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—Report
by I. P. Desai



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WATER FACILITIES FOR THE UNTOUCHABLES IN RURAL GUJARAT

A Report
by
I. P. DESAI

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P R E F A C E

This monograph is a part of the larger project entitled "UNTOUCHABILITY IN RURAL GUJARAT", financed by the Indian Council of Social Science Research. I thank the Council. The larger report is under preparation.

During the course of work on the report, I thought that a separate monograph on water facilities for the untouchables in Rural Gujarat could be prepared separately and published earlier. I am grateful to the ICSSR for approving the proposal.

I thank the field investigators, Shri Dalichand Shah, Shri Bashir Shaikh and Shri Navin Patel. I thank the Supervisors, Shri Ghanshyam Chokshi and Shri Dipak Chaudhari for their work in the field and in the preparation of the monograph.

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Section 1

The Inquiry

The problem of water supply for the untouchables has two aspects. The first is the provision of a perennial and dependable source of water for satisfying the primary needs of the untouchables. The second is the access to sources of water by right without being subjected to insult or humiliation. The problem, therefore, is essentially one of acceptance of social equality.

The basis of inequality in the matter of provision of water is the belief that water is polluted by the touch of the untouchables. The source of water may be a well, a pond, a river, a streamlet or a water stand connected to a water works.

Consistent with this view the savarnas or the caste Hindus could think of three possible ways of protecting their water source. The first, would be not to allow the untouchables to touch their water sources. They would draw water for them and pour it into the pots of the untouchables which would be kept away from the water source. The most logical practice would be that the untouchables had water receptacles of pollution-resistant material. We came across a village in which a dry hollow gourd was such a receptacle. In this case the untouchables do not have access to source of water. They are completely dependent on the caste Hindus for their water supply.

The second possible arrangement could be to have a well or water stand or a pond from which the untouchables alone would take water.

The third possible arrangement could be that the untouch-

ables and the savarnas took water from the common source. In that case the question of protecting the water source from the untouchables did not arise. The belief in pollution was either absent or it did not operate.

With these three possible arrangements of water for the untouchables in mind we went into the field to observe the actual situations in 69 villages selected at random from all the districts of Gujarat State. The villages were selected from each district proportionate to the number of villages in the district. In the villages the untouchables were our primary source of information. The talukas with Adivasi population were omitted. The presumption was that there is no untouchability among the Adivasis. The population of untouchables in the Adivasi areas is also negligible.

The three possible arrangements as envisaged above worked well on the whole. But there were variations of the third possibility mentioned above. While untouchables were allowed to take water from the same source as the savarnas, there were some restrictions on them either before, after or while drawing the water. So we had to add a variation to the third possibility.

Classifying all the villages on the basis of the information collected on these lines, we arrived at the following four main groups: (The variations according to type of water source are included in the main group).

Group I

The villages in which the source of water, a well, a water stand post, a river or a pond is not believed to be polluted is put in group I. This group can be further divided into two groups. They are referred to as IA and IB throughout the monograph.

Group IA

In this group there is complete equality with the savarnas. The untouchables draw water from the same source as normally as the savarnas. There are 5 villages in this group. In one village there is a pond, in 3 villages there are wells, in one village there is a hand pump on the well and in one village there is a water tap.

Group IB

In this group, the untouchables and the savarnas take water from the same source. The source is thus not polluted by the touch of the untouchables. There are 13 villages in this group. But there are minor restrictions for the untouchables, which remind both the savarnas and the untouchables of untouchability. There are several variations of these restrictions: (i) The untouchables cannot stand on the well on the same side as the savarnas or they have to draw or take water from the same well or tap *after* the savarnas. There are 5 villages in this sub-group and all of them have wells; (ii) There is another variation in which there are separate taps for the untouchables on the same standpost as for the savarnas. The tap water comes from the water works. There are two villages in this sub-group; (iii) There is a further variation in which the savarnas take water from the well or the tap kept apart for the untouchables in case of need such as the drying up of the wells or damage to the tap. There are three such villages. One has a well and two have water taps. It should be noted here that the untouchables do not take water from the source of the savarnas. It is a one-way street. But in terms of belief, obviously, the water touched by the untouchables is not believed to be polluted. In spite of it, a certain kind of disability is maintained. Probably it is not so much the belief as the superior position of the savarna that operates in this case.

Group II

In the second class of villages, water is believed to be polluted by the touch of the untouchables and a separate arrangement is made for them. The untouchables have a supply of water which they get without any hindrance from the savarnas. In this case the problem of satisfying the primary need of the untouchables is solved. There are 44 villages in this class. There may be a separate well or a separate water stand post for the untouchables mostly in their locality or the source of water is a river, streamlet, or a pond from which the savarnas also take water. But there are fixed places for the untouchables in the pond and they cannot take water from the upper part of the stream. The variations in this class are as follows:

- (a) In one case all people including the savarnas fetch water from the pond. But the untouchables take water from a place fixed for them. In the other village also both the savarnas and the untouchables take water from the same river. But the latter have to take it from the lower part of the river. There are two villages in this sub-class.
- (b) There is a separate well for the untouchables either in their own locality or elsewhere. It is not always that drinking water could be struck in the locality of the untouchables. Therefore, they may not have the well in their own locality. There are 32 villages in this sub-group.
- (c) There is a separate well for the untouchables but because it is at a longer distance, they prefer taking water from a river or a pond which is nearby. There are 3 such villages.
- (d) There is a water works and a separate standpost, for the

untouchables either in their own locality or outside it. There are 6 such villages.

Group III

There is a third class of villages in which the source of water is not only believed to be polluted by the touch of the untouchables but there is also no source of supply of water for them. The untouchables go to the well or the water tap when the savarnas are taking water, stand there, request them and get water if the savarnas deign to draw water for them. This situation is the classical situation as it existed more than 100 years ago right up to Independence. There are 7 such villages.

The situation regarding water facility for the untouchables can be summarised as follows (the percentages are in round figures):

- (1) In 10 per cent of the villages the untouchables do not have any facility for satisfying the primary need of water, not because there is scarcity of water but because they are untouchables.
- (2) In 7 per cent of the villages they do not suffer inequality in drawing water in any way.
- (2a) In 19 per cent villages water is not believed to be polluted by the touch of the untouchables and they draw it from the same source. Untouchability in this sense does not exist. But there are some restrictions on the behaviour of the untouchables before, while, or after drawing water.

Putting the classes (2) and (2a) together there are 26% villages in which the untouchables and the savarnas take water from the same source.

- (3) In 64 per cent of the villages the untouchables have a regular supply of water and they can get water without any hindrance from the savarnas. They are independent of the savarnas in regard to the supply of water. But their separate entity as *untouchables* still persists. Untouchability is there, but the attitude of the savarnas is not of the classical variety as in (III) above. The need of the untouchables for water is recognised in these villages.

In terms of belief it can be said that in 26 per cent of the villages the belief that the water would be polluted by the touch of the untouchables does not operate even if it exists. In 74 per cent of the villages that belief operates.

But in terms of facility for getting water, in 90 per cent of the villages the untouchables do not suffer from lack of water because they are untouchables. In other words, the need for water of the untouchables is recognised in 90 per cent of the villages in Gujarat. A well or water standpost exists today for them.

It should be noted at this stage that the Bhangis form a separate category among the untouchables and the other untouchables do not allow them to touch their water nor do they touch the Bhangi's water. Even their physical touch is avoided. We shall deal with these cases of untouchability among the untouchables in a separate section (see Appendix). In the above description the Bhangis are included in the general category of untouchables.

This then is the result of efforts made by government during the last 25 years and of reform movements during the last 50 years. The major trend is obviously towards making water available to the untouchables, that is, towards supplying the primary need. So far as the removal of untouchability is

concerned it is a different matter. It persists in so far as the belief in the pollution of water by the untouchables is concerned.

Can the persistence of belief in the pollution of water be taken as an indicator of untouchability in general? Can it be said that untouchability in rural Gujarat is as widespread in other spheres of life, as is shown in the case of water facility?

The justification for asking this question is that the belief in the pollution of water and food is the central if not the pivotal belief underlying caste and untouchability. Pollution by the water touched by the untouchable is a more serious form of untouchability than pollution by physical contact. If that belief disappears or becomes inoperative, untouchability in many other spheres of life could be expected to disappear. Is the relationship between belief in the pollution of water and untouchability in general so intimate? That is our main inquiry. The present work is confined to a detailed examination of untouchability *vis-a-vis* water facilities. The study on untouchability in general will be published separately.

These questions have relevance to policy matters also. If by persuasion or even by legal coercion, the caste Hindus of a village do not agree to permit the untouchables to draw water from their source or if the untouchables cannot exercise their legal right, should a separate water source be provided for the untouchables? If a separate water source is provided for the untouchables, untouchability is continued. If the separate source is not provided, their dependence on the caste Hindus is continued. The argument for not providing a separate source rests on the affirmation that untouchability in general centres round the belief in the pollution of water by the touch of the untouchables. Our inquiry is directed towards examining that affirmation also.

In order to examine the affirmation, the first task will be to observe untouchability in other areas of activity in the villages. The second task will be to inquire if untouchability in other areas differs according to the four classes of villages that we have arrived at on the basis of the belief in the pollution of water sources. We shall attempt the first task first.

The first aspect is studied with reference to some items of behaviour in the villages. Information was sought on the following points :

- (1) Can the untouchables get into the state transport bus and travel in it without being objected to or harassed by the savarnas.
- (2) Can their children sit together with the savarna students in the school?
- (3) Are the untouchables discriminated against at the post office?
- (4) Are they discriminated against by the postman while delivering the letters, etc?
- (5) Are the untouchable members discriminated against in the sitting arrangement at the panchayat meetings?
- (6) What happens if the untouchable agricultural labourer touches the savarna labourer while working in the field?
- (7) Do the savarna employers pay the untouchable workers their wages in their hands touching them?
- (8) Does the village shopkeeper give and receive things and money touching the untouchables?
- (9) Are they allowed entry into the shop?
- (10) Are they allowed entry into the house of a savarna?
- (11) Are they allowed entry into the temple?

- (12) Does the barber give them service?
- (13) Does the potter allow them to touch the pots while purchasing them?
- (14) Does the tailor touch them while taking the measurements?

These items of behaviour are divisible into two classes on the basis of the sanctions behind them. In one class there is behaviour governed by custom and in the other class there is behaviour governed by law. They are referred to in this study as (i) private sphere of behaviour and (ii) the public sphere of behaviour. Items No. 6 to 14 come under the private sphere and items Nos. 1 to 5 come under the public sphere.

It should be mentioned here that the division of behaviour into private and public sphere is not a watertight division. The temple is not private in the sense in which a house is private. However, for the purpose of understanding the present situation regarding untouchability the distinction is likely to be useful.

The items in the private sphere are further divisible into cultural and social spheres. Item No. 11, i.e., temple entry, could form a separate class which could be called cultural sphere, while the remaining items could come under another class, the social sphere. Within the social sphere a further distinction is possible in terms of domestic occupational spheres.

Entry into the house of a savarna and into a shop could fall in the category of domestic sphere. A shop is normally a place of business and as such it is not in the domestic sphere as the dwelling place is. But in the rural areas the shop is in the dwelling place. It is, therefore, a combination of domestic

and occupational sphere. So items Nos. 9 and 10 are considered as falling in the domestic sphere.

The rest of the items in the social sphere are in the occupational sphere. But further distinctions are possible on the basis of relationship. Giving things and receiving money in the shop is purely a business relationship, as also the giving of wages by the employer to the employee. But in Hindu society they are governed by the norms of the caste structure. They fall under one group. Empirically, the shopkeepers and the employers are more likely than not savarna Hindus. Some of them may be of higher caste. The occupational relationship in these cases is between the high and low castes and between two economically unequal persons. Thus, this is a case of occupational relationship between two groups of unequal social and economic status.

The case of the untouchable and savarna labourers is different. Their activity is of the same status, and the nature of work and their economic rewards would also be the same. In that sense there is a greater equality between them than between the savarna shopkeeper and the untouchable customer or savarna employer and the untouchable labourer. Thus the category "work situation", i.e., item No. 6 is different from the above case of occupational relation, i.e., items 9 and 10.

The behaviour of the barber, the potter and the tailor under items Nos. 12, 13 and 14 is of a similar nature as between the shopkeeper and his customer. But these castes of barber, potter and tailor are occupational castes and their relationship in the village was a jajmani relationship. They had thus a dependent status and probably that continues in many cases. Their status would tend towards equality to the extent that the relationship would be monetised. When that happens they would not be required to observe the norms of the caste

society. In view of this dependent status the behaviour of the occupational caste is not included in the same category as the shopkeeper's and customer's and is included in a separate category.

No subdivisions within the public sphere of behaviour are made at this stage. It is possible to distinguish different situations in the case of each behaviour area. While dealing with a particular kind of behaviour we shall mention them in some cases. At this stage for the first level approximation it is enough to observe the behaviour without making the distinction between the relationships involved in different items of behaviour in the public sphere. What is necessary for our purpose is to note that the panchayat system, the school system, the transport system and the postal system are the systems of the new society. They are completely different from whatever existed in the pre-colonial period. None of them is caste, village or agriculture based. All the systems have their origin and base outside and away from the village. The sanctions behind them are different from those behind behaviour in the private sphere.

These systems of the new society constitute a civic society based on the principle of equality of its members or the rights of citizenship. The relationships are of contractual nature recognising the individual *per se* and not according to his caste status.

This civic society is inimical to untouchability and its penetration into village life is the most potent force in the removal of untouchability. In the final analysis, therefore, the growth of civic consciousness will be our term of interpretation.

The accompanying simple frequency Table (No. 1) gives the information regarding untouchability in different spheres in 69 villages. Our immediate purpose is to observe the spread

TABLE 1
OBSERVANCE AND NON-OBSERVANCE OF UNTOUCHABILITY
IN DIFFERENT BEHAVIORAL SITUATIONS

<i>Sr. No.</i>	<i>Behavioral Situations</i>	<i>% of villages observing un-touchability</i>	<i>Total number of villages</i>
1.	In the passenger bus	3	2/68
2.	In sitting arrangement of students in the village school	2	1/59
3.	At the post office while buying stamps, etc.	2	1/56
4.	Postman handing over letters, etc.	14	9/65
5.	Sitting arrangement in the panchayat meeting	48	24/50
6.	Savarna and untouchable workers working in the field	47	31/66
7.	Paying the wages to the untouchable workers	61	40/66
8.	Giving things and receiving money in the shop	62	39/63
9.	Entry into the shop	85	52/61
10.	Entry into a private house	91	63/69
11.	Entry into a temple	93	61/66
12.	Barber serving the untouchables	94	48/51
13.	Potter selling the pots to the untouchables	73	27/37
14.	Tailor giving his services to the untouchables	39	15/38
15.	Source of water not polluted by the untouchable's touch (Group IA)	7	5/69
16.	Source of water not polluted by the untouchable's touch (Group IB)	19	13/69
17.	Source of water is polluted but the untouchable's need for water is recognised (Group II)	64	44/69
18.	Source of water is polluted and untouchables' need for water is not recognised (Group III)	10	7/69

of untouchability in regard to these behaviour patterns in the villages of Gujarat State. Each of them will be dealt with separately in the full report on untouchability in rural Gujarat.

It can be observed from Table No. 1 that untouchability is not evenly practised in regard to different behavioural situations.

In 97 per cent of villages untouchability is not observed in the state transport buses. In the sitting arrangement of the caste Hindu students and untouchable students in the school, 98 per cent of the villages do not observe untouchability. It is not observed by the postman delivering the letters in 86 per cent of the villages. The postmen are generally caste Hindus, not of very high caste. Similarly, the postmasters are not untouchables. But they do not observe untouchability in 98 per cent of villages.

In 48 per cent of the villages the untouchable members of the panchayat observe distance from the caste Hindu members. The percentage of such villages could be higher but not lower because we came across instances in which the untouchable members tried to conceal the truth. The investigator made a deeper probe whenever he suspected that truth was being concealed. Now, we do not suspect that truth is concealed in more than two villages. Anyway, even 48 per cent is a large figure in view of the panchayat being a public body. Obviously, the panchayat member is not able to assert his equality. He is probably more conscious of his social and economic inferiority. He would like to curry favour with the socially and economically powerful groups. If he aspires for upward mobility he might not like to rub them the wrong way. In his attempts at being included with the higher groups he has also to exclude himself from his own group and show that he is different from them.

There is an unexpectedly large percentage (53%) of villages in which the caste Hindu agricultural labourers and the untouchable labourers work together in the field and the caste Hindu labourers do not mind if they are touched by the untouchable workers. They do not purify themselves by sprinkling water. There are also no quarrels. It is the feeling of the untouchable workers that nothing happens if the caste Hindu workers are touched. But from the evidence that we have it is also true that they try to avoid the touch. Even so, their feeling is important. Nobody could be expected to go out of his way to assert his equality. But if the feeling is that nothing would happen if the caste Hindu worker is touched, it is a significant advance over conditions in the past. We have not inquired of the caste Hindu workers how they feel when they are touched in the field.

Working together might blunt the edge of untouchability, at least at the level of the working classes. That might happen due to the development of class consciousness or due to the inconveniences of observing untouchability in the work situation and purifying themselves every time they are polluted.

A different picture is presented when we observe the interaction between the untouchables and the three occupational castes, the barber, the potter and the tailor. Out of the 51 villages in which there are barbers only in 3 villages do they serve the untouchables. The barber ranks lower than the potter and the tailor in the caste hierarchy in Gujarat. With regard to the castes such as the land owning Patidars and Rajputs, he has slightly closer relations because he gives them some personal service. Probably because of his consciousness about his relationship with socially and economically powerful groups with whom the jajmani relationship is still maintained, he observes untouchability. He has also the fear of losing some clients if he is known to give service to the untouchables. We came across one barber who would not cut

the hair of the untouchables of his village in his village, but would cut their hair in another village.

This situation suggests that when a caste is related to another caste by feudal relationship such as jajmani, it tends to be more conservative. But, in the situation in which the relationship is monetised, untouchability is practised to a lesser extent.

Out of 37 villages in which there are potters only in 10 villages (27%) do they allow the untouchables to touch the pots while selling them. they also maintain jajmani relationship with the land owning castes. But potters are an upward mobile group both occupationally and also educationally in some districts. As a mark of their upward social mobility they call themselves Prajapati, a name picked up from Hindu mythology. Many of them are also taking to carpentry. Pot making is not an occupation with future prospects.

The potter's case illustrates a different situation from that of the barbers. He is differentiating himself from his traditional position in occupational and caste hierarchy by means of modernistic relationships. He should be, therefore, less untouchability-conscious. But that is not happening because caste ideology is also at work in his case. He accepts Hindu values and society.

In 23 villages (60%) out of 38 in which there are tailors, they do not observe untouchability while taking the measurements or while taking the cloth for stitching. The tailors are higher in the caste hierarchy than the barbers and the potters in many districts. They are also an upward mobile group and are availing of educational facilities as in the case of potters. Why do they not tend to be as conservative as the potters? In the case of the potters they are dealing with the containers of water and sometimes also with cooking utensils. They try to trace their upward mobility to a religious source.

But if the tailor is more removed from the jajmani system than both the barber and potter, his relationship with his customer is more likely to be monetised. The higher castes might be getting clothes stitched in urban areas. To that extent the village tailor has to be more dependent on the lower caste customers and less dependent on the higher caste customers. Our information regarding the jajmani system in these villages is very sketchy. It was not foreseen while preparing the inquiry that the information would be relevant to this extent.

The sphere of behaviour between the artisan castes and the untouchables is as private as the working of the untouchable and savarna labourers together in the field. There is another private sphere of behaviour similar to the one above, where the behaviour of the higher castes is different. It can be observed from the table that only in 26 (40%) out of 66 villages are the untouchable workers touched by the employers while paying the wages and in 24 (38%) villages out of 63 that the shopkeeper gives things and receives money touching the untouchable customers. The untouchables do not go to work in the field in three villages and there are no shops in 6 villages. In village No. 2, the front of the shops falls on the road. Therefore, everybody including the savarnas buy from outside the shop.

Both the land owning employers and the shopkeepers are likely to be higher than the potters in the caste hierarchy. Yet the percentage of the villages in which they do not observe untouchability is larger than that of the potters, but not smaller than that of the tailors. Economically, a small landholder or a shopkeeper in a small village might not necessarily be much better off than the potter. But occupationally and castewise he is more respectable than both the barber and the potter. He has to maintain his status in the village society in which the caste norms still prevail.

The case of the agricultural labourer suggests that when the savarna caste is low but occupationally of the same status, there could be less untouchability. Joan Mender's observation about a village in Tamil Nadu is relevant here. She observes, "To the poor villager, regardless of caste, the need to acquire land to cultivate is of primary importance—there is not enough land to satisfy the low caste Hindus, let alone the Pariyans. In this sense the Pariyans' problem in the village is the problem of the rural proletariat everywhere, with the added stigma of untouchability." "Continuity and Change in an Ex-untouchable Community in South India" in Mahar (ed.) *The Untouchables in Contemporary India*, The University of Arizona Press, 1972, p. 56.)

From this very brief and very general account of untouchability in 69 villages it is obvious that there is general liberalism in the behaviour of savarnas in regard to the use of bus services, sitting arrangement in schools, in regard to receiving letters, stamps etc. at the post office, and in regard to the postmen delivering letters, etc. Barring the panchayats the maximum percentage of villages in which untouchability is observed in these cases is 14. This indicates that untouchability in the public sphere is not related to the practice of drawing water, i.e., to the belief in the pollution of water source.

Apart from the practice of untouchability in the sitting arrangements at panchayat meetings, it could be inferred that there is greater liberalization in the public sphere. Compared to the liberalisation in 97 per cent of the villages in regard to the public transport and in 98 per cent villages in sitting arrangements in the school, only in 52 per cent of the villages is there liberalisation in the behaviour of caste Hindu panchayat members.

What is suggested by the evidence is that the behaviour in

the public sphere tends to be more liberal in regard to untouchability in a larger percentage of villages than the behaviour in the private sphere. Behaviour in the public sphere is not related to the differences in regard to water facility. We might profitably note here some implications which are important from the point of view of analysis.

It is worth noting that those who pay the wages and those who keep the shop are likely to be of higher castes in a very large number of cases. But they are more liberal in the occupational dealings such as paying the wages and giving and receiving things and money than in the domestic spheres such as entering the house or entering the shop.

So far as entry into the temple is concerned the conservatism is general. What is surprising is that with such widespread religious conservatism, there is comparatively less conservatism in regard to water facility. Temple entry is permitted in 7 per cent villages. Yet, drawing water from a common source is permitted in 26 per cent of the villages. This fact suggests that all situations are not of the same nature and that there might be a hierarchy in the evaluation of these situations by the people, not based on purity/impurity considerations alone but on secular considerations in different cases.

The three occupational castes do not observe untouchability to the same degree. The barbers are conservative in 94% villages, while the tailors are conservative in only 39% villages. The potters are in between the two. Thus, untouchability not only differs with situations but also with castes in different situations.

The conclusion that can be arrived at is that understanding of untouchability as a single factor of customary behaviour based only on the belief in pollution will not give us a correct appraisal of untouchability as it prevails to-day in rural

Gujarat. Untouchability may be more widespread in one respect and less in another respect, in the rural area as a whole, even in the private sphere.

It also follows from this that the search for correlations between single items of behaviour regarding untouchability might also not be very rewarding. It is to be seen how far the broad distinction between public and private sphere works, even though the distinction is not watertight. For analytical and practical purposes such distinction might be more useful.

The conventional assumption of the uniformity of behaviour of the village community does not appear to be valid. Differences in behaviour in regard to untouchability suggest that the custom regulated uniformity of the behaviour of the villagers of the old order is being disrupted. In regard to future development also, the idealisation and ideologisation of village unity and uniformity of behaviour taken for granted in the past are not likely to be useful.

Alternatively, what is suggested by our observations is that the new unity of the village is likely to be based on the consciousness of interests and corresponding rights and duties between individuals struggling to adjust to the changing situation. The direction of the change is towards the growth of civic consciousness. The identification and analysis of the forces underlying the growth of this civic consciousness is likely to be more rewarding both from the point of view of theory and of the practical measures to remove untouchability.

From the general picture that emerges from a study of 69 villages, we are inclined to believe that the differences in regard to the belief in pollution of water source might *not* mean also corresponding differences in the practice of untouchability in all other aspects.

This inference is based on first approximation to reality, or the first level of analysis. In the following section evidence presented indicates the second level of approximation to reality and of analysis. That will enable us to examine our inferences more closely.

Firstly, we shall observe whether or not the behaviour indicating belief in untouchability in other respects tends to be less widespread in the rural area, if the behaviour regarding getting the water by the untouchables indicates liberalism in regard to the belief in pollution of water by the untouchables as in groups IA and IB.

Secondly, we shall observe whether or not the behaviour indicating belief in untouchability in other respects tends to be less widespread in the rural area, if the behaviour regarding getting the water by the untouchables indicates less liberalism or conservatism in the belief in the pollution of water by the untouchables as in group III.

Thirdly, we shall examine whether or not the behaviour indicating belief in untouchability tends to be least liberal and most conservative in other respects in the rural areas if the behaviour regarding getting the water indicates conservatism in regard to the belief in the pollution of water source by the untouchables' touch, but in which the untouchables' need for water is recognised as in group II.

Each of the subsequent sections deals with one of these questions. Section II deals with the first question. Section III with the second, and Section IV with the third. The table containing the data on these questions is given at the beginning of Section II.

Formulating hypotheses in this manner has its limitations. However, the inquiry here is not designed to test the hypothe-

sis but to arrive at some hypothesis. What is stated are broad hunches. Terms such as liberalism and conservatism are used in a general sense purely as indicative of the post-colonial new society as distinguished from the pre-colonial old society. Also, though our unit of observation is the village and the particular behaviour in it, we have not classified the villages in terms of their degree of liberalism and conservatism. We have observed how wide-spread is liberalism and conservatism in respect of behaviour in each sphere in the rural area. The reason for following this procedure is the prejudgement that untouchability is not one indivisible integrated whole and that though the belief in purity-impurity is at the basis of untouchability, the belief is not so rigid or inflexible in its actual operation. It is this flexibility that enables the rural people to adjust to changes in the wider society which are not of their making but which come from outside the village. If they accept the transport system, the school system and the postal system, etc., they have to accept the rest of the rules of behaviour connected with these systems or go without the benefits of these systems. The spread of these systems by itself drives a wedge into the old society and into the belief in untouchability. Yet untouchability exists. It has not disappeared. What is actually happening is that it is being driven back and it is taking protection in the private precincts which are being guarded by the older generation and vested interests. The course of the privatisation of untouchability is not even and not linear in respect of behaviour in all spheres. The course of behaviour in each sphere has, therefore, to be observed in terms of the advance of the new society.

Introduction to Sections 2, 3, 4 and 5

In this and in subsequent sections we have two tasks. One, is to see if the behaviour at the water source remaining the same, untouchability in other spheres is uniform or not. If it is uniform it can be said that there is a relationship between belief in the pollution of water and untouchability in other spheres. If it is not uniform, the relationship does not exist.

The second task is to find out whether or not the behaviour remains uniform even though the behaviour at the water source is different. If it is uniform, again, we may question the relationship between the belief in the pollution of water and untouchability in general.

The group of villages, i.e., IA, IB, II and III indicate an increasing or decreasing degree of untouchability. Group IA has no untouchability at the water source and group III has the maximum untouchability at the water source.

But in terms of availability of water for all there is no difference between Group IA, IB and II. Group III differs from all others as there is no recognition of the untouchables' need for water and the untouchables are completely at the mercy of the savarnas. In terms of the recognition of their need for water there is no ascending or descending order between the groups of villages. The grouping is dichotomous. Groups IA, IB and II recognise the need and group III does not. It is obvious that there is no relationship between the degree of untouchability at the water source and the recognition of the

untouchables' need for water. Recognition of the need is constant in the first three groups but the degree of untouchability varies from IA to IB and from IB to II. The point to be explored is whether untouchability will continue unaffected if a separate source of water is given to the untouchables.

An index of untouchability indicating the extent of it in different spheres would be the most useful technique in an analysis of this kind. Each village could be placed on a scale of increasing or decreasing degree of untouchability. We could then take some intervening variables such as literacy, occupation, caste, size of the village and the size of the land holdings, etc., and see if the variations in untouchability were related to the variations in these factors. One reason why we did not adopt this method is because the single item indication of untouchability does not adequately reflect the reality. For example, in the school, untouchability might be observed more or less rigidly depending upon whether there is or is not a common arrangement for water for the untouchable and savarna students. Further, the students eat or do not eat together on certain occasions in the schools and outside for picnics. If they do, untouchability is even less than indicated by the sitting arrangement in the school. The single item indication of untouchability may be alright for the first level approximation to reality but not for a higher level approximation of it. The differences between public and private spheres of behaviour are too glaring to be neglected.

The second reason is that our emphasis in this investigation has been on understanding untouchability rather than explaining it. Our data lead us to understand untouchability in terms of private and public spheres of behaviour, occupational relationships, caste relationships in the village, etc. Our explanation will have to be in terms of these relationships and what they indicate in terms of the wider society. Our inquiry is only a beginning in that direction. Whether the direction is

right or wrong will be proved by further empirical investigations.

Table 2 gives the percentage and number of villages observing untouchability in private and public spheres of behaviour.

The differences in the percentages of villages observing untouchability in many spheres of behaviour tend to be less between the groups IB, II and III than between the group IA and any other group. This indicates that the difference between the absence of untouchability at the water source and its presence even to a slight extent would make a difference in the untouchability in other spheres of behaviour. It also indicates that untouchability will be spread over a smaller percentage of villages in the case of each area of interaction in group IA than in any other group. But the differences between the three groups in which untouchability exists in regard to water source does not make much difference in regard to the spread of untouchability in other spheres of behaviour. In short, the difference is not between the degrees of untouchability but between untouchability and no untouchability in regard to the belief in the pollution at the water source. With reference to our inquiry that would mean that the situation will not be appreciably different if there is a separate source of water for the untouchables or if there is common source or if there is no source at all. As the percentages show the differences are not so much between the groups IB and II and between II and III as between IA and III. That means that the differences are more between no untouchability or untouchability than between degrees of untouchability or between more untouchability and less untouchability between two spheres or behaviour or between two points of time.

If we take particular spheres of behaviour, a similar inference can be made. There are some glaring differences between the

percentages of villages observing untouchability in regard to these spheres.

In the case of temple entry and barbers' services to the untouchables, the percentages of the prevalence of untouchability are uniformly high in all the groups. In the cases of the entry into the house, and the shop, payment of wages to the workers, the work situation and the potter selling the pots to the untouchables, the differences between the groups IA and IB are quite sharp.

In the case of giving and receiving things at the shop it is not so sharp while in the case of the tailor there is no difference at all between the same groups. What is interesting in both these instances is that after the sharp difference the differences tend to be evened out in almost all spheres of behaviour in different groups from IB to III. This indicates again that the differences in the observance of untouchability at the water source do not affect it in other spheres.

If we take the case of the public sphere of behaviour untouchability in the panchayat stands out. The percentage of villages observing untouchability is by far the largest. But even so the percentage is smaller than those observing it in the private sphere. The behaviour of the savarna workers with the untouchable workers in the field and of the tailor with the untouchables are near the percentages of the villages observing untouchability in the panchayat meetings.

Evidence of untouchability in the public sphere indicates that the belief in pollution in general does not hinge on belief in the pollution of the water source. Table 2, shows that percentages of the villages observing untouchability in regard to different situations are not likely to differ according to the difference in the observance of untouchability in regard to the water source. Therefore, whether the prevalence of untouchability is related

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER* OF VILLAGES OBSERVING UNTOUCHABILITY IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPHERES OF BEHAVIOUR IN THE GROUPS OF VILLAGES ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE WATER FACILITY AVAILABLE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

[illegible]

II															
N	41/44	41/44	33/37	25/39	29/42	22/43	30/33	17/25	8/24	15/32	0/38	1/44	7/42	1/35	44/69
%	100	100	100	71	71	50	100	67	50	67	Nil	14	14	Nil	10
III															
N	5/5	7/7	7/7	5/7	5/7	3/6	6/6	2/3	2/4	4/6	0/5	1/7	1/7	0/6	7/69
%	93	91	85	62	61	47	94	73	39	38	2	3	14	2	100
Total															
N	61/66	63/69	52/61	39/63	40/66	31/66	48/51	27/37	15/38	24/50	1/59	2/68	9/65	1/56	69

* 'N' excludes, the inapplicable and not ascertained cases.

to some other variables such as literacy, occupation, ownership of land, etc., has to be studied with particular reference to each sphere of life in the villages.

Section 2

Evidence from the Villages of Group IA

This group of villages is qualitatively different from the other groups. In so far as the untouchables and the savarna draw water from the same well, they are different. However, a closer look at the villages show that the drawing of water from the common source is not the result of change in the general outlook of the people. These villages and the villages in group IB, indicate that change in behaviour can come about without change in the belief. Behaviour could be the adjustment to the compulsions of the particular situations.

Out of the five villages only in one village of Valsad district (No. 1) is untouchability totally absent. In another village (No. 36) of Kutch district there are some restrictions. The untouchable can go upto the front portion of the house of a savarna but cannot enter the house. They cannot enter the temple. The barber also does not cut the hair of the untouchables. In all other matters failing in the public and private sphere, the situation is the same as in village No. 1. In another village (No. 52) of Junagadh district unlike in village No. 1 the untouchable is not allowed to enter the Hindu temple. As in village No. 36 the barber in this village also does not serve the untouchables.

From these three villages it can be observed that temple entry and the entry into a private house of a savarna and the services of the barber seem to be the hard cores of untouchability. One of these items is in the cultural sphere and the

other is in the social sphere. Both are in the private sphere of behaviour.

Of the two remaining villages of Group IA in one village No. 44 (Rajkot district) there is no untouchability in the public sphere except in panchayat meetings. But in the private sphere the untouchable is not allowed to enter the shop, and the untouchable customer is not touched while giving the things purchased and while receiving money for the same. He is not allowed to enter the savarna house and the temple. The barber, the potter and the tailor do not serve him.

In the fifth village, (No. 48, Junagadh district) the situation is the worst. In the private sphere, untouchability is observed in all areas of interaction except in the payment of wages to the untouchable worker. In the public sphere it is observed only in the panchayat.

Obviously, in spite of complete equality in regard to drawing water from the common source there is no equality in all other spheres of behaviour excepting the one exception in the private sphere. In the public sphere equality is more general though not complete. In two villages it is observed in the panchayat meeting.

In the private sphere temple entry, entry into the house of a savarna and into his shop and the denial of services by the barber and the potter are the hard cores of untouchability. Such behaviour is not related to the belief in the pollution of water source. There does not seem to be a causal relation between the two.

The question that arises is what do we make of this equality in regard to drawing the water from the common water source? How deep are the roots of this behaviour? Is there a change in the conviction of the villagers or is it only an

adjustment to the circumstances? Has a new savarna and/or untouchable personality emerged in the respective villages?

These questions are not attempted here. It will be more profitable to know how this equality came about. We have some information in each of these villages in this regard. The information is presented below village by village.

Village No. 1 is in Valsad district. It has a population of 4500. There are three primary schools. There is also a secondary school which is preparing students for the matriculation examination.

In this village members of all castes participated in the Harijan Weeks, etc. even before independence. In 1949 all of them went to the locality of the untouchables and took them to the common well and to the temple. Since then the untouchables can take water from any well and can enter the temple. They are not allowed in the Swaminarayan temple. As an untouchable woman said she had her acquaintances among the high caste Hindu women and she goes to their houses without any hesitation.

The untouchables have a separate well because the common well is about one and a half furlongs away from their locality. When the well in their locality was under repair, the untouchables drew water from the common well. The expenses for the repair were paid by a high caste Hindu. That was in 1966-67.

Formerly, there was no Bhangi in the village. The only Bhangi household came and settled a year ago in the village. They had no house and could not get one in the untouchable locality. So the Sarpanch gave the quarters built for the Gram Sevak.

The Bhangi woman was not permitted to draw water from

the common well. The high caste Hindu women poured water in her pot. She had to wait until some one gave water to her. She complained to the Sarpanch, the President of the panchayat. He arranged for her to get the water from the school reservoir which is near the Bhangi's new residential quarters.

This clearly represents the change of outlook of the caste Hindus. The change was initiated by the political-cum-social reform movement. The movement created the climate for the ideology of equality between the untouchables and the caste Hindus. The high percentage of literacy both among the caste Hindus and the untouchables helped the acceptance of that ideology. There are about 350 persons in the village who have studied in the college. Many of them are graduates. About two hundred of them are working in cities. Out of the 14 households of untouchables 10 persons are working in Bombay, Ahmadabad and similar places.

Village No. 36 is in Kutch. There is a big water pond dug by the ex-ruler of the state about 50 years ago. All castes take water from it including the untouchables. There are no separate places for the untouchables from where only they can take water. The untouchables in this village said that nobody took objection if the high caste Hindus and the untouchables touched one another while taking water.

An untouchable aged 50 said that formerly, though the people took water from the same source the Hindus did object if an untouchable touched them. But after 1933, the Harijan Sevak Sangh started working among the untouchables. They began adult education classes, cleanliness campaigns, joint dinners with caste Hindus, etc. That programme had its effects. Literacy among the untouchables increased. They gave up leather tanning and eating the flesh of dead animals. They also turned to agriculture and agricultural labour.

After the merger of the state in the Indian union, the government took up the responsibility of development and gave loans and subsidy to the untouchables who had land. Their economic condition improved and to-day they have better houses and live in cleaner surroundings than the majority Hindu community in the village. That community is not very high in the caste hierarchy. The untouchables are treated better and for the last ten years nobody bothers even if they touch the savarna. That is the over-all impression which our investigator gathered about the situation in the village to-day. The impression is based on what the untouchables themselves said. The reform movement was led by Premjibhai Thakkar, the ex-Revenue Minister of Gujarat State and Shri Prabhulal Dholakia, a Congressman.

In the last quarter of the 19th century there was a Bhagat of Ayar (Ahir) caste. Ramdeo Pir was said to have been pleased with him. The Bhagat was completely engrossed in *bhakti*. Ramdeo Pir was worshipped by the untouchables but the Ayars also began to follow him, and they mixed with the untouchables in the worship. The untouchables distributed prasad which the Ayars accepted and ate. The prasad was not of cooked food. The bhagat also preached that they should not discriminate against the untouchables. This religious factor may not obtain in all villages. In fact, in the case of another sect it worked for strengthening untouchability.

The total population of this village is 705 of whom 54 men and 4 women are literates. There are 8 untouchable men literates. The untouchable Meghwals are the second largest group in the village. But in the school there are only 4 Meghwal boys and no girls; and in the school the total number of pupils is only 24. Agriculture and agricultural labour are the main sources of income. The religious sect and the social work of the Congressman have obviously had its impact on this village.

However, in 1969 when there was famine in Kutch the Ramkrishna Mission distributed Sukhadi made of gur (jaggery) and wheat flour. One of the distributors was an untouchable. The Ahirs (Ayars) refused to take the food. But the organisers remained firm. The Taluka officers also supported them. Ultimately the Sarpanch and the other members of the panchayat took the food first and others followed them.

The process that resulted in reducing the prevalence of untouchability appears to have been different in the two villages. Untouchability in the form of avoidance of physical contact ceased to exist; but untouchability regarding food continued. They accepted food at the hands of an untouchable only in distress and that too after hesitation.

Village No. 44 is in Rajkot district. This is a relatively prosperous village. Out of 20 houses of untouchables about a dozen houses are pucca houses. There are three Bhangis and all of them have pucca houses. Our investigator reports that the untouchable locality is even cleaner than the caste Hindu locality. A Vankar untouchable said, "We (I) have 60 Bighas of land. Why do we (I) care for the savarnas."

There are about 80 private hand pumps in the village from where the savarnas take their water. In addition to this there is a public hand pump. Everybody can take water from there. For the last six or seven years Chamar, Vankar, Bhangi and Rabari (caste Hindu) take water from there without anybody objecting to their doing so.

An illiterate untouchable worker working among the untouchables aged 40 said, "Formerly the Harijans were not permitted to enter the Panchayat office. I called the police party and since then the harassment to the untouchables has become less." (This cannot be taken at its face value. His brother also boasted about him). When the brother was asked why his brother

does not take steps to allow the untouchables to enter into the shop his reply was characteristic, "Why should we go inside the shop? Our work is done. Then why should we bother? Moreover, if we want goods on credit, he gives us. So we do not do anything."

The untouchables can take water from the same pump only because it was constructed by the panchayat. There is no tension because the untouchable worker is bought over. He has probably only a nuisance value. However, fear of legal action is real. A caste Hindu shopkeeper had stopped selling things to the Bhangi after sunset for some time. He came to know that there was someone (the investigator) inquiring about untouchability in the village. So on that day he sold things to the Bhangi after sunset. The Bhangi came and reported to the investigator that the shopkeeper sold the goods to him after sunset on that day. The shopkeeper thought that a government investigation was going on in the village.

In village No. 48 (Junagadh District) tap water is available. The public water works was constructed in 1965-66. The Chamars take water from the same cocks as the Koli, Mer and other caste Hindus. But the Brahmin, Rabari and Waghri wash the cock if they take water after the untouchables have taken it.

According to the untouchables, people in the village do not harass them. On the contrary they lend them ornaments and other articles at the time of marriage. The untouchables report that the savarnas object if they wear dirty clothes. They would be pleased if they put on clean clothes.

But from what the Chamars themselves report, it appears that the "good treatment" the savarna Kolis give in regard to water facility is due to the care that the untouchables take in observing untouchability. The untouchables said in all inno-

cence, "as far as possible we do not touch or try to touch the caste Hindus. We ourselves keep the distance. We get whatever we ask for. Why should we then touch them? We respect them and consider them as our '*Maa Baap*'. That is how we live in the village and they do not harass us. "It is not surprising that in this village untouchability is observed in all the private spheres of behaviour except in the work situation and at the time of payment of wages.

In this village there is no change in the attitude of the caste Hindus. They have condescended to accept the untouchables' need for water. But that is no recognition of their right to draw water from the common water source.

In village No. 52 (Junagadh District) except in the case of entering the temple and barber's services, there is no untouchability either in the private or public sphere. It was a village under the Nawab of Junagadh and a Harijan school was started around 1930 by the state. Social workers such as the present Co-operation Minister, Shri Ratubhai Adani, Dolatrai and Goculdas Soni began social work particularly, of education and of reform of habits among the untouchables. Education spread among the untouchables. Cleanliness in the style of living and clothing began to be adopted by the untouchables. Only a few continued their traditional occupations. Many took to agriculture, and non-traditional jobs. They began to move out of the district and some went to foreign countries too. The village provided a savarna village level worker, to continue the voluntary social work. All this led to the growth of moral courage among the untouchables.

In 1969-70 an untouchable of Hadi caste, who had been to Africa, settled near the savarna locality and away from the untouchable locality. The well for the untouchable was away from his place. One day the untouchable's wife went to fetch water from the well of the savarnas. A savarna woman objec-

ted to her taking water from their well.

The savarna woman went to the Koli ex-Sarpanch who was also the candidate for the 1972 assembly elections. He was a non-matriculate and was 35 years old. The present Sarpanch is also a Koli aged 54 and has studied upto the 7th standard. They replied to the woman, "The untouchable woman will draw water from your well. If you desire you may also draw water from it." They supported the untouchable woman. The savarna woman did not get the support of the other savarnas.

The untouchables and the majority caste in the village (the Koli) are the followers of Ramdeo Pir. As such in the case of village No. 36 this sect encourages and facilitates the fraternization of the untouchables and the savarnas.

In this village, it was the social work by the Gandhian workers and the influence of the religious sect that were responsible for the change in the attitude of the caste Hindus.

General Observations

In village No. 52 (Junagadh district) as in village No. 1 (Valsad district) and village No. 36 (Kutch district) there was a confluence of factors such as the political-cum-social reform movement, spread of education and economic betterment of the untouchables, particularly their taking to new occupations, that was responsible for the change in the outlook of the village as a whole. It is thus not surprising that in all the three villages along with the weakening of belief in the pollution of water, there is a general liberalism in regard to untouchability in other spheres of behaviour both private and public though not equally general in all the villages. It should also be noted that the reform movement was the initiator of change in the attitude.

In the remaining two villages, village No. 44 in Rajkot district and village No. 48 in Junagadh district, there was neither persuasion nor change in the outlook of the savarnas. In village No. 48 fear of legal action worked in the limited sphere of drawing water from the same pump. The pump was installed by the panchayat, a legal body. So they conceded in regard to water but not in regard to untouchability in general. In village No. 44 they had either to avail of the facility of tap water or go without it. It was also a legal coercion in the sense that the pump was installed by the panchayat. But they conceded easily in regard to water facility because the untouchables did not demand it in other spheres. In these two villages there is no change in the consciousness of untouchability. It should be noted from the evidence (village No. 48) that acceptance of the present position by the untouchables also plays an important role in the continuance of untouchability. What are the factors behind this acceptance is an important point for future inquiry. They believe that the caste hierarchy is God given. That is their justification for practising untouchability themselves. There might be variations according to age, sex, and education in this belief. But it is this religious belief that leads to the continuance of untouchability in general. It should be noted that the untouchables are economically dependent on the savarna in the villages. When they become independent they gain self confidence. Thirdly, the old habits die hard and even when a savarna tries to treat him on an equal level in some instances the untouchable hesitates to respond on a level of equality.

We do not set much store by the percentages and statistical similarities and differences in this group of villages as the number of villages is very small. However, the presentation of the data in a tabular form has its own utility:

<i>Behaviour</i>	<i>% of villages of group 1A in which untouchability is observed</i>
1. Entry into a temple	80
2. Entry into a savarna house	60
3. Entry into shop	40
4. Giving and receiving things in the shop	40
5. Paying wages to the Scheduled Caste labourers	Nil
6. Savarna and untouchable working in the field	20
7. Barber serving the untouchables	100
8. Potter selling the pots to the untouchables	67
9. Tailor giving his services to the untouchables	50
10. At the Panchayat meetings	40
11. In sitting arrangement in the school	Nil
12. Riding the state transport bus	Nil
13. Delivering the letters by the postman	Nil
14. Buying stamps or letters in the post-office	Nil

Some observations can be made from the figures given in the table. If there is complete equality regarding drawing water from the common source between the savarnas and untouchables in all the villages in Gujarat, the following possibilities can be envisaged:

- (1) In the public sphere there will be no untouchability in any sphere of behaviour except in the sitting arrangement in the panchayat meetings.
- (2) In the private sphere, untouchability is likely to disappear in the practice of paying wages by the savarna employers to the untouchable worker.

- (a) Untouchability is likely to disappear between the savarna and the untouchable workers in the work situation.
 - (b) Untouchability is likely to be confined to the smallest percentage of villages of this group in regard to giving and receiving things and money in the shop and with regard to the services of the tailor.
- (3) Untouchability is likely to be the hardest to eradicate in regard to temple entry, entry into private houses and shops and with regard to the services of the barber, and the potter. It is likely to be observed in the panchayats in 40 percent of villages.

Section 5

Evidence from the Villages of Group IB

In this section the variations in the practice of taking water from the same source are studied. In these villages water is taken from a common source. But on the spot of the water source consciousness of untouchability is expressed in the behaviour of both the savarnas and the untouchables.

There are 13 villages in Group IB in which the untouchables take water from the same well or from the same water standpost or river or pond as the savarnas do. But there are restrictions and there are variations in these restrictions. The untouchables can dip their pots into the well while the pots of the savarnas are in the well. But they have to stand away from the savarnas. In some cases they draw water after the savarnas have drawn it, or the savarnas draw it after they have drawn. There are eight villages in this group.

There is a variation of the above case related to the type of source of water. In two villages there are water standposts. Water comes from the water works. The source of water, i.e. the water standpost is common for all but there are separate cocks for the untouchables on the same standpost. So the water in the common standpost is not polluted but when it passes through the cock through which it falls into the pot of the untouchables then it is believed to be polluted.

The third group of villages is an interesting variation. There are three villages of which two have water taps and one has a well. The cocks and the well are separate for the untouch-

ables. But when the water taps of the savarnas go out of order, or when their well dries up, the savarnas take water from the cocks or from the well of the untouchables. If similar situations arise in the case of untouchables' cocks or wells they are not permitted to take water from the savarnas' cocks or wells. Belief in untouchability is given up when convenient by the savarnas.

In village No. 17 (Kheda district) there are separate wells for the Vankars (untouchables) and the Bhangis. But they are out of use. The panchayat put an oil engine on the public well in 1962. That machine has not been working since 1967-68. The Vaghri women (savarna) fetch water from this well, but not the untouchables. All other savarnas and untouchables get water from a private well. The owner of this well has kept a separate pipe for the untouchables. But when there is rush on their tap the savarna women take water from the cock of the untouchables. The untouchable women cannot go there when the Baraiya and Patidar women are taking water. They go after they have taken water. Baraiya and Patidar women take care that they do not touch the Vankar and Bhangi women.

Though savarnas take water from the common well when in distress they observe untouchability in all spheres of private behaviour. It is reported that the wages are paid hand to hand. But only some people and particularly the younger people do that. Untouchability tends to be general in the village in the private sphere. In the public sphere, it is observed only at the panchayat meetings.

In village No. 19 (Ahmedabad district) there were separate public wells for the savarnas and the untouchables constructed just after independence. But the well of the untouchables collapsed during the floods. The village people thought of digging another well. But it was surmised that water could

be struck at a very great depth. They, therefore, decided to permit the untouchables to take water from a brick and mortar structure filled by the pump at the savarna well. The tank had two cocks, at a distance of two feet from one another. One of them was for the untouchables. In practice the savarna women also take water from the cock for the untouchables but the untouchable and savarna women take their turn one after the other.

The Bhangis and the Chamars started taking water together from the same cock from the time the new arrangement was made to take water from the pump (1968-69).

In this village, untouchability is not observed in the public sphere. In the private sphere it is not observed by the wage labourers while working in the fields. The tailor also does not observe it. But in other respects it is general. There is general weakening of untouchability in the public sphere but not in the private sphere.

In village No. 22 (Ahmedabad district) the supply of water through water works exists since 1969. There is a common standpost but there is a small partition between the tap of the savarna and that of the untouchables. The savarna Sarpanch of this village made the stock statement that the untouchables do not take water from the cock of the savarnas even though he told them to do so.

In this village untouchability is observed everywhere except in the public sphere. The extent of its observance is the same as it is in village No. 19 described above. Untouchability tends to disappear in the public sphere while it tends to remain in the private sphere.

Village No. 28 is in Banaskantha district. In fact it is a

township with a population of 5147. It belonged to the Nawab of Palanpur. In 1954 a water works was constructed. There are four water taps in a line for the untouchables on the water stand, one each for each untouchable caste group. The Bhangi's tap is the last. But two of these cocks are broken; so all the untouchables take water from the remaining two. Similarly, the cocks of the savarnas are also broken. The savarnas also take water from the tap of the untouchables though the latter do not take water from the cocks of the savarnas.

In this township there is no untouchability in any sphere except in regard to shop entry and the services of the barber. It is more of a township than a village. The political factor is also important. It was a State ruled by a Muslim Nawab. Untouchability was weak even before independence.

Village No. 30 is also in Banaskantha district. There are two wells in the pond but neither the savarnas nor the untouchables use it. There is only one bore well with a pump on it. The savarnas and the untouchables take water in turn from it. But in this village, untouchability is observed everywhere in the private sphere. Data regarding the practice at panchayat meetings could not be obtained, but in the public sphere otherwise it is not observed.

In village No. 31, again of Banaskantha district, there is only one well in the village and the savarnas and the untouchables take water from it one after the other including the Bhangis.

In 1962 an incident occurred. A savarna of the village was contesting the elections and the untouchables did not vote for him. So all the members of his caste collectively prevented the untouchables from taking water from the well. They complained to the concerned authorities at Disa, the Taluka headquarters. Officers from Disa came but the savarnas told

a lie and said that they did not prevent the untouchables from taking water. Thereupon the untouchables lighted a lamp and put it on the well and told the savarnas to pick it up if they did not prevent them from taking water. The savarnas did not pick up the lamp and thus their lie was exposed. The officers took their signatures and since then there has been no difficulty for the untouchables in this regard.

When asked why they did not draw water simultaneously with the savarnas, their reply was that they had great respect for the savarnas, "We have to live in the village, therefore we have to observe the limits" (of behaviour).

In this village there is neither a panchayat nor a post office. There is discrimination against the untouchable students in sitting arrangement in the school. Untouchability is not observed in the bus service, in the work situation or at the time of paying wages to the untouchable labourers. Thus, it is limited to the domestic type of situations in the private sphere. There is no barber and potter in the village. The tailor discriminates against the untouchables.

In village No. 32 of the same district (Banaskantha) the savarnas and the untouchables barring the Bhangis draw water from the same well. Between the Chamar and the savarnas no untouchability whatsoever is observed in regard to taking water from the well. But the Bhangis have to stand away from the well and they get water if a savarna draws water for them and pours it into their pots.

There is no panchayat in this village. The untouchables are not permitted to enter the house of a savarna, the village shop and the temple in the village. Untouchability is not observed in the work situation, while paying the wages and while giving and receiving things in the shop. It is also not observed in the public bus, in the post office and in the school.

The barber does not cut the hair of the untouchables. There is no potter and tailor in the village.

The investigator's observations are that many of the savarnas are the followers of Ramdeo Pir and there was greater contact between them and the untouchables during bhajan and kirtan sittings. The untouchables keep themselves clean and they are economically independent of the savarnas. In the opinion of the investigator, the reason why they are allowed to fetch water from the same well, is that the well being very deep it would be more bothersome for them to draw water and pour it into the pots of the untouchables. But in the case of the Bhangis, they do not mind straining themselves as there are not many Bhangi households in the village.

In village No. 33 in Banaskantha district, the Chamars and the Bhangis can dip their pots into the well even if the savarnas have their pots in the well. The pots of the savarnas are also put side by side at the well. But the untouchable women and the savarna women stand on the opposite sides of the well while drawing water. This was the situation even before independence. There is only one well in the village and it was constructed by the Muslim Nawab of Palanpur.

The untouchables are economically better off and are agriculturists. An untouchable aged 25 said, "Why should we live suppressed by anyone. We eat our own food and why should we feel suppressed? Because many of them are like us (me), how can they observe untouchability?" He was referring to their economic condition.

The untouchables are not allowed entry into the savarna house and the temple. The village potter discriminates against them. Untouchability is not observed in any other sphere, private or public.

Village No. 35 is in Kutch District. There is a separate well for the untouchables in existence for the last 60 years. Three years ago (1967) when the water in the wells dried up, the untouchables and the savarnas drew water from the common well one after the other for about 15 days.

In the public sphere there is no untouchability except in the panchayat. In the private sphere untouchability exists in all spheres of behaviour except in regard to entry into the shop and giving and receiving things in the shop.

Village No. 38 is in Jamnagar district of the Saurashtra region. There are 30 private hand pumps and one public well in the village. The Bharwads (Shepherds) and Vankars (untouchables) draw water from the public well.

About 20 years ago the Vankars could not draw water from the well. They had to stand away and if some savarna woman gave them water they would get it. Now that is not so. The Bharwad and the Vankar women stand on the opposite sides of the well and if the pot of the Bharwad woman is in the well the Vankar woman cannot dip her pot in the well. The Bharwad woman asks her to wait. When the investigator asked the Vankars "Why do you not dip your pot? Why do you wait?" The reply was: "We get water, why should we then dip our pot simultaneously? Nothing would be spoilt if we wait for two minutes."

In this village, untouchability is observed in all areas that fall in the private sphere of behaviour. In the public sphere there is no untouchability except in the panchayat meeting.

In village No. 39 in Jamnagar district there are three public wells. One of them is for the untouchables. Thus, this village should not come under the group we are discussing. But in times of distress such as dry famine when the wells of

the savarnas dry up they fetch water from the well of the untouchables. The untouchable women draw water from the same well after the savarna women have drawn. But if the well of the untouchables dries up they are not permitted to draw water from the savarna well.

When the matter was being discussed with the untouchables, they said, "we have to live in the village, (so) we cannot do that. We have to live with them day and night. We are lower than they are. We must bow to them and give way to them."

Untouchability in this village tends to be more general in the private sphere except in the work situation. The potter observes untouchability. It is not observed in the public sphere except by the postman who delivers the mail.

Village No. 42 is in Rajkot district. The untouchables of this village said: "From the time we settled here, we have been taking water from the same well which the savarnas use. The well was constructed 50 years ago or more."

Some years ago, according to the untouchables, two or three generations ago, some Rabaris (cattleherds) asked the untouchables not to draw water from this well. After they were stopped a disease spread among the savarnas. Consequently, the untouchables were allowed to draw water from the same well and the disease stopped. This peculiar belief played a progressive role in this village.

To-day the untouchables and the savarna women draw water from the same well from opposite sides. But the untouchable women take care that they do not touch the savarna women. But if they touch them there is no quarrel.

Untouchability is not observed in the public sphere. Even

in the private sphere excepting the savarna house, shop and temple, and the denial by the barber to serve the untouchables, discriminatory practice is not observed in any other respect.

Village No. 51 is a cattleherd settlement in Junagadh district in the Gir area and is difficult to approach. Such a settlement is called Nes. These cattleherds practise transhumance. They live in a place so long as the grazing grass or fodder for the cattle is available. When it becomes scarce they migrate to another place. The owners of cattle in this case are Charans. There is only one well in the settlement and the Charan and untouchable women draw water from this one well but one after the other.

Most of the items of behaviour are irrelevant in the case of this settlement. The life and living in this settlement is different from a settled nuclear village. But untouchability is strictly observed. The untouchables have to move aside if a Charan is walking along the road.

General Observations

As the evidence suggests changes in most of the villages came after independence. This seems to be the most potent factor in the change of behaviour. The growth of civic consciousness is accompanied with political change.

The other factors that helped the growth of that civic consciousness may be mentioned. In two villages the religious sect of Ramdeo Pir contributed to the softening of feeling against the untouchables. In one village superstition helped the weakening of untouchability. In two villages economic betterment has helped. In some cases the untouchables' acceptance of their position mitigated the situation. In some other villages distress or the scarcity of water brought the savarnas and the untouchables together to the common source of water.

This is particularly true of Banaskantha district. Out of 13 villages 5 belong to this district. In two cases only has a general liberal attitude of change in outlook played a significant role.

One conclusion that follows is that there has been a change in the behaviour of people without change in the basic belief in untouchability. The untouchables are permitted to draw water from the same source as the savarnas not because the savarnas have ceased to believe in the pollution of water sources, but merely because they have adjusted to the compulsions of changed situations and conditions.

Data regarding untouchability in this group of villages can be tabulated as follows:

<i>Behaviour</i>	<i>% of villages of group IB in which untouchability is observed</i>
1. Entry into the temple	92
2. Entry into a savarna house	92
3. Entry into the shop	83
4. Giving and receiving things in the shop	58
5. Paying the wages to the Scheduled Caste labourers	50
6. Savarna and untouchable workers working in the field	42
7. Barber serving the untouchables	100
8. Potter selling the pots to the untouchables	100
9. Tailor giving his services to the untouchables	50
10. At the Panchayat meetings	43
11. In sitting arrangement in the school	9
12. Riding the State transport bus	Nil
13. Delivering the letters by the postman	9
14. Buying stamps or letters in the post-office	Nil

It can be seen from the Table that there is a broad uniformity of behaviour in regard to entry into the shop, and giving and receiving things and money at the shop, and entry into private houses. There is also a certain uniformity of behaviour in the case of the barber and the potter observing untouchability and in the paying of wages to the labourers, the labourers working in the field, the tailor giving his services to the untouchables, and in regard to the behaviour of savarna members at the panchayat meeting.

Lastly, there is the uniformity of behaviour in the sitting arrangement of the untouchable and the savarna students in the school, in the behaviour of the post-master and the postman and in regard to travelling in the public transport bus. Thus, there is uniformity within classes of behaviour and there is no uniformity between the classes.

In the first two areas of behaviour untouchability is the most widespread. The two groups are on par in terms of percentages and statistically the difference among them is not significant. The tendency in this category is towards observance of untouchability.

In the third area of behaviour, observance of untouchability is spread over a smaller percentage of villages than in the first group. The tendency in this case is towards non-observance of untouchability.

In the fourth and the last area of behaviour, in the public sphere untouchability is tending to disappear.

This sort of distribution supports the contention that untouchability is not one integrated phenomenon. The statistical uniformities when translated into behaviour indicate the opposite trends of observance and non-observance of untouchability. It also supports the contention that there is no

relationship between the belief in pollution of water source and untouchability in other spheres of behaviour. Had there been any relation between the two there ought not to have been significant differences in the spread of untouchability between different areas of behaviour. The distinction that we made between private and public sphere stands out.

While the first two groups stand very near one another in the observance of untouchability, some difference can be observed among these too. Temple entry is a cultural item. The house and the shop-cum-residential place and the occupational castes are in the social sphere. Between these two also the distinction that we made in the first section, domestic and occupational caste sphere, stands out. The spread of untouchability is in a larger percentage of villages in the occupational caste sphere than in the domestic sphere. Of course, the behaviour regarding giving and receiving things at the shop is in the occupational sphere.

The spread of untouchability in the private sphere is in the smallest percentage of villages as far as the payment of wages and the work situation are concerned. They belong to the occupational sphere.

The rest of the spheres of behaviour belong to the public sphere and untouchability is almost disappearing in that sphere.

Thus, while there is no general uniformity, there seems to be an order in the lack of uniformity. The basis of this order seems to be firstly, according to the private and public sphere and within the private sphere according to the cultural, domestic and occupational spheres. Untouchability seems to be more widespread in cultural and domestic than in occupational spheres except in the case of occupational castes. Occupations which were formerly related closely to the caste structure in the village seem to be dissociating from it.

Section 4

Evidence from the Villages of Group III in which the Untouchables' Need for Water is not Recognised

This is the group of villages in which it can be said that the facility of water for the untouchables does not exist. There are seven (10%) villages out of 69 in which the untouchables' need for water is not recognised. They cannot draw water from the same source, a well or a water stand. They do not have separate arrangement for water for themselves. In regard to water they are completely at the mercy of the savarnas.

In village No. 8 (Vadodara district) there is only one well in the village. The Chamars and Bhangis go to the well when savarna women are drawing water. They pour water into their pots.

An untouchable woman said, "We have got to go up to the well. The other people (savarna) pour water into our pots. They give three or four pots. For that much water one person has to wait there quite long. Some women pour and some do not."

An untouchable woman reported, "The elderly (savarna) women say, 'bring tumda (gourds) and we shall give you water.' But we request and entreat the young girls" (and they give water).

Gourd is believed to be pollution resistant. Therefore, the pots of the savarna women won't be polluted by the touch of the untouchables' pot through the water. If water was poured into the gourd its pollution is prevented. This is the most

logical course of behaviour from the point of view of believers in untouchability.

The village has a population of lower status savarnas such as Baraiya and tribals such as Dubla or Halpati. Our investigator reports that they feel very bad about the decrease of untouchability in the towns and cities. They believe that it should not decrease. If it continues to decrease God will be displeased. They think it is very bad that the untouchables are serving in the cities and the savarnas have to sit along with them and have to take water from the same glass. They believe that the divisions are made by God and that they are proper.

The untouchables on their part also seem to have accepted the situation. A Bhangi aged 30 said, "God has given this birth (as a Bhangi) therefore it has to be lived anyhow." A Chamar aged 22 said, "what is spoilt if we step aside" ?

But this does not mean that the untouchables are happy about their status. A Bhangi aged 25 said that when they go to Vadodara, they can move freely and go to a restaurant. Nobody observes untouchability. In the village you have to serve a thousand persons and get kicks.

This is one of the two villages out of 69 in which the untouchables do not have equality in riding the bus. There is no Scheduled Caste student in school. Untouchability is observed in all spheres of behaviour except in the post-office while receiving stamps, etc. and while distributing the letters.

In village No. 11 again of Vadodara district, there is one well for drinking water. It is reported that it was dug by the untouchables. But when the savarnas saw that drinking water was struck, the savarnas took it over and prohibited the untouchables from using it. They decided among themselves that any savarna woman who is at the well should give water to the untouchables. They pour water into their pots. This does not

mean that they get water by right or that untouchability is weakened.

Our investigator observed on 19.9.71 that an untouchable girl named Shanta went to the well for fetching water. A Rabari woman poured water into her pot. But while pouring the water, few drops of water fell on her. She was enraged and started abusing the girl. The girl went away without saying a word. The untouchables have to see that the water does not get sprinkled while the savarna woman is pouring it into their pots. Obviously, if the water gets sprinkled it is not their fault. Yet, they always entertain that fear.

When they were asked why they do tolerate such behaviour the stock reply was, "what is the advantage of quarrelling with them? We have to live with them in the village". There is further rationalisation of the situation. They said, "That way we do not have the difficulty of getting water. If we go to the well and if some one is drawing water, she pours water into our pots. Nobody says 'no'."

In spite of what they say they do feel that they do not have any source from where they can rightfully take water. In the village there is a Patidar who has a hand pump on his well in the back yard of his house. He allows the untouchables to take water from there. But nobody goes there regularly. As the untouchables said they go there only if there is unavoidable difficulty. By 'unavoidable' they meant if there was no one near the well and also if there was no possibility of someone coming to the well. It is only a rationalisation of their inability to take steps to improve the situation, when they say that "that way there is no difficulty in getting water." They themselves narrated the following incident:

Once a Sarpanch (who is dead) of another village made an effort to allow the untouchables to draw water from the well. But they themselves refused to do so and said, "To-day we may

go to the well. But will you be there tomorrow ? We have to live permanently in this village.” They further said they are under the obligation of the savarnas for four months only. For the remaining months they dig small pits in the bed of the river and get water. They go to the savarna well only when that fails. There is general untouchability in the private sphere except while working in the fields with the savarna labourers. There is no Scheduled Caste member in the Panchayat. In the public sphere, untouchability is not observed in any of the situations.

Village No. 24 is in Mahesana district. There is one public well in the village. The untouchables cannot draw water from it. The savarnas pour water into their pots. According to them no savarna woman refuses to oblige them. But they take care that they do not touch the Bhangi women while pouring water into their pots. They do not quarrel if water gets sprinkled on them while they are pouring water.

The untouchables have not made any effort to draw water from the well because they say that they have to live in the village and with the village.

Compared to villages No. 8 and No. 11, untouchability is less general in this village. The savarna labourers do not mind if they are touched by the untouchables while working in the field. They are also paid their wages hand to hand. Things are given hand to hand in the shop. The tailor does not discriminate against the untouchables. In the remaining areas in the private sphere, untouchability is observed. In the public sphere, untouchability is not observed except at the Panchayat meetings.

Village No. 26 is also in Mahesana district. There are separate wells for the Patidars and Thakardas (Thakores) in their own wards. There was a well for the untouchables also but it is dry and now they get water from the Patidar women from

their well. The latter pour water into the pots of the untouchables.

The untouchables have accepted their position. The Chamar member of the Panchayat said, "We observe restriction ourselves. They (savarnas) do not tell us anything."

The practice of untouchability is not observed in any area in the public sphere of behaviour. There is no objection if an untouchable worker touches a savarna worker while working in the field. The wages are paid touching their hands. The potter and the tailor do not observe untouchability. In the remaining areas in the private sphere of behaviour, it is observed.

Village No. 43 is in Rajkot district. There is only one untouchable household in the village. That is a Bhangi household. The savarna women pour water into the Bhangi's pot and they take care to see that their pot is not polluted by the sprinkling of water while pouring it into the Bhangi's pot. If that happens they give over the pot to the Bhangi if the pot is earthen. If it is a metal pot they clean it with earth.

The reactions of the Bhangi to the suggestion of taking steps for removing untouchability were typical. "If an animal dies it is our dharma to remove it. Why should we say no?"

"How does untouchability obstruct us? Shall we get food if untouchability is removed? God has made us Bhangi. So in this life we shall remain Bhangis. Whatever we may do to remove untouchability they will observe untouchability with us. We are Bhangis but if we were kanbi or Brahman would we not have observed untouchability? All that works in your cities. That won't work in our villages."

"We have to live in the village so we must live in peace with them. If we do not, will the government give us food?"

"The government says do this and do that and makes laws.

But if we try to live by the laws we won't have Khichdi (food). It is better that we allow the situation as it exists and earn our bread." Thus there is acceptance of the whole system of untouchability. It is sustained by the economic dependence. The fear of losing the bread is very strong.

There is no Scheduled Caste student in the school. The Scheduled Caste member is discriminated against by the savarna members in the Panchayat. Untouchability is not observed while riding the bus and while receiving the stamps and distributing mail. There is no temple in the village. The barber observes untouchability. It is also observed in the payment of wages and in entering the savarna house and the village shop.

Village No. 58 is in Surendranagar district. There is a well. The untouchables can't take water from it. The savarnas pour water into the untouchables' pots. The savarna women purify their pots by sprinkling water over them after they have poured water into the untouchables' pot. There are instances of the untouchable women paying 10 paise per pot of water to the savarna women.

Untouchability is general in the private sphere of behaviour. Even in the public sphere, it is observed at the Panchayat meetings and by the postman.

Village No. 68 is in Panchamahals district. There are two public wells and 28 private wells. There are three Bhangi households in the village. They can't take water either from the private or the public well. Bhangis get water if the savarnas pour water into their pots.

When asked why they do not make efforts to take water from the well, they replied, "We have to live in the village and it is the villagers' population. You are the officer, your respect has to be kept" (meaning that similarly we have to respect the higher castes).

Untouchability is general in the private sphere. In the public sphere it is not observed except in the school and the Panchayat meetings.

The data pertaining to this group of villages (Group III) can be tabulated as follows:

<i>Behaviour</i>	<i>% of villages of Group III in which untouchability is observed</i>
1. Entry into the temple	100
2. Entry into a savarna house	100
3. Entry into the shop	100
4. Giving and receiving things in the shop	71
5. Paying the wages to the Scheduled Caste labourers	71
6. Savarna and untouchable workers working in the field	50
7. Barber serving the untouchables	100
8. Potter selling the pots to the untouchables	67
9. Tailor giving his services to the untouchables	50
10. At the Panchayat meetings	67
11. In sitting arrangement in the school	Nil
12. Riding the state transport bus	14
13. Delivering the letters by the postman	14
14. Buying stamps, or letters in the post-office	Nil

These figures indicate that in these villages where untouchability prevails in its classical form in regard to getting the water, it is also fairly widespread in other spheres as well.

So far as temple entry, entry into the house and the shop of a savarna and the services by the barbers are concerned, untouchability is observed in all the villages. The potter also observes untouchability in 67 percent of villages. In 71 percent of villages the untouchable workers are not touched by the savarna employers while paying the wages and the shop-keeper does not give things in the hands of the untouchable customers. But the tailor observes untouchability in 50 percent villages and the savarna and the untouchable workers also observe untouchability in 50 percent of villages.

Among the caste Hindus, one of the occupational castes, the tailor, is consistently more liberal and the savarna and the untouchable workers of the same occupational and income level are also more liberal. However, it should be noted that the percentages even in regard to such behaviour are higher in this group than in any other group and are higher than the average of all the 69 villages.

The evidence indicates that untouchability tends to be widespread in the largest number of villages in the group of villages in which the untouchables' need for water is not recognised and in which he is completely at the mercy of the savarna.

The picture is quite the opposite of that in regard to Group IA villages. Yet it would not be correct to say that the differences are directly related to the types of water facility for the untouchables. It has been shown that the behaviour in the public sphere including the Panchayat is independent of the facility of water for the untouchables. Also, in the private sphere, behaviour regarding temple entry, the behaviour of the barber and the potter and the behaviour of the savarna and untouchable workers is independent of the untouchability at the water source.

General Observations

The conditions in this group of villages give us an idea of what untouchability must have been fifty years ago. Not only were the untouchables not allowed to touch the well but if by mistake a pot of a savarna was polluted by the drops of water falling on it, the earthen pot would be thrown away or given away to the untouchable. But a metal pot would be purified by cleaning it with earth. It could not be given away because it was more expensive than the earthen pot. Of course, the most logical thing was the use of non-pollutable material for the untouchables' pots such as the gourd.

In a village in Kutch (village No.37) formerly the custom was to put the pot in the fire. Worse conditions in the past are described by an elderly person in a village in Valsad district. In order that the pot of the savarna may not be polluted, a stand was made and on that stand a row of country tiles would be kept. Water or buttermilk would be poured into the channel made of tiles and that would fall into the pot of the untouchables. In this way direct touch between the savarna pot and its content and the pot of the untouchables was avoided.

When the untouchables took their bullocks to drink water to the village tank or "hawada" (a brick and mortar tank) they had to give up the reins of the bullock. If they held the reins the water would be polluted via the reins and the bullock. The reins were made of cotton yarn.

All this might appear ridiculous to-day, particularly to the university degree holders. But some of the rituals that the high caste Hindus returning from England had to undergo were no less ridiculous. The Brahminical castes treated the lower caste savarnas in much the same manner in the matter of pollution. That was the culture of the caste society. It was considered wrong to behave in a manner different from

that expected by the culture and society of the times. The aim not only of the higher castes but also of the lower ones was to conform as closely as possible to that expectation.

It is just not an accident or illiteracy of the untouchables which make them say that this birth is given by God and that it must be lived in the station assigned in that birth in society. Nor is it an accident that the lower castes such as Baraiya and Halpati believe that God would be displeased if untouchability became less rigid. It is not an aberration that the Vankars and Chamars treat the Bhangis as untouchables (see Section V on untouchability among untouchables). All these formed the fabric of society and culture.

The older men among the untouchables as much as among the savarnas mentally still remain in that old world. The older untouchables accept their dependence on the savarnas. The dependence is largely economic. If untouchability is to be removed, it is this dependence that must be eradicated first.

Section 5

Evidence from the Villages in which There Are Separate Sources of Water for the Untouchables and the Savarnas (Group II)

In this group of villages there are separate sources of water for the untouchables and the savarnas. This is the most common pattern prevailing in 64% of the villages in Gujarat State. This class of villages is nearer to the villages of class III. But they differ in that in this case the untouchables' need for water is recognised grudgingly or ungrudgingly, while in the case of group III such need is not recognised at all.

In village No. 2 (Valsad district) there is a separate well for Dheds or Mahyavanshi, who is the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village. The well is in their locality. So they do not have any difficulty in getting water at present. Two years ago (1969) the water in their well had become unusable. So they decided to clean the well by draining it. During this period the Scheduled Caste women got water from the potters' well which was near their area. They were not allowed to draw it themselves. The potter women poured it down into their pots. They did not allow the Scheduled Caste women to come up to the well and even their pots had to be kept away from the well. Thus this is an instance where the untouchables have a separate water source and even in cases of emergency are not allowed to fetch water from the savarna well. This is a village in the Valsad district in which it is found that the practice of untouchability is less general and less strict than in the other districts of the state except Surat. Though the

same potter women sit and talk together with the Dhed women in day to day village activities, they still believe that water is polluted by the touch of the untouchables.

An old untouchable member said that before independence they suffered many hardships in getting the water. The caste Hindus at that time used to pour water on the channel or 'Nalia' (traditional roof tile) through which only the Scheduled Caste could take water. 'Nalia' was supposed to be a pollution-resistant medium. He attributed the great change from the past to the present condition to the Gandhian movement.

Over the last three years the village school children have been drawing water from the nearby caste Hindu wells for drinking purposes. The pupils go in batches taking their turn. The Dhed students also go in the same way. The caste Hindus permit them to draw water. This behaviour indicates a weakening of untouchability in special cases.

In this village untouchability is not practised in any sphere either private or public. The untouchables are also allowed to enter the temple.

In village No. 3 (Surat district) there is a public water works facility. Water-tap facility at home is available to all including the untouchables. The water works was built in 1964.

Before 1964 the untouchables were not allowed to draw water by themselves from the two public wells in the village. Even at present when the electricity fails or if the water works is out of order, the caste Hindu women pour down water into the pots of the untouchables but do not allow them to draw water from their well. There is only one untouchable Vankar family.

In this village there is no shop. In the Panchayat there is no Scheduled Caste member. There is no discrimination against the untouchables in the school, bus and in the post-office. The savarna workers do not observe untouchability with the untouch-

able workers while working in the fields. The untouchables are not allowed entry in the temple and into Caste Hindu houses. The untouchable labourer is not paid hand to hand.

In village No. 4 (Surat district) there are two wells. One is near the untouchable locality. It is used by them while the other in the caste Hindu area is used by the different castes of the village. A few rich Kanbis possess water-tap facility inside their houses. They have taken the line from the nearby village having a public water works meeting the expenses themselves.

The data pertaining to the practice in the post-office could not be obtained, but in all other areas, the untouchables are not discriminated against at all.

In village No. 5 (Surat district) there is a separate well for the Dheds or the Mahyavanshi. This is the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village. The well was built for them by a Parsi gentleman in 1951. Before that year the Dheds drew water from a well which has become saline for the last few years.

The well from which the Dheds draw water today became unusable seven or eight years ago. The Dheds drained the dirty water and cleaned the well. During this period they drew water themselves from the caste Hindu well of the village. The majority caste in the village is Koli. They were a little hesitant at first but allowed the untouchables to take water from their well. But then the Kolis emptied their well after the untouchables stopped taking water from it. They believed that water was polluted by the touch of the untouchables. The Halpatis in this village draw water from the caste Hindu well, even though the well used by the Dheds is nearer their residence. It is considered the untouchables' well.

In spite of the above facts, the practice of untouchability is

absent in this village in both the spheres, private and public. The only exception is the village potter who still observes it.

In village No. 6 (Bharuch district) there is a separate well for the Dheds. There are 6 public wells which are used by the caste Hindus. During our investigator's visit to this village, the Dhed well had been unusable as the water was not clean. Therefore, the caste Hindus poured water into the pots of the untouchables from their well.

As the village is situated near the sea shore, the water in all the wells becomes saline during the summer season. The local authority provide them water in the motor tank. All get it irrespective of their caste according to their turn. The Dheds also stand in the queue with the caste Hindus. Untouchability is not observed here.

The untouchables are not allowed to enter the village shop, the caste Hindu house and the village temple. The untouchable labourer is not paid hand to hand. In other spheres of behaviour, there is no discrimination against the Dheds, the only Scheduled Caste in the village.

In village No. 7 (Bharuch district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. But the Bhangis are not allowed to draw water from it. The Bhangis get water from the caste Hindu well as well as from the Dhed well. At both the wells, it is poured down in their pots.

In the village school there is no Scheduled Caste student. Untouchability is not practised in the public sphere. On the other hand it is practised in all areas in the private sphere except in the work situation.

In village No. 9 (Vadodara district) there is a public water works facility since 1962-63. The caste Hindus have water-taps inside their houses. But there is one separate stand-post for the Chamar and Dhed and another one for the Bhangis.

In this village untouchability is not observed in the public sphere. But in the private sphere it is generally observed except by the tailor.

In village No. 10 (Vadodara district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. But the Bhangi is not allowed to draw water from it. The Dhed women pour it down into the pots of Bhangis at their convenience. When the Bhangi women go to the caste Hindu well, the Kanbi and/or Baraiya women say, "why do you come here? Go to your well". Thus, the Bhangi women are completely dependent on the Dheds and higher castes for their supply of water.

Untouchability is not observed in the village school and in the buses. The Scheduled Caste labourers work together on the farms with other caste Hindu labourers and do not mind if they touch each other. In the post office there is no discrimination against them, but the postman observes untouchability while distributing the mail. Data regarding the practice in the village panchayat could not be obtained. In the private sphere, however, untouchability is generally practised.

In village No. 12 (Vadodara district) there is a river which is the only source of water for the whole village. The caste Hindus take water from the upper portion of the stream. The untouchables take it from the lower portion. The untouchables take care not to touch the caste Hindu women while taking water. If by accident an untouchable woman or a child touches a caste Hindu woman, she breaks the earthen pot or puts it on fire to purify it if it is a metal pot.

In this village there is no post office. The postman comes from a nearby village. His behaviour towards the untouchables could not be observed. In the village school and in the state transport bus, there is no discrimination against the untouchables. The panchayat meetings are held in another village. In the private sphere untouchability is practiced in all areas of interaction.

In village No. 13 (Vadodara district) there is a public water works facility since 1964-65. There are two stand-posts. One is for the caste Hindu and the other is for the untouchables. On the untouchable stand-post the last tap is for the Bhangis. The Bhangis can take water from there only.

Before 1964 when there was no water works facility there were separate wells for the caste Hindus and the untouchables. The Bhangis were not allowed to draw water by themselves from the untouchables' well. The Dheds and Chamars poured it into their pots.

Untouchability is practised without any relaxation in the private sphere; in the public sphere excluding the panchayat meeting, it is absent in any other area of interaction.

In village No. 14 (Kheda district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. Among the untouchables there are Chamars (4 families) and Bhangis (6 families). The untouchable well is nearer to the Bhangi locality. The Bhangis draw water from it. But the Chamars do not draw water from there. They go to the caste Hindu well where it is poured down to them. The Chamars had demanded a separate well for their group but the Taluka President had replied that there cannot be a separate well for each Scheduled Caste. The Chamars sometimes go to the nearby village for drawing water where there is a separate well for the untouchables. That village is a mile away from this village.

The discriminatory practice against the untouchables is observed in the entire private sphere of behaviour. In the public sphere excluding the panchayat meeting, it is absent.

In village No. 15 (Kheda district) there is a public water works. There are separate stand-posts for the caste Hindus and the untouchables. The Bhangis have a separate water-tap on the separate stand-post for the untouchables. They do not

take it from the taps from where the Dheds and the Chamars take water. This facility has been in existence since 1961.

The caste Hindus occasionally use the water taps of the untouchables to take water if no Scheduled Caste member is there to take water. But no Scheduled Caste member can go to the caste Hindu's stand-post.

In this village again, untouchability is observed in the entire private sphere of behaviour. In the public sphere it is absent except in the case of panchayat meetings.

In village No. 16 (Kheda district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Vankar is the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village. So far, no occasion has arisen for them to go to the caste Hindu well. However, in the village school, only the caste Hindu students draw water from the well.

There is no discrimination against the untouchables in the public sphere. But there is no Scheduled Caste member in the panchayat. In the private sphere except in the work situation in the fields, untouchability is generally observed.

In village No. 18 (Kheda district) there is a separate well for each of the Scheduled Castes—the Vankars and the Bhangis. The caste Hindus have their own well. There is also a river which is used by all castes including the savarnas for purposes other than drinking. The Vankars take water from the lower stream of the river; the Bhangis from the lowest stream.

There is no discrimination against the untouchables in the public sphere. It is, however, practised in the private sphere except in the work situation in the field.

In village No. 20 (Ahmadabad district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. It was built in 1966-67. The Bhangis are not allowed to draw water from it. The Vankars pour it down to them.

Five years ago, the Vankars and the Bhangis drew water

from a Koli's well in the field. They drew it one after the other. There is a well for the Bhangis also. But since it is lying under the water of the village pond, it is not usable. When the pond is dry, the Bhangis draw water from the well.

Four months before our investigator's visit to the village, the Bhangis tried to draw water from the Vankar's well but they failed. The Vankars became angry with them. The quarrel between them reached a tense point. Finally, it was solved without any physical fight. Since then, the Bhangis have not tried to go there.

Untouchability is not practised in the bus, in the panchayat and in the village school. But it is practised in all other spheres of behaviour. There is no post office in the village but the postman who comes from another village to deliver the post observes untouchability.

Village No. 21 (Ahmadabad district) is divided into two parts. In one part there is only one Scheduled Caste—the Chamars. They have a separate well in their locality. In the other part of the village there are the Vankars, the Chamars and the Bhangis. They don't have any well. They use the river water. The caste Hindus use the river water for purposes other than drinking. But the untouchables use it even for drinking purposes. The Vankars and the Chamars take it from the lower flow of the stream. The Bhangis take it from the lowest flow.

The untouchables have not tried so far to go to the caste Hindu well to draw water. They said, "This is a Garasia Rajput village. If we go to their well they will kill us. You people have to stay in the village, for one or two days, while we have to stay here always. We cannot do that."

Except in the panchayat meetings, untouchability is not observed in the public sphere. In the private sphere, except in the case of the tailor it is observed in all areas of interaction.

In village No. 23 (Mahesana district) there is a public water works. There is a separate water tap for the untouchables. The Chamars and the Shenva take water from it simultaneously. But there is one restriction. The Shenva cannot take water in an earthen pot. They have to use a metal bucket.

In the summer the water works do not work as there is an acute water shortage. The caste Hindus draw water from the village wells. The untouchables bring it from the wells in the fields. They do not go to the wells from where the caste Hindus draw water.

There is discrimination against the Scheduled Caste member in the panchayat meeting. There is no discrimination against the untouchables otherwise, in the public sphere. They work together with the caste Hindu labourers in the fields. They are paid hand to hand. The tailor serves them without observing untouchability. They also receive things hand to hand from the village shop. But they are not allowed entry in the shop. They cannot enter the caste Hindu house and the village temple. The village barber does not serve them. The potter observes untouchability while selling the pots to them.

In village No. 25 (Mahesana district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. Since the last four years this well has been unusable as it is dry. The Shenva—the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village—go to the caste Hindu well where water is poured down to them. In the absence of the caste Hindu women drawing water from the well, the untouchables go to the wells in the fields. They are privately owned wells. Here they are allowed to draw water by themselves.

There is no Scheduled Caste member in the Panchayat. Otherwise, untouchability is not practised in the public sphere. The untouchables are not allowed entry in the savarna house and in the temple. There is no discrimination against the untouchables in the other areas in the private sphere.

In village No. 27 (Mahesana district) there is a public bore well. It is used by the caste Hindus. There is a separate well for the untouchables. This well together with other four wells are under the water of the village pond. The caste Hindus and the untouchables use the water from the pond for drinking purposes. There is a separate corner at the pond from where the Vankars, Garoda and Turi take water. For the Bhangis there is yet another separate corner. When the pond is dry the Vankars, Garoda and Turi draw water from the well. The Bhangis are not allowed to draw water by themselves from the well. The other untouchables pour it down to them.

Two years ago, water in the pond and all the wells except the bore well dried up. There was an acute water shortage. As the bore well is very deep, it was strenuous for the caste Hindus to draw water from it and pour it down to the untouchables. A few Chamars and Vankars drew water from the bore well by themselves. The caste Hindus could not tolerate this. They beat up the untouchable women. Finally, a case against the caste Hindus was filed by the police. But since then, the untouchables have not made any attempt to go to that well and draw water from it.

There is no discrimination against the untouchables in the public sphere of behaviour. But in all the items in the private sphere, untouchability is practised except while working together in the fields.

In village No. 29 (Banaskantha district) there is a pond from where the caste Hindus and the untouchables take water for drinking purposes. The untouchables take it from a place away from where the caste Hindus take water.

When the pond gets dry water is provided to the villagers by Government. The different castes including the savarnas get it according to their turn. The untouchables take enough care

not to touch the caste Hindus. If accidentally they touch the caste Hindus, they abuse them.

In the school and in the post-office there is no discrimination against the untouchables. But the Scheduled Caste member in the village panchayat is discriminated against by the savarna members. The untouchables are discriminated against in the bus. They are given things hand to hand in the village shop, but are not allowed to enter the shop. The tailor does not observe untouchability. In all other areas in the private sphere, untouchability is observed.

In village No. 34 (Kutch district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. There are three Scheduled Castes namely, the Vankars, the Chamars and the Bhat. They draw water from the separate well at the same time. The caste Hindu well is only 25 feet away from the well of the untouchables. Both the parties take sufficient care not to touch each other.

Untouchability is not observed in any respect in the public sphere. It is also not practised in the work situation and while giving and receiving things in the village shop. It is observed in the remaining areas in the private sphere.

In village No. 37 (Kutch district) there is a public well. It is unusable as the water is unclean. There is a well in the farm of a Kanbi. It is his private well. An electric motor has been set on this well. The caste Hindus take water from its tank. The untouchables take it from the lower stream of flow from the tank.

If an untouchable touches a caste Hindu's pot (by mistake or accidentally), it is purified by putting it into the fire. But such instances happen rarely as both the parties take sufficient care not to touch each other.

There is no school in the village and there is no Scheduled Caste member in the panchayat. In the bus and the post-office, untouchability is not observed. There is no shop in this

village. Untouchability is observed in the private sphere in all areas of interaction.

In village No. 40 (Jamnagar district) there is a public well which is used by the caste Hindus. The untouchables get water from the river from a particular place down the river. In the summer when the river is dry they dig up small shallow pits on the river side for water. There is only one untouchable family in the village. They are Chamars.

There is no Scheduled Caste student in the school. Untouchability is observed in the panchayat meeting. In the bus and in the post office there is no discrimination against the untouchables. There is no shop. The untouchables are not allowed to enter the temple and savarna houses. There is no discrimination in the work situation in the fields and untouchability is not observed while making payments.

In village No. 41 (Rajkot district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. There are two Scheduled Castes, the Vankars and the Chamars. Both the castes draw water at the same time from the well. So far no occasion has arisen for the untouchables to go to the caste Hindu well. There is one old Vankar who is not able to draw water. He gets it from the savarna well. They pour it into his pot.

In the public sphere the discriminatory practice is not observed. The untouchables are not allowed to enter the village temple, the savarna house and the shop. The village barber does not serve them. In other areas in the private sphere untouchability is not observed.

In village No. 45 (Amreli district) there is no public well. There is scarcity of water for both, the caste Hindus and the untouchables. Hindus and the untouchables dig pits in the river bed to get water. The untouchables cannot take water from the Caste Hindu's pits. They dig separate pits—at a distance away from that of the caste Hindus.

There are 8 hand pumps also, which are privately owned by the majority caste members—the Charans. Occasionally, the other caste Hindus get water from them. The untouchables are not allowed to take water from them.

There is no Scheduled Caste student in the school. In the village panchayat, there is discrimination against the Scheduled Caste member. In the postoffice, there is no discrimination against the untouchables. But the postman who delivers the post observes untouchability. The untouchables ride the bus as freely as the caste Hindus. They are not allowed entry in the caste Hindu house, in the shop and in the village temple. The barber does not serve them. In other areas in the private sphere untouchability is not practised.

In village No. 46 (Amreli district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. 20 years ago, the untouchables got water from the caste Hindu well. It was poured down to them. The Chamar is the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village.

In this village, there is no discrimination against the untouchables in the public sphere except at the panchayat meeting. The untouchable is paid the wages hand to hand. In the private sphere except in the work situation and in the case of the tailor untouchability is observed in all respects.

In village No. 47 (Amreli district) there is a public well. The untouchables had a separate well but it has been dry for the last one year. So they collectively attempted to draw water from the caste Hindu well. That is the only public well in the village. In the beginning the caste Hindus were a little angry. But they could not prevent them and stopped drawing water from it. As there are some 40 hand pumps in the village, they take water from them.

In this village untouchability is not observed in the public sphere of behaviour excepting at the panchayat meeting. In the private sphere it is observed in all areas excepting the work situation, payment of wages and the services of the tailor.

In village No. 49 (Junagadh district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Meghwal is the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village. In summer, the well kept apart for the untouchables is dry. They then take water from the caste Hindu wells in the fields from the basin of the well.

In this village untouchability is not observed in the public sphere at all, but is fully observed in the private sphere.

In village No. 50 (Junagadh district) there is a public water works facility since 1955. There is a separate stand-post for the untouchables. The Bhangis take water from there together with the Vankars and Chamars. There is no untouchability among the untouchables in this regard. Even before the water works facility was available, they took water from the same well at the same time. So far no Scheduled Caste member has tried, individually or collectively, to go to the caste Hindu well or stand-post. As they have their own source of water, they do not see any reason to go there.

In this village, untouchability is not practised in the public sphere. In the private sphere it is not observed in the work situation in the fields, by the savarna employers and by the tailor. The shopkeeper also gives and receives things and money from them hand to hand. Barring these, it is practised in the private sphere.

In village No. 53 (Bhavnagar district) there is a public water works facility. There is a common stand-post for the whole village. All the castes take water from there. The Bhangis are the only Scheduled Caste in the village. They cannot take water from there. They get the water from the tap at the back of the water tank which is used for providing drinking water for the village cattle.

In this village there is no Scheduled Caste student in the school. There is discrimination in the panchayat meeting but not in the bus and in the post office. But the postman discrimi-

minates against them while delivering the post. Untouchability is practised fully in the private sphere.

In village No. 54 (Bhavnagar district) there is a separate well for the untouchables from where the Chamars and the Dheds draw water at the same time. But the Bhangis are not allowed to draw water from it. They get the water from a nearby caste Hindu well where it is poured down to them. The Bhangis are not allowed to draw it themselves from any of the 5 public wells in the village. They can take water from the 'thal' of the Caste Hindu well which is meant for drinking water for the village cattle. Some caste Hindu families possess hand pumps of their own.

In this village untouchability is absent in the public sphere. It is practised in the private sphere.

In village No. 55 (Bhavnagar district) there is a separate well for the Dheds who are the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village. There are 8 public wells which are used by the different castes in the village. One Dhed member said, "We have our separate well. Why should we go to their well?"

Here, there is no Scheduled Caste member in the panchayat. There is no discrimination against the untouchables in the bus and in the school. The postman does not discriminate against the untouchables while delivering the post, but there is discrimination against them in the post office. Untouchability is not observed by the savarna employers, the potter and the tailor. It is also not observed in the village shop. In other areas in the private sphere it is observed.

In village No. 56 (Bhavnagar district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Dheds and the Chamars draw water from it, at the same time. But the Bhangis are not allowed to take it by themselves. They pour it down in their pots. There are 5 public wells which are used by the different castes in the village. The untouchables have not made any

effort to go to the caste Hindu wells for drawing water. In summer when their well is dry they take water from the tube wells belonging to the caste Hindus which are used for agricultural purposes. They do not go to the village wells of the caste Hindus.

In this village untouchability is not observed in the public sphere. Even in the private sphere it is observed only in the village temple, in the private house and in the shop. The village barber and the potter also discriminate against the untouchables.

In village No. 57 (Surendranagar district) there are two public wells. One is used by the caste Hindus and the other is used by the Chamars who are the Scheduled Caste residing in the village. As the Chamars have their separate well, no need has arisen so far for them to go to the caste Hindu well.

There is no shop and no school in the village. It is a very small village. The Chamar panchayat member was out of the village when our investigator visited it. So the information about the practice in the village panchayat was not ascertained.

There is no discrimination against the untouchables while riding the bus. In the post office there is no discrimination but the postman observes untouchability while delivering the post. In the private sphere untouchability is observed in all areas of interaction.

In village No. 59 (Surendranagar district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. But the Bhangis are not allowed to draw water from there. They bring it from the river. The caste Hindus have a separate well. They use the water of the river for purposes other than drinking. But the Bhangis use it for drinking purposes also.

In the bus and in the school there is no discrimination. In the panchayat meeting the Scheduled Caste member is discrimi-

nated against. Though there is no untouchability in the post office, the postman while delivering the letters observes it. In the private sphere untouchability is practised in all areas of interaction.

In village No. 60 (Sabarkantha district) there is a separate well for the Scheduled Castes. But the Shenva—a Scheduled Caste—is not allowed to draw water from it. They go to a nearby well which is used by the caste Hindus who draw the water for them. Sometimes the Šhenvas have to wait for a long time.

Untouchability is not observed in the public sphere excepting at the panchayat meeting. In the private sphere, it is observed with regard to entry in the temple, private house, and the village shop. The savarna workers observe untouchability with the untouchable workers. The barber does not serve the untouchables. Barring these exceptions, in the private sphere it is not observed.

In village No. 61 (Sabarkantha district) there are four public wells—all dry. The public water works that was built six years ago has been out of order since its inception. The caste Hindus and the untouchables own their private wells in their fields. Sometimes, the Shenvas go to the Chamars' well where water is poured down to them. The untouchables do not go to the caste Hindu wells.

There is no discrimination against the untouchables in the public sphere. In the private sphere it is observed in all areas except the work situation in the fields. The village potter however, does not observe untouchability.

In village No. 62 (Sabarkantha district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. There is only one Scheduled Caste—the Dheds in the village. So far no need has arisen for them to go to the caste Hindu well.

In the public sphere untouchability is not practised except at

the panchayat meeting. In the private sphere it is observed in all areas except the work situation in the fields. The village tailor also does not observe untouchability.

In village No. 63 (Sabarkantha district) there is a separate well for the untouchables which is privately owned. The Chamar is the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village. They draw water from this well. There is a separate 'ghat' for the untouchables on the river. It is used by them for purposes other than drinking. So far no occasion has arisen for the untouchables to go to the caste Hindu well or 'ghat'.

There is no discrimination against the untouchables in the village school and in the bus. There is no Scheduled Caste member in the panchayat. There is no post office in the village. The postman comes from a nearby village to deliver the post. He does not observe untouchability. In the private sphere, however, untouchability is observed in all respects.

In village No. 64 (Sabarkantha district) there are two public wells which are used by the caste Hindus. There is a private well owned by a Chamar in his agricultural farm. The untouchables use it. The Chamar is the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village.

While working in the caste Hindu's fields, the Chamars are allowed to draw water from the wells by themselves. But they can draw it only if they use a leather-bucket. They cannot use a metal or earthen utensil.

There is no Scheduled Caste member in the panchayat. There is also no post office. The postman who comes from the nearby village does not observe untouchability. The untouchables are not discriminated against while travelling in the bus and at the school. But in the private sphere, untouchability is generally observed.

In village No. 65 (Panchamahals district) there are two public wells which are used by the caste Hindus. There is a

separate well for the untouchables which was built about 23 years ago on a Vankar's privately owned land. The Bhangi is not allowed to draw water from it.

Before the Vankar's well was constructed they got water from 'Khadi' (shallow pits in the river bed). The Bhangis at present use the same source. Sometimes, the Bhangis go to the untouchable well where water is poured down to them by the Vankars. So far the untouchables have not tried to go and draw water from the caste Hindu wells.

Untouchability is not observed in the village panchayat and in the bus. There is no post office in the village. The postman comes from a nearby village to deliver the post. He does not observe untouchability. There is no discrimination against the Scheduled Caste pupils in the school. In the private sphere, however, excepting in the case of the tailor, untouchability is generally observed.

In village No. 66 (Panchamahals district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Chamars are the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village. The caste Hindus use the pond water for purposes other than drinking. They do not allow the untouchables to wash their clothes at the pond. So the untouchables wash their clothes near their well.

In summer when the well belonging to the untouchables is dry they get water from the caste Hindu well from where it is poured down for them. Both the parties take sufficient care not to touch each other.

In the bus and in the village school, there is no discrimination against the untouchables. There is no post office in the village but the postman who comes from the nearby village observes untouchability. In the panchayat meeting there is discrimination against the Scheduled Caste member. Untouchability is observed in all areas in the private sphere.

In village No. 67 (Panchamahals district) there is a public

well which is used by the Bhils—a Scheduled Tribe which is in a majority in the village population. There is one Vankar family in the village. It gets water from the pits dug in the dried up river bed. Sometimes the untouchables go to the well where the Bhil women pour down the water in their pots.

There is no Scheduled Caste member in the panchayat. Also there is no Scheduled Caste student in the school. There is no post office in the village. The postman who comes from the nearby village does not observe untouchability. It is not observed in the bus either. In the private sphere, however, untouchability is observed in all areas of interaction.

In village No. 69 (Panchamahals district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Vankars are the only Scheduled Caste residing in the village. In the summer the well from which the untouchables take water gets dry and so they go to the caste Hindu well where water is poured down to them in their pots. Sometimes they dig 'pits' and get the water as they have to wait for a long time at the caste Hindu well.

There is no Scheduled Caste member in the panchayat. There is no post office. The postman who comes from a nearby village to deliver the post does not observe untouchability. There is also no discrimination against the untouchables in the school and in the bus. In the private sphere, however, untouchability is practised.

General observations on untouchability in the villages of group II

In this group of 44 villages there are separate wells or stand-posts for the untouchables. Obviously, the belief is that water would be polluted by their touch. From the point of view of belief in untouchability, there is no difference between this group of villages and those of group III described earlier in which the untouchables are completely at the mercy of the savarnas. The difference is that in the case of group II, the

need for water for the untouchables is recognised, while in the case of group III this was not so. To that extent the attitude of the savarnas of the villages in group II towards the untouchables can be considered to have changed. This change in the attitude indicates the growth of civic consciousness, because in a large number of villages for which we have evidence the wells or water works were constructed after independence. In some cases the native state rulers were responsible for the separate facility for water for the untouchables even before independence. They were feudal but the instrument of wielding the authority was political and secular. It could, therefore, be expected that the behaviour of the savarnas of the villages of group II in both the spheres, private and public, would indicate greater liberalism than in the case of group III villages, but it would be less than that in the first group of villages in which the water was not believed to be polluted by the touch of the untouchables. It should also indicate that the percentage of villages showing liberalism is larger in the public sphere than in the private sphere and in each sphere, liberalism in the attitude towards untouchability is of uneven degree in the case of different spheres of behaviour. The table below represents the situation in this group of villages (see p. 84).

It is obvious from the above table that there is greater liberalism in a larger percentage of villages in the public sphere as in the case of the other groups. Within the public sphere there is greater uniformity. In regard to sitting arrangement in the school, in the state transport service and at the post office untouchability is disappearing. But in 47 percent of villages untouchability continues in the panchayat meeting.

In the private sphere, untouchability continues practically to the same extent as in the past and nearly to the same extent as in other groups of villages. But even in the private sphere there is no uniformity. Untouchability is widespread in regard to temple entry, entry into the house and the shop and in regard to the behaviour of the barber and the potter. It is

	<i>% of villages of group II in which untouchability is observed</i>
1. Entry into the temple	93
2. Entry into a savarna house	93
3. Entry into the shop	89
4. Giving and receiving things in the shop	64
5. Paying the wages to the S/C labourers	69
6. Savarna and untouchable workers working in the field	51
7. Barber serving the untouchables	91
8. Potter selling the pots to the untouchables	68
9. Tailor giving his services to the untouchables	33
10. At the panchayat meetings	47
11. In sitting arrangement in the school	Nil
12. Riding the state transport bus	2
13. Delivering the letters by the postman	16
14. Buying stamps or postage in the post-office	2

less in regard to paying the wages and giving and receiving things and money at the shop. It is still less spread in regard to the behaviour of the tailor and the behaviour of savarna and untouchable agricultural workers.

The conclusions reached in respect of Group II villages also confirm the view that the practice of untouchability varies significantly even if it remains constant at the water source.

Section 6

Summary of Findings and Conclusions

- (1) In 7 percent of villages in Gujarat, the untouchable and the savarna take water from the same source without any feeling of untouchability. (Group IA)
- (2) In 19 percent of villages untouchables and the savarna take water from the same source but the untouchables have to observe some restrictions either before, while or after drawing water. (Group IB)
- (3) In 64 percent of villages the sources of water are separate for the untouchables and the savarnas. (Group II)
- (4) In 10 percent of villages there is no regular source of water supply for the untouchables. They are at the mercy of the savarnas. (Group III)

Public Sphere

- (5) In each of these groups untouchability is observed in the smallest percentage of villages in regard to the bus service, sitting arrangement of the students in the school, in regard to buying stamps, etc. at the post office and while delivering letters, etc. by the postman. Untouchability is observed in the panchayat meetings in 40 to 67 percent of the villages in the different groups. The average for 69 villages is 48 percent. In other areas of interaction in the public sphere of behaviour observance of untouchability varies from 2 to 25 percent of the villages.

The Private Sphere

(6) Entry is prohibited in 93 percent of the villages which have temples.

(a) Entry into the house and the shop is not practised in 91 percent and 85 percent of the villages respectively.

(b) From among the occupational or servicing castes, the barber and the potter practise untouchability in their occupational relationship in 94 percent and 73 percent of the villages respectively. But the tailor practises untouchability in his occupational relationship in 39 percent of the villages.

(c) In the case of the occupational relationship between the higher occupation and economic groups untouchability is practised in a smaller percentage of villages than in the case of two castes mentioned above. Untouchability is practised in 62 percent of the villages in giving things and receiving money at the shop. It is practised in 61 percent of the villages while paying the wages to the untouchable labourers.

(d) Untouchability is practised in 47 percent of the villages between the savarna and untouchable agricultural labourers. They are of equal occupational status and their wages are also equal.

The observance of untouchability in regard to behavioural situations does not differ according to the practice of getting water from a common or separate source.

It follows from this that untouchability will not be encouraged if the untouchables are given separate sources of water. It might not be weakened either except in an indirect way.

A separate source of water for the untouchables cuts off their dependence on the savarna for an important commodity like water. They do not have to suffer humiliation every day at the hands of the savarna. Given other things, they would gain more self respect and confidence which they need to develop.

There is no weakening of belief in pollution or in untouchability even when there is a common source of supply of water for the untouchables and the savarnas.

To some extent there is a difference between groups IA and III. Both are qualitatively different situations. In the case of IA behaviourally there is no untouchability at the water source before, while, or after drawing water. In the case of group III the question does not arise; supply of water is at the pleasure of the savarnas.

What we have observed is not that there is no change in the practice of untouchability, but that there is change in the behaviour regarding untouchability without change in the belief in pollution and in untouchability.

Our submission is that the changes in behaviour are more due to the environmental pressures and that such behaviour is becoming more specific goal-oriented than culture-oriented. It is largely an adjustment to the specific situations.

There is a perceptible order in this adjustment. The public sphere of behaviour is characterized by widespread liberalism. In the private sphere the change is coming over in the area of occupational relations. The change is less widespread in those areas in which the interactions are between the unequal groups in terms of caste, occupation and economic status, e.g., the shopkeeper and the high caste employer. But even here the direction of change is clear. The separation of business from caste structure is taking place. The governing principle now seems to be "Business." In the truly urban areas the work-

ing of the principle is obvious. Secondly, untouchability is less in that area of occupational activities in which the interacting parties are of the same status and which has equal remuneration.

These changes indicate that the change in the nature and type of occupational and other relationships is bringing about wider and probably rapid change in untouchability than the change in the belief in pollution. The change is from the feudal status society to contract governed society. The origin of this change is outside the village. It was initiated by politico-social movements before 1947. The developments over the twenty-five years of independence indicate a separation of the two and the dominance of the political movement. Political parties have adopted social goals as part of their programmes and this has accelerated social change.

APPENDIX

Untouchability Among the Untouchables

Introduction

The untouchables are not a homogeneous group. They are divided into different castes and are arranged hierarchically among themselves. The Garodas are supposed to be the Brahmins among the untouchables. But all of them do not necessarily officiate as priests. They perform different occupational functions. The Bhangis are at the bottom. In between are the castes such as Dheds who call themselves Mahyavanshis or Vankars, Meghwals, Shenvas and others. The Dheds are above them all. The Dheds or Mahyavanshis are the single largest Scheduled Caste in the State. In the sample of 69 villages they are found in 40 villages (58%). The Chamar and the Bhangi are the two other numerically large groups. There are 38 villages (55%) with Chamar and 34 villages (49%) with Bhangi population. There are only 6 villages (9%) with Shenvas, Meghwals, Garodas and Turi population.

The question of untouchability among the untouchables does not arise in 29 villages as they are inhabited by a single Scheduled Caste. Out of these 29 villages, Dheds are the single Scheduled Caste in 16 villages, Chamars in 7 villages, Bhangis in 3 villages, Meghwals in 2 villages and Shenvas in 1 village.

We shall describe the remaining 40 villages with special reference to untouchability among the untouchables themselves. Out of these 40 villages there are Bhangis in 31 villages who are discriminated against by the other Scheduled Caste/s in the village. Shenvas come next. There are three villages where the Shenvas are discriminated against by the Chamars. In one village the Chamars are discriminated against by the Vankars and Turi.

Out of six villages in which the untouchables do not observe untouchability among themselves there are Dheds and Chamars in three villages, Dhed, Chamar and Bhangi in one village and in two other villages there are Meghwals and Garodas. Thus out of 40 villages with multi-scheduled castes population, untouchability is practiced among the untouchables themselves in 34 villages.

SCHEDULED CASTES IN THE SAMPLE VILLAGES

No.	Description & Castewise Break-up	No. of villages in the Sample
1.	Multi-Scheduled Caste Villages <i>Observing Untouchability</i>	34
	Bhangis & Other untouchables : 30	
	Shenvas & Chamars : 3	
	Chamars & Dhed, Turi : 1	
2.	Multi-Scheduled Caste Villages <i>Not Observing Untouchability</i>	6
	Dhed & Chamar : 3	
	Meghwal & Garoda : 2	
	Chamar, Vankar & Bhangi : 1	
3.	<i>Single Scheduled Caste Villages in which there is no question of Untouchability among the untouchables</i>	29
	Dheds : 16	
	Chamars : 7	
	Bhangis : 3	
	Meghwals : 2	
	Shenvas : 1	
Total		69

I

Discrimination Against the Bhangis

In village No. 1 (Valsad district) the Bhangis get water from the tap of the school reservoir. This separate arrangement is provided for them by the Sarpanch as they complained to him about the discrimination against them at the caste Hindu well. The Dheds and Chamar do not accept water or food from the Bhangis. They do not practise untouchability with the Bhangis so far as physical touch is concerned.

In village No. 7 (Bharuch district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Dheds use it and they don't allow the Bhangis to draw water from it. But their women pour down the water into their pots. So far the Bhangis have not made any attempt to draw water by themselves. The Dheds do not allow the Bhangis to enter their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 8 (Vadodara district) there is a public well which is used by the caste Hindus. The Chamars and the Bhangis are not allowed to draw water by themselves. The savarna women pour it down to both of them. But the Chamars do not allow the Bhangis to enter their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 9 (Vadodara district) there is a separate water tap for the Bhangis. The Chamars and the Vankars observe untouchability with them. The Bhangis are not allowed entry in their houses. On certain occasions the untouchables go to the caste Hindu houses to collect food. Here the Chamars and the Bhangis stand or sit in two different queues. This clearly indicates the practice of untouchability among themselves. They do not touch each other.

In village No. 10 (Vadodara district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Vankars do not allow the Bhangis

to draw water from it. They pour it down in their pots. In summer the pond in which the Bhangis wash their clothes and clean their vessels is dry. At that time the Bhangi women are completely at the mercy of the Vankar women. When the Bhangis go to the caste Hindu well, they abuse by saying, "Why do you come here, go to your well." The Vankars do not accept water or food from the Bhangis. They do not allow them entry in their houses. While working in the fields the Dhed and Bhangi workers do not touch each other. If, by mistake a Bhangi touches a Dhed worker, the Dhed worker sprinkles drops of water and thus purifies himself.

In village No. 11 (Vadodara district) the caste Hindus use the public well which is the only water source in the village. They pour down water to the untouchables, including the Bhangis. In this village the Chamars and the Vankars observe untouchability with the Bhangis. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 13 (Vadodara district) there is a separate water stand-post for the untouchables in which the water runs from the public water works. There are taps for the savarnas and the untouchables and for different castes of untouchables. Here there is a separate tap for the Bhangis. They can take water from there only. The Vankars and Chamars do not allow them to use their taps. They do not accept water or food from the Bhangis. They are not allowed entry in their houses. A caste Hindu said, "When the Dheds do not touch the Bhangis, how can we touch them (the Dheds)?"

In village No. 14 (Vadodara district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. As there is a Bhangi majority among the Scheduled Castes, this well is used by them only. The other Scheduled Caste—Chamar—does not use it. The Chamar women go to the caste Hindu well where water is poured down to them. The Chamars consider the Bhangis as an inferior group. They do not allow them entry in their

houses. They do not accept water or food from them. Our investigator observed a relevant incident on Dasherā day. As it was a religious ceremony, a Bhangī woman was collecting foodgrains from the village. She collected the same from the Chamar family. The Chamar woman gave it to her in the same manner as the caste Hindus give. She took sufficient care not to touch the Bhangī woman. In this village, when the untouchables go to the caste Hindu houses on certain occasions to collect food, the Chamars and the Bhangis make separate queues. They do not touch each other.

In village No. 15 (Vadodara district) there is a separate water stand-post for the untouchables. There is a separate tap for the Bhangis. The Vankars and Chamars do not touch the Bhangis. They are not allowed entry in their houses. They do not accept water or food from the Bhangis. The untouchable Garoda barber who serves the dheds and Chamars does not serve the Bhangis. The Bhangis themselves cut their hair.

In village No. 17 (Kheda district) the two Scheduled Castes namely, the Vankars and the Bhangis take water from the same water tap. Though the Vankars consider themselves higher than the Bhangis, they do not mind if the Bhangis touch them on the water stand-post. But the Vankars do not allow them to enter their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 18 (Kheda district) there are separate wells for each Scheduled Caste—the Vankars and Bhangis. So far the Bhangis have not tried to go and draw water from the Vankar's well. The Vankars do not allow them entry in their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 19 (Amdavad district) the Chamars, Vankars and Bhangis take water from a separate water tap for the untouchables. Formerly, the Bhangis were not allowed to take water from the tap. The village chief (Sarpanch) tried successfully and advised the untouchables not to quarrel among

themselves. Friendly relations exist between the Chamars and the Bhangis. But neither the Chamars nor the Vankars accept food from the Bhangis.

In village No. 20 (Amdavad district) there are separate wells for each Scheduled Caste—the Vankars and Bhangis. One year ago the Bhangis tried to draw water from the Vankar's well as there was some difficulty to get water from their own well. The Vankars did not allow this. A hot discussion took place between them, though they did not fight. Since then, the Bhangis have not made any effort to go to the Vankar's well. The Vankars do not allow them entry in their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 21 (Amdavad district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. But the Vankars and Chamars do not draw water from it. The Bhangis go to the river and take water from the lower stream of the flow. In the rainy season, water in the river is muddy. So they go to the untouchables' well where the Vankar and Chamar women pour down water to them. Thus the Bhangis are discriminated against by other Scheduled Castes namely, the Vankars and the Chamars. They are not allowed entry in their houses. The Vankars and Chamars do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 22 (Amdavad district) there are separate water taps for the untouchables on the stand-post. The Chamars and Bhangis take water from there. The Chamars do not observe untouchability with the Bhangis while taking water from the taps. But they do not accept food prepared by the Bhangis. They do not allow them entry in their houses.

In village No. 24 (Mahesana district) the caste Hindus draw water for the Chamars and Bhangis. The untouchables are not allowed to draw water by themselves.

The Chamars observe untouchability with the Bhangis. According to one Bhangi respondent, "They observe more un-

touchability (with us) than even the caste Hindus." On certain occasions the Chamars and Bhangis go to the caste Hindu houses to collect food. They sit outside the caste Hindu house in two different queues and do not touch each other. According to a Chamar respondent, "We do not touch the Bhangis. We do not accept water or food from them. It is an old custom. They are low because they take away the dead dogs and cats. We, of course, take away the dead animals but these dead animals which we take away are useful while they are living. They give milk or do other functions. But the dogs and the cats are not useful at all. That's why we are superior to the Bhangis."

In village No. 26 (Mahesana district) there is a public well which is used by the caste Hindus. The Chamars and the Bhangis cannot draw water from it by themselves. The savarna women pour it down to them. The Chamars do not observe untouchability with the Bhangis so far as the physical touch is concerned. But they do not accept food or water from them. They do not allow them entry in their houses.

In village No. 27 (Mahesana district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Vankars, Chamars, Garodas and Turis draw water from it. They don't allow the Bhangis to draw water by themselves. They pour it down to them. They consider themselves higher than the Bhangis. The Bhangis are not allowed entry in their houses.

In village No. 28 (Banaskantha district) there are two separate water taps for the untouchables. The different Scheduled Castes such as the Chamar, Garoda, Turi, Tirbandha and Bhangi take water from there simultaneously. Untouchability is not observed in any sphere of behaviour. But one Garoda man who works as an untouchable's barber does not serve the Bhangi.

In village No. 29 (Banaskantha district) the caste Hindus and the untouchables take water from the village pond. Among

the untouchables there are the Chamars and the Bhangis. As the Bhangi family has come to stay in this village only a few days before our investigator's visit, detailed information could not be collected about the discrimination against them by Chamars.

In village No. 31 (Banaskantha district) there is one public well from where the caste Hindus and the untouchables draw water one after the other. Among the untouchables there are Chamars and Bhangis. The Chamars do not touch the Bhangis while drawing water. The Bhangis draw water only after the caste Hindus and the Chamars draw it. The Chamars do not allow the Bhangis to enter their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 32 (Banaskantha district) there is a public well where the caste Hindus and the untouchables, (in this case the Chamars) draw water by themselves from the opposite side. The Bhangis are not allowed to draw water from it. The Chamars and the caste Hindus pour it down to them. The Chamars avoid physical touch with the Bhangis. They do not allow them entry in their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 33 (Banaskantha district) the Chamars and Bhangis take water from the same well. There is no untouchability among them with regard to drawing water. But the Bhangis are not allowed entry in the Chamar houses. The Chamars do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 39 (Jamnagar district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Chamars, Meghwals, and Garods draw water from it. They don't allow the Bhangis to draw water by themselves. They do not allow them entry in the houses. They do not accept water or food from them. Fifteen days before our investigator's visit to this village, there was a funeral feast 12 days after the death of a Meghwal. All the

untouchables were invited. The Chamars, Meghwals and Garoda dined together. They were sitting in the same queue but not the Bhangis. They took the food to their home in the utensils brought by them. That is what the Chamars and the Meghwals do if they go to a savarna feast.

In village No. 44 (Rajkot district) there is a public hand-pump for drawing water. This is the only water source in the village. The Bhangis also take water from here. But they can do so only when there is no one else taking it.

In this village the Vankars and Chamars observe untouchability with the Bhangis. They do not allow them entry in their houses. In the year 1967, the Chamar talati of this village called a 'Bhajan Mandli' from a nearby village. In this 'Bhajan Mandli' there were some Bhangis. As soon as the Vankars and Chamars came to know this, they left the place.

In village No. 52 (Junagadh district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Hadi and Bhangi draw water from it at the same time. The Vankars who stay in another section of the village draw water from a caste Hindu well. They discriminate against the Hadi and Bhangi. They do not allow them entry in their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 54 (Bhavnagar district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. But the Bhangis are not allowed to take water from it. The Bhangis take water from a river close by. The Vankars and Chamars do not accept water or food from the Bhangis. The Bhangis are not allowed entry in their houses.

In village No. 56 (Bhavnagar district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Vankars and Chamars draw water from it. The Bhangis are not allowed to draw water. The Vankar and Chamar women pour it down in their pots. The Bhangis are not allowed entry in their houses. The Vankar

and Chamar do not accept water or food from the Bhangis.

In village No. 59 (Surendranagar district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Chamars use it and they don't allow the Bhangis to draw water from it. The Bhangis take water from the river. The Chamars do not allow them entry in their houses. While giving water or food to the Bhangis, Chamars take sufficient care not to touch them. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 65 (Panchamahals district) there is a separate well for the untouchables which is privately owned by the Vankars. They don't allow the Bhangis to draw water from it. Moreover, that well is far away from the Bhangi locality. The Bhangis dig small pits and get the water. Sometimes they go to the Vankar's well where it is poured down in their pots by the Vankar women. The Vankars do not allow them entry in their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

II

Discrimination Against the Shenvas

In village No. 23 (Mahesana district) there is a separate water tap for the untouchables. Among the untouchables there are Chamars and Shenvas. The Shenvas are not allowed to take water in an earthen pot. They have to use a metal pot. The Chamars consider them as lower than their own group. The two groups take water from the same water tap but one after the other. The Chamars do not observe untouchability so far as the physical touch is concerned. But they do not allow the Shenvas in their houses. They do not accept water or food from them.

In village No. 60 (Sabarkantha district) there is a separate well for the untouchables. The Chamars (Bhambhi) do not allow the Shenvas to draw water from it by themselves. The

Chamar women pour it down to them. Though the Chamars do not practise untouchability in the sense of physical touch with the Shenvas, they discriminate against them with regard to house entry. The Shenvas accept food from the Chamars but not the Chamars from the Shenvas.

In village No. 61 (Sabarkantha district) there are three Scheduled Castes namely, the Chamar, the Bava and the Shenva. The Chamar and Bava draw water together from a well for the untouchables. The Shenvas are not allowed to draw it from the same well. They use a well in the agricultural field. Though untouchability in the sense of physical touch is not practised here, the Shenvas are discriminated against by both the Scheduled Castes with regard to house entry.

III

Discrimination Against the Chamars

In village No. 34 (Kutch district) there is a separate well for the untouchables where all the three Scheduled Castes—Vankar, Chamar and Turi—draw water together. Untouchability in the sense of physical touch is not practised by the untouchables. But the Chamars are considered lower than the Vankars and Turi. Turi Barots are the geneologists of the untouchables. The Chamars accept food from both but none accepts food from the Chamars. The Vankars and Turi accept food from each other. In this village untouchability among the untouchables is not practised with regard to entry into the houses of the Vankars and Turi.

Concluding Remarks

The practice of untouchability is a two way affair. The Scheduled Castes are discriminated against by the caste Hindus. At the same time the lower untouchable groups are discriminated against by the other untouchable groups who

consider themselves as higher in the social hierarchy. The idea of high and low status of the groups is linked with the functional aspects — that is, the major occupations performed by these groups. The Bhangis are considered the lowest because their occupations involve sweeping and removing the night soil.

The caste Hindus while showing their contempt for the untouchables say, "Their occupations are such. They are dirty." The same answer is given by a Dhed when asked why he discriminates against the Bhangi. The acceptance of the practice by the untouchables, is an important aspect of the problem. These untouchables who are discriminated against by the caste Hindus cannot see anything wrong in the practice as they themselves discriminate against the Bhangis or the other lower groups.

A certain resignation underlies the acceptance of untouchability by the untouchables. When asked about it they say: "We are low because God made us low. We are low by our birth. We should not break the restrictions which are made by God. We should observe it, otherwise God will be displeased." This acceptance of the practice on the part of the untouchables is the real obstacle in the path of removal of untouchability. In village No. 43 a Bhangi said, "Whatever we may do to remove untouchability, they will observe untouchability with us. We are Bhangis but if we were Kanbi or Brahmin would we not have observed untouchability?". They do not make any attempt to go up to the savarna well and draw water from it. Sometimes, the efforts made by the social workers to remove the practice fail just because the untouchables do not respond. The older generation of untouchables are tradition bound and Hindu values and beliefs still have a strong hold on them.

The whole Hindu social system and its values and beliefs form the basis of untouchability. In the fight against it, the untouchables have to fight untouchability amongst themselves.

A movement among themselves to fight untouchability will strengthen their fight against Hindu orthodoxy. Among the younger untouchables there is some awareness of this problem and this is a hopeful sign for future change.

