CHAPTER - VII

FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

The study of untouchability among Sudras or Scheduled Castes, actually, is a study of social distance among them. A good many studied about inter-caste and intra-caste distances have been conducted by Indian scholars, because traditionally the clean castes have always maintained social distance from unclean or Sudra Castes. It is the bane of our caste structure, more particularly in the northern part of the country. But in modern times Scheduled Castes have been given much importance in education and employment. Seats are reserved for them in schools and colleges, in the Assembly and the Parliament, in competitions, in providing job opportunities, etc. The students of Scheduled Castes are given scholarships and bursaries.

A. SOCIAL DIMENSION:

For the purposes of our study we have included the following three questions in the social dimension:-

1. If you have to select a mate for yourself or for your children, then would you select it from among the given seven Scheduled Castes;

2. If you have to invite for dinner from among the given seven Scheduled Castes, would you invite them; and

3. If there is a tea shop of any member of the given seven Scheduled Castes would you take tea with them.

Responses to all these questions have been elicited
on a five-point intensity scale. Scores 1 to 5 have been assigned to the responses. Score 1 has been assigned to the most favourable response and Score 5 to the most unfavourable one. Scores 2 to 4 have been assigned to the responses in between these two extremes according to intensity. All these responses for each Scheduled Caste have been summed up for each of the Scheduled Caste toward others Scheduled Castes. The seven Scheduled Castes are: Balmikis, Khatiks, Chamars, Pasis, Dhobis, Koris and Dhanuks. Now let us analyse the social distance on the social dimensions of each of these Scheduled Castes toward others. The sum of scores has been converted into percentages for purposes of analysis.

1. **Inter-marriage relations**

From the above results we find that the in-group feeling is more pronounced among Khatiks and Chamars. Next to them, this in-feeling is manifest among Pasis and Koris. Among Dhobis, Balmikis and Dhanuks this in-group feeling is manifest but not that extent to which it is manifest among Khatiks and Chamars. The reason for the greater manifestation of in-group feeling among Khatiks and Chamars is that mostly they resides in the mohallas of their own caste people and they know each other so well that the selection of the mate from among them does not create much of a problem. Dhobis also reside in separate mohallas and so also Pasis, yet the in-group feeling is not strong among them because the Pasis consider them to be superior to others. As for the in-group feeling among Dhobis is concerned it is not so manifest
because of increase in education among them. The in-group feeling among the Balmikis and Dhanuks is not manifest to that extent because they live anywhere in the city and some of them reside in the mohallas of clean castes and even some of them work in the houses or offices of clean castes.

In respect of inter-marriage with Balmikis and other scheduled castes: Khatiks, Chamars, Pasis, Dhobis, Koris and Dhanuks the results indicate that Balmikis would not, at all, like to inter-marry with other members of other castes except with Chamars. In fact, Balmikis are also called Bhangis and this explains the reason for their less distance from them. With Pasis also they maintain lesser distance than with other caste groups. Besides, while Balmikis would like to maintain some inter-marriage relations with Khatiks and Chamars, the latter would not like to maintain such relations with them.

In respect of inter-marriage relations of Khatiks, we find that while Khatiks would not like to have inter-marriage relations with Pasis, Dhobis and Dhanuks, the latter caste groups do not maintain that feeling of social distance from them. Khatiks would like to have some proximity with Chamars only.

In respect of inter-marriage relations between Chamars and other caste groups we find that they would not like to establish any such relations with Dhobis, and Dhanuks. The relationship between Chamars and Pasis is reciprocal. Again,
while Chamars would not like have marriages with members of Dhobi caste, the Dhobis may maintain some such relations with them. Similarly, while Chamars would like to maintain relations with Koris, the latter would not. As also, while Chamars would not establish any inter-marriage relations with Dhobis, the latter may maintain such relations with them, though only to a limited extent. Again, while Koris would not like to establish such inter-marriage relations with the Chamars, the latter may have such inter-marriage relations with them. While Dhanuks would like to maintain any inter-marriage relations with Dhamars, the latter would not like to establish such relations with them.

In respect of inter-marriage relations between Pasis and other caste groups we find that Pasis would not like to have such relations with Dhobis, less with Koris and the least with Dhanuks. But Dhobis are not so fastidious for having inter-marriage relations with Pasis. Between Pasis and Koris, we find that while Koris would like to have some such relations with the Pasis, the Pasis would have such relations but not to that extent. Again, while Dhanuks would like to enter into marriage relations with the Pasis, the latter would have such relations the least.

2. **Inter-dining Relations** :-

Looking to the inter-dining relations, we find that the inner-group feeling is the maximum among Khatiks. Next to Khatiks, this feeling is manifest among Balmikis and
and Koris. This in-group feeling does not manifest to that extent among the Chamars, Pasis, Dhobis and Dhanuks. These inter-dining relations are one-sided among the Balmikis versus Khatiks, Balmikis-Chamars, Balmikis-Dhobis, and among Balmikis-Dhanuks. It implies, therefore, that while Balmikis are quite liberal toward Khatiks, Chamars, Dhobis and Dhanuks, the latter caste-groups are not. Again, we find that while Dhobis would like to maintain such inter-dining relations with Khatiks, the latter would not like to maintain such relations with Dhobis. Between Khatiks and Pasis, the inter-dining relations are almost reciprocal. Between Khatiks and Koris also the inter-dining relations are almost reciprocal. These relations are also reciprocal to some extent among Khatiks and Chamars. Between Khatiks and Dhanuks they are not so reciprocal. Between Chamars and Pasis the relations are reciprocal to some extent. And so is the case between Chamars and Koris. But these relations are one-sided between Chamars and Dhobis on the one hand, and between Chamars and Dhanuks on the other, as while the Dhobis and Dhanuks would like to have such inter-dining relations with Chamars, the latter would not. Between Pasis and Koris inter-dining relations are reciprocal to a great extent. But between Pasis and Dhobis on the one hand, and between Pasis and Dhanuks on the other, the relations are reciprocal to that extent, it is almost one-sided. Again, between Dhobis and Koris on the one hand, and between Koris and Dhanuks, on the other, the inter-dining relations are only one-sided.
Dhobis and Dhanuks there are no inter-dining relations at all.

3. **Taking Tea:**

In respect of social relationships in respect of taking tea at the shop of another caste group members, we find that the in-group feeling is very strong among the Balmikis and next among the Chamars. The in-group feeling is not that strong among caste group members of Khatiks, Pasis, Dhobis, Koris and Dhanuks. It implies that except the Balmikis, other caste group members are quite liberal in their inter-group relationships. The relationship between Balmikis and Pasis on the one hand, and between Balmikis and Koris are rather reciprocal, though this reciprocity is not that strong from both the sides. But the relationships between Balmikis and Khatiks; between Balmikis and Chamars; between Balmikis and Dhobis; and between Balmikis and Dhanuks are only one-sided. While the Balmikis are quite liberal in their relations with Khatiks, Chamars, Dhobis and Dhanuks, but the latter caste groups appear to be quite fastidious in their social relationships. They would not like to have any tea taking relationships with the Balmikis.

The relationships between Khatiks and Dhobis on the one hand; and between Khatiks and Dhanuks on the other are only one-sided. Khatiks and Dhanuks appear to be quite fastidious. It is characteristic to note that the relationships between Khatiks and Chamars; between Khatiks and Pasis;
and between Khatiks and Koris are reciprocal.

The relationships between Chamars and Dhobis; and between Chamars and Dhanuks are only one-sided. On the other hand, the relationships between Chamars and Pasis; between Chamars and Koris are reciprocal. This reciprocity is quite strong in the case of Chamars and Koris.

The inter-relationships between Pasis and Dhanuks are also one-sided. They are also one-sided to a great extent between Pasis and Dhobis. But between Pasis and Koris, this relationship is reciprocal. The relationship between Dhobis and Koris; and again the relationship between Dhobis and Dhanuks is only one-sided. Koris and Dhanuks appear to be quite fastidious in their relationships with Dhobis, as they would not take tea at their shop. Between Koris and Dhanuks there is reciprocal relationship. While the Koris are less liberal, the Dhanuks are not in their relationships with Koris.

B. PERSONAL DIMENSION OF INTER-CASTE RELATIONSHIP:

The personal dimension of social distance has been examined in respect of the following questions:

1. If you have to make friendship with a member of the given Caste, would you make friendship;

2. If you get a seat in the train near a member of the given caste, would you take the seat;

3. If you have to take a house in the neighbourhood of another given caste member, would you take it.
4. Making Friendship:

In respect of social relationships between different caste groups in respect of making friendship with other caste groups, we find that the in-group feeling among various caste groups is very strong only among the Balmikis. Next to them it is manifest in the case of Chamars, then among Khatiks and Koris, then among Pasis, then among Dhobis and then among Dhanuks. The implications of these in-group feelings among different caste groups is that in modern times the social distance between various caste groups has lessened to a great extent. Again, all the caste groups show sufficient liberality in matters of other untouchable caste groups. This liberality is more manifest among Balmikis, Khatiks, Koris and to some extent among Chamars.

Among some caste groups we find reciprocal relationship. For example, we find this reciprocity between Khatiks and Chamars, between Khatiks and Koris, between Chamars and Pasis, between Chamars and Koris, and to some extent among Balmikis and Chamars, between Balmikis and Pasis, and between Khatiks and Chamars.

Among some caste group members we find only one-sided relationship. For example, we find one-sided relationship between Balmikis and Khatiks, between Balmikis and Dhobis, between Balmikis and Koris, between Balmikis and Dhanuks, between Khatiks and Pasis, between Khatiks and Dhobis, between Khatiks and Dhanuks, between Chamars and Dhobis, between
Chamars and Dhanuks, between Pasis and Koris, between Pasis and Dhobis, between Dhobis and Koris, and between Koris and Dhanuks. These one-sided relationships go to demonstrate that in between these caste groups social distances do exist.

Again, between Pasis and Dhanuks, and between Dhobis and Dhanuks there is complete absence of either mutual relationship or even one-sided relationship. The reason for this social distance may be seen in the fact that Dhobis consider themselves to be superior to Dhanuks. When Dhobis do not prefer any relation of friendship with Dhanuks, why should Dhanuks try to make friends from among Dhobis.

5. Taking a House

In respect of taking a house, the results indicate that the in-group feeling is the greatest among Balmikis than other caste groups. It is moderate among the Koris. Among the rest of the Castes it is not very strong, showing liberality in attitudes.

It is further evident from the results that the relationships between Balmikis and Chamars; Balmikis and Dhobis; Balmikis and Koris, and between Balmikis and Dhanuks are only one-sided, as the Balmikis would prefer to take a house in the neighbourhoods of Dhobis, Chamars, Koris and Dhanuks but the latter caste group members would not and display a good deal of closeness. Between Balmikis and Khatiks, and again between Balmikis and Pasis, the relationship is rather reciprocal. Between Khatiks and Dhobis and
again Khatiks and Dhanuks the relationship is one-sided, as the Khatiks would not prefer to take a house in the neighbourhood of Dhobis and Dhanuks, while these two caste groups would prefer to take a house in the neighbourhood of Khatiks. The reason for this one-sided relationship may be due to the fact that Khatiks consider themselves to be superior to Dhobis and Dhanuks.

There is one-sided relationship between Chamars and Dhobis on the one hand; and between Chamars and Dhanuks on the other. While Dhobis and Dhanuks would take a house in the neighbourhood of Chamars, the latter would not take a house in their neighbourhood at all. Again, the relationship is one-sided between Pasis and Dhobis on the one hand; and between Pasis and Dhanuks on the other. Dhobis and Dhanuks would prefer to take a house in the neighbourhood of Pasis, but the latter would not reciprocate this feeling at all. Between Pasis and Koris the relationship is very much reciprocal. Between Dhobis and Koris this relationship is one-sided as Dhobis would prefer to take a house in the neighbourhood of Koris but the Koris would prefer to take a house in the neighbourhood of Koris but the Koris would not reciprocate this feeling. Dhobis and Dhanuks are not prepared to have either one-sided or reciprocal relationship.

6. Sitting in a Train :-

Looking to the results of different caste group
members sitting with members of other caste groups in a train, we find that the in-group feeling is only very strong in the case of Balmikis. Next to them, it is quite appreciable in the case of Chamars. Among other caste group members it is not that strong but shows a liberality of attitudes.

Between Balmikis and Chamars; between Balmikis and Dhobis; and between Balmikis and Dhanuks the feeling is only one-sided in so far as the former would prefer to sit with other caste group members but the latter would not maintain any such relations with them. This feeling is also one-sided between Khatiks and Dhobis on the one hand, and between Khatiks and Dhanuks on the other in so far as the latter would like to keep such relations while the former would not like. Among Chamars and other caste group members we find that Chamars and Dhanuks on the one hand; and between Chamars and Dhanuks on the other, the relationship is only one-sided, as the former would not like to keep any such relations with the two other castes, but the latter would keep such relations. Between Pasis and Dhanuks the relationship is only one-sided. While the Pasis would not like to have any such relations with Dhanuks, the latter would keep such relations. Between Pasis and Dhobis the relations are reciprocal only to the extent that Dhobis would be more interested in keeping such relations while the Pasis would keep such relations to the minimal extent. Between Pasis and Koris the relations are reciprocal and to a great extent this mutuality exists between them.
and Koris on the one hand, and between Dhobis and Dhanuks on the other the relations are one-sided to the extent that while Koris would not like keep such relations with the Dhobis, the latter would keep such relations. Similar is the case of relations between Dhobis and Dhanuks, while Dhobis would like to keep relations with Dhanuks but the Dhanuks would not keep such relations at all, although the extent to which Dhobis would keep relations with Dhanuks is very small. Between Koris and Dhanuks the relations are one of mutuality and reciprocity.

C. **ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF INTER-CASTE RELATIONSHIP**

In respect of economic dimension, the responses to the following questions have been investigated:

1. If you have to give loans to a member of another Scheduled Castes, would you...

2. If you have to making partnership with another Scheduled Caste member, would you....

3. In case you have to do service with another Caste group, would you....

4. If you have to do any work with another caste group, would you....

7. **Giving Loans**

Analysing the totality of results in respect of preference in giving loans to other caste group members we find that the results indicate that the in-group feeling is quite strong in the case of Balmikis, Chamars, Dhobis and Koris. Although they are not apathetic to other caste
group members, yet their first preferences are for their own caste group members. There is reciprocal relationship between Balmikis and Pasis; between Khatiks and Chamars; between Khatiks and Pasis; between Khatiks and Koris; Khatiks and Dhanuks; between Chamars and Koris; between Pasis and Dhanuks; between Pasis and Dhobis; between Pasis of Koris; and between Dhobis and Dhanuks. This reciprocal relationship is not very strong in the case of Khatiks and Dhanuks, between Pasis and Dhobis; and between Dhobis and Dhanuks. There is only one-sided relationship between Balmikis and Chamars; Balmikis and Dhobis; Balmikis and Koris; Balmikis and Dhanuks; Khatiks and Dhobis; Chamars and Dhobis; Chamars and Dhanuks; Pasis and Dhanuks; Dhanuks and Koris; etc. In this one-sided relationship while the Balmikis have shown preference for Dhanuks, the latter have not. Similarly, while Balmikis have shown preference for Chamars, the latter have not reciprocated to any extent. Similarly, while Dhobis have shown preference for Chamars, the latter have not shown any preference for Chamars. To some extent it is also true of the relationship between Pasis and Dhanuks. While the Dhanuks have shown preference for Pasis, the latter have only shown only minimal preference for Pasis. Similarly, while Dhanuks have shown some preference for Dhobis, the latter have shown only very little preference for them.

8. Partnership Relations

From the above results it is evident that the in-group
feeling is very strong among Balmikis, Khatiks and Chamars. It is not so strong in the case of other caste group members, except to a moderate extent among Dhabis and Koris. Furthermore, it is apparent from the results that the relationship between Balmikis and Pasis; between Khatiks and Chamars; between Khatiks and Pasis; between Khatiks and Koris; between Chamars and Pasis; between Chamars and Koris; and between Pasis and Koris there is mutual and reciprocal relationship. Apart from this, the relationship between Balmikis and Chamars; between Balmikis and Dhabis; between Balmikis and Koris; between Balmikis and Khatiks; between Balmikis and Dhanukas; between Khatiks and Dhabis; between Khatiks and Dhanukas; between Chamars and Dhabis; between Chamars and Dhanukas; between Pasis and Dhabis; between Pasis and Dhanukas; between Dhabis and Koris; between Dhabis and Dhanukas; and between Koris and Dhanukas, the relationship is only one-sided. In this one-sided relationship while Balmikis would prefer partnership relations with Khatiks; Balmikis with Chamars; Dhabis, Koris and Dhanukas etc. would prefer to have partnership relations, the latter caste groups would not. Again, while Dhabis would prefer relationship with Khatiks and Dhanukas with Khatiks, the latter would not prefer to keep relations with the former caste groups. Again, while Dhabis would prefer to keep relations with Chamars; and Dhanukas to have relations with Chamars, the latter would not. Still further, while Dhabis and Dhanukas would prefer relationship with Pasis the latter would not. While Dhabis would prefer
relationship with Koris; and Dhobis with Dhanuks, the latter caste groups would not. Lastly, while Dhanuks would prefer to have relationship with Koris, the latter would not.

9. **Service Relations** :-

In this respect we find that the in-group feeling in matters of service relationship is the strongest among Khatiks. It is stronger only in the case Balmikis and Koris. In respect of the in-group feeling among Chamars, Pasis, Dhobis and Dhanuks it is that strong, rather moderate. Among Dhanuks it is rather very less. It implies that Khatiks are apathetic toward other caste groups and would least like to establish service relations with other caste groups. In case of Dhanuks, their inner-group feeling being very less, they are quite liberal to other caste group members.

There is reciprocal relationship in matters of service between Balmikis and Pasis (though a very weak one); between Khatiks and Pasis; between Khatiks and Koris; between Chamars and Pasis; and between Pasis and Koris. There is one-sided relationship between Balmikis and Khatiks; Balmikis and Chamars; between Balmikis and Dhobis (though a very weak relationship); between Balmikis and Koris (though a very weak one); and between Balmikis and Dhanuks; between Khatiks and Chamars; between Khatiks and Dhobis; between Khatiks and Dhanuks; between Chamars and Dhobis; between Chamars and Koris; between Chamars and Dhanuks; between Pasis and Dhobis; between Chamars and Dhanuks.
between Pasis and Dhanuks; between Koris and Dhanuks; between Dhobis and Koris; and between Dhobis and Dhanuks. It may be pointed out that the one-sided relationship between Dhobis and Dhanuks is a very weak one, almost as good as no relation at all.

10. Work Relationship:

The results of work relationships indicate that the in-group feeling is very strong among the Khatiks and among Balmikis. It is moderate among Chamars, Dhobis and Koris. It is not very strong among Pasis and Dhanuks. There is reciprocal work relationship between Khatiks and Balmikis, between Chamars and Balmikis, between Khatiks and Pasis, between Khatiks and Koris; between Chamars and Pasis, between Chamars and Koris, and between Pasis and Koris. Between Balmikis and Khatiks, between Balmikis and Dhobis, between Balmikis and Koris, between Balmikis and Dhanuks, and between Dhobis and Koris there is one-sided work relationship in so far as the former caste group would prefer to have relations with the latter caste groups, but the latter would not prefer to have any relations with them. Again, there is also one-sided relationship between Khatiks and Chamars, between Khatiks and Dhobis, between Khatiks and Dhanuks, between Chamars and Dhobis, between Chamars and Dhanuks, between Pasis and Dhobis, between Pasis and Dhanuks and between Koris and Dhanuks is so far the latter would prefer to have work relationship with the former, while the former would not prefer to have work relationship with the
latter.

D. **POLITICAL DIMENSION OF INTER-CASTE RELATIONS**

In respect of the political dimension of inter-caste relations the following question was asked:

1. If you have to vote for a candidate belonging to another caste group in an election, would you...

The responses to this question have yielded the following findings:

It is apparent from the results that the in-group feeling is the greatest among Balmikis as compared to other caste group members. It is sufficiently moderate among Khatiks and Dhobis. Other caste groups members show quite a good deal of liberality and openness. There is reciprocal relationship between Balmikis and Pasis, the latter showing lesser preference for the former; between Khatiks and Chamars; between Khatiks and Pasis; between Khatiks and Koris; between Chamars and Pasis; between Chamars and Koris; between Pasis and Koris; and to a very limited extent between Pasis and Dhanuks, the former showing minimal preference for the latter. There is one-sided relationship between Balmikis and Khatiks; between Balmikis and Chamars; between Balmikis and Dhobis; between Balmikis and Dhanuks; between Dhobis and Koris; between Dhobis and Dhanuks in so far as the former would show preferences for the latter but the latter would not reciprocate their gestures. Again,
there is one-sided relationship between Khatiks and Dhobis; between Khatiks and Dhanuks; between Khatiks and Dhobis; between Khatiks and Dhanuks; between Chamars and Dhobis; between Chamars and Dhanuks; and between Koris and Dhanuks in so far as the latter would prefer voting for the former but the former being quite apathetic.