Chapter 7
Empirical Estimation of Economic Discrimination: Market and Non-Market

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we examined asset ownership is remained relatively lower accessible to the former untouchables. Continuing with this, we further investigate the issue of caste discrimination in market and non-market. Therefore, this chapter analyzed the empirical writings of Thorat on the issues of Economic discrimination Market and non-market. We analyzes the issue of labour and occupation discrimination in rural area, labour market discrimination in private sector and non-market discrimination.

The economic interpretation of the caste system implies that in its original form, caste as a system of economic governance (or organization of production and distribution) is governed by certain customary rules and norms, which are unique and distinct. The organization scheme of the caste system is based on the division of people in social groups (or castes) in which the economic and social rights of each individual. Caste are predetermined or ascribed by birth and made hereditary. The assessment of economic rights across various castes is, however, unequal and hierarchical. The caste system also provides a community-based regulatory mechanism to enforce the social and economic organization through the instrument of social ostracism (or social and economic penalties), and reinforces it further with justification and support from philosophical elements of Hindu religion.

Viewed from this perspective, the caste system’s fundamental characteristics of fixed economic rights for each caste, with restrictions on change, implies, forced exclusion of the lower castes from certain economic rights (or occupations) that the higher castes (HC) enjoy. Exclusion and discrimination in economic spheres such as occupation and labour employment are, therefore internal to the system, and a necessary outcome of its governing principles. In the market economy framework, the inter-caste occupational immobility would be operate through restrictions on lower caste persons in various markets such as land, labour, capital, credit, other inputs, and services necessary for any economic activity. Labour, being an integral part of production process of any economic activity would obviously constitute a part of Market discrimination (Thorat, Newman 2010).
Systematic empirical studies on caste and untouchability based market discrimination in rural area are rare. Therefore Thorat developed the concept of caste and untouchability based market discrimination applicable to the labour, agricultural land, inputs and product and consumer goods markets.

### 7.2 Labour and Occupational Discrimination in Rural Areas

Discrimination associated with institutions of caste and untouchability is deeply entrenched in dense social and economic relations generally operate through the structures of dominance and power and through general restrictions faced by low caste untouchables in various market and non-market transactions, which in some cases are direct, while in others are indirect and of subtle nature.

Thorat writes that, caste based labour market discrimination is conceived as (a) the complete exclusion of low –caste persons form employment by the HCs; (b) selective inclusion in hiring, but with unequal treatment, which may be reflected in denial of jobs to low castes in certain economic activities (as they are considered to be polluting and impure and, therefore, untouchable) and in lower wages (lower than market wages or lower than comparable wages awarded HC labour); (c) selective inclusion with different terms with respect to hours of work and other working conditions; and (d) inclusion with differential behaviour towards or treatment of low – caste workers in the workplace. Labour market discrimination my also involve forced work for low-caste untouchables, imposed by traditional caste-related obligations leading to overwork and loss of freedom (Thorat, Mahamllik and Sadana 2010).

Low caste untouchables my also face differential behaviour in various market and non-market transactions other than those in the labour market. Discrimination in these markets refers to complete denial or access and or selective inclusion with differential treatment in the sale and purchase of factors of production (live agricultural land and other inputs), and denial of opportunities to engage in the sale and purchase of products and consumer goods. Discrimination in this case may be occurring through denial by the HCs of sale inputs and products to low-caste persons as well as through refusal to buy the same from low –caste sellers.

Discrimination may also take the form of price discrimination. This may be experienced by low caste untouchables in the shape of higher prices on purchase, or alternatively, as lower prices received by them for their products and goods as compared to market prices. This may include
prices of factors inputs, such as the price of land or rent on land, interest on capital, rent on residential houses, and charges or fees on privately houses, and charges or fees on privately supplied services as irrigation. Discrimination may also be reflected in differences in the terms and conditions of contracts in market and non-market transactions, which may be unfavorable for low caste untouchables. Discrimination may be faced by low–caste untouchables in differential arrangement in their use of village–level common property resources such as water bodies and common grazing land.

Thorat’s rural market discrimination study is based on the survey of about 664 households form three villages in the states of Orissa, Gujarat, and Maharashtra. The result shows that the SCs account for 14.51 per cent of the sample Hindu families and OBCs and HCs for about 38.43 per cent and 45.52 per cent respectively, and STs account for only 1.54 per cent of total sample Hindu families. The level of education in terms of the proportion of those with high school, secondary, graduate, and postgraduate qualifications is high for the HCs and compared to the SCs and OBCs. Thus the quality of human resources of lower–caste persons is relatively low as compared with HCs (Thorat, Mahamllik and Sadana 2010).

They have classified the workers into five broad categories namely, farm casual labour, non-farm casual labour, salaried worker, self employed cultivator, self employed business person. There are about 791 farm casual labourers and 195 non-farm casual labourers. These two categories together accounts for 40 per cent to total workers. These are 141 salaried workers, which is 8.3 per cent of total workers. Self-employed cultivators number 409, and the self employed engaged in non-farm business are about 160 in number. The proportion of farm and non-farm casual labour is maximum for the OBCs followed by the SC and the least among HC workers. On the other hand the proportion of self-employed workers among the HC is the highest followed by OBCs, STs and SCs in that order.

At the regional level in the sample village of Gujarat, casual labourers account for 47 percent of the total workers, about 43 percent are self employed and the rest are engaged in regular salaried and other occupations. At the social group level SC workers are predominantly engaged as casual labour in agriculture (66.7 percent) followed by the self employed (16.7 percent). A very small proportion of SC workers (6.7 percent) are engaged as regular salaried workers. OBC workers follows a similar pattern of occupational distribution with a higher proportion working as casual labour in agricultural activities, followed by self employment and regular salaried
occupations. HC workers work in a higher proportions as self employed cultivators, as compared to the SC and OBC. In Orissa, 46 percent of total workers are engaged as casual labour 36 percent are self employed 6.3 percent work in regular salaried activities, while 11 percent are involved in other activities workers from the SC and OBC social groups work in a higher proportion as casual labourers, followed by those who are self employed. On the other hand in the village of Maharashtra more than half of the total workers are engaged in self employed activities, especially in the farm sector. In this village 30 percent of the total workers are engaged as casual labourers. This pattern of occupation is observed across social groups as well with more than 50 percent of workers engaged in self employed activities (Thorat, Mahamllik and Sadana 2010).

7.2.1 Patterns of Discrimination Caste and Labour Market

Labour market discrimination is measured by the difference between low caste untouchables and HC’s in the number of days employed in an agricultural year with an assumption that the skill required for manual wage labour engaged in agriculture is generally available with low caste untouchables as well as HC labourers, and therefore the difference in employment rates between the lower caste and HC manual wage labourers could be attributed to the hiring preferences of HC employers. Similarly, the differences in the wage rates across all castes for similar manual wage labour could be attributed to wage discrimination practiced by high caste employers. The discrimination in the terms and conditions is reflected in the denial of certain types of jobs, conditions of work and discriminatory behaviour at the workplace. The time period in all the cases relates to one agricultural year from July 2003 to June 2004. Inter caste differences are fairly clear in access to employment.

Thorat finds wage discrimination between lower castes and the HC is in three different ways, viz., differences in daily wage earnings, intervals in wage payment, and installment of wage payment. The average daily wage rate is estimated for a whole year taking Kharif and Rabi seasons together for casual farm labour. There are differences in wage rates between lower caste and HC farm casual labour. The overall farm wage rate is about Rs 33 per day. The wage received by the SC farm wage labourer is about Rs. 30 which is lower than the wage (Rs. 34 per day) received by the HC farm wage labourer. In the case of non-farm wage labour the overall wage is about RS 48 per day. The wage received by the SC non-farm wage labourer is Rs. 58, compared with Rs 77 for the HC casual non-farm wage labourer (Thorat, Newman 2010).
Thorat also studied the differences in the wage payment interval between low caste untouchables and the HC’s. The analysis is done for casual farm labour in the Kharif and Rabbi seasons. The results indicate that SC wage labour suffered discrimination in terms of late payment of wages. The situation with respect to the time interval in wage payment is much less favourable for them as compared to their counterparts from the HCs. This obviously has an impact on their capacity to meet livelihood requirements on a daily basis. Given the meager capacity of SC wage labour to meet their daily essential needs through own saving, this often compels them to resort to high cost borrowing from moneylenders and others.

7.2.2 Caste and the Land Market

The involvement of SC in the purchase of land for agricultural purposes is very limited. In the entire sample, only five households reported purchase of agricultural land. The land had been purchased from OBCs, their own caste members and STs. Thus, by and large land transactions from purchase by SC persons were with landowners belonging to the OBCs, ST, or own caste. HCs did not figure in land transactions with the SC’s. In most of the cases, SC persons were required to pay higher prices, which indicates price discrimination in the agricultural land market.

The land purchased was reported to be of good quality in four out of five transactions. About 34 persons responded when quizzed about the general difficulties faced by SC persons in the village while purchasing agricultural land. They reported various kinds of difficulties, which resulted in the purchase of land at long distance from the native village, or away from the catchment areas or irrigation canals or away from high caste land, or even purchase of inferior quality land. The results show a presence of discrimination in the land market in the form of denial of sale of agricultural land to SC buyers when it involved a common border with a high caste landowner. Adding to this, refusal to sell land that was near the village (forcing SC’s to buy land long distance away), denial of land that was in the catchment area of an irrigation project and discrimination in the form of refusal by HC’s to sell good quality land are clearly brings out the discrimination in the land market (Thorat, Newman 2010).

Instances of sale of agricultural land to the HC’s by the SC’s or sales transaction by SC’s at lower than market prices are significant. There seems to be an instinctive caste preference by the HCs in sale of land to persons of their own caste. About 64 percent of the SC respondents reported caste preferences as the determining factor in the sale of agricultural land by the HC, compared to
20 percent who mentioned price at the only factor in the sale of agricultural land, another 5 percent mentioned that at a given market price, the HC would generally give preference to persons of their own caste. The remaining 10 percent reported that agricultural land is generally sold by the HC to anybody, irrespective of caste background and thus, the sale is governed by the price factor alone.

7. 2.3 Homestead Land and Residential Houses

The entire study the SC respondents faced various kinds of restrictions in the purchase of land for construction of residential dwellings in predominantly high caste localities and in renting property within predominantly high caste localities. Generally the HC’s do not buy land for construction of houses in a low caste locality (Thorat, Mahamillik and Sadana 2010).

Permitting the SC’s to buy a house in a high caste locality, or to rent a house in that locality or alternatively for a high caste person to buy land in a low caste locality or to rent a house in their locality, means breaking the traditional residential segregation in housing, which is a ubiquitous feature of the caste wise residential pattern in the rural areas. Thus caste wise residential segregation in housing is a common pattern that was observed in the sample villages. the results shows that a large number of SC respondents reported that generally the high castes did not buy land for construction of a house in a low caste locality and only a small proportion of them accounting for 5 percent mentioned that the high castes would buy land in a habitats of low caste (Thorat and Katherine 2010).

A majority (93.3 percent) of the low caste untouchables mentioned that the HC generally do not buy land for residential purposes in low caste localities because of caste prejudice. Only 5 per cent mentioned that the price charged by the low castes was the reason for a high caste person not buying land in low caste locality. About 92 per cent mentioned that they were generally not allowed to buy land in a high caste locality. The feeling of not allowing to buy land and high castes did not like low castes to stay in their locality are reported substantially, but a few also reported they themselves were not socially comfortable about staying in a high caste locality. Thus caste prejudice emerged as the main reason for the low castes not being able to buy land in a high caste locality for construction of houses (Thorat and Newman 2010).

7. 2.4 Agricultural Market: Discrimination in Rental Land and Input Market
In rural areas, cultivation is the major source of livelihood in rural areas. In Maharashtra, the livelihood sources of more than 80 per cent of the rural population largely are constitutes, directly or indirectly, agricultural based sources (Deshpande et. al., 2007). Since, size of land holding among SCs is relatively lower as compared to other social groups, they work as either agricultural labourers or lease in agricultural land. The investigation by Thorat brings out that the SC households lease-in agricultural land for the purpose of cultivation. It emerged from the reported evidence that the SC faced differential treatment either in the form of refusal to rent land by the HC, or through renting of land on unfavorable terms and conditions. About one-third of the respondents reported that HC landowners had refused to rent land to them. Of those who managed to get some land on lease, about 22 percent had been offered lease under unfavorable terms and conditions. Generally different from those of HC tenants. Although the land lease market is fairly open to the SC, they do face discrimination in terms of selective denial of land on rent and/ or unfavorable terms and conditions (Thorat, Mahamllik and Sadana 2010).

The second important market in concern to the agriculture is the input market. According to Thorat the purchase of inputs required in farming is not free of discrimination. Discrimination in the input market relates to restrictions faced by SC cultivators in the purchase of input such as irrigation and agricultural implements and access to services of high caste human labour (Thorat and Newman 2010). According to Thorat access to the input market is fairly open and the incidence of those who faced caste related restrictions in the purchase of the inputs is relatively less compared to other markets. Given the small size of the sample these observation need to be treated with caution.

In the case of access to private irrigation only two respondents reported difficulties in acquiring water for irrigation from private suppliers and one of them mentioned higher price for irrigation water. The respondents did not report caste related restrictions in access to public irrigation. SC cultivators face some restrictions in the hiring of implements and human and bullock labour from the HC’s three respondents reported having faced difficulties which included refusal to provide services of agricultural implements and supply of implements that was not timely. Compared to agricultural implements, caste related restrictions are more pronounced in the case of hiring of high caste human labour by SC cultivators. It is to be noted that the HC labour deny to work on the farm of SC cultivators for the reason that HC wage labourers consider it beneath their dignity to work on the farm of SC cultivators. Thus it seems that SC farmers face restrictions in hiring high caste labour and therefore are required to depend more on wage labour from their own
caste (Thorat and Newman 2010). Similarly the supply of bullock labour to SC farmers faced caste related restrictions because of caste prejudice, which is a reason for refusal to hire implements and transport equipment owned by SC families.

7.2.5 Market in Sale and Purchase of Farm and Non-farm Goods

Discrimination faced by the SC’s in the sale and purchase of farm and non-farm consumer goods is measured in terms of refusal by the HC’s to buy goods from SC sellers and in not selling goods to them indicated discrimination in sale of farm output and reasons for the higher castes not buying from Scheduled Castes sellers. The information about the preferences of HC buyers was ascertained from the SC respondents. Thorat brings out a very contradictory responses from SCs and HCs respondents on a question about "why the HC do not buy goods from them". The former households (about two thirds of the SC respondents) mentioned their impure status as a reason, while low quality of the product was the reason given by HC buyers.

7.2.6 Sale and Purchase of Vegetables and Milk

Since the notion of the impure status of low cost untouchables is an important reason for not buying goods from them, particularly consumer goods more specific questions were asked about consumer items such as milk and vegetables. Milk and vegetables are important items sold and purchased by all households on a daily basis in rural areas. The importance of these goods and the ways in which they interact with the notion of purity and pollution associated with untouchables. To be a more specific query about whether the HCs buy vegetables from the untouchables, about 16 SC respondents indicated that the HCs do not buy vegetables from them, mainly due to the perceived impure status of low caste untouchables.

The SC seller faces discrimination while selling milk as well as vegetables. About 14 SC respondents indicated that the HC generally avoided buying milk from the untouchables. Only 3 percent indicated that the HC buyer is neutral about the caste of the seller. Of the total respondents who said that the HC’s do not buy milk and vegetables from low caste sellers, nearly 93 percent indicated that the HC do so because they consider goods purchased from a low caste seller to be impure and polluting. Thus the traditional nation of purity and impurity associated with the status of ‘untouchable’ persons greatly influences the purchase of consumer goods, such as milk and vegetables, by the high castes from low castes seller (Thorat and Newman 2010).
7.2.7 Traditional Caste Occupations

Thorat identifies six traditional caste related occupations that includes barbers, scavengers, tailors, washerman, musicians and sweepers. Discrimination is evident in various degrees across different occupations. Thorat finds different washermen and barbers for low caste and high caste. According to him, minimal discrimination in the case of carpenters and highest in the case of barbers is evident (Thorat and Newman 2010).

7.3 Labour Market Discrimination in Urban Area

Caste has long been used for regulating economic life in India. The economic organization of the caste system is based on the division of the population into a hierarchical order of social groups that determines the economics rights of members, which are determined by birth and are hereditary in the strictest sense of the term. A community based system of enforcement regulates caste privileges by means of social ostracism, violence and economic penalties that find their justification in elements of Hindu religion (Thorat and Newman 2008-a). In market economy, occupational immobility is the result of the restrictions on access to land, labour, capital, credit, education and other inputs and services necessary for commercial activity to not provide for differential capacities to participate. Entitlements to economic rights become narrower and narrower as we move down the hierarchical ladders of the caste system. Without intervention, classically untouchables or Dalits who lie at the very bottom of the social order, find themselves restricted to the most despised occupations and the lowest wages. Unable to interact freely with others in the market, Dalits find themselves simultaneously restricted in the economic sense and repressed as citizens, as they are in practice, even if not in theory denied civil rights (Freedom of expression before the law) political rights (the ability to exercise political power) and socio economic rights (claims to property, employment and education) (Thorat and Newman 2008-b).

In order to understand, Thorat examined the relation between caste and labour market discrimination in urban India. Thorat examines how the responses differs to the job applications by different candidates from different social background, but keeping other characteristics similar. In this study, a total of 4808 applications were made to 548 job advertisements over 66 weeks. The results shows a statistically significant effects of both caste and religion on job outcome. It is found that having a high caste name considerably improves a job applicants chances of a positive
outcome, but if a high caste applicant lacks the requested credential, his chances of success are considerably reduced (Thorat, Attewell and Rizvi-2008-a).

7.4 Discrimination in Private Sector

Current patterns of socio economic inequality within nations are often intertwined with much older system of stratification and social exclusion. In most nations, however groups at the bottom of the stratification order have either won or have been granted rights of equal citizenship. Nowadays modern constitutions and legal codes outlaw the more violent or oppressive forms of social exclusion that were common in the past. In some countries law makers have gone further to offer group specific rights and privileges intended to redress past wrongs.

Ironically, the existence of these rights and protections lead many persons in the social mainstream those not from a stigmatized or economically disadvantages group to conclude that discrimination is a thing of the past. The fact that certain social groups remain disproportionately poor, despite these legal safeguards, is often attributed to their low levels of education, or to their concentration in economically backwards sectors. When continuing discrimination is acknowledged, it is frequently viewed as a fading survival from the past, an aberration that is antithetical to a modern capitalist economy. Consequently, advocates for stigmatized groups face on uphill battle in persuading their fellow citizens that discrimination remains a powerful ongoing force that explains the persistence of inequality even the modern sectors of society.

Thorat’s experimental study to locate discrimination in urban labour market provide a useful tool for determining the extent of present day discrimination. This field experiment study of job discriminations observed a statistically significant pattern by which, on average, college – educated lower – case and Muslim jobs applicants fare less well than equivalently qualified applicants. The only aspect of family background that was communicated in the these applications was the application’s name, yet this was enough to generate a different pattern of responses to applications form Muslims and Dalits, compared to those form HC Hindus. These were all highly educated and appropriately qualified applicants attempting to enter the modern private sector, yet even in this sector, caste and religion proved influential in determining ones job chances.

These discriminatory outcomes occurred at the very first stage of the process that Indian university graduates go through to apply for a job. In this study they did not collect data on who
was ultimately hired for these particular jobs. Nor is it possible to determine the employment composition of private sector enterprises in India, because corporations are not obliged to report the caste and religious composition of their workforces to the government. By contrast, US law requires companies of a certain size to report the gender and racial composition of their workforces to the federal government, and these data are monitored by the federal equal employment opportunity commission.

They speculate that if caste and communal discrimination are evident even at this early phase of the application process in India, then final hiring decisions are unlikely to be equitable. In a separate study they have been collecting accounts of job interviews and hiring experiences from both high and low caste job applicant that suggest that caste biases also effect later stages of the hiring process. Their study examined one route by which Indian job seekers apply for jobs. In addition to applications to newspaper advertisement some university graduates are employed through a process of an campus job interviews held at the more prestigious universities towards the end of the final year at university. These are known as hiring cells.

Their finding suggest that social exclusion is not just a residue of the past clinging to the margins of the Indian economy no is it limited to people of little education on the contrary it appears that caste favoritism and the social exclusion of Dalits and Muslims occur in private enterprises even in the most dynamic modern sector of the Indian economy (Thorat, Attewell and Rizvi-2008-b).

7.5 Other Discrimination (Food, Security, Health and Education)

Thorat examines discrimination in the public services, namely, food security schemes, health and educational institutes. Thorat attempts to address the broader question of how caste functions as a barrier to the universal attainment of the right to food based on the findings of the Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (IIDS) survey. The discrimination under the food security schemes are based on the survey conducted by IIDS in April June 2004 in 531 villages across five states exposed patterns of caste discrimination that afflict if not overwhelm the Indian government run Mid-day Meal Scheme (MDMS) and Public Distribution System (PDS) programmes.

7.5.1 Food Security

Access to the MDMS is first and foremost contingent or the implementation of the scheme by state governments. The governments of Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu have taken the
initial step towards facilitating access, by implementing the MDMS. Out of 306 villages served or 98.4 per cent had a functioning MDMS in the government school in their village. A functioning MDMS, however, does not always assure access. In six respondent villages in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, Dalit children were completely barred the MDMS by dominant caste community an account of either caste discriminate generally or ‘untouchability’ specifically. While these six villages constitute only 2 per cent of the 306 villages surveyed, the living practice of outright exclusion anywhere has found implications for the right to food and Dalits access to that right.

Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Bihar, on the other hand where one-third of Indian’s Dalits live, denied Dalits and other poor children access to their legislated entitlements from the very beginning, by simply refusing to implement the shared cooked MDMs. In the distribution of dry grains to government school children that continues to substitute for the MDMs in Bihar and UP, regularized corruption and caste-based discriminatory distribution were widely reported and in some cases outright exclusion of Dalit children from distribution was reported. Thorat describes a few of the instance to the former phenomenon, where he finds discriminatory behaviour by the high caste is acting as a restriction in seeking access to the MDMS scheme in UP and Bihar.

A second critical factor affecting Dalits’ access to the MDMs was the physical setting of the program. According to Thorat, most of the MDMs are found in the School, however, in some villages these are located in the temples and these temples have denied entry of the dalit children. Add to this, if the physical setting of the MDMs is important, the locality in which that space is situated is equally, if not more, significant. The probability of denial to provide the services to dalits are found to higher in those MDMs which are located in the non-dalit settlements.

It is to be noted that the hiring of the employees from the dominant caste is more prevalent practice in Rajasthan. Only 8 per cent of respondents villages of Rajasthan having a Dalit cook and not a single respondent village having a Dalit MDMs organizer. Tamil Nadu hired proportionally more Dalits, while still keeping them firmly in minority. Andhra Pradesh leads the three state indicators of Dalit empowerment and ownership of the MDMs, with 49 per cent and 45 per cent of respondent villages having Dalits as cooks and organizers, respectively (Thorat and Newman, 2010).

Thorat said opposition to Dalit cooks’ is actually a blanket term describing several different patterns of specific acts of caste discrimination and exclusion observed in this study. Such
patterns are inclusive of the varied forms taking place at different points during the process of MDS. First, when local administrators are putting the MDMs into place, dominant caste community members intervene to block the hiring of Dalit cooks, favouring dominant caste cooks instead. Where a Dalit cook has been hired, dominant caste parents then being sending their children to school with lunches packed at home or require their children to come home from lunch, in any case forbidding their children to eat food prepared by the Dalit cook. In the third stage, dominant caste parents or community members pressure the local discrimination to dismiss the Dalit cook, on any pretext, and hire a dominant caste cook instead. Where this is ineffective or some without the intervening step, the dominant caste parents campaign to shut down the MDMs in the village school altogether. Finally, some dominant caste parents react to the hiring of a Dalit cook by withdrawing their children from the school and sometimes a demitting them in a different school where the cook is not a Dalit.

Behind all these trends of dominant caste behaviour is the classic Hindu understanding of purity and pollution, according to which food prepared by a Dalit- That is an ‘untouchable’ is considered ‘polluted’ by virtue of its contact with the intrinsically polluted Dalit. At other level, dominant caste opposition to Dalit cooks also represent a power of struggle over livelihood rights. In the manner of social boycotts, concerted dominant caste opposition to Dalit cooks functions to break Dalit economic aspirations, that is Dalit entry into new livelihood domains such as government employment as MDMs such as government employment as MDMs cooks at the village level. The rural dominant caste establishment with traditionally enjoys the economic dependence of the Dalit community, perceives Dalit entries into new economics spheres as threatening and, therefore, responds with a backlash.

Thorat discusses how discrimination is exists in terms of segregation and opposition to shared meals. Discrimination is evident in MDMs in the form of separate seating arrangement which is the primary problem. Dalit children are required to sit apart from the dominant caste. Children sometimes simply apart within the same space or at other times outside the school building, while the dominant caste children sit inside; on the floor or on dirt when dominant caste children sit on mats or on a lower level than their dominant caste peers. The practice of separate meals usually implies segregated drinking water arrangements as well.

The second component of the Throat's investigation on the discrimination in food security constitutes Public Distribution System (PDS). In terms of access, it is to the credit of the PDS that
throughout the country, PDS shops are largely up and running. As a national average 87 percent of respondent village in the IIDS study reported having at least one functioning PDS shop in their village: 73 percent of respondents had exactly one PDS shop in their village while 14 percent had more than one PDS shop per village. Thirteen percent of respondent villages however had no PDS shop in their village and must travel outside to avail themselves of their legislated entitlements of subsidized goods (Thorat and Joel Lee 2010).

Most of the villages without PDS shops were in UP and Bihar. Taking a interstate variations, UP shows itself to be the most recruitment in assuring PDS accessibility with 39 percent of respondent villages lacking PDS shops and only 7 percent having more than one shop. Bihar followed with 16 percent of villages lacking a PDS shop and only 10 percent having more than one shop. Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu scored about equally and adequately while access appears most assured in Andhra Pradesh, where 44 percent of respondent villages had more than one shop, 53 percent had exactly one shop, and only 3 percent have no shop.

A second factor conditioning Dalit access to the benefits of the PDS was the location in which the PDS shop were physically situated. In Rajasthan PDS shops were located in dominant caste localities in 91 percent of respondent villages while not a single village has a shop in a Dalit colony and 9 percent had shops located elsewhere. In UP, shops were located in dominant caste localities in 82 percent of villages with 16 percent in Dalit colonies and 2 percent hosted the shops in 76 percent of villages and the other 24 percent were located in Dalit colonies. In Tamil Nadu, dominant caste localities had the shops in 53 percent of the villages, Dalit colonies in 16 percent (same as up) and 31 percent were elsewhere. Andhra Pradesh had the highest proportion of PDS shops in Dalit colonies at 30 percent and the lowest proportion in dominant caste colonies at 48 percent with 22 percent elsewhere. As a national average then 17 percent of villages had PDS shop in Dalit colonies, while 70 percent more than four times the former) had PDS shops located in dominant caste localities and 13 percent of villages has PDS shops located elsewhere.

Andhra Pradesh stood out as the only state in which Dalit had attained a significant degree of participatory empowerment at 32 percent with another 7 percent ST ownership of PDS shops and 61 percent dominant caste ownership. In an interesting departure from earlier patterns however in PDS shop ownership it was Tamil Nadu that boasted the most complete dominant caste hegemony (91 percent) and the lowest level of Dalit empowerment (9 percent) followed by up (90 percent and 10 percent respectively ), Rajasthan (85 percent and 15 percent respectively ) and Bihar
(78 percent and 22 percent respectively). The national average come to 81 percent dominant caste ownership of PDS shops and 19 percent combined SC and ST ownership.

In terms of treatment of Dalits in the PDS various forms of discriminatory practices in varying degrees of currency were reported. As a national average 40 percent of respondent villages reported that Dalit received, for the same price, lesser qualities them the dominant caste received from PDS shopkeepers.

In ascending order of reported discrimination 16 percent of respondents villages in Rajasthan reported discrimination in quantity followed by 29 percent in Tamil Nadu, 30 percent in Andhra Pradesh, 5 percent in Uttar Pradesh and 70 percent in Bihar (Thorat and Joel Lee 2010).

Thorat writes less common but still a problem was the practice by some PDS dealers of charging Dalit customers extra for the same quality that dominant caste purchased at lower castes. The national average of villages reporting this practice was 28 percent.

At a national average of 48 percent the most commonly reported from of caste discrimination in the PDS was caste based favoritism by PDS dealers towards their own community. Respondent describe this phenomenon taking numerous forms. In some places PDS dealers serviced their own caste community members or all dominant castes throughout the week, while only serving Dalit communities on arbitrarily designated ‘Dalit Days’ falling once or twice in a week. Preferential order in service meaning that Dalit were kept waiting and severed last while PDS dealers’ caste fellows or other dominant caste members were served immediately, was widely reported. Describing the way in which caste based favoritism works in the PDS in their village respondents I Taka village of Ghajipur district UP related an incident in which members of the Dalit community were in sever need of sugar and other goods form the PDS, but the dominant caste PDS dealers flatly refused saying that his stock had run out. the same day, member of the PDS dealers own caste had a wedding, for which they received ‘quintal after quintal’ of sugar and other supposedly absent goods from the PDS shop.

An Andhra Pradesh, 17 per cent of respondent villages reported a problem of the PDS dealer practicing caste – based favouritism in the distribution of goods. In Tamil Nadu, 41 per cent; in Rajasthan 42 per cent; in UP 54 per cent ; and in Bihar, remarkable 86 per cent of villages contended regularly with this manner of casteist treatment of from their PDS dealers (Thorat and Joel Lee 2010).
Therefore, Thorat writes, outlawed in 1950 with the ratification of the Indian constitution, the dominant caste practice of ‘untouchability’ towards Dalits continues unabated in the twenty-first century, not only as a social neurosis, government actors, notably the PDS dealers. A national average of 26 per cent of PDS dealers, according to the IIDS survey respondents, practiced untouchability in the distribution of government goods to Dalits. One classic untouchability practice is the dominant caste dropping of goods (water, food and money) from above into cupped Dalit hands below, so as to avoid the possibility of ‘polluting’ contact between the ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ castes. This remains in evidence, but other untouchability practices, such as dominant caste dealers having pardah before dealing with Musaher Dalits in Bihar, also emerges in the survey data.

In the IIDS study, none of the small sample of respondent villages in Rajasthan reported ‘untouchability’ practice in their local PQs shops, though such practices in Rajasthan have been documented elsewhere. In Andhra Pradesh, 11 per cent of respondent villages reported ‘untouchability’ practices; in Tamil Nadu, 25 per cent in UP, 35 percent; and in Bihar, Most disturbingly, 59 per cent.

### 7.5.2 Health Status

Thorat also worked on the issue of health conditions of the SC, and STs, in terms of available meaningful indicators of health conditions, health status, and health care utilization. Mortality has been an important, universally accepted and widely used indicator of the health status of any population, as well as a clearly understood health outcome. The key indicators of early childhood mortality are infant mortality Rate (IMR), Child Mortality Rate (CMR), and Under five Mortality Rate (U5 MR).

Thorat examines the health status across social groups at all India level and across states based on various indicators viz., IMR, CMR, and nutritional status of women and children. The analysis he carries based on different rounds of National Family Health Survey (NFHS 1 and 2), and Sample Registration System (SRS). He also examines the trend over the period. Thorat’s analysis clearly brings out the substantially large differences in terms of health status across social groups with lower level of health status among SCs as compared to other groups (Thorat 2009).

IMR and the MR are generally highly correlated since broadly the same set of factors (Socio-economic, environmental and health service-related) influence both (Thorat 2009).
However, endogenous factors play a greater role in influencing mortality rate during infancy, especially early infancy (called neonatal mortality), whereas exogenous factors are more crucial during late infancy and early childhood. Therefore, although the pattern of differentials in these two indicators is likely to be similar, it need not be the same. Therefore, Thorat estimates of all the three indicators the IMR, the CMR and U-5MR – by social groups in India are used for the analysis.

Throat analyses the trends in IMR at All India level and he finds a declining trend from a very high level of IMR in the past from about 130 per 1,000 in the early 1970s to 64 in 2002 (Thorat 2009). Estimates by social groups show that for SCs, the level has always been higher than the national average. Based on the NFHS-1, Thorat finds a very high levels of IMR for SCs as compared to other social groups. According to the NFHS-1, the IMR for India as a whole was 86 (this refers to the 10-year period preceding the survey; since the survey was conducted during 1992-93, this would be 1982-83 to 1992-93, but the level for SCs, at 107 was much higher. For STs, it stood at 91, just above the average. The estimate from the NFHS-2 (corresponding to the period 1988-93) was lower at 73 overall, but for SCs and STs the levels were higher at 83 and 84, respectively.

The NFHS-1 estimated the CMR at 36 per cent 1,000 in India, with the rate being much higher for SCs (47) than for the STs (49) and non-SCs/STs (32). The NFITS-2 estimate was lower at 31, but SCs constituted to suffer from higher mortality (401) than STs (46) and non-SCs/STs (25). At more than 50 and CMR for SCs continues to be high in a few states such as Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

The U-5MR is structurally composed of the IMR and the CMR. Its level is just over 100 per 1,000 births in India (the NFHS-1 estimates is 119 and the NFHS-2 estimate is 102), implying that one in every 10 newborns does not survive beyond the fifth year of his birth. For SCs, the risk of Mortality before completing five years of age is much higher, close to or higher than 125 per 1,000. It was well over 125 for SCs in many states such as Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar.

Nutrition is a prerequisite for good health and the well-being of any population. In particular, it plays an important role in the physical and mental growth of children. Chronic illnesses are often associated with poor nutrition, especially among children. Moreover, the mothers
nutritional status affects her own health as well as that of her children. About a third of the woman of child learning age in India have very low Body Mass Index (BMI) – less than 18.5 indicating chronic energy deficiency (Thorat 2009). The women form the SC/ST groups have been poorer levels of nutrition. The problem is acute, particularly, for SCs in Orissa, with more than 50 per cent severely malnourished. In India, 52 per cent of women in the reproductive age group are ‘anemic’ (hemoglobin levels below 12 grams per deciliter), 35 per cent ‘mildly anemic’ (10.11.9 grams per deciliter) and 17 per cent ‘Moderately’ or ‘severely anemic’ (below 10 grams per deciliter). It is the ‘moderate’ or ‘sever’ degree of anaemia that causes concern, the prevalence of which is not very high overall and among SCs.

Malnutrition is a major factor responsible for high morbidity and high mortally among Indian children. The anthropometric measurements in the two NFHS Surveys show that nearly half of the children have weights and heights too low for their age compared to the international standards, and are classified as ‘Undernourished’ and ‘stunted’. The degree of undernourishment is higher among SCs as compared to non-SCs, STs. In a large number of states- Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh and Maharashtra, a Majority of SC children are undernourished.

A similar picture seen for the indicator of ‘stunting’: nearly half the children are ‘stunted’ that is, too short for their age. But wasting’ is much less common, with 16-18 per cent overall and around 20 per cent for SCs. A majority of Indian children suffer from some form of anaemia. At the national level the percentage of children (of age 6-35 month) suffering from ‘moderate’ and ‘severe’ forms of anaemia is quite high (51 per cent). The candidates of SC children are worse the prevalence of anaemia among them is higher by 7-8 percentage points than for children from the other social groups. In a few states Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan the deprivation among SC is even more acute, with more than 60 percent of children ‘moderate’ or ‘severely’ anaemic.

7.5.2.1 Child Healthcare

In India, Universal Immunization Programme (UTP) was introduced in the mid-1980 in all the districts. Later the child survival and safe Motherhood Programme (CSSMP) and then the reproductive and child Health Programme (RCHP) continued to provide immunization service. At present the Public Health Programmes (PHPs) provide vaccination against six preventable diseases free of cost (Thorat 2009).
Based on the NFHS surveys, Thorat finds inadequate health care facilities with only about 40 percent of children received all the recommended doses of immunisation. In a few states less than one fifth of the children had received all the doses by 1998-99. In particular SC in Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh had extremely low coverage. He also critically evaluates various components of the health care programmes in that supplementation of diarrhea, ARI (i.e. pneumonia) and pregnancy related issues.

A few major findings in Thorats' analysis would be necessary to understand how inadequate health care facilities are? These are as follows (Thorat 2009):

1. Only 30 percent of children had received at least one does, while the coverage was poorer for SC (27 percent) in general, it was below 20 percent for SC in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan.

2. Diarrhea is a major killer disease worldwide of children under the age of five. The government of India has, therefore, initiated the oral Rehydration Therapy programme (ORTP) as one of its priority activities. The two NFHS surveys showed that the family took diarrhea quite seriously and nearly 60 per cent of children were taken to health facilities or providers for treatment. However, the tendency to seek treatment was slightly lower among STs (52 per cent) than among others.

3. ARI, primarily pneumonia, is another major cause of illness among infants and children, and a leading cause of childhood mortality throughout the world. He finds that a majority of children reporting symptoms of ARI were taken to a health centre or to care providers. However, children from SC families did not get as much care as non-SCs/STs.

4. Women in India face a high risk of poor health and mortality during pregnancies and delivery, with the result that the maternal mortality rate is very high. The NFHS-2 estimates the maternal mortality Ratio (MMR) at 540 per 100,000 live births. In order to address this issue, the Government Maternal Health programmes (GMHPs) in India provide antenatal care (ANC) delivery care and post – natal care (PNC) through a network of primary centers (PHCs) and urban health posts. Most of the services in the public sector are provided free of cost so that even the poor are not deprived of essential maternal health care. Besides, the network of health centres makes access to services easy.
5. The NFHS-2 estimates that during the late 1990s, anti natal check-ups were conducted by qualified essentials in 65 per cent of births. Overall the coverage was lower for the SC population as compared to non-SCs /STs. The SCs, although generally discriminated against live in villages along with others and are more successful than STs in obtaining maternal health services. Yet a majority of SC women in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan did not receive any essential ANC.

6. In India, a majority of deliveries, especially in the rural areas, takes place at home. The NFHS-1 and the NFHS-2 estimated that the percentage of deliveries in health institutions were 26 and 34 per cent with substantially lower among SC women. The NFHS-2 estimate 16 per cent of deliveries from weaker sections were conducted in the public sector institutions, that is, government health centres and hospitals. In many states such as Bihar, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, less than 10 per cent of SCs were successful in obtaining public sector institutional delivery care.

7. Lack of essential assistance during delivery is a major cause of maternal and neo-natal mortality. Traditionally, village midwives and women at home have been assisting at delivery. Over time, many women have began to seek the help of doctors, or at least trained midwives at the time of delivery. According to the NFHS-1 and the NFHS-2, 34 per cent and 42 per cent, respectively, of deliveries were desisted by a essential a doctor or trained midwife.

8. As evident in many other indicators, SCs fare poorly. According to the NFHS-2, only 37 per cent of deliveries among SCs received essential assistance. There are very large inter-state variations. In Kerala, most women, including SCs, got essential assistance at delivery. On the other hand, less than one – fifth of deliveries among SCs got such care in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

According to Thorat, health conditions for SC are quite poor of course conditions are poor in India overall, but the indicators generally show even poorer levels for SC than for the other section of the Indian population. There are many reasons to explain why SC suffer more in dramas of health conditions as compared to the other sections, which includes mainly three factors viz, SC
generally have incomes lower than the average; they have poorer housing conditions, and have lower levels of education.

### 7.5.3 Education (Literacy and Education levels)

Thorat examines educational attainment across social groups with an emphasis on the progress made and special refers to the social gender and inter-state inequalities vis-à-vis non SCs/STs. According to him, there are over 300 million illiterate persons in the age group of seven and above in 2001. Of these illiterate SCs constitute about 20 percent (approximately 62 million) far in excess of their share in the population (Thorat 2009).

The decadal changes in the literacy rates for the SC and the non SC/ST population show that the growth of literacy in India has been rather slow. In 2001 about 55 percent of the SC population was literate an increase of nearly 45 percentage points in a span of 40 years from 1961-2001. The percentage point change for the non SC/ST population was somewhat lower (40 percentage points) but because their initial level (1961) of literacy was higher by more than 17 percentage points than that of SCs the gap in the literacy level of the two social groups is high.

From 1961 to 1991 the literacy gap between these two social groups increased due higher growth in literacy rates for the non SC/ST population than that of the SCs. Remarkably enough, this trend registered a reversal as literacy rates for SCs rose by over 17 percentage points during the 1990. While the comparable rise for the non SC/ST population was reported to be a little over 11 percentage points. As a consequence the literacy gap between the two social groups narrowed from 20 percentage points in 1991 to 14 percentage points in 2001.

Another important development during the 1990 pertains to the relatively higher growth in the female literacy rates, both for SCs as well as for non SCs/STs. In 1991 the male literacy rate for SCs stood at 49.9 per cent, which increased to 66.6 per cent in 2001. Similarly the literacy rates for SC females stood at 23.8 percent and 41.9 per cent, respectively. The literacy rates for the non SC/ST females rose from 44.8 percent to 58.2 per cent during the same period. The growth of literate SC females was observed to be higher than that of non SC/ST females. However the gender gap among the SC population remains significantly higher as compared to the non SC/ST population especially in the urban areas, owing largely to their multiple exclusions and deprivation.
The ever persistent rural urban divide in male literacy rates has begun to narrow down for both SCs and non SCs/STs. However, the gender gap within the two communities as well as between urban and rural females continues to remain significantly large. This reinforces the contention that it is the rural females in general and the SCs among them, in particular who are the most disadvantaged vis-à-vis literacy.

The literacy rates for the SCs indicate wide inter-state variations. The highest literacy rates call for both males and females were found in Kerala, followed by Tripura, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh, where in the literacy rates were above 70 percentage points in 2001. The lowest literacy rates were observed in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Bihar placed at the bottom of the literacy pyramid, recoded a little over a quarter of its SCs, including 15.6 percent females as literate. Among other states Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh reported significant growth in literacy rates.

Rajasthan, in particular improved significantly in 2001. The state which had been placed last but one in 1991 owing largely to its dismal female literacy rates, recorded a four-fold growth in female literacy rates in 2001, while the mail literacy rates also increased from 42.4 percent in 1991 to 69 percent in 2001. The growth rates for Rajasthan were in fact far better than those for Karnataka, Haryana and Punjab. The gender gap in the state however, remained almost the same as in 1991. While the gender gap showed various magnitudes of decline in the other states, it more or less remained the same for Bihar.

Rural urban inequality in SC literacy was also very high in Bihar, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Those states that registered a high growth in literacy rates also simultaneously reported low rural urban disparities. In appears that the benefits of education and other factors that affect literacy attainments among SCs are becoming spatially more widespread, although states such as Bihar and parts of Uttar Pradesh Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand and Rajasthan continue to remain outside the purview of such a generality.

7.5.3.1 Educational Attainment

The quality of the SC population in terms of educational levels way relatively poor. The SCs however significantly lag behind their non SC/ST counterparts. Higher attainment rates for SCs up to the primary education level and a gradual drop thereafter indicate that a majority SC
children terminate their school education on or before the primary classes, while non SC/ST children go on to subsequent stages of education of all literate SCs only 16.3 percent were educated up to the middle or upper primary classes and another 15 percent were educated till the secondary and higher secondary level. Furthermore only 3.1 percent were fortunate to graduate from college.

On the other hand, over 22 per cent among non SCs/STs attained high school education and another 7.64 per cent had graduate and post graduate degrees. The latest census figures also reveal that in the initial stages of school education corresponding to the 7-9 age group there was a limited but observable differences between the two social groups.

The disparities winded in subsequent age groups and stages of education. The step decline in the SC literacy rates from 68 per cent for the 7-9 age group to 39.6 per cent in 25 and above age group as opposed to 73.2 per cent to 62.7 per cent in the same age parameters for non SCs/STs shows up the limited educational achievement of SCs.

The current stock of educated manpower among SCs is not only characterized by low attainments, but also by poor diversification into skills and job oriented technical and essential courses. The distribution of population in the age group of 15 years by sex and social groups for those having attained graduate degrees and above.

In 2001 SC males holdings technical degrees in engineering and technology were a little above 5 percent, while SC females stood at 3.6 percent. Among the non SC/ST population 8.6 percent of male and 4 percent of females held corresponding degrees. Although the inter community difference for graduates in medicine was not as glaring the non SC/ST population had a definite edge over the SC population.

### 7.5.3.2 School Enrolment and Dropout Rates

This writings of Thorat based on census and NSS data. He write that it is pertinent to clarify that the information from the Department of Education (DOE) on enrolment tends to overstate the actual enrolment rates because it refers to students actually enrolled in the school registers at the beginning of the school year and does not take into consideration whether those enrolment attained school or not.
While one may also note that the GER is a gross measure and does not discount the presence of over aged and under aged children among those enrolled the discrepancy between the sources of data are significant for any meaningful inference on the state of school education among SC children. Therefore, instead of using the GER we have used school / college attendance figures extracted from the census and NSS household level sample surveys.

According to the 2001 census, SC children under six years of age who attended any educational institution stood at 10 percent. This essentially pertained to pre primary classes. Their attendance increased to a little below 74 per cent in the 7-11 year age group, subsequently declining to 67.7 per cent in the 12-14 year age group. A drastic decline was noticeable in the 15-19 and the 20-24 year age group.

The NSS estimate (1999-2000) put the school attendance rate (SAR) for SC children aged 5-14 at 70.1 per cent for rural males, which increased in the urban areas to less than 80 per cent the corresponding figures for rural females were 58.6 per cent and 73.9 per cent respectively. There has been a steady increase in school enrolment since 1983 in which year the SAR for SC male children stood at 48.9 percent (rural) and 66.7 per cent (urban) while it was 25.5 per cent (rural) and 52.3 per cent (urban) for females.

The analysis also revealed that the male female as well as the rural urban gap in school enrolment / attendance had begun to decline in the 1990, although inequalities and disparities between the SC and non SC/ST populations remained large and ever widening- the goals of universal elementary education remained distant as in the rural areas, fewer than 45 percent of SC female children and about one third of SC male children aged 5-14 continued to remain out of school.

The gains of educational development have not only been socially inequitable and spatially limited but also significantly disparate across the various status of India. The magnitude of out of school children acquired serious proportions in Bihar (including Jharkhand where more than half the boys and three forth of the girls were deprived of school education in 1993-94. The situation was marginally better in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh.

The disparity between non SC/ST and SC children with respect to the SAR in elementary education shrunk significantly in Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala,
Maharashtra, Tripura and West Bengal. In spite of their economic development, Punjab and Haryana continued to have large social and gender gaps in school education, indicating that the advantages of economic development remained confined to non SCs/STs. This fact was particularly glaring for SC women.

With successive stages of education and age cohorts the enrolment rates of the SC children tend to decline more sharply than those among the non SC/ST children. This is not to suggest that the progress in enrolment to the high and higher secondary classes were unimpressive. As a matter of fact the enrolment ratio of SC children in the high/higher secondary classes registered an impressive growth from 2.5 million in 1990-91 to 4.3 million in 2001-02. In spite of their increased participation the enrolment of SC children aged 15-19 was one third, according to the 2001 census, while the corresponding figure for the non SC/ST population attending the high/higher secondary classes stood at about 40 percent.

One of the major impediments in realizing the goals of universal elementary education among SCs was high school dropout rates, which seemed to set in no sooner than a child’s enrolment in class. According to the census of India, nearly 45 percent of children enrolled in class I tended to dropout by the time they reached class V. Only 39 percent of those enrolled in class I were able to complete class VIII, while about 28 percent completed their high school examination.

In 1980-81 there was little difference in the dropout rates of SC and other children in the elementary classes. In spite of the decline in the dropout rates during the last two decades or so, the gaps in the dropout rates seem to have winded between the SC and the non SC/ST population, indicating that the impact of school retention measures has been differently allocated or experienced by the SC and the non SC/ST population.

The inter-state pattern of school dropout rates varied significantly among boys and girls for the elementary classes. The highest dropout rates for SC boys and girls in the primary classes in 2001-2002 were observed for Rajasthan, followed by Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Bihar topped the dropout rate for the upper primary classes. Some states such as Karnataka and Maharashtra had done very well by bringing down the dropout level in the primary classes to below 10 per cent. Other states where the dropout rates were below 30 per cent were Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Haryana and Punjab also registered higher retention rates in the primary stage but in the later stages, they continued to indicate high dropout rates (Thorat 2009).
7.5.3.3 Higher Education

Thorat writes the pattern of participation in higher education various enormously across the states. The highest participation of SCs for the year 2001 was observed in Tamil Nadu, followed by Tripura, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Kerala and Maharashtra have nearly achieved equality between the two segments in so far as enrolment to higher education is concerned. Gujarat stands out as the only state in which the coefficient of equality for SCs was over twice their population share in the state.

It means that SCs have made significant inroads into college education in Gujarat. Higher education has not been a priority among the propertied classes in the state for a very long time. After attaining school education most non SCs/ STs ventured into business be it farm or non-farm activity either within the family enterprise or outside it. While this has certainly provided greater access to SC in higher education, their entry into essential and technical education has remained relatively poor, although it is much better than elsewhere in the country, barring Assam, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. In 2001 the coefficient of equality for technical education in Gujarat was 0.76 a shade better than that in 1991.

The higher participation of SCs in technical education in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh especially as these states fall far behind the equality mark, presents an interesting scenario that needs further examination. One of the probable reasons for their higher participation might be the high repetition rate of SCs in the technical courses, which may have increased their enrolment over and above the reserved seats in the quota system. States such as Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal have performed poorly in giving their SC populations greater access to higher education. In fact, the participation rate of SCs in technical education registered a significant decline in 2001 compared to 1991 in Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. Himachal Pradesh has, however done extremely well in the area of school education (Thorat 2009).

7.5.3.4 Extent Of Higher Education

Three alternative methods are used to estimate the extent of access to higher education. GER New Enrolment Ratio and EFR. The GER measures the access level by taking the ratio of persons in all age groups enrolled in various programmes to the total population in the age group of 18-13. The NER measures the level of enrolment for age specific groups, namely, those in the age
group of 18-13. The EFR measures the level of enrolment of those who have completed higher secondary education. These three concepts look at the access to higher education from three different angles.72

In 2003-04 as per NSS estimates the GER was about 13.2 percent at the overall level. However there were significant disparities across social groups. The GER was much lower for SC (7.51 percent) as compared with non SCs/STs (21.8 percent). The GER estimates based on the 2001 census, also revealed disparities across social groups; it was 15.6 percent for non SCs/STs and 8.4 percent for SCs. Inter social groups variations also existed in the EER, although it magnitude was less ound. This indicated that once the higher secondary state was completed the percentage point differences in entering into the higher education stream was about 6 percent lower for SCs (Thorat 2009).

7.5.3.5 Caste Religion Interface

The caste religion interface of the GER in higher education throws further light on the extent of disparities. It is evident that SC/ST/OBC persons belonging to the Hindu religion lag far behind the higher caste Hindu population in terms of access to higher education, in so for as the enrolment ratio is generally lower for these three social groups compared to the general Hindu population.

It is also necessary to mention that SCs/STs/OBCs from other religion backgrounds namely Muslim and Sikhs also suffer from lower access to higher education as compared with their higher caste counter parts. In 2003-04 the GER of OBC Muslim was 7 percent as compared with 9 percent for other Muslim. In the case of Sikhs SCs the GER was only 7 percent compared with 21 percent for non SC Sikhs. It is thus evident from these results that SC from all religious suffer from lower access to higher education as compared with their high caste counterparts (Thorat 2009).

7.5.3.6 Gender Caste Religion Interface

Thorat said that, it needs to be recognized that although the enrolment ratios are generally lower for females compared to males, females belonging to the lower castes and some religious group have even lower access to higher education.
For instance in 2003-04 as against the overall average of 11 percent for females the GER was 3.2 percent for ST females followed by 5.6 percent for SC females, 8.7 percent for OBC females and 20 percent for other females. Thus the GER of SC females was lower by more than three times compared with higher caste females.

In the case of religious groups Muslim women suffered the most. The GER of Muslim females was 6.8 per cent compared to 11.1 percent for Hindu, 18.7 per cent for Sikhs and 25.3 per cent for Christian females (Thorat 2009).

**7.5.3.7 Caste Occupation - Poverty Interface**

The GER for wage labour is in general very low in both rural and urban areas. Inter caste differences also existed in the case of self employed persons in agricultural and non agricultural activities. Among the self employed and wage labour enrolment was particularly low for those form poor households. Estimates of 1999-2000 indicate that although enrolment was lowest among the poor casual wage labour households in rural and urban areas 0.86 percent for rural agricultural labour, 0.37 percent for other labour and 2.38 percent for urban wage labour, it was virtually nil for rural SC wage labour (Thorat 2009).

**7.6 Summary**

In this chapter, we focused on the economic discrimination in various shperes of life from the work by Thorat. In this, we have discussed the issues of labour an occupation discrimination in rural area, labour market discrimination in urban area, discrimination in private sector, and other non market discrimination it include food security, health and education. The investigation by Thorat precisely reveals a positive change in the ownership of capital assets and access to employment, however, traditional caste relations have not altogether disappeared. They continued as remnants of the past and affect the access of low caste untouchables to various rural markets for buying of land and inputs necessary for production, as also for the sale of various good. Discriminatory access has obvious consequences on the ownership of capital assets employment and business. The results bring to the fore the linkages between market discrimination and high poverty of the untouchables. We also find that market discrimination is not only in rural area but also it is proceeding in urban area.
Reference


