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**CHAPTER-2**  
**STRATIFICATION, CASTE AND**  
**DALITS IN INDIA**

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## CHAPTER-2

### STRATIFICATION, CASTE AND DALITS IN INDIA

#### **Social Stratification & Social Inequality in Societies**

Human societies are arranged into a number of segments and the theories of social stratification somewhere deals with the social inequalities in various forms like wealth, prestige or power leads to exploitation & oppression of one on another, which ranks them differently on a different stratum of hierarchy. These social inequalities are age-old and omnipresent in societies.<sup>1</sup> In the structural form, stratification implies ordering, reordering, distribution, and redistribution of people and resources, respectively. Social inequality refers to the existence of different social classes in various variables such as prestige, income, and status that are ranked one above the other. The specific group or subgroup has a shared interest and common identity and often shares a similar lifestyle that separates them to some degree from members of other social strata. It is widely acknowledged that among the various types of stratification the caste and class are the prominent ones. India is an example where the caste and class both existed in the same society.<sup>2</sup>

Max Weber<sup>3</sup> while describing the bases of distribution of power, emphasizes the 'status' as one of the determinants of power along with 'class' economic base and 'party' political parties. Weber clarified that the 'social order' of society determines the status of the individual in the society. The group to which the person belongs are communities, but different from 'classes', but not considered as communities, but considered as the status group. Weber considered the Caste as an ideal example of the status group, where the division in a society is based on conventions and rituals which postulate the social inequalities.

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<sup>1</sup> D' Souza, Victor. (1981). *Inequality and its Perpetuation: A Theory of social stratification*. New Delhi: Manohar Publication. pp.23-27.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp.171-176.

<sup>3</sup> Weber, M. (1946). *Class, Status, Party*. In H. H. Girth, & C. W. Mills (Eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (pp. 180-195). New York: Oxford University.

On the other side, thinkers like Karl Marx<sup>4</sup> propounded the theory that social inequality and exploitation related to the means of production. Marx defines a society as stratified into classes. The two classes namely the capitalist (bourgeoisie) class ruling over the majority members of the society the labourers (proletariat), both the classes are antagonistic in relations. The capitalist class which owns the means of production tends to exploit the proletariat class. Ralf Dahrendorf<sup>5</sup> challenges the concept of social stratification defined by Marx, according to him social inequality is caused by the inequality in authority. As defined by Dahrendorf the unequal distribution of authority is inherent in every structure of society and the exercise of authority is an essential element of it. It is not only the exercise of authority but also the exercise of exclusion from the authority which is the root cause of the social inequalities in society. Dahrendorf only divides the people into the dichotomic divisions, in the people who exercise the authority and those who do not exercise the authority or are excluded from exercising it.

The structural-functionalist defines social inequality as inescapable in the society, it may be based on hierarchical status or rank differences. The functionalist equates social stratification with social inequalities and analyzes the system of stratification that the stratification refers to the rights and privileges of different positions in society. Functionalist argues that the society has distributed different positions among its member, some are important positions and ascribed difficult functions to perform. Davis & Moore(1967), Kingsley Davis(1944), Walter Buckley(1958) are functionalist scholars, emphasize the functional view of the stratification.

Warner<sup>6</sup> used the terms rank, prestige, and power synonymously with status. Society is consist of the status hierarchy, with social classes, the member of classes more or less equal in status and the different classes from the hierarchy. There is an unequal distribution of status which depends upon the performance of certain necessary differential functions. When analyzing the different forms of stratification in the societies, it is hard to find out the similarities among them.

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<sup>4</sup> Peet, R. (1975). Inequality and Poverty: A Marxist-Geographic Theory. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 65(4), 564-571. Retrieved on February 18, 2019, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2562423>

<sup>5</sup> Dahrendorf, Ralf. (1969). *Essays in the Theory of Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp.238-39.

<sup>6</sup> Warner, W. Lloyd, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells . (1960). *Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status*. New York: Harper.pp-274.

In the Indian context, the stratification can be analyzed in different segments. As defined by Yogendra Singh<sup>7</sup>, the stratification in India can be analyzed with the four approaches that emerge as a logical class on caste stratification (a) cultural universalistic, found in the traditional societies where the social ranking based on the honour, (b) cultural particularistic c) structural universalistic d) structural particularistic. He further elaborates that the caste system ranked on the Varna system, which also coincides with caste and the sub-castes, occupational sub-specialization, and accumulation of wealth.

MacIver and Page<sup>8</sup>, differentiated the concept of caste from the class, they define a class as “any portion of a community marked off from the rest by social status”, as an individual's status is not defined or set. They wrote, “ when the status is wholly predetermined so that men are born to their lot in life without any hope of changing it, then class takes the extreme form of caste.”<sup>9</sup> MacIver and Page explored the evolution of the caste system from the class system. Whereas in the Indian context Victor D'souza wrote that in society, class and caste coexist, but it doesn't mean that only within the caste community can the class system work, it is the form where both systems cut across each other.<sup>10</sup>

Stratification can be categorized into basically two forms the open and closed stratified system. In a society where its members are free to compete for the resources and have equal access to acquire wealth, power, status, prestige, and authority. But in close societies, the status, power, prestige & authority are recognized and established on the basis of birth, inheritance, and due to family background. In the social system, where an individual gets born in a specific stratified group, identifies the status from his/her birth, and does not have the opportunity to move or change the stratum is known as the caste system.<sup>11</sup>

The Indian caste system is one of the examples of social stratification in society. Yogendra Singh<sup>12</sup> defines the Indian caste system as one of the forms of social

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<sup>7</sup> Singh, Yogender. (2014). *Social Stratification and Change in India*. New Delhi: Manohar Publication, pp.18-34.

<sup>8</sup> MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H. (1949). *Society*. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc, pp.348-58.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> D'Souza, Victor S. (Reprint 2017). *Caste and Class* in 'Social inequality in India' (eds.) K.L.Sharma. pp 240.

<sup>11</sup> Beteille, Andre. (1966). Closed and Open social Stratification in India. *European Journal of Sociology*, Cambridge University Press, Vol.VIII. Pp.224-246.

<sup>12</sup> Singh, Yogendra. (2014), op.cit.

stratification as well as a system in itself, which can be bifurcated at the time of the level of analysis, in the cultural phenomenon and structural phenomenon. The Indian caste system is the closed stratified system, where the status, power, prestige, class are ascribed on the basis of birth, inheritance, and family background. In the caste system, the hierarchy also affects the structure of power in society, which regulates social supremacy rather than economic power.<sup>13</sup>

### **The Term Caste**

The term 'Caste' is of 'Spanish' and 'Portuguese' origin, carved from the word 'Custus' in Latin, meaning pure. The word was first to use by the Spanish people, but the Indian application comes from Portuguese origin, applied in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> Indian social system is characterized by the hierarchy of the caste system. It is the product of traditional laws practiced in the ancient the later Vedic period.<sup>15</sup> The Caste system has the rigid rank order in which, '*Brahmin*' placed at the top level of the hierarchy, '*Kshatriyas*', warrior class placed next to Brahmins, '*Vaishya*' commercial class placed at third level, and '*Sudra*' working class at the substructure of the hierarchical system. Mostly the western scholars have mistaken the caste system as the 'Class', but it is more than the 'class'. The individual's caste is defined by the person's birth, ascribed to his or her parents' caste. The caste defines the social status & role of the individual in the community. Some people were put in the advantageous position of society by the caste system based on inequality, where they can enjoy status and rights, and some in the redundant position of hereditary misery, destitution.

Caste is an English word, introduced by the Britishers in India at the time of their colonial rule, to the closed community groups of the social system. The caste is more or less referred to as the 'Jati' in India. James Manor<sup>16</sup> analyzed that the word 'caste', refers to the three different things: Varna, Jati, and Jati Cluster. The caste system is said to be the phenomenon of the Hindu system, but it is the reality of pan-India society. Other religions such as Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians also have castes or caste-like subdivisions among

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ketkar, S.V. (1909 reprint in 1990). *History of Caste in India*. New Delhi :Low Price Publication, p.12.

<sup>15</sup> Panikkar, K.M. (1955). *Hindu society at the Crossroad*, Bombay : Asia Publishing House, p.121.

<sup>16</sup> Manor, James. (2010). *Caste in Indian Politics by Rajni Kothari*; revised by James Manor, New Delhi: Orient Black Swan Private Ltd, p.XIX.

themselves. M.N.Srinivas<sup>17</sup>, described caste as the system which is functionally interrelated in a rigidly stratified society. Caste refers to the four huge sub-divisions in the traditional Hindu hierarchy. Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra are the four groups, each of the categories consists of a large number of jati within it or 'endogamous caste' groups, which is confined in their group. Now in modern times, multiple jatis pursue similar occupations have often grouped collectively in jati-clusters and recognized as 'Caste'.

### **The Onto- Genesis of the Caste System**

The origin, rise, development, and establishment of the caste system in India are explained by several theories. In India, traditional theory, occupational theory, ethnic theory, and many more are based on understanding the caste system.

#### **1.1 Traditional Theory**

From Purusha-Sukta of Rig Veda, which explains the root of Varna, the traditional theory of caste structure can be traced and later metamorphosed into castes. The three interrelated characteristics of the Varna Vyavastha are the Varna structure, casteism, untouchability, and social segregation.

From the very beginning of the human race, the root of the Varna system seems to have existed. The Varna came from the great sacrificial Purusha, according to the Rig Veda (the Primal man). The distinctive Varna were made from various parts of his body. The Brahman from the head, the Kshatriyas originated from arms, The Vaishya from the thighs, and the Shudras from the feet. The initial three Varnas procured the status of 'Dwija' or 'twice-conceived', the subsequent birth happening at their Upanayana function, though 'Shudra' considered of the lower varna, but at the lower part of the social hierarchy of importance. This cosmic origin of different varnas performed different duties in a different order. The Brahman is the highest varna had to devote to studies, had to do only the work considered purer, they are the priests and the arbitrators in the society. The Kshatriya assigned the work of soldiers and administrators, the Vaishya is the commercial class, placed below the Kshatriya's, they assigned agricultural activities and trade, and the

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<sup>17</sup> Srinivas, M. (1957). Caste in Modern India. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 16(4), 529-548.  
doi:10.2307/2941637

‘Shudra’s last in the descending pyramidal structure perform the manual work and to serve these three Varna’s.<sup>18</sup>

The Brahminical religious principle of purity & pollution is the core principle of defining the social hierarchy and the social stratification in the society based on the ‘Varna-Jati’ system. ‘Varna’ is the class term, whereas ‘Jati’ is the (caste) term. By and large ‘Jati’ is an endogamous community, and their sub-castes (sub jatis) splits into a group based on the same ‘Gotras’<sup>19</sup>.

There is also one more traditional version of the caste system theory, which is according to the ‘Guna’ and ‘Karma’. It is to be said that the caste of the individual is determined by the ‘Karma’ ‘Dharma’ doctrine. This division is performed in compliance with the ‘Guna’ (quality) and Karma (the functions, action/ work). The doctrine was also endorsed in Geeta by Lord Krishna. The four-fold structure (Chaturvarna) was developed by me according to the division of qualities and functions (Guna's) (Karma).<sup>20</sup> In the Indian caste system, there are to be said three qualities or Guna’s, namely Sattva (purity) as Wisdom, intellect, sincerity, goodness, and other positive qualities. Second is Rajas (passion) which include the quality like pride, valor, and passion. the third is Tamas (inertia), dullness. In humans, these three features are discovered in varying proportions, according to these innate attributes individuals follow various forms of occupation. The people who have the preponderance of Sattva are the Brahmins, and they are the thinkers, priests, ministers, or philosophers to the kings or ruling class. The people predominated of Rajas are ‘Kshatriyas’, the warrior class, their work is to defend the country. The people predominant with Tamas are Vaishya (inertia) engaged in business and agriculture. Sudras are the servants, having no qualities developed in them, they served other three classes.<sup>21</sup>

## 1.02 Aryan Theory

According to the theory, Aryans and Dravid’s both are coming to settle down in India from some other parts of the world. The pre- Dravidian settlers were the natives of India, they were the aboriginals of India, attacked by the Dravidians first. Dravid’s were

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<sup>18</sup> Ram, Ahuja. (1999). *Indian Social System*. New Delhi: Rawat Publication. pp.228-250.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Velassery, S. (2005). *Casteism and Human Rights: Toward ontology of the social order*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International. pp. 204-206.

nomadic tribes, settled in India, they defeated natives. Where some natives joined the life of the Dravidians and some fled away in the forests and mountainsides. The Dravidians have no distinction among themselves, they mingled up with the aboriginals and became one united social entity. After the Dravidians, a major attack against India was made by the Aryans, they defeated aboriginals and made them their 'slaves'. These slaves have been taken into the fold of Hinduism by placing them in low status in society & allotting the duties of serving other people. Those, who did not accept slavery were remained aboriginals and have social, cultural & economic distinctions.<sup>22</sup>

The ancient society was divided into four parts: The Aryans, The Anaryas, the aboriginals, and the nomadic tribes. It was the time of the early Vedic era. At the time of the early Vedic era, only two main classes, Aryas and Anaryas, were said to exist. At that time, the class division of rulers and the governed, the masters and the slaves, the haves, and the have not were not found.<sup>23</sup>

After the Aryan's invasion, various institutions evolved out of the requirements of a new set-up, the old structure of society drifted towards new horizons of certainty. The Aryans made the Anaryas 'Dasa', divided the people into classes and the victory of Aryans over the Anaryas gave rise to the caste system. In the Aryan social order, the defeated aboriginals and Dravid's, 'Anaryas' were declared 'Sudra's'. The word 'Sudra' occurs once in the Rig – Veda and seven times in *Atharva-veda*. The Varna –Vyavastha was established in the Vedic period, and *Dasa –Pratha* was at its initial stage in the Rig Vedic times.<sup>24</sup> The symptoms of the caste system were there, but there were some provisions also to change one's Varna.

Though the Varna system was fully established, there was no established form of caste by birth, the symptoms of casteism were visible but its basis was an occupation. The Varna & Jati pursuits were not so much rigid, different pursuits were adopted by different members of one family. In that, the author of four *Suktas* of the 10<sup>th</sup> Mandal of Rig- Veda

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<sup>22</sup> Thapar, R. (1996). The Theory of Aryan Race and India: History and Politics. *Social Scientist*, 24(1/3), 3-29. doi:10.2307/3520116

<sup>23</sup> Jadav,, P. L. (2000). *Encyclopaedia of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes*. Vol. I, New Delhi: Artmal Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 2000.

<sup>24</sup> Leopold, J. (1974). British Applications of the Aryan Theory of Race to India, 1850-1870. *The English Historical Review*, 89(352), 578-603. Retrieved February 08, 2019, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/567427>



was Kavasa Elusa describes that he was the son of a Dasi, his father was physician, and by the virtue of his being a learned man can also become a priest.<sup>25</sup>

By the Post Vedic period, in the due course of time, the roots of Varna Vyavastha become rigid & complex. After the end of the Vedic era, the Varna Vyavastha becomes a permanent social institution. And, in due course of time, it grew so rigid that the trench of discrimination was never bridged up. In the post-Vedic era, we find a very complicated form of four Varnas. The differences concerning Karma, occupation, and conduct had become clear and steady.<sup>26</sup> Not only this, several sub-castes had evolved out of the four varnas, having separate distinctive features regarding food & conduct. In the age of Ramayana & Mahabharata, the Varna had acquired the form of *jati vyavastha*. The numbers of castes were getting developed in place of four Varnas (on account of *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* marriages). Gradually, the *jati – vyavastha*, grew rigid more and more and the Brahmin's strengthened the roots of Varna Vyavastha, which got permanence in the social structure. The rigidity in the caste system based on birth became the permanent feature in the Buddhist and Sutra age. Brahmin's wrote the Sutra's against the progressive ideas of Jainism & Buddhism, to gain the supremacy and prestige which they lost in the Buddhist age.<sup>27</sup>

In the Dharma Sutra age, due to rigid Varna Vyavastha, the society has been divided into various castes, regarded as higher castes and lower castes, Brahmins were having the highest place in the social order, whereas Sudra's were at the lowest rung of social order.<sup>28</sup> It is said the feeling of untouchability grew in this period. By the feeling of high caste and low caste rigidity completely divided the people and untouchability grew in the minds of people. Society has very rigid rules of occupation, food, conduct & marriage. The marriages outside the Varna and Caste were considered awful. The offsprings from these marriages were called 'Varnashankra' (means having no caste). The aboriginals who were got defeated in the beginning and those who lived outside the villages were called Asprasya, Antya, Bratyas, and Anteyavasin. At the time of Mahabharata, some of them were described as soldiers (Shanti Parv), but in the age of Sutra- Smritis, they were

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<sup>25</sup> *Vedic Heritage*: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Ministry of Culture, Government of India, also at <http://vedicheritage.gov.in/samhitas/rigveda/>.

<sup>26</sup> Thapar, op.cit.

<sup>27</sup> Sharma, A. (2005). Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on the Aryan Invasion and the Emergence of the Caste System in India. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 73(3), 843-870. Retrieved February 08, 2019, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4139922>

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

declared as untouchables. After the Buddhist age, under the Muslim rule, the caste system got more and more patronized, the feeling of low & high and untouchables were got nurture in practice, and numerous castes were also get develop in that age.<sup>29</sup>

### 1.03 Occupational Theory

It is one of the theories that attempt to provide a logical reason for caste origin. According to the theory, caste arose from the division of labor or the functional specialization in the society of different roles. The theory explains the social disabilities of certain classes of people as arising from distortion of a system that was different in its pristine purity. J.C. Nesfield, A division of occupations is the basis of the caste system, and the gradation of castes corresponds to the distinct levels of civilization at which these traditional occupations originated. According to him “*Function & function alone is responsible for the origin of caste system*”<sup>30</sup>. Nesfield provides grading to the occupations; the people who are engaged with primitive occupations were the members of the lowest caste, Kshatriya, as they were protectors, are superior caste, and the Brahmin the priests & spiritual guru’s are at the top. The artisan castes were similarly divided according to whether they came before the age of metallurgy, the artisans class, the social positions were divided on the basis of occupation, Nesfield cited the example that the people engaged with the metals ranked higher than those who engaged with the primitive occupations like hunting, fishing, etc.<sup>31</sup>

The hierarchy in the system is based on the superiority & inferiority of the occupations, the social positions in the society depend upon the industry in which person is engaged and to which stage of the culture (the advance and primitive). The technical skills passed to the generation’s from generations, they are hereditary, with the time & space and due to practicing the same occupation, the ‘occupational guilds emerged which later known as caste.’<sup>32</sup>

Nesfield's interpretation was criticized by several scholars, Sachidanand Sinha criticized that caste gradation is not strictly according to Nesfield’s scheme everywhere. He placed

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Nesfield, J.C. (1885). *Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Press. pp.88-90.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Based on a summary given by R.V.Russell (1975). *Tribe & Caste of the Central Provinces*, Vol.I. ;Delhi :Cosmo Publication.

hunting in the lower strata, but it was also done by Kshatriya as their favourite pastime. All the caste can't be placed in the occupational category, there were several castes like Dusadh, Musahar, etc, who cannot be placed in any particular occupational category. Sinha wrote, that most of the crafts are much later in origin than agriculture, but agriculture always held higher than all other occupations in India.

#### **1.04 Brahmanical Theory**

Abe Dubois, who wrote Brahmin's in order to have & maintain their higher social order, originated & developed the Caste system in India. The Brahmin's in order to retain their authority imposed several social restrictions on 'Non-Brahmins', particularly on Sudra's. To maintain their purity, they placed limits on dietary habits, social contacts, and endogamy. They gave themselves a higher place in the books and put the other one inferior to them.<sup>33</sup> Dr. Ghurye (1961) also supports the 'Brahminical theory', he describes that the "Caste is the Brahminic child of Indo- Aryans culture cradled in the land of Ganges and hence transferred to other parts of India by Brahminic prospectors". Ghurye in his work analysis that "The Brahmin literature classified as 'Dwijas' and '*ekjati*' (the Sudra). The restrictions on marriage, acceptance of food, etc, contemplated only four classes in the society, came to be the characteristic of every well-marked group".<sup>34</sup>

#### **1.05 Racial Theory**

Sir Herbert Risley proposed the racial theory of caste. According to him, there is a distinction on the basis of the twice-born groups and the Sudras, the Indian structure rests on the basis of racial antagonism by the prominence granted to the factor of color (Varna). The racial theory has its idea of ceremonial purity. The Aryans had their superiority and inferiority concerns; they considered themselves superior to the original inhabitants. The 'Aryans' were 'Patrilineal' in nature, and the aboriginals who were conquered by them were matrilineal. The conquerors took the country's women as concubines or wives, but they did not give their daughters to them, the children from that marriage did not get acceptance in society, they were called 'Chandals.' They were regarded as the half-breed community allocated the lowest role in society, the feeling of racial superiority eventually responsible for the root of the caste system in India. The six

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<sup>33</sup> Dubois, J. A., and Henry K. Beauchamp. (1978). *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*. 3d ed. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 160-367

<sup>34</sup> Ghurye, G.S. (1961). *Caste, Class and Occupation*. Popular Prakashan, Bombay, pp (169-172).

caste formation processes were written by Risley as; the shift in traditional occupation, customary shifts, migration, preservation of old customs and practices, enrollment in the Hindu fold, and the position of religious enthusiasts.<sup>35</sup>

### 1.06 Caste identified by Thinkers

S.V. Ketkar<sup>36</sup> defines the caste as a social community with two characteristics: membership is limited to those who are born of members and comprises all individuals so born; second, members are prohibited from marrying outside the group by inescapable social rule. The author chooses to give characteristics of the caste instead of a simple description since he feels that this will give the caste a clear identity. Besides, the author also stated that *"the word caste and sub-caste are not absolute but comparative in meaning. 'Caste' is the larger group, while 'sub-caste' is the smaller group"*<sup>37</sup>.

Senart<sup>38</sup> provides the explanation of caste in context to the similarities of three systems namely, Indian, Greek & Romans. These three civilizations were the oldest ones, have many similarities in their customs, social practices, and social relations. Senart cites the example of the 'Gotra' custom of the marriage system of India and Rome, the transfer of female 'Gotra' after marriage to that of her husband. The presence of caste panchayats in India is similar to Rome and Greece. Senart concludes, after the assessment and comparisons, that the caste is the natural creation of ancient Aryan institutions.

J.H.Hutton<sup>39</sup> propounded the principle of 'Mana' was promoted by a mysterious impersonal force at the root of the caste system, which is attached to people, structures and locations. 'Mana' is a spiritual force that can do good or bad for individuals and can be conveyed by touch and social interaction. To provide security steps, the 'mana' has its accompanying taboos, the taboos are placed on behaviors such as commensality, intermarriage, touch, etc. to save the one tribe from the 'mana' of the other tribe. Food sharing and getting connections were restricted, as it is a belief that these activities can be tainted with others' dangerous soul matter. Hutton wants to prove that even before the Aryan invasion, a caste was present in India. Hutton cited the principle of Mana in other religions also it is 'Shakti' in Hinduism, 'Kudrat' in Islam, and 'Iddhi' in Buddhism.

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<sup>35</sup> Risley, Herbert. (1969). *The people of India* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), Delhi: Orient Books, p.47.

<sup>36</sup> Ketkar S. V. (1909). *History of Caste in India*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, p.15.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Senart, E. (1930). *Caste in India: The Facts and the System*. London: Methew & co., p.35.

<sup>39</sup> Hutton, J.H. (1961). *The Caste in India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nicholas Dirks<sup>40</sup> analyzes that the caste is taken as the expression of traditional India & the core value of the Indian culture. The Indian society before the British rule was fragmented into the communal grouping, which are the centers for social identity. Dirks wrote that in Colonial times ‘caste got framed as we know it’, it gets framed and becomes a single term for all the diversified forms of social identity. Caste becomes a colonial representation of Indian ‘civil society’ that in turn, justified colonial presence.

G.S. Ghurye<sup>41</sup>, provided the core features of the Hindu caste system instead of describing 'caste' as a term: segmental division of society, hierarchy, restriction of social interaction, civil and religious disabilities and privileges, limited choice of occupation, and marriage restriction.

Celestin Bougle<sup>42</sup>: defined the caste in the three characteristics hierarchy, hereditary specialization, and repulsion, he explained it as the “hereditarily specialized and hierarchically arranged groups”. According to his analysis different caste has the characteristics of repulsion, they repel with each other rather than attraction. The repulsion through the manifestation of endogamy and commensality.

Krober defines it as “an endogamous and hereditary sub-division of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other such divisions”. Kroeber's notion is much related to the functional theory of stratification, the caste is much like the special forms of social classes present in every society, have distinct customs & laws which are rigid in nature. In the strict stratification of the Indian society ‘Sudras’ were kept at the lower strata with bountiful restrictions.<sup>43</sup>

### **1.07 Marxism & theory of Caste**

The Marxist theory correlates the relationship between the economic position and the social position. The economic interpretation is too mechanical in nature. R.S.Sharma extends his explanation of the division of classes with relating to Senart’s division, wrote “It seems, then, that in the beginning, the Upanayana was the affair of the whole tribe, but

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<sup>40</sup> Dirks, N. (2001). *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. PRINCETON; OXFORD: Princeton University Press. doi:10.2307/j.ctt7rq9d

<sup>41</sup> Ghurye, G.S. (1961). *Caste, Class and Occupation*. Bombay : Popular Prakashan, pp. 2-19.

<sup>42</sup> Bougle, C. (1958). The Essence and the Reality of the Caste System. *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, No.2, p. 9

<sup>43</sup> Krober (1950), ‘Caste’ in Edwin, Seligman and Johnson Alvina (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Macmillan Company, New York, pp245-257.

as the tribe disintegrated into classes, it became a prerogative, an honorific distinction to be attained by means of wealth, high social position, which gave the initiated access to, more or less exclusive, often secret societies. Following Senart's view that clan exogamy and tribe endogamy later developed into the feature of the caste system, it may well be argued that the tribal initiation was transformed into the Upanayana of the three higher Varnas, with the result that it helped to bring about the social degradation of the Shudras".<sup>44</sup> R.S.Sharma has not provided any evidence in the support of the theory, he contradicts his statements himself, at one place he wrote Shudras were a conquered tribe, but he also wrote Shudras were a conquered tribe, but he also wrote that the consequent on their becoming poor due to denied Upanayana, because they were poor. Ambedkar also wrote, the degradation of Shudra due to denied of Upanayana by the Brahman. Sachidanand Sinha, wrote that the theory of economic origin is true so all the low caste people being poor, and the caste & class system would get merge and the caste system would get diminished. But the system was divided into some other factors, the change in the economic position of the individual does not lead to change in his caste positioning.<sup>45</sup> The Marxist & functionalist views appear to be valid only within a certain range and in a certain context.

B.R.Ambedkar was the first scholar to establish that the untouchables were non-Hindus, through his writing in the book "*Who were shudras*". For that he used the Census Commissioner report of 1910, cited the ten points criteria used by the census commissioner to determine or categories a new set of people who were 'not hundred percent Hindus'. Census reporters from most parts of India found that most of the untouchables fall within the framework of the ten-point criterion from different parts of India. As to get qualify as Hindu, a person must follow a minimum of five tenets which are:

1. Accept the authority of the Vedas.
2. Accept the authority of Hindu Gods and Goddess.
3. Bow before the authority of Hindu temples.
4. Accept the supremacy of Brahmans
5. Revere Cows.

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<sup>44</sup> Sharma,R.S .(1958). *Shudra in Ancient India*. New Delhi:Motilal Banarsidas Publisher Pvt.ltd, p.69.

<sup>45</sup> Sinha, Sachidanand. (1982).*Caste System: Myths Reality Challenge*. New Delhi : Intellectual Publishing House, pp42-44.

The Indian caste system is complicated in itself, as it is diverse in different regions. In South India, we don't find there any indigenous Kshatriya and Vaisya categories, whereas the Sudra category is extremely bigger there than else. In South India, Sudra's and Brahmin's both were inordinate in size and traditionally dominant castes in southern villages and the various caste which they dominate are from the Sudra category. Being belong to the Sudra category is different in different regions.

Caste, not only implies the hierarchy, segmentation but also the difference. The transformation can be seen from the subservience to negotiations in the lower status group. In contemporary times, the former importance of the Varna system is lost, the institution of the jati becomes strong and it continuously exercises its persuasive influence over the behavior of most of the people. Subrata K.Mitra analyzes that before the decline in the power of caste hierarchies had become fully apparent, an increasing preoccupation with jatis and jati-clusters has eroded 'the ideological basis of the Varna scheme'. K.L. Sharma, defines the caste system as a "socio-religious system concerning mainly with the caste endogamy and clan exogamy combining hypergamy and hierarchy has not only become visibly weak, but it has also turned into a politico-economic formulation".<sup>46</sup>

### **Defining Scheduled Caste**

The word 'Scheduled Castes' refers to the groups and communities that were the victims of the caste system. To serve the other castes, they were put outside the caste system or at the lowest rung. These groups suffered from socio-economic inequality, discrimination, and restrictions due to their association with unclean occupation and were treated as untouchables.<sup>47</sup>

In British rule, 'scheduled castes' were known as "depressed castes" and British India passed the caste disabilities removal Act XXI in 1850, to remove the caste disabilities faced by these lower caste/depressed classes. The inspector general of education also mentioned the word '*panchama*' and "depressed classes" in 1914-15.<sup>48</sup> In the census of 1931, they were systematically listed and were formally incorporated in 1932 as depressed castes.

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<sup>46</sup> Sharma, K.L. (2017 Reprint edition). *Social Inequality in India*, ed. By K.L.Sharma, Jaipur: Rawat Publication.p.15.

<sup>47</sup> Kamble,N.D. (1982).*The Scheduled Castes*. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, p.30.

<sup>48</sup> "India In 1921-22 Report Prepared For Presentation To Parliament In Accordance With The Requirement Of The 23th Section Of The *Government Of India Act*"

In the same year Dr. B.R. Ambedkar at the Round Table Conference in London demanded to change of nomenclature for the untouchables, he proposed that the untouchables should be called protestant Hindus or non-conformist Hindus. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar also raised the demand for a separate electorate for the untouchables and won his point. The 1935 Act, which came into force in 1937, introduced the term 'Scheduled Castes' means such castes, races, or tribes or parts of or group within castes which appears to His Majesty in council to correspond to the classes of persons formerly known as "the depressed classes". After the independence, the term was retained in the constitution of India as defined in the 1935 Act.

The Simon commission was the first to coin the term 'Scheduled Caste' in 1935. The untouchable castes, identified in India's 1931 census, are referred to in the Government of India Act 1935 as the 'scheduled caste'. "Scheduled Castes" means those castes, races, and tribes that refer to the classes of persons officially identified as the "depressed classes" as may be specified by His Majesty in Council.<sup>49</sup> After the independence, the Indian Independence Act, 1947, defined the term "scheduled caste" as meaning the castes, races or tribes, or parts of groups that appear to respond to the classes of persons formally known as the "depressed classes," as the Governor-General may be ordered to specify the classes of persons formally known as the "depressed classes.

The term Scheduled Caste is the generic term given in the 1930s, including many castes and sub-castes that form the hierarchy between them and the Hindu castes. Varna-Ashrama Dharma presented occupational qualities much less rigorously in the Vedic period but was crystallized in due course of time. The Epics, Puranas, and Upanishads, in particular, laid the firm foundation for the elaborate propagation and growth of the Indian Social System in the post-Vedic period. The scheduled caste are the classes of individuals facing prejudice, deemed deprived, downtrodden or backward, and faced social segregation from the higher castes. In the context of India, the term 'scheduled caste' is described in Article 366 (24 clauses) as castes, races or tribes are considered to be scheduled castes for the purposes of this constitution under Article 341.

The term Dalits is the narrow connotation inclusive of the Scheduled Castes, the erstwhile untouchables, or the depressed classes residing in different parts of the country. The

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<sup>49</sup> Upadhyay, H.C. (1991). *Reservation for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe*. New Delhi: Anmol Publication.



practice of untouchability and the caste system, highlight the question of Dalits, that who are included in the category of Dalits.

In Indian society, the term 'Dalit' implies the oppressed segment of the population placed at the lowest strata in the caste system. The term 'Dalit' is profoundly used to address the section of society that faced segregation from the mainstream on the basis of caste, and not on the class. Dalit was not a homogeneous group, have significant differences among them, but also there are several things common among them. The prominent significant verity is the social disgrace they experienced, which is the same for the Chuhra of Punjab, Namashudra of Bengal, or the Pulaya of Kerala. Dalits in a general sense are the categories were considered Pollutants and untouchables in the sense that, the presence of them will pollute the purity of other castes (upper castes).

### **Contextualizing Dalits in India: Socio-Economic Perspective**

The Scheduled caste in India is a heterogeneous community, with regional variations, economic and cultural differentiation. Various socio-economic studies and governmental data reflect the considerable improvement in the health, social, economic & education sectors but still, it is not enough to bridge the gaps between Scheduled castes and the other categories. The constitutional provision of affirmative actions and 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendments ensure the participation of scheduled caste in rural & urban local bodies by reserving the seats for them.

The various initiatives of the government do not get the desired results and procedural equality seems to be not contemplated with the substantial form of equality. The various socio-economic-educational indicators reflect the marginalization with structural inequalities in the system.

**Table: 2.1****Scheduled Castes Population of India**

	Scheduled Caste population in percentage (%)				
<b>Year</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2011</b>
Total	14.8	15.7	16.5	16.2	16.6
Rural	16.4	17.3	18.0	17.9	18.5
Urban	8.8	10.6	12.0	11.8	12.6

*Source: Census Report 1971,1981,1991,2001,2011.*

In the 1971 census, the Scheduled caste population was recorded 79,092,841 that time constituted 14.8 % of the total population of India which is now increased to 201,378,372 constitute 16.6 % of the population of India in the 2011 census. The census data shows an increasing trend in scheduled caste population from 1971 to 2011, except the census year 2001. A slight declining trend has observed in between the census year 1991 – 2001 in rural and urban areas. The share of rural scheduled caste population was high in comparison to urban scheduled caste, in 1971 rural scheduled caste population was 88% which is 76.4% in 2011 census. Consequently, the rise in urban scheduled caste population can be seen from 8.8% (12% of SC population in 1971) in 1971 to 12.6% (23.6% of SC population in 2011) in the census year 2011, with the higher growth rate. The Scheduled caste decadal growth rate is less about 2% points from the overall growth rate

**Table: 2.2****Demography of Scheduled Caste population with their literacy rate**

Scheduled Castes population - census 2011										
S.N	State/ UT	2011	2011 (Rural)	State/UT-wise % distribution of Scheduled Castes by sex in India -2011(URBAN)		State/UT-wise % distribution of Scheduled Castes by sex in India 2011(RURAL)		Literacy rate (%) among the Scheduled Caste population		
				Male	Female	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
2	Andhra Pradesh	16.41	19.2	49.33	50.67	49.95	50.05	62.3	70.2	54.4
3	Arunachal Pradesh	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
4	Assam	7.15	6.8	50.95	49.05	51.41	48.59	77.0	83.2	70.4
5	Bihar	15.91	16.6	52.48	47.52	51.90	48.10	48.6	58.0	38.5
6	Chandigarh	18.86	17.2	53.36	46.64	55.81	44.19	76.5	83.6	68.3
7	Chhattisgarh	12.82	12.8	50.26	49.74	50.10	49.90	70.8	81.7	59.9
8	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1.80	0.7	52.52	47.48	59.49	40.51	89.4	93.1	85.0
9	Daman and Diu	2.52	3.6	51.63	48.37	51.13	48.87	92.6	96.8	88.1
10	Delhi	16.75	19.6	52.93	47.07	53.32	46.68	78.9	86.8	70.0
11	Goa	1.74	1.7	49.99	50.01	48.98	51.02	83.7	89.9	77.7
12	Gujarat	6.74	6.6	52.11	47.89	51.55	48.45	79.2	87.9	69.9
13	Haryana	20.17	22.5	52.84	47.16	53.04	46.96	66.9	75.9	56.6
14	Himachal Pradesh	25.19	26.0	52.34	47.66	50.55	49.45	78.9	86.2	71.5
15	Jammu and Kashmir	7.38	8.2	53.60	46.40	52.33	47.67	70.2	78.8	60.7
16	Jharkhand	12.08	12.6	51.75	48.25	51.14	48.86	55.9	66.9	44.2
17	Karnataka	17.15	20.0	50.11	49.89	50.32	49.68	65.3	74.0	56.6
18	Kerala	9.10	10.4	48.64	51.36	48.61	51.39	88.7	92.6	85.1
19	Lakshadweep	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
20	Madhya Pradesh	15.62	15.7	51.95	48.05	52.15	47.85	66.2	76.7	54.7
21	Maharashtra	11.81	12.2	50.90	49.10	51.04	48.96	79.7	87.2	71.9
22	Manipur	3.78	2.7	49.69	50.31	50.73	49.27	76.2	83.5	68.9
23	Meghalaya	0.58	0.5	53.11	46.89	52.59	47.41	68.6	74.9	61.4
24	Mizoram	0.11	0.1	65.00	35.00	70.13	29.87	92.4	93.1	91.0
25	Nagaland	--	--	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
26	Orissa	17.13	17.8	50.53	49.47	50.30	49.70	69.0	79.2	58.8
27	Puducherry	15.73	27.9	48.57	51.43	48.71	51.29	77.9	85.2	71.0
28	Punjab	31.94	37.5	52.62	47.38	52.28	47.72	64.8	70.7	58.4
29	Rajasthan	17.83	18.5	52.04	47.96	51.99	48.01	59.7	73.8	44.6
30	Sikkim	4.63	4.4	49.85	50.15	51.62	48.38	77.5	82.8	72.0

31	Tamil Nadu	20.01	25.5	49.74	50.26	49.98	50.02	73.3	80.9	65.6
32	Tripura	17.83	16.1	50.65	49.35	51.26	48.74	89.4	92.8	86.0
33	Uttar Pradesh	20.70	23.0	53.12	46.88	52.30	47.70	60.9	71.8	48.9
34	Uttarakhand	18.76	21.3	52.41	47.59	50.85	49.15	74.4	84.3	64.1
35	West Bengal	23.51	27.5	51.26	48.74	51.27	48.73	69.4	77.2	61.2
	<b>India</b>	16.63	18.5	<b>51.37</b>	<b>48.63</b>	<b>51.43</b>	<b>48.57</b>	<b>66.1</b>	<b>75.2</b>	<b>56.5</b>

*Source: Census 2011 and Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics, (2018) Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment Department of Social Justice & Empowerment, Government of India, New Delhi*

Table 2.2 shows the distribution of rural and urban scheduled caste populations with the literacy rates in the states in 2011. As per the census data, the highest concentration of scheduled caste population resides in Punjab (31.94%), Himachal Pradesh (25.19%), West Bengal (23.51%), Uttar Pradesh (20.70%), and Haryana (20.17). They are top five states respectively in the percentage of scheduled caste population with the range of 32-20% population composed more than the half of scheduled caste population of the country. Punjab has the highest percentage of scheduled caste population, one-third of the population of the state belongs to the scheduled caste communities. While the states namely Mizoram(0.11%), Meghalaya (0.58%), Goa (1.74%), Dadra & Nagar Haveli(1.80%) & Daman & Diu (2.52%) are the bottom five states and UT in the percentage of scheduled castes population. The variation is observed in the distribution of rural scheduled caste populations. The highest percentage of rural scheduled caste population was again seen in Punjab (37.5%), followed by Puducherry (27.9%), West Bengal (27.5%), Himachal Pradesh (26%), and Tamil Nadu (25.5%). Whereas the lowest percentage of rural Scheduled castes observed in the Mizoram (0.1%) preceded by Meghalaya(0.5%), Dadra & Nagar Haveli(0.7%), Goa (1.7%), and Manipur (2.4%). The concentration of urban scheduled caste population ranges between 16.7% to 22.7%. Punjab remains at the top with 22.7% of the urban scheduled caste population followed by Tripura(22.6%), Chandigarh(18.9%), Himachal Pradesh(17.8%), and NCT of Delhi (16.7%) as per the census 2011. In the gender-wise population distribution of scheduled caste in both Urban and Rural areas, the percentage of the male population is higher in the majority of the states in comparison to the female population. The literacy rate is one of the important indicators of human development. With the analysis of census report 2011, Daman & Diu (92.6%), Mizoram (92.4%), Tripura (89.4%), Dadra & Nagar Haveli(89.4%), and Kerala (88.7%) are the top five states and UT in the literacy rate of scheduled caste population. Whereas, Bihar(48.6%), Jharkhand (55.9%), Rajasthan (59.7%), Uttar Pradesh(60.9%), and Andhra Pradesh(62.3%) records the low level of

literacy rates in the scheduled caste population. Bihar has the lowest literacy rate in both urban-rural areas, with the 60.6% and 47.7% respectively. The gender differences in literacy rates of the scheduled caste can be observed in the table. The male literacy rate is more than the female literacy rate, even some states like Bihar, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh has the wide gap among the literacy rate of both the gender. It presents the patriarchal structure of Indian society and shows that gender difference is present in all the social classes.

**Table:2.3**

**Literacy Rates of Scheduled Castes (Gender wise)**

Year	Scheduled Castes		
	Male	Female	Persons
1961	15.06	2.52	8.89
1971	20.04	5.06	12.77
1981	27.91	8.45	18.48
1991	45.95	19.45	33.25
2001	63.66	37.84	51.16
2011	72.6	52.6	62.8

*Source: Census2011.*

Table 2.3 shows the literacy level among the Scheduled Castes on a gender basis, the wide gap in male and female literacy rate is observed and census data reflects it exists in every census year. In the year 1961 literacy rate for Scheduled Castes women was a mere 2.52%% which increased to 52.6%% in the year 2011. These figures can be interpreted in two senses: firstly there is a considerable improvement in the literacy rate in the last fifty years, however, this improvement is not up to the desired level. Secondly, the gender gap in male and female literacy rates among the scheduled caste communities reflects the patriarchal construct of the society.

**Table:2.4****Name of the districts in State / UT which have more than 25% Scheduled Caste population-Census 2011.**

Sl. No.	State/UT	Districts consist> 25% Scheduled Castes Population			Total No.
		> 40%	>30-40%	>25-30%	
1.	Punjab	Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar, Firozpur, Muktsar,	Jalandhar, Faridkot, Moga, Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala, Tarn Taran, Mansa, Bathinda, Barnala, FatehgarhSahib, Amritsar	Sangrur, Rupnagar, Ludhiana, Gurdaspur	18
2.	Uttar Pradesh		Kaushambi, Sitapur, Hardoi, Unnao, Rae Bareli	Auraiya, Jhansi, Jalaun, Chitrakoot, Bara Banki, Mirzapur, Kheri, Kanpur Dehat, Azamgarh, Mahoba	15
3.	West Bengal	Koch Bihar	Jalpaiguri, Bankura, South Twenty Four Parganas	Nadia, Birbhum, Dakshin Dinajpur, Barddhaman, Uttar Dinajpur	9
4.	Tamil Nadu		Thiruvarur, The Nilgiris, Nagapattinam, Perambalur	Viluppuram, Cuddalore	6
5.	Himachal Pradesh	-	Sirmaur	Mandi, Solan, Kullu, Shimla, Bilaspur	6
6.	Haryana	-	Fatehabad	Sirsa, Ambala, Yamunanagar	4
7.	Karnataka		Kolar	Chamarajanagar, Gulbarga	3
8.	Madhya Pradesh			Ujjain, Datia, Tikamgarh	3
9.	Jharkhand		Chatra	Palamu	2
10.	Bihar	-	Gaya	Nawada	2
11.	Rajasthan		Ganganagar	Hanumangarh	2
12.	Jammu & Kashmir	-	-	Samba, Udhampur	2
13.	Odisha			Subarnapur	1
14.	Uttarakhand			Bageshwar	1
		4	29	41	74

Source: Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics, (2018) Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment  
Department of Social Justice & Empowerment, Government of India, New Delhi

Table 2.4 shows the State & UT-wise districts' names which have at least more than twenty-five percent of the Scheduled caste population in the census 2011. Geographically India is the seventh-largest country in the world and it comprises 739 districts in the different states and union territories. Out of these 640 districts, 74 districts witnessed a scheduled caste population of more than 25%. The 18 districts of Punjab have a scheduled caste population of more than 25% from which three districts of it have more than 40% of the Dalit population, 11 districts are in the range of 40%-30% scheduled caste percentage, and four between the range of 30% -25%. In the state of West Bengal only the district Koch Bihar have the scheduled caste population greater than 40%. Uttar Pradesh's 15 districts records more than 25% of the SC population, 5 districts in the range of in between 30 to 40%, and 10 districts of Uttar Pradesh have the scheduled caste population in the range of greater than 25% to 30%. In the third-place, West Bengal's total of 9 districts consist the scheduled caste population of more than 25%, 3 districts of the West Bengal consist the scheduled caste population in the range of more than 30% to 40%, and 5 districts of it have the population of SC' category more than 25% to 30%.

**Table 2.5**

**School Drop-Out percentage among the Scheduled Caste population (Rural & Urban, combined)**

Stage/Class	Drop-out Rates		
	Boys	Girls	Total
1990-91	46.3	54.0	49.4
1995-96	43.7	48.5	45.7
2001-02	43.7	47.1	45.2
2002-03	41.1	41.9	41.5
2003-04	36.8	36.2	36.6
2004-05	37.2	36.1	34.2
2005-06	32.1	33.8	32.9
2007-08	34.3	24.5	30.0
2010-11	29.8	23.1	26.7
2011-12	22.3	24.7	23.5

Elementary (I – VIII)			
1990-91	64.3	73.2	67.8
1995-96	64.7	70.5	67.0
2001-02	58.6	63.6	60.7
2002-03	58.2	62.2	59.9
2003-04	57.3	62.2	59.4
2004-05	55.2	60.00	57.3
2005-06	53.7	57.1	55.2
2007-08	53.5	51.1	52.4
2010-11	46.7	39.0	43.3
2011-12	43.3	36.4	40.2
Secondary (I – X)			
1990-91	74.3	83.4	77.7
1995-96	--	--	--
2001-02	71.1	74.9	72.7
2002-03	69.7	74.9	71.9
2003-04	71.4	75.5	73.1
2004-05	69.1	74.2	71.3
2005-06	68.2	73.8	70.6
2007-08	68.0	68.9	68.4
2010-11	57.4	54.1	56.0
2011-12	55.0	55.6	55.3

Source: Rural Development Statistics.[http://nirdpr.org.in/nird\\_docs/RDS/RDS2014-15/data/sec-10.pdf](http://nirdpr.org.in/nird_docs/RDS/RDS2014-15/data/sec-10.pdf)

The Government initiatives and social awareness towards education, enrolment has been increased in the several years among all the communities. But on the other side, the dropout rates are higher among the scheduled caste population. As per the report of MHRD, Statistics of School Education 2011-12, the above data sheet reflects the persistence of the dropouts while moving to the senior level of the studies. The data indicated that dropout from primary to upper primary level has been reduced but has increased from upper primary to secondary level.



**Table: 2.6****Work Profile of Scheduled Caste category in India**

India/State/ Territory	Union	% of Households with salaried jobs in			highest earning % of Households with monthly Income of household member w.r.t Total HH		
		<b>Govt</b>	<b>Public Sector</b>	<b>Private Sector</b>	<b>&lt;5000</b>	<b>5000 - 10000</b>	<b>&gt;10000</b>
Jammu & Kashmir		1.81%	0.08%	0.30%	6.87%	1.28%	1.62%
Himachal Pradesh		4.34%	0.29%	1.62%	15.83%	4.23%	3.91%
Punjab		2.24%	0.30%	1.29%	29.00%	5.16%	2.56%
Haryana		1.49%	0.13%	0.76%	18.29%	3.02%	1.56%
Bihar		0.40%	0.08%	0.10%	14.15%	2.32%	0.47%
West Bengal		0.98%	0.43%	0.44%	24.89%	2.36%	1.20%
Jharkhand		0.66%	0.21%	0.19%	10.63%	1.43%	0.89%
Odisha		0.54%	0.06%	0.20%	16.63%	0.92%	0.48%
Rajasthan		0.73%	0.10%	0.36%	15.33%	2.21%	0.94%
Gujarat		0.29%	0.06%	0.28%	4.80%	1.05%	0.41%
Maharashtra		0.69%	0.13%	0.42%	9.96%	1.50%	0.88%
Goa		0.31%	0.04%	0.57%	0.78%	0.44%	0.36%
Andhra Pradesh		0.37%	0.05%	0.33%	15.60%	2.32%	0.63%
Karnataka		0.60%	0.16%	0.60%	14.02%	3.10%	0.94%
Kerala		0.57%	0.10%	0.39%	9.02%	0.75%	0.55%
Tamilnadu		1.11%	0.16%	1.16%	21.71%	2.89%	0.94%
Telangana		0.48%	0.28%	0.35%	14.87%	2.43%	0.71%
Uttarakhand		1.43%	0.30%	1.26%	14.70%	2.66%	1.43%
Uttar Pradesh		0.70%	0.27%	0.46%	19.61%	3.15%	1.02%
Chhattisgarh		0.60%	0.04%	0.07%	12.79%	0.67%	0.35%
Madhya Pradesh		0.50%	0.08%	0.11%	13.70%	1.09%	0.42%
Sikkim		0.85%	0.07%	0.49%	4.38%	0.64%	0.48%

Arunachal Pradesh	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%
Tripura	1.84%	0.08%	0.07%	14.68%	2.16%	1.25%
Nagaland	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.01%	0.01%
Mizoram	0.17%	0.01%	0.03%	0.35%	0.04%	0.04%
Manipur	0.37%	0.01%	0.05%	1.71%	0.41%	0.37%
Meghalaya	0.17%	0.01%	0.08%	0.65%	0.22%	0.17%
Assam	0.57%	0.07%	0.22%	6.73%	1.31%	0.66%
Chandigarh	2.45%	0.62%	6.73%	11.13%	4.46%	3.03%
Nct Of Delhi	1.45%	1.14%	6.27%	4.28%	5.95%	2.95%
Daman And Diu	0.34%	0.04%	1.47%	1.32%	0.85%	0.50%
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.21%	0.09%	0.78%	0.84%	0.49%	0.28%
Lakshadweep	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Puducherry	2.06%	0.89%	3.87%	19.05%	2.84%	1.94%
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
All India	0.73%	0.17%	0.45%	15.41%	2.17%	0.86%

Source: <https://secc.gov.in/categorywiseIncomeSlabReport?reportType=SC%20Category#>

The share of the scheduled caste population in the organized sector remains very low and this directly affects their economic conditions. The constitution of India aims for equality and welfare of the citizens, this aspiration led to the establishment of many affirmative steps for the welfare of the scheduled castes. The provision of reservations in various governmental and public sectors is one such provision. The constitution of India makes provision for the reservation of 15% of the seat for the persons of the scheduled caste community in governmental job opening as well as in educational institutions. The very purpose of the reservation policy was to provide access and level field to the marginalized section of the population. However, the figures from the states as well as of the central government reflect that this is one of the least accomplished tasks. Only in Himachal Pradesh, the share of scheduled caste community in the govt. the sector is 4.34 %. In very few states, in counting only 9states/UT the participation of scheduled castes in the government job range from 2.45% to 1.11%, in the majority of the states, the total population their share in government jobs is less than 1%. Punjab with the 31.94%

scheduled caste population only shares 2.24% of government sector employment of the Scheduled caste population.

At the all India level, as per the figures of the Census 2011, scheduled caste is 16.63% of the total population but their share in the government job is limited to 0.73%. The above table indicates the share of scheduled caste population in the public and private sector in different states of the country. Their participation in the public sector at all Indian level is limited to 0.17% and in the private sector is a mere 0.45%. This indicates that despite the constitutional guarantee this particular section of the citizenry is not able to assert their citizenry rights and hence comparatively remains a marginalized community. If we analyze the percentage share of the scheduled caste in different income groups we find that in the group of poorest, where the monthly income of the household is less than Rs 5000/- their share is 15.41% of the total at all India level. The majority of the scheduled castes either in the states having their majority population or they are less than the majority, they are among the lowest income group and are under the 'vicious cycle of poverty.

**Table:2.7**

**Representation percentage of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes in Central Government Services in India (as of 1/1/2015)**

Group	SCs		STs		OBCs		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
A	10122	13.31	4484	5.89	8952	11.77	76066
B	36502	16.27	15132	6.75	27801	12.39	224337
C (Excluding Safai Karmcharis)	494678	17.35	245190	8.6	541047	18.97	2851905
C (Safai Karmcharis)	20442	42.92	2881	6.05	5857	12.3	47631
Total	561744	17.55	267687	8.37	583657	18.24	3199939

Source: Source: Rural Development Statistics. [http://nirdpr.org.in/nird\\_docs/RDS/RDS2014-15/data/sec-10.pdf](http://nirdpr.org.in/nird_docs/RDS/RDS2014-15/data/sec-10.pdf)

The above table reflects the representation of the Scheduled caste category people in the group A,B,C, and D services of the Central Government of India. Total 17.55% of Scheduled caste category people are employed in the Central Government services, but the majority of scheduled caste population 42.92% are work as the Safai Karamchari's only 13.31% are employed in the Group A services. The lack of education and economic guarantee by traditional occupation is still prevalent in the scheduled caste groups.

**Table:2.8**  
**Income source of SC Households**

States/ UTs Name	% of SC Househ old	No. of Households with an income source						
		1 = Cultivati on	2=Man ual Casual Labour	3=Part- time or Full-Time Domestic Service	4=Fora ging Rag Pickin g	5=Non- agricultu ral Own Account Enterpris e	6=Beggin g/Charity / Alms collection	7= Others
Jammu & Kashmir	9.76%	2.31%	4.46%	0.30%	0.00%	0.06%	0.02%	2.62%
Himachal Pradesh	23.97%	9.01%	6.54%	1.59%	0.03%	0.54%	0.06%	6.18%
Punjab	36.75%	1.62%	28.88%	1.12%	0.05%	0.23%	0.06%	4.77%
Haryana	22.89%	1.28%	17.45%	0.92%	0.04%	0.22%	0.07%	2.88%
Bihar	16.94%	1.11%	14.73%	0.23%	0.03%	0.05%	0.03%	0.77%
West Bengal	28.45%	4.67%	18.87%	0.48%	0.06%	0.66%	0.29%	3.43%
Jharkhand	12.95%	2.02%	8.84%	0.48%	0.07%	0.09%	0.04%	1.41%
Odisha	18.03%	2.41%	13.04%	0.46%	0.05%	0.23%	0.13%	1.70%
Rajasthan	18.50%	5.00%	11.31%	0.43%	0.07%	0.14%	0.15%	1.38%
Gujarat	6.26%	1.05%	4.29%	0.07%	0.03%	0.12%	0.04%	0.65%
Maharashtra	12.33%	2.07%	8.07%	0.28%	0.03%	0.14%	0.04%	1.69%
Goa	1.58%	0.02%	0.34%	0.16%	0.01%	0.01%	0.00%	1.03%
Andhra Pradesh	18.57%	2.79%	13.16%	0.30%	0.02%	0.09%	0.03%	2.15%
Karnataka	18.06%	5.86%	7.84%	0.62%	0.34%	0.17%	0.03%	3.20%
Kerala	10.32%	0.37%	7.66%	0.13%	0.01%	0.06%	0.02%	2.08%
Tamilnadu	25.55%	2.35%	20.41%	0.37%	0.03%	0.47%	0.01%	1.91%
Telangana	18.02%	3.57%	11.18%	0.36%	0.03%	0.33%	0.04%	2.51%
Uttarakhand	18.79%	6.19%	8.05%	0.83%	0.02%	0.26%	0.03%	3.41%
Uttar Pradesh	23.80%	7.01%	14.44%	0.43%	0.03%	0.12%	0.05%	1.71%
Chhattisgarh	13.84%	3.32%	9.36%	0.30%	0.02%	0.03%	0.12%	0.68%
Madhya Pradesh	15.20%	2.84%	11.23%	0.24%	0.04%	0.04%	0.09%	0.73%
Sikkim	5.50%	1.80%	1.76%	0.22%	0.00%	0.14%	0.00%	1.57%
Arunachal Pradesh	0.02%	0.01%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Tripura	18.11%	2.69%	10.00%	1.02%	0.03%	0.43%	0.07%	3.85%

Nagaland	0.04%	0.01%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
Mizoram	0.43%	0.28%	0.06%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.08%
Manipur	2.49%	0.91%	0.61%	0.23%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.72%
Meghalaya	1.04%	0.06%	0.50%	0.06%	0.00%	0.04%	0.03%	0.34%
Assam	8.70%	2.03%	3.91%	0.47%	0.02%	0.17%	0.05%	2.04%
Chandigarh	18.62%	0.13%	5.35%	1.07%	0.11%	0.42%	0.01%	11.52%
Nct Of Delhi	13.17%	0.45%	2.70%	1.99%	0.08%	0.14%	0.06%	7.76%
Daman And Diu	2.67%	0.03%	0.30%	0.08%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	2.25%
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1.61%	0.25%	0.34%	0.46%	0.04%	0.03%	0.03%	0.46%
Lakshadweep	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Puducherry	23.83%	5.52%	10.82%	1.19%	0.05%	0.16%	0.08%	6.01%
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
All India	18.45%	3.39%	12.41%	0.40%	0.05%	0.19%	0.07%	1.92%

Source: <https://secc.gov.in/categorywiseIncomeSourceReport?reportType=SC%20Category>

The data from the earlier tables found that most of the scheduled caste people are low at literacy level, having high school dropout rates, and are among the lowest income group of India. The household data of the socio-economic caste census 2011 shows the income source of the scheduled caste household. As per the census data, the share of the scheduled caste in the total household count is 18.45% and out of this 3.39% of households have cultivation as the main source of income, while 12.41% get their earnings while working as a manual laborer on the fields. 0.40 % of them earn their livelihood by working as part or full-time domestic laborers, while 0.05% work as rag pickers. Only 0.19% of them are having their venture or enterprise and 0.07% of them are dependent on the charity of others. Only 1.92% of them earn their livelihood while working in organized sector units.

**Table no: 2.9****Poverty Ratios Among Scheduled Castes 1993-94, 2004-05 & 2011-12 (Rural)**

S. No.	State	1993-94		2004-05			2011-12	
		SC	All	SC	Others	Total	SC	Total
1.	Andhra Pradesh	26.02	15.92	15.4	4.1	32.3	13.1	11.0
2.	Assam	45.38	45.01	27.7	25.4	36.4	28.2	33.9
3.	Bihar	70.66	58.21	64.0	26.6	55.7	51.7	34.4
4.	Gujarat	32.26	22.18	21.8	4.8	39.1	22.3	21.5
5.	Haryana	46.56	28.02	26.8	4.2	24.8	23.6	11.6
6.	Himachal Pradesh	36.89	30.34	19.6	6.4	25.0	16.5	8.5
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	--	30.34	5.2	3.3	14.1	18.8	11.5
8.	Karnataka	46.36	29.88	31.8	13.8	37.5	37.1	24.5
9.	Kerala	36.43	25.76	21.6	6.6	20.2	17.8	9.2
10.	Maharashtra	51.64	37.93	44.8	18.9	47.9	23.8	24.2
11.	Madhya Pradesh	45.83	40.64	42.8	13.4	53.6	41.3	35.7
12.	Odisha	48.95	49.72	50.2	23.4	60.8	41.4	35.7
13.	Punjab	22.08	11.95	14.6	2.2	22.1	14.7	7.7
14.	Rajasthan	38.38	26.46	28.7	8.2	35.8	18.6	16.1
15.	Tamil Nadu	44.05	32.48	31.2	19.1	37.5	23.3	15.8
16.	Uttar Pradesh	58.99	42.28	44.8	19.7	42.7	41.1	30.4
17.	West Bengal	45.29	40.80	29.5	27.5	38.2	22.6	22.5
18.	Chhattisgarh	--	--	32.7	29.2	55.1	48.2	44.6
19.	Jharkhand	--	--	57.9	37.1	51.6	40.4	40.8
20.	Uttarakhand	--	--	54.2	33.5	35.1	15.9	11.7
	All – India	48.11	37.27	36.8	16.1	42.0	31.5	25.4

Source: Rural Development Statistics. [http://nirdpr.org.in/nird\\_docs/RDS/RDS2014-15/data/sec-10.pdf](http://nirdpr.org.in/nird_docs/RDS/RDS2014-15/data/sec-10.pdf)

Table no. 2.9 shows the poverty ratio among the scheduled caste population in different years and their state-wise variation in the rural areas. In the financial year 1993-94, the all-India poverty ratio was 37.27 % whereas the poverty ratio in Scheduled caste for that financial year was 48.11%. In the year 2011-12 the positive changes in the poverty ratio reflects in comparison from the year 1993-1994, at both all India level and in scheduled caste community. But the average scheduled caste poverty ratio is still very high from the national average. One positive thing can be noticed here, Punjab with the highest scheduled caste population witnesses the lowest poverty ratio among the states and recorded the second-lowest among the scheduled caste.

**Table:2.10**

**Poverty Among Scheduled Castes (1983-84, 1993-94 , 1999-2000 , 2004-05 & 2009-10) in Rural & Urban India<sup>50</sup>**

Year	SC		Others		Total	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1983-84	58.1	56.5	37.0	39.1	45.6	42.2
1993-94	48.1	49.9	31.3	30.6	37.1	33.7
1999-2000	36.2	38.6	21.6	20.6	27.1	23.7
2004-05	52.7	40.0	26.2	15.8	41.8	25.7
2009-10	43.5	33.0	21.1	11.9	33.8	20.9
2011-12	31.5	21.7	22.7	15.4	25.4	13.7

*Sources: GOI, Planning Commission, Eleventh Five Year Plan, 2007-2012,*

During the last two decades, poverty among the Scheduled castes has record declined approximately at the rate of 1% per annum. The above table shows the poverty level in the different financial years. Rural areas of the country are more poverty-stricken in comparison to Urban settings. It may give an assumption that the opportunity for getting work may be higher in the urban settings and cities in comparison to the rural areas.

<sup>50</sup> Inclusive Growth and NSSO primary data 2009-10. Working paper on Social, Religious and Economic Groups India and its largest States, by Arvind Panagariya, Columbia University. Volume I,

**Table:2.11****Coverage of SC/ST Under MGNREGS – All India**

S. No.	Year	Total Number of Households Provided Employment (in Lakhs)	Persondays of employment (In Lakh)	
			SCs	Total
1	2006-07	210.16	2295.2	9050.56
2	2007-08	339.09	3942.34 (27.4)	14367.95
3	2008-09	451.15	6336.18 (29.3)	21632.86
4	2009-10	525.30	8644.83 (30.5)	28359.60
5	2010-11	549.54	7875.65 (30.6)	25715.25
6	2011-12	498.00	3616.70 (22.5)	16055.15
7	2012-13	497.00	4579.46 (21.72)	21080.19
8	2013-14	476.00	4941.00 (22.6)	21867.00
9	2014-15	414.00	3721.00 (22.4)	16628.00

*Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages to the total. Source: www.nrega.nic.in, as on October 2015.*

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA), an employment generating program introduced by the government. It was the first time the right to work was legally recognized and guaranteed 150 days of employment in the financial years. The majority of the Indian population resides in rural areas & depends on the agriculture sector for employment. They face the issues of seasonal employment and during the slack season, a large number of the rural population migrates in the search of work. The acts provide a social safety net to the poor people by providing the guaranteed 150 days of employment and aim to strengthen the rural economy with inclusive growth. Besides employment, it also promotes economic empowerment and social inclusion among the marginalized groups of the society. As per the Ministry of Rural Development report 2011-12, 22.56% of scheduled caste people get employment through the act. In the rural settings, the hierarchical caste structure dominates the social order, and marginalized communities still facing the denial of rights as well as other employment opportunities. MNREGA plays a significant role in improving the condition of the marginalized caste & groups as well as ensure their involvement in local self-government. But the trend of



employment share of Scheduled caste shows the declining trend from the financial year 2011-12.

**Table: 2.12**

**Various groups in Scheduled Caste categories and their living conditions**

S.N.	State & UT	Scheduled Caste percentage 2011	State/Ut-Wise Number Of Castes Specified As Scheduled Castes (Scs) (Under Article 341 Of The Constitution) (As On 26.10.2017)	State/Ut-Wise Percentage Share Of Scheduled Castes (Scs) To Total Slum Population In India % Of Scs
1	Andhra Pradesh	16.41	61	14.0
2	Assam	7.15	16	21.5
3	Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0.0
4	Bihar	15.91	23	21.0
5	Chhattisgarh	12.82	44	17.8
6	Goa	1.74	05	2.5
7	Gujarat	6.74	36	11.1
8	Haryana	20.17	37	29.9
9	Himachal Pradesh	25.19	57	26.2
10	Jammu and Kashmir	7.38	13	1.7
11	Jharkhand	12.08	22	15.6
12	Karnataka	17.15	101	28.0
13	Kerala	9.10	69	10.9
14	Madhya Pradesh	9.10	48	22.0
15	Maharashtra	11.81	59	15.7
16	Manipur	3.41	07	-
17	Meghalaya	0.58	16	2.8
18	Mizoram	0.11	16	0.1
19	Nagaland	0.00	0	0.0
20	Orissa	17.13	95	20.6
21	Punjab	31.94	39	39.8
22	Rajasthan	17.83	59	28.2
23	Sikkim	4.63	04	5.3
24	Tamil Nadu	20.01	76	32.0
25	Telengana	-	59	
26	Tripura	17.83	34	28.8
27	Uttar Pradesh	20.70	66	22.0
28	Uttarakhand	18.76	65	18.9
29	West Bengal	23.51	60	16.5
30	Andman& Nicobar Islands	0.00	0	0.0

31	Chandigarh	18.86	36	30.7
32	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1.80	04	-
33	Daman & Diu	2.52	05	-
34	NCT of Delhi	16.75	36	27.0
35	Lakshdweep	0.00	0	-
36	Pondicherry	15.73	16	23.9
	<b>India</b>	<b>16.63</b>	<b>1284</b>	<b>20.4</b>

*Source: Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics, (2018) Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment Department of Social Justice & Empowerment, Government of India, New Delhi*

Table 2.12 depicts the percentage of scheduled caste population and the number of cases specified in the scheduled caste population as per article 341, the constitution of India. As per the census 2011, scheduled caste consists of 16.63% of the total population which consists of 1284 castes in the scheduled caste category. Among these 20.4% of the Scheduled caste categories living in the slum areas. Karnataka with 17.15% of the scheduled caste population has 101 castes in the scheduled caste category and 28% of its SC castes living in the slum areas. Punjab has the highest percentage of scheduled caste category living in the slum areas.