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RELIGIOUS EXCLUSION OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN MADHYA PRADESH



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ABSTRACT:

he Scheduled Castes in India were excluded from the societal affairs due to the social codes established by the religious texts. In spite of enactment of constitutional measures and safeguards for more than sixty years, the Scheduled Castes still face exclusion and discrimination in their daily lives in all aspects of life including religious sphere. The SCs are not allowed to enter into the temples and at many places they are

allowed to have a darshan (seeing and paying respect to deity) from outside the temples. In religious preaching by preacher the SCs are made to sit separate from other castes. The present study is an attempt to ascertain the exclusion of Scheduled Castes people in religious sphere in rural areas of Indore District of

KEY WORDS: Scheduled Castes , social codes established, discrimination.

INTRODUCTION:

Madhya Pradesh.

The Indian caste system is based on the notion of purity and pollution and some castes (Scheduled Castes) were believed to be impure and polluted. They are supposed to cause pollution to the higher castes people when come in the vicinity of them. Therefore they were denied access to social and religious affairs and their presence was prohibited in the main settlements of the society. They were prohibited to follow the decent occupations and were forced to earn their livelihood from the accepting the occupations which were considered low and indecent such as scavenging, removing dead animals and dealing with carcasses and other occupation alike. They were forced to provide

their labor to serve the higher castes without no or infinitesimal remuneration. Hence they

remained the weakest constituents of the Indian social structure.

The Scheduled Castes continue to face various forms of exclusion and associated deprivations in spite of the enact ment of constitutional safeguards for more than sixty years, The Scheduled Castes still face social exclusion and discrimination in their daily lives. Their claims for their rights, entitlements, dignity and justice are

frequently suppressed with committing atrocities on them by higher caste people. Although the Constitution of India has abolished

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untouchability to help the SCs and overcome various disabilities and discrimination associated with it, it still persists in various forms, particularly in the rural areas (Shah, et al., 2006). There are evidences which suggest that SCs still face discrimination in all spheres of life including religion. The news are frequently aired by electronic media and published in print media of religious exclusion of the Scheduled Castes across the country. Madhya Pradesh state is not exception to this and the Scheduled Castes in Madhya Pradesh face the religious exclusion in temples, processions and other religious functions.

Chaudhary S.N., (2009), dealing with the concept of untouchability as a form of acute exclusion, taking its origin, and practice into consideration described the historical evidences of social exclusion inscribed in the Epics like Ramayan and Mahabharata. He established that the notion and practice of untouchability was directly related to proscription and prescription of varna system. He also establishes that the subjugation of untouchables was institutionalized by customs, traditions and public opinions including religion that they accepted the exclusion as their destiny. He in his empirical study found that the Scheduled Castes are discriminated in all aspects of life including religion.

The Religion and the Scheduled Castes

The Scheduled Castes comprise 201.4 million people which constitute 16.6 % of India's total population as per 2011 census. Historically, the Scheduled Castes have been the part of Hindu Religion though Dr. Ambedkar established that the Scheduled Castes were originally Buddhists and due to the declination of Buddhism and obnoxious attitude of Brahmins towards Buddhism they became the Untouchables. But for a long time they followed the traditions and culture of Hindu religion. After the embracement of Buddhism by Dr. Ambedkar some of the Scheduled Castes also embraced Buddhism.

The percentage of each religion's adherents belonging to a Scheduled Castes is as under.

Religion	Scheduled Caste
Buddhism	89.50%
Christianity	9.00%
Sikhism	17.0%
Hinduism	22.20%
Islam	0.80%

61st round Survey of the NSSO

The Importance of Religion

Religion has been the source of power and prestige in all societies across the world. The religious representatives have been considered above not only common people but also the higher officials and even the kings. Religion is one of the most important driving forces in human history in all cultures, sects and communities. Religious has played very crucial roles in construction and destruction of the civilizations, and kingdoms across the world. In India the religion has played important role shaping and functioning the society particularly the Hindu society.

People can go to any extreme limit and surrender their rights and valuables for the sake of their religion and its exclusiveness. Dr. Ambedkar (Ambedkar, 1989, p.37) asserts that due to the attraction of religion, millions of paupers in India sell their trifling trinkets which constitute their only wealth and go to Benares and Mecca. This is not the case of India only but it is a universal phenomenon. The religion is the source of power is illustrated by the history of India where the priest holds a sway over the common man often greater than the magistrate and where everything, even such things as strikes and elections, so easily take a religious turn and can so easily be given a religious twist. The present socio political

situation is not much different as stated above. The recent riot took place in Muzaffarnagar in Utter Pradesh and the very recent incident occurred in a village of NOIDA district of Utter Pradesh is of great relevance in this regard. India has witnessed various incidents of the same kinds in recent past. The political leaders and the religious persons are using religious sentiments to emotionalize the people and to get sympathy to win elections or to become great in the eyes of people.

The ancient law giver Manu through his famous book Manusmriti has regulated the social traditions and customs for long time and it is still dominating social and religious life of Hindus. The Hindus are in the grip of the law enacted by Manu for these laws have been a part of society down the centuries in the name of religion. The rules laid down in this book and other similar texts in the name of religion has become the part of life. Due to the impact of these religious laws a larger section of Indian society has remained backward, illiterate and ignorant, got the lowest strata in society while others gained wisdom, respect and obtained the higher status in society.

Not only in India but the religion has played its role changing the course of History in other countries.

There are examples when the people prefer to protect the exclusiveness of their religion rather demanding equality and justice. In ancient Rome along with other groups there were two main communities- Patricians and Plebians. The Patricians were the ruling class while the plebs did not have share in government and religious matters. The Plebeians (Ambedkar, 1989; p.4) fought for a share in the supreme executive under the Roman Republic and had secured the appointment of a Plebian Consul elected by a separate electorate constituted by the Commitia Centuriata, which was an assembly of Piebians. They had apparently obtained a great gain because under the Republican Constitution of Rome one Consul had the power of vetoing an act of the other Consul.

The Plebians got the rights to elect their strong consul who could fight for their rights. But in reality the Plebians could not get a strong and favorable Consul from within. The reason for this was the power of religion. It was due to an accepted creed of the whole Roman people that no official could enter upon the duties of his office unless the Oracle of Delphi declared that he was acceptable to the Goddess. The priests who were in charge of the temple of the Goddess of Delphi were all Patricians. Whenever therefore the Plebeians elected a Consul who was known to be a strong party man opposed to the Patricians the Oracle invariably declared that he was not acceptable to the Goddess. This is how the Plebians were cheated out of their rights. The important thing in this is that the Plebians permitted themselves to be cheated because they too like the Patricians held firmly the belief that the approval of the Goddess was a condition precedent to the taking charge by an official of his duties and that election by the people was not enough. If the Plebians had contended that election was enough and that the approval by the Goddess was not necessary they would have derived the fullest benefit from the political right which they had obtained. But they did not. They agreed to elect another, less suitable to themselves but more suitable to the Goddess which in fact meant more amenable to the Patricians. Rather than give up religion, the Plebians give up material gain for which they had fought so hard. This illustrates the power of religion which dominates the minds of the people.

History of mankind provides other examples where people preferred to follow their religion exclusively rather than assimilate with the other religious people and enjoying the equal rights. Napoleonic regime attempted (Ambedkar, Vol. V, 1989; p.5) to assimilate the Jews with the non Jews and to provide them equal rights like non Jews the representatives of France, Italy, Holland and Germany adopted a Charter on 9th February 1907 which exhorted the Jews to look upon France as their fatherland, to regard its citizens as their brethren, and to speak its language and which also pressed toleration of marriages between Jews and Christians. But the Jews refused to sanction intermarriages

between Jews and Christians. They only agreed to tolerate them. They did not give their sanction to intermarriages suspecting that their religious values could be vanished.

In Batavian Republic (Ambedkar, Vol. V, 1989; p.5) established in 1795, some enthusiastic members of Jewish community urged for the removal of the disabilities under which they labored. But the demand was opposed by the leaders of Jew community fearing that civil equality would militate against the conservation of Judaism. The Leaders proclaimed to their co-religionists to renounce their rights of citizenship in obedience to the dictates of their faith.

The above example shows that the Jews preferred to live as strangers in society and denied equality for the fear of losing their religious exclusiveness. This illustrates the importance of religion.

The Untouchable in India have suffered more than any other community across the world in the name of Religion. Their case is entirely different from the communities those excluded and imposed disabilities in the name of religion. The communities like Jewish, preferred to live separate and denied to intermingle with the other groups hence they were discriminated. But the Untouchables of India never denied to assimilate with the Hindus rather they always attempted to assimilate with the Hindus but Hindus always discriminated, shunned and excluded them.

The Hindus in the name of Religion imposed various disabilities on them and no rights they were given. They were forced to provide their girls to serve the gods and become Devdasies in the temple where they were exploited sexually by the priests and other influential persons of the area. The Scheduled Castes were treated worse than beasts and no mercy was shown to them. They were prohibited from entering in the main settlements of the cities or villages, eating good food; wearing good cloths and ornaments and if they ever attempted to violate these social codes they were punished and beaten brutally and mercilessly. Their situation was worse than the slaves in Roman Empire and in other countries. For they were considered polluted and their presence was declared causing pollution and inauspiciousness hence they were not allowed to enter in the religious places. Entering in the religious places of Hindus and taking part or conduct any religious ceremony was strictly prohibited for the Untouchables (The Scheduled Castes) by the Hindu castes. No benefit the Untouchables get from the Hinduism but the Untouchables continued to follow the Hindu festivals, follow their rites and rituals and culture through imitation.

The Scheduled Castes people are still facing the discrimination in various aspects of life across the country. Every day one can find news in newspapers, magazines or in electronic media giving details of atrocities or discrimination against the Scheduled Castes practiced by the so called higher castes people.

In this paper an attempt is made to analyze the Religious status of Scheduled Castes and exclusion in religious practiced against them.

METHODOLOGY

Indore district of Madhya Pradesh was selected for the present study for the district is progressing leaps and bound in all respects and especially in the field of education. It is now known as an educational hub and students across the country come here to get education in wide varieties of faculties. Indore, in last one decade or more has become a favorite destination for students, faculties and industrialists. The economic structure has undergone a drastic change and people are leaving their traditional occupations and adopting new professions and occupations. The Scheduled Castes of the districts are not unaffected from this change and these castes also witnessed a change but not at par with the other castes people. Economic changes have occurred in the area but the socio-religious practices have not change in accordance of economic changes particularly in rural areas. Therefore the

study was undertaken to ascertain the status of the Scheduled Castes in religious field in the rural areas of Indore district. The two blocks were selected purposively and 10 villages from each block were selected based on the mean of the population of all villages. Five villages were selected whose population was above the mean and five villages were from those villages whose population was below the mean of population. From each village 15 Respondents were selected purposively thus total 300 respondents were selected and inferences were drawn from the data collected through the process of interview, observation and group discussion with the help of well structured interview schedule.

INFERENCES:

The inferences drawn from the study are as follows-

It was found from the study (Table No. 1.0) that there were 61.7% of the total respondents who accepted to have visited the village temples frequently while 38.3% denied that they did not go to the temples of the village. Although, they wanted to go but due to the fear of discrimination, quarrel if demanded equality there, indirect teasing and taunting and many other reasons preferred not to go. There was no significant role of sub castes of the Scheduled Castes respondents taking temple visit into consideration. Respondent from all sub castes (Jatava, Chamar, Balai, Kori, Valmiki, Pasi and Mochi) meet with similar fate when approach to the temples due to the orthodox values prevailing in the society.

Study also shows that the main religious places i.e. the temples are not free from the exclusion and discrimination of the Scheduled Caste respondents of the study area. Since the caste system and its progeny untouchability have religious sanction to be practiced in society, therefore it is practice in the religious places most commonly across the country. In the study area it is also prevalent at large scale.

It reflects from the study (Table No. 1.1) that in the age of modernization, globalization, specialization in specific trades and market oriented economy the caste prejudices are still playing their role significantly. Among the respondents who go to the temples, a majority of them -164 (86.7) % is denied equality during their visit to the temples. There were only a small number -21 (11.3) % of total 185 temple goers who only met with equal treatment on their visit to the temples. This does not depend on any factor whether the Scheduled Caste respondent would get equal treatment or discriminatory rather it depends only on the nature and norms prevailing in a particularly area or village.

It was found that (Table No.1.2) the type of discrimination at temples and other religious places includes prohibition outside the temples, the priest did not accept the offerings given by the people of the Scheduled Castes and sometimes the respondents are made a source of joke and teasing remarks. The study found that there were 109 (66.4%) of total 164 respondents are not allowed to enter in the main place of the temple and most of the time they are prohibited outside of the temple. This feature of social life has become common for the Scheduled Castes of the study area and they have accustomed to it. Among all the 164 respondents who accepted the discrimination while approaching to the temples, there were 23 (14.1%) who said that offerings given by them to the deity are not accepted by the priest and those who usually face all kind of direct and indirect exclusion such as not paying heed towards them by the higher caste, and sometime rude behavior is also practiced with them accounted for 32 (19.5%) of 164 respondents. The sub castes of the respondents do not matter much in regard of the discrimination practiced with them in the religious places. The Scheduled Caste from all sub-castes face same kind of fate when try to use their right of following the religion of which they are a follower.

The data given in the table No. 2.0 reflect that the Scheduled Caste respondents in the study area are excluded from the religious activities. Historically, the Scheduled Caste have been considered,

to have caused pollution when comes in the contact of the other castes, therefore they were kept in complete exclusion from the religious activities, processions and all kind of rituals except their women were used as Devadasies and Joginies in the temples. As per the data given in the table No. 2.0 there were majority -77.0% of the respondents who said that they were never included in the religious programs organized in the villages followed by 13.3 % who said that although they are not invited and asked to do anything but they do some duties like labor work for arrangement of program and donate money themselves as according to them this is their duties to contribute in religious programs. The respondents who said that the organizers of the religious programs invite them not for performing any duty but only to eat food in bhandaras and see the program, comprised only 9.7 % of all the respondents.

The data given in the table No. 2.1 depict the reasons why the Scheduled Caste respondents are not invited and given any task in the religious programs of the villages. The majority 101 (37.3%) of the respondents were of the view that they are not invited and given no duty only because they belonged to low caste followed by 81 (29.9%) who said that the higher caste people do not want to involve them because doing so they try to maintain their superiority in society. There were 48 (17.7%) of the total 271 respondents who were of the view because the higher caste people consider the Scheduled Caste respondents inferior therefore they don't want to involve them in the religious programs. The respondents who contribute without invitation by higher castes either by being a spectator or audience or providing service to the arrangement of religious activities comprised 41 (15.1%)

There were 7 (100.0%) respondents from the Valmiki caste those are not involved only on the basis of their law caste and due to the duties cleaning of garbage and carrying the night soil they have been assigned traditionally. The other caste respondents are prevented due to different reasons described above. The respondents from mochi caste are also prevented due to their traditional occupation of dealing with dead animal and tanning of animal skin although most of them don't deal with the dead animals and leather. The data given in the table reflects that there were 21(60.0%) of the total 35 Mochi caste's respondents who were of the view that they are not asked to take part in the religious activities of the villages only due to law caste they belong to.

The data given in the table 3.0 reveal that the Scheduled Caste respondents are discriminated in all kind of religious programs. There were 36.3 % of the respondents who said that there is no room for them to participate even in any procession moving on the roads in the villages and 44.7 % of the respondents said that the people of Scheduled Castes cannot intermingle with the higher caste people even during Durga Puja or Ganesh Utsav or any other function alike in the villages. There are separate Ganesh Pandals and Durga Pandals of higher caste and separate for the Scheduled Castes in the village. Earlier there were prohibitions to celebrate the religious festivals on the Scheduled Caste but the prohibitions are going to lose its influence. But the amalgamation of these two groups in social as well as in religious matters is still a dream. The respondents of the Scheduled Caste who said that some of the people participate from both sides in the religious functions and celebrations but there is no complete assimilation with no discrimination and the number of such respondents accounted for 19.0 % of the total 300 respondents.

The occupation of the respondents has nothing to do with the discrimination that is practiced with the respondents as it becomes clear from the data given in the table. In religious celebrations the discrimination is practiced irrespective of occupation because the religious celebrations are considered sacred and the Scheduled Caste people have been considered polluted and shunned by the higher caste Hindus and therefore their presence is avoided in such activities.

Besides, during group discussion the respondents revealed that in the programs like Dharma

Kathas, Bhandaras etc. though the Scheduled Caste people are not called but they go to such programs. The Scheduled Caste's respondents are not behaved properly there, even they are made sit separate while listening the preaching by the preacher. They also said that during taking meal or lunch in these programs they are asked to sit separate from the higher caste people. Some of the respondents said that they are not allowed even to enter in the main premises of the programme and they have to sit outside either for listening or for eating the food. Respondents during group discussion asserted that when they want to donate some money or material to the Kathawachak then the Scheduled Caste people are not allowed to go near the preacher (kathawachak) and they have to donate to some higher caste person and then he gives it to the preacher. Some of the respondents asserted that the money given by them for any religious program or activities many times is not accepted by the higher caste people.

The exclusion of which the Scheduled Caste respondents are the victim in the village life of the study area is leading towards a situation which may prove dangerous to social harmony required for maintenance of peace, cohesion and stability. The old generation has faced the exclusion as a routine affair of their life but the new generation is getting furious and assertive from the continuous exclusion of the Scheduled Caste people though the number of these sorts of people is very small. But in future this may prove fatal to themselves and societal equilibrium.

The data in the table 4.0 show that a larger number 39.0 % of the total respondents were of the view that the continuous exclusion of the Scheduled Caste people increase already existing inferiority among them followed by 22.7% of the respondents who said that the exclusion in all walks of life contribute towards decreasing their confidence. A considerable number 20.7% of the total respondents were of the opinion that the continuous exclusion create the feelings of anger and provoke them to revenge from the society. This is a very important aspect that came out in the study. There were 10.0% of the respondents who said that the continuous exclusion of the Scheduled Castes people strengthen the already existed segregation of these castes. There were 7.7% respondents could say nothing in this regard. These were the people who were engaged completely procuring bread and butter and fully accustomed to the social trend they had been facing since long time.

CONCLUSION

The study found that the all Scheduled Caste people in the study area do not go the temples, for the fear of discrimination or for the fear of clash with the higher castes that can take place in case of assertion on the part of the Scheduled Castes. Very few- 11.3% of the temple goers Scheduled Castes people enjoy the equal behavior during their visit to the temples and rest face discrimination.

The type of discrimination includes- the Scheduled Caste people are stopped outside the temples, the priest or the other caste people do not allow giving the offerings to the deities. Majority 77.0% of the Scheduled Castes respondents are not included in the religious programs in the study area and very few 9.7 of them are invited only to eat food in the bhandaras like programs and 13.3% contribute with their own wish either through manual labor or donation of money.

The higher caste people due to their age old superiority the religious and social code of conduct provided them over Scheduled Castes people consider them inferior and due to maintain their superiority do not want to include the Scheduled Castes in any of social spheres including religious programs. In some of the programs like Ganesh pandal and Navaratri Mahotsava, the Scheduled Caste people can participate but there is no complete assimilation between the Scheduled Castes and other castes people. The Scheduled Caste people are discriminated while sitting in pandals listening the preaching in the religious programs and they are made to sit separately.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As according the findings of the study the behavior of the higher caste people was not as it should be of one human with other human, therefore this kind of problem should be resolved and solved by constituting a committee consisting of persons of all castes. Such committee should talk with higher castes people who behave rudely and Scheduled Castes people who complain of bad behavior and through talking all the matters should be solved.

The religious preachers/kathha vachaks have a considerable influence on the mindset of society therefore they should be insisted to establish the social cohesion between the Scheduled Castes and higher caste of the villages while they deliver their religious preaching.

A considerable number of Scheduled Castes people prefer not to attend the religious functions in the localities of higher castes or organized by them, therefore again the religious preachers or saints concerned with that area should bear the responsibility to create and establish such environment so that Scheduled Caste and the higher castes of the area should intermingle with each other and establish social cohesion.

The continuous exclusion and rude behavior with the Scheduled Castes creates the feeling of anger particularly among the new generation, therefore it should be taken into consideration and they should be treated equally in all spheres of life in order to maintain the dignity of all individual in the society and to maintain peace and solidarity in society.

List of Tables:

Table No. 1.0 Response of the Respondents regarding going to the Temple of Village

Caste	Response of th	Total	
	yes	no	
Balai	63	38	101
Багаг	(62.4)	(37.6)	(33.7)
CI	61	28	89
Chamar	(68.5)	(31.5)	(29.7)
Jatava	15	20	35
Jatava	(42.9)	(57.1)	(11.6)
Kori	7	7	14
Kori	(50.0)	(50.0)	(4.7)
Valmiki	6	5	11
vaimiki	(54.5)	(45.5)	(3.7)
mochi	22	13	35
mocm	(62.9)	(37.1)	(11.6)
nosi	11	4	15
pasi	(73.3)	(26.7)	(5.0)
Total	185	115	300
TOTAL	(61.7)	(38.3)	(100.0)

Note: The figures in bracket indicate percentage

Table 1.1 Behavior of the Higher Caste people with Scheduled Caste Respondents while they go to the Temples

Caste	Type of Behavior of Caste	Total	
	Equal treatment Discriminatory		
Balai	5	58	63
	(7.9)	(92.1)	(34.1)
Chamar	7 (11.5)	54 (88.5)	61 (33.0)
Jatava	1	14	15
Jatava	(6.7)	(93.3)	(8.1)
Kori	2	5	7
Kori	(28.6)	(71.4)	(3.7)
Valmiki	0	6	6
Valiliki	(0.0)	(100.0)	(3.1)
mochi	4	18	22
HIOCH	(18.2)	(81.8)	(12.0)
pasi	2	9	11
pasi	(18.2)	(81.8)	(6.0)
Total	21	164	185
Total	(11.3)	(86.7)	(100.0)

Note: The figures in bracket indicate percentage

Table 1.2 Type of Discriminatory Behavior with the Scheduled Caste Respondent during Temple Visit

Caste	Type of Behav	Total		
	Prohibited	No Offerings	All kind of	
	Outside of the	are accepted	discrimination along with	
	Temple		(Laughing /Teasing etc.)	
Balai	42	10	6	58
Багаг	(72.4)	(17.2)	(10.4)	(35.4)
Chamar	38	5	11	54
Chamar	(70.3)	9.3	(20.4)	(32.0)
т.,	10	1	3	14
J ata va	(71.5)	(17.1)	(21.4)	(8.5)
Kori	0	2	3	5
	(0.0)	(40.0)	(60.0)	(3.0)
V-1	3	1	2	6
Valmiki	(50.0)	(16.6)	(33.4)	(3.7)
	10	3	5	18
mochi	(55.6)	(16.6)	(27.8)	(11.0)
	6	1	2	9
pasi	(66.6)	(11.1)	(22.3)	(5.4)
m . 1	109	23	32	164
Total	(66.4)	(14.1)	(19.5)	(100.0)

Note: The figures in bracket indicate percentage

Table 2.0 Role given to the Scheduled Caste respondents in the Village Religious Activities

Castes	Role	Total		
	Some Role is Given	No role is given	Not asked but serve ourselves	
Balai	7 (6.9)	76 (75.2)	18 (17.8)	101 (33.7)
Chamar	4 (4.5)	68 (76.4)	17 (19.1)	89 (29.7)
Jatava	2 (5.7)	29 (82.9)	4 (11.4)	35 (11.6)
Kori	12 (85.7)	2 (14.3)	0 (0.0)	14 (4.7)
Valmiki	4 (36.4)	7 (63.6)	(0.0)	11 (3.7)
mochi	0 (0.0)	35 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	35 (11.6)
pasi	0 (0.0)	14 (93.3)	1 (6.7)	15 (5.0)
total	29 (9.7)	231 (77.0)	40 (13.3)	300 (100.0)

Note: The figures in bracket indicate percentage

Table No. 2.1 The reasons why the Respondents are not asked to involve in the Religious Activities in the Village by the Higher Castes

caste	Reasons o	Total			
	because of law	use of law They consider To maintain Cant'		Cant' say	
	caste	us inferior	their	anything	
			superiority		
Balai	34	23	19	18	94
Daiai	(36.1)	(24.5)	(20.2)	(19.2)	(34.7)
Chamar	23	12	33	17	85
Chamar	(27.1)	(14.1)	(38.8)	(20.0)	(31.4)
Jatava	9	7	11	6	33
Jatava	(27.4)	(21.2)	(33.3)	(18.1)	(12.2)
Kori	0	0	2	0	2
	(0.0)	(0.0)	100.0	0.0	(0.7)
Valmiki	7	0.0	0.0	0.0	7
vaimiki	(100.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(2.5)
mochi	21	3	11	0.0	35
шосш	(60.0)	(8.5)	(31.5)	(0.0)	(12.9)
nos:	7	3	5	00	15
pasi	(46.6)	(20.0)	(33.3)	(0.0)	(5.6)
Total	101	48	81	41	271
Total	(37.3)	(17.7)	(29.9)	(15.1)	(100.0)

Note: The figures in bracket indicate percentage

Table No. 3.0 Occupation of the Respondents and Exclusion from other Religious Activities

Occupation	Any other discrimination			Total
	no	no Separate No complete		
	participation in	ganesh/durga	assimilation in any	
	any procession	Function	religious affairs	
labor	41	39	16	96
labor	(42.7)	(40.6)	(16.7)	(32.0)
Casta Ossamatian	7	3	2	12
Caste Occupation	(58.3)	(25.0)	(16.7)	(4.00)
C-16 E1	4	14	10	28
Self Employment	(14.3)	(50.0)	(35.7)	(9.3)
Driver/Mason/Paint	40	26	10	76
er/Mechanic	(52.6)	(34.2)	(13.2)	(25.3)
Pension/Govt.	3	1	5	9
Service	(33.3)	(11.1)	(55.6)	(3.0)
Private Labor	4	16	1	21
	(19.0)	(76.2)	(4.8)	(7.0)
Buffalo	4	3	1	8
Rearing/Grazing	(50.0)	(37.5)	(12.5)	(2.7)
C4	6	32	12	50
Student	(12.0)	(64.0)	(24.0)	(16.7)
T-4-1	109	134	57	300
Total	(36.3)	(44.7)	(19.0)	100.0%

Note: The figures in bracket indicate percentage

Table No. 4.0 Consequence of discrimination

	consequence of discrimination				Total	
	creates inferiority	decrease confidence	provokes us to revenge	strengthen segregation	Cant' say anything	
Balai	48	7	18	20	8	101
Dalai	(47.5)	(6.9)	(17.8)	(19.8)	(7.9)	(33.7)
Chamar	28	29	23	3	6	89
Chamai	(31.5)	(32.6)	(25.8)	(3.4)	(6.7)	(29.7)
Jatava	9	8	12	5	1	35
Jatava	(25.7)	(22.9)	(34.3)	(14.3)	(2.9)	(11.6)
Kori	1	5	0	0	8	14
Kori	(7.1)	(35.7)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(57.1)	(4.7)
Valmiki	7	2	1	1	0	11
Vaimiki	(63.6)	(18.2)	(9.1)	(9.1)	(0.0)	(3.7)
mochi	16	13	6	0	0	35
mocm	(45.7)	(37.1)	(17.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(11.6)
·•	8	4	2	1	0	15
pasi	(53.3)	(26.7)	(13.3)	(6.7)	(0.0)	(5.0)
T-4-1	117	68	62	30	23	300
Total	(39.0)	(22.7)	20.7%	(10.0)	(7.7)	(100.0)

Note: The figures in bracket indicate percentage

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