

**"PEOPLE OF INDIA" : SOME PRIMA
FACIE INFERENCES WITH
REFERENCE TO SCHEDULED CASTES
AND SCHEDULED TRIBES**

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"There is nothing deep down inside us except what we have put there ourselves, no criterion that we have not created in the course of creating a practice, no standard of rationality, that is not our appeal to such a criterion, no rigorous argumentation that is not obedience to our own conventions." ⁽¹⁾

- Richard Rorty in "The Consequences of Pragmatism."

Introduction

This exploratory article is based on the massive survey by Anthropological Survey of India carried over 8 years from 1985 to 1992 on a nationwide scale. This has been one of the most ambitious and comprehensive efforts in documentation of human surface of India. A profile of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Schedule Tribes (STs) with special emphasis on women among these as emerges from the "National Consolidated Tables"⁽²⁾ and statistical tables (Referred to as 'Survey' henceforth) is given in this article.

The Survey took 'community' as a unit of analysis "(M)embers of an endogamous caste group... tend to share cultural traits, so that between-group variation in cultural traits is significantly larger than the within-group variations, India's cultural diversity is

therefore best investigated in terms of such endogamous caste groups. Presently however, this is an impossible task given the very large numbers of groups involved. These endogamous caste groups, however, form a small number of culturally homogeneous clusters. These correspond to the 'communities' investigated by the People of India project." (Joshi N.V. et al: 1993).

Information about communities was gathered through interviews "with a large number of people out of whom here were 26,463 key informants which works out to about six informed informants per community (...). Of the informants, about 21% (i.e. 5661) were women. Interviews were conducted in connection with the study of the communities in 4513 villages, mostly multi community ones, and in 941 towns, spread over 438 districts of India and in 89 cultural regions. On an average, a community was studied at about two places." (Singh, KS. : 1993)

Information on 776 individual items of information (called Traits) ranging over identity, ecology, food habits, occupation etc. was gathered on "2753 such communities making up 4635 elements when a community population in each State/Union territory is counted as a separate element." (Joshi N.V. et al op. cit.).

The number of communities are analysed by the Survey along four categories: Constitutional, Religious, Occupational and Locational.

The Constitutional Category is subdivided in four subcategories: All, Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and General. The subcategory "All" gives total for the other three subcategories, which are mutually exclusive,

The Religious Category is divided in main religious subcategories viz. Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Jain, Buddhist and Other - a residual/sub-category.

Occupational Category covers various sub-categories like Hunting and Gathering; Shifting Cultivation; Fishing; Animal Husbandry, Agriculture, Unskilled labour, Artisans, Unorganised services; Business, Trade and Industry; and Organised Services.

Locational Category comprises of Rural, Urban, Rural/Urban, Pastoral Nomad and Non-pastoral Nomad,

The arrangement of this paper is as below: A note on Methodology follows introduction. A section (Section I) on Population based mainly on the data from Census-91³ comes next. This section is expected to situate SCs and STs with respect to geographical distribution and demographic concentration at the State and District levels, A Table giving the main four categories and their sub-categories vis-a-vis number of communities in the country as per the Survey and a Table giving distribution of SCs and STs in different religions succeed the section on Population. Subsequent section (Section II) analyses select social, economic, etc. characteristics of SCs and STs as emerge from the Survey. The order of the characteristics - each dealing with a number of related traits, is kept roughly the same as that followed in the Survey,

In the absence of detailed back-up data, the inferences derived are to be treated as indicative than definitive. The numbers in parentheses following each Trait refer to the relevant numbers in the Survey.

Methodology

For the section on 'Population the state-level break-up of SCs and STs is supplemented by a district-level analysis for most of the states,

Number of districts in each state have been classified in two ways. Firstly, classification is done according to whether they fall Above or below the National Average for the population for SCs and STs put together (National Average; 24.34%).

However, considering SCs and STs together does not denote their relative numerical strength within a District. E.g. in UP, of the 63 districts, 58 have STs at less than 1% of the population of the district and 50 have SCs more than the national average for SCs (16.33%). 17 districts of the state are above the national average - SCs and STs put together. This higher percentage is due to percentage of SC population alone being higher than 24.33%.

Therefore, ratio of SC population to ST population (P-value) was taken for each district, This second classification gives districts falling in different ranges of P-values.

These ranges have been fixed arbitrarily, aim being to give an idea of composition of a district in SC and ST populations and as it is felt that the logic of numbers i.e. the relative numerical strength of SCs and STs would be one of the important factors in the process of evolution of Dalit Consciousness at the micro-level. This section is included to redress to some extent the lack of numerical back-up of the Survey.

For the section on findings of the Survey, mainly Constitutional Category is considered. This is so firstly because it lists SCs and STs specifically. Secondly, in other categories, the sub-categories are not necessarily always mutually exclusive, e.g. under Religious Category, 35 communities reported to be following both Hindu and Muslim religions or 116 as both Hindu and Christian religions. Instance like 1 community reporting to be both Jain and Sikh or 7 reporting to be Christian and Buddhist are there. Likewise there is an overlap when a community is engaged in more than one occupations, in the Occupational Category.

Comparisons are made with other sub-categories mainly 'Hindu'. The comparisons are NOT strictly correct as 'Hindu' includes a very large number of SC and a large number of ST communities. As can be seen from Distribution of SCs and STs among Religions' given below, there are 31.3% of communities belonging to SCs and STs put together among Hindus. A comparison is still made to locate SCs and STs vis-a-vis majority Hindus despite this overlap. Comparisons are therefore to be taken only as indicative and tentative.

It is important to note that the Survey gives the number of communities and not the population within a community. The number or percentage of communities within a particular sub-category for a particular item of information i.e. a Trait, therefore, does not correspond to actual number of people fulfilling that item of information. To illustrate, a few communities from sub-category Hindu may have a population of 5 lacs each and a few

communities from a sub-category of Buddhist may have a population of 50,000 each. A particular item of information, say worshipping a village deity, may be practised by 1 community of Hindus and 2 communities of Buddhists. This would give 5 lacs Hindu and 1 lac Buddhist worshippers. Now, if the total number of communities in Hindu is 100 and that in Buddhist is 20, in percentages, 1 percent of Hindu communities (1 in 100) and 10% of Buddhist communities (2 in 20) follow worship of a village deity. The percentage of communities, which the Survey gives, may be 10 times more for Buddhists than for Hindus but the number of Hindus worshipping is 5 times that of Buddhists, This caveat applies for all the traits and jumping to absolute numerical correspondence from the number of communities or their percentages will be grossly misleading.

The occurrence of a trait in a community has also been checked to see if it is significantly higher or significantly lower than the National Proportion. This check is based on tables computed for each trait and each sub-category with standard deviation as a unit. The range of plus 4 to minus 4 (Z-value) virtually rules out any chance observation and gives a very high reliability of significance. This range is called National Proportion for the sake of this paper.

Total number of traits for which both - information regarding National Proportion and number of communities displaying a trait, are available is 699. SCs and STs have been classified for individual traits against National Proportion so that each trait fits in only one type given below:

Type 1: Both SCs and STs above the National Proportion.

Type 2: Both SCs and STs below the National Proportion.

Type 3: Both SCs and STs within the National Proportion.

Type 4: SCs above the National Proportion, STs within the National Proportion.

Type 5: SCs above the National Proportion, STs below the National Proportion.

Type 6: STs above the National Proportion, SCs within the National Proportion.

Type 7: STs above the National Proportion, SCs below the National Proportion.

Type 8 : SCs within the national Proportion, STs below the National Proportion.

Type 9 : STs within the National Proportions, SCs below the National Proportion.

As can be seen, the first three types give the *traits shared* by SCs and STs.

The types from No. 4 to 9 give the traits in which *SCs and STs differ from each other*.

The same can be put in a tabular form :

		SCs		
		Above National Proportion	Within National Proportion	Below National Proportion
STs	Above National Proportion	Type 1	Type 6	Type 7
	Within National Proportion	Type 4	Type 3	Type 9
	Below National Proportion	Type 5	Type 8	Type 2

All the traits have also been classified in one more way, Demography, Class, Caste and Gender are the main axes along which this classification has been done. Traits associated with each of these have been classified accordingly.

'Demography' mainly covers traits dealing with size, number, natural environment of the communities. It also covers such food where apparently no ideology is involved. To illustrate: a trait, like population below 5000 (Trait No. 43) (of a community) comes under 'Demography'. So too traits like: 'Natural Environment: Coast' (Trait No. 26) or 'Food Habits: Oilseeds: Mustard' (Trait No. 114), etc. **'Class'** mainly covers the economic aspects like occupation, employment and resource access of a community. Thus 'Land holding community' (Trait No. 406) or 'Non-skilled labour (Newly Acquired)' (Trait No. 533) or 'Employment through

IRDP' (Trait No. 729) or 'Dependent on Money-lenders' (Trait No. 776), etc. come under 'Class'.

'Caste' mainly covers traits dealing with social norms and values, cultural practices, religious beliefs, purity-pollution observances, food-habits and change in food-habits invested with ideology. Thus 'Self Perception (of the community); Low (Trait No. 176); 'Varna : Aware (Trait No. 177); 'Social Divisions exist' (Trait No. 153); 'Festivals : Socio-Political Significance' (Trait No. 615); 'Vegetarian : Pure' (Trait No. 77), etc. come under 'Caste'.

'Gender' covers such traits as are enlisted exclusively under women's role (whether in economic or non-economic spheres), status of women, almost all traits related with marriage, remarriage and divorce practices and those in which Gender is a prime consideration. Thus 'Women's Role : Bring Water' (Trait No. 344), 'Women's Role : Political Sphere' (Trait No. 349), Status of Women : Equal (Trait No. 351) 'Dowry in Cash' (Trait No. 249) 'Remarriage : Widower (Allowed) (Trait No. 290), 'Reason for Divorce : Impotency' (Trait No. 272), 'Polygyny : Sororal' (Trait No. 229), etc. are taken under 'Gender'. There are however a number of traits where boundaries between Gender and other two axes viz. Class and Caste are blurred. This is so mainly in case of Caste, to some extent in case of Class.

Caste - Traits like Method of Disposal of the dead - whether by burial or by cremation have a much remoter bearing on Gender than a trait like a community's treating Elopement to be an offence (Trait No. 572) or a trait like 'Circumcision (Male)' under life-cycle Rituals (Trait No. 366)

While the burial or cremation practice is classified as a Caste Trait, the latter type traits are classified as 'Caste-Gender'.

Like wise for a trait like 'Child labour' (Trait No. 551), both Class and Gender are found to be strong influencing axes. Dreze's⁴ study of rural widows brings out an association between a widow's pauperisation due to lack of community support and incidence of child labour. Or a trait regarding succession rules prevailing in a community viz. 'Succession : Eldest Son' (Trait No. 327) perpetuates both Class and Gender systems⁵. Traits like these are

classified as Class-Gender traits.

This classification along Demography, Class, Caste, Gender, Class-Gender and Caste Gender axes is purely arbitrary. A few traits can arguably be classified differently.

The point to be stressed is, however, that the main thrust of the paper is to elaborate similarities and differences within SCs and STs. This thrust is in no way affected by how the traits themselves are classified. Similarities and differences are analysed along National Proportion. Therefore, if SCs are found to be above the National Proportion in a trait, say, 'Divorce Permissible', they remain above the National Proportion whether the trait is called a Gender trait or a Caste-Gender trait. And if SCs are above the National Proportion for a number of such traits, say 100, the total remains 100 howsoever the traits are classified.

Nevertheless, this value-judgemental classification is attempted so that the similarities and differences within SCs and STs and vis-a-vis Non-SCs-STs are 'coloured' and sharpened.

As it is not possible to cover an analysis of all the traits individually, the same have been clustered together for a particular characteristic. Still, it leaves a large number of traits unanalyzed. The selection of the traits has been arbitrary. This article also does not analyse whether any bias exists in the framing of the trait itself.

Section I

Population

Statewise population of SCs and STs as per Census 1991 is as follows :

India : Total population	: 84.63 crores
SCs	: 13.82 crores (16.33%)
STs	: 6.78 crores (8.01%)
Total of SCs and STs	: 20.60 crores (24.34%)

Table 1.1 (Major States)

State	Total Population (in Crores)	SCs		STs	
		Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage
1. Andhra Pradesh	6.65	1.06	15.94	0.42	6.32
2. Assam	2.24	0.17	7.59	0.29	12.95
3. Bihar	8.64	1.26	14.58	0.66	7.64
4. Gujrat	4.13	0.31	7.51	0.62	15.01
5. Haryana	1.65	0.33	20	-	-
6. Himachal Pradesh	0.52	0.13	25	0.02	3.85
7. Karnataka	4.05	0.74	16.44	0.19	4.22
8. Kerala	2.91	0.29	9.93	0.03	1.03
9. Madhya Pradesh	6.62	0.96	14.50	1.54	23.26
10. Maharashtra	7.89	0.88	11.15	0.73	9.25
11. Orissa	3.17	0.51	16.01	0.07	22.08
12. Punjab	2.03	0.57	28.08	-	-
13. Rajasthan	4.40	0.76	17.27	0.55	12.05
14. Tamil Nadu	5.59	1.07	19.14	0.06	1.07
15. Uttar Pradesh	13.91	2.93	21.06	0.03	0.22
16. West Bengal	6.81	1.61	23.64	0.38	5.58
Total		13.58 Crores		6.22 Crores	

The smaller States and Union Territories show the following figures:

Table 1.2

State/U.T.	Total Population (in Crores)	SCs		STs	
		Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage
Arunachal Pradesh	8.65	0.04	0.46	5.5	63.58
Manipur	18.37	0.37	2.01	6.32	34.40
Meghalaya	17.75	0.09	0.51	15.18	85.52
Mizoram	6.90	0.01	0.01	6.54	94.78
Nagaland	12.10	-	-	10.61	87.69
Sikkim	4.06	0.24	5.91	0.91	22.41
Tripura	27.57	4.51	16.35	8.53	30.94
Andaman Nicobar	2.81	-	-	0.27	9.61
Chandigarh	6.42	1.06	16.51	-	-
Dadra and N.H.	1.38	0.03	2.17	1.09	78.99
Daman and Div	1.02	0.04	3.92	0.12	11.76
Delhi	94.21	17.95	19.05	-	-
Goa	11.70	0.24	2.05	0.04	-
Pondicherry	8.08	1.31	16.21	-	-
Lakshadweep	0.52	-	-	0.48	92.31
Total		25.89 Lacs		55.55 Lacs	

There are two ways to look at the above tables.

One is to go by absolute numbers of SCs and STs which may indicate the impact-potential of a state in directing the course of policies affecting SCs and STs at the National level. Second way is to go by percentages of SCs and STs within the population of a state which may indicate intra-state heterogeneity and impact-potential of the groups within the State with the State population as 100. The percentage figure would also indicate extent of marginalisation or otherwise of SCs/STs and likely states where a potential for conflict with the 'mainstream' may be there.

SCs

Seen in absolute numbers, for major states and Delhi, UP at 2.93 crores has the largest concentration. 4 other States have populations of SCs above 1 crore. West Bengal 1.61, Bihar 1.26, Tamil Nadu 1.07 and Andhra Pradesh 1.06, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and M.P. have them from 74 to 96 lacs.

In percentage terms, Punjab has the maximum percentage at 28.08%, then West Bengal - 23.64%, U.P. - 21.06%, Delhi - 19.15%, Tamil Nadu - 19.14% and Rajasthan - 17.27% - all higher than the National average.

The total number of SCs in smaller states and U.T.s is 7.94 lacs, excl. Delh. Of these Tripura accounts for 4.51 lacs, Pondicherry 1.31 lacs and Chandigarh 1.06 lacs leaving 1.06 lac of SCs among the rest. Chandigarh 16.51% and Tripura 16.35% are above the national average. There are no SCs in Nagaland, Andaman-Nicobar and Lakshadweep.

The extent of marginalization can be guessed by a look at the states at the lower than - national average. These, from the bottom for major states are :

Gujrat - 7.51%, Assam - 7.59%, Kerala - 9.93%, Maharashtra - 11.15%

STs

In absolute numbers for major states, Madhya Pradesh has a population of STs at 1.54 crores followed by Maharashtra 73 lacs, Orissa 70 lacs, Bihar 66 lacs, Gujrat 62 lacs and Rajasthan 55

lacs. There are none in Punjab and Haryana. In percentage terms, Madhya Pradesh 23.26%, Orissa 22.08%, Gujrat 15.01%, Assam 12.95%, Rajasthan 12.5% and Maharashtra 9.25% are above the national average.

The total number of STs in smaller states and UTs is 55.55 lacs, comparable with Rajasthan, ranking 6th among the major States. Pondicherry, Delhi and Chandigarh have no STs.

Among the major States, STs are much below or below national average in UP - 0.22%, Kerala - 1.03%, Tamil Nadu - 1.07%, Himachal Pradesh - 3.85% and Karnataka - 4.22%

SCs and STs

Next we consider the States/UTs above national average in percentage terms with both SCs and STs put together. The national average, it may be recalled, is 24.34%. There are 6 major States above the average. They are : Orissa - 38.18%, Madhya Pradesh - 37.76%, Rajasthan - 29.72%, West Bengal - 29.24%, Himachal Pradesh - 28.85% and Punjab - 28.08%. Among other States, except Kerala which is the lowest (10.96%) this percentage ranges between 19 to 22.22. For smaller/states and UTs, 3 groups may be considered. From the North-East - Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram; and Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Lakshadweep have percentages from 80-95 all way above the national average. Middle range is topped by Arunachal at around 64% followed by Tripura, Manipur and Sikkim between 28.47% all above the national average. At lower range are Delhi, Pondicherry, Chandigarh, Daman and Div, Andaman and Nicobar - between 9 to 18%, all below the national average.

The State-level statistics, however, conceal more than they reveal. Particularly for STs, their pockets of concentration get reflected as the state level figure. The spread of SCs comparatively is more even.

The States of Arunachal, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Union Territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu have less than 10,000 each of SC population, Nagaland and Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar and Lakshadweep have no SCs.

State of Haryana, Union Territories of Delhi (as it was for Census - 91), Chandigarh and Pondicherry have no STs, Goa has only 376. These States are therefore left out of the analysis. 1991 Census was not conducted in Jammu & Kashmir which too is not covered. The States covered have a total population of SCs 12.73 crores and of STs 6.38 crores out of a total national population of 13.82 crores - SCs and 6.78 crores - STs.

The following table gives the number of districts having SC + ST population more than the national average against each state. It may be recalled that the national average is 24.34% (SCs-16.33% + STs -8,01%).

Table 1.3

State	Total number of Districts	Districts above National Average		
		SCs	ST	SC+ST
Andhra Pradesh	23	14	7	6
Assam	23	Nil	14	8
Bihar	42	11	13	14
Gujarat	19	Nil	7	7
Himachal Pradesh	12	11	3	9
Karnataka	20	13	4	7
Kerala	14	Nil	1	Nil
Madhya Pradesh	45	22	32	39
Maharashtra	30	7	13	10
Manipur	8	Nil	5	5
Orissa	13	7	10	11
Rajasthan	27	17	14	16
Sikkim	4	Nil	4	3
Tamil Nadu	21	16	Nil	5
Tripura	3	1	3	3
Uttar Pradesh	63	50	1	17
West Bengal	17	13	6	13
Total	384	182	137	173

The extreme cases where SCs and STs are in a very small minority are : out of 384, 138 districts with ST population less than 1% of the district population; 1 district in Gujarat and 5 in Manipur with SC population less than 1% the district population.)

For comparing SC and ST populations with respect to each other, a ratio of SC population to ST population is computed for each district. (P-Value). The districts have been classified in different ranges of P-value. When P-value is in the range of 0.67 to 1.5, SC and ST populations are comparable i.e. either is 1 to 1.5 times the other. Figures less than 0.67 mean that in that particular district STs out number SCs beyond this proportion i.e. they are more than 1.5 times SCs. Vice versa applies for figures more than 1.5 when SCs are more than 1.5 times STs. The ranges are as follows :

- $p < 0.1$: STs more than 10 times SCs.
- $0.1 < p < 0.67$: STs between 1.5 times to 10 times SCs.
- $0.67 < p < 1.5$: SCs or STs within 1.5 times the other
- $5 > p > 1.5$: SCs 1.5 to 10 times STs.
- $10 > P > 5$: SCs 5 to 10 times STs.
- $100 > p > 10$: SCs 10 to 100 times STs.
- $p > 100$: SCs more than 100 times STs.

The following table gives state-wise break-up of districts in these ranges. The figures in parentheses denote the number of districts above national average for SCs + STs falling in relevant range of P-value.

State	$p < 0.1$	$0.1 < p < 0.67$	$0.67 < p < 1.5$	$5 > p > 1.5$	$10 > p > 5$	$100 > p > 10$	$p > 100$
Andhra Pr.	Nil	2(1)	3(2)	10(3)	8	Nil	Nil
Assam	3(3)	11(4)	4(1)	2	Nil	3	Nil
Bihar	2(2)	4(4)	3(3)	6(1)	2(1)	9(1)	16(2)
Gujarat	1(1)	1(1)	Nil	3	4(3)	10(2)	Nil
Himachal Pr.	1(1)	1(1)	1(1)	Nil	Nil	Nil	9(6)
Karnataka	Nil	Nil	2(1)	9(5)	5(1)	4	Nil
Kerala	Nil	1	Nil	2	2	9	Nil
Madhya Pr.	4(4)	12(12)	11(11)	10(7)	5(3)	3(2)	Nil
Maharashtra	Nil	6(3)	5(5)	8(1)	4	7(1)	Nil
Manipur	4(4)	2(1)	1	1	Nil	Nil	Nil
Orissa	Nil	7(7)	2(2)	3(2)	1	Nil	Nil
Rajasthan	2(2)	1(1)	7(7)	8(5)	5	4(1)	Nil
Sikkim	1(1)	3(2)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Tamil Nadu	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	3(2)	13(2)	4(1)
Tripura	Nil	2(2)	1(1)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
U.P.	Nil	Nil	Nil	2	2	6(1)	53(16)
W. Bengal	Nil	Nil	2(2)	7(7)	2(1)	6(3)	Nil
Total	18(18)	53(39)	42(36)	72(31)	43(11)	74(13)	82(25)

At extreme end are 53 districts in UP, 16 in Bihar and 9 in Himachal where SCs are more than 100 or even 1000 times STs. The population of STs in such districts is in tens and hundreds in some cases, and a few thousand in many cases. In 74 districts SCs are more than 10 times STs and in 18 districts reverse is the case.

It is to be noted that for $p < 0.1$, > 10 and > 100 there are 56 districts having SC + ST population above the national average.

The national average can be considered as a threshold figure as, at 24.33%, the group may be in a position to make its presence felt and subvert attempts to ignore its interests on its own numerical strength. But, in these 56 districts, it is difficult to foresee how either SC or ST, depending upon who is smaller, can have enough leverage to affect the political agenda.

In that case, the pursuit of social, economic, gender and resultant political interests (which are different for SCs and STs as the following analysis of the Survey shows) can be backed up by respective numerical strength in districts where the ratio is in the neighbourhood of 0.67 to 1.5. Beyond this, divergence of interests does not have this back-up and unequal partnership may result.

This gives 42 districts of which 36 are above national average. Going only by the logic of numbers, convergence of interests of SCs and STs under a single banner may be more meaningful in these 36 districts. These districts are as follows:

Andhra Pradesh	: Adilabad and Warangal.
Assam	: Marigaon
Bihar	: Palamu, Deoghar and Giridih.
Himachal	: Chamba.
Karnataka	: Chitradurga.
Madhya Pradesh	: Dewas, Hoshangabad, Raisen, Narsimhpur, Jabalpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Durg, Bilaspur and Raipur.
Maharashtra	: Amravati, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chandrapur and Wardha.
Orissa	: Dhenkanal and Balangir.
Rajasthan	: Jaipur, Sawai-Madhopur, Kota, Jhalawar, Bundi, Chittorgarh and Sirohi.
Tripura	: West Tripura.
West Bengal	: Darjiling, Purulia.

Geographically three major and one smaller clusters of districts among these are seen to be contiguous. In Rajasthan from Jaipur to Chittorgarh in the order mentioned above all the districts are contiguous in Southern part of the State leaving only Sirohi in the west.

(The intervening district Udaipur sharing boundaries with Sirohi in the West and Chittorgarh in the East is above the National Average but has P-value of 0.23).

In Madhya Pradesh from Dewas eastward, upto Jabalpur and then northward upto Rewa 8 districts in the order mentioned above form a belt. Durg, Bilaspur and Raipur in the Southeastern part of the State are one more cluster. In Maharashtra the 5 districts are again contiguous. Adilabad in Andhra shares boundary on the North with Chandrapur.

Rest of the districts are more or less isolated.

Further analysis at Block level may show to what extent Class, Caste and Gender interests of SCs and STs match or otherwise. Ecologically, however, they seem to be in a uniform system in the clusters mentioned above.

Following two tables are from the Survey :

Table 1. All-India distribution of communities in various categories.

Category	Sub-category	Number of communities
1. Constitutional	1.1 All	4635
	1.2 SC	751
	1.3 ST	636
	1.4 General	3248
2. Religious	2.1 Hindu	3539
	2.2 Muslim	584
	2.3 Christian	339
	2.4 Sikh	130
	2.5 Jain	100
	2.6 Buddhist	93
	2.7 Other	427
3. Occupational	3.1 Hunting & Gathering	484
	3.2 Shifting cultivation	262
	3.3 Fishing	454
	3.4 Animal Husbandry	1152
	3.5 Agriculture	2943
	3.6 Unskilled labourers	2922
	3.7 Artisans	1621
	3.8 Unorganised services	1487
	3.9 Business & Trade & Industry	2653
	3.10 Organised services	3690
4. Locational	4.1 Rural	2779
	4.2 Urban	393
	4.3 Rural & Urban	1336
	4.4 Pastoral Nomads	37
	4.5 Non-pastoral Nomads	276

Note:- Following occupational sub-categories cover

- 3.5 Agriculture: Agriculture labour. Tenant share cultivation, Plantation labour, cultivation etc.
- 3.6 Unskilled Labour : Bamboo work, Begging, Rickshaw pulling, Cart-pulling, Forest Labour, Sweepers, Earth Digging etc.
- 3.7 Artisans: Agricultural implement making, Blacksmithy, Cloth & leather embroidery, Goldsmithy, Coir making. Carving, Mat-weaving, Metal work, various Cloth-weavings etc.

- 3.8 Unorganized services: Dancers, Combmaking, Brick-making, Astrologers, Bow & arrow making, exorcists. Wig making. Snake charming, Washerman, Thieving etc.
- 3.9 Business, Trade & Industry: Bakery, Butchery, Grocery, Jute, Coir, Fruit, Vegetables, selling, Money lending. Private shops etc.
- 3.10 Organised Services: Teachers, Village messengers. Police, Temple man-agement, Land-lords, Contractors, Village accountants. Professionals like doctors, lawyers etc. in the Survey.

Table 2. Distribution of SCs and STs among religions

Religious Religion	Sub-category Total no. of communities	SCs		STs	
		No. of communities (3)	% (3) to (2) (4)	No. of communities (5)	% (5) to (2) (6)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Hindu	3539	728	20.6	378	10.7
Muslim	584	5	0.9	19	3.3
Christians	339	21	6.2	149	44.0
Sikh	130	38	29.2	0	0
Jain	100	0	0	0	0
Buddhist	93	12	12.9	44	47.3
Other	427	24	5.6	300	70.3

Section II

Type 1: Traits for which both SCs and STs are above the National Proportion

1.1 Demography:

1.1.1 Population (Trait Nos. 43 to 47)

Of the total 751 SC communities, the Survey gives a break up for 631. Of them, 263 have a population of 5,000 or below. 62 are between 5-10,000; 34 between 10-20,000, 115 between 20-100,000; 65 between 1-500,000 and 37 above 5 lacs. Thus a major number of communities (414) are less than 20,000 strong each. If the 115 upto 1 lac each are added, it leaves only 102 communities with a population of 1 lac and above.

For STs, of the 636 communities, the Survey gives break up of 481 communities. Of these, 176 are below 5,000 and only 71 are above 1 lac. STs fall within the National Proportion for communities with population 5 lac & above. Thus both SCs & STs tend to have a large number of communities with smaller populations.

We may recall that the definition of a community entails a distinct socio-cultural system. These two factors - smaller population and larger number of such communities are likely to portend internecine tension during a process of bringing SCs & STs on a single platform.

There is also room to infer that the smaller communities are located in different ecological zones, as wide apart as Kerala to Himachal Pradesh to Arunachal Pradesh. (These states show higher than the national proportion for ranges of population above.) However, the data does not point to a definite correspondence of State - SCs or STs - Size of the community. If so, i.e. if the smaller of SC or ST communities are indeed so widely spaced it would be an additional factor contributing to divergence of interests within SCs and STs.

1.2 Class

The Class characteristics of SCs & STs can be judged by considering following traits. To reiterate, for all these traits SCs & STs are significantly higher than the National Proportion.

For 50% of SC & ST communities each 'Labour' is a 'newly acquired' means of livelihood. (Trait No. 501). While increase of Agricultural labour among STs is more than that in SCs (Trait No. 547), reverse is the case for increase in wage labour (Trait No. 546). Within 'Labour', Non-skilled Labour (Current, as against Traditional or Newly Acquired) (Trait No. 449) obtains in 32.9% communities each in SCs & STs. Both have a large number of communities who seek employment through IRDP (Trait No. 729) (475 out of 751 - SCs i.e. 63.2% & 499 out of 636 - STs i.e. 78.5%). The economy is also not fully monetised, it is 'Barter & Cash' (Trait No. 544) for 145 SC & 166 ST communities.

Basket Making (Current & Traditional) (Trait Nos.444 & 486), Mat-weaving (Current & Traditional) (Trait No.445 & 487) and Figgeiy (Trait No.735) are the occupations where SCs & STs come under Type 1 i.e. are above the National Proportion. Dependence on Firewood as a fuel resource (Trait No.756) is also higher for SCs & STs. This trait has a bearing on Gender and it is commented on under 'Women's Role: Collect Fuel', under Gender.

Considering the process of SCs & STs joining the unskilled labour market, one may say that they are pauperizing selectively over the others, and in a big way.

1.3 Caste

1.3.1 Food habits:

Women non-vegetarian (Trait No.90), Non-vegetarian - Pork (Trait No.94) Eat-Carrion (Trait No.95) Alcoholic Drinks: Occasional: women (Trait No.126) and Alcoholic Drinks: Regular Men (Trait No.127). These traits may be seen to be likely impediment in intermarriages with vegetarian communities, vegetarianism being vested with ideology. For comparison, women are non-vegetarian in 81.9% of SC & 86.8% of ST communities. In Hindus they are non-vegetarian in 70.5% in Sikhs 67.7%, in Buddhists 78.5% and in Muslims, Christians & Other religion-followers, more than 83% each. Jains at 1% are the lowest.

1.4 Gender

1.4.1 Divorce

Divorce is permissible (Trait No. 264) in more than 91% of SC & ST communities each. It has social approval (Trait No. 266) in more than 76% of communities each. Either Party can seek divorce in more than 86% of communities each. (Trait No. 284).

The Survey lists 9 reasons for divorce. The number of communities citing a particular reason follows a pattern not only among SCs & STs but roughly also across religious, occupational and locational categories. For SCs & STs the reasons in the descending order of number of communities citing that reason

are: Maladjustment, Adultery, Cruelty, Barrenness, Impotency, Insanity, Chronic sickness, Sorcery and No Male Issue. Thus Maladjustment and Adultery occur in maximum number of communities and No Male Issue in the least, or near the least. Only Adultery falls in Type 1. Other reasons have been enumerated under various Types depending upon SCs' & STs' proportion vis-a-vis National Proportion. Still, these are covered here to give an overall idea about Divorce'.

'No Male Issue' (Trait No. 270) is a reason in 28 (4.4%) ST communities, the lowest figure among causes of divorce, and in 57 (7.6%) SCs - Second-lowest figure (lowest being 'sorcery' Trait No. 276). The figures across the 3 categories are comparable in percentages. Only among Sikhs at 17.7% and in Other (i.e. followers of other than the listed religions) at 11.9% it is more than 9%.

The number of communities seeking divorce due to Barrenness (Trait No. 269) is almost equal to those seeking it due to Impotency (Trait No. 272). One would expect Impotency to be a cause in much less number of communities if only woman is held responsible for lack of a child, e.g. number of communities citing barrenness and impotency as causes respectively are : Hindus - 970 (27.4%) and 862 (24.4%), Christians - 50 (38.5%) and 46 (35.4%). The differential in percentage is more than 10% only in muslims.

Patriarchy, however, may be operating at subterranean level. Maladjustment (Trait No. 271) is a cause in more than 70% of almost all subcategories under other 3 categories. For SCs it is in 594 (79.1%) and in STs in 515 (81%) communities. What constitutes maladjustment and who decides it? Adultery (Trait No. 268), the only Trait under Type 1, to reiterate, is a cause in 518 (69%) SC & 502 (78.9%) ST communities. Across other subcategories it is mostly in more than 50% communities. Is it alleged adultery by wife or by husband and who corroborates the allegation? These two causes are likely to be more man-friendly than woman-friendly. The third major cause, again across all categories, is cruelty (Trait No. 274), more likely by the husband

than otherwise. Insanity (Trait No. 275) is a cause in 126 (16.8%) SC and 148 (233%) ST communities. The percentage is comparable across most of the other subcategories. If insanity is genuine, this is an alarmingly high figure. Domestic violence in conjunction with other forms of harassment, if it rebounds more on women than on men, is likely to be one of the major causes of insanity. If it is alleged so as to foreclose any possibility of a rapprochement, again more likely that man is in a stronger position to allege so.

Violence against women seems to be a more weightier cause than preference to a child or a male child. This inference seems closer to radical feminist position as far as material explanation for women's oppression is sought in violence. But it also seems to undermine a premise of radical feminism that "... the whole weight of culture makes clear that having sex and having children (sons in particular) are things wives owe to their husbands...." (Delphy & Leonard: 1992) Reproductivity does not come out as a priority to an extent that lack of it would lead to divorce.

Another inference that can be drawn is that if cruelty or maladjustment leads to divorce is such a high proportion of all the communities, the incidence must be much more wide-spread in the families where it does not come upto divorce. The incidence of bigamy or desertion of wife is also reported to be quite high without recourse to divorce.⁶

1.4.2 Bride-Price/Dowry

Bride-Price (Cash, as against Kind or Cash & Kind) (Trait No. 245) exists in 153 communities in SC (20.4%) and 146 in STs (23%). It may be mentioned that prevalence of bride price does not preclude dowry, as a few communities from both SCs & STs are reported to be having both the practices.

1.4.3 Remarriage

In allowing remarriage of widows (Trait No. 289) SCs & STs are more liberal than Hindus. 711 (94.7%) SC and 609 (95.8%) ST communities allow this. For Hindus the percentage is 76.6% and for Jains it is the lowest among all categories at 28.0%. For

female divorcee (Trait No. 292) 658 (87.5%) SC & 573 (90.1%) ST communities allow remarriage. For Hindus and Jains the figures are 73.4% & 29% respectively. Remarriage of male divorcee (Trait No. 291) is allowed in about 91% of SC & ST communities each; in 80.3% Hindu and 36% Jain.

Though remarriage of widower (Trait No. 290) does not fall in this Type - SCs & STs being within National Proportion - the figures are worth mentioning for comparison. Among Hindus, 96.4% communities allow it, in SCs - 98.9 % and in STs 93.7%. For Jains it is 97% of communities. The differential between widower's & widow's remarriage, if taken as an index of lack of autonomy of women for remarriage on the loss of husband, it is much higher in Hindus (17.8%) than in SCs & STs. In fact, for STs, less number of communities (596) have widower remarrying than widow remarrying (609). For Jains, of course, the differential is huge at 69%.

Levirate : Junior (Trait No. 210) (widow marrying late husband's younger brother) is a practice in almost 40% of SC & ST communities each. It is interesting to note that among other religious sub-categories, Muslims also come above the National Proportion in all the above traits related to remarriage alongwith SCs & STs.

Regarding Divorce traits, SCs & STs appear to be more egalitarian than other communities with respect to women.

The practice of Levirate however needs some comment. It is reported,⁷ particularly from some landholding communities in North India, that Levirate being 'permissible' means a widow is compelled to remarry her brother-in-law so that land is not partitioned and is kept within the family. If the widow does not have support of the community or natal family, alternative to her is destitution and starvation.

1.4.4 Women's Role

Women's role in Animal Husbandry and other economic activities contributing to income is quite high in SCs & STs (Trait Nos. 342, 345, 356, 357) Additionally, they are also responsible

for collection of fuel and water. (Trait Nos. 343,344 resp.). Fuel & fodder collection is reported to be increasingly difficult. The dependence for these is mainly on Communal Property Resources. (CPR). Fire wood remains the main source of fuel. In the hills and desert areas of the north⁸ CPR provides 67.69% of the domestic energy. It provides 91-100% of firewood, 66.84% of all domestic fuel and 69.89% of the grazing needs of the landless and the land poor in semi-arid areas. With shrinkage in CPRs the survival systems become increasingly fragile. The dependence on firewood and it being almost exclusively women's job; coupled with the landless or landpoor nature of SCs particularly, as seen below, contribute more to women's hardships.

1.5 Class-Gender

1.5.1 Perception of Developmental Programs and their Impact Formal Education

Boys' and girls' education upto primary level (Trait Nos. 686 and 694) seems to be acceptable to both SCs & STs above the National Proportion. However, as mentioned in the next section this is not to be construed as an attitude favourable to education in general. Rather, response to these two traits seems specifically connected with the level of education i.e. primary education.

1.6 Caste - Gender

1.6.1 In forms of Punishment by the community (Table 26.1), Adultery (Trait No. 570), Rape (Trait No. 571) and Elopement (Trait No. 572) are treated as offence, presumably meriting punishment. In all these offences, though both SCs & STs are above the National Proportion, between them, STs are still higher. Within the offences, more number of communities consider Adultery as an offence (62.3 % - SCs & 75.8% STs) than Rape (35% SC and 39.3% ST) Elopement is closer in No. of communities to Rape as an offence on a higher side for both. It is not clear whether Adultery by either husband or wife is considered an offence i.e. who defines Adultery - whether either spouse and community or husband and the community.

Type 2: Traits for which both SCs & STs are below the National Proportion

2.1 Class

2.1.2 Middle Class

The proportion of formally educated persons is lower among SCs & STs. For the traits - Professionals: Entrepreneurs/Businessmen (Trait No. 671), Scholars (Trait No. 672), White-Collar Employees (Trait No. 674), Administrators (Trait No. 676), Engineers/Doctors (Trait No. 677) both SCs & STs lag behind. If formation of Middle-Class is a yardstick of upward social mobility, both come out quite weak, and SCs come weaker than STs. Among religious sub-categories, Jains and Christians are above the National Proportion in all these traits.

Relatedly, both SCs & STs trail in Business (Current and Traditional) (Trait Nos. 422 and 464 resp.). Industry (Current) (Trait No. 424), Employment through Small-Scale Industry (Trait No. 737) and Employment through General Merchandise (Trait No. 739).

2.2.2 Consumption

On the consumption side this is reflected in less SCs and STs watching television (Trait No. 746), using electricity (Trait No. 755) and using kerosene as fuel (Trait No. 760).

2.1.3 Savings

The trait 'Savings Favoured' (Trait No. 775) also features negatively for both.

2.2 Caste

2.2.1 Food Habits

Pure vegetarianism (Trait No. 77), proportion of vegetable being high (Trait No. 86), Women: Vegetarian (Trait No. 89) and consumption of non-alcoholic drinks (Trait No. 124) are the traits under type 2, i.e. less proportion of SC & ST communities are pure vegetarian and so on, than the National Proportion.

2.3 Class - Gender

2.3.1 Education

Here, both SCs & STs fall significantly below National Proportion in their attitude towards either Boys' or Girls' Education (Trait Nos. 682 & 683 resp.) Muslims share this negative attitude towards Girls' Education with SCs & STs, Jains & Christians are above the National Proportion for both boys and girls which finds a corroboration in these two communities being over-represented in 'Middle Class'.

Boys' education upto college level (Trait No. 688), upto Post graduate level (Trait No. 689) and Girls' education upto college level (Trait No. 696) are also perceived as a developmental activity in less number of SC & ST communities than the National Proportion.

2.3.2 Number of Children

SCs & STs prefer more than two children. They score negatively on the Trait 'Prefer one/two children'. (Trait No. 709) Decision regarding number of children to have, if does not vest with the wife equally, implications to woman's reproductive autonomy are obvious. Spacing of children and family planning methods adopted are related issues, the latter being covered separately.

Type 3: SCs & STs both within the National Proportion

3.1.1 Identification

In whether a community identifies itself regionally (Trait No. 2), nationally (Trait No. 3), internationally (Trait No. 4), SCs & STs are within the National Proportion. Hindus are below the National Proportion in Identification: Transnational and Buddhists and Muslims above it. Jains & Sikhs are above the National Proportion in Identification: National.

3.1.2 Distribution

In the Distribution of a community whether Regional (Trait No. 15) or National (Trait No. 17) SCs & STs are under Type 3.

3.1.3 Other traits :

Those related to Natural Environment

Desert or Valley; High humidity; Medium or scanty rainfall etc. find SCs & STs within the said proportion. So too are traits regarding food habits like staple foods, oil seeds and pulses. These have not been gone into details.

3.1.4 Migration to present habitat

This has been in recent years (Trait No. 13) for 79 (10.5%) SC & 47 (7.4%) ST communities.

Though this is a small number, if migration is more out of lack of choice than by choice it entails trauma. For some SC migrant communities in Maharashtra like Kanjarbhat, Dangat, Vaidu, Joshi, Gondhali, Vanjara etc. migration has been found to be hitting women harder than men. A dependency syndrome arising out of continuing insecurity, lack of social network, lack of community and legal support, detrimental neglect of own & children's health and children's education are some of the problems reported, by field activists. Other traits related to migration are covered under relevant types. It may however be mentioned that migration in historical account (Trait No. 12) or that in oral tradition (Trait No. 11) are qualitatively different from migration in recent years. The former may be more a community signifier than due to economic reasons as the latter is. The Survey, however, does not touch upon cause of migration; the same has to be inferred from other traits like change in occupation etc.

3.2 Class

The class traits shared by SCs & STs with the rest of the communities in the country are mostly dealing with the nature of occupations. These cover various trades like textile dyeing, masonry, pottery, self-employment (Newly Acquired), skilled labour (Traditional) woodwork etc. Agricultural land relations

like Landlord Tenant Relationship (Trait No. 668), Cultivator - Labour Relationship (Trait No. 669) also fall under this type. In avenues of employment, employment through Employment Guarantee Scheme (Trait No. 730) is sought by 86 communities each.

3.3 Caste

3.3.1 Social Division (Table No. 7.0 Sc 7.1)

Social divisions exist (Trait No. 153) within SCs & STs. The National Proportion itself being quite high, SCs & STs being within it means that they are equally divided among themselves. Across the 4 categories the percentage of communities in which social divisions exist ranges from 74 to 93 (except Muslims - 52.6%). For SCs - 87.1% STs - 83% are the figures. Hindus are above the National Proportion and Muslims below it.

However nature of Social Divisions seems more horizontal than vertical as Hierarchy with Social Divisions (Trait No. 162) exists in much less number of communities across all the 4 categories. This trait is observed in 189 (25.2%) SC and 160 (252%) ST communities.

The difference among social groups is reported by the Survey at various levels: Social (Trait No. 163), Economic (Trait No. 164), Religious (Trait No. 165), Territorial (Trait No. 166), Occupational (Trait No. 167) and Educational (Trait No. 168). Of these the major level is social level where more than 54% each SC & ST communities are reported but this trait is covered under Type 4. For the rest of the traits coming under Type 3, the maximum figure is 125 (16.5%) SC communities where difference is at occupational level.

3.3.2 Festivals and their significance (Table No. 30.0)

Not only among SCs & STs but across all religious sub-categories festivals retain mainly socio-religious significance (Trait No. 613). 559 (74.4%) SC and 437 (68.7%) ST communities show this trait. Next comes religious significance (Trait No. 611) 172 (22.9%) SC and 212 (333%) ST communities. Christians and Muslims are above the National Proportion in ascribing religious

significance to festivals while Hindus are below it. Socio-political significance (Trait No. 615) to festivals obtains only in 9 communities each. Only Buddhists are above the National Proportion for this trait. In Sikhs no community and in Muslims only 2 communities are found for this trait.

3.4 Gender

3.4.1 Marriage & Remarriage

Community endogamy (Trait No. 187) is the norm among SCs and STs as it is among religious, occupational and locational categories. The least figure is 94.6% for Pastoral Nomads in the last category. 723 (96.3%) SC and 615 (96.7%) ST communities follow the practice. Surname exogamy (Trait No. 198) and village exogamy (Trait No. 195) are followed by less than 15% of SC or ST communities each.

Child Marriage is allowed (Trait No. 212) in 61 (8.1%) SC and 67 (105%) ST communities. For religious sub-categories following are the figures: Hindu - 7.4%, Muslim - 7.7%, Christians - 1.8%, Sikhs - 1.5%, Jains - 2.0%, Buddhists - 3.2% and Other 9.4%. Hunting and Non-pastoral communities are above the National Proportion.

Adult Marriage (Trait No. 214) is followed by more than 86% of SCs and STs. Monogamy (Trait No. 226) is a norm among 99.1% SCs and 97.5% STs. Muslims are below National Proportion in this Trait.

Remarriage is liberalized (Trait No. 303) in 130 (17.3%) SC and 105 (165%) ST communities. The increase in divorce rate of Sikhs as seen below, seems to be set off by an increase in liberalization of remarriage as at 39.2% they top the religious sub-categories.

Sororate is permissible (Trait No. 293) in a large number of communities. SC: 622 (82.8%) and ST: 494 (77.7%). As for levirate, 'permissibility' may mean it to be a widower's *right* to marry the deceased wife's sister with little choice to the sister. (Relatedly, sororal polygyny (Trait No. 229) is prevalent in 12.8% SC & 24.1% ST communities while polyandry - fraternal or

nonfraternal (Trait Nos. 227,228) prevails in zero to 2.4% only communities - SCs or STs. These traits, however, do not come under Type 3.

Within sororate, Junior sororate (Trait No. 208) - marrying deceased wife's younger sister is quite prevalent - 474 (63.1%) SC and 390 (61.3%) ST communities report this. Senior sororate (Trait No. 209) is rare - in 5 to 7% of communities each.

3.4.2 Divorce

Divorce due to Chronic Sickness (Trait No. 273) - 88 (11.7%) SC & 115 (18.1%) ST communities; that due to Insanity (Trait No. 275) - 126 (16.8%) SC & 148 (23.3%) ST communities; and due to No Male Issue (Trait No. 270) fall under this type.

The rate of Divorce, whatever be the cause, is declining (Trait No. 300) in 175 (23.3%) SC and 147 (23.1%) ST communities. It is increasing (Trait No. 301) in 78 (10.4%) SC and 54 (8.5%) ST communities. Marriage as an institution seems to be stabilizing going by the difference between increase and decrease figures. Internalization of marriage as an ideology and confining marital discord to 'private sphere' or recourse to non-divorce means as stated earlier may be the off-shoots. This pattern is observed in all the religious sub-categories except in Jains where decline and increase are matched in terms of number of communities, and in Sikhs where increase is in more number of communities than decrease.

3.4.3 Liability of Children

After divorce, children become a liability of father (Tr. No. 285) in 42.1% SC & 45.6% ST communities. Next comes their becoming a liability of either father or mother (Trait No. 287) 34.2% SC and 28.8% ST communities. But they become a liability of mother (Trait No. 286) only in a small number of communities. 7.9% in SC and 8.6% in SIs. This finding gives more than one interpretations. Firstly, 'mother-only' is relegated. It may be that she prefers to have custody of children but has no wherewithal to provide for them vis-a-vis father-particularly if support from the natal family or community is not forthcoming. Then it may be in

the material (only) interest of the children to be a liability of the father though it deprives mother and children of each other. On the other hand, the father may not want this liability though has wherewithal to look after them and he may not de facto look after them. Community seems to be playing a decisive role which may not always be in the interests of the mother.

3.4.4 Status & Role of Women

Though SCs and STs are within the National Proportion for Status of Women: Equal (Trait No. 351) and Status of Women: Low (Trait No. 353), the difference between the number of communities corresponding to each trait is considerable. Status is equal in 160 (21.3%) SC and 180 (28.3%) ST communities; Low in 548 (73%) SC and 436 (68.6%) ST communities.

Traits regarding women's economic role and spaces of autonomy they enjoy in various communities give an unclear picture with respect to association between the two.

For SCs & STs, women have a role in economic activity in more than 88% communities each and they contribute to income in more than 90% communities each as noted in Type 1.

For SCs & STs, 5 traits fall under Type 3 which may be taken to some extent as indices of autonomy. These are; in the descending order of number of communities involved:

Women's Role in Social Function (Trait No. 346) - More than 88% each, Women: Control Expenditure (Trait No. 358): more than 43% each; Women in Decision Making (Trait No. 354): about 20% each; Women's Role: Political Sphere: (Trait No. 349) about 13% each and a role in Social Control (Trait No. 350): about 5 to 9% each.

Similar pattern is observed for Hindus with comparable figures, for Muslims with smaller figures. For Christians, Sikhs and Jains, however, each seems to follow a different pattern altogether. Jains, for example have only 39% communities in which women contribute to income but in 62% communities they control expenditure. Women's role in political sphere (27.7%) is the highest among all sub-categories in Sikhs but they show a

relatively smaller figure for economic participation. In the absence of any back up data it is difficult to interpret such findings within the extant frameworks of feminism viz. Liberal, Marxist, Socialist or Radical.

3.4.5 Family Planning

Sterilization: Generally Men (Trait No. 714) is followed by only 60 SC & 55 ST communities as against in 288 SC and 196 ST communities where it is generally women who are sterilized (Trait No. 715).

3.5 Class - Gender

3.5.3 Inheritance

The system of inheritance/succession shows the same gender bias operating in the society at large, within SCs and STs also. Thus male equigeniture, i.e. property to be divided equally among the sons (Trait No. 323) is the norm followed by 619 out of 751 SC & 479 out of 636 ST communities. Only Muslims and Christians show a less-than-the National Proportion for this trait. Equigeniture, i.e. both male & female children inheriting equally (Trait No. 322) is followed by 92 SC & 56 ST communities 12.3% & 8.8% resp. For this trait too, they are within the National Proportion. Succession by Adopted Son (Trait No. 331) or Succession by Nephew (Trait No. 333) are marginal cases (Less than 4% each in the Type 3.)

3.5.2 Drop-out of Formal Education

Boys drop-out of school as they are required to earn to support the family (Trait No. 692) in 437 SC and 386 ST communities- more than 58% each.

3.6 Caste-Gender

3.6.1 Family

More than 89 % SC & ST communities each report to be nuclear (Trait No. 304). Vertically extended family (Trait No. 305) is reported in more than 49% each of SCs & STs.

3 reasons for familial conflicts are covered by the Survey; Of these, conflict due to check on freedom (Trait No. 316) and due to challenge to Authority (Trait No. 317), both presumably having implications on generational and gender relations, fall under this Type. Between 25 to 33% SC and ST communities each have such conflicts. The family conflict however arises mainly on account of property (Trait No.315) in more than 77% of communities each. For this trait, SCs are below National Proportion and STs within it. Hence it is enumerated under Type 9.

Type 4: SCs above the National Proportion, STs within the National Proportion

4.1 Demography

Population of a community : 5 Lac & above (Trait No. 48) falls under this type. As elaborated in Section I, this factor is important in deciding mutual positions between SCs & STs.

4.2 Class

Leather related occupations like tanning and embroidery on leather (Trait Nos. 438,480) are more in SCs than in STs. More light on class character of SCs is thrown by traits of Non-skilled Labour (Traditional) (Trait No. 491) and Labour (Traditional) (Trait No. 459) occurring in this Type.

4.3 Caste

4.3.1 Food Habits

101 SC & 67 ST communities have turned from non-vegetarian to vegetarian (Trait No. 144) as against 29 SC and 4 ST communities from vegetarian to non-vegetarian. (Trait No. 143 - not under Type 4). In the absence of further data it is difficult to infer if the transition to vegetarianism is due to paucity of fuel (if non-vegetarian cooking consumes more energy), pauperisation (if vegetables are cheaper) or Sanskritisation.

4.3.2 Social Division

Social Division is along social level (Trait No. 163) in 428 (57.0%) SC and 347 (54.6%) ST communities. That along other

levels like religious etc. is covered under Type 3.

4.3.3 Self-esteem

Self - Perception of SCs is low (Trait No. 176) and Other's perception about them (Trait No. 186) is also low. These seem to be mutually reinforcing factors. More than 72% communities have low self-perception and about more than 91% other's perception is low. For STs the picture is better as 25.3% of communities have a low self-perception and about 49.4% communities others perceive them to be low.

Seen locationally, for these two traits, urban communities (incl. SCs & STs) have the lowest figures for both the traits. Urban dwelling may be helping a community raise in its own eyes and reduce being looked down upon by others. May be this applies to half-a-crore STs and more than two and half crore SCs in urban areas.

4.4 Class-Gender

4.4.1 Child-labour

Child-labour (Trait No. 551) exists in 441 (58.7%) of SC communities. Dreze's study (already referred to above) shows a strong association between child labour and widowhood. Rural widows' disability to earn livelihood due to structural factors like lack of family and community support forces many of them to push children into labour market. Among STs too, though they are within the National Proportion, this trait is observed in 293 (46.1%) of communities indicating a high National Proportion. The least figure obtains for Jains at 14% among all sub-categories.

4.4.2 Drop-out from education

For boys, drop-out is due to Economic reasons (Trait No. 691) for 539 (71.8%) SC and 414 (65.1 %) ST communities. Drop-out of Girls due to poverty (Trait No. 699) is reported for 424 (565%) SC and 323 (50.8%) ST communities.

Except Jain (9%) all other religious sub-categories show more than 32% girls dropping out of education due to poverty, in occupational sub-categories the minimum figure is 42% for

Business & Trade & Industry.

4.5 Caste-Gender

4.5.1: Social Division regulates marriage (Trait No. 169) in 668 (88.9%) SC and 553 (86.9%) ST communities. Seen with the trait of community endogamy (Trait No. 187 under Type 3) in more than 96% of SC & ST communities each, it means that the rigidity of a community's boundary is perpetuated. There seems little chance of intercommunity marriages within SCs or STs, much less between SCs and STs or across with non-SCs/STs.

Social Division regulates marriage also across religious, occupational and locational categories ranging from 70% to 93% of communities. Only for Muslims the figure is low at 37% in keeping with a low figure of 52.6% to start with, for Social divisions: Exist.

Type 5: SCs above the National Proportion, STs below the National Proportion

5.1 Class

The Nature of community: Landless (Trait No. 407) is observed in 523 (69.6%) of SC communities. STs are significantly below the National Proportion 181 (28.5%) communities. A related trait Nature of community: Landholding (Trait No. 406) comes under Type 6.

5.2 Caste

5.2.1 Varna

The trait Varna: Aware (Trait No. 177) is found in 602 (80.2%) SC communities and 201 (31.6%) ST communities. For SCs & STs, related traits, their no. of communities and percentages are: Varna: Recognize (Trait No. 178) - 511 (68%) SC & 101 (15.9%) ST; Varna: Recognize Place (Trait No. 179) - 527 (70.2%) SC and 75 (11.8%) ST; and recognize their place as Sudra (Trait No. 183) - 527 (70.2%) SC and 48 (7.5%) ST communities.

5.2.2 Religion

The trait Hindu (No. 580) falls under this Type with 728 (96.9%) SC and 378 (54.4%) ST communities showing adherence to it. It is noteworthy that even if 378 ST communities profess themselves to be Hindus, only 201 show Varna awareness a central tenet of the 'Great Tradition' of Hinduism, pointing to a different understanding of it among the rest 177 communities.

Though other religions do not fall in Type 5, the break-up of SCs and STs among them as mentioned in Table 2 at the beginning of this Section is considered here.

Most of the SC communities are Hindu followed by 38 in Sikhism, 24 in 'other', 21 in Christianity and only 12 in Buddhism. 5 are Muslims.

STs are split in 300 - 'Other' (presumably 292 of these - animists), 149 in Christianity, 44 Buddhists and 19 Muslims.

This break-up points to a wide variation of knowledge systems. It also spells structurally different religious exploitation (if and when it is there) from religion to religion and also within the same religion - like Hindu where the sheer number of SC & ST communities put together is more than 1100. Going by number again, agenda for Dalit consciousness may be decided by Hindu SCs & STs. If we look at the number of communities as percentage of communities in a religious sub-category, while 20.6% of Hindu communities (Total No. of Hindu communities 3539) are SCs, 29.2% of Sikhs communities (Total No. of Sikh communities - 130) are SCs. For STs, 44% of Christian communities (Total No. of Christian communities - 339) are STs and 47.3% of Buddhist communities (Total No. of Buddhist communities - 93) are STs. In such a Hindu dominated agenda, Sikh SCs, Christian and Buddhist STs are likely to be relegated. Their geographical location - Punjab & North East mainly, also may not be helpful in forging a common platform. Even with considerably high percentages they may not be 'represented' qualitatively. The SCs among Christians or 'Other' and STs among Muslims who do not number more than 6% in each of religious sub-category may have virtually no political participation even within Dalits.

5.2.3 Pollution

Death Pollution (Trait No. 380) is observed in 715 (952%) SC and 491 (772%) ST communities. Hindus are also above the National Proportion with SCs.

5.3 Gender

5.3.1 Symbols of Marriage

Vermillion (Trait No. 236), Bangles (Trait No. 237) and Nose-Ring (Trait No. 243) all pertaining to women, are found in SCs and much less in STs. Observance of symbols is strict (Trait No. 297) in more than 76% of SC communities compared to 46.9% ST.

5.3.2 Pollution

Post-Delivery Pollution (Trait No. 361) is observed by 724 (96.4%) SC communities and 522 (82.1%) ST.

5.3.3 No. of Children

Communities of SCs preferring 3 children (Trait No. 710) is higher than the National Proportion alongwith Hindus & Jains. STs and Muslims are below National Proportion for this trait but are much above it for preferring 4 children (Trait No. Ill under Type 6).

5.3.4 Dowry

Transition from Bride Price to Dowry (Trait No. 298) is found in 247 SC communities (32.9%). Hindus are also above the National Proportion. 86 (13.5%) ST communities report this transition.

5.4 Class-Gender

Fuel Resource - cowdung cakes (Trait No. 757) for 482 (682%) SC communities puts them above National Proportion with Hindus.

Type 6: STs above the National Proportion, SCs within the National Proportion

6.1 Demography

6.1.1 Identification

SCs have a wider identification than STs. 309 (48.6%) ST communities identify themselves locally (Trait No. 1) i.e. over one or two districts, as against 233 (31%) SC communities.

6.1.2 Natural Environment

Environment-Extremely cold (Trait No. 22), Hilly Terrain (Trait No. 23), High Altitude (Trait No. 29), Thin Forest (Trait No. 36), Dense Forest (Trait No. 35) and High Rainfall (Trait No. 37) all point to STs' distinct living system than SCs.

6.1.3 Food Habits

Roots & Tubers (Trait No. 123), Animal Fat (Trait No. 122), Nagli (Trait No. 100) etc. also distinguish STs from SCs.

6.2 Class

6.2.1 Economy

As mentioned earlier, the Nature of Community is mainly land holding (Trait No. 406) in 253 (39.8%) ST communities. Also a related trait is Economy: Forest based (Trait No. 394) for 310 (48.7%) ST against 101 (13.4%) SC communities.

6.2.2 Occupations

Hunting and Gathering (Traditional & Current) (Trait Nos. 450, 408); Fishing (Traditional, Current and Newly Acquired) (Trait Nos. 451, 409 & 493); Horticulture (Traditional and Current) (Trait Nos. 452, 410); Trapping Birds and Animals (Traditional & Current) (Trait Nos. 453 & 411); Shifting Cultivation (Traditional & Current) (Trait Nos. 456 & 414); Terrace Cultivation (Traditional, Current & Newly Acquired) (Trait Nos. 457, 415, 499), Animal Husbandry (Traditional, Current and Newly acquired) (Trait Nos. 460, 418, 502), Bee keeping (Current & Newly Acquired) (Trait Nos. 421 Sc 505) etc. All these occupations

come under Type 6 - indicating different relations of production for STs than SCs.

6.2.3 Control of Resources

An important clue to access and control over means of production of STs can be had from these set of traits. In the descending order of number of communities involved, controlling agencies are as follows: Resource Control: Individual (Trait Nos. 398) -457 (71.9%) (under Type 9); Government (Trait No. 399) 227 (35.7%); Community (Trait No. 395) - 103 (16.2%). Clan & Headman are between 5 to 7.5%. The latter three forms of resource control are taken under 'Caste'.

6.2.4 Link with Market

This is through Middlemen (Trait No. 535) in 20% ST communities, a figure almost double in percentage terms than SCs. This point is further discussed under Type 8.

6.2.5 Non-Skilled Labour

This is a Newly Acquired activity (Trait No. 533) in 189 (29.7%) ST communities already commented upon. STs may be coming in the labour-market faster than SCs.

6.3 Caste

6.3.1 Social Divisions

Existence of division along clan (Trait No. 156) is in more than 80% of ST communities. Those along Phratry (Trait No. 154) Moity (Trait No. 155) and Sub Tribe (Trait No. 161) also exist in a much smaller proportion between 2 to 13%. For division along Clan, Hindus are also above the National Proportion with STs.

(Clan : Believers in a common mythical ancestor - animate or inanimate; Phratry - Cluster of exogamous clans; Moity - Division of society in two halves).

6.3.2 Food Habits

Regular non-vegetarian (Trait No. 88) and Beef eating (Trait Nos. 92 & 93) occur in this Type with bearing on intermarriage. Muslims & Christians share these traits above the National Proportion with STs.

6.3.3 Village Council

Village Council exists (Trait No. 556) in 271 (42.6%) ST communities it has a chief (Trait No. 559), its functions include Social Control (Trait No. 563), Punishment & Award (Trait No. 565) & insult to it is taken as an offence (Trait No. 575). Considered with marriage rules below, this set of traits seem to self-insulate a community.

6.4 Gender

6.4.1. Marriage

Clan Exogamy (Trait No. 194) is observed by 72% of ST communities.

For STs, Sororal & Non Sororal Polygyny (Trait Nos. 229 & 230) are followed by 153 (24.1%) & 239 (37.6%) communities though monogamy is the norm as mentioned earlier. Forms of marriage for STs are mainly: that by Elopement (Trait No. 221) 310 communities; by Mutual Consent (Trait No. 220) - 297 communities, etc. Thus though modes of acquiring mates seem to be gender egalitarian, wide prevalence of levirate & sororate may have to be further investigated. As mentioned earlier, they mean a less than equal treatment to women as in some North Indian communities.

6.4.2 Bride-Price

Prevalence of Bride-price in Cash & Kind (Trait No. 247) is in 307 ST communities and in 82, in kind only. Other traits like Divorce: Maladjustment, Barrenness under this Type have already been covered.

6.5 Class-Gender

6.5.1: Locational disadvantage with respect to formal education is shown in Dropout of boys and girls due to there being no school near-by (Trait Nos. 690 & 698) in 93 & 92 ST communities respectively. In 210 communities girls dropout as are required to earn to support the family (Trait No. 700).

Though the trait Girls' dropout: due to social reason (Trait No. 701) does not come under Type 6, it is worth comparing with Boys' dropout: due to social reason (Trait No. 693) (which comes under this Type). Boys dropout because of social reasons in 60 (9.4%) ST communities and girls in 357 (56.1%). For SCs the difference in percentage is almost 59%. Across the 3 categories the difference ranges from 45% to 79% showing a clear relegation of girls' education.

6.6 Caste-Gender

6.6.1 Residence

This is neo-local (Trait No. 258) for the newly-wed in 153 communities in STs and 58 in SCs. It is matrilocal (Trait No. 260) only in 21 ST and 4 SC communities.

Type 7: STs above the National Proportion, SCs below the National Proportion

7.1 Class

Economy is land based (Trait No. 393) for ST as mentioned earlier. It is interesting to note that Individual proprietorship (Trait No. 401) obtains for STs in a highly significant proportion - 379 communities (59.6%). Settled Cultivation (Current) (Trait No. 416) is in 438 communities (68.9%). Taken together alongwith class traits mentioned under Type 6, STs are more owners of means of production than 'free' sellers of labour power, though pauperization is also simultaneously taking place. Actual Population involved in either class would reveal the extent of labour-component, the data not gone into.

Type 8: SCs within the National Proportion STs below the National Proportion

8.1 Demography

Traits dealing with Natural Environment & food habits are not gone into.

8.1.1 Linkages

SCs are more exposed to media and 'Mainstream' as in all the following traits they are above STs: Listening to Radio (Trait No. 745), Visiting Cinema (Trait No. 746); Agent of Dissemination: Political Parties (Trait No. 749), Roads Exist (Trait No. 751), Railway Exists (Trait No. 752) and Post office is near-by (Trait No. 753).

8.2 Class

8.2.3 Exposure to Markets

From the class-traits under this Type inference can be drawn that SCs are more exposed to market forces. Link with market:

Direct (Trait No. 534) - 706 (94%) SC against 562 (<88.4%) ST communities; Local Market Regulated (Trait No. 540) 398 (53%) SC as against 228 (35.8%) ST communities; Daily Market (Trait No. 536) 573 (76.3%) SC as against 318 (50%) ST communities; economy more monetised as 546 (72.7%) SC communities transact business in Cash (Trait No. 543) as against 403 (63.4%) ST communities.

8.2.2 Employment

Government seems to be the single biggest employer for SCs.

Government Service (Current & Newly Acquired) Trait Nos. 426 and 510) employs members of more than 58% communities. The Trait Government Service (Traditional) (Trait No. 468) features only 1.6% communities. (This trait not under Type 8). STs are closer in percentage on a lower side, and below the National Proportion.

Industry also is a major new employer for SCs with around 20% communities having industrial workers (Trait Nos. 425, 509) STs around 9% lag by more than 10% behind SCs for this trait. Industrial labour has increased (Trait No. 549) in 17.3% SC communities as against 7.7% ST.

8.2.3 Land Relations

Patron - client relationship obtains (Trait No. 667) for 364 (48.5%) SC communities as against 223 (35.1%) ST.

8.3 Gender & Caste-Gender

8.3.3 Marriage

Marriage by negotiation (Trait No. 224) - 739 (98.4%) SC and 597 (93.9%) ST communities seems to be the national norm as whether marriage is by mutual consent or courtship, it also takes place by negotiation in more than 90% of all communities.

Dowry in cash or kind or both (Trait Nos. 249, 250 & 251) exists for between 5.5% to 37.5% of SC communities, a shared trait with the 'mainstream'. For STs the range is between 1.6% to 8.3% communities.

Residence is patrilocal (Trait No. 259) in 98% SC and 91.7% ST communities. (Enumerated under 'Caste-Gender')

Marriage taking place at Bride's residence (Trait No. 373), Feast by Bride's Parents (Trait No. 375), Nuptials at Groom's Residence (Trait No. 379) are other related traits in SCs over STs showing expense on girl's side. This is corroborated by transition from Bride-price to Dowry, mentioned earlier.

8.3.2 Family

Nuclear family is rising (Trait No. 334) in 82.7% and extended family is declining (Trait No. 336) in 76.0% of SC communities. STs are less by 9 and 15.2 percent for these figures respectively. (Enumerated under Caste-Gender).

8.3.3 Family Planning

The set of traits - Family Planning Favoured (Trait No. 708), Modern Family Planning Methods used (Trait No. 713), Family Planning done by other than sterilization (Trait No. 717) shows a differential of SCs with STs between 7 to 24% of number of communities.

Type 9 : STs within the National Proportion, SCs below the National Proportion

9.1 Class

9.1.1 : Control of Resource remains primarily with individual (Trait No. 398) for STs as mentioned earlier - 71.9% communities as against 54.2% in SCs.

9.1.2 Entrepreneurship

If the traits Business (Newly Acquired) (Trait No. 506) and Industry (Newly Acquired) (Trait No. 508) are taken as signs of entrepreneurship and upward mobility, SCs & STs are quite comparable with each other with STs leading slightly. There are between 23% to 29% communities of each reporting each activity.

9.2 Caste

9.2.1 Self Esteem

In self-Perception: High (Trait No. 174) and Self-Perception, Middle (Trait No. 175) STs are much above SCs. 26.9% and 46.9% ST communities have high & middle self-perception respectively as against 4.4% & 23.2% SC communities. Other's perception: Medium (Trait No. 185) applies to 39.2% ST and 7.9% SC communities.

9.2.2 Inter Community Linkages

Exchange of Water across communities (Trait No. 652) takes place in 73.3% ST and 64% SC communities, that of Kachcha food (Trait No. 654) in 67.1% and 65.8% communities

respectively and sharing of water resources (Trait No. 661) in 86.8% and 79.8% communities respectively.

Following two tables summarise the findings of the foregoing discussion in Section II. (Figures show the number of traits in each Axis and Type)

Table 2.1

Type	Demography	Class	Caste	Gender	Class	Caste
				Gender	Gender	
1	6	16	17	19	-	3
2	3	15	5	7	-	4
3	35	56	53	48	7	20
4	10	5	16	5	3	5
5	1	-	14	7	1	-
6	22	47	51	39	2	7
7	1	8	4	-	-	1
8	30	18	15	26	4	5
9	4	10	15	7	1	1
Sub-total: Similarity Traits (Types 1, 2 & 3)				: 314		
Sub-total: Difference Traits (Types 4 to 9)				: 385		
Total No. of Traits analysed				: 699		

Table 2.2
SCs

	Above National Proportion	Within National Proportion	Below National Proportion
STs	Above National Proportion	Type 1 61	Type 6 168
	Within National Proportion	Type 4 44	Type 3 219
	Below National Proportion	Type 5 23	Type 8 98
			Type 7 14
			Type 9 38
			Type 2 34

It may be noted that the maximum no. of traits come under Type 3, in 'Similarity Traits', and Within the National Proportion i.e. with the 'mainstream'.

Conclusion

- 1.If equal weightage is ascribed to each trait, then there are more difference traits than similarity traits between SCs & STs. Further, if the traits they also share with 'mainstream' are discounted, the traits they share as Dalits are less than a hundred. Weightage, however, need not be equal as it would depend upon the action orientation of the interventionist group. Traders in edible oil may ascribe more weightage to a trait like whether a community consumes groundnut oil or not, than a political party may.
- 2.Class, Caste and Gender - the three categories premised on dialectical approach, corollarily, may be inadequate to subsume SCs and STs under Dalit - a category that is tending to be inclusive (as the on-going debate regarding OBCs indicates). Defining Dalit may be a longer-drawn process, a situation akin to problematisation of category woman in feminism.
- 3.If the traits of the Survey are taken as defining living system of a community, consisting of survival system and knowledge system, a localised and contextual approach may be more useful than resort to metanarratives.

[Note: If all the traits unanalysed (due to lack of definite information about National Proportion/No. of communities) are Similarity Traits, their total would go up to 391 as against that of Difference Traits - 385. The question of weightage, however remains.]

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