DALITS IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF A VILLAGE IN AMETHI DISTRICT OF UTTAR PRADESH

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Abstract:

Background: The process of globalisation has made deep inroads into India's social, economic and cultural life. The present study seeks to investigate the implications of globalisation in the arena of socio-economic, education, health care facilities from the Dalit perspectives.

Objectives: (1) To make historical analysis of status of Dalits in India. (2) To analyse socioeconomic status of Dalits in the era of globalisation. (3) To analyse impact of globalisation on educational and health status of Dalits.

Materials and Methods: The study was carried out in Pure Kodai village of Amethi district of Uttar Pradesh. Using purposive sampling a sample of 100 Dalits between the age group 20-50 years was selected.

Results: It was observed that majority of Dalits (75 per cent) still experience the inhuman practice of untouchability. High per cent of Dalits (88 per cent) send their wards in public schools and majority of them (86 per cent) visit public health care centres for the treatment of diseases.

Conclusion: There has been gradual change in the living pattern of Dalits, but globalisation in the research area has not affected them entirely. There are miles to go before they can achieve a better socio-economic, educational and health status.

Keywords: Dalits, Dalit movements, education, globalisation, health and socio-economic status.

INTRODUCTION

Globalisation appears to be the buzzword of 1990s which has penetrated many academic discussions and debates. The process of globalisation has made deep inroads into India's social, economic and cultural life. It has not only affected all aspects of human life but also influenced the social institutions to great extent. In order to promote the socio-economic justice many affirmative measures were introduced in the Indian Constitution and a lot of welfare schemes were initiated for the uplift of the unprivileged Dalits. But globalisation has not only threatened it, also made it very weak (Dhanagre 2003). In fact socio-economic justice and social welfare which is an integral part of Indian Constitution is slowly getting eclipsed because of privatisation and globalisation. It has created a new situation where Dalits are pushed again in a state of anxiety. In the present study an endeavour has been made to investigate the implications of globalisation in the arena of socio-economic, education, health care facilities, poverty, etc. from the Dalit perspectives.

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Theoretical Perspective of Globalisation

Globalisation is a process that has come to dominate the world since the nineties of the last century. It is the most widely debated and discussed phenomena in all over the world. It is based on the principle of unrestrained functioning of the free market economy. In the paradigm of globalisation, state is reduced into a sort of security mechanism to protect its citizens from internal disruption and external threats. State is not supposed to care for social and economic interests of its citizens. The world opinion is divided on what constitutes globalisation and whether globalisation is good or bad. The fact is that today almost every nation state is forced to become a part of global economy.

In present context globalisation means such world in which there is equality in process and we find an integrated system beside national boundaries and distances. Globalisation means unification of a nation economy with world economy. It means flow of goods and services, capital, technology and labour from one country to another. Globalisation is a process of transformation of such a civil society in which we can clearly see the privatisation of public sector, emergence of Swadeshi movement and protest against change (Giddens 1990). To achieve these objectives of globalisation the government has implemented so many policies like reduction in custom duty, making foreign capital influential and encouraging foreign technology. With the help of these policies government tried to increase opportunities of employment and to decrease regional inequality. Today we are living in the era of globalisation and the whole world is becoming a single entity. There are no national boundaries between countries and the whole world has become an open market where everything can be bought (Dhanagre 2003). These changes have changed human beings and influenced their characteristics. Proportionally the forms of social institutions have also changed.

Status and Identity of Dalits

The term Dalit literally means 'the broken one', one who is oppressed and exploited by the hegemonic social structure. The term is popularly used to identify 'exuntouchables', constitutionally referred to as 'Scheduled Castes' (SC) in India. The Dalits in India carry an identity, which is described to them as a result of their birth in the lowest strata of the caste based on social hierarchy of the Hindu social order, which carry stigma of untouchability. It implies deprivation, denigration, subjugation and exploitation. In the rural areas there are restrictions on their entry in the higher caste habitations of villages, visiting the religious places, using water sources. Whereas, in urban centres caste operates in more subtle ways in recruitment for jobs, promotions and career advancements. Such inhuman status is universally resented and struggled against as no group of people is content to be low in a caste hierarchy to live a life of inherited deprivation and subjection regardless of the

rationalisation offered to them by their superiors or consented by them (Berreman 1960). The social process of escaping from the consequences of belonging to the lower caste and status has been conceptualised as 'Sanskritisation' (Srinivas 1962). These escape roots have been interpreted as an attempt to shed that identify, either through dissimulation or through movement to places or milieux where it is wholly or largely irrelevant (Berreman 1972). Individual mobility to caste-free occupations and middle class status is common among the financially and educationally fortunate.

Dalits are very distinct social groups in the caste-ridden Hindu society. They are the victims of social disabilities and oppression. Economically most of them are still the poorest of the poor. Due to some affirmative action Dalits have made a significant progress on almost all parameters during the 68 years of our independence. However, they are not empowered enough to face the challenges of competing equality. The backwardness of the Dalits will be evident from their illiteracy, unemployment, dependence on agriculture and social segregation. In terms of residence, housing, poverty and health the condition of the Dalits is precarious (Karade 2008). All the issues have historically been related to Dalit's deprivation and these have been aggravated by globalisation over the last two decades.

The social disadvantages and disabilities suffered by the Dalits were of serious concern in the Constitution of India which was drafted under the chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar. The Constitution of India provided Dalits a number of safeguards, such as, (1) safeguards in social spheres; (2) safeguards in education and cultural matter; (3) economic safeguards; (4) safeguards in politics and (5) safeguards in the public services.

Dalits happened to be the beneficiaries of these affirmative measures before India entered into the realm of neo-liberal free market-economy. Actually the Indian state had brought some improvements in the lives of Dalits making these special provisions to provide them education, employment, access, land, health, housing and other resources (Ram 2012).

Globalisation as a new world economic order imposed on the world with a promise of more prosperity, progress and freedom for all. On the contrary, evidences show that globalisation affected negatively in all these aspects for some communities particularly the Dalit communities. More than two decades of implementation of these policies pertaining to globalisation have severely affected the welfare and development of Dalits.

The process of globalisation has increased the modernity process among Dalits. Now a days Dalits are trying to create their own ideology to establish their identity (Chaudhury 2013). There is a need to implement the policies effectively for the development of Dalits and their identity (Chaudhury 2002).

Analysing the impact of globalisation on the status of Dalits it is found that globalisation has influence in all the areas in India. But even today the status of

Dalits is lower than other Varnas in terms of social, economic, political, educational, occupational and other areas. Besides the rights of equality in daily life Dalits have lower status in society. Processes of globalisation have badly impacted Dalit's life and they have become poorer. Various studies have indicated towards expansion of poverty, disease and death, increasing unemployment level and exploitation of workers.

Objectives of the Study

(1) To make historical analysis of status of Dalits in India. (2) To analyse socioeconomic status of Dalits in the era of globalisation. (3) To analyse impact of globalisation on educational and health status of Dalits.

Materials and Methods

The present study was conducted in the Pure Kodai village of Amethi district of Uttar Pradesh. For the study socio-economic status, educational and health status of Dalit families in the village was observed and assessed. For this purpose exploratory research design was used and the study was focused at grass-root level.

Sampling technique for the selection of area was simple random sampling. The sample size was 100 respondents. The sample consisted of Dalits between the age group 20-50 years. The respondents were selected using purposive sampling. The unit of the study was single household. In the present study, both qualitative and quantitative i.e. mixed method technique of data collection was used. For collection of data both primary as well as secondary sources were used. Primary data was collected using interview schedule, case study, non-participant observation and focused group discussion whereas secondary data included census report, journals and data from Gram Sabha.

History of Dalit Movements and Organisations in India

The problem of untouchability and exploitation of Dalits in social, economic and political areas has been a stark reality of Indian society. Various efforts have been made so far by visionaries in this direction by launching movements and forming organisations to highlight and find solution of the problems of the Dalits in India. As a result we can see a constant growth of awareness among Dalits who have started asserting their identity and demanding their due share in power. Here an attempt has been made to give an account of various Dalits movements and organisations in India.

A number of leaders raised their voice against the exploitation of the Dalits. Jyotiba Phule, E.K. Nayar, B.R. Ambedkar, M.K. Gandhi, Mangoo Ram etc. were particularly noticeable for their struggle for the Dalits. Jyotiba Phule was the first leader of notice to emerge, who worked to uplift the dalits and fought for their rights.

After Phule, B.R. Ambedkar, well known as Constitution maker and 'MESSIAH' of Dalits, represented the Dalits at Round Table Conference in London. It is to be noted that before Ambedkar the personalities who raised their voice against the society did that from the social aspect but Ambedkar did the same from the social as well as political aspect. In 1932, British Government presented the Communal Award concerning the depressed classes. In this award two types of vote system and separate electoral was awarded. Ambedkar wanted a guarantee for Dalits as a pre-condition of self rule. But M.K. Gandhi was against the separate representation of Dalits and he had to resort to fast unto death. Initially, Ambedkar was against Gandhi's proposition. But later on they agreed with each other and reached at a connivance which is known as Poona Pact. This Pact was similar to Communal Award; more seats were reserved for the Dalits. But candidates were left to be chosen by joint electoral of both Hindu and Dalits. In the annals of Indian politics there have been a few independent Dalit movements and parties. Some of the important movements are chronicled below:

Adi-Dharm Movement

The Adi-Dharm movement which was one of the most important movements of the Dalits started in 1925 under the direction of Mangoo Ram and other depressed class leaders. The first organisational meeting of the Adi-Dharm took place in Jalandhar in 1925 (Paswan & Jaideva 2002). It was a movement which rejected Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam and made efforts to establish a distinct identity of Dalit castes. The main objectives of the Adi-Dharm movement were to carve out an independent identity for the untouchables and to blot out the stigma of untouchability. In 1929, the Adi-Dharm split into two factions, one the All India Adi-Dharm Mandal which was headed by Vasant Rai and other Adi-Dharm Mandal which was headed by the Mangoo Ram.

The contribution of Adi-Dharm movement was crucial. It helped the Dalits to seek social recognition through the process of cultural transformation on the one hand and spiritual regeneration on the other hand (Ram 2004). It carried out a new identity and gave them a new name. But the Adi-Dharm movement failed to change the attitude of the upper castes. Dalits continued to face discrimination and oppression.

Independent Labour Party (ILP)

B.R. Ambedkar himself tried to wrest space for Dalit emancipation at religious, social, economic and political realms. On 1936, he gave the political movement a specific focus by establishing the 'Independent Labour Party'. This was the first political party of Dalits. This was necessary because the existing political parties, dominated primarily by upper castes, were capable neither of representing

the interests of the Scheduled Castes more fighting for their cause (Louis 1997). It was indented to champion the cause of the workers and to advance the welfare of labouring classes and of depressed classes also.

All India Scheduled Caste Federation (AISCF)

In 1942, B.R. Ambedkar founded the All India Scheduled Caste Federation, a political organisation for Dalits. He reformulated his political plans. He limited this party to untouchables in the hope of uniting all the untouchables in a new battle for political power (Jogdand 1991). The AISCF, being a rival organisation to the Congress, was used to constantly challenge the Congress claim to represent the Dalit interests. In the initial period, its main aim was Bombay but in a very short period it was spread all over India.

Dalit Panther Movement

The Dalit youth came forward and took up the task of bringing all the Dalits on a single platform and mobilise them for the struggle for their civil rights and justice. This gave rise to the Dalit Panther movement in Maharashtra in 1970. The most fundamental factor responsible for the rise of Dalit Panther Movement was the repression and terror under which the oppressed Dalits continued to live in the rural area (Rao & Abbasayulu 1982).

The Panther Movement was based on the ideology of B.R. Ambedkar. But in later stages, at least a faction of the Panthers was found inclined to the leftist, especially the Marxist ideology. So, the Dalit Panther Movement split and got divided into two parts. The Panther leaders failed to provide proper leadership to the movement. After the split in the movement, in 1974, some Panthers again united and continued the Dalit Panther Movement under the leadership of Arun Kamble and Gangadhar Gade, S.L. Virdi etc. They took initiative on the problems of reservation and other concessions granted to the Dalits in various parts of the country. But the whole leadership of Panther Movement has in mobilising the Dalits at large.

Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF)

In the early 1970s, Kanshi Ram emerged as a dynamic leader after B.R. Ambedkar who gained all India significance by establishing Dalit organisations. With a handful of educated employees from Pune and Delhi, he set up Backward and Minority Community Employees Federation (BAMCEF) in 1973 and aspired to give it an all India dimension in the next five years. Kanshi Ram launched it formally on 6 December 1978 in Delhi. Kanshi Ram made BAMCEF 'A Pool of Brains, Talents and Funds'. The main objective of this organisation, which consisted of educated Dalits who had been able to make use of the fruits of government policies, was to pay back to the more oppressed and exploited section of the society to which they belonged.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)

The rise in the political standing can be equated with the rise of the political fortunes of its leaders (Parveen 1997). Having gained political experience and using the BAMCEF as base organisation, Kanshi Ram decided to lay the foundation of political party, the BSP on April 14, 1984 to fulfil the aspirations of the Dalit people. The party adopted the Ambedkar's ideology and soon became the political voice of the Dalits in India. BSP gave a new hope to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in creating a strong platform in Indian politics under the leadership of their own leaders.

With the November 1993 assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himanchal Pradesh and Rajasthan, Kanshi Ram led BSP emerged as a political force at the national level to be reckoned with. BSP has been successful in a rather short span of time in arousing a marked socio-political consciousness among the backward and depressed classes about their degrading status. The BSP commands considerable influence among the Dalits living in urban and rural areas of Northern India.

These were some movements and parties who raised their voice against the upper caste and against the social and political exploitation of the Dalits.

Socio-Economic Status of Dalits in the Era of Globalisation

The population of Scheduled Caste in India according to 2011 census is about 16.6 per cent of the total population of the country. The SCs live mostly in rural areas, with only about 14 per cent of them found in urban agglomerations. The habitations of Dalits are scattered all over the country generally in parts of villages or small villages. While some of them are small and marginal farmers, most of the Dalit families in rural areas work largely as agricultural labourer. Almost all primary workers in leather industry come from Dalits. There is large concentration of weavers belonging to SCs in the western India. In the urban areas, a large proportion of unorganised workers are from the Scheduled Caste. The scavengers and sweepers constitute one of the most vulnerable sections among the Dalits. The Dalits suffer from the inhuman practice of untouchability, which is the most extreme form of the denial of human dignity and social oppression. The proportion of the Dalits among poverty groups is high and they are among the poorest of those below poverty line. Two third of the bonded labourers identified in the country are from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Reports of the National Commission on Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes are a grim reminder that the vast majority of the Dalits remain poor, illiterate, lack of requisite skills for competing in the modern world, enjoy unequal access to productive resources, and remain deeply tied to land and traditional occupations which offered limited possibilities of upward mobility. Untouchability, though

banned under the law, continues to be widely practiced. And despite the emergence of middle class, and a steady (if small) encroaching in the areas of education, jobs and professions, there is little evidence of a roti, beti, vyavahara across the caste rubicon.

The vast majority of Dalits still live in horrendous condition in villages and urban slums as the wretched creature of the earth, and their conditions are going from bad to worse, rather than improving as a result of the ravages of capitalism and globalisation (Teltumbde 2007).

Atrocities and Untouchability

The caste atrocities are an integral feature of the Dalit life. The government machinery keeps on collecting their statistics year after year and issues it in a report of its National Commission for SCs and STs. There are at least three Articles (15, 17 and 23) in the Constitution of India, which seeks to mitigate the evil. To give effect to these Constitutional provisions the following acts also have been in operation:

- 1. The Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, later amended and re-titled as the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955;
- The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act) 1989 and the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976.

Despite this, the statistics of the registered atrocities read like a balance sheet of the blue chip company with consistent rise every successive year. It is pertinent to remember that owing to the dependency relationship of the Dalits with the perpetrators of atrocities, not every occurrence of the atrocity gets registered. Rather it can be safely assumed that behind each registered atrocity over ten atrocity cases go unreported.

Atrocities are basically a rude reassertion of power over the powerless by the powerful in the wake of threat. It is thus an expression of insecurity by the powerful who perceive power slipping their hand. In the pre-colonial closed loop production system of a typical village since everyone followed his or her calling under the divine authority of religion, there were no atrocities of the kind we experience in the saner age of globalisation today. If anyone questioned or defined this system, the religious code provided for the punishment. In this scheme, it was more important to fortify the religious control on populace than physically turning them to comply. Although the emphasis was on enslavement of mind, physical punishment did exist as a contingency measure. Atrocities on the Dalits today are in essence a physical punishment for their act of forsaking the bondage. Not only that the Dalit lit the fire of anger in materially powerful upper castes by defying their notion of caste authority but they also added fuel to it by coming in competition for partaking scarce resources. The emergence of the land owning middle castes during the post-independence development process who at the one end replaced the traditional

upper castes and wore their mantle of superiority but who at the other end found itself in competition with the Dalits for resources like education and employment moreover led to accentuation of atrocities. These middle class lacked the cunning sophistication of the upper castes and enraged themselves into physical response on slightest provocation.

Poverty

Poverty is the sum total of all the deprivations. In India governmental definition of poverty is based on the sole criterion of minimum food requirement for survival. Thus the poverty line is decided by the income sufficient to buy food equivalent of 2400 calories in rural and 2100 calories in urban areas. The database for poverty estimates is provided by the quinquenial surveys of NSS.

The incidence of poverty among the Dalits is much higher in comparison with all India average. Despite various poverty alleviation programmes and special strategies for their economic development poverty among Dalits is not reducing in a significant manner. In spite of governmental statistical jugglery, a large number of Indians still live under the poverty line. The high dependence of rural labour, with relatively lower earnings coupled with inadequate exposure of education among Dalits induced a high degree of deprivation and poverty among them. In fact increased poverty is an unfolding reality among Dalits.

Globalisation is leading to mass pauperisation and rapidly widening socioeconomic inequalities. The free market ethos unleashed by reforms has contributed significantly to the price rise. It is clear from the day to day experiences that the price of the primary articles of consumption has increased enormously. All the studies on the economic reforms are unanimous in their conclusion that the reforms have significantly contributed to inflation. It is factually true that inflation hits the poorest the hardest. Because most of their earnings spent on food, shelter and clothing, so any rise in prices has had a direct negative effect on Dalit's levels of consumption.

Reservation in Services

Whatever may be the other costs, the government policy of reservations in employment sphere has undoubtedly played an important role in the process of advancement of the Dalits. The policy broadly envisages representation of the Dalits in proportion to their population in all the public services, which includes the government, the public sector, autonomous bodies and other institutions that receive grant-in-aid from the government.

However, unsatisfactory the results of implementation may be, the importance of reservation from the Dalit view point, cannot be overemphasised. As could be evidenced by the organised sector, where it would be difficult to find a Dalit

employee (save of course in scavenging and lowliest of the similar jobs), without reservations the Dalits would have been totally doomed. The importance of reservations thus could only be assessed in relation to situations where they do not exist. Whatever be their defects and deficiencies, they have given certain economic means of livelihood and some social prestige to the sons and daughters of over 1.5 million landless labourers. Whether they get real power or not, over fifty thousand Dalits could enter the sphere of bureaucratic authority with the help of reservations. More importantly these tangible benefits to few have instilled a hope in entire Dalit people to strive for their betterment.

The winds of privatisation under the economic reforms have already shaken the very foundations of reservations. The reforms clearly envisage the minimalist state. Wherever the reforms patterned on the structural adjustment programme of the World Bank were carried out, denationalisation and privatisation of public sector have come in a big may. Being a late starter, India has not reached the scales achieved by others. However, the start has not been any less impressive. Within a short time, almost all the sectors of economy stand opened up for private investment. The disinvestment in the existing public sector companies has already been allowed up to 49 per cent by the policy. The public stake more than 50 per cent, the public sector as such is not yet dismantled in the policy. It continues to be in the state as before, and hence attracts application of the reservation policy. However, the reform package has already endangered if not abolished, the reservations through numerous back doors.

Access to Land

The most disastrous effects of globalisation policy can be seen in the deep agrarian crisis that has afflicted the rural sector. The social and political influence of the land owning classes has tried to maintain their traditional hold over the agriculture system and structure. This means that an overwhelming majority of the Dalit population in agrarian India does not have its own sources of sustenance and depends on landowner's land for their sustenance. The successive central government as well as state government have failed to implement the land reforms for the last 68 years. Except for West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, other state governments completely neglected land reforms. Instead of taking land reforms, all the governments are promoting depeasantisation of Indian agriculture. The land instead of giving it to the landless labourers is being given away to the big industries in the name of the mega developmental projects or 'SEZ' (Special Economic Zone). In fact, as an integral part of globalisation-liberalisation policies the marginal people have lost their right over land. Statistics also reveals that the incidence of landlessness has been increasing among Dalits during last two decades of globalisation. The acquisition of the land from the people has not only created discontent but also led

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to conflict and violence among the farmers which has been seen in the different parts of India.

Education

Education is the most important pre-requisite for achieving the goals of personal, social, political, economic and cultural development. In other words, education is the most effective instrument for meeting the challenges that Dalits are facing. Historical evidences in this regard indicate that Dalit community has been excluded from the whole process of education since centuries. So, vast inequalities exist within the education system in India.

Although Article 21A of the Indian Constitution stipulates that the state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years it still remains an elusive goal. However owing to reservation and affirmative action in the arena of education, substantial progress has been made in the field of education of Dalits during the last few decades. Available data reveals that there has been substantial increase in the enrolment of children belonging to the Dalits at all stages. So, reservation in the educational institutions and the financial assistance in the form of scholarships constitute perhaps the most important factor in the development scheme for dalits. It is a well known fact that without education other constitutional safeguards, reservation in services would be meaningless. It would also be hard for Dalits to send their wards to the temple of learning. But it is to be kept in mind that the enrolment alone does not give any substantial amount of educational achievement when the rate of drop out is also substantially high among the Dalits. Despite several kinds of state assistance, the dropout rate is also alarming at the primary, middle and secondary stage of education in respect of Dalits.

Health

Extreme inequality and disparities exist across India in terms of access to health care. This high inequitable health system had denied quality health care to all those who cannot afford it. Privatisation has also been extended enormously in health services. Like education health has also became a commodity. Government expenditure is continuously reducing so as to bring the deficits to the controllable level and at the same time, the private players are encouraging to enter and establish their control into these socially important areas. The growing commercialisation of health thus kept the weaker section out of this vital social service, because the cost of private health care is not affordable and accessible to the vast majority of the weaker sections.

In reality, India has one of the most privatised health systems in the world that has effectively denied the poor access to basic health case. Instead of increasing

the investment in health, and making health services much more accessible to the poor, the Indian state is not only withdrawing from providing health services to the poor, it is encouraging the commercialisation of health care services. It is a well known fact that the situation of dalits in terms of residence, housing and health conditions is dismal. So, due to their poverty and unhygienic living conditions, they, in large numbers, suffer from malnutrition, physical disabilities and disease such as tuberculosis, leprosy, anaemia, malaria and general diseases. Due to lack of financial ability, Dalits have to rely upon the inadequate public health services or are forced to purchase costly private services, which can ultimately lead them into financial ruin. Under the changing situation, government should provide some kind of safety walls so that the weaker sections should not be deprived of health care services.

RESULTS

The present study attempts to contextualise impact of globalisation on the socioeconomic, educational and health status of Dalits. In the backdrop of globalisation, a claim that circulates in the academic world is that globalisation brought out the differences between haves and have-nots more visibly. Applying this formulation to Dalits in India, it is highlighted that discrimination on the basis of ascribed lowest caste status and consequent material deprivation in terms of access to conditions of opportunities to secure dignity and respect make them highly vulnerable to ill effects of globalisation. On the basis of this the Dalits are claimed to be natural have-nots fulfilling automatically the conditions of alignment with other deprived classes. This in turn points towards reshaping of identity of the Dalits in India as anti-globalisation subject.

In the sample there were 64 per cent male respondents and 36 percent female respondents out of which maximum respondents belonged to the age of 30-35 years age group and minimum number of respondents belonged to 20-25 years age group. Regarding educational status of the respondents 15 per cent of them were illiterate, 39 per cent were high school passed, 29 per cent were intermediate passed, 15 per cent were graduate and only 2 per cent were post graduate. 86 per cent of the respondents were married and 14 per cent of them were unmarried.

Regarding economic background of the respondents 10 per cent belonged to upper middle class, 20 per cent of them belonged to middle class, 35 per cent belonged to lower middle class and 35 per cent of them belonged to the poor class. Concerning family structure of the respondents 88 per cent of them belonged to joint family and 12 per cent of them belonged to nuclear family.

According to the collected data 75 per cent of the respondents still experience the inhuman practice of untouchability and only 5 per cent of them have replied that they do not experience it. Majority of the respondents (64 per cent) live in

thatched hut and 36 per cent of them live in Pukka house. They also expressed their views that in the village there was no proper electricity, drinking water and sanitary facilities.

26 per cent of respondents were satisfied with their income, whereas there were 74 per cent of respondent who were dissatisfied with their income and feels that their income is not sufficient to fulfil the basic necessities of their family. Majority of the respondents (70 per cent) were working as agricultural labourer, 22 per cent were working as landless labourers, 6 per cent of the respondents were leather worker and only 2 per cent of the respondents were toddy tapper.

Only 2 per cent of the respondents were employed in public sector, 22 per cent of them were employed in private sector and majority of the respondents (76 per cent) were working in agricultural sector and it was their main source of livelihood. 70 per cent of the respondents have landed property, whereas 30 per cent of them do not possess any landed property. All the respondents send their wards to schools. This shows that the respondents were very much conscious about the education of their children and consider education as one of the most important tool for the upliftment of them. 88 per cent of the respondents send their wards in public schools and 12 per cent of the respondents send their wards to private school. This shows that Dalits still cannot afford to send their children in private schools and therefore they are forced to send their children in public schools.

86 per cent of the respondents visit public health care centres for the treatment of diseases and 14 per cent of the respondents visit private health care centres. This shows that Dalits still cannot afford the high fees of private hospitals and therefore majority of them visit public hospitals.

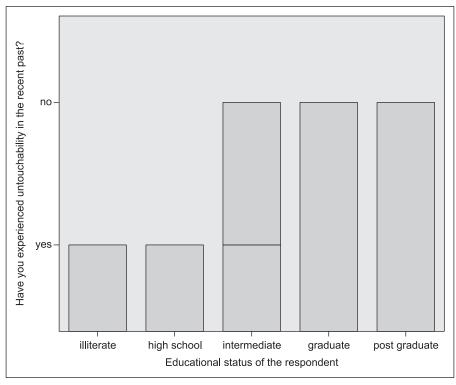
CONCLUSION

After the exhaustive review of literature and SPSS analysis of collected data it can be concluded that the gains of globalisation have accrued to those who already have education and skill advantage, easier market access and possession of assets for use as collateral to access credit. For Dalits, globalisation is associated with rising prices, loss of job security, lack of health care facilities. The forces of globalisation are jamming Dalits from coming together to identify and acknowledge the commonality. Globalisation also weakened the constitutional protections in terms of education and job reservations given to Dalits. Hence the government needs to frame special policies and programmes that are required to address and redress these differences especially on the context of globalisation.

Through SPSS analysis it was found that the variables of educational status and untouchability were correlated. Those who were graduate they did not experienced the practice of untouchability in the recent past. It was also found that Dalits of lower and poor economic status were experiencing the inhuman practice of untouchability

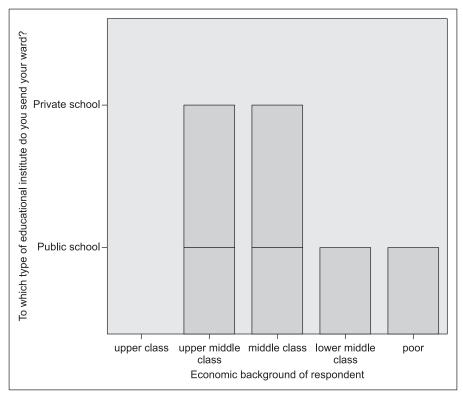
(see Graph 1). Another important finding was that Dalits of upper middle and middle class were able to avail the facilities of private health centres, while this facility was still far from the reach of poor Dalits. They were still dependent on government hospitals for health care facilities. In the context of education also only the economically stronger sections of Dalits could afford to send their wards in private schools (see Graph 2).

It may be seen that thus there has been gradual change in the living pattern of Dalits, but globalisation in my research area has not affected them entirely. The respondents of the area are not identity conscious and still are lagging behind in basic amenities of life. Even today they have to fight for the basic necessities which are otherwise easily accessible to upper caste people. Undoubtedly globalisation can play a decisive role in identity assertion of Dalits. However there are miles to go before they can achieve a better socio-economic, educational and health status.



Graph 1

From the Table 1 it can be clearly seen that Dalits who have received higher education do not experience untouchability whereas Dalits who are educated upto intermediate still experiences untouchability. This shows that receiving higher education reduces the stigma of untouchability.



Graph 2

From Table 2 it can be derived that only Dalits of middle class could send their wards to private schools, while Dalits of poor economic status could not afford to send their children in private schools.

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