

# RESEARCH MONOGRAPH

## UNTOUCHABILITY/CASTEISM IN RURAL SCHOOLS

### IN SOUTH ODISHA



### CRDS

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## INTRODUCTION

This research in to untouchability and casteist practices in rural schools in South Odisha is an undertaking of CRDS, Gopalpur (Ganjam district). The research was initiated in 2014 and is being developed in successive phases to eventually include, both, existing and potential practices and prospects for responses (including current everyday dis/organized local resistance) to such Constitutional and legal violations of the citizenship rights, human dignity and socio-economic prospects of Dalit students.

The proposal for the research emerged from experiential concerns (and in relation to the Scheduled Castes & Tribes Atrocities Act) expressed by Scheduled Caste (Dalits) village communities engaged over the past two decades in social development initiatives with the Visionaries of Creative Action for Liberation and Progress (VICALP), a Dalit-Adivasi registered voluntary organization whose members and workers are all from this region and belong to various Dalit and Adivasi village communities (e.g. Panos, Saora, Kondh).

VICALP launched CRDS in 2006 as a research and training wing for popular participatory action research initiatives identified with/by exploited/marginalized (predominantly Adivasi/Dalits) rural social groups in South Odisha (Gajapati, Ganjam, Kandhmal, Phulbani, Jharsuguda & Bolangir districts) to address their primary concerns as per their own experiences and priorities in conjunction with VICALP and state and/or voluntary sector actors when relevant.

### 1. RESEARCH PURPOSE & AREA

#### Research Purpose and Questions

The broad purpose of the research is to document and understand casteist and untouchability practices in public/state schools in rural areas in South Odisha, including and especially everyday forms of response and resistance, open/declared or hidden and spontaneous or organized with the view to strengthen local/regional responses and resistances to such illegal practices and continuous socio-cultural exploitation of students (children and youth) at the source.

This particular research monograph addresses the following questions: (a) what forms of casteist and untouchability practices are evident in rural schools (middle to higher levels) as reported by SC/Dalit students themselves?; (b) how prevalent are these practices across state/public schools?; and (c) are students responding to these practices in some way? If so, what are some of these ways?

This monograph emphasizes data sharing (public dissemination/engagement) of survey and short case study data in relation to (a) and (b) primarily, while data generation in relation to (c) will be addressed in the near future. The focus is on sharing *raw data* as opposed to broader analysis which is being addressed in subsequent mediums/publications (e.g. community news letters/Ama Katha and academic journals/articles).

#### Research Area (Ganjam District, South Odisha)

Ganjam district is located on the southern and coastal areas of Orissa-India and to the boarder of Andra Pradesh. The district came into existence on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1936. Ganjam has an area of 8206 square kilometre consisting of 3234 villages of 469 Gram Panchayats of 22 blocks. Gajapati,

Kandhamal, Nayagarh, Khurda and Puri are the neighbouring districts of Ganjam and its south-east area is adjacent to the Bay of Bengal.

As per initial provisional data released by census India 2011, the total population of Ganjam is 3529031 (male=1779218; female=1749813), while over 45% of the district's population are SCs (or Dalits). Ganjam accounts for 8.41% of Odisha's total population with a population density of 430 people per sq. km. 2761030 people live in rural areas and 768001 in the urban areas.

Since Ganjam is located in the coastal belt, most people depend on agriculture and fishing. At least 46% of the land is used for agriculture in the district. Apart from cultivation and fishing, people are engaged in agricultural labour, livestock rearing, forestry, hunting and plantation and allied activities. Mining and quarrying, manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs in household industries and other industries, including construction, trade and commerce, transport, storage and communications provide other forms of employment while seasonal un/employed labour is also prevalent.

## 2. SURVEY DEVELOPMENT

- #. of survey villages= 16 (names are withheld to ensure anonymity for student participants)
- # of students surveyed= 401
- # of females= 180
- # of males= 221
- # from classes 6 & 7= 167
- # from classes 8, 9 & 10= 234
- # of schools in area attended by survey participants= 20 (names are withheld to ensure anonymity for student participants)
- Dalit groups represented in the survey population: Bauri, Dandasi, Dhoba, Khandara, Hadi & Keuta

Descriptive survey development was undertaken in 3 phases as follows: (1) review of existing surveys from international human rights organizations, NGOs and academic sources for initial ideas for some categories (proved to be minimally useful given that there is a paucity of studies focused on the school context); (2) contextualization and modification/augmentation of these secondary document-source-based survey categories utilizing research team member experiences with casteism/untouchability (given that the team members are all Dalits/SCs from the research location) (this proved to be the primary basis for development of the survey categories and wording); and (3) final modifications and finalization of survey categories based on pilot study of the survey in 5 villages with students in grades 6-10 (again, a primary method for survey development and legibility/translation for the age groups involved).

Surveys were administered over 3 months by a gender-balanced SC research team to maximize the possibility for width of coverage in terms of ensuring research participation (e.g. inclusion of girls), data generation and analysis (conscious of gendered perspectives/experiences) & the gendered-pertinence of insights and understanding generated from this study. As per the ethical requirements of doing social and educational research with human subjects, prior permission (verbal/formal) was secured from parents and students, making it clear that participation was voluntary and that individual identities would be kept confidential as composite data would be shared and any personal identifiers were not necessary for the purposes of public dissemination of research-related understanding and insights for practical purposes. There were no cases where participation was declined as Dalit families and students alike were eager to share their experiences as was the case when CRDS first decided to embark on this study.

Surveys were administered in Dalit/SC village hutments in the summer months when students were not in school in order to ensure access and reduce the chances for identification of participants in the study or ensure anonymity for the students involved in the study.

### **3. SURVEY STATISTICS**

**Table – I**  
**Overall Results**

*Untouchability/Casteism Practiced=P; Not Practiced=NP; Unsure=U; Male=M; Female=F; Grade=GR; Scheduled Caste=SC; General Caste=GC*

|   |   |  | P                | NP               | U             | P               |                 | NP              |                 | U            |              | P               |                 | NP              |                 | U        |           |
|---|---|--|------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------|-----------|
|   |   |  |                  |                  |               | M               | F               | M               | F               | M            | F            | Gr 6-7          | Gr 8-10         | Gr 6-7          | Gr 8-10         | Gr 6-7   | Gr 8-10   |
| A | # | Water  |                  |                  |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |              |              |                 |                 |                 |                 |          |           |
| 1 | # | General Caste (GC) students draw water first from the well                               | 218<br>(54.36 %) | 179<br>(44.64 %) | 4 (1%)        | 120<br>(54.30%) | 98<br>(54.44%)  | 97<br>(43.89%)  | 82<br>(45.56%)  | 4<br>(1.81%) | 0            | 97<br>(58.08%)  | 121<br>(51.71%) | 66<br>(39.52%)  | 113<br>(48.29%) | 2 (1.2%) | 2 (.85%)  |
| 2 | # | Drinking water is positioned in different places/pots based on caste                     | 87 (21.70 %)     | 308<br>(76.81 %) | 6 (1.5%)      | 41<br>(18.55%)  | 46<br>(25.56%)  | 174<br>(78.73%) | 134<br>(74.44%) | 6<br>(2.71%) | 0            | 37<br>(22.16%)  | 50<br>(21.37%)  | 127<br>(76.05%) | 181<br>(77.35%) | 3 (1.8%) | 3 (1.28%) |
| 3 | # | Separate glasses are used based on caste   | 166<br>(41.40 %) | 231<br>(57.61 %) | 4 (1%)        | 82<br>(37.1%)   | 84<br>(46.67%)  | 138<br>(62.44%) | 93<br>(51.67%)  | 4<br>(1.81%) | 0            | 66<br>(39.52%)  | 100<br>(42.74%) | 99<br>(59.28%)  | 132<br>(56.41%) | 2 (1.2%) | 2 (.85%)  |
| 4 | # | Scheduled Caste (SC) students (Dalits) are prohibited from touching water sources (taps) | 112(27.9 3 %)    | 284<br>(70.82 %) | 5<br>(1.25%)  | 57<br>(25.79%)  | 55<br>(30.56%)  | 159<br>(71.95%) | 125<br>(69.44%) | 5<br>(2.26%) | 0            | 45<br>(26.95%)  | 67<br>(28.63%)  | 120<br>(71.86%) | 164<br>(70.09%) | 2 (1.2%) | 3 (1.28%) |
| 5 | # | Only GC students fetch and serve water to GC teachers                                    | 321(80.0 5 %)    | 72 (17.96 %)     | 8 (2%)        | 176<br>(79.64%) | 145<br>(80.56%) | 38<br>(17.19%)  | 34<br>(18.89%)  | 7<br>(3.17%) | 1 (.56%)     | 130<br>(77.84%) | 191<br>(81.62%) | 33<br>(19.76%)  | 39<br>(16.67%)  | 4 (2.4%) | 4 (1.71%) |
| 6 |   | Only SC students clean the area around the water source                                  | 113<br>(28.18%)  | 276<br>(68.83 %) | 12<br>(2.99%) | 68<br>(30.77%)  | 45 (25%)        | 146<br>(66.06%) | 130<br>(72.22%) | 7<br>(3.17%) | 5<br>(2.78%) | 58<br>(34.73%)  | 55<br>(23.5%)   | 106<br>(63.47%) | 170<br>(72.65%) | 3 (1.8%) | 9 (3.85%) |
| B | # | Mid Day Meal (MDM)   |                  |                  |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |              |              |                 |                 |                 |                 |          |           |
| 1 | # | Cook and Assistant of MDM are primarily from GC  | 383<br>(95.51 %) | 14 (3.49 %)      | 4 (1%)        | 210<br>(95.02%) | 173<br>(96.11%) | 9<br>(4.07%)    | 5<br>(2.78%)    | 2 (.9%)      | 2 (1.11%)    | 163<br>(97.6%)  | 220<br>(94.02%) | 3 (1.8%)        | 11<br>(4.7%)    | 1 (.6%)  | 3 (1.28%) |
| 2 | # | SC students are not permitted to serve the MDM   | 350<br>(87.28 %) | 45 (11.22 %)     | 6 (1.5%)      | 197<br>(89.14%) | 153<br>(85%)    | 22<br>(9.95%)   | 23<br>(12.78%)  | 2 (.9%)      | 4 (2.22)     | 153<br>(91.62%) | 197<br>(84.19%) | 13<br>(7.78%)   | 32<br>(13.68%)  | 1 (.6%)  | 5 (2.14%) |
| 3 | # | While serving MDM to SC students, the ladle does not touch their plates                  | 363<br>(90.52 %) | 37 (9.23 %)      | 1 (.25%)      | 203<br>(91.86%) | 160<br>(88.89%) | 17<br>(7.69%)   | 20<br>(11.11%)  | 1<br>(.45%)  | 0            | 159<br>(95.21%) | 204<br>(87.18%) | 8<br>(4.79%)    | 29<br>(12.39%)  | 0        | 1 (.43%)  |
| 4 | # | SC students sit separately during the MDM  | 308<br>(76.81 %) | 91 (22.69 %)     | 2 (.5%)       | 169<br>(76.47%) | 139<br>(77.22%) | 51<br>(23.08%)  | 40<br>(22.22%)  | 1<br>(.45%)  | 1 (.56%)     | 132<br>(79.04%) | 176<br>(75.21%) | 35<br>(20.96%)  | 56<br>(23.93%)  | 0        | 2 (.85%)  |
| 5 | # | Caste-gender segregated seating for MDM is observed (SC girls last)                      | 214<br>(53.37%)  | 180<br>(44.89 %) | 7<br>(1.75%)  | 118<br>(53.39%) | 96<br>(53.33%)  | 98<br>(44.34%)  | 82<br>(45.56%)  | 5<br>(2.26%) | 2 (1.11%)    | 89<br>(53.29%)  | 125<br>(53.42%) | 76<br>(45.51%)  | 104<br>(44.44%) | 2 (1.2%) | 5 (2.14%) |
| 6 |   | The GC students are served first   | 88 (21.95 %)     | 310<br>(77.31 %) | 3 (.75%)      | 38<br>(17.19%)  | 50<br>(27.78%)  | 180<br>(81.45%) | 130<br>(72.22%) | 3<br>(1.36%) | 0            | 38<br>(22.75%)  | 50<br>(21.37%)  | 128<br>(76.65%) | 182<br>(77.78%) | 1 (.6%)  | 2 (.85%)  |
| 7 |   | Only SC students clean up after meals  | 96 (23.94 %)     | 301<br>(75.06 %) | 4 (1%)        | 59<br>(26.7%)   | 37<br>(20.56%)  | 160<br>(72.4%)  | 141<br>(78.33%) | 2 (.9%)      | 2 (1.11%)    | 48<br>(28.74%)  | 48<br>(20.51%)  | 118<br>(70.66%) | 183<br>(78.21%) | 1 (.6%)  | 3 (1.28%) |
| C | # | Class-room Practices   |                  |                  |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |              |              |                 |                 |                 |                 |          |           |
| 1 | # | Seating Order  |                  |                  |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |              |              |                 |                 |                 |                 |          |           |
| i |   | GCs (gender segregated) at the front, SCs (gender segregated) at the back                | 205<br>(51.12 %) | 194<br>(48.38 %) | 2 (.5%)       | 98<br>(44.34%)  | 107<br>(59.44%) | 121<br>(54.75%) | 73<br>(40.56%)  | 2 (.9%)      | 0            | 96<br>(57.49%)  | 109<br>(46.58%) | 71<br>(42.51%)  | 123<br>(52.56%) | 0        | 2 (.85%)  |

|     |  |                  |                  |                |                 |                 |                |                |               |                |                 |                 |                |                 |                |                |
|-----|--|------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 2   | <b>Punishment</b>  |                  |                  |                |                 |                 |                |                |               |                |                 |                 |                |                 |                |                |
| i   | SC students are punished more severely than GCs                                | 237<br>(59.10 %) | 157<br>(39.15 %) | 7<br>(1.75%)   | 140<br>(63.35%) | 97<br>(53.89%)  | 76<br>(34.39%) | 81 (45%)       | 5<br>(2.26%)  | 2<br>(1.11%)   | 105<br>(62.87%) | 132<br>(56.41%) | 59<br>(35.33%) | 98<br>(41.88%)  | 3 (1.8%)       | 4<br>(1.71%)   |
| ii  | GC students are only scolded (only verbally chastised)                         | 247<br>(61.60 %) | 145<br>(36.16 %) | 9<br>(2.24%)   | 149<br>(67.42%) | 98<br>(54.44%)  | 66<br>(29.86%) | 79<br>(43.89%) | 6<br>(2.71%)  | 3<br>(1.67%)   | 103<br>(61.68%) | 144<br>(61.54%) | 59<br>(35.33%) | 86<br>(36.75%)  | 4 (2.4%)       | 5<br>(2.14%)   |
| iii | SC students are mainly subjected to physical punishment                        | 223<br>(55.61 %) | 170<br>(42.39 %) | 8 (2%)         | 144<br>(65.16%) | 79<br>(43.89%)  | 72<br>(32.58%) | 98<br>(54.44%) | 5<br>(2.26%)  | 3<br>(1.67%)   | 97<br>(58.08%)  | 126<br>(53.85%) | 65<br>(38.92%) | 105<br>(44.87%) | 5<br>(2.99%)   | 3<br>(1.28%)   |
| iv  | Only SC students are subjected to caste-based humiliating language (example: ) | 264<br>(65.84 %) | 123<br>(30.67 %) | 14<br>(3.49%)  | 158<br>(71.49%) | 106<br>(58.89%) | 53<br>(23.98%) | 70<br>(38.89%) | 10<br>(4.52%) | 4<br>(2.22%)   | 112<br>(67.07%) | 152<br>(64.96%) | 49<br>(29.34%) | 74<br>(31.62%)  | 6<br>(3.59%)   | 8<br>(3.42%)   |
| 3   | <b>Rewards/Recognitions</b>  |                  |                  |                |                 |                 |                |                |               |                |                 |                 |                |                 |                |                |
| i   | GC students are given more marks regardless of performance                     | 302<br>(75.31 %) | 82 (20.45 %)     | 17<br>(4.24%)  | 174<br>(78.73%) | 128<br>(71.11%) | 35<br>(15.84%) | 47<br>(26.11%) | 12<br>(5.43%) | 5<br>(2.78%)   | 131<br>(78.44%) | 171<br>(73.08%) | 29<br>(17.37%) | 53<br>(22.65%)  | 7<br>(4.19%)   | 10<br>(4.27%)  |
| ii  | Good performance by SCs is not verbally appreciated by teachers                | 316<br>(78.80 %) | 79 (19.70 %)     | 6 (1.5%)       | 181<br>(81.9%)  | 135<br>(75%)    | 36<br>(16.29%) | 43<br>(23.89%) | 4<br>(1.81%)  | 2<br>(1.11%)   | 138<br>(82.63%) | 178<br>(76.07%) | 27<br>(16.17%) | 52<br>(22.22%)  | 2 (1.2%)       | 4<br>(1.71%)   |
| iii | Teachers mainly express open affection towards GC students                     | 321<br>(80.50 %) | 72 (17.96 %)     | 8 (2%)         | 169<br>(76.47%) | 152<br>(84.44%) | 46<br>(20.81%) | 26<br>(14.44%) | 6<br>(2.71%)  | 2<br>(1.11%)   | 137<br>(82.04%) | 184<br>(78.63%) | 26<br>(15.57%) | 46<br>(19.66%)  | 4 (2.4%)       | 4<br>(1.71%)   |
| iv  | Mainly GC students receive awards  | 296<br>(73.82 %) | 82 (20.45 %)     | 23<br>(5.74%)  | 155<br>(70.14%) | 141<br>(78.33%) | 47<br>(21.27%) | 35<br>(19.44%) | 19<br>(8.6%)  | 4<br>(2.22%)   | 129<br>(77.25%) | 167<br>(71.37%) | 27<br>(16.17%) | 55<br>(23.5%)   | 11<br>(6.59%)  | 12<br>(5.13%)  |
| 4   | <b>Silencing</b>   |                  |                  |                |                 |                 |                |                |               |                |                 |                 |                |                 |                |                |
| i   | SC students' questions are often ignored by teachers                           | 313<br>(78.05 %) | 83 (20.70 %)     | 5<br>(1.25%)   | 167<br>(75.57%) | 146<br>(81.11%) | 50<br>(22.62%) | 33<br>(18.33%) | 4<br>(1.81%)  | 1 (.56%)       | 139<br>(83.23%) | 174<br>(74.36%) | 26<br>(15.57%) | 57<br>(24.36%)  | 2 (1.2%)       | 3<br>(1.28%)   |
| ii  | SC students' questions are often mocked by teachers (example:)                 | 263<br>(65.59 %) | 122<br>(30.42 %) | 16<br>(3.99%)  | 157<br>(71.04%) | 106<br>(58.89%) | 58<br>(26.24%) | 64<br>(35.56%) | 6<br>(2.71%)  | 10<br>(5.56%)  | 113<br>(67.66%) | 150<br>(64.1%)  | 46<br>(27.54%) | 76<br>(32.48%)  | 8<br>(4.79%)   | 8<br>(3.42%)   |
| iii | SC students' educational ambitions are discouraged by teachers (example: )     | 199<br>(49.63 %) | 158<br>(39.40 %) | 44<br>(10.97%) | 117<br>(52.94%) | 82<br>(45.56%)  | 83<br>(37.56%) | 75<br>(41.67%) | 21<br>(9.5%)  | 23<br>(12.78%) | 91<br>(54.49%)  | 108<br>(46.15%) | 57<br>(34.13%) | 101<br>(43.16%) | 19<br>(11.38%) | 25<br>(10.68%) |
| iv  | Skills and talents of SC students are often ignored by teachers                | 239<br>(59.60 %) | 149<br>(37.16 %) | 13<br>(3.24%)  | 126<br>(57.01%) | 113<br>(62.78%) | 87<br>(39.37%) | 62<br>(34.44%) | 8<br>(3.62%)  | 5<br>(2.78%)   | 114<br>(68.26%) | 125<br>(53.42%) | 46<br>(27.54%) | 103<br>(44.02%) | 7<br>(4.19%)   | 6<br>(2.56%)   |
| v   | Teachers listen to GC student answers and silence SC student answers           | 298<br>(74.31 %) | 94 (23.44 %)     | 9<br>(2.24%)   | 159<br>(71.95%) | 139<br>(77.22%) | 55<br>(24.89%) | 39<br>(21.67%) | 7<br>(3.17%)  | 2<br>(1.11%)   | 129<br>(77.25%) | 169<br>(72.22%) | 32<br>(19.16%) | 62<br>(26.5%)   | 6<br>(3.59%)   | 3<br>(1.28%)   |
| vi  | GC students don't allow SC students to answer teacher's questions (example: )  | 320<br>(79.80 %) | 73 (18.20 %)     | 8 (2%)         | 172<br>(77.83%) | 148<br>(82.22%) | 45<br>(20.36%) | 28<br>(15.56%) | 4<br>(1.81%)  | 4<br>(2.22%)   | 141<br>(84.43%) | 179<br>(76.5%)  | 22<br>(13.17%) | 51<br>(21.79%)  | 4 (2.4%)       | 4<br>(1.71%)   |
| vii | When SC students do well, GC students bully them                               | 336<br>(83.79 %) | 57 (14.21 %)     | 8 (2%)         | 183<br>(82.81%) | 153<br>(85%)    | 33<br>(14.93%) | 24<br>(13.33%) | 5<br>(2.26%)  | 3<br>(1.67%)   | 153<br>(91.62%) | 183<br>(78.21%) | 13<br>(7.78%)  | 44<br>(18.8%)   | 1 (.6%)        | 7<br>(2.99%)   |
| D   | <b>Curriculum</b>  |                  |                  |                |                 |                 |                |                |               |                |                 |                 |                |                 |                |                |
| 1   | There is no discussion of casteism and untouchability in school texts          | 312<br>(77.81 %) | 57 (14.21 %)     | 32<br>(7.98%)  | 170<br>(76.92%) | 142<br>(78.89%) | 30<br>(13.57%) | 27 (15%)       | 21<br>(9.5%)  | 11<br>(6.11%)  | 126<br>(75.45%) | 186<br>(79.49%) | 27<br>(16.17%) | 30<br>(12.82%)  | 14<br>(8.38%)  | 18<br>(7.69%)  |
| 2   | Dalit/SC leaders and history are not discussed in school texts                 | 323<br>(80.55 %) | 56 (13.97 %)     | 22<br>(5.49%)  | 179<br>(81%)    | 144<br>(80%)    | 27<br>(12.22%) | 29<br>(16.11%) | 15<br>(6.79%) | 7<br>(3.89%)   | 138<br>(82.63%) | 185<br>(79.06%) | 22<br>(13.17%) | 34<br>(14.53%)  | 7<br>(4.19%)   | 15<br>(6.41%)  |
| 3   | The constitutional rights of SCs are not discussed in school texts             | 321<br>(80.05 %) | 62 (15.46 %)     | 18<br>(4.49%)  | 178<br>(80.54%) | 143<br>(79.44%) | 30<br>(13.57%) | 32<br>(17.78%) | 13<br>(5.88%) | 5<br>(2.78%)   | 133<br>(79.64%) | 188<br>(80.34%) | 27<br>(16.17%) | 35<br>(14.96%)  | 7<br>(4.19%)   | 11<br>(4.7%)   |
| 4   | School texts often degrade SC ways of life (example: )                         | 161<br>(40.15 %) | 149<br>(37.16 %) | 91<br>(22.69%) | 100<br>(45.25%) | 61<br>(33.89%)  | 62<br>(28.05%) | 87<br>(48.33%) | 59<br>(26.7%) | 32<br>(17.78%) | 68<br>(40.72%)  | 93<br>(39.74%)  | 59<br>(35.33%) | 90<br>(38.46%)  | 40<br>(23.95%) | 51<br>(21.79%) |
| E   | <b>Student-student Relations</b>   |                  |                  |                |                 |                 |                |                |               |                |                 |                 |                |                 |                |                |

|  |   |   |                  |                  |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |               |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |               |               |
|--|---|---|------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1  | # | GC and SC students only mingle in/with their respective groups  | 214<br>(53.37 %) | 185<br>(46.13 %) | 2 (.5%)       | 111<br>(50.23%) | 103<br>(57.22%) | 109<br>(49.32%) | 76<br>(42.22%)  | 1<br>(.45%)   | 1 (.56%)      | 78<br>(46.71%)  | 136<br>(58.12%) | 88<br>(52.69%)  | 97<br>(41.45%)  | 1 (.6%)       | 1 (.43%)      |
| 2  |   | GC students bully SC students (example: )   | 345<br>(86.03 %) | 54 (13.47 %)     | 2 (.5%)       | 203<br>(91.86%) | 142<br>(78.89%) | 17<br>(7.69%)   | 37<br>(20.56%)  | 1<br>(.45%)   | 1 (.56%)      | 155<br>(92.81%) | 190<br>(81.2%)  | 12<br>(7.19%)   | 42<br>(17.95%)  | 0             | 2 (.85%)      |
| 3  |   | GC boys harass SC girls   | 219<br>(54.61 %) | 169<br>(42.14 %) | 13<br>(3.24%) | 141<br>(63.8%)  | 78<br>(43.33%)  | 70<br>(31.67%)  | 99 (55%)        | 10<br>(4.52%) | 3<br>(1.67%)  | 92<br>(55.09%)  | 127<br>(54.27%) | 68<br>(40.72%)  | 101<br>(43.16%) | 7<br>(4.19%)  | 6<br>(2.56%)  |
| 4  | # | GC students don't allow SC students to participate in sports and cultural events                          | 277<br>(69.08 %) | 120<br>(29.93 %) | 4 (1%)        | 165<br>(74.66%) | 112<br>(62.22%) | 52<br>(23.53%)  | 68<br>(37.78%)  | 4<br>(1.81%)  | 0             | 131<br>(78.44%) | 146<br>(62.39%) | 36<br>(21.56%)  | 84<br>(35.9%)   | 0             | 4<br>(1.71%)  |
| 5  |   | GC and SC students do not engage in academic exchange   | 337<br>(84.04 %) | 60 (14.96 %)     | 4 (1%)        | 191<br>(86.43%) | 146<br>(81.11%) | 28<br>(12.67%)  | 32<br>(17.78%)  | 2 (.9%)       | 2<br>(1.11%)  | 145<br>(86.83%) | 192<br>(82.05%) | 22<br>(13.17%)  | 38<br>(16.24%)  | 0             | 4<br>(1.71%)  |
| 6  |   | GC students threaten studious SC students   | 351<br>(87.53 %) | 47 (11.72 %)     | 3 (.75%)      | 196<br>(88.69%) | 155<br>(86.11%) | 23<br>(10.41%)  | 25<br>(13.89%)  | 2 (.9%)       | 0             | 153<br>(91.62%) | 198<br>(84.62%) | 14<br>(8.38%)   | 33<br>(14.1%)   | 0             | 3<br>(1.28%)  |
| <b>F Facilities and General Supports</b> |   |   |                  |                  |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |               |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |               |               |
| 1  |   | Mainly SC students clean the toilets  | 138<br>(34.41 %) | 242<br>(60.35 %) | 21<br>(5.24%) | 79<br>(35.75%)  | 59<br>(32.78%)  | 131<br>(59.28%) | 111<br>(61.67%) | 11<br>(4.98%) | 10<br>(5.56%) | 67<br>(40.12%)  | 71<br>(30.34%)  | 94<br>(56.29%)  | 148<br>(63.25%) | 6<br>(3.59%)  | 15<br>(6.41%) |
| 2  | # | The SC students are not allowed to use school toilets (they go outdoors)                                  | 163<br>(40.65 %) | 230<br>(57.36 %) | 8 (2%)        | 86<br>(38.91%)  | 77<br>(42.78%)  | 129<br>(58.37%) | 101<br>(56.11%) | 6<br>(2.71%)  | 2<br>(1.11%)  | 77<br>(46.11%)  | 86<br>(36.75%)  | 86<br>(51.1%)   | 144<br>(61.54%) | 4 (2.4%)      | 4<br>(1.71%)  |
| 3  |   | In schools where SC students can use the toilet, GC students get first access                             | 185<br>(46.13 %) | 203<br>(50.62 %) | 13<br>(3.24%) | 99<br>(44.8%)   | 86<br>(47.78%)  | 111<br>(50.23%) | 92<br>(51.11%)  | 11<br>(4.98%) | 2<br>(1.11%)  | 79<br>(47.31%)  | 106<br>(45.3%)  | 81<br>(48.5%)   | 122<br>(52.14%) | 7<br>(4.19%)  | 6<br>(2.56%)  |
| 4  |   | SC/GC girls are reluctant to use toilets due to invasion of privacy by GC/SC boys (peeping)               | 168<br>(41.90 %) | 216<br>(53.87 %) | 17<br>(4.24%) | 94<br>(42.53%)  | 83<br>(46.11%)  | 108<br>(48.87%) | 99 (55%)        | 10<br>(4.52%) | 7<br>(3.89%)  | 80<br>(47.9%)   | 88<br>(37.61%)  | 81<br>(48.5%)   | 135<br>(57.69%) | 6<br>(3.59%)  | 11<br>(4.7%)  |
| 5  |   | School sporting equipment is reserved for GCs   | 238<br>(59.35 %) | 159<br>(39.65 %) | 4 (1%)        | 129<br>(58.37%) | 109<br>(60.56%) | 88<br>(39.82%)  | 71<br>(39.82%)  | 4<br>(1.81%)  | 0             | 107<br>(64.07%) | 131<br>(55.98%) | 58<br>(34.73%)  | 101<br>(43.16%) | 2 (1.2%)      | 2 (.85%)      |
| 6  | # | Most often GC teachers do not tutor SC students   | 145<br>(36.16 %) | 249<br>(62.09 %) | 7<br>(1.75%)  | 86<br>(38.91%)  | 59<br>(32.78%)  | 127<br>(57.47%) | 122<br>(67.78%) | 7<br>(3.17%)  | 0             | 51<br>(30.54%)  | 94<br>(40.17%)  | 112<br>(67.07%) | 137<br>(58.55%) | 4 (2.4%)      | 3<br>(1.28%)  |
| 7  |   | Books and uniforms provided by the government for SCs are given to GC students                            | 174<br>(43.39 %) | 212<br>(52.87 %) | 15 (3.4)      | 108<br>(48.87%) | 66<br>(36.67%)  | 102<br>(46.15%) | 110<br>(61.11%) | 11<br>(4.98%) | 4<br>(2.22%)  | 63<br>(37.72%)  | 111<br>(47.44%) | 97<br>(58.08%)  | 115<br>(49.15%) | 7<br>(4.19%)  | 8<br>(3.42%)  |
| <b>G Special Events and Ceremonies</b>   |   |   |                  |                  |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |               |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |               |               |
| 1  | # | SC students are only given menial/labour roles around school religious ceremonies                         | 372<br>(92.77 %) | 25 (6.23 %)      | 4 (1%)        | 204<br>(92.31%) | 168<br>(93.33)  | 12<br>(5.43%)   | 13<br>(7.22%)   | 4<br>(1.81%)  | 0             | 158<br>(94.61%) | 214<br>(91.45%) | 11<br>(6.59%)   | 14<br>(5.98%)   | 1 (.6%)       | 3<br>(1.28%)  |
| 2  | # | SC students are not permitted to participate in religious rituals as per untouchability norms (example: ) | 383<br>(95.51 %) | 15 (3.74 %)      | 3 (.75%)      | 211<br>(95.48%) | 172<br>(95.56%) | 9<br>(4.07%)    | 6<br>(3.33%)    | 3<br>(1.36%)  | 0             | 162<br>(97.01%) | 221<br>(94.44%) | 3 (1.8%)        | 12<br>(5.13%)   | 2 (1.2%)      | 1 (.43%)      |
| 3  | # | During national days/events SC students are excluded from ceremonial roles                                | 332<br>(82.79 %) | 64 (15.96 %)     | 5<br>(1.25%)  | 188<br>(85.07%) | 144<br>(80%)    | 29<br>(13.12%)  | 35<br>(19.44%)  | 4<br>(1.81%)  | 1 (.56%)      | 142<br>(85.03%) | 190<br>(81.2%)  | 23<br>(13.77%)  | 41<br>(17.52%)  | 2 (1.2%)      | 3<br>(1.28%)  |
| 4  |   | Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (SC national leader) Jayanti is not observed nor celebrated in school                   | 373<br>(93.02 %) | 25 (6.23 %)      | 3 (.75%)      | 208<br>(94.12%) | 165<br>(91.67%) | 12<br>(5.43%)   | 13<br>(7.22%)   | 1<br>(.45%)   | 2<br>(1.11%)  | 161<br>(96.41%) | 212<br>(90.6%)  | 4 (2.4%)        | 21<br>(8.97%)   | 2 (1.2%)      | 1 (.43%)      |
| <b>H Gender-caste Discrimination</b>     |   |   |                  |                  |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |               |               |                 |                 |                 |                 |               |               |
| 1  |   | SC girls face gender and caste-based discrimination in schools. Can you share two examples?               | 328<br>(81.80 %) | 57 (14.21 %)     | 16<br>(3.99%) | 188<br>(85.07%) | 140<br>(77.78%) | 20<br>(9.05%)   | 37<br>(20.56%)  | 13<br>(5.88%) | 3<br>(1.67%)  | 136<br>(81.44%) | 192<br>(82.05%) | 20<br>(11.98%)  | 37<br>(15.81%)  | 11<br>(6.59%) | 5<br>(2.14%)  |



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**Table – II**  
**Comparative Table: Grade 6-7 and 8-10**

*Untouchability/Casteism Practiced= P; Not Practiced=NP; Grade=GR; Scheduled Caste=SC; General Caste=GC*

|     |   |  | P             | NP            | P            |              | NP           |              |
|-----|---|--|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|     |   |  |               |               | Gr 6-7       | Gr 8-10      | Gr 6-7       | Gr 8-10      |
| A   | # | Water  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1   | # | General Caste (GC) students draw water first from the well                               | 218 (54.36 %) | 179 (44.64 %) | 97 (58.08%)  | 121 (51.71%) | 66 (39.52%)  | 113 (48.29%) |
| 2   | # | Drinking water is positioned in different places/pots based on caste                     | 87 (21.70 %)  | 308 (76.81 %) | 37 (22.16%)  | 50 (21.37%)  | 127 (76.05%) | 181 (77.35%) |
| 3   | # | Separate glasses are used based on caste   | 166 (41.40 %) | 231 (57.61 %) | 66 (39.52%)  | 100 (42.74%) | 99 (59.28%)  | 132 (56.41%) |
| 4   | # | Scheduled Caste (SC) students (Dalits) are prohibited from touching water sources (taps) | 112(27.93 %)  | 284 (70.82 %) | 45 (26.95%)  | 67 (28.63%)  | 120 (71.86%) | 164 (70.09%) |
| 5   | # | Only GC students fetch and serve water to GC teachers                                    | 321(80.05 %)  | 72 (17.96 %)  | 130 (77.84%) | 191 (81.62%) | 33 (19.76%)  | 39 (16.67%)  |
| 6   |   | Only SC students clean the area around the water source                                  | 113 (28.18%)  | 276 (68.83 %) | 58 (34.73%)  | 55 (23.5%)   | 106 (63.47%) | 170 (72.65%) |
| B   | # | Mid Day Meal (MDM)   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1   | # | Cook and Assistant of MDM are primarily from GC  | 383 (95.51 %) | 14 (3.49 %)   | 163 (97.6%)  | 220 (94.02%) | 3 (1.8%)     | 11 (4.7%)    |
| 2   | # | SC students are not permitted to serve the MDM   | 350 (87.28 %) | 45 (11.22 %)  | 153 (91.62%) | 197 (84.19%) | 13 (7.78%)   | 32 (13.68%)  |
| 3   | # | While serving MDM to SC students, the ladle does not touch their plates                  | 363 (90.52 %) | 37 (9.23 %)   | 159 (95.21%) | 204 (87.18%) | 8 (4.79%)    | 29 (12.39%)  |
| 4   | # | SC students sit separately during the MDM  | 308 (76.81 %) | 91 (22.69 %)  | 132 (79.04%) | 176 (75.21%) | 35 (20.96%)  | 56 (23.93%)  |
| 5   | # | Caste-gender segregated seating for MDM is observed (SC girls last)                      | 214 (53.37%)  | 180 (44.89 %) | 89 (53.29%)  | 125 (53.42%) | 76 (45.51%)  | 104 (44.44%) |
| 6   |   | The GC students are served first   | 88 (21.95 %)  | 310 (77.31 %) | 38 (22.75%)  | 50 (21.37%)  | 128 (76.65%) | 182 (77.78%) |
| 7   |   | Only SC students clean up after meals  | 96 (23.94 %)  | 301 (75.06 %) | 48 (28.74%)  | 48 (20.51%)  | 118 (70.66%) | 183 (78.21%) |
| C   | # | Class-room Practices   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1   | # | Seating Order  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| i   |   | GCs (gender segregated) at the front, SCs (gender segregated) at the back                | 205 (51.12 %) | 194 (48.38 %) | 96 (57.49%)  | 109 (46.58%) | 71 (42.51%)  | 123 (52.56%) |
| 2   |   | Punishment   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| i   |   | SC students are punished more severely than GCs  | 237 (59.10 %) | 157 (39.15 %) | 105 (62.87%) | 132 (56.41%) | 59 (35.33%)  | 98 (41.88%)  |
| ii  |   | GC students are only scolded (only verbally chastised)                                   | 247 (61.60 %) | 145 (36.16 %) | 103 (61.68%) | 144 (61.54%) | 59 (35.33%)  | 86 (36.75%)  |
| iii |   | SC students are mainly subjected to physical punishment                                  | 223 (55.61 %) | 170 (42.39 %) | 97 (58.08%)  | 126 (53.85%) | 65 (38.92%)  | 105 (44.87%) |
| iv  |   | Only SC students are subjected to caste-based humiliating language (example: )           | 264 (65.84 %) | 123 (30.67 %) | 112 (67.07%) | 152 (64.96%) | 49 (29.34%)  | 74 (31.62%)  |
| 3   |   | Rewards/Recognitions   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| i   |   | GC students are given more marks regardless of performance                               | 302 (75.31 %) | 82 (20.45 %)  | 131 (78.44%) | 171 (73.08%) | 29 (17.37%)  | 53 (22.65%)  |

|     |   |   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
|-----|---|---|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| ii  |   | Good performance by SCs is not verbally appreciated by teachers                             | 316 (78.80 %) | 79 (19.70 %)  | 138 (82.63%) | 178 (76.07%) | 27 (16.17%)  | 52 (22.22%)  |
| iii |   | Teachers mainly express open affection towards GC students                                  | 321 (80.50 %) | 72 (17.96 %)  | 137 (82.04%) | 184 (78.63%) | 26 (15.57%)  | 46 (19.66%)  |
| iv  |   | Mainly GC students receive awards   | 296 (73.82 %) | 82 (20.45 %)  | 129 (77.25%) | 167 (71.37%) | 27 (16.17%)  | 55 (23.5%)   |
| 4   |   | <b>Silencing</b>  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| i   |   | SC students' questions are often ignored by teachers  | 313 (78.05 %) | 83 (20.70 %)  | 139 (83.23%) | 174 (74.36%) | 26 (15.57%)  | 57 (24.36%)  |
| ii  |   | SC students' questions are often mocked by teachers (example:)                              | 263 (65.59 %) | 122 (30.42 %) | 113 (67.66%) | 150 (64.1%)  | 46 (27.54%)  | 76 (32.48%)  |
| iii |   | SC students' educational ambitions are discouraged by teachers (example: )                  | 199 (49.63 %) | 158 (39.40 %) | 91 (54.49%)  | 108 (46.15%) | 57 (34.13%)  | 101 (43.16%) |
| iv  |   | Skills and talents of SC students are often ignored by teachers                             | 239 (59.60 %) | 149 (37.16 %) | 114 (68.26%) | 125 (53.42%) | 46 (27.54%)  | 103 (44.02%) |
| v   |   | Teachers listen to GC student answers and silence SC student answers                        | 298 (74.31 %) | 94 (23.44 %)  | 129 (77.25%) | 169 (72.22%) | 32 (19.16%)  | 62 (26.5%)   |
| vi  |   | GC students don't allow SC students to answer teacher's questions (example: )               | 320 (79.80 %) | 73 (18.20 %)  | 141 (84.43%) | 179 (76.5%)  | 22 (13.17%)  | 51 (21.79%)  |
| vii |   | When SC students do well, GC students bully them  | 336 (83.79 %) | 57 (14.21 %)  | 153 (91.62%) | 183 (78.21%) | 13 (7.78%)   | 44 (18.8%)   |
| D   |   | <b>Curriculum</b>   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1   |   | There is no discussion of casteism and untouchability in school texts                       | 312 (77.81 %) | 57 (14.21 %)  | 126 (75.45%) | 186 (79.49%) | 27 (16.17%)  | 30 (12.82%)  |
| 2   |   | Dalit/SC leaders and history are not discussed in school texts                              | 323 (80.55 %) | 56 (13.97 %)  | 138 (82.63%) | 185 (79.06%) | 22 (13.17%)  | 34 (14.53%)  |
| 3   |   | The constitutional rights of SCs are not discussed in school texts                          | 321 (80.05 %) | 62 (15.46 %)  | 133 (79.64%) | 188 (80.34%) | 27 (16.17%)  | 35 (14.96%)  |
| 4   |   | School texts often degrade SC ways of life (example: )                                      | 161 (40.15 %) | 149 (37.16 %) | 68 (40.72%)  | 93 (39.74%)  | 59 (35.33%)  | 90 (38.46%)  |
| E   |   | <b>Student-student Relations</b>  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1   | # | GC and SC students only mingle in/with their respective groups                              | 214 (53.37 %) | 185 (46.13 %) | 78 (46.71%)  | 136 (58.12%) | 88 (52.69%)  | 97 (41.45%)  |
| 2   |   | GC students bully SC students (example: )   | 345 (86.03 %) | 54 (13.47 %)  | 155 (92.81%) | 190 (81.2%)  | 12 (7.19%)   | 42 (17.95%)  |
| 3   |   | GC boys harass SC girls   | 219 (54.61 %) | 169 (42.14 %) | 92 (55.09%)  | 127 (54.27%) | 68 (40.72%)  | 101 (43.16%) |
| 4   | # | GC students don't allow SC students to participate in sports and cultural events            | 277 (69.08 %) | 120 (29.93 %) | 131 (78.44%) | 146 (62.39%) | 36 (21.56%)  | 84 (35.9%)   |
| 5   |   | GC and SC students do not engage in academic exchange                                       | 337 (84.04 %) | 60 (14.96 %)  | 145 (86.83%) | 192 (82.05%) | 22 (13.17%)  | 38 (16.24%)  |
| 6   |   | GC students threaten studious SC students   | 351 (87.53 %) | 47 (11.72 %)  | 153 (91.62%) | 198 (84.62%) | 14 (8.38%)   | 33 (14.1%)   |
| F   |   | <b>Facilities and General Supports</b>  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1   |   | Mainly SC students clean the toilets  | 138 (34.41 %) | 242 (60.35 %) | 67 (40.12%)  | 71 (30.34%)  | 94 (56.29%)  | 148 (63.25%) |
| 2   | # | The SC students are not allowed to use school toilets (they go outdoors)                    | 163 (40.65 %) | 230 (57.36 %) | 77 (46.11%)  | 86 (36.75%)  | 86 (51.1%)   | 144 (61.54%) |
| 3   |   | In schools where SC students can use the toilet, GC students get first access               | 185 (46.13 %) | 203 (50.62 %) | 79 (47.31%)  | 106 (45.3%)  | 81 (48.5%)   | 122 (52.14%) |
| 4   |   | SC/GC girls are reluctant to use toilets due to invasion of privacy by GC/SC boys (peeping) | 168 (41.90 %) | 216 (53.87 %) | 80 (47.9%)   | 88 (37.61%)  | 81 (48.5%)   | 135 (57.69%) |
| 5   |   | School sporting equipment is reserved for GCs   | 238 (59.35 %) | 159 (39.65 %) | 107 (64.07%) | 131 (55.98%) | 58 (34.73%)  | 101 (43.16%) |
| 6   | # | Most often GC teachers do not tutor SC students   | 145 (36.16 %) | 249 (62.09 %) | 51 (30.54%)  | 94 (40.17%)  | 112 (67.07%) | 137 (58.55%) |
| 7   |   | Books and uniforms provided by the government for SCs are given to GC students              | 174 (43.39 %) | 212 (52.87 %) | 63 (37.72%)  | 111 (47.44%) | 97 (58.08%)  | 115 (49.15%) |

| G |   | Special Events and Ceremonies   |               |              |              |              |             |             |
|---|---|---|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1 | # | SC students are only given menial/labour roles around school religious ceremonies                         | 372 (92.77 %) | 25 (6.23 %)  | 158 (94.61%) | 214 (91.45%) | 11 (6.59%)  | 14 (5.98%)  |
| 2 | # | SC students are not permitted to participate in religious rituals as per untouchability norms (example: ) | 383 (95.51 %) | 15 (3.74 %)  | 162 (97.01%) | 221 (94.44%) | 3 (1.8%)    | 12 (5.13%)  |
| 3 | # | During national days/events SC students are excluded from ceremonial roles                                | 332 (82.79 %) | 64 (15.96 %) | 142 (85.03%) | 190 (81.2%)  | 23 (13.77%) | 41 (17.52%) |
| 4 |   | Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (SC national leader) Jayanti is not observed nor celebrated in school                   | 373 (93.02 %) | 25 (6.23 %)  | 161 (96.41%) | 212 (90.6%)  | 4 (2.4%)    | 21 (8.97%)  |
| H |   | Gender-caste Discrimination   |               |              |              |              |             |             |
| 1 |   | SC girls face gender and caste-based discrimination in schools. Can you share two examples?               | 328 (81.80 %) | 57 (14.21 %) | 136 (81.44%) | 192 (82.05%) | 20 (11.98%) | 37 (15.81%) |

**Table – III**  
**Comparative Table: Male and Female Students**

*Untouchability/Casteism Practiced=P; Not Practiced=NP; Male=M; Female=F; Scheduled Caste=SC; General Caste=GC*

|   |                    |  | P             | NP            | Male         |              | Female       |              |
|---|--------------------|--|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|   |                    |  |               |               | P            | NP           | P            | NP           |
| A | Water              |  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1 | #                  | General Caste (GC) students draw water first from the well                               | 218 (54.36 %) | 179 (44.64 %) | 120 (54.30%) | 97 (43.89%)  | 98 (54.44%)  | 82 (45.56%)  |
| 2 | #                  | Drinking water is positioned in different places/pots based on caste                     | 87 (21.70 %)  | 308 (76.81 %) | 41 (18.55%)  | 174 (78.73%) | 46 (25.56%)  | 134 (74.44%) |
| 3 | #                  | Separate glasses are used based on caste   | 166 (41.40 %) | 231 (57.61 %) | 82 (37.1%)   | 138 (62.44%) | 84 (46.67%)  | 93 (51.67%)  |
| 4 | #                  | Scheduled Caste (SC) students (Dalits) are prohibited from touching water sources (taps) | 112(27.93 %)  | 284 (70.82 %) | 57 (25.79%)  | 159 (71.95%) | 55 (30.56%)  | 125 (69.44%) |
| 5 | #                  | Only GC students fetch and serve water to GC teachers                                    | 321(80.05 %)  | 72 (17.96 %)  | 176 (79.64%) | 38 (17.19%)  | 145 (80.56%) | 34 (18.89%)  |
| 6 |                    | Only SC students clean the area around the water source                                  | 113 (28.18%)  | 276 (68.83 %) | 68 (30.77%)  | 146 (66.06%) | 45 (25%)     | 130 (72.22%) |
| B | Mid Day Meal (MDM) |  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1 | #                  | Cook and Assistant of MDM are primarily from GC  | 383 (95.51 %) | 14 (3.49 %)   | 210 (95.02%) | 9 (4.07%)    | 173 (96.11%) | 5 (2.78%)    |
| 2 | #                  | SC students are not permitted to serve the MDM   | 350 (87.28 %) | 45 (11.22 %)  | 197 (89.14%) | 22 (9.95%)   | 153 (85%)    | 23 (12.78%)  |
| 3 | #                  | While serving MDM to SC students, the ladle does not touch their plates                  | 363 (90.52 %) | 37 (9.23 %)   | 203 (91.86%) | 17 (7.69%)   | 160 (88.89%) | 20 (11.11%)  |
| 4 | #                  | SC students sit separately during the MDM  | 308 (76.81 %) | 91 (22.69 %)  | 169 (76.47%) | 51 (23.08%)  | 139 (77.22%) | 40 (22.22%)  |
| 5 | #                  | Caste-gender segregated seating for MDM is observed (SC girls last)                      | 214 (53.37%)  | 180 (44.89 %) | 118 (53.39%) | 98 (44.34%)  | 96 (53.33%)  | 82 (45.56%)  |

|          |  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
|----------|--|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 6        | The GC students are served first   | 88 (21.95 %)  | 310 (77.31 %) | 38 (17.19%)  | 180 (81.45%) | 50 (27.78%)  | 130 (72.22%) |
| 7        | Only SC students clean up after meals  | 96 (23.94 %)  | 301 (75.06 %) | 59 (26.7%)   | 160 (72.4%)  | 37 (20.56%)  | 141 (78.33%) |
| <b>C</b> | <b>Class-room Practices</b>  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| <b>1</b> | <b># Seating Order</b>   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| i        | GCs (gender segregated) at the front, SCs (gender segregated) at the back      | 205 (51.12 %) | 194 (48.38 %) | 98 (44.34%)  | 121 (54.75%) | 107 (59.44%) | 73 (40.56%)  |
| <b>2</b> | <b>Punishment</b>  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| i        | SC students are punished more severely than GCs                                | 237 (59.10 %) | 157 (39.15 %) | 140 (63.35%) | 76 (34.39%)  | 97 (53.89%)  | 81 (45%)     |
| ii       | GC students are only scolded (only verbally chastised)                         | 247 (61.60 %) | 145 (36.16 %) | 149 (67.42%) | 66 (29.86%)  | 98 (54.44%)  | 79 (43.89%)  |
| iii      | SC students are mainly subjected to physical punishment                        | 223 (55.61 %) | 170 (42.39 %) | 144 (65.16%) | 72 (32.58%)  | 79 (43.89%)  | 98 (54.44%)  |
| iv       | Only SC students are subjected to caste-based humiliating language (example: ) | 264 (65.84 %) | 123 (30.67 %) | 158 (71.49%) | 53 (23.98%)  | 106 (58.89%) | 70 (38.89%)  |
| <b>3</b> | <b>Rewards/Recognitions</b>  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| i        | GC students are given more marks regardless of performance                     | 302 (75.31 %) | 82 (20.45 %)  | 174 (78.73%) | 35 (15.84%)  | 128 (71.11%) | 47 (26.11%)  |
| ii       | Good performance by SCs is not verbally appreciated by teachers                | 316 (78.80 %) | 79 (19.70 %)  | 181 (81.9%)  | 36 (16.29%)  | 135 (75%)    | 43 (23.89%)  |
| iii      | Teachers mainly express open affection towards GC students                     | 321 (80.50 %) | 72 (17.96 %)  | 169 (76.47%) | 46 (20.81%)  | 152 (84.44%) | 26 (14.44%)  |
| iv       | Mainly GC students receive awards  | 296 (73.82 %) | 82 (20.45 %)  | 155 (70.14%) | 47 (21.27%)  | 141 (78.33%) | 35 (19.44%)  |
| <b>4</b> | <b>Silencing</b>   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| i        | SC students' questions are often ignored by teachers                           | 313 (78.05 %) | 83 (20.70 %)  | 167 (75.57%) | 50 (22.62%)  | 146 (81.11%) | 33 (18.33%)  |
| ii       | SC students' questions are often mocked by teachers (example:)                 | 263 (65.59 %) | 122 (30.42 %) | 157 (71.04%) | 58 (26.24%)  | 106 (58.89%) | 64 (35.56%)  |
| iii      | SC students' educational ambitions are discouraged by teachers (example: )     | 199 (49.63 %) | 158 (39.40 %) | 117 (52.94%) | 83 (37.56%)  | 82 (45.56%)  | 75 (41.67%)  |
| iv       | Skills and talents of SC students are often ignored by teachers                | 239 (59.60 %) | 149 (37.16 %) | 126 (57.01%) | 87 (39.37%)  | 113 (62.78%) | 62 (34.44%)  |
| v        | Teachers listen to GC student answers and silence SC student answers           | 298 (74.31 %) | 94 (23.44 %)  | 159 (71.95%) | 55 (24.89%)  | 139 (77.22%) | 39 (21.67%)  |
| vi       | GC students don't allow SC students to answer teacher's questions (example: )  | 320 (79.80 %) | 73 (18.20 %)  | 172 (77.83%) | 45 (20.36%)  | 148 (82.22%) | 28 (15.56%)  |
| vii      | When SC students do well, GC students bully them                               | 336 (83.79 %) | 57 (14.21 %)  | 183 (82.81%) | 33 (14.93%)  | 153 (85%)    | 24 (13.33%)  |
| <b>D</b> | <b>Curriculum</b>  |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1        | There is no discussion of casteism and untouchability in school texts          | 312 (77.81 %) | 57 (14.21 %)  | 170 (76.92%) | 30 (13.57%)  | 142 (78.89%) | 27 (15%)     |
| 2        | Dalit/SC leaders and history are not discussed in school texts                 | 323 (80.55 %) | 56 (13.97 %)  | 179 (81%)    | 27 (12.22%)  | 144 (80%)    | 29 (16.11%)  |
| 3        | The constitutional rights of SCs are not discussed in school texts             | 321 (80.05 %) | 62 (15.46 %)  | 178 (80.54%) | 30 (13.57%)  | 143 (79.44%) | 32 (17.78%)  |
| 4        | School texts often degrade SC ways of life (example: )                         | 161 (40.15 %) | 149 (37.16 %) | 100 (45.25%) | 62 (28.05%)  | 61 (33.89%)  | 87 (48.33%)  |
| <b>E</b> | <b>Student-student Relations</b>   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1        | # GC and SC students only mingle in/with their respective groups               | 214 (53.37 %) | 185 (46.13 %) | 111 (50.23%) | 109 (49.32%) | 103 (57.22%) | 76 (42.22%)  |
| 2        | GC students bully SC students (example: )                                      | 345 (86.03 %) | 54 (13.47 %)  | 203 (91.86%) | 17 (7.69%)   | 142 (78.89%) | 37 (20.56%)  |

|  |   |   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
|--|---|---|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 3  |   | GC boys harass SC girls   | 219 (54.61 %) | 169 (42.14 %) | 141 (63.8%)  | 70 (31.67%)  | 78 (43.33%)  | 99 (55%)     |
| 4  | # | GC students don't allow SC students to participate in sports and cultural events                          | 277 (69.08 %) | 120 (29.93 %) | 165 (74.66%) | 52 (23.53%)  | 112 (62.22%) | 68 (37.78%)  |
| 5  |   | GC and SC students do not engage in academic exchange   | 337 (84.04 %) | 60 (14.96 %)  | 191 (86.43%) | 28 (12.67%)  | 146 (81.11%) | 32 (17.78%)  |
| 6  |   | GC students threaten studious SC students   | 351 (87.53 %) | 47 (11.72 %)  | 196 (88.69%) | 23 (10.41%)  | 155 (86.11%) | 25 (13.89%)  |
| <b>F Facilities and General Supports</b> |   |   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1  |   | Mainly SC students clean the toilets  | 138 (34.41 %) | 242 (60.35 %) | 79 (35.75%)  | 131 (59.28%) | 59 (32.78%)  | 111 (61.67%) |
| 2  | # | The SC students are not allowed to use school toilets (they go outdoors)                                  | 163 (40.65 %) | 230 (57.36 %) | 86 (38.91%)  | 129 (58.37%) | 77 (42.78%)  | 101 (56.11%) |
| 3  |   | In schools where SC students can use the toilet, GC students get first access                             | 185 (46.13 %) | 203 (50.62 %) | 99 (44.8%)   | 111 (50.23%) | 86 (47.78%)  | 92 (51.11%)  |
| 4  |   | SC/GC girls are reluctant to use toilets due to invasion of privacy by GC/SC boys (peeping)               | 168 (41.90 %) | 216 (53.87 %) | 94 (42.53%)  | 108 (48.87%) | 83 (46.11%)  | 99 (55%)     |
| 5  |   | School sporting equipment is reserved for GCs   | 238 (59.35 %) | 159 (39.65 %) | 129 (58.37%) | 88 (39.82%)  | 109 (60.56%) | 71 (39.82%)  |
| 6  | # | Most often GC teachers do not tutor SC students   | 145 (36.16 %) | 249 (62.09 %) | 86 (38.91%)  | 127 (57.47%) | 59 (32.78%)  | 122 (67.78%) |
| 7  |   | Books and uniforms provided by the government for SCs are given to GC students                            | 174 (43.39 %) | 212 (52.87 %) | 108 (48.87%) | 102 (46.15%) | 66 (36.67%)  | 110 (61.11%) |
| <b>G Special Events and Ceremonies</b>   |   |   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1  | # | SC students are only given menial/labour roles around school religious ceremonies                         | 372 (92.77 %) | 25 (6.23 %)   | 204 (92.31%) | 12 (5.43%)   | 168 (93.33%) | 13 (7.22%)   |
| 2  | # | SC students are not permitted to participate in religious rituals as per untouchability norms (example: ) | 383 (95.51 %) | 15 (3.74 %)   | 211 (95.48%) | 9 (4.07%)    | 172 (95.56%) | 6 (3.33%)    |
| 3  | # | During national days/events SC students are excluded from ceremonial roles                                | 332 (82.79 %) | 64 (15.96 %)  | 188 (85.07%) | 29 (13.12%)  | 144 (80%)    | 35 (19.44%)  |
| 4  |   | Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (SC national leader) Jayanti is not observed nor celebrated in school                   | 373 (93.02 %) | 25 (6.23 %)   | 208 (94.12%) | 12 (5.43%)   | 165 (91.67%) | 13 (7.22%)   |
| <b>H Gender-caste Discrimination</b>     |   |   |               |               |              |              |              |              |
| 1  |   | SC girls face gender and caste-based discrimination in schools. Can you share two examples?               | 328 (81.80 %) | 57 (14.21 %)  | 188 (85.07%) | 20 (9.05%)   | 140 (77.78%) | 37 (20.56%)  |





## VERBAL COMMENTS/EXAMPLES IN RELATION TO SURVEY QUESTIONS

*Italicized comments made by researcher(s)/team to add clarification when required.*

**A>Examples of casteist (social reproduction of caste structures/consciousness) class room comments by teachers in relation to SC students:**

1. Your parents are lower caste and uneducated people-- this will be so for you.
2. Live like lower caste people and never ever want more as you will never move up.
3. You *Dalit* students are mischievous and create disturbance in the class.
4. You Dalit girls, what will you do after your education? Your profession (*menial professions caste-prescribed for Dalits*) is not based on education is it?
5. You all are SCs, never try to be smart. You will never excel in your career as an SC.
6. By caste you are Bauri (*sub-caste name for migrant/bonded menial labour*). How will you study well and go ahead with this education?
7. How will you understand the answer if you don't understand the question, Hadi (*scavenger/sewage labourer/bamboo-wicker workers*)?
8. I don't have the patience to clarify your question—why don't you just ask the GC students?
9. Don't ask questions because I don't hear *you*.
10. You are not from a mannered and cultured background and the questions you ask are all the same. Learn from the GC students.
11. (with a sarcastic gesture) "This is a genius question (*from an SC student*) but has no relevance" to what we are discussing.
12. You can never receive rewards and appreciation or win prizes even if *you* try hard.
13. Don't behave like an elite! You better realise your lowly birth/origins.
14. SCs will never heed anything important. They are born for doing menial work.
15. Being a Bauri, don't try to be smart like a Brahmin (*upper caste*)!
16. It is a bad omen to be born as a Bauri and to have to live like a Bauri.
17. You are a Dhoba (*sub-caste name for washer/laundry workers*) student, don't dare to touch us!
18. The illiterates are mainly from Bouri caste, as an ass is among animals.
19. Are you Bauri or Dandasi (*sub-caste name hide/tanning workers*)? Whatever, either way you are in hell.
20. Don't ask questions! You are a Dhoba student.

21. As a Bauri son to a Bauri father—that is your station in life.
22. You are a Bauri, so don't try to behave like us (*copy our life style/clothing habits*)
23. Your family members are uncivilised, so there is no way you can be an SC gentleman, is there?
24. You are a Dhoba student—don't question me further, that is enough for *you*.
25. Nothing will be recognized, even if you study hard-- so you need not ask questions then.
26. You are a Bauri girl-- you will never know, even if we try to make you understand.
27. If I raise my hand to ask a question, the teacher makes me a laughing stock saying, 'see, he asks question when he does not know the abcd of the subject'
28. Be gone, you will never know!
29. You sit down, you don't know anything
30. Being a fool, don't try to fool me with your foolish questions.
31. You Bauri boy, you are supposed to be doing your work as per your profession (*bonded labour*) like your Bauri people. It is not your proper place to be in school. Meanwhile, the GC students also physically torture us by holding us tightly by our collars, twisting our stomachs and ears, pulling our side-burns, kicking us from behind with their legs while the teacher says these things.
32. You Bauri fools, it is impossible for you to understand this lesson. The GC students also bother us and openly chase us out of the school and beat us.
33. Why have you come to study? You are a Hadi, the bamboo maker. Go back to your profession and help your people. They also use very vulgar language.
34. As you are a Bauri, you are impure and blemished and so is your mentality.
35. The Bauri community can do nothing more even if they study as much as they can.
36. They call us not by our name but by '*Dasa*' which means 'Servant'.
37. You are a Bauri and a girl -- it is futile for you to study as you are going nowhere like your community.
38. You are a lower caste child -- therefore you don't have knowledge and wisdom
39. Bauri=insane.
40. Since you are a Bauri, the lower caste student, you are not supposed to touch other GC students under any circumstance or situation.
41. Some times they abuse us in Telegu (*language from neighbouring state where some of these teachers are from*), which is a language we do not understand.
42. Teachers always only look at GC pupils and ask them to answer our questions as if we are not there or he (teacher) refuses to answer our questions himself.

43. Teachers just bypass our questions.
44. Even for clarification, the teachers mock us saying you are a Bauri and therefore there is no need to clarify what can never be clarified anyway because you will never understand anyway?
45. Teachers ignore our question while they answer GC student questions.
46. How come you know the answer for you are but a Bauri?
47. Even if our answers are correct, still the teacher will prove and justify as wrong.
48. Being a Bauri don't act smart, or else you will be sent home without your certificate.
49. You are a Dhoba. You are born to wash clothes and iron. You are not supposed to study. Even if you study you will never change your profession and your name will always be the same, Dhoba!
50. You can never understand the lesson in the class because you are a Dhoba
51. Your father (Dhoba) is a fool, illiterate, and good for nothing and therefore, so are you.
52. You children belonging to Bauri caste simply come to school, just sit and then go back home—you learn nothing and nothing will ever be known by you.
53. Bauri children can never be equal with upper caste children.
54. Kandara (*gardeners*) children come to school only to eat the mid day meal and just to move around in the school and pass the time.
55. Kandara children are very naughty and they will not listen (obey) anything.
56. Students's belong to Bauri caste will sit behind the Upper caste children while maintaining a good distance.
57. You Bauri child coming from Bauri street in style with a Bag and sitting inside the class room. Why do you come? Take back your certificate from the school and stay at home-- there is no value in your coming to school.
58. You Kandara students, why don't you work in the garden ( saying this, the teacher randomly beats him) where you belong.
59. Teachers only scold (*verbal discipline*) upper caste children but they always beat us (*physical discipline*) and only make us kneel for a long time
60. Teachers also squeeze our ears and stomach area which is intolerable.
61. Bauri children know nothing just they come to school with books and move around the campus to show their style of schooling but really they are fools.
62. Let the upper caste students to speak first and later you may speak. Or just sit down because what you say is stupid anyway.

63. Bauri children think of themselves as pandit or a wise man and try to reply without knowing anything! Be quiet and sit down!
64. Bauri caste people are the untouchables, now, aren't they?
65. It is useless teaching the lower caste students.
66. Hopeless and aimless Bauri.
67. Bauri is like a pig, they should not sit with us.
68. You stupid Dandasi!
69. If there is mistake in how a question is asked, then all the teachers and students laugh and mock
70. Asking like an intelligent student, sit down!
71. Dandasi, can you read? Coming forward to read as if he can read everything and asking lots of questions.
72. Teachers will never encourage students, instead they say, if you do not know the answer go home and help your parents.
73. You do not study. Your nature is to roam, hence your questions too.
74. Dandasi is the servant of all. You are not fit to study. Why do you waste your time?
75. All fools come from Bauri caste
76. (To Dhoba students) Your work is to wash soiled cloth and not to come to the school and study.
77. You are like an ox, you need to work hard—that is what you are built for.
78. You are fit for your own profession as Dhoba
79. You are a lower caste student
80. You are untouchable, don't touch us
81. Your work is to do all sorts of scavenging work.
82. You are useless untouchable. Who told you to study while your work does not require any educational qualification?
83. Who gave you the name Chandan (Sandalwood=a wood that is auspicious and used in Hindu rites/ceremonies)? You are mistaken by taking that name instead of your true name Dandasi (criminal and filthy caste).
84. Being a Dandasi how will you know the answer?
85. Even if I try to make you understand, you will not grasp it because you are a Dhoba.
86. I will not become a stupid Dhoba just to try to make you understand as you are a stupid Dhoba.

87. Now a days, you Dandasi students also dare to come up with questions for clarifications, how come?

88. You should not touch us for you are a Bauri

89. Bauri will now kneel down and catch his ears.

90. Bauri, you are not supposed to mingle with us.

91. Bauri fellows, don't touch us and defile us.

92. Bauri community will never be developed.

93. Where there is Bauri, there is no result. Bauri people are useless

94. GC students never call me by my name but with Bauri taunting, like Bauri come here, Bauri sit there, Bauri give me that, Bauri is calling teacher.

95. You Bauri pig, you donkey. You don't know anything. You just come to the school to have mid-day meal is it not?

96. Dandasi and Bauri don't know anything. Their work does not bear any fruit.

97. Bauri does not know about the social manner. They are uncivilised. So, keep your mouth shut.

98. Let your question remain under your Bauri pillow because if Bauri's don't know the answer, the world will not collapse now, will it?

99. Bauri is good for nothing. They only know to jump like a monkey.

100. It is the Bauri caste's lot to be uncivilized robbers.

101. You eat snails and therefore you don't understand the lesson Bauri.

102. You are a Dandasi, don't sit with us

103. You are a Bauri girl the lower caste girl, the untouchable girl—know your place.

104. It is good for a Bauri to be beaten up anywhere in the world -- they are born for that.

105. You are a Dhoba, don't ever try to touch us or befriend us.

106. How could you reach to this stage being a Bauri girl? Stop studying and you will be happier in your profession.

107. You Bauri girl shut up!

108. You are a Dhoba, it is unfortunate for you to be born as a Dhoba and be an untouchable, is it not?

109. You Dhoba will never be like us.

**B>Examples of SC students' educational ambitions being discouraged by teachers:**

- 1.(With loud laughter) You will become a teacher?!
- 2.(*Sneering tone*) You will never go ahead with your education, rather you will be like your parents.
- 3.You are only fit to be a peon/sweeper/care-taker. Prestigious jobs are beyond you.
- 4.Teachers never ask the SC students about their ambitions.
- 5.You can never be a police MAN being a SC GIRL.
- 6.You all Bauri student simply don't set your ambition, you will never fulfil
- 7.You not even know your local dialect, how come you will be an orator
- 8.You are a Bouri and your heads are with cow-dung, how come you will get through the examinations
- 9.However you try you can never be a District Collector or Doctor
- 10.You are a Bauri, you will not be able to sing and dance. If you sing you will be heard as bleat and bellow
- 11.Bauri will never get a chance of working in government job
- 12.Bauri will not get a job in their lifetime
- 13.You will never go up and do job rather you will a migrant-labour to other cities as your fathers and brothers
- 14.You even not have the capacity of passing this examination, how are you dreaming of becoming an engineer
- 15.You have inherited the low memory power, therefore you will not understand the lesson and thereby not get a job in corporate and government sectors.
- 16.You are an ass, the nature of an ass is to stoop its head so as you. You will always be like that.
- 17.You will not know, it is not that important for you to know
- 18.Don't ask or else you will be genius. It is enough for you to know, after knowing more you will not be profited
- 19.You are not an elite, therefore you will not know the answer
- 20.You can never be a teacher in your life time even if you do hard labour in studying
- 21.Sit quietly, you will never excel in your life
- 22>Your song is not melodious like others, let them sing and not you
- 23.You are a Dhoba, don't have TV and Radio, hence you will not have a sense of melody/song

24. Don't sing, otherwise you will become a film star
25. Give chance to the GC students because they are better than you all. GC students are smart in singing and playing unlike you
26. You Bauri child do you expect to become a doctor or Police after study? You can do nothing be silent.
27. Parents are belong to lower caste and how the child can become a Doctor?
28. He does not know anything but just speaking to become a teacher.
29. What song the Bauri child knows and he will sing and become a singer? if the lower caste student tries to participate in the competition the teacher denies him to participate then
30. SC students' talents and skills are not recognised by the teachers. Many a time they are ignored and not given priority
31. You can never be a doctor, don't build castle in the air.
32. No Bauri people have held a prestigious job, so as you
33. You are a Bauri, stay like Bauri and die like Bauri. You can never try to dream big
34. Can a Bauri student be a great person? Never.
35. You are a lower caste pupils, you will never develop in your life
36. No one from your community has gone become a Prime Minister, it is a dream for you to become a peon in the government sector.
37. When we share our aim, they just mock at us and discourage us saying 'Shut up, you can never be a doctor. It is not an easy job to become, and you are a Bauri. It is impossible.'
38. You all are fools, you think, you will come up from your hell kind of your situation
39. No Bauri has ever stand properly in their career so as you. Don't think high, you will never achieve.
40. Don't dream of reaching the college studies. It is unreachable for you indeed
41. You know to roam. You can never go ahead with your career
42. You even don't know to read books, but has the ambition of becoming a doctor
43. Never a Bauri became a doctor and you will also not

**C> Examples of GC student interference and control over classroom pedagogical process when SC students try to engage with teachers:**

1. While answering the GC students speak over us. As a result the teacher assumes that we don't know the answer and then punishes us.
2. The GC students answer in a loud voice and when we do likewise they chide us.

- 3.The GC students tear our books and threaten us saying that if we answer, they will beat and harass us.
- 4.It makes the GC students look bad to be seated when a Bauri stands up and answers because we are not supposed to know more than them. So they will always interfere with this.
- 5.GC students say, without knowing anything, why do you answer? I will answer it, you keep quiet.
- 6.You just keep quiet, don't make strange noises (*Dalit student's voice is 'strange'*)
- 7.Let us ask first -- don't act as if you know the answer by trying before us.
- 8.If we raise our hands to answer, they discourage us by saying that we are always going to be wrong anyway, so why bother trying.
- 9.If we answer the teacher, the GC students beat, harass and threaten us.
- 10.You cannot answer because you don't know you fool, you good for nothing
- 11.Don't ask or answer as though you are smart as a genius. That is for us to do.
- 12.The upper caste students never give SC students a chance to reply in the class room.
- 13.One day in class, the mathematics teacher asked a question and I was about to reply but the GC student suddenly interrupted me by standing up and saying to me that you are a Bauri and you do not know anything, so what reply can you possibly make?
- 14.You belong to Kandara caste; you are a fool. What will you be able to share? Remain silent. I will speak.
- 15.Oh, you have secured a good mark so you think you can sit in front of me and answer before me? Sit down! (*in anger*)
- 16.The GC student gives wrong answer whereas we the SC student know the correct answer, and yet we do not get opportunity of answering as the teacher does not ask us.
- 17.The GC students create a chaotic atmosphere in the class room when we try to answer the teacher and teachers don't correct them.
- 18.Always GC student's tries to suppress us and don't allow us to answer in front of them.
- 19.GC students always raise their hands first whether they know or nor and the teacher always asks them to answer, even if we raise our hands.
- 20.You people can never answer when we are there.
- 21.GC students do not allow SC students to answer. GC students shout and pull at them and cover their mouth.
- 22.Teachers first allow the GC students to answer and not SC students.
- 23.You are a lower caste and your answer also will be like that—low.



- 24.Dhoba students should not answer first.
- 25.Dhoba students have no right to answers.
- 26.Dhoba students should maintain silence while GC students are answering and questioning.
- 27.Dhoba students need not answer in the class because they don't know and understand
- 28.Let your answer be with you and you should not answer when we GC students are in class.
- 29.Your answer is always wrong therefore keep quiet
- 30.One day I and one of the GC students had stood for answering the question of our class teacher. The GC student answered loudly a wrong answer, and I answer a right answer. Teacher again asked the GC student who copied my answer and he was appreciated and not I.
- 31.We know better than you
- 32.You have no right to answer to begin with.
- 33.During the time of an SC student's answer, the GC students make noises so that the answer will not be heard by the teacher
- 34.Let me answer first, your answer will be wrong
- 35.Don't answer any time when we are there in the class
- 36.I know more than Bauri students.
- 37.Always the GC student go forward to answer in front of everyone
- 38.Raise their hand immediately and answer first
- 39.Don't act smart, you even don't know the abcd of the lesion and going to answer teacher while we are present
- 40.While SC students are answering, the GC students make shrill and unnecessary noises.
- 41.Hold your question, let me ask first
- 42.Wait, I will ask the same question
- 43.Most of the time GC students are answered, therefore we don't ask questions to clarify our doubts.
- 44.The GC students ask questions first and then we ask at the end only.
- 45.They laugh at the questions of SC students.
- 46.In extra-curricular activity viz. dance/singing, if the SC students are assigned to do, the GC students discourage, even ask GC teacher to cancel the GC students' performance if they allow SCs to go first.
- 47.If asked for the answer in the class room by the teacher, the GC students raise their hands immediately and say we will say and not them.

48.While SC students answer, the GC students make unusual noises so that teacher will not know who answered.

49.GC students answer aloud until it is heard by the teacher. If the same is done by the SC students, they are punished.

50.GC students bluntly say to the teacher that SC students don't know how to answer

51.If GC students answer is wrong and the SC's right, then teachers repeat the question until the GC students tell the right answer and the SC students' right answer is ignored/bypassed

**D> Examples of school official curricula -textual degradation of SCs (based on student recall):**

1.We don't understand the syllabus in the text, but it is obvious that the teachers speak of caste discrimination relating to our lives.

2.Dalit people are from the untidy set up, they don't even wash their hands before eating.

3.If a pig is served with ripe plantain, it will never eat, rather it will prefer its own filthy food.

4.The profession of a Dhoba is to wash others' cloths and iron them.

5.The work of SC is to clean toilets and drains.

6.SCs mainly do menial jobs and engage in anti-social activities.

7.SCs are bonded labourers.

8.The colour of coal is black even if it is washed with clean water, likewise Dalit (SC) as the servers of all remain so.

9.The nature of a dog's tail is crooked, it will never be straightened however you try, similarly, the Dalits nature will be crooked.

10.The lower caste people are untidy, uncouth, animist, shabby, disorderly, illiterate, etc.

11.The lower caste people are always represented as cow-boy, milk-man, wood-cutter, daily labourers.

12.The lower caste people are represented as bamboo workers, black-smith, potter, drum striker, cobbler, barber, farmers, washer-men.

13.The lower caste people are the server of all and the scavenging workers.

14.The drain, toilet, safety-tank, garbage cleaners are the lower caste people.

15.SC people are hunters, beef eaters, coffin makers, cremators, washer-men, potters, black-smiths.

16.SCs are poor and are servants.

17.SCs are represented as uneducated masses.

18. During teaching on 'Environmental Studies' in class room, the class teacher says that the surrounding is nastily dirty like the Bauri people's residence.
19. If somebody takes birth in a Bauri family it is the result of sin.
20. The life of a Dasa (Bauri servant/slave) is the life of the poor and uncivilised.
21. In the books it is addressed SCs as 'Harijans' which means God's people. But in reality these were the people of the fatherless/illicit children whom M.K. Gandhi had addressed as Harijans. SCs are in other way regarded as bastards in the text books by the terminology Harijans.
22. The profession of a Dhoba is to wash cloth.
23. The profession of Bhondari is to dress hair/cut hair and Bauri are the daily wagers and bonded labourers.
24. It is impossible for a crow to become a heron/crane, so is the case for SCs to become GCs.
25. The book sometimes describes without putting down but the teachers dig out the negative background of the SCs while teaching the same materials.
26. Teachers say (*with sarcasm*), 'SCs were the servant of us in the past but today they are the boss'.
27. SCs are represented in the books as cobblers, vendors, masons, carpenters, farmers, daily wagers, the poorest of the poor, bonded labourers, scavenging workers, etc.
28. The Oriya text often changes when reference is made to SCs by using language or words and sentences that are derogatory and disrespectful.
29. SCs are represented as fools and uneducated mass and used to make negative examples to show what stupidity means (example, they are only good for manual professions)

**E> Examples of GC student harassment/bullying of SC students:**

1. Tear the text and note books and steal pens.
2. GC students play rough in outdoor games with SC students
3. GC students possess all the sports materials and play themselves and don't give to SC students.
4. If the SC students are appreciated in the class, the GC harass SC students in games and on the way.
5. During game, there is a commotion and trouble between SC and GC students on the basis of caste and untouchability.
6. Injustice is done to the SC students in the game (If a GC student is made out in the cricket, he simply says that he is not, on the other hand, if the SC student plays well in cricket, he is somehow said to be out, even if he is not)

- 7.GC students chide SC student taking the name of their fathers' background/profession, and sometimes beat the SC students while doing so.
- 8.I have to sit first and then you sit behind me.
- 9.Hide SC students books and bags so that they get in trouble with the teacher.
- 10.You don't mingle with us, cannot play and sit with us, you have your place with the SC students
- 11.Don't try to read anymore, careful, you may become a genius!
- 12.Harass SC students at break and sports time (No one type of harassment)
- 13.While travelling in the bus on the way to school, say that you are a Bauri boy and cannot occupy the front seat.
- 14.If by mistake we sit in their place, they ask us to change the place immediately, if we dare to keep sitting, they attack in a group.
- 15.Threaten us if we by mistake go near them.
- 16.Hide and throw away our sandals (slippers).
- 17.'Don't touch me, I will become impure'!
- 18.You are an SC, don't mingle with us.
- 19.While reading in the class room, they kick us from behind.
- 20.They wait on the road and beat us in a group.
- 21.They don't give us a place to sit in the class room, hence we always sit at the back or outside even.
- 22.They don't include us in the games/sports/school parades.
- 23.Scold us saying, 'There is no difference between a Dhoba and an ass', you are a fool.
- 24.Attack us in a group with cow-dung, sand, bricks, stones, and sticks.
- 25.If SC students don't obey, then the GC students beat the SC students without any reason.
- 26.Openly the GC students especially harass the Hadi students.
- 27.GC students hide and still the books, pens, good notes. If the SC students oppose this, the GC students beat them on the way home from school.
- 28.GC students puncture the bicycles of SC students.
- 29.GC students harass the SC students during reading and writing at school.
- 30.GC students pull our side-burns, hairs, twist belly and ears, kick from behind, slap on the cheeks and ears, hammer with fist on the heads of the SC students.
- 31.Scold using vulgar language.

32. Don't talk to the SC students in a normal way- always with harsh and dominating tone or putting us down.
33. Try to mislead the SC students to make them foul during games and this way eliminate them from the game.
34. They disturb the SC students while writing by hiding their pens
35. They don't mingle with SC students. They consider the SC students as untouchables and the cursed ones.
36. By mistake if the ball touches them, they immediately react to the SC students by scolding and beating them for touching the ball and polluting it/them.
37. They throw stones at the SC students if they fail to beat them in the school due to some reason.
38. They throw the school bags off the table and if the SC students opposes this or tries to put it back on the table, they are beaten.
39. Threaten the SC students saying you better not go to school or we will kill you at the railway track.
40. GC students beat and tear books and notes
41. GC students mark the SC students' uniform with ink.
42. GC students don't allow SC students to be the leader of the game.
43. GC students many a time pull and push the GC students.
44. GC students scold with vulgar languages.
45. GC students threatened to pour hot porridge on the SCs on their way home.
46. GC students always use the caste name whenever they address the SCs. They pull hair and scold saying, you Bauri fool.
47. They throw our slippers from the right place to get us in trouble with the teacher.
48. They always call us by caste "Kandara" and quarrel with us for no reason because of our caste. They beat us while calling out our caste, "Kandara"!
49. Don't be friend with us because you belong to Bauri caste.
50. They never allow us to sit in the front row. If we sit, they compel us to leave the seat and otherwise threaten us saying there will be trouble on the way home.
51. The GC students don't give us a chance to give a reply to the teacher and put false allegation before the teacher and teacher then scolds us in return.
52. In case we get a good score in class on a test, they are jealous and never tolerate our progress and create disturbance in class and out of the class for that student.

- 53.If SC students sit in the front line in class room, then the GC students say, ‘you lower caste student why don’t you sit at the back’?
- 54.GC students don’t talk with the SC students
- 55.GC students don’t allow SC students to study during the vacant period in the class room.
- 56.We will not mingle with low caste girls, you remain away/separate.
- 57.Dandasi student tells as if knows everything, keep quiet!
- 58.Hello Bauri student, don’t be such a V.I.P. okay!
- 59.You are Bauri do not touch us!
- 60.GC students don’t include SC students in playing games.GC students don’t mingle with us. They make their own group and plan to harass us.
- 61.The GC students attack us in groups and harass us and prevent us from using the common facility of the school, like game, common room, water source, library, bathroom or even in participating in common events like sports.
- 62.Tell us to walk behind them. If we violate this by going on a bicycle ahead of them while they are pedestrians, on the following morning they will deflate and puncture our bicycle tyres.

**F>Examples of caste/untouchability practices regarding religious rituals in school:**

- 1.We are not given any ritual related responsibilities on account of our SC background.
- 2.You are a Dhoba, sit away from the ceremonial place at the back.
- 3.We do works like cleaning, carrying heavy materials for decoration of the ritual place but we are prohibited to be part of any rituals in front of the Brahmin (High Caste Priest)- they will not even allow us to touch the offered food.
- 4.Don’t come near the ritual place and desecrate the ceremony, stand outside and see, pray, offer flowers.
- 5.You are a lower caste, don’t touch God and defile his blessing
- 6.We can work and offer money but are forbidden to touch the statue of Ganesh and Saraswati (god and goddess of wisdom).
- 7.We sit at the back during the ritual ceremony.The GCs sit at the ritual ceremony place and enjoy with gaiety.
- 8.During the statue immersions of Gods, we are warned to stand away from the river/pond/sea water.
- 9.While placing coconut at the ritual time, the SC students are not allowed to place and offer coconut directly.

10. During the religious rituals SC students are warned not to go near the place of worship.
11. All the ritual related responsibilities are entrusted to the GC students only.
12. SC students are not permitted to touch the offering of rice, milk, curd, flowers, etc. instead these are done by the GCs.
13. SC students are chased away during the time of decoration and preparation of the religious ritual even if they show an interest in participating.
14. SC students are strictly prohibited from touching the ritual lamp, coming in contact with ritual lamp, giving incense to Gods, distributing God's food, etc.
15. If the SC students participate in the ritual activity, then there is a belief that the worship will be defiled or desecrated.
16. SC students are given menial jobs to do during the ceremonial preparation, like colour paper designing, decorating, cleaning the surroundings and the main hall.
17. SC students are asked to sit outside the ritual place at the back.
18. SC students receive God's (blessed) food at the end and get a chance of offering flowers at the end.
19. SC students are allowed to pay visit and venerate the Gods after the ritual ceremony.
20. SC students are not allowed to touch the statue of the God during the ceremony.
21. SC students are prohibited from touching the ritual lamp and to break the coconut offering.
22. They restrict us even to touch them and say you belong to "Kandara" caste --stay away from us and also restrict us to join in the Puja.
23. We give our coconut and banana to them for Puja offering and stand outside the Puja hall.
24. They also don't allow us to touch the utensils during the banquet in the ceremony.
25. They don't allow us to touch the statue of God Ganesh or Goddess Saraswati, even during the time of emersion.
26. They say harshly that you give your puja (ritual) plate and stay outside.
27. They don't give us chance to decorate the festival stage (mandapa, medha) for Puja.
28. They don't allow us to sit near the ritual worshiping place during Ganesh puja and Saraswati puja at schools.
29. SC students do all the outside work.
30. Bauri students stay outside.
31. We are not given any responsibility related to ritual activities because we are SCs.
32. We are not able to pay our homage in the form of flowers and lamps.

33. We are told that we are the filthiest objects who would defile the ritual if we came in.
34. We are not allowed to touch the statue of our God during the time of religious rituals in the school.
35. We work hard to decorate outside but not in the place of worship as we are not allowed.
36. The GC students warn us not to touch the statue of the God/Goddess because the God is also from upper caste (GC).
37. We are prohibited to sit in front and near the priest during the ceremony.
38. If someone dies, the student of that family will be restricted from touching anybody in class and even asked not to come to the school unless they are purified with in a ritualistic way.

**G> Examples of gendered-caste based discrimination in schools specific to SC-female students:**

1. Yes, SC girls are the victim of caste discrimination and untouchability, especially by GC students both boys and girls who don't touch SC girl student during their monthly menstruation period. This is not the experienced of GC girls.
2. After school meal, teachers only ask SC girls to wash their plates.
3. Both GC teachers and students demean the SC girls in every moment in the school and the SC girls tolerate this silently.
4. Dalit girls sit behind and they don't get the chance to ask questions in the class.
5. Dalit girls are suppressed and feel inferior in every activity due to caste discrimination and untouchability.
6. SC girls are assigned to work more than the others.
7. You should not go near the teacher say GC students because you are a dirty/untidy/shabby SC girl.
8. Mostly SC girls are deputed to do more work.
9. Sit at the back and wash the tiffin boxes of teachers.
10. SC girls are not asked any questions for their own improvement by the teachers and they are utterly ignored.
11. Both GC teachers and students tease and pull hair of the SC girls.
12. Most of the time, the GC students hide SC girl's school bags and pens at the time of their most urgent need (exams) and give them after the assignments.
13. Keep your distance and walk their you Bauri girl.
14. Your responsibility is to serve a Bauri husband.
15. SC girls do sweeping and cleaning work whereas boys don't.



- 16.SC girl students are humiliated in front of everyone.
- 17.SC girls are given the work of cleaning the school campus/surroundings and class halls, wiping chairs and benches, mopping floors and the veranda.
- 18.SC girls are detested and considered as the most lowly and hated beings.
- 19.SC girls are harassed in such a way that around 8 girls stopped going to the schools.
- 20.SC girls are not given equal opportunity like GC girls in the school extra-curricular activities.
- 21.SC girls skills and talents are not recognized or ignored and they are jeered even if they have these skills.
- 22.SC girls do not play and participate in the school activities.
- 23.SC girls are humiliated and called domestic cook, sweeper, cleaner, washer woman, servant—that is what you are for.
- 24.SC girls are considered to be the cursed ones.
- 25.SC girls are suppressed and dominated both on the basis of caste and gender.
- 26.SC girls always have to face crude comments.
- 27.SC girls are knuckled, elbowed, pushed, beaten, scolded, ridiculed, etc.
- 28.SC girls' hair and dresses are pulled.
- 29.SC girls are not allowed to speak aloud while talking unlike others. They have to stay quiet or speak softly.
- 30.SC girls are threatened with harassment.
- 31.SC girls are asked to water the gardens in the schools.
- 32.SC girls are asked to clean the common toilets and marshy places around the schools.
- 33.SC girls are asked to sit separately in the schools at the extreme end at the back.
- 34.In the Mid-day Meal, SC girls are given the spoiled plantain and broken eggs.
- 35.SC girls are scolded and beaten.
- 36.SC girls are not permitted to attend tuition after school.
- 37.SC girls are mocked.
- 38.SC girls are discouraged to study because teachers tell them they can never excel in any career.
- 39.SC girls are considered the “most untouchable”.
- 40.SC girls are not attended to at the time of need during class both by teacher and other students.

41. SC girls are used in the school as sweeper, gardener, cleaner, moper and care taker.
42. You girls belong to “Bauri” caste -go to the back and sit- I have worshipped today already, so don’t defile me with your presence, said a GC student.
43. Teachers behave affectionately towards GC girls and they support them in each and every step of their study but we SC girls only get ridiculed, beaten and ignored.
44. GC girls say, ‘you girls belong to “Kandara” caste, so you don’t try to be friendly with us.
45. Girls belonging to “Kandara” caste move here and there and wear gold in ear and nose and they don’t even know how to use the proper language to speak in (said with ridicule).
46. Teachers never ask any questions of SC girls but if sometimes they ask, they use discriminatory language and derogatory voice and approach to mock them while asking.
47. We (SC girls) never get an opportunity to speak or stand before the black board.
48. GC boys make our bicycle tyre puncture and throw small stones on us from behind.
49. SC girls do all the labour work in the schools.
50. SC girls are asked to fetch water for washing.
51. SC girls are asked to uproot grass.
52. SC girls do all the cleaning -- sweeping, washing the vessels, moping the floor.
53. SC girls are commented upon with foul language.
54. SC girl’s bicycles are punctured and in their absence books and notes are scattered and torn.
55. SC girls are stoned at from a distance and their dresses are pulled.
56. SC girls do all the menial work.
57. Sometimes GC boys beat the SC girls if they complain about the boys to their parents or teachers. This makes them stay quiet. (*silences them*)
58. Get stoned from behind and have their hair pulled.
59. Bauri girls are always told to stay silent and not to share their ideas.
60. Sit separate, sit behind SC boys at the end.
61. Made to sweeping and clean the school surroundings including any garbage.
62. Their books and pens are hidden mostly and their dresses get marked with ink.
63. Most labour or hard work is assigned to the SC girls in the schools.
64. SC girls are assigned to sweep the surroundings, clean class rooms, uproot grass and do menial jobs.
65. SC girls sit separately and stay separate in any event and activities—right at the back.

- 66.SC girls are assigned school work with the lowest level of responsibility as though they are more stupid.
- 67.SC girls are asked by the peon (principal's assistant) to sweep, clean and mop the office
- 68.SC girls are not entrusted with any important roles in the school events, functions and activities.
- 69.SC girls have to work harder and for much longer than SC boys and GCs.
- 70.GC students use most humiliating slang language mainly for SC girls.
- 71.SC girl's dresses are ripped and pulled.
- 72.SC girl's bicycles are broken more than anyone else.
- 73.SC girls are abused by words, actions and thoughts.
- 74.SC girls are discouraged from studying because they are told that their profession is to cook and rear children.
- 75.SC girls are called not by their first name but by their family name which exposes their caste position.
- 76.SC girls have to clean the class room.
- 77.SC girls are never chosen/elected as the monitor in the class.
- 78.SC girls are segregated in the school and don't get to participate in the school events as equally as all boys and GC girls.
- 79.SC girls are asked to sit separately, always.
- 80.Do all sweeping work--do over time, hard and more work.
- 81.SC girls are dominated by all boys, teachers and GC girls
- 82.SC girls face the most abusive comments—those words are only for them.
- 83.SC girls are always under fear of all sorts because they face tougher discriminatory situations.
- 84.Teachers engage the SC girls even in their own houses making them do all the cleaning and sweeping work.
- 85.SC girls are seen most of the time uprooting grass and watering plants and the school surroundings.
- 86.SC girls are always the ones to be asked to remain behind after school for these jobs.
- 87.SC girls are the ones who are scolded most of the time with abusive language.
- 89.SC girls are always asked to work in the school instead of attending classes.
- 90.SC girls are considered as the valueless ones.
- 91.SC girls are not entrusted with major responsibilities.

92.SC girls have no role to play in the school except sweeping and cleaning

93.SC girls are discouraged from studying.

94.SC girls are considered to be the most untouchable of us untouchables and are always pushed further aside than everybody else.

## APPENDIX - I

### Mini-cases on Caste and Untouchability Practices in Rural Schools in Ganjam District, Odisha

#### Case-study - 1

**Grade: 8**

**Male**

The boy belongs to the SC Community of Bauri Sub-caste. He expressed that he was a victim of casteism and untouchability in his school.

On the eve of Ganesh Puja in the year 2013, a group of GC students punctured his bicycle tire. He immediately brought the issue to the attention of the teacher present who ignored him saying that he would look into the matter after the Puja was over. After the Puja when he went back to the teacher and lodged the same complaint, the teacher said, 'forget about it'.

That same day, he informed his parents about this. His parents responded to him indifferently saying that he should be careful about it in the future and especially with the GC students. All the class-mates and students of the school community knew about the incident very well but nobody came to support him.

As the boy could not get support from any quarter he was feeling angry and frustrated. After a fortnight or so and in a state of anger he went to the bicycle-shed and punctured 3 bicycles belonging to the GC students. The issue was again brought to the notice of the same teacher who was quick in his response and said that he would punish the culprit severely. The boy was accused of damaging the bicycles of GC students and was given a heavy thrashing by the teacher in front of the class. He was then attacked by a group of GC boys on the way back home on the same day. He said, they beat him up, shouted at him using abusive casteist language, tore his books and notes, broke his bicycle and soiled his dress with mud.

The teacher, even after learning about the subsequent incident outside the school remained silent on the matter and protected the GC students. According to the boy, this was a common occurrence and response from teachers. He (the teacher) scolded the SC student instead and warned him to remain disciplined and to stop causing chaos on the school premises.

As the parents are from an SC background, they have been facing such caste based discrimination and untouchability since the time of their forefathers. They are also the victims of the same in the community caste settings. They felt weak and were not able to raise their voice in support of their son in the school. Instead, they asked their son to behave properly in school with GC students and teachers.

The SC community felt that the issue was important, however they were frustrated about what to do next. They tried to raise the issue but the dominant caste community (GC) were adamant. The SC community thereafter started to boycott doing GC work but this was in vain. The GC community hired labourers from other places and engaged them in their work.

## Case-study - 2

**Grade: 8**

**Male**

The boy is from the SC community of Hadi Sub-caste. He expressed that he is a victim of casteism and untouchability in his school.

The boy faced both untouchability and casteism in the schools during the Mid-Day Meal (MDM), in class, teacher-student and via student-student relations, during availing himself of facilities and provisions, and during special events/ceremonies and in his day-to-day school life.

According to him, water was kept separately-- one pot for the SC students and another for the GC students. As he was new to the school, he did not know about the water segregation on the basis of caste. One day, while he was taking water from the water pot meant for the GC students, a GC senior boy came and snatched the glass from him and said 'You are not supposed to drink water from this glass'. After washing the glass, the GC student placed the glass in its place and asked him to meet him outside. As they were in a place where there was no one, the GC senior student slapped him and said "You should not repeat the same". He was alone and he saw some GC students standing near-by. Hence, he bore the torture and came to attend his class silently.

That same evening, he narrated the incident to his parents. They were sad and angry but told him to be careful in front of upper caste students. However, they shared this matter with some of the SC community members, who, after listening to his parents, told the boy that he should stop being such a girl (wearing bangles) and fight back like a man.

The boy after a week found the same upper caste boy alone. He rushed towards the boy and kicked him from behind saying, "Why did you slap me that day?" He slapped the GC boy again and told him, "If you inform the teachers, I will see you in the college next year, where my brother also studies".

The GC student informed the teachers and the teachers asked the boy to apologize. However, they did not bother about the first incident which was committed by the GC student.

## Case-study - 3

**Grade: 9**

**Male**

The boy in question is from the Bauri Sub-caste and is a SC. He expressed that he is experiencing the ills of casteist-practices in his school almost every day.

Untouchability and casteist practice is very evident in the schools during the Mid-Day Meal, in class room sitting patterns, teacher-student and students-student relations, facilities and school provisions, special events and ceremonies and in the normal course of daily school life.

As per his narration, one day, while he was in the class room sitting with other boys, a GC student made a comment to a SC girl that was derogatory and offensive. Hearing this, the SC boy reminded him that he also had sisters and a mother and asked him to behave properly with the SC girl as he would the women in his own family. Even after this warning, the GC student repeatedly did the same with other SC girls too.

After some days, the boy found a GC girl asking him to keep his distance and make way for her to pass. The same girl shouted at him during the Mid-day meal, when he was (as she saw it) too close to her. Being an SC she wanted him to keep his distance. Hearing this, he also used the same offensive language that was used previously by the GC boy to the SC girl and swore at her. She reported him to the teacher who let the GC boy off with a simple warning while he beat up the SC boy severely for the same offense reminding him of his place (caste).

#### **Case-study - 4**

**Grade: 10**

**Male**

The boy comes from Schedule Caste (SC) Community of the Bauri Sub-caste. He expressed that he has been facing discrimination in the school due to casteism and untouchability practices there.

The boy always performed well in the examination. He used to be prompt in answering questions asked by teachers. One day, it so happened, a GC student intentionally accused him of copying (cheating) in an examination and went and reported him to the teacher. The teacher re-examined the boy and found him innocent (he knew his material). The teacher was angry with the GC student and punished him as he felt that it was a false allegation levelled against an SC student. There was a short verbal fight between the SC boy and the GC student after the incident. Taking up the issue further, on 4<sup>th</sup> October, 2013, the GC students attacked the boy on his way back home. They tore his school uniform and his books, beat him, pulled his ears, pulled at his side-burns and knuckled him on his head.

When the parents learnt about this incident, they informed the teachers. The teachers said that they are not responsible for “out of school incidents”. The boy went for treatment and did not go to the school on the following day. When the other SC students heard about it, they were furious but waited for the boy to return and for his explanation for what happened. Shortly after, when the SC boy returned to school, the SC students gathered together and plotted to take retaliatory action against the GC students. The SC students then hid themselves behind a bush and pelted stones on the GC students when they were walking to the school on the regular footpath. Two GC students were injured in this attack. The teachers after learning about the incident did not bother as it was also an “out of the school” incident. However, the teachers warned the SC students to be careful in future and not to anger GC students.

When the SC student was beaten up the parents of the boy had gone to the teacher and complained. After having been discouraged by the teachers lack of response, they informed their community about the incident. The SC community then requested the GC community head to look into the matter. However, the GC community ignored the request and did not compromise on the matter. After the second incident the, GC community woke up and

vehemently accused the SC community of perpetrating violence and warned them that they would retaliate and attack in future, if they repeated the same actions.

#### **Case-study - 5**

**Grade: 10**

**Male**

The boy who gave his opinion on discrimination and untouchability comes from the Schedule Caste (SC) Community of the Bauri sub-caste. The boy has been a victim of untouchability and casteism in the schools on several occasions.

The boy is poor in studies but has an avid interest in learning. Whenever he wanted to clarify his doubts from teachers and know more about his lessons, he was jeered at in front of all students on the basis of his caste. According to him, the teachers would say, “What will you do after knowing this lesson? It will be of no use to all Bauris. It will make no difference if I will make you understand and clarify your doubts. You are Bauri and will remain a Bauri for the rest of your life.” One day everyone was expressing her/his life’s dream and the SC boy said he would become a teacher after completing his studies. The teacher laughed at him and discouraged him from cherishing such false dreams. He asked, “How can a Bauri be a teacher and teach GC students? Is it at all possible? You are not even clear about your studies, how will you pass the class/grade and become a teacher?”

The boy was depressed and did not know where he went wrong. Without giving it much thought, one day he went to the bicycle-stand in the school and punctured the bicycle of the teacher with a pin. He then cut the bicycle seat with a blade which he had brought to sharpen his pencil. He was so happy to see the teacher pulling his cycle and walking back home shaking his head in anger. As the boy walked home he cursed the teacher and expressed his feelings to no one in particular. On the following day while the teacher’s son was alone he hit the boy from behind and then hid. The boy cried and informed his father (teacher) who enquired but could not figure out who this person was. Another day, the boy went early to the class and planted a pin (vertically) on the teacher’s wooden-chair. As soon as the teacher sat on the chair, he sprung up and screamed in pain causing a commotion and students laughed at him in the classroom.

The boy says that the teacher still has not changed his attitude and behaviour. However, he is glad that he will be leaving this school shortly and will be relieved of this “misery caused by this inhuman teacher.”

#### **Case-study - 6**

**Grade: 7**

**Male**

The boy who has shared his experience on discrimination and untouchability comes from Bauri sub-caste (SC).

The boy is the eldest son of his poor parents. He has two more brothers, who are studying, one in 5<sup>th</sup> and the other in 2<sup>nd</sup> grade/class. His father is a daily wager and goes every morning for work and returns in the evening. His mother too goes for work to nearby places and does



all household activities at home. He and his two brothers, never go home for the mid day meal because they know their parents will not be at home. Mid day meal in the school is not regular and whenever there is no mid day meal in the school, students are set free from school early, so that they can go home and have their meal. So he goes hungry on these days.

Many a time, he has been told by teachers that he is a quarrelsome boy in the school. But his explanation is that he is not able to bear anything spoken against his two brothers. He gets angry when his brothers are humiliated on the basis of caste. Some 4-5 months ago, he heard a GC student calling his brother 'Das' which means 'servant'. He confronted the boy on the way back home and slapped his face. This led to a fight between SC-GC boys. SC students came running and stood behind the SC boy and the GC students behind the GC fellow. There was an exchange of angry words but the GC students used abusive and casteist language: *"Tu Bauri das, dure bas. Amaku chhuinba pain sahasa karena, karana tu jone Bauri. Tu jone lajya hina prani, kie kahila tate padhibaku. Ghusuri jemiti tame bi semiti. Kukura mananka pari ama seba kara."* Which means 'As you are a Bauri, a servant, you sit away from us. Don't dare to touch us as you are a Bauri. You are a shameless creature, who told you to study. Pigs and you are the same, there is no difference. Like dogs you will serve us.'

The boy never tolerated having his brothers becoming victims of discrimination due to caste. He made sure every time that the GC students who insulted or abused his brothers were taught a lesson. If the GC students were older than him, he would tear and throw their books. He also stoned them while hiding behind a bush. If the GC students were from his class or junior to him, he would confront them face to face and quarrel with them. He would use the same language they used. Many a time, he scolded them in abusive language in their absence. He would hold on to a grudge against the GC students who had hurt him or his brothers and friends (caste-untouchability treatment) and often during recess, he would quietly go and spit on the plates of those boys; plates used for their mid-day meal. He was happy seeing his opponents eating from that "impure" plate and felt proud that he could do something which nobody could think of doing.

The boy said that he would continue to take such actions, until the GC students realised that they were carrying on an injustice towards SC students. 'We will show them that we can also hit back'.

#### **Case-study - 7**

**Grade: 7**

**Male**

The boy is a Bauri (sub-caste) and is the elder son of parents who are daily labourers. Of all types of daily discrimination on account of caste and poverty in school, the boy is most upset with what happens during the Mid-day Meal. SC students nor SC people are never allowed to serve the food. Plates provided by the school to eat on are kept separately based on caste-- SC and GC after each meal. He says that even while serving, the "SC plates" are placed separately always away from "GC plates" and the SC students are served after GCs students receive their meal. The person serving the meal ensures that ladles used for serving do not touch the SC plate but this is not so with GCs. GC students never sit with the SC students and

always occupy the centre of the room and have their Mid-day Meal together, well away from the SC students who sit at one end of the room and have their meal.

One day, the boy unknowingly touched a GC boy while passing him during eating. The GC boy reacted violently; shouted at him with abusive language and beat him with his soiled hand. The boy took it quietly. If any of these practices was violated by the SC students, they would be admonished in this manner. The boy also shared that he was always asked to clean/sweep up the place after the Mid-day Meal. 'I do not know why we are different from them. I think my father had done something against them for which they take revenge on me', said the boy.

On one occasion, he was passing by the cooking utensils with the water to prepare the Mid-day Meal -- he spat in it and "defiled" the water. This gave him some satisfaction but he finally decided not to partake of the mid-day meal. Since then he carries his meal/tiffin from home and eats it during the time when Mid-day Meal is served to others.

### Case-study - 8

**Grade: 9**

**Female**

The girl is from Schedule Caste (SC) (Dalit Community) and of the Hadi sub-caste.

The girl faces untouchability and caste discrimination in school as well as out of the school. She says that during the Mid-day meal she and her SC girl-friends are asked to stay away from the cooking utensils and the place where the meal is served. They are served after everybody else is served and are made to sit separately.

In the class-room, the GC students (even GC girls) rudely say, "*Ei Hadi toki, aloga heiki base, amoku chhuibapain chesta kare na*" which means "You stupid Hadi girl, sit away from us and do not try to touch us". Many a time they say, "*Tumara bapa-maa tumaku kana sikhei nahanti ama tharu dure rahib pain? Hadi loka to, kana jana tamaku, byabahar*"? which means "Have your parents not taught you to maintain distance from us? As you are from Hadi community what do you know about good manners?" She said "It is considered as defiling their so-called intelligent mind, if I, by mistake, happen to even touch their books, pens, notes. They scold me with vulgar and abusive language.

Until today, I am not given any responsibility or any portfolio either in class or in school. Along with my SC girl-friends, I am given all menial work to do like cleaning and sweeping which is reserved for us".

The girl said, "What have I done to GC students who ill-treat me in this manner? I have informed my parents about these practices in schools. My parents remain silent every time I inform them. My parents insist that I go to the school and come back silently". She feels helpless, as she is a girl. She wants to do something for her own community but caste becomes the barrier.

For now she expresses her frustration privately. For example, one day during the Mid-day meal, she purposefully touched the ladle and was scolded by the GC cook. She wanted to see

whether the meal is given to GC students or not using the same ladle. To her surprise, the ladle was washed but used for the meal and not thrown away. This gave her some secret satisfaction because according to their belief, this would mean they all ate “polluted food” that day.

### **Case-study - 9**

**Grade: 10**

**Female**

The girl who shared her experiences with discrimination and untouchability comes from Schedule Caste (SC) Community and of the Bauri sub-caste.

The girl feels bad about caste based untouchability in schools. Many a time, she has been scolded and warned regarding not touching the GC students and their belongings. One day the girl was walking in the school corridor, and she accidentally collided with another GC girl who immediately reacted to it. The GC girl went to the toilet and washed herself and informed other GC boys and girls that she was defiled by her. In front of everybody including teachers who were present there, the GC students used abusive language and physically threatened her. Since then she has been hearing cheap comments from the GC boys.

The girl told her parents about this but given their helplessness as Bauris, they advised her to bear it silently in order to be able to study in the same school. However, she was sad and was not able to face such things again. Whenever the GC students passed cheap comments, she retorts using similar comments taking their sisters and mothers’ names.

She also informed SC students in this regard who were furious and want to avenge this but so far no such thing has occurred. “The SCs constitute more in number. If we unite, we can create a commotion in school”, says the girl.

### **Case-study - 10**

**Grade: 8**

**Male**

The boy concerned is from the Bauri sub-caste.

He feels rejected and excluded in the class. Both teachers and GC students scold and bully SC students. One day the boy was trying to answer a question asked by the teacher. A GC student suddenly interrupted him and answered the question. Soon after his answer, the teacher appreciated him and said, ‘Good, don’t be like Bauris, they are good for nothing’.

Another day when the boy went to the teacher for getting lesson-related clarification, the teacher said to him, ‘Even if I teach you now, you will never understand this lesson. Go to one of the GC students who will make you understand because they know what I am saying’. The GC students of course, did not help nor support him. The boy addressed the lesson by answering all the questions after having studied and made sense of it himself but the teacher

told him that what he had written down was wrong. When the same answer (as his) was shared (orally) by another GC student, the teacher changed his view and said “he is right” but never acknowledged the prior performance of the SC boy nor did he adjust his remarks on his paper.

One day, when the teacher was absent, the boy stood up and said, “I will answer the questions asked in the class and nobody should interrupt; if anyone does I will lose my temper”. Hearing this, the GC students passed this on to the teacher. The teacher immediately came to the class and asked a difficult question which the boy failed to answer. The boy defiantly stood up and challenged the teacher saying, “if this question is answered by the rest of the students in the class, then I will bear any kind of punishment you give me”. The teacher immediately asked others assuming that the GC students would answer. However they too failed to answer the question. The boy then told the teacher that he was being very partial and always favoured upper caste students. The teacher took offense at this, discussed this with other teachers in the school and asked the boy’s father to make his son understand that he was insulting the teacher. The boy’s father rebuked the boy and said sorry to the teacher on behalf of his son.

## Case-study - 11

**Grade: 8**

**Male**

The parents of this Bauri boy are God fearing and religious people. As Hindus, they observe the Hindu rituals and celebrate festivals. They are poor, still they contribute for the Hindu festival in the village. Coming from such background, the boy always remained pious and meek during the festivals celebrated in school. He did his early schooling up to 7<sup>th</sup> Grade at Chhatrapur, a government aided school in the city. Since the boarding was far (5km) from the High school in Chhatrapur and all the students had to go to school on foot, his father decided to get him admitted in his village high school. In his early schooling, he never understood the division between upper caste people and the lower castes though he knew that it did exist for some unexplained reason. But he had no clear idea about where, when and how it was practiced. Once during the *Saraswati Puja* (*Saraswati* means The Goddess of Wisdom and *Puja* means Worship), as per usual the boy entered the puja Mandap and sat just in front of it. A 10<sup>th</sup> Grade student immediately came to the boy and caught him by his ears, twisted them tightly and shouted at him saying, “Get lost, you *Bouri*, don’t dare to desecrate the worship ceremony”. The boy came out from there to the hall where all the SC students were sitting and was in tears. They also scolded him saying that he should know that the place of worship is not accessible to the SCs?’ The boy expressed that he did not know about this. After the *Puja*, he went back to his house and shared everything that happened in the school with his parents. The parents too were displeased with him as he had entered the *Puja* hall. The boy put forward an argument to his parents saying that in Chhatrapur school all the students together celebrated the *Puja* and enjoyed”. However, the parents were not convinced by this and instead, warned him not to repeat this.

After 3 days of the *Puja*, there was a *Visarjan* (immersion – the statue of *Saraswati* would be immersed to dissolve in the river water). The GC students remained near the idol of *Saraswati* and the SCs stood aloof. The procession too was conducted in a manner that maintained untouchability status of the students. In the front row there were GC students and then the SCs students were put behind. During the procession usually dancing and fun goes along with the festivity. Even in this there was a separate place for SC students to perform. The boy did not feel okay with the situation. He then went to the Head teacher and complained about the untouchability practised even in receiving blessings from God. The teacher nodded his head saying “Yes” and left the place.

The boy was angry. He stealthily went to the place where the *Prasad* (the offered food to God which is distributed after the ritual) was and put his pen inside the *Prasad*. The *Prasad* was distributed to all and everybody ate it. The distributor discovered the pen inside the *Prasad*. He asked if anyone lost it while dancing and during procession. The boy sprang up and went to the distributor and claimed that the pen belonged to him. All GC students were angry about it, however could not do anything as they had already consumed the *Prasad*. The boy felt pleased with what he did.

## Case-study - 12

**Grade: 10**

**Female**

The girl (a Bauri) feels discriminated against during the Mid-day meal and in the class room due to certain untouchability practices. She and her SC female friends are always served last during the Mid-day Meal in the school. All the SC girls are asked to sit separately away from all the other students. At the end of their meal, they are asked to clean up the eating place, kitchen and cooking utensils. Almost every day the SC girls wash the plates used by the teachers and keep them properly.

In the class rooms, SC girls are made to sit behind the GC girls and away from the GC & SC boys. The teachers never pay attention to the SC girls during the class. Whenever the SC girls ask for clarification on any subject from the teachers, the teachers either ignore or postpone a response or the teachers suggest the SC girls take help from SC boys after the class. The teachers say, “There is no special time for clarification during the class especially for you SC girls”.

On another occasion, the girl was absent from the school due to a personal problem. She went to the teacher to have him clarify a few things around what she had missed. The teacher told her, “Those who are absent from the class, for them there is no clarification. Try to understand the lesson on your own”. The girl wanted help from her GC classmates and SC boys but nobody could or would help her out. An SC girl who did not have much understanding on the subject tried to explain the lesson to her. The girl also studied hard to understand the lesson fully. After studying the lesson thoroughly she raised some points in the class on the subject and challenged the teacher saying that it seemed that no one in the class had understood what the teacher had claimed to have taught when she was absent. In fact, neither could the teacher answer the questions that the girl has asked. In order to defend

himself the teacher rebuked her saying, “You are not a teacher and therefore do not ask other students in the class questions”. The girl retorted, “Sir, you did teach these students in my absence and when I asked you to help me understand it, you refused to teach me. Now I can see you did not teach the subject properly as no one knows what it is that you claimed to have taught them. You also ignore the back benchers and expected them to understand things on their own. I take utmost effort to study and come to this class and this is what happens.”

Since then all the SC students started recognizing her. They also personally appreciated her for her courage and behaviour in the class. Some students approached her to get her assistance in studies and she did not say ‘no’ to them. Along with her studies, she teaches other students also. The GC students are jealous of her but the girl is not bothered by this. The girl says, “I will become a doctor and serve my people.

### **Case-study - 13**

**Grade: 9**

**Male**

The boy, a Bauri, is strong in appearance and stature. He is always a victim of untouchability during sports in the school. During the football matches, if a GC boy was taking the ball, the boy never went and defended, as he was afraid that he would be scolded rudely as a lower caste untouchable. Whenever, he had the ball the GC boys pursued him and scolded him from behind so that he would leave the ball for them. Most of the time he was not allowed to play the game as he was an SC boy.

Apart from football, the boy also plays cricket well but he never got a chance to play with the GC boys. Sometimes there is a cricket match between SC and GC students in the school where the boy shows his calibre in cricket as the captain of the team. On several occasions his team defeated the GC boys. While batting, often the ball has been thrown at his body and he has got injured in the process. He is interested in playing indoor games but he is never allowed to play (along with his SC friends) in the school premises. Hence he feels angry towards the GC students and teachers.

On one occasion he was playing football and a GC boy scolded him. He felt annoyed and instead of kicking the ball, kicked the leg of the GC boy. On other occasions he has targeted the goal keeper with the ball instead of trying to score a goal and 2 or 3 goal keepers were injured as a result. Now-a-days the players and the goal keepers of the opposite team are afraid of him when he is playing. He never stays away from playing football and if any one opposes it, he targets him and gives a response during the game. He keeps on winning cricket matches played between SC and GC students.

The boy is happy that he is able to retaliate against the GC students in this way in the school.

### **Case-study - 14**

**Grade: 8**

**Male**

The boy comes from the Hadi sub-caste and is very innocent and has a big heart for the exploited like him. He always likes to donate pencils and pens to the students who do not have them in the class. He always took care of his books and note books and used book-covers to keep his books and note books in proper shape. He tried not to write anything in the the text book pages and respected the books as a store of wisdom and knowledge.

Once, a GC boy tore a few page of his books and put ink-marks on some pages without any reason. The boy saw all these happenings silently and asked the boy, “Why did you do this?” The GC boy replied, “Why do you study well and stand first in the class?” The boy said, “It is not that only the GC students should come first. I do hard labour and secure good marks. It is not impossible and you can also do that.” The GC boy said, “It is our right to stand first in the class and not you. You are a Hadi and therefore be like Hadi and do your cleaning and sweeping job like your people do. (the profession of a Hadi is to cremate and bury the dead, to clean the carcasses eaten by scavengers and to throw out dead animals and all sorts of menial/unsanitary work). Do not try to be like us.”

The boy kept quiet without further arguments with the GC student. On the following day, during the recession period, when the boy was studying in the class, the same GC boy disturbed him by pulling his hair, twisting his ears and poking his fingers in to the boy’s sides. The boy some time later found that his school bag was minus his books, pens and notes. He immediately complained regarding this to his class teacher. The teacher scolded him in return saying that he was careless about his belongings, so he should face the consequences.

The boy informed his parents who felt very bad about the situation. However they tried to arrange some books from here and there as his examination was approaching. During these days the boy was disturbed and did not study well. He secured lower marks in the examination and was not satisfied.

One day, finding no one in the class, he took the GC boy’s bag and threw it in a nearby water well. He continued to do the same with other GC students belongings too. He was so shrewd that nobody could catch him doing this. The GC students then complained to their parents regarding their missing bags. All the parents including the boy’s parents came to the school and discussed this matter with the teachers. The teachers assured them that need books would be provided to all who lost their bags. The boy is still angry and quietly disturbs the GC boys by tearing some pages out of their new books and throwing these pages in to the well. Nobody knows of his mischief to date. Eventually he wishes to concentrate on his studies without continuing this behaviour but still feels mad about it all.

### **Case-study - 15**

**Grade: 9**

**Female**

The girl is from the Bauri-sub-caste and is from a very poor family and began her studies later. She is now 17 years of age and studying in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade. She is an elder to all students studying in her class. Every time, both teachers and students make her a subject of jokes around her age. She listens to all these taunts and never reacts to it as she is determined to study further.



The teachers consistently ask her to do menial work in the school. They ask her to clean the office soon after her arrival in the school. She washes the plates of the teachers every day. She is even asked by the cook to clean the cooking dishes after the Mid-day Meal of the Middle school. If the school compound is found with leaves and papers thrown around, she is asked to clean the school ground, pick up the litter and throw them in the garbage nearby. Most of her school time goes in working rather than attending classes. She feels helpless and lags behind in learning. She also says that she is poor in studies and if she does not get through in the examination, her parents will not allow her to continue her studies.

One day, the girl gathered courage and boycotted the physical work assignments that were imposed on her in the school. She said to the teachers “I have come to the school to study and not to work like a peon”. Hearing her, the teachers were angry with her and said “You disobey your teachers and hence you will not improve in your studies. You are the oldest student in the school and you are supposed to listen to your teachers, obey them and behave maturely.” The girl felt insulted and was boiling with anger.

Shortly, while sweeping the office room and while she was alone, she sat on the chairs of all the teachers as a mark of protest and disrespect to them. She broke one chair by smashing it on the floor and reported to the teachers that she found the chair broken when she came to clean the room. She stuck chewing gum on a chair where a teacher who scolded her sat and enjoyed seeing the teacher trying to remove it from his clothing. She is always angry with all the teachers and the cook and remains frustrated that she can’t do more about this.

### **Case-study - 16**

**Grade: 10**

**Male**

The boy belongs to the Kandara and always goes to school by bicycle with his sister who is in the 8<sup>th</sup> grade. Almost every day the GC students make cheap and vulgar comments concerning them saying that they are lovers/girlfriend and boyfriend etc. Whenever the boy’s sister comes to visit him in school for any reason, she is commented upon in the same way. On several occasions the boy told the GC boys that she was his sister and they should not comment on them and insult them in that manner. The GC boys did not listen to the boy and in fact, continued repeating the insulting comments whenever they were together.

One day, while his sister was heading to the toilet, a group of GC boys stood at the toilet door blocking it and prevented his sister from using it. She informed her brother who then went to the spot and said, “Kindly let my sister to go to the toilet!” The GC boys replied, “Who holds your girl-friend back from going to toilet? We just like to stand in this place therefore we are here”. Without talking to the GC boys any further, he advised his sister to go to the bathroom elsewhere and she went with 2 SC girls for company.

The following day, the boy went to the toilet and waited until the GC girls came. They urged him saying that they wanted to go to the toilet but the boy said to the GC girls, “I like to be in this place, therefore I am here. You all can use the toilet and go away. If you do not want to use it, then you can go outside”. The GC girls informed the teacher about this and the teacher summoned the boy to the teacher’s room. The class teacher wanted an explanation and the



boy shared what happened to his sister the previous day. This became a big issue in the school. After the teacher's scolding, the boy said to the teachers that they have to be impartial in their verdict. First of all they should seriously consider the continuous misbehaviour and harassment by the GC boys towards his sister and him and then he would be ready for any punishment given by the teachers in this regard.

Teachers scolded all the GC students and asked the boy not to repeat the same again. Since then the GC boys gradually stopped commenting and bullying him and his sister in the school.

### **Case-study - 17**

**Grade: 10<sup>th</sup>**

**Male**

The boy comes from the Hadi sub-caste and is a middle school student who is not very good at his studies. All the students and teachers considered him a good for nothing. He was never called by his own name but was called 'Gadha' instead, which means donkey/fool. The stigma of untouchability always disturbed him in the class, during Mid-day Meal, and even in the playground. As the boy was short in stature, he was never given any responsibility. Since he was a Hadi, he was not allowed to stand in the first row like all other shorter GC students during prayer meetings at the school. He always had to stand at the back and recite the school prayer.

The boy was very sad about all the discriminatory behaviour in the school. He decided to study hard and get everyone's attention. In his 7<sup>th</sup> Grade, he performed better in his studies with satisfactory results and even enrolled in High School. Those who were students who were with him before including his class-mates in 7<sup>th</sup> Grade continued calling him by the same nick name, 'Gadha'. The boy waited until the 8<sup>th</sup> Grade examination and secured a very good mark and in the 9<sup>th</sup> Grade he stood first. He then told to all the students along with his class-mates, "I am no longer a Gadha now. I have already proved that you all have become Gadha in front of me. Henceforth if anyone calls me by that nick name, I will complain to the teacher". To his distress, the same day a teacher called him "Gadha" in front of all the students in the class which became cause for loud laughter in the class room. All students resumed calling him "Gadha" thereafter.

Today he is no longer polite and shouts back at anyone who calls him Gadha. He even uses offensive words when rebuking students and teachers. He mainly targets the GC students calling them savages, monkeys, dogs, pigs etc. During prayers he chants louder than the others so as to disturb the prayer and get noticed.

### **Case-study - 18**

**Grade: 8**

**Female**

The girl is from the Bauri community and is studious and goes to school regularly. Many a time, she felt that she was harassed and became a victim of untouchability. In school, her bag, books, notes, pens, and pocket money are either hidden or stolen. She is always asked to maintain her distance from GC students. During the Mid-day Meal, she is asked to take the

meal at the end and sit separately. One day during the class, the teacher asked her to answer a question. The other GC students vehemently opposed it saying that she should not answer it first in front of GC students and they should get the first chance. The teacher had to act as per the GC students' wish and asked the same question to another GC girl who could not answer it. The teacher then said to the students "the SC girl knows the answer and all you GC students still insist that I don't let her?". The girl came back from the school depressed and informed her parents about the incident. She blamed her parents for being SCs –the cause for all the discrimination she now had to face. The parents were speechless and all they did was shed tears.

The next day, the girl went personally to the teacher to clarify some doubts. Seeing this, the GC students again were enraged and shouted at the teacher. They shouted, "This girl is supposed to stay away from teachers and GC students as an SC, so why does she ignore this? Why does the teacher permit the SC girl in to his house to teach her in private?" The girl had to apologize for this in front of all of them and assure them that she would not repeat the same in the future.

The following day, the girl stood in front of all the students and the teacher in the class room and challenged all the GC students saying, "I will stand first in the class examination if the teacher does not show any partiality towards you GCs and prove that I am also no less than you".

After the annual examination, the girl's name was on the top of the list as she secured the highest mark among her classmates. The girl now says, "It is not the caste that makes you great, it is the skills, talents and hard-work hidden in you". Caste-based discrimination and untouchability still persists in her school and in the area. According to her, however, it would still be worthwhile to educate caste perpetrators society and even in the schools.

### **Case-study - 19**

**Grade: 9**

**Male**

The boy is from the Bauri sub-caste and feels insecure in the school due to the practice of untouchability and caste discrimination.

During the Mid-day Meal, he is served at the very end. While serving the meal, unlike for others, the server does ensure that the ladle does not touch his plate and that the food is served from a distance. He has also observed that he is served almost every time with broken shreds of egg/shells and left-over (stale) rice. If he complains about it, he is told that all are served equally. However, he never found equality in the Mid-day meal where other GC students, served with a full egg have their Mid-day meal and he is given broken or half egg.

In the class room, the quality (functional) benches are occupied by the GC students. If the boy happens to occupy a good place to sit in the class, he is shouted at by GC students and asked to vacate the place. He has been putting up with abusive language and misbehaviour of GC students in the school. The scolding also includes caste-based comments-- "You are a Bauri, the servant of all. Your fathers were our servants". The boy listens to these cheap comments and if he reacts, he is beaten and harassed.

One day, the boy went to the kitchen and moved the GC plates to the SC plates' shelf. When the cook was absent, he broke all the eggs into pieces. Soon after, all the GC students ended up eating in SC plates and SCs ate in GC plates. Every student was served with broken eggs. The GC students were annoyed to see the broken eggs served to all of them that day and warned the cook to be careful while cooking and not to repeat it again.

The boy said to them, "How come she being warned now? Why did you not warn her before? Have you not seen SC students getting broken eggs and half egg every day? The same embarrassment that you feel now, we feel everyday". On the following day he told the GC students that he had changed plates the previous day and that they had eaten in SC plates and SCs in their GC plates and that he did not see anyone dying or having health problems due to this "mishap" as we are always told would happen. All GC students were angered at his disclosure and sprung up to beat him. He said that he was ready for it but all the SC students stood behind him and the GC students eventually retreated.

## 5. CONCLUDING COMMENT

School is a place for socialization, where students go to learn and share knowledge in what is assumed to be a safe and nurturing environment for all. The findings of this study contradict these assumptions when it comes to the schooling and educational experiences of SC students. Some rural schools (20 in this survey area) in South Odisha are, based on these findings, continuing to propagate caste-based exploitation and are actively enabling the social reproduction of untouchability (humiliation) and caste inequality in Indian society, while SC girl students continue to face double-discrimination based on gender and caste on a daily basis. Such findings make it apparent that there should be little cause for incredulousness around why dropout rates continue to be a problem, especially at the middle-upper school levels. 8-10 years of such daily abuse and exploitation by teachers, students and the school system is an exercise in the socio-psychological normalization of discrimination, humiliation and the exercise of caste control and manipulation by those entrusted with the development of children.

The study exposes caste discrimination, segregation and untouchability prevalent in rural schools in South Odisha specifically in relation to: (a) access to water in schools; (b) mid-day meal practices; (c) daily class-room (teacher-student) practices; (d) Official/hidden curriculum; (e) student-student relations in and out of schools; (f) education facilities and general support; (g) non/participation in special events and ceremonies; and specific (h) gender-caste discrimination practices.

These findings and results are being used to engage policy advocacy and local action with/through the Block Education office, Village Education Committees, parents, students, local and inter/national NGO networks and relevant advocacy organizations in keeping with Constitutional and legal rights, including the Constitutional ban on untouchability practices and the SC/ST Atrocities Act.

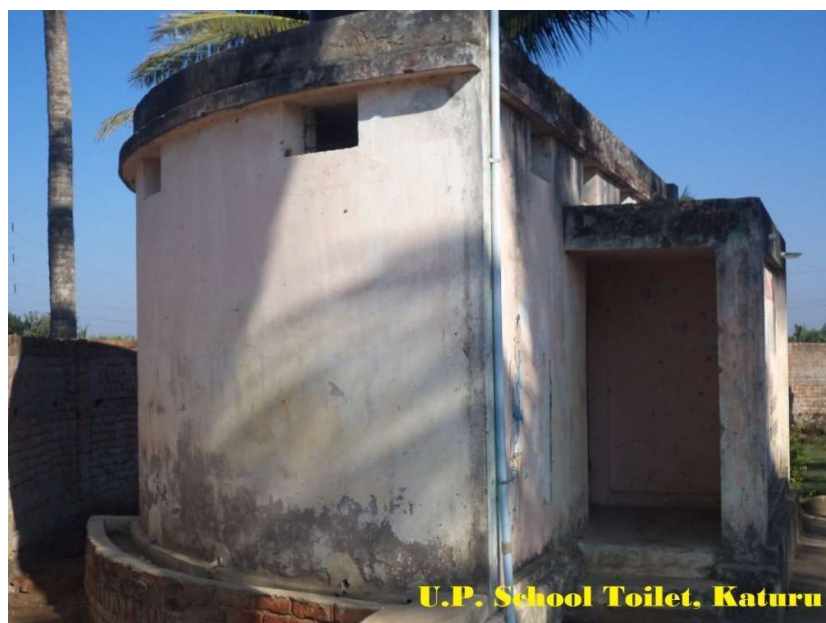
# PHOTO GALLERY



**U.G.M.E. School Mid-day  
Meal Scene, Sarabhimpur**





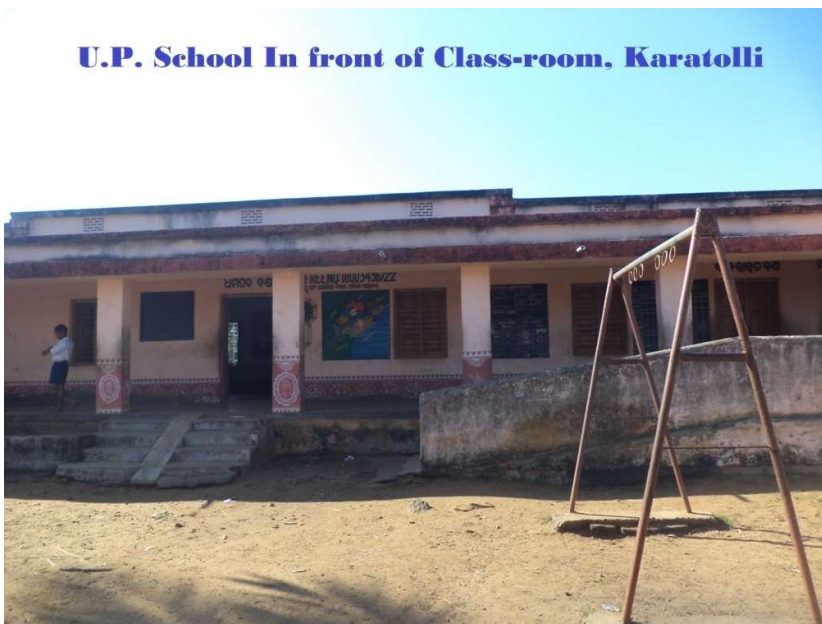


**U.P. School Toilet, Katuru**



**U.P. School Premises cum Building, Telapalli**

**U.P. School In front of Class-room, Karatolli**



**U.P. School Entrance, Telapalli**





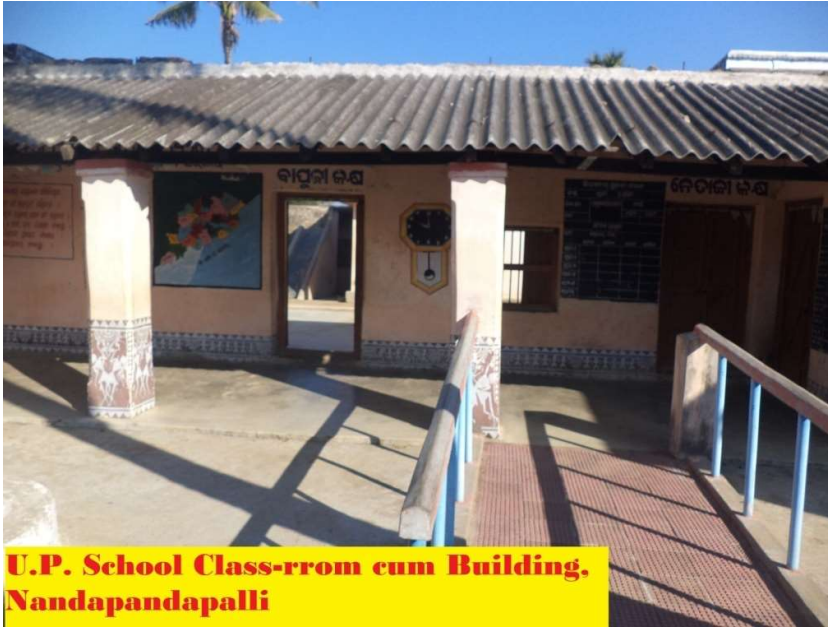


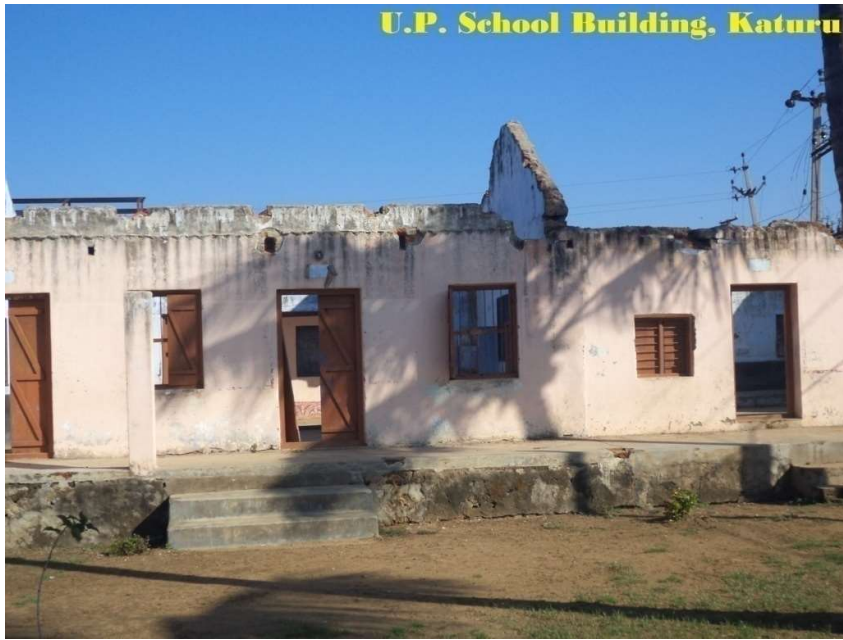


**U.P. School Entrance, Katuru**



**U.P. School Entrance, Bhagirathipur**









**U.P. School Building, Karatolli**



**U.P. School Building, Bhagirathipur**





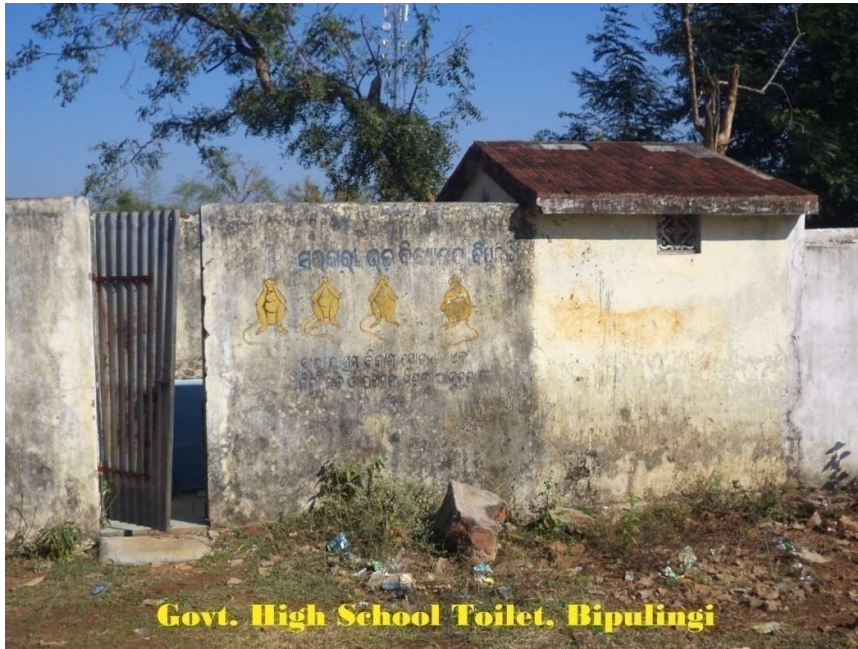
**M.E School Building, Bipulingi**



**M.E. School Building, Bipulingi**







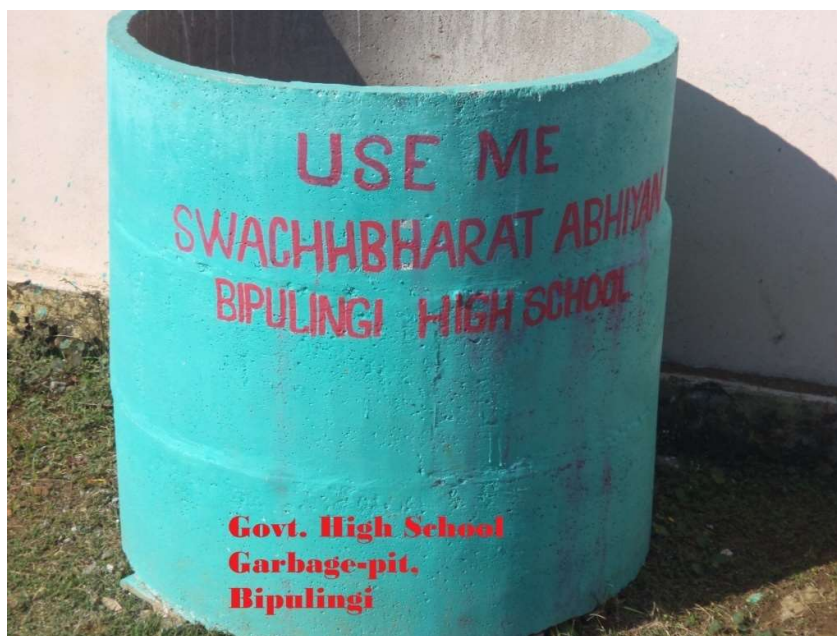
**Govt. High School Toilet, Bipulingi**



**Govt. High School Toilet from out-side, Ruknnigam**









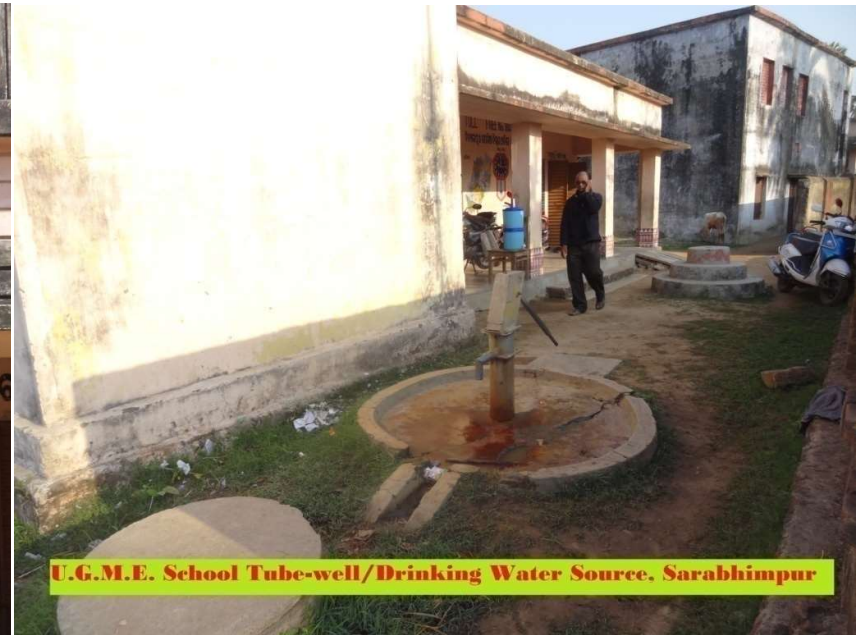
**Govt. High School Entrance, Bipulingi**



**Govt. High School Class-room, Rukunigam**









**U.G.M.E. School Toilet, Sarabhimpur**



**U.G.M.E. School Teacher's / Staff Room, Sarabhimpur**





**U.G.M.E. School Play  
Ground, Sarabhimpur**



**U.G.M.E. School Mid-day  
Meal Scene, Sarabhimpur**

**U.G.M.E. School Mid-day Meal Cooking and  
Serving Place, Sarabhimpur**



**U.G.M.E. School Entrance, Sarabhimpur**





**U.G.M.E. School Drinking  
Water Place, Sarabhimpur**



**U.G.M.E. School Class-room-2, Sarabhimpur**



**U.G.M.E. School Class-room, Sarabhimpur**



**U.G.M.E. School Building, Sarabhimpur**



