

REPORT
ON
RESEARCH STUDY CONDUCTED
IN FIVE TALUKAS OF
BANASKANTHA DISTRICT

OCTOBER 2002

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Tara Sinha

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APPENDIX III
SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF THE FACTS OF THE ATROCITY
CASES

1. Rantila - Lavana Case	
Place	Rantila village (dalits) and Lavana village (Rajputs) in Deodar taluka
Date	1996
Issue	150 acres land given to dalit cooperative society by government
Nature of atrocity/harassment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Temple built by savarnas in 1996 ◆ Further encroachment on the land by savarnas
Action by dalits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 2.5 acres given by dalits for temple ◆ Demanding control over remaining land
Reaction by savarnas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Encroachment continued ◆ Crops destroyed
Action by dalits	Tolerated
Reaction by savarnas	20 acres encroached
Action by dalits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Police complaint by dalits in February 2001 ◆ Met collector. mamlatdar etc.
Stand taken by police	No action taken by police
Reaction by savarnas	Angered by complaint, they beat up dalits
Further action by dalits	Complain again by dalits to police
Stand taken by police	Police did not come for two days
Reaction by savarnas	Sept 2001, Rajputs attacked dalits and abused them
Action by dalits	29 dalit families moved to Palanpur collector's office
Stand taken by police	Police threw dalits onto footpath
Action by dalits	Went to BDS
Role of BDS	Went to collector's office to resolve case
Response of collector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ "We cannot help - go to the court" ◆ Police protection refused
Action by dalits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Organized rally in October 2001 and went to all relevant offices ◆ demanded action against DSP ◆ Media coverage
Response of collector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Will try to help ◆ Encroachment removed in October 2001
Outcome	Resolved

2. Murder of Chhatrabhai's son	
Place	Morikha village in Vav taluka
Date	May 2001
Issue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Chowdhary encroached on dalit's land ◆ Dalit youth complained and made an issue of it
Nature of atrocity/harassment	Murder of dalit youth
Action by dalits	Complain in police but no FIR taken
Police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Came to village after four days to investigate ◆ Wrote FIR showing suicide rather than murder
Doctor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Doctor was related to Chowdhry ◆ Post mortem was biased against dalits and in favour of the culprit
Action by dalits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Appeals to home minister, CM etc ◆ Migrated to collector's office out of fear and also to seek justice ◆ Lived there for one year ◆ Came to BDS for assistance
Role of BDS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Organized marriage of Chatrabhai's daughter in collector's office ◆ Case got visibility
Reaction by savarnas	Attack with intention to kill
Stand taken by police	Police was not willing to listen - they even beat up some of the dalits who had come to complain
Further action by dalits	Migration to collector's office. Rally, Dharna etc.
Role of BDS	Mediation with officials; advocacy through media
Outcome	Still not resolved if it is suicide or murder - case unresolved

3. Pedagada Land Case	
Place	Pedagada village in Palanpur taluka
Date	May 2001
Issue	Common plot next to dalit vas in center of village. Dalits had to use it to go to dalit vas – they were the primary users of this land
Nature of atrocity/harassment	Gadhvi encroached on part of land
Action by dalits	Tried to get him to withdraw
Reaction by savarnas	Gadhvi attacked a dalit one day when they found the opportunity
Action by dalits	Police complaint and FIR
Stand taken by police	Culprit called to police station but immediately released on bail
Further action by dalits	Seeing no solution in their favour, they settled on a compromise
Role of BDS	Made enquiries, but dalits said we have come to a settlement
Outcome	They arrived at a compromise - the Gadhvis were well-connected and dalits were afraid

4. Pavthi in Vadgam	
Place	Pavthi village in Vadgam taluka
Date	June 2002
Issue	good house teacher's land bordered Rajputs land latter cutting trees on his land, Rajputs said its our land he answered back Rajputs abused him once looking for opportunity to attack him
Nature of atrocity/harassment	Abused first Reacted Attack on dalit teacher while working in the fields by Rajputs family came to save, attacked them as well injury caused fracture followed them to house and tried to break into house
Action by dalits	Informed police over phone, and registered a case

Reaction by police	Criminal savarna was arrested, but released next day
Reaction by savarnas	Threatened to kill if further action was taken by dalits
Role of BDS	BDS visited victim's village and saw the damage done in the house. Talked to dalit community and decided to register a case with the police. They made applications to the Collector, DSP, Backward Class Welfare Officer, SC/ST Commission etc.
Reaction by savarnas	Asked dalits to arrive at a compromise.
Outcome	Case is yet to begin.

5. Burial land case in Sera	
Place	Sera village in Dhanera taluka
Date	June 2001
Nature of atrocity/harassment	After burial of dalit rabari and other savarnas vandalized site
Issue	Burial land not on panchayat records
Action by dalits	Complain to police
Stand taken by police	No response
Further action by dalits	complain to BDS
Role of BDS	BDS met mamlatdar and other officials of Dhanera and made application. Highlighted case in media and got criminals arrested.
Outcome	Due to pressure put on government, one acre sanctioned for burial ground.

6. Manaka Bullet Injury Case	
Place	Manaka village in Panlanpur taluka
Date	1991
Nature of atrocity/harassment	Accidental injury to dalit boy by Gadhvi Thakur But initially latter said it was not a pellet but a stone Injury not treated properly and got aggravated X-ray revealed pellet and crime revealed
Action by dalits	Asked for cost of treatment
Reaction by savarnas	Refused
Action by dalits	After 5 days of injury, case lodged with police
Stand taken by police	Case went on for four years In 1996 he was convicted of crime and went to jail
Reaction by savarnas	On release from jail, appealed the judgement
Further action by dalits	No further action needed
Role of BDS	This was before BDS was formed.
Outcome	case pending

4. Ucchpa Harassment Case	
Place	Ucchpa village in Vav taluka
Date	1994-1995
Nature of atrocity/harassment	harassment of girl and her brother at water standpost by Rajputs and refused to let them fill water; brother challenged them and they abused the bro and sis in evening the two rajput boys went to dalits house, threw stones, broke water pot and abused them
Action by dalits	parents went to boys' house and complained
Reaction by savarnas	so what our boys are like this only
	when boys' learnt about parents coming to complain, they again harassed girl and threw a stone which hit girl

Action by dalits	Police complaint
	Rajputs attacked dalit family at home
	Dalits ran away to other village
Action by dalits	Dalit wanted his brothers to come with him to govt. hospit for treating dau injury, no one came afraid of Rajputs family moved to other village
Stand taken by police	Case went on for four to five years
Action by dalits	girl's father got afraid of wrath of Rajputs on his son and family went to Rajputs family and told them we will withdraw and you too dont do anything returned to village but live in fields and not in vas
Role of BDS	This was before BDS was formed.
Outcome	Compromise reached - decided to not pursue case

8. Buddhanpur Harassment

Place	Buddhanpur village in Tharad taluka
Date	January 1998
Nature of atrocity/harassment	Dalit woman was going to fill water with her husband's youngere brother returning alone - rabari got down from shop and stood in front of her path Girl of deema not good rep tried to molest, girl cried, her pot broke, slapped her and ripped her blouse hearing cries patel came to help
Action by dalits	went to rabaris house to complain
Reaction by savarnas	so what our boy is like this only
	boy continued to harass
Action by dalits	felt that girl may kill herself due to harassment so they filed police complaint
Stand taken by police	police said this person already has criminal cases already against him forget case dalit persisted in registering case
	rabari was jailed for few months started harassment again repeated jail two to three times
Further action by	rabari's shop was on encroached land

dalits	dalit family said remove shop to sarpanch
Role of BDS	NIL
Outcome	Not yet resolved

9. Bhadali Rape Case

Place	Bhadali village in Dantiwada
Date	October 2001
Nature of atrocity/harassment	Rape during navratri
Action by dalits	Dalits complained to District Welfare Officer
Government Action	Compensation of Rs. 25,000 as per government rules.
Further action by dalits	
Role of BDS	BDS went and met the family, but the victim's family was not willing to fight the case, so no action was taken.

10. Rape of Dalit Teacher in Raviya village of Dhanera taluka

Place	Raviya village in Dhanera taluka
Date	June 2001
Nature of atrocity/harassment	Rape of dalit teacher
Role of BDS	BDS went to find out more about case, but due to lack of cooperation of victim's family, it was not taken further.
Action by dalits	Not cooperating with BDS

11. Rape in Sapreda Village in Vav taluka

Place	Sapreda village in Vav taluka
Date	June 2001
Nature of atrocity/harassment	Rape of Vaadi woman by Darbar
Role of BDS	Got the Indian Express to write about the case

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the dalits of Banaskantha in five talukas of Vadgam, Palanpur, Vav, Tharad and Dhanera. These are the five talukas selected by Behavioural Science Center to start its work with the dalits in Banaskantha in 2000.

Banaskantha district, located along the northern border of Gujarat, is the third largest district in the state of Gujarat. The proportion of dalits in Banaskantha is 10.63% (1991 census), higher than the proportion of dalits in the state (7.41%). It is a predominantly rural district, with 89.9 % of the population living in rural areas, according to the 1991 census. Banaskantha is a relatively less developed part of the state - both in terms of industrial investment made in the area and industrial projects started. According to 1995 data, it has the fourth lowest percent share of small-scale units among all the districts in the state. In terms of literacy, Banaskantha is among the most backward districts in the state.¹

Profile of the five talukas

The five talukas of Vadgam, Palanpur, Vav, Tharad and Dhanera fall into two broad categories. Palanpur and Vadgam are more developed of the five districts. Palanpur town is the district headquarters. Vadgam borders Mehsana, one of the more prosperous districts in the state. The **proportion of the dalit population in each of these talukas** is as follows:

Vadgam	Palanpur	Dhanera	Tharad	Vav
16.44%	9.85	12.46	13.78	16.31

The proportion of dalits in these talukas is much higher than even the proportion of dalits in the district of Banaskantha (10.63 as mentioned above).

The three talukas of Vav, Tharad and Dhanera lie along the northern border of the state along Rajasthan. They rate poorly in terms of infrastructure and economic development. Irrigation facilities in Vav are almost negligible, and even in Tharad they are low.

The data on irrigated cultivable land in each of the five talukas according to the 1991 Census is shown in the table below.

Percent of Cultivable Land under Irrigation

Vadgam	Palanpur	Dhanera	Tharad	Vav
56.08	53.13	43.18	28.91	0.99

This study documents baseline information on demographic and socio-economic status of dalits in the five talukas. It also includes an examination of the types of discrimination and atrocities practiced against dalits in these areas. Bonded labour exemplifies one of the extreme forms of atrocities practiced against dalits - we have therefore briefly documented the system of bonded labour prevalent in two talukas in Banaskantha.

¹ Hirway I. and D. Mahadevia, "Gujarat Human Development Report" Mahatma Gandhi Labour Institute, 1999

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings from a research study carried out in five talukas of Banaskantha district between April and October 2002. These talukas are Palanpur, Vadgam, Dhanera, Vav and Tharad.

Baseline Socio-Economic and Demographic Survey

1. Dalits in these five talukas range between 10% to 16% of the total population. This proportion is higher than the proportion of dalits in the state of Gujarat which is 7.41%.
2. 28% of the dalits in these five talukas own agricultural land. Only 18% dalit households cultivated their land last year, and only 9% earned an income from cultivating their own land. Another 8% of the households cultivate land as share-croppers, with more than half of the share-croppers being in Dhanera.
3. About a fourth of the households own milch animals. However, only about a third of these livestock-owning households reported sale of milk.
4. Casual labour is the most common source of livelihood among the dalits in these five talukas. The other sources of wage income are government jobs (13%), agricultural labour (11%) and skilled labour (10%).
5. Per capita income was calculated by adding up income from four sources, viz, cultivation on own land, cultivation as share-cropper, sale of milk and wage and salary income. The highest annual per capita income is Rs. 6,349 in Vadgam, followed by Rs. 3,997 in Dhanera, Rs. 3,196 in Palanpur, Rs. 3,044 in Vav and Rs. 1,452 in Tharad.
6. Income from salaries and daily wages is the biggest contributor to household income, except in Tharad taluka, where casual labour is the primary source of household income.
7. With the exception of Palanpur where no share-cropping income was reported, dalits in all five talukas reported income from all four sources.
8. The relative contribution of the different income sources to household income varies in the different talukas. In Dhanera, Vav and Tharad, three or four of the income sources are all equally important. In Palanpur and Vadgam, wage income contributes a much greater share of household income than the other income sources.
9. Almost half the households are currently in debt, in most cases to a moneylender from one of the savarna castes. The most common reasons for taking the loans are social expenditure or sickness. These are also the dominant reason for mortgaging and selling land. However, a very small number of dalits have mortgaged or sold their land.

10. About a third of the dalits are members of civic bodies or voluntary organizations. This relatively high proportion is due to the credit cooperatives and the Banaskantha Dalit Sangathan promoted by BSC. Excluding membership in these organizations, membership in civic bodies is very low, except in Vadgam, where 21% of the males are members of cooperatives, credit societies, employee associations etc.
11. The main types of benefits from government schemes have been land for house construction (20%), funds for building the house (15%) and scholarships for children's education (18%).
12. Dalits in Vadgam and Palanpur fare the best in term of literacy, education and household income. They also have better housing quality and better access to water and electricity. Longevity is also highest in Vadgam followed by Palanpur.
13. Dalits in Tharad are the worst off in all these respects.
14. Dalits in Dhanera engage in a much higher level of agricultural activity than dalits in the other four talukas. Dhanera dalits report the highest levels of agricultural and dairy income compared to dalits in the other talukas.
15. Comparing the well-being of castes, Vankars come out the best in terms of literacy, education, longevity, housing quality and wage security.
16. Overall, Chamars are only marginally better off than Valmikis. Housing quality is somewhat better among Valmikis and income security is also higher because a higher proportion of Valmikis have salaried jobs. The latter have also benefited more from government schemes.
17. The social marginalization of Valmikis is seen in their negligible membership in civic-bodies, including those promoted by BSC.
18. It is evident that the well-being of dalits depends more upon their physical location than their caste. For instance, literacy rates for Valmikis and the Chamars in Vadgam and Palanpur are far higher than the average for their caste.

A Closer Look at Women and Family Health

19. Women who enter school but drop out before completing class XII, drop out most commonly after Class V or Class VII. Where overall education levels are higher, dropping out is more common after class VII; in areas with lower educational levels, it occurs after Class V.
20. The most common reason for dropping out of school given by women was that they need to help at home. Not wanting to study further appeared as the second most common reason. However, the voluntary discontinuation of schooling is higher among populations

where education levels are higher, for example in Vadgam taluka or among the Vankars and Pandyas.

21. Actual literacy rates among women, using a practical testing method, indicate that the rate among dalit women in the study area is 15-16%. Another 7-9% of the women are somewhat literate. These figures are significantly lower than the self-reported literacy rates of 36% (as per the household survey).
22. The average age at marriage for women is 15.43 years. There is no significant difference in the average age at marriage for younger and older women. The average age at which the woman goes to reside in her conjugal home (*aanu*) is 18.09 years.
23. There is no significant difference between the age at marriage across talukas or castes. However, the age at *aanu* is somewhat lower for women in Tharad and Valmiki women in all the talukas – both these represent groups which are socio-economically weaker than the others.
24. The average number of pregnancies per woman is 4.97. It is lower among Vankars and Pandyas who are economically better off than the other castes. Vadgam taluka has the lowest average number of pregnancies at 4.4.
25. More than four-fifths of the deliveries total took place at home (81%) while the remaining took place in hospital. However, increasingly dalits are opting for hospital deliveries, and 41% of the deliveries for women in the 18-25 age group were in hospital. The rate of live births for deliveries at home is marginally better than the rate of live births in the hospital.
26. Infant mortality in the five talukas is 44 per thousand live births and child mortality is 30 per 1000 live births. The infant mortality rate for dalits in the talukas studied is lower than the rate for the state of Gujarat (62 and 21 respectively).
27. Two hundred and forty-five women (32 %) reported going out for wage work in the women's survey. This is a far lower than the proportion of women working reported in the household survey, which was 143. Given that the women were selected from the households which were respondents for the household survey, this finding once again indicates the under-reporting of women workers in most surveys with male respondents.
28. Ten percent of the women reported having income generating skills that they were currently not using for any income generating activity. Embroidery and sewing were the most common skills. Lack of funds and lack of marketing opportunities were the most common reasons for not engaging in these activities.
29. Looking at participation in major household purchases as an indicator of participation in decision-making, we find that almost two-thirds of the women are involved in such decision-making, both in terms of selecting the item and being present at the time of purchase.

30. In terms of mobility of women, 81% of the women have traveled outside the village unaccompanied by male members of the family, while 73% women have traveled outside the village accompanied by male members of the family. A large proportion of the unaccompanied visits (49.5%) are to other villages within the taluka or as far as the taluka headquarters.
31. From the 756 households surveyed a total of 37% households reported that one or more members of the family had suffered a common illness in the last six months. In terms of rate of common morbidity, a rate of 11 per 1000 for a one-month period was reported. This is significantly lower than the national rate of 56 per 1000. For major and chronic illnesses, the rate for our sample works out to 59 per 1000, which is higher than the national rate.

Patterns in Discrimination and Atrocities Against Dalits

32. Dalits cannot be spoken of as a homogeneous group. Internal discrimination between dalit castes exists in varying degrees, particularly among Valmikis who are almost 'social pariahs'.
33. Overt discrimination and discrimination in public spaces against dalits has gone down in the last ten years. A strong exception is the temple, where strict norms of separation are maintained. In private spaces, traditional discriminatory norms continue to be adhered to.
34. The primary factors responsible for reduced discrimination against dalits are:
- i) Exposure to urban life and the lack of discrimination there;
 - ii) Education among dalits and non-dalits has created better awareness;
 - iii) Similarity in dressing styles and in types of utensils etc. used;
 - iv) The Atrocities Act which makes discrimination a criminal offence.
35. The key factors responsible for continued 'inferior' position of dalits are:
- i) poverty;
 - ii) poor self-esteem;
 - iii) lack of information;
 - iv) low level of awareness
36. There is a high degree of variability in the types and extent of discrimination observed today. The key village level variables that account for these variations are the proportion of dalit population in village *vis-a-vis* non-dalit population, awareness level and educational level of dalit population in village, proximity of village to urban center and the presence of a traditional dominant caste in village. Individual level variables are economic status of dalit, educational level of dalit, and the self-confidence of dalit.
37. Younger non-dalits that have had exposure to urban living are less likely to discriminate. This is particularly so when they are away from their native village

38. While ritual discrimination in public is on the decline, the savarna castes continue their efforts to maintain their economic and political superiority. This is evident in the difficulty experienced by dalits to benefit from government schemes that would improve their economic and social position.
39. Non-dalits are able to harass and intimidate the dalits and deny them their rights because, they have greater economic power; the law and official system is on their side, and because the dalits are afraid to challenge their authority for fear of a backlash.
40. Most dalits are afraid to challenge the status quo. Challenging the system is easier in unfamiliar terrain - with known persons it is very difficult.
41. Where dalits accept their 'inferior' position and make no attempt to increase their social and economic well-being, or assert themselves as equals, violence against dalits is relatively less. However, as soon as dalits try to come out of their depressed position, violence against them begins occurring. Violence against dalits is a tool to intimidate them.
42. Bonded labour, though unlawful, continues to be prevalent in Vav and Tharad talukas. Dalits seem to opt for this system because it provides them with lump-sum money when they need it. Even though such bondage means physical hardship, poor remuneration for labour and loss of freedom, dalits feel that it offers them some kind of security. This is critical in the face of negligible employment opportunities in these areas.
43. Comparing talukas, more discrimination is reported in Vav and Tharad talukas than in Palanpur and Vadgam. The extent of discrimination, particularly in the public sphere, thus varies with the level of overall economic development in the taluka.

CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY USED IN THE BANASKANTHA RESEARCH STUDY

The Banaskantha research study was started in April 2002. The study has two main objectives:

1. To gather baseline socio-economic data about dalits in five talukas of Banaskantha district.
2. To understand the general trends in discrimination and atrocities practiced against dalits in five talukas of Banaskantha district.

The information yielded by the study will be used to support the ongoing efforts of BSC's Banaskantha team for creating a dalit people's movement in Banaskantha.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

A. Baseline Socio-economic data

To gather baseline socio-economic data, the following study methods were used:

- i. A sample survey of dalit households in selected villages;
- ii. A sample survey of women, one from each household selected for the household survey. The women's survey was done to gather information specific to women, including reproductive health, mobility, role in decision-making etc. This survey was also used to gather information about the family's health history.
- iii. A brief village profile of the selected villages.

Sample selection - household survey

Household survey - selection of villages

For the study, we decided to select five villages from each taluka, making a total sample of 25 villages. The selection of villages was done using the following criteria:

- i. Distance from a town - both remote villages and those near towns were taken in equal measure;
- ii. Size of village - both small and big villages were included;
- iii. Proportion of dalits in village: Both villages with a small dalit population and those with a relatively large dalit population were included;

Selection of households

Within each village, the number of households to be included in the survey varied between 28% and 99% of the total dalit households, depending upon the number of dalit households in the sample villages. Villages were categorized according to the number of dalit households in them. In villages with fewer dalit households, a higher proportion of households was included in the sample.

Further, some villages had six or seven dalit castes, while others had just three. Care was taken to ensure adequate representation of all the dalit castes in each of the sample villages. In cases

where a caste was represented only by a few households, a larger proportion was selected for the sample. **Appendix I** shows the list of villages and number of households selected for the study.

We expected to cover a total of 750 households. However, some discretion was given to the investigators to survey a few more households if they felt that to better represent the minor castes, i.e. castes which are less populous in these areas. The final number of households surveyed was 796.

Once the number of households from each of the dalit castes to be surveyed in each village was finalized, the investigators were instructed to select households as randomly as possible by moving around in the entire area where dalits lived in a particular village. At the same time, some purposiveness in the sample selection was maintained because they were told to ensure that all economic categories from among the dalits were covered. Housing has been observed to be a good indicator of economic position. The investigators were thus instructed to also use these criteria while selecting respondents.

When they first went to a village, the investigators moved around the village and filled the village profile form. Once they got a sense of the physical layout of the dalit residence areas, they started filling of the survey forms, keeping in mind all the selection rules discussed above. The entire sample selection process could be considered a pseudo-purposive sample.

The findings of the household survey are presented in Chapter 3.

Women's survey -Sample selection

For the women's sample list, only women 18 years and older were included. The survey was exploring areas of child and reproductive health, women's mobility and decision-making, and their functional literacy. The women's survey also sought information on the family's health history. We felt that for all these study areas, it would be more appropriate to select women 18 years and older.

Further, the following two features were ensured:

- i) One woman from the surveyed households was included in the list. Therefore, the total number of women surveyed is equal to the number of households surveyed.
- ii) Purposive representation from the different age-groups was ensured. For this, we made four age groups, 18 to 25, 26-40, 41-55 and 56 and above. The sample was weighted in favour of women in the middle two age groups by 25%. That is, 25% women from the two extreme age groups were reduced, and those numbers were evenly added to the two middle age groups.

B. General Trends in Discrimination and Atrocities against Dalits

To gather data on the general trends in discrimination and atrocities practiced against dalits in Banaskantha district, the following methods was used:

- i. A series of taluka-level workshops were conducted attended by representatives from the dalit community from the villages selected for the study. In each taluka two such one-day workshops were held - one with men and the other with women. The findings from these workshops are presented in Chapter IV.
- ii. A set of cases of atrocities and discrimination against dalits were analyzed to see if a pattern could be detected. The cases were either those that have been documented by the Banaskantha Dalit Sangathan or those that we learnt about in the course of field work. This analysis is presented in Chapter V.

Workshops on Atrocities and Discrimination

For the taluka-level workshops, five representatives from each of the five sample villages were invited to the workshop. Thus at each workshop we invited 25 persons and expected between 20 and 25. Persons selected for participation were those who were experienced and articulate.

The process used at the workshops was to ask the participants to share their experiences regarding dalit discrimination and atrocities. Anyone could make a beginning, and then the others were asked to compare their experiences with what was being shared. (A guide for conducting the workshops was prepared and discussed with the team before the workshops were started. **APPENDIX II**)

Actual attendance at the workshops was as follows:

Taluka	Women participants	Men participants
Vav	16	15
Tharad	6	8
Palanpur	16	16
Vadgam	20	not held
Dhanera	not held	14

Two workshops could not be held due to logistical reasons.

C. A Look at Bonded Labour in Banaskantha

In the course of carrying out this study, BSC indicated that it wanted to learn about the situation of bonded labour in Banaskantha district. One of the researchers on the project made visits to __ villages in Vav and Tharad talukas to document some cases of bonded labour. These talukas were selected because during the workshops on discrimination and atrocities in these two talukas, some of the participants had mentioned the existence of bonded labour in their villages.

The findings on this subject are presented in Chapter IV.

Duration Of Study And Field Work

This study was carried out between April and October 2002. The fieldwork for the two surveys was conducted between May and August 2002. The workshops on discrimination and atrocities were conducted in June and July 2002.

Limitations of the Study

1. Two of the ten workshops on discrimination and atrocities could not be held. Thus the discrimination and atrocities reported from Dhanera and Vadgam are only from one workshop each - men's workshop in the case of Dhanera and women's workshop in the case of Vadgam.
2. The findings of the workshops on discrimination indicate general trends - no measures in terms of extent of discrimination can be determined from these findings.
3. The findings on bonded labour are from only four villages in two talukas. We are therefore unable to make any statements about the status of bonded labour in all five talukas which are part of the study area.

CHAPTER II

PROFILES OF THE SAMPLE VILLAGES

In this chapter we present the primary information on the 25 villages which we collected before starting the household survey in the five talukas of Palanpur, Vadgam, Vav, Tharad and Dhanera.

1. **Approach roads** in the villages are either pucca or made of concrete. Only Masali village in Vav has a kuccha approach road
2. **Street lighting** is better in Palanpur and Vadgam villages. In each of these two talukas, two villages have street lights in the entire village. Only one village in each taluka has no street lights. In the other two villages in each of these districts, some streets have lights. In the other three talukas of Vav, Tharad and Dhanera, only some streets have lights. Two villages in Vav and one in Tharad have no street lights.
3. All the villages have **schools** upto Class seven. Nine of the 25 villages have schools upto class ten - Vadgam (four villages), Palanpur (two villages), Dhanera (two villages) and Vav (one village). In Palanpur there is one school upto class twelve.
4. **Health facilities** in the 25 villages are limited. The dominant service available is that of the health worker visiting the village. In Vadgam, three villages have government health facilities, and in Palanpur such facilities exist in two villages. One village each in Dhanera and Vav talukas has PHCs. None of the villages in Tharad have a government health facility. There are two *private dispensaries* among the five villages in both Palanpur and Vadgam, and one each among the five villages of the other three talukas.
5. While all the villages have **electricity**, all of them have power cuts as well. Vadgam villages have the least average number of hours without power (6 hours), followed by Palanpur (8 hours), Vav (10 hours).
6. All the villages, except four villages in Vav, have tubewells for supplying **water** to the villages, and all have at least one *water tank* in the village. Palanpur and Vadgam villages have a higher number of average *stand-posts* per village (10) compared to Dhanera (7.4), Vav (3.6) and Tharad (2.8). Four of the five villages in Vadgam and Dhanera and two of the five villages in Vav also have a *hauj* for water storage.

TABLE 2.1 : VADGAM

Village	Pop	% dalit	Approach road	Street lights	Water sources	School	Health facility	Power cut hours/day
KALEDA	1668	14	pucca	yes	tubewell 1 water tank 1 standpost 8 govt hand-pump govt hauj 2 river lake pvt wells 20	upto 10	govt hosp hw pvt disp	6
KOTADI	1182	22	pucca	no	tubewell 1 water tank 3 standpost 7 hauj 2	upto 7	hw	6
CHHANIYANA	1947	24	pucca	some	tube well 1 water tank 1 standposts 12 govt hauj 1 pvt well ??	upto 10	hw govt disp Closed	3
MAGARWADA	3650	15	pucca	some	tube well 1 water tanks 2 stand posts 15	upto 10	hw	10
KODARAM	3900	22	pucca	yes	tube wells 2 water tank 3 standpost 10 hauj 3	upto 10	phc hw pvt disp govt disp	6

TABLE 2.2 : PALANPUR

Village	Pop	% dalit	Approach road	Street lights	Water sources	School	Health facility	Power cut
NALASAR	1266	23	concrete	yes	tubewell 1 water tank 2 govt handpump 6	upto 7	hw	8
BADARGADH	3863	8	concrete	no	tubewell 2 standpost 15	upto 10	chw	4
MANAKA	1216	28	pucca	some	water tank 1 tubewell 1 govt handpump 1 standpost 7	upto 7	chw	6
VEDANCHA	4111	12	concrete	yes	tubewell 1 water tank 2 standpost 12	upto 10	phc pvt disp	8
GADH	9651	11	concrete	some	tubewell 3 watertank 2 standpost 12	upto 12	govt hospital phsubcenter pvt disp	8

TABLE 2.3 : DHANERA

Village	Pop	% dalit	Approach road	Street lights	Water sources	School	Health facility	Power cut hours/day
SERA	1263	14	pucca	some streets	tube well 1 water tank 1 hauj 1	upto 7	hw	10
BHAJNA	2098	13	pucca	some streets	tube well 1 water tank 1 hauj 1	upto 7	0	10
JADIYA	3214	10	pucca	some streets	tube wells 2 water tanks 3 hauj 2	upto 10	govt disp pvt disp hw	16
THAWAR	3294	11	pucca	some streets	tube wells 2 water tanks 2 govt hand pump 6	upto 9	hw	10
KHIMAT	6340	9	pucca	some streets	tube well 2 watertank 2 hauj 2	upto 10	hw	10

TABLE 2.4 : THARAD

Village	Pop	% dalit	Approach road	Street lights	Water sources	School	Health facility	Power cut
GADSI SAR	1145	18	concrete	some	tubewell1 water tank1	upto 7	hw	14
KARBUN	2415	11	concrete	some	tubewell1 water tank1	upto 7	hw	14
JETDA	2644	12	concrete	some	tubewell1 water tank 2 standpost 10	upto 7	hw pvt disp	8
DEL	1278	27	concrete	no	tubewell 1 water tank 1 standpost 4	upto 7	hw	16
BUDHANPUR	1134	30	concrete	some	tubewell 1 water tank1	upto 7	hw	16

TABLE 2.5 : VAV

Village	Pop	% dalit	Approach road	Street lights	Water sources	School	Health facility	Power cut
UCHPA	1530	8	VAV concrete	some	water tank1 standpost1	upto 7	hw	12
MASALI	584	23	kuccha	no	water tank 1	upto 7	hw	18
BALUNTRI	1443	22	pucca	some	water tank 4 hauj 4 standpost 4	upto 7	hw	1
MORIKHA	2251	18	concrete	no	tubewell 1 water tank 1 standpost 5	upto 7	hw	13
DHIMA	4638	17	pucca	some	water tank 3 hauj 3 standpost 7	upto 10	phc hw pvt disp	6

CHAPTER III

BASELINE DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA OF DALIT HOUSEHOLDS

In this chapter we present the findings of the household survey. The findings are arranged under the following sub-headings:

1. Caste composition
2. Livelihood activities and income
3. Demographic Profile
4. Literacy and education
5. Housing and access to water and electricity
6. Asset ownership
7. Impact of drought
8. Indebtedness, sale and mortgage of land
9. Civic Participation
10. Benefit from government schemes

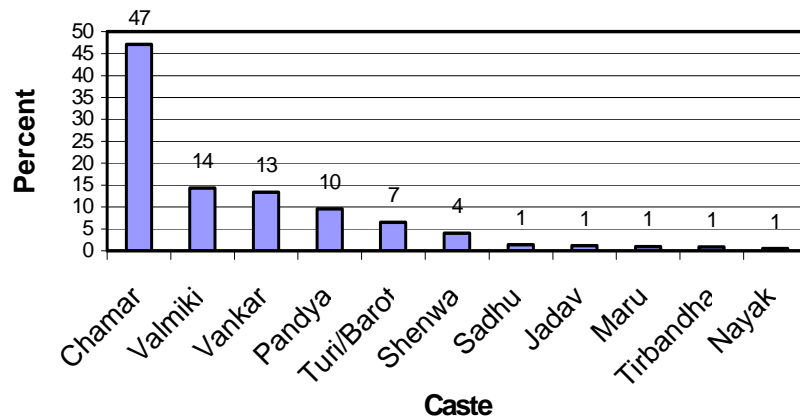
For each of the issues, the presentation of findings includes variations that exist by taluka and by caste.

At the end of this chapter, we have put down key findings for each of the five talukas and each of the five major castes based on the issues listed above.

3.1 CASTE COMPOSITION AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

In Banaskantha, the three most populous dalit castes are Chamars (52.9), Vankars (14.4%) and Valmikis (13.7%), followed by Pandyas (4.8%) and Turi/Barots (2.8%).² As indicated in the chapter on methodology, we took a slightly higher proportion of the less populous castes to get better numerical representation of these castes in the sample. (Tables A. 3.1a., A 3.1 b)

Graph 3.1. Proportion of different dalit castes in the sample



² 1991 Census

Palanpur and Vadgam talukas have a greater variety of dalit castes compared to Vav and Tharad and Dhanera. This may be due to the more developed economy in these two talukas, which is able to support a larger variety of occupational groups (to the extent that these caste groups practice their traditional occupations).

Also, the Vankars, who are the most prosperous of the dalit castes, are concentrated in two of the five talukas, viz. Vadgam and Palanpur.

In the following analysis, we have referred to the five most populous castes, viz. the Chamars, Vankars and Valmikis, Pandyas (also called Shrimalis) and Turis (also called Barot in this area) as the **major castes**. The other castes, which constitute a very small percentage of the dalit population in Banaskantha, are referred to as **minor castes** in this study. Since the numbers viz. of households of the minor castes are very small, we have clubbed the data for these castes for some part of the analysis, where we felt it would be more appropriate.

3.2 LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES AND INCOME

In this section we discuss the various livelihood activities undertaken by the respondents. These have been divided into four main categories:

- ◆ cultivation on one's own land;
- ◆ share-cropping;
- ◆ sale of milk;
- ◆ wage and salaried work.

Under these categories, we also look at **asset ownership linked to the livelihood activity** being discussed.

Activities under each of these categories are a source of household income. Most households derive income from more than one source of income. At the end of the section, we have calculated the household income and per capita.

Since the relative contribution of each of these different income sources varies across castes and talukas, we have calculated the relative contribution of each of these source to the total household income.

3.2.1 Cultivation on own land

28% of the respondents (226 households) own agricultural land 15% own **irrigated land**, and another 13% own **non-irrigated land**.³ The average amount owned of irrigated land is 3.4 acres, and average non-irrigated land owned is 3.1 acres. There is a wide variation in amount of land owned, ranging from 0.5 to 15 acres.

³ Of the 797 responding households, only one household reported ownership of both irrigated and non-irrigated land (a chamar family in Vadgam taluka).

Table 3.1 : Number of households owning agricultural land and size of landholding

	Vadgam		Palanpur		Tharad		Vav		Dhanera	
	No.of hholds	Ave plot acres	No.of hholds	Ave plot acres	No.of hholds	Ave plot acres	No.of hholds	Ave plot acres	No.of hholds	Ave plot acres
% h'holds owning irri land	7	2.77	1	1.05	40	3.52	15	5.46	32	2.51
% hholds own non-irri land	10	2.89	0	0	20	2.51	32	4.43	19	1.40
Total landed	17%		1%		60%		47%		51%	

Land ownership is negligible among the Palanpur Dalits, where only 1% own land. In both Tharad and Dhanera, more dalit households own irrigated land than non-irrigated land. Overall, Vav Dalits have the smallest proportion of irrigated land.

Caste-wise

Land ownership is highest among the Chamars, among whom 56% of the respondents own land, and more than half of these own irrigated land. *More significantly, 94% of the total irrigated land and 79% of the non-irrigated land owned by the dalits in these five talukas is owned by the Chamars.*

In 6% of the cases (13 cases), the land title for agricultural land is held by a woman. These cases are found in four of the five talukas, viz. Vadgam, Tharad, Vav and Dhanera. Of these, six are women-headed households.

Table 3.2 : Numbers of Households Owning and Cultivating Their Own Land

		Number	Percent of landed	Percent of total households
Households owning land	Irrigated	121	53%	15%
	Non-irrigated	107	47%	13%
H'holds cultivating own land last year		143	63%	18%
Households earning from cultivation of own land		74	32%	9%

A total of 143 households (18% of the total) cultivated their land in the last year. Despite having the least amount of irrigated land, the proportion of landed households which cultivated their land is highest in Vav (80%). Vadgam had the lowest proportion of landed households who cultivated their land in the last year (22%).

The high proportion of landed families cultivating in Vav may be because these households lack other livelihood options or other wage work. Farming their own land may be the best means of subsistence. Also the average amount of land owned by dalits in Vav is more than in the other talukas, so the higher total yield may also be a reason for the higher rate of cultivation. Further, as is seen in the next section on agricultural asset ownership, dalit

households in Vav have the highest proportion of agricultural assets compared to the other talukas.

3.2.2 Agricultural income from own land

While 18% of the total dalit households cultivated their own land last year, for half of them the crop produced is only enough for household consumption. Only 9% of the total dalit households in these five talukas of Banaskantha earned any income from cultivating their own land. It is noteworthy however that not only households owning irrigated land, but also those owning non-irrigated land reported income from agriculture (Of the 74 households reporting income from own land, 23 have non-irrigated land).

The majority of landed cultivators reporting agricultural income is Chamars from Dhanera. Chamars from the other talukas also reported agricultural income from their own land, but their numbers are much lower than Dhanera. (We are unable to explain why agricultural income is highest in Dhanera. Dalits in Tharad own more irrigated agricultural land than those in Dhanera yet the latter report higher agricultural income from their own land. Nor is it due to size of landholding, because the average landholding in Dhanera is smaller than the other talukas.)

3.2.3 Sharecropping

Share cropping or tenant cultivation is done by 63 households (8%), mostly in Dhanera (36 households) and Vadgam (16 households). Of these 63 families, 15 also cultivate their own land; 12 of these 15 households are in Dhanera. Sharecropping is done mostly by Chamars, though a few Valmikis, Pandyas and Vankars also engage in this activity.

3.2.4 Agricultural income from share- cropping

50 of the 63 sharecropping households reported earning an income from sale of crop as against just half of the households which cultivated their own land. From this it may be inferred that while the reason for a household to cultivate its own land is household consumption as much as selling the crop, the primary motivation behind sharecropping is earning from sale of crop. This is further borne by the fact that eight of the 63 sharecropping households reported no other source of income (seven in Dhanera and one in Vav).

The average annual household income earned from this activity was Rs. 6500.

3.2.5 Ownership of agricultural assets

We reported above that only 18% of the total households (143 households) cultivated their own land. An even smaller number of households (6%) own agriculture related assets, as shown below.

Table 3.3 : Number of Households Owning Agricultural Assets

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
Valmiki	3				1	4
Chamar	9		5	20	10	44
Shenwa	1	1				2
Total	13	1	5	20	11	50

Since most of the agricultural land is owned by Chamars, it is not surprising that the agriculture-related assets too are mostly owned by Chamar households.

A higher proportion of dalits in Vav own these agricultural assets compared to the dalits in the other talukas. Three of the four tractors owned by the respondents are owned by dalits in Vav (the fourth is in Dhanera).

Table 3.4 : Types and numbers of agricultural assets owned

	Bullocks	Bullock -cart	Ploughs	Agri implements	Tractor
No. of h'holds	36 (4.5%)	6 (0.7%)	24 (3%)	25 (3%)	4(0.5%)

There appears to be no correlation between ownership of agricultural assets and agricultural income. While Vav has the highest proportion of households owning these assets, Dhanera reports much higher agricultural income than Vav.

3.2.6 Livestock ownership

In a rural economy, livestock is a critical asset and can also be a significant source of income. We therefore looked at the number of households that own this asset and how many of these are able to earn an income from it.

20% of the total respondents own buffaloes, and 13% own goats. Cows are rarer in the area - only 6.4 % households own cows. Most households own only one kind of animal, with about 4% owning two types. No one in the sample owns all three types of animals. Households owning more than one animal fall mostly in Dhanera and Vadgam.

In terms of proportion of persons owning buffaloes, Dhanera has the highest proportion (42.5%). Palanpur is the least pastoral taluka, with less than 6% of the households owning buffaloes. Cow ownership is highest in Vav, with 45% of the total cow-owning households falling in Vav, followed by Dhanera, which has 29% of the total cow-owning households. Goat ownership is highest in Vav, with a third of the households owning goats. **(Annexure tables A3.2)**

Castewise

Not only do Chamars own most of the land owned by the dalits in these talukas, they also own a disproportionate amount of livestock. 34% of the Chamar households own buffaloes. More significantly, 45 of the 51 cows and 127 of the 161 buffaloes owned by the dalit respondents are owned by Chamars.

A third of the Valmiki families own goats.

3.2.7 Sale of dairy products

We found that a significant majority use the milk from milch animals for home consumption. About a third of the households owning cows and buffalos reported sale of dairy products - primarily milk. Though buffalo ownership in Palanpur is low, the proportion of persons reporting income from sale of dairy products was highest here. 92% of livestock owners sell dairy products in this taluka. In the other talukas, the percent of households selling milk and ghee range from 43%-75%, with it being highest in Vadgam after Palanpur, followed closely by Dhanera.

The average annual household income reported from sale of milk is Rs. 6366. Comparing across talukas, the highest average income is reported from Dhanera (Rs. 8300) and lowest from Tharad (Rs. 3204).

3.2.8 Wage and salary income

We saw above that cultivation of land and sale of milk yields an income only for a small proportion of the households. To learn about the other sources of household income, data was sought from each household on all the earners in the household, including those having salaried jobs and those working on a daily wage basis. Overall 97% of the households reported persons earning incomes from wage or salaried work. About a third of these have a second earner, and a few have third and fourth earners as well.

3.2.9 Sources of wage and salary income

In Palanpur all households reported some source of wage or salary income, while in Dhanera, 16% of the households (17 households) reported no such income. Seven of these 16 households are those whose only means of livelihood is share-cropping.

As evident from the table below, **the primary source of income is casual labour.**⁴ It absorbs a disproportionate proportion of the labour compared to other income sources. **Government**

⁴ 70-80 forms reported 'bhiksha' as a source of income - this has been included in casual labour category.

jobs emerge as the next major occupation, but absorb a small proportion of the earning population. **Agricultural labour** and **skilled labour** are the other significant sources of income household.

Table 3.5 : Percent of persons in different occupations by taluka

(Total workers as a percent of total households)

	Agri lab	Skill lab	Pvt. job	Own business	Casual labour	Govt job	Driver	TOTAL wage earners
Vadgam	9	24	7	7	94	27	3	172
Palanpur	5	5	2	2	89	14	1	118
Tharad	16				109	(1 case)		125
Vav	13	2	7	3	98	11	5	143
Dhanera	21	15	7	7	126	4	2	182
TOTAL	11	10	4	4	100	13	2	147

Note:

1. There is more than one worker per household. Therefore the total percent is greater than 100.
2. Seven persons do sewing/embroidery, two work as domestic workers and two tend livestock. They have been excluded from the above table because of their small numbers.

BOX: Occupational profile by taluka (Annexure tables A. 3.3 a for details)

Vadgam exhibits the most superior occupational profile.

- ◆ Less than half the households depend on casual labour as their primary source of income;
- ◆ Of all the five talukas, has the highest proportion of persons working in salaried jobs (government jobs - 27%, and private jobs 7%);
- ◆ It has a significant proportion of persons reporting skilled labour as their source of income(24%);

Tharad has the least occupational security.

- ◆ Only one of the households reported salaried jobs. No household reported skilled labour or own business as the primary income source.
- ◆ 109 % of the households depend upon casual labour, and 16% on agricultural labour.

After Vadgam and Palanpur, Vav has the highest proportion of salaried workers; in fact the proportion of persons in government jobs in Vav is only slightly lower than the proportion in the more urbanized Palanpur taluka.

Of all the five talukas, *Dhanera* has the highest proportion of persons earning their income from agricultural labour. This is not surprising, given that Dhanera also reports the highest agricultural income in the five talukas,

BOX Occupational profile of the different castes (Annexure tables A. 3.3 b for details)

Among the major castes, Vankars have the highest representation in government jobs and of persons earning from doing skilled labour.

Valmikis have a very low representation among agricultural labourers. Only 2% of the oldest earners reported working as agricultural labourers. 125% Valmikis reported casual labour as their primary source of income of the oldest earner. Their proportionate representation in government jobs (14% of primary earners among Valmikis are in government jobs) is higher than the Chamars (8%).

Among Vankars, only 67% reported casual labour as the primary income source of the oldest earner. 31% of all the government jobs reported are among the Vankars, even though they are only 13% of the total population. (Another 20% reported skilled work as the primary occupation of the eldest earner.)

Pandyas also reported a relatively high proportion of eldest earners in government jobs (17%).

Table 3.6: Persons In Different Occupations By Caste (percent)

Percent of persons in different occupations by caste (total workers as percent of total households)								
	Agri labour	Skill labour	Pvt. job	Own business	Casual labour	Govt. job	Driver	Sewing/ Embroidery
Vankar		22	3	8	67	32		
Valmiki	2	1	3	2	125	14	3	
Chamar	19	8	5	4	101	8	2	
Turi		13	4	2	152			
Pandya	4	8	7	1	88	20	7	9
Shenwa	34	3	9		91			
Maru		125	13		100			
Jadav				11	22	67		
Sadhu	9				73	27	18	
Nayak					100	25		
Tirbandha		29		14	57			
TOTAL	11	10	4	4	100	14	2	1

Note:

1. There is more than one worker per household. Therefore the total percent is greater than 100.

3.2.10 Secondary earners

Overall, a third of the households reported having a second earner, and 12% of the households reported third earners. Casual labour is the dominant occupation of the second earner in all the talukas, even in Vadgam (64% of households with second earners).

While the higher number of secondary earners in Dhanera can be explained by the larger average household size, the reason in Vadgam is not as clear. It could possibly be related to more employment opportunities in that area.

Table 3.7 : Number of Earners in Household by Taluka

	Palanpur	Vadgam	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera
No. of h'holds with one earner	220 (100%)	209 (98%)	121 (98%)	128 (96%)	96 (84%)
No. of h'holds with second earner	32 (14%)	118 (55%)	31 (25%)	45 (34%)	66 (62%)
No. of h'holds with third earner	8 (4%)	39 (18%)	4 (3%)	15 (11%)	29 (27%)
No. of h'holds with fourth earner	0	4 (2%)	0	2 (2%)	1 (1%)

3.2.11 Migration for livelihood

We asked respondents if anyone from their families migrated for earning an income. Only 39 persons (5%) reported that they lived away from their village for earning purpose.⁵ 22 of the 39 persons are from Vadgam. All the dalit castes were represented fairly evenly in this category of persons.

3.2.12 Household Income from Different Sources

In this section we have calculated household income and per capita using the following four sources of income:

- i. sale of agricultural produce from own land;
- ii. sale of agricultural produce from rented land (share-cropping);
- iii. sale of dairy products;
- iv. wage and salary income

(Income earned in kind has not been included).

The average household income is Rs. 20,949. It is interesting to compare this figure with all India figure for average rural household income for dalits calculated by a NCAER survey in 1994. This figure is Rs. 19,556. Taking inflation into account in the last eight years, we can interpret that the average household income for dalits in Banaskantha is lower than the all-India average.

⁵ Even if migration can yield better incomes, people do not migrate for a number of reasons. These include lack of awareness about options outside and reluctance to leave the community and native place. "Migration of Rural Artisans" S.S. Solanki, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol XXXVII, no. 35, Aug- Sept. 2002

**Table 3.8 Average Household Income by Taluka
(Rupees)**

Vadgam	Dhanera	Vav	Palanpur	Tharad	TOTAL
34720	26121	17235	15381	7390	20,949

Vadgam has the highest average annual household income (Rs. 34720), and Tharad the lowest. The surprising finding is that Dhanera's average household income (Rs. 26121), is higher than Palanpur's average household income.

Castewise

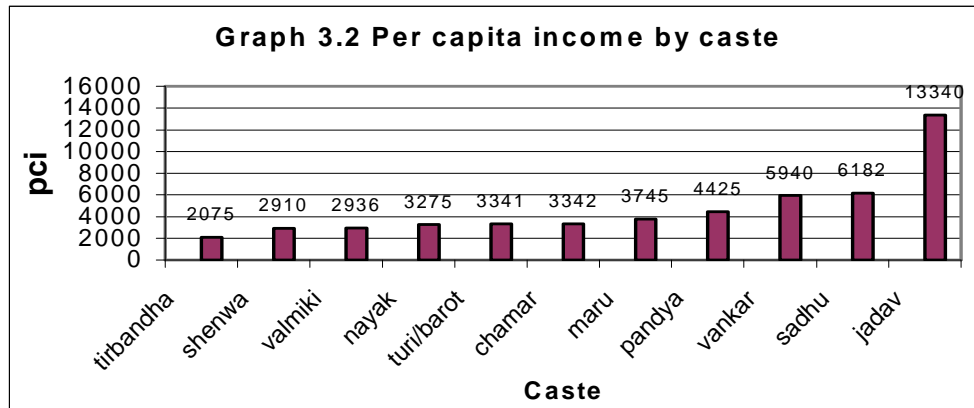
**Table 3.9 Average Household Income by Caste
(Rupees)**

Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi/barot	Pandya
33933	16152	19299	17037	18691

Looking at income variations by caste, we find that among the major castes, Vankars have the highest average annual household income. The Chamars and the Pandyas/Shrimalis, who come second and third in this ranking, have markedly lower wage incomes. Not surprisingly, Valmikis have the lowest average annual household income.

3.2.13 Per capita income

The differences in income become sharper and somewhat altered when we account for household size.



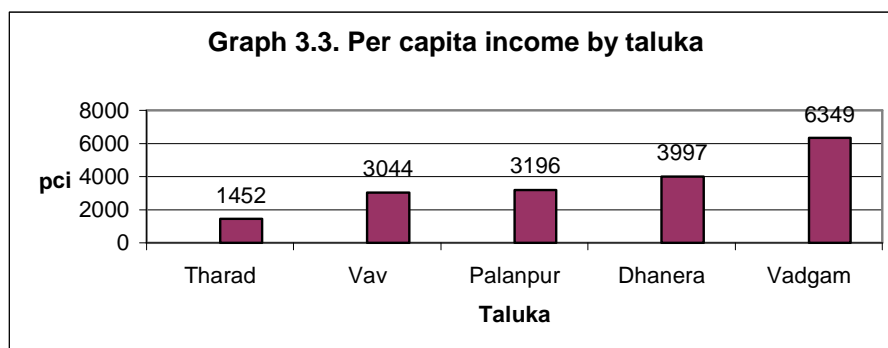
The ranking of castes by per capita income is the same as in the case of household income in the case of the castes having the highest and lowest income. Thus Vankars have the highest household income and the highest pci and Valmikis have the lowest household income and lowest pci. While household income is higher for Chamars, we find the when we control for family size, Pandyas have a higher per capita income. This is because the Chamars have a higher average household size (5.9) compared to Pandyas.

Table 3.10 Average Household Size by Caste

Chamar	Valmiki	Turi/barot	Vankar	Pandya
5.9	5.7	5.6	5.2	5.2

Taluka wise

As in the case of caste, the first and last rank in household income and pci is the same - Vadgam has the highest pci and Tharad the lowest. However, while the household income in



Vav is higher than Palanpur, when we control for family size, Palanpur's pci is marginally higher than Vav's pci. Palanpur has the lowest average household size.

Table 3.11 Average household size by Taluka

Palanpur	Vadgam	Vav	Tharad	Dhanera
5.2	5.4	5.7	5.9	6.6

The surprising finding here is that despite Dhanera having the largest average household size, the per capita income in Dhanera is significantly higher than that in Palanpur. This issue therefore needs to be examined further.

3.2.14 Relative contribution of Different Income Sources to Household Income

We have calculated the average income for the different income sources to understand the level of income that each of these activities generates.

Table 3.12 Comparison of Average Household Income From Different Sources by Taluka

Taluka	Own land	Share cropping	Dairy	Wage	Total
Vadgam	4791	3228	4988	34020	34720
Palanpur	4800	0	4357	15102	15381
Tharad	10603	12000	3204	5714	7390
Vav	2800	8575	7867	15262	17235
Dhanera	12610	6466	8300	19027	26121

When we look at the contribution that different income sources make to the total household income, we find that except in Tharad taluka, wage income is the primary source of household income in all the talukas. In Tharad, cultivation on own land or as share-cropper is the primary source of income. There is a statistically significant and positive correlation between per capita income and per capita income from wages or salaries. This means that for the population under study, wage or salary income is the primary determinant of a person's income. A person's income will be high if she or he is able to earn a high wage or salary. For dalit populations, among whom land ownership is negligible, income from agriculture is not the most significant source of household income.

With the exception of Palanpur where no share cropping income was reported, dalits in all five talukas reported income from all four sources. However, the relative contribution of the different income sources to household income varies in the different talukas. In Dhanera, Vav and Tharad, three or four of the income sources are all equally important. In Palanpur and Vadgam, wage income contribution a much greater share of household income than the other income sources.

Castewise

Across all castes, wage income constitutes the most important income source for all the major castes.⁶

Table 3.13 Comparison Of Average Household Income From Different Sources By Caste

Caste	Own land	Share cropping	Dairy	Wage	Total Income
Vankar	0	7750	8800	34286	33933
Valmiki	5712	5279	3660	15890	16152
Chamar	8923	7147	6565	15797	19299
Turi/barot	7392	0	0	16892	17037
Pandya/ Shrimali	2275	3200	13347	18218	18691
Shenwa	6198	3607	4190	9973	12612
Maru	0	0	0	32213	32213
Jadav	17000	0	0	79950	72967
Sadhu	0	0	0	25393	25393
Nayak	0	0	0	19100	19100
Tirbandha	0	0	0	8757	8757

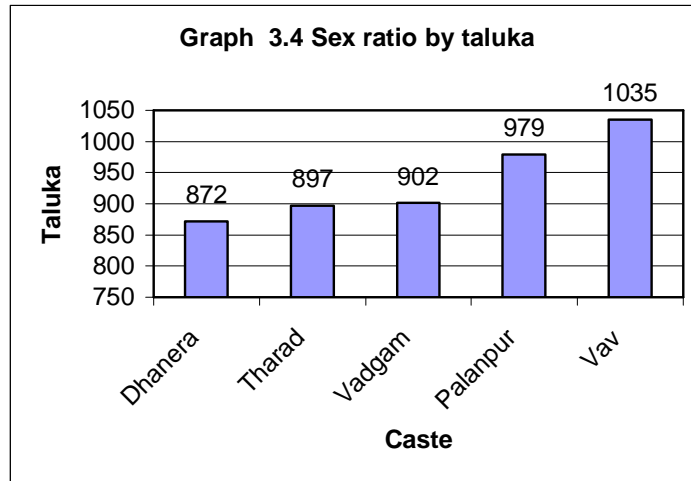
However, among the Pandyas, income from dairy is also a significant income source.

3.3 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The overall **sex ratio** for the persons surveyed in the five talukas is 937. This is lower than the sex ratio for rural Banaskantha, which according to the 2001 Census is 945. We are unable to

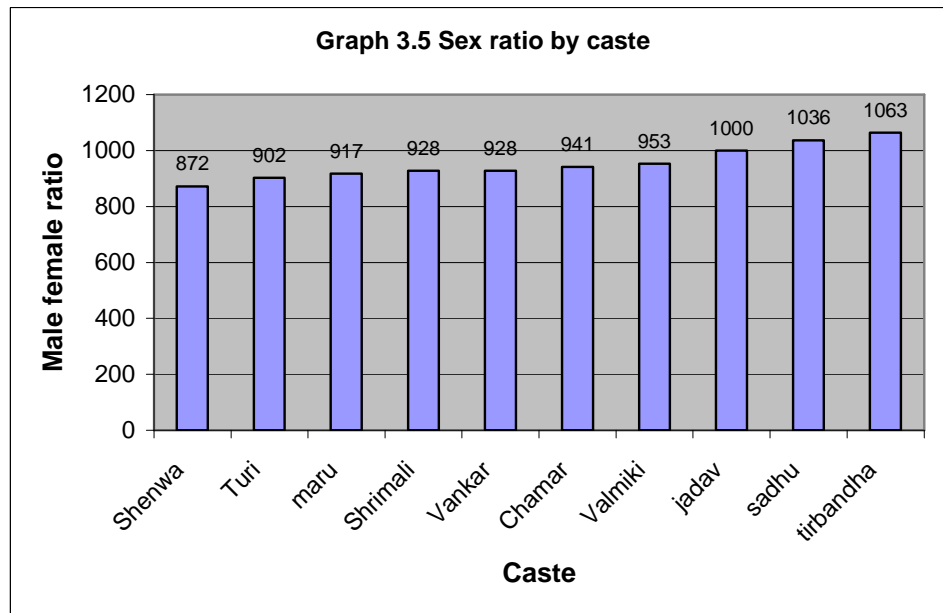
⁶ The NCAER study referred to above also finds that "the share of income from non-agricultural sources is found to be higher in the developed villages"

explain this difference. One possible reason is that the sex ratio in the other 6 talukas of Banaskantha may be higher than the district average.



Vav taluka exhibits an exceptionally high sex ratio for the dalits in our sample, viz. 1035 compared to the one reported for Vav taluka in the 2001 census, which is 984. While we are unable to explain this exceptionally high sex ratio, it is noteworthy that, Vav has a relatively high sex ratio compared to other talukas in Gujarat. In fact, for the 0-6 age group, Vav has the third best sex ratio in the state.

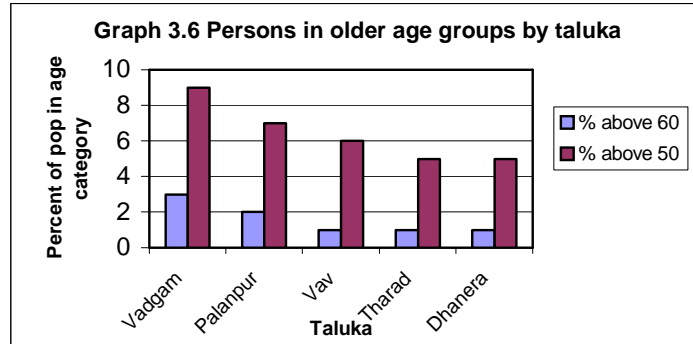
Castewise



While we have shown the sex ratios for all the castes, the validity of the ratios for the minor castes is impaired by their low representation in the sample. These include the Shenwa, Maru, Jadav, Sadhu and Tirbandha.

Among the major castes, Vankars and Pandyas, the two more prosperous dalit castes in Banaskantha exhibit lower sex ratios than the economically and socially weaker valmikis.

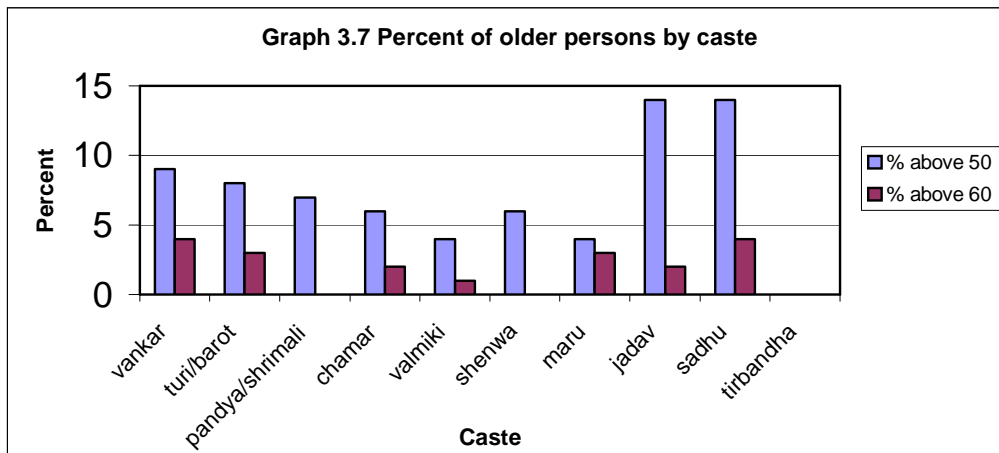
3.3.1 Longevity



A negligible proportion of persons live beyond age 60. Only 2% of the respondents are 60 years or older, and 9% are 50 years and older.

Comparing talukas, dalits in Vadgam have higher longevity than the other talukas, followed by Palanpur.

Caste wise



Among the major castes, the higher placed Vankar and Pandya dalits live longer than the Chamars and Valmikis.

Thus there seems to be a negative correlation between economic well-being and sex ratio, with better off castes having a fewer women per thousand men. The correlation between economic well-being and longevity is positive, with better off castes having a higher proportion of older persons.

3.4 LITERACY & EDUCATION

Among population seven years and older, overall 52.8% are literate. Comparing men and women, 68% of men are literate compared to 36 %women. This is somewhat higher than the literacy figures for Banaskantha according to the 2001 census, according to which the overall literacy rate is 51.26%, with 66.91% for men and 34.54% for women.

Literacy rates in Vadgam and Palanpur are almost the same, and are markedly higher than the literacy rates in the other talukas.

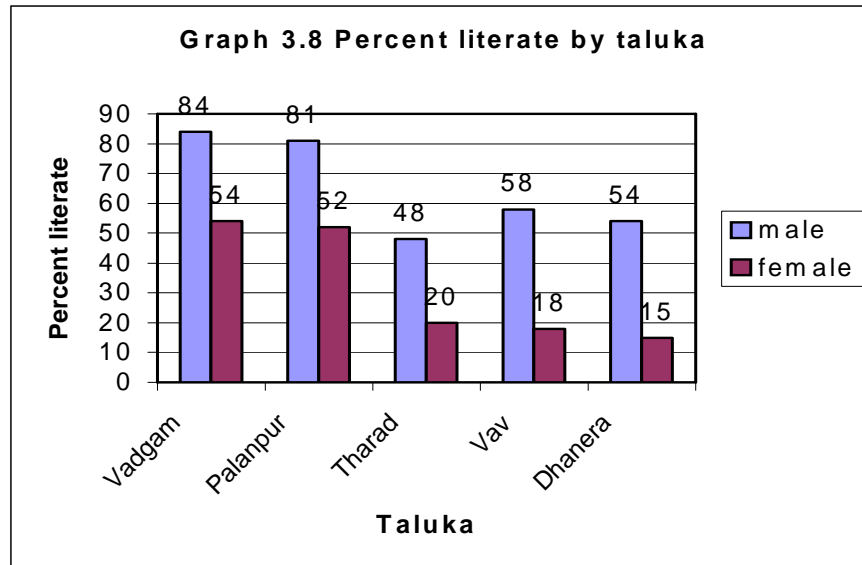


Table 3. 14 Percent Literate by taluka

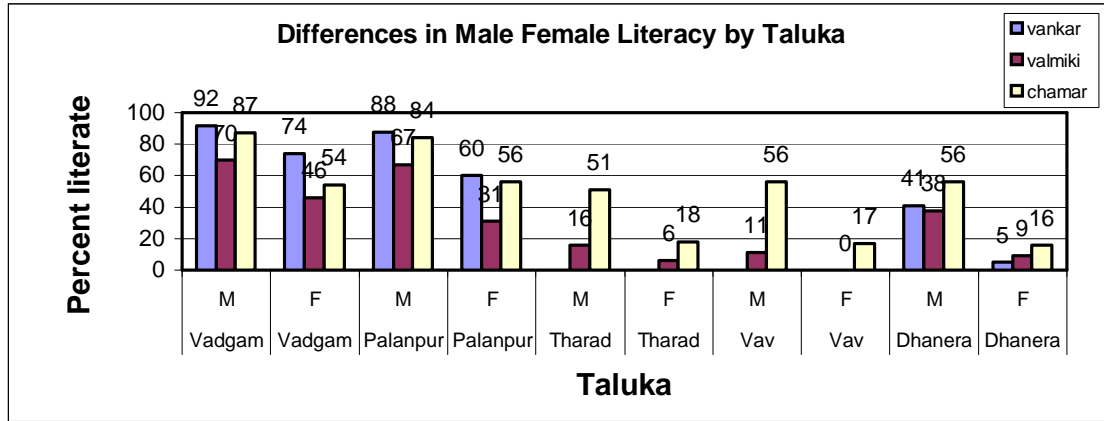
	Vadgam		Palanpur		Tharad		Vav		Dhanera	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Vankar	92	74	88	60					41	5
Valmiki	70	46	67	31	16	6	11	0	38	9
Chamar	87	54	84	56	51	18	56	17	56	16
Turi	83	29	84	70	29	27	38	13	56	0
Pandya	100	67	96	57	73	48	78	25	55	29
Shenwa	73	47	59	29						
Maru	82	54								
Jadav	100	75								
Sadhu			100	94					67	29
Tirbandha			85	64						

Among the major castes Vankars have the highest literacy at 74%, and Valmikis the lowest at 43%. Minor castes have higher levels of literacy, especially the Jadavs and the Sadhus.

Looking at the figures, it appears that geographical location of persons is more significant than caste in determining literacy levels. Palanpur and Vadgam are the more developed talukas compared to Vav, Tharad and Dhanera. Not only are the literacy rates for dalits in Palanpur and Vadgam almost double

those found in the other three talukas, the literacy rates among the Valmikis and the Chamars are far higher in these talukas than their caste average. Proving this same point, the literacy among the Dhanera Vankars is only 26%, far lower than their caste average of 74.1%

Comparing women's literacy among talukas, it ranges from above 50% in Palanpur and



Vadgam, and less than 20 % in Vav, Tharad and Dhanera.

Not only is overall literacy lower in Vav, Tharad and Dhanera, the difference between male and female literacy is also much greater.

3.4.1 Reasons for lower women's literacy

The lower rates of women's literacy cannot be understood in terms of availability of schools in the village. All the 25 villages in the survey have primary schools upto class seven in the village itself. The difference could be due to proportion of boys and girls attending school. This in fact is the reason in the case of Vav, Tharad and Dhanera, where more boys than girls attend school right from the beginning.

However, this reason does not hold in the case of Vadgam and Palanpur - in both the talukas, there is almost equal participation in schooling among boys and girls upto class VII. One would therefore expect that there should be little difference in the literacy of men and women in these two talukas.⁷

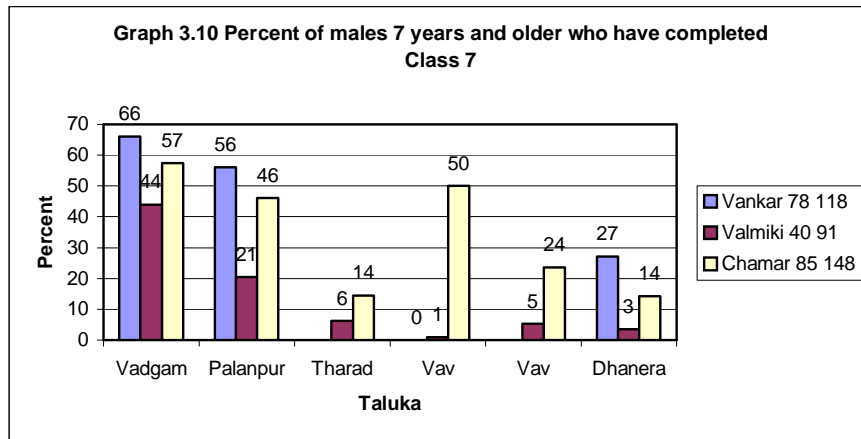
There could be two possible explanations for the lower literacy among women. One is that women have less opportunity to read and write as adults and therefore lose the ability over time. The other could be equal schooling of boys and girls in these two talukas is a recent phenomenon. Since our literacy calculations cover the entire population seven and older, the large number of older women who did not go to school are the reason for the lower overall literacy rate.

⁷ We tried to establish the correlation between schooling and literacy. 97% of men and women who had completed between class V-VII were literate.

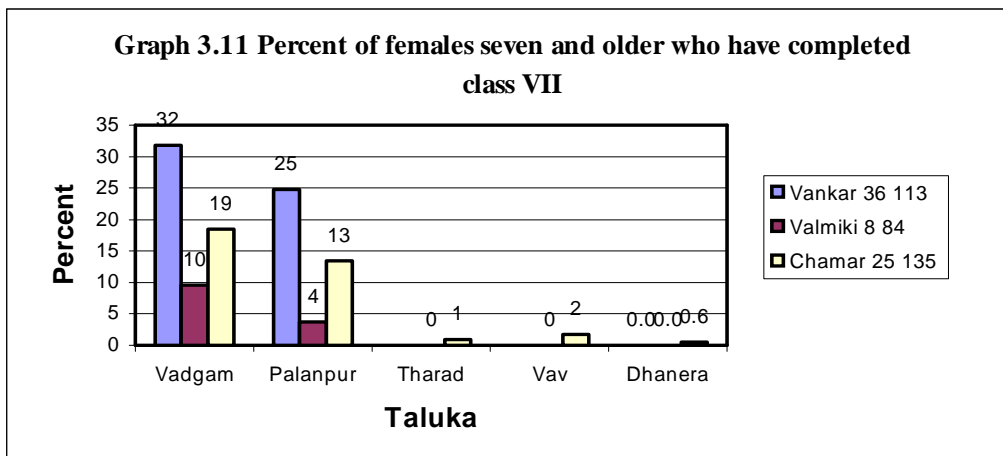
3.4.2 Education

Taluka wise

Overall 36% of the population seven years and older has studied upto class seven or more. Vadgam has the highest proportion of persons, male and female, who have completed class VII. Overall too, as in the case of literacy, education levels also are highest among Vadgam



dalits followed by Palanpur. Two males from Vadgam have completed medical degrees. (Annexure tables A3.4, A 3. 5, A3.6)



Among Vav, Tharad and Dhanera, Vav has a higher proportion of persons with formal school and college education compared to the other talukas.

Schooling of girls is equal to that of boys upto class seven in Palanpur and Vadgam. After that the girls enrollment drops sharply. In the other three talukas, fewer girls are in school right from the beginning. However, this difference increases sharply for grades 5-7 and even more dramatically after that.

Caste wise

Vankars have the highest level of education among the different caste groups. 26 males and 10 women have gone on for education after class X11. Two males have even done MBBS. Pandyas have a significantly high level of education compared to the other castes.

Comparing across castes, enrollment of girls in school is lower than that of boys in all the caste groups. Once again the greater effect of geographical location in determining schooling levels as compared to caste position is evident.

The findings here suggest that overall development of an area is more important than economic well-being of individual families for determining people's literacy and educational levels. Dhanera dalits have higher incomes, yet the literacy levels and education levels there are lower than they are in Palanpur.

3.5 HOUSING QUALITY AND ACCESS TO WATER AND ELECTRICITY

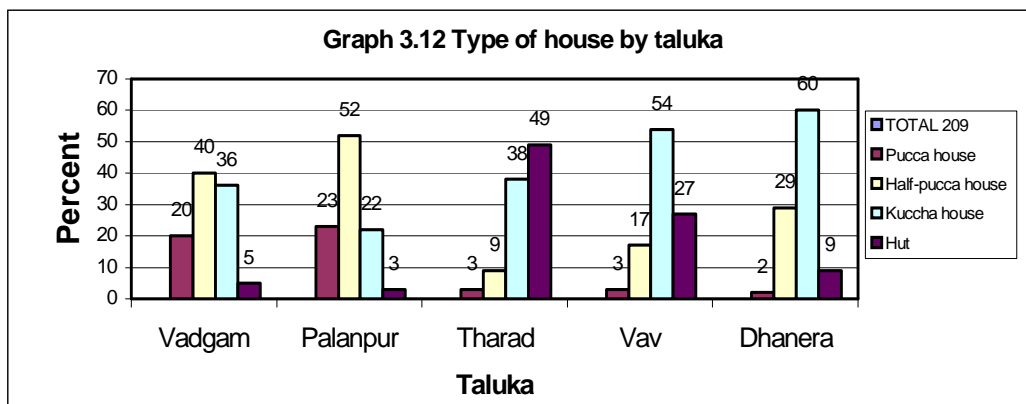
Housing is an important indicator of quality of life. In fact house type is included in several indices which measure poverty. In this section we look at the house ownership and housing quality of the dalits in Banaskantha and their access to civic amenities like water and electricity.

3.5.1 House ownership

A majority of the respondents (75%) live in houses owned by them, and another 19% live in ancestral homes. Rented homes are uncommon - only 4% live in rented homes. Almost all the families living in rented homes are in Vadgam or Palanpur talukas.

3.5.2 Quality of house construction

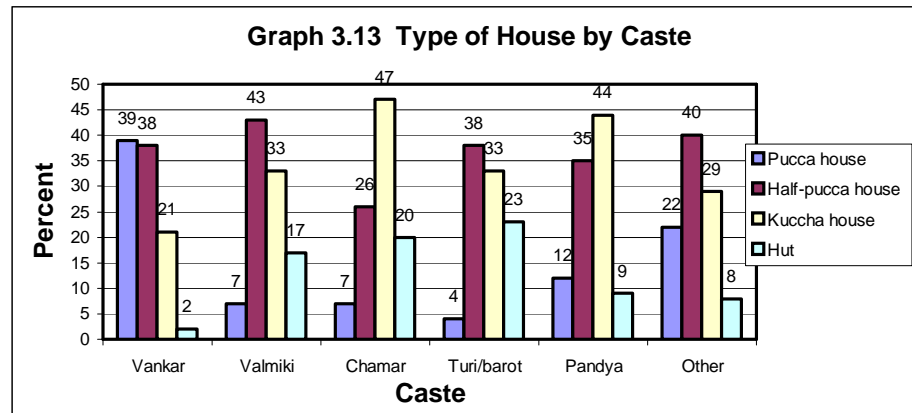
Overall only 13% of the respondents live in pucca houses. The largest proportion live in kuccha houses (39%), and 15% live in huts.



Palanpur has highest percent of pucca houses - 23%. Tharad has lowest (2%); in this taluka half the houses are made of thatch. In Vav and Dhanera too, more than half the houses are kuccha, with Vav being marginally better than Dhanera in housing construction.

Castewise

Vankars have the best type of housing, with 40% living in pucca houses and an equal number living in semi-pucca houses.



Among the Valmikis, less than 10% live in pucca houses, and almost half live in semi-pucca houses. Housing quality among the Chamars is poorer than that among the Valmikis - only 6.5 % of them live in pucca houses.

Among the minor castes, housing among the Jadvavs and Nayaks is better off than the Sadhus and Tirbandhas.

3.5.3 Size of house plot and house

Plot sizes vary greatly, from 25 sq ft to 3600 sq ft. Overall, Dhanera and Vadgam have a much larger proportion of larger house plots, and Tharad and Vav have a higher proportion of smaller plots. This is despite the lower population density in these two talukas. Palanpur has no plots less than 100 sq ft, but has a more even distribution of the small, medium and large plots compared to the other talukas.

3.5.4 Built area as a % of house plot

Built area as a % of plot size is about half in more than half cases. Built area is highest in Palanpur, where 40% of the plots have built on the total area. In Tharad also one-third homes are built on total area. In the aggregate, Vav and Tharad have the least built area, with about a fourth of the homes being on less than a third of the plot.

Castewise

The larger plots are owned mostly by Vankars, with only 10% of the Vankars living on plots less than 300 sq ft. In terms of built area, Vankars have the highest built area on the plots they own.

3.5.5 Separate kitchen, bathroom and toilet (Tables A 3.7a, A 3.7 b, A 3.7c, A 3.7d)

15% of the households have separate spaces for use as kitchen, bathroom and toilet. Of these, one-third have only one of the three facilities, the other two-thirds have two or all three.

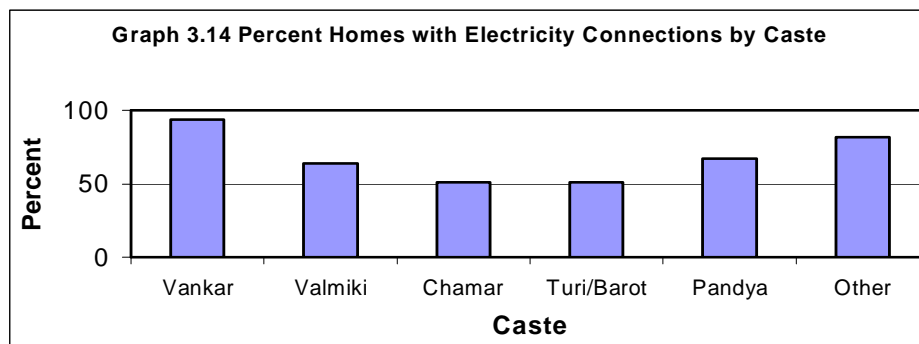
Most of the houses with separate spaces for a kitchen, bathroom and toilet are in Vadgam and Palanpur (16-19 % of the homes in these talukas have these facilities). These facilities are significantly lower in the other three talukas, particularly in Tharad and Vav.

Castewise

A third of the Vankars have separate kitchens, bathrooms or toilets. Among Pandyas and Turis a little over 10% have these spaces, while among the Valmikis and Chamars, less than 10% of the households have these facilities.

3.5.6 Electrical connection:

Overall electricity in 64% homes, and 91% of these are regular connections.



90% homes in Palanpur, 85% in Vadgam and 63% in Dhanera have electricity. Vav (33% homes) and Tharad (16% homes) are markedly worse off in this regard.

Castewise

94% Vankars households, and 64-67% of Valmiki, Shrimmali and Pandya households have electricity. Among Chamars, only 51% have it. Among the minor castes, more than 75% have the facility.

3.5.7 Access to water

The most common source of drinking water is **handpumps** installed in various places in the village. **Individual taps** for each house are found in Palanpur (35%), Vadgam (59%) and Dhanera (31%). Palanpur and Vadgam are not only better off in terms of some homes having their own taps, the location of standposts is also best in these talukas - it is located within the vas.

In Vav and Tharad, the women often have to go to a standpost outside the vas for water. This fact not only has implications for the time and effort spent by the household to get water. The location of the standpost outside the vas also creates conditions for dalit oppression. *The two cases of harassment of young dalit women by forward caste men are reported from Uchpa in Vav and Buddhanpur in Tharad.*

Almost half the families in Vadgam and Dhanera and a fifth of the families in Vav also use private wells located *outside the village* to meet their water needs.

Generally, water for household purposes is sourced from the same places as drinking water.

3.6 ASSET OWNERSHIP (Appendix tables A. 3.8 a , A. 3.8 b)

3.6.1 Consumer goods

Respondents were asked about ownership of consumer durables like personal motorized vehicles, consumer goods like refrigerator and TV. Overall Vadgam has the highest level of assets ownership. One third of the houses have TV sets, one third of which are coloured TVs. In comparison, only 13% of the homes in Palanpur have TV sets. Fridge and phone ownership is also highest in Vadgam.

Castewise

Among the major castes, the Vankars have the highest level of asset ownership (59% of the total assets reported are owned by Vankars), followed by the Marus and Shrimalis (38% and 37% respectively). This is consistent with the pattern we have observed so far, with Vankars and Shrimalis being the most well to do among the dalit castes.

3.7 IMPACT OF DROUGHT

Banaskantha has had little rainfall in the last two years (2000 and 2001). We wanted to find out how the dalits fare in the face of such adverse climatic conditions, particularly in Vav and Tharad which are the worst hit. We tried to assess the types of financial distress caused by drought in these talukas. The respondents were asked if they had experienced a **fall in income, lost assets or migrated due to drought**.

73% of the respondents reported a decrease in their incomes in the last two years, primarily due to the drought-like conditions the district has experienced in the last two years.⁸ The other major reason for fall of income was lack of work, which is the natural outcome of lack of rain in a rain-fed agricultural region. Above 80% of the respondents in Dhanera, Tharad and Vav (in that order) reported a fall in income. Palanpur was the least adversely affected on this count (even here, 53% reported a loss in income.)

Loss of assets due to drought was reported by 18 households who lost an animal due to drought. (six in Vadgam, five in Vav and two-three in each of the other talukas.) **Sale of livestock** due to drought was reported in two cases. **Migration** due to drought was reported in 3 cases. We saw above in the discussion on livelihoods that even generally, migration for earning is not a common phenomenon among the dalits of these talukas. This may explain the low level of migration.

It was also observed by one of BSC's team members that Vav and Tharad talukas have a culture of state-sponsored relief works, and dalits have got used to that as the main source of wage labour. Even though no relief works were not started in the last two years in these areas, migration for work was low because it is not customary practice.

Castewise

Chamars reportedly have been the worst hit by the drought like conditions, with 85% reporting a fall in income. Of the 18 cases of animal death, 12 were from Chamar households and four from Shenwa households. The Vankars were the least affected; 59% reported a loss in income.

3.8 INDEBTEDNESS, SALE AND MORTGAGE OF LAND

We have treated indebtedness and sale and mortgage of land together because all three are used as means of securing a large sum of money. Also all three lead to asset loss and increased household vulnerability.

⁸ Relief work reported only from Morikha village in Vav taluka. Given the politics of drought, it is well-known that there is little correlation between the declaration of drought and the financial distress caused due to drought.

3.8.1 Loans taken

Almost half the households (43.4%) are currently in debt, with 18% of the total households having more than one loan.

3.8.2 Source of loan (Appendix Table A. 3. 9, A. 3.10, A 3.11)

47% of all loans have been taken from members of the upper castes. Another 27% have been taken from moneylenders, most likely also belonging to the upper castes. Only 16% have been taken from either banks or cooperative societies.

Loans from formal sources like banks and coop societies are seen more in Vadgam and Vav than the other talukas.

3.8.3 Reason for loan

Social occasions like marriage are the main reason for taking a loan, with sickness in the family being the second most common reason.

Comparing talukas, Tharad exhibits the highest degree of indebtedness, both in terms of number of loans per household and amount of loan taken. In Tharad the total number of loans taken by dalits as a percent of total dalit households is 124%, followed by Vav at 74⁹. The other talukas have between 50 and 60%.

The most common loan sizes are Rs. 5,000 (20% of the loans) and Rs. 10,000 (20%). However, several loans are larger, making the average loan size Rs. 14,740. The average indebtedness per household in Vav and Tharad is Rs. 23,000- Rs. 25,000 per household.

Castewise

Chamars are 47% of the population and yet have 62% of all the loans. Among all the other castes, the indebtedness levels are lower, particularly among the Vankars and the Pandyas. However, among all the caste groups, at least 30% of the households are in debt.

The average indebtedness per household is also highest among the Chamars - Rs. 22,000. Among the others it ranges from 14,000 to 20,000 per household. An exception are the Turi/barots, among whom the average loan size is less than Rs. 10,000.

⁹Calculated as the number of total loans taken by dalits in a taluka as a percent of the total number of dalit households in that taluka.

3.8.4 Interest rates charged

Interest rates range from 1% per month to 5% per month. The majority of loans (45%) are taken at 3% per month. Comparing interest rates taluka wise, it is seen that Dhanera has the highest interest rates, and Palanpur the lowest. In all the talukas except Palanpur, more than half the loans are taken at 3% or more rate of interest. 33

33 persons (4%) have reported getting interest free loans. These households are mostly in Palanpur and Vadgam, and the loans have primarily been taken from members of the savarna castes. We do not know how it has come to be that some persons have got interest free loans from non-relatives.

Table 3.15 Percent of loans in the taluka at different interest rates

Interest rates	0	1	1.5	2	3	4	5	TOTAL*
Vadgam	14	5	2	21	31	4	15	93
Palanpur	21	2	36	19	15	1	4	97
Tharad	1	4	4	15	51	6	17	98
Vav		2	11	20	58	5	4	100
Dhanera	1			3	87	4	4	100

* The cases for the first three talukas do not add up to 100% because some cases have been excluded.

3.8.5 Mortgage and sale of land

16 persons reported mortgaging land (2%) - there were seven cases of non-irrigated land and nine cases of irrigated land. Vav and Tharad had six cases each of the total mortgage cases reported.¹⁰ The primary reason for mortgaging land is for a social expenditures like marriage etc.

Since Chamars are the major landowners in these talukas, 13 of the 16 persons who have mortgaged their land are Chamars; one is a Valmiki and 2 are Shenwas.

Nine of these sixteen persons felt that they would not be able to free their land, because they lacked the money to do so. Seven of these nine are from Vav and Tharad talukas.

3.8.6 Sale of land

A total of eight (1%) respondents sold land in the last ten years, mostly in Tharad (four cases) and Vav (two cases). A total of 110 acres of irrigated land exchanged hands in these land sales. In four cases the land was bought by savarna caste members, in three cases by Chamars and Vankars and in one by the government. Of the eight sellers, seven are Chamars and one Valmiki.

¹⁰ Amounts received for the land ranged from 10,000 to 1,40,000 in the case of irrigated land and 10,000 to 40,000 in the case of non-irrigated land.

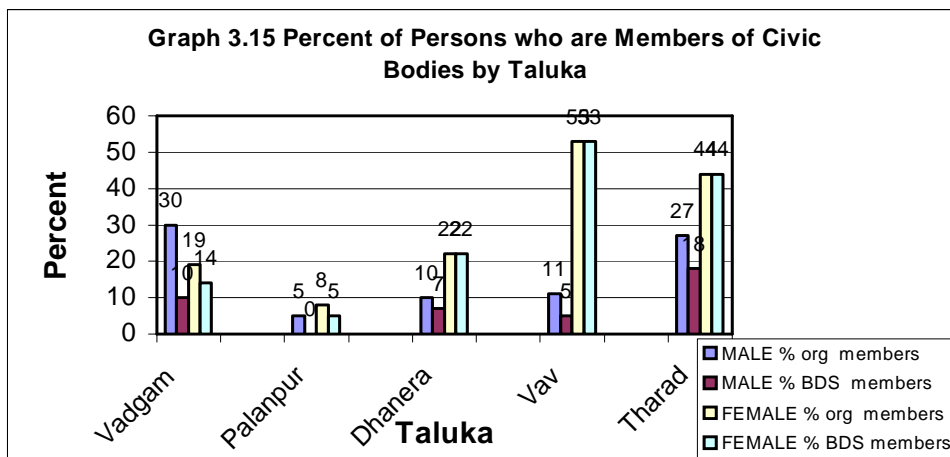
3.9 CIVIC PARTICIPATION

3.9.1 Voting in elections

Almost all the respondents reported having voted in the last elections (upwards of 96%). The main reasons for not voting were (i) name not in the voter list (5 persons) or (ii) busy with something else (4 persons).¹¹

3.9.2 Membership in Civic Bodies

Thirty-percent households have one or more persons who are members of civic bodies. About a fourth of these (71 households) have two or more persons with membership in a civic body.



Women's membership in civic bodies is higher than men's because of the credit cooperatives promoted by BDS. In fact, **all** of the women's membership in civic bodies in Vav, Tharad and Dhanera is due to their membership in the credit coops.

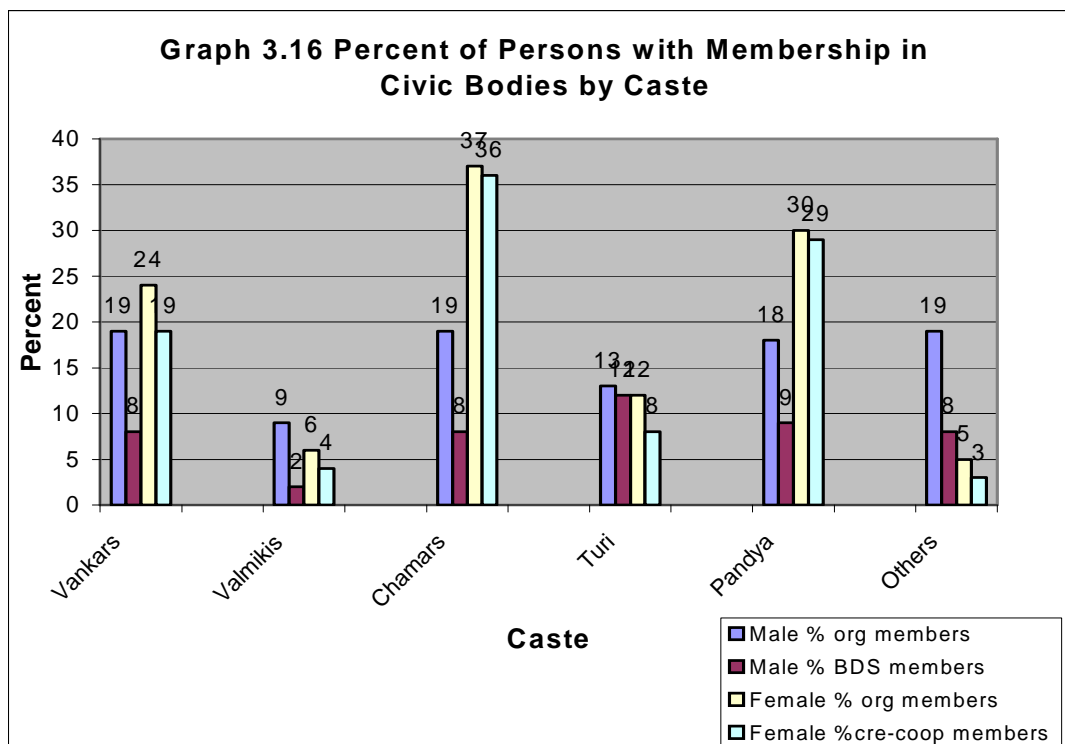
Of the five talukas, women's membership in the credit cooperatives is highest in Vav and Tharad; and it is particularly low in Palanpur. In the case of men too, participation in Banaskantha Dalit Sangathan is lowest in Palanpur, and highest in Tharad.

If one excludes membership in Banaskantha Dalit Sangathan and the credit cooperatives, membership in civic bodies is relatively low. It is highest in Vadgam, where males from 21 % of the households are members of civic bodies. The most common type of civic bodies other than BDS are cooperative societies or *sarafi mandalis* (credit societies).

¹¹ Buddhanpur in Tharad had only one candidate in the last election so no one went to vote.

Castewise

When we look at the overall findings for membership in civic bodies the small percent of Valmiki members is notable. However, when we look at membership figures excluding BDS and the credit cooperatives, the difference in membership rates between Valmikis and the other dalit castes is much less (10% overall versus 7% for Valmikis).



3.10 BENEFITS FROM GOVERNMENT SCHEMES (Table A 3.12, A3.13)

3.10.1 Land from government

One-fifth of the total respondents has received land from the government, primarily housing plots. Only 18 households have got agricultural land from the government, 14 of which are in Vadgam taluka, and 12 are from a single village (Kotadi).¹²

A much larger proportion of the dalits in Vadgam and Palanpur has received housing plots, compared to the other talukas. In Tharad less than five percent have got land from the government.

¹² All the persons who have got agricultural land, and 95% of the persons who have got housing plots have received the ownership papers. Delay from the government is the primary reason for the 5% not having received their housing documents.

Table 3.16 Households which have received housing plots from the government

Caste	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total	% h'holds
Vankar	9	10			5	24	23
Valmiki	11	16		1	5	33	29
Chamar	16	20	3	16	1	56	15
Turi/barot	7	3	2		1	13	25
Pandya	3	4		6	1	14	18
Shenwa	4	3				7	22
Jadav	1					1	11
Sadhu		4				4	36
Nayak		1				1	25
Total	51	61	5	23	13	153	19
% h'holds	24	28	4	17	12	19	

Castewise

A higher proportion of Valmikis(30%) have got housing plots, followed by Turi/Barots (27%).

3.10.2 Other Benefits from Government**Table 3.17 Persons receiving benefits for government schemes**

CASTE	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total	% h'holds
Vankar	9	19			4	32	30.2
Valmiki	13	24	2	3	6	48	42.1
Chamar	16	38	32	36	9	131	34.7
Turi/Barot	5	8	5		3	21	40.4
Pandya	2	7	4	13	1	27	35.5
Shenwa	5	7				12	37.5
Maru	1					1	12.5
Jadav	1					1	11.1
Sadhu		3				3	27.3
Nayak		3				3	75
Tirbandha		4				4	57.1
Total	52	113	44	52	23	284	
% h'holds	24.3	51.4	35	39.1	21.7		35.7

The other two main benefits the dalits have received are **funds for housing construction** (116 families -15%) and **scholarships** for children (143 families - 18%). Support for livelihoods or asset creation has been negligible.

Just as Palanpur dalits have received a disproportionate share of housing plots from the government, they have received a larger share of the scholarships and funds for housing construction compared to the dalits in the other talukas. 51% of the Palanpur dalits have received these benefits as compared to 23% of the Dhanera dalits who have benefitted the least.

Castewise

Valmikis have benefitted the most, followed by Turi, Pandyas and then Chamars and Vankars.

Looking across income groups, generally it is seen that these benefits have gone more to the economically weaker groups. In almost all the talukas, the mean per capita income of the persons who have received the benefits is lower than the persons who have not received these benefits.

DRAWING AN AGGREGATE PICTURE

The discussion in this chapter covers a number of variables on which the position of the different dalit castes in the five talukas under study has been indicated. In this section we draw an aggregate picture of each of the talukas and castes based on the survey findings.

Taluka Wise

A clear pattern is seen indicating the link between dalit well-being and their geographical location. **Tharad** emerges as the lowest in terms of quality of life of the dalits. It is the lowest in terms of the human development indicators that have been examined in this study, it has the poorest housing conditions and is economically the worst off. The per capita income is Rs.1,452, less than half of the next highest taluka pci for Vav, which is Rs. 3044.

This is despite the fact that land ownership is highest among the dalits in this area, both in terms of proportion of dalit households owning land and in the amount of total land owned. Further, 77% of the total land owned is irrigated land.

While 39 of the 69 land owning families cultivate their land in Tharad, income from land was earned by only 10 households (8%) in the last year. We see that while the average annual agricultural income from cultivating one's own land and from share cropping in Tharad taluka is almost the highest in the five talukas, it is limited to a small number of households.

A majority of the households depend upon wage labour for cash incomes. Only one household in this taluka is government employee and no one reported skilled labour or own business as a means of livelihood. The majority earn their wages as casual labourers. The average annual amount earned per household from wage labour, Rs. 5714, is the lowest among the five talukas. (This amount is dramatically lower than the next highest average annual wage income per household in Palanpur taluka, which is Rs. 15102.). **The skill and asset base of dalits in this taluka is very low.**

Even though Tharad emerges as the least developed of the five talukas, and one would wish for benefits from government schemes to compensate for this, this is not the case. It has received

less government benefits than the households in other talukas like Palanpur and Vav, where dalits have had better access to government schemes than Tharad.

Dalit well being in **Vadgam** taluka is the highest. The dalit households in this taluka have the best housing conditions, have the highest incomes, and rank highest on all the human development indicators, with the exception of the sex ratio. The per capita income is Rs. 6349. Vadgam dalits also have the highest rate of participation in civic bodies like credit societies and employees associations.

Education and skill levels among the Vadgam dalits are higher than in the other talukas. From the total 214 households surveyed in this taluka, a pool of 52 skilled workers was reported. Another 51 persons (out of 214 households) have government jobs.

Not only are Vadgam dalits engaged in employment which yields higher earnings, it is also the taluka with the second highest proportion of households with secondary earners. This is despite the fact that it has the second smallest average household size (5.45 members).

Palanpur taluka is a close second to Vadgam in terms of the dalit's quality of life. However, it is markedly different from Vadgam on two counts. First the pci for dalit households in this taluka - Rs. 3196 - is almost half that of Vadgam's. Second, it is the lowest in terms of dalit membership in civic bodies. Palanpur town is the district's capital, which may be the reason that Palanpur dalits have benefited the highest from government schemes than the dalits in the other talukas.

Vav and Dhanera talukas present a mixed picture. **Dhanera** comes out as the second worst-off taluka in terms of development indicators, yet has the second highest per capita income among the five talukas. Agricultural cultivation by dalits and income from agriculture and dairy is highest in Dhanera. 34 of the 55 landowners cultivated their land last year and another 23 work as share croppers. (12 do share cropping farmers also cultivate their own land).

The relatively high agricultural activity in the taluka also explains why this taluka has a much higher proportion of dalits working as agricultural labourers compared to the other talukas.

In keeping with its high level of agricultural activity, Dhanera also has the highest level of livestock ownership and highest income from sale of milk, both in terms of average household earnings and in terms of proportion of households earning from this activity.

It has a highest proportion of self-employed dalits and the second highest proportion of skilled labour.

Vav dalits exhibit the largest range of occupations, (eight as compared to seven in Palanpur and Vadgam). Overall, Vav ranks third in overall dalit well-being after Vadgam and Palanpur. After Palanpur and Vadgam, dalits in Vav have got better benefits from the government - both in

terms of jobs with the government and government schemes. It comes close behind Palanpur in terms of the proportion of persons having government jobs.

After Dhanera, it exhibits the highest level of ownership of agricultural land and livestock. Significant Vav has the highest proportion of dalit households that own agricultural assets such as ploughs and even tractors. Average land holding is also the highest. However, agriculture is not a significant source of income, which is easy to understand given the negligible irrigation facilities in the taluka and its drought prone climate.

Castewise

Looking at the aggregate picture of the different caste groups, **Vankars** clearly come out on the top. While this caste constitutes only 13% of the dalits in these five talukas, they are the most populous dalit caste in Gujarat (43.1%), and also considered ritually superior to most of the other dalit caste groups.

Vankars have the highest level of education, the best housing and the best jobs among all the dalit castes in these five talukas. Among the major dalit castes in this study, they have the highest per capita income.

Shrimalis and **Turi /Barots**, who are a relatively small proportion among the dalits, (10% and 7% respectively) come out as the second best off. They have higher levels of education and better incomes than the Chamars and Valmikis. Pandyas especially have a high proportion of persons in government jobs, (19 out of 76 households, which is 25%).

On the ranking table, **Valmikis** and **Chamars** come out even. While the Chamars come out higher than the Valmikis in areas of literacy, education and life-expectancy, Valmikis have somewhat better housing facilities. This may be because Valmikis have got marginally more benefits than government schemes including land for housing. More Valmikis than Chamars have salaried and government jobs, probably because of their traditional occupation of being sweepers.¹³

Chamars participate more actively than Valmikis in the agricultural activity, both as cultivators and agricultural labourers. This makes them more vulnerable to climatic vagaries, and failure of rains. This is perhaps the reason that a much higher proportion of Chamars reported a fall in income in the last two years compared to Valmikis.

Socially however, the Valmikis are clearly considered inferior to the Chamars. The untouchability practiced by the other dalit castes vis a vis the Valmikis is not much different

¹³ It has been mentioned that the Valmiki community originated with the use of dry latrines during the Mughal period. There is a strong association of the traditional occupation with the caste. It is for this reason that all cleaning and sweeping jobs are primarily taken up members of the Valmiki community. This perhaps explains the high proportion of Valmikis in government or private jobs as against Chamars.

from the discrimination practiced by the savarnas against the dalits. This marginalization of the Valmiki is reflected in their markedly low level of participation in civic bodies.

There is clearly multiple deprivation visible in the findings. Overall, the findings indicate that development of the region in terms of economic opportunities, availability of civic amenities and proximity to urban areas makes for greater well-being.

Table 3.19 Ranking of Talukas

The five talukas have been ranked on each of the variables analyzed in the baseline study. The taluka performing best on an indicator gets one point, and the taluka performing the lowest gets 5 points. Thus the best possible score for indicators from A. to D. is 16, and the lowest is 80.						
		Palanpur	Vadgam	Dhanera	Vav	Tharad
A.	Demographics					
1	Male female ratio	2	3	5	1	4
2	Literacy	2	1	4	3	5
3	Education	2	1	5	3	4
4	Longevity	2	1	4	3	4
	<i>Subtotal</i>	8	6	18	10	17
B.	Housing					
5	House type	1	2	4	3	5
6	Electricity	1	2	3	4	5
7	Access to water	2	1	3	5	4
8	Separate kitchen etc.	2	1	3	4	5
	<i>Subtotal</i>	6	6	13	16	19
C.	Financial Security					
9	Wage security	2	1	4	3	5
10	Fall in income	1	2	5	3	4
11	Indebtedness	2	1	3	4	5
12	Land sale*	3	1	1	4	5
13	Land mortgage	1	4	4	5	5
	<i>Subtotal</i>	9	9	17	19	24
D.	Other					
14	Civic Participation	5	1	4	3	2
15	Access to govt. schemes	1	4	5	2	3
16	House plot from govt.	1	2	4	3	5
	<i>Subtotal</i>	7	7	13	8	10
	TOTAL	30	28	61	53	70
	Per capita income	3	1	2	4	5
	* Sale of land may not always indicate financial distress.					
E.	Land and agriculture					
1	Land ownership	5	4	2	3	1
2	Ownership of agri implements	5	3	2	1	4
3	Livestock ownership	5	3	1	2	4
4	Ave. income from livestock	4	3	1	2	5
	<i>Subtotal</i>	19	13	6	8	14
		Palanpur	Vadgam	Dhanera	Vav	Tharad

Table 3.20 Ranking of Castes

The castes have been ranked on each of the variables analyzed in the baseline study. The caste performing the best on an indicator gets one point and the caste performing the lowest gets five points. Thus the best possible score for indicators from A. to D. is 14, and the lowest is 70.

		Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi/Barot	Pandya
A.	Demographics					
1	Male female ratio	3	1	2	5	3
2	Literacy	1	5	4	3	2
3	Education	1	5	4	3	2
4	Longevity	1	5	4	2	3
	Subtotal	6	16	14	13	10
B.	Housing					
5	House type	1	4	5	2	3
6	Electricity	1	4	5	2	2
7	Separate kitchen etc.	1	4	5	2	3
8	Tap in house	1	2	4	2	5
	Subtotal	4	14	19	8	13
C.	Financial Security					
9	Wage security	1	4	3	5	2
10	Fall in income	2	3	5	1	4
11	Indebtedness ##	4	3	5	1	2
	Subtotal	7	10	13	7	8
D.	Other					
12	Civic Participation	1	5	1	4	3
13	Govt. schemes***	5	1	4	2	3
14	House plot from govt	3	1	5	2	4
	Subtotal	9	7	10	8	10
	TOTAL	26	47	56	36	41
	Per capita income	1	5	3	4	2
		Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi/Barot	Pandya

TABLE 3.4 Education completed by taluka and sex for person seven years and older

		Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
no schooling	male	71	75	152	123	116	537
	female	192	189	217	249	208	1055
	subtotal	263	264	369	372	324	1592
	%	26.3	28.1	61.3	58.7	57.5	42.6
1-4	male	64	81	48	53	70	316
	female	84	94	41	42	40	301
	subtotal	148	175	89	95	110	617
	%	14.8	18.6	14.8	15.0	19.5	16.5
5-7	male	90	110	63	55	70	388
	female	110	104	25	21	14	274
	subtotal	200	214	88	76	84	662
	%	20.0	22.8	14.6	12.0	14.9	17.7
8-10	male	185	146	40	47	33	451
	female	62	55	2	5	1	125
	subtotal	247	201	42	52	34	576

	%	24.7	21.4	7.0	8.2	6.0	15.4
11-12	male	47	38	10	23	6	124
	female	18	11	1	2	0	32
	subtotal	65	49	11	25	6	156
	%	6.5	5.2	1.8	3.9	1.1	4.2
coll incomp	male	13	5	0	2	3	23
	female	5	0	0	0	0	5
	subtotal	18	5	0	2	3	28
	%	1.8	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.7
coll comp	male	15	11	1	5	0	32
	female	3	2	0	0	0	5
	subtotal	18	13	1	5	0	37
	%	1.8	1.4	0.2	0.8	0	1.0
voca	male	25	9	1	7	1	43
	female	5	3	0	0	0	8
	subtotal	30	12	1	7	1	51
	%	3.0	1.3	0.2	1.1	0.2	1.4
post graduate	male	3	6	1	0	0	10
	female	3	0	0	0	1	4
	subtotal	6	6	1	0	1	14
	%	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.4
PG incomp	male	2	1	0	0	0	3
	female	1	0	0	0	0	1
	subtotal	3	1	0	0	0	4
	%	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0		0.1
MBBS	male	2	0	0	0	0	2
	female						
	subtotal	2	0	0	0	0	2
	%	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0.1
	male	517.0	482.0	316.0	315.0	299.0	1929.0
	female	483.0	458.0	286.0	319.0	264.0	1810.0
	TOTAL	1000	940	602	634	563	3739

Table A 3.2 Ownership of livestock by taluka

Buffaloes	No owning buffaloes	% in taluka owning buffalo	% of total owned in taluka	Total hholds	Col %
Vadgam	43	20.1	26.7	214	26.9
Palanpur	13	5.9	8.1	220	27.6
Tharad	22	17.9	13.7	123	15.5
Vav	38	28.6	23.6	133	16.7
Dhanera	45	42.5	28.0	106	13.3
Total	161	20.2	100.0	796	100.0

Cows	No owning cows	% in taluka owning cow	% of total owned in taluka	Total hholds	Col %
Vadgam	4	1.9	7.8	214	26.9
Palanpur	0	0.0	0.0	220	27.6
Tharad	9	7.3	17.6	123	15.5
Vav	23	17.3	45.1	133	16.7
Dhanera	15	14.2	29.4	106	13.3
Total	51	6.4	100.0	796	100.0

Goats	No owning goats	% in taluka owning goats	% of total owned in taluka	Total hholds	Col %
Vadgam	19	8.9	17.9	213	26.8
Palanpur	4	1.8	3.8	220	27.7
Tharad	17	13.8	16.0	123	15.5
Vav	39	29.3	36.8	133	16.7
Dhanera	27	25.5	25.5	106	13.3
Total	106	13.3	100.0	795	100.0

Table 3.1a Comparison of proportion of the SC castes in Banaskantha and in the study sample

	Proportion in census	Proportion in sample
Chamar	52.9	47
Vankar	14.4	13
Valmiki	13.7	14
Pandya	4.8	10
Turi	2.8	7
Shenwa	2.3	4
Sadhu	0.5	1
Tirbandha	0.4	1
Jadav		1
Maru		1
Nayak		1
TOTAL	91.8	100

Table 3.1 b Percent of different castes by taluka in the study sample

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total Col %
Vankar	24	21	NA	NA	8	13
Valmiki	18	20	7	7	12	14
Chamar	28	31	72	68	64	47
Turi/Barot	7	6	10	2	7	7
Pandya/Shrimali	7	6	9	23	7	10
Shenwa	8	7	NA	NA	NA	4
Maru	4		NA	NA	NA	1
Jadav	4		NA	NA	NA	1
Sadhu	NA	4	NA	NA	2	1
Nayak	NA	2	NA	NA	NA	1
Tirbandha		3	NA	NA	NA	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

NOTE: NA indicates that no persons of these castes were residing in the study villages in these talukas

Table A 3.7 a Houses with separate kitchen by caste and Taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
Vankar	18	13			4	35
Valmiki	3	3			3	9
Chamar	7	5		2	4	18
Turi/barot	3	3				6
Pandya	3	3	1	3		10
Other	6	8				14
Total	40	35	1	5	11	92
Percent	18.69	15.91	0.81	3.76	10.38	11.56

Table A 3.7 b Houses with separate toilet by caste and Taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Dhanera	Total
Vankar	22	11		33
Valmiki	2	3		5
Chamar	6	7	1	14
Turi/barot		6		6
Pandya	3	4		7
Other	8	9		17
Total	41	40	1	82
Percent	19.16	18.18	0.94	10.30

Table A 3.7 c Houses with separate bathroom by caste and Taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Vav	Dhanera	Total
Vankar	20	13			33
Valmiki	2	4		3	9
Chamar	4	7	1	2	14
Turi/barot		3		1	4
Pandya	3	4	1		8

Other	8	9			17
Total	37	40	2	6	85
Percent	17.29	18.18	1.50	5.66	10.68

Table A 3.7 d Number of households with separate bathroom or kitchen or toilet

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
Vankar	25	15			4	44
Valmiki	5	4			4	13
Chamar	11	7		2	4	24
Turi/barot	3	6			1	10
Pandya	4	5	1	3		13
Other	10	10				20
Total	58	47	1	5	13	124
Percent	27.10	21.36	0.81	3.76	12.26	15.58

TABLE A. 3.12 Households which have received scholarships and funds for construction under govt schemes

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total	% h'holds
Vankar	9	19			4	32	30.2
Valmiki	13	24	2	3	6	48	42.1
Chamar	16	38	32	36	9	131	34.7
Turi/Barot	5	8	5		3	21	40.4
Pandya	2	7	4	13	1	27	35.5
Shenwa	5	7				12	37.5
Maru	1					1	12.5
Jadav	1					1	11.1
Sadhu		3				3	27.3
Nayak		3				3	75
Tirbandha		4				4	57.1
Total	52	113	44	52	23	284	
% h'holds	24.3	51.4	35	39.1	21.7		35.7

Table A 3.13 Households which have received housing plots from the government

Caste	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
vankar	9	10			5	24
valmiki	11	16		1	5	33
chamar/rohit	16	20	3	16	1	56
turi/barot	7	3	2		1	13
pandya/shrimali	3	4		6	1	14
shenwa	4	3				7
jadav	1					1
sadhu		4				4
nayak		1				1
Total	51	61	5	23	13	153
% h'holds	24	28	4	17	12	19

Table A 3.14 Average per capita incomes of persons who have received and have not received benefits of government schemes

	Recd benefit	Not recd. benefit
Vadgam	4868.08	6930.332
Palanpur	2329.304	4111.175
Tharad	1097.286	1657.406
Vav	3023.99	3057.243
Dhanera	3639.919	4097.082

TABLE A 3.3 a OCCUPATIONS BY CASTE
Number of persons working in different occupations and as percent of total households

No. of h'holds	Caste	Agri lab		Skill lab		Pvt. job		Own bus		Cas lab		Govt job		Driver		Sew/Emb		Dome/livest		Total workers	workers/hhold
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		
106	Vankar	0		23	22	3	3	8	8	71	67	34	32	0		0		0		139	131
114	Valmiki	2	2	1	1	3	3	2	2	143	125	16	14	3	3			3		173	152
375	Chamar	73	19	31	8	18	5	15	4	378	101	31	8	8	2					554	148
52	Turi			7	13	2	4	1	2	79	152	2	4							91	175
76	Pandya	3	4	6	8	5	7	1	1	67	88	15	20	5	7	7	9			109	143
32	Shenwa	11	34	1	3	3	9	0		29	91									44	138
8	Maru			10	125	1	13			8	100							1		20	250
9	Jadav							1	11	2	22	6	67							9	100
11	Sadhu	1	9							8	73	3	27	2	18					14	127
4	Nayak									4	100	1	25							5	125
7	Tirbandha			2	29			1	14	4	57									7	100
2	Harijan									3	150									3	150
																				0	
796	TOTAL	90	11	81	10	35	4	29	4	796	100	108	14	18	2	7	1	4	774	1168	147

TABLE A. 3.3 b OCCUPATIONS BY TALUKA
Number of persons working in different occupations and as percent of total households

No. of families	villages	Agri lab		Skill lab		Pvt. job		Own bus		Cas lab		Govt job		Driver		Sew/Emb		Dome/livest		Total workers	workers/hhold
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		
214	Vadgam	19	9	52	24	15	7	14	7	201	94	58	27	6	3	2		2		369	172
220	Palanpur	12	5	11	5	4	2	4	2	196	89	30	14	3	1					260	118
123	Tharad	20	16							135	110	1								156	127
133	Vav	17	13	2	2	9	7	4	3	130	98	15	11	7	5	4		2		190	143
106	Dhanera	22	21	16	15	7	7	7	7	134	126	4	4	2	2	1				193	182
796	TOTAL	90	11	81	10	35	4	29	4	796	100	108	14	18	2	7	0	4		1168	147

TABLE A 3.5 Males 7 years and above who have completed class 7

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
	% 7 comp	% 7 comp	% 7 comp	% 7 comp	% 7 comp	% 7 comp
Vankar	66	56			27	58
Valmiki	44	21	6	5	3	24
Chamar	57	46	14	24	14	28
Turi/barot	55	58	18	0	6	41
Pandya	65	71	42	43	25	49
Shenwa	43	22				34
Maru	29					29
Jadav	95					95
Sadhu		78				67
Tirbandha		54				54
Total	56	45	16	27	14	36

TABLE A 3.6 Females 7 years and above who have completed class 7

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
	% 7 comp	% 7 comp	% 7 comp	% 7 comp	% 7 comp	% 7 comp
Vankar	32	25			0.0	26
Valmiki	10	4	0	0	0.0	4
Chamar	19	13	1	2	0.6	6
Turi/barot	8	30		0	0.0	13
Pandya	20	29	4	5	0.0	11
Shenwa	14					9
Maru	4					4
Jadav	55					55
Sadhu		31			0.0	22
Tirbandha		7				7
Total	20	16	1	2	0.4	10

Table A 3.11 Break-down by Caste of Lenders

Caste	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL	%
Bank	18	7	3	12	1	41	7.9
Social organization/coop sty	11	11	8	7	5	42	8.1
Dairy	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.2
Govt.	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
Dalit/relative	29	15	4	2	4	54	10.4
Brahman	1	0	1	0	0	2	0.4
Chaudhri	0	0	0	5	0	5	1.0
Darbar	0	0	11	12	0	23	4.4
Desai	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.2
Gadhvi	0	8	0	0	0	8	1.5
Ghanchi	0	0	0	0	3	3	0.6
Kumbhar	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.2
Merchant	0	0	5	1	6	12	2.3
Muslim	3	22	0	0	0	25	4.8
Patel	28	28	61	20	18	155	29.9
Prajapati	0	5	0	0	0	5	1.0
Rabari	0	0	0	0	12	12	2.3
Rajput	2	0	7	16	0	25	4.8
Savarna*	16	6	9	19	5	55	10.6
Soni	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.2
Thakor	0	3	0	0	8	11	2.1
Vania	0	14	16	4	2	36	6.9
Total	109	121	126	99	64	519	100.0

NOTE: * "Savarna" was used when the people said that they had taken money from 'gaam na loko'

TABLE A 3.9 Sources of loans taken by Taluka

	Palanpur		Vadgam		Dhanera		Vav		Tharad		TOTAL	%of all loans
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Savarana	52	42.62	50	45.87	48	77.42	27	27.27	72	54.96	249	47.61
Moneylender	34	27.87			1	1.61	51	51.52	39	29.77	125	23.90
Dalit	17	23.93	29	26.61	2	3.23	2	2.02	4	3.05	54	10.33
Society	11	9.02	11	10.09	4	6.45	7	7.07	8	6.11	41	7.84
Bank	7	5.74	18	16.51	1	1.61	12	12.12	3	2.29	41	7.84
Trader					6	9.68					6	1.15
Govt/Dairy	1	0.82	1	0.92							2	0.38
Missing									5	3.82	5	0.96
TOTAL	122	100	109	100	62	100	99	100	131	100	523	100.00
% loans in each taluka	23.33		20.84		11.85		18.93		25.05			100.00
Total hholds	219		215		106		133		124		797	
loans as % of total hholds	55.71		50.70		58.49		74.44		105.65			

TABLE A 3.10 Sources of loans taken by caste

	Chamar		Valmiki		Vankar		Shrimali		Turi		Others		TOTAL
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	
Savarana	158	42.13	31	27.19	13	12.26	11	14.47	14	26.923	22	29.73	371.987 2
Moneylender	96	25.60	7	6.14	1	0.94	7	9.21	8	15.385	6	8.1081	182.278 9
Dalit	16	4.27	3	2.63	13	12.26	6	7.89	7	13.462	9	12.162	94.5186 7
Society	22	5.87	7	6.14	2	1.89		0.00	4	7.6923	6	8.1081	62.5861 2
Bank	22	5.87	2	1.75	9	8.49	4	5.26	1	1.9231	3	4.0541	64.2978 5
Trader	6	1.60											7.6
Govt/Dairy			2	1.75									3.75438 6
Missing	5	1.33											6.33333 3
TOTAL	325		52		38		28		34		46		523
% of total loans	62.14		9.94		7.27		5.35		6.50		8.80		
Total hholds	375	100.00	114	100.00	106	100.00	76	100.00	52	100	74	100	1297
loans as % of total hholds	86.67		45.61		35.85		36.84		65.38		62.16		40.32

TABLE A 3.8 a Percent of Households Owning Assets by Taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
Tractor				2.3	0.9	0.5
Rickshaw	1.4	0.9		0.8		0.8
Motor cycle/ scooter	7.5	0.5		3.8	2.8	3.1
Bullock-cart	0.9			1.5	1.9	0.8
Plough	3.3		1.6	5.3	7.5	3.0
Agri implements	2.8		3.2	6.0	5.7	3.0
B W TV	22.4	7.3		2.3	4.7	9.0
Color TV	13.1	5.9		0.8	0.9	5.4
Fridge	3.3	1.4		0.8		1.4
Phone	13.1	2.3		3.6	2.8	5.2

TABLE 3.8 b Percent of Households Owning Assets by Caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Shenwa	Maru	Jadav	Sadhu	Nayak	Tirbandha
Tractor			0.01								
Rickshaw	0.01		0.01		0.01				0.18		
Motor cycle/ scooter	0.08	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.08						
Bullock-cart		0.02	0.01								
Plough			0.06			0.03					
Agri implements		0.01	0.06								
TV Black and White	0	0.14	0.03	0.13	0.12	0.03	0.38	0.44	0.09	0.25	0.1
TV Colour	0	0.04	0.03		0.07			0.22	0.27		
Fridge	0		0.01		0.01			0.11			
Phone	0	0.03	0.03		0.08	0.03		0.44	0.09		

CHAPTER IV

A CLOSER LOOK AT DALIT WOMEN AND FAMILY HEALTH

In addition to the household survey, we surveyed one adult woman member from each household. The purpose of this separate survey was to get information on women-specific issues such as reproductive and child health, women's mobility, participation in decision making etc. In this questionnaire we also included a set of questions on common, acute and chronic illnesses, to gauge the physical health of the communities we are working with.

The findings in this chapter are presented under the following sub-headings:

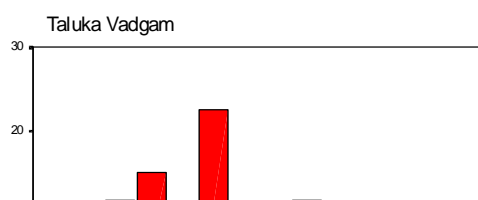
1. Women's actual literacy and numeracy levels and their reasons for dropping out of school;
2. Age at marriage
3. Reproductive and child health;
4. Women's occupations and skill levels;
5. Women's mobility, participation in decision -making;
6. Family Health.

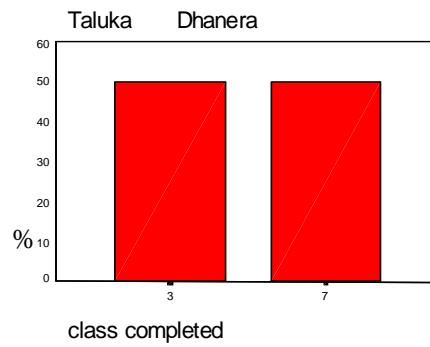
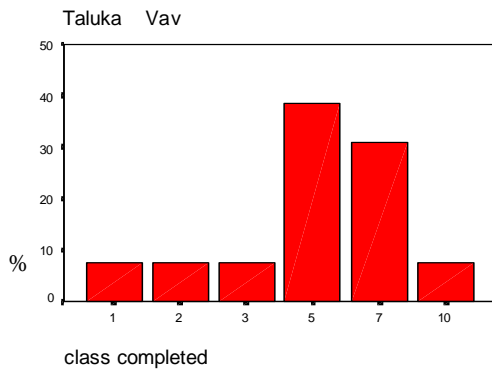
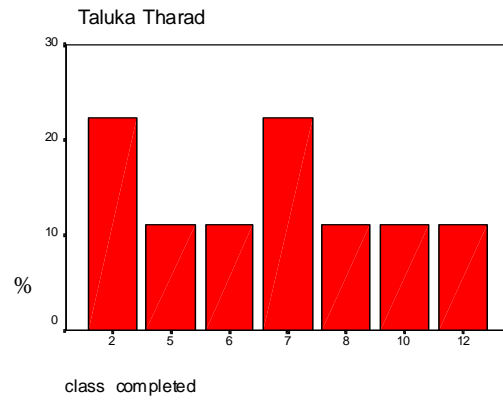
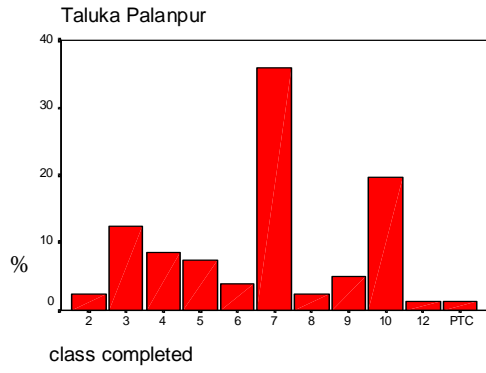
4.1 REASONS FOR DROPPING OUT AND LITERACY AND ACTUAL NUMERACY LEVELS

Out of a total of 759 women, 74% have never been to school. Of the women who enrolled in school, 93% stopped schooling at or before class VII. More details about women's levels of education in the different castes and talukas have been discussed in the previous chapter. (Tables 4.1 to 4.5)

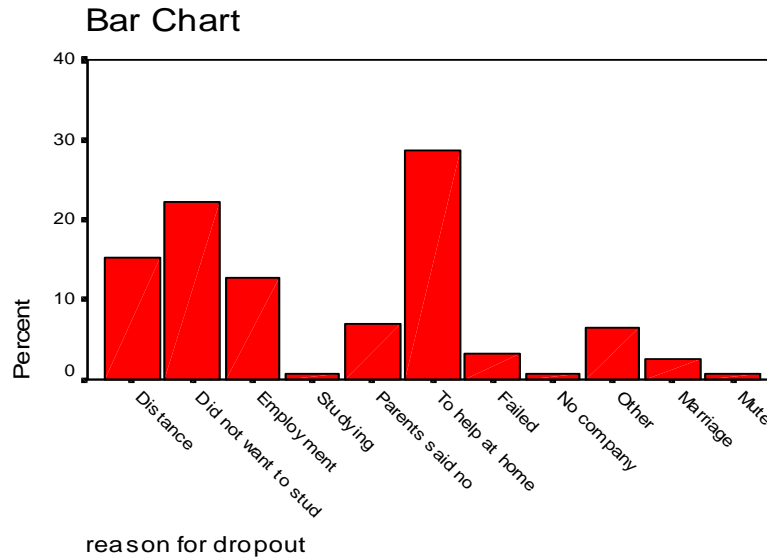
In this survey we asked women their reasons for dropping out of school. We asked this question to all those women who had enrolled in school and dropped out before completing class XII. (Tables 4.6 and 4.7)

As indicated in the following taluka-wise bar graphs on class completed, dropping-out happens most commonly after class V or VII. In the more developed talukas it is after class VII, whereas in Vav and Tharad Class V also marks the end of schooling for a large proportion of women. Further, we see that in Dhanera, no adult woman has studied beyond Class VII.





The most common reason for dropping out of school is "to help at home", followed by "did not want to study". "Distance" emerges as the third most common reason for dropping out of school.



**Table 4.1 Dominant Reasons for Dropping-out by Caste
(Percent of women citing reason)**

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	Total
To help at home	20	59	33	23	27	17	29
Did not want to study	27	12	21	15	32	8	22
Distance	16	12	14	15	14	25	15
Employment	14	6	12	31	9	8	13
Total	77	89	80	84	82	58	79

While the most common reason women gave for dropping-out of school before completing Class XII was that they needed to help at home, it was especially so for Valmiki women. Their poorer economic status probably necessitates this move.

Among the more well-off castes like the Vankars and the Pandyas, economic reasons for dropping-out seem less dominant. In these two castes, the most common reason given by women for dropping out of school was that they did not wish to study further.

**Table 4.2 Dominant Reasons for Dropping-out by Taluka
(Percent of women citing reason)**

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
To help at home	22	28	43	54	100	29
Did not want to study	22	22	29	23		22
Distance	20	11	14	15		15
Employment	14	13	14	8		13
Total	78	74	100	100	100	79

Looking across talukas, all the women in Dhanera and about half the women in Vav and Tharad cited 'to help at home' as the reason for dropping out of school. In Vadgam and Palanpur, not wanting to study further is an equally common reason for dropping out.

4.1.1 Women's Actual Literacy and Numeracy (Tables A 4. 6 to A 4. 9)

From the household survey, the self-reported literacy-rate for women was 36%.¹⁴ In the women's form, we used a practical method to assess the woman's reading, writing and number skills. Each respondent was made to write a sentence on the form, to read a sentence, and to do a simple addition calculation. Her abilities were rated as can do, can do somewhat and cannot do.

Using this method we found that overall less than a sixth of the women could read (16%) and write (15%). Another 7-9% could read and write somewhat. This clearly indicates that the self-reported literacy rate is more than double the actual rate.

A slightly lower proportion of women who are able to read and write properly have elementary numeracy skills (14%) and do simple numerical computations.

4.1.2 By taluka and caste

In keeping with our findings from the household survey on educational variation by taluka and caste, it is in Vadgam and Palanpur, and among Vankars and Pandyas that this ability is higher compared to the other talukas and castes. Interestingly, the proportion of literate women in Palanpur (33-35%) is almost double that of literate women in Vadgam (18%). In Vadgam the 'somewhat literate' category is marginally larger than the literate category, while the 'somewhat literate' in Palanpur is relatively small. (Tables A 4.6, A4.7)

Interestingly, literacy and numeracy skills among Chamar women are similar to those among Valmiki women, and far lower than the level of these skills in the other castes.

We have discussed in Chapter 3 that education levels depend more upon the taluka where the person is residing than the caste to which she belongs. The same is true for literacy. For instance, none of the Vankar women in Dhanera are literate, even though literacy and education levels among Vankars are the highest among the different dalit castes. (Table A 4.10)

To understand the relationship between income and literacy and numeracy skills, we have compared the mean incomes of women with and without numeracy skills. We have used the

¹⁴ Literacy data in the household survey was collected for each member of the household. Self-reported here refers to 'as reported by the respondent for all the members of the household'.

numeracy ability because is it a somewhat higher level of skill compared to reading and writing.¹⁵ (Tables A 4.11. A 4.12)

There seems to be a relationship between numeracy skills and per capita income. The average per capita income of women with numeracy skills is almost double of the per capita income of women with no numeracy skills.

The only exception was seen among the Turis, where the per capita income of non-numerate women was higher than the women who demonstrated numeracy skills.

4.2 AGE AT MARRIAGE AND AANU

97 % of our sample consists of married women (737 cases). The analysis in this section pertains to the married women in the sample.

The average age at marriage for the sample is 15.43 years. There is no significant difference in the average age at marriage for older and younger women. The age at which women get married is not statistically correlated to either the woman's per capita income or her years of schooling. In the communities studied, women with more years of schooling do not necessarily marry later. This may be because in most cases schooling stops well before completion of high school.

According to local custom, women do not go and reside in their husband's home immediately after marriage. They may visit the husband's home for brief visits, but actual stay at the husband's home occurs only after the *aanu*, which happens between 2-4 years after the marriage. The average age at aanu is 18.09 years.

There has been little change in the age at marriage over the last few years. The average age at marriage for women under 31 years of age (15.77 years) is only slightly higher than the average age at marriage for women for the total sample (15.43 years). More surprisingly, the age at aanu for younger women is somewhat lower than the age at aanu for the total sample. (Tables A 4.13, 4.14)

There is no significant difference in the average age at marriage across the different talukas or castes. However, the age at aanu is lowest among the Valmikis, and among the talukas it is lowest in Tharad. This suggests that among economically backward populations, women go to reside in the conjugal home earlier than among the other groups.

¹⁵ In most cases women either had all three skills or none of them. The next largest group was women who could read or write but did not have numeracy skills. There were very few cases of women who had reading and writing skills but were unable to demonstrate numeracy skills.

4.3 REPRODUCTIVE AND CHILD HEALTH

In this section, we look at:

- i. Age at first delivery;
- ii. Number of pregnancies;
- iii. Location of delivery and number of live births;
- iv. Infant and child mortality.

4.3.1 Age at first delivery

On average, the first child is delivered two to three years after the aanu, at the age of 20 or 21. This is so for younger and older women.

Table 4.3 Average Age at the Time of the First Delivery by Taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Age at first delivery	20.78	21.73	20.3	20.14	20.24	20.73
Age at first delivery for women under 31	21.18	21.32	19.33	19.44	19.81	20.35

Table 4.4 Average Age at the Time of the First Delivery by Caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	TOTAL
Age at first delivery	21.58	20.01	20.56	21.40	20.93	20.79	20.73
Age at first delivery for women under 31	21.65	19.92	20.07	21.22	19.81	20.95	20.35

While there is little variation in the age at first pregnancy across the different talukas, Vankar women and Turi women are somewhat older than the women from the other castes when they have their first child.

4.3.2 Average number of pregnancies

To calculate the average number of pregnancies we took the cases of women above 35 years of age. Women younger than 35 years are still in the child-bearing age group. Including them in the calculation of average pregnancies will unrealistically lower the average number of pregnancies.

The average number of pregnancies is 4.97 pregnancies per woman. The average number of pregnancies is highest in Vav and lowest in Vadgam. Castewise, Vankars and Pandya women have fewer pregnancies on average. This finding supports the thesis of development being the best contraceptive. These two castes are better off in almost all respects, and have the lowest average number of pregnancies.

Table 4.5 Average pregnancies for women 35 and over

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Vankar	4.6	4.1			3	4.32
Valmiki	4.1	5.2	5.3	8.3	4	5.05
Chamar	4.6	5	5	5.7	5.6	5.22
Turi	3.6	5.9	4	5	4.5	4.48
Pandya	4.0	4.4	7.3	4.2	3	4.53
Other	4.9	6.2	5		6	5.25
TOTAL	4.4	5.01	5.16	5.57	5.15	4.97

There is no correlation between total number of pregnancies and the level of the woman's education. This may be because education levels have increased significantly only in the 18-25 age group. (Tables A 4.3, A4.4) Education levels among the women 26-40 are only slightly higher than the education levels of women between 41-55 years of age. Perhaps one will be able to evaluate the effect of education on number of pregnancies only when the 18-25 cohort is past their child-bearing age.

4.3.3 Location of Delivery and number of live births

Of the total of 2786 deliveries, we have the location of 2763 (99%) deliveries. Of these, 81% were in the home and 18% in the hospital. Deliveries at home are mostly assisted by the *dai* (midwife). In a few cases a doctor or nurse may be called.

Table 4.6 Location of deliveries by taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
% at Home	72.5	74.8	91.6	92.1	85.2	81.9
% at Hospital	27.5	25.2	8.4	7.9	14.8	18.1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

Not surprisingly, Vadgam and Palanpur have a significantly higher proportion of hospital deliveries compared to Vav and Tharad.

Table 4.7 Location of deliveries by caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi/Barot	Pandya	Other	Total
% at Home	72.2	71.5	85.7	84.4	86.0	84.0	81.9
% at Hospital	27.8	28.5	14.3	15.6	14.0	16.0	18.1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Increasingly, women are going to hospitals for their deliveries. Compared to the overall proportion of 18 % births in hospitals, 22 % of the deliveries for women in the 26-40 age group were in hospital, and 41.4 % for women the 18-25 age group.

4.3.4 Live births

The percentage of live births for deliveries at home (97.66) is slightly higher than the percent of live births for deliveries in the hospital (96.99). (Tables A 4.15, A 4.16). One interpretation of this finding could be that delivering a baby at home is not more risky for the new-born than delivering it in the hospital. Alternately, it is also possible that a higher proportion of women with high-risk pregnancies, (where the chance of a live birth is lower) go to hospital for deliveries. This may be the reason for the somewhat lower rate of live births in the hospital.

4.3.5 Infant and child mortality

Infant mortality in the five talukas is 44 per thousand live births and child mortality is 30 per 1000 live births. The infant mortality rate for dalits in the talukas studied is lower than the rate for the state of Gujarat.

The child mortality however is higher among the dalits in these areas than the state's child mortality rate.

Table 4.8 Infant and child mortality rate by taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL	Gujarat
Infant mortality rate	63.2	63.6	8.4	51.2	18.4	44.2	62*
Child mortality rate	53.4	41.2	12.6	23.6	4.6	30.2	21**

NOTE * IMR is for 1997 from Hirway and Mahadevia

** CMR is for 1994 from Hirway and Mahadevia¹⁶

Table 4.9 Infant mortality rate by caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi/ Barot	Pandya	Other	TOTAL	1991 census
Infant mortality rate	83.9	52.9	24.0	51.4	74.9	66.7	44.2	62
Child mortality rate	28.0	39.7	21.2	22.9	52.9	61.5	30.2	21

There are vast differences in the child mortality rate among the different population groups. Surprisingly, infant mortality is higher in the more developed talukas and among the economically better off castes, than among the other population groups in the study area.

4.4 INCOME GENERATION - CURRENT AND POTENTIAL

Women were asked if they currently went for any wage or salaried work. 43 % of the women reported working outside the house. Discounting 11% of the women who worked on their own farms, 32 % of the women reported earning a wage income.¹⁷

¹⁶ "Gujarat Human Development Report 1999", Hirway, Indira and Darshini Mahadevia, Mahatma Gandhi Labour Institute, Ahmedabad, 1999

¹⁷ In the household survey, only 143 households (17%) reported women wage earners.

Table 4.10 Number of women wage workers by taluka - Women's survey

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Dhanera	Vav	Tharad	TOTAL
Number	65	66	51	43	20	245
Percent	27	27	21	18	8	100

Comparing the self-reported women wage workers, compared to that reported in the household survey, we find that particularly in Palanpur, Vav and Tharad, women's wage work was significantly underreported in the household survey.

Table 4.11 Number of women wage workers by taluka – Household survey

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Dhanera	Vav	Tharad	TOTAL
Number	65	12	43	22	1	143
Percent	45	8	30	15	1	100

Regarding location of wage work, almost all the women in Palanpur and Dhanera work inside the village, while a large proportion of women in Vav and Tharad go outside the village for wage work. (Table A 4.17)

4.4.1 Income-generating skills not used for wage earning

We asked women if they had any marketable skill that they were unable to exploit for wages at the current time. We also asked them the constraints that they faced in using this skill for income-generation.

Table 4.12 Percent of women reporting unused skills by caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Sadhu	TOTAL
No. of women	3	6	39	6	20	5	79
Percent of women	3	6	12	13	43	83	10

Table 4.13 Percent of women reporting unused skills by taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
No. of women	2	21	19	46	0	79
Percent of women	1	12	8	34	0	10

A very small percent of women (10%) reported having income generating skills which they were not currently using. The most common type of skill was embroidery, followed by sewing. In half the cases the women said that they lacked the funds to engage in this activity. Marketing the products was also an important constraint. (Tables A 4.17 to A 4. 20)

4.5 PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING

To estimate women's participation in household decision-making, we asked women about their involvement in any major purchase made in the family in the last two years. A major purchase was defined as anything costing more than Rs. 500.

A total of 146 households (19%) reported making a total of 163 major purchase in the last two years. The most common items that were purchased were jewelry and household items. (Table A 4.21). There was a high degree of variation in the average cost of the items purchased, but the average cost was Rs. 5,345. (Table A 4.22)

Women were party to the decision-making in two-thirds of the cases, in terms of selecting the item and also in terms of going to purchase the item.

Table 4.14 Women's participation in major household purchase by taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Percent involved in selection of purchase	44.3	45.8	96.4	81.6	100.0	65.0
No. of cases of major purchases	27	11	27	40	1	106
Percent present during purchase	60.7	79.2	71.4	59.2	100.0	65.0
No. of cases of major purchases	37	19	20	29	1	106

Table 4.15 Women's participation in major household purchase by caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	TOTAL
Percent involved in selection	41.2	59.3	77	63.6	87	28.6	65
No. of cases	14	16	47	7	20	2	106
Percent present during purchase	55.9	74.1	63.9	63.6	73.9	57.1	65
No. of cases	19	20.0	39	7	17	4	106

4.5.1 Mobility

We asked women to tell us about the furthest place they had gone to with a male and also the furthest place they had gone to alone or with another female. Women reported more instances of travelling alone or with other women than travelling with male members of the family. Overall, 81% of the women have traveled outside the village unaccompanied by male members of the family, while 73% women have traveled outside the village accompanied by male members of the family. (Table A 4.23 A 4.26)

Unaccompanied visits: Not surprisingly, a large proportion of the unaccompanied visits (49.5%) are to other villages within the taluka or as far as the taluka headquarters. Women travelling alone mostly do so to visit their parents. Men accompany their wives for a visit to their parents' home only occasionally. (Table A 4.27, A 4.28)

Accompanied visits: One-third of the visits where women are accompanied by male members are made outside the taluka and state, most commonly for recreational reasons. Social visits or travelling for work are other common reasons to travel together. (Tables A 4.24, A 4.25)

4.5.2 Civic Participation

We asked women if they had voted in the last panchayat elections. 89% of the women said that they had voted. (This is lower than the percent of persons reported as having voted in the household survey - 97%. This is because most of the respondents to the household survey were males.)

The main reason for the women not voting was that their name was not in the election list. 57 of the 59 non-voting women gave this as the reason. (Discounting the 16 women who did not specify a reason, it makes it the reason in 90% of the cases. Overall, 7.5 % did not vote because their name was not in the voter list.)

A SNAPSHOT OF A DALIT WOMAN IN BANASKANTHA

A dalit woman in Banaskantha is unlikely to be literate. She got married when she was 15 or 16 years old, which was probably the age at which her mother got married. Her aanu occurred 2-3 years after her marriage, at the age of 18 or 19. If she is a Valmiki or happens to live in Tharad, her aanu will take place somewhat earlier.

She will have her first child when she is 20 or 21 years old, and will deliver four to five children. She is more likely to deliver the child at home, unless she lives in Vadgam, in which case she is likely to have her delivery in hospital.

Between herself and her two neighbours, one of the three goes out of the house for paid work, generally as for agricultural labour. She lacks other income generating skills which she could use to earn additional income.

If a major household purchase is made, she is often involved in selecting and purchasing the item. And if elections are held, she will go and cast her vote except in the rare instance when her name is not in the voter list.

She travels alone to other villages in her taluka or sometimes to the taluka headquarters unaccompanied by a male. She makes such trips mostly to visit here parents. She also sometimes goes without her husband but with other women for social visits.

She has also travelled to places that are further away - outside the taluka or state. For these trips she is accompanied by male members of the family. She is likely to make these trips either for recreational purposes or for social visits

4.6 FAMILY HEALTH

To document the morbidity (ill-health status) of the dalit households, we asked the women respondents about any common, major or chronic illnesses in the family. (We recognize that morbidity data has to be interpreted with caution because populations which are more literate and aware are more likely to report illnesses than others.)

Table 4.16 Percent of households reporting different types of illness in the household by taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Common illness	39	48	21	38	35	37
Major illness	22	28	4	7	14	17
Chronic illness	19	18	14	17	7	16

Table 4.17 Percent of households reporting different types of illness in the household by caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	TOTAL
Common illness	39	31	36	42	36	40	37
Major illness	21	15	14	27	10	25	17
Chronic illness	14	10	14	27	27	18	16

4.6.1 Common Illness (Tables A 4.29 to A 4.32)

Respondents were asked if anyone in the family had had an ordinary illness in the last six months.¹⁸

From the 756 households surveyed a total of 37% households reported that one or more members of the family had suffered a common illness in the last six months. Fever was reported as the most common illness (83%), followed by diarrhea (14%).

From a population of 4491 persons, 298 cases of common illness were reported, which works out to a rate of 66 per 1000 population for a six-month period. This translates to 11 per 1000 for a one-month period which is the standard. This is significantly lower than the rate of 56 per 1000 which is the figure reported by the NCAER India Human Development Report for SC and ST populations in Gujarat.

More than half the common illnesses were suffered by women (59%).¹⁹ While more women than men suffered fever etc., a higher percent of men (93%) sought treatment compared to women (88%).

¹⁸ Usually, information on common illness is collected for the last 30 days from the date of the survey. Since our sample size is smaller than the large state and national level surveys, we decided to increase the period for reporting occurrences of common illnesses.

¹⁹ According to the NCAER's India Human Development Report, incidence of common illness was slightly higher for women as compared to men.

In terms of location of treatment sought, overall more households sought treatment outside the village (59%) than inside the village. This is consistent with our findings with regard to the amenities available in the villages, which are minimal with regard to health facilities.

Comparing across talukas, more than three-fourths of the dalits from Vadgam, Vav and Tharad sought treatment outside their village. In contrast to this, the majority of persons suffering a common illness in Palanpur and Dhanera, (60% and 70% respectively) sought treatment inside their villages. This corresponds to our findings on amenities in the villages, where it is seen that villages in Palanpur and Vadgam have better health facilities, both government and private.

4.6.2 Major Illness (Tables A. 4.33 to A 4. 36)

For major illnesses like gallstones, typhoid etc. we asked respondents if anyone in the family had had a major illness in the last one year.

17% of the households reported one or more having suffered a major illness in the last two years. Of the 131 persons having major illnesses, a higher percent were men (56%) as compared to women (44%). The rate for major illnesses for the six-month reference period for the total population of 4491 works out to works out to 29 per thousand. (Footnote 7 discusses the major morbidity rate in our study with a findings in the national level NCAER study.)

The most common type of major illness is a stone in the kidney. Of the 126 reported major illnesses, kidney stones was the problem in 44% of the cases, with the majority of these cases being in Vadgam and Palanpur. Turis and Vankars report the highest incidence of this problem.

Almost all the persons, both men and women who suffered a major illnesses sought treatment for it. Except in 16% of the cases, treatment for major illnesses was sought outside the village. On average, a family spent Rs. 6,916 on a major illness, with the average costs being highest in Tharad.

Table 4.18 Average cost per household on major illness by taluka (rupees)

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Average cost	6880	7528	20660	3228	2657	6916
No.of cases	44	49	5	9	15	122

Table 4.19 Average cost per household on major illness by caste (rupees)

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	TOTAL
Average cost	7189	3631	7816	6829	4471	8500	6916
No.of cases	22	16	51	14	7	12	122

4.6.3 Chronic Illness (Tables A 4.37 to A 4. 40)

The third category of illness for which information was sought was chronic illness. 120 households (16%) reported a total of 135 cases. Heart disease and tuberculosis are the most common chronic illnesses. 135 cases for a population of 4491 works out to a rate of 30 per thousand.²⁰

A higher proportion of persons in Palanpur and Vadgam reported chronic illnesses compared to the other talukas. It is believed that while contagious diseases are found proportionately less among populations in more developed areas, chronic illnesses are more prevalent relative to less developed regions. In the case of Banaskantha, the developed talukas have a higher prevalence of chronic illness but the prevalence of common illnesses is no less than in the other talukas. The dalits in these talukas seem to be bearing the disadvantages of both developed and non-developed regions.

All except one of the 135 persons suffering from chronic illnesses sought treatment, in almost all cases outside the village. (Only 9 of the 135 cases sought treatment within the village). These nine were in Palanpur or Vadgam taluka. The average cost incurred is Rs. 14,831 per household on such illnesses. The highest average costs on chronic illness are reported from Vadgam and Palanpur talukas.

4.6.4 Morbidity trends talukawise and castewise

Comparing the pattern of morbidity taluka wise, Palanpur reports the highest levels of morbidity overall, followed by Vadgam. Tharad has the lowest reported morbidity.

Among the major castes, Turis report the highest levels of sickness, followed by the Vankars and Pandyas. Valmikis report the lowest levels of sickness.

We see here that populations residing in more developed areas or populations which are better off report a higher incidence of morbidity, particularly for major and chronic illnesses. This finding supports the thesis that such illnesses are more prevalent among more developed populations.

Table A 4.1 Education Level by Taluka - Women's Survey

	Vadgam		Palanpur		Tharad		Vav		Dhanera		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
no schooling	122	57	95	54	114	93	122	90	105	98	558	74

²⁰ Clubbing major and chronic illnesses, the rate for our sample works out to 59 per 1000. The NCAER India Human Development Report finds that the rate of major illnesses in its study is 17 per 1000 population for SCs and STs in Gujarat. In light of this, the rate of major and chronic illness among dalits in our study is dramatically higher than the NCAER findings. However, our rate of major illness could also be higher because of the difference in methodology used. While we asked persons to report occurrences of major illnesses in the last one year, the NCAER study only sought information on illness being present at the time of the survey.

1-4	25	12	19	11	2	2	3	2	1	1	50	7
5-7	38	18	38	22	4	3	9	7	1	1	90	12
8-10	17	8	22	13	2	2	1	1	0	0	42	6
11-12	6	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	8	1
graduate	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1
post graduate	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
PTC	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Total	215	100	176	100	123	100	135	100	107	100	756	100

Table A 4.2 Education Level by Caste - Women's Survey

	Vankar		Valmiki		Chamar		Turi/Barot		Pandya		Other		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
No schooling	45	41	85	78	313	86	35	67	43	64	6	11	558	74
1-4	14	13	8	7	16	4	6	12	4	6	2	4	50	7
5-7	27	25	13	12	25	7	4	8	12	18	9	16	90	12
8-10	13	12	3	3	7	2	7	13	8	12	4	7	42	6
11-12	4	4	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	8	1
Graduate	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	1
Post graduate	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
PTC	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	0
Total	109	100	109	100	364	100	52	100	67	100	55	100	756	100

UNACCOMPANIED

Table A 4.26 Number of women who have done unaccompanied traveled

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Vankar	54	21			8	83
Valmiki	26	16	14	12	8	76
Chamar	40	36	87	81	71	315
Turi/Barot	15	14	7	4	4	44
Pandya	13	7	7	31	4	62
Other	23	7	2		2	34
TOTAL	171	101	117	128	97	614

Table A 4.27 Total places travelled to unaccompanied by male

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total	% of total visits
Village inside taluka	76	33	91	109	71	380	49.5
<i>Taluka</i>	35	0	40	17	16	109	14.2
<i>headquarters/Ambaji</i>							
Palanpur	44	49	5	3	0	101	13.2
Outside taluka	9	12	12	32	7	72	9.4
Ahmedabad	22	13	0	5	3	43	5.6
<i>Outside district</i>	17	13	4	4	0	38	4.9
Outside state	5	4	4	8	0	21	2.7
Fields	0	0	0	2	0	2	0.3
City	2	0	0	0	0	2	0.3
Total	210	125	156	180	97	768	100.0

Table A 4.28 Total reasons for travel unaccompanied by males

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total	
To visit parents	93	7	69	74	110	318	41.4
Social visit	31	64	40	57	70	196	25.5
Purchasing	31	23	28	18	23	103	13.4
Recreation	17	12	1	4	20	47	6.1
Medical treatment	14	10	5	5	6	35	4.6
Job/business	3	5	5	6		24	3.1
Meeting	9	1	3	13	14	26	3.4
Education	8	0	1	0	0	9	1.2
Training	3	1	0	0	1	4	0.5
To visit in-laws	0	0	1	1	0	2	0.3
Other	1	1	0	0	1	2	0.3
Missing	0	1	0	0	1	2	0.3
Total	210	125	156	180	251	768	100.0

ACCOMPANIED**Table A 4.23 Number of women who have done accompanied travel**

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Vankar	37	23	0	0	8	68
Valmiki	37	20	7	9	9	82
Chamar	43	41	52	75	62	273
Turi/Barot	11	13	6	0	4	34
Pandya	14	9	7	24	3	57
Other	27	10	1	0	2	40
TOTAL	169	116	73	108	88	554

Table A 4.24 Total places visited on accompanied visits

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total	% of total visits
Outside state	48	34	9	14	4	109	16.2
Village inside taluka	37	7	26	26	13	109	16.2
Outside taluka	6	5	28	38	24	101	15.1
Palanpur	32	24	9	16	18	99	14.8
Outside district	42	18	5	18	4	87	13.0
Ahmedabad	39	27	3	4	14	87	13.0
Taluka headquarters/Ambaji	26	13	7	7	20	73	10.9
City	6	0	0	0	0	6	0.9
Total	236	128	87	123	97	671	100.0

Table A 4.25 Reasons for accompanied travel (total)

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total	
Recreation	67	60	9	18	32	186	27.7
Social visit	68	32	19	16	14	149	22.2
Job/business	13	6	34	70	14	137	20.4
Medical treatment	24	16	12	13	8	73	10.9
To visit parents	38	6	10	1	13	68	10.1
Purchasing	25	7	3	5	16	56	8.3
Education	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Other	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.1
Total	237	127	87	123	97	671	100.0

Table A 4.21 Major Items Purchased by Households by Taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Jewellery	20	10	15	28		73
Household items	22	3	4	16	1	46
Marriage shopping		8	6			14
Clothing	4	1				5

Livestock			2	3		5
Autotrickshaw				1		1
Total	46	12	12	20	1	91

Table A 4.22 Average value of major purchase by taluka

	Mean
Vadgam	4992
Palanpur	15429
Tharad	3718
Vav	2865
Dhanera	1200
TOTAL	5345

Table A 4.17 Location of work for women wage earners by taluka

Location	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total	Percent
Inside village	53	36	12	24	51	176	73
Outside village	10	1	6	17	0	34	14
Missing		29	1	1		31	13
Total	63	66	19	42	51	241	100

Table A 4.18 Income-generating skills currently not being used (number of cases)

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Total
Sewing	1	14		1	16
Embroidery		5	9	44	58
Beauty Parlour		1			1
Indhoni/mattress		1			1
Bhiksha			1	1	2
TOTAL	1	21	10	46	78*

NOTE* skill type of one woman is not reported

Table A 4.19 Reasons for not using income generating skills (number of cases)

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Total
Lack of funds		3	4	16	23
Marketing problems		5	1	7	13
Lack tools		4	1	4	9
Lack work place	1	1			2
Other		1			1
Missing					31
TOTAL	1	14	6	27	79

Table A 4.20 Reasons for not using income generating skills (number of cases)

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Sadhu	TOTAL
Lack of funds		2	10	5	6		23
Marketing problems	2		8		1	2	13
Lack tools	1	1	4		3		9
Lack work place		1				1	2
Other				1			1
Missing							31
TOTAL	3	4	22	6	10	3	79

Table A 4.37 Types of chronic illnesses

	No. of cases	% h'holds	% of chronic
Heart disease	34	4.5	25
Tuberculosis	33	4.4	24
Asthma	14	1.9	10
Cancer	10	1.3	7
Blindness	9	1.2	7
Paralysis	6	0.8	4
BP	5	0.7	4
Physically handicapped	4	0.5	3
Rheumatism	4	0.5	3
Kidney disease	3	0.4	2
Psychiatric	3	0.4	2
Leprosy	2	0.3	1
Skin disease	2	0.3	1
Intestinal ulcer	2	0.3	1
Hair-related	2	0.3	1
Diabetes	1	0.1	1
Respiratory	1	0.1	1
Total	135	17.9	100

Table A 4.38 Persons with chronic illness seeking treatment

	No. of chronic cases	No. seek treatment	% seek treatment
Male	65	65	100
Female	70	69	99
TOTAL	135	134	99

Table A 4.39 Average household costs on chronic illness by caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	TOTAL	
Ave cost	12158	16800	8819	37054	13676	23467	14831	108 cases
No. of cases	12	9	51	13	17	6		
				10141*			11606	107 cases

Table A 4.40 Average household costs on chronic illness by taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL	108 cases
Ave cost	19016	21467	5594	9719	5193	14831	
No. of cases	32	30	16	23	7		
		9793*				11606	107 cases

NOTE: * In one case there is an exceptionally high expenditure of Rs. 3,60,000 on an illness.

The average with and without that case has therefore been calculated.

Table A 4.33 Type of major illness by taluka

Type of illness	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total	% cases
Kidney stone	30	19	2		5	56	44.4
Typhoid	6	12	1	6	4	29	23.0
Accident	2	9	2	3	4	20	15.9
Appendix	2	4				6	4.8
Back problem	4				1	5	4.0
Gynaecological	3					3	2.4
Piles		1				1	0.8
Eye-related		1				1	0.8
Diabetes		1				1	0.8
Dental surgery		1				1	0.8
Jaundice		1				1	0.8
Wound				1		1	0.8
Psychiatric					1	1	0.8
Total	47	49	5	10	15	126	100.0
% of cases	37.3	38.9	4.0	7.9	11.9	100.0	

Table A 4.34 Persons seeking treatment for major illness by sex

	Cases of major ill	No. seek treatment	% seek treatment
Male	74	72	97
Female	57	55	96
TOTAL	131	127	97

Table A 4.35 Average costs on major illness by taluka (rupees)

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Average cost	6880	7528	20660	3228	2657	6916
No.of cases	44	49	5	9	15	122

Table A 4. 36 Average costs on major illness by caste (rupees)

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	TOTAL
Average cost	7189	3631	7816	6829	4471	8500	6916
No.of cases	22	16	51	14	7	12	122

Table 4. 29 Type of common illness

	No. of cases	% cases
Fever	247	83.2
Diarrhoea	42	14.1
Other	8	2.7

Total	297	100.0
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Table 4.30 Number seeking treatment for common illness

	Total cases	No. seek treatment	% seek treatment
Male	122	114	93
Female	176	154	88
Total	298	268	90

Table 4.31 Location of treatment sought for common illness by taluka

	Vadgam		Palanpur		Tharad		Vav		Dhanera		TOTAL	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
Inside village	17	23	55	60	6	25	5	13	26	70	109	41
Outside village	58	77	36	40	18	75	34	87	11	30	157	59
Total	75	100	91	100	24	100	39	100	37	100	266	100

Table 4.32 Location of treatment sought for common illness by caste

Vankar		Valmiki		Chamar		Turi		Pandya		Other		TOTAL	
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
20	47	16	46	49	39	10	45	5	28	9	43	109	41
23	53	19	54	78	61	12	55	13	72	12	57	157	59
43	100	35	100	127	100	22	100	18	100	21	100	266	100

Table A. 4.13 Average Age at Marriage and Aanu by Taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Age at marriage for total pop	14.4	15.3	16.5	16.1	15.9	15.43
Age at aanu for total pop	17.9	19.0	18.0	17.6	17.9	18.09
Age at marriage for women under 31	15.42	16.16	15.94	15.63	15.7	15.77
Age at aanu for women under 31	17.47	18.08	16.56	17.26	17.72	17.47

Table A 4.14 Average age at Marriage and Aanu by Caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	TOTAL
Age at marriage for total pop	14.08	14.63	15.78	16.98	15.69	15.58	15.43
Age at aanu for total pop	18.34	16.99	17.62	18.55	17.95	18.49	18.09
Age at marriage for women under 31	15.33	15.56	15.67	17.63	15.21	16.35	15.77
Age at aanu for women under 31	18.78	16.60	16.90	18.45	17.75	19.27	17.47

Table A 4.15 Total live births for deliveries at home

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi/Barot	Pandya	Other	TOTAL
Vadgam	126	71	149	49	34	87	516
Palanpur	88	79	131	47	25	62	432
Tharad	0	52	308	28	33	5	426
Vav	0	43	322	10	94	0	469
Dhanera	17	22	297	13	11	8	368
Total live births at home	231	267	1207	147	197	162	2211
Total deliveries at home							2264
% live births for home deliveries							97.66

Table A 4.16 a Total live births for deliveries at hospital

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi/Barot	Pandya	Other	Total live
Vadgam	65	58	37	8	12	16	196
Palanpur	20	32	62	15	7	11	147
Tharad	0	4	22	4	4	4	38
Vav	0	5	27	0	7	0	39
Dhanera	5	7	49	1	1	1	64
Total live hospital births	90	106	197	28	31	32	484
Total hospital births							499
% live hospital births							96.99

Table A. 4.16 b Place of delivery (percent deliveries in home and hospital)

	18-25 years	26-40 years	18 years and above	Vadgam 18-25 years
Home	58.60	77.55	81.26	36.96
Hospital	41.4	22.45	17.91	63.04
Total	100	100	100	

Table A 4.3 Average years of schooling for different age groups by caste

	18-25	26-40	41-55	55 plus
Vankar	8.08	3.76	3.00	1.78
Valmiki	2.94	0.60	0.00	0.00
Chamar	2.40	0.63	0.05	0.16
Turi/Barot	2.09	2.76	1.44	0.71
Pandya	6.50	1.74	0.41	0.00
Other	3.69	3.60	0.93	1.44
TOTAL	3.77	1.50	0.66	0.63

Table A 4.4 Average years of schooling for different age groups by taluka

	18-25	26-40	41-55	55 plus
Vadgam	7.02	2.65	1.52	0.83
Palanpur	5.95	3.03	0.71	1.64
Tharad	1.53	0.21	0.00	0.00
Vav	1.71	0.06	0.00	0.00
Dhanera	0.12	0.14	0.00	0.00
TOTAL	3.77	1.50	0.66	0.63

Table A 4.5 Average years of schooling for Vankars and Valmikis by Taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera
Vankars	5.27	4.03	NA	NA	0
Valmikis	2.28	1.17	0.13	0.36	0

Table A 4.6 Percent literate and numerate women by taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
Can read	18	35	7	7	0	16
Can write	18	33	6	7	0	15
Can calculate	16	30	7	6	0	14

Table A 4.7 Percent women 'somewhat literate' and 'somewhat numerate' by taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	Total
Can read	19	6	1	1	2	7
Can write	20	8	2	2	2	9
Can calculate	10	3	1	2	2	4

Table A 4.8 Percent women literate and numerate by caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	Total
Can read	37	6	9	19	28	20	16
Can write	35	7	7	23	27	16	15
Can calculate	31	6	7	21	24	15	14

Table A 4.9 Percent women 'somewhat literate' and 'somewhat numerate' by caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	Total
Can read	17	10	3	8	4	13	7
Can write	20	11	4	10	6	13	9
Can calculate	14	4	1	2	9	4	4

Table A 4.10 Percent women who are able to read by caste and taluka

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera
Vankar	38.33	42.5	NA	NA	0
Valmiki	7.50	10	6.67	0	0
Chamar	11.32	33.33	5.49	2.33	0
Turi	5.88	50	100	0	0
Pandya	33.33	50	28.57	25.81	0
Shenwa	0.00	12.5	NA	NA	NA
Maru	0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA
Jadav	22.22	NA	NA	NA	NA
Sadhu	NA	88.89	NA	NA	0
Tirbandha	NA	0	NA	NA	NA
TOTAL	18	35	7	7	0

Table A 4.11 Mean per capita of women with different numeracy abilities across talukas

	Vadgam	Palanpur	Tharad	Vav	Dhanera	TOTAL
Numerate						
	11657	4428	3614	5511	NA	6872.078
No numeracy skills	5303	2743	1211	3018	4109.699	3384.567
Some numeracy skills	8069	4952	800	7827	2125	6863.008

Table A 4.12 Mean per capita for women with different numeracy skill levels by caste

	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	Turi	Pandya	Other	
Numerate	10169	4086	4488	1711	8097	8104	6872.078
No numeracy skills	5091	2645	3240	3605	3176	3760	3384.567
Some numeracy skills	7130	6527	8047	2000	2637	15568	6863.008

CHAPTER V

PATTERNS IN DISCRIMINATION AGAINST DALITS

Discrimination against dalits - in public and in private - is an age-old practice. It is rooted in the principle of purity and pollution, whereby the 'impure' dalits had to stay at a safe distance from members of the savarna castes to avoid polluting the later. Non-dalits maintained both physical and social distance from the dalits.

The bigger underlying principle, however, is one of power and control. Economic power has been concentrated in the savarna castes, and dalits have been denied opportunities for economic improvement. In addition, savarna castes have routinely used threats and harassment to ensure that dalits 'stay in their place'. If dalits make any attempt to challenge the status quo, physical violence is used against them.

Centuries of economic, social and ritual subordination have led to an extremely poor self-image among dalit men and women.

After independence, when India changed from a feudal to a democratic polity, attempts have been made to institute the constitutional principle of equality. The government has introduced measures to lift dalits out of social and economic deprivation. The measures include attempts to increase the access of dalits to land, assets, education, employment, civic participation etc. The government has also introduced the Atrocities Act which makes any kind of caste-based discrimination against dalits a criminal offence. According to the Atrocities Act, any caste-based discrimination against dalits is an atrocity against which legal action can be taken.

Against this background, we examine the findings from a series of workshops that were conducted on the subject of discrimination in June and July 2002.

WORKSHOP FINDINGS:

The discussions at the workshop highlighted the wide range of discrimination which dalits have to suffer. The findings have been organized under the following sub-heads:

- I Discrimination regarding fundamental rights and access to civic amenities
- II Discrimination in public spaces
- III Observing norms of purity and pollution
- IV Discrimination in the private sphere
- V Maintaining visible inferiority
- VI Harassment, threats and atrocities
- VII Civic participation

Under each of these types of discrimination, we have indicated the level of discrimination in terms of the following categories:

Rights denied:	denied
Discrimination practiced:	discri
No discrimination:	no discri
Encroachment of land:	encroach

Some cells have two responses. This was when the participants in the group did not arrive at a consensus. Some cells are blank. This is when we could not get any information on that variable for that taluka during the workshops.

5.1 FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND CIVIC AMENITIES

Issue	Vav	Tharad	Dhanera	Vadgam	Palanpur
Earthquake relief	denied				
Government loans	discri			discri	
Mid-day meals in school	discri			No discri	
Land for cremation	encroa		encroach		encroach
Access to government schemes		discri	discri	discri	discri; no discri
Possession of plot for homes	discri			discri	discri
Possession of agricultural land			discri		
Scholarships for children					mostly no discri
Access to public health services			no discri	no discri	no discri
Access to water	discri	no discri		no discri	no discri
Electricity	no discri	no discri	no discri	no discri	no discri

Getting **land** under a government schemes such as the land ceiling act is very difficult. In the event that land is allotted, getting possession of that land is equally difficult. Participants mentioned that only those who were willing to pay a bribe to the officials, or who were able to raise a big hue and cry about the issue were able to get possession of land allotted to them.

"We get benefits of **government schemes** only if the sarpanch or talati is in our favour", one of the participants stated. In some villages access to government schemes is easier. In Nalasar village of Palanpur taluka, the participants stated that they had got benefits from all the government schemes. This is borne out by the survey, where we find that across the five talukas Palanpur dalits have received the highest proportionate benefit from government schemes.

Cremation grounds are encroached upon in all the villages, mostly by members of the savarna castes who are farming on that land. According to one participant from Manaka village of Palanpur, nowhere is there a record of the land allotted for cremation grounds in any of the land records.

The reports here suggest that for the most part, discrimination in the dalits' access to **water, electricity and the public health services** is not an issue. However, participants at the workshops hinted at some discriminatory practices in access to water. This was more so in Vav and Tharad talukas compared to the other three talukas.

In areas where houses have been provided with individual taps, as in several villages in Palanpur and Vadgam, discrimination in access to water does not appear to be an issue. On closer examination, however, it was mentioned by a few participants that when the bore operator releases water for the dalit vas, it comes with less pressure. In another instance, the voltage in the dalit vas is low so that water pressure is less. These reports need further verification.

In the other three talukas, public stand-posts are the common source of water. Overtly everyone has equal access to the taps. In a majority of the villages, the traditional practice of the dalits waiting for the savarnas to fill first at common water sources is not common anymore - whoever comes first fills first.

However, in Vav taluka it was reported that dalits are expected to wait until the savarnas are done filling, and if the water finishes when the dalits' turn comes, they have to do without.

Harassment tactics are sometimes used. In Morikha village in Vav taluka, the valve in the dalits' tank was tampered with and the water flow was reduced.

Economic power also enhances the non-dalits' access to water. In Morikha village, some of the dominant caste persons have fixed an illegal access tap on the main water line coming from Deesa. This reduces the water that reaches the dalit's water-tank.

Similarly with regard to electricity, connections are available to all applicants. In one of the villages in Palanpur taluka, the participants reported a voltage problem. It cannot be resolved without further investigation whether this is a case of discrimination or a genuine technical problem.

Wherever a public health facility exists in the village, all villagers including dalits are given equal treatment by the doctors and nurses. However, one of the Palanpur women challenged the others present "If a savarna patient is present at the same time, does the doctor not see him first?"

5.2 DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC SPACES

Issue	Vav	Tharad	Dhanera	Vadgam	Palanpur
Public Roads	some discri		no discri		no discri
Public gatherings	discri				
Eating in social gatherings		some discri			
Water Pyao	some discri				
Seating for mid-day meal in school			some discri		
Shared water in school	some discri	no discri			
Entry and seating in Panchayat ghar	no discri	no discri	no discri	no discri	
Temple	discri	discri	discri	discri	discri
Utensils in tea-stall		no discri			discri
Hair-cutting in barber's shop	some discri	some discri			
Using common or dalit's flour mill		no discri			
Purchasing from shops					

Discrimination in public spaces has gone down considerably in the last ten years. Unlike earlier times, when a dalit would have to stand aside while a non-dalit passed on **a village lane**, everyone walks with equal right on the village road. (An exception is reported in some villages in Vav taluka, where the women said that they still step-aside to let the non-dalit pass.)

In **public gatherings**, dalits often have to stand at the back - this was reported in Vav taluka. In Vav some participants also reported that if they **eat at any social gathering**, they have to bring their own eating vessels.

In **panchayat ghars** too, all are permitted entry. In most schools, all children drink from the same matla or tap.

The keeping of separate utensils in **tea-stalls** is reported in some places. My sense is that it exists in less than 50 % of the cases.

Hair-cutting of dalits is seen as ritually polluting, and the village barber never used to cut the hair of dalits. Now too, a barber may refuse to cut the hair of a dalit man. Changes are observable, however. In towns where barbers have set up shop, they will cut most people's hair (valmikis may not be able to avail of this service.) In the Tharad workshop (men's) one participant said, "They will cut a dalit's hair if he is a *naukri-wala*."

People reported that not only do dalit's and non-dalits make their purchases from the same **shops**, the non-dalits buy from shops owned by dalits.

Commercial logic is also responsible for the removal of some traditional barriers.

The **temple** is still the savarna-controlled space. Dalits are not permitted to enter the savarna's temple. They either have their own temples or offer their prayers from a distance.

In Akoli village, the dalit chair person of a cooperative society had tea out of a cup in the society's general meeting. For this act of breaking caste norms, he was removed from the chairmanship of the society.

5.3 OBSERVING NORMS OF PURITY AND POLLUTION

Issue	Vav	Tharad	Dhanera	Vadgam	Palanpur
Avoiding physical contact of objects/vessels	discri			discri	discri
Separate utensils for dalits in homes		discri		discri	
Vessels used for filling water		some discri			
Eating food cooked by dalit	discri	discri	discri	discri	discri

While access to water may not be a significant problem, the public stand-post is a site for practicing norms of purity and pollution. In Buddhanpur in Tharad taluka, everyone uses the same **standpost for filling water**. However, dalit women cannot fill water from there in clay pots. They can only use steel pots.

In Vav taluka women reported that when non-dalit women use the stand-post after a dalit woman has used it, she will thoroughly wash the stand-post before she begins filling water.

Non-dalits observe a strict taboo about eating food cooked by a dalit. In none of the schools is there a dalit cook. In one village, the school is in the dalit vas, and most of the children attending the school are dalit. A few non-dalit children also attend the school. The school has a dalit cook. None of the non-dalit children eat the mid-day meal in school.

In some cases where physical contact cannot be avoided, e.g. exchange of money, or accidental contact, the non-dalit does a purification ritual by sprinkling water on the object which has been 'polluted'.

5.4 DISCRIMINATION IN THE PRIVATE SPHERE

Issue	Vav	Tharad	Dhanera	Vadgam	Palanpur
Separate utensils for dalits		discri			
Not giving milk etc. to dalits on certain days		discri			
Sitting on same cot	discri				
Entering house	discri	discri	discri	discri	discri

Generally, discrimination in the private sphere continues to exist. In some types of behaviour, the discrimination continues but is less blatant. Now, a Patel will go and sit outside the house of a dalit, but the mattress is rolled away.

In other cases, complete separation is maintained. **Entering each other's homes** is still almost unheard of. Even when a dalit and non-dalit become friends in school, they will go to each other's houses but will not enter the main house.

5.5 MAINTAINING VISIBLE INFERIORITY

Issue	Vav	Tharad	Dhanera	Vadgam	Palanpur
Wearing good clothes and footwear	discri		no discri		no discri
Building a nice-looking house	discri				discri
Sitting in presence of savarnas	some discri	no discri			
Keeping head covered in presence of savarnas		no discri			no discri
Type of jewelry worn		no discri	no discri		
Type of vessels used		no discri	no discri		

It was evident in all the workshops that insistence on the dalits maintaining **visible signs of inferiority** on their person is almost negligible now. The traditional norm of dalits having to wear inferior clothing, use inferior vessels etc. is on the decline.

In the less urbanized talukas like Vav, a dalit's good clothes invite comment, not so in the more urbanized talukas of Palanpur or Vadgam.

However, whenever a member of a savarna caste feels threatened by apparent well-being of a dalit, he can get violent, as happened in the case of Pavthi village.²¹

5.6 HARASSMENT, THREATS AND ATROCITIES

Issue	Vav	Tharad	Dhanera	Vadgam	Palanpur
Harassing men	Case				Reported
Teasing women in public	Case	Case	No	No	No
Threatening women	Reported				
Harassing schoolgirls				Reported	
Threatening elected persons					Reported
Physical violence					Reported

Information about cases of threats and harassment was scarce and some of the cases reported were several years old.

A total of eight such cases were reported and are briefly described in Appendix III. Surprisingly, three of the cases are from Palanpur taluka, where the dalits are relatively better off. This substantiates the fact that harassment is used by savarnas when the *status quo* begins to shake and dalits begin to threaten the superiority of the savarnas.

²¹ A dalit teacher had constructed a two-storey house which was not liked by the darbars/patels. They attacked him one day, and it became a criminal case.

Some participants did mention that savarnas rarely use abusive terms like *dhed* and *chamado* that they used earlier. The Atrocities Act appears to have acted as a kind of deterrent. The aware dalits know that if they are physically or verbally abused they can file a case under the Act.

However, the fact that at least in two workshops people expressed a fear that they might have to face adverse consequences for having talked about discrimination and abuse in a meeting indicates that the unequal balance of power and the fear faced by dalits.

Cases Of Harassment, Threats And Violence Reported In The Workshops On Discrimination And Atrocities

VAV

A dalit was a member of a school's governing committee in **Masali-Madupura**. He told the committee that effort should be made to hire **dalit teachers**. The other non-dalit members of the committee went and filed a complaint in Vadhvan village in Kutch (another district), that the dalit committee member had come from another village and was creating trouble in the committee. The police came to investigate and found out the case filed was baseless.

In **Ucchpa** village, a dalit girl had gone to **fill water at a stand post** where some Rajput youths were standing. The latter started teasing the girl. A physical fight ensued between some dalits and non-dalits. A case was filed with the police and went on for three years. Finally a settlement was reached between the two sides. In this same village, when women go to fill water, they are sometimes threatened that if you fill water we will break your heads.

THARAD

In **Buddhanpur** village, there was a case of a rabari harassing a newly-wed dalit woman. The woman's in-laws filed a case. This rabari is a notorious character and has several criminal cases lodged against him. The case is being supported by one Patel in Buddhanpur.

VADGAM

In **Magarwada**, two dalit girls were harassed by Rajput boy in class 10 in school. The girls' family discontinued their studies.

PALANPUR

In **Nalasar**, ten years ago, a vankar from another village used to work as a share-cropper in a savarana widow's field. He was accused of having a liasion with the widow and beaten up severely by savarnas. He filed a case under the Atrocities Act.

In **Manaka**, Dinesh's younger brother was shot at with an airgun and a bullet got lodged under his eye- the eye was bleeding and watering. The doctor was not told that the injury was due to an airgun shot so did not remove the bullet. Later when the eye did not heal the doctor was told but it was too late and he lost his eye. They filed a case and recd, 25000 as compensation from the social welfare department. The case is now in high court.

In **Manaka**, ten years ago a dalit got elected on a general seat as sarpanch. He was threatened by some upper caste persons. The dalits filed a case against the savarnas.

In **Badargadh**, ten years ago, a Muslim shot a dalit's dog. The dalit filed an atrocity case. Details not known.

The village bore well broke down, and Minaxiben (Kodrli village in Vadgam taluka) went to fill water from the well of a Patel's house. The woman there told her to keep her pot down for filling the water. Minaxiben questioned her, asking why she should keep her pot at a lower level than the Patel women was keeping hers. The latter got angry and turned off the water.

5.7 CIVIC PARTICIPATION

Issue	Vav	Tharad	Dhanera	Vadgam	Palanpur
Membership in dairy committee					Got with difficulty
Accepting donations for social events		mostly discri			

The discussion on this topic was limited. However, one issue which emerged was that when a common event like a puja is organized in the village where monetary contributions from residents are sought, dalits are excluded. Even if some families wish to contribute, their contributions are not accepted. Clearly this is a method for reinforcing the social divide.

CONCLUSIONS

1. We cannot talk of the dalits as a homogeneous group. The findings from these workshops do not include the experiences of the valmikis. Participants at the workshop were primarily chamars who are the majority among the dalit castes. Other participants were from the vankar, pandya/shrimali turi/barot caste. Only in one workshop was a Valmiki woman present. In the workshops it was clear that the changes in discriminatory practices did not apply to the valmikis. Not only does this group suffer discrimination at the hands of the non-dalits, the other dalit castes also treat this group as 'untouchables.'
2. Overt discrimination and discrimination in public spaces against dalits has gone down in the last ten years. A strong exception is the temple, where strict norms of separation are maintained. (Observance of purity-maintaining behaviours in the private sphere is still observed.) In private spaces, traditional discriminatory norms continue to be adhered to.
3. The primary factors responsible for reduced discrimination against dalits are:
 - v) Exposure to urban life and the lack of discrimination there;
 - vi) Education among dalits and non-dalits has created better awareness;
 - vii) Similarity in dressing styles and in types of utensils etc. used;
 - viii) The Atrocities Act which makes discrimination a criminal offence.
5. The key factors responsible for continued 'inferior' position of dalits are:
 - v) poverty;
 - vi) poor self-esteem;
 - vii) lack of information;
 - viii) low level of awareness²²

²² In Karbun village in Tharad, when the workers of the Gujarat Electricity Board came to install electricity distribution points, several dalit families told them not to install the poles near their houses, as the pole may fall on their house and injure or kill one of them. The distribution points are now at a distance from their homes, and they have to pay extra to get an electrical connection.

6. There is a high degree of variability in the types and extent of discrimination observed today. Several contextual and individual factors affect the nature of discrimination that a dalit has to suffer. The key variables that account for this difference are listed below.

Contextual variables- at the village level

- ◆ Proportion of dalit population in village vis a vis non-dalit population
- ◆ Awareness level and educational level of dalit population in village
- ◆ Proximity of village to urban center
- ◆ Presence of traditional dominant caste in village

Individual variables

- ◆ Economic status of dalit
- ◆ Educational level of dalit
- ◆ Self-confidence of dalit

Other things being equal, villages which have a higher proportion of dalit families, villages where the dalits are more aware and educated, villages which are nearer towns and cities and villages which do not have a traditional dominant caste have experienced greater changes.

Similarly, individuals who are better educated, economically better off or more confident of challenging the system are dealt with in a better way than the others.

Wherever there is anonymity, there is less discrimination. Sometimes this is because one cannot tell a person's caste, and at other times it is because economic incentive overrides caste norms. Distance from one's native place also reduces discrimi. As an individual a person may be liberal, but is unwilling to deal with the sanctions of the community. If away from community, behaves differently.

Usually dalits do not drink from a water pyao used by savarna persons. However, in one village in Vav taluka, the pyao is outside a police station. A number of the policemen there are dalits. Given their position of authority, no one dares to deny them water at the pyao. As a result, all dalits are now able to drink at the pyao.

Younger non-dalits who have had exposure to urban living are less likely to discriminate. This is particularly so when they are away from their native village.

7. While ritual discrimination in public is on the decline, the savarna castes continue their efforts to maintain their economic and political superiority. This is evident in the difficulty experienced by dalits to benefit from government schemes which seek to improve their economic and social position.

Non-dalits are able to harass the dalits and deny them their rights because:

- i) they have greater economic power;
- ii) the law is on their side;
- iii) official system is on their side - non-dalits occupy most of the offices in government, and blatantly support non-dalits against dalits.
- iv) the dalits are afraid to challenge their authority in case there is a backlash.

8. Most dalits are afraid to challenge the status quo. If they dare to challenge the system they may be denied their means of livelihood²³, they may get beaten up, they may even get killed. because of a deep-rooted fear of suffering physical violence at the hand. Discrimination continues to be practiced within the villages because everyone knows everyone. Challenging the system is easier in unfamiliar terrain - with known persons it is very difficult. For instance, a dalit teacher will find it easier to challenge traditional discriminatory norms if he is teaching in a village different from his own.

NOTES

The methodology used and its limitations

The types of discrimination presented in this chapter are as they were reported by participants.

The comments of persons are limited by what they are aware of, and what they feel comfortable talking about. Women who were more confident, women who are more aware and women who have more exposure are more willing to talk about discrimination than those who were less confident. People do not want their village to appear in a bad light, especially if someone else is saying positive things about their village, e.g. 'we have no discrimination in our village'.

Very little information on harassment and physical violence could be gathered in the workshops. Fear of retaliation from the 'upper castes' appears to be one reason for this reluctance.

Finally, the findings indicate the different types of discrimination. Through the workshops, we were not able to assess exactly the extent and incidence of discrimination.

Other related material on discrimination against dalits

After we had completed this chapter, we came across a similar study by Ghanshyam Shah carried out in different villages across Gujarat. His findings indicate the same trends. "*Untouchability in Rural Gujarat: Revisited*", in' Dalits and the State' (ed) G. Shah, Center for Rural Studies, Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussorie, 2002

²³ In Manaka village in Palanpur taluka, a dalit family filed a case against an upper caste person who had attacked him for the type of clothes he was wearing. In retaliation, the upper castes refused to hire dalit labour for their fields, thus *causing financial hardship to the already economically weak dalit families.

CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS OBSERVED IN ATROCITIES AGAINST DALITS

In this chapter we examine eleven atrocity cases where dalit rights were violated and which resulted in filing of cases in the court of law. Of these eleven cases, nine cases were brought to the notice of Banaskantha Dalit Sangathan, the Community based organization promoted by BSC in Banaskantha. In some of these cases, BDS played an active role in trying to resolve the issue and seek justice. Three cases emerged in the course of the workshops on atrocities and discrimination. We followed up on them through field visits to learn the details.

A schematic presentation of the facts of each of these cases is presented in **Appendix III**.

We analyze the patterns observed in these cases in terms of the following variables:

- I Nature of violence against dalits
- II Underlying issue if any
- III Response of the affected dalit family and other dalits
- IV Reactions of the offenders
- V Police response
- VI Outcome

RAPE CASES

Three of the eleven cases involved rape of women - two were dalit women and one belonged to the caste of snake-charmers. These cases occurred in Dantiwada, Dhanera and Vav talukas. We have very little information about these cases. In one case, the District Welfare Officer gave the victim's family Rs. 25,000 as compensation as per government rules. In another instance the victim's family did not want to discuss it with BDS. This was perhaps because they did not want to publicize the issue. We know little about the third case beyond the fact that it occurred. Due to lack of information on these cases, they have been excluded from the following analysis.

6.1. NATURE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST DALITS

In the eight cases analyzed, the form that the violence took varies and is as follows:

- ↳ In one case, standing crops in the dalits' field were destroyed.
- ↳ In one case a dalit grave was vandalized.
- ↳ In three cases, dalit males were physically attacked and beaten up
- ↳ In one cases the dalit was murdered
- ↳ In three cases, land owned by dalits was encroached upon.
- ↳ In one case a dalit woman was molested
- ↳ **In one case a dalit brother and sister were harassed and their house stoned**

This indicates the variety of violent means used against dalits by savarnas.

6.2 ISSUE UNDERLYING VIOLENCE

In four of the cases the underlying issue was the ownership of agricultural land by dalits. In the other four cases, there appears to be no underlying cause. All four cases were instances of savarnas asserting their superiority against dalits. In three of these latter four cases, the harassment/atrocities was unprovoked.

Sometimes the underlying cause may be different from the immediate cause. In the Pavthi case, the underlying cause was the prosperity of the dalit teacher which was intolerable to the Rajputs. So the first opportunity that they found to pick a quarrel, they attacked the dalit teacher.

6.3 RESPONSE OF THE DALIT TO THE VIOLENCE

When a savarna caste member violates a dalit's right, invariably the dalit family tries to resolve the issue without involving the police. It is only when the savarna caste member does not cooperate or refuses to accept his fault do the dalits go to the police to register a case.

6.4 REACTION OF SAVARNAS TO COMPLAINTS BY DALITS

If a dalit articulates a complaint against a savarna, it is not tolerated. Asking savarnas to compensate a dalit for the wrong done to him is also seen as an affront, and leads to further resistance and defensiveness. Any kind of assertion of their rights by dalits is not acceptable to the savarnas.

Reporting a case to the police violates a savarna's sense of superiority even more. Articulating or registering a complaint leads to fresh violence. This was observed in four of the eight cases, and in case it led to a murder.

6.5 ROLE OF THE POLICE

In five of the eight cases, the police was either ineffective or in complicity with the offenders. The majority of police officers are non-dalits. This is the primary reason for their indifference and antipathy to dalit complainants.

The 'higher castes' take advantage of the police authority's sympathetic attitude. Only in one of the eight cases did calling the police cause the offenders to withdraw. In all the other cases, registering the cases with the police did not intimidate the offenders or prompt them to compensate for the damage done.

6.6 OUTCOMES

Outcomes of the eight cases range from 'case pending' to 'compromise reached' and 'case resolved'. We do not have enough information about the cases to explain why the cases end the way they did.

CONCLUSIONS

Where dalits accept their 'inferior' position and make no attempt to increase their social and economic well-being, or assert themselves as equals, violence against dalits is relatively less. However, as soon as dalits try to come out of their depressed position, violence against them begins occurring. Violence against dalits is a tool to intimidate them.

On their part, dalits too fear violence at the hands of the savarnas, and would like to avoid situations which might anger the savarnas. The consequences of the savarnas wrath against the dalits can include loss of life, loss of work or loss of family honour (rape of a woman in the family).

The fact that the official establishment almost invariably sides with the higher castes further erodes the dalit's confidence to take on a person from the upper caste.

However, the existence of the Atrocities Act has created an avenue for dalits to try and fight for their rights. It is mostly dalits who are more educated, better off and more knowledgeable about the way the system works who are able to take advantage of this Act.

NOTE

A similar trend is noted in several books on atrocities against dalits. Some of the atrocities reported in the discussion above are also reported in these:

1. Encroachment of land owned by dalits;
2. Destruction of standing crops cultivated by dalits;
3. Economic retaliation and violence if any attempt is made by dalits to alter the village customs or make demands for land, increase in wages or political rights.
4. Non-cooperation by the police.

The publications which report such cases are:

1. *"Broken People: Caste Violence Against Indian Untouchables"*. Human Rights Watch, 1999.
2. Pal, R.M. and C. S. Bhargava (ed.), *"Human Rights of Dalits: Societal Violation"*, 1999.
3. Charsley S. R. and G.K. Karanth (ed.) *"Challenging Untouchability: Dalit Initiative and Experience from Karnataka"*, 1998.
4. *"Dalit Human Rights Violations: Atrocities Against Dalits in India"*, National Public Hearing, Chennai, Tamilnadu, April 18-19, 2000.

CHAPTER VII

BONDED LABOUR IN VAV AND THARAD TALUKAS

In the course of the workshops on discrimination and atrocities that we conducted in the five talukas, one of the male participants in Vav taluka mentioned that he used to work as a bonded labourer for a savarna family until ten years ago. One of the staff members of Banaskantha Dalit Sangathan in Tharad also mentioned the continued prevalence of this system in Tharad taluka. This prompted us to explore the issue further, and we visited two villages each in Vav and Tharad to learn more about the current status of bonded labour in these two talukas. Our information is from dalits in these villages, and we report below what they have told us²⁴.

A total of four villages were visited to learn about this issue - Morikha in Vav taluka, and Pepral, Buddhanpur and Ghantiyali in Tharad taluka.

The Way the System Works

When a dalit needs a lump sum of money he goes to a landowner for it. The landowner and dalit finalize the amount and enter into an oral contract. In return for the money, which the landowner gives, the dalit agrees to work as a *haalee* (bonded labourer) in the landowner/employer's fields for a period of one year. The *haalee's* work includes agricultural labour and any other agriculture-related work that the employer may ask the *haalee* to do. For this period of one year, the *haalee* is bound to this one employer and cannot work elsewhere.

These arrangements are usually annual in nature, and are finalized during *Akhatrij*. This day falls in March-April. This is the lean agricultural period after the harvest, and demand for labour is low. The dalit has few options at this time, and the landowner is able to negotiate a deal which is advantageous to him. To get money under such an arrangement, a dalit has to have two guarantors. The guarantors are liable to work on behalf of *haalee* in case he leaves the work before his term is over.

In addition to the money, a *haalee* gets cooked food and tea for his daily consumption, plus two sets of clothes and one pair of shoes each year.

Looking back

Nearly 50 or 60 years ago, the annual amount paid for working the fields for a year was between Rs. five and Rs. ten, and 30-35 years ago, the amount ranged between Rs. 20 and Rs. 70. In some cases, the payment was made in kind - in the form of grain (*Baajari*) and not in

²⁴ We have only talked to dalit haalees. However, we were told that members from other backward castes also enter into such arrangements. They are however subjected to less untouchability and humiliation than dalit haalees.

cash. Cash was given only when the employer was relatively better off. The fixed annual amount was given initially at the time of oral contract.

Norms of untouchability were strongly enforced. Things given to *haalee* like his clothes, shoes, eating dish etc. were kept in a separate and specified place on the farm. The *haalee* had to sit in a corner of the homestead while getting food from the employer. The quality of food given to *haalee* was extremely poor. Sometimes it comprised a liquid made from *Baajri*, *Goor* (Jaggery) and water. Not infrequently, he has given a kind of bread made from leftovers from the previous night.

Current situation

The system of entering into an annual oral contract at Akhatrij continues today. Today a *haalee* gets between Rs. 3000 to Rs. 15000 a year, depending upon his capacity for work. This amount is given to the *haalee* on the very first day of work. As was the custom earlier, he also gets two pairs of clothes, (one in *Akhatrij* and the other in *Diwali*) foods, tea, *bidi*, etc. from the farmer

Sometimes a *haalee* may need additional money in the course of the year. The landowner gives him some money as an interest-free loan ("*Upaad*"), which he has return to in the same year i.e., the contracted period. If he is unable to repay the amount during the contract period, he has to repay it with interest (4% to 5% per month). The *Upaad* is given at the discretion of the landowner, who gives it only when he has some security about getting his money back.

30-40 years ago, *upaad* was given only to those *haalees* who owned some land, and the land was mortgaged against amount given. Only after the *haalee* had returned the amount was the land returned to him. Nowadays even a landless *haalee* can get *upaad*.

Cycle of bondedness

If the *haalee* cannot repay the loan taken, he has to continue working after the one year period for a duration based on the amount owed. If the amount is large and cannot be repaid in a short period, the *haalee* becomes bonded for another year. This cycle can go on and keep the *haalee* in bondage for several years.

Sometimes a *haalee* takes a loan from another landowner to repay the debt to the first master. After completing his year's work with the former, he has to work as a *haalee* for the new master for the following year. This way he gets to change his master but is unable to get out of the situation of bondedness.

Type of work

The *haalee* usually lives in the landowner's fields. He can go to his house two or three times in a month for 2 to 3 hours.²⁵ He must stay and sleep in the fields during the night irrespective of whether there is work or not. In a few cases, *haalees* return home every night, but spend the entire day in the fields.

The *haalee* has to do that all types of work given by the landowner, at any time of day or night. He cannot refuse any type of work. Sometimes when there is no farm related work *haalee* has to do the household work. At certain periods, particularly when the power is available and water has been released in the fields, the *haalee* cannot leave the fields even in the case of an emergency or crisis. He is given leave two or three times thrice in a year and it is given only for emergencies.

Living conditions of haalees

The economic and social condition of *haalees* is visibly wretched. They are still living in the huts made from clay, grass and wood. They are poorly clothed and the quality of their food is low. The condition of *haalees* becomes more difficult in the winter and monsoon. They have to work in the cold nights of winter. They are not given any clothes, etc., to protect themselves against the cold. In monsoon they are given one jute bag (as a bedsheet!) and a plastic sheet to protect them against the rain. They do not have a hut in the fields to live in.

The *haalees* are not given additional money for casual illness. They have to bear their own treatment costs. If a *haalee* is unable to work due to his illness some male member from his family has to go and work in his stead. If someone does not go, wages for that period are deducted from the amount paid.

The social life of the *haalees* is totally disrupted due to the nature of his work. He is away from home most of the time, going home only once in 8-10 days. He is not in regular contact with the other members of his society. He is unable to devote any attention to his children. Often a *haalee's* children are not educated and continue the tradition of working under bonded conditions.

While the arrangement requires only the male to work for the employer, wives of bonded labourers are also exploited. If they come to the employer's house asking for buttermilk, they are told to first do some cleaning jobs. If they refuse to do so, they are not given the buttermilk. Sometimes the farmer will give the buttermilk to his buffaloes and cows, or even just throw it down the drain, but not give it to the dalits who have been working in his farm. Some respondents told us that "we have given up drinking buttermilk because of this".

²⁵In fact, we found it difficult to meet *haalees* when we went to the villages, because most of them are away in the fields. Some of them come home for dinner, and we were able to meet them then.

Why do dalits enter into arrangements of bondedness

From what we have gathered, dalits enter into this arrangement because the other options are either not feasible or less desirable. Some of the respondents said that migrating is an expensive option, and they do not have the funds to go search for work in another area. Some also feel that they would rather stay in their native village than live elsewhere, even if it means being a *haalees*.

A *haalee* is afraid to take up any other work because he fears losing his position as a *haalee*. As a *haalee* he is able to get a lump-sum of money at the beginning of the contract period, which makes the deal attractive to him. If he stops working as a *haalee*, he may never be rehired as one.

In Vav we learnt that one of the techniques used to pressurize persons to become *haalees* is to offer low daily wages for agricultural work. For instance, rates are fixed at Rs. 35 to Rs. 40 for male workers and Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per day for female workers. This is much less than the amount the dalit can get as *haalee*. The dalit therefore decides to give up his freedom and enter into a contract of working as a *haalee*.

We also observed that working as a *haalee* becomes a kind of family tradition in certain families. Usually a person who works as a *haalee* also had his father and forefathers working as *haalees*.

Lack of employment options perpetuate the system. In Morikha village, Shantibhai, son of Dharmabhai, has been working as a *haalee* for last two years. He wanted to be teacher but could not get the admission in PTC though he got 76% in H.S.C. examination.

Tharad

Rates of annual payment to *haalees* in Tharad are lower than in Vav. The annual wage is called *Masharo* in local terminology. Presently the annual salary of a *haalee* in Tharad ranges from Rs. 3000 to Rs. 7000. Usually a *haalee* takes a larger amount at the beginning of the contract period. has to return the remaining amount deducting his annual salary from the fixed amount that the farmer has given to him in the beginning of the year. At the end of the contract year, he has to repay the extra amount that he took. Our informers told us that the total amount taken by a *haalee* is often more than double of what he gets paid as labour for the year.

SOME CASES

Kamabhai's wife: "We are slavers still after the independence, our lives like the life of animals."

Mr. Vastabhai Vasabhai Bhatiya, 39, started working as a *haalee* since the age of eight. First time he has got Rs. 60 as an annual salary for working. After 13 years of working he got Rs. 4000 as an annual salary.

58-year-old dalit Manarabhai Velabhai Chauhan became a *haalee* at the age of seven and worked constantly for nearly 50 years. He got Rs. 10 as an annual salary for work at the time of joining and when he left the work just two years ago he got Rs. 500 as an annual salary! His income increased by Rs. 10 in every year, or in other words the cost of reaching an income level from Rs. 10 to Rs. 500 was, "50 years of slogging"!

Babubhai Bhil, 32, of the same village had worked for 12 years as a *haalee* since the age of 12 year with the salary of Rs. 250 for a whole year. He had got Rs. 1200 when he left the work as a *haalee* after the 12 years of rigorous service.

In Budhanpur village of Tharad taluka a 20-year-old dalit youngster, Pirabhai Bhomaji has been working as a *haalee* right from his childhood for just to eat food. In return of his work he has provided food, tea, clothes, etc, by the employer.

In Malupur village of the same taluka, a farmer from the Barber community has employed five dalit persons as a *haalees* on his farm.

APPENDIX 1
VILLAGES SELECTED FOR BANASKANTHA STUDY

TALUKA	NAME	POP	SC POP	% sc	sc h'holds	sample h'holds	% sam h'holds
DHANERA	SERA	1263	176	14	29	29	99
	BHAJNA	2098	267	13	45	25	56
	JADIYA	3214	325	10	54	30	55
	THAWAR	3294	356	11	59	30	51
	KHIMAT	6340	579	9	97	35	36
PALAN	NALASAR	1266	291	23	49	25	52
	BADARGADH	3863	306	8	51	25	49
	MANAKA	1216	339	28	57	30	53
	VEDANCHA	4111	494	12	82	35	43
	GADH	9651	1063	11	177	50	28
THARAD	GADSISAR	1145	207	18	35	25	72
	KARBUN	2415	266	11	44	25	56
	JETDA	2644	325	12	54	30	55
	DEL	1278	340	27	57	30	53
	BUDHANPUR	1134	342	30	57	30	53
VADGAM	KALEDA	1668	227	14	38	25	66
	KOTADI	1182	263	22	44	25	57
	CHHANIYANA	1947	462	24	77	35	45
	MAGARWADA	3650	551	15	92	35	38
	KODARAM	3900	862	22	144	45	31
VAV	UCHPA	1530	121	8	20	20	99
	MASALI	584	132	23	22	20	91
	BALUNTRI	1443	315	22	53	30	57
	MORIKHA	2251	408	18	68	30	44
	DHIMA	4638	776	17	129	45	35
	TOTAL		67725	9793		1632	764

Pop < 1500 9 villages
 Pop 1501 - 3000 12 villages
 Pop 3001 - 5000 2 villages
 Pop > 5000 2 villages

Number of households by Caste and Taluka in the Final Sample for the Household Survey

TALUKA	VILLAGE	Vankar	Valmiki	Chamar	turi/Barot	Pandya	Shenwa	Maru	Jadav	Sadhu	Nayak	Tirbandha	Harijan	Total
Vadgam	Chhaniyana	14	11	13		7								45
	Magarwada	16	10	12	7	5								50
	Kotadi	4	6	11	9	3		8						41
	Kodaram	17	11	12			7		9					56
	Kaleda			11			10							21
	Nalasar		1											1
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>214</i>
Palanpur	Nalasar		9	15		1	15							40
	Vedanacha	11	9	12		5				2				39
	Gadh	19	17	14	5	7				7	4	7		80
	Manaka	13		12										25
	Badargadh	3	9	14	9									35
	Jetda			1										1
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>220</i>
Tharad	Karbun		7	16	4	2								29
	Gadhsisar		1	34										35
	Budhanpur			14	3	9								26
	Del			15										15
	Jetda		1	10	5								2	18
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>123</i>
Vav	Baluntri		1	16		5								22
	Dheema		4	20	3	17								44
	Ucchpa			17										17
	Morikha		4	23		8								35
	Masali			15										15
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>133</i>
Dhanera	Shera		5	10		1								16
	Bhajna			14		2								16
	Jadia	9	1	11	1	2								24
	Thawar			17										17
	Khimmat		7	16	6	2				2				33
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>106</i>
TOTAL	106	114	375	52	76	32	8	9	11	4	7	2	796	

APPENDIX II
DISCRIMINATION AND ATROCITIES AGAINST DALITS IN
BANASKANTHA VILLAGES
A FRAMEWORK FOR TALUKA-LEVEL GROUP DISCUSSIONS

1. Introductory comments

(The following introduction to be given to participants)

Welcome to all of you, and thank you for taking the time to come for this meeting. All of you know about the work that we, i.e. BSC, BDS and you have been doing together in the last two years.

However, when an institution works with a community, it not only needs to understand the community, it also needs to do a systematic study of the issues it is working with and document the same. BSC started work on this study in April. This study has two parts - a survey and a series of taluka-level group meetings.

As many of you know, a survey is being conducted in your villages. The selection of individuals for this survey has been done randomly. We cannot survey everyone because that will take too much time. The survey is one part of the study.

The second part of this study is being done through taluka-level meetings with representatives from selected villages. As you know, an important part of the work of BDS is to fight against dalit discrimination and atrocities. The Banaskantha Dalit Sangarsh Samiti has already done a lot of work in this area.

To further understand the ways in which discrimination and atrocities against dalits are taking place in your villages, we have decided to have these meetings. This issue cannot be studied through a survey - to discuss it we need to sit face to face.

As we said earlier, the purpose of this study is to understand the community better for the work that BSC is doing. **It is important that we are all frank in our discussions.** If there are things we would rather not talk about, it is better to say so, than to say something which might not be accurate. Also, we have to be careful not to exaggerate the reality.

We hope that the information gathered through these ten workshops will help to strengthen the strategy of BDSS and contribute to its continuing success.

2. Some ground rules for the discussion

1. Everyone present should get a chance to contribute to the discussion. The discussion should not be dominated by a few individuals.
2. No one should interrupt a person while she/he is speaking.
3. We should avoid getting personal in this discussion. The purpose here is to learn, not to point fingers at anyone.

3. Framework for discussion

(The following sets of questions should be used to guide the discussion. Other questions may be added as suitable.)

The participants should respond to the following questions with experiences relating to their village. Rather than general discussion we would like participants to talk about their personal experiences.

Discrimination

1. What is the nature of discrimination against dalits that is practiced in your village currently?
2. Has there been any change in the type and extent of discrimination in the last ten years? If so how?
3. How do dalits react to the discrimination practiced against them?
4. Has there been any change in the dalits' reaction to discrimination in the last ten years?

Atrocities

1. What are the nature of atrocities against dalits that have occurred in your village in the last few years?
2. Has there been any change in the type and extent of dalit atrocities in the last ten years? If so how?
3. How do dalits react to the atrocities practiced against them?
4. Has there been any change in the dalits' reaction to atrocities in the last ten years?

Some areas on which we would like to focus the discussion on discrimination

1. Access to civic amenities – water, electricity
2. Behaviour of teachers, parents and students in schools
3. Access to public health facilities
4. Use of panchayat office
5. Tea stalls
6. Barber shops
7. Public spaces in the village and outside
8. Access to government schemes

Some beginning questions for atrocities

Disputes (land related, housing related, others)

1. Have there been any disputes between the dalit and non-dalit communities in the last year? Last two years?
2. What was the reason for the dispute?
3. Did the dispute get settled?
4. How did it get settled?
5. If it has not been settled, what is the current status?

6. Was any case filed with the police?
7. How would you rate the police's handling of the case?
8. Was there any violence in relation to the dispute?

(The above set of questions would be discussed for each of the disputes reported in the reporting period.)

*For the women's group, one focus area should be the discrimination and atrocities faced by dalit **women**, as separate from dalit men. Also, women's experiences in the above listed cases may be different from the men's experiences. This will be captured by the women's group discussion.*