



TOPIC: Sociological study on most backward castes in India on the background of their socio economic conditions.

DR. KESHAVAMURTHY.T N

Assistant Professor in Sociology

Government First Grade College. Vemagal.563157.

Kolar District. Karnataka.

Abstract:

The prevalence of the caste system in India continues to be an issue of crucial importance even today, despite the Indian constitution providing a strong legal framework to ensure equality of opportunities across caste, race, religion, region, and gender. The constitution of India abolished the practice of untouchability and declared caste-based abuse a crime. However, 150 years of British colonial modernity and 70 years of independent rule have failed to abolish the forms and practices of the caste system in both public and private spheres in India. Studies of social scientists on the caste system reveal that it has survived by adopting new forms, by shedding its ritual character and taking on social, political, cultural reincarnations in modern society. This study is an attempt to understand the prevalence of caste in contemporary India from the perspective of students of the University of Hyderabad. Despite a constitution ensuring the prohibition of discrimination based on caste and abolition of untouchability and the extension of affirmative action to rectify the historical injustices done to the downtrodden communities through fundamental rights, the caste system has succeeded in perpetuating its presence and making its impact in a covert yet strong manner.

Keywords: India, Caste hierarchy, Inter-caste marriages, Indian Society, Reservation, University student.

Introduction:

Though caste and race are ascribed social markers, unlike race determined by color and colored ideologies, caste is governed by social, cultural, religious and economic factors. The etymological roots of an English word 'caste' derived from the Portuguese 'casta' meaning race. Though caste as a social organization deeply rooted in core socio-cultural and spiritual life of Indians for thousands of years, it has undergone structural and functional changes across ancient, medieval and modern India. However, caste as an ideological system primarily manifests itself in new forms. A cursory review of the origins and ideological roots of caste reveals that at a macro level it is known as varna and at the micro level, it is widely popular as jati. The vernacular term 'Jami' is generally regulated by the social community into which one is born. G. S. Ghurye, the most prominent sociologist of the history of the caste system in India, identified four main Varna's namely the Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra. However, over time in ancient India fifth Varna, known as the untouchables, emerged, the members of

which are also called by derogatory names such as out castes and unapproachable groups of the caste system. All India census surveys (AICS) and the Anthropological Survey of India (ASI) identified the presence of more than 2000 castes across the religions and regions of India. The sociologist and anthropologist of caste in India recognized the issues and challenges involved in defining the caste system but there is a general acceptance in the scholarly community to endorse the six defining features identified by G. S. Ghurye. They are:

- first**, the segmental division of society which classifies the communities as Varna and divides them into castes, the membership of which is determined by birth and hence it is ascribed in nature;
- second**, is a hierarchy, which represents the rigid social ranking among the castes which determines the degrees of power and prestige based on birth not worth;
- third**, restrictions on social intercourse, in which the stringent rules about commensality and interaction guide the degrees of social interaction;
- fourth**, civil and religious privileges and disabilities;
- fifth**, the restricted choice. of occupations; and
- sixth**, endogamous marriage, in which strict rules limit the choice of marriage to members of one's caste.

An overview of the theories of the caste system traces its roots back to biological and Indological⁸ sources. Though the focus of this article is not to discuss in detail the historical origins, for the sake of non-Indian scholars an attempt has been made to provide a brief note on the sacred roots of the caste system. According to the Hindu scriptures such as Purushasukta, castes were created from the different limbs of Purusha. Historically, it is believed that the caste system began in India around 1500 B.C. Colonial census and anthropologist urge for classification of people and codification of cultures led to the racialization of caste as Aryans and Dravidians. Some of the Indian nationalists tried to celebrate the racial roots of the caste system to claim equal status with colonial rulers and higher status against lower rungs of colonized. However, these claims were contested by B. R. Ambedkar. As Arvind Sharma claims, B. R. Ambedkar by refuting the Aryan invasion theory. Ambedkar argued for social equality for all Indians and celebrated the notion of modern citizenship.

Educational institutions are not exceptional in this process. The current study aims to capture the university student's perceptions of the role of caste in shaping the socio-cultural life of Indians. The objectives of this study are to find out whether caste still plays a significant role in 21st -century Indian society and it aims to analyse the nature of the relationship between educational levels of young people and their perceptions of caste.

Methodology;

The sample of the study consists of 447 students from one of the leading universities in India. Data was collected from the students studying different courses at the University of Hyderabad. In order to map out the multiple voices on the issues and the challenges of the caste system, data from students from all the social categories including tribes were collected. Government organizations use social categories to record the detail of social groups. The government of India classifies all the castes into four categories. The general category (GE) consists of students belonging to upper castes who occupy the upper strata of the caste hierarchy; the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and dominant castes²⁸ of Shudra Varna grouped under this constitutional category. OBC means other backward classes; they constitute almost 50% of the Indian population. They belong to the fourth Varna of the caste system; they are not only low in the social hierarchy but also deprived of economic, political and educational resources. Scheduled Castes (SC) is a constitutional category used for the ex-untouchables castes of India. They constitute almost 15% of Indian society. Scheduled Tribes (ST) is a constitutional category used for indigenous (Adivasi) communities who account for 8% of the Indian population.

The study seeks to assess the student's views on the proposed hypothesis regarding the pervasiveness of the caste system in India and the attitudes of the educated youth of the country regarding the same. The study is quantitative, however, in order to provide qualitative insights in-depth interviews were conducted with 15 students. The respondents of the study are students of the University of Hyderabad who are considered as one of the privileged groups. It also helps to gauge the views of Indian students because they represent the educated

youth of the country as a whole, as it is one of the leading universities in the country, where students enrolled in different courses hail from different states of India. As they are the students of a reputed university, their identity and ideological commitments towards diverse issues of national and social importance demand a sociological exploration. The five-point scale has been used to measure the student's perceptions of the caste system in contemporary India.

The paper worked with the following hypotheses:

1. modern India has eliminated the caste system;
2. caste conflict is a big problem in India.
3. it is acceptable to associate mostly with one's own caste group at a mixed social function;
4. people should be free to marry whoever they want to regardless of their caste;
5. all marriages should be within castes;
6. it is acceptable for people from different caste groups to spend time with each other as a non-married couple.

Findings and Discussion:

The scholarship on the sociology of caste broadly informs two positions. The first position shared by A. M. Shah argues that caste is undergoing a rapid change in 21st century India. He claims that caste as a system lost its significance over a period especially in urban India whereas in the rural context it is steadily losing its importance. On the other, Satish Deshpande and Surinder S Jodhka argue that there is no sign of the death of the caste in the near future of India. Caste is a unique social institution, universality and ubiquity highlight its role in everyday life across the Indian sub-continent. The famous French sociologist Louis Dumont claims that caste is an all-encompassing phenomenon in India, which has the potential to determine all other social, cultural, economic and political institutions. The history of caste is nothing but the ideology of discrimination and marginalization of the downtrodden sections of the society. The source of caste ideology is the notion of purity and pollution, where the upper strata represent the former and whereas the lower represents the latter. The policy of caste is the exclusion of lower strata from economic, employment and educational opportunities as well as religious strata. The forms and strategies of discrimination are manifold and manifest in diverse forms, ranging from abuse of an individual or group based on caste to physical assault by higher groups on the lower group. Discrimination goes against the universally accepted values of human rights, democracy and citizenship enshrined in the Indian constitution. The constitution of India provides for positive discrimination as a compensatory measure to do away with the historical injustices committed against the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. However, the institutional practices built upon the caste system have repeatedly proved to be a stumbling block for lower castes to achieve constitutional equality as well as other democratic and citizenship rights. As India completes 70 years of independence representing the modernization of the Indian state and society, it is extremely important to analyse students' perception of how far India as a modern state and post-colonial civil society ensures civic equality by challenging the age-old caste system.

Table 1. Modern India Has Eliminated the Caste System

Social Category	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total	%
ST	8	12	17	10	11	58	13
SC	25	12	17	12	19	85	19
OBC	38	20	32	28	25	143	32
GEN	29	36	40	25	31	161	36
Total	100	80	106	75	86	447	100
%	22	18	24	17	19	100	

This study attempt to measure student perception of the hypothesis titled how far modern India has eliminated the caste system? The above hypothesis is used to examine the role of colonial modernization and post-Independent India's project of development and its implications for ascribed sociological markers. An

overview of the modernity project informs two positions, first, Indian social institutions such as caste, gender, and religion steadily undergoing changes, thus moving towards modernization of Indian traditions. This position rests on the constitutional and moral power of the modern state and its apparatuses. As we have mentioned above, the alternative position shared by scholars doubts the role of state and its agencies in transforming the structures of social power. Thus in this article, an attempt has been made to capture the perception of educated youth on the potential power of 'modern' in challenging the age-old caste system. Data from table 1 informs mixed responses. Around one-third (36%) respondents endorsed this view whereas 40% of students didn't accept this proposition. It is interesting to note that almost 24% took a neutral position. A closer analysis of the data shows that students from deprived castes such as SC and BC, being the victims of the caste system, shared the view that caste plays a significant role in diverse spheres of their life. Those who supported the end of the caste system mainly hail from the general category and SC & BC middle class students. The prevailing position on the possible abolition of the caste system needs to be viewed within the framework of caste as social power. Despite the secularization of caste in public life, the rules and regulations of the caste system cultivates a strong sense of loyalty towards one's caste in private life. The age-old beliefs about caste at the time of selection of marriage partner, sense of superiority shared by one caste towards others responsible for sustaining the theory of caste. The legalization of caste also responsible for politicization of caste across the regional spaces in India. Thus private life to a large extent is dominated by the values and norms of the caste system not only in India but also among the Indian diaspora community. Affirmative action policy is popularly known as reservation policy in India responsible for social contestation between the upper and lower castes. As the university students are directly affected by the reservation policy, an attempt has been made to capture the perceptions of students on the merits and demerits of reservation. The study observed that student opinion is divided regarding issues and challenges associated with the methodological principles of reservation. Though 70% of the sample consists of ST, ST and OBC who are entitled to reservation in education and employment around 60% of respondents endorsed caste-based reservation policy. They believe that it is an effective means for bringing about equality and justice. Because, non-social criteria are insufficient to address untouchability, stigma, and deprivation of material, cultural and spiritual resources.

This study threw light on what educated youth thinks about the degree of prevalence of the caste system and the data shows that caste continues to make its impact in various dimensions by adapting itself to the new structural demands of the society. Keshava Murthy observed that though reservation policy is aimed at bringing about social justice, the upper caste tends to criticize this policy as comprising meritocracy. The implementation of the Mandal Commission Report which gave rise to quotas for OBCs led to the rise of the 'new middle class' comprising members of hitherto backward castes who through these opportunities became comfortable. This signifies a change in their status. Whatever may be the case with the rigidity of the caste system, the question is whether caste is still prevalent in contemporary India. The majority of students endorsed reservation as one of the best methods to ensure equality and social justice.

Caste Conflict in Indian Society:

What are the roots of conflict in India, how far do economic, political and social factors play a key role in shaping caste conflicts across the states of Indian society? National surveys and empirical studies reveal that caste-based atrocities are the social reality of India. According to national crime statistics, there has been a 19.4% increase in crimes against Dalits. The number of cases registered under the SC&ST atrocities act have increased every year from 14% in 2013 to 47% in 2014. Reports say that 90% of bonded laborers are from scheduled castes and other disadvantaged groups. Around 1.3 million Dalits in India, mostly women, make a living out of manual scavenging. Survey reports show that 27% of Indian households engage in various forms of untouchability practices.

The major victims of caste power are the backward castes and the worst sufferers are Dalits (ex-untouchables). It is interesting to record that when Dalits experience relative upward mobility in terms of socio-economic indicators, the dominant castes tend to resort to violence which is not only symbolic but also physical assault and murder. Thus, Dalits' assertion and sense of socio-economic and political autonomy lead to multiple forms of humiliation and violence. Several key sociological studies examined the nature of the relationship

between violence and caste. An overview of these empirical studies based on Andhra Pradesh West Bengal and Bihar informs that caste system works on visible and invisible forms of power. Violence is an essential component of power. The survival of caste is linked to the enforcement of power on the backward castes and Dalits. The nature of social power reflects in multiple forms and practices ranging from an insult to mass massacres. Anoop Sadanandan captured the violent form of caste in a precise manner.

To quote: Increasing parity between Dalits and the rest of society fosters the violence. But it's also the antidote to caste crimes. Social equalization may be prone to violence; social equality is not.

University students' perceptions were sought to assess the youth position on caste conflicts in contemporary India.

Table 2. Caste Conflict is a Big Problem in India

Social Category	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
ST	9	7	13	12	17	58
SC	20	10	17	16	22	85
OBC	28	26	22	39	28	143
GEN	26	31	24	55	25	161
Total	83	74	76	122	92	447
%	19	17	17	27	21	100

Caste is one of the key sources of conflict in Indian society. Conflict is of two types: group and individual type. The source of conflict is a sense of superiority shared by the dominant castes over the marginal castes. Villages across the states in India witness diverse forms of violence. Though the everyday form of humiliation is a common phenomenon, physical violence happens whenever the people who belong to lower caste resist domination and try to assert their self-respect. The current study aims to understand the mood of university students on the issue of caste conflict in contemporary India. The data reveals that almost 48% of students did endorse the view that caste conflict is one of the major challenges faced by Indian society, whereas 36% of student's caste believe that conflicts are not a major issue in India. It is interesting to note that almost 17% took a neutral position. Students from the lower castes such as Dalits and Backward castes tend to experience caste-based humiliation compared to the students from the upper castes, especially in Indian villages. Mapping the caste conflict shows that villages across North, South and Western India states are prone to caste violence. Though the degree of physical violence is declining the symbolic violence in the name of caste is common practice, which is why even today ideological forms of untouchability persist in rural India.

Caste and Social Life in Indian Society:

Caste-specific discrimination based on cultural norms, beliefs, practices, and customs deriving its legitimacy from the principles of the caste system and religion. Thus, graded inequality embedded in the caste system classifies certain occupations such as priesthood, teaching-learning, and agriculture as pure and superior enables upper strata to enjoy social and moral rights whereas the impure occupations such as scavenging, sweeping, shoemaking, and haircutting assigned to lower castes as per the customary laws.

Civil and Religious Disabilities and Privileges: Caste-imposed discrimination refers to the socially constructed hierarchies constructed through age-old norms, customs, and practices aimed to protect the social, political and economic interests of the privileged. This has given moral power to some social groups. These groups are successful in imposing their world-view, norms, beliefs and cultural practices on other oppressed social groups. It hardly provides scope for the deepening of social democracy which is a precondition for political democracy in India.

Anthropology of Untouchability:

What constitutes touch and untouched is a sociological challenge in India. Though touch and untouched are deeply rooted in sacred texts and traditions across the culture, India, America and South Africa attracted global attention for institutionalizing discrimination based on birth. Thus one can notice a commonality between untouchability in India and racist apartheid in America and African countries. Despite the great struggles of M. K. Gandhi and B. R. Ambedkar against this heinous practice, it is surprised to read the latest survey and scholarly writings report the modernization of traditional beliefs even in the 21st century among the Indians communities. Though the constitution of India declares the practice of untouchability as a crime, it is unfortunate to know that almost one-third of urban Indians and more than half of the rural Indian population tends to follow different forms and practices of untouchability in everyday life. With the foregoing account, an attempt has been made to analyse the mood of educated youth on the importance of accepting people from the lower caste to participate in the social functions.

Table 3. It is acceptable to associate mostly with your own caste group at a mixed social function

Social Category	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
ST	8	9	13	15	13	58
SC	17	14	14	20	20	85
OBC	31	23	28	37	24	143
GEN	31	23	33	36	38	161
Total	87	69	88	108	95	447
%	19	15	20	24	21	100

Mainstream sociological studies conducted by G. S. Ghurye in pre-1947 and Suraj Yengde's latest (2019) writings observed that everyday social interaction and participation in functions such as birth, marriage or death ceremonies generally involve people from the same caste. Attending marriage and religious ceremonies and eating food together is a source of social contestation. Though they might invite people from the other castes, members of the same caste constitute the core participants in these functions. It is surprising to note that even today 34% of students are against the participation of people from different castes, whereas 45% supported social interaction, but almost one-fifth of respondents took a neutral stand. Thus, the study reveals that caste is still a defining feature of Indian society. Though M. N. Srinivas thought that competitive democratic politics leads to 'secularization of castes which works towards the detachment from the ritual status and hierarchy but the data shows that the caste of mind still guides the social life of Indians.

Table 4. People should be free to marry whoever they want to, regardless of their caste

Social Category	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
ST	3	8	13	16	18	58
SC	7	8	23	14	33	85
OBC	15	11	29	41	47	143
GEN	7	14	29	47	64	161
Total	32	41	94	118	162	447
%	7	9	21	26	36	100

Though the constitution of India guarantees the right to equality and liberty, this cardinal principle is limited to formal organizations but socio-religious institutions such as family and marriage to a large extent are governed by cultural patterns of the respective religions and castes. As marriage is considered as the social union between two families, not two individuals, whenever, young men and women try to assert their individual choice,

they are bound to face resistance from their families and communities. Married men and women are considered as auspicious and they are entitled to participate in auspicious rituals across the religious and caste groups in India. In this study, an attempt has been made to analyse the perceptions of youth on the role and relevance of inter-caste marriages in their lives. The data from table 4 shows that the majority (62%) of respondents supported inter-caste marriages whereas 16% rejected this idea. Interestingly 21% remain neutral. This proportion is significant as it constitutes one-fifth of the sample. The study shows that though the majority are in favor of inter-caste marriages almost 39% took a negative stand. Thus, it highlights the role of endogamy in mediating marriage practices in India. Ramsheena & Gundemeda's study on university students' perceptions of marriage options in Hyderabad found that the students accorded importance to parental choice in the selection of their life partners. Their choice is mostly from one's caste and religious group.

Table 5. All marriages should be within castes.

Social Category	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
ST	17	14	8	8	11	58
SC	33	17	10	16	9	85
OBC	47	20	31	19	26	143
GEN	58	19	26	24	34	161
Total	155	70	75	67	80	447
%	35	16	17	15	18	100

Endogamy is one of the defining features of the caste system in contemporary India. More than 90% of marriages in rural India are decided by the parents of young couples, whereas in the context of urban India almost 20% of marriages came into the category of love marriages. Thus, the national survey on the type of marriages reveals that most of the marriages of Indians either in India or out of India are decided by parents, which are known as 'arranged marriages'. The existence of Khap panchayats, instances of honor-killings of a couple who have married outside their caste and the stigma attached to marrying ritually lower caste people, etc. are examples of the evil manifestations of the caste system even today. Table 5 above shows that almost 50% rejected caste-based marriages whereas 41% endorsed marriage within one's own caste, whilst 17% took a neutral position on caste-based marriages.

The most important question to be analyzed is why a significant proportion of the students still favored caste-based marriages. Interviews with students reveal that multiple factors shape marriage choice. Cultural parameters such as religious beliefs, regional cultural codes, language affiliation, and food habits tend to determine the selection of partners within community. Going beyond one's caste is considered as breaking the code of honor of family and caste. Though parents accept the choice of their children if their partner belongs to the same caste despite different class differences, caste plays a vital role in mediating choice. Parents tend to punish their children for breaking caste honor, the degree of punishment varying from temporary boycott to permanent elimination. It is common to find the murder of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. Honor killings are one of the major outcomes of inter-caste marriages.

Though there is a convergence between human civilizations, South Asian civilizations are known for following age-old cultural practices. But the question is what the spirit of south Asian culture is and what its impact is on the marriage choice and practices among young couples. The best example is the social and sacred meanings attached to marriage in Western and Eastern societies. As the above tables presented the views of students about the endogamous and exogamous marriages, the following table presents the students' reflections on the emerging trend in Indian cities and towns popularly known live-in relationships in India

Table 6. It is acceptable for people from different caste groups to spend time with each other as a non-married couple

Social Category	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
ST	5	15	16	14	8	58
SC	9	15	23	29	9	85
OBC	23	26	32	39	23	143
GEN	31	19	43	42	26	161
Total	68	75	114	124	66	447
%	15	17	26	28	15	100

Table 6 above demonstrates that almost 32% rejected living as a couple without a formal marriage, whereas 43% endorsed non-married couples across the castes. The striking finding of the data is that almost one fourth of respondents took a neutral position on the non-married couple relation. The most important question is what the reasons for changes are in the value system on formal marriage in India. Preference for living as a non-married couple is limited to idealism or do they mean it? What are the reasons for those who rejected this type of relationship? An attempt has been made to reflect on these questions, based on the in-depth interviews with selected respondents. The study found that the live-in relationship as an unmarried couple is considered an immoral act because the diverse institutions, both cultural and constitutional, go against the traditional beliefs and values of Indian society. Students from the first-generation background with rural origins treat these types of relations as unethical. According to them, men and women should live as a married couple; otherwise, it is considered an act of immoral sex. On the other, the student who belongs to the second or third generation invariably hails from metropolitan and urban towns of India. One can see a class factor in shaping the value orientation on the questions of an ideal couple within and without marriage. The Supreme Court of India's judgment allows living as a couple but the socio-cultural framework plays a dominant role in the celebration and stigmatisation of marriage and no-marriage in Indian society.

Though both men and women students in the university are relatively in support of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, they do not want to agree to live-in relationship without any formal or legal approval from their communities. It indicates that formal approval of the marriage is highly valued among students. The foregoing accounts inform that family, caste and larger society exercise moral power than the constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of the individual. As marriage is considered a family decision, an individual has to accept the subordinate position in India.

Conclusion:

The study seeks to understand the degree of the presence of the caste system in present-day India. It also looks into matters like the correlation between one's education and his/her outlook on the caste system. The study found out that the majority of the respondents believe that the caste system is still widespread in India because they think modern India could not eliminate the caste system and caste conflict is a big problem in India. A close analysis of the data reveals that most of the respondents oppose the caste system and hence one can assume that educated youth are against the caste system. They think that people should freely mix with other castes and should not be ethnocentric and loyal to one's caste patriotism. Regarding the question of intra and inter-caste marriages, though the majority shared progressive values a significant proportion endorsed traditional views. The questions of marriage, based on the quantitative and qualitative interviews with students revealed that multiple factors shape marriage choices in Indian society. Cultural parameters such as religious beliefs, regional cultural codes, language affiliation, and food habits tend to determine the selection of partners within one's community. A significant proportion of respondents opined that India could not eliminate caste and opined that caste conflict is a big problem in India. They are also of the opinion that all marriages must not be within the same caste and people should be free to marry whoever they want to regardless of their caste. As live-in relationships are one of the emerging trends in India, university students to some extent endorsed this type of relationship, but the majority of respondents opposed this view. Based on the data the study argues that caste has

the potential to reinvent itself in diverse institutions with different forms and practices. Thus, the paper submits that caste is a reality of Indian society even in the 21st century.

Caste is a defining feature of Indian society. The progress of India to a large extent is determined by the extent of the abolition of the caste system. Indian society witnessed a wide range of protest movements across the ideological spectrum in different historical conjunctures but the caste system remains a hegemonic force in the social life of people from the time of birth to death. The current article aims to understand the role and relevance of the caste system in 21st century India. The paper worked with five hypotheses: modern India has eliminated the caste system; caste conflict is a major problem in India; it is acceptable to associate mostly with one's caste group at a mixed social function; people should be free to marry whoever they want to regardless of their caste, and it is acceptable for people from different caste groups to spend time with each other as an unmarried couple. The study, based on a sample of 447 university students in a South Indian university, argues that caste as a system is losing its structural significance in the urban space. However, it remains a powerful social institution in the rural areas across states in Indian society. The study found that though the majority of the respondents felt that caste is changing, it still plays a key role in shaping social interactions and marriage choices both in rural and urban spaces. Thus the paper argues that caste plays a significant role in the 21st century despite colonial and post-colonial modernity and constitutional egalitarianism.

REFERENCES:

1. AMBEDKAR, B. R. Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development. In Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol. 1. Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra
2. ANNU, Jalais. Dwelling on Morichjhanpi: When Tigers became 'Citizens', Refugees 'Tiger-food'. In Economic and Political Weekly, 2005,
3. ANTHONY RAJ, P., GUNDEMEDA, Nagaraj. The Idea of Social Justice: A Sociological Analysis of the University Students' Reflections on the Reservation Policy in India. In Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology, January 2015,
4. CHARLESLEY, Simon. 'Untouchable': What is in a Name? In The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1996,
5. DEMERATH, N. J., III, JODHKA, Surinder S., DEMERATH, Loren R. Interrogating Caste and Religion in India's Emerging Middle Class. In Economic and Political Weekly, 2006,
6. SHARMA, Arvind. The Puruṣasūkta: It's Relation to the Caste System. In Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, 1978,
7. SINGH, Galati, VITHAYATHIL, Trina. Spaces of Discrimination: Residential Segregation in Indian Cities. In Economic and Political Weekly, 2012,
8. SINGH, Yogendra. Modernization of Indian Traditions. Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 1986.
9. SRINIVAS, M. N. Caste and its 20th-century Avatar. Delhi: Penguin India, 2000.
10. SRINIVAS, M. N. Social Change in Modern India. Delhi: OUP, 1995.