts” of the higher castes persons as punitive offences under the Act. With regard to schedule castes, the Act stipulates that atrocity will be deemed to have occurred in the following conditions –

- forces a member of the Schedule caste to drink or eat any inedible or obnoxious substance;

- cause injury, insult or annoyance by dumping excreta, waste matter, carcasses or any other obnoxious substance in the premises or neighborhood of the schedule caste;
- Forcibly removes clothes from the schedule caste person or parades him naked or with painted face or body or commits any similar act which is derogatory to human dignity;
- Wrongfully occupies or cultivates any land owned by, or allotted to, or notified by any competent authority to be allotted to, a member of schedule caste;
- Wrongfully dispossesses a member of schedule caste from his land or premises or interferes with the enjoyment of his rights over any land premises or water;
- Compels or entices a member of schedule caste to do '*begar*' or other similar forms of forced or bonded labor other than any compulsory service for public purposes imposed by government;
- Forces or intimidates a member not to vote or to vote to a particular candidate or to vote in a manner other than that provided by law; institutes false, malicious or vexatious suit or criminal or other legal proceedings against a member of schedule caste;
- Gives any false or frivolous information to any public servant and thereby causes such public servant to use his lawful power to the injury of or annoyance of a member of a schedule caste;
- Intentionally insults or intimidates with intent to humiliate a member in any place within public view;
- Assaults or uses force to any women belonging to schedule caste with intent to dishonor or outrage her modesty; exploit her sexually to which she would not have otherwise agreed;
- Corrupts or fouls the water of any spring, reservoir or any other source ordinarily used by members of the schedule caste so as to render it less fit;
- Denies a member of schedule caste any customary rights of passage to a place of public resort or obstructs such members so as to prevent him using or having access to a place of public resort to which other members of public have a right to use;
- Forces or causes a member of SC/ST to leave his house, village or other place or residence,
- Gives fabricated and false evidence,

- Commits mischief by fire or any explosive substance, causing destruction of any building or property by a member of schedule caste.

Various means and methods covered under PoA act, used by the higher castes against the use of civil rights by the untouchables gives an idea about the gravity of antagonistic behaviour of high caste towards the untouchables. Given the fact that the community level methods used by the high caste are deeply embedded and ingrained into dense inter relations, behavioral forms and psychology of the high caste Hindus, it is difficult to capture them in the law and provide legal protection. The PoA act has nevertheless done its best to cover the “acts” of higher caste which are atrocious and against the law.

We now provide the evidence on the atrocities against the untouchables at all India level and in Maharashtra State. The PoA came in operation in 1991. Table 5 provide the number of cases registered by the untouchables with the police for fourteen years period between 1994 and 2008 under this act. In Maharashtra, the numbers of cases vary from a minimum of 141 in 1998 to a maximum of 370 in 2007, the average for the fourteen years period being 241 cases per year. The number of cases registered has been on rise since 2005. For instance the number increased from 219 in 2004 to 258 in 2005, 350 in 2006, 370 in 2007 and 334 in 2008.

The percentage of cases registered under POA as ratio of total cases under Indian Police Act vary from a minimum of 19 percent in 1994 to 33 percent in 2006, the average for entire period being 26 percent. The cases registered under the PoA act constitute a substantial number. The proportion of cases also increased from 2001 onward - from 21 percent to around 30 percent.

Notwithstanding legal prohibition on the use of customary methods of social and economic boycott by the high caste persons against the untouchables, the official data provides evidence on their continuing use. About one fourth of the cases of crime registered in Maharashtra during the fourteen year period between 1994 and 2008 were under PoA. **This indicate that high caste continue to use the traditional customary methods of penalties against the untouchables, knowing fully well that the acts and method covered under the PoA will invite legal punishment.** These data however did not indicate the real magnitude of the problem. The untouchables generally make use of the PoA act in only those cases which are severe in nature and/or those which attract public attention. The magnitude of unreported incidences involving the behaviour of high caste which is prohibitive under the PoA Act is less known. Beside the official data do not indicate the forms and nature of violent method used by the high caste persons against the untouchable. In so far as the prohibitive behaviour of high caste covered under the concept of “atrocitiy “include various behavioral forms –verbal and physical, it is difficult to capture them through quantitative data. Often these behaviour of the high caste are embedded in interrelation and they form the humiliating and painful experiences of the untouchables in regular

day to day life. The qualitative studies based on the personal interviews, group discussion, observations and similar method could bring out the actual nature and forms of behaviors of high caste persons which are offensive and prohibited under the PoA acts. Evidence from Maharashtra study indicates that violent behaviour range from verbal to physical abuse, psychological abuse and humiliation, sexual abuse, murder etc. The range and scope of violence is, indeed, widespread and indicative of the continuing use of the customary mean of social ostracism involving various kinds of punishment.

Nature of change in caste relations – From no Access, to Access with discrimination and to equal access without discrimination

Evidence presented above indicates that constitutional provision on equal rights supported by legal safeguards has opened up an avenue to the untouchables to seek equal rights and treatment. The primary surveys conducted in Maharashtra present the situation around early 1958, immediately after the enactment of PCR act in 1955.

Taken together two surveys, one conducted in 1958 and another in 1960 revealed that the residential segregation is common feature of caste based residential pattern in village India. The untouchables had no access to Hindu temple, places of drinking water and the services of barber and watermen in majority of the villages. Untouchables enjoy limited access to restaurant but with differential treatment. Studies found limited sharing and interaction between the high caste and untouchable in cultural and religious life.

Ten years later two surveys observed similar patterns in the early 1970. The residential segregation of untouchables was most prevalent in 80 percent of the sample villages. In about 70 to 75 per cent of the village's untouchable faced either no access and/or access with discriminatory treatment in drawing water from common sources, in entry into temples and community feasts or social gatherings. Less discrimination was found in case of tapped water. In 60-65 per cent of the villages, the untouchables did not have access to washer men and the barbers, although access was easier in large size villages. The untouchability was also practiced in 30-35 per cent villages in government institutions like the *Panchayat*, co-operative societies, various village committees.

Twenty years later, 1991 study of Marathwada region confirmed the continuity. The same pattern was observed in majority of the villages in participation in panchayat, in fetching drinking water, and in temple. The segregation in the burial ground was found in most of the villages. In private spheres, untouchables faced complete exclusion from visit to high castes home and in many homes separate cups and saucers were kept for the use of untouchables persons. In marriage celebrations, the untouchables faced discriminatory treatment. In more than half of the villages the untouchables were required to perform traditional occupation of sweeping roads,

collecting cow dung, guarding the villages by night and clearing the streets of the carcasses of dead animals.

The 2000 study which present most recent picture confirmed the segregation in the residences in most of the villages. **Outright denial for access and participation was less in public institution like fair price shop, post offices, pooling booth, police station, public transport, public road, panchyat, public health centers, and schools. However the access to the services from these institutions and participation was marked with discriminatory treatment which takes various forms, particularly in school and primary health centers.** Access with discriminatory treatment was also the common feature in case of village restaurants, places of drinking water, and temple. The services of the barber and watermen however were generally not available to the untouchables. The restrictions on the use of public roads for processions, and use of burial ground was widespread. Interrelation in the private sphere were far more restrictive. - in half of the villages, untouchable faced restrictions in entry into the higher caste homes or participation in village dinner, the discrimination assumed various forms.

With in limitation of these studies, it is possible to capture the change and continuity in the caste relations in the State of Maharashtra. Obviously there has been a positive change in so far as untouchable has now gained an access to the various public institutions- government and public. However the nature of access and participation varies across the public and private spheres. This process of changes could be describe as “from a situation of no access, to access with discrimination (or differential treatment) and finally in the end equal access without discrimination and restriction. This pattern varies quite significantly from spheres to spheres in public and the private domain.

At the risk of over simplification and net and clear generalization, one could still indicate changing nature of caste discrimination in three loosely defined patterns.

The first things that emerged quite clearly from the studies is that, there are still some spheres where complete or near complete exclusion (or denial) of the untouchables from having an access /participation / or interrelations was of high magnitude. This mainly includes the continuing residential segregation of the untouchables, separate burial grounds for high and low caste and minimum interpersonal relations through visits at home of high castes persons. There has been much less change in these spheres of associated and corporate life in the village. As is cleared these much less change is visible in the private and some religious/ cultural spheres.

The second feature that also emerged quite clearly is that in many other public spheres, unlike the first one, an outright denial for access and participation was less common and the untouchables had gain an access ,but with discriminatory treatment in various forms and shade . This include public spheres such as village restaurants, places of drinking water, and worship (namely Hindu temple) ,the services of the barber and watermen ,use of public roads for procession by untouchables ,participation in village religious/cultural activities and community dinners. These are the spheres the untouchable had gained access , but the access and participation was marked with varying degree of the discrimination ,which takes various humiliating and dreaming forms .

The third feature that quite clearly emerged is access and participation either without discrimination and /or accompanied by milder forms of differential treatment in some public spheres. These mainly include those institutions which are run by the government or government approved agencies such as fair price shop, post offices, pooling booth, police station, public transport, public road, panchayat office, and primary health centers. The difference between the second and third is of degree of differential treatment to the untouchables. In most of these public institutions the untouchables enjoy access and participation without any differential treatment in most of them .Yet in some institutions the untouchables faced differential treatment although in less number of institutions and in milder form.

Explaining continuity and change -Insights from theories

The discussion indicate that caste system as an institution has undergone a change from its original form . The pattern is not black and white ,on the other hand it is mixed with various forms .The caste relations of high caste towards untouchables is characterized by a complex pattern of ,which could be described as , **“continuity in some spheres with no access to equal rights ,to access with discrimination in various modified forms (or differential treatment) in some spheres , ultimately to equal access without differential treatment in some selective other spheres.”**

How do we explain the change and continuity in the caste relations between high caste and the low caste untouchables that we have observed in case of Maharashtra . At theoretical level few attempt have been made by the social scientists to provide reasons for likely changes in the caste system. However before we derive some insights from the theoretical writings ,it is necessary to answer two questions . In this context two provisions which negate the ideology of caste system and the customary instrument of enforcement (namely social ostracism) needs to be mentioned .The provision of equality and equal rights including principle of non discrimination in the constitution negate the prescriptions of unequal rights prescribed in caste system .The secular laws also provide legal safeguards against violation of rights and discrimination and thus negates the customary and traditional mechanism of "social ostracism" in the form of social and economic penalties . However ,notwithstanding these provision of equal rights and legal safeguards against violation rights and discrimination ,the customary **rules of caste system continued to govern the social relations of higher caste towards the low caste untouchables and that high caste also selectively used the traditional instrument to maintain some aspect of caste relations and hierarchy.**

The first question was address by Ambedker ,Gandhiji and Marists in the course former anti-caste and untouchability movement in the 1930's. While Markists argued that foundation of the caste system (as super structure) is based on the economic structure, Gandhiji and Ambedker

both believed that caste is the outcome a social ideological construct .However Gandhiji argued that caste system and untouchability had no Hindu religious ideology .Taking the

point with Marxists Ambedker that caste does not have economic base, but particular form caste economic organization is fact is the outcome of ideology and probably not the cause of it. Further unlike Gandhi Ambedker argued that the caste system and untouchability has philosophical base Hindu religion.

While suggesting remedies to reform of Hindu social order in the early 1930's Ambedkar observed:

“Why is it that a large majority of Hindu does not inter-dining and inter-marry? There can be only one answer to this question and it is that inter-dining and inter-marriage are repugnant to the beliefs and dogmas which the Hindus regard as sacred. Caste is not a physical object like wall of bricks or line of barbed wire which prevents the Hindus from co-mingling and which has, therefore, to pull down. Caste is notion, it is state of mind. The destruction of Caste does not therefore mean the destruction of physical barrier. It means a notional change. Caste may be bad. Caste may lead to conduct so gross as to be called man's inhumanity to man. All the same, it must be recognized that the Hindus observe Caste not because they are inhuman or wrongheaded. They observe Caste because they are deeply religious. People are not wrong in observing Caste. In my view, what is wrong is their religion, which has inculcated this notion of castes. If this is correct, then obviously the enemy, you must grapple with, is not the people who observe Caste, then obviously the enemy, you must grapple, is not the people who observed caste, but the Shastras which teach them this religion of caste. Criticizing and ridiculing people for not inter-dining or inter-marrying or occasionally holding inter-caste dinners and celebrating inter-caste marriages, is a futile method of achieving the desired end. The real remedy is to destroy the belief in the sanctity of the Shastras. How do you expect to succeed, if you allow the Shastras to continue to mould the beliefs and opinions of peoples? Not to question the authority of Shastras, to permit the people to believe in their sanctity and their sanctions and blame and to criticize them for their acts as being irrational and inhuman is incongruous way of carrying on social reforms.—Reformers ----do not seem to realize that the acts of the people are merely the results of their beliefs inculcated up on their minds by Shastras and that people will not change their conduct until they cease to believe in sanctity of the Shastras on which their conduct is founded. No wonder that such efforts have not produced any results. To agitate for and organize inter-caste dinners and inter-caste marriages is like forced feeding brought about by artificial means. Make every man and woman free from the thralldom of the Shastras, cleans their minds of the pernicious notions founded on the Shastras, and he or she will inter-dine and inter-marry, without your telling him or her to do so “(Ambedker, 1936, pp 69 vol. 1).”

Similarly Ambedker attribute the use of social ostracism in the religious belief of the Hindus

While providing the reasons for caste discrimination, untouchability and atrocities Ambedker observed:

“If the Hindus observe untouchability, it is because his religion enjoins him to do so. If he is ruthless and lawless in putting down the untouchables rising against his Established Order, it is because his religion not only tells him that Established Order is divine and therefore sacrosanct but also imposes up on him a duty to see that this Established Order is maintained by all means possible, If not feel any call of humanity, it is because his religion does not enjoin him to regard the untouchables as human beings. If he does not feel any qualms of conscience in assaulting, looting, burning and other acts of atrocities against the untouchables, it is because his religion tells him that nothing is sin which is done in defense of the social order.” (page 90, Ambedkar Vol 5)

Thus in Ambedker's views caste is social construct and it enjoy a philosophical support from Hindu religion .Marxist emphasized more on the economic base of the caste system. This would imply that as long as the customary rules of the caste system persists ,it would continue to influence the behavior of the Hindus around the customary rule of the caste system and slow down the change in caste relations . There are hardly any studies that examine the prevailing notion of caste among the high caste and how it govern the caste relations and hierarchy. We also have much less idea to what extent the economic and educational mobility of untouchables help to reduce the caste relations. The study interrelation between the prevailing customary rules ,norms and values of caste system and their influence on the behavior of the caste relation is necessary .Equally necessary is the study of eroding economic base of the caste system and its influence on the caste relation and hierarchy .

The second and most important question relates to the continuing influence of the social ostracism on the persistence of caste relations .There is considerable input from the social scientists on this issue.The insight from the writing of some social scientists (particularly the economists) indicate that the provision of social ostracism (with social and economic penalties involving social and economic boycott and isolation) against the violation of customary rules of the caste system remains a main deterrent for change. The social fear of being socially and economically boycotted and isolated acts as an imminent force for the survival of the system. This implies that there are social costs of change (away from the traditional regulatory framework) which discourage an individual to go far behavior different from traditional customary rules of caste behavior and thereby, the caste system from being dynamic in nature (Akerlof, 1976). Another view emphasizes the role of economic costs involved in the enforcement of the caste system. Enforcement of the system involves economic cost – transaction and enforcement – and these costs tend to be higher for individual members to break the rules of the system (Scoville, 1991). Scoville, thus, located the reasons for the rigidity of the caste system into economic costs, which inhibit changes (or allow the change) in the customary rules governing the caste system. This

implies that given a situation of low economic costs, the inefficient rules governing the caste system would change and make the system dynamic.

The “Social and economic cost hypotheses ” , however, kept relative silence on the motive behind the caste relations. Marxist and Ambedkarian explanations go beyond the “social and economic costs hypotheses” and emphasize the role of social, educational, and economic gains of monopolization property ,education and social rights accruing to the higher castes persons as a reason for the continuity and perpetuation of the caste system. According to this view the traditional regulatory framework of the caste system will continue as long as it brings gains in social, economic, and educational spheres to the castes, which tend to benefit from the system. The customary rules governing the social and economic relations, under the caste system would change, only if the alternative (or new) rules yield higher economic and social gains to the higher caste persons. Conversely, traditional rules would continue if alternative rules (or new rules) yield lesser gains to the higher caste persons.

Ambedkar also would argue that irrespective of economic and social gains role of religious ideology in the rigidity of the caste system play an important role . He argued that in so far as the philosophical elements in Hinduism lend support to the caste system, they bring rigidity to the system and inhibit change. In fact, it is the philosophical support provided by the religion, which gives abiding strength for the rigidity of the caste system. Therefore, Ambedkar believed that besides social and economic forces, the influence of caste ideology regarding human rights, justice, and equality also restrict change in caste relation social relations (Ambedkar, 1936) .By implications the Marxists and Ambedkerian perspective would imply that equal access to economic ,educational and social rights to the lower caste will enhance their capacity to overcome discriminatory behavior and change in the attitude of higher caste persons . However the as to why the higher caste find it useful to retain some relational feature of caste system is an area which has remain owe fully unknown .Why do people continue practice the practices ,which are opposite to the provision in constitution and law .The motive and gains behind the continuation are less known .

Thus, prevailing theoretical literature indicates that changes in the caste system are incumbent upon the relative magnitude of social costs (in terms of social isolation/standing), economic costs (that is, transaction and enforcement costs), and social and economic gains associated with change. Change will further depend on the extent of acceptability of modern ideas regarding human rights, justice, and equality. The lesser gains to the higher castes in the existing system (compared with gains in system governed by new rules) and the low social and economic costs of such change will induce change in the traditional social and economic relations of the caste system. Similarly, recognition and pursuit of modern concepts of human rights, equality, and justice will also induce changes in the system. Conversely, if the gains to the higher

castes in social, education, and economic spheres in the traditional system are higher, the cost of change is higher and also the notion of human rights and justice as prevalent among the masses is against the progressive norms of human rights, there will be fewer incentives for the system to be dynamic. The less access to various rights and lower economic and educational development will also inhibit the change in the caste relations .

Explaining Change in Maharashtra

From the studies on Maharashtra it emerged that in many public spheres the **untouchables had gain an access ,but with discriminatory treatment and these include include public spheres such as village restaurants, places of drinking water, and worship (namely Hindu temple) ,the services of the barber and watermen ,use of public roads for procession by untouchables ,participation in village religious/cultural activities and community dinners.** There are other spheres access and participation was possible either without discrimination and /or with milder forms of differential treatment and these include those institutions which are run by the government or government approved agencies such as fair price shop, post offices, pooling booth, police station, public transport, public road, panchayat office, and primary health centers. The difference between the second and third is of degree of differential treatment to the untouchables. AS is cleared there are spheres which public in nature covered under Civil rights Act. The change in these sphere had been possible due to number of reasons. The legal safeguards provided by Civil right Act accompanied by civil right movement from 1940 through 1970 s started by Ambedker has made this change possible . The impact of anti-caste movements (non Brahmin and other movement) was possibly equal important in challenging the caste ideology It also imply that in so far as the relations between the high and low caste untouchable were marked with differential access and participation ,the continuing impact of traditional caste relations was still hold sway in rural area .

However the traditional caste relations prevail in greater magnitude in private spheres .It emerged quite clearly from the studies is that, there are still some spheres where complete or near exclusion (or denial) of the untouchables from having an access /participation / or interrelations was of high magnitude. This mainly includes the continuing residential segregation of the untouchables, separate burial grounds for high and low caste and minimum interpersonal relations through visits at home of high castes persons. So the religious notion of caste hierarchy still prevail in the private spheres .

This discussion raised more questions that it answer. As we have seen that there clear change in the caste relations and hierarchy with some characteristic features in rural India. However how these changes have occurred and the way they occurred in some public sphere of caste relations and not in some other spheres are clearly less explored in the social discourse . **Similarly why changes have lagged far too behind in private spheres and some public spheres is also some things which has remained an area of ignorance . In other words the whole issue of dynamic of caste relations is an area which possibly need serious attention in social science research.**

Endnote –

1 see essays chapter 1 Slave and untouchables, chapter 4 Outside the Fold , Chapter 5, Unfit for human Association , chapter 6 , Untouchability and Lawlessness, chapter 7, Why Lawlessness is Lawful ?, in Dr. Babasaheb Ambedker Writing and Speeches , Vol 5 . (Unpublished Writings)- Untouchables or the Childen of India's Ghetto and other Essays on the Untouchables and Untouchability –Social-Political –Religious, Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1989.

Table: 1
Maharashtra - Cases Registered Under CPR & POA

Years	Cases under IPC	PoA cases	% of cases under PoA to IPC	CPA Cases
1994	1475	275	18.64	398
1995	1622	343	21.15	359
1996	1352	365	27	345
1997	831	176	21.18	262
1998	683	141	20.64	191
1999	605	160	26.45	135
2000	489	128	26.18	98
2001	625	146	23.36	61
2002	634	136	21.45	76
2003	697	216	30.99	43
2004	715	219	30.63	26
2005	865	258	29.83	32
2006	1053	350	33.24	36
2007	1166	370	31.73	20
2008	1192	334	28.02	20

POA- Prevention of Atrocities Acts

CPR- Civil Right Protection Acts

Source: Crime in India Annual Report Ministry of Home

TABLE 2 : Surveys ON PRACTICE OF UNTOUCHABILITY IN VILLAGES OF MAHARASHTRA 1958 – 2000

S. No.	Organisation	Year	Regional Districts	No. of Villages	Spheres covered
1.	GIPE, Pune	1958	Wai Taluk, District Satara	17	Residential Segregation, Places of Drinking Waters, Temple, Restaurants, Barber, Washer men, Inter-caste Dinner and Participation in Cultural Events.
2.	HSS & GIPE, Pune	1962	Nasik and Buldhana Districts	25	Residential Segregation, Places of Drinking Waters, Temple, Restaurants, Barber, Washer men, Inter-caste Dinner and Participation in Cultural Events.
3.	HSS, Pune	1970	North, South and Eastern Region	192	Residential Segregation, Places of Drinking Waters, Temple, Restaurants, Barber, Washer men, Inter-caste Dinner and Participation in Cultural Events.
4.	HSS and GIPE, Pune	1970	Eight Districts	206	Residential Segregation, Places of Drinking Waters, Temple, Restaurants, Barber, Washer men, Inter-caste Dinner and Participation in Cultural Events.
5.	College of Social Work, SNTD, Bombay	1991	Marathwada Region and Four Districts	95	Residential Segregation, Places of Drinking Waters, Temple, Restaurants, Barber, Washer men, Inter-caste Dinner and Participation in Cultural Events. New spheres - visit to high caste homes, participation in marriage and traditional occupation.
6.	Action Aid, Delhi	2000	30 Districts	51	Residential Segregation, Places of Drinking Waters, Temple, Restaurants, Barber, Washer men, Inter-caste Dinner and Participation in Cultural Events. Additional spheres include private visit to high caste homes, participation in marriage and traditional occupation. Additional Spheres: Government Institutions – Fair Price Shops, Private Shop, Primary Health Centres, School, Public Transport (Bus), Police Station, Polling Booth, Public Road, Cremation Ground, Cinema Hall, Common Property Resource, Funeral Procession and other Processions. Hiring by High Caste, Sale of Milk by Dalit, Use of New Cloth, Ornaments, etc.

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GIPE = Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics, Pune
HSS = Harijan Sewak Sangh, Maharashtra

Table 3: Practice of Untouchability - Marathwada Study – 1991
Total Villages Surveyed - 95

S. No.	Forms of Untouchability	Number of villages in which untouchability practiced	Percentage of Villages
1.	SC Panchayat Members not called for meeting	23	24
2.	Participation with Discriminatory Treatment	28	30
3.	Common Source of Drinking Water	52	55
4.	Separate Source for High Caste and Untouchable Caste	62	44
5.	Temple Entry not allowed	77	81
6.	Caste Occupation Practiced	49	52
7.	Tradition jobs imposed on Untouchables	67	70

* Study Conducted by College of Social Work, SNDT University, Bombay, 1991

PRACTICE OF UNTOUCHABILITY IN VILLAGES OF MAHARASHTRA– 2000

Table 4(a): Practice of Untouchability in State run Institutions

S. No.	Forms/Sites for the Practice of Untouchability	Untouchability is Practiced		Number of villages where Institutions exists
		Number of villages	Percentage of Villages	
1.	Entry into a PDS Shop	4	11	36
2.	In the Post Office	0	0	18
	Delivery of letters by the Postman	5	12	39
3.	Entry into PHC's	3	15	19
	Treatment in PHC's	4	21	19
	Visit of Health Workers	6	15	40
4.	Entry at the Police Station	1	8	12
	Treatment at the Police Station	1	8	12
5.	Entry in the Polling Booth	2	2	-
	Separate Queues for voting	1	2	-
	Separate Timings for Voting	1	2	-
6.	Public Transport Access	1	2	42
	Seating/ Sequence of Access	2	4	42
7.	Entry into Panchayat Office	5	11	42
	Sitting Arrangements	5	11	42
8.	Use of Roads – Free Passage	5	11	-
9.	Sitting Arrangement in the School	4	9	42
	Eating Together in the School	4	9	42
	Sharing Water Facility in School	3	6	41

Source-Untouchability in Rural India – Maharashtra Report , Action Aid Study 2000

Table 4(b): Practice of Untouchability by Service Providers- Public

S. No.	Forms/Sites for the Practice of Untouchability	Untouchability is Practiced		Number of villages where Institutions exists
		Number of villages	Percentage of Villages	
1.	Access to Drinking Water Facilities	17	39	-
2.	Entry into Places of Worship	22	50	-
3.	Cremation and Burial Grounds	16	37	-
4.	Entry into Private Health Centers	1	4	17
	Treatment in Private Health Centers	2	8	17
5.	At the Cinema Theatre	0	0	4
6.	Entry into a Hotel/Tea Shop	0	0	28
	Separate Sitting Arrangement in the Hotel	0	0	28
	Separate Cups for Use	1	3	28
7.	Use of Roads for Funeral Processions	11	25	43
8.	Use of Roads for Marriage Processions	11	25	43
9.	Use of Roads for Other Processions	11	25	43

Source -Untouchability in Rural India – Maharashtra Report , Action Aid Study 2000

Table 4(c): Practice of Untouchability by Service Providers – Economic and Related Public Services

S. No.	Forms/Sites for the Practice of Untouchability	Untouchability is Practiced		Number of villages where facility exists
		Number of villages	Percentage of villages	
1.	Entry into Village Shops	6	14	41
2.	Purchases from the Shop	5	11	42
3.	Services of the Barber	7	21	32
4.	Services of the Potter	3	75	4
5.	Services of the Tailor	3	12	24
6.	Services of the Washer men	3	14	21
7.	Services of the Carpenter	4	13	30
8.	Sell of Milk at Milk Collection Centre	8	30	26
9.	Buying of Milk at Milk Collection Centre	8	30	26
10.	Grazing Lands / Fishing/	1	4	24
11.	Access to Irrigation Facilities	2	6	31
12.	Farm wage Labor	10	23	-
13.	Payment of Wages	10	23	-
14.	Discrimination in the Wage Rates	5	12	-
15.	Employment in House Construction	9	20	-
16.	Selling of Products	2	6	33
17.	Sitting arrangement in the SHG Meeting	5	12	39

Source -Untouchability in Rural India – Maharashtra Report, Action Aid Study 2000

Table 4(d): Restrictions on Personal Rights and Choices

S. No.	Forms/Sites for the Practice of Untouchability	Untouchability Practiced		Number of villages where Institutions exists
		Number of villages	Percentage of Villages	
1.	Use of Umbrellas on Public Roads	1	2	43
2.	Use of foot ware Public Road	2	4	43
3.	Permission of Non-Dalit Elders for Marriage	2	4	43
4.	Seeking blessings of Non-Dalit Elders	2	4	43
5.	Use of new clothes	4	8	43
6.	Use of Goggles and similar items	4	8	43
7.	Respect to high caste persons	8	11	43
8.	Treatment of untouchable Women	8	18	43
9.	Treatment of SC Women by Non-SC Women	14	32	43
10.	Entry into House	24	55	43
11.	Inter-Caste dining	11	25	43

Source -Untouchability in Rural India – Maharashtra Report, Action Aid Study 2000

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