

Now Neo-Position of Dalit in the Rural Social Structure of Bihar

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Abstract

Under the impact of new socio-economic forces, Dalits are confronting with three major interrelated factors-issues related to identity; exposure to modern values due to modernization led to increase in their sense of existence, self-identity and problem of mutual adjustment. Problem of security; depends on social development and intensity of cordial relationship among members of the society. Issues related to equality; distributive justice of development measures and deprivation of benefits of economic development. These issues are intricately linked in complex ways and determined the course of social dynamics of rural Bihar. The state of Bihar has achieved significant growth in last few decades; together with increase in social cohesiveness and decrease of untouchability practices largely due to social justice movements. The state has been improving crucial human development indicators . But all social groups have not shared equally benefits of growth process. Dalits lag behind in terms of most of human development indicators. To achieve the goal; Bihar government initiated community development programs, formation of Mahadalit commission, many skill development programs. These efforts definitely impact to traditional social structure. It has been main inquiry of study relationship between Dalit and non-Dalit and within Dalit of Bihar and key objective of study to know how, untouchability practices about Dalit community of Bihar. The empirical study has been don through interview scheduled based primary and secondary data collection then data analysis. very crucial outcome draw from study likes untouchability not complete eliminated in society ,largely reduced but problem is continued in our society.

Keywords-Dalit, movement, untouchability, Development, caste, Bihar.

Introduction

Under Article 341 of the Constitution of India, Dalits are listed as scheduled castes. In the study Dalit has been used in exclusive term which means Scheduled Castes. The word Dalit has been derived from Sanskrit 'Daridrya' which means poor people. But Dalit concept is reflected more as social notion as compared to economic notion. Daridrya word only symbolizes and reflects the economic deprivation . But The Dalit word has symbolized many types of deprivation, such as - Political, cultural, social, economic, religious-spiritual and educational. It explains all the paths of the process and development, and all types of determinants that are responsible for people's status in their society and community.

Under the impact of new socio-economic forces, Dalits are confronting with three major interrelated factors-issues related to identity; exposure to modern values due to modernization led to increase in their sense of existence, self-identity and problem of mutual adjustment. Problem of security; depends on social development and intensity of cordial relationship among members of the society. Issues related to equality; distributive justice of development measures and deprivation of benefits of economic development. These issues are intricately linked in complex ways and determined the course of social dynamics of rural Bihar. The state of Bihar has achieved significant growth in last few decades; together with increase in social cohesiveness and decrease of untouchability practices largely due to social justice movements. The state has been improving crucial human development indicators . But all social

groups have not shared equally benefits of growth process. Dalits lag behind in terms of most of human development indicators.

According to Ambedkar, Hindu society is based on cardinal principle of Brahmanism as graded inequality: 1.Complete disarmament of Dalit and untouchables.2.Complete prohibition of Education of Dalits and untouchables.3.Ban on Dalit and untouchables to occupy places of power and authority.4.Ban on Dalit and untouchables to acquire property.5.Complete subjugation and suppression of Dalit women. Thus, we see that they are excluded from education ,property, power and authority. Under the impact of modern forces untouchability has been declined but has continued to be practiced with varying degrees of intensity and magnitude in Indian social structure.

Joti Rao Phulley in his book 'Slavery',(2008) said Indian society is slavery society so emancipation of Dalit is not only essential but it is also a dream of our society.

Overview of literature

Aristotle said , man is by nature a social animal . It means inborn quality of man like an animal and man and women get purified through the process of socialization. (Politics , BC). Traditional social structure defined by the varna and caste and role are determined by varnashrama system . But since the beginning of post-Vedic-era roles have been defined on the basis of racial factor of the caste (Ghuriye- 1932,1969) in his book "caste and race in India" .Ambedkar(1936) criticized the opinion and said that Aryans are not infiltrators in India they are also Indian in article and speeches 'Philosophy of Hinduism'.According to Dumont ,1972, Indian caste system and Hindu religion are based on purity and impurity, and exploitation on the impurity basis especially for Dalit community in his book "Home hierarchicus :The caste system and its implications". Caste has been used to regulate economic life in India (Dirks, 2001). Caste system is a system of division of labor (Durkheim,1893). Which the element of competition among the workers, dalits have been largely excluded(Srinivas,1979). So, lower caste had monopoly over their traditional occupations even as recently (Leach,1947) In Present time, it is a strength of lower caste for the assertion point of view , because it is their bargaining position.

Socio-Economic Structure

Socio-economic structure plays important role to understand structure and feature of our society. Maximum social surveys dedicated their attention to understand indicators like distribution of population, Rural-Urban differences, Family size, age, sex, density, linguistic feature, literacy, occupational distribution and income pattern and civic condition.

Indian context religion, caste, sub-caste and gender composition is a matter of concerned to understand structure and feature of our society. It is such that socio-economic status of person has been influenced and determined by the nature of their professional condition and their nature and status of livelihood. Traditionally certain occupations are linked to graded social hierarchy in which a person is born. socio-economic condition in village area continued with traditional pattern of Hindu social system in India. The entire socio- economic life of people regulate around caste.

Traditional status of Dalit in India like a subordinate of twice born (Dwij) caste and also an untouchable for Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya but now their position has been changed in society, Especially in Bihar. Untouchability largely reduce and minimize practices of subordination under the caste system. It has been observed that during study, due to Dalit assertion, exclusion of Dalits are decreases and inclusion of Dalits are increased, and mainstreaming of Dalit community in India.

After the (LPG 1991) emerged neo- forms of subordination in society due to liberalization, Privatization and Globalization. And it is based on economic development. Economic development based on techno-economic framework. It is replaced by caste into class. But it is also as such that class formation in society influenced by caste system.

Objective of the study- To know Relationship between Dalit & non-Dalit and within Dalit of Bihar.

Hypothesis- Untouchability not only exist between non-Dalit & Dalit but its also exist within Dalit in Bihar.

Methodology and Sampling- review literature and some fact collection by the sources of secondary data. select two cultural area from Bihar Mithila and Magadh then select one district from each cultural area Darbhanga from Mithila and Nalanda from Magadh then select two blocks from each district then one village selected from each block for primary data collection, there are 75 household select from simple random sampling method.

1. Chamar, Mochi, Ravidas, Rohidas and Charmkar-

There has been 4900048 total population of these community in Bihar and 286017 population living at urban area. Ram Dasia (SC) one of the major communities, they are also name Ravidas. They live in almost all the states of India, these community traditionally a semi nomadic but at present they are live in consistent inhabitation of Bihar under Barauni-Begusarai, Munger, Patna, Darbhanga, Madhubani, Nalanda, Gaya and many more district of Bihar. Their name is

derieved from Cham or Chamra, meaning the hide of Animal, and their traditional identity reflect with occupation. Hindi is their mother tongue but they are also conversant with Maithili.

They are known by diverse name in different areas and as such include diverse groups, their community name is taken by the Sanskrit word Charmkar, their meaning leather worker. According to legend, about a thousand years ago, a young sadhu was made to remove the Carcass of a male calf. As he was subsequently ostracized, he began working on hides for livelihood. He is believed to be the Progenitor of the present day Chamar (Bhatt, 1961) has referred to the Chamar as a Caste consisting of heterogenous groups of people who are neither racially nor socially Homogenous. They signify a conglomeration of numerous endogamous groups of low status in the Hindu social hierarchy (Bhatt, 1961)

2. Chaupal-

There has been 79728 total population of these communities in Bihar and 4295 peoples living at urban communities (SC) also known as Tanti and Khatwe, the Choupal concentrated in Purnea and Katihar but some scattered population also available at many more districts of Bihar. Their mother tongue is Surjapuri, which belongs to the eastern group of Indo-Aryan family of languages, but many of them use conversant with Maithili, Bengali and Hindi or which concerned area languages used. They are non-vegetarian and eat fish, meat and egg. Rice and wheat are their staple cereals. The Choupal are divided into four subgroups namely Basak, Tanti (Kashyap) and Jogi (deva Gotra) and Khatwe Two clans namely Kashyap and Dev, have been identified. The chaupal women are engaged in economic activities and have specific roles in different social and religious activities, they contribute to family income but do not control over family expenditure.

The main occupations of chaupal are weaving and agriculture but now the majority of them work as agricultural laborer. They weave course Saris and other cloths, and some of them work is local shops. A few of them own shops Durga puja Dholjatra Laxmi, Laxmi puja and kali puja are the main festivals celebrated by them. Some of them are vaughnite who practice. Maharishi sri Chaitanya belongs from chaupal community. Inter community linkages are maintained with the Bari, mala, Nai and Choudhary and other neighboring communities. They accept Kachcha and Pucca food from all communities apart from the Mehtar. The choupal are backward in education. They proper modern Medicare but cannot afford it due to poverty. Their attitude towards adopting family planning methods is positive.

3. Dhobi, Rajak-

There has been 747528 total population of these communities in Bihar and 91913 urban population in Bihar. The Dhobi (SC) of Bihar use surname like Ram, Baitha, Rajak and Prasad. They speak their respective regional languages, such as Maithili, Bhojpuri and Angika. Very small family size found in Dhobi community and invent remarkable point that's community proportion of females in the total population is considerably higher 60% than that of male 40%. however unmarried mails are much more in number than unmarried females however no widows and divorced as a problem have been reported among them. Maximum peoples are found Non-vegetarian but some peoples are found vegetarian. Found several patrilineal clans in this community. A few of them own land and they are engaged in cultivation. They are also engaged traditional and family occupation to washing cloths and they are also engaged as a laborer in different sectors like agriculture, forest, and industrial labor. Child labor also present their community. They worship deities Sitalamata and Durga. Patron client relations are maintained.

4.Dom, Dhanbad, Bashpor, Dharikar, Dharka, Domra-

There has been 194596 total population of these communities and 52465 peoples are living at urban area of Bihar. In Bihar, the (Dom SC) are also called Bhangi or Dhangad but they claim to be (bamboo honour) meaning bamboo workers, bamboo basketry is one of their occupation, are mostly on the banks of the Ganga river and around cremation grounds in Bihar, they are notified as Scheduled caste "Dom Dhangad" and they are speaking in Indo-Aryan language Magahi among themselves and also use Hindi or concerned area language. They are Non-vegetarians who eat pork, Rice and wheat are their staple cereals. The three subgroups among them are

Magahiya or Bansmalik, and leader, erlier, Dom was used as the surname, but now they use Ram, Malik and Prasad. The mostly Dom are landless digging, groves, crematory dead bodies and making bamboo baskets are their traditional occupations. Presently a considerable number are employed as sweepers and Jamadars in Municipal corporations or in various other government or private organization. The secondary occupations pursued by them are wage labour, rikshaw-pulling, selling charcoal and rearing pigs. Ramgosain is one of their family deities (Khandani-Devta) they worship village deities in addition to Gods and Goddesses like Kali, Goddesses and Krishna. Pufative kinship relations such as Dharma Bhai are established with members of most of the neighboring community by tying Rakhi their boys and girls generally do not study beyond the primary level have their literacy rate is very slow.

5.Dusadh, Dhari, Dharhi-

There has been 4945165 total population of these community and 384497 peoples are habitation at urban area. Dusadh community is the prominent community under the Scheduled caste category in Bihar their traditional occupation as Watchman and Lathiath of Zamindar. There are belongs from Kashyap Gotra. Goraiya Baba is one of the Ancestor of Dusadh community. Mostly rural people by Bihar worshiped to Goraiya Baba. They are also worship to king Shailhesh, Chouharmal, Motiram, Bishehara, Panchunath, Bhagwati, Manushdeva, Aghori, mirasaheb and Babhan. Their main cultural region between Nepal and India. Dinabhadri, Chouharmal and Chintamani is the main cultural leader of the communities. Time to Time different process adopted emancipation process by community.

Initially many peoples are associated with Ram-Rama Hindu Group and adopted Vaishnav sampradaya and peoples are wearing particular type neckless (Kanthi) Kanthi made by wooden stem of Tulsi and after the wearing of Kanthi follow some rules like Prohibition of Non vegetarian food, and which people are associated these processes called Ramdasiya sampradaya. Their social respect is greater comparative to their ancestor, not only in Dusadh community its also respected by the higher cults of Hindu and also greater opportunity to mix-up upper caste. But untouchability not completely eliminated by these processes. Second emancipation process adopted by Kabir-Panth

6. Musher-

Musehar is the most isolated and excluded caste in Bihar among Dalit community and they are also untouchable for Dalit Sub-caste. It is observation that in Ber village of Darbhanga District under Kusheswar-sthan block Musehar toli isolated and excluded from 1k.m from main habitations of villages. And habitations of the Musehar households between the water, their habitations area just look like a Island. Because not any type of road (even Cachcha road) connected to the area and all time waterlogging is their surroundings. It is very pathetic condition and it is very best example of exclusion of Dalit community in Bihar .

There has been total population 2725114 according to 2011 census and 93431 population habitation at urban area.Musahar (SC) They are a community believed to be an offshoot of the Bhuiya tribe of Chota-Nagpur (Risley 1891) (Crooke 1896) relates the Musahar to the savara as well as to the Chero, having subtribes like Jangali /Pahari, Dehati/Dehi and Dopkarha, with Khadiha, Bhenjuha, Kharwara, Kuchbandhia and Kakhaha as exogamous septs. According to some, the term Musahar is derived from the words, Masu meaning flesh and hera meaning seeker, signifying a flesh -seeker or hunter, according to another view, Musahar means a rat eater Musa means to rat and har means taker. The Musahar are short statured with a long and narrow head shape and show broad or flat nasal features. They are non-vegetarian and relish pork. Rice is their staple cereal.

In Bihar the Musahar (SC) are distributed in Bhagalpur, Munger, Purnia, Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saran, Champaran, Hazaribagh, Santalpargana and another district. They speak at Angika at home. The AIBAS data suggests that Musahar of Bihar have a very large household size with an average of 12 persons. They have more males 60% females, but married females are more 59% than the married males 37%. 10% widows and 4% widower are reported among them. The Musahar have several clans (Gotra) such as Balakumni, Daitinia, Gohlaut, pail, Rikhmun, Rishimuni, Tisbaria, Bansaghat, Danhariya, Sarpurkha and Kasmeta. Their surnames include Manjhi, Mandaland Musahar. Risley identified Bhatwar, Chanrwar, Chiksauriya, Dhar, Kanujia, Maghaiya Nathua, Surajia and Tirhutia as subcastes and recorded forty-four sections under these subcastes, The Musahar women have roles to perform in agricultural, economic, social and ritual spheres and contribute to the family income. Only a few among the Musahar own land and are cultivators. They are mainly agricultural laborers. Some of them pursue wage-labor in Industries, forest and fishing and a few others pull rikshaws stitch leaf-plates. Some are involved in sericulture and a few are employed in government and private services. They profess Hinduism and worship Kali as their family deity. The Musahar have no inhibition in accepting food and water from all Hindu communities except the Chamar They favorable attitude towards modern health care system but sometimes prefer indigenous medicine.

7.Nat-

The Nat mainly nomadic caste, their life is very challenging most of the population excludes from traditional occupations because there needs has been not fulfill by traditional profession and before few years Their attention concentrated on permanent inhabitation and aware about basic need of life .

There has been total population of Nat 58819 according to 2011 census and 7288 peoples located at urban area. The Nat (SC) of Bihar are also known as Bazigar, Sapera or Gulgulia. Their mother tongue is Magahi. an Indo Aryan language, and they also speak Hindi. The Nat are also Non-vegetarian. Their staple food comprises rice and wheat. The Nat community of Bihar is divided into fourteen hierarchical endogamous groups which regulate marriages and indicate social status. Their subgroups are Nituria. Rarhi, Chhabhayia, Tikulhara, Tirkuta, Pusthia, Rathore, Kazarhatia, Kathbhangi, Kanwariya. Kongarh, Lodhra, Kororhia and Gulgulia. The entire community belongs to only one Gotra Bhardwaj, Erlier, the term Nat was used as surname, but now they have adopted Gandharv, Rathor, Prasad, Lal as their surnames. Traditionally the Nat were acrobats, dancers and musicians, but in Bihar they have switched over to the occupations like selling herbal medicines, agriculture, business and wage - laborers. They profess Hinduism. Their main deity is Dack and regional deity Goraiababa. Inter community marriage are permissible. Their literacy rate, according to the census very low.

8.Pasi

There has been total population of Pasi in Bihar 880738 according to 2011 census and 167149 people's habitation in urban area. In Bihar, the Pasi (SC) are mostly toddy-tappers. Risley has also stated that the pasi were involved in tapping of the palmyra, date and palm trees for their sap. He further added that the name Pasi is usually derived from pasa. A noose cord, which Mr. Nesfield interprets as disclosing that they have only recently emerged from the hunting state. An Indo Aryan language, Magahi is spoken by them. They are conversant with the Hindi Languages too. The Pasi are divided into four subgroups, namely Tirusulia, Gaiduha, Kamini and Byadha. The Tirusulia claim the higher status, followed by the rest of order. Toddy tapping is the primary sources of livelihood. Some are engaged in wage labor, rikshaw-pulling. The Byadha subgroup still pursues trapping of birds and animals. The Pasi profess Hinduism. They propitiate deities like longia Bari, sokha Shiv Nath, Lahra Dak, Fulung Baba, Purkhan, Masan and Mangar Dak-patron-client relationship (punia or Jajmani) exist with the Brahman, Nai, Lohar, Barhi, Mali, Chamar and Kumbhar.

9.Rajwar-

There has been total population 285485 of Rajwar in Bihar and 13043 people's habitation at urban area in Bihar. They are distributed in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar. In Bihar Rajwar notified as Scheduled caste. They speak in Magahi language and are also conversant in Hindi and use Devanagari script. They are non-vegetarian the staple cereals food comprises rice, wheat and Maize. There are six endogamous groups, namely Rajbanshi, Rajbhar, Bhogta, Lathaur, Nagbanshi and Nakchedia. Out of these Rajbanshi claimed higher status of them. The Rajwar are not aware of any Gotra among them. They have adopted Rajbanshi as their surname. The women contribute to the family income through wage laborer Rajwar of Bihar are traditional

cultivators. Some of them are engaged in wage-cultivators. Some-pulling, government and private services, or are self-employed. Some of them do agriculture on ghewari basis. Agricultural land taken in lieu of labour on yearly basis. The Rajwar are considered expert brick-layers. They profess Hinduism. Pahunia or Jajmani relationship exist with the Brahman, Nai, Lohar, Kumbhar etc. Educational they are very backward. Modern Medicare is more Popular than the traditional one. A few have been benefited from the IRDP and other schemes.

Some latest literature has been noticed this community as a warrior community and their highly appreciable contribution against Jamindar for freedom of labour and the rights of their community during Indian national movement as a revolutionary, in that time against of Jamindar means that against of the ruler, ,Jawahir Rajbhar is the led of the movement.

Pattern of Social Structure

Table 1: Dalit Sub-castes in Sample Villages

Village Category	District	Block	Name of Village	Name of Dalit Sub-castes
Developed Village	Darbhanga	Singhwara	Bhawanipur (Mahisari)	Dusadh, Chamar, Dhobi, Dom, Nat
	Nalanda	Hilsa	Akberpur	Dusadh, Musehar
Under Developed Village	Darbhanga	Kusheswer Sthan	Beri (Vishanpur)	Dusadh, Chamar, Dhobi, Dom, Musehar
	Nalanda	Rajgir	Pilki	Dusadh, Chamar, Pasi, Rajbhar, Musehar

Source: Field Data

According to Louis Dumont; central feature of Hindu caste system is 'purity and pollution'. This gave rise to practice of caste-based discrimination in the form of 'untouchability'. It stems the notion that Dalits are impure who can pollute twice born castes. The practice untouchability has been challenged by many social reformers, political leader and leaders of Dalit community themselves. In most of the cases these actions faced with violent reaction, sanctions and social boycott. Although significant change has occurred in caste based social discrimination but this inhuman practice has not been removed. Dalits are still subjected to caste-based discrimination even after 75 years of Indian's independence.

In view of social fact, an attempt has been made to examine changing dynamics of social interaction between Dalit and Non-Dalit, and within Dalits themselves. In terms of caste based discrimination within sub-castes; majority of the respondents 65.00 percent (82.00 percent and 48.00 percent in developed and under-developed villages) replied in negation. But 35.00 percent of them (18 and 52 percent of both categories of villages) reported that they do experience such discrimination within their community. Here it is important to note that caste based discrimination within Dalits is much pervasive to both type of villages.

2. Discrimination among Dalit Sub-Castes within the Village

Details		Developed village		Under Developed Village		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Caste based discrimination	Yes	27	18.00	78	52.00	105	35.00
	No	123	82.00	72	48.00	195	65.00

within Dalit sub-castes in your village							
If yes mention the main reasons	Traditional /ancestral work	5	18.51	15	19.23	20	19.04
	Scavengers and sweeping work	3	11.11	10	12.82	13	12.38
	Rearing of Pigs	2	7.40	5	6.41	7	6.67
	Beef was eaten by ancestors	2	7.40	4	5.12	6	5.71
	Living in dirty/unhygienic condition	7	25.92	21	26.92	28	26.67
	To assess as a lower caste in comparison to their caste	8	29.62	23	29.48	31	29.52

Source: Field Data

Further, respondents were asked to specify types of discrimination and reasons thereof among Dalit sub-castes. It is evident from the above table that discrimination between Dalit sub-castes is stronger in under-developed villages in comparison to developed villages. According to respondents, there are two types of discrimination-untouchability and caste hierarchy. Ancestral work, scavenger and sweeping work, rearing of pig, beef eaten by ancestor, living in dirty and unhygienic conditions and to asses as a lower caste in comparison to their caste are main reasons for untouchability and caste hierarchy among Dalit.

ⁱ Table 3: Invitation by Non-Dalits on Social Occasions

Detail		Developed Village		Under-Developed Village		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Invitation by Non-Dalits on various socio-religious occasions	Yes	142	94.67	133	88.67	275	91.67
	No	8	5.33	17	11.33	25	8.33
Permit to Take food with Non-Dalits	Yes	81	54.00	52	34.67	133	44.33
	No	69	46.00	98	65.33	167	55.67
Total		150	100.00	150	100.00	300	100.00

Source: Field Data

Table above reveals that Dalits are invited by Non Dalits indifferent social occasions.91.67 percent respondents (94.67 percent of developed and 88.67 percent of under-developed villages) said that they are invited by Non -Dalits during major social Occasions, Like marriage, Mundan sanskar, religious ceremonies, etc.only 8.33 percent replied in negation. Change is more glaring in developed villages due to socio-economic factors.

Participation of Dalit is an integral part of Hindu socio-religious practices. The crucial issue is whether they are permitted to take food with non-Dalits. Majority of respondents replied in negation 55.67 percent but 44.33 percent replied in affirmation. This is significant change in Rural area in Bihar.

Chart -1

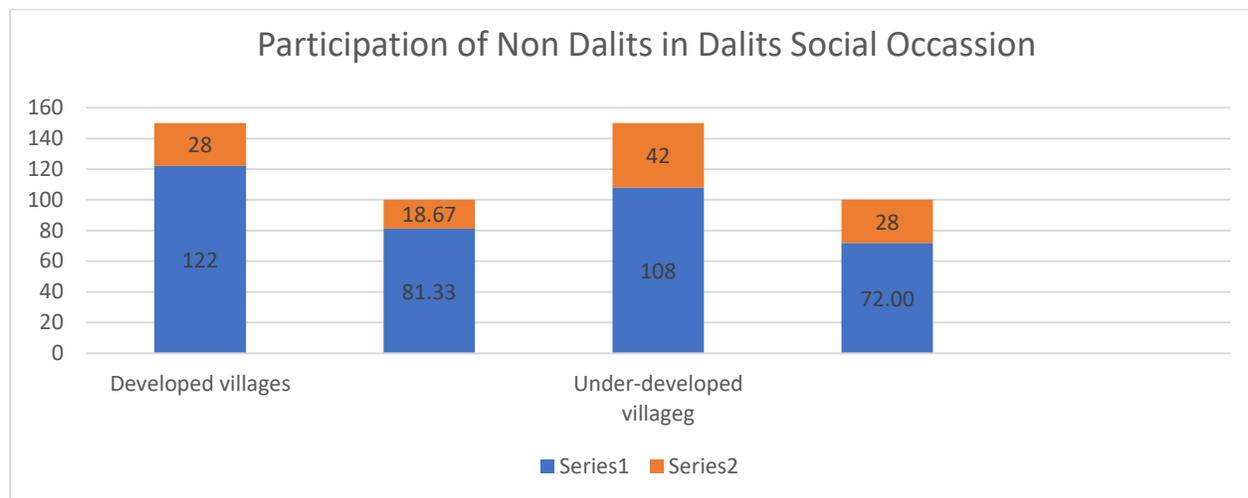


Table 4: Do Non-Dalits visit on occasion

Do-non-Dalits visit on such occasion?	Yes	103	84.42	87	80.56	190	82.61
	No	19	15.58	21	19.44	40	17.39
Total		150	100.00	150	100.00	300	100.00
If No Specify Reasons	Caste hierarchy	2	1.33	2	1.33	4	1.33
	Untouchability	2	1.33	3	2.00	5	1.67
	Discrimination	3	2.00	3	2.00	6	2.00
	Low economic status	3	2.00	5	3.33	8	2.67
	Village tradition	7	4.67	6	4.00	13	4.33
	No Response	2	1.33	2	1.33	4	1.33

Source: Field Data

During field work also tried to examine contrary trend as well. In terms of participation of Non Dalits social functions 76.67 percent respondents said that they also invite them on socio-religious occasions and among them 82.61 percent reported that non-Dalits do participate on their request. Trend is very significantly change in rural structure but 17.39 percent respondents of both categories of villages said that non-Dalits do not honor their request. Major reasons being caste hierarchy, followed by practice of untouchability, poor economic condition, Orthodox village tradition. The trend shows that in spite of changes in rural social structure; traditional social hierarchy and discriminations are quite glaring.

Table 5: Details acceptance of food given by Dalits

Details		Developed Village		Under-Developed Village		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do-Non-Dalit Take Meal	Yes	103	68.67	87	58.00	190	63.33
	No	47	31.33	63	42.00	110	36.67
If yes specify type of food	Katcha food	3	2.91	1	9.09	4	2.11
	Pucca food	93	90.29	82	94.25	175	92.11
	Both Katcha & Pucca food	7	6.79	4	4.59	11	5.78
Period of change	Up to 10 years	56	54.36	46	52.87	102	53.69
	11-20 years	39	37.86	34	39.08	73	38.42
	21-30 years	5	4.85	4	4.59	9	4.74
	More than 30 years.	3	2.91	1	1.14	4	2.10
	No response	-	-	2	2.29	2	1.05
Factors of change	Economic development of Dalits	103	100.00	87	100.00	190	100.00
	Political empowerment of Dalits	103	100.00	87	100.00	190	100.00
	Educational development of family	103	100.00	87	100.00	190	100.00

Source: Field Data

Accepting food in Dalit household is significant indicator of changing dynamics of social interaction between Dalit and Non-Dalit. 63.33 percent reported that non-Dalit do take food in their social functions. Another significant change is that 92.11 percent of them said cooked food item are being accepted by non-Dalits, It is an encouraging social indicator for social cohesion. However, such foods are cooked by Dalit or Non-Dalit is matter of probing. During survey tried to find out time span of such change to assess factors of change. Change has taken place mostly in last 10 to 20 years, due to modern socio-economic factors. Major factors of change as reported by the respondents are improved economic status, educational development and political empowerment of Dalits.

Table 6: Participation of Lower Dalit Sub-Castes on Social Occasions

Details		Developed village		Under-Developed Village		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do you invite lower	Yes	138	92.00	129	86.00	267	89.00

Dalit sub-castes on social occasion		No	12	8.00	21	14.00	33	11.00
Visit of Dalit sub - castes on Invitation		Yes	131	94.92	120	93.02	251	94.00
		No	7	5.07	9	6.97	16	5.99
If not specify reasons	Impure caste occupation		2	28.58	3	33.33	5	31.25
	Due to caste ranking		5	71.42	6	66.67	11	68.75

Source: Field Data

It is a well-known social fact that tenants of caste system have percolated downwards and consolidated its base. caste based discrimination has also been observed in rural areas within Dalit community. Efforts has been made to analyze pattern of social interaction within Dalits Majority of the respondent’s 89 percent said that they also invite lower Dalit sub-castes in social occasions, 94 percent respondents among invitee said that they do visit on request.5.99 percent revealed that neither they invite nor they visit on such occasions. Major reason is impure traditional occupation of some lower Dalit sub-castes, pig rearing and scavengers. Another reason is their lower caste ranking within Dalit community.

The trend shows that caste-based discrimination has declined to some extent between Dalit and Non-Dalit but within Dalit sub-castes it has gained some ground in the recent time.

Chart -2

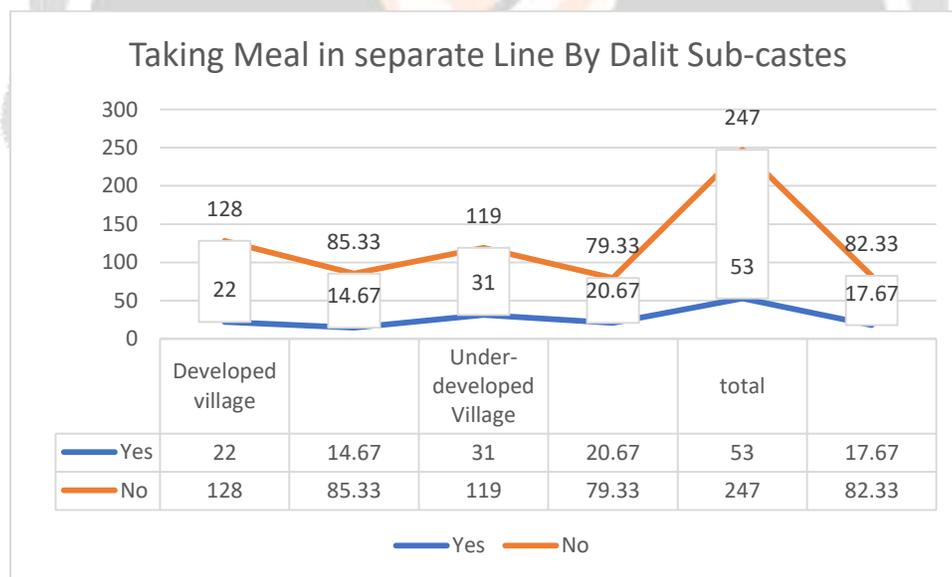


Table 7: Taking Meal in separate Line by Lower Dalit Sub-castes

Details		Developed village		Under-developed village		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do you ask lower	Yes	22	14.67	31	20.67	53	17.67

sub-castes to take meal in separate line		No	128	85.33	119	79.33	247	82.33
If yes specify reasons	Traditional work		3	13.63	4	12.90	7	13.20
	Due to untouchability		5	22.72	9	29.03	14	26.41
	Caste hierarchy		11	50.00	13	41.93	24	45.28
	Due to unhealthy living condition		2	9.09	4	12.90	6	11.32
If not, since how many years change occurred		Up to 10 years	112	87.5	101	84.87	213	86.23
		11-20 years	10	7.81	12	10.08	22	8.90
		More than 20 years	4	3.12	3	2.52	7	2.83
		Not response	2	1.57	3	2.52	5	2.02

Source: Field Data

In terms of taking meals in separate line by different Dalit sub-castes, 82.33 percent of total respondents (85.33 and 79.33 percent of developed and under-developed villages) replied in negative. However, 17.67 percent (14.67 percent of developed villages and 20.67 percent of under developed villages) have replied in affirmation.

Major reasons for separate line are 45.28 percent due to caste hierarchy, 26.41 percent due to untouchability, 11.32 percent living unhealthy living conditions of lower Dalit sub-castes and 13.20 percent said it due to traditional work.

In terms of time frame of decline in purity- pollution consideration majority of respondents (87.5 percent and 84.87 percent of developed and under-developed villages) said that it is happening since last 10 years.

Table 8: Food Taken by Dalits Given by Lower Sub-Castes

Details		Developed village		Under-developed village		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do you take meal given by lower sub castes	Yes	135	90.00	129	86.00	264	88.00
	No	15	10.00	21	14.00	36	12.00
If yes specify the type of foods	Katcha food	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Pucca food	47	34.81	34	26.35	81	30.68
	Both Katcha & Pucca food	88	65.18	95	73.65	183	69.31

Source: Field Data

Regarding taking meals provided by lower Dalit sub-castes 88 percent respondents (90 percent of developed and 86 percent of under-developed villages) replied in affirmation. However, 12 percent out of total (10 percent of developed and 14 percent of under-developed villages) replied in negation.

In terms of type of food; 34.81 percent respondents of developed villages and 26.35 percent of under-developed villages reported that they take only pucca food. Respondents of developed villages 65.18 percent and under-developed villages 73.65 percent replied that they take both katcha and pucca food given by lower Dalit sub-castes.

Table 9: Entry of Dalits In Temples in Their Localities

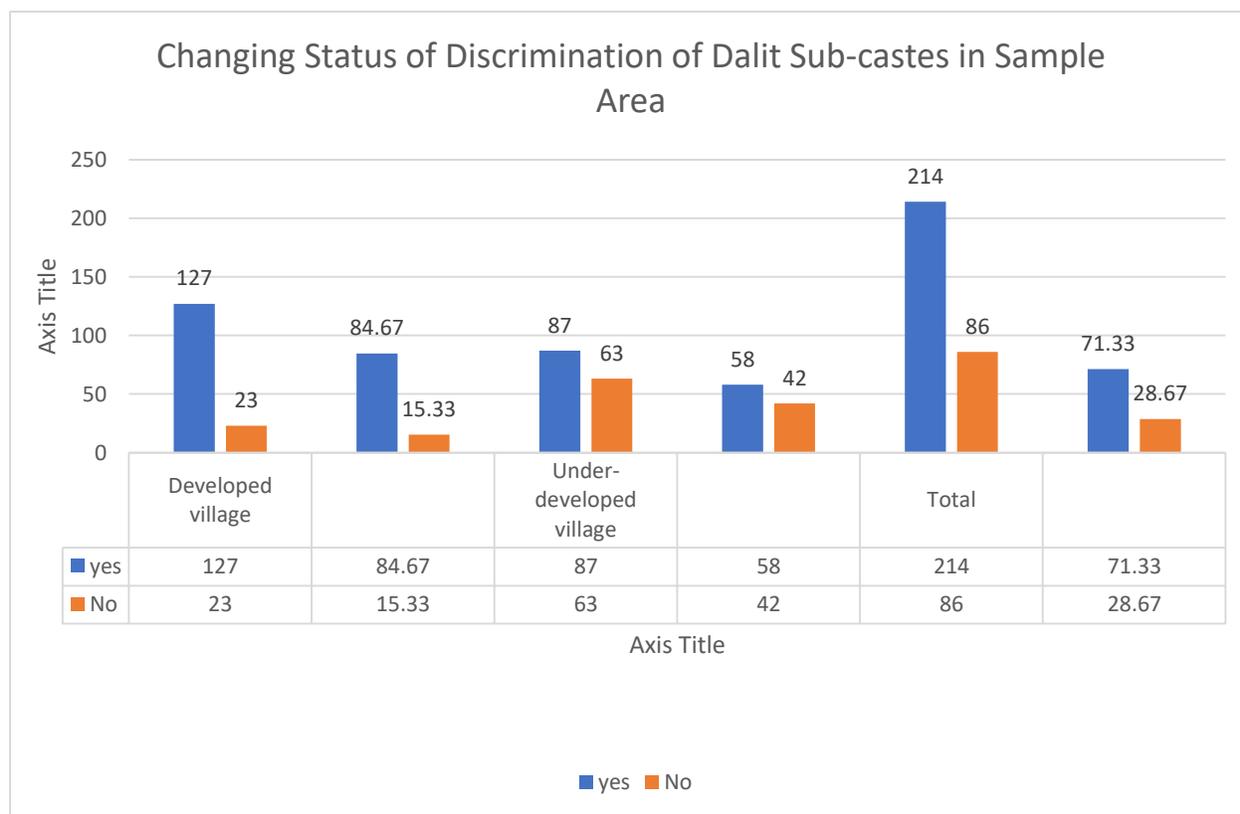
Details		Developed village		Under Developed Village		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Prohibition in entry of Dalits in temple	Yes	11	7.33	17	11.33	28	9.33
	No	139	92.67	133	88.67	272	90.67
If yes, since how many years	Up to 20 years	2	18.18	5	29.41	7	25.00
	20-40 years	4	36.37	5	29.41	9	32.14
	More than 40 years	5	45.46	7	41.17	12	42.87
If Not, Since how many years	Up to 10 years	107	76.97	101	75.94	208	76.47
	11-20 years	21	15.10	24	18.04	45	16.54
	21-30 years	8	5.75	5	3.76	13	4.78
	31-40 years	3	2.15	3	2.26	6	2.20
	More than 40 years	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Field Data

Regarding entry of Dalits in local temples; majority of respondent's 90.67 percent out of total (92.67 and 88.67 percent of developed and under-developed villages) replied negatively. But 9.33 percent of them (7.33 and 11.33 percent of developed and under-developed villages) replied in affirmation. 25 percent said that entry is prohibited since 20 years, for 32.14 percent it is from 20 to 40 years and 41.17 percent replied that it is more than 40 years.

Following data shows time frame of Dalits entry in local temple. 2.20 percent said that it is from last 40-31 years, for 4.78 percent last 30-21 years, 16.54 percent reported for last 20-11 years 76.47 percent reported for last 10 years they have been permitted to enter the temples in their areas.

Chart -3



Discrimination among Dalit, within Sub-castes is a new phenomena in Bihar. Academically Dalit and non-dalit issues already noticed but discrimination among scheduled castes exist at grass root level in rural Bihar.

Table 10: Changing Status of discrimination among Dalit Sub-castes in sample area

Details		Developed Village		Under-Developed Village		Total		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
If specify the reasons	yes	Educational development	97	76.37	55	63.21	152	71.02
		Political empowerment	13	10.23	11	12.67	24	11.21
		By leaving this traditional work	5	3.93	7	8.04	12	5.60
		Development works	6	4.72	8	9.19	14	6.54
		Improvement in economic conditions	4	3.14	3	3.44	7	3.27

	Improvement in living standard	2	1.57	3	3.44	5	2.33
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Source: Field data

Untouchability is one of the central features of caste discrimination. It stems from the notion that different castes have varying degrees of purity and pollution. Dalits impurity can pollute other social groups. This inhuman practice has been challenged by Dalits in different forms and different period of time, which has been often faced with violent sanctions and social boycott. Even today untouchability and other forms of caste-based discriminations do exist.

In the light of above facts attempt has been made to analyze trends of discrimination and untouchability within Dalits. In this regard respondents were asked whether discrimination has reduced between Dalits.

Majority of respondents 84.67 and 58 percent of developed and under-developed categories villages said that discrimination has been reduced among Dalit Sub-castes whereas 15.33 and 42.00 of developed and under-developed villages replied in negative. Further, respondents were asked to specify main factors for reduction in discrimination among Dalit sub-castes. Majority of them replied; due to educational development(71.02percent) followed by political empowerment (11.21), Development works (6.54), by leaving traditional work (5.60), Improvement in economic condition (3.27) and improvement in living standard(2.33percent). In under-developed villages discrimination among Dalit sub-castes have been much higher.

Conclusion

- There are 27 percentage people accept exist caste-based discrimination within Dalit Sub-castes in village because to assess as a lower caste in comparison to their caste.
- 8 percent Dalit said that Non-Dalit not invite to me on social occasion.
- 46 percent invited Non-Dalit not take food with Dalit.
- 28 percent Dalit not invited to Non-Dalit on social-religious occasion.
- 19 percent non-Dalits not visited on social or religious occasion to invited by Dalit household.
- 31.33 percent Non-Dalit do not take food given by Dalit.
- It is emerging new trend 12 percent Dalit not invite to Lower Dalit sub-castes, due to untouchability, it means that untouchability also exists within sub-castes of Dalit.
- There are 14.67 percent lower Dalit sub-castes to take meal in separate line due to caste hierarchy and untouchability.
- 9.33 percent of Dalit saying that prohibition of Dalit entry in temple.
- 84.67 percent except discrimination has been reduced about Dalit in study area.

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Biographies

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