

Caste, Social Exclusion and Poverty Linkages – Concept, Measurement and Empirical Evidence

Sukhadeo Thorat

Introduction

The paper attempts to address two interrelated issues. First it tries to conceptualize the nature and dimensions of the “Exclusion-Linked Deprivation “ of socially disadvantage groups particularly the dalit in Indian society .In that efforts it elaborate the concept and meaning of caste based exclusion, and its implications for poverty of excluded groups. Secondly in this theoretical back drop it tries to provide empirical evidence on the practice of caste based exclusion and discrimination and denial of rights to Dalits- in civil, social, cultural, political and economic spheres –leading lack of income earning capital assets like agricultural land ,employment ,education, and social needs like housing ,water, electricity.

Concept of Social Exclusion

Since the deprivation of these groups is closely linked with the processes of caste and ethnicity-based exclusion and discrimination, we first discuss the concept of social exclusion in general and the caste and untouchability-based exclusions and discrimination in particular which are seen as causative factors for the deprivation of these groups.

In social sciences literature there is general agreement on the core features of social exclusion, its principles indicators, and the way it relates to poverty and inequality. (Mayara Buvinic 2005). Social exclusion is the denial of equal opportunities imposed by certain groups of society up on others which leads to inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of the society.

Two defining characteristics of exclusion are particularly relevant, namely, the deprivation caused through exclusion(or denial of equal opportunity)in multiples spheres –showing its multidimensionality. Second feature is that, it is embedded in the societal relations, and societal institutions - the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live (Arjan Hann 1997).

It recognizes the diverse ways in which social exclusion can cause deprivation and poverty. Consequences of exclusion thus, depend crucially on the functioning of social institutions, and the degree to which they are exclusionary and discriminatory in their consequences .Social exclusion has sizable impact on an individual's access to equal opportunity if social interactions occurs between groups in power/subordinate relationship .The groups focus thus recognized the importance of social relations in the analysis of poverty and inequality. (Mayra Buvinic 2005)

Amartya Sen draws attention to various meanings and dimensions of the concept of social exclusion (Sen 2000). Distinctions is drawn between the situation where some people are being kept out (at least left out), and where some people are being included (may even be forced to be included)- in deeply unfavorable terms, and described the two situations as “unfavorable exclusion” and “unfavorable inclusion.” The “unfavorable inclusion”, with unequal treatment may carry the same adverse effects as “unfavorable exclusion”.

Sen also differentiated between “active and passive exclusion”. For the casual analysis, and policy response, Sen argued that “it is important to distinguish between “active exclusion” - fostering of exclusion through the deliberate policy interventions by the government, or by any other willful agents (to exclude some people from some opportunity), and “passive exclusion”, which works through the social process in which there are no deliberate attempts to exclude, but nevertheless, may results in exclusion from a set of circumstances.

Sen further distinguishes the “constitutive relevance” of exclusion, from that of “instrumental importance”. In the former, exclusion or deprivation have an intrinsic importance of their own. For instance, not being able to relate to others and to take part in the life of the community can directly impoverish a person’s life, in addition to the further deprivation it may generate. This is different from social exclusion of “instrumental importance”, in which the exclusion in itself, is not impoverishing, but can lead to impoverishment of human life.

Further elaboration of the concepts of exclusion or discrimination has come from the mainstream economics in the context of race and gender. The mainstream economic literature throws more light on discrimination that works through markets, and developed the concept of market discrimination with some analytical clarity. In the market discrimination framework, exclusion may operate through restrictions on the entry in market, and/or through “selective inclusion”, but with an unequal treatment in market and non-market transactions (this is close to the Sen’s concept of unfavorable inclusion).

These developments in social science literature indeed enable to comprehend the meanings and manifestations of the concept of social exclusion, and its applicability to caste and ethnicity-based exclusion in India. The manner in which it has been developed in social science literature, the concept of social exclusion, thus, essentially refers to the processes through which groups are wholly, or partially, excluded from full participation in the society in which they live. It emphasizes on two crucial dimensions involving the notion of exclusion, namely the “societal institutions” (of exclusion), and their “outcome” (in terms of deprivation). In order to understand the dimensions of exclusion, it is necessary to understand the societal interrelations and institutions, which lead to exclusion of certain groups and deprivation in multiple spheres- civil, cultural, political, and economic . Thus, for a broader understanding of the concept of exclusion, the insights in to the societal process, and institutions of exclusions are as important as the outcome in terms of deprivation for certain groups.

The exclusion could also manifest itself in diverse ways in terms of “causes and outcomes”. Sen therefore refers to various meanings and manifestations of social exclusion, particularly, with respect to the causes or the processes of discrimination and deprivation in a given society. Exclusion could occur through direct exclusion, violating fair norms of exclusion (that is unfavorable exclusion), or through inclusion, but under unfavorable conditions, again violating fair norms of inclusion (that is unfavorable inclusion), or through deliberate government policies (that is active exclusion), and through unintended attempts and circumstances (passive exclusion), or exclusion caused through inability of some persons to relate to other persons (constitutive relevance). The mainstream economists have further elaborated the concept of discrimination that operates particularly through markets.

Concept of Caste Exclusion and Discrimination

In India, exclusion revolves around the societal interrelations and institutions that exclude, discriminate, isolate, and deprive some groups on the basis of group’s identities like caste and ethnicity. The nature of exclusion revolving around the caste system particularly needs to be understood and conceptualized. It is the caste-based exclusion, which has formed the basis for various anti-discriminatory policies in India. Historically, the caste system has regulated the social and economic life of the people in India.

Theoretical formulations by economists recognized that in its essential form, caste as a system of social and economic governance or organization (of production and distribution) is governed by certain customary rules and norms, which are unique and distinct (Akerlof 1976, Scoville 1991, Lal 1988, Ambedkar 1936 and 1987). The organizational scheme of the caste system is based on the division of people in social groups (or castes) in which the civil, cultural, and economic rights of each individual caste are pre-determined or ascribed by birth and made hereditary. The assignment of civil, cultural, and economic rights is therefore, unequal and hierarchal. The most important feature of the caste system, however is that it

provides for a regulatory mechanism to enforce the social and economic organization through the instruments of social ostracism (or social and economic penalties), and reinforces it further with the justification and support from the philosophical elements in the Hindu religion (Lal 1988, Ambedkar 1936 and 1987).

The caste system's fundamental characteristics of fixed civil, cultural, and economic rights for each caste, with restrictions for change implies "forced exclusion" of one caste from the rights of other caste, or from undertaking the occupations of other castes. Exclusion and discrimination in civil, cultural, and particularly in economic spheres such as occupation and labour employment, is therefore, internal to the system, and a necessary outcome of its governing principles. In the market economy framework, the occupational immobility would operate through restrictions in various markets such as land, labour, credit, other inputs, and services necessary for any economic activity. Labour being an integral part of the production process of any economic activity, would obviously become a part of market discrimination.

This theorization implies that the caste system involves the negation of not only equality and freedom, but also of the basic human rights, particularly of the low castes untouchables which become an impediment for personal development. The principles of equality and freedom are not the governing principles of the caste system. This is because the underlying principles of the caste system assume particular notions of "human rights". Unlike many other human societies, the caste system does not recognize the individual and his/her distinctiveness as the center of the social purpose. In fact, for the purpose of rights and duties, the unit of the Hindu society is not an individual (even the family is not regarded as a unit in the Hindu society, except for the purposes of marriages and inheritance). The primary unit in the Hindu society is caste, and hence, the rights and privileges (or the lack of them) of individual are on account of him/her being a member of a particular caste (Ambedkar first published in 1987). Also, due to differential ranking, and the hierarchical nature of the caste system, the entitlements to various rights become narrower and narrower as one goes down in hierarchical ladder in the caste system. Various castes get artfully interlined and coupled with each other (in their rights and duties), in a manner such that the rights and privileges of the higher castes become the causative reasons for the disadvantage and disability for the lower castes, particularly the untouchables. In this sense, as Ambedkar observed, a caste does not exist in a single number, but only in plural. Castes exist as a system of endogenous groups, which are interlinked with each other in unequal measure of rights and relations in all walks of life. Castes at the top of the order enjoy more rights, at the expense of those located at the bottom. Therefore, the untouchables located at the bottom of the caste hierarchy have much less economic and social rights.

Since the civil, cultural, and economic rights (particularly with respect to occupation and property rights) of each caste are ascribed, and are compulsory, the institution of caste necessarily involves forced exclusion of one caste from rights of another. The unequal and hierarchal assignment of economic and social rights by ascription, obviously restricts the freedom of occupation and the human development.

Forms of Caste Exclusions and Discriminations

The practice of caste-based exclusion and discrimination thus, necessarily involves failure of access and entitlements, not only to economic rights, but also to civil, cultural and political rights. It involves what has been described as "living mode exclusion", exclusion in political participation, and exclusion and disadvantage in social and economic opportunities (Minorities at Risk, UNDP HDR 2004). The caste /untouchability and ethnicity based exclusion thus reflect in inability of individuals and groups like former untouchables, adiwasi and other similar groups to interact freely and productively with others and to take part in the full economic, social, and political life of a community (Bhalla and Lapeyere 1997). Incomplete citizenship or denial of civil rights (freedom of expression, rule of law, right to justice), political rights (right and means to participate in the exercise of political

power), and socioeconomic rights (economic security and equality of opportunities) are key dimensions of impoverished lives (Jonas Zoinsein, 2005).

In the light of the above, the caste and untouchability-based exclusion and discrimination can be categorized in the economic, civil, cultural, and political spheres as follows:

- (1) The exclusion and the denial of equal opportunity in economic spheres would necessarily operate through markets and non-market transactions and exchange.

Firstly, exclusion can be practiced through the denial in labour market in hiring for jobs; in capital market through the denial of access to capital; in agriculture land market through the denial in sale and purchase or leasing of land; in input market through the denial in sale and purchase of factor inputs; and in consumer market through the denial in sale and purchase of commodities and consumer goods;

Secondly, discrimination can occur through what Amartya Sen would describe as “unfavorable inclusion”, namely through differential treatment in terms and condition of contract, one of them would reflect in discrimination in the prices charged and received by discriminated groups. This can be inclusive of the price of factor inputs, and consumers goods, price of factors of productions such as wages for labour, price of land or rent on land, interest on capital, rent on residential houses, charges or fees on services such as water, and electricity. Discriminated groups can get lower prices for the goods that they sell, and could pay higher prices for the goods that they buy, as compared with the market price or the price paid by other groups;

Thirdly, exclusion and discrimination can occur in terms of access to social needs supplied by the government or public institutions, or by private institutions in education, housing, and health, including common property resources like water bodies, grazing land, and other land of common use; and

Fourthly, a groups (particularly the untouchables) may face exclusion and discrimination from participation in certain categories of jobs (the sweeper being excluded from inside household jobs), because of the notion of purity and pollution of occupations, and engagements in so-called unclean occupations.

- (1) In the civil and cultural spheres, the untouchables may face discrimination and exclusion in the use of public services like public roads, temples, water bodies, and institutions delivering services like education, health and other public services.
- (2) In the political spheres, the untouchables can face discrimination in use of political rights, and in participation in decision-making process.
- (3) Due to the physical (or residential) segregation, and social exclusion on account of the notion of untouchability (or touch-me-not-sum), they can suffer from a general societal exclusion.
- (4) Since there is societal mechanism to regulate and enforce the customary norms and rules of the caste system, the untouchables generally can face opposition in the form of social and economic boycott, violence, and act as a general deterrent to their right to development.

This overview of the development of the concept of the “exclusion” in general, and that of caste-untouchability based exclusion and discrimination in particular, brings out various dimensions of the concept in terms of its nature, forms, and consequences. The caste and untouchability-based exclusion and discrimination, essentially is “structural in nature”, and comprehensive and multiple in coverage, and involve denial of equal opportunities, particularly to the excluded groups like former untouchables.

Caste Exclusion and Discrimination-Empirical Evidence

The studies on dalit shows that dalit suffers from lower access access to capital assets like agricultural land and non land assets (and/or low productivity of those assets), lower urbanization and employment diversification away from agriculture, exceptionally high dependence on casual wage labour, high under employment, lower daily wages particularly in Non farm activities, and low level of literacy and level of education ,compared with Non SC/ST groups in Indian society.

The question remains as to why the SC/ST have poor access to all resources which directly and indirectly determine the level of income and capabilities to secure other sources of income? Why the ownership of agricultural land and Non land capital assets is low compared with Non SC/ST? Why are the unemployment rates high particularly among the SC compared with Non SC/ST? Why is the daily wage earnings of SC/ST in non farm activities low compared with Non SC/ST? Why the literacy rate and education level are much lower when compared with Non SC/ST.

It is reasonable to assume that the persisting inequality in command over resources, human capabilities and lack of equal opportunity in civil and political rights ,among other forces can be partly attributed to the exclusion to economic and social rights in the past and also continuing process of exclusion and discrimination of dalit in the present. In this section, we try to provide some empirical evidence to show the negative role of discrimination and exclusion and denial of equal opportunity to scheduled caste and in their lower access to capital assets ,employment , human development and high human poverty. . Due to constrain of the data, we confine our empirical evidence to scheduled caste drawing from diverse sources to provide empirical evidence about the nature of social, political and economic discrimination.

The presentation of empirical evidence with regard to caste discrimination is based on official data and selected primary studies by social scientists. We first present the evidence on the discrimination in civil, cultural and political spheres based on official data and four regional studies and one all India study. The studies based on the village survey bring out the actual magnitude of the practice of the exclusion, discrimination and atrocities against SC. From the massive literature on the practice of caste discrimination ,untouchability and atrocities, only four regional studies are presented here. These include a all India study conducted by Action Aid in 2000, study on Karnataka (1973-74 and 1991), Andhra Pradesh (1977), Orissa (1987-88) and Gujarat (1996). The all India study present the evidence from ten states .The study from Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh present the evidence from southern India, Orissa from eastern India and Gujarat from western India.

Economic Exclusion and discrimination –Empirical Evidence

The studies on caste-based market and non market discrimination in economic spheres are very limited. However we present some evidence based on the primary studies ,firstly from the all India study by Action Aid conducted in 2000 and then present some evidence from the studies on individual states discussed above We first present the results of the most comprehensive study based on an intensive survey of 555 villages in eleven states across India.

The Action Aid's all India study found that the discrimination in labour markets operates through exclusion in hiring, and lower wages. In about 36 percent of the villages, the SCs were denied casual employment in agriculture. In about 25 percent villages, the SCs faced discrimination in terms of wage payments. The SC wage labour thus, received daily wage at a rate, which was less than the market wage rate, or wages paid to the non-SC workers. Belief in the concept of purity and pollution also come into effect in hiring of SC labourers in house construction- in about one-thirds of the villages, the SCs were excluded from employment in construction of houses (Panal-1).

In the case of other markets, the study observed discriminatory treatment of SC persons in access to irrigation water, public and private services. In little more than one-thirds of the villages, the SCs were denied access to irrigation water for agriculture. In case of agricultural land, the selective evidence from some states brings out the restrictions puts by the high castes towards the SCs in the purchase of private agriculture land, and use of public land for agriculture use and housing. In the case of access to the Common Property Resources like grazing land, fishing pond, and other resources, the SCs faced exclusion in about one-fifth of the sample villages (21 %).

The continuing faith in the notion of pollution and purity by the higher castes- associated with untouchability was particularly reflected in exclusionary and discriminatory behavior of higher castes in the consumer markets- that is in the sale and purchase of consumable goods, particularly eatables like milk, vegetables, and other goods. In 35 percent of the villages, the SCs were not allowed to sell any kind of goods at village level markets, wherein the identity of the SC person was known. In about 47 percent of the villages (out of a total of 347 villages surveyed), the SCs were not allowed to sell milk to village cooperatives, and to private buyers. The survey data also reveals some isolated evidence on the practice of exclusion and discrimination in the sale and purchase consumer goods such as bakery products, and vegetables etc.

Restrictions on the sale of a number of consumer items such as milk, and milk products, products manufactured in the bakeries owned by the SCs, vegetables, and other items in the village market where the caste identity of the seller was visible, pushed the SC seller to go to small towns, and other market places where the caste identity was not so obvious, and remained hidden.

Exclusion in hiring of the SC labourer in general, and particularly in house construction; discrimination in wage payments (paying lower wages than the prevailing market wages), and selective restrictions on the sale of various consumer items had obvious impacts on the earnings of the SC households, and hence, the same was reflected in the incidence of high poverty among the SCs. The exclusion in employment and lower wages reduced the wage earnings of the SC households in the rural areas. Restrictions on the sale of milk, and other consumer items further reduced the sale, and thereby, the income. Obviously, the reduced income of the SC households had poverty aggravating consequences. The linkages of exclusion and discrimination, low income, poverty, and low human development are thus, obvious.

Panel 1 Market Discrimination — Access to Work & Resources (Forms/Sites pooled data from 11 states)			
Form / Site of Untouchability Practice	Percentage of Villages where Form is Practiced	Percent Villages Not Practiced	Total Surveyed Villages
(a) Labour Market			
Denied work as agricultural labour	35.5 (158)	60.0	445
No touching when paying wages	37.1 (174)	59.7	469
Paid lower wages for the same work	24.5 (119)	70.8	486
SC not employed in house construction	28.7 (152)	62.0	529

(b) Input Market				
Denied access to irrigation facilities	32.6	(152)	59.4	466
(c) Common Properties Resources				
Denied access to grazing/fishing grounds	20.9	(76)	71.7	364
(d) Consumer Market – Sale & Purchase				
Not allowed to sell milk to cooperatives	46.7	(162)	48.1	347
Prevented from selling in local markets	35.4	(165)	54.9	466
Not allowed to buy from milk cooperatives	27.8	(100)	59.2	360
Figures in brackets are number of villages where form is practiced. Villages where status of practice is ambiguous are excluded from both ‘practiced’ and ‘not practiced’ categories. Total surveyed villages exclude villages where relevant institution/site is absent.				

Micro level studies such as those from Andhra Pradesh (Venketeswarlu, 1990) and Karnataka (Khan, 1995) presented above provide some evidence on economic discrimination in occupation, employment, wages, and the credit market as well as in other economic spheres. The Andhra Pradesh study observed that Scheduled Castes faced restrictions in efforts to change their occupation. Similarly, the Karnataka study revealed that nearly 85 per cent of the SC respondents continue to be engaged in their traditional occupations, whereas only 15 per cent were able to make a switchover. The Orissa study (Tripathy, 1994) observed discrimination in land lease, credit and labour markets in rural areas. Nearly 96 per cent of untouchable respondents in one village and all untouchable respondents in the second village were discriminated against in wage payment, with 28 per cent in one village and 20 per cent in another facing discrimination in payment of rent.

For urban area Banergee and Knight (1991) observed that: ‘there is indeed discrimination by caste, particularly job discrimination’ and that ‘discrimination appears to operate at least in part through traditional mechanism, with untouchables disproportionately represented in poorly-paid dead-end jobs... Even if, discrimination is no longer practiced, the effects of past discrimination could carry over to the present. This may help to explain, why discrimination is greatest in operative jobs, in which contacts are more important for recruitment, and not in white-collar jobs in which recruitment involves formal methods. The economic function which the system performs for favored castes, suggests that taste for discrimination is based, consciously, or unconsciously, on economic interest, so making prejudice more difficult to eradicate’.

Caste Discrimination and Right to Food

The discussion in preceding sections bring out the discrimination in access to member of scheduled caste to the public amenities and services .Empirical studies also shows evidence on denial of access and/access with differential treatment in food security programs like Mid-Day meal schemes (MDM)and fair price shops.(FPS) The study on Mid-Day meal scheme for Rajasthan reported the exclusion of scheduled caste person as cook and helper in all most sixty percent of sample villages .(Jean Drazé 2003).

Another study based on sample of about 550 villages from five States ,namely U.P.,Bihar,A.P.,T.N. and Rajasthan . reported exclusion and discriminatory treatment in operation of Mid-Meal schemes and Fair price shop.(Thorat and lee 2003) .The practices of discriminatory and exclusory behavior toward scheduled caste remains massive. In terms of scale, caste discrimination afflicts more than one out of three fair price shops(FPS) and more than one out of three government schools serving midday meals (averages for five States of 35.5% and 37%, respectively). In terms of geographical spread, it is unquestionably a nationwide problem - from 24% in Andhra Pradesh to 52% in Rajasthan, to the vast majority in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, respondent villages from every state report problems of caste discrimination and exclusion in the MMS .. Likewise with the FPS, no state is free of patterns of discrimination - from 17% in Andhra Pradesh to 86% in Bihar. For instance, every state reports a substantial percentage of dominant caste PDS dealers practicing caste-based discrimination in the distribution of PDS goods, e.g. preferential order of service by caste, or hierarchically segregated timings for dominant caste and Dalit customers.

While the problem is nationwide, its degree varies considerably from state to state.. Where higher percentages of MMS cooks and organizers are Dalit, and where a higher percentage of midday meals are held in Dalit colonies, lower incidences of caste discrimination in the MMS are reported. In Andhra Pradesh, where indicators of Dalit participatory empowerment and access are relatively high (49% of respondent villages have Dalit cooks, 45% have Dalit organizers, and 46% are held in Dalit localities), reported caste discrimination in the MMS stands at 24%. In Tamil Nadu, where the same empowerment and access indicators are lower (31%, 27%, and 19%, respectively), reported discrimination stands at 36%. And in Rajasthan, where indicators are alarmingly low (8% Dalit cooks, 0% Dalit organizers, 12% held in Dalit colonies), reported discrimination stands extremely high at 52%.A similar pattern emerges in access to fair price shops, where higher proportions of Dalit PPS dealers and FPS shops held in Dalit colonies correspond with lower proportions of reported discrimination and "untouchability" practices.

Exclusion and Discrimination in Civil and political spheres

Macro Level Evidence:

Table 1 presents the number of cases registered by untouchables under ant-untouchability Act of 1955 and Prevention of SC and ST Atrocities Act . These include restrictions on untouchables in public domain to use public water bodies such as well, tape, temple, Tea stall, Restaurant, community bath, road, and other services. Table 1 gives year average for 1999-2001 at the all-India level. During 1999-2001 ,an average of 28016 cases of discrimination and untouchability were registered annually by the untouchables. This comes to about 3 cases per lakh of population. The ratio of such cases was highest in Rajasthan (9.3), followed by M.P.(7.7),followed by U .P.. The ratio was about 3 cases per lakh of population in Orissa, Karnataka, Gujrat and A.P.

The break-up of the crime against for the year 2000 include 526 cases of murder, 3497 of grievous hurt, 290cases of arson and 1000 cases of sexual assault , and 11587 cases of other offences. Table 2 shows that during nine year period between 1992 and 2000 a total of 252,370 cases of crime ,including the cases of discrimination and atrocities were registered by untouchables .In the case of scheduled tribe an average of 4952 cases of crime were registered. Most of these cases were confined to M.P.Rajasthan Gujarat and A.P.

Evidence from primary surveys

We now present the evidence from the studies based on primary survey.

All India study

First we present the results of the most comprehensive study based on an intensive survey of 555 villages in eleven states across India. In this section we consider the practice of discrimination in the “secular public sphere”, the phrase standing for that area of public life,. Thus, the sphere includes access to water sources, public thoroughfares, transport, and other village level services and amenities like tea shops, barbers’ or watermen’s services, and so on.

Panel 2 provides an overview of the different forms of untouchability that deny the SCs access to basic public services. It indicates that out of the total villages surveyed, complete denial to the SC persons was observed in little less than half of villages. 48.4 percent in terms of access to public water/drinking places, 36 percent in terms of access to shops, 26 percent in terms of the use of restaurants/hotel, 21 percent in terms of entry to health centres/clinics, 9.2 percent in terms of public transport, and 3.2 percent in terms of entry to cinema halls/recreation facilities etc. In the case of services provided by individual services providers also, the denial was most apparent. Out of the total villages surveyed where such services were provided, denial was reported in access to the services of Barbers in 46 percent of villages, in access to washer person’s services in 46 percent of villages, carpenter’s services in 26 percent of the villages, and of potters in about 20 percent of the villages. (Panel 3)

Panel 2 Denial of Access to Basic Public Services (Forms/Sites arranged in decreasing order of incidence; pooled data from 11 states)			
Public spheres	Percentage of Villages where Form is Practiced	Percent Villages Not Practiced	Total Surveyed Villages
Denial of water facilities	48.4 (255)	43.5	527
Barbers’ services	46.6 (229)	41.3	491
Waterman’s services	45.8 (194)	43.2	424
Carpenters’ services	25.7 (117)	68.1	455
Potter will not sell pots	20.5 (75)	68.2	365
No entry in t village shops	35.8 (186)	57.0	519
Restaurants/hotels	25.6 (92)	64.9	359
Private/Public health centre/clinic	21.3 (74)	72.4	348
Entry to public transport	9.2 (41)	87.0	447
Entry / seating in Cinema Halls	3.2 (6)	93.0	187

Figures in brackets are number of villages where form is practiced. Villages where status of practice is ambiguous are excluded from both 'practiced' and 'not practiced' categories. Total surveyed villages exclude villages where relevant institution/site is absent.-Source –Action Aid study ,2000

Panel 3----: Discriminatory Treatment in Public Services (Forms/Sites arranged in decreasing order of incidence; pooled data from 11 states)			
Denial and /or discriminatory treatment	Percentage of Villages where Form is Practiced	Percent Villages Not Practiced	Total Surveyed Villages
Separate seating in restaurants/hotels	32.7 (144)	58.0	441
Separate utensils in restaurants/hotels	32.3 (145)	58.1	449
Tailor will not take measurements	20.8 (96)	70.1	462
Untouchability during transactions in shops	18.5 (87)	73.8	470
No seating / last entry in public transport	12.8 (57)	82.9	444
Discriminatory treatment in private clinics	8.7 (24)	83.7	276

Figures in brackets are number of villages where form is practiced. Villages where status of practice is ambiguous are excluded from both 'practiced' and 'not practiced' categories. Total surveyed villages exclude villages where relevant institution/site is absent. Action Aid study 2000

While complete denial of access to particular water sources (well, tank, tube well etc.), village shops, health clinics, transport used for public purposes, services offered by washer person, carpenter, tailor, and potter etc are the most clear form of social exclusion, what is even more common is the imposition of deferential treatment in access to these, and other public services, which takes various forms. From Panel---4 we observed that in about one-thirds of the villages such discrimination was followed by making separate seating arrangements or by giving separate cups to the untouchables. Similar forms of discriminatory were observed in purchases from shops, entry into public transport, and treatment in private health clinics etc.

Karnataka Study

The Karnataka study for 1973-74 is based on a fairly large sample of 76 villages, 38 urban centers and 3330 households. Of the total households 73 per cent are untouchables (Parvathamma 1984). Little more than half of the untouchable respondents were not allowed to draw water from the public well in the village. The magnitude of the problem was less severe in urban centers, but even in urban areas 15 per cent of the respondents reported restrictions on use of public water bodies. The practice of untouchability was more widespread in terms of access to the village temple and in access to high-caste houses. In both cases more than 60 % of the untouchables were not allowed entrance to the village temple. An even more overwhelming majority did not give of 70 %. When it comes to the public sphere, like the teashop, which is sharing of an environment with caste groups higher

up in the hierarchy while drinking or eating, it is not far behind the discrimination attached with respect to the prohibitions to enter the village temple. A little less than half of the former untouchables were not allowed free access to the local village teashop. In the urban areas the discrimination is much less (only 6 % find themselves discriminated against).

In essential services, the practice of untouchability was widespread. Little more than half of the respondents did not receive the services of a barber and washer man in the village. In urban areas the access had improved considerably. Most of the respondents, however, had non discriminatory access to the service of tailors.

In public services like post-office, health and education, for example the practice of untouchability was much less. Almost all had access to postal services, but half of the respondents faced some kind of discrimination, in so far as the postmen avoided to enter into the residential areas of former untouchables, opting to hand over the mail to a formerly untouchable person of the locality for distribution. Generally, discrimination in the service rendered by the government doctors and nurses and the village school was less.

Still in the early 1970s one out of ten persons among scheduled was not allowed inside the village shops. One out of ten persons among scheduled castes could not wear clothes of their own choice or ornaments, without being harassed.

Nearly twenty years later another study was conducted in Karnataka by taking 941 respondents from 52 villages and from most of the districts (Khan 1995).

In the political sphere (i.e. sitting together or taking tea in the village panchayat office) the discrimination was much less. Otherwise, not much had happened during the two decades since the former study was carried out. About three out of four respondents were denied entry into the village temple and also denied to participate in religious processions. Social mixing or relations across caste barriers were also not allowed. Most people among the untouchables did not have free access to the water taps of the high-castes, and three-fourth of them had no access to the village tank.

Comparing this study with the one carried out two decades earlier, it could be seen that some change has occurred. The practice of untouchability was relatively less in the political sphere but its magnitude was still very high in access to the village temple, religious community events, public water taps, and public water tanks and in interpersonal social relations.

Andhra Pradesh Study

This Andhra study was conducted in 1977 and covered a sample of 396 respondents (of which 196 were formerly untouchable) from six villages (Venkateswarlu 1990). The temples were still barred to most of the untouchables. Marriage procession through the public village road by untouchables was prohibited on one pretext or another. There was no access to public drinking water source. The well or tap is located in the high-caste locality and attempts by the former untouchables invites objection and physical obstruction.

The majority of the untouchable respondents reported being beaten by the upper castes, in the event of former demanding equal rights, such incidents happened quite frequent or in some areas were a rare case. Raids on untouchable hamlets or houses, sometimes followed by looting, were reported. Violence was also perpetrated in the form of kidnapping, insults, rape, physical torture and threat or attempt to murder.

Many untouchable respondents were prevented from exercising their franchise in elections. In some cases they were also prevented from participating in political activities like organizing meetings in the village or taking an independent position on political issues, or contesting elections.

Orissa Study

The Orissa study covered 65 untouchable respondents from two villages (one small and one large) for 1987-88 (Tripathy 1994). In both villages the settlements of untouchables were separated from that of the upper castes. An overwhelming majority, i.e. 80 per cent of respondents in the small village and 70 per cent in the large village were prohibited from drinking water from the public well and public tube well. In the large village there were separate pulleys in wells for the untouchables. 3 per cent of respondents in the large village and 90 per cent in the small village observed that while locating public wells/tube wells the untouchables' convenience was not taken into account.

In village community feasts and marriages in both the villages, the former untouchables were treated unequally. The same is the case with regard to temple worship, barber service, washer man services, priest services, etc. 64 per cent in the large village and all in the small village were treated unequally in the village meeting. 80 per cent of the respondents in both villages did not have access to teashops; 70 per cent in the large village and 80 per cent in the small village faced unequal treatment or discrimination in getting services from the grocery shops. About 80 per cent in the small village and all in the large village faced discrimination in village cultural events (i.e. drama) and village festivals.

Their small number, poverty and fear (in the small village) discouraged the untouchables from contesting elections. Most of the former untouchables have free access to school and hospitals in both villages.

Gujarat Study

The Gujarat study was conducted in 69 villages in 1996 to see changes in practice of untouchability (Shah 1998). The study looks into the practice of untouchability in seventeen spheres of village life, which include the private and public domain.

The practice of untouchability in sitting arrangement of the students in village schools was negligible and non SC students intermingled in the school freely. Non SC teachers do not discriminate against SC students, but they are not easily accessible to SC students outside the school boundary. Not all the schools have the facility of drinking water for students. Where it exists, all students take water from the common vessel.

Nearly 10 per cent of the village schools have teachers belonging to SCs. None of them complained that their colleagues discriminate against them in school. However, except in south Gujarat, these teachers do not get accommodation in the high-caste locality of the village. They either commute from their village or from the nearby town or they rent a house in the SC locality.

Almost all villages are covered by state transport. Except in 7 per cent of the villages, untouchability is not observed while boarding and sitting in the bus. Crude discrimination against SC is observed in one per cent of the villages, where untouchables are almost denied the right to sit with an upper-caste person. In the remaining 6 per cent of the villages, untouchability is practiced in a nebulous form. That is, a member of the SC is expected to stand up and offer seat to a high caste passenger; or the latter is allowed to board the bus first.

The SCs encounter some restrictions on their movement in 23 per cent of the villages. As such there is no ban on the SCs using certain village roads. But they do become victims of wrath varying from abuse to even physical assault, if they enter the streets of the upper castes. They have to stop and give way to members of the upper castes, particularly Brahmins and Rajputs in general and elderly persons of the dominant upper castes in particular.

Most of the village post-offices and postmen do not practice untouchability, while giving stamps and taking money as well as delivering mail. But postal employees observe untouchability in 8 to 9 per cent villages. They do not give postal stationery and mail in the hand of the SC addressee.

Open or subtle untouchability is practiced in panchayat meetings in 30 per cent of the villages. The sitting arrangement in panchayat offices is common for all the members, but there is a tacit convention, whereby certain seats are marked for SC members. Though tea and snacks are served to everyone, separate plates and cups are reserved for SC members, and stored separately. In most village temples, 75 per cent SCs are not allowed to enter beyond the threshold, though they may worship from a distance. One temple may be open for the SCs and another temple restricted from their entry. The SCs in many villages, where their numbers are large have constructed temples in their localities to avoid confrontation.

In 46 villages, SC has separate water facility near their localities. Untouchability is not experienced in normal times, but when water is scarce, the SCs experience difficulty and discrimination in taking water from high-caste localities. In the remaining 23 villages in which the untouchables take water from the common source, untouchability is practiced in 61 per cent of the villages. In most of such villages where discrimination is practiced SC women take water after the upper-caste women, or their tap or position on the well is separately marked. In seven villages (11 per cent of the sample villages) the SC women are not allowed to fetch water from the well. They have to wait till the upper caste women pour water into their pots. The upper-caste women, shout at them constantly and humiliate the SC women: "Keep distance, do not pollute us!"

In about 30 percent of the villages, SC members were barred from entering shops. Similarly the practice of untouchability in giving things and receiving money was observed in 28 per cent of the sample. The status of being formerly untouchable comes in the way of potential SC entrepreneur. They fear that upper-caste members would not buy from their shop or would harass them. In a village, in Ahmadabad a SC auto rickshaw driver, who asked for fare from a sarpanch belonging to a middle caste was severely beaten. This is not a rare case, and such upper-caste attitude inhibits SC enterprise.

Most tailors do not practice untouchability. However, in most cases they do not repair used clothes of the SCs. Nearly one-third of the potters observe untouchability, while selling pots to SC clients. Most of the barbers (nearly 70 per cent) refuse their service to SC males. The extent of untouchability has remained almost intact in the sphere of house entry. Except a few villages, SC members of villages do not get entry beyond the outer room of the high caste. Even in villages, where the young folk do not believe in physical untouchability, and who serve tea to SC guests in their houses, entry in the dining room is not encouraged.

The practice of untouchability has been considerably reduced in some of the public spheres, which are directly managed by the state laws and which have a relatively, non traditional character like school, postal services and elected panchayats. The practice of untouchability on public roads, restricting free movement of the SCs has considerably declined, but it is too early to say that the untouchable is not discriminated against in the public sphere. As many as 30 per cent of the village panchayats, still observe open or subtle discrimination with respect to their elected members belonging to SCs.

Access to Justice

A number of anti-discrimination statutes and other legal provision exists as legal safeguards against caste and untouchability based discrimination. As mentioned earlier the primary piece of legislation designed to provide a measure of protection to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe and to enforce their rights are the Ant-Untouchability Act ,1955 (later in 1979 renamed as Civil Right Act) and Scheduled caste and scheduled tribe Prevention of Atrocities Act ,1989. There are limited studies which examine the effectiveness of these legislations and access to the institutions of Justice .However the available evidence indicate that these legislative provisions are highly underutilized .Beside ,in seeking the legal safeguards and protections from the institutions, the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe also suffered from discriminatory access to the institutions of justices like police ,judiciary and other institutions involved in delivering justice .The studies indicate that the scheduled caste/tribe faced with insurmountable obstacle. In their efforts to registered the case and to take the matters at the level of various institutions of justices ,the support from the village level functionaries (like village Sarpanch) the police ,public prosecutors and other functionaries ,the SC/ST face extremely non –cooperative and discriminatory situation. This is essentially reflected in denial of justice to the persons belonging to scheduled caste and tribes by the various institutions involved in enforcement of anti-discrimination laws and other provisions .The official statistics and the results of studies based on primary studies bring out the this character of the institutions of justice.

The data on the Civil Rights cases shows that , of the total cases registered in 1991 only 1.56 % were convicted .The convection rate has come down to .60% in 1999 and .85 % 2000. This shows that the convection rate in the cases relating to civil right violation and atrocities was less than one percent and close zero.(table 3).

Andhra study throw some light on the reasons for low conviction rate based on the analysis of 100 documented cases of atrocities during 2000-2003. The study observed that “the case studies indicated a disturbing trend of subversion of the rights of dalit to justice and compensation under the law once an atrocity take place”(Agrawal and Gonsalves 2005). The study observed negligence and collusion at the stage of registration ,charge sheeting and investigation ,at seeking justice before the law in the court and in giving compensation. It revealed that the violation by police in term of, not registering the cases, pressuring the Dalit to seek compromise, foisting false cases, refusing to register the case under SC/ST atrocity Act, not citing proper section of Act, not arresting the accused, shielding the public servants from arrest, not following rules of investigation, not conducting inquiry of the incidence for compensation ,not providing allowances, and ignoring the consequences of atrocities in term of social boycotts. (Agrwal and Gonsalves 2005 ,Dalit Human Right Monitor 2003)

About the role of judiciary the Dalit Human Right Monitor 2003 observed”

“If the low conviction rate under Act is any indication, the Judiciary has responded poorly to the Act .Judiciary delay and dilution of the scope, applicability and meaning of the SC/ST Act has resulted in denial of justice to the Dalits’(Dalit Human Right Report -2000 A.P.109) . The Karnataka study which studies the role of the police and judiciary covering a sample of 120 police officers, 95 Judges and advocates and 16 Public prosecutors dealing the anti-discrimination laws came with similar observations It observed non cooperative and unsupportive attitude of the police in dealing with the cases of atrocities and anti-discrimination and .similar observation about the working of judiciary are made **This empirical over** view based on macro level official data and micro level primary studies , revealed the extent of denial of social, political and economic rights through exclusion and discrimination faced by the members of untouchable community. It is reasonable to assume that the former untouchables persons face restrictions in use of civil, political and economic rights and opportunities. The failure of entitlement due to caste-based exclusion is

of high order, which results in lack of access to resources, opportunities for employment, education, and other social needs and participation in public institutions. The restriction assumes various forms, ranging from social and economic boycott to physical violence. About the spheres of opposition in the form of violence and various kind of force the observation contained in the Report of the Commission of the SC/ST 1998 are worth mentioning ,

“Some of the major causes of atrocities and other offences against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are related to issues of land and property, access to water, wage payments, indebtedness and bonded or forced labour. Issues of human dignity, including compulsion to perform distasteful tasks traditionally forced on Scheduled Castes, and molestation and exploitation of dalit women are also involved. Caste related tension is exacerbated by economic factors, which contribute to violence. It is the assertion of their rights, be they economic, social or political, by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and their development, which often invite the wrath of the vested interests. Disputes during elections, animosity due to reservation, jealousy due to increasing economic prosperity, violence related to the process of taking possession and retaining Government allotted land, tension due to refusal of SCs to perform tasks such as disposal of dead cattle or cutting umbilical cord, are manifestations of the resentment of the high caste against increasing awareness among Scheduled Castes, assertion and prosperity among the SCs. Land and water is another sensitive issue. Accessibility of drinking water and water for irrigation and disposal of water removed from water logged areas become issues that can trigger off atrocities on SCs. Caste fervor during religious and social ceremonies, disputes arising during sowing and harvesting operations, and removal of crops from the granary after harvesting, have also been known to cause tension. Increasing awareness and empowerment of SCs, manifested in resistance to suppression, also result in clashes”.

Caste and Gender Interface –Dalit Women’s Deprivations

The assessment of human development at aggregate level hide the gender differences .The women belong to marginalized groups suffered from triple deprivations arising out of lack of access to economic resources ,caste and gender discrimination . The SC and ST women are perhaps the most economically deprived section of Indian society. Most of them don't own agricultural land and work as a wage laborer. In 2001 about 57% of SC and 37% of ST women were agricultural wage labor respectively in rural areas as compared with 29% for Non-sc/st (Table 9.1(c)).This ratio for SC/ST was about 16% and-14% in urban area as compared with only 6% among the Non-sc/st .Only 21 % of Sc women were cultivator ,and this ratio was much lower compared with 51% for ST and 45% for Non-sc/st .

Besides this a large number of SC Women are engaged in so called unclean occupation, such as scavenging, which are considered to be inferior in nature. Because of their association with these occupations, these woman faced discrimination in social and economic spheres

The Sc and St wage labour women faced differential treatment in wage earning particularly in urban areas .In 2000 the Sc and St women wage casual wage labour receive daily wage earning of Rs 37 and Rs 34 respectively as compared with Rs 56 for Non-sc/st women, while the national average is Rs 42.

The lack of educational development is another important problem of Sc and St women ..(table 11) In 2000 the literacy rate among the SC & ST rural female (age 15 and above) was 24 % and 23 %respectively as compared with 41% for non-sc/st women and national average of 29%. Similarly, disparities exist for urban area also ,in fact in urban area the literacy rate among SC female was the lowest, even compared to ST female . The literacy rate were 48%,54% and 70% for SC, ST and Non-sc/st female in urban area respectively ,the national average being 57%.. The relative disadvantage of SC/ST female population in terms of educational development is thus very well reflected in their literacy rates which are much lower than the corresponding rates for non-SC/ST female population.

The drop out rate among the SC and ST female is also relatively high at each of the stage of education .As we move up in educational level ,the drop out rate increase from primary/middle to high and secondary school and to graduate and above .In the end at graduate and above level the share SC and ST women in total population (15 and above) turnout to .4%,.3% as compared with 1.2% for non-sc/st female ,with national average being .63%.In urban are these ratio worked out to 2.7%,6.4% and 10.1% for SC, ST and Non-sc/st respectively ,with a national average of 11.12 %.(table 11)

The high dependence on casual labor with relatively low earning among the SC and ST women induced high degree of deprivation and poverty among them.The gender break up of poverty is not available. However the high degree of deprivations is reflected in other identical indicator of wellbeing. This is particularly reflected in the high level of under nutrition and related health indicators .

Among ST and SC women about 65% and 56% of them suffered from anemia, respectively and this is much high compared to 47.6% among Non-sc/st women .

Malnutrition of mother results in physical disorder among the children . In 1998-99 21.2% of SC and 26% of ST children under 4 years of age suffered from malnutrition (based on weight for age). Of these under weight children, 54% of SC and 56% of ST are severely under nourished. There is a significant difference between SC and ST children and other-13.80% and 41.1 of other's children are malnourished and under nourished.

Among the three morbidity condition, fever, acute respiratory infection (ARI) and diarrhea are the most common form of illness among the SC and ST children. About 30% of SC and ST children suffered from fever followed by about 20% from ARI and diarrhea each. The incidence of anemia among the SC and ST children is quite high, as nearly 78% of the children suffers from the anemia. The percentage is low among the other (72%).

While the government of India has adopted the national goal of reducing the present level of IMR to 60 by 2000, the SC's IMR, child mortality and under five mortality are 83.00, 39.50 and 119.3 respectively. Similarly the IMR, child mortality and under five mortality are 84, 46.3 and 126 among the ST. In case both SC and ST the mortality rates are much high compared to 61.8, 22.2 and 82.6 for Non-sc/st respectively.

Among the factors relating to care at birth which influence the chances of the new born, places of delivery and the type of assistance provided assume at most importance. About 72% of the births to SC women and 81% of birth to ST women took place at home and the corresponding figure for others is 59%. Conversely only 21% of the birth to SC women and 18% to ST women take place in medical institutions. Of the total deliveries of SC women and ST women that took place at home, more than 40% of the SC deliveries are attended by Dia. And those attended by public health person are low, 23% in the case of ST and 36% in the case of SC.

Similar disparity emerged in the case of use of tetanus vaccination. About 74% of SC mother and 61% of ST mother received vaccination. These ratio are low as compared to 81% for other, women.

There are some specific caste related deprivation which have evolved through some social customs and religious practices in Hindu society ,from which only scheduled caste women suffered .These social and religious practices have lead to high degree of sexual exploitation of SC women in selected part of India .Some of these customs includes religious prostitution in the form of Devdassis, and Jogini system under which the unfortunate village girls are married to a village god who then become subject of sexual exploitation by the upper caste in village. The primary survey by Organisation against Jogini estimated the number of Jogin in six district of AP around 21421.The similar practice exist in state like Tamilnadu,Karnataka and Maharashtra where they are designated as Devdasi (devotee of God). Because of the lower social status and low esteem the general sexual

exploitation of Sc/St women is also of high order. On average annually about one thousand cases of sexual exploitation of Sc women are reported and another 400 cases are reported for the ST women (tables 13 (c) and (d) **Concluding Observations**

This paper provide considerable empirical evidence shows that lower access of these socially marginalized group like dalit to resources like agricultural land and non land capital assets (and/or low productivity of those assets), higher underemployment, lower daily wages particularly in non farm activities, compared with Non SC/ST groups in Indian society, is closely linked with the processes of exclusion and discriminations, partly carried forward as residual impact of denial of right to property ,and education in the past but also exclusion and discrimination faced by the untouchable community in the present . In economic spheres the empirical evidence indicate the exclusion and differential treatment in various markets namely agricultural land, capital, employment, market in consumer goods, as well as the transactions conducted through the non market channels. Discrimination is also experienced by untouchable community in access to public services related to education, health, public water sources, post-offices and participation in village political institutions. The untouchables also faced violence and atrocities in their attempts to secure human rights and lawful entitlements. The restriction assumes various forms, ranging from social and economic boycott to physical violence.

It also bring out evidence on the exclusionary and discriminatory treatment by public institutions in operation of food security schemes and in enforcement of anti-discrimination laws by police ,judiciary and organs of the state involve in delivery of social justice .In so far as enforcement of anti-discrimination laws depends on state enforcement and that various organs of states including judicial system is not independent of caste and powerful interests the state monitoring is marked with inadequacy to enforce equal opportunity and punish discrimination. More worrisome aspect are discriminatory attitude of organs of the states like police and judiciary that makes state more of a threat than an ally in the fight against caste exclusion and discrimination

Thus the societal discrimination and exclusion in multiple spheres and violent opposition by the high caste and powerful civil society and also some organs of the state drastically reduced the scheduled caste /tribe freedom and capacity to use civil, political and economic rights and equal opportunities. The failure of entitlement due to caste based exclusion is in significant magnitude. From the empirical evidence it become apparent that among other reasons, the caste/untouchability based exclusion, and discrimination of the SCs, in the past, and its continuation in the present (through its residual traditional attributes) continue to be one of the main reasons for their lower human development and higher deprivations and poverty .

The approaches of Indian policy makers to overcome the discrimination and address social exclusion include such policy interventions as legal enforcement of ant-discrimination laws,group target through reservation ,preferential and general empowering measures which comes as part of anti-poverty programs. These polices have brought positive changes but the rate of improvement has not been fast enough to reduce the absolute level of deprivation and the gap between the excluded group of scheduled caste and tribe and other advanced sections .

The continuing exclusion induced deprivation of disadvantage groups of SC in high magnitude indicate that addressing social exclusion is often a far difficult challenge than anti-poverty policy .Social and cultural sources of exclusion (in economic ,civil and ,political spheres)-including low self –esteem, stigma, discrimination and denial of citizenship-are rooted in informal social structure and institution of caste and untouchability which covered not only private but spill over to public domain governed by State.In this context the inclusion of excluded groups.,then, become some what different goals than social inclusion of only materially deprived people. Poverty even when broadly defined as exclusion from the means necessary for full participations in normal activities of society ,is largely a question of

access to resources and services. Exclusion of groups, or individual within that group ,is foremost a denial of equal opportunity, respect ,recognition of right to development. Group exclusion is “horizontal “in that it may affect even relatively better of member of excluded groups ..Fighting discrimination therefore calls for additional policies complementing anti-poverty and economic development programs. But there is also considerable overlap and there fore there is need to combine and compliment and not to diverse programs against poverty and economic deprivation from policies for equal rights and social inclusion of disadvantage groups.

Development of social inclusion policies, however required information on the, the forms, nature and mechanism of exclusion in social ,political and economic spheres and their consequences on human development . Facilitated by legal provisions the caste and untouchability based discrimination in social spheres has been well researched, but the studies on exclusion in political and economic spheres have received much less attention .In order to bring more insights on the forms ,and nature of economic discrimination particularly the market discrimination in private domain and political exclusion more research is necessary .This will enable to understand the economic and political processes of exclusions and help to develop policies of economic and political inclusion which are so essential in Indian society which is characterized by high degree of exclusion based inequalities, deprivations and poverty of vast section of her population . This will also help the Civil society organizations and Funding agencies to bring the issue of “Caste based Exclusion-Linked Deprivation and Poverty “ on their agenda as separate issue to be deal with .

Caste and untouchability based economic discrimination, (market and non market)
Forms of discrimination and economic consequences - Conceptual Framework

S. No	Types of Markets	Access with discrimination				Economic Consequences on discriminated groups
		Nature of discrimination				
		Sale	Purchase	Price	Others	
1.	(a) Land Market (Agriculture)	No barrier	Barrier on purchase	Low price for sale and High price for purchase compare to market price for DG		(a) Income loss due to high price (b) induced landlessness
	(b) Lease market	No barrier on lease out	Barrier on leasing in	(a) low rent on leased out land compare to market rent (b) high rent on leased in land compare to market rent with unfavourable terms & conditions		(a) Income loss due to low rent on leased out land and high rent on leased in land. (b) Induced landlessness.
	(c) Common land				Discriminatory access	Increased monetary burden
2.	Capital Market		Low access to credit or capital market	Higher rate of interest than the market with unfavourable terms and conditions.		Deficiency of capital asset and income loss due to high cost loan.
3.	Occupation	Restriction on investment in occupation with high return or occupation other than the caste occupation				Remain confine to traditional caste occupation or the occupation with low return.
4.	Employment	Discrimination in hiring and hiring with low wage				
5.	Factor input market		Restriction on supply	Higher price compare to market price		Less use of input, low productivity and low income.

6.	Consumer market	No sale to the high caste, sale confine to own caste people	Selective restriction on purchase and use and also sale	High price on purchase low price on sale		Low income due to confinement of sale to own caste people, income loss due to higher price on the good purchase from high caste person. Low consumption of durable goods and others due to restriction
----	------------------------	---	---	--	--	--

Table 1 (continued)
Caste, untouchability based economic discrimination - Services and civic communities
Forms of discrimination and economic consequences - Conceptual Framework

S. No	Type of service/market	Access with discrimination	Economic Consequences on discriminated groups
		Nature of discrimination	
1.	Education	Exclusion through restriction on entry in educational institution, unequal treatment in teaching, less expenditure	Low educational level, low quality education
2.	Housing	Residential segregation, discrimination in purchase and renting with high price	Poor access to housing
3.	Health services	Barriers on doctors services/health services, high price treatment	
4.	Locality based discrimination (a) Road (b) Electricity (c) Drinking water	Exclusion from the supplier of these services to untouchables localities, wherever access with discrimination	Poor civic services to the untouchable locality

Table 1 Incidences of Caste discrimination and Atrocities against Scheduled Castes

S.No	States/India	Incidence of Total Crime				% of crime	Rate	Rank
		1999	2000	2001	average of 3 year	to all-india	per lakh	
1	AP	1749	1582	2933	2088	7.5	2.8	6
2	Assam	7	11	6	8	0.0	0.0	15
3	Bihar	820	741	1303	955	3.4	1.2	11
4	Gujarat	1781	1332	1242	1452	5.2	2.9	5
5	Harayana	121	117	229	156	0.6	0.7	12
6	Himachal Pradesh	54	52	110	72	0.3	1.2	10
7	Karnataka	1277	1329	1621	1409	5.0	2.7	7
8	Kerala	514	467	499	493	1.8	1.5	9
9	Madhy Pradesh	4667	4631	4212	4503	16.1	7.5	2
10	Maharashtra	605	489	625	573	2.0	0.6	13
11	Orissa	772	793	1734	1100	3.9	3.0	4
12	Punjab	39	34	134	69	0.2	0.3	14
13	Rajasthan	5623	5190	4892	5235	18.7	9.3	1
14	Tamil Nadu	883	1296	2336	1505	5.4	2.4	8
15	UP	6122	7330	10732	8061	28.8	4.9	3
16	West Bangal	0	0	10	3	0.0	0.0	16
	All India	25093	25455	33501	28016	100.0	2.7	

Note: Figures are number of cases registered under Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989

Source: Crime in India 1999-2001, National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs

Table 2 State wise Incidences of Crime- Caste Discrimination and Atrocities against Scheduled Castes in India, 2000

State/UT	Murder	Hurt	Rape	Kidnap & Abd.	Dacoity	Robbery	Arson	PCR Act	POA Act	Other
										Offences
Andhra Pradesh	29	323	53	9	2	0	8	284	529	345
Bihar	4	244	17	5	2	3	12	6	220	228
Karnataka	10	13	14	2	0	0	1	95	1073	10
Kerala	7	126	65	0	1	0	4	0	146	118
Madhya Pradesh	45	798	289	26	5	8	27	27	539	2867
Maharashtra	2	16	49	4	1	2	5	98	128	184
Orissa	14	47	6	0	0	0	3	0	147	158
Punjab	0	4	8	2	0	0	0	0	13	3
Rajasthan	48	153	128	13	1	3	49	0	454	4341
Tamil Nadu	12	654	17	1	0	1	0	103	418	90
Uttar Pradesh	302	761	346	163	23	65	142	18	2683	2096
All-India	473	3139	992	225	35	82	251	631	6350	10440

Note: Figures are number of cases registered under Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989

Source: Crime in India 1999-2001, National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs

Table 3 Cases Registered Under various Crimes on Scheduled Castes and Tribes

Type of cases	1991	1999	2000
Total Cases	8029	115878	116131
Cases disposed off	-	8673	12956
Conviction cases	125	700	982
Acquittal cases	1367	7420	11605
Cases pending	6537	107204	100891
Percentage Share in total cases	1991	1999	2000
Cases disposed off	--	7.48	11.16
Conviction cases	1.56	0.60	0.85
Acquittal cases	17.03	6.40	9.99
Cases pending	81.42	92.51	86.88

Source: National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Sixth Report, 1991, 1999-2000 & 2000 - 2001

Bibliography

Action Aid (2000) 'Untouchability in Rural India (by Ghanshyam Saha., Satish Deshpande, Sukhadeo Thorat, Harsh Mander and Amita Baviskar and Research and other Regional Staff) Delhi (on going study)

Agrawal, Grisrith and Colin Gonsalves (2005), Dalit and the Law, Human Right Law Netwok, Delhi.

A

Ambedkar B.R. (first Published 1987), "Philosophy of Hindism" Vasant Moon (Edit) "Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches" Vol.3 Page 1-94

Ambedkar B.R. (first published 1987), "The Hindu Social Order - Its Essential Features" in Vasant Moon (Edit), "Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches", Vol.3, Page 95-115, Deptt. of Education, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay

Ambedkar, B.R. (first published 1987) "The Hindu Social Order- Its Unique Features" in Vasant Moon (Edit) "Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches" Vol.3, Page 116-129, Deptt. of Education, Govt. of Maharashtra

Banerjee, Biswjit and Knight J.B. (1985) "Caste Discrimination in Indian Urban Labour Market" Journal of Developing Economics

Banerjee, Abhijit and Rohini Somanathan (2001), 'Caste, Community and Collective Action: The Political Economy of Public Good Provision in India', *Department of Economics, MIT, and Department of Economics, University of Michigan*.

Bramley, Glen and Tania Ford (1999), 'Social Exclusion and Lack of Access to Services: Evidence from the 1999 PSE survey of Britain'.

Deshi, A.K. and Singh H. (1995) " Education, Labour Market Distortions and Relative Earning of Different Religious - Caste Categories in India", Canadian Journal of Development of Studies, December 21

Haan, Arjan (1997), 'Poverty and Social Exclusion: A Comparison of Debates on Deprivation' *Working Paper No. 2*, Poverty Research Unit, Sussex University Brighton.

Halis, Akder (1994), 'A Means to Closing Gaps: Disaggregated Human Development Index, UNDP Occasional Paper

Harry Holzer, (August 1999), "Assessing Affirmative Action", NBER Working Paper, No. 7323.

Human Right Watch, Sakshi (2001), Dalit Human Right Monitor, Hyderabad.

Khan, Mumtaz Ali, 1995, "Human Rights and the Dalits", Uppal Publishers, Delhi.

Kenneth J. Arrow, (1998), "What has Economics to Say about Racial Discrimination? The Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 12, No.2, 91-100.

Lal Deepak (1984) "Hindu Equilibrium", Cultural Stability and Economic Stagnation, Vol. I Carendor, 1988 Oxford

Mayara Buvinic and Jacqueline Mazzaand Ruthanne Deutsch (2005) "Social Inclusion and Economic Development in Latin Aamerica, Inter-Aamerican Development Bank, Newyork ,

Mayra Buvnic (2005) Social Exclusion in Latin Aamerica ,in Mayara Buvinic and Jacqueline Mazzaand Ruthanne Deutsch (2005) "Social Inclusion and Economic Development in Latin Aamerica,Inter-Aamerican Development Bank,Newyork ,

Myers, Jr. Samuel L. (1997), (Edited), "Civil Rights and Race Relations in the Post Reagan-Bush Era", Praeger, London.

National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India (for the years 1999, 2000 & 2001), Ministry of Home Affaires, Government of India, New Delhi.

National Sample Survey Report on Employment and Unemployment situation among social groups in India, 38th, 50th 55th Round, Ministry of Statistics and Programme implementation, Government of India.

National Sample Survey Report on Land and Livestock Holding Survey, 37th (1982 and 1992) 48th Rounds, Ministry of Statistics and Programme implementation, Government of India.

National Sample Survey Reports on Differences in level of consumption among socio – economic group, NSS 38th, 50th & 55th Rounds, Ministry of Statistics and Programme implementation, Government of India.

Nayak, Vijay and Prasad Shailaja (1984), 'On Levels of Living of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes', *EPW*. Vol. 19 (30).

Nancy Birdsall and Richard Sabot (1991) "Unfair Advantage - Labour Market Discrimination in Developing Countries" World Bank Studies

National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, (2003) Sixth Report 1999-2000 and 2000-2001. Delhi

Radhakrishnan, P (2002), 'Sensitising Officials on Dalits and Reservations', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 16 February.

S. Jomo, K. (2003), 'Ethnic Discrimination: A Critical Survey of Economic Explanations', department of Applied Economics, University of Malaya, 50630., Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Sen, A (2000), 'Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny', *Asian Development Bank Working Paper* No.

Scoville, James G.L. (1996) "Labour Market Under Pinnings of a Caste Economy-Failing the Caste Theorem" in "The American Journal of Economics and Sociology" Vol.55, No.4, Oct. 1996

Shah, Ghanshyam (1998), "Caste and Untouchability : Theory and Practice", Paper presented at seminar "Ambedkar in Restrospect ", Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi

Thorat, Sukhadeo (1999), 'Social Security in Unorganised Sector, How Secure are the Scheduled Caste? Special Issue', *Indian Journal of Labour Economic*, September.

------(2002), Oppression and Denial –Dalit Discrimination in1990's *Economic and Political Weekly*, February.

------(2004) On Reservation Policy for Private Sector ,*EPW* Vol XXXIX No. 25 June 19, 2004.

------(2003), Caste, Ethnicity, and Religion: An Overview Paper on Exclusion/Discrimination and Deprivation" Concept Paper for DFID, Delhi. May.

----- (2003), Caste, Exclusion/Discrimination and Deprivation: The Situation of Dalits in India, Concept Paper for DFID, Delhi. May.

----- (2004), *Persistence of Poverty: Why is Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Stay Chronically Poor?* , IIPA for Centre for Studies on Chronic Poverty, London

----- (2004), *Remedies Against Economic Discrimination – International Experience of Reservation Policy in Private Sector* in Bibek Debroy and Shyam Babu (2004)“*The Dalit Question-Reforms and Social Justice*, Globus Delhi

----- (1996) "Ambedkar on Economics of Hindu Social Order : Understanding Its Orthodoxy and Legacy" in Walter Fernandes "The Emerging Dalit Identity" Indian Social Institute, Delhi.

----- (2001) "Caste, Untouchability and Economic and market Discrimination – Theory ,Concept and Consequences " Artha Vidhyan , Vol.XLIII, Nos 1-2, Journal of Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics .

----- (2000), 'Isolation and Deprivations: Economic Situation of Tribals in India, in Development Issue in India, Edited, Department of Economics, . Baba Saheeb ,Marathwada University, Aurangabad, Maharashtra..

----- and S. Venkatesan (2004), 'Caste Conflict, Poverty and Human Development in India', Indian Institute of Dalit Studies.

-----and R.S. Deshpande (1999), 'Caste and Labour Market Discrimination' *Indian Journal of Labour Economic*, Conference Issue, November.

Thurow, Lester C. (1969), "Poverty and Discrimination", The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

Tripathy, R.B. (1994) : *Dalits : A Sub- Human Society* , Ashish, Delhi

UNDP (2000), *Human Rights and Human Development, Human Development Report 2000*, Published by United Nations Development Programme, New Delhi : Oxford University Press.

----- (2004), 'Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World', *Human Development Report 2004*, Published by United Nations Development Programme, New Delhi : Oxford University Press.

Venkateswarlu, D (1990) *Harijan – Upper Class Conflict*, Discovery, Delhi.

William Darity Jr. (Edit) "Economics and Discrimination Vol. I, An Elgar Reference Collection (U.S.)

----- (1997), "Reparations" in Samuel L. Myers, Jr. (Edited), "Civil Rights and Race Relations in the Post Reagan-Bush Era", Praeger, London.

----- with Steven Shulman, (1989), "Question of Discrimination – Racial inequality in the U.S. labour market", Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut.

Zoninsein, Jonas. 2001. GDP Gains and Long-Term Discrimination Against Blacks: The Inverse Relationship. In Charles V. Hamilton, et al. (eds.), *Beyond Racism: Race and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.