
CHAPTER-6

MAJOR FINDINGS

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Societies across the globe are arranged in stratified manner involving various inequalities like gender, caste, race, class, prestige, power, wealth, and many more which ranks in ordering, reordering of the individuals and groups. These inequalities lead to subjugation and mistreatment of least benefitted sections from the rest. Scholars across the discipline analyzed the social inequalities in different societies with their root causes. Max Weber analyzed the stratification in the society on the basis of 'status' in the social order as one of the components along with 'class' and 'party'. Karl Marx defined the stratification in the society on the basis of the mode of production into the capitalist class and proletariat class. Ralf Dahrendorf challenges the Marxist concept of inequality and elaborates the cause that 'social inequality is due to inequality in authority'. Structural-functionalists argue that inequality is based on functions. However, among the different kinds of stratification, class and caste are the noticeable ones. In India, social inequalities are intricately made within its social structure in the form of caste, which is also the structural unit of stratification and the system in itself. The caste system is made up of a particular belief system and structure with the phenomenon of exclusion. The caste system is further stratified into class disparities and the social and cultural structure of society emanates from oppression. The caste system emanates from the *Varna* division of the system, which is functional and under which individuals are stratified into a number of endogamous hierarchical castes. 'Caste' is an English word introduced to the closed community groups of the social hierarchy by the British people in India at the time of their colonial rule. The caste is more or less referred to as the '*Jati*' in India.

Caste refers to the conventional Hindu hierarchy of four enormous sub-divisions. The four classes are Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra, each of the categories consisting of a large number of '*jatis*' or 'endogamous caste' groups within it, which are confined in their community. Many of the '*jatis*' pursue similar occupations have often grouped collectively in '*jati-clusters*' and recognized as 'Caste'. The caste system is based on the principle of purity & pollution, considered within the graded order as the key criterion for the determination of a caste or sub-caste. Avarna also known as Panchama, the fifth

category of the Varna order has been assigned to perform tasks considered too menial or degrading for the upper three Varnas to perform. Varna's fifth group is conceptualized as the 'class of untouchables' and menials, confined to rather menial and polluting jobs related to body decay and dirt. They were considered impure and polluting, thereby being physically and socially excluded from the rest of society and segregated from it. In India, the caste system has such deep roots that it shaped the social and economic structure of India's people. Dalits who were put at the lowest level of the hierarchy, known as Ati-Shudras or Avarna, treated as outcasts and *achutts*, suffering from countless humiliations, severe poverty, and social segregation. The term Dalit generally refers to the grouping of oppressed caste groups that are put on a scheduled list, first established by the 1935 Government of India Act and later adopted by the Indian Constitution. India is an example where the caste and class both existed in a similar society.

The demand for equality and for a considerable share in the society by the marginalized section is evident in different phases of India history, which varies from a tone of reforms to rebellion. The initial phase make contributions with the notion of spreading the thoughts of an equitable society: It starts with Gautam Buddha, the first to rebel and reject the discriminatory practices, scriptures of the *Varna-Vyavastha* & dominance of Brahmanism and emphasizes equality amongst humans with higher moral standards. Buddha's thoughts and preaching, among the outcastes or untouchables, introduced the new consciousness. It created a new tradition based on equality and deeds, rejecting the caste system based on birth. Jains oppose *Varna-Vyavastha* too fiercely. Several schools of philosophy like Lokayata or Carvaka, in Saint tradition 'Sahajayan', Nath' sect believe in people's dignity and negating the caste system. Later on, the Bhakti movement was an endeavor to detach Hindu religion from the dogmatic and ritualistic clutch. 12th to 16th-century Bhakti movement had a great appeal for the establishment of an egalitarian society. The movement heads were saints and prophets, poets and thinkers who, more often than Bhramans, were vendors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, barbers, and even Mahars, sprang from the lower order of society. Vaishnavite and Shaivite poets of the Tamil region, Basavana from Karnataka region (Bijapur), The prominent figures in the Bhakti movement like Jnandev, Namdev, Tukaram, Eknath, and Chokhamela- Mahar, Kabir, Ravidass challenges the discrimination of castes and emphasized the casteless culture, Guru Nanak Dev also rejected the caste system, through his teachings have made efforts to abolish the discrimination in the society.

The second is comparatively more radical and it denounce the Brahmanic culture or had a very staunch reaction against it. This phase witnessed the formation caste-based associations and newspapers, journals, magazines as an effort of awareness for the Dalit consciousness. The Satnami movement of the 17th century and radical writings of Jyotiba Phule can be seen in this context. Phule, founded the Satya Shodak Samaj, the move was against discrimination based on casteism, gender, and caste, the custom of untouchability, express disagreement with socio-economic inequalities, oppression, and discrimination. Phule's writings are innovative as he explicitly questions the existing traditions of religion and myth/contrives in favor of a specific segment of society (Bhramin). For Phule, '*Vidya*' or knowledge was in sharp contrast to the Brahmanic or ritualistic shastra and a tool for freedom and human liberty as well as economic development. A significant offshoot of the revolution is the reform of the caste system and its rigid hierarchical structure. As exemplified in Arya Samaj which originated as a revivalist socio-religious reform movement seeking to restore the Vedic faith and their return to the Vedas was not as interpreted by Indian Orthodoxy's conventional scholarship or Western critical scholarship, but as interpreted by Dayanand himself. Also, with its many regional versions, the Adi movement was a conceptual and radical effort to redefine India's caste ties with a pointed assault on the evil and unjust practices in Indian society. The Bhakti movement believes in humanity's inherent equality, while the Adi-Hindu movement challenges the ground of prejudice by identifying Dalit as an original land inhabitant. There was the Adi movement in both northern and southern India. They're Adi-Andhra in Andhra, Adi Dravida in Tamil Nadu, Adi Karnataka in Karnataka, Adi Hindu in Uttar Pradesh.

In the third phase, the struggle for independence against the imperialist powers was at the national level, along with the demand for equal rights was raised and the political representation of Dalits was put before the colonial government. M.K.Gandhi and Dr.B.R.Ambedkar were the prominent names who raised the voice against the plight of Dalits and also suggested some remedial measures for their better condition. The devotion of M.K.Gandhi to caste reform is very integral to his conception of society. Gandhi emphasized the lower caste consciousness and movements focuses on the elevation of lower and backward castes' social status. His approach is reformative and towards better positioning of Scheduled caste into the Hindu fold. Gandhi created a new organization 'Harijan Sewak Sangh' and 'Harijan Purse Fund' for the welfare of the depressed class.'

He also sponsored "Temple entry Satyagraha" to make the Hindu holy place available to all. Literature was the most important tool to make the consciousness at the colonial time. It was the time, when the caste-based weekly and associations were found their grounds.

In 1916, The 'South Indian Liberal Federation' was formed by a group of non-brahmin citizens in Madras. The organization was founded to promote, protect and promote the interests of the non-Brahmin community. In the educational system, the political sphere, and government services, the movement questions the superiority & dominance of the Brahmin. In 1925, The Self Respect Movement, was the social revolutionary movement, aims to destroy the discriminatory Hindu social order and create a new society without caste, religion, and god, based on rationality. It perpetrated, Non-Brahmins were the aboriginals of Dravidian descent, while Brahmins were northern Aryan invaders. The self-respect movement generates feelings of self-respect, understanding, and self-confidence among the backward or non-brahmin groups. This gives them the courage to fight for social justice. '*KudiArasu*' was the journal published to demand reforms in the society and make aware the people about the programmes by the self-respect movement.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, one of the prominent socio-legal reformer have had a huge influence on the development of social and political dialogue. He called on the Hindus to annihilate the caste, which is a greater obstacle to social unity, and to create a new social order in line with the concept of democracy, founded on the principles of independence, equality, and fraternity. He established the AISCFC at an All India Depressed Classes Conference, in the hope of uniting all the untouchables in a new political battle with the aim of securing political rights and representation for the Dalit people, it limited to the untouchables. Later on In October 1957, the Republican Party of India was the first political party founded in India by the post-Ambedkar leadership. The party aimed to unite the oppressed, combat the atrocities committed against the Dalits, and eradicate their disabilities. But with the passage of time party failed to carry forward the momentum of dalits and party leaders got lost in their mutual conflicts.

In the post -independence period, in order to reform the position of the Dalits, the Government of India enacted numerous social laws, which included eliminating untouchability and prejudice against them. There is strict legislation to address manual scavenging, bonded labourers and even the atrocities. The provision of affirmative action and reservation in government jobs and educational institution also get introduced in

order to increase their status in such a way that they can enjoy an equal status with other sections. The Ambedkar movement of Dalit reforms along with institutional reforms, created the new class of active & educated youth among Dalits. The emergence of new middle class from the marginalized community achieved the better socio-economic status in the country with the education and government provisions.

In the fourth phase, the post-independence period, in particular the post-liberalization process seems to be a paradigm shift in the mobilization and acknowledgement of many castes and communities. Globalization provides the opportunity to loosens up the strangulation of traditional occupation and opens up possibilities that were previously beyond the scope of an ascriptive & hierarchical social order's lower strata. In that era, Dalit emancipation can be seen in political parties, caste associations, interest groups, etc. The political mobilization among the Dalits was reflected in the Bahujan Samaj Party's success. The political participation of the Dalits in Uttar Pradesh was seen as the new dawn of the Dalit movement in 1990.

Several Dalit groups also reported that time sought to liberate its masses from the atrocities suffered by the caste system and untouchability. In order to achieve self-respect in society, they made their plea for justice and equality in society. Dalit agitates for their rights against discrimination and abuse that they face and calls for stricter anti-disability legislation to be enforced. The new avenues of employment got introduced in the area of industrialization and urbanization. For the communities of the lower castes, the liberation strategy has created new kinds of economic and political force, creating possibilities that did not exist in conventional society. Class mobility steadily acquires the upper hand over the rigidities of the caste. With the introduction of new modes of production and growth of new capitalist development powers alongside affirmative action and the transformative influence of liberal education, new opportunities have been opened for citizens. From which through economic and social mobility, the excluded section will get rid of ascribed identities and obtain a new identity. With the opportunity to avail higher and professional education has provided for horizontal and vertical as well as social and economic mobility among Dalits, creating intellectual groups, Dalit administrators, and entrepreneurs. The rise of an organization such as the Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DICCI), with the slogan *'Be the job providers rather than remain job seekers'* with the objective *'Fight caste with a capital'*, paves the way for Dalit

emancipation in economic structure. The leather industry by Jatavs in Agra and Boota Mandi by chamars in Punjab were some examples, that how they excelled their traditional skills into a business opportunity, which get them prestige, status, economic mobility as well as political recognition. The new class posing the challenge to the conventional stratification of the caste system and refuse their subordination to the other dominant upper castes.

With the introduction of liberal political values such as liberty, equality, justice, and rights, an upsurge or new consciousness among the Dalits has been seen. Dalit movements are the movements of their consciousness of their own identity. These movements are not only demeaning the caste system but assertive towards their aboriginal identity. The New kind of agitation and assertiveness can be seen with the decline of the Bahujan party (popularly known as the party of the marginalized section) simultaneously with the rise of Dalit identity and agitations in the different forms. Dalit identity has nearly become a core issue of the dalit movements. The sculptures and photographs of Dr. Ambedkar are considered a symbol of Dalit consciousness and the declaration of identity among Dalits. Celebration of birth and death anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar, reading & writing, as well as academic research on Dalit poetry & literature, are some noticeable steps of assertion their Dalit identity.

The ascend of Chander Shekhar, the celebration of Bhima Koregaon battle win, take the Dalit social, political ascription in a new way. With modern technologies, a new form of assertion can be observed in alternative media created and run by Dalits, which includes mass media channels, caste specific journals, conference, YouTube channels, Facebook, Twitter even the caste based commercial activities.

PUNJAB

The state of Punjab has the highest percentage of the Schedule caste population among all the states of the country, 88.60 Lac is the Punjab schedule caste population, which is 31.94 percent of the total population of the state (277.43 Lac). Punjab one the most prosperous state, rank 9th in the HDI index, is a plural society in religion and full of variation in a cultural context. It is the land of reformist movements of Sikhism & Sufism with the existence of many religions Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, and Christianity. Punjab was the Muslim-dominated region before the partition of India in 1947, but the religious

composition in the state was altered after independence. Punjab is a Sikh-dominated state consist 57.69% of the total population of the state. Sikhism has arisen as a separate and independent religion, founded on the unity of God, humanity, equality between races, castes, and gender, as a reformist movement against discriminatory practices in Hinduism and Islam. Although Sikhism is an egalitarian religion; caste stratification still exists and continues through endogamy, exclusion, and some degree of restriction of social interaction. In Punjab, the caste system is very distinct from the rest of India. The caste system and structure in Punjab present a different picture, as it is not a typical Brahmanical society and caste positioning is much determined by the share in the agrarian land.

Regional differences occur in a way that has traditionally established social ties between various classes of castes. Punjab is the agricultural dominant society. The caste discrimination is based on land ownership; Jats are the landlords & agriculturists, formed the dominant community. Jats had the status of shudra in Hinduism, by embracing Sikhism, they not only were rescued from the lower caste status but became the dominant caste in the state, which provided them an opportunity to raise their status in the society. In Punjab there are also menial and untouchable castes, faced discrimination from the dominant community of the society. Even after conversion into Sikhism the status of the scheduled caste category does not get changed, they faced discrimination, inequality, and exclusion there also. Due to the dominant agrarian relationship framework, the subordination of the Dalits in Punjab is institutionalized. Scheduled caste is not a homogeneous category; there are 39 scheduled caste categories in Punjab. Two caste clusters are the largest component of the scheduled caste category. They are currently being scheduled under various names, the first group or cluster known as Mazhabi Sikhs & Balmiki / Bhangis. The second group or cluster consists of Ad Dharmis and Chamar/ Ravidasis/ Ramdasis Sikhs. Together, these two clusters make up about three-quarters of the state's entire Dalit population, the 33 remaining caste groups from the third group, which are very few in numbers. The state of Punjab witnessed the caste assertion and self-consciousness movement at a different phase of time. The establishment of the egalitarian democratic setup of '*Khalsa*' by Guru Gobind Singh is the first instance of the assertion of Dalits. The Ad Dharm movement, the famous Dalit movement of Punjab for the Dalit consciousness contributed to the social, political & economic upliftment of Dalits. Ad Dharm movement which started as the movement gets transformed into the caste identity.

Later the Ravidassis refurnish and restore themselves with the emergence of Dera Sachkhand Ballan, later the Dera become the center of Dalit activities. The establishment of Boota Mandi by Chamars by excelling their traditional skills to a successful business with the incidences of clashes between the Jats and scheduled castes led to consciousness among Dalits. These incidences make them aware of human rights and civil liberties, somewhere it also cause the evolution of assertion.

The field study in different pockets of Punjab and its finding can be summarized under the following heads:

Cultural Assertion

The history is very much silent about the history of Dalits, now the dalits reinventing their identity. The reviving & reinventing of their own cultures and traditions are the process of constructing the Dalit identity, distinct from the Brahminical one. The construction of Dera's and Ad Dharm's identity is the form of cultural consciousness and assertion. Ad Dharm movement played important role in awareness towards the distinct identity of aboriginal and having pride in it. The new religious faith culture is constructed through the Dera's. DeraSach Khand Ballan exemplifies, the spiritual awareness created social awareness and with time it becomes the center of Dalit political activities. The Dera has its own spiritual ways for generating socio, cultural and religious revival. They have their own texts, hymns, and spiritual guru. In Ravidassi Dera's Guru Ravidass is the main saint, compiled their teachings as '*RavidassAmritbani*', followers of Dera greet eachother with '*Jai guru dev*'salutation, '*Soham*', They have a slogan also '*bolo Soh Nirbhau*', '*Shri Guru Ravidass Maharaj ki Jai*' which is similar to Sikh's '*Jo Bole Soniha lSatSri Akal*'. Ravidassi has a transnational presence, Deras constructing the new identities with the construction of ponds, schools, hospitals, and parks. Some community members put the pictures of Saint Ravidass and the hymn '*soham*' at their main entrance of house and at the gates of villages; it marks the identity of their presence. Even the Ravidassi gurudwara and temple were observed during the field visit. This Gurudwara observed with the presence of sculpture or with the poster of Dr. Ambedkar it its premises. The community people consider saint Ravidass as a leading light in spiritual matters and Ambedkar as the modern mentor. At one village the NRI belongs to the Ravidassi community funded to construct the Ravidassi gurudwara in the memory of his parents and get it inaugurated by the leader of the Jat community. Dera's have their commercial

market also with their own CDs, calendars, lockets, and posters. The presence of Dera's is the dominant phenomenon of Punjab state, especially in rural areas but not all dera's are the same, DeraSachkhand Ballan is the prominent one in context of cultural assertiveness. Dera's are the result of the conflicted culture of the past, now functioning as an alternative religion.

Balmiki Mandir was observed during the study but they are not as lavish as the Ravidassi temples and gurudwaras were. The BudhhaJayanti, Ambedkar birth, and death anniversary, RavidassJayanti, BalmikiJayanti get celebrated with huge pomp and show at very large scale.

The intellectual class has the opinion that Dera's are the result of '*Brahmanic*' ideology. It's a great loss for Punjab's rationality and broad-minded society. Dera makes people mental slaves. Most of the Dera's headed by the people of the Jat community, which is seen as the trap to divide the Dalits.

Changing Narratives/ Stigma

The term Dalit is the term of assertion, self-recognition, and identity. The word provides a sense of solidarity among the scheduled caste, who doesn't want to identify themselves from the traditional identities. In the state of Punjab, this phenomenon is in contrast, after embracing Sikhism by the majority in the state of Punjab, caste-based movements and the proliferation of several religious sects and can be seen. Later the movement itself converted into caste identity and soon after gets splinted into several identities based on the caste. AdDharm started as the movement then transformed into the caste and later get splinted into Ramdasi and Ravidasi.

Dalits are now claimed their aboriginal identity but strive for changing the stigma and narrative associated with primordial identities and in this recourse emphasize is on the separate identity from traditional Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity. Some of the scheduled caste community members have unwillingness about the usage of the term Dalit, they want to acknowledge their identity, proud to call themselves Chamars, Balmiki, Mazhabi, and Chuhra.

Dalit now has their own pop songs, prestigiously highlighting their Chamar ,Chuhra & Mazhabi identity. Earlier the trend was noticed that, the people who get asserted or get

economically well of shed their identity by changing their surnames and cutoff their ties with their kins and natives.

On the other side, now the quest for identity is noticed among the people. They adopt different methods to get recognition, having the surname '*Asur*', a song like '*Hum Munde Chamara de*' is the way to regaining the proud existence.

The struggle for identity is observed enclose the amalgamation of class and caste character. The caste that gets prosperous behaves dominantly in society. It creates a new hierarchy within the community.

Developmental Factors

Various scheduled caste in its regionalities were benefitted by the change in 'mode of production' and more especially with the integration of regional economy with the global ones. 'Leather work' which is traditionally a menial pollutant job, however became most economically beneficial for the 'Chamar' caste of the 'Doaba' region. The demand for leather goods around the globe and the social monopoly of the caste or the production process gradually led a upward mobility and consciousness among the 'Chamer' castes. The economic prosperity and the global interface led the emergence of a new consciousness with an amalgamation of the constitutional and political reforms of the Ambedkar. Similar phenomenon can be observed for the 'Adi-Dharmis' of the different pockets of the Punjab, who has been getting benefitted by the outward migration especially towards North America and Europe. A similar phenomenon was observed in the 'Mazhabi Sikhs' in some pockets of Punjab. However, nothing similar has happened with the other scheduled castes of Punjab like Chuhra including Bhangi, Megh, Sansi, Dagi, Koli, Dhanak, etc. The affirmative action of the state (in the form of reservation) also limited to the few caste clusters and more importantly to the group 'D' or 'C' jobs; for example, most sweepers or scavengers employed in the state (regular or contractual) basis belongs to Chuhra, Dhanak or Mussali castes.

The differential level of economic mobility has created class within the broader class categorization of 'Dalit' as a class and more importantly, this sub-class carries the identity of the caste (especially in term of occupational caste) which rather than 'annihilation' seems to the rebirth of 'caste' on a new flavor. Also, the comparative prosperous scheduled caste carries the same notion of 'purity' and 'pollutant' which the dominant

caste practices to the 'scheduled caste'. This is one of the important factors which limited to the cultural and identity assertion limited to the few castes in the state of Punjab.

This is the reason why the assertion through new media, reinvention of narrative related to the caste and icon/leadership worship in Punjab is limited upto few castes especially to the Chamar, Adi -Adharmis, and Ravidassis. The phenomenon of assertion is not uniformly spread to all castes and the 'collective consciousness' is missing among the Dalits. If we generalize the field data and observation, the whole phenomenon can be said as 'assertion of the few caste' with a new course of demand for redistribution in politico legal terms and with reinventing the primordial identity with their own alternate narrative.

Political Assertion

Despite the upward mobility and consciousness for the rights among few castes, the state of Punjab has not witnessed any collective consciousness among the Dalits as happened in Uttar Pradesh. The reflection of field study pointed two or three major features for this phenomenon first Dalits in Punjab as pointed out by many other studies are not homogeneous and various primordial identities like caste, religion, and sets criss-crossed their collective identity. Secondly, the demand for the share in the redistributive interactions has already bifurcated them in to two major sections and the whole focus has been shifted "from the total" to "against the each other". Thirdly as discussed earlier the benefits of the green revolution and liberalization policies along with the educational mobility have been limited to two or three major castes of the region and this created various sub-classes among the Dalit fold which messed the feeling of collectivity. Re-Inventing and affiliation with the new identities like that of Dera, or Sect or Ravidassi/Ramdassi and association on the caste line especially through the new media sharpen their differences rather than providing them a new ground for the "social solidarity". After the Ad-Dharm movement under the leadership of Mangoo Ram and BAMCEF under Kashi Ram, the state witnessed a marked vacuum in term of leadership and in last five decades the Dalits voices remains fragmented under the aegis of the different political parties not a single political party has emerged for the "Bahujan" voices. The hierarchy and fragmentation are among some reasons why the BSP is not performing well in the state from where its sprouting has been started. And that's why Punjab has low Dalit representatives both at the state and national level.

Education as upward Mobility:

The importance of education has been seen in the slogan '*Educate, Agitate and Organize*' given by Dr.B.R.Ambedkar. Education is a vital factor to accelerate upward mobility. The capitalist market forces somewhere diversified the occupations and especially the informal sector provide the opportunity to get rid of traditional occupation for the skilled person. Due to the reservation & affirmative action's the level of education gets improved among the Dalits, the improved literacy rate is proof of that. But a majority of the Dalits is enrolled in government schools; they won't be able to afford private school education and the private tuitions as well. In the rural areas access to quality education which make the person skilled for the job is a problematic issue. Dalits are aware about the importance of education. The Doaba belt is the best example of assertion among the Dalits through education, with the highest literacy rate in Jalandhar.

The intellectual activities reflected in literary expressions have a major contribution to the formation of Dalit dialogue and consciousness of Dalits. Literature with the folklore, folktales, autobiographies of Dalit, memoirs, books raising the issue of inequality, Dalit peasantry, and plays focused on Dalit issues among the sources of social consciousness.

No annihilation of caste can be seen, which is dreamt by Dr. Ambedkar. The Dalit class has pictures & sculptures of Ambedkar in their Mandir, Gurudwaras, but the building of temples & worship never supported by the Ambedkar when he was alive.

H1: Dalit consciousness movement in India in the post-liberalization phase shows both continuity and change and a significant cultural assertion.

Evidence from both primary and secondary sources suggests that the post-liberalization phase of Dalit assertion is not a complete departure from the earlier forms. Rather, the techniques of mobilization and assertion of identities have taken a new recourse.

The capitalist system of society & LPG reforms resultant into a positive manner, as it opens new options for occupation; it is interlinked but not wholesome dependent on the capitalist system. Other factors are also equitably responsible for the assertion.

H2:The rise and growth of capitalism (in terms of economic determinism) led to the overshadowing of primordial identity like caste by the class identity.

It was found that Primordial identities are still playing an important role, but nature and structure vary from region to region. As every region have its specificities. Corporatism changes the socialization pattern among the society, caste identities somehow not much visible in Corporatism but in social and commercial relations caste is an important factor. Dalit is a class identity when they are together (against other castes), but in inner social structure they follow the casteism

H3: Economic mobility enhances the possibilities of assertion among the caste groups Economic prosperity definitely led to the change in the social positioning of a particular caste and other related dimensions like education, caste-based consciousness, and Sanskritization. Regarding Punjab, this is manifested for the Chamar caste (Boota Mandi) and Adi-dharmis (migration).

H4: The Dalit assertion is not homogenous and limited to few dominant castes of the region but has some trickling effect on the other castes of the group. movements are in fact caste assertion

The Dalit assertion in India is generalized as the ‘collective consciousness movement’ for the demand of equitable positioning in the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres of the society. However, evidence from the field suggests that this consciousness is not homogenous for all the caste communities and the developmental discourse has created a multi-level hierarchy and fragmentation, which can’t be generalized as ‘collective consciousness. Also, these consciousness movements rather than the negation of caste identities make it firmer.