

Social Mobility and Changing Identity of the Dalits in Haryana

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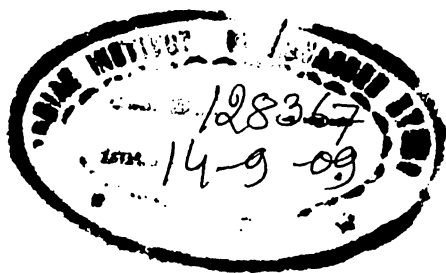
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Contents

Acknowledgments	iv
<i>Chapter – 1</i>	
Introduction	1
<i>Chapter – 2</i>	
Dalits in Perspective in Haryana	16
<i>Chapter – 3</i>	
Dalit Profile in Haryana – An Analytical Perspective	62
<i>Chapter – 4</i>	
Findings of the Study	91
References	97
Annexure	101

Acknowledgments

It is our pleasure to submit to you all the report – Social Mobility and Changing Identity of the Dalits in Haryana, a research undertaken by Indian Social Institute

Economic development influences social relation and dynamics including inter caste relations. However mere economic development without addressing caste hierarchical social order and *varna* mind set social discrimination continue to exist keeping some communities lag behind others in the process of empowerment and over all development. The study highlights the reality of Haryana and shows that Haryana may be economically developed but in terms of social development and social justice there are road blocks.

The study suggests that the Dalits in Haryana are moving away from their traditional occupations. The traditional dependence of Dalits on land owning castes has declined. The majority of Dalits respondents, i.e. 47% in urban areas and 40 percent in rural areas were employed in non-agricultural sector. The rural data indicates that only 2.5 percent Dalits were engaged in agrarian economy. Data also suggests that in the green revolution belt of Haryana, most of the agricultural work is done by the migrant labourers from the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The Dalits have moved away from their traditional occupations. The new occupations have given them better life and income. The new generation of Dalits aspire for jobs which are not attached to their traditional occupations which were perceived as demeaning.

There is increasing consciousness among the Dalits to participate actively in local politics. The traditional Chaupal (village assembly) and temples were restricted to the Dalits. The new Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) have given entry to the Dalits. The assertion of Dalits is more visible in local politics and development works. There is more participation of Dalits in local bodies' vis-à-vis more participation in election and attendance in Gram Sabha meetings. The active participation of Dalits has brought Dalit agenda in Gram Sabha and Ward Council/Municipality meetings.

There is change in Social Mobility and identity of Dalits in Haryana and it is not well received taken by many so called upper castes. This has policy implication for the state and civil society at large and organization within them. Efforts need to be made to ensure that economic development is accompanied by social justice and social development to bring about greater human development of all communities in Haryana especially the Dalits who have been marginalized for ages but now more assertive of their constitutional and human rights.

As we present this study we would like to thank all those who have helped in making this study possible. We would like to acknowledge the cooperation received from Prof. S.R. Ahlawat, Head of the Department of Sociology of M.D. University Rohtak. He has been a great help in finding the investigators, and identify sample districts, towns and villages. He also made the university infrastructure available for organising the orientation cum training programme on research methodology and the techniques for data collection. We thank Prof. K.S. Sangwan, Department of Sociology, M.D. University, Rohtak for his support and for making available his academic work.

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Our gratitude to all the respondents whose participation has made it possible for us to highlight the changing identity of Dalits in Haryana. We hope that this study will help policy makers, researchers, activists, civil society members and politicians who are committed and have the political will to continue working for the marginalised sections in Haryana and elsewhere in India.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The identity of a social group is culturally manifested in the society. The manifestation involves a sense of belonging of the people to a territory/country and it also distinguishes each group from the other. It is associated with the language, caste, class, ethnicity and many other aspects of that particular social group. The formation of an identity as a social process is dynamic and changing. Identities are lived out in day to day lives, events, and occasions. People experience their identity in and through symbols, rituals, relations, interactions, group mobility and behaviour patterns. A number of social groups in India and elsewhere in the world were and are given an identity by others. Over the years those social groups that were given a particular identity by others are in quest of their own identity which is articulated and lived out by themselves (Dahiwalé, 2005).

The question of identity may not be important to those who belong to the 'dominant' castes in Indian society. However, it is important to the lower ranked castes of the society. In the late 19th century, reform movements led by religious leaders and social reformers challenged the evils of *varna* ideology, caste system and caste based discrimination. With the spread of western education, educated members of castes which were previously known as 'untouchable' challenged the traditional caste based hierarchy and the socio-economic and political discrimination ingrained in it. The identity given to them by others within the Hindu social order is not acceptable to them any more. They have developed an identity of their own which is based on their collective reflection, interaction and analysis of the social situations and discourses prevalent in the society at large.

The Dalit identity (a contribution of the Dalit Panther movement in Maharashtra in 1970) held by the members of the community

represents a new spirit of equality and puts the blame of their situation where it belongs. The term 'Dalits' hints at those who have been broken and crushed deliberately and inhumanly by those above them in the social order. Some will argue that in the word 'Dalit' itself there is an inherent denial of pollution, *karma* and justification for caste hierarchy (Zelliot, 1992). To some, 'Dalits' comprise of all the oppressed and exploited categories of people in society while for some it includes the Scheduled Castes. A few people think that the Dalit identity is inclusive of not only the Scheduled Castes but the Scheduled Tribes as well. For the purpose of this study the Dalit identity is applied to the Scheduled Castes only.

The word 'Dalit' is not a new one. The term was widely used in the 1930s as a Hindi and Marathi translation of depressed classes. It was used by the colonial government for untouchables (Webster, 1999). In 1930, a news paper called *Dalit Bandhu* (Friend of Dalits) was published from Pune (Webster, 1990). This word was also applied by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his Marathi speeches. Ambedkar has used the term 'broken men' as the English translation of 'Dalit' in his book *The Untouchables* published in 1948 (Webster, 1990). The Dalits were the original inhabitants of India and descendants of the *dasas*, *asurs*, and *dasyus* as mentioned in Brahminical Hindu texts. The Dalits are challenging both colonial and Hindu interpretations of their *achhut* identity. The Dalit Panthers in Maharashtra revived the term and in their 1973 manifesto they expanded its referents to include Scheduled Tribes, neo-Buddhists, working people, landless and poor peasants, women and all those who are exploited politically, economically and under the pretext of religion (Webster, 1990). Since the 1970s the term 'Dalit' has been used in the press and in common parlance where it is normally used in narrower caste-based sense. In social sciences two views predominate in the understanding of all Dalits. The scholars using the class framework in understanding Indian society subsume Dalits within such classes or occupational categories as peasants, agricultural labourers, factory workers, students, and the like. This can be seen in most Marxist historical writings, subaltern studies volumes and to a lesser degree in the Dalit Panther Manifesto

(Webster, 1990). Some scholars who use a caste framework argue that within the Hindu caste it is the Dalits who are considered to be polluting by virtue of their hereditary occupation. In Shah's terminology the meaning of 'Dalit' is very vast. It is inclusive of such terms like downtrodden, disadvantaged, underprivileged, dispossessed, deprived, handicapped, abused, humble prostrate etc. It does not however confine merely to economic exploitation in terms of appropriation of surplus but also relates to suppression of culture - ways of life and value system –and more importantly denial of human dignity. It is essentially a political category for assertion of identity and mobilisation for collective action and connotes a discourse for fundamental change in social structure and relationship (Shah, 2002). The term 'Dalit' as argued above generally includes what is called in administrative parlance – Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes (Shah, 2002). The term Scheduled Castes (SCs) was used for the first time in 1935 by the Government of India to imply all low ranking Hindu castes for statutory safeguards and benefits (Dushkin, 1972). Till today it is used only for government purposes, legal provisions and political tasks. The SCs are not a homogenous category. There are many castes having their own identities, traditions and characteristic set of relations with other castes (Dushkin 1972). The Government of India created this category mainly for the development and welfare of these groups.

The Dalits were and still are designated with a variety of nomenclatures such as untouchables, depressed classes, service classes, weaker sections, *panchams*, *atisudras*, *avarnas*, *antayajas*, *harijans* and Scheduled Castes (SCs). The term 'depressed classes' refers to those castes which belong to the lowest rung of the Hindu caste hierarchy. The touch or proximity of these castes was considered polluting by the upper caste Hindus. Untouchability was practiced even among the castes included in the SC category. The term 'depressed classes' was a British innovation from an article written by Dr. Annie Besant published in Indian Review under the title "the uplift of the depressed classes" in 1909 (Sivaprakasam, 2002). The term 'servile classes' was used to denote the servile nature of their working relations with the

higher castes and the degraded nature of the work in which they were involved like scavenging and sweeping. D G Tendulkar preferred the term *harijan* to *antyaj* used by Saint Narasinha Mehata (Sivaprakasam, 2002). Later M K Gandhi popularised the term *harijan*.

The new Dalit identity has left behind the *harijan* identity which Gandhi gave to the ex-untouchables. The Dalit identity has been accepted by those people who are conscious of their history of exploitation and subordination by the dominant castes. The Dalits have by and large rejected identities like untouchables, depressed classes, scheduled castes and *harijans* that were given to them by the colonial rulers and Hindu nationalist leaders. The term 'Dalit' is now extensively used in both academic and non-academic literature. Their struggle for social justice and equality, identity politics, mobilisation for their right to dignity against discrimination and atrocities are the focus of Dalit studies.

The Dalits have challenged the notions of impurity and pollution attached to their community identity and history (Rawat, 2006). The Dalits in different parts of India claim that they have discovered a past and an identity either within the Hindu religion or outside of it which is inclusive and non discriminatory. The assertion of the Adidharmis and Valmiki of Punjab, the Satnamis of Chattisgarh, the Namsudras of Bengal, the Chamars, Pasis and Bhangis of Uttar Pradesh, the Shilpakars of Kumaon, and the Mahars of Maharashtra are popular examples (Rawat, 2006). It is suggested that the Chamars (a social group which works on animal skin and leather) of western Uttar Pradesh were the first Dalit community to struggle to redefine their identities in the early 1910s. Their struggle was launched initially in the context of the dominant colonial and Hindu narratives of their untouchable identity. It was carried on by emphasising the purity of their lives and demanding a status equal to their caste Hindus (Rawat, 2006). The assertion of Dalit identity with a modicum of pride is also a way of challenging the centuries old humiliation embodied in the unsociability experienced by them. The Dalit-Bahujan/Bahujan (majority) identity is also another identity accepted by the political parties led by the Dalits to assert the dominance of majority in politics and governance.

The socio-economic status of each caste included in the government recognised category of SCs is not uniform in all regions of India. Within this category there is further stratification. Some castes are better placed in terms of economic positions due to the nature of work and change in their traditional occupations. The SCs have been deprived of ownership and control over land, community resources, basic services and facilities by the dominant land-owning castes and the local institutions. This has resulted in abject poverty in many cases. It has also resulted in hunger, starvation, illiteracy and health, housing and social discrimination of various forms. The assertion of rights and consciousness of these groups for a new identity has been highlighted by the organisations working for their empowerment both in national and international forum.

The SCs suffered the stigma of untouchability and were considered *ati-sudras* or *avarnas* in the Hindu caste structure. All the ex-untouchables are not included in this schedule and all the castes under the schedule did not experience untouchability to an equal degree in the recent past (Shah, 2002). The people belonging to the above mentioned categories have been socially excluded, economically exploited, culturally dominated and politically marginalised. They have been forced to live for centuries in isolation, poverty and excluded.

In the above context we must realise that identity formation is a historical process. Further, identity formation is based on experiences in relation to others and in its expression. The experience about relations between one's self and others does not take place in a vacuum but in the existing socio-economic, political and cultural milieu and interaction. In this regard it can be stated that identity formation is an interactional process (Louis, 2003). Identity formation, especially of the marginalised communities, has come to the fore in this era in a much more powerful way than in the past. Identity formation among the Dalits is concerned with the self, self-perception and self-esteem. Dalit identity formation operates at two inter-related levels. On the one hand, there is an increase in the awareness that they have been reduced to a situation where they are addressed as untouchables. It is this awareness which has deepened the realisation of their exclusion, deprivation, discrimination

and dehumanisation over the years. On the other hand, there is a growing desire for freedom and awareness of the capacity to live a dignified life. There is a growing assertion within the individual and social groups of Dalits that they should not be considered untouchables but claim equal rights as all other citizens of this country. With this intensification in the awareness of the discrimination and the resolve to eliminate discrimination, Dalits are repositioning themselves in society. Thus these thought changes among the Dalits are creating a new self - constructed image in contrast to the demeaning images which have been imposed on them by others.

The lynching of five Dalit youth engaged in traditional occupation of collecting and trading on animal hide brought to the fore the discrimination Dalits are subjected to in Haryana in 2004. The incident also brought to the fore the Hindutva lobby operating in the country which as some critic would argue is the effort to preserve the caste system and *varna* ideology deeply engrained in Hinduism. While the families who lost their sons did receive compensation, the culprits went scot-free. The Jhajjar killing laid bare the total control of the dominant castes in administration, politics, and economy. This gruesome incident unravelled the nexus between the police and the communalist / casteist forces. Also another important aspect is the selection of the occasion for committing the act, Dussehra, one of the most celebrated Hindu festivals. The Jhajjar killings once again reiterated the fact that the Dalits do not matter much in the economic and political equations of Haryana. This is further highlighted by the fact that it took ten days for the Chief Minister of Haryana to go to the crime scene. Not only the national parties, but even the Dalit political parties did not carry forward the struggle of the Dalits for justice.

The recent killing of Dalits in Jhajjar and the burning of 35 Dalit houses in Gohana by the dominant castes shows that the dominant and exploitative castes cannot tolerate Dalit assertion and they can't bear the emergence of a new Dalit identity. The Dalits of Haryana have proven that they are economically ahead of many upper castes. They are not dependent on their former employers for survival. Their new Dalit identity asserts the denial of the caste identity that has been imposed on them which has enslaved them

for centuries. The new generations of Dalits are assertive; more organised and are challenging the caste based discrimination.

Economic development and the political process have influenced Dalit identity formation in the last three decades. The increasing demand for work in informal service sectors has attracted more landless labourers in labour markets. The Dalits have benefited more by the demand in service sectors than any other communities. The green revolution in 1960s followed by the white revolution created more employment in non-farm sectors. There was a lot of demand of workers for the construction of roads, houses and buildings. The Dalits preferred to work more in these sectors than in the traditional agriculture sectors. The wages are higher in non-agricultural works compared to the agricultural sector. The Dalit men preferred to migrate to urban areas to work in factories and grow small scale industries. The Dalit men who were earlier bonded to their employers decided to break the ties. In the early 1970s many legislations were introduced to abolish bonded labour. There were more demands by sanitary workers, *safai karmacharis* and other informal sectors. The availability of new modern occupations made the Dalits take better choices. By taking new occupations they earned more. Once they were free from the clutches of their landlord or employer they started asserting their rights in those social and political institutions which denied their rights.

The assertion of Dalits is more visible in their political participation. The reservation of seats for SCs in the state Assembly, Parliament and local bodies increased their active participation which was denied in other institutions. In the elections the Dalits voted only for that party which they believed, would support their cause. They also demanded a larger share in development work. In the last three elections many political formations took place with the support of Dalits. There are many political parties working for the Dalit cause. The Dalits identify themselves more with the parties headed by Dalit leaders.

In the above context this study looks at the identity formation of Dalits in Haryana. In other words the study examines the change in the socio-economic and political status of Dalits in Haryana.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

This study is about the changing status of Dalits in contemporary Haryana. Haryana is one of the economically developed states of India. But in terms of social development it lags behind other states. The recent killing of Dalits in Jhajjar and the burning of 35 Dalit houses in Gohana by the dominant castes shows that the Dalits are treated inhumanly despite all the constitutional rights, safeguards, Acts and laws of independent India. The emerging socio-economic and political assertion are the cause of envy to many dominant castes. Our study examines the salient features of the identity formation process that has been going on among the Dalits of Haryana. But at the outset itself it needs to be stated that Dalits are not a homogeneous group in Haryana and this is the case all over India. Dalit identity formation has become a reality in some parts of the country while it is non-existent in other parts. This study examines the process of identity formation and the changes in the socio-economic conditions of Dalits in Haryana. The Dalits taken into consideration in the present study are mainly belong to the Scheduled Castes identified for affirmative action by the Government of India. The study will help policy makers, social activists, academicians, Dalits and the general readers to understand the present status of Dalits in one of the most developed state of India.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the socio-economic status of the Dalits of Haryana,
2. To study the factors that contribute or hinder the economic and social mobility among the Dalits,
3. To locate the pattern of urbanisation, rural-urban differences of caste relations and caste consciousness among the Dalits of Haryana,
4. To examine the implementation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act of 1989 in the proceedings relating to Jhajjar and to understand the legal and administrative lapses relating to the issue of justice,
5. To explore the scope and space for Dalit identity formation.

1.4 Methodology

The methodology applied in this study uses both - qualitative and quantitative data. For such a study it is important to capture people's perceptions as well as observable facts. The numbers of instruments used for the study are as follows:

- (a) Village and Town Profile: Socio-economic profiles, civic facilities and local institutions working for the Dalits and non—Dalits were considered.
- (b) Questionnaire: Extensive data was collected through household questionnaires filled by investigators.
- (c) Interview Schedule: Both Dalit and non-Dalit respondents were interviewed to capture their views on the subject matter under study.
- (d) Secondary Data: Published books, articles, government reports, newspaper clippings, unpublished seminar proceedings and documents were reviewed.
- (e) Focus group interviews: The study has also tried to capture the views and perceptions of specific groups within the Dalit community to enhance qualitative and quantitative data. The group under focus comprises of women, youth, wage labourers, professionals, Dalit activists, journalists, panchayat representatives, elders of the locality, etc

1.4.1 Sampling

The study was designed to cover all the regions of the state. Keeping in mind the existing regional diversities a total of six villages and three towns from six districts were selected for the study. The samples were taken from six regions of the State basing on factors such as agricultural development, mechanised agriculture, caste dominance and control over land ownership, urbanisation and changing profile of caste relations in Haryana. From each region one district was selected. The districts selected were (for details of the Districts see Annexure).

1. Ambala,
2. Karnal,

3. Hisar,
4. Rohtak,
5. Mahendragarh and
6. Mewat.

1.5 Process of Data Collection

Keeping in mind the objectives of the study, 12 villages from six districts were identified on the basis of selection through the secondary data on the villages, accessibility and contact with resource persons in proportion of Dalit/non-Dalit households, distance from the town, canal irrigation and nature of work in the village, land control pattern and dominance of various castes in the village. Two research associates were appointed with the help of Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak & Kurukshetra University right from the onset of the study with a one day orientation at the Indian Social Institute, New Delhi. They were briefed on research methodology and techniques of selecting villages. After the training they were sent to the districts to identify some research investigators and select one village from each district for survey. While selecting a village the availability of research investigators from the village and cooperation from the village people for the field work was taken into account. From the 27th of June 2005 to 4th July 2005, we interviewed research investigators at the district level and selected 12 investigators, one for each village and two for each town. All the investigators were social science students from M D University, Rohtak and Kurukshetra University (Kurukshetra). Of the total 12 investigators 9 were male and 3 were female. Again, the caste background of the investigators was taken into account keeping the sensitive caste conflict of the Jhajjar incident in mind. A one day orientation-cum-training programme was held for all research investigators at the Department of Sociology, M D University, Rohtak, on techniques of data collection on the 5th of July 2005. The filling of Interview Schedules was demonstrated to all the investigators. A Hindi guide on how to fill up the interview schedule and kits for the field were given to all investigators. The collection of primary data started from 6th July 2005.

The investigators that were chosen were from the villages they would interview later. We preferred local investigators from the village to get the inside story of caste conflicts and qualitative information on inter-caste relations. Since the majority of the Dalit respondents were wage labourers they were available in the mornings and evenings only. The local investigators could manage to interview them at night. In case of Hisar and Karnal towns female investigators were from the neighbouring villages and they travelled daily to the town for data collection.

1.6 Sample Design and selection

The selection of the sample was purposive. The sample of 2584 household respondents was picked from six villages and three urban areas of Haryana. The rural sample was 1335 (51.66%) and the urban sample was 1249 (48.34%), out of which 2089 (80.8%) were men and 495 (19.2%) were women.

A total of 3000 questionnaires were distributed to be filled by the investigators. However only 2584 filled up questionnaires were received back. Out of those questionnaires which were received, 50 were found to be incomplete and therefore were not included in tabulation. The remaining 366 questionnaires were not filled in by investigators. In Hisar and Karnal towns many respondents refused to provide data and in many instances household members were not available to respond to the investigators.

The Haryanvi society, being patriarchal, the majority of the household heads who came forward to respond were men. The woman members of the families came forward only when the male heads of the households were not available. The data was collected from both the Dalits and non-Dalits for comparative study of changing status of Dalits in Haryana. In our survey 1220 (47.21%) respondents were Dalits and 1364 (52.79%) were non-Dalits.

1.7 Profile of the Study Area and Respondents

The following table shows the profile of the study area and the respondents.

Table 1.1 Name of the Villages/Towns and Districts Selected for Study

No. Village/Town	District	Region
1. Dhulkot	Ambala	Northern Haryana - highest percentage of SCs in the district and the village
2. Aibela jagir	Karnal	Both agriculturally and industrially developed, The Rors are the predominant land owning caste in the village
3. Karnal urban	Karnal	Dalits are in majority in the sample colony/ward
4. Jassia	Rohtak	Jats are the main land owning caste in the district. The other land owning caste are the Rajputs
5. Rohtak urban	Rohtak	Dalits are in majority in the sample colony/ward
6. Patan	Hisar	Semi desert - north-western Haryana, Dalits are in majority in the village
7 Hisar urban	Hisar	Dalits are in majority in the colony/ward
8. Rasulpur	Mahendragarh	Southern Haryana - Ahirs/Yadavs are the main land owning castes in the district and the village
9. Nangal Mubarikpur	Mewat	Meo Muslims are in majority in the district and the village

Table 1.2 Sex of the Respondents

Gender	Urban		Rural		Total
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Dalit	Non-Dalit	
Male	504 (76.4)	438 (74.2)	460 (81.4)	687 (89.3)	2089 (80.8)
Female	156 (23.6)	152 (25.8)	105 (18.6)	82 (10.7)	495 (19.2)
Total	660 (100.0)	590 (100.0)	565 (100.0)	769 (100.0)	2584 (100.0)

(Figures within the brackets show the percentage)

Table 1.3 Village-wise/Town-wise Respondents

Name of the village/ Town	Male		Female		Total	
Rohtak urban	461	(22.1)	146	(29.5)	607	(23.5)
Nangal Mubarikpur	253	(12.1)	35	(7.1)	288	(11.1)
Aibela Jagir	161	(7.7)	6	(1.2)	167	(6.5)
Dhulkot	154	(7.4)	47	(9.5)	201	(7.8)
Rasulpur	179	(8.6)	33	(6.7)	212	(8.2)
Karnal urban	235	(11.2)	121	(24.4)	356	(13.8)
Patan	174	(8.3)	28	(5.7)	202	(7.8)
Hisar urban	245	(11.7)	41	(8.3)	286	(11.1)
Jassia	227	(10.9)	38	(7.7)	265	(10.3)
Total	2098	(80.8)	486	(19.2)	2584	(100.00)

(Figures within the brackets indicate the percentage)

Table 1.4 Educational Backgrounds of the Respondents

Educational Background	Urban			Rural		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	286 (30.5)	186 (60.4)	472 (37.9)	383 (33.4)	125 (66.8)	508 (38.1)
Literate	105 (1.2)	28 (9.1)	133 (10.7)	46 (4.0)	8 (4.3)	54 (4.0)
Primary	144 (15.4)	36 (11.7)	180 (14.5)	192 (16.7)	20 (10.7)	212 (15.9)
Middle	186 (19.9)	24 (7.8)	210 (16.9)	189 (16.5)	14 (7.5)	203 (15.2)
Up to XII Std.	155 (16.5)	22 (7.1)	177 (14.2)	263 (22.9)	13 (7.0)	276 (20.7)
Graduate	34 (3.6)	5 (1.6)	39 (3.1)	39 (3.4)	1 (0.5)	40 (3.0)
Post Graduate	13 (1.4)	- (-)	13 (1.0)	11 (1.0)	- (-)	11 (0.8)
Any Other	4 (0.4)	- (-)	4 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.5)	2 (0.1)
Not Answered	10 (1.1)	7 (2.3)	17 (1.4)	24 (2.1)	5 (2.7)	29 (2.2)
Total	937 (100.0)	308 (100.0)	1245 (100.0)	1148 (100.0)	187 (100.0)	1335 (100.0)

(Figures within the brackets indicate the percentage)

Table 1.5 Dalits and non - Dalits Interviewed in the study

Survey Area	Dalit		Non-Dalit		Total	
Rural	566	(42.46)	767	(57.54)	1333	(100.0)
Urban	654	(52.28)	597	(47.72)	1251	(100.0)
Total	1220	(47.22)	1364	(52.78)	2584	(100.0)

(Figures within the brackets show the percentage)

Table 1.6 Age Profile of the Respondents

No.	Age in years	Dalit		Non-Dalit		Total	
1	Below 30	258	(21.06)	292	(21.48)	550	(21.28)
2	30-40	412	(33.63)	406	(29.87)	818	(31.65)
3	40-50	299	(24.40)	350	(25.75)	649	(25.11)
4	50-60	140	(11.42)	167	(12.28)	307	(11.88)
5	60-70	91	(7.42)	106	(7.79)	197	(7.62)
6	Above 70	25	(2.04)	38	(2.79)	63	(2.43)
7	Total	1225	(100.00)	1359	(100.00)	2584	(100.00)

(Figures within brackets indicate the percentage)

1.7 Difficulties

No research ever gets completed without its own share of difficulties and ups and downs. This study is no exception. The field work was carried out in June - August 2005, during which the summer heat is at its peak in north-west India. The Dalit respondents who were mainly engaged in wage labour were often not available at home during the day. There were cases when the male household members were under the influence of alcohol and not in a position to respond to any queries.

Many of the respondents were under the impression that our survey was being conducted by the Municipality to evict them from their unauthorised houses. Given the time constraint of the survey, when we interviewed housewives who were available at day time, they could not respond to all the questions. In the Haryanvi society, patriarchal values and traditions are practiced and it was not easy for both the investigators and respondents to interact with the opposite sex. In the absence of any male family members, women hesitated

to share any family information as they thought that the other family members might not approve of doing so.

In Karnal town, the Dalit business households suspected the investigators of being agents of the Municipality. They thought that these investigators were conducting a survey to impose sales tax on them. Many households never shared any free and frank details with our investigators. The sanitation conditions in the slums of Rohtak, Karnal and Hisar were unhygienic and the investigators were reluctant to spend a lot of time at the households.

A couple of investigators were asked by us to discontinue the task as their attitude and behaviour were not suitable for the task at hand. In another case, an investigator left the study half way in pursuit of a newly offered job opportunity. It was not easy to find diversity among the available investigators. There were not many Dalit and women investigators to choose from.

Chapter 2

Dalits in Perspective in Haryana

2.1 Profile of Haryana

Haryana was part of the State of Punjab till November 1966. The state with an area of 44,212 sq. kms is situated in the north-western part of India. It is bounded by Himachal Pradesh in the north, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi in the east, Rajasthan in the south, and Punjab and Chandigarh in its north-western border. The origin of the name Haryana is associated with hari-ka-ana (the coming of God Vishnu) or hariyali (greenery). In historical writings the state has been referred to as a sub-tract or a sub-region. The socio-cultural, economic life and linguistic identity of its people are similar to those of the people of neighbouring states. People living in the districts of Faridabad and Gurgaon are culturally closer to the people of Braj (Uttar Pradesh). The people of Mahendragarh, Bhiwani, Hisar and Sirsa districts have socio-cultural affinity with Rajasthan. The influence of Punjabi culture can be seen on the inhabitants of Karnal, Kurukshetra, Ambala and Yamunanagar districts. In these districts the majority of people are immigrants from Pakistan who settled down here after the partition of India in 1947. Thus, only the four districts of Rohtak, Sonapat, Jind and Jhajjar represent the Haryanavi culture and identity, as known to other people. The people of the state do not have a common dialect. Various dialects spoken in the state are part of Hindi.

The state of Haryana has 20 districts. These districts are characterised by regional contrasts in rainfall, terrain and land use pattern. The hill region of Ambala, the fertile plains of Karnal and Kurukshetra districts receive high rainfall of 110 cms. However, in the south-west semi desert region of Hisar, the annual rain fall is an uncertain 25 cms only. There is regional contrast in land productivity, farm labour income and standards of living in rural areas. The disparities are narrowing as irrigation is extended to semi desert and hill areas of southern and western region where rainfall is uncertain. The location of major industrial concentration

in Faridabad and Gurgaon districts has helped redress the regional rural income in the state. The rise of per capita income in agriculturally less developed areas has been associated with the development of modern tertiary sectors in rural areas. The development of transport and communications, banking, health and educational services, and set up of local offices of various branches of government administration boost the rural economy. The diversification of occupations in rural areas has reduced dependence on agriculture. The availability of transport from village to town has facilitated trade and commerce in rural Haryana. Of late there is a tendency to move to the nearest town for education, health care and establishing business. In several villages there is an increase in daily commuting by workers to bigger villages and near by towns.

The creation of the State of Haryana is attributed to some extent to the feeling of discrimination by the Punjabi speaking political elites of united Punjab. The region of the present day Haryana was the most backward in undivided Punjab. It was known as a dust bowl of Punjab. Politically the state was dominated by the dominant land owning castes. In late 1950s, the consolidation of land holdings and the conferring of land rights on tenants contributed to the decline of tenancy. There was rise in the self-cultivation of land owners by two thirds of the area (Bhalla, 1995). The threat of tenancy legislation induced many land owners to resume land for self cultivation. The process was accelerated later in response to the possibilities opened up by the introduction of modern technology in agriculture. The result was that 15 years later the share of area under self-cultivation was over 80 percent (Bhalla, 1995). The political leaders of Haryana followed the policy of 'catching up' with their more developed neighbour Punjab. The targets in the Fourth Plan (1969-74) and in the early budget documents were repeatedly stated in terms of comparisons, with data given both for Haryana and Punjab highlight the distance to be covered. It is only in 1970s that Haryana budget speeches begin to talk in terms of 'first, fastest, and best' - the first state to achieve 100 percent electrification, the highest growth of per capital income, the best rural bus service, and so on. In case of poverty alleviation through rural employment generation the state

moved ahead of Punjab. The diversification of the economy and growth of non-agricultural activities was the most striking feature of development since early 1960s (Bhalla, 1995). In the 1970s Haryana was among the first few provinces where every village was connected with a metal led road and provided with electricity connections. The per capita income in Haryana was the third highest in the country.

2.2 Economics of Haryana

Haryana has emerged economically one of the most developed states during the last four decades. The state, with Human Development Index value of 0.509, ranks fifth in India. This is also evident from its growth rate of 28.4 per cent which is higher than that of Punjab (19.7 per cent) (Sharma, 2005). Its per capita income has increased from Rs. 4,991 in 1966-67 to Rs. 13,709 in 1999-2000 (Sharma, 2005). The increase in irrigation, mechanisation of agriculture and extensive use of fertilisers and pesticides increased the food production of the state. After the formation of the state in 1966, it has achieved 100 per cent rural electrification. This led to the operation of 3.57 lakhs tube wells spread over more than 6,745 villages. It made canal irrigation available to more than 20 lakh hectares in 1991 as compared to about 12 lakh hectares in 1966. About 85.4 per cent of its cultivable land is irrigated. In villages of the plains of Karnal, Kurukshetra and Kaithal districts the irrigated land is between 90-100 per cent. The least irrigated is Mahendragarh with 55.1 percent and Gurgaon 64 per cent (Kumar, 2005). The research and extension service offered by the CCS Haryana Agriculture University, Hisar served as an accelerator of agricultural growth. The state has also emerged as a major producer of dairy products in the country.

In terms of industrial and urban development the state has exploited its proximity to the national capital and promoted industrial units in Faridabad and Gurgaon. The growth has been in the small scale sector units which increased from 4,500 to more than one lakh. The number of medium and large scale units has increased from 162 to 461. In 1961, Ambala Cantt was the only town which had population of 50 thousand. In 2001, there were 96 urban units and

6955 villages in the state. Out of 96 towns 19 cities had more than one lakh population. The population of Faridabad has increased to over 10 lakhs.

The table 2.1 shows the increase of population in Rohtak, Karnal and Hisar towns. In an estimate by the Haryana Industrial Development Corporation in the last 10 years, the industrial units in the state have increased 20 times. The census data shows an increase of urban population from 24.6 per cent in 1991 to 28.9 per cent in 2001.

Table 2.1 Population in Sample Towns of Haryana 1901-2001

Year	Rohtak	Karnal	Hisar
1901	24323	23550	17647
1951	71902	59750	35297
1961	88193	71109	60222
1971	124755	92784	89437
1981	166767	132107	137369
1991	216096	176131	181255
2001	294537	222017	263070

Source: Statistical Abstract 1986-87, 2002-03

The region of the present Haryana was annexed by the British East India Company on 30 December 1803. After annexation by the colonial government, the new land revenue policy was introduced to have more control over the peasants. The Haryana was the most backward region in Punjab during the colonial period. The region was facing severe drought and famine. The British rule in Punjab was marked by an overall stagnation or deterioration in the agrarian economy. The emergence of commercial agriculture and rising rural indebtedness created further problems for the peasants. The miserable economic conditions of the agricultural labourers, mainly Scheduled Castes (SCs) were beyond one's imagination. The agricultural labourers were mainly Chamars employed by Rajput land owners (Darling, 1925). The agricultural labourers were able to survive during the famine of 1879-80, 1896-97, 1900-07 and 1932-33 due to the fact that they were meat-eaters. Malcom Darling mentioned that only two have survived the trader and butcher or the meat-eater, 'the one by using his scale or the other by using his

knife” (Darling, 1925:92). The post independence period was marked by prosperity in the agrarian economy of the State.

The institutional and economic infrastructures were created in the 1960s to facilitate green revolution. In 1970s the state experienced fastest growth in its economy. The growth in agrarian economy was the main strategy of rural development programmes in 1970s. The introduction of green revolution technology was highlighted in rural development strategy of the state. The extensive use of high yielding seeds, farm machinery, energised well-irrigation, fertilisers and pesticides were talk of the time to increase farm production. The result of green revolution was visible when the food grain production of the state increased to 64.70 per cent in 1967-73 (Dhanagare, 1995). However, the new agricultural technology was more accessible to the big peasants. The benefits of the green revolution were distributed unequally to different categories of peasants. The small and marginal peasants were at a relatively disadvantageous position. The reasons for differential distribution were due to the high cost technology of the modern agriculture. This required more capital investments generally beyond the means of a majority of small and marginal peasants (Dhanagare, 1995). The study by Halslemere Declaration Group (HGD) of London in 1973 shows that in Punjab and Haryana the trickle down effect of the green revolution was visible when the daily wages of agricultural labourers increased by 89 per cent from 1961 to 1968 (Dhanagare, 1995). This gain was offset by the rise in prices by about 93 per cent over the same period, in spite of substantial increase in agricultural production (Dhanagare, 1995).

The economic development has also created a number of social problems in Haryana. It is argued that the rich peasants of the 1970s became paupers in 1990s (Ahlawat, 2005). The increase in inputs in agriculture and distress sale of wheat increased indebtedness among the peasants. The increasing incidence of farmer's suicide, criminalisation of politics, corruption, honour killings in case of inter-caste marriages are the burning problems in Haryana. It is argued that migration is due to regional differences, in the population pressure on land inequality of infrastructure, industrial development and modernisation of agriculture (Dabhi,

2006). The internal migration of Dalit in Haryana seems to be case in point.

The poverty ratio in the state has declined. The Below Poverty Line (BPL) which was 35.36 in 1973-74 declined to 8.74 per cent in 1999-2000. The percentage of urban poverty of 9.99 percent was higher than rural poverty of 8.27 per cent in 1999-2000. In 2002 the number of households living below poverty line was 7.89 lakhs. It is estimated that in 2011-12 the percentage of BPL will be 2.58.

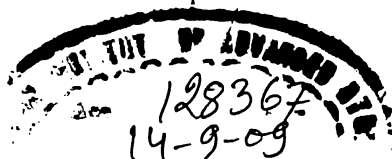
Table 2.2 Percentage of Projected Population Below Poverty Line in Haryana from 1973-74 to 2011-12

Sl. No.	Year	Percentage
1	1973-74	35.36
2	1977-78	29.55
3	1983	21.37
4	1987-88	16.64
5	1993-94	25.05
6	1999-2000	8.74
7	2006—07	5.00
8	20011-12	2.58

Source: State Plans, Trends Concerns and Strategies Five Year Plan 2002-2007, Vol. 111, Planning Commission, Government of India. Rural Development Statistics, National Institute of Rural Development, Government of India.

2.1.1 Work Participation

The work force structure in the state which was dominated by agriculture is changing rapidly. In 1991 the share of non-agricultural workers in the total male main workforce rose from 35 percent to 43 percent (Bhalla, 1995). In the ranking of states by share of non-agricultural employment in total employment, Haryana's position improved from eighth in 1961 to fourth in 1991 in case of rural workforce and from ninth to seventh in case of rural and urban workforce. The majority of Haryana's rural labour households are landless. The state has the highest rates of growth of rural employment in the country in agriculture and all rural person days of work. The NSS Rural Labour Enquiry data show that even though landless labour households constituted 91 percent of rural



labour house holds, the share of labour house holds earning less than the going wage rate was only 3 percent of the total. This is the lowest among all states. It may be noted that Haryana has the lowest incidence of rural workers getting less than the current wage rate because of debt or other obligations contracted with their employers.

Only eight Dalits out of 100 cultivate their own land in the state (Telegraph, 27 October 2002). The green revolution, fertile lands and a good dairy system have erased poverty to an extent. The agricultural labour households are mainly SCs. They occupy the lowest rank of the traditional caste hierarchy. They suffer from many economic and social disadvantages. The majority of agricultural labourers fail to earn sufficient income to meet their barest consumption needs. A study by Bhalla in early 1970s shows they suffer a very high incidence of unemployment. In a year they were out of work for six months (Bhalla, 1974). The ownership over land and caste determines social status, economic power and political influence in villages. The SC agricultural labourers are generally bereft of any ownership rights in land. They constitute the real have-nots in the rural Haryana (Bhalla, 1974). However it is argued that in many parts of Haryana the agricultural labourers are better off than the small cultivators who operate less than five acres of land (Bhalla, 1974). The green revolution has resulted in accentuating regional income imbalances. The northern part of Haryana (Karnal, Ambala and Jind) are better off than the Southern region (Gurgaon, Mahendragarh, Jhajjar, Bhiwani) (Bhalla, 1974). Green revolution has benefited the agricultural labourers to a large extent in the northern region and to some extent in the central region (Bhalla, 1974).

The mechanisation and diversification of agriculture enhanced the ability of the big land owners to operate the whole of their land. The growing HYV crops led to cropping intensity. The influx of migrant labour from UP and Bihar provided cheap labour. The big land owners took the land for self-cultivation and disposed the non-occupancy tenants and share croppers. They began to get their land cultivated by employing attached labourers who in the beginning were recruited from lower castes (Judge et al, 1996). The small

and marginal land owners could not mechanise their farms because of lack of capital to invest in the purchase of infrastructural facilities. They started leasing out land to the big land owners (Judge et al, 1996). The green revolution had resulted in the emergence of two trends in rural Haryana. A new class of middle and big peasants emerged who have started taking land from big absentee land owners and small peasants. The land owners live in town. They hire machinery and labour to cultivate their land. After sowing the crop they employ labourers whose responsibility is to spray pesticides and irrigate the crops. At the time of harvesting the landowner comes to the village and pays one-twentieth of the produce to the attached labour as his wage (Judge et al, 1996). The authors have argued that the village studied in Haryana in 1970s show decline in poverty especially among small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers. The early expansionary phase in agricultural employment was associated with the spread of irrigation, introduction of HYV seeds, increase in fertiliser use and rise in tube-well irrigation (Judge, et al 1996).

The SCs constitute 49 per cent of the landless agricultural labourers in India. Their percentage as marginal and small peasants is 25 per cent. The landholdings owned by SCs are small to support their family. There is decline in work as wage labourers in agriculture. In our sample districts, Karnal has the highest number of agricultural labourers, i.e. 23.7 per cent and Gurgaon has the lowest 9.2 per cent of the agricultural labourers. In the main workers category Hisar has the highest 33.6 per cent as main workers and Ambala has the lowest 27.2 per cent as main workers. The table 2.3 shows main workers, marginal workers, casual labourers, agricultural labourers, own workers and household industry workers engaged in Ambala, Karnal, Hisar, Rohtak, Mahendragarh and Gurgaon districts.

The work participation rate is highest 43.3 per cent in Mahendragarh and lowest 32 per cent in Ambala. According to the census of 2001, the total cultivators of the state were 3018014, out of which 1855547 (61.48 per cent) were males and 1162467 (38.52 per cent) were females. The total agricultural labourers were 1278821, out of which 717133 (56.07 per cent) were males and 561688

Table 2.3 Categories of Workers and Work Participation in Sample Districts

Sl. No	Categories of workers	Ambala	Karnal	Hisar	Rohtak	Mahendragarh	Gurgaon
1	Total workers	324521	355466	665572	371073	204704	629658
2	Main workers	275648 (27.2)	355466 (27.9)	516817 (33.6)	288255 (30.7)	204704 (25.2)	464644 (28.0)
3	Marginal workers	48873 (4.8)	99989 (64.3)	148755 (9.7)	82848 (8.8)	147160 (18.1)	165014 (9.9)
4	Non workers	689890 (4.8)	818728 (64.3)	871545 (56.7)	569055 (60.5)	460657 (56.7)	1030631 (62.1)
5	CL (Main Marginal)	53016 (16.3)	121027 (26.6)	289710 (43.5)	143314 (38.6)	192519 (54.7)	195768 (31.1)
6	AL (Main + Marginal)	42270 (13.0)	107946 (23.7)	100806 (15.1)	45462 (12.3)	39000 (11.1)	57928 (9.2)
7	HHI (Main + Marginal)	10764 (3.3)	13426 (2.9)	15778 (2.4)	9733 (2.6)	7889 (2.2)	17021 (2.7)
8	OW(Main + Marginal)	218471 (67.3)	213056 (46.8)	259278 (39.00)	172564 (46.5)	112456 (32.00)	358941 (57.0)
9	Work participation rate	32.0	05.7	43.3	39.5	43.3	37.9

(Figures within the bracket is percentage)

Source: Census of India 2001, Haryana

(43.93 per cent) were females. In rural Haryana most of the agricultural and animal husbandry work is done by women. After the green revolution of 1960s the large scale migration of agricultural labourers who came from Bihar and eastern UP pushed out the local labourers. The mechanisation of agriculture reduced the burden of male workers in agriculture. The work burden of women increased. In spite of their over burden with domestic work, agriculture and animal husbandry, they are not reported in main workers category. The non-workers were highest i.e. 64.3 per cent in Karnal followed by 62.1 per cent in Gurgaon. The census report shows that since 1971 there is decline in the percentage of agricultural labourers and cultivators in the state (see Table 2.3). There is an increase in workers in other industries, trade and commerce, transportation and other services. Among the SCs the percentage of cultivators was 8 per cent, much less than the national average of 25 per cent. This gives an insight into the landless wage labourers in Haryana. Our data collected from six districts of the state shows that there is decline in agricultural wage labourers in Haryana. Both in rural and urban Haryana there is an increase in non-agricultural wage labourers.

✓ Table 2.4 Scheduled Caste Government Employees in Haryana, 2001

Sl.No.	Category of Govt. Employee	Total Employee	Percentage
1	Class 1	235	0.39
2	Class 2	988	1.67
3	Class 3	25745	43.53
4	Class 4	20801	35.17
5	Contract	11373	19.22
6	Total	59142	100.00

Source: Statistical Abstract, Government of Haryana 2001-02, Kumar, S, Haryana Dasha Aur Disha, 2005, p 105 ✓

The Table 2.4 shows the total Dalit employees employed in Haryana in 2001. About 79 per cent of the Dalit government employees were in class 3 and 4 categories. The contract employees were nearly 20 per cent. About 98 per cent of the Dalit employees were employed as lower grade staff in the government of Haryana.

The Dalit women employed as contract labourers were 61 per cent of the total women employees. About 99 per cent of the Dalit women employees in Haryana government were in class 3, 4 and contract staff. The table 2.5 shows number of SC women employed in Haryana government.

Table 2.5 Scheduled Caste Women Employee in Government of Haryana, 2001

Sl. No	Category of Government Employee	Total Women Employees	Percentage
1	Class 1	25	0.18
2	Class 2	128	0.92
3	Class 3	2806	20.27
4	Class 4	2439	17.62
5	Contract	8445	61.01
6	Total	13843	100.00

Source: Statistical Abstract, Haryana, 2001-02, Kumar, S, Haryana Dasha Aur Disha, 2005:107

Haryana has also earned the dubious distinction of the worst performing states on social sector development. Since 1971, there is decline in percentage of cultivators, agricultural labourers whereas there is a phenomenal increase in people engaged in building construction, trade and business. There is crisis in agrarian economy of the state. The cases of farmers' suicide have increased. The rich farmers of 1980s are in debt. According to a recent study sponsored by Union Agriculture Ministry on an average per household farm debt in the state is about Rs. 42000. In case of big land owners it is about Rs. 71,000 (Hindustan Times, 22 June 2003). Of the 67 cases of farmers' suicide 23 per cent were Dalit peasants (Ahlawat, 2005). The Table 2.6 shows percentage of categories of workers in Haryana.

Table 2.6 Percentage of Categories of Workers in Haryana 1971-2001

No	Categories	1971	1981	1991	2001
1	Cultivators	49.1	44.97	38.77	36.34
2	Agricultural Labourers	16.2	16.40	19.0	15.22
3	Mines, animal husbandry etc.	1.54	1.91	1.07	-
4	Household industries	3.36	3.30	1.53	2.47
5	Other industries	6.70	10.06	9.03	-
6	Building construction	1.84	2.55	2.62	-
7	Trade and commerce	6.72	7.76	8.63	-
8	Transport communication	2.43	3.4	3.25	-
9	Other services	12.21	11.93	16.10	45.97

Kumar, S, Haryana Dasha Aur Disha, 2005:85

The agriculture labourers in the state in 1991 census were 19 per cent. In case of SCs it was 55.08 per cent. The majority of agricultural labourers are Dalits. The table 2.7 shows categories of SC workers in 1991 census.

Table 2.7 Categories of Scheduled Caste Workers in 1991

Sl.No.	Categories	No. of Workers	Percentage
1	Cultivators	75095	8.06
2	Agricultural Labours	512913	55.08
3	Mines, Animal Husbandry	15343	1.65
4	Household Industries	14924	1.60
5	Other Industries	76323	8.20
6	Construction Work	36126	3.88
7	Business and Commerce	34184	3.67
8	Transport, Conservation/ and Communication	27969	3.00
9	Other Services	138323	14.85
10	Total Workers	931200	100

Source: Kumar, S, Haryana Dashan Aur Disha, 2005:85

In 1990-91 the land holdings owned by SCs was 46370. More than 78 percent of the holdings were less than 2 hectares.

The economic prosperity of green revolution and white revolution benefited the Dalits and non-Dalits differently. The green revolution demanded more labourers. The majority of the migrant labourers came from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The availability of work in non agricultural sector attracted the local Dalits to break their

dependence on Jat employers. Once the Dalits broke their traditional labour tying arrangement with employer they were independent to take decisions on their caste relations with the dominant caste. The economic prosperity of the 1980—1990s was visible in case of Dalit assertion and quest for new identity in Haryanavi society.

The SCs, who were mainly agricultural labourers or marginal peasants did not experience the benefits of development in early 1970s. The prosperity of the green revolution started showing its results in the social sphere of the SCs in later phase. Their literacy increased from a mere 8 percent in 1961 to 46 per cent in 1981 (Census: Govt. of Haryana). The economic gains of the green revolution enabled SCs to educate their children. Education helped them in taking advantage of the reservation policy in government jobs (Ahlawat and Ahlawat, 2003). Even the advantage was unequally shared by the different categories of SCs. The Chamars took most of the class four jobs. The Valmiki were mainly employed as *safai karmacharies*. It is suggested that “Dalits who are employed by Municipality in cleaning of towns and city sewage system stick to this work in spite of most inhuman and unsafe conditions under which they have to work because they have no option for other employment” (Dabhi, 2004).

The prosperity of green revolution, emergence of newly educated people among the SCs enhanced self-awareness and assertiveness among the Dalits. In spite of these developments the social discrimination towards the SCs continued. This could not change the status of SCs in social structure. The literacy in the State was 20 per cent in 1966 which increased to 53 percent in 1981. All villages were connected with highways through link roads and supplied with electric power by 1973.

The economy of the State is predominantly agricultural. The modernisation of agriculture and extension education has been the priority of the state government. The agriculture productivity increased in the state which benefited to some extent rural wage labourer households mainly from SCs. The decline in the rural poverty was reported from all districts of the state. The green revolution benefited different categories of peasants unequally. Due

to non implementation of land reforms disparities in rural incomes increased. The high income castes were mainly land owning Jats, Ahirs, Sainis, Rajputs and Rors. The electrification of villages, construction of roads, supply of piped drinking water, use of modern technology, opening of primary schools transformed the social life in rural Haryana. The green revolution and the changing double cropping pattern demanded more labourers. The demand for higher wages by local labourers forced the rich land owners to bring out side labourers from Bihar and eastern UP. The local labourers mainly SCs migrated to Delhi and other urban centres in northern India to work in non-farm sectors thus breaking their traditional ties with their former employers. The population of the SCs which constituted 19.75 percent to the total population of the State in 1991 declined to 19.35 per cent in 2001. The migration gave them more freedom, secure jobs and higher earnings.

The SCs are economically backward, socially discriminated and politically oppressed groups in the State. The majority of SCs (69 percent) in the state do not own cultivable land (Prasad, 2005). Those who own land their holdings are marginal. The majority of the SCs are engaged as agricultural labourers, industrial workers and petty shop owners.

There is decline in wage employment and wage rate in Haryana. The prosperity of green revolution of 1970s and 1980s is not visible in the late 1990s. The agricultural labourers reported that their real wage rates had come down from Rs. 57 per day in Jind district and Rs.58 per day in Rohtak during 1995 to Rs. 50 per day in Jind and Rs.53 per day in Rohtak in 1997-98 (Ahlawat, 2005). The cases of peasants committing suicide have increased. There were 393 reported cases of suicide from rural Haryana, out of which more than 72 per cent are from Rohtak, Hisar, Jind and Sirsa district (Ahlawat, 2005). The caste background of the peasants who committed suicide shows that 63 per cent of them belonged to the Jat community and 23 per cent were from the Dalit community. The SCs were mainly agricultural labourers (Ahlawat, 2005).

2.3 Political

The economic development due to green revolution in 1960s followed by white revolution has fragmented Haryana rural society in caste lines. The benefits of green and white revolution have benefited more the land owning dominant castes than the agricultural labourers. The urban development has fragmented urban society in communal lines. The fragmentation is the native Haryanavis and Punjabi settlers who came after 1947 from Pakistan. The Punjabi settlers are more concentrated in urban areas. The Punjabi settlers are entrenched in trade and business. The native Haryanavis on the other hand are mainly in rural areas. The rural urban divide is also reflected in their political divide. The two communities have served as vote banks of two major political parties in the state - Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) and Indian National Congress Party. The INLD is supported by the rich Jat peasants.

Social scientists have examined the impact of green revolution on various categories of people in rural Haryana. There is general agreement that the power equations have changed in the rural areas. The castes have become self-conscious (Ahlawat, 2005). The consciousness among the educated SCs led to new Dalit identity. Of late the identity of Bahujan mainly among the Chamars who are associated with Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) is visible. The prosperity of green revolution changed to some extent the traditional caste relations between land owning employers and their SC labourers. The availability of work in non-agriculture sector, diversification agricultural and increase in daily wages led to SC labourers to break their traditional ties with employers.

The successive Assembly and Parliament elections suggest that the state excels in promoting personalised politics deriving its strength based on caste, regional and communal identity. The leadership in each election in the state was spear-headed by the individuals belonging to the dominant caste groups which constitute 25 percent of its population. Even with a strength of 28 per cent, Punjabis do not seem to have similar clout that Jats seem have acquired in Haryana's politics. Similarly the SCs who constitute 19.75 per cent of its total population have not developed a mobilisation strategy so as to outmanoeuvre the politics of dominant caste group in the

state. With two seats reserved in Lok Sabha and 17 seats in Vidhan Sabha, the SCs form a dependable ally with OBCs. The fragmented nature of their identity made them a divided lot so much so that even BSP - the political party asserting the rights of Dalits has not been in a position to attract them (Prasad, 2003).

2.3.1 Dalits in local governance (Panchayati Raj Institutions)

The community development programmes, land reforms, and co-operative institutions were introduced in the first two decades (1947-67) of the independence. These programmes have not been effective in removing the rural poverty, unemployment and the growing socio-economic inequalities (Dhanagare, 1995). The Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) were launched in 1959. The PRIs were assigned various roles and functions for the development of villages. The development and empowerment of SCs has been the focus of PRIs from its inception. These institutions could not achieve the desired results in Haryana due to many social economic, political and cultural factors (Nayak, 2005). The SCs lag behind other castes in matters of social development. Since 1952, from the days of community development to the era of rural development in 1980s and now in the phase of empowerment in the post 73rd Constitutional Amendment, several programmes have been remodelled to uplift the SCs through the Panchayati Raj Institutions (Nayak, 2005). With its limited resources, manpower and functionaries the PRIs have been assigned ambitious task to bring SCs in par with dominant land owning castes. In the whole process of rural development strategy they were never involved in the planning process, which was meant for them (Nayak, 2005). From 1959 to 1994 their presence in the PRIs was insignificant. They were co-opted to the panchayats which were controlled by the land owning dominant castes. The upper caste members prefer those SC candidates who support the village interest. The village interest is predominantly the interest of land owning dominant castes. The ideological base of pre 73rd panchayats was development of villages through cooperation. The conflict was deliberately omitted by the pioneers of Panchayati Raj in post independent India who were much influenced by Gandhian concept of swaraj and cooperation to develop and reconstruct the villages neglected by

the colonial rulers (Nayak, 2005). The focus of the community development programmes in the 1960s was to rebuild villages by voluntary labour (shramdan). To achieve the targets through cooperation among its people was emphasised. To them conflict was weakness of the village community. Even till today in Haryana conflict in village panchayats is discouraged by the state government. The Haryana government abolished the post of deputy sarpanches in 1999 to minimise the conflict between the sarpanch and deputy sarpanch and for smooth implementation of development programmes (Hindu, 10 February 1999). The purpose of the Gandhian model of Panchayati Raj was to avoid tension in the villages. In these panchayats SCs had marginal role to play due to their disadvantageous position in the village politics (Nayak, 2005). The SCs were more dependent on land-owning dominant castes for their wage employment and livelihood than on government-sponsored programmes. Thus their participation was symbolic in panchayats.

Haryana had initiated democratic decentralisation, rural development programmes and special component plans to ameliorate the conditions of SCs. The special component plan expenditure was nine per cent during the sixth plan which increased to 19.90 per cent in the ninth plan. During the year 2004—2005, an amount of Rs.458.35 crores have been earmarked under special component plan outlay of Rs.2175 crores. This constituted 21.07 per cent of the total plan outlay.

The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution in 1992 reserving seats for SCs in proportion to their population in panchayats was a silent revolution in rural India giving both political and social space for their participation in development programmes. The Haryana Panchayati Raj Act was amended in 1994 and elections to panchayats were held. The SC representatives were not properly addressed in panchayat meetings. Several no confidence motions were brought to remove them from office. The assertion of their rights in panchayats is the sign of empowerment. In many panchayats they challenged the dominance of upper castes. The traditional caste panchayats of land owning castes opposed the powers given to statutory panchayats. Their opposition was entry of SCs. The number of atrocities against SCs increased in the

state. The recent caste conflicts and atrocities on Valmiki (SCs) of Gohana in Haryana attracted national attention is worth mentioning. The traditional khap panchayats of land owning jats even threatened the State government to take any action against its decision. In Haryana like elsewhere economic growth has gone hand in hand with caste and class domination and discrimination and in some cases furthered social discrimination (see Dabhi, 2004).

The state has 20 zilla parishads, 114 panchayat samitis and 6017 gram panchayats. The state had traditional bhaichara (community) panchayats. These panchayats were controlled by land owning castes of the village for adjudication of disputes and managing the local affairs (Singh, 2000). The role and functions of these panchayats were informal and unwritten. Also these panchayats worked for maintenance of community resources in villages and tension management. The working of statutory panchayats in the state since its formation had not been very encouraging. The panchayats have been overshadowed by political parties and bureaucracy (Khanna, 1994). PRIs were dominated by the land owning dominant castes such as Jats, Ahirs, Rajputs, Brahmins, Baniyas, Gujars, Rors, Sainis and Meos in most of villages. The SCs had only a marginal role in both traditional and statutory panchayats.

The PRIs operating in the state were governed by the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act, 1952 and the Punjab Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad Act, 1961. The gram panchayat elections were held in 1972, 1978, 1983, 1988, 1991. The elections for Panchayat Samitis were held except in 1978 and 1988. The elections of chairpersons of Panchayat Samitis were postponed in 1972, 1988 and 1992. In 1973 Zilla Parishads were abolished in Haryana. In 1971 Gram Panchayat elections 28,926 panches were elected, out of which 5324 (14.94 per cent) panches were SCs (Lal, 1974). In 1988, out of 5554 sarpanches 889 (16 per cent) were SCs (Khanna, 1994). In 1991 out of 40,746 Gram Panchayat members 8139 (19.97 per cent) were SCs (Khanna, 1994). The state enacted the Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 in conformity with the 73rd Constitutional Amendment 1992, which came into force on 22 April 1994. Under this Act panchayat elections were held in December 1994. A total number of 314 Zilla Parishad (ZP), 2426 Panchayat Samiti (PS)

and 60,363 Gram Panchayat (GP) members were elected. The number of SCs elected were 12,381, out of which 64 (20.38 per cent) in ZPs, 519 (21.39 per cent) in PSs and 11,798 (19.54 per cent) were in GPs (Dhaka, 2002). Their representation is more or less 19 per cent of the total population in the state. In 2000 elections 1978 elected sarpanches were women, out of which 397 (20 per cent) were SCs. Again, out of total 17918 women representatives in PRIs, 3851 (21.49 per cent) were SCs.

PRIs have been assigned a significant role in empowerment and development of SCs. But there is no adequate provision for the requisite administrative and technical support to Panchayats for effective implementation of the programmes. The Haryana Panchayati Raj Act has given more powers to bureaucrats than to the elected representatives. The order of the Director Panchayati Raj is final and cannot be challenged in the court of law (Gangrade, 1995, Nayak, 2004). The majority of the caste groups in Haryana have their traditional caste panchayats. These caste panchayats have more influence on their respective castes than the statutory panchayats. The state Panchayati Raj Act has empowered the bureaucrats and not the people as it is to be. The panchayat officials are reluctant to share power with elected representatives. Except the sarpanch of the GPs and chairpersons of PSs and ZPs other members are not enthusiastic in panchayat activities. The SC panchayat representatives are dependent on dominant land owning castes to take independent decisions.

Studies conducted in early 1990s show that only a few development functions were undertaken by the PRIs in Haryana (Khanna, 1994). The development activities undertaken by PRIs in Hisar and Ambala districts were mainly construction of wells for drinking water, construction of veterinary and civil hospital buildings, primary school and library buildings and village roads (Khanna, 1994). Their role in development of agriculture, improvement of health care and sanitation was insignificant (Khanna, 1994). Even in the development of SCs their role was marginal. The problems for PRIs in implementing the development programmes were due to inadequate finance, uncooperative attitude of panches, inadequate administrative personnel, corruption and too much control of the

state government (Khanna,1994).There are instances of many sarpanches being removed from office on charges of corruption (Khanna,1994).The Gram Sabhas in the state could not develop as institutions of participatory democracy because of marginal participation of SCs and control by the state government (Singh, 1977).

2.3.2 Participation of SCs in Panchayats

Haryana is known to be a less progressive state in the functioning of PRIs. Prior to 73rd Amendment the SCs were co-opted in the Panchayats. The SCs participated in the Panchayat elections to support dominant caste factions in local politics. The SC Panchayat representatives could not avail the benefits of Panchayati Raj in spite of their numerical strength due to cultural, social and economic factors (Singh, 1977).The Panchayats were dominated by land owning dominant castes. The SCs failed to acquire foothold in rural power structure. Even in GPs headed by SCs the real power was exercised by elites from dominant castes (Singh, 1977). The provision of reservation for SCs in PRIs was a positive step for empowerment. As the caste based discriminations are very much in practice in rural areas, it is uphill task for Panchayats to eliminate discrimination in a short span of time. The presence of SC representatives in Panchayats has given scope to express their grievances for debate and discussion. The majority of Panchayat representatives are functioning without training, orientation and technical knowledge on Panchayati Raj Acts, Rules, Regulations and Functions. In case of SC women their family members are functioning on behalf of them. The Panchayat secretaries are taking advantage of their ignorance. Problems arise when secretaries happen to be from upper castes. The literacy level among SCs is very low in the state. There are many SC households in villages where all the family members lack formal education.

In Haryana women are most exploited segment of the society. Apart from household chores and bringing up children, they are expected to work in the fields too. Women perform major work in the state's agriculture sector from sowing to harvesting. The women Panchayat representatives from these households find it

difficult to work without support from family members. The SC representatives are mainly from agricultural labourer households. The representatives from these households lose daily wages when they give time for Panchayat works (Nayak, 2004). The nature of work of sarpanch demands full time for Panchayat work. In a rough estimate a sarpanch has to give 20 to 25 days running between block office and DRDA to release funds under various projects/schemes. The SC women find it very difficult to manage Panchayat work. Even in GPs headed by the SCs the panches from dominant castes don't treat as their head. Whenever some work or dispute pertaining to higher/dominant castes are to be settled instead of coming to SC sarpanch house or the village chaupal the dominant castes call the sarpanch to their house which is not a practice in case of dominant castes (Ahlawat, 2005). In many panchayats seats for SCs are allotted where they are in minority. In these constituencies they are controlled by the dominant castes. Even in SC majority constituencies when the seats are reserved for SCs the dominant castes support less assertive dummy candidates defeating assertive candidates. This is also evident in many GPs where SC sarpanches are cornered and the real work is done by dominant castes. In many villages there are factions among the dominant castes. The Panchayat elections are very expensive. Those who contest elections have to spend on community feast and liquor to get votes. The powerful people from dominant castes by financing the SC candidates took much control of the Panchayats. The Panchayat politics is also influenced by main stream party politics which is invariably controlled by the dominant castes.

There are instances where dominant castes oppose decisions of SC sarpanches, not because decisions are bad but they are taken by the SC sarpanches. There are also numerous cases of violence against Dalit women. Women from SC background are discriminated against even in seating arrangements at Panchayat meetings. They are not allowed to sit on chair in front of dominant caste men in many GPs. They are asked to wash their tea cups in many GPs which is not demanded of the with other caste representatives. In many cases in reserved SC seats the dominant castes people support

less assertive candidates. Even after coming to positions of power, the SC elected representatives are restricted from the effective exercise of their leadership. In those GPs reserved for SCs the traditional caste panchayats interfere in the functioning. Taking advantage of the fraction in the village the Panchayat officials manipulate the funds which affect development (Ahlawat,2005).The parallel institutions and village development committees recognised by the state government to guide GPs in many instances weaken the role of elected panchayat representatives (Ahlawat,2005). It was observed that the presence of SC sarpanches have greatly contributed to the participation of larger number of the SC people in Gram Sabha meetings. For effective participation of SCs right type of people may be elected and properly trained by PRIs. The conflict arises when the SC sarpanches are forced to give priority to activities favouring the upper caste members.

The post of sarpanches of Yara and Nalwi gram panchayats in Kurukshetra district were reserved for SCs in 2000 Panchayat elections. Two women from general category managed fake certificates from the local authority and won the elections for the post of sarpanch in 2000. The defeated candidates alleged cheating by the winners and challenged their caste in High Court. After three years, they were sent to the local administration for redressal of their grievance. On a complaint, the commission summoned the District Collector and corrective action was taken. FIRs were lodged against the sarpanch and officials who issued fake caste certificates. Both sarpanches were also removed. But the action came late when the five-year tenure of sarpanches was completed. Though reserved for Dalits, the two posts in Yara and Nalwai were held by the general category for five years. In Yamuna Nagar district seven sarpanches belonging to the Dalit community were removed by the District Collector and were replaced by non-Dalits (Pioneer, 27 September 2004).

2.3.3 State Panchayati Raj Act and Empowerment of SCs

There is provision in PR Act that the GP has to identify the SC locality where pavement of streets, drainage and community latrines are required. The GP is supposed to forward the request to PS for

grants. Though the rehabilitation of liberated scavengers under conversion of dry latrines is given to Panchayats there is no provision for financial grant from the state government (NIRD, 1995). To empower SC women there is provision for identification of SC widows for tailoring training and ensure imparting of such training. The Act provides identification of beneficiaries for financial assistance for the marriages of the daughters of SC widows. In 2001, the State government disbursed three crores rupees under the *kanya dan* scheme giving financial assistance of Rs.5100 to the girls belonging to SC community on their weddings (Hindusthan Times, 24 July 2001). The PRIs have power to certify inter-caste marriages and to ensure payment of incentive money for the same. This is very difficult to implement in socially backward state like Haryana. There is provision for housing for SCs in the Act. The Indira Awas Yojana is the rural housing project implemented all over India. In the PR Act there is provision for legal assistance for SCs, but it is not clear how PRIs will implement the same. The PR Act has not given much power and resources to empower SCs. The PRIs are not empowered in the state. To empower SCs the PR Act has to give more power to the Panchayats with adequate resources and personnel.

The GS meetings in the state are held only for name sake. The SCs participate in those meetings when beneficiary lists are prepared. In many GPs the villagers are not informed about the meetings. The women are not encouraged to participate in the meetings. In many GPs where young SC women are elected to Panchayats their husbands attend Panchayat meetings and their father-in-laws attend GS meetings. Even in training programmes organised for women representatives of Panchayats their husbands attend on behalf of them.

In many GPs the SC women have challenged the functioning of Panchayats. In Bandhin GP of Panipat they stormed a traditional male bastion by participating in a land auction of the Panchayat. They bought three acres of land. The GP held an annual auction of its community land. This is held in the chaupal traditionally where women and especially SC women are not allowed. When the community land was auctioned 10 SC women entered the chaupal

and insisted on taking part in it. The panchayat members were shocked to see women attending the meeting. But once the bidding was on, they could not turn a participant away. These women paid Rs.18, 300 cash for the right to use a three acre plot (Times of India, 4 August 2002). Jagmati Sangwan President of the All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA) Haryana Unit, who mobilised SC women said, "The upper caste men did not want the land to come to us which is why they raised the bid up to Rs. 18,000 but we out bid them by another Rs. 300." The bids on other common land were much lower (Times of India, 4 August 2002). The support of political parties, community based organisations and activist are essential for mobilising SC women to assert their rights in panchayats.

The village people in Haryana are not enthusiastic to participate in GSs. Even many elected representatives are not aware of the funds received by GPs. The Sarpanch and Secretary do the most of GP work. In case of sarpanches from SC background if he/she is educated, economically better placed and has link with political parties it is convenient for him/her to function. The sarpanches from landless agricultural labourer households and women find it difficult to function. The dismal performance of PRIs in the state is due to lack of awareness among people, interference of local leaders, corruption, personality clashes among its elected members and non-cooperative attitude of bureaucrats. The PRIs are not empowered in true spirit of the constitution in the state. To make PRIs institutions of self-governance more powers are to be devolved through proper amendment of the state PR Acts. The Right to Information has not been introduced in the state PR Act which is included in many states. The Act will give more power to expose corruption at grass roots level and empower wage labourers who are mainly from SC background to take active role in participatory governance. When the PRIs are empowered through more progressive amendments in the PR Act, it will facilitate empowerment of SCs. Mere representation in panchayats is not empowerment. The reservation of seats in panchayats has given a sense of identity and dignity to the SCs. The post 73rd Amendment Panchayats have created democratisation of grassroots politics by

increasing participation of SCs in the decision making which was denied in the earlier Panchayats. The present functioning of the PRIs has to be remodelled to give more space for SC women in the decision making process who are the major beneficiaries of empowerment and development programmes. The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution reserving seats for SCs has brought silent revolution in participatory governance of Panchayats.

2.4 Social

It is not uncommon in India to see economic development and social discrimination existing side by side (see Dabhi, 2006), Haryana is no exception. One can be under an illusion that only the illiterate and poor practice untouchability in our 'civilised' society, thanks to our local and national education content, process and system that most literate and 'educated' and rich reproduce and emit the venom of untouchability as well (Dabhi, 2004) Recent caste conflicts in Haryana indicate to this fact. Observation and experience suggest that the Dalits are not only humiliated in private spaces of houses and *mohallas* (streets) but in public places such as *Panchayat* Houses (village and Block council offices), schools, hospitals, barber shops, tea stalls, buses, etc (Dabhi, 2004).

Haryana as suggested is one of most the developed states in north-west India. The state with Human Development Index of 0.539 ranks fifth in India, however there is a wide gap in development of Dalits and non-Dalits.

Table 2.8 Percentage of Literacy in Sample Districts

Sl. No.	Name of the Districts	Males	Females	Gender Gap
1	Ambala	82.3	67.4	14.9
2	Karnal	72.9	52.0	20.9
3	Hisar	76.6	51.1	25.5
4	Rohtak	83.2	62.6	20.6
5	Mahendragarh	84.7	54.1	30.6
6	Gurgaon	76.2	47.8	28.4

Source: Census of India, 2001

Table 2.9 Percentage of Literacy in Sub-Districts of Mewat

Sl.No	Name of the Sub-District	Males	Females	Gender gap
1	Nuh	62.7	25.0	37.7
2	Ferozpur Jhirka	58.2	20.0	38.3
3	Punahana	54.4	17.7	37.8

Source: Census of India 2001

Haryana is known for its patriarchy and male dominance which prevail in all sectors of development. There is a wide gap in literacy rate of men and women in the state. In all the five sample districts except Ambala gender gap in literacy is more than 20 per cent. Mewat was part of Gurgaon district in 2001. The new Mewat district was constituted in 2005 by the sub-districts of Nuh, Ferozpur Jhirka and Punahana. Nuh is the headquarters of the district.

There is a wide gender gap in literacy level in Haryana. The table 2.8 shows Gurgaon district has 28.4 per cent gender gap in the state. The Meo Muslim inhabited Mewat district has even more gender gap. The table 2.9 shows gender gap in sub-districts of Ferozpur Jhirka 38.3 per cent, Punahana 37.8 per cent and Nuh 37.7 per cent which constitute the present Mewat district. The majority of people in Mewat are Meo Muslims. In several villages of Nuh female literacy is even less than 10 per cent.

Table 2.10 Distribution of Population, Literates and Illiterates in Sample Districts, 2001

No.	Profile	Ambala	Karnal	Hisar	Rohtak	Mahendra garh	Gurg gaon
1	Total population	1014411	1274183	1537117	940128	812521	1660289
2	Rural Population	657383 (64.8)	936341 (73.5)	1138999 (74.1)	610524 (64.1)	702885 (86.5)	1291285 (77.8)
3	Urban population	357028 (35.2)	337842 (26.5)	398118 (25.9)	329604 (35.1)	109636 (13.5)	369004 (22.2)
4	Literates	662798 (75.3)	732609 (67.7)	842302 (64.8)	592485 (73.7)	478296 (69.9)	834693 (62.9)
5	Illiterates	351622 (40.07)	541574 (50.17)	694815 (53.5)	347643 (43.3)	334225 (48.8)	825596 (62.2)

(Figures within the brackets show percentage)

Source: Census of India 2001

The table 2.10 shows that the highest percentage of illiterates of 62.2 per cent is in Gurgaon district followed by Hisar 53.5 per cent, Karnal 50.17 per cent and Mahendragarh 48.8 per cent. In our sample districts the lowest percentage of illiterates 40.07 per cent was in Ambala district.

Table 2.11 Distribution of Population and Sex ratio of SCs in Sample Districts of Haryana, 2001

Sl. No.	Name of the districts	Total Population	Rural Population	Urban Population	Sex ratio Population
1	Ambala	254477 (25.1)	204358 (31.1)	50119 (14.0)	873
2	Karnal	267424 (21.0)	214826 (22.9)	52598 (15.6)	864
3	Rohtak	179550 (19.1)	123961 (20.3)	55589 (16.9)	856
4	Hisar	338045 (22.0)	268279 (23.6)	69766 (17.5)	865
5	Mahendragarh	132512 (16.30)	117306 (16.68)	15206 (13.86)	916
6	Gurgaon	187872 (11.3)	141608 (11.0)	46264 (12.5)	879
7	Haryana	4091110 (19.34)	3210917 (78.49)	880193 (21.51)	866

(Figures within the brackets show percentage)

Source: Census of India 2001, Haryana

The SCs constitute 19.34 per cent population of the state. In our sample districts of Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak and Hisar the percentage of SCs is higher than the state average of 19.34 per cent in 2001. In Mahendragarh and Gurgaon districts the SCs were less than the state average. The table 2.11 shows the rural and urban distribution of SC population in the state.

The literacy among the SCs in Haryana is higher than all India level. The cultivators in Haryana have only 8 per cent as compared to 25.44 per cent in India. The state had more agricultural labourers, i.e. 55.08 per cent as compared to 49.06 per cent in India. The table 2.12 shows profile of SCs in Haryana and in India.

Table 2.12 Profile of Scheduled Castes in 1991

Sl.No.	Profile	Haryana	India
1	Total population	3250933	138223277
2	Percentage in the total population	19.75	16.48
3	Total literacy rate	39.55	37.41
4	Male literacy rate	56.02	49.91
5	Female literacy rate	24.15	23.76
6	Drop-out rate by High School	70.32	79.82
7	Main workers	29.66	36.08
8	Cultivators	8.07	25.44
9	Agricultural labourers	55.08	49.06

Source: Census Report 1991

The table 2.13 shows in Ambala, Karnal and Hisar districts that the percentage of SC population is higher than the state average of 19.35 per cent. In Rohtak the SCs were 19.10 per cent. The SCs were 16.30 per cent in Mahendragarh and 11.30 per cent in Gurgaon. The literacy rate of Ambala, Rohtak, and Mahendragarh was higher than the state average of 68 per cent. The population of Ambala and Rohtak was higher than the state average

The state witnessed development mainly because of green revolution and development of infrastructure in 1970s due to liberal grants from the centre. The state occupied second position in per capita income at national level. If we look at the overall development scenario of the state we find that in the field of economic development it has witnessed a remarkable progress. But if we look at the indicators of social development we find that it has not made desired progress. In Haryana there is high infant mortality rate, high maternal mortality rate, lack of 100 percent immunisation to both i.e. mother and child. Most of the deliveries are carried out in unsafe places by the untrained health workers especially in rural areas, which lead to death of mother or child or both in many cases. If we look at the standard of life of the people in rural Haryana we notice two type of situation. The use of modern technology is increasing in a big way. Now cooler, fridge, mixer, television are normally found in most of the families but on the other side the glaring thing is that people in rural areas are taking loans from various agencies and cases of indebtedness are on the

Table 2.13 Scheduled Caste Population, Literacy and Sex Ratio in Sample Districts, 2001

Name of District	No. of Households	Total Population	Rural Population	Urban Population	SC Population	Literacy	Sex Ratio
Ambala	184319	101411	657383 (64.8)	357028 (35.2)	254477 (25.1)	662789 (75.3)	873
Karnal	224230	1274183	936341 (73.5)	337842 (26.5)	267424 (21.0)	732609 (67.7)	864
Hisar	272738	1537117	138999 (74.1)	398118 (25.9)	338045 (22.0)	842302 (43.3)	865
Rohtak	167593	940128	610524 (64.9)	329604 (35.1)	179550 (19.1)	592485 (73.7)	856
Mahendragarh	136218	812521	702885 (85.5)	109636 (13.5)	132512 (16.30)	478296 (69.9)	916
Gurgaon*	273881	1660289	1291285 (77.8)	369004 (22.2)	187872 (11.3)	834693 (62.2)	879
Haryana	— —	21144564	15029260 (71.08)	6115304 (28.92)	4091110 (19.34)	9050887 (68.00)	861

(Figures within brackets indicate percentag) *Mewat was part of Gurgaon district in 2001.

Source: Census of India Haryana, 2001

increase. There are cases of farmers committing suicide because of poverty and or failure of crops. Due to globalisation and policies of the government for structural adjustment, there is an increasing number of unemployed youth in rural Haryana. The jobs in government departments are shrinking and youth are losing hopes to get government jobs. There seems to be increase in crime rate in Haryana, especially crime related to property, looting on Highways, kidnapping for money etc. In this new era of 21st century we expect that the traditional institutions might give way to modern institutions based on democratic, secular and liberal ideals but what we find in Haryana is that traditional institutions instead of decreasing their hold in society are becoming stronger. For example, caste system and traditional khap panchayats have become active. Sometimes these khap panchayats take decisions which are not as per the law of the land and therefore violate human rights. For instance, when a girl from upper caste married a boy from lower caste, both were killed and panchayat supported the incident of killing of the couple (Sangwan, 2003).

The role of political parties has been of different kind. Various political parties make false promises to capture the power. After coming to power they fail to fulfil the promises which lead to frustration among the masses. The upsurge of Kisan movement in Jind and other places or killing in Badhra in Bhiwani district are some of the examples. Some 20-30 years ago, only very few people used to go outside their village and some of them had gone to other villages in *barat*. The people who had considerable outside exposure are military personnel. A large number of soldiers to the Indian Army are recruited from Haryana and Sangwan argues that their outside exposure has motivated them to provide education to their children (Sangwan, 2003). Various studies show that the rural change generated by government measures/policies has resulted in sharpening the contradictions among various classes composing the rural society and in creating tensions, antagonism and conflicts which require to be properly comprehended.

Haryana is lagging behind in social development in comparison to other states especially in terms of Human Development Index (HDI) and Gender Development Index (GDI). Social evils like

alcoholism, unnecessary expenditure on ostentatious social events, acute form of gender bias, increase in crime rate and unnecessary litigation due to social and individual conflicts have further complicated the situation.

The decline sex ratio has its own consequences; many young grooms are not getting brides. The female sex ratio to 1000 males in the state was 861. The same is the case of 0-6 age group which is only 820. In Kurukshetra, Ambala and Sonapat districts it is less than the state average. In many cases they are getting married by giving bride price. These brides are brought from Bengal and Bihar through middle men giving false promises to bride's family. Sex related crimes are on increase. These young people are mainly from upper castes, and unemployed. Their families own either no land or small patches of land. In case of SCs the situation is not different. The female foeticide is a new practice developed in early 1980s. The prosperity due to green revolution and availability of sex determination clinics and mobile vans facilitated sex determination tests and elimination of girl children. There are cases where girl children are abandoned on streets, railway stations and on staircases of temples. A girl child was abandoned by her parents in a train at Bahadurgarh railway station in Jhajjar district of Haryana. The local police registered a criminal case against the couple on the complaint of the grandfather of the hapless infant. The parents of the girl abandoned their hapless infant as they considered their daughter an ill omen (Hindusthan Times, 7 May 2003).

2.4.1 Development of Dalits in Haryana

☞ The Dalits have been deprived of control over land and community resources by the dominant land owning castes in fertile plains of north-west India. ☞ The activists and community based organisations demand the government to develop the Dalits who have been marginalised from various sectors. The proactive development stances are primarily taken by social activists, community based organisations, policy makers and a few politicians to end social discrimination, oppression, exploitation, injustice towards Dalits. There is continuous process to mobilise, organise and enhance the

capacity of Dalits for empowerment and development. The organisations/institutions working for these groups are more concerned about equality and dignity in day-to-day lives. In other words, as a process development of Dalits is bringing the bottom ladder of the social groups in par with the higher/dominant groups. The traditional caste panchayats of dominant castes are imposing their caste interests in many panchayats headed by SCs. Their purpose is to influence and impose their decisions which are against the development of SCs.

As per census 2001 the SC population in Haryana is 40.91 lakhs. Out of which 78.49 live in rural areas and only 21.51 per cent live in urban areas. The literacy rate for SC is low compared to the overall literacy of the state 68.50 per cent. Their literacy was eight per cent in 1961, 12.60 percent in 1971, 36 percent in 1981, 39.22 per cent in 1991 and 49 per cent in 2001. The SCs are a heterogeneous group in the state. The indirect economic gain of green revolution has in some way enabled SCs to educate themselves. Education helped them in taking advantage of the reservation policy in government jobs. Though agriculture development and green revolution led to economic growth and self assertion of the SCs they were not able to make any dent in the status of SC women. The patriarchy dominates social life in Haryanavi society even today. The northern and north-western districts of the state have more concentration of SC population than the state average of 19.35 per cent in 2001 census. The districts are Fatehabad (27.43 per cent), Sirsa (26.6 per cent), Ambala (25.09 percent), Yamunanagar (24.53 percent), Kaithal (21.55 per cent), Mahendragarh (20.52 per cent) and Kurukshetra (20.52 per cent).

A number of programmes were initiated by the Government of India after independence for empowerment and development of SCs. The benefits of these programmes are visible in the field of social sectors, especially in education. Many educated people belonging to SCs entered government services. But the conditions of the majority of the Dalits have not improved till today adequately. In many cases their condition has further deteriorated. The inequality among the SCs has increased instead of decreasing (Report of the

Commissioner for SC and ST 1987-89, 1990). The welfare and development programmes benefited a small section of the SCs. The large section of landless SCs working as wage labourers have been fighting for decent wages, ownership right over cultivable land, access to community resources and protection of many of their traditional occupations. Without formal education and understanding of legal implications and bureaucratic procedures they have been exploited by the officers, local leaders and middlemen to avail the benefits of these welfare schemes meant for them.

The green revolution contributed to the fast economic development of the state. The State could not make desired progress in the field of social development. The age at marriage is very low in the state. The mean age at marriage of women is 16.7 years (NIHDR, 2003). About 7 per cent of girls in the age group 10-14 are married indicating a wide prevalence of child marriage in Haryana (NIHDR, 2003). In many districts of north and south Haryana the age at marriage is lower than the state average (Sangwan, 2003). The female sex ratio declined from 865 in 1961 to 861 in 2001. The female foeticide is common in the state. There is saying in rural Haryana that spend Rs.3000 for abortion of girl child now and save Rs.3 lakhs in future. The declining sex ratio has created problem in rural areas where many boys from poor households are not getting brides for marriage. In many cases they are buying girls from Bengal and Bihar for marriages. The main health related problems of SCs in rural areas are infant and maternal mortality, alcoholism, sanitation and lower age at marriage. The green revolution and unequal pattern of development further created regional disparity and inequality in rural areas. The SCs are the main victims of this unequal development.

Indira Gandhi Priyadarshni Vivah Shagun Yojana for the girls belonging to SCs and families living below poverty line with a sum of Rs. 15,000 instead of Rs.5100 is given as a gift to these girls on the occasion of their marriage. The government has made suitable amendments in the Pre Natal Diagnostic Test (PNDT) Act 1994, to check female foeticide in the state. An innovative scheme (ladli) has been launched in the state, which envisages providing, on the

birth of the second daughter in the family an annual sum of Rs.5000 for five years jointly to the newly born girl child and her mother. The government has increased the amount of financial assistance being given for satisfactory and uniform for the children belonging to SCs (Hindusthan Times, 18 June 2005).

There are 37 caste groups listed as SCs in the state. The phenomenal increase in literacy was due to the economic gains of green revolution, availability of work in non-agricultural sector and increasing awareness for education. Also the opening of primary schools in villages facilitated increase in literacy among the SCs. Among the SCs, the Chamars availed most of the benefits of modern education and government jobs in state. The Chamars constitute 51 percent followed by Valmiki 19 percent of the total SC population. Both these two castes constitute about 70 percent of the SC population in the state. The remaining 30 percent is shared by other 35 caste groups. Among the SCs, the Chamars are more assertive and have been benefited by the reservations given to SCs. The other SC groups in the State want to be categorised a separate group excluding the Chamars. In 1994 the state government classified SCs in two groups such as A and B to minimise inequality among the SCs. In spite of two categories created to differentiate and divide them to discourage any mobilisation on caste lines they are conscious of their deprivation in society.

The development programmes undertaken for the SCs by the state government were scholarships to school students, financial support for digging well for drinking water, subsidy for buying agricultural implements, subsidy for constructing community centers, chaupals and dharmshalas (Lal, 1974). The SC students from 9 to 11 classes are paid monthly stipend. There is a provision for reimbursement of the tuition and examination fees of SC students. The state also provides a monthly merit scholarships to SC girl students who have secured at least 50 per cent marks to pursue their studies from ninth to 11 classes (Bhalla, 1995). For SC girls studying in primary and middle schools, there is a free uniforms scheme, and for all SC students there is a special coaching class's scheme for those studying science, mathematics and English (Bhalla, 1995). The SC

students in industrial training schools are paid monthly stipend. There are two industrial training centers, one each in Karnal and Ambala which are exclusively for SCs. The pre examination centers were set up at Ambala, Rohtak and Bhiwani to impart training to SC students for preparing competitive examinations for the posts of stenographer, assistants and clerks (Bhalla, 1995). Apart from this scheme interest free loans are given by the state government to post-matric SC students for purchase of text books and stationery. The industrial training department also provides free education, hostel accommodation, medical services and clothing plus a stipend to SC students enrolled in engineering and non-engineering courses in industrial training institutes. While problems of inadequate funding and implementation are reported, a series of evaluation studies on these programmes indicate that they are considered effective. The Haryana government has doubled the incentive money given to the SC students as scholarship and for the purchase of stationery items with effect from 1st April 2001. The budget allocation of the Department had also been increased from Rs. 36.31 crore to Rs. 45.41 crore. The amount of scholarship admissible to the students belonging to block A of SCs studying in different standard had been doubled to Rs. 40 per month. The scholarship amount or opportunity cost admissible to the students belonging to SCs studying in six to eighth standard had been doubled to Rs.30 per month (Pioneer, 26 March 2002). Similarly the amount of grant for the purchase of stationery items to the students belonging to the above mentioned category studying in sixth to eighth standard had been doubled to Rs.80 and for those of class nine to twelfth to Rs.120 per month (Pioneer, 26 March 2002). To construct hostels for SCs at Ambala, Gurgaon, Hisar and Sonapat candidates belonging to SCs would be imparted training in computer and short hand at the institutes identified for this purpose as Computer Franchise Centers of HARTRON, Universities in the state, Polytechnics, ITI and reputed private institutions (The Hindu, 20 February 2001). Up to 95 per cent of the training fees would be reimbursed by the Haryana Scheduled Caste Finance and Development Corporation (HSCFDC). The Haryana government had plan to impart training to 1000 trainees during the year 2001—

2002 at an estimated cost of Rupees one crore (Hindu, 20 February 2001).

The SCs in rural areas usually discontinue their education even before completing their matriculation. Those residing in urban areas get away with larger share of employment opportunities. Those SCs who get satisfactory jobs get settled in the cities. The SCs in rural areas suffer from many problems relating to the availability of safe drinking water, electricity, sanitation and the problems of health. They have to spend major share of their income in getting medical treatment from private doctors and quacks.

Interest free loans are granted to SCs to set up trades. Prior to 1970, subsidy of Rs.2000 was given to landless SCs to purchase agricultural land (Hindu, 20 February 2001). The scheme was remodelled to check misuse by upper castes. The ceiling on assistance was raised to Rs.6000. The scheme of subsidy was launched to assist SCs to buy agricultural implements (Hindu, 20 February 2001). Subsidy of Rs.3000 was given to SCs to install hand pumps in SC habitations. Legal assistance is being provided to members of SCs to enable them to defend cases of abetment and to protect them from exploitation by landlords (Hindu, 20 February 2001). There is a provision for construction of chaupals and dharmshalas. The Haryana *Harijan Kalyan Nigam* was set up in 1997 to provide loans to set up business and trades like cattle breeding, piggery, purchase of agricultural land and setting up work shops and floor mills. There is a provision that the Panchayats can make donations for construction of community hall for SCs (Hindu, 20 February 2001). The construction of separate community hall and chaupals for SCs has further segregated SCs from dominant castes rather integrating SCs with other castes. The provisions of separate chaupal for SCs in GPs in the state reflect the influence of the ruling dominant caste interests in rural development strategy and policy in the state. Apart from these schemes there are a large number of schemes for economic uplift from loans and subsidies for drinking water wells, housing and purchase of productive asset, to legal assistance to help *harijans* fight their cases involving harassment on account of untouchables, abetment, correction of *girdwari* and to protect themselves against exploitation

by landlords (Bhalla, 1995). Under another scheme Rs.10000 would be available for SCs living below poverty line for the construction of dwelling-cum-shed. The subsidies to be provided by HSCFDC would also give additional funds for economic and income generating activities from its existing scheme.

2.5 Atrocities on Dalits

One of the major protective measures to SCs has been the banning of untouchability by the Article 17 of the Indian Constitution, which prohibits untouchables. Later the government passed the protection of Civil Right Act 1955 and it was further amended in 1976. The protection of civil right rules was passed on 15 September 1977. The government passed the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities), Act 1989. The main purpose of the Act was to prevent the commission of offences of atrocities against the members of SCs and STs to provide special courts for the trial of such offences and for the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of such offences. The maximum numbers of cases of atrocities are related to eve teasing, insulting and misbehaviour with the girls, followed by clashes, rape and murder. In spite of all the Acts the practice of untouchability continues. In the period between 1955, the year in which the first anti-untouchability Act was passed, and 1995 some 2, 74,438 cases of offences have been registered from all over India which works out to be 6,693 cases per year (Oommen, 2006).

The number of crimes committed against Dalits is highest in comparison to any other community. The Dalit women are worst victims of rape. The table 2.15 shows the crime committed against Dalits in Haryana in 2002. In the same year the case of rape was 44.06 per cent, which was the highest among all the cases of crimes committed against Dalits.

Table 2.14 Incidences of Atrocities on Dalits in Haryana 1992-2001

Sl. No	Year	Murder	Grievous Hurt	Rape	Arson	Other IPC Offences	Total
1	1992	5 (5.81)	5 (5.81)	24 (27.90)	0 (0.0)	52 (60.42)	86 (100.00)
2	1993	3 (7.14)	NA	11 (26.19)	3 (7.14)	25 (59.53)	42 (100.00)
3	1994	7 (12.73)	22 (40.00)	10 (18.18)	0 (0.0)	16 (29.09)	55 (100.00)
4	1995	8 (10.66)	24 (32.00)	10 (13.33)	1 (1.33)	32 (42.66)	75 (100.00)
5	1996	5 (10.20)	8 (16.32)	11 (22.44)	0 (0.0)	25 (51.04)	49 (100.00)
6	1997	5 (6.02)	42 (50.61)	12 (14.46)	1 (1.20)	23 (27.71)	83 (100.00)
7	1998	6 (5.26)	51 (44.74)	24 (21.06)	0 (0.0)	33 (28.94)	114 (100.00)
8	1999	5 (5.32)	33 (35.10)	26 (27.66)	1 (1.06)	29 (30.86)	94 (100.00)
9	2000	2 (2.24)	37 (41.58)	20 (22.48)	2 (2.24)	28 (31.46)	89 (100.00)
10	2001	7 (3.88)	76 (42.23)	25 (13.89)	5 (2.77)	67 (37.23)	180 (100.00)
11	Total	53 (6.11)	298 (34.37)	173 (19.96)	13 (1.49)	330 (38.07)	867 (100.00)

Source: Jha, V et al, 2006:48, "Atrocities on Dalits in Haryana and Rajasthan - A Comparative Study: Religion as Oppressive" Religion and Society, Vol.51, No 1 March, 2006.

Table 2.15 Incidence of Crime Committed against SCs in Haryana in 2002

Sl. No	Type of crime	No. of Cases	Percentage
1	Rape	26	44.06
2	Kidnapping	16	27.11
3	Murder	12	20.33
4	Arson	4	6.77
5	Robbery	1	1.69
6	Total	59	100.00

Source: Crime in India 2002. Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

Haryana is getting dubious distinction of being the most hostile place for Dalits in the country. Now Dalits have constructed their own temples in most villages. Landlords are mercilessly beating in the villages and police is not taking any action against landlords. In many cases police support the upper castes (Asian Age, 20 August 2005). The priest of the village temple in Badhram Village verbally abused (on caste lines) a Dalit youth on July 24, 2005 upon seeing him pick a branch from a neem tree in the temple complex. This led to a quarrel, in which the Dalit youth was hit on the head. On seeing his condition, enraged Dalits, beat up the priest. Upper caste villagers retaliated by beating up two Dalits. The local police refused to register an FIR filed by the Dalits while they registered the FIR filed by the priest and upper caste villagers. Seven Dalits were been charged for offences under the IPC of which four were arrested immediately and later released on bail. The report of the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) says that most Dalit youth have fled from the village in fear and the upper caste villagers have completely ostracised village shop keepers not to sell any commodity to Dalits. The report says that on August 12, upper caste villagers set three houses to Dalit families on fire. According to the report upper caste men beat up three Dalits and assaulted a woman. An FIR was lodged at Chandghat police station under various sections of IPC and SC and ST Act. None of those named in the FIR was arrested at the time of our fieldwork in August 2005. The report points out that the crisis is a culmination of events in recent years arising from the assertiveness of the Dalits in Badhram and awareness of their rights. Dalits in the

village had refused to do begar or forced labour for the upper caste villagers. The statue of Ambedkar and a park on panchayat land had become a bone of contention between Dalits and upper caste villagers (Hindu, 17 August 2005). More than 45 persons belonging to the Dalit community were ostracised by the upper castes. The upper caste people forcibly shaved off the moustache of one member of the Dalit every day. The shocking incident of caste discrimination was reported from a village Badhram in Faridabad district. The moustache of a 65 year Dalit man was shaved off against his will. The upper caste set fire on three Dalit houses, beat up a Dalit and attacked a woman. The landlords brutally beat up a Dalit man dragged a woman (30) out of her house mercilessly (Asian Age, 12 August 2005). An irate mob set on fire a Dalit settlement of over 50 houses on 31st August 2005, in Gohana in Sonapat district (Indian Express, 1 September 2005).

In Gohana, the dominant caste, the police, the state, all did their bit in bringing terror, and ruin to the Dalit colony. The police say that after a Jat died in a clash with some Dalits the jats retaliated. Fearing an attack, over 1000 Dalits fled the colony. The police steered clear of the village while a mob of 1500 people burned around 50 Dalit houses to the ground. A thousand people had fled knowing an attack was being planned. Yet the police claimed that they were clueless about it. The Dalits here were Valmikis, manual scavengers who are said to have embodied the worst form of impurity. Gohana Valmikis had tried to get rid of that caste imposed rut. They had educated their children. Some even worked in the low level government posts. And over the years the Valmikis fought off the efforts of the jats to extract beggary - or forced labour from them. Their relative improvement was itself a major provocation. The mob in Gohana did not kill any Dalits, partly because they had already fled. The focus though was on looting and destruction of property Dalits owning decent houses. They had to be shown their place in the village dominated by jats. Houses having gas connection were destroyed using the absent owners' LPG cylinders. The relatively good houses of Dalits were an eyesore to the enemies (Hindu, 6 September 2005).

Jat villagers angry over police inaction in a recent murder case torched more than twenty houses belonging to Valmikis. More than 500 jats gathered at Gohana's sat sang bhawan to protest against the reluctance of the local police to book the culprits responsible for the murder of Baljeet of Gadhwal village. The jats had earlier also held Barah Panchayat (twelve village panchayat) at the victim's village. Simmering temper flared quickly at Wednesday afternoon's meeting in Gohana when same participants engaged others to teach the Dalits a lesson they would remember. The jats purred out of the sat sang bhawan and proceeded to the nearby village. Minutes later they had set more than twenty houses on fire. The crowd fled the scene soon after. Fortunately, there was no loss of life or injuries since the 150 Valmiki families living there had deserted the settlement several hours before clearly apprehending reprisals by the jats (Asian Age, 1 September 2005).

The Dalit Mahapanchayat organised a rally at the Ram Lila ground in the wake of the burning down of over 35 houses of Valmik basti in Gohana village of Haryana on 31 August 2005 demanded dismissal of the government in the state and a through probe into the entire episode by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI). Held under the aegis of Akhil Bharatiya Valmiki Samaj, the meeting was attended by a large number of people from Haryana, Punjab, UP, Maharashtra, Delhi and other states. In a resolution the Panchayat demanded dismissal of the Haryana government and also demanded a compensation of Rs.20 lakhs to each of the affected Dalit families and a CBI probe in to the incident to unearth the truth. The Panchayat also urged the criminal proceedings against the area Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of police as they had failed to prevent the incident despite prior information that the Dalits living at Valmiki basti could be targeted after the murder of a local upper caste financier, on 27 August 2005. After the murder most residents of Valmiki basti had fled apprehending an attack (Hindu, 6 September 2005).

The bandh call given by some Dalit organisations to protest against the torching of houses belonging to the community in Gohana evoked mixed response across the state.irate mobs reportedly set two buses – one each of Haryana and Punjab Roadways – on fire in

Punchkula. In Punchkula some miscreants had reportedly tried to set a bus on fire and break the window panes of another bus. They also set fire to one police motorcycle and caused some damage to a private car. It was alleged that at least 400-500 youngsters came to Punchkula from Chandigarh (Mauli Jagaran area) and tried to create trouble. The mob was subsequently dispersed off by the police. Violence was reported in Ambala, Pehowa and Hansi. Markets were closed in Karnal, Panipat and Bhiwani (Hindu, 3 September 2005).

The *sarvajatiya* panchayat attended by sarpanches of 96 villages, including those from the Dalit community, termed the burning down of houses at Valmiki basti in Gohana sub-division of Sonapat on Wednesday as fallout of the murder of a young man on 27th August and not a result of any animosity between the two communities. The meeting was attended by 5000 people held at Nai Anajmandi on Jind Road. During meeting the sarpanches of different villages expressed their views on the episode. They issued a statement demanding immediate arrest of the rest of the accused responsible for the murder of the local financier a resident of Gadhwal village. The Panchayat gave the administration a deadline of two days to arrest the accused. The Inspector General of Police (Rohtak Range), confirmed that the accused had a criminal past and had earlier been involved in the case of rioting and petty fights. Claiming that most of the people named in the FIR on the burning down of about 35 houses were not the actual culprits the Panchayat urged the administration to arrest the real ones instead. After the meeting hundreds of people sat on dharana on Jind road blocking vehicular movement and demanding the arrest of those who murdered the local upper caste financier (Hindu, 3 September 2005).

A delegation of Haryana Jat Mahasabha led by its state president and its vice- President visited Garhwal village to pay their condolences to the family whose murder on 27 August 2005 had reportedly triggered the Gohana incident (Hindu, 5 September 2005). The Members of Valmiki Sangathan in Punjab had called a bandh to protest the torching of Dalit houses in Gohana, turned violent in Amritsar. The protester fought pitched battle with the police and set on fire 17 vehicles in Amritsar and damaged a Gurudwar and a

temple in Kapurthala (Pioneer, 6 September 2005). The Bharatiya Valmiki Dharma Samaj leader threatened to change the religion of the community (Hindu, 5 September 2005). Responding to the sentiments and demand of the Dalit community, the Haryana Chief Minister (CM) ordered a CBI inquiry in to the murder of a youth and subsequent incident of arson at Gohana village in Sonapat district. The CM informed that cases under SC/ST Act have been registered against 23 people and four of the accused had been arrested (Hindu, 6 September 2005). The Haryana government announced an interim relief of Rs.50, 000 to the members of the family affected by the carnage. The Haryana government took this decision when a delegation consisting of the elderly members of the affected families met the CM to this decision (Pioneer, 5 September 2005).

✓ In another incident over 50 students of Valmiki community in Kadipur village in Gurgaon boycotted their Government Primary School fearing a backlash after a Dalit girl student, was beaten up for wishing her teacher namaste. The reason was that the Dalit students were not supposed to wish teachers of the upper castes. Non-government organisations in Gurgaon decided to take up the harassment of the Valmiki community children in the Government Primary School, Kadipur. This namaste was a matter of provocation for the upper caste Brahmin teacher who shouted at the girl and slapped her angrily, "I don't take namaste from Churas and Chamars." The Dalit girl was shocked at this and immediately came home crying to tell her father about the incident. Her father who worked with the Air Port Authority of India, then went to school to speak with teachers, which led to an altercation as girl's father, objected to the terminology used for his daughter by the teacher. The gang of teacher was aware of this fact and wanted to teach them a lesson. They invited Dalit girl's father to the office of the head-mistress for talks and locked him inside. He was beaten up mercilessly with rods and dandas, shoes and whatever available (Iyer, 2005)

The rape of Dalit women by upper castes is not uncommon in Haryana as the following cases reveal. A married woman was abducted and gang raped by four unidentified men near Kalanaur

town of Rohtak. The district police arrested four youth of Mokhra village in Rohtak district on charges of abduction and rape of a Dalit woman near Kalanaur, when she was returning home from the fields in June 2001. On 7 October 2001 an issueless Dalit woman was raped allegedly by a youth claiming to be a tantric at Chhara village in Jhajjar district. Though the incident took place on 30 September 2001, it came to light only after a few days when the victim lodged a complaint with the Bahadurgarh Sadar police. The alleged rapist was arrested (Iyer, 2005). In another incident a Dalit woman was abducted from her house at Karhara village in Rohtak district and was latter gang raped by half-a-dozen men from the same village and left in the fields of another village (Iyer, 2005). The victim told the police that she was forcibly taken to a house and was raped by all the six abductors. They later took her to the fields of a nearby village where she was forcibly made to drink liquor. When she regained consciousness she found herself lying abandoned in the fields of the nearby Basawa village. She later walked down to the Mehal town where her husband is employed and filed a complaint with the police (Iyer, 2005). Many political and social organisations came out strongly against the abduction and gang rape of the Dalit woman and demanded immediate arrest of all the perpetrators. The police arrested all six accused in the abduction and gang rape case of a woman at Karhara village (Iyer, 2005).

✓ In Kaithal district of Haryana around 300 Dalits had to leave their village because they were being ostracised by the landlords (Asian Age, 28 August 2005). On 10 February, 2003, 275 Dalit families in Kaithal were allegedly forced to abandon their homes to escape attack by their upper caste neighbourhoods (Indian Express, 10 February 2003). In a brutal act reminiscent of the medieval times, two young Dalit lovers were publicly killed at Shimla village in Kaithal district of Haryana for having dared to elope (Indian Express, 31 March 1999).

✓ Caste divide is another facet of social reality in Haryana. ✓ Right from the time of its formation Haryana society got split into jats and Brahmins, with SCs as the third force. The economic prosperity of green revolution made the Jats to control local politics in the

state. They often felt humiliated whenever state power slipped out of their hands and went to hands of Brahmins and other castes. It is well known fact that ruling political parties always patronised the caste groups in order to capture power in the state. Caste has always played a significant role in the state politics. In recent years, there is rise in Dalit consciousness, caste polarisation along scheduled verses non-scheduled in caste lines in local panchayats and in state politics. It has resulted in the complexity of inter-caste hostility on the one hand and cases of honour killings on the other, particularly in the context of caste marriages.

The institution of kinship, marriage, family has not changed much in comparison to other institutions in spite of economic development in the state. This is evident from the persistence of the practice of exogamy among the Jats, the continuance of patriarchy culture, unquestioned role of khap panchayats in enforcing endogamous norms and low social status of women in Haryana. The economic development in 1980s has led to some decline in the influence of traditional norms of mate selection. There is an increase in commercialisation of marriage and dowry. There is some change in structure of joint to nuclear family structure. The change is from joint to nuclear in composition but not in orientation.

✓ The culture of patriarchy continues intact on gender relations. Economic development has not changed gender inequality. On the other hand, agricultural development has increased the work-load of women. In several respects, the gender gaps are wider in Haryana. The census 2001 shows that 44.3 per cent women are still illiterate in Haryana. There is an alarming decline in the sex ratio in the state. In 17 districts of the state juvenile sex ratio (aged 0-6) has declined to 850 girls to 1,000 boys in 2001. In several districts including Ambala, Kaithal, Sonapat and Rohtak it has decreased to as low as 800 females for every 1,000 males. In Kurukshetra, it is 770 women to 1000 men. The availability of sex determination test technology, preference for boys and relative prosperity due to green revolution has contributed declining sex ratio in the state.

In 1981, 43 per cent rural households had access to safe drinking water. It increased to 67.14 per cent in 1991. In case of urban households it was 90.72 per cent in 1981 which increased to 93.18 per cent in 1991. When we combined both rural and urban households, 55.11 per cent had access to safe drinking water in 1981 which increased to 74.32 per cent in 1991. The cases of atrocities against Dalits are reported when they go to common places and use the facilities. In spite of the claim by the government the common drinking water source the regular feature of the violation of human rights of the Dalits. In villages of Mewat region the Valmiki people are still deprived of their fundamental rights like drinking water from common sources (Pioneer, 26 August 2002).

Chapter-3

Dalit Profile in Haryana – An Analytical Perspective

In this Chapter the changing social, economic and political status of Dalits in Haryana is examined from the data gathered. An attempt is made to present the data and its analysis in the format of the previous chapter. The presentation makes a comparative analysis of the situation of Dalits and non-dalits. The socio-economic and political dimensions of development are important indicators of Dalit mobility and assertion of Dalit identity in contemporary society.

3.1 Economic

3.1.1 Occupation

Our data suggests that a large number (46.6%) of Dalit respondents in the urban areas were daily wage labourers followed by class IV employees (13.3%). In the class IV category, employees were mainly safai karmacharis (cleaners and sweepers) and chaprasis (office assistants). The non-dalits too were employed as wage labourers (40.7 %) in industries and construction works. The non-dalits were self-employed in small businesses like vegetable vendors, tea stalls and grocery shops in urban areas. In rural areas also a majority of the Dalits - 230 (40%) were employed as non-agricultural labourers. The non-dalits (nearly 40%) were engaged in agriculture.

The data in **Table 3.1** shows the various occupations of Dalits. In rural areas only 2.5% of Dalit respondents were engaged in agriculture. Their lands were small and not enough to support their family. Nearly 44% of the Dalit respondents were employed as wage labourers in non-agricultural works. The data shows that 8.6% of the respondents were employed in class IV jobs. The data from rural areas also indicates that only 14.9% of Dalits were engaged in agricultural works while a large number of them were involved in non-agricultural labour.

Table 3.1 Occupation of the Dalits

Occupation	Urban	Rural	Total
Agricultural		14 (2.5)	14 (1.1)
Housewife	83 (12.7)	60 (10.6)	143 (11.7)
Agricultural Daily wage Labour	6 (0.9)	84 (14.9)	90 (7.4)
Non-Agricultural Daily wage Labour	306 (46.7)	229 (40.5)	535 (43.9)
Small Businesses	46 (7.0)	37 (6.5)	83 (6.8)
Industrial Worker	54 (8.2)	30 (5.3)	84 (6.9)
Class IV Employee	87 (13.3)	18 (3.2)	105 (8.6)
Government Employee	29 (4.4)	44 (7.8)	73 (6.0)
Service Sector	12 (1.8)	11 (1.9)	23 (1.9)
Unemployed	9 (1.4)	15 (2.7)	24 (2.0)
Ex - servicemen	10 (1.5)	9 (1.6)	19 (1.6)
Quack		2 (.4)	2 (.2)
Driver	9 (1.4)	11 (1.9)	20 (1.6)
Mason		1 (.2)	1 (0.1)
Tailor	1 (0.2)	-	1 (0.1)
Rickshaw Puller	1 (0.2)	-	1 (0.1)
Kabadiwala	1 (0.2)	-	1 (0.1)
No response	1 (0.2)	-	1 (0.1)
Total	660 (100.0)	565(100.0)	1225(100.0)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Our rural and urban data showed that Dalits were not employed in class I and class II jobs. Among the Dalits, the Valmikijs were mainly employed as safai karmacharis. The Chamars were employed as class 3 and class 4 employees. The Dhanaks, one of the Scheduled Castes who constitute the 3rd largest category of Dalits in the State, were excluded from the government jobs.

In Dhulkot village the Dalits were employed as wage labourers in non-agricultural works. The village was one of the main producers of tents in India. The tents were supplied to far off Chennai from that village. The tent owners were mainly businessmen from Ambala and Chandigarh who had shifted their shops for availability of cheap labour and land 20 years back. Aibela Jagir was an irrigated double crop village. The main crops cultivated in the rural areas were wheat and paddy. The Dalits were employed as agricultural labourers. Of late new poultry farms were coming up in the villages owned by the land-owning Rors. The migrant labourers from Bihar and UP were employed in the poultry farms. In Jassia village, the

Table 3.2 Gender and Occupational Background of the Respondents

Occupation	Urban						Rural					
	Dalit			Non-Dalit			Dalit			Non-Dalit		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture				5 (1.1)	1 (0.7)	6 (1.0)	13 (2.8)	1 (1.0)	14 (2.5)	255 (37.1)	13 (15.9)	268 (34.9)
Housewife	2 (0.4)	81 (51.9)	83 (12.7)	2 (0.5)	94 (62.3)	96 (16.3)	1 (0.2)	59 (56.2)	60 (10.6)	5 (0.7)	61 (74.4)	66 (8.6)
Agricultural daily wage	3 (0.6)	3 (1.9)	6 (0.9)	5 (1.1)	2 (1.3)	7 (1.2)	71 (15.4)	13 (12.4)	84 (14.8)	45 (6.6)	1 (1.2)	46 (6.0)
Non - Agricultural daily wage	254 (51.0)	51 (32.7)	305 (46.6)	210 (47.9)	30 (19.9)	240 (40.7)	206 (44.7)	24 (22.9)	230 (40.6)	147 (21.4)	2 (2.4)	149 (19.4)
Small business	44 (8.8)	2 (1.3)	46 (7.0)	113 (25.8)	11 (7.3)	124 (21.1)	36 (7.8)	1 (1.0)	37 (6.5)	82 (11.9)	4 (4.9)	86 (11.2)
Industrial worker	51 (10.2)	3 (1.9)	54 (8.3)	40 (9.1)	8 (5.3)	48 (8.1)	28 (6.1)	2 (1.9)	30 (5.3)	18 (2.6)		18 (2.3)
Class IV employee	75 (15.1)	12 (7.7)	87 (13.3)	11 (2.5)	1 (0.7)	12 (2.0)	15 (3.3)	3 (2.9)	18 (3.2)	6 (0.9)	1 (1.2)	7 (0.9)
Government employee	27 (5.4)	2 (1.3)	29 (4.4)	17 (3.9)	2 (1.3)	19 (3.2)	43 (9.3)	1 (1.0)	44 (7.8)	52 (7.6)		52 (6.8)
Service sector	12 (2.4)		12 (1.8)	9 (2.1)		9 (1.5)	11 (2.4)		11 (1.9)	12 (1.7)		12 (1.6)
Unemployed	8 (1.6)	1 (0.6)	9 (1.4)	7 (1.6)		7 (1.2)	14 (3.0)	1 (1.0)	15 (2.7)	19 (2.8)		19 (2.5)

Ex - servicemen	9 (1.8)	1 (0.6)	10 (1.5)	8 (1.8)		8 (1.4)	9 (2.0)		9 (1.6)	(.9)		(.8)
Quack							2 (0.4)		2 (0.4)	3 (0.4)		3 (0.4)
Driver	9 (1.8)		9 (1.4)	7 (1.6)		7 (1.2)	11 (2.4)		11 (1.9)	26 (3.8)		26 (3.4)
Barber										5 (.7)		5 (.7)
Mason				1 (0.2)		1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)		1 (0.2)	4 (0.6)		4 (0.5)
Tailor	1 (0.2)		1 (0.2)									
Rickshaw puller	1 (0.2)		1 (0.2)	3 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	4 (0.7)						
Kabadiwala	1 (0.2)		1 (0.2)									
No response	1 (0.2)		1 (0.2)		1 (0.7)	1 (0.2)				2 (0.3)		2 (0.3)
Total	498 (100)	156 (100)	654 (100)	438 (100)	151 (100)	589 (100)	461 (100)	105 (100)	566 (100)	687 (100)	82 100	769 (100)

(Figures within the brackets indicate percentage)

Dalits were employed as wage labourers both in agricultural and non-agricultural works. In Patan village, Dalits were mainly engaged as non-agricultural workers. Since the village was situated in a semi-desert area, agriculture depended on rainfall. Due to uncertainty of rainfall agriculture was insecure. Rasulpur was a semi-desert village. The Dalits were employed as agricultural labourers there. In Patan village of Hisar, the daily wage labourers migrated to Hisar town to work in road and building construction works. Nangal Mubarikpur village in Mewat district was situated on the foot hills of Aravali. Agriculture depended on rainfall. The village was facing drought since the last four years. Work was not available to agricultural labourers. The Dalits were mainly employed as agricultural labourers and industrial workers in Gurgaon, Faridabad and Bhiwadi in Rajasthan.

Our data suggests that ward No. 19 in Karnal Municipality was predominantly inhabited by Dalits. The Valmikis, Khatiks, Dhanaks and Chamars were the main Dalit communities in the ward. The Valmikis were employed as safai karmacharis. The Chamars, Dhanaks and Khatiks were employed as wage labourers in the factories. The town has many shoe-making factories. The upper caste Hindus do not prefer to work in these shoe-making factories. Many of them are engaged as *rediwalas*, *kawadiwalas*, tea stall owners, grocery shops, small business and vegetable vendors. The colony has many informal sector units where Dalits were employed. Ward No. 3 in Rohtak Municipality was predominantly inhabited by Dalits. The residents in the colony were mainly migrants from neighbouring villages of Haryana who migrated to the town and settled there for better jobs. The Punjabi households were mainly immigrants from Pakistan who came after the partition. The Punjabis from non-dalit backgrounds were mainly involved in businesses. The multi-storied buildings owned by the Punjabis signified their success in business. The non-dalit Punjabi households mainly belonged to the Arora and Khatri castes. Data indicates that the Dalit Punjabis were mainly engaged in small tea stalls, vegetable shops and employed in informal sector units. The Dalit Punjabis did not conceal their caste identity. They were engaged as *kabadiwalas*, wage labourers and construction workers.

The information we gathered points to the fact that ward No.11 in Hisar Municipality was predominantly inhabited by the Dalits. The main Dalit communities which lived there were Valmiki, Od, Dhaya, Dhanak and Chamars. The Dalits were engaged as daily wage labourers, factory workers, *rediwalas*, *safai karmacharis*, band masters, *Chowkidars*, *Kabadiwalas* and vegetable vendors. The Dhayas constituted 24% of the total Dalit households and they were mainly beggars.

3.1.2 Availability of work

The data from the rural areas of Haryana shows that work was available to the labourers in both non-agricultural and agricultural sectors. Out of the 1225 Dalit respondents we interviewed, 137 (11.2%) reported that work was available for 100-150 days in a year. In Rasulpur 11.8% of the respondents reported that work was available for 100-150 days. Rasulpur is one of those villages where agriculture depends on rainfall. In Nangal Mubarikpur 8.5% respondents reported that work was available for 100-150 days. In Dhulkot village 9.6% respondents reported that work was available for 100-150 days. In Aibela Jagir village which is 100% canal irrigated 45.8% Dalit respondents reported that work was available for 300 days per year. About 33% respondents reported that work was available for 100-200 days. A minimum availability of work for 200 days was essential for subsistence of those living in rural areas. The Right to Work Act, 2006, enacted by the Central Government is meant to provide work for minimum 200 days in the most backward districts. In our sample villages 11.2% respondents reported that work was available for 100-150 days. In Patan village of Hisar, only 13.3% respondents reported that work was available for 300 days.

The data shows that there has been a decline in employment in agriculture. The data in **Table 3.3** shows that the available number of work days (300 days) among Dalits in the villages was between the range of 25-49%, least in the semi-desert area and more in canal irrigated area. The work that was available was both agricultural as well as non-agricultural.

Our data pointed to the fact that there were more agricultural labour households in some villages and some of them migrated to work at construction sites (For example – Hisar).

The data points to the fact that there is more work available in rural areas. The urban data shows that only 6% in Rohtak, 9% in Karnal and 9.6% respondents in Hisar town reported that work was available for 300 days. **Table 3.3** shows the availability of work in urban areas.

Table 3.3 No. of days on which Dalits work in villages in an year

No. of days	Name of the villages						Total
	Nangal, Mubarikpur	Aibela Jagir	Dhulkot	Rasul	Patan pur	Jassia	
100-150	5 (8.5)	1 (2.1)	13 (9.6)	6 (11.8)	5 (3.9)		30 (5.3)
150-200	2 (3.4)	1 (2.1)	9 (6.6)	1 (2.0)	6 (4.7)	20 (14.2)	39 (6.9)
200-250	2 (3.4)	8 (16.7)	40 (29.4)		25 (19.5)	15 (10.6)	90 (16.0)
250-300	13 (22.0)	10 (20.8)	13 (9.6)	1 (2.0)	28 (21.9)	35 (24.8)	100 (17.8)
300	15 (25.4)	22 (45.8)	5 (3.7)	25 (49.0)	17 (13.3)	23 (16.3)	107 (19.0)
Not applicable	21 (35.6)	6 (12.5)	55 (40.4)	14 (27.5)	46 (35.9)	32 (22.7)	174 (30.9)
No response	1 (1.7)		1 (0.7)	4 (7.8)	1 (.8)	16 (11.3)	23 (4.1)
Total	59 (100)	48 (100)	136 (100)	51 (100)	128 (100)	141 (100)	563 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

3.1.3 Wages

Our data shows that the villages covered under the study had a difference in wages for women and men. The difference ranges between Rs. 20 to Rs. 40. The difference in wages between women and men was also noticed in agricultural and non-agricultural work in Dhulkot village. The data highlights the prevailing gender discrimination in the most developed and prosperous green revolution belt of Haryana. Surprisingly there was no discrimination in payment

Table 3.3.1 No. of days on which Dalits work in towns per year

No. of Days	Name of the Town			
	Rohtak	Karnal	Hisar	Total
100-150	101 (22.2)	7 (2.8)	5 (1.8)	113 (11.6)
150-200	130 (28.6)	98 (39.5)	21 (7.7)	249 (25.6)
200-250	79 (17.4)	21 (8.5)	74 (27.3)	174 (17.9)
250-300	63 (13.8)	10 (4.0)	52 (19.2)	125 (12.8)
300	28 (6.2)	22 (8.9)	26 (9.6)	76 (7.8)
Not Applicable	37 (8.1)	90 (36.3)	80 (29.5)	207 (21.3)
No Response	17 (3.7)		13 (4.8)	30 (3.1)
Total	455 (100.0)	248 (100.0)	271 (100.0)	974(100.0)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

of daily wages between women and men workers in the backward Nangal Mubarikpur village of Mewat. Both men and women, who were agricultural labourers were paid a daily wage of Rs 60/- in this region but the data indicated that women were not employed in non-agricultural work.

The town data suggested that both men and women *safai karamacharis* employed on contract basis by the Municipality of Karnal were paid equally - Rs 165/-. Over all the data highlights the disparities and discrimination in the wages paid to women and men.

3.1.4 Income

The data suggests that (**Table 3.4**) the annual income of a majority of urban Dalits (28.6%), was in the range of Rs. 20,001 to 30,000 followed by 26.5% in the range of 30,001 to 60,000. On the other hand, the non-dalits in urban areas (34%) had an income in the range of Rs. 30,001 to 50,000. In the rural areas the data shows that 66% of the Dalits had an income of less than Rs. 20,000. The situation of the non-dalits was slightly better.

Table 3.4 Annual Income of the Respondents

Annual Income(in Rs.)	Urban			Rural			Total
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Total	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Total	
Up to 10,000	21 (3.3)	20 (3.5)	41 (3.4)	239 (42.4)	214 (27.8)	453 (34.0)	494 (19.3)
10,001 to 20,000	97 (15.0)	61 (10.6)	158 (13.0)	130 (23.0)	208 (27.0)	338 (25.4)	496 (19.4)
20,001 to 30,000	185 (28.6)	171 (29.8)	356 (29.2)	61 (10.8)	98 (12.7)	159 (11.9)	515 (20.2)
30,001 to 50,000	171 (26.5)	195 (34.0)	366 (30.0)	55 (9.8)	113 (14.7)	168 (12.6)	534 (20.9)
50,001 to 1,00,000	138 (21.4)	104 (18.1)	242 (19.8)	49 (8.7)	80 (10.4)	129 (9.7)	371 (14.5)
Above 1,00,000	13 (2.0)	11 (1.9)	24 (2.0)	18 (3.2)	52 (6.8)	70 (5.3)	94 (3.7)
Not Answered	21 (3.3)	12 (2.1)	33 (2.7)	12 (2.1)	4 (.5)	16 (1.2)	49 (1.9)
Group Total	646 (100)	574 (100)	1220 (100)	564 (100)	769 (100)	1333 (100)	2553 (100)
Table Total	660 (100)	590 (100)	1250 (100)	565 (100)	769 (100)	1334 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Our data indicates that in Haryana, households earning less than Rs. 22,000 are included in the BPL category. In case of rural households, the range is Rs. 20,000 and in urban households Rs. 27,500 in terms of inclusion in the BPL list. **Table 3.4** shows that in more than 19% households the annual income was less than Rs. 20,000 which is more than the state average (see Chapter 2). Among the rural Dalits more than 42% households earn less than Rs. 10,000. In case of urban Dalits only 3% earn less than Rs. 10,000.

3.1.5 Housing

The data shows that 77.71% of Dalits owned *pucca* houses, 15.59% owned *kuchha* houses and 6.53% had semi-pucca houses. In urban areas 58.2% of the Dalit respondents had *pucca* houses while 41.8% had the same in the rural areas. This suggests that the Dalits have more pucca houses in urban areas than in rural areas.

Table 3.5 Type of houses owned by Dalits

Category	Type of House				Total
	Pucca	Kuchha	Semi-Pucca	No response	
Urban	554 (58.2)	57 (29.8)	48 (60.0)		660 (53.9)
Rural	398 (41.8)	134 (70.2)	32 (40.0)	1 (100)	565 (46.1)
Total	952 (100)	191 (100)	80 (100)	1 (100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.6 shows that over all the houses are better in the urban areas than in the rural areas. Houses with more than one room are more in urban areas than in rural areas. However, more Dalit households live in one room houses in rural areas than in urban areas.

Table 3.6 No. of rooms shared by Dalits in Urban and Rural Survey

Category	Number of rooms in the house				Total
	One	Two	Three or more Rooms	No Response	
Urban	244 (46.1)	297 (62.7)	116 (55.0)	3 (27.3)	660 (53.9)
Rural	285 (53.9)	177 (37.3)	95 (45.0)	8 (72.7)	565 (46.1)
Total	529 (100)	474 (100)	211 (100)	11 (100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within the brackets indicate percentage)

The data in **Table 3.7** suggests that among the Dalit respondents a majority live in their own houses compared to those who live in rented houses. Again comparatively more respondents live in their own houses in rural areas than in urban areas.

The data also indicates that the situation of Dalits and non-dalits in terms of housing is quite similar. In urban areas both communities nearly have around 80% pucca houses. The data also shows that compared to rural areas more percentage of both Dalits and non-dalits live in rented houses in urban areas.

Table 3.7 Ownership of Houses of the Dalits

Category	Ownership of House				Total
	Own House	Rented House	No response		
Urban	592 (51.8)	55 (84.6)	13 (72.2)	660 (53.9)	
Rural	550 (48.2)	10 (15.4)	5 (27.8)	565 (46.1)	
Total	1142 (100)	65 (100)	18 (100)	1225 (100)	

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Table 3.8 Ownership of House of the Respondents

Category	Urban		Rural		Total
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Dalit	Non-Dalit	
Own House	592 (89.7)	519 (88.0)	550 (97.3)	744 (96.7)	2405 (93.1)
Rented House	55 (8.3)	62 (10.5)	10 (1.8)	13 (1.7)	140 (5.4)
Not Answered	13 (2.0)	9 (1.5)	5 (0.9)	12 (1.6)	39 (1.5)
Total	660 (100)	590 (100)	565 (100)	769 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.9 Type of House of the Respondents

Type of House	Urban		Rural		Total
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Dalit	Non-Dalit	
Pucca	555 (84.1)	479 (81.2)	398 (70.4)	551 (71.7)	1983 (76.7)
Kuchha	57 (8.6)	79 (13.4)	134 (23.7)	195 (25.4)	465 (18.0)
Semi-Pucca	48 (7.3)	32 (5.4)	32 (5.7)	23 (3.0)	135 (5.2)
No response			1 (0.2)		1 (0.0)
Total	660 (100)	590 (100)	565 (100)	769 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Table 3.10 Ownership of houses of the respondents in rural and urban survey

Ownership	Urban		Rural		Total
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Dalit	Non-Dalit	
Own House	592 (89.7)	519 (88.0)	550 (97.3)	744 (96.7)	2405 (93.1)
Rented House	55 (8.3)	62 (10.5)	10 (1.8)	13 (1.7)	140 (5.4)
No response	13 (2.0)	9 (1.5)	5 (.9)	12 (1.6)	39 (1.5)
Total	660 (100)	590 (100)	565 (100)	769 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Table 3.11 No. of Rooms shared by the Households in Rural and Urban Survey

No. of rooms	Urban		Rural		Total
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Dalit	Non-Dalit	
One	244 (37.0)	210 (35.6)	285 (50.4)	261 (33.9)	1000 (38.7)
Two	297 (45.0)	227 (38.5)	177 (31.3)	266 (34.6)	967 (37.4)
Three and more	116 (17.6)	149 (25.3)	95 (16.8)	232 (30.2)	592 (22.9)
No response	3 (0.5)	4 (0.7)	8 (1.4)	10 (1.3)	25 (1.0)
Total	660 (100)	590 (100)	565 (100)	769 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

3.1.6 Ownership of Assets

The data concerning the ownership of assets from rural and urban areas shows a sizable number of Dalit and non-dalit households possess a TV and LPG connections. The percentage is comparatively lower in rural areas. The situation of non-dalits appears to be slightly better than Dalits vis-a-vis the stated assets. With regards to income generating assets such as tractors, threshers and pump-sets the data suggests that a majority of Dalits do not have these assets. A possible explanation could be that the Dalits are not

engaged in agriculture as much as the non-dalits. According to our data, non-dalits own almost double the livestock compared to Dalits. Livestock is seen more in rural areas than in urban areas. The livestock data stock supports the fact that in Haryana, dairy is the second largest sector of income generation activities. The data also highlights the fact that Dalit households both in rural and urban areas own a fridge, a motor cycle, a telephone and a mobile phone though comparatively less in number than that of non-dalits.

Table 3.12 Assets owned by the respondents

Asset	Urban			Rural		
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Total	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Total
Television	540 (82.3)	489 (83.3)	1029 (82.8)	248 (44.0)	379 (49.3)	627 (47.1)
Radio	96 (14.6)	94 (16.0)	190 (15.3)	103 (18.3)	267 (34.7)	370 (27.8)
Cycle	337 (51.4)	302 (51.4)	639 (51.4)	216 (38.4)	305 (39.7)	521 (39.1)
Motor Cycle	29 (4.4)	46 (7.8)	75 (6.0)	37 (6.6)	141 (18.3)	178 (13.4)
Car		1 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	3 (0.5)	15 (2.0)	18 (1.4)
Tractor		1 (0.2)	1 (0.1)		46 (6.0)	46 (3.5)
Pump set				1 (0.2)	89 (11.6)	90 (6.8)
Telephone	34 (5.2)	30 (5.1)	64 (5.1)	42 (7.5)	95 (12.4)	137 (10.3)
Thresher				2 (0.4)	27 (3.5)	29 (2.2)
Cows/ Buffaloes	6 (0.9)	18 (3.1)	24 (1.9)	191 (33.9)	557 (72.4)	748 (56.2)
Mobile phone	25 (3.8)	37 (6.3)	62 (5.0)	23 (4.1)	62 (8.1)	85 (6.4)
Fridge	174 (26.5)	174 (29.6)	348 (28.0)	72 (12.8)	209 (27.2)	281 (21.1)
LPG Connection	466 (71.0)	447 (76.1)	913 (73.5)	99 (17.6)	272 (35.4)	371 (27.9)
Rickshaw		1 (0.2)	1 (0.1)		3 (0.4)	3 (0.2)
NA	89 (13.6)	54 (9.2)	143 (11.5)	84 (14.9)	75 (9.8)	159 (11.9)
No response	60 (9.1)	41 (7.0)	101 (8.1)	78 (13.9)	62 (8.1)	140 (10.5)
Total	656 (100)	587 (100)	1243 (100)	563 (100)	769 (100)	1332 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

3.1.7 Basic facilities

The gathered data highlights serious problems with regards to drinking water and sanitary facilities. A majority of the Dalits in Haryanavi villages have no access to drinking water, toilets and bathrooms. **Table 3.13** shows that about 47% Dalits had no access to tap water. The situation of Dalits is poor compared to non-dalits. Our data also suggests that one's control over the Panchayat influences access to water as tap water is supplied by the Panchayat. The non-dalits have more control over the functioning of GPs and the data indicates that they have an advantage over the resources of the Panchayats.

The data suggests that the problem of untouchability, especially in accessing drinking water, exists in Mewat. It is also seen that not all the households in rural and urban areas have toilet facilities. A separate bathroom is not a facility which large number of Dalits households enjoy. Data also shows that a good number of households depend on hand pumps for water.

Table 3.13 Tap Water in Households

	Category	Yes	No	Not Applicable	Total
Urban	Dalit	316	298	46	660
		(29.8)	(20.6)	(20.6)	(20.6)
	Non-Dalit	304	260	26	590
		(20.6)	(20.6)	(20.6)	(20.6)
Rural	Dalit	125	438	2	565
		(20.6)	(20.6)	(20.6)	(20.6)
	Non-Dalit	314	449	6	769
		(20.6)	(20.6)	(20.6)	(20.6)
Total		1059	1445	80	2584
		(20.6)	(20.6)	(20.6)	(20.6)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Data suggests that a toilet facility is not available in all the households, whether urban or rural. Comparatively the non-dalits enjoy this facility more than the Dalits. **Table 3.14** shows that more than 62% rural and urban households do not have separate bathrooms. The data shows that in urban areas the gap between non-dalit and Dalit households having separate bathrooms was 4% while in rural areas it was 13.7%.

Table 3.14 Toilets in households

	Category	Yes	No	Not Applicable	Total
Urban	Dalit	498 (20.6)	148 (20.6)	14 (20.6)	660 (20.6)
	Non-Dalit	464 (20.6)	118 (20.6)	8 (20.6)	590 (20.6)
Rural	Dalit	133 (20.6)	430 (20.6)	2 (20.6)	565 (20.6)
	Non-Dalit	259 (20.6)	506 (20.6)	4 (20.6)	769 (20.6)
Total		1354 (100)	1202 (100)	28 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Table 3.15 Separate Bathroom in Households

	Category	Yes	No	NotApplicable	Total
Urban	Dalit	191 (20.1)	448 (20.1)	21 (20.1)	660 (20.1)
	Non-Dalit	229 (20.1)	351 (20.1)	10 (20.1)	590 (20.1)
Rural	Dalit	201 (20.1)	362 (20.1)	2 (20.1)	565 (20.1)
	Non-Dalit	331 (20.1)	435 (20.1)	3 (20.1)	769 (20.1)
Total		952 (100)	1596 (100)	36 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

The data indicates that only 7.35% of the households had hand pumps. The non-dalits have a higher percentage (19%) of hand pumps than that of the Dalits (1.1%). Our data also shows that in the urban areas though there was tap water supply the Dalit and non-dalit households had hand pumps, however there were a considerable number of households which did not have a tap water connection.

Table 3.16 Hand Pump facilities in the houses of Respondents

	Category	Yes	No	Not Applicable	Total
Urban	Dalit	84 (44.2)	1 (44.2)	575 (44.2)	660 (25.5)
	Non-Dalit	68 (25.5)		522 (25.5)	590 (22.8)
Rural	Dalit	2 (22.8)		563 (22.8)	565 (22.8)
	Non-Dalit	36 (22.8)	1 (22.8)	732 (22.8)	769 (29.8)
Total		190 (100)	2 (100)	2392 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

The gathered data highlighted that in Dhulkot village of Ambala the main source of drinking water was through pipelines supplied by the village panchayat. The village had only two hand pumps. Out of 190 Dalit households in the village, 115 (61%) had toilets. Data highlights that toilets are not very common among the Dalit households. It also suggests that Nangal Mubarikpur village in Mewat was the only exception where Dalit households had more toilets than the non-dalit households. The Dalits were mainly Chamars who were also largely employed in Government jobs.

The three wards/colonies which were studied in three urban areas of Haryana show lack of basic facilities like sewerage, tap water, electricity, toilets and road. The colonies were more like slums than housing areas. Data also showed that in the three urban localities, tap drinking water was not supplied to all the households. The Dalit households in Rohtak and Hisar urban centres depended on tube wells. A number of tube wells were not functioning at the time of our field work. The three urban centres had no proper sewerage. The sewerage water was overflowing in those three urban centres. There were many factories near the colonies in Karnal and Hisar. The urban areas were mainly inhabited by class four employees who bought land at a cheaper rate and settled here. Their houses were away from any Dalit habitation. The Dalit settlement in Rohtak and Hisar town were either in authorised houses or the land they bought was cheaper than the market rate. All the three colonies lacked all civic facilities as the data suggested.

3.1.8 Land Ownership

Land is an important asset in rural areas for peasant households. Our data shows that in the rural households, both from Dalit and non-dalit communities, 67.5% of the households were landless. Only 17.3% households had marginal land holding which was less than 2 acres per household. The households owning land between 3-5 acres were just 8.6%. The data shows that the land owned by the Dalits was not sufficient enough for them to survive.

The data also shows that in Dhulkot village of Ambala all the Dalit households were landless. The village had only 40 *quilas* of cultivable land owned by 11 non-dalit households. In Aibela Jagir village of Karnal all the Dalit households were landless despite the fact that the village had 1097 acres of irrigated cultivable land. The Rors owned 996 (91%) acres of the cultivable land. The remaining 9% of the cultivable land was owned by Sikh and Brahmin households.

In Jassia village of Rohtak, among the Dalits - the Dhanak caste (77.23% of the total Dalit households) was landless. The Chamar households which constituted 22.77% of the total Dalit households owned only 6 acres of cultivable land. Out of 2800 acres of cultivable land, 5.15% of the Brahmin village households owned 10.71% of the cultivable land. The Jats who constituted 45.76% of the total households in Jassia owned 7.64% of the total cultivable land. The Rajputs constituted 4.05% of the total households and owned 14.28% of land. Out of 2800 acres of cultivable land in the village the non-dalits owned 2794 acres of land while Dalit households owned only 6 (0.22%) acres of land.

Our data suggests that most of the households in Patan Village of Hisar were resettled after 1947. Patan village was inhabited mostly by Muslim landowners who migrated to Pakistan after the partition of the country. The village had 1219 hectares of cultivable land, out of which 122 hectares were owned by the Dalits. The Valmikis were landless in the village. In Rasulpur village of Mahendragarh, out of 4412 hectares of cultivable land 13.48% Dalit households owned only one hector of cultivable land. Nangal Mubarikpur village in Mewat had 886 *quilas* of cultivable land, out of which 452 *quilas* were owned by the Meo Muslims. The Dalits were landless

in the village. The land ownership pattern in six sample villages of Haryana showed landlessness of Dalits.

Table 3.17 Land Ownership of the Households in acres

	Category	Landless	Up to 2	3 - 5	6 - 8	Above 8	N.A.	No response	Total
Urban	Dalit	36 (3.3)					582 (58.0)	42 (56.8)	660 (25.5)
	Non-Dalit	142 (13.2)	5 (2.1)	1 (0.9)	2 (4.5)	2 (6.1)	406 (40.5)	32 (43.2)	590 (22.8)
Rural	Dalit	533 (49.4)	19 (8.1)	9 (7.8)			4 (.4)		565 (21.9)
	Non-Dalit	367 (34.0)	212 (89.8)	106 (91.4)	42 (95.5)	31 (93.9)	11 (1.1)		769 (29.8)
Total		1078 (100)	236 (100)	116 (100)	44 (100)	33 (100)	1003 (100)	74 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Table 3.18 Land Cultivated by the Households in acres

	Category	Up to 2	3 - 5	6 - 8	Above 8	N.A.	No response	Total
Urban	Dalit					616 (31.3)	44 (26.8)	660 (25.5)
	Non-Dalit	6 (2.6)	1 (.9)	1 (1.6)		544 (27.7)	38 (23.2)	590 (22.8)
Rural	Dalit	18 (7.7)	10 (9.3)	1 (1.6)	2 (3.9)	477 (24.3)	57 (34.8)	565 (21.9)
	Non-Dalit	209 (89.7)	97 (89.8)	60 (96.8)	49 (96.1)	329 (16.7)	25 (15.2)	769 (29.8)
Total		233 (100)	108 (100)	62 (100)	51 (100)	1966 (100)	164 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

The data highlights the fact that in the last 10 years each of the Dalit and non-dalit households had sold some land. In rural areas

only 24 non-dalit households had sold land. The data in **Table 3.19** shows that the main reasons for selling the land are household consumption, wedding in the family and family problems.

Table 3.19 Purposes for which the Respondents borrow money

Category	Urban		Rural		Total
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Dalit	Non-Dalit	
Medical expenses of family members	2 (0.7)	1 (0.3)			3 (0.3)
Wedding in the family	119 (43.9)	104 (28.0)	3 (1.9)	5 (1.9)	231 (21.8)
Festivals	17 (6.3)	11 (3.0)	2 (1.3)	4 (1.5)	34 (3.2)
Consumption	91 (33.6)	82 (22.1)	37 (23.9)	33 (12.6)	243 (23.0)
Business	2 (0.7)	13 (3.5)	1 (0.6)		16 (1.5)
Agriculture		2 (0.5)		9 (3.4)	11 (1.0)
Not Applicable	39 (14.4)	156 (42.0)	110 (71.0)	209 (80.1)	514 (48.6)
No Response	1 (0.4)	2 (0.5)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.4)	6 (0.6)
Total	660 (100)	590 (100)	565 (100)	769 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.20 Land Sold in 10 years by the Respondents

Land Sold	Dalit		Non-Dalit		Total
Yes	NA		24	(3.1)	24
No	417	(73.7)	495	(64.4)	912
NA	147	(26.0)	249	(32.4)	396
No Response	2	(0.4)	1	(0.1)	3
Total	566	(100)	769	(100)	1335

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.21 Land bought in 10 years by the Urban and Rural Respondents

Land bought	Urban		Rural		Total
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Dalit	Non-Dalit	
Yes		1 (.2)	10 (1.8)	17 (2.2)	28 (1.1)
No	323 (48.9)	399 (67.6)	553 (97.9)	749 (97.4)	2024 (78.3)
NA	337 (51.1)	190 (32.2)		3 (.4)	530 (20.5)
No response	-	-	2 (0.4)		2 (0.1)
Total	660 (100)	590 (100)	565 (100)	769 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Table 3.22 Land bought by Rural Respondents in 10 years

Land Purchased	Dalit		Non-Dalit		Total	
Yes	10	(1.8)	17	(2.2)	27	(2.0)
No	554	(97.9)	749	(97.4)	1303	(97.6)
Not Applicable	-		3	(0.4)	3	(0.2)
No Response	2	(0.4)	-		2	(0.1)
Total	566	(100)	769	(100)	1335	(100)

(Figures within the brackets show percentage)

3.2 Social

3.2.1 Education

Our data highlights that 38% of the respondents were illiterates. The data as per **Table 3.23** shows that both in the rural and the urban areas illiteracy was more rampant among the Dalits in comparison to the non-dalits. Data also suggests that illiteracy is not a problem in rural areas alone. The overall picture suggests that this state of Haryana with high economic growth has a considerably high amount of illiteracy among people and more so among the Dalits. Economic development has not gone hand in hand with social justice – right to education. Data also suggests that after schooling the rate of education has decreased among Dalits and non-dalits but more so among Dalits.

Table 3.23 Educational Background of the Respondents

Educational background	Urban		Rural		Total
	Dalit	Non-Dalit	Dalit	Non-Dalit	
Illiterate	267 (40.7)	205 (34.7)	258 (45.7)	250 (32.5)	980 (38.0)
Literate	75 (11.4)	58 (9.8)	20 (3.5)	34 (4.4)	187 (7.2)
Primary	98 (14.9)	82 (13.9)	96 (17.0)	116 (15.1)	392 (15.2)
Middle	104 (15.9)	107 (18.1)	76 (13.5)	126 (16.4)	413 (16.0)
Up to XII Std	81 (12.3)	96 (16.3)	90 (15.9)	186 (24.2)	453 (17.6)
Graduate	15 (2.3)	24 (4.1)	16 (2.8)	24 (3.1)	79 (3.1)
Post Graduate	4 (0.6)	9 (1.5)	3 (0.5)	8 (1.0)	24 (0.9)
Technical Education	2 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	-	2 (0.3)	6 (0.2)
No Response	10 (1.5)	7 (1.2)	6 (1.1)	23 (3.0)	46 (1.8)
Total	660 (100)	590 (100)	565 (100)	769 (100)	2584 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Our data shows that in the Dhulkot village in Ambala there was only 1 primary school. There were 152 students enrolled in the primary school, out of which 110 were Dalit. Of the total Dalit students 50 (45%) were girls. Dhulkot village also had a private school. The non-dalit students were mainly enrolled in this private school. Out of 62 students enrolled in the private school 48 (77.41%) were non-dalit. Aibela Jagir village in Karnal had one primary school. There were 100 students enrolled in the primary school, out of which 49 were from a Dalit background. Jassia village in Rohtak had one primary school. There were 966 students enrolled in the school, out of which 614 (63.56%) were non-dalits and 352 (36.43%) were Dalits. The school had 372 girl students, out of which 232 (62.36%) were from non-dalit and 140 (37.63%) from Dalit backgrounds. Patan village in Hisar had one primary school. There

were 100 students enrolled in the school, out of which 20 were Dalits. Rasulpur village in Mahendragarh had one primary school. There were 100 students enrolled in the school, out of which 80 were non-dalits and 20 were Dalits. Nangal Mubarikpur Village in Mewat also had one primary school. There were 408 students enrolled in the school, out of which 380 (93.13%) were from non-dalit and remaining 28 (6.87%) were from Dalit backgrounds.

Ward No.19 in Karnal Municipality had one primary school. The number of students enrolled in the school was 341, out of which 228 (66.86%) were non-dalits and 113 (33.13%) were Dalits. Ward No.11 in Hisar Municipality had two primary schools. The number of students enrolled in the school was 300, out of which 220 (73.33%) were Dalits and 80 (26.66%) were non-dalits. Among the Dalit students 200 (90.90%) were boys and only 20 (9.10%) were girls. The data also suggests that comparatively enrolment of girls in schools is less than the boys both among the Dalits and non-dalits.

3.2.2 Caste

Out of 2584 respondents we interviewed 1359 (52.59%) respondents were from a non-dalit background. There were 192 (14.12%) Meo Muslims who were mainly from Nangal Mubarikpur village in Mewat. The Meo Muslims were the main land owning caste of Mewat. There were 139 (10.22%) Yadavs who hailed from Rasulpur village in Mahendragarh. The Rors who constituted 74 (5.44%) of the total respondents are a dominant land caste in Aibela Jagir village in Karnal district. In our sample the Rajputs constituted about 13% of the respondents. In the urban non-dalit category the Rajputs constituted 29% of the respondents. The Jats constituted 8% of the non-dalits. The jats were mainly from Jassia village of Rohtak. **Table 3.24** shows the caste background of the respondents.

Table 3.24 Caste Background of the non-dalit Respondents

Sl.No.	Name of the Caste	Urban	Rural	Total
1	Meo	5 (0.84)	187 (24.31)	19.2 (14.12)
2	Rajput	173 (29.32)	3 (0.39)	176 (12.95)
3	Yadav	18 (3.05)	121 (15.73)	139 (10.22)
4	Kumhar	34 (5.76)	74 (9.62)	108 (7.94)
5	Jat	20 (3.38)	87 (11.31)	107 (7.81)
6	Brahmin	23 (3.89)	57 (7.41)	80 (5.88)
7	Ror	2 (0.33)	72 (9.36)	74 (5.44)
8	Saini	45 (7.62)	24 (3.12)	69 (5.07)
9	Arora	33 (5.59)	10 (1.30)	43 (3.16)
10	Khatri	40 (6.77)	-	40 (2.94)
11.	Kashyap	36 (6.10)	8 (1.04)	44 (3.23)
12	Kamboj	-	23 (2.99)	23 (1.69)
13	Bania	13 (2.20)	3 (0.39)	16 (1.17)
14	Jogi	7 (1.18)	11 (1.43)	18 (1.32)
15	Others*	141 (23.89)	89 (11.57)	230 (16.92)
16	Total	590 (100)	769 (100)	1359 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

* The other castes are Gosain, Narang, Malik, Dua, Kathuria, Tanwar, Verma, Nai, Madan, Nayak, Qureshi, Shakka, Sikh, Tarkhan, Sunar, Badbuja, Chhipi, Teli, Gujjar, Sachdeva, and Vishnoi

3.2.3 Discrimination

✓ The concept of pollution and purity attached to caste is not very visible in Haryana. The Haryanavi society is influenced by the non-Brahminical caste values. The Jats, Ahirs, Yadavs and Rors are the dominant castes. In urban areas 90% Dalit respondents reported that they never experienced discrimination on basis of their caste identity. In rural areas, 9% Dalits reported that they had experienced discrimination in day to day life. Only 3% Dalits in rural areas frequently face discrimination and 4.8% occasionally. ✓

Table 3.25 Discrimination Dalits face in Everyday Life

Category	No Discrimination	In Govt. policies	At the time of fetching water	Caste difference	Un-sociability	N.A	Total
Urban	269 (90.9)	3 (75.0)	1 (9.1)	2 (8.7)		385 (43.4)	660 (53.9)
Rural	27 (9.1)	1 (25.0)	10 (90.9)	21 (91.3)	1 (100.0)	503 (56.6)	565 (46.1)
Total	296 (100)	4 (100)	11 (100)	23 (100)	1 (100)	888 (100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Our data highlights the fact that caste discrimination is comparatively less. However it does exist in government policies, fetching water in public places, in Gram Panchayats (**Table 3.26**), Schools (**Table 3.29**), PDS shops (**Table 3.30**), PHC (**Table 3.31**) and Cooperative Banks. The data also suggests that caste based discrimination is reported more in rural areas than in urban areas.

The data collected from individual villages and towns suggests that the residents of the Valmiki Mohalla in Nangal Mubarikpur of Mewat district used to go to the Chamar Mohalla (SCs) to fetch drinking water and were prevented from touching the water pipe. The field visits in Nangal Mubarikpur village revealed how the Valmik women had to wait for hours in front of the common water tap to fetch water.

As reported, the Chamars of Nangal Mubarikpur managed to secure most of the benefits for Dalits that came through Panchayats. The Valmiki women were by and large engaged in scavenging work. They cleaned buffalo sheds of the Meo Muslims and other caste Hindus for food. In Islam there is no concept of pollution and purity, but the evil of Varna ideology has influenced Islam as well, like many religions in India.

Table 3.26 Discrimination Dalits face in Gram Sabha/Ward Sabha meetings

Category	Discrimination Dalits face in Gram Sabhas				
	Yes	No	NA	No response	Total
Urban	1 (5.9)	314 (39.0)	340 (85.4)	5 (100.0)	660 (53.9)
Rural	16 (94.1)	491 (61.0)	58 (14.6)	-	565 (46.1)
Total	17 (100)	805 (100)	398 (100)	5 (100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.27 Discrimination Dalits face in Gram Panchayat meetings

Category	Discrimination in Gram Panchayat meetings				
	Yes	No	NA	No response	Total
Urban	1 (6.3)	313 (38.9)	341 (85.5)	5 (100.0)	660 (53.9)
Rural	15 (93.8)	492 (61.1)	58 (14.5)	-	565 (46.1)
Total	16 (100)	805 (100)	399 (100)	5 (100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Table 3.28 Discrimination Dalits face in Social Gatherings

Category	Discrimination in Social gatherings in villages						
	Yes		No		NA		Total
Urban	1	(7.7)	608	(55.1)	51	(46.8)	660 (53.9)
Rural	12	(92.3)	495	(44.9)	58	(53.2)	565 (46.1)
Total	13	(100)	1103	(100)	109	(100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.29 Discrimination Dalits face in Schools

Category	Discrimination Dalits face in Schools						
	Yes		No		NA		Total
Urban	13	(92.9)	636	(54.1)	11	(31.4)	660 (53.9)
Rural	1	(7.1)	540	(45.9)	24	(68.6)	565 (46.1)
Total	14	(100)	1176	(100)	35	(100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.30 Discrimination Dalits face in Ration Shops

Category	Yes		No		NA		Total
Urban	55	(77.5)	593	(52.9)	12	(36.4)	660 (53.9)
Rural	16	(22.5)	528	(47.1)	21	(63.6)	565 (46.1)
Total	71	(100)	1121	(100)	33	(100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.31 Discrimination Dalits face in PHC/Hospital

Category	Yes		No		NA		Total
Urban	1	(25.0)	644	(54.4)	15	(39.5)	660 (53.9)
Rural	3	(75.0)	539	(45.6)	23	(60.5)	565 (46.1)
Total	4	(100)	1183	(100)	38	(100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Table 3.32 Discrimination Dalits face in Cooperative Societies/ Banks

Category	Yes		No		NA		Total
Urban	1	(14.3)	629	(54.1)	30	(54.5)	660 (53.9)
Rural	6	(85.7)	534	(45.9)	25	(45.5)	565 (46.1)
Total	7	(100)	1163	(100)	55	(100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

Table 3.33 Discrimination Dalits face in daily life

Category	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	NA	No response	Total
Urban	2 (10.5)	11 (28.9)	3 (20.0)	415 (51.6)	226 (65.5)	3 (100.0)	660 (53.9)
Rural	17 (89.5)	27 (71.1)	12 (80.0)	390 (48.4)	119 (34.5)	-	565 (46.1)
Total	19 (100)	38 (100)	15 (100)	805 (100)	345 (100)	3 (100)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets show percentage)

The economic and social assertion by Dalits has resulted in tension between Dalits and non-dalits in Haryana. The non-dalits have not accepted the economic prosperity of the Dalits. The non-dalits have used many traditional caste practices to check the social mobility of Dalits in society. Inter-caste marriages are being strongly opposed by non-dalits when a Dalit boy marries a non-dalit girl.

Inter-caste marriages hurt the pride of the non-dalits. The traditional khap panchayat finds faults with Dalit boys. There are several cases being reported in the press.

3.3 Political

The data suggests that there has been an increase in consciousness among the Dalits of their identity and active participation in politics. Traditionally the Dalits were not very active in the local village level politics. They supported the dominant caste groups in local politics.

One of the symbols of this awareness is the establishment of the statues of Ambedkar and Guru Ravi Das at various places. One was a respected political leader and the other was a venerated spiritual leader among the Dalits. In the Valmiki settlements the shrines/temples of Valmiki are seen as one enters the colony.

It was reported that the Valmiki community of Hisar town demanded recognition for their colony and the colony was authorised recently by the Municipality. It was observed that all the Dalit communities had their own caste panchayats and were headed by a male caste panchayat pradhan. It was observed that compared to the rural areas the urban caste panchayat pradhans were younger in age and had more formal education. These pradhans also acted as negotiators between different communities and the various political parties. In villages where there were Dalit sarpanches who also mobilised their community members to attend Gram Sabhas.

Table 3.34 No. of Dalits and non-dalits invited to attend Gram Sabha meetings

Category	Yes	No	Total
Dalit	105 (18.59)	460 (81.41)	565 (100)
Non Dalit	223 (31.41)	546 (68.59)	769 (100)
Total	328 (4.59)	1006 (75.41)	1334 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.34 shows that 18.59% Dalits and 31.41% non-dalits reported being invited to attend Gram Sabha meetings. In the Gram Sabha meeting the rural plan and budget of the village panchayat are presented and discussed. It was observed that after the 73rd

amendment, the participation of Dalits has significantly increased. The participation of Dalits in these meetings led to the inclusion of their demands in the task lists of these meetings. **Table 3.35** shows the participation of Dalits and non-dalits in Gram Sabha meetings. Data also suggests (**Table 3.38**) that Gram Sabhas are helpful to Dalits in addressing their agenda to some extent.

Table 3.35 Participation in Gram Sabha meetings

Category	Yes	No	Total
Dalit	93 (16.46)	472 (83.54)	565 (100)
Non-Dalit	136 (17.68)	633 (82.32)	769 (100)
Total	229 (2.56)	1105 (97.44)	1134 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

The Participation of Dalits in Gram Sabhas was reported to be more when those government schemes which were beneficial to Dalits were discussed. The increase in participation also was reported when issues pertaining to their problems were discussed. The main problems Dalits faced were that of drinking water, sanitation, housing, Dalit Chaupal, barat ghar, drainage etc. However the data suggests (**Table 3.37**) that it was not very common to discuss the issues pertaining to Dalits in the Gram Sabhas.

Table 3.36 Rural Respondents' response to Dalit problems being discussed in Gram Sabhas

Category	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
Dalit	82 (14.52)	458 (81.06)	25 (4.42)	565 (100)
Non-Dalit	102 (13.26)	584 (75.95)	83 (10.79)	769 (100)
Total	184 (13.79)	1042 (78.12)	108 (8.09)	1334 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

In case of rural respondents, only 14.52% Dalits and 13.26% non-dalits reported that the Dalit problems were discussed in Gram Sabha meetings. The colonies where Dalit households are in large numbers lack basic facilities like tap water, drainage, roads, street lights, sewerage and primary school. Data suggested that both the Dalits and non-dalits living in these colonies were disappointed with the Municipality for their apathy in the development of their localities.

With regard to participating in the local panchayat elections the data suggests that the Dalits participate in large numbers. About 97.87% of the Dalit respondents (Table 3.39) reported that they vote in the election.

The data (Table 3.40) from rural (10.16%) and urban (10.16%) areas suggested that there were a few organisations working for their problems in their locality. The organisations working for Dalits were more active in the urban areas.

Table 3.37 Urban Respondents' response to whether Dalit problems are discussed in Ward Council/ Municipality meetings

Category	Yes	No	Total
Dalit	12 (1.82)	648 (98.18)	660 (100)
Non-Dalit	2 (0.34)	588 (99.66)	590 (100)
Total	14 (1.12)	1236 (98.88)	1250 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.38 Rural Respondents' response to whether Gram Panchayats solve Dalit problems

Category	Yes	No	Don'tknow	Noreponse	Total
Dalit	122 (21.59)	391 (69.20)	8 (1.41)	45 (7.96)	565 (100)
Non-Dalit	200 (26.00)	455 (59.16)	56 (7.28)	56 (7.28)	569 (100)
Total	322 (24.23)	846 (64.76)	64 (4.79)	101 (7.57)	1334 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.39 No. of Dalits who vote in the Local Elections

Category	Yes	No	Total
Urban	620 (93.93)	40 (6.07)	660 (100)
Rural	553 (97.87)	12 (2.13)	565 (100)
Total	1173 (95.75)	52 (4.25)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Table 3.40 Dalit Respondents' response on Organisations working in their Locality

Category	Yes	No	Total
Urban	67 (10.16)	593 (89.84)	660 (53.88)
Rural	3 (10.16)	562 (99.46)	565 (46.12)
Total	70 (5.72)	1155 (94.28)	1225 (100)

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage)

Chapter 4

Findings of the Study

Haryana - Economics and Dalits

The Dalits in India have been socially excluded, economically deprived and politically marginalised over the centuries. A majority of them are landless and do not own any assets and this study highlights the same. This situation is not an accident but an outcome of a man - made socially exploitative structure. Dalits are denied economic mobility. They are forced to do menial jobs for the land owning castes for their survival. The Dalits have been depending on land owning castes for employment as agricultural labourers. It was difficult for them to break the labour - bonding arrangement with their employers. Even today this continues in most parts of India where agriculture is backward.

The study suggests that Dalits are not engaged in agricultural activities in the most agriculturally developed state of India - Haryana. Both in urban and rural Haryana, a majority of Dalits are engaged in non-agricultural works. The traditional dependence of Dalits on land owning castes has declined. This may be due to the fact that they have no land and the agricultural production is declining. The Dalits are not involved in investing in the field of agriculture.

A majority of Dalits respondents, i.e. 47% in urban areas and 40% in rural areas were employed in non-agricultural sectors. The rural data indicates that only 2.5% Dalits were engaged in agriculture. The collected data suggests that in the green revolution belt of Haryana most of the agricultural work is done by the migrant labourers from the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The Dalits have stopped pursuing their traditional occupations. The new occupations have given them better lives and incomes. The new generations of Dalits aspire for white collar jobs compared to the traditional occupations that their forefathers were engaged in.

The Chamars, Dhanak and Od belonging to Scheduled Castes were mainly engaged in daily wage labour in rural areas. The Valmikis - a Scheduled Caste and one of the lowest in the caste ladder were found to be largely employed as *safai karmcharis* in the urban sector. The Chamars, Dhanks and Ods were in majority in rural areas. The Chamars and Dhanks were the traditional wage labourers in rural Haryana. The Ods were mainly migrants who came from Pakistan after the partition of 1947. The green revolution opened new job opportunities in the villages of Haryana.

Further data suggests that the Valmiki community which has been engaged in scavenging over the years has taken up the *safai karamchhari* work in the urban areas of which scavenging is still a major part in many parts of India. The availability of *safai karmchhari* work in urban areas may have contributed in attracting many Valmiki households to the towns. They were engaged in this job in almost all urban centers in north-western India. The Dhanaks were the traditional weavers in Haryana and most of them have left their traditional jobs and are engaged as agricultural labourers.

In the rural areas the Dalit households were engaged in non-agricultural work - mainly in road and building construction. In urban areas they were engaged as factory workers, *rediwalas*, *safai karmacharis*, music-band master, security watchmen, *kawadiwala*, vegetable vendors, grocery shop vendors, tailors, tea stall owners, etc. Both in the urban and the rural survey, the occupational data of the Dalits shows a decline in employment in the field of agriculture. Our data suggests that more and more Dalits are moving away from agricultural labour as they are finding other opportunities. The data also suggests that wages in non-agricultural work are comparatively higher than in agricultural work. Observations indicate that there is a change in the economic situation of the Dalits both in rural and urban sectors, though limited as it may be. Among the rural Dalits 19% and among the urban Dalits about 8% said that work was available for 300 days a year. Also gender discrimination was exercised on payment of wages in Haryana.

The migration of Dalits to urban centers has provided opportunities for employment, economic gains and greater freedom from caste

based discrimination. Data reveals that though Dalits perceived that their economic situation has improved the reported income did not reflect any improvement in the economic situation. In rural areas 66% of the Dalit respondents' income was less than Rs. 20,000. Data of both rural and urban Haryana shows that the annual income of 19% households was reported less than Rs 20,000. Among the rural Dalits more than 42% households earn less than Rs 10,000. This percentage is higher than the official BPL category of households in the State. In the non-agricultural occupations there is less pollution and purity based discrimination. In these modern jobs there is more pride and dignity than the traditional jobs. A majority of Dalits both in rural and urban Haryana had no access to drinking water, toilets and bathrooms. Among the Dalits, 36% in urban areas and 34% in rural areas had one room to share.

Social Discrimination and Dalit resistance

The pollution and purity attached to caste is not very visible in Haryana and to that extent the grip of the *varna* ideology has weakened. Caste system and caste consciousness does exist in Haryana. The dominant castes in the state are from non-Dalit peasant backgrounds such as Jats, Yadavs/Ahirs, Meo Muslims, and Rors. The concept of pollution and purity which is the base of Hindu ritual practices and social structures is not rigidly followed by these castes. The influence of the Arya Samaj and the Sikh religion that oppose caste rigidity has had a high influence on the Haryanavi society. The economic condition of Dalits in many villages was better than that of the non-Dalits. With the coming of new Ambedkar Complexes, Guru Ravi Das temples and Valmiki temples, we find the Dalits asserting their identity in Haryana. Dalits have mobilised themselves through socio-cultural organisations and groups. The assertion also is exhibited in fearlessness among the Dalits in confronting the so called high castes on many occasions. Now many educated Dalits take pride in their identity as Dalits.

The data points to the fact that among the Dalit communities the Valmiks were more urbanised than the others. Our data highlights that 52% of Valmiks were found in urban areas compared to the 13% in rural areas. Data reveals that the Chamars have got the highest benefits of modern education and have been able to access

the class IV jobs in the government which were reserved for the SCs. The percentage of illiteracy is 45.7% in rural areas and 40.7% in urban areas. The higher percentage of illiteracy implies neglect of primary education in the most economically developed state of India. There is a wide gender gap in literacy, work participation and social sector development in Haryana.

The Dalits owned more luxury assets (a TV, a two wheeler and a mobile may not be considered as luxury items today but more as means for communication and transport) compared to income generating assets.

The Dalits were not allowed to draw water from the common well. They were prohibited from entering temples and were prevented the right to education and knowledge. They were not even allowed to use the common burial ground. Data indicates that 63% urban Dalits never experienced discrimination on basis of their caste identity. On the other hand 69% Dalits in rural areas reported that they experienced discrimination in day to day life. Our data indicates dissatisfaction among Dalits concerning the functioning of local bodies to solve issues related to basic services and facilities.

Habitat in the rural and the urban areas for Dalits is quite segregated. The reality of Haryana highlights that integration in our society in places of residence is a distant dream. Economic well-being may increase your purchasing power but it does not necessarily bring about a change in the social behaviour of those who discriminate against you.

Education among the Dalits is on the rise. This is firstly because of their own efforts and also because the commitment from the larger civil society, NGOs and the State has increased. Like other communities, the literacy rate and education level among women is low.

Political Assertion among the Dalits

There is increasing consciousness among the Dalits to participate actively in local politics. The traditional Chaupal (village assembly) and temples were restricted to the Dalits. The new Panchayati Raj

Institutions (PRIs) have given entry to the Dalits. The assertion of Dalits is more visible in local politics and development works. There is more participation of Dalits in local bodies vis-à-vis the participation in elections and attendance in Gram Sabha meetings. The active participation of Dalits has brought the Dalit agenda to the front in Gram Sabha and Ward Council/Municipality meetings.

Their percentage of voting and attendance has increased. The political parties have broken the traditional caste practices. The villages are divided more on political lines than on caste lines. Members of political parties who come from two different caste groups have frequent interactions with each other. The Dalits have joined many social, cultural and political organisations. Many Dalits are active members of political parties. All national political parties have a Dalit wing. The Dalit leaders look after these wings. They are spokespersons of their community and mobilise votes for the party. The urban Dalits are found to be more assertive of their rights. The assertion is reflected in the increased percentage of voting in the local elections. The PRIs have not done much for the poor and Dalits in terms of development. The Chamars have articulated their identity in politics more than other Dalits. The new social, cultural and political associations have been formed by Dalits to work for their Community and assert their constitutional rights.

Policy and Programme implications: The analysis and findings of this study have policy and programme implications. The State, civil society organisations and the Civil Society at large need to work together for greater emancipation of Dalits in Haryana not only in the field of economic development but also in the area of education and social equality.

The State and the Judiciary must be vigilant in dealing with discrimination and atrocities on Dalits for not only the blatant forms of untouchability but subtle forms of discrimination and exclusion which Dalits face in search for livelihood, education and participation in governance at various levels.

In this world where there is a lot of fast track economic development and reduction in welfare programmes (social security, health and education) the situation of Dalits may be adversely affected due to their lack of land and lack of means of production and employability.

Neglect on the part of the State and silence from the civil society on these subtle forms of discrimination may heighten social conflicts displayed under different forms and agendas and become counter productive for the society at large.

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Annexure

Profile of the Study Area: Villages and Towns of Haryana

Region 1

Region 1 includes Ambala, Punchkula and Yamuna Nagar districts of northern Haryana. The Punjabis are in majority in the region. Ambala district has about 25% SC population, which is more than the state average. Dhulkot village in Ambala district was selected for the study.

Dhulkot village of Ambala district

Dhulkot village is situated 5 kms away from the district headquarter town of Ambala which is situated on the right side of the Grand Trunk road. It is a middle sized village with a total of 270 households. The dalit households constitute 190 (70%) of the total households of the village. The chamars were in majority in the village. They constituted 150 (79%) of the total dalit households. The population of the village is 5500, out of which 3800 (69.09%) were dalits.

Region 2

Region 2 includes the districts of Kurukshetra, Karnal, and Panipat. The region is both agriculturally and industrially developed. The region comprises of the fertile plains of the state and the green revolution belt. The GT road passes through the region. The Karnal district which is both agriculturally and industrially developed was selected for the study. Within Karnal the Aibala Jagir village and ward number 19 which come in the Karnal Municipality were selected for study.

Aibala Jagir village of Karnal district

This village is situated 11 kms away from the block headquarter Nilokheri in Karnal district. The village had 240 households. The dalits constitute 90 (37.50%) of the total households in the village.

The Rors were in majority with 100 households (42%). The total population of the village was 1880, out of which the dalits constituted 490 (26%).

Ward no 19: Karnal town

Ward no. 19 in Karnal Municipality was selected for our study. There were 975 households in the ward. The dalits were in majority in this ward. The Valmiki, Khatik, Dhanak and Chamars were the main dalit communities in the ward. The dalits were employed as wage labourers in the factories. The Valmiki were employed as safai karmacharis. The town had many shoe factories where the dalits were employed. The caste Hindus did not prefer working in the shoe factories. Many of them were engaged as rediwalas, Kawadiwalas and small vegetable vendors. The colony had many informal sector units where dalits were employed.

Region 3

Region 3 includes Jind, Sonapat, Rohtak and Jhajjar districts of central Haryana. The Jats are in majority in the region. The Jats are the pre dominant land owning caste in the region. The politics of the state is dominated by the Jats. The traditional caste panchayats of the Jats are active in the region. The panchayat is known for taking many decisions to suppress the mobility of the dalits. The famous Jhajjar and Gohana case where dalits were killed and their houses burnt are situated in this region. The region represents the identity and culture of Haryana as known to others. Jassia village and ward No 3 in Rohtak town in Rohtak district was selected for our study.

Jassia village, Rohtak district

Jassia is situated 15 kms away from district headquarter town of Rohtak. The village had 1086 households. Its total population was 6850 out of which 2060 (30.7%) were dalits. The Jats constituted 497 (45.76%) of the total households in the village. Dhanaks and Chamars were the main SCs in the village. The Dhanaks constituted 302 households (77.23%) and Chamars constituted 89 (22.77%) of the total dalit households.

Ward No 3: Rohtak town

Ward No 3 in Rohtak Municipality was selected for this study. The ward consisted of Garhi Mohalla, Ramlila Padav, Darwarj Mohalla, Kuva Mohalla. Chamanpura, Gopalpura, Ambedkar Mohalla were the areas which were mostly inhabited by the dalits. The residents in the colony were mainly migrants from the neighbouring villages of Haryana who had settled here for better job opportunities. The Punjabi households mainly comprised of migrants from Pakistan who came after the partition. The Punjabis from non-dalit backgrounds were mainly successful businessmen. The multi-storied buildings owned by these Punjabi households in the colony mainly belonged to members of the Arora and Khatri castes. The dalit Punjabis were mainly engaged in small tea stalls, vegetable shops and employed in informal sector units. The dalit Punjabis hid their true caste identity and claimed to be Punjabis. They worked as rediwalas, kabadiwalas, daily wage labourers and construction workers. The ward had 2060 households.

Region 4

Region 4 includes the Fatehabad, Hisar and Sirsa districts of north-western Haryana bordering Rajasthan. These districts are socio-culturally closer to Rajasthan. The region is a semi-desert and it is agriculturally backward. Patan village and ward No 11 in Hisar Municipality were selected for our study.

Patan village, Hisar district

Patan village is situated 12 kms away from the district headquarter town - Hisar. The village had 549 households. The dalits constituted 300 (57%) of the total households. The total population of the village was 4000, out of which 49% were dalits. Most of the people here had migrated after 1947 from Pakistan. Patan is a village inhabited mostly by Muslims. Many muslims migrated to Pakistan after the partition. The Muslims were the main land owners before 1947 in Patan.

Ward No 11, Hisar town

The ward No 11 in Hisar Municipality was selected for our study. The ward was predominantly inhabited by the dalits. The ward had

in all 1000 households, out of which the dalits constituted 820 (82%) of the total households. The main dalit communities were Valmiki – 250 households (30.48%), Od 200 households (23.49%), Dhaya 200 households (23.49%), Dhanak 150 households (18.29%) and Chamars 22 households (2.68%). The dalits were engaged as daily wage labourers, factory workers, rediwalas (small business), safai karmacharis, band masters, chawkidars, kabadiwalas and vegetable vendors. The Dhayas were mainly beggars.

Region 5

Region 5 includes Rewari, Mahendragarh, Faridabad, Gurgaon and Bhiwani districts of south Haryana. These districts are bordering Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The Yadava/Ahirs are the predominant land owning castes in the region. The region is agriculturally underdeveloped. The districts of Gurgaon and Faridabad are highly urbanised and industrially developed while Mahendragarh and Bhiwani are agriculturally underdeveloped. Rasulpur village in Mahendragarh district was selected for our study.

Rasulpur village, district Mahendragarh

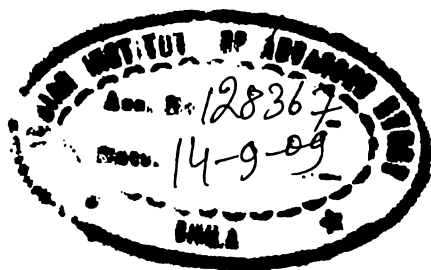
Rasulpur village is situated eight kms away from the block headquarter Kanina in Mahendragarh district. The village had a total of 586 households. The Ahirs/Yadavs were in majority in the village. They constituted 380 households (64.84%). The dalits constituted 79 (13.48 %) of the total households. The Chamars constituted 70 households (88.60%). The total population of the village was 3300, out of which there were 450 dalits (13.63%).

Region 6

Region 6 includes Mewat district of southern Haryana. The Meo Muslims are majority in the district. This district is comparatively one of the most backward districts of the state. The district was bifurcated from the Gurgaon district. The Mewat region is mainly inhabited by the Meo Muslims who are spread out in Gurgaon, Faridabad, Alwar and Bharatpur districts in the neighbouring state of Rajasthan.

Nangal Mubarikpur village, district Mewat

Nangal Mubarikpur village is situated 6 kms away from the block headquarter Nagina in Mewat district of southern Haryana. The village had 556 households. Its total population was 4236, out of which there were 456 dalits (10.76%). The Meo Muslims who are in majority in the village occupied 365 households (80.04%).



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