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Caste and Social Exclusion: Issues Related to Concept, Indicators and Measurement

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Nidhi Sadana Sabharwal**

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Foreword

Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (IIDS) has been amongst the first research organisations in India to focus exclusively on development concerns of the marginalised groups and socially excluded communities. Over the last seven years, IIDS has undertaken several studies on different aspects of social exclusion and discrimination of the historically marginalised social groups, such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Religious Minorities in India and other parts of the Sub-Continent. The Working Paper Series of the Institute disseminates empirical findings of the ongoing research and conceptual development on issues pertaining to the forms and nature of social exclusion and discrimination. Some of our papers also critically examine inclusive policies for the marginalised social groups.

This working paper “Caste and Social Exclusion: Issues Related to Concept, Indicators and Measurement” draws the linkages between social exclusion (unfavorable exclusion or unfavorable inclusion - inclusion/access with differential treatment), and high deprivation and poverty among social groups. The paper argues that unfair exclusion or unfair inclusion with differential treatment results in low access and participation of marginalised and socially excluded population groups, which ultimately causes high poverty and low human development among the excluded groups. The major insight this paper brings to fore is the fact that there are extremely limited number of empirical studies which actually capture this linkage between social exclusion and poverty and deprivation. However, it aims to address some of the neglected issues and discuss theoretically the concept of social exclusion, based on caste and ethnicity, identifying indicators for social exclusion and discrimination, methods for measurement, with the empirical evidences based on primary researches at IIDS. Finally, the paper draws lessons for the case studies being undertaken as IIDS-UNICEF collaborative research.

This working series paper is a part of knowledge partnership between IIDS and UNICEF to unravel further policy concerns from the perspective of socially excluded communities. We hope our working paper will be useful to academicians, policy planners, students, activists, civil society organisations and NGOs working on the issues of inclusive development.

Rajendra P. Mangan
Director, IIDS

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Caste and Social Exclusion Issues Related to Concept, Indicators and Measurement

Sukhadeo Thorat*

Nidhi Sadana**

I. Introduction

Social scientists and policy makers have now begun to recognise the linkages between social exclusion (unfavourable exclusion or unfavourable inclusion, or inclusion/access with differential treatment) and high deprivation and poverty of social groups which have suffered from social exclusion and discrimination of various types through the ages. It is also recognised that unfair exclusion or unfair inclusion with differential treatment results in low access to income earning assets, employment, as well as social needs like education, health services, food and housing. It also leads to unequal access to civil, religious and cultural rights, political rights and unequal participation in governance which ultimately result in high poverty and low human development among the excluded groups.

However, notwithstanding this recognition, there are extremely limited number of empirical studies which actually capture this linkage between social exclusion and poverty and deprivation (Sen 2000, Thorat 2006). The study of “social exclusion induced human poverty” of excluded groups

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(due to their identity associated with social origin like caste, ethnicity, religion, colour, indigenous region, nationality, gender and other), is something which has been neglected in the mainstream social science discourse. The lack of theoretical and empirical studies on the nature of social exclusion and its consequences on excluded groups, has not only constrained the efforts of new researchers to enter into this field but also the efforts of the government and other bodies to develop evidence-based inclusive policies against exclusion. For a researcher, the main difficulty is lack of relevant theoretical concept of caste/ethnicity/religion based on social exclusion, indicators (or identifiers) of social exclusion, methods for measurement of social exclusion and methods to capture the consequences of social exclusion on the poverty, livelihood and human development of excluded groups. The lack of studies on these themes has limited the government capacity to develop appropriate policies against discrimination in private employment, business, social need sectors such as education, health, housing and other spheres.

In this paper, our purpose is to address some of these neglected issues. The focus of the paper, is therefore, to discuss:

- a) the concept of social exclusion — drawing mainly from the present theoretical social science literature,
- b) the concept of caste and ethnicity based social exclusion — using relevant literature on the caste system,
- c) the indicators or identifiers of social exclusion and discrimination in multiple spheres,
- d) the method for measurement of social exclusion and discrimination,
- e) some empirical evidence on the nature of social exclusion primarily based on research undertaken by Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, through four to five studies on labour and occupation discrimination, discrimination in public education institutions, public health delivery system, food security schemes such as mid-day meal and public food distribution agencies; and

Finally, our effort is to draw lessons for the case studies being undertaken under IIDS-UNICEF collaborative research.

II. Concept of Social Exclusion

In social science literature, there is general agreement on the core features of social exclusion (Buvinic 2005). Social exclusion is defined as social process which involves denial of fair and equal opportunities to certain social groups in multiple spheres in society, resulting in the inability of individuals from excluded groups to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of the society.

Three defining characteristics of social exclusion are particularly relevant. First, social exclusion involves denial of equal opportunity in multiple spheres. Second, social exclusion is embedded in the social inter-relations – the channel and processes through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live. Thirdly, the denial to equal opportunities or access results in lack of freedom and human poverty and general deprivation of excluded social groups (Sen 2000, Haan 1999). The consequences of social exclusion thus depend crucially on the functioning of social institutions and the degree to which they are exclusionary and discriminatory in their outcomes. Social exclusion has considerable impact on individual's access to equal opportunity if social interactions occur between groups in a power-subordinate relationship. The focus on groups emphasises the importance of social relations in the analysis of poverty and inequality (Buvinic 2005).

Amartya Sen draws attention to various meanings and dimensions of the concept of social exclusion (Sen 2000). Distinction is drawn between the situation where some people are being kept out (or at least left out), and where some people are being included (may even be forcibly included) – at greatly unfavourable terms; and describing these two situations as “unfavourable exclusion” and “unfavourable inclusion”. “Unfavourable inclusion”, with unequal treatment, may have the same adverse effects as “unfavourable exclusion”.

Sen also differentiates between “active and passive exclusion”. He defines “active exclusion” as the deliberate exclusion of people from opportunities through government policies or other means. “Passive exclusion” works through the social process in which there are no deliberate attempts to exclude, but nevertheless, may result in exclusion of people from a set of circumstances.

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

Mainstream economic literature throws more light on discrimination that works through markets and develops the concept of market discrimination with some analytical clarity (Baker 1956). In the market discrimination framework, exclusion may operate through restrictions on entry into the market, and/or through “selective inclusion”, but with unequal treatment in market and non-market transactions (this is closer to Sen’s concept of unfavourable inclusion).

Summary - Unfair Exclusion and Unfair Inclusion

These developments in social science literature enable us to understand the meanings and manifestations of the concept of social exclusion, and its possible application to caste and untouchability based exclusion in India. Social exclusion, as defined earlier, is a social process which involves denial of rights and opportunities, which the majority/privileged enjoy, resulting in the inability of individuals from excluded groups to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of the society, thereby causing high human poverty and deprivation among them. The concept of social exclusion is essentially a group concept. Sen brings more clarity on the general concept of social exclusion and draws distinctions between “unfair exclusion” and “unfair inclusion”. Sen’s concept of unfair exclusion also implies that not all exclusions are unfair.

At a theoretical level, it assumes that not all exclusion is social exclusion. Theoretically, it is reasonable to assume that only those acts of exclusion which exclude people from having an access and entitlement to certain social groups that are not based on the recognised and accepted principles, rules, norms, practices of fairness can be considered as “unfair exclusion”. Similarly not all inclusions are unfair – only those inclusions which provide access and entitlement to persons from certain social groups but on different

terms and conditions – different from that of the accepted principles, rules, norms and practices of fair inclusion (as well as different than used for other persons) maybe termed as unfair inclusion. Sen’s concept of unfair inclusion is similar to the concept of discrimination which is used in the social science literatures, particularly in the discipline of economics in the form of market discrimination.

Two other dimensions involving the notion of exclusion need to be recognised, that, it involves “societal institutions” of exclusion (which operate through inter-social relations) and their “outcome” in terms of deprivation. In order to understand the dimensions of exclusion, it is necessary to understand the societal inter-relations and institutions which cause exclusion of certain groups in multiple spheres – civic, cultural, political and economic. Thus, in dealing with the issue of social exclusion, insights into the societal processes (rules and customs governing social relations) are as important as the outcome in terms of deprivation for groups which face exclusion.

III. Difference between Individual Exclusion and Group Exclusion

The insights that we draw from theoretical literature, indicate that the evolution of the concept of social exclusion in social science literature essentially refers to the processes through which groups are wholly or partially excluded on the basis of group identities from full participation in society, economy and polity in which they subsist. It involves two crucial dimensions, namely, “societal relations” (causing exclusion) and their “outcomes” (causing deprivation). Therefore, for a better understanding of the nature of exclusion, insights into societal relations and institutions of exclusion are as important as delineating their outcomes in terms of deprivation for excluded groups. Importantly, this concept of social exclusion clearly draws distinction between group exclusion from that of exclusion of an individual (Thorat 2009).

In case of “group exclusion”, all persons belonging to a particular socio-cultural group are excluded based on their group identity and not necessarily due to their individual attributes. Exclusion of an “individual” is fundamentally different from that of exclusion of a “social group”. Individuals (both from excluded and non-excluded group) often get

excluded from access to economic and social opportunities for various reasons specific to them (and not merely because of their group social/cultural identity). For instance, individuals may be excluded from employment due to lack of required educational qualifications and skills. Individuals may face exclusion in access to education due to lack of minimum qualification and merit or their inability to pay for expensive education. Individuals may also get excluded from access to input and consumer markets due to lack of income and purchasing power. It is important to note that, conceptually speaking, exclusion of an individual has necessarily no connection with his/her social and cultural identity. On the other hand, in case of exclusion of a social group, variables associated with social and cultural identities such as social origin like caste, ethnicity, religion, gender, colour and race become important, and result in exclusion of all persons belonging to a specific social group. Thus, the group characteristics of exclusion are based on social and cultural identity, irrespective of individual attributes.

It is possible that individuals within a social group may be homogeneous with respect to his/her economic and educational status or they may vary with respect to these characteristics. Consequently, the ability of affluent individuals from excluded groups to overcome discrimination (or be immuned to discrimination) may be greater than the poorer individual from the same group. This also means that the individual within the excluded groups may vary in respect to his/her economic and educational status, although all may face discrimination because of common group identity. The inter-individual variation in the economic and educational standing of people within the excluded groups may bring variation in the nature and degree of discrimination faced by them as a group.

This characteristic of social exclusion has important relevance, particularly for the purposes of developing policies against social exclusion and discrimination. While in the case of “individual exclusion”, (from non-excluded groups), pro-poor policies will have to be focused on enhancement of individual capabilities and entitlement, in case of “group exclusion”, the focus of policy measures will have to be on the group as a whole, since the basis of exclusion is social/cultural group and not essentially individual. The confusion to draw clear distinctions between exclusion of an individual from that of group exclusion has created unnecessary debates in recent

discussions on the policies against discrimination for various groups in Indian society (Thorat, Aryama and Negi 2007, Thorat and Kumar 2007, Thorat and Newmen 2009)

IV. Caste and Exclusion: Application to Institution of Caste and Untouchability

1. Caste-based Social Exclusion

In India, exclusion revolves around the societal inter-relations and institutions that exclude, discriminate, isolate and deprive some groups on the basis of their group identity like caste, ethnicity and religion (Thorat and Louis 2003). Historically, the caste system has regulated social, economic and political life not only of the Hindu society alone but also of other religions through carrying forward and spilling over effect of the caste system. The nature of exclusion revolving around the caste system particularly needs to be understood and conceptualised, in so far as caste-based exclusion form the basis for various anti-discriminatory policies in India for other social groups like tribal, women and religious groups (Thorat and Joel 2004).

Theoretical formulations by social scientists recognised that in its essential form, caste as a system of social and economic governance or organization is governed by certain customary rules and norms, which are unique and distinct (Akerlof 1976, Scoville 1991, 1996; Lal 1988, Ambedkar 1936 and 1987). The organisational scheme of the caste system is based on the division of people into social groups (or castes) in which the civil, cultural and economic rights of each individual caste are pre-determined or ascribed by birth and made hereditary. The assignment of civil, cultural and economic rights is, however, unequal and hierarchical. The most important feature of the caste system, however, is that it provides for a regulatory mechanism to enforce social and economic organisation through the instruments of social ostracism (or social and economic penalties). The caste system is reinforced further with justification and support from philosophical elements in the Hindu religion (Lal 1988, Ambedkar 1936 and 1987).

The caste system's fundamental characteristics of fixed civil, cultural and economic rights for each caste with restrictions for change, implies "forced exclusion" of caste from equal rights, which other castes enjoy. Exclusion

and discrimination in civil, cultural and particularly in economic spheres, (such as occupation and labour employment), is therefore, internal to the system, and a necessary outcome of its governing principles. In the market economy framework, restrictions would operate through denial of access to various markets such as land, labour, credit and services necessary for any economic activity. Labour, being an integral part of the production process of any economic activity, would obviously become a part of market discrimination. Exclusion of some caste would also cover other spheres such as education, health, housing and similar social needs.

This theorisation implies that caste system involves negation of not only equality and freedom, but also of basic human rights, particularly of the low caste 'untouchables', impeding personal development. The principles of equality and freedom are not the governing principles of the caste system. Unlike many other societies that emphasise the importance of individual, the caste system does not recognise the individual and his/her distinctiveness as the centre of the social purpose. In fact, for the purpose of rights and duties, the unit of Hindu society is not the individual. (Even family is not regarded as a unit in Hindu society, except for the purposes of marriage and inheritance). The primary unit in Hindu society is caste; and hence, the rights and privileges (or the lack of them) of an individual are on account of him/her being a member of a particular caste (Ambedkar, first published in 1987).

Also due to differential ranking and hierarchical nature of caste system, the entitlements to various rights become narrower as one goes down the hierarchical ladder. Various castes get artfully inter-linked and coupled with each other (in their rights and duties) in a manner such that the rights and privileges of the higher castes become causative reasons for the disadvantage and disability for lower castes, particularly the 'untouchables'. Castes at the top of the social order enjoy more rights – at the expense of those located at the bottom of the caste hierarchy and have fewer economic and social rights.

2. Untouchability-based Social Exclusion

In the traditional scheme of caste system, the untouchables who are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy suffered the most from unequal assignment and entitlement of rights. They are denied the right to property, occupation

(except the so-called 'polluting' occupations and manual labour), education, civil and cultural rights. However, it is necessary to recognise the other roots through which the untouchables faced the denial of rights and entitlement. One of the unique features of the caste system, namely hierarchical or graded entitlement of rights implies that every caste, except the one at the top of caste hierarchy - the Brahmin, suffered from exclusion in terms of denial of some rights although the type of rights denied vary depending on the social location of caste in the caste hierarchy (Ambedkar 1987, Thorat and Mahamallik 2006). Thus, like other lower castes, the untouchables also suffered from social exclusion and discrimination involving the denial of certain rights, which include civil, cultural, religious and economic rights. Besides this, the untouchables also suffered from the notion of "untouchability", which is unique to the untouchable caste only (from which other castes do not suffer). Due to this unique stigma of untouchability, the untouchables are considered to be impure and polluting and hence considered unfit for social association and inter-relation with the castes above them. Since they are considered polluting and impure - untouchable and unapproachable, they have suffered from physical and social segregation and isolation for centuries.

Physical and social isolation is the unique feature of caste system from which only the untouchables have suffered. The isolation and segregation lead to restriction on physical and social mobility resulting in the denial of equal access in various spheres of society, culture and economy. The social isolation and exclusion resulting from the notion of untouchability involved denial of freedom and equal opportunities and rights due to polluting character of the untouchable people. In this sense, the untouchables have suffered from double denial, namely the denial of equal rights – civil, social, cultural, religious and economic that are clearly specified in the customary laws of caste system, as well as the denial of rights due to their untouchable status involving "forced non-association", leading to lack of participation in various spheres of society, culture and economy. The lack of participation in the communal life of society resulting from the notion of untouchability is far more comprehensive and widespread in so far as it involves restrictions on physical and social mobility that take various forms and dimensions.

V. Forms of Caste and Untouchability-based Social Exclusion

The practice of caste and untouchability-based exclusion and discrimination thus necessarily involves the failure of access and entitlements, not only to economic rights, but also to civil, cultural, religious and political rights. It involves what has been described as “living mode exclusion” (UNDP 2004). Caste and untouchability-based exclusion thus reflects the inability of individuals and groups like former ‘untouchables’ and similar groups to interact freely and productively with others and to take part in the full economic, social and political life of a community (Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997). Incomplete citizenship or denial of civil rights (freedom of expression, rule of law, right to justice), political rights (right and means to participate in the exercise of political power), and socio-economic rights (economic security and equality of opportunities) are key to impoverished lives (Zoninsein 2001).

In the light of the above discussion, caste and untouchability-based exclusion and discrimination can be categorised into the economic, civil, cultural, religious and political spheres as follows:

- (1) Exclusion and the denial of equal opportunity in the economic sphere would necessarily operate through market and non-market transactions and exchange.

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

Secondly, discrimination can occur through what Amartya Sen would describe as “unfavourable inclusion”, namely through differential treatment in terms and conditions of contract, or reflected in discrimination in the prices charged to and received by groups which are discriminated against. This can be inclusive of the price of factor inputs, and in the case of consumer goods, price of factors of production such as wages for labour, price of land or rent on land, interest on capital, rent on residential houses,

charges or fees on services such as water and electricity. Such groups can get lower prices for the goods that they sell, and could pay higher prices for the goods that they buy, as compared with the market price or the price paid by other groups.

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

Fourthly, a group (particularly the 'untouchables') may face exclusion and discrimination from participation in certain categories of jobs (the sweeper being excluded from jobs inside the house), because of the notions of purity and pollution of occupations, and engagement in so-called unclean occupations.

- (2) In the civil, cultural and religious spheres, the 'untouchables' may face discrimination and exclusion in the use of public services like roads, water bodies, temples and institutions delivering educational and health services.

Due to the physical (or residential) segregation and social exclusion on account of untouchability, they can suffer from a general societal exclusion. Since there is a societal mechanism to regulate and enforce the customary norms and rules of the caste system, the 'untouchables' usually face opposition in the form of social and economic boycott and violence, which acts as a deterrent to their right to development.

- (3) In the political sphere, the 'untouchables' can face discrimination in limited or no access to political rights, and participation in the institutions of governance and the decision-making process.

This overview of the development of the concept of "exclusion" in general, and that of caste-untouchability based exclusion in particular, highlights various dimensions of the concept in terms of its nature, forms, and consequences. Caste and untouchability-based exclusion are essentially "structural in nature" and therefore are comprehensive and multiple in coverage, involving denial of equal opportunities, particularly to excluded groups like the former 'untouchables'.

VI. Identifying Behaviour (or identifiers) involving Social Exclusion

After throwing some light on the nature of social exclusion involved in the institution of caste and untouchability, we shall address the issue of how one could identify certain social behaviour of people which involve social exclusion. To be able to do that, it is necessary to draw distinction between unfavourable exclusion and unfavourable inclusion from that of other forms of exclusion.

We need to first define the concept of unfavourable exclusion. It is necessary to recognise that people can have an equal access to civil, economic and political rights on given terms and conditions. And when an individual from certain social groups (such as untouchables, *adiwasi* and religious minorities) are denied equal access and rights (which others enjoy), because of their social identity (and not individual attributes), it involves unfavourable exclusion. Individuals may be excluded from access because they lack necessary attributes or do not meet the terms and conditions to seek rights and entitlements. These forms of exclusion do not come under the ambit of group based unfair exclusion. Similarly, social exclusion also includes those (unfair inclusion), which are based on terms and conditions that differ from the groups and hence are discriminatory in nature. Unfair inclusions exclude those forms of inclusion which are based on normal terms and conditions (that is also applicable to others).

Thus, social exclusion can be defined so as to include unfair exclusion and unfair inclusion:

- (a) Unfair exclusion will involve complete denial to members of certain social groups from having access to various rights and entitlements by unfair means,
- (b) Unfair inclusion will involve access (or inclusion) to the rights and entitlements but with unequal terms and conditions or differential treatment in accessing the rights and entitlements

Next issue is to specify the indicators or identifiers of social exclusion. What forms of actions constitute social exclusion? Identification and specification of general indicators of social exclusion will enable to quantitative and qualitative estimation of social exclusion. In the following section, we shall discuss these issues.

In the preceding discussion we have identified four areas associated with caste and untouchability based exclusion and discrimination. These include economic, civil, social, and political.

1. Economic Discrimination – Market and Non-market

Let us begin first with exclusion and discrimination in economic spheres. The economic discrimination operates mainly through various markets. As we have seen, the social exclusion involved in the regulatory framework of caste system is comprehensive and covers multiple spheres of economic and social life. The lower castes may experience discrimination in market and non-market transactions. Therefore, any attempt to define caste-based economic discrimination should include transactions carried both through market and non-market channels. In a market economy framework, the social exclusion would operate through restrictions in various markets such as land, labour, capital, credit, other inputs, and services necessary for any economic activity. Labour being an integral part of the production process of any economic activity, would obviously become a part of market discrimination.

In this context, market exclusion would include (a) labour markets; (b) land markets, both for agricultural and non-agricultural use; (c) credit markets; (d) input markets (needed in any production and business activity); (e) markets in services necessary for businesses; (f) products and consumer markets in goods and services; and (g) housing markets.

Non-market transactions may include several public goods offered by government and public institutions. These may include (a) social needs like education, housing, health services, public roads, electricity and drinking water, fair price shops in consumer goods, and other services; (b) common property resources in the villages like irrigation, grazing lands, forests etc. and (c) various schemes and programs operated by government or other agencies on behalf of government.

(i) Two Criteria

Given the multiple spheres of discrimination and various forms in which discrimination could be experienced by the lower caste people, especially the untouchables, it is indeed, difficult task to specify the criterion to identify and measure discrimination effectuated through market and non-

market exchanges and transactions. However, we may use two main criteria to measure the incidence of market and non-market discrimination. These two criteria relate to prices charged for factor inputs, goods, and services, and terms and conditions for persons entering into market and non-market exchanges. These criteria are:

- a. *Unfair Exclusion from Access to Markets:* Unfair exclusion may be practiced through complete exclusion or denial to members of certain groups from having access to various market and non-market exchanges such as in hiring of labour, in sale and purchase of factors inputs, in supply of credit, in sale and purchase of product and consumer goods, and in supply and demand of social services, which are unrelated to normal terms and conditions of exchange;
- b. *Unfair Inclusion:* Unfair inclusion (or access to various market and non-market transactions) may be practised though selective access to market and non-market transactions, but with differential treatment reflected in different prices charged for factor inputs, goods, and services to certain groups. Unfair inclusion may also operate through unequal terms and conditions (for people belonging to the lower castes) in transactions carried through various market and non-market exchanges.

Labour Market Discrimination

In light of the above discussion, labour market discrimination as a concept can be conceived as:

- a. Complete denial to certain social groups, such as the low caste untouchables in hiring or employment by higher castes, which is unrelated to productivity;
- b. Selective hiring, but with lower wages to low caste workers (lower than market wages or the wages given to workers from higher castes) unrelated to productivity;
- c. Employment or hiring (often forced) bound by the caste obligations and duties reflected in firstly, in over work, loss of freedom leading to bondage, and attachment and secondly, in differential treatment at work place; and

- d. Denial of jobs or works in certain categories of jobs and services of those low castes who are involved in so called 'unclean or polluting occupations' (such as sanitary jobs, leather processing jobs, etc). This is in addition to the general exclusion or discrimination that persons from this caste would face for being a part of the lower castes.

Thus, labour market discrimination may be conceived in terms of: (a) complete exclusion or denial of discriminated social groups from employment, that is, employment discrimination; (b) selective inclusion in employment, but with an unequal treatment reflected in lower wages unrelated to productivity, that is, wage discrimination; (c) selective inclusion with unequal hiring terms and conditions with respect to hours of work and other terms; (d) differential behaviour towards low caste employees in workplaces; (e) compulsory or forced work associated with traditional caste related obligations involving loss of freedom; and (f) exclusion of low castes from certain types of jobs due to notions of pollution and purity.

Other Market and Non-market Discrimination

Coming to other markets, in case of traditional form of caste, prohibition to undertake occupations essentially means that persons from a caste are not allowed to undertake the occupation of other castes. This could operate through restrictions on investments in production and business activities. Such restrictions would also operate through restrictions in the sale and purchase of factors of productions and services required in production of goods and services. These could also operate in transactions carried through market and non-market channels and may include credit markets, factors' input markets, product and consumer good markets and transactions in privately owned services like housing etc.

Restrictions may also be practised in the supply of services offered through non-market channels, particularly by the government and other public bodies such as educational institutions, public housing, drinking water, health services, etc.

Therefore, two measurable criteria could be used to define and measure exclusion in case of other markets (other than labour market) and non-market transactions. These include:

1. Denial (or complete exclusion) to low caste in the sale and purchase of factors of production necessary in any production and business. These may include agricultural lands, land for business or production activities, credit and other inputs and services necessary for production and business and denial in the sale and purchase of consumer and other goods produced or offered by low caste producers or business persons;
2. Inclusion (or access) with differential treatment in market and non-market transactions, which may involve:
 - a. Differential treatment reflected in different prices charged or received by a particular group, which are different from market prices (or prices charged or received by higher caste persons). These include prices of factor inputs required in production and businesses such as price of land or rent on land, interest on capital, rent on residential houses, charges or fees on services privately owned like, irrigation, etc.; and
 - b. Differences in terms and conditions of contracts in market and non-market transactions, which may be unfavourable to persons from particular social groups.

Thus, theoretically speaking, although the markets are supposed to be neutral in their functioning (in the sense that all those who have purchasing power could enjoy equal access to markets for sale and purchase of factors of production including services required in occupations and sale and purchase of consumer goods) – access may be denied to certain castes on account of their social background.

(ii) Market-wise Identifiers of Social Exclusion

As mentioned above, given the preponderance of social exclusion and discrimination in multiple spheres in which it may be practiced, it is rather difficult, if not impossible to typify various forms of economic discrimination. However, within the broad framework of market and non-market exchanges (see Table 1, 2 and 3) one can categorise market and non-market discriminations associated with the institutions of caste and untouchability. The tables also present the likely economic consequences of various types of discrimination (This conceptual framework is based on the prescriptions provided in the Hindu religious texts, particularly the *Manusmriti*).

We shall now discuss the nature of discrimination involved in each of these markets and non-market transactions.

Labour Market Discrimination

As discussed earlier, discrimination in labour market would mean denial of employment to certain groups like low caste untouchables in employment, employment with lower wages which are unrelated to productivity, denial in hiring in certain types of jobs and works, differential treatment in workplace, and in other terms and conditions of work.

Land Markets

In case of land markets, the low caste untouchables may experience discrimination in the form of denial in (a) sale and purchase of land for agricultural and non-agricultural usage (for production/business location and residential housing); and (b) reduction in prices paid and received by the low caste persons in the event of sale and purchase of land.

Discrimination may also persist in leasing of land by the low caste for agricultural use and for renting of houses for residential purposes. Discrimination in lease markets may be practised either in the form of denial to lease agricultural lands and residential houses or by charging higher prices or rents on leased land for agriculture use or on renting of houses for residential purposes compared to other social groups for identical services.

Credit Markets

Discrimination in credit markets may take the form of denial of credit to the SCs and in the event of their being charged higher interest rates for loans that they might have taken. Besides, it may also be practised in other terms and conditions on loan which may be differential.

Factor Input Markets

Discrimination may prevail in sale and purchases of input factors required in production and services. These include various material inputs and services required in the production processes and businesses. Discrimination may either be in terms of denial of sale of such inputs to the low caste producer or business persons or not to buy inputs from the low

caste sellers and producers, and in the event of purchase by the low caste, they would be required to pay higher price than those paid by others for identical inputs and services. And in the event of sale, they may be required to sale at lower than market price.

Consumer Goods Markets

Lastly, lower castes may face discrimination in sale and purchase of consumer goods. Like input markets, discrimination in consumer goods markets may take the form of denial in purchase 'from' and sale 'to' low caste producer or business persons. Discrimination may also be experienced by the low caste as they may be charged higher prices for the goods that they purchase and alternatively, low prices for the goods that they sell.

2. Non-market Transactions and Discrimination in Goods and Services Supplied Directly by Government and/or by Government-approved Suppliers

Non-market transactions include goods and services supplied by the government and/or state- supported public organisations and agents at fixed prices. However, individuals from excluded groups may face discrimination in access to these services. These publicly supplied services include education, health facilities, drinking water, public roads, electricity, public housing, etc. These may also include village level common property resources like canals, tank water, grazing lands, forests, etc.

The social exclusion through non-market channel will take effect, if there is complete denial of access to the services offered by government and government-supported public institutions or if there is access, but with differential treatment reflected in price paid or service received and other terms and conditions.

(i) Caste and Primary Health Centres

IIDS sponsored a study on discrimination faced by the Dalits in accessing health services from primary health centres. The study developed the concept of discrimination in health service sectors, the indicators of discrimination and the method of its measurement (see Acharya, 2010).

There are different types of healthcare providers - the public sector, the private sector, and the non-profit organisation. The government healthcare

system in rural areas is responsible for providing services to all without any discrimination. However, despite the provision of equal access to all, it is likely that the low-caste untouchables may suffer from unequal access to the healthcare services supplied by various providers, including the public health institutions in rural areas. The concept of social exclusion, defined above, may involve either a complete exclusion (unfair exclusion) from access to some health services, or access, but with differential treatment in delivery of some services.

Complete exclusion of the excluded groups such as untouchables from access to healthcare services may occur in some cases. In most of the situations, however, there may have access, but this access may come with differential treatment and behaviour in various spheres and various forms on the part of the service providers. The discrimination through differential treatment and behaviour may take a number of forms.

Discrimination in access to healthcare may occur at the healthcare centre due to neglect by the providers – doctors and the supporting staff; and at home during the visit by the health worker. Discrimination is likely to be practised during diagnosis and counselling, dispensing of medicines or laboratory tests, and even while waiting at the health centre and in paying the user fee. Discrimination during diagnosis may take the form of time spent in asking about the problem, or may be manifested in touching the user during diagnosis. Discrimination during dispensing the medicine may be practised in the way the medicine is given to the user – kept on the palm, or on the window sill/floor, or when someone else is asked to give the medicine to the untouchable customer to avoid physical touch.

The untouchable person may face discrimination in waiting to meet doctors, reflected in duration of waiting, separate space for waiting, waiting till the other dominant castes have been provided care and attitude of the paramedics towards them while they wait. Discrimination during payment of user fee, if any, will reflect in actual amount being paid, time spent for waiting to pay, space for waiting, and a separate queue for payment.

Discrimination at home during the visit by the health worker may occur while entering the house, touching the user, sitting, drinking/eating in the user's house, and giving medicine and information regarding health camps/programmes to them. It may also take the form of selective dissemination

of information regarding health camps and programmes; and exclusion of the untouchable in accessing certain type of services where touch is involved (such as vaccination). Thus, discrimination can be practised by different providers in various spheres, and it may take different forms.

The nature of caste and untouchability-based discrimination faced by untouchable can be identified (along with consequences), with a set of indicators. The study by Acharya (2010) developed indicators to identify the spheres in which different forms of discrimination may occur. The focus is on spheres and forms of discrimination.

The spheres of discrimination broadly include visit to/by the provider for diagnosis and counselling; dispensing of medicine; conduct of pathological test; and referrals. The forms include duration of interaction; touch; speaking gently or otherwise; use of derogatory words or phrase; and long waiting time.

Formal health care providers include primary health centres, sub-centres, and private individuals/clinics; and among the non-formal providers are traditional healers. The latter are those who do not have formal training in healthcare service; they are considered to have inherited the practices from their forefathers. The persons engaged in formal healthcare service include the doctor, the lab technician (LT), the pharmacist, and the grassroots-level health workers such as auxiliary nurse midwife (ANM)/village health worker (VHW)/ lady health visitor (LHV), and *anganwadi* worker (AWW).

The methods for measurement of discrimination involved selection of the indicators to capture these discriminatory practices. In this study, these indicators were used to capture the nature of discrimination experienced in a given sphere by any provider. About 15 variables of discrimination in different spheres, forms, and providers were developed. The recall period was one year prior to the field work. The variables included visit to the doctor (diagnostic), conduct of the pathological test, counseling, dispensing of medicines, seeking referral (spheres); duration of interaction with the care provider, touch (without offending), tone of speaking, usage of demeaning words/phrases, having to wait till the dominant caste persons are attended to by the care providers such as doctor, lab technician, pharmacist, auxiliary nurse midwife (ANM), and health worker.

Table 1: Selected Variables for Discrimination by Sphere, Form, and Provider

Sphere	Form	Provider
Visit to/by provider (diagnostic)	Duration of interaction with the care provider	Doctor
Counseling	Touch (without offending)	Lab technician
Dispensing of medicine	Manner of speaking (gently or otherwise)	Pharmacist
Pathological test	Use of demeaning words/ Phrases	ANM/ VHW/ LHV
Seeking referral	Wait to give chance to the dominant caste person(s)	<i>Anganwadi</i> worker

Source: Acharya 2010.

Prevalence of discrimination in different spheres and forms by providers was measured by simple percentages, calculated on the basis of total number of times that Dalit children were exposed to an event – for instance, dispensing of medicine – and experienced any other form of discrimination. Ranking of the selected variables was used to understand the perception of Dalit children about the discriminating healthcare providers and the treatment that they desire from them (Acharya, 2010).

The study also used index of discrimination to measure the degree of discrimination. Respondents who reported having experienced some discrimination at least five times during one year prior to the survey were given a score of 5; those who reported having experienced at least 3-4 times were given a score of 2.5; and those who reported less than three times, were given a score of 1. Scores for each respondent was computed using these weights assigned to them on the basis of the number of experiences of discrimination. The scores accrued by the respondents ranged from 5 to 25. The average score for each respondent was computed for 'sphere', 'form', and 'provider' separately. The sum of scores on all variables was divided by 5 (total number of variables used in 'sphere' to derive the average score). Similarly, scores were obtained for 'form' and 'provider'. Then, an average of the three values was derived to get the index of discrimination.

The study (Acharya 2010) computed index for sphere, form, and provider separately. They were used to compute a composite index of discrimination. Thus,

Index of discrimination

$$(ID) = \{(\text{Index of sphere discrimination}) + (\text{Index of form discrimination}) + (\text{Index of provider discrimination})\}/3$$

$$\text{Or } \hat{O}(ID_s + ID_f + ID_p)/3$$

Index of sphere discrimination

$$(ID_s) = ([Ss_1 + Ss_2 + Ss_3 + Ss_4 + Ss_5])/5$$

$$\text{Or } \hat{O}S_s/5$$

Index of form discrimination

$$(ID_f) = ([Fs_1 + Fs_2 + Fs_3 + Fs_4 + Fs_5])/5$$

$$\text{Or } \hat{O}F_s/5$$

Index of provider discrimination

$$(ID_p) = ([Ps_1 + Ps_2 + Ps_3 + Ps_4 + Ps_5])/5$$

$$\text{Or } \hat{O}P_s/5$$

Where,

Ss is the score of a respondent on each variable of sphere of discrimination;

Fs is the score of a respondent on each variable of form of discrimination;

Ps is the score of a respondent on each variable of discrimination by provider.

The weighted average for all the variables was the score for the respondent. These scores were used to access which form of discrimination was more prevalent in which sphere, and practised by which personnel (see Table 2).

Table 2: Scores and Weightage for Degree of Discrimination

Score categories	Degree of discrimination	Weights for scores
<2	Low	Less than 2 times-1
2-4	Medium	2-4 times- 2.5
4>	High	More than 4 times-5

Information gathered from the consultative meetings and discussions were used for narrative analyses, largely to reflect on the causes of discrimination from the viewpoints of the dominant community members as well as the Dalit children and their mothers.

(ii) Food Security Schemes in School

IIDS also conducted a study to understand the nature of discrimination faced by the children belonging to the “untouchables” in accessing meal in the school through mid-day meal scheme and the food through fair price shops. The methodology used in this study is discussed.

Mid-Day Meal Schemes in Schools

The purpose of undertaking the study was to obtain ground-level view of how, where, and to what degree caste discrimination and untouchability operates in government-run Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS) as they are implemented in school (Thorat and Lee 2006) In doing so, the study attempts to understand as to how caste functions as a barrier to the universal attainment of Right to Food. The study was conducted in 531 villages across five states, namely Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

In order to assay caste discrimination and exclusion in MDMS, the survey considered the following three factors: Dalit children’s *access* to meals, Dalits’ *participatory empowerment/ownership* of MDMS, and the *treatment* of Dalits in MDMS. In gauging Dalit *access* to MDMS, three measurable indicators were applied to the scheme’s actual material presence in the village: the existence of a functioning MDMS, its physical setting, and its location in terms of caste geography. First, is there a functioning and implemented MDMS in the village? Secondly, is MDMS held in a physical setting accessible to Dalit children, for instance, in the school building as opposed to a Dalit-exclusive temple? Thirdly, is the physical setting of MDMS situated in the village’s dominant caste locality, in Dalit colony, or in some third area?

Two measurable indicators were used to evaluate Dalits’ *participatory empowerment/ownership* of MDMS. First, in what percentage of all MDMS were the Dalits cooks? Secondly, in what percentage of all MDMS were the Dalits organisers (a decision-making role: those ultimately

responsible for ensuring the smooth functioning of the MDMS – usually teachers, but sometimes *sarpanch* or PDS dealers)?

Finally, in order to measure *treatment* of Dalits in MDMS, the following indicators were considered. First, do dominant castes oppose the hiring of Dalit cooks? Secondly, do Dalit and dominant caste children sit and eat together in MDMS, or is some form of segregation practiced?

Specifically, such an examination entailed:

Access – Can the Dalits access the benefits of the Government schemes?

Participatory empowerment and ownership – To what degree are the Dalits able to participate meaningfully in the implementation of the schemes, from ‘having a say’ to ‘having ownership stakes in the schemes’?

Treatment – Are the Dalits treated fairly, and on equal terms with dominant caste communities in the implementation of the schemes?

Indicators for Measuring Caste-based Discrimination – The analysis through which caste-based discrimination and exclusion is identified and examined in this paper, include ‘access to’; ‘participatory empowerment and ownership of’; and ‘treatment in’ both the Government programmes. The quantifiable indicators of access in both the Government schemes include the following:

Existence of the Schemes

The presence of a functioning MDMS in the government school and PDS shop in the village was the main indicators of availability of facility for access. ‘Access to’ Government programmes are first and foremost predicated on the existence of the said schemes at the local levels.

Location of the Schemes

Is the MDMS held in the school; on the premises of a temple; in an exclusively dominant caste locality; in a Dalit colony; or elsewhere? Is the PDS shop situated in the Dalit colony; or in a dominant caste locality; or

elsewhere? Whether the Dalits are forbidden to enter dominant caste localities, or face restrictions on mobility and intimidation in dominant caste localities - the location of the PDS shops and the MDMS centres becomes a crucial factor in determining the degree of Dalit access to such programs. Thus indicators associated with these aspects were used in the study.

Distance of the Schemes from the Dalit Colonies

The distance that children have to walk in order to reach schools serving the mid-day meals, or the distance that the adults have to walk in order to access the Government PDS shops, critically affect the access of the Dalits to such schemes, especially, in spread-out rural areas.

Subjective Responses to Questions of Access

Are any children rejected or left out of the MDMS on account of their caste backgrounds? Is any Dalit prohibited access to the PDS shops on account of her/his caste?

The measurable indicators of participatory empowerment and ownership of Government programmes are:

Percentage of the Dalit cooks and organisers in the MDMS - What is the proportion of the MDMS in which the cooks are Dalits to the total number of cooks? What is the proportion of the MDMS in which the organisers (those ultimately responsible for implementing the MDMS), usually the teachers, sometimes the *sarpanch* (head of the local self-government), or the PDS dealers are Dalits to the total number of organisers?

Percentage of the Dalit PDS dealers - What is the proportion of the Dalit PDS dealers to the total number of PDS dealers?

Subjective responses to questions of Participatory Empowerment and Ownership – Are the Dalit cooks in village denied employment in the MDMS on account of their caste backgrounds? And are the Dalit efforts to own and maintain a PDS shop in a village thwarted because of caste-based discrimination?

The measurable indicators of ‘treatment’ in Government schemes include:

Seating and eating arrangements in the MDMS - Do the Dalit and the dominant caste children sit and eat together in the MDMS? Or, is some form of segregation being practised?

Discriminatory procedures in the PDS distribution - Do the Dalits and the dominant castes stand in separate queues at the PDS shops? And does the PDS dealer practice discriminatory scheduling, for instance, separate timings or days for the Dalit customers?

Subjective responses to questions regarding treatment- Do the Dalit children receive less or inferior food in the MDMS ? and Does the PDS dealer in the village give preference to the dominant caste customers over the Dalit customers?

All of these indicators were used to identify and measure caste-based discrimination in the survey data.

Dalits as Respondents

Following the view that victims of discrimination are their own best spokespeople, it was decided that the Dalit community should be the respondent to IIDS survey questionnaire. In so far as gender equity is concerned, it was decided that the voice of the Dalit women should be represented and preference be given to organised Dalit women's self-help groups (SHGs), wherever they were found to exist in the survey areas. In the absence of such groups, or alongside them, interviews were held with the Dalit community as a whole, and on occasions with well-informed individual, Dalit women and men in small groups or singularly. Teachers or other local officials were sought only for the confirmation of school enrollment figures (Thorat and Lee 2006).

(iii) The Fair Price Shops in Villages

The Indian Government's Public Distribution System (PDS), is reputed to be the largest system of controlled food distribution in the world. In it, government stocks of essential food commodities, notably, rice, wheat, sugar, and oil are distributed to needy areas, where people of Below Poverty Line (BPL) status can purchase the goods at subsidised, below-market prices fixed by the government. At the local level, stocks are provided through government-recognised 'Fair Price Shops' or PDS shops, run by the local, government-recognised PDS dealers.

As with MDMS, *access*, *participatory empowerment/ownership*, and *treatment* are the factors according to which IIDS survey evaluated caste discrimination and exclusion in PDS. Two measurable indicators were employed to gauge Dalit *access* to PDS: existence and number of functioning PDS shops in the village, and location in terms of caste geography. First, are there PDS shops operating in the village, and second, are these shops placed in dominant caste localities, Dalit quarters, or elsewhere?

Dalits' *participatory empowerment* and *ownership* of PDS was measured by percentage, out of all PDS shops in respondent villages, of PDS shops owned by Dalits.

Finally, *treatment* of Dalits at PDS shops was measured by quantifying respondents' responses to questions about various reported forms of caste discrimination in the context of PDS distribution, namely discrimination in price and quantity, caste favouritism by PDS dealers, and the practice of 'untouchability' by PDS dealers.

(iv) Discrimination and Schools

IIDS sponsored another study to capture the discrimination in the school experienced by the Dalit children (Nambissan 2009). The objective of the study was to identify spheres of exclusion, discrimination and practices and processes in which they manifest in schools and thereby deny or enable Dalit children's full access and participation in the school. Bringing in the stand point of Dalit children, this study focused on their experiences in relation to:

- a) Access to school, including facilities and resources,
- b) Participation in different spheres of school life — curricular and co-curricular; and
- c) Social relations with teachers and peers.

The study was located in Rajasthan state characterised with relatively still rigid caste hierarchies especially in rural areas.

An initial survey of 234 Dalit households (129 urban and 105 rural households from the village and Tila respectively) was conducted. Children

(64) from a range of Dalit sub-castes, at different stages of education and in both government and private schools from the two locations (34 from the Tila and 30 from the Village) were purposively selected in order to map, through their experiences, spheres of exclusion, discrimination (and opportunity) in school and the forms in which they manifest. An attempt was made to explore whether Dalit respondents experienced/perceived unequal or differential treatment *vis-à-vis* their non-Dalit peers in school.

Spheres of Exclusion

The study covered some spheres in the schools. In these spheres, it then identified as to how the access to Dalit children is of exclusionary and discriminatory nature. It developed identifiers of discriminatory behaviour. The spheres and indicators of discrimination are discussed below.

Sphere: Access to Water –The sources of water used include piped water through taps, the water tank and hand pump. The identifiers of discrimination faced by Dalit children in the school in accessing water include:

- Make way/stand at a distance when general caste children come to drink water and ‘not drinking water together’.
- Required to ‘wash tap’ before drinking, to deliberately communicate to the latter their ‘polluted’ and ‘inferior’ status.
- General caste students and employee pouring water for Dalit student.

Sphere: Participation in the Classroom/Teacher-Student Relationship

Identifiers of Discrimination include:

- Not allowing the Dalit children to sit in the front row
- Sitting behind for ‘fear that madam/sir may scold and insult in front of all for not knowing’ their social position.
- Sitting in a group separated from the rest of the class

- Fear of teachers scolding, punishment and insult
- Peers making fun of Dalit children about their social standing
- Physical punishment when they fail to comply with what teachers expect of them
- Not being allowed to serve water and tea to teachers: only 'high caste' students served water to the teacher
- Teachers calling children by their 'caste names', or 'son of a caste'.

Sphere: Responsibilities and Tasks given in the Classroom

Identifiers of discrimination in this context include:

- OBC/General castes were more likely to be appointed monitors in class as compared to the Dalits.
- Sweeping of classrooms; a task that teachers assign to Dalit children

Sphere: Participation in School Functions and Games

Identifiers of discrimination include:

- Not considered 'good' enough by teachers;
- Laughed at or insulted in front of classmates and the 'villagers' (local guests) if they did not perform well;
- The tendency of the teacher to include members of their own caste rather than Dalits, in school activities.
- Not giving equipment for games in school and similar denial to similar equipment and tools of play ,

Sphere: Responsibilities of Performing Rituals linked to the Hindu Religion in the Daily Routine of the School

Identifiers of Discrimination include:

- Dalit children not being asked to light the incense stick or participate in these rituals in any manner, a visible acknowledgement of their traditionally 'low' ritual status and causes for great anguish

Sphere: Sharing/Serving Food in School: Mid-Day Meal Scheme

Identifiers of discrimination include:

- Not permitting a Dalit as a cook
- Not allowing the Dalit children to enter the kitchen while it was possible for other caste children to do so, making it easier for the latter to ask for and receive extra helpings
- Dalit children's not allowed and involved in the serving of food and other works in MDMS
- School Ceremonies
- Not being allowed to serve guests during the annual celebrations of national festivals

Sphere: Peer Relations

Identifiers of discrimination include:

- Lack of cordial relationship with peers in school
- Have 'good' General caste friends: having called them home, having been visited by friends, taken food/water in their homes
- Have visited homes of General Caste friends: felt hesitant/uncomfortable doing so, did not enter/went, from outside, were offered food/water, were offered but did not eat/drink
- Making friends from General Caste
- Peers calling children by their 'caste name', or 'son of a caste'.

Sphere: Peers and Academic Support

Identifiers of discrimination include:

- Not receiving the academic support from teachers in terms of asking question, checking home work and helping to correct mistakes and similar academic help by teachers
- Dalits not being able to ask for academic support from their classmates

VII. Adverse Consequences and Impact of Social Exclusion and Discrimination – Issues Related to Estimation and Measurement

Another issue that needs consideration is estimating the consequences of various types of exclusions and differential treatment on the access to education, health services and food security schemes. The consequences of economic discrimination on unemployment, income and earning, land and business ownership also needs to be captured.

1. Likely Consequences of Discrimination in Labour and Other Market

The labour and other market discrimination involves denial of equal economic rights and opportunities to the low caste groups. Consequences of economic discrimination, not only negate the provisions of equal opportunity and principle of non-discrimination, but also have fairly serious consequences on access to income-earning capital assets like agricultural lands and non-land assets, employment, social needs like education and health, housing and other needs, which lead to lower income and high poverty among the discriminated groups.

The adverse consequences of labour market discrimination are fairly obvious. The denial and exclusion in employment, in general, and in certain categories of works results in higher unemployment and under-employment among the discriminated groups. Lower wages reduce income and compulsory involvement in works due to traditional caste obligations which make them vulnerable to exploitation and often lead to unpaid labour.

The consequences of occupational discrimination through denial of access to land, credit, factor inputs, product and consumer goods, restrictions on sale of products, consumer goods, and services, and differential treatment in terms of prices paid in purchase of capital goods, inputs, and services are equally adverse. Furthermore, various types of restrictions on the purchase of income-earning capital assets and non-land assets reduce the ownership of these assets and increase the incidence of asset-less persons among the discriminated groups. Also, restrictions on the purchase of inputs and services affect the scale, viability, and profit of the firms and businesses.

Price discrimination under which the discriminated groups are required to pay higher prices for inputs and services may affect costs, competitiveness, and profitability of firms and businesses owned by discriminated groups.

The most adversely affected businesses owned by discriminated groups are likely to be ones dealing in consumer goods, in which the restrictions on purchases by higher castes from the low castes may be more pronounced and persuasive due to the notions of purity and pollution. As a corollary, few persons from discriminated groups are likely to engage in businesses dealing with the sale of consumable items. This may particularly be the case in the village setting and close localities in urban area where the caste identity of seller is known. In effect, such restrictions will affect the magnitude of sale of consumer goods and incomes of businesses owned by the untouchables.

Discrimination in terms of selective restrictions in purchase of consumer goods by the untouchable's consumers from high caste businesses will affect their consumption level. Also, higher prices will lead to lower consumption.

2. Likely Consequences of Discrimination in Publicly Supplied Social Needs and Services on Poverty

The social exclusion through non-market channels will take effect if there is complete denial of access to services offered by government and government supported public institutions or access with differential terms and conditions.

Non-market transactions include goods and services supplied by the government and/or state supported public organisations and agents at fixed prices. These publicly supplied services include:

- education,
- health facilities,
- drinking water and other civic amenities like public roads, electricity, public housing, etc; and
- village level common property resources like canals, tank water, grazing lands, forests, drainage and sanitation.

Discriminatory access to social needs like education, health services, food security schemes, housing, etc. will lead to lower education level, lower access to food and public housing. These consequences need to be measured in quantitative terms so that we can capture the magnitude of “exclusion induced deprivation” of Dalits. Likely consequences of discrimination in school education and in public and private health services on access and its impact on poverty are detailed below:

(i) Likely Consequences of Discrimination in School Education on Poverty

Discrimination in school in village setting may take form of denial of access to education and skill development and/or discriminatory treatment in school. This may reduce the quality of human resource and reduce the employability for quality jobs and force them to fall back on low earning manual wage labour in farming and non-farming activities. Specifically, denial of access to education leads to high illiteracy, low functional literacy, and high dropout rates, limited skill development and low human capital. Impact of limited skill development and low human capital due to discrimination in education may cause high representation in menial jobs, low wages, low income and ultimately high poverty (see Table 4).

(ii) Discrimination in the Sphere of Public Health Service Provider and Private Health Provider

Discrimination in the sphere of public health service provider and private health provider may operate through denial of admission in the primary health centre in villages and/or through discriminatory access to primary health centres and private health providers which may take the following forms:

- separate standing lines,
- being ignored and kept waiting for long,
- discrimination in health check-up and treatment, including avoidance of physical touch,
- discrimination in the delivery of the medicine, and
- avoidance of visit to Dalit households by public and private doctors and medical practitioners

(iii) Likely Consequences of Discrimination in Public and Private Health Services on Poverty

Lower access to public health services and private health services affect the health status, increase the number of days fallen ill, lower the days of employment and ultimately affect the income levels negatively. Denial of access to public health services or improper services leads to the dependence on private health services providers with expensive medical treatment. This results in borrowing money for treatment, high debt and ultimately affecting the income levels (see Table 5).

Likely consequences of discrimination in provision of safe drinking water, civic amenities and common property resources on poverty may get reflected in denial of access to safe drinking water and other civic amenities which is likely to result in poor health, increase the number of sick days, lower the days of employment and ultimately impact the income levels negatively.

VIII. Lesson for IIDS-UNICEF Studies

Under the IIDS-UNICEF collaboration four studies are proposed. These include:

- (1) A Study of the Dynamics and Processes of Exclusion and Discrimination in Maternal and Child Health Services among Dalits and Minorities
- (2) Equitable Quality Child Development Services by Anganwadi Centres: an Exploratory Study
- (3) Inclusion in Total Sanitation Campaign
- (4) A Study of Schools Run and Operated by Dalits
- (5) A Study of Inclusive Best Practices in Education, Health, Food Security Schemes, Civic Amenities and Similar Services Supplied by Government and Government Sponsored Agencies and Private Providers

The first two studies focus on the evaluation of schemes related to women and children. These relate to health services provided to women and children including maternal health, and various kinds of services, like

providing food to children. These studies propose to evaluate the performance of the programmes and their implementation. But, in addition to general access, the studies also propose to evaluate them from the perspective of caste exclusion. The studies would examine whether in accessing health and other services, caste discrimination operate as constraints and reduce their access. Thus, these studies not only look at implementation of these schemes from the general perspective but also use the perspective of social exclusion.

The third study proposes to examine the implementation of Total Sanitation Campaign. Among other aspects, it also examines whether the Dalit households and localities have also benefited from this scheme.

To be able to conduct the evaluation, both from general perspective and also incorporate the perspective of social exclusion will require new methodology. In this context, the preceding discussion about the concept of exclusion in the sector of health, education and other services and indicators of discrimination provides useful help for developing the concept and indicators (or identifiers) of discrimination in health, education and sanitation schemes.

First, the studies will have to develop and apply the general indicators of access for evaluation. But more importantly, the studies will have to develop indicators of social exclusion affecting access to discriminated groups, drawing from IIDS studies presented above.

Secondly, the studies will have to develop methods to capture the process of exclusion and discrimination affecting the access of discriminated groups and also discuss how remedies can be provided to overcome the consequences.

In the case of study on Dalit schools, it will be necessary to examine, whether some form of discrimination prevails in these schools. If not, what are the inclusive practices in these schools which help to create situation of non-discrimination? What are the lessons for the public schools of inclusive practices observed in Dalit-run schools? The study will have to develop the concept of discrimination in schools and the indicators which will capture the discrimination. The study also will discuss the consequences of discrimination on the attendance, performance and social psychology of Dalit children. It will also develop methodology to ultimately remedy the consequences which lead to early dropouts and lower educational attainment.

Annexure-I

Table 1: Caste and Occupational Discrimination – Forms and Economic Consequences

Types of Markets	Access with Discrimination			Economic Consequences on Discriminated Groups
	Nature of Discrimination			
	Sale	Purchase	Price	
Land Markets (1. Agricultural Land (sale and purchase) (2. Non-agriculture (sale and purchase)	Barriers in sale	Barriers on purchase	Low prices for sale and high prices for purchase compared to market prices for similar lands	Income loss due to high prices for purchase and low prices on sale
Land on lease for cultivation Land for housing construction/ other construction House on rent for residential purposes	Barriers on lease out Barriers to land sale	Barriers on leasing Barriers to purchase of houses construction of houses in high caste localities or preferred localities	Low rents on leased out land compared to market rents for similar lands High rents on leased in lands compared to market rents for similar lands with unfavourable terms and conditions High rents for houses	Income loss due to low rents on leased out lands and high rents on leased in lands Problems of space for businesses or residential houses Income loss due to high rents of spaces for businesses or residential houses
Common lands Grazing lands Forests Common Property Resources Irrigation Canal Tanks	No use or limited access		Required to pay more price for use	Increased monetary burden due to limited access and alternative use and higher price for use

Types of Markets	Access with Discrimination			Economic Consequences on Discriminated Groups
	Nature of Discrimination			
	Sale	Purchase	Price	
Credit Markets Ownership in terms of share capital Credits (loan)	Barriers on buying of shares Barriers on taking loans	Low access to credit or capital markets	Higher rate of interest compared with others with unfavourable terms and conditions	Deficiency of capital assets and income loss due to high costs of loan
Occupation	Restrictions on investments in other occupations than caste occupations			Remain confined to traditional caste occupations or occupations with low returns
Factor input markets All inputs and services required in production processes/ businesses Product markets	Barriers on sale	Barriers on purchases	Higher prices compared to other markets	Less use of input, low productivity, low profits and low incomes
Consumer goods market and services Goods Services	Barriers in sale to high caste, sale confined to own caste people	Selective restrictions on purchase and use	High prices on purchases and low prices on sale compared with others	Low income due to confinement of sale to own caste people, income loss due to higher price on goods purchase from high caste person Low consumption of some goods

Source: Compiled by the Authors

Table 2: Caste and Labour Market Discrimination – Forms and Economic Consequences

Types	Nature of Discrimination	Economic Consequences
In hiring	Denial in employment	Leads to unemployment and less income
In certain jobs/works	Denial in some jobs/works	Leads to unemployment, under-employment and less income
Wages	Lower wages compared to others with same productivity levels	Loss of wage income
Terms and conditions	Long working hours, unpaid labour and others Caste-related work obligations	Loss of income and deterioration of physical health
Work place	Differential treatment	Social discrimination and loss of equal rights and dignity

Source: Compiled by the Authors

Table 3: Caste and Discrimination – State/Public Social Needs, (Forms and Economic Consequences)

Types	Exclusion with Discrimination	Economic Consequences on Discriminated Groups
Nature of Discrimination		
Education	Restrictions on entry to various types in educational institutions, unequal treatment in teaching	Low educational level and low quality education
Public Housing	Residential segregation and discrimination in purchase and renting with high price	Poor access to housing
Health services	Barriers on doctors' services/health services and high price treatment	Excess expenditure on private treatment, if at all affordable
Public roads Common drinking water sources Drainage Electricity Panchayats Cooperatives Society and similar institution	Restrictive use of these services to low caste localities and wherever there is access, it is accompanied with discrimination	Poor civic services to the SC localities

Source: Compiled by the Authors

Table 4: Social Exclusion and Its Impact on Access and Poverty Linkages – School

Sphere of Exclusion (School)	Nature & Form of Discrimination (Identifier)	Consequences of Discrimination	Need for suggested policy (Inclusive Policy)
1. Presence of School			
A. Presence of school buildings in Dalit localities	No school in the discriminated group locality	High illiteracy, no functional literacy, limited skills, low human capital, high representation in menial jobs, low wages, low income, high poverty	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
B. Location of the school (distance and located in dominant group locality)	School is located far from the discriminated group locality; school is located in dominant group locality.	Restricted access to school, have to travel long distance, fatigue, high drop-out rates, low educational level, low human capital, high representation in menial jobs, low wages, low income, high poverty	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
2. Teacher-Student Relation			
A. Academic support	Complete denial of support, some support: less time given to children from the discriminated group	Lack of role model, low functional literacy, high proportion of drop out from school, low educational level, low human capital, high representation in menial jobs, low wages, low income, high poverty Dalits who enter class actually reach class X as reflected in the relatively high proportion of drop out from school.	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
B. Participation in the classroom	No responsibilities and tasks given in the classroom, not considered 'good' enough by teachers, laughed at or insulted in front of classmates and the 'villagers' (local guests) if they do not perform well, high caste children being included in class activities, high caste children made monitor, tasks like sweeping of classrooms assigned to dalits especially girls by teachers, children asked to sit at the back of the classroom	Low morale, low self belief, low functional literacy, high drop-out, low skill, low educational attainment, loss of Income, high poverty	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
C. Participation in school functions and games	Complete denial, not considered 'good' enough by teachers, laughed at or insulted in front of classmates and the 'villagers' (local guests) if they do not perform well, the tendency of the teacher to include members of his caste rather than Dalits, reasons for non-participation was that equipment for games in school was given to the students from the higher classes (grades), conflicts between the groups played out often in the games field.	Low self belief, high proportion of drop out from school, low educational level, low human capital, high representation in menial jobs, low wages, low income, and high poverty.	To be developed after the analysis of the studies

Sphere of Exclusion Education (School)	Nature & Form of Discrimination (Identifier)	Consequences of Discrimination	Need for suggested policy (Inclusive Policy)
D. Responsibilities of performing rituals linked to the Hindu religion in the daily routine of the school and school ceremonies	Dalit children not being asked to light the incense stick or participate in these rituals in any manner, not being allowed to serve guests during the annual celebrations of national festivals	a visible acknowledgement of their traditionally 'low' ritual status and causes them great anguish, low self belief, high proportion of drop out from school, low educational level, low human capital, high representation in menial jobs, low wages, low income, high poverty	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
E. Counselling Support	Complete denial of counselling, ignore complaints.	Lack of role model, high proportion of drop out from school, low educational level, low human capital, high representation in menial jobs, low wages, low income, high poverty	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
3. Peer Relationship (Student-Student)			
Peer Academic Support	Dalits not able to ask for academic support from their classmates	Low morale, low self belief, no exchange of new ideas, low functional literacy, high drop-out, low skill, low educational attainment, loss of income, high poverty	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
Peer Relation	Peer from dominant caste do not one play/talk with discriminated group children in school, the lower caste children do not have 'good' general caste friends: have called them home, have been visited by friends, they have taken food/water in our homes, having visited homes of GC friends: felt hesitant/ uncomfortable doing so did not enter/went from outside, were not offered food/water, were offered but did not eat/drink, peers calling children by their 'caste name', or 'son of a caste'.	Low morale, low self belief, anguish of being humiliated by one's peers, upset mental state, low concentration, low functional literacy, high drop-out, low skill, low educational attainment, high poverty	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
4. Facilities in School (drinking water, toilets, playground, swings, books, notepad)	Complete denial of access to these facilities, discriminatory access: water- Make way/stand at a distance when general caste children come to drink water and that 'we do not drink water together'. Tap washed before drinking to deliberately communicate to the latter their 'polluted' and 'inferior' status. General castes pour water for Dalits	Low morale, low self belief, anguish of being humiliated by one's peers, upset state of mental state, low concentration, low functional literacy, high drop-out, low skill, low educational attainment,	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
5. Recruitment of teachers , admin staff from the discriminated groups	No teacher from the marginalised group	Lack of participation and its likely consequences on poverty	To be developed after the analysis of the studies

Source: Compiled by the authors

Table 5: Spheres and Indicators of Discrimination faced by Dalit Women in Public Health Services and by Private Doctors

Spheres of Discrimination	Identifiers of Discrimination	Consequences of Discrimination	Need for Inclusive Policy
1.Reproductive Health			
a) Antenatal	No visit of the public health practitioners to the locality No access to provisions (tt injection, iron tablets etc) in govt health programmes, No vaccination against tetanus, no provision of haemoglobin tablets taken and other reproductive health services in govt programmes, discriminatory treatment at the time of ante-natal check-up by health providers (ANM/ VHW/ LH), rude verbal response from health worker, without check up the nurse give medicines and send away.	Poor health, high human poverty and declining able to work: loss of income	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
b)Treatment at the time of delivery by private doctors and public health providers like ANM/ HW/	Complete denial of treatment, discriminatory treatment reflected in being ignored and kept waiting for long, the staff directs to go to a distant district headquarters hospital for the delivery	Lack of care leading to requirement of private medical attention and loss of income.	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
c) Postnatal check up	No visit of the public health practitioners to the locality for check-up and for weighing of the baby, registering birth, No access to provisions, discriminatory treatment by public health practitioners,	The delay complicates delivery leading to requirement of private medical attention. Loans are taken for delivery in private hospital Debt and loss of income	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
d) Treatment by ANM for family planning operations	Indifferent verbal response and coerced into taking decisions, e.g. prospect of ration card being withdrawn if refused to have tubectomy, do not receive appropriate post-operative care.	Lack of post-operative care leading to requirement of private medical attention and loss of income	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
2) Assistance at the time of Medical Need			
Treatment after assault by men in authority (police and dominant caste landlord-employer)	Refusal of treatment by doctors in the local government hospital in order to avoid becoming involved in a police case, discriminatory treatment by health practitioners both public and private	Lack of care leading to requirement of private medical attention Debt and Loss of income	To be developed after the analysis of the studies
3) Recruitment of the health provider (to measure empowerment through Participation)			
Social group of the health provider	No public health practitioners from the discriminated group, if public health practitioners from the discriminated group then at a lower level and performing menial work	Lack of participation, low wages, loss of income, high incidences of group based discrimination, high poverty	To be developed after the analysis of the studies

Source: Compiled by Authors

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