Globalization as a Myth and a Reality: Status of Dalit Women in Karnataka

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Abstract

Gender and Poverty are inextricably linked and in the Indian context, caste is a vital factor in adding to the miseries of women. In particular, Dalit women face innumerable problems of both economic and social poverty and are denied basic human rights of survival and development besides extremes of vulnerability and violence meted out against them. Despite the efforts of the women's and Dalit movements, they continue to endure violence, discrimination and exploitation. Constitutional guarantees alone provided by the vision of Dr. B R Ambedkar has helped them and dalit men in countering the Globalization with its allied processes was expected to usher in new vistas of escape from caste dominated economic chains for livelihood and enable them for better opportunities.

This paper is based on a study carried out in Karnataka on status of Dalit women in the Globalized Era. It was found that Dalit Women have been affected both positively and negatively by the new economic policy, but the negative impacts are more grave, disappointing and have forced the Dalit women to continue to be most excluded, backward and exploited, both in the rural and urban areas, in terms of access to employment, education, basic amenities and quality of life, due to the combined effects of caste based oppression and patriarchal structures of family life. The impact of reservation system seems to be the single most factor for them to access benefits and in protecting their interests in the global era, but even there and with decentralized governance in motion, due to politically vested interests the outcome is distorted in the benefits reaching the needy Dalit women.

Key Words: Globalization, Dalit Women, Social Exclusion, Poverty and Caste

Introduction

The process of Globalization can be positioned as the most significant aspect of all the social processes of the post-modern era. The question is whether these changes are positive and negative and if Globalization has contributed to speedy growth or expanded inequality between people within and among countries (UNDP 1997). The truth is also that its Impact varies from developing to developed nations. In fact, Globalization in Toto has been criticized as contributing to inequality and widening the gap between those people who are already marginalized, vulnerable to extreme poverty, face structural inequality and various forms of denial and deprivation resulting in their low to very low Socio-economic Status.

The Indian Context: Globalization and Dalit women

In India, it is the people from the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe communities, in particular, who are devastated due to the impact of globalization (Teltumbde 1997; Jogdand 2001). The Conditions of Indian Women who traditionally lacked economic assets, education, skill, resources and agency- especially the Dalit women, are worse. They are continued to be exploited, marginalized and socially excluded from the mainstream of this Globalized developmental path. It is argued that domination and subordination are rewritten in a global language under the structural adjustment policies (SAP) and unfortunately here the women are treated as a homogenous category ignoring the differences in class, caste, region, education and religion. In the developing nations, it has increased women's marginalized status due to the decline of small scale and subsistence farming, thereby throwing out women landless workers out of their work (Dharmalingam 1993; Gayathridevi,etal 2011).

The Dalits suffer traditionally from a multitude of socio-economic deprivations, discrimination, exploitation and social exclusion – all in the name of caste-based inequality and the practice of untouchability. Dalit Women are estimated to be around 100 million in number and form the largest socially segregated groups and make up for up to 2 per cent of the world's population (Census 2011). They are far more exploited and deprived of basic needs, education and right to property, right to spend their own earnings and so on, due to patriarchy and a combination of caste and gender-based inequalities and oppression. However, It was expected that this situation would improve due to the process of change and transformation brought about by Globalization and the accompanied processes of Liberalization and Privatization, among others.

Objectives of the Paper & the Data Base

The present paper is based on a study that attempted to see if the impact of the above process is positive on the status of dalit women and if not, which are the areas of negative impact and what are the reasons for the same. This being the main objective, the study tried to look into the socio-economic and living conditions of the dalit women in Karnataka from a Social Work perspective, keeping the impact of the process of Globalization in view, as both a facilitating and negatively impacting factor. The study was located in the state of Karnataka, from where, based on Human development indicators, four districts were identified representing the highest HDI and Lowest HDI¹. Both qualitative and quantitative techniques were applied to elicit information from the Dalit women on their socio-economic status and to collect their opinions and perceptions about the impact of Globalization on their lives.

Findings on the Status of Dalit Women in the State of Karnataka in the Globalized Era.

1. Age, Marital Status and Education

A large number of the Dalit women respondents hailed from the two age groups² of 36 - 40 years and 41 - 45 years not only in the overall total for all the four districts in the sample or universe of study, but also in the GPs and taluks as well. As many as 71.5 per cent of the respondent women

Table 1: Educational Profile of Dalit Women

District	Taluk				Educ	ation	377			Total
	&									
	GP	Illitera	Primar	Middle	High	PUC	Degree	Master	Others	
		te	y	School	School			s		
			School					Degree		
Bangalo	Bangal									
re	ore	0	0	6	7	4	4	1	3	25
Urban	East			(24.0)	(28.0)	(16.0)	(16.0)	(4.0)	(12.0)	23
	(MC)									
	DB	0	0	5	9	7	1	0	3	25
	Halli	0	0	(20.0)	(36.0)	(28.0)	(4.0)	0	(12.0)	25
	Total	0	0	11	16	11	5	1	6	50
		(0.0)	(0.0)	(22.0)	(32.0)	(22.0)	(10.0)	(2.0)	(12.0)	50
Dakshin	Manga			2	10	9	1	1	2	
a	luru	0	0	(8.0)	(40.0)	(36.0)	(4.0)	(4.0)	(8.0)	25
Kannad	(MC)			(0.0)	(40.0)	(30.0)	(4.0)	(4.0)	(0.0)	
a	Haleya	1	0	2	14	6	0	0	2	25
	ngadi	(4.0)	0	(8.0)	(56.0)	(24.0)	0	0	(8.0)	25

These were Bangalore (Urban) district (Plains), Dakshina Kannada (DK) district (Coastal) and Raichur & Yadgir (backward/Hyderabad Karnataka area). Four taluk HQs (one each from each district) were chosen to represent the urban areas and four Grama Panchayat (GP) HQ villages were selected based on development indicators representing the rural scenarios. From each of these 4 urban and 4 rural locations, 25 dalit women's households (HHs) formed the sample, totalling to 200 HHs/Dalit Women.

² The study had taken as its sample Dalit women who were above the age of 30 years

	Total	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (8.0)	24 (48.0)	15 (30.0)	(2.0)	1 (2.0)	4 (8.0)	50
Raichur	Devdu rga (TMC)	9 (36.0)	4 (16.0)	1 (4.0)	3 (12.0)	5 (20.0)	1 (4.0)	0	2 (8.0)	25
	K Irabge ra	8 (32.0)	5 (20.0)	2 (8.0)	1 (4.0)	6 (24.0)	3 (12.0)	0	0	25
	Total	17 (34.0)	9 (18.0)	3 (6.0)	4 (8.0)	11 (22.0)	4 (8.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.0)	50
Yadgir	Shorap ur (CMC)	10 (40.0)	0	(8.0)	5 (20.0)	6 (24.0)	0	0	2 (8.0)	25
	Geddal amari	7 (28.0)	4 (16.0)	3 (12.0)	7 (28.0)	(8.0)	0	0	2 (8.0)	25
	Total	17 (34.0)	4 (8.0)	(10.0)	12 (24.0)	8 (16.0)	0 (0.0)	0.0)	4 (8.0)	50
ТОТ	AL	35 (17.5)	13 (6.5)	23 (11.5)	56 (28.0)	45 (22.5)	10 (5.0)	(1.0)	16 (8.0)	200

Source: Field Data

were married. The Dalit Women from rural areas were, expectedly, either illiterate or less educated than their urban counterparts in the sample, and drawn from the northern districts of Raichur and Yadgir for obvious reasons of regional disparity in development. Illiterates were found only in the northern two districts but the more significant finding is that the educational level of the respondents has concentrated heavily at Middle school, SSLC and PUC levels while college education beyond PUC is curtailed for Dalit Women. Yadgir has none from Under Graduate, Post-Graduate and other educational levels. Raichur has a marginal number of 4 women who have studied up to undergraduate level and 2 who have studied other courses. What is unbelievable is that even the capital city district of Bangalore Urban has only 5 degree holders (4 from the taluk Bangalore East and one from the GP) and as far as the developed DK district is concerned, only one woman each are graduates and post-graduates.

Occupation

In their economy, ownership of agricultural land is very low in probability due to denial of such land traditionally to Dalts; hence, 70 per cent of respondents and their adult family members are found to be engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural wage labor. Government service is limited to around 8 per cent of the sample, showing the inability to take up such work due to lack of appropriate education, skills etc, despite reservation of seats. The data shows only 2.5 per cent of the sample were engaged in two types of self employment, viz., tailoring and beautician (working in a beauty parlour). Expectedly, these Dalit women are from Mangalore city (8 %) and Bangalore East taluks (Refer to table below).

Table 2: Occupational Profile of Dalit Women

District	Taluk & GP				Оссиј	pational T	ypes				Tota 1
		Agricul ture	Wage work etc	Govt service of lower cadre	Govt service of middle and Higher class	Self employ ment	Politica I leader	Business of Higher class	Petty trade etc	Privat e servic e	
Bangalore Urban	Bangalor e East (MC)	6 (24.0)	3 (12.0)	(32.0)	3 (12.0)	1 (4.0)	R o	0	1 (4.0)	3 (12.0)	25
	DB Halli	9 (36.0)	7 (28.0)	4 (16.0)	(8.0)	0	0	0	1 (4.0)	(8.0)	25
	Total	15 (30.0)	10 (20.0)	12 (24.0)	(10.0)	(2.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	2 (4.0)	5 (10.0)	50
Dakshina Kannada	Mangalu ru (MC)	0	4 (8.0)	10 (40.0)	3 (12.0)	(8.0)	(4.0)	0	(8.0)	3 (12.0)	25
	Haleyang adi	3 (12.0)	6 (24.0)	6 (24.0)	1 (4.0)	(8.0)	(8.0)	0	1 (4.0)	4 (16.0)	25
	Total	3 (6.0)	10 (20.0)	16 (32.0)	4 (8.0)	(8.0)	3 (6.0)	0	3 (6.0)	7 (14.0)	50
Raichur	Devdurg a (TMC)	6 (24.0)	8 (32.0)	7 (28.0)	3 (12.0)	0	1 (4.0)	0	0	0	25
	K Irabgera	7 (28.0)	4 (16.0)	9 (36.0)	(8.0)	0	(8.0)	0	1 (4.0)	0	25

	Total	13 (26.0)	12 (24.0)	16 (32.0)	5 (10.0)	(0.0)	3 (6.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	50
Yadgir	Shorapur (CMC)	1 (4.0)	10 (40.0)	9 (36.0)	1 (4.0)	0	1 (4.0)	0	(8.0)	1 (4.0)	25
	Geddala mari	2 (8.0)	10 (40.0)	7 (28.0)	2 (8.0)	0	1 (4.0)	1 (4.0)	2 (8.0)	0	25
	Total	3 (6.0)	20 (40.0)	16 (32.0)	(6.0)	(0.0)	(2.0)	(2.0)	4 (8.0)	1 (2.0)	50
ТОТА	AL	34 (17.0)	52 (26.0)	(30.0)	(8.5)	(2.5)	8 (4.0)	(0.5)	10 (5.0)	13 (6.5)	200

Source: Field Data

The study has come across 4 per cent of the total sampled Dalit women who are political leaders. The office they hold are as members of the City Municipal Council (CMC) and the Town Municipal Council (TMC), as corporations of the CMC, member and Head (President) of the Grama Panchayat (in some cases combing it with wage work also, thus indicating their poverty situation). Business, Petty Trade and Private Service are the remaining occupational categories where the Dalit women of the study are found working in. Business includes a lone case of a president of the GP who 'owns' a school that her family runs. Petty trade as an occupational category includes grocery shop and vegetable vending.

Private service includes those Dalit women in the sample who work in a Non Governmental Organization (NGO), or as sales women, an attender in school, and factory worker (in a supari manufacturing unit to be specific). The representation of respondents in the above three occupational categories is very minimal.

Occupation and Income

Out of the sampled Dalit women, those who earned less than Rs.2500 pm were higher in number in the rural areas as they worked in the informal sector and not on all the 30 days of the month. They were undoubtedly the wage earning respondents whose earnings were not more than that amount. 49.5 per cent earned between Rs.2500 - Rs.5000. The density of respondents of the study leans towards the second income category of Rs. 2500 to Rs. 5000 per month to which nearly half of them fall into (49.5 %). Here, the income earned by the women respondents is not high in rural areas as they are mostly casual and agricultural labourers in the villages. But the data shows that even in the case of the capital city, Bangalore East taluk has reported 8 per cent of respondents as earning less than Rs. 2500 per month. The next big category of monthly income was Rs.10,000 where we find 15.5 per cent of respondents, followed by 8 per cent who earned more than Rs. 15,000, marginally higher than the 7.5 per cent of Dalit women whose monthly income was Rs. 15,000. These two categories match the occupational categories of government service and own business. 10 per cent of respondents have stated that they earned Rs. 7,500 pm. In both the GPs of Raichur and Yadgir no respondent was earning above Rs. 10,000 pm while only up to 12 per cent of Dalit women in Bangalore East and Mangalore taluks earned higher than Rs. 10,000 pm. Striking evidence about the extreme poverty of Dalit women and regional variations in it are, thus, clear. The maximum number of daily wage earners are from Yadgir district - an equal per cent of 12% in the taluk and the GP. While this is the situation in the backward districts located in the Hyderabad Karnataka area, the situation is not different in the developed district where the capital of the state is located, i.e., Bangalore Urban district. 8 per cent of respondents from its taluk, and 4 per cent from its GP totalling to 6 per cent of the overall sample have also been in the same category of mode of payment (daily wages).

4. Savings

Poverty is not only associated with occupation and income, but is a reflection of how much the concerned family can save to invest on some economic assets like land, cattle, sheep/goat, household equipments, infrastructure, electronic gadgets, gold, and some other necessities, comforts and luxuries. Being poor, we don't find majority of respondents possessing valuable economic assets in their households. This situation was particularly visible in the rural parts where besides being landless and houseless, the respondents were also assetless. In the urban part of our sample or study area, the commonly found assets consisted of steel utensils, steel folding chair, table, cycle, gas stove, Television, and small almirah, to mention a few. Beginning with ownership of land, we find that only 9 per cent of the sample households/Dalit women from all the districts and taluks and GPs were in possession of these types of assets like own land.

5. Housing and Basic Amenities

A large majority of respondent Dalit women lived in single room houses, even in the taluk/towns. The common source of drinking water in both rural (obviously) and in the urban areas is the bore well. Because of the government's Bhagyalakshmi scheme, all houses are electrified with a single bulb facility and around 80 per cent of houses had toilet built next to the house through another programme. But despite the government's efforts, majority of them had not yet possessed the PAN and Aadhar cards like possession of Voter's ID and caste certificate which everyone had possessed. Indebtedness is high and more than the choice being for institutional finance/loan, the preference by the respondents is for private loan raised from local moneylenders for high interest rates, the reason being easy procedure and instant cash facility. We found that responding to the question has been evasive of reality. In other words, although they were having indebtedness, the Dalit women hesitated to provide information about the loans taken - from government or private source. Only 16.5 per cent of them have stated as having taken loan/s in the past and this response varied from district to district.

Impact of Globalization: Opinions and Perception

Positive Impact

The households of respondents are progressive regarding sending their women for work on their own, independently and not patriarchal like before, but now-a-days, there is the relaxation of that rule which is much more so after Globalization. This refers to girls' education beyond high school, and they are not discouraged to take up employment later. Poor, lower and middle class dalit families are today coming out with liberal norms towards their women taking up employment and contributing (with transparency) to the HH income, i.e, their contribution is recognized by the men. 93.5 per cent of the respondents were 'always' encouraged by their family to undertake outside employment. The respondents opined that this change in the minds of males is forced by the rising cost of living across rural and urban areas, caused by a number of market related factors among which the impact privatization and collapse of government concerns and opening up of markets is a glaring and dominant reason. Even before Globalization was introduced, there was a constant rise in the prices of essential commodities, but the intensity is linked to the LPG impact. Mangalore taluk and its GP, Bangalore East Taluk and its GP and Shorapur taluk have all the respondents replying positively (that the families encouraged them to take up independent work and outside without males accompanying them). Devdurga has 96 per cent, its GP Kirabgera with 68 per cent and the GP in Yadgir with 84 per cent of responses saying that the respondents were encouraged by their families to go to work outside.

But what is significant are the answers in the negative where the family objected to women taking up work. Two reasons were offered by the Women in support of this: Increase in HH's economic status on the one hand and rising assaults and physical violence on Dalit women on the other; the outside environment is extremely caste-ridden with violence on Dalit women stating that their families did not encourage their working outside home. Notable is that the maximum number of such responses have come from the women at the GP levels in only the backward districts.

Negative Impact

The number of years from when the women have been working matched with their age when they told us the above. If these women formed the first category, the second category was that of women who went for migratory work with their husbands/sons. Here too, the work life began when they were very young and it continued till their old age. Those respondents working

as assistants, petty traders, sweepers and attenders in private companies, casual labourers were also no less in getting into work at an early age. Only in Bengaluru's field site, a few women appreciated the benefits of the new system (globalisation) where economic opportunities and availability of wage work were better, nonetheless they were not so all through the year. Wage rates have gone up, I agree, from Rs.40 to Rs.240 now per day; but the cost of food grains, soap, toothpaste, oil, pulses, vegetables and fruits, meat and house rent and such other essential commodities has also gone up so much in the last 2 decades', from whose house, four adults (son, daughter in law and two unmarried, young sons) were working in Belagavi and Bengaluru as migrant labourers in the construction sector.

7. Economic Assets/Empowerment

Savings in the Self Help Groups is higher (23.5%) in proportion than others (Jewellery 6% and Chit Funds 1.5%). Moving to the issue of awareness about the Law on women's right to household property, we found that 24 per cent of them had very little awareness (24%), while 64 per cent had 'some awareness'. Participation in HH decision making and other liberties regarding economic matters are indicators of empowerment of women. When questioned about these, we found that all respondents saying, 'yes, we take decisions'. But, when probed further as to which were the matters they took decisions independently, it was learnt that these decisions were within their roles of HH work and matters close to feminine duties such as purchase of vegetables, matters regarding daughters like their puberty related events, certain ceremonies during pregnancy, marriage, child birth or death. But in important economic matters it was the man of the household who took decisions.

8. Health Improvement

All the respondents agreed to the fact that health is wealth, but not many were aware of good health practices and availability of government benefits. The reasons for purchasing medicines from a pharmacy than going to a doctor is that it is (a) less time consuming, (b) cheaper as they save on doctor's fee, (c) the apathy in the government hospital where they are not treated respectfully but are treated/talked to rudely and (d) the philosophical thinking that anyway even the doctor prescribes the same medicine. Young women at present generally consulted the doctor in the PHC when they were pregnant and the child is delivered in hospitals only. But most of the middle aged women from the backward districts told that they had delivered children at home. Those respondents who patronised private clinics, health centres or hospitals supported their action through reasons that the government institutions are corrupt, that they indulge in ill treating and insulting the Dalit patients or mothers, and mis-guide about the programmes and benefits.

9. Promotion of Education of Daughters

Parental interest in educating the girl child has improved from what it used to be a few decades ago. The role of reservation of seats to children from Dalit background is the only reason for this and has encouraged rural and urban Dalit women about the need for daughters to be educated just as the sons. Those who did not encourage girls' education by sending daughters after they attained puberty to schools and colleges located at a distance was still not a favoured option among the respondents and the reluctance was greater by rural households than the urban; and in the districts of north Karnataka than in the Southern and Coastal areas.

10. Practice of Untouchability

The study has also presented a picture of residential segregation in the villages and urban areas covered by the study. The segregated areas in Raichur and Yadgir are proof of the continued pra/ctice of keeping the Dalits or former untouchables at a distance even in this Globalized world.

Table 3: Practice of Untouchability

District	Taluk & GP	Equality in Seating Arrangement in Schools/colleges for children.				Equa Place	Equ Plac	-	in W	ork	Equality in Access to Employment Opportunities						
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

Bangalore	Banga-																
Urban	lore																
Cibun	East																
	(MC)	25	0	0		22	3	0		13	12	0		14	11	0	
	%																
		100					12.			52.	48.			56.	44.		0.
		.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	88.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0
	DB Halli	25	0	0		19	6	0		9	13	0		17	8	0	
	%	100					24.			36.	52.			68.	32.		0.
		.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	76.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0
	Total	50	0	0		41	9	0		22	25	0		31	19	0	
	%	100					18.			44.	50.			62.	38.		0.
		.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	82.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0
Dakshina	Manga-					4	<u> </u>			M							
Kannada	lore										Q _A						
	(MC)	17	7	0		17	8	0		8	16	1		11	12	2	
	%	68.	28.				32.			32.	64.			44.	48.		0.
		0	0	0.0	0.0	68.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	4.0	0.0	0	0	8.0	0
	Haleyan				À.			<u>y </u>					1				
	gadi	14	3	8		9	4	12		2	12	-11		2	22	1	
	%	56.	12.	32.			16.	48.			48.	44.			88.		0.
		0	0	0	0.0	36.0	0	0	0.0	8.0	0	0	0.0	8.0	0	4.0	0
	Total	31	10	8		26	12	12		10	28	12		13	34	3	
	%	62.	20.	16.			24.	24.		20.	56.	24.		26.	68.		0.
		0	0	0	0.0	52.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	6.0	0
Raichur	Deva-																
	durga	o	1.5	0		8	17	0		o	17	0		10	4	11	
	(TMC)	8	15			8	17	0		8	17	0		10	4	11	
	%	32.	60.				68.			32.	68.			40.	16.	44.	0.
		0	0	0.0	0.0	32.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	0
	K Ira-																
	bgere	4	20	0		2	23	0		4	18	3		3	7	15	

	%																
		16.	80.				92.			16.	72.	12.		12.	28.	60.	0.
		0	0	0.0	0.0	8.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0	0
	Total	12	35	0		10	40	0		12	35	3		10	1.1	26	
	Total	12	33	U		10	40	U		12	33	3		13	11	26	
	%	24.	70.				80.			24.	70.			26.	22.	52.	0.
		0	0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	6.0	0.0	0	0	0	0
Yadgir	Shorapu																
	r (CMC)	4	20	0		5	20	0		3	16	6		5	12	8	
	%	16.	80.				80.			12.	64.	24.		20.	48.	32.	0.
		0	80. 0	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.	0.0	0.0	0	04.	0	0.0	20.	48.	32. 0	0.
		U	0	0.0	0.0	20.0	U	0.0	0.0	U	U	U	0.0	U	U	U	0
	Gedddal																
	amari	1	24	0		0	25	0		2	17	6		9	10	6	
	%		96.				100				68.	24.		36.	40.	24.	0.
		4.0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.0	0.0	0.0	8.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0	0
	Total	5	44	0	1	5	45	0		5	33	12		1.4	22	1.4	
											1	4		14	22	14	
	%	10.	88.				90.			10.	66.	24.		28.	44.	28.	0.
		0	0	0.0	0.0	10.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0	0
тот	AL							V			12						
		98	89	8	人	82	106	12		49	1	27		71	86	43	
Percer	Percentage		1		T					A			1	7			
			44.		4		53.			24.	60.	13.		35.	43.	21.	0.
		0	5	4.0	0.0	41.0	0	6.0	0.0	5	5	5	0.0	5	0	5	0

1=Always;

2= Sometimes;

3= Never;

4=Can't Say

Source: Field Data

Urban district has registered nearly 65 per cent of the practice of segregated residential areas for the former Untouchable families. Data informs us that 64.36 per cent from B'lore Urban district and 70.30 per cent in DK district, of the respondent Dalit women's families were segregated from upper or non-Dalit families, residentially. Bangalore Urban district has no issues with the sitting arrangement for Dalit children but there are 16 per cent responses in Raichur stating that it is 'never' on an equal footing; and the leaning is towards 'sometimes' than 'always'. Continuing with our quest for tracing continued practice of untouchability in our study area, we asked the further question if the Dalits were accorded equality in public places, on par with non-Dalits? The same situation of radical difference between the developed southern and backward HK area districts repeats here too. The practice of equality is higher in the developed districts, and it goes on decreasing as one moves from there to the backward districts. The data from all the field sites has revealed severe to moderate practice of untouchability against the workers in places of work. This ranges from schools, anganawadi centres, hospitals, offices and private companies where the respondents or the members of their family worked. About the practice of untouchability by colleagues and even lower level staff than themselves, they replied that the extent and incidence of such discrimination was less in that case, but in places where the Dalits were few in number, they were continued to be harassed and singled out for biased treatment. Yet, the climate is not very feasible for the Dalits and other vulnerable categories to get into the MNCs like the upper castes because of a number of continued disabilities. Social networks and connections that the non-Dalit students and workers have at their disposal are absent or weak in the case of Dalits. The respondents in our study area, acknowledged that it is very difficult to get into MNC jobs because of caste based handicaps.

Conclusions

Globalization, instead of bringing a halt or ban on such practices, which are a blot on the country's name in the outside world, has only led to increased richness of the already rich and affluent people, while the poor and asset less (like the Dalits) have been crushed under the wheels of socio-economic power by the non-Dalits. The blame is put squarely on the introduction of privatization process and lessening control and hold over the market or economy by the government (state). The Globalized world is dominated by privatized sectors of the economy where finding a job or means of survival are very tough and scarce for the resourceless and semi literate like the former untouchables. They felt that only government policies cannot help because they take a lot of time to result in structural change. Thus, the study brings out that more than the positive impacts, globalisation and associated processes have led to continued social exclusion of the dalits. A large majority of Dalit population is even today pushed to the margins of the society and is socially excluded.

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