Exclusion and Discrimination - Civil Rights Violations and Atrocities in Maharashtra

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The primary goals of the Indian Institute of Dalit Studies among its many tertiary objectives are:

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B. To provide knowledge support to the Government, the NGOs and other organizations working at local, regional, national and international levels;

C. To provide research inputs to policymaking and other related bodies; and

D. To serve as a Resource Center for researchers, students, activists and policymakers.

Cordaid (Netherlands) has provided support for the printing of this working paper and this is gratefully acknowledged.

The IIDS Working Paper Series disseminate the findings of the core research outputs of the Institute to facilitate informed discussions among the civil society, the academia, researchers and also strive to contribute towards policy infusions.
Exclusion and Discrimination — Civil Rights Violations and Atrocities in Maharashtra

Sukhadeo Thorat & Prashant Negi

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Foreword

This working paper “Exclusion and Discrimination — Civil Rights Violations and Atrocities in Maharashtra” is the second in the Second Working Paper Series of the Indian Institute of Dalit Studies. The purpose of this Series is to disseminate and share the findings of the core research concerns of the Institute for a wider circulation, and to facilitate informed discussions on a variety of focal issues.

The Working Paper Series disseminate both, empirical and theoretical findings of the ongoing research on issues pertaining to the forms and nature of social exclusion and discrimination, caste and untouchability-based discrimination, and inclusive policies for the marginalized social groups in the Indian society and in other countries etc.

It is hoped that the Working Paper Series will be beneficial to researchers, students, academics, and activists alike, and will also benefit policymaking bodies and civil society organizations.

This Working paper “Exclusion and Discrimination — Civil Rights Violations and Atrocities in Maharashtra” delineates the nature, extent and pattern of civil rights violations and atrocities perpetuated on the SCs and the STs with particular reference to their assertion of basic human rights equality in Maharashtra.

It also seeks to comprehend the dynamics and multitude of civil rights violations and atrocities committed whenever the SCs and the STs portray a social behaviour contrary to the customary rules of the caste system.

The Paper further address whether civil rights violations and atrocities committed indicate a pattern, which hinders the processes of social mobility and empowerment among the marginalized social groups.

The paper is based on detailed datasets generated from official sources and primary surveys. In conclusion, it surmises that despite several Constitutional provisions, the enactment of various legislations and the presence of an elaborate executive, legislative and judicial machinery - untouchability and caste-based crimes and atrocities against the marginalized social groups continues unabated in Maharashtra.

The Indian Institute of Dalit Studies gratefully acknowledges the support provided by Cordaid, Netherlands, for the publication of this Series.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Caste System and Social Ostracism

In the traditional and formal sense, the caste system is characterized by three interrelated and highly intertwined principles. These are the ascription of social, cultural, religious and economic rights of each caste; the unequal and hierarchical (graded) division of these rights between the castes; and the provision of strong social ostracism mechanisms with support from social and religious ideologies.

While the first two principles define and describe the framework of the caste system, the third principle designates the social mechanisms for its enforcement. Social ostracism is normally characterized and enforced by numerous penalties against the violation of customary rules, norms and boundaries of caste system. The forms of social ostracism vary from social and economic boycott to various types of physical punishments meted to the erstwhile untouchables, particularly those who initiate change and display mobility of sorts as against the traditional rules of caste behaviour. Since the customary rules of caste derive support from some elements of the Hindu religious philosophy, deviation from the moral code of the caste conduct invites social ostracism and various forms of atrocities against the erstwhile untouchables, which are considered to be socially just and morally right.

Such customary rules have been, more or less, responsible for the exclusion, discrimination and marginalization of some social groups in India that is, the Scheduled Castes or Dalits (SCs) and the Scheduled Tribes or the Adivasis (STs) etc. But simultaneously, it is also pertinent to mention at the outset that the extent and causes of exclusion and discrimination related to the
SCs and the STs differ in their orientation and nature. For Dalits, the notion of discrimination is primarily based upon the notions of untouchability and the principles of purity and pollution (or for the matter of fact caste-based), that for the STs is based on the principles of ethnicity and geographical isolation.

As a corollary, though both the social groups have suffered from social exclusion, but the extent and degree of exclusion, discrimination, deprivation and marginalization prevalent among these two social groups differs in degrees and forms. Dalits have, therefore, been historically discriminated and the extent of exclusion prevalent among them is multiple and ubiquitous.

1.2 Indian Government’s Strategy against Discrimination and Empowerment

The caste system as a social organization of the Hindu society is based on certain economic and social relations, which are unequal. This inequality involves historic exclusion and discrimination of certain groups or castes, particularly the SCs in multiple societal relations - economic, social, political or cultural. Further, from such a gargantuan nature of discrimination and exclusion emanates intense deprivation and poverty for the untouchables who are traditionally placed at abyss of the caste system. Therefore, considering the scale and extent of discrimination and deprivation it was essential that provisions enabling equitable distribution of opportunities through reservation policy; proactive measures against social and economic exploitation; and enhanced and specific financial allocations for expediting the socio-economic, political and cultural development of the marginalized social groups be incorporated in the Constitution.

The Indian government, in recognition to the problems of the SCs and the STs developed specific policies and program for their empowerment. The official strategy is envisaged and directed at securing distributive justice by planned development and mainstreaming of the marginalized sections of the society. At the core of the issue lies firstly, efforts to minimize inequalities of income, status and opportunities; and secondly, allocation of resources for social, economic and educational development and for building self-reliance and self-esteem among the SCs and STs.

The government approach in this regards draws primarily from the provisions in the Constitution and has been the stimulated by a ‘multi-prolonged-action’, which at present has culminated in the government’s perspective and strategy.
towards the SCs and the STs being influenced by two main considerations, namely -

(a) To overcome the multiple deprivations of the SCs and STs inherited from exclusion in the past, at to the extent possible bring them at par with others; and

(b) To provide protection against exclusion and discrimination in the present, by encouraging their effective participation in general economic, social and political processes in the country.

Towards these ends, the government has utilized a two-fold strategy, which includes -

(a) Anti-discriminatory or protective measures; and

(b) Development and empowering measures.

Specifically, the Constitution of India, in Article 46 stipulates that the State shall protect the SCs and the STs from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 17 denotes that untouchability is declared as abolished and its practice in any form is a punishable offence. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability has been made an offence punishable in accordance with the stipulated laws. With a view to give statutory basis to the social safeguards provided in the Constitution, special laws have been enacted for giving protection to the SCs from the practice of untouchability and other forms of atrocities and discriminations.

Two Acts, namely, the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 (hereafter PCR) and the Prevention of Atrocities (SCs and STs) Act (hereafter POA), 1989, have been passed to prevent/curb the persistent problems of social discrimination, prevalence of social evils like untouchability, and the increasing atrocities against the Dalits.

1.3 Objectives

Despite several Constitutional provisions, the enactment of various legislations and the presence of an elaborate executive, legislative and judicial machinery to preclude and restrain untouchability and caste-based crimes and atrocities; civil rights violations and the extent of atrocities perpetrated on the marginalized social groups continue unabated.
Therefore, the primary objective of this working paper is to delineate the nature, extent and pattern of civil rights violations and atrocities perpetrated on the SCs and the STs with particular reference to their assertion of basic human rights and equality.

This working paper also seeks to comprehend the dynamics and multitude of civil rights violations and atrocities committed whenever the SCs and the STs portray a social behaviour contrary to the customary rules of the caste system.

Further, this working paper also seeks to address whether civil rights violations and atrocities committed indicate a pattern, which hinders the processes of social mobility and empowerment among the marginalized social groups.

Finally, the working paper in its concluding remarks delineates the implications as emanating from both the official and the primary survey sources.

1.4 Database

The analysis is based upon data collated from various sources, which includes data from official sources, various primary surveys, institutions and individual researchers. The data from the official sources was supplemented by other sources, which includes the latter three sources mentioned above.

Official sources include the Annual Reports of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Commission and Crime in India Reports. The datasets collated from these sources are for the period 1990-2003.

Primary surveys include the Wai taluk (block) survey, 1958 (conducted in 17 villages); Gokhale Institute survey, 1962 (conducted in 25 villages); Harijan Sevak Sangh survey, 1970 (conducted in 192 villages); Marathwada study, 1991 (conducted in 95 villages); and Action Aid study, 2000 (conducted in 50 villages).

For the purposes of analysis, the composite datasets collated from these primary surveys have been categorized as covering three decadal periods, that is, 1960s, 1970s and 1990s. Therefore, the various primary surveys conducted during these periods are classified accordingly.

Specifically with regards to data from government sources, the nature of the same needs to be elucidated. The magnitude of atrocities in that regard are
measured in terms of the total number of cases registered by the members of either the SC or the ST with the police under the Indian Penal Code, the PCR Act or the POA Act.

2. Magnitude and Pattern of Civil Rights Violations and Atrocities

2.1 Evidence from Official Statistics

As Table 1 A demonstrates, the total number of cases registered by the members of the SC and the ST with the police in Maharashtra under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code has been steadily decreasing over the years. But, this simultaneously, should not be confused for the absence of the practice of untouchability and a deterrent for the perpetuation of crimes against the SCs and the STs. The fact that cases are registered, unequivocally, reflects on the fact that despite the abolition of untouchability under Article 17 of the Constitution and the presence of elaborate statute’s like the PCR Act and the POA Act; caste violence continues unabated.

The total number of cases registered annually as incidences of crime, violation of civil rights and atrocities in Maharashtra between the periods 1992-2003 is as follows. In 2003, a total of 697 cases were registered, while the total numbers of cases registered in 2002 and 2001 were 634 and 625 respectively. Similarly, in 2000, 1999, 1998 and 1997, a total of 184, 605, 683 and 831 cases were registered respectively. Again, in the periods between 1995 and 1992 (for the years 1995, 1994, 1993 and 1992), 1,622, 1,475, 1,323 and 1,231 cases were registered in that order.

As is evident from the data in the three year period, that is, 1993-1995, the highest numbers of cases (1,323, 1,475 and 1,622) were registered. Conversely, in 2000, the lowest numbers of cases (184) were registered.

The official data also provides the incidences of crime, violation of civil rights and atrocities in Maharashtra between the periods 1992-2003 as being categorized under various typologies. The analysis of the same suggests that in 2003, the cases were categorized as murder (19 cases), rape (72 cases), kidnapping & abduction (07 cases), dacoity (01 case), robbery (03 cases), arson (05 cases), hurt (41 cases), PCR Act (43 cases), POA Act (216 cases) and others (290 cases).

The data also suggests that the highest numbers of cases registered under murder were for the year 1993 (23), while 72 cases of rape were registered
in 2003. Similarly, the highest numbers of cases registered under kidnapping & abduction, dacoity, robbery, arson and hurt were for the years 1995 (18), 1994 (07), 1994 (11), (24) and 1995 (292) respectively. Again, the highest numbers of cases registered under the PCR Act were for the year 1992 (635), while that under the POA Act were for the year 1995 (343) respectively. In the other cases category, the highest numbers of cases were registered for the year 1993(605).

Conversely, the lowest numbers of cases registered under murder were for the year 2000 (02), while

**Table 1 A, Incidences of Crime, Violation of Civil Rights and Atrocities against SCs in Maharashtra**

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</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>02</td>
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<tr>
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<td>05</td>
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<td>04</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hurt</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCR Act</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>POA Act</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>283</td>
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<td>1323</td>
<td>1475</td>
<td>1622</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** NA – Not Applicable


those for rape were in 1997 (35). Similarly, the highest numbers of cases registered under kidnapping & abduction, dacoity, robbery, arson and hurt were for the years 2000 (04), 2003 along with 2000 and 1999 (01), 2000 and 2002 (02), 1997 (04) and 2000 (16) respectively. Again, the lowest numbers of cases registered under the PCR Act were for the year 2003 (43), while that under the POA Act were for the year 2000 (07) respectively. In the other cases category, the lowest numbers of cases were registered for the year 1999 (175).

Interestingly, the data on rape reveals that extreme forms of gender discrimination are perpetuated against Dalit women in Maharashtra. The
incidence of rape against Dalit women have been steadily increasing over the years and their present day status too (the incidence of rape was the highest for the state in the year 2003), is affront to Dalit women’s inherent human dignity. It must be remembered here that gender-based violence against Dalit women constituting physical, psychological and sexual violence, poses tremendous obstacles to their development, particularly, in consideration to the fact that they are ‘doubly discriminated’, one from outside the community, owing to the fact that they are Dalits and two, from within the community and flowing from the fact that they are women.

The differential reporting of the incidence of rape in Maharashtra over the years brings to the fore (and on the other side of the spectrum) that presently, more Dalit women are reporting cases of sexual violence against them. This is despite the fact that they are subordinated and singularly placed at the bottom of the caste and gender hierarchy. This can be attributed to the fact that the fundamental lacunae in the State with regards to empowerment, awareness and redressal forums are certainly withering away, if not, totally diminishing.

Further, the data is indicative of the fact that instances of Dalit assertion for accumulating basic human rights and mobility invite the wrath of the higher castes in Maharashtra and that indulgence of Dalits in such assertions are punished in varying degrees and forms.

Remarkably, the presence of elaborate Constitutional provisions and subsequent legislations against untouchability and its practice do not seem to be a deterrent enough, and the perpetuation of crimes against the SCs continues unabated.

2.2 Evidence from Primary Surveys

It should be recognized that the nature and forms of civil rights violations, crimes and atrocities, in itself, are severe, and concomitantly, the forms and mechanisms of social ostracism, the presence of oppressive and feudalistic forces and the threat of subsequent violence looms large on the head of the victims of atrocities and it generally, discourages the victims from formally registering cases. The severity of situation can be ascertained from the fact that it requires immense personal courage or encouragement from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or others to register cases against the higher castes. Further, the undercurrents of untouchability and
humiliation form an inherent and crucial part of the general societal relations and day-to-day experiences for the SCs. Remarkably again; such undercurrents are qualitative in nature and remain largely unreported.

The evidence from primary surveys was included, not only, to substantiate the official sources but also to make the analysis more inclusive. Importantly, these surveys elucidate the problem of untouchability, its magnitude and the manner and forms in which it is practiced in rural Maharashtra.

Also these surveys have been conducted on an extensive scale and are therefore, representative of the forms nature and extent of untouchability practiced in rural Maharashtra,

The methodology utilized by these surveys was based on the selection of regions/villages, wherein, the incidences of untouchability and caste-based atrocities were high and was based on a number of variables representative of the forms of untouchability practiced such as accessibility to water resources such as wells, entry into places of worship, participation in community feasts, representation in local self-governments (Panchayats), access to cooperatives, educational institutions and other public utility services etc.

As mentioned earlier, the datasets collated from primary surveys have been categorized as covering three decadal periods, that is, 1960s, 1970s and 1990s. They include the Wai taluk survey, 1958 (conducted in 17 villages by the Gokhle Institute of Political Science and Economics); Gokhale Institute survey, 1962 (conducted in 25 villages); Harijan Sevak Sangh survey, 1970 (conducted in 192 villages); Marathwada study, 1991 (conducted in 95 villages); and Action Aid study, 2000 (conducted in 50 villages).

It is these studies based on primary surveys, which reveal the actual magnitude of the problem. Unfortunately, due to lack of space and availability of a massive array of literature, only a few important ones are presented here.

3. Primary Studies from the 1960s

3.1 Wai taluk Survey - Gokhle Institute of Political Science and Economics, 1958

This survey was conducted in 1958 in 17 villages among the neo-Buddhists (Mahar community) of the Satara district in Maharashtra state by the Gokhle Institute of Political Science and Economics.
The Mahar community is a predominantly Dalit community and according to the Census of 1961 constituted about 35 per cent of the total population in the state. An analysis of the historical background of the community brings to the fore that in 1956, under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar, almost 50 per cent of the community converted to neo-Buddhism. This, interestingly, brought significant socio-economic and religious changes among the community.

This survey was primarily conducted to understand the dynamics of socio-economic and religious changes in the Mahar community (566 families in 17 villages) as a resultant of their conversion to neo-Buddhism.

The survey brought to the fore startling differences regarding the prevalence of untouchability and caste-based atrocities, especially in the realm of public services. The survey data highlighted differential access to water sources, whereby water sources were demarcated and the Mahar community was supposed to access water from their assigned sources only.

Further, the survey elucidated the magnitude and patterns of untouchability, which were of the following nature. Temple entry for the Mahars was banned; the community faced intense market discrimination, whereby its access to hotels was regulated (they were allowed entry to hotels only in 01 village out of the 05 villages where the hotels were situated, they were allowed entry into markets only in 01 village and in the other villages their entry was regulated); inter-caste festivities were also regulated (in all the villages surveyed, it was found that inter-caste community meals were not allowed and there were only a few villages wherein, the higher castes joined the Mahars for an occasional cup of tea, that too on important occasions); and in 16 villages, the Mahars did not have access to common services such as the barber.

The survey further made oblique references to the fact that despite, the Mahars being constitutionally guaranteed certain fundamental rights; they were clearly discriminated upon and excluded from the public, market and religious spheres.

The survey concomitantly, also referred to the prevalence of practice of untouchability in the decade of 1950s.


This evaluation was undertaken by the Gokhle Institute of Political Science and Economics in 1962 and included 25 villages of Nasik and Buldana districts.
This evaluation, too, brought shocking incidences with regards to the practice of untouchability. The evaluation found that in 85 per cent villages Dalits were residentially segregated; in 80 per cent villages they were not allowed to draw water from common sources; in 65 per cent villages they were denied entry into religious institutions or temples; in 90 per cent villages inter-caste community meals were not allowed; they were allowed access to only 06 hotels in 08 villages and in the other villages restrictions were imposed on them on the basis of the principles of purity and pollution. Further, in 80 per cent of the villages, Dalits were denied access to common services such as washermen and barbers etc.

Therefore, it is apparent that the incidence of untouchability-related atrocities in Nasik and Buldana was very high and that Dalits were not only residentially segregated, but simultaneously, denied access to public and market services.

4. Primary Studies from the 1970s

4.1 A Survey - Harijan Sevak Sangh, 1970

This survey was very important as it acquired a primary status on two counts. Firstly, it was conducted in 192 villages of the north, south and Vidharba regions of Maharashtra and secondly, the sheer volume of the study gave it a representative status.

The survey found that a high degree of untouchability and caste-based atrocities were being practiced and perpetuated against Dalits in all the 192 villages surveyed. Again, the analysis was indicative of a pattern of atrocities under which Dalits were residentially segregated, denied access to public services and had to suffer market and religious discriminations.

It can be inferred from the data emanating from the survey that in almost every village, some sort of untouchability was prevalent. Statistically, the figures show stark realities, whereby, 84 per cent of Dalits were residentially segregated; 75 per cent of Dalits were not allowed access to common water wells and in some villages had to fetch water from a distance increasing drudgery amongst them (the same was not the case with tapped water); in 73 per cent of the villages they could not partake in village feasts; in 33 per cent of the villages Dalits could not enter hotels, while in another 13 per cent of the villages separate and segregated arrangements were made for them; and in 66 per cent of the villages public services like those of the washermen and the barbers were unavailable to them.
4.2 A Survey by Harijan Sevak Sangh and Gokhle Institute of Political Science and Economics, 1970

This survey was conducted jointly by the Harijan Sevak Sangh and Gokhle Institute of Political Science and Economics in 1970. The scope, nature and magnitude of this survey was even bigger than its predecessor (the one conducted by Harijan Sevak Sangh). This survey was comprehensive in a sense that it covered approximately 206 villages (4,476 families) and included about 08 districts of Maharashtra.

It is codicil from the statistical analysis that 08 per cent of Dalit settlements were segregated from the main dwellings; only in 47 villages (about 22 per cent) out of the 206 villages surveyed, Dalits were allowed to draw water from common water wells (the same was not the case with tapped water sources, wherein, the extent of untouchability practiced was lower); in 20 per cent villages, Dalits were allowed to enter temples, while in another 10 per cent villages, though, they could enter the temples, but were denied entry into their sanctum sanctorum, conversely in the rest 70 per cent villages they were completely denied entry; out of the 70 per cent villages, where hotels were situated, in 30 villages (about 43 per cent) Dalits were not discriminated, on the other hand, they were discriminated upon in 17 villages in some form or the other, while in the rest 23 villages (about 30 per cent), they were denied entry into hotels; Dalits could avail the services of the barbers only in 172 (about 35 per cent) villages out of the total 206 villages; in the case of community feasts, Dalits could participate in only 22 (about 13 per cent) villages, in the rest of the 184 villages, they were either denied complete entry or if allowed, separate arrangements were made for them.

The survey made implicit that in about 19 per cent villages some form of discrimination was practiced in either water distribution or social gatherings. So much so that even government institutions like the Panchayats and the Village Cooperative Committees (VCCs) practiced discrimination, whereby, separate seating arrangements were made for Dalit representatives.

The survey concluded that though the rigidness in the public sphere decreased by about 20-25 per cent, it was still prevalent in 80-75 per cent villages. A significant reduction was seen in availing the services of hotels, washermen and barbers.

Imperatively, some form of discrimination and the practice of untouchability was seen in government institutions (the Panchayats, the VCCs and schools etc), which was indicative of a very disturbing trend.
The analysis emanating from the surveys in 1970s delineates certain patterns and dynamics of the forms and magnitude of untouchability as practiced in Maharashtra. If both the studies conducted in 1970s are clubbed together, it can be concluded that since in about 85-90 per cent villages, Dalit settlements were outside the main dwellings; residential segregation was a customary and conventional form of discrimination and exclusion.

Further, both the surveys indicated that 70-75 per cent of the villages practiced untouchability in drawing water from common resources, entry into temples and community feasts or social gatherings.

Though, the surveys point towards less discrimination as far as tapped water was concerned, but that again could be attributed to the fact that this was just so to avoid body contact (based on the principle of purity and pollution) with Dalits.

Again, in some villages though Dalits were allowed entry into village temples, but they were not allowed to enter the sanctum sanctorum or touch the deity in such temples.

Similar was the case with village feasts, wherein, Dalits were either not allowed or they had to stand in separate queues with separate dining arrangements being made for them.

In 60-65 per cent of the villages, the village washermen and the barbers did not provide services to Dalits (fearing non-usage of their services by the higher castes again based on the principle of purity and pollution). Dalits could avail such public services only in 40 villages, which were demographically and geographically large. This could probably be due to the sheer size of the villages or due to profit motives etc.

Despite the social justice and equality oriented policies and the presence of a convoluted and structured schema of governance; untouchability in some form or the other was found to be practiced in 30-35 per cent of government institutions like the Panchayat, VCCs and even schools.

It can be accentuated that untouchability in some form or the other is practiced in Maharashtra from the fact that there was not even a single village in the survey area, wherein, untouchability related or caste-based atrocities were not perpetuated on Dalits. Therefore, it strikes with greater
vehemence that the caste system cannot be considered a thing of the past and is very much significant even in contemporary times. Another fact too persists, that is, Dalits still are helplessly bound by their traditional dependence on powers that be.

Correspondingly, both the surveys are also characteristic of the dynamics of social change and mobility amongst the Dalit society. Such changes can primarily be ascribed to two processes; one of which is external and the other internal and needless to mention that both these processes effectuate empowerment of the Dalit community.

The former includes integrated and welfare oriented government policies and the enactment of several legal provisions against untouchability and inclusive of penal actions; the growth of Dalit movements directed towards an egalitarian society; the representation of Dalits community members in important village level administrative and political positions and their respective roles as pressure groups and in influencing policies etc.

The latter, includes individuals who imbibe and disseminate certain educational ideals, which are transformatory, based on social responsibility and are progressive in their outlook. The unswerving and committed efforts by such individuals and their leadership initiatives inspire and enhance the human right based endeavors of the Dalit community and initiate change and empowerment from within.

5. Primary Studies from the 1990s

5.1 Marathwada Study, 1991

This study was conducted in 95 villages of the Marathwada region of Beed, Osmanabad, Nanded and Latur (three villages of Ahmednagar were inadvertently covered as Jamkhed taluka in the district lay wedged between Ashti and Beed) in 1991, wherein, there were high incidences of caste bondage and previous records of atrocities against the Dalits.

The study was undertaken as an exploratory and rapid appraisal with an objective of throwing some light on the extent of untouchability practiced in Maharashtra manifested by certain specific practices such as utilization of public amenities and services, practices at times of social, cultural functions, caste-based labour and representation in local government institutions.

The study was conducted on the *Mahars, Mangs, Dhors* (members of Dalit community) and so on. The methodology utilized incorporated direct contact
with the members of Dalit community so that the nature of discrimination could be brought out by the community experiencing it.

With regards to political participation and Dalit representation in village *Panchayats*, diverse sets of results originated from the study. They range from not being represented in the *Panchayats* (for instance, in villages like Tadawale, district Osmanabad); represented, but not being invited for meetings (in such places the signatures of Dalit members were taken after the resolutions had already been passed); and being invited for meetings, but given differential and discriminatory treatment (Dalit members were made to sit on the bare floor, when meetings were held in temples they were denied entry as in Kinhi, district Latur and were served tea in different cups in villages like Pardi-Mategaon and Rajewadi, district Beed).

The study found that even Dalit representatives were discriminated like the village *Sarpanch* (head of the *Panchayat*) of Umerga village of Latur district and the women *Panchayat* members of Chinchola village, district Beed and Dongarshelki village, district Latur who were never invited to the *Panchayat* meetings and whose thumb impressions were taken from their respective homes without providing any explanations. In Talewadi village, district Majajgaon, the *Sarpanch* had appointed his own annual contractual labourer as Dalit representative on the *Panchayat*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Villages where the Dalit members are not called for a meeting</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Villages where the Dalit members are called for a meeting but are discriminated against</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beed</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>39.13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osmanabad</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>21.62</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latur</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanded</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>16.66</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmednagar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>24.21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29.47</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regards to access to civil amenities like water, it was found that a high degree of untouchability-based discrimination was practiced in the region. Dalits were not allowed access to higher caste wells and if their water sources dried up, they had to take recourse to alternative sources other than the higher caste sources. Often, this would mean increased drudgery or drinking polluted water as in Shimpala village, district Nanded. Similar was the case with tapped sources, wherein, Dalits were categorically told not to touch the taps.

In Bamni village, district Latur even the pots belonging to Dalits could not touch those of the higher castes. In Nitali and Ghugi village, district Osmanabad, even though Dalits were called to repair the damaged pumps of the higher castes, they could not use the same and after the work was complete, the higher castes washed the taps of all impurities. Even instances of individual daring like in Patoda Budruk, district Latur were punished by social boycott.

The study indicated that in 52 (or 54.73 per cent) villages, out of the total 95 villages surveyed, Dalits and the higher castes shared the same water sources, but in these villages too, the higher castes poured water into Dalit pots from a height, so as not to defile them and their water source. Such instances were a common practice in villages like Karhevadgaon and Kohoni.

Table 1 C, Water Facilities in Villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Villages fill water together at the same source</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Villages fill water from a different source</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beed</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>69.56</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>26.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osmanabad</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>89.18</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>10.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latur</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>05.00</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanded</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>08.33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>91.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmednagar</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>66.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>54.73</td>
<td></td>
<td>44.21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Temple entry was banned in about 77 villages, which approximates to roughly about 81.05 per cent of the total 95 villages surveyed. Temple entry was seen to be a very contemptuous issue and deep fault lines seem to have divided, both Dalits and the higher castes. Though, Dalits expressed their anger at being denied entry, but simultaneously, they were scared of asserting their entry into the temples as a right, as it would lead to caste repercussions and disturb the communal harmony of their villages. Further, in many places, it was felt by Dalits that if they did do, the higher castes would stop employing them as wage labourers and this would in turn affect their livelihoods. Even Dalit marriages had to be solemnized without undertaking proper rituals (as was the case with the Mang community)

Table 1 D, Temple entry for Dalits in Villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Dalits allowed to enter temples</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Dalits not allowed to enter temples</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beed</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>13.04</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>86.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osmanabad</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40.54</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>59.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanded</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmednagar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>18.95</td>
<td></td>
<td>81.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5.2 Untouchability during Social Functions

The survey found that the principles of purity and pollution permeated all social relations in the villages. The forms and magnitude of untouchability-based discrimination practiced became all the more obvious and conspicuous, considering the cohesive, interdependent and micro nature of relations in the social structure of the rural life in Maharashtra.

Apparently, the forms of discrimination included denial of free passage to upper caste homes (Dalits were only allowed entry up to the threshold); and the provision of separate cups and saucers, tea stalls etc. for Dalits.

During marriage celebrations, though Dalits were invited along with the entire village, in 70 out of the total 95 villages surveyed they were made to sit separately and were served food after the higher castes had finished their
meals. Dalits were made to sit either in the stables or on the road and were served food from a height, so that the higher caste vessels do not get impure form the touch of Dalits and their plates.

On the contrary, while inviting upper castes for Dalit weddings, Dalits had to employ the services of a higher caste cook who could cook and serve the higher castes separately.

Thus, strict and rigid caste distinctions were apparent during social customs like marriages.

The apathy of the situation becomes even more perceptible if we consider the celebrations of festivities pertaining to a religion. As is elsewhere in India, in Maharashtra too, certain festivals are religion specific and their celebration an exclusive affair. But herein too, for instance, while celebrating an exclusive Dalit festival like Dr. Ambedkar Jayanti, the higher castes, often, forestalled celebrations by arson, severing electric supply, and banning rallies, etc.

The survey found that Dalits in rural Maharashtra still bear the burden of the caste system by practicing the traditional occupations that the system imposes on them. In more than 50 per cent of the villages surveyed, it was found that the practice of certain caste-based occupations was still prevalent. The Mahars were found to be sweeping roads, collecting cow dung, guarding the villages by night and clearing the streets of the carcasses of dead animals.

**Table 1 E, Practice of Caste-based Occupations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Village where 'Mahakri' jobs are imposed</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Village where 'Mangki' jobs are imposed</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47.82</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>65.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osmanabad</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>83.78</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>54.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latur</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>95.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanded</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>16.66</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>91.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmednagar</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>66.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>51.57</td>
<td></td>
<td>70.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In many villages, the survey found that though some degree of social mobility existed among the *Mahars*, who gave up their traditional caste-based occupations; the same occupations were being practiced by *Mangs* (another Dalit caste).

The survey also found that Dalit communities still play the band in higher caste marriages, play ‘*Halgi*’ (a traditional instrument) outside temples and are forced to work as bonded labourers in upper caste fields. Dalits who refuse to work in upper-caste fields are beaten up and are refused employment in the village (there are other forms of social ostracisms that are perpetuated on them, which include refusal of permission to fill water etc).

Another practice, which reflects in no uncertain terms the status of Dalits vis-à-vis the higher castes, is that of the burial of the dead among Dalits. In direct opposition to the Hindu culture, the dead among Dalits are buried and not burnt on a pyre. This perhaps could be attributable to the higher cost of wood and its subsequent unavailability to the poor Dalits. Nevertheless, in 94 villages, the cemeteries of the lower caste *Mahars* and *Mangs* were separate and in a number of cases were encroached upon, 4 acres of land in Devdi, district Beed and a cremation ground in Kharda, district Latur was being cultivated by the higher castes.

In some instances, the situation was so bad that Dalits had to dig up old corpses in order to bury the new ones (as was the case in Khamaswadi, district Osmanabad).

### 5.3 Action Aid Study, 2000

This study was conducted by Action Aid (India) in 2000 and covered about 51 villages across all the 30 districts of Maharashtra.

The critical review of methodological contributions to the study illustrates that for the purposes of data collection all the 30 districts of Maharashtra were divided into three distinct regions, which were the Western, the Marathwada and the Vidarbha regions. Further, the sample villages were computed on the basis of Dalit population residing therein, and the districts share of Dalit population too, was based on the 1991 Census.

In the Western region, the study covered the districts of Solapur, Nashik and Ratnagiri. Similarly, in the Marathwada and the Vidarbha region, it covered the districts of Latur, Aurangabad and Parbhani and Nagpur, Yawatmal and Wardha respectively.
The objective of the study was primarily to understand the nature, magnitude and the dynamics of the practice of untouchability in rural Maharashtra in the realm of the public sphere (denotes the State and the market), the common sphere (includes the access to civil amenities and temples etc.) and the private sphere (designates entry into non-Dalit dwellings and interactions during social functions etc.).

Besides, the above-mentioned objectives, the study also carried out focused group discussions to comprehend the changing role of the traditional caste-based occupations in the village social order; the situation of the ‘un-clean occupations’ among Dalits; political participation and awareness among Dalits; instances of atrocities and awareness regarding the same; awareness regarding the provision of government infrastructure services; and the degree of vulnerability and marginalization experienced by Dalit women.

**Forms of Discrimination**

Though, the practice of untouchability has been abolished under article 17 of the Indian Constitution, the study found that it is still practiced in more than one form or sphere.

**Residential segregation**

The study found that in 37 per cent of the villages surveyed, Dalits dwellings were located at the periphery of the villages. In the remaining 63 per cent of the villages, though, Dalit dwellings were located within the main village, they were simultaneously, not mixed settlements and were separate.

Out of the total 51 villages surveyed, it was found that in 24 villages (51 per cent), Dalit settlements were located in the village itself, while in 01 (02 per cent) village and in 02 (04 per cent) villages, they were located at a distance of half a kilometer and one kilometer respectively. Similarly, in 15 (32 per cent) villages and 01 (02 per cent) village, Dalit settlements were located at one side of the village and outside the village in that order. In 04 villages (09 per cent), Dalit settlements were completely segregated as separate units away from the villages, while in the remaining 04 villages there were no Dalit settlements.

The study, while accentuating on the *Indira Awas Yojna* (a Government of India housing scheme) found that Dalits were residentially segregated, therein, too. The fact that such a scheme was designed for the upliftment of Dalits
was not a factor enough and its implementation still remains pervaded with discrimination as Dalits were sanctioned and allocated houses in clusters.

Residential segregation of Dalits assumes importance as it effectuates accessibility to various resources and facilities that are available to the entire village. For Dalits, it specifically exposit, not only, social exclusion, but also the denial of access to basic civil, social, educational and cultural amenities.

In the Public Sphere

The public sphere, for the sake of analysis was categorized into two distinct divisions. It includes services that come under the law and are equitably distributed to all the citizens (for instance, access to Government offices, public health services and educational institutions); and the services that come under the market sphere are governed by economic forces (for instance, exchange of goods and services etc).

Public Sphere - Services under the law

The survey found that in 04 villages, entry into Public Distribution System (PDS) shops was discriminatory. If the above analysis is translated region-wise, then it can be inferred that such discrimination was prevalent in 02 villages of Western region and 01 each in Marathwada and Vidarbha region. The survey also found the prevalence of untouchability in Tiwatgyal of Latur district, wherein, the PDS ration shop owner was practicing purity and pollution by avoiding touching the lower caste Dalits while exchanging goods and services (for further details See Table 1 H in Annexure I).

Though, the survey did not find the prevalence of the practice of untouchability in post offices (the facilities of a post office was available only in 23 of the total 51 villages), it did observe its practice in the delivery of letters by the postman in 10 per cent of the villages. Such practice was perceived in all the three regions, that is, the Western, the Marathwada and the Vidarbha regions and particularly, in the villages of Basav Nagar (Solapur), Lon Khurd (Parbhani), Sawli (Nagpur) and Surla (Yawatmal). It may be pertinent here to mention that the manner in which Dalits perceived discrimination was oblique and covert as in most of the villages mentioned above the postman was not particularly receptive to Dalit population.

In the case of treatment meted out to the Dalits in Public Health Centers (PHCs), though Dalits had access to both the PHCs and the doctor’s services, but nevertheless, Dalits perceived differential treatment and an attitudinal
negligence being practiced against them. Besides, there were instances of preferential treatment being provided to the members of the higher caste community and health workers not existing in Dalit colonies. Such instances were found to be practiced in 04 villages of the Western region in Upale Dumala (Solapur), Natepute and Borgaon villages.

With regards to the visits by government health workers, the survey found that untouchability was practiced in 03 villages of Western region, 01 in Marathwada and 02 in Vidarbha regions. In most of the villages, the dynamics and nature of the practice of discrimination was such that firstly, the health personnel did not visit Dalit colonies; secondly, even if they did visit the colony, they did not treat Dalits; and thirdly, the health workers provided the higher caste Anganwadi (village level community organization) workers with all the medicines, who, in turn, discriminated against Dalits by not providing them with medicines meant for them (for further details See Table 1 I in Annexure I).

The survey found that no discrimination was practiced with regard to entry into polling booths. This was more so perceived by Dalits merely as ‘vote bank’ politics (of assuring that the upper castes receive a major chunk of Dalit votes). In some instances, Dalits were accompanied by the higher castes to the polling booths so as to assure their votes.

Though the survey did not find any instance of direct discrimination as far as entry into police stations was concerned, Dalit population did recognize a distinguishable trend in their behaviour and attitude towards them. They felt that whenever they attempted to access police stations, the police personnel were either not very receptive or cooperative.

In terms of access to public transport services, the survey found that the higher caste population maintained their distance from Dalits, both in queues and also in seating. Such instances were found in Surla and Upale Dumala (Solapur). In the former, the higher caste women maintained their distance from Dalit women, and in the latter, the private jeep operators did not allow the Dalits to sit in the front seats of their vehicles (for further details See Table 1 J in Annexure I).

With regard to access to public services, the survey found that in 20 per cent of the villages varying degrees of untouchability-based discrimination was being practiced against Dalits. In Bavi, Pimpalgaon Pangri, for instance, Dalits
were themselves wary of entering the higher caste colonies, while in Akole Mandrup (Solapur), Khapri (Nagpur) and Lon Khurd (Parbhani) the higher castes did not appreciate Dalits entering their colonies.

Further, in Natepute (Nagpur), the Mangs were not allowed to wear footwear while passing the temple, while in one other village Dalits were totally forbidden to wear footwear and had to walk barefoot all the time.

Notwithstanding the above, in Kusmod, Bavi and Basav Nagar (all in Solapur) there were restrictions imposed on Dalits while accessing public roads for taking out processions. Even in the cases of funeral processions, as was observed in Darewadi and Tiwatgyal (Latur), Dalit processions were not allowed passage through the higher caste colonies or near the temples. Similar instances were observed for other festivities such as Dr. Ambedkar Anniversary etc. (for further details See Table 1 K in Annexure I).

The survey did not find any direct form of untouchability being practiced with regard to entry into the Panchayat offices, but it did, on the contrary observe covert forms of discrimination being practiced. Such practices were apparent in 01 village of Parbhani and 04 villages of Solapur talukas. It was found that the higher caste members of the Panchayat did not even consult Dalit members while taking decisions.

On a more positive note, the survey did find an increasing trend of political participation among Dalits. In a number of villages, Dalits were members of the Panchayats or even held prestigious and powerful positions like the Sarpanch or Deputy Sarpanch in the Panchayats. But such forms of mobility were more so because of the seats in such Panchayats were reserved for Dalits and in most of the cases, Dalits were mere nominal representatives (as is mentioned above that they were not even consulted while taking decisions). In the case of Dalit women being either members or heads of Panchayats, they were either just made aware of the majority decisions or they were not allowed to attend the meetings or were controlled through their husbands (who in a majority of cases worked as labourers in higher caste fields).

In some Panchayats, differential seating arrangements were made for the members from Dalit community. In Surla (Yawatmal), for instance, it was observed that Dalit community was made to sit on the floor with their faces facing downwards, while in Sakharkheda (Nagpur) it was discernible that the higher caste Panchayat members sat at a distance from Dalit members and
also Dalit community people were made to sit on the floor near the doorstep of the *Panchayat* building (See Table 1 L in Annexure I for further details).

In terms of access to educational institutions like schools, the survey uncovered that discrimination was being practiced in about 10-12 per cent of the villages and was practiced in 03 villages of the Western region and 01 village each in the Marathwada and the Vidarbha regions respectively.

The extent of discrimination prevalent was visible for both Dalit students and teachers. Differential seating arrangements, as in Sulibhanjan (Aurangabad) and little attention was paid to the former, while the latter were not allowed to progress professionally.

In Sindkhed (Yawatmal), the survey found that even the children, through the process of socialization had imbibed certain cultural specifics that were practiced by their peers. Therein, the girl children did not interact with Dalits and also they did not visit Dalit colonies.

The survey also found the operation of caste-discrimination in the distribution of food meant for school children. In Sakharkheda (Nagpur), the Anganwad worker (belonging to the higher ‘Raghuvanshi’ caste) distributed food (both qualitatively and quantitatively) differentially to the higher caste and Dalit children. While the higher caste children were given a rich diet consisting of milik, eggs and rice, Dalit children sometimes found worms in their diet (for further details See Table 1 M in Annexure I).

**Public Sphere - Services under the Market**

The survey found that there were separate shops for Dalits and the higher castes and that Dalits had to observe humiliating rules of public subservience. Such forms of discrimination were seen to be practiced in 03 villages of the Western region, 02 villages and 01 village in the Marathwada and the Vidarbha region in that order. Contrary to the forms of behaviour mentioned above, money seemed to transgress the notions of untouchability and purity and pollution and in most of the villages surveyed it was not thought to be a ‘mode’ of pollution or inferiority.

In well over most of the villages surveyed, Dalits practiced the occupations ascribed to them by the caste system (the local term for practicing hereditary caste-based occupations is ‘balutedar?’ system). But simultaneously, the survey enunciated the practice of ‘Sanskritizatiori among Dalits and the subsequent
change in inter-caste dynamics among the ‘once’ Dalits. This was particularly true of the barber (Nhavi) and the potter (Kumbhar), who were put in the list of general Backward Castes. It was seen that these two castes were discriminating towards Dalits.

There were also instances reported of Dalits not being able to sell their milk produce, being denied entry into cinema halls, hotels and restaurants and being differentiated in hiring for agricultural (20 per cent of the villages) and construction (19 per cent of the villages) jobs etc.

In Common Sphere

The common sphere includes those facilities that are for the common usage for the people in the village, for instance, the access and usage of civil amenities and entry into temples for worship etc.

The analysis of the common spheres provides us with an insight into the forms of untouchability that have percolated with regards to even the basic public services. By far the most prevalent practice of this sort relates to the denial of access to water sources (it was seen to be prevalent in 33 per cent of the villages). While this denial is almost complete in the villages, wherein, it is practiced, in some it exists in different forms, which include having to wait and vacation of the well and not touching the vessels of the higher castes etc. The practice was seen to be more prevalent in the Western region, especially Solapur.

Temple entry was denied to Dalits in about 50 per cent of the villages. Though the higher castes denied having restricted entry of the Dalits, Dalits, on the contrary, either did not enter the temples as a form of protest against Hinduism or on voluntary basis as most of them were converts to neo-Buddhism.

Other forms of discrimination include separation of cremation grounds for Dalits and the higher castes (the practice was found to be prevalent in 33 per cent of the villages), restricting access to grazing lands, fishing (found to be prevalent only in Solapur) and irrigational facilities.

Even Self-Help Groups (SHGs) were not devoid of the practice of untouchability (it was found to be prevalent in 11 per cent of the villages). The forms of untouchability practiced in SHGs included maintaining physical distance from Dalit members, refusal of membership and passing casteist remarks etc.
Even the concepts of communal harmony, secularism and integration become irrelevant if one considers the presence of separate community centers for Dalits and the higher castes. Such Centers were found to exist separately in almost all the villages surveyed.

**In Private Sphere**

The private sphere pertains to the access to non-Dalit houses, use of new clothes, and interactions among Dalits and non-Dalits during social functions etc.

In 51 per cent of the villages, Dalits were denied entry into the higher caste homes, being allowed entry only till the threshold or up till the courtyard.

With regards to social ceremonies and taking blessing from higher caste elders for the purposes of marriage, it was found that the newly wed couple had to walk barefoot at 12 noon to get the blessings of the higher castes. Such forms of discrimination was practiced so that the shadow of Dalits falls only on themselves (found to be prevalent in Sindkhed and Khamgaon).

The analysis also indicates that in 12 villages, Dalits and the higher castes did not inter-dine with each other during festivals, weddings and funerals. Though this practice percolated all the villages surveyed, it was seen to be more profound in Marathwada region (33 per cent of the villages). In the case of the higher castes attending functions of Dalits, they only ate food if it was cooked by a non-Dalit. Dalits, on the other hand, were served food separately and in separate containers or had to carry their own utensils and in some instances were not invited and sent the leftovers. In Tiwatgyal (Latur), the higher castes did not accept the food cooked at Dalit households and Dalits were required to send grains (*korda shida*) to the higher caste households some days before the function.

Further, Dalits were even found to be discriminated against and ridiculed if their disposition appeared clean and if they wore clean or new clothes. They were also insulted if they wore goggles or chewed tobacco in the presence of the higher castes. This was found to be prevalent in Solapur, Parbhani and Yawatmal.

The survey also revealed a high degree of gender bias against Dalit women who felt that they were excluded from both ‘within’ and ‘outside’ being a
gendered community. They felt disgraced, humiliated, ‘objects’ and ill treated by both Dalit and the higher caste men. They were also subjected to differential wages and verbal abuse by their employers (who were generally higher caste men). The practice was found to be rampant in Solapur. The survey also found that even the higher caste women held a contemptuous attitude towards Dalit women.

6. Atrocities on Dalits - Nature and Causes

6.1 The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989

The perpetual threat of violence and atrocities against the untouchables and the deep-entrenchment of caste discrimination prompted the government to promulgate the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act on August 1989, which came into force on 30th January 1990. An additional reason for legislating such an Act was related to the fact that the Anti-Untouchability Act of 1955 (renamed as Civil Rights in 1979) and the Indian Penal Code, in spite of their deterrent penal and punitive provisions, proved inadequate in curbing atrocities, especially offences committed on caste grounds. Therefore, the government felt the need to have additional legal protection, particularly, with regards to the untouchables. The objectives of the Act clearly emphasize the intention of the government to deliver social justice and to enable the SCs to live with dignity and without the fear of violence and atrocities. For the same purpose the Act incorporates strong compensatory and punitive measures.

The term atrocity was defined for the first time in this Act and included about twenty-two acts or behaviors of the Non SC/ST persons as punitive offences under the Act. The Act stipulates that atrocity will be deemed to have occurred in the following conditions -

- Whoever, not being a member of the SC/ST forces a member of the SC/ST to drink or eat any inedible or obnoxious substance;
- Acts with intent to cause injury, insult or annoyance by dumping excreta, waste matter, carcasses or any other obnoxious substance in the premises or neighbourhood of the SC/ST;
- Forcibly removes clothes from the SC/ST person or parades him naked or with painted face or body or commits any similar act which is derogatory to human dignity;
■ Wrongfully occupies or cultivates any land owned by, or allotted to, or notified by any competent authority to be allotted to, a member of SC/ST or gets the land allotted to him transferred;

■ Wrongfully dispossesses a member of SC/ST from his land or premises or interferes with the enjoyment of his rights over any land premises or water;

■ Compels or entices a member of SC/ST to do ‘begar’ or other similar forms of forced or bonded labour other than any compulsory service for public purposes imposed by government;

■ Forces or intimidates a member not to vote or to vote to a particular candidate or to vote in a manner other than that provided by law; institutes false, malicious or vexatious suit or criminal or other legal proceedings against a member of SC/ST;

■ Gives any false or frivolous information to any public servant and thereby causes such public servant to use his lawful power to the injury of or annoyance of a member of a SC/ST;

■ Intentionally insults or intimidates with intent to humiliate a member in any place within public view;

■ Assaults or uses force to any women belonging to SC/ST with intent to dishonor or outrage her modesty;

■ Being in a position to dominate the will of a woman and uses that position to exploit her sexually to which she would not have otherwise agreed;

■ Corrupts or fouls the water of any spring, reservoir or any other source ordinarily used by members of the SC/ST so as to render it less fit for the purpose for which it is ordinarily used;

■ Denies a member of SC/ST any customary rights of passage to a place of public resort or obstructs such members so as to prevent him using or having access to a place of public resort to which other members of public or any section thereof have a right to use or access to; and

■ Forces or causes a member of SC/ST to leave his house, village or other place or residence, gives fabricates and false evidence, commits mischief by fire or any explosive substance, causing destruction of any building or property by a member of SC/ST.

This Act, along with the rules framed thereunder, laid down elaborate procedures for ensuring protection to the SCs and the STs by providing for special courts, special public prosecutors, prescribing deputy SP rank of police
officer for investigation and fixing period for investigation, etc. The rules also provide for setting up the SC/ST Protection Cell, appointment of nodal officers in the rank of Secretary to the government at the state level and a Special Officer at the district level, constitution of Vigilance and Monitoring Committees at the state and district level, besides payment of relief, daily, maintenance and traveling allowances etc. to the victims of the atrocities and their families.

6.2 Nature and Pattern of Atrocities

The perpetuation of atrocities against the Dalits is not a new phenomenon. The social behavior by the Dalits contrary to the customary rules and norms of the caste system, their assertion towards seeking basic human rights and equality invite the wrath of the higher castes. It is, more or less evident that the atrocities committed on the Dalits present a pattern, which is reflective of the continuing influence of the customary rules and norms of behavior of the caste system and the intertwining of the moral and the legal.

The extent, magnitude and nature of various crimes committed against the Dalits are mimetic of the incivility and violent character of the caste system. The regular reportage of cases of atrocities against the Dalits is indicative of the fact that discrimination and untouchability are still being practiced and the traditional mechanisms of its enforcement are still in vogue. The predicament of the untouchability community is such that even the provision of equal citizenship as guaranteed by the Constitution has become a farce in several spheres, if not in all.

6.3 Incidences of Crime, Violation of Civil Rights and Atrocities against the SCs at All India Level and in Maharashtra, 2000

A cursory look at the data presented below reveals that despite the presence of elaborate Constitutional legislations such as the POA Act and PCR Act etc., the incidences of civil rights violation and atrocities perpetrated against Dalits persist.

At an All India level, a total of 631 and 6,350 cases were registered under the PCR Act and the POA Act respectively. Also, a total of 5,177 cases of crime, civil rights violation and atrocities against the SCs were registered in 2000. Among the latter, 473 cases of murder, 3,139 of hurt, 992 cases of rape, 225 cases of kidnapping and abduction, 35 cases of dacoity, 82 cases of robbery and 251 cases of arson were registered. Further, a total of 10,040 other offences were also registered at an All India level in 2000.
Correspondingly, at the state level in Maharashtra a total of 98 and 128 cases were registered under the PCR Act and the POA Act respectively. Also, a total of 79 cases of crime, civil rights violation and atrocities against the SCs were registered in 2000. Among the latter, 02 cases of murder, 16 of hurt, 49 cases of rape, 04 cases of kidnapping and abduction, 01 case of dacoity, 02 cases of robbery and 05 cases of arson were registered. Further, a total of 184 other offences were also registered at an all India level in 2000.

It might be pertinent here to elucidate that the figures from official statistics indicate that the highest number of cases registered by Dalits in 2000 were under the POA Act and the PCR Act respectively.

Comparing the data for the STs in Maharashtra in 2000, it can be inferred that the incidence of crime, civil rights violations and atrocities against the SCs was higher than the STs. Notwithstanding, the multiple degree and historical exclusion, deprivation and marginality faced by the SCs, this fact could firstly, be obviously an attribution to the low presence of ST population in the state and secondly, the fact that the nature of discrimination between the two social groups differs fundamentally.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Rape</th>
<th>Kidnapping &amp; Abduction</th>
<th>Dacoity</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Arson</th>
<th>PCR Act</th>
<th>POA Act</th>
<th>Other Offences</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>992</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>35</td>
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Table 1 G, Incidences of Crime, Violation of Civil Rights and Atrocities against the SCs at all India level and in Maharashtra, 1999-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States/India</th>
<th>Incidence of Total Crime</th>
<th>Percentage of Crime to All India</th>
<th>Rate per Lakh</th>
<th>Rank</th>
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<td>605 489 625 573 2.0 0.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>25093 25455 33501 28016 100 2.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Note: All figures represent the number of cases registered under the PCR Act (1955) and SC/ST POA Act (1989).

At an All India level, during the period 1999-2001, 25,093, 25,455, and 33,501 cases respectively were registered under the PCR Act (1955). On an average, 28,016 cases were registered annually and approximately 03 SC persons per lakh were subjected to atrocities and crimes under the PCR Act during the period 1999-2001.

Similarly, at the state level in Maharashtra, during the period 1999-2001, 605, 489, and 625 cases respectively were registered under the PCR Act (1955). On an average, 573 cases were registered annually.

6.4 Evidence from Micro-level Studies

The analysis from the official statistics in the preceding section, however, captures the tip of the iceberg; the incidences of the actual practice of atrocities, which are not reported and remain unnoticed, are much larger in magnitude. The studies based on primary surveys indeed capture the qualitative nature and pattern of the caste discrimination and atrocities. The Action Aid (India) study conducted in about 550 villages in eleven states, indeed, becomes useful and the Maharashtra section of the same provides us with detailed instances of atrocities and civil rights violations.

For the purposes of analytical presentation, the working paper delineates the typology of atrocities by categorizing them as civil, social, cultural, political, economic and gender related etc and then attempts to understand the nature of atrocities committed under each category by unearthing the causative features. We also explain the pattern by providing some illustrative cases. It is imperative to mention that often, the categorizations overlap, and there is a thin-line between the cultural and the civil spheres, for instance. It was felt that such methodological inquiries into the nature of atrocities would enable the study to come up with certain broad features and causes of isolated cases.

The analysis of data from Maharashtra is indicative of large-scale human right violations, crimes and atrocities being perpetuated against Dalits in rural areas. Such violations, crimes and atrocities range from verbal to physical abuse, psychological abuse and humiliation, sexual abuse, murder, residential segregation, denial of access and discriminatory treatment in basic public services and discriminatory restrictions on public behaviour etc. The range and scope of violence is, indeed, widespread and indicative of the oppressive and absolutist character of the caste system.
6.5 Atrocities Pertaining to Civil Rights

Civil rights are defined as those legal rights as retained by citizens and protected by the Government. Instances include the right to vote and right to public places etc. Civil rights also include within their ambit equal protection for the minorities, as well as, outlawing discrimination and its vestiges. Civil rights effectively uphold the values of positive liberty. Civil rights generally have a legal basis. In India, civil rights are usually thought of in terms of the specific rights as guaranteed by the Constitution.

The efforts of Dalits to assert enabling provisions of the civil rights guaranteed to them are often, met with backlash from the higher castes. The incidences of atrocities, which can be categorized under civil right violations, are very fundamental in nature. In fact, the Constitution of India guarantees these rights to all its citizens irrespective of caste, creed and sex, but the nature of iniquitous social relations in India prevents Dalits to partake in the democratic processes and to brake-away from the dependency creating caste-system and its residues.

In synchrony with their efforts to emancipate themselves from the caste oppression, Dalits exercise basic civil rights such as celebrating a cultural occasion, shopping at a common market, requesting a cup of tea, protesting violence against a fellow SC, petitioning against the oppressive caste-system and atrocities, sitting on the same platform or seating level as that of the higher castes, subsisting and cohabiting on land owned by the landowners, asserting Dalit rights and participating in empowering movements, eating fruits from common resource lands, providing protection to a harassed Dalit woman, leading protest marches against social evils, leading protests against lack of reparation and reproach measures, leading protests against unlawful and illegal detention of the Dalit persons by the state machinery like the police, and petitioning to save Dalit land etc (See Template 1 A).
Case I, Surla, Yawatmal

In 1999, Dalits who stood for elections were beaten up by the higher castes. Dalit community was enraged at this aggression and was gearing up to take the matter to higher proportions had it not been the alacrity of the village elders from both the communities.

Case II, Lon Khurd, Parbhani

In 1994, Deepak, a Dalit youth was drawing water from the village hand-pump. Another higher caste youth, Balaji Laxman Suke also arrived simultaneously and asked Deepak to remove his pots so that he could fill up water first. Deepak refused and he along with his uncle Ambadas Athavle were severely verbally and physically abused by the higher castes. Thereupon, Dalits reported the matter to the police authorities, who at first did not register a case and then threatened Dalits involved not to complain again. The matter was also taken to the court, but to no avail. There was resentment in Dalit community and they felt that a lot of money had exchanged hands to suppress the matter.

Regrettably, all these attempts by Dalits to assert their civil rights are met with hostile resistance and violent atrocities in the nature of verbal and physical abuse (Dalits hands being chopped off, torture by police authorities, stabbing, murder of social activist and removal of eyes) etc.; restrictions on the usage of common property resources (denial of access to public roads etc.); psychosomatic abuse (suicide and tension etc.); abuse pertaining to denial of basic human rights and rights to equality before law (false implication, unlawful detention in jails, arrest, beating, torture, murder, assault, lathi charge and denial of access to justice by the police authorities etc.); and wrongful protection (upper caste perpetrators of untouchability and caste-related crimes being shielded by the police and administrative authorities) etc.

The analysis elucidates the fact that consistent attempts by Dalits to assert their civil rights and to seek equality of status were resisted by the higher castes and more often than not, such attempts were met with suspicion and even atrocities. It was felt that the attempts to gain mobility by Dalits within the hierarchical and iniquitous caste system, and also to break away from its restrictive and discriminatory customs and taboos, were met with immense backlash. The analysis also brought to the fore that punitive sanctions were enforced on Dalit communities for exercising individual assertions and transgression of civil rights.
Unfortunately, the analysis also highlighted a glaring weakness of the state in not being able to enforce the POA Act and failing to influence attitudes, be it political, social, economic or cultural etc. It was felt that the state squarely ended up maintaining status quo. It was also felt that the role of the state in this regards was far from supportive. In fact, its instruments (read the administrative and the police machinery) were responsible for reinforcing caste biases and further relegating Dalits to the periphery by denying them justice and the right to exercise their fundamental rights. Therefore, the plight of Dalits seems to be two-folds. One, it faces tormentors such as the higher castes and two, it faces hostile administrative and police machineries.

6.6 Atrocities Pertaining to Social Rights

Social rights include the freedom to do anything without hurting other members of the society, for instance, freedom of movement and education are important for overall development of the human personality.

It is, but, evident considering that all the citizens of India are guaranteed equal rights; Dalits being no exception to the general and universalistic assertion of the state’s welfare orientations, they too, exercise their social rights. For the same, they sometimes demand equality of treatment (asking to be served in cups of water or tea meant for the higher castes etc.); right to development and access to basic resources (denial of access to public water, laying down a pipeline from a bore well, agitating the drainage or diversion of water by the higher castes specifically meant for Dalits, taking a bath and washing clothes at a public hand pump, constructing a house and trying to have access to land etc.); access to entertainment and information (agitating for keeping the Government allocated television sets to Dalits in Dalit community halls or places of Dalit residence and asking the higher caste Panchayat members for explanations regarding perpetration of violence against the Dalits etc); assertion of caste-identity (mobilizing Dalits for empowerment etc.); and forging inter-caste alliances (marriage and love between inter-castes) etc.

Such assertions of social rights are again met with oppressive and discriminatory resistance from the higher castes. The nature and forms of resistance includes social ostracism and boycott; curtailment of right to freedom of movement; relative isolation and alienation of Dalits; veiled and direct threats of caste violence; ransacking, demolition and arson of Dalit habitats; denial of access to basic rights such as food, water, land and housing; communal banishment; and social disintegration, torture and naked parading
of Dalits (including women); unleashing of an atmosphere full of caste and communal tensions; and non-recognition of democratic Dalit bodies like Dalit Women’s Panchayat etc (See Template 1 B).

Similarly, assertions of social rights by the SCs to partake in the societal processes are met with violent underpinnings. They are condemned and face social ostracism and live in a vitiated atmosphere devoid of communal harmony and safety.

6.7 Atrocities Pertaining to Economic Rights

Economic rights include the financial choices and privileges that individuals may select without government prohibitions. Economic rights would include - right to own property; change employment; operate a business; and join a labor union to name a few.

Economic rights can, thus, be defined as rights of access to resources - such as land, labour, physical, and financial capital - that are essential for the creation, legal appropriation and market exchange of goods and services. Economic rights are self-evident.

Template 1 B

Case I, Khanapur village adjoining Tambewadi

This incident is pertaining to Suvarna, a Dalit girl. She was bright, beautiful and very good in studies. She was also known to have passed her matriculation with good marks. After her matriculation she went to Osmanabad for higher education and it was here that she fell in love with a higher caste boy named Nana. Both, Nana and Suvarna got involved with each other to the extent that they eloped and got married in a temple. This inter-caste marriage was not acceptable to Nana’s family and they disowned him. Both of them used to live outside the village with constant threats from the dominant Maratha community. One day, some Marathas youths entered their house tied Nana up and in front of his eyes raped his wife, Suvarna. As a corollary to the incidence Dalit community also got enraged, but they instead of directing their furies towards the Maraths, physically abused Nana.

This further frustrated both Suvarna and Nana and they finally committed suicide and ended their lives. The matter was hushed up and so much so no one from the either community claimed the bodies.
Case I, Sakharkheda, Naqpur

Siddarth Jogekar, a Dalit was a distinguished person in his village being a member of the Panchayat. He had started a prosperous business of transporting oranges along with three other higher caste members who belonged to the Raghuvanshi community. Once his company was requisitioned to transport oranges to Andhra Pradesh for which the other three members sent Siddarth with the truck. The villagers reported that the truck was stopped on the way and Siddarth was killed. Some days later one of his friends decided to investigate his death and he too was killed. Siddarth’s wife too died of shock and his children became homeless.

Siddarth’s business was consequently taken over by the other three members.

Economic rights are intrinsically tied to the issue of land and its ownership. It is an issue of concern that the land reforms agenda of the government has still not been implemented in its entirety and that wherever Dalits were/are allocated land from the state land, they have not been able to gain access to it and were/are forcibly evicted from it. Therefore, their economic status with regards to land is limited to marginal ownership, lease and working on land in the capacity of low-paid and highly overworked labourers. It is commonly felt by the higher caste Hindus that Dalits do not have rights over land and that their rights are limited to serving the land owning higher castes by tilling their land. Therefore, efforts of Dalits to gain access to land and subsequent atrocities by the higher castes are justified on the basis of the caste customs and norms of conduct. Dalit workforce is further subjugated and economically deprived due to the non-payment and low wages.

Even the efforts made by Dalit artisans, skilled labourers and businesses to enhance their economic positions by attempting to sell their expertise and products are resisted and thwarted. The efforts of Dalits are also resisted by the non-compliance of official policies and institutions, for instance, Dalits are denied access to basic services like drinking water, roads, grazing lands, rivers, boycott of Dalit products (vegetables and poultry etc) in consonance with the concepts of purity and pollution. Dalit workforce is also forced to pursue traditional, degrading and polluting occupations (it was evident in Sindkhed (Yawatmal), Upale Dumala (Solapur), Borgaon, Tambewadi and Dahegaon). So much so, that even the purchasing power of Dalits is curbed with limited or no access to fair price shops etc.
For instance, if Dalits assert the following economic rights, that is, demand for minimum wages; petition against forcible encroachments on Dalit land; attempt to access land, water, grazing land and common property land etc.; are unable to pay their debts or loans; try to possess animals; mobilize for atrocities against bonded labourers; demand advance payments; and attempt access to employment through reservation policy etc. they face attitudinal and iniquitous social responses.

The nature of such relations are social boycotts and ostracism with Dalits often, being relegated to the status of a pariah, denial of access to land, forcible encroachments on land, denial of access to common lands and grazing lands, social expulsion, denial of access to water and housing, denial of access to common property resources such as roads, drinking water, rivers and tube-wells etc., denial of minimum wages, assault, beating, murder, rape, naked parading, threat, arson, deprivation and auction of Dalit lands etc. Such forms of atrocities often, lead to Dalits self-immolating themselves or committing suicides.

### 6.8 Atrocities Pertaining to Political Rights

Political rights can be defined as legal claims by citizens to participate in the democratic governance and be treated fairly. Political rights would include the right to vote, petition, assemble, and seek public office etc.

Whenever Dalits assert their political rights or try to alleviate their position politically, they face stiff resistance. It is, but imperative that assertion of political identity translates itself into wielding of power. Who yields it and who controls it, therefore, becomes important.

When Dalits assert their political rights such as participation in universal adult suffrage, mobilization for political mileage, representation and election of a Dalit community member in state and democratic institutions and mobilizing as a pressure group etc., they face resistance from the higher castes.

Specifically, the nature of atrocities involves denial of right to vote and elect; removal and non-inclusion of the names of Dalit community members from the voting rolls; discrimination by Panchayats (not allowing nominations to be filed for elections to seats reserved in Panchayats for Dalits); attack and murder of emerging Dalit leaders; political discrimination; intimidation and beating of Dalit community members; arson; rape; murder; and naked parading of Dalit women to name a few.
Due to the sensitive nature of political participation and enhancement of social status thereupon, acts of commission and omission are regularly perpetuated upon the members of Dalit community.

There is a plethora of evidence in this regard. In spite of seats being reserved for Dalits in the various local self-governments, legislatives bodies of the state and even the Parliament; Dalit representation is but, marginal. This limits the percolation of the democratic processes in the society.

6.9 Atrocities Pertaining to Cultural Rights

Cultural rights are defined as the right to enjoy and develop cultural life and identity. Cultural rights, however, are not unlimited. The right to culture is limited at the point at which it infringes on the right of another human. No right can be used at the expense or destruction of another, in accordance with the law.

Whenever Dalits assert their cultural rights such as playing their traditional musical instruments; marrying outside their castes; falling in love with high castes or vice versa; make efforts towards better livelihood opportunities; celebrate festivals; use animals like horses for functions such as marriages; and exercise livelihood opportunities by skinning dead animals etc. they face intense opposition from higher castes.

The nature of atrocities, thus, perpetuated includes social boycotts, exclusion, segregation, alienation and non-cooperation, gang rape of Dalit brides, demolition of Dalit houses and arson, physical (to the tune of beating, torture, cutting of fingers, hacking and even murder by cutting into pieces) and verbal assault and humiliation, naked parading, denial of participation in festivals and denial of entry into places of worship etc.

Sometimes, even the skin colour of Dalits or their clean disposition seems to incur ridicule and wrath of the upper castes and there have been instances of upper castes making casteist comments in that regard.

6. 10 Atrocities Pertaining to Gender

Gender rights can be defined as the right to assume a gender role; the right to freely express gender roles; the right to make ones body congruent with gender roles; and the right to sexual expression congruent with gender role etc.
Dalit women walking alone on the village roads are often subjected to extreme physical and personal violations like outrage of modesty (read rape). In some cases, they are paraded naked in front of the entire village and thereby, subjected to years of fear psychosis and trauma. They are also forced into prostitution and are monopolized. They are also subjected to torture and merciless beating in case of non-compliance.

Further, the economic deprivation faced by Dalit households and the subsequent forced migration of Dalit males to look for livelihood opportunities increases drudgery on Dalit females.

Dalit women are also doubly discriminated, one from outside, because they belong to Dalit community and two, from within the community, on account of them being women.

The above mentioned instances were observed in Isasani (Nagpur), Tiwatgyal (Latur) and Lon Khurd (Parbhani) etc.

7. Concluding Observations

It is evident from the analysis that, though, elaborate protective arrangements have been provided for eliminating iniquitous customs, practices, and institutional arrangements, including provisions in law; they do seem to act as deterrence, but in a limited way. Official machinery and its laws are less regarded by the civil society in certain spheres of civil life. Punitive measures, though many, also do not seem to discourage the upper castes to refrain from caste related atrocities. Violence (overt and covert), inflicted on Dalits is rooted in the social structure and societal relations, which condemns them to a life of indignity and subordination.

The violent opposition by the higher castes to the efforts by Dalits to seek common rights, act as major deterrent on their right to development and to seek equal treatment and share in the progress in the country. Therefore, considering the magnitude and pattern of atrocities and opposition inflicted upon the marginalized communities, it is important for the state to sincerely and effectively implement the various laws enacted for the purpose; consistently make efforts for capacity building within the government and its watchdog bodies; strictly enforce legal guidelines; effectively converge regulatory and developmental programmes; use information as a tool for influencing civil society; draw up a uniform code of conduct for the state
governments; and enhance the share of government resources in schemes for the marginalized; and encourage non-official monitoring bodies etc.

Finally, it is important to draw a multi-prolonged strategy in this regard, which deals with the problems pertaining to discrimination and violence against Dalits. There is a need to create an overall framework of rights, which confers equality of status to Dalits and enables them to remove all disabilities, which the customary relationship of the caste system places on them.
Select Bibliography


### Annexure I

#### Table 1 H, Forms of Discrimination

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<tr>
<th>Untouchability practiced with regards to</th>
<th>No. of Villages where the facility is available</th>
<th>Practiced</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<th>Percentage</th>
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Source: Forms of Discrimination, Chapter Four, Action Aid (India) Study - 2000.

#### Table 1 I, Forms of Discrimination

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<th>No. of Villages where the facility is available</th>
<th>Practiced</th>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>86</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment by Govt. Health Personnel</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit of Health Workers to the Dalit colonies</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>05</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Forms of Discrimination, Chapter Four, Action Aid (India) Study - 2000.

#### Table 1 J, Forms of Discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Untouchability practiced with regards to</th>
<th>No. of Villages where the facility is available</th>
<th>Practiced</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Not practiced</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Difficult to ascertain</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entry into Polling Booths</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate queues</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate timings for voting</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Entry at the Police Station</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Separate sitting arrangements</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public transport access</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seating/ Sequence of access</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>02</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Forms of Discrimination, Chapter Four, Action Aid (India) Study - 2000.
Table 1 K, Forms of Discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Untouchability practiced with regards to</th>
<th>No. of villages where the facility is available</th>
<th>Practiced</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Not practiced</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Difficult to ascertain</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>NA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use of Roads-Free passage</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use of Umbrellas</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Footwear</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use of Roads for funeral processions</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use of Roads for marriage processions</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>For other processions</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>00</td>
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Source: Source: Forms of Discrimination, Chapter Four, Action Aid (India) Study - 2000.

Table 1 L, Forms of Discrimination

<table>
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<th>Untouchability practiced with regards to</th>
<th>No. of villages where the facility is available</th>
<th>Practiced</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Not practiced</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Difficult to ascertain</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>NA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entry into Panchayat building</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>Sitting arrangement</td>
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<td>05</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>90</td>
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Source: Forms of Discrimination, Chapter Four, Action Aid (India) Study - 2000.

Table 1 M, Forms of Discrimination

<table>
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<th>Untouchability practiced with regards to</th>
<th>No. of villages where the facility is available</th>
<th>Practiced</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Not practiced</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Difficult to ascertain</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Seating arrangements in Schools</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eating together in Schools</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Water facility</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC/Non SC Teacher interaction</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>84</td>
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<td>02</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC Teacher/ Non SC Student</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>86</td>
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<td>00</td>
<td>02</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC Student/ Non SC Teacher</td>
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<td>07</td>
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<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC/ Non SC Students</td>
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<td>08</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Forms of Discrimination, Chapter Four, Action Aid (India) Study - 2000.

Table 1 N, Number of cases Registered under The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Scheduled Castes</th>
<th>Scheduled Tribes</th>
<th>Total Cases Registered</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PCR Act</td>
<td>POA Act</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>8070</td>
<td>9286</td>
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<td>1998</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>7443</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>7301</td>
<td>7979</td>
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</table>

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