

A Socio-Economic Status of Valmiki Community in Bhal Region of Gujarat

Research Team

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It is with great pleasure that I submit this report on the life of Valmiki in Gujarat, the changes and continuity in their lives. It is a joy to present this report because there has been a lived experience of one of the researchers in Bhal region of Anand district two decades ago. The wish to highlight their life, difficulties, and challenges has come to fulfillment in a small way through this report.

The community has taught me a good deal about life and what it is to be an Indian and that too a discriminated one. On many counts, there was no equality between them and me in terms of privileges I had and have. And yet there was and is a different kind of equality of being human, sharing life, and bonding. There was no untouchability nor discrimination that existed in our relating.

In this report, the Centre for Culture and Development presents the fruit of their effort. The research has gone through various stages as well as and from conceptualization to design, data collection, tabulation and analyzing, writing, and emerging in this report form. At all the stages there has been cooperation, support, and help to bring this report to life. I want to thank all the people who have contributed to this research and report.

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We sincerely hope that the academics, scholars, students of social sciences, social workers, NGOs, leaders of the community, and those interested in the Valmiki community in Gujarat and across India will find this report useful.

James Regina C. Dabhi
Director

Abbreviations

AMC	Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation
AVSK	Antodiya Vikas and Shiksha Kendra
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CCD	Centre for Culture and Development
FGD	Focused Group Discussions
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NCSK	National Commission for Safai Karamcharis
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
PHC	Primary Health Centre
RRI	Rehabilitation Research Initiative
SASLN	South Asian Labour Network
SCs	Scheduled Castes
SECC	Socio Economic and Caste Census
SRMS	Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers

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Chapter 1

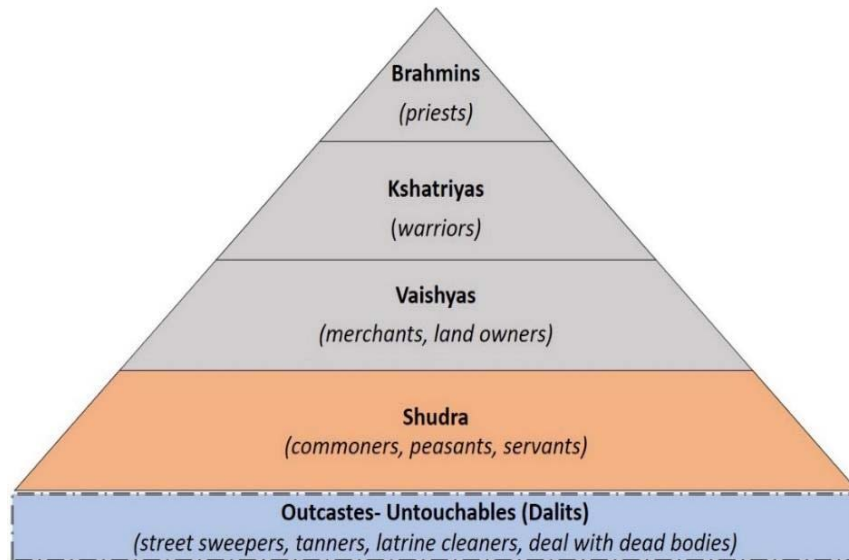
Introduction

Social inequality is a universal phenomenon and a form of social injustice which involves the gain of some at the cost of others. In some societies there is discrimination based on race and ethnicity and in others, there is a wide disparity on the basis of the economic status of individuals. Although social inequality is a universal occurrence, the system of caste stratification in India has been unique in certain fundamental ways.

The caste system is historically specific to Indian society. It is a system where society is stratified, social inequality is structured and given legitimacy by the values of the advantaged sections of society. The social values are based on the Hindu religio-cultural belief and system, the most prevalent being the principles of 'purity and pollution'. Though conceptualized in dominant thinking as a traditional, pre-capitalist and pre-modern institution and as a primordial marker of social identity, caste has not declined in its importance but rather proved to be more explosive than ever before. In India *varna*-caste plays an important role in one's status, development in socio-economic and political life in the area, the State, and the country at large.

As a system of inequality, the caste system consists of the four major castes (Figure 1.1). In practical terms, these caste orders are hierarchically arranged and defined based on their occupations. At the top are Brahmins with a specific occupation of teachers and intellectuals; next are warriors and rulers termed as Kshatriya. In the third slot are Vaishyas who are engaged in trading. At the bottom of the social order are Shudras who are tied up to do all the menial jobs. Outside of this four-fold system are the 'Outcastes' or 'Dalits' or 'Untouchables.' The jobs done by them are considered as 'impure' such as toilet cleaning, leather tanners, and work related to dead bodies.

Figure 1.1: Hierarchical Caste-Varna Social Order



The caste system functions on its core features of 'H²R' that is Heredity, Hierarchy, and Restrictions on - occupation, commensal relations and on acceptance of food and drink from members of other castes. This implies that untouchability is the extreme dimension of the caste system involving pollution by touch and distance, more specifically towards the lowest level and outcastes of social hierarchy. Some of these groups are considered impure by birth and lived the life of impure. Their work is not the only thing that is considered dirty; their touch, even their shadow, is said to spread contamination to the so called higher castes. Although 'untouchability' was declared illegal in 1950, it continues to haunt millions of Dalit women, men, and children. Most of them are also trapped in a cycle of poverty and illiteracy. It is estimated that over 50 percent of India's 150 million Dalits still do not have proper housing, medical care, education, and employment prospects.

Within the Dalit umbrella, there are several occupationally based sub-castes. The Valmikis (Balmiki in Hindi)¹ who are spread all over India are considered the lowest of the low among the Dalits. They are placed at the very bottom of the hierarchical caste ladder. This is because they are traditionally associated with the menial and filthy jobs such as skinning animals, cleaning animal hides, disposing of dead and rotten bodies of animals, cleaning drains manually, sweeping streets, public toilets, and manual scavenging. They are the most vulnerable people who are regularly tortured, ostracized and discriminated against by people of higher caste and among Dalits². They constantly face discrimination from other communities both in rural and urban areas, private and public sectors, educational institutions, panchayats, administrative offices, places of worship, and places of recreation or entertainment in India.

Even after seven decades of independence, this community has been deprived of the development, freedom, and equality enshrined in the Constitution of India. The occupation imposed on Valmikis by religious sanctions and coercion has become a hereditary occupation as the stigma of untouchability was attached to it. The paradox of “purifier as impure” was religiously sanctioned and socially justified as a practice (Bansode 2015).

Valmikis: Status and Concerns

Indian democracy and the Constitution provide equal opportunity and access to the citizen’s rights, social inclusion, justice, and human dignity, but not all human beings and all citizens enjoy social inclusion and human dignity equally. The caste, class, and gender hierarchy plays significant role in the citizenship one enjoys. Among all the reality, the reality of Valmiki communities is far remote.

‘Dalit’ is a South Asian term of self-identification adopted from Marathi, meaning ‘crushed’ or ‘broken’ (Waughray 2009: 185). They are formerly referred to as the scheduled caste, the untouchables, out of *varna*-caste system and therefore often referred to as ‘outcaste.’ Valmikis as part of a larger Dalit population, who are placed at the bottom of the Dalit social hierarchy could be termed as ‘outcastes among the outcastes’³.

In India and some parts of south Asia, Valmikis are the hereditary sweepers or scavengers, declared ritually unclean, untouchables, and considered to be polluting; therefore, outside the Hindu fold. They are in some regions forced to live on the outskirts of villages, hence segregated.

They occupy the lowest of the low positions as they are night soil removers. However, they co-exist with caste Hindus and other religious communities as they do jobs which, though dirty and polluting is essential for the smooth functioning of society. Culturally, Valmikis have remained beyond the pale of Hindu Sanskritic Great Tradition, and have existed as part of the preliterate local Little Tradition. Their social-economic and cultural marginality is also reflected in their peripheral settlement pattern (Sharma 1987). In matters of health and education which are considered to be the pillars of development by Amartya Sen, the Valmiki communities are far behind.

Valmiki communities reside in rural and urban areas. With increasing urbanization, most of the occupational tasks related to sanitation and disposing of waste and rubbish have been reserved for this community. Moreover, in almost all human-made and natural disasters the members of these communities handle the cleaning and sanitation work largely without any proper protective gear and sometimes with bare hands. Notably, cleaning and sanitation are

very generic terms and do not reveal the extent of their demeaning and demanding tasks (Dabhi 2020). Even in the digital and technical age of India by taking up the jobs that nobody else will do, the Valmiki provide the most crucial service to society and therefore help our civic system survive. Yet society seldom takes notice of them. In fact, instead of giving them the dignity of labour that they deserve, the society treats them as filthy and polluting.

Education and enhancement have gone up in many communities of Schedule castes but the Valmiki still lag in socio-economic development and political participation. Some of them, largely by self-effort, have emancipated themselves through higher education. Shoving off from traditional occupation, they have progressed into the other professions in cities. However, even in present times, the stigma against their community is still prevalent. They are isolated, compelled not to use public spaces, public utilities, and services; discriminated against, and deprived of equal access to social and economic opportunities. They are still associated with the work they perform and considered as having low status and treated as such. They have always been marginalized and treated as outcastes socially, economically, and culturally. In rural and urban areas, they remain segregated in their localities (*bastis, mohalla, tola, etc.*) physically segregated along with social isolation. All three aspects of untouchability seem to persist with them such as they remain untouchable, unapproachable, and unseeable. They are not allowed in the house of the so-called high caste except for the purpose of toilet cleaning. Their social exclusion thus must be seen from the articulation of political, social, economic, and spatial dimensions. From the viewpoint of Valmiki, it can be said that those who are against reservation of Scheduled Caste hardly speak of removing this ‘reservation’ of profession specific to them and opening to other communities of so-called higher caste. The authors prefer to call these higher castes as ‘*Kavarna*’⁴ rather than *Savarna* (as they are normally called⁵ owing to their discriminating social behaviour towards the lower community).

Context and Areas of the Study

There are considerable studies on different aspects of Dalits in India which talks about their marginalized status in the social-economic and political spheres. Even today, studies continue to show their discrimination, oppression, and violence, despite the abolition of Varna-caste discrimination legally. Among Dalits, studies exclusively on a Valmiki community (especially in a particular region) are rare. This is of a concern as within Dalits their status is much worse, with more isolation, segregation, and practice of social untouchability. Also, unlike other Dalit sub-groups the Valmiki have not been able to reap the benefits of affirmative actions of the government. This is because of the social space they hold within the Dalit hierarchy. They are

placed lowest among the lowest, discriminated amongst the discriminated; hence poor access to welfare schemes.

One of the researchers had observed the community from 1987 after the killing of four Dalits by the Rajputs in one of the studied villages called Golana. The Valmiki community was used as a shield and weapon by the Rajputs to avenge the Vankars within Schedule castes in the village. The researcher had also witnessed change within Dalit communities and their relations over the years⁶. After nearly three decades and a decade of intensive shared living space with a Valmiki family in the village as well as close contact with the community of surrounding villages, a need was felt to systematically understand the change and evolution the community had faced and embraced.

In Gujarat, the total population of Valmiki people in villages and cities is 11 lakhs, constituting 2.5 percent of the total population of Gujarat (Dutta 2016). They are the most backward caste among Scheduled Caste. Equally discriminated communities, which live in similar conditions, as Valmikis are Hadi, Nadiya, Senwa, Turi, Garo, Harijan, Bawa and Vanker-Sadhu, Nadi, Targala, Sadhu and Barot (cunterview.org). The state claims to be number one in India for achieving its developmental goals. This claim is being made even though members of the Valmiki community of the scheduled castes (SCs) for years have been employed in Gujarat State's gram panchayats, municipalities, municipal corporations, and private companies in such odd jobs like disposal of human excreta and dead animals (Rathod 2008).

To fill the vacuum in sociological knowledge about the Valmiki, the Centre for Culture and Development (CCD) has taken the initiative to study the socio-economic status of the community besides looking at the changes and continuity in their lives *viz-a-viz* their hierarchical position in the social caste order. The research provides some selective aspects of the Valmiki community based on their 'lived' life in so-called vibrant Gujarat, the model State in India after 75 years of independent India. The socio-economic situation, continuity, and change of the community were tried to study with full awareness of gender lance. The authors are aware of the past 'undifferentiated' category of 'woman' from some prominent Dalit writers like Urmila Pawar, Ruth Manorama, and Pratima Pardeshi to name a few. They brought to light the caste blindness in theory and practice and questioned the Brahmanical domination of social studies and practice (Velaskar 2016). Thus, care was taken that the design, methodology, and data collection does not miss out on a diverse gender perspective.

Study Areas: Valmiki of Bhal

This empirical research on mapping the socio-economic status of the Valmiki community is located in the Bhal region of Central Gujarat in the district of Anand, one of the very prosperous districts of Gujarat. The region is spread over the 36 villages in a cluster known as 9-18 pargana of Valmiki in the area with social relations. Some samples from two towns in the vicinity of these villages – Tarapur and Khambhat, were also studied.

The Jajmani system, in theory, establishes, and indeed orders a religious protocol for the exchange of service between different castes specializing in different occupations (Gupta 2014). The Jajmani prevails in ‘safaikaramchari’ communities (Valmiki)⁷ which ties generations of women to the job of manually cleaning dry latrines. Jajmani loosely translates into ownership over the rights to clean a select number of dry toilets (Salve, Bansod & Kadlak 2017). The nature of the Jajmani system in some of the villages here is not based on a few specialised services the Valmiki families provide. The nature of Jajmani system here is that some Valmiki families will be bonded to a few exploitative families in the village for a yearlong service as and when required.

It is far away from the idealized Jajmani system which is referred to. Of course, the service required has largely to do with manual work related to cleanliness of the household and taking care of the animals of the owner. Additionally, in rural areas, the above ownership over rights system still exists loosely in matters of working in the field of the land-owning family to whom the Valmiki community is affiliated. During the agriculture season, the affiliated family will first provide their labour to the household of the owner before taking up her/his work or working for others.

Towns: Tarapur and Khambhat

British rule ended in 1947 and India became independent. The new government integrated the so-called kingly/Navabi states into the state of Bombay. Kheda district came into existence on 1/8/1949. Thereafter, some changes were made in the villages of certain talukas, and villages were identified for different talukas of the district from 15/10/1950. The district of Kheda consists of Khambhat, Petalad, Borsad, Anand, Nadiad, Matar, Mahemdavad, Kapadvanj, Thasara and Balashinor talukas. The State Government formed six new districts from 1/10/97 and Anand has been carved out as a separate district from Kheda (<https://anand.nic.in/history/>). Later, Tarapur was carved out as a separate Taluka from Khambhat. Khambhat and Tarapur talukas are now talukas of Anand District. However, Tarapur taluka is less populated than

Khambhat and the least in the district. Khambhat has a substantial population as shown in the table.

Tarapur town of Anand District is located on the Baroda-Rajkot highway. It is located 36 km to the west from the District Headquarters of Anand. The panchayat is surrounded by the rest of the taluka towards the west, Khambhat taluka in the south, Petlad taluka in the east, and on the north by the Matar and Sojitra talukas. Petlad, Khambhat, and Kheda are the nearby cities to the Tarapur GP. The nearest statutory town is Sojitra which is around 15 km away. Since the formation of the Anand district, the gram panchayat of Tarapur became a part of the Anand district and Tarapur taluka. The GP is located on the junction of three major state highways- SH 8, SH 16, and SH 83 (CEPT 2020).

Tarapur is a multi-religious town with a population of roughly 35,000. The town is a major trading centre of the Bhal region and a gateway to the Charotar region. Besides trading, its economy is also based on farming and services. Some of the neighbourhoods are almost empty because people have migrated to Indian cities or abroad to work in businesses and professional fields⁸. As per the 2011 Census, Tarapur town had a total population of 17,994 with 3,452 houses. The SC population of the town is 5.1 percent (916) and STs are 0.8 percent (136). The rest constitutes people from other castes⁹.

Khambhat, also known as Cambay, is a city and the surrounding urban agglomeration in Anand district in the Indian state of Gujarat. It was once an important trading centre, but its harbour gradually silted up, and the maritime trade moved to Surat.

The town lies at the head of the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay) and the mouth of the Mahisagar River. The town was mentioned in 1293 by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo as a busy port. It was still a prosperous port in the late 15th century. As the gulf silted up, however, the port became insignificant. The town was the capital of the princely state of Cambay, which was incorporated into Kaira (later Kheda) district in 1949. Khambhat later became a commercial trading centre in cotton, grains, tobacco, textiles, and carpets. The textile industry is prominent, and salt, matches, and stone ornaments are also manufactured. Petroleum was discovered in the area, and thus its development began in the 1970s. Khambhat is a rail terminus and is served by a main highway (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014).

Khambhat is a Municipality and a growing city situated in Khambhat taluka of Anand district. Khambhat city is divided into 20 wards for which elections are held every 5 years. As per the Population Census 2011, there are a total 19,765 families residing in the Khambhat city. The total population of Khambhat is 99,164 out of which 51,178 are males and 47,986 are females thus the Average Sex Ratio of Khambhat is 938. The population of the scheduled castes

is about 7000 and more as per 2011 census. The population of children aged 0-6 years in Khambhat city is 10348 which is 10 percent of the total population. There are 5444 male children and 4904 female children between the ages of 0-6 years. Thus, as per the Census 2011, the Child Sex Ratio of Khambhat is 901 which is less than Average Sex Ratio (938). The literacy rate of Khambhat is 87.9 percent; which is a higher literacy rate compared to 84.4 percent of Anand district. The male literacy rate is 92.41 percent and the female literacy rate is 83.08 percent in Khambhat.

The Objectives of the Study

The primary purpose of the research was to understand the changes and continuity in the domain of social and economic life of the Valmiki community residing in the rural and urban areas in the region of Bhal. More specifically, the study looks at the changes and continuity of the social inclusion and exclusion experienced by them in day-to-day life at various sites and occasions. The main objective of the study was to have an understanding on:

- The social mobility and changes that have taken place in the community to shed their traditional social identity.
- The economic development that has taken place among the community members and its impacts on their economic status and occupation.
- The social and economic aspects among the community members as a collective that have not changed or changed very little.
- The actors and factors that have contributed to the change and continuity of their social and economic life over the years.
- Whether the status of their marginality has increased or decreased?

Research Methodology and Methods

The social sciences are distinct from social problem solving, but of course, each can contribute to the other. Social science researches like other sciences are acknowledged scientific research. No doubt there are questions raised about its ability to contribute to resolving social problems and rightly so (Reichen 2016). However, the understanding and knowledge that emerge through sociological research would help those who are engaged in addressing social problems through direct action.

In this respect, the researchers' endeavour for this study was mainly to understand the community rather than action through this research. In terms of research tools, the study largely

depends on qualitative tools of semi-structured interview schedules and group discussions. In some cases, quantitative tools were also applied.

Process

Conception, Entry, and Contacts

The curiosity and interest in the most marginalized community about some change perceived and some status quo observed gave impetus to take up a systematic sociological study on Valmikis to see what changes have evolved and what has not changed much over the last few decades. As mentioned earlier, one of the authors had spent several years (during the 90s) sharing the life of the community by residing in one of their villages. Revisiting the villages to look at the changes and continuity (if any) in their status also drove the team to conduct this study. We wanted to understand the socio-economic status of the community in the eyes of the community members and from their lived experience.

Before doing the final fieldwork, the research team visited 05 villages¹⁰. It was a pilot field visit to get familiar with the villages and for finalizing the future tasks. The visit was important to get the support of the community for better collection of data. Interactions were held with a few families living in the Valmiki Mohallas in five such villages. In one of the villages, a meeting was held with a group of 20 key members of the community. It included both men and women (a few children also came) and represented the Community Social Council, women members of '*bachat khata mandali*', and a few teachers. In the meeting, our research objectives were shared and asked for their cooperation. The gathered members discussed some of the issues and problems that the community suffers.

Image 1.1: Pilot Visit Meeting with Key Members of the Valmiki Community of the Studied Villages



The pilot visit was fruitful as it opened a lot of interactions with colleagues and the community in choosing the research problems and formulating a design. The data gathering has been effective and hurdle-free due to contacts with the community members during pilot visits and also past associations.

Samples and Data Collection

The samples of entire accessible households of Valmiki in 36 villages and some samples from towns, those located in the vicinity of these villages were taken. Table 1.1 provides the list of total samples in the study areas.

Table 1.1: Distribution of Study Samples						
Sample Size	Sr. No	Villages	Total Household	Sr. No	Villages	Total Household
Villages: 486	1	Bhimtalav	20	19	Lunej	15
	2	Changda	39	20	Mahiyari	11
	3	Chitravada	2	21	Navagambara	10
	4	Daheda	38	22	Navi-Akhrol	10
	5	Dugari	20	23	Nejh	11
	6	Fathehpura	8	24	Panchegam	11
	7	Gudel	5	25	Panded	12
	8	Galiyana	8	26	Padra	9
	9	Golana	27	27	Paldi	3
	10	Gorad	14	28	Rinjha	9
	11	Indranaj	15	29	Rohini	8
	12	Jafrabad	8	30	Sokhda	14
	13	Junaj	13	31	Tadatalav	2
	14	Kanavara	7	32	Tamasa	11
	15	Kansbara	37	33	Vadgam	8
	16	Khada	14	34	Vainaj	11
	17	Khaksar	12	35	Valli	11
	18	Khanpur	12	36	Varsada	21
Towns: 148	1	Khambhat	114			
	2	Tarapur	34			
Study Area		634				

To collect information about the villages a format for village-profile was applied. It consisted of questions providing socio-demographic details of villages such as their total population, caste-wise total population, number of Valmiki households, number of schools, health facilities, government welfare schemes, specific schemes for Valmiki, and so on¹¹.

Besides village-profile, a more detailed questionnaire schedule was prepared to capture the household details of the respondents. It included a mix of structured and semi-structured questionnaires, having both open and close-ended questions. One set captured the information on household profiles with respect to total members, gender, age group, education status, occupation profile, place of work, and income. The second set of the questionnaire schedule had the details on housing conditions, amenities available at house, information on owning agricultural land, debt and mortgage status, work status and migration. It also included information on the experience of discrimination, social interaction, and involvement of family with other caste people in the village¹². To focus on gathering more pertinent and trustworthy information rather than trying people's patience, great care was made to avoid creating a lengthy survey questionnaire.

In addition to questionnaire schedules, focused group discussions (FGD) were held with the representatives from these villages who had participated in the survey. The focus group discussions were organised with women and men. It was conducted separately to ensure that diverse gender views were captured and recorded. Besides this, some specific data about social systems, exclusion, and discrimination were gathered from a few socially active leaders for the betterment of the community.

Image 1.2: Participants from Selected Villages for FGDs



Image 1.3: Valmiki Women at Group Discussion Meeting



To conduct the fieldwork research investigators were hired from the Valmiki community itself which included both men and women. Few of them had been working with the ‘Antodiya Vikas and Shiksha Kendra’ (AVSK). This centre primarily works with the Valmiki community in the Bhal area focusing on social awareness and promoting education in the community. The centre works and has an active presence with the community in most of the studied villages. Other investigators had worked with the AVSK in conducting surveys for different research projects. The team of 05 members led the investigators.

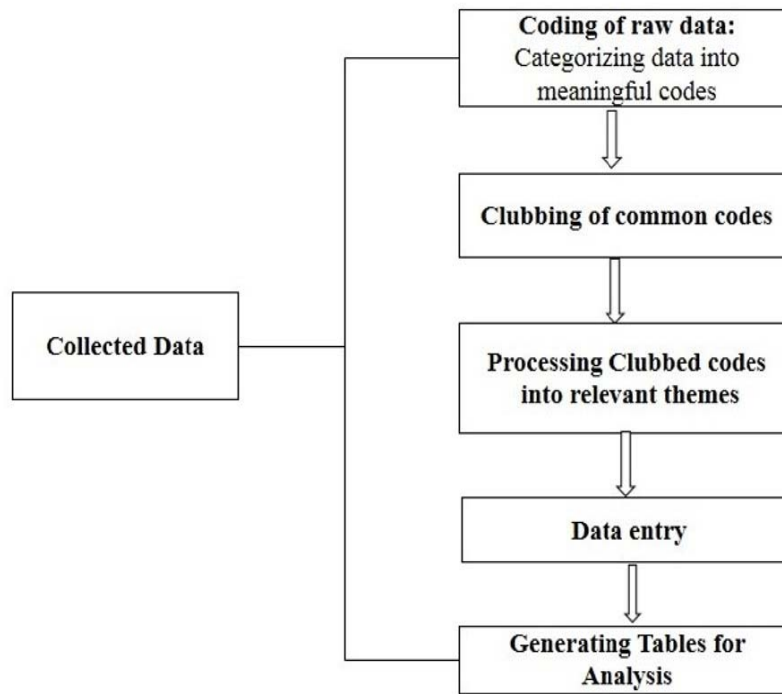
A one-day training was provided to the investigators. In the first half of the day, they were introduced to the questionnaire schedules with the aim of making them familiar with it. This exercise was done to provide them with a clear understanding of the survey questions, the meanings, responses, clarity, and so on. The second half of the day was a practical session where investigators were given the task of role-play, where each of them acted as a household member (in rotation) responding to the interviewer’s questions. This task was done to assess the following:

- i). Making entry and starting the conversation with the respondent (in the field)
- ii). Time spent on filling out one questionnaire schedule
- iii). Marking out questions not easily understood
- iv). Marking out questions where the response is not adequate
- v). Ways of asking listed questions in a different, simpler, and clearer form for easy filling of data
- vi). Responding to the queries, issues with respect to the questions by the research team

Data Entry and Processing

The collected data was processed at different stages for the final drafting of the report. The different stages include:

Figure 1.2: Stages of Data Processing



While processing the data, each respondent was assigned a unique code in order to avoid duplication. In the first stage, coding of the responses to each question was done in order to identify and organise the variables. The variables were pre-coded for easy and error-free entry of data and information. Quantitative data was coded whereas the qualitative information was listed for a descriptive explanation. Any insignificant data was excluded and low response tables were not generated for analysis. The researched team processed relevant information received from the field and documented by the investigators.

The entire study has been laid out in six chapters including the present introduction. Whereas, the chapters 3, 4 and 5 are data-analysis based chapters highlighting the socio-demographic, livelihood and livelihoods and social discrimination respectively. The last chapter presents the major findings, reflections, and social changes and continuities among the Valmiki in the study area of Bhal region.

Notes

¹ They are known by different identities and names in different locales and states and over the years have adopted varied religions. Those who have embraced Christianity are known as Dalit Christians, among those in Sikhism they are known as Mazhbi and in Islam as Halalkhor. Those

within Hinduism are identified as Balmiki, Bhangi, Mehtar, Mazhabi Lal Begi, Chuhra, Halalkhor in northern India. In southern India they are called Mukhiyar, Thoti, Chachati, Pakay, Relli and as Har, Hadi, Hela, Dom and Sanei in eastern India. In the western and central parts of India they are called Bhangias, Halalkhor, Ghasi, Olgana, Zadmalli, Barvashia, Metariya, Jamphoda and Mala (Kumar 2014).

² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TLhhlyFWHkA>

³ The Valmiki Community is prevalent throughout India. In almost all the Northern States of India, they are categorized as a Scheduled Caste. In Southern States of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, it is categorized as a Scheduled Tribe. Unfortunately, in Tamil Nadu, they fall in the category of backward classes (indiankanoon.org/doc/110764285/)

⁴ The term though used for savarna castes of the Varna system in general especially due to their behavioural pattern towards other caste members; it takes into account the exception of members from *savarn (exploitative)* castes whose behaviour are more humane and dignified towards the other caste members especially those placed at lower social hierarchy.

⁵ They were all called *Savarns*, as they are part of the Varna system. Its etymology shows the word ‘savarn’ being a Sanskrit word meaning ‘same colour, same caste’. Dalits, and also Adivasis (tribals), were outside this system hence termed *Avarns*.

⁶ See annual report at <https://hdrc-sxnfes.org/> as well <https://hdrc-sxnfes.org/about-us/history/>.

⁷ <https://counterview.org/2014/07/21/recognize-safai-karmacharis-of-valmiki-community-as-manual-scavengers-give-them-permanent-jobs-housing-plots/>

⁸ About the history of town it was stated that Tarapur was established in 1215 by Dharmadas from Adalaj. King Jayarajasing defeated Mahamad Khalji of Delhi. A warrior and farmer named Dharmadas and his five brothers and other relatives were a great help in defeating Khalji, so the king rewarded him with 10,000 acres (40 km²) of land at the border of his kingdom. They were to protect the border and farm the land. They build seven homes and started living in the centre, and divided the land equally. At present his descendants live in Tarapur village and also in the country and abroad (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tarapur_Gujarat)

⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tarapur,_Gujarat

¹⁰ The team comprised - Dr. James, Dr. Kanchan, Dr. Jyoti, Soma, Priyanka from CCD and Ishwar from SVCC. The visit was made on 11th-12th, December 2021. Varasda, Gorad, Khakhasar, Changda and Kasbara were the villages visited by the team.

¹¹ See Annexure 1 A, Table 1.1, for questionnaire schedule of village profile

¹² See Annexure 1 B, Questionnaire Schedule

Chapter 2

Indian Caste System: Perspectives and Attributes of Exclusion and Stigmatization

“Hence castes are small and complete social worlds in themselves, marked off definitely from one another, though subsisting within the larger society” (Ghurye 1969: 6).

The term ‘caste’ refers to a strict hierarchical social system often based on notions of purity and contamination. The expert report describes how people from ‘lower castes’ are often limited to certain occupations that are often deemed as ‘polluting’ or menial by others, including manual scavenging, sweeping, and disposal of dead animals (United Nations Human Rights 2016). Caste includes three elements: repulsion, hierarchy, and hereditary specialization. According to Velassery (2005), “a society is characterized by such a system if it is divided into a large number of hereditarily specialized groups, which are hierarchically superposed and mutually opposed. It does not tolerate the principle of rising in the status of groups’ mixture and of changing occupation”.

Till date in India *varna*-caste ideology and practice plays an important role in one’s status, and development in socio-economic and political life in the area, in the state as well as in the country at large. Indian democracy and the Constitution provide an equal opportunity and access to the citizen’s rights, social inclusion, justice, and human dignity but the reality is far remote. In India, all human beings and all citizens do not enjoy social inclusion and human dignity equally. People’s position in society, in the *varna*-caste system, class, and gender hierarchy plays a significant role in the citizenship one enjoys.

The study of Valmiki community, the most vulnerable community of the Scheduled Caste in India requires a look at the history of *varna*-caste in India to understand their context and present reality. Valmikis are a part of the larger Dalit population, formerly referred to as “Untouchables,” out of the *varna*-caste system and therefore often referred to as ‘outcaste.’ Valmikis are treated as the least among the Schedule Castes as well. The Valmiki community is the last and comparatively small in numbers among the outcastes. They are known by different names across the country. They are known as Valmiki, Bhangi, Mehtar, and Chooda in northern and western India; Bassfor, Dom, Ghaasi in Eastern India and Thotti, Arunthathiyar, Madiga in the Southern India (PRIA 2019). These communities have faced discrimination with other communities

in both rural and urban areas; private and public sectors; educational institutions; Panchayats, Administrative offices, places of worship, and places of recreation and entertainment in India. After seven decades of independence this community has been deprived of the development, freedom, and equality enshrined in the Constitution of India.

Caste System: Perspectives and Explanations

‘Caste’ is a Portuguese-derived English word (Klass 1980); its early use is described in the famous British colonial Hobson-Jobson dictionary. The term came to convey the notion of ‘purity of blood’ to the Portuguese. The division which the Portuguese observed in India was that Indians were concerned about maintaining ‘purity’; that is, by forbidding sexual relations and marriage between women and men of different social divisions (Ibid. 1980). The current spelling of the word is based on the French word ‘Caste’ which appeared in 1740 in the academies and was hardly found before the 18th century (Hiwrale 2020). It said that history has liquidated many characteristics of the caste system (Gupta 2014: 49) and yet in many ways the hierarchy among some castes, endogamy, and restriction of dining have still remained in many villages especially when it comes to the ‘avarna/exploited castes’.

Max Weber saw caste as social rank (Weber 1958), differently put it reflects the ‘class system’ exhibiting ‘closed social status groups.’ While Bougle (1971) as quoted in Klass (1980) has brought distinction to this similar class structure stating that the spirit of caste unites three tendencies: repulsion, hierarchy, and hereditary specialisation. All the three must be borne in mind if one wishes to give a complete definition of the caste system. This distinction is even seen today in 2022. Caste are *jatis* and there are numerous *jatis* in India. However, the *Varna* are four and the ex-untouchables are *Avarna*.

Varna-caste has been examined from a historical perspective: its roots, functions, implications, practice, and new *avtara* of *varna-caste*. Neither the mindset of *varna-caste* ideology promoting discrimination has gone nor the inhuman practice of caste discrimination and violence has stopped to some degree or the other in India. Literature highlights to some extent the origin and history of the *Varna-caste* system in India and some similarities with other discriminative systems (Béteille 1965; Ghurye 1979; Wilkerson 2020). The *varna*, as Huston suggests, is a term best translated as ‘group of castes’ (Hutton 1969). In ordinary parlance, *varna* is pigeonholing people in the hierarchy of these groups of castes. There might be restrictions on marrying between various castes

but not on food intake. It is also said that *varna* and *jati* are polysemic terms with a great degree of overlap in their meanings. There are different theories with regards to their correlation and historical roots that it is a result of a 'fusion of two systems from two cultures' – *jati* of the pre-Aryan culture and the hierarchical Aryan schema of *varna* (Banerjee-Dube 2008: xvii).

It is a difficult task to explain the theory of caste. Dr. Ambedkar makes it clear in the *Annihilation of Caste* that he takes the "Laws of Manu" to be the single most authoritative source of information about the religious origin of caste, and about the rules governing it. The Laws of Manu explains that at the beginning of the universe the great abstract principle of Brahman created all things, including the four Varnas: "for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds, he caused the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, and the Shudra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet. But in order to protect this universe He, the most resplendent one, assigned separate duties and occupations to those who sprang from his mouth, arms, thighs, and feet" (I,31; I,87). At the top of this fourfold system is the Brahmin: "As the Brahmin sprang from (Brahman's) mouth, as he was the first-born, and as he possesses the Veda, he is by right the lord of this whole creation" (I,93). At the bottom is the Shudra: "One occupation only the lord prescribed to the Shudra: to serve meekly even these (other) three castes [*varnas*]" (I,91). Above all, the contrast between the two extremes of the hierarchy is made clear: "But a Shudra, whether bought or unbought, he [a Brahmin] may compel to do servile work; for he was created by the Self-existent (Svayambhu) to be the slave of a Brahmin" (VIII, 413)¹.

There are sociologists who have provided some distinct features of *Varna*-caste which in some way still exist and, in some way, have become porous. These distinctions are 1) Endogamy, 2) Varna-caste division of labour, 3) Caste hierarchy, 4) commensality, and 5) Hereditary membership (Klass 1980; Dutt 2017). In the Varna hierarchy, castes are rated by their level of permanent purity. Men are born in a certain caste with a certain permanent degree of purity or impurity, according to which his caste is rated in relation to the other castes of the system, between the two extremes - Brahmin castes at the one end and the untouchable outcaste groups at the other end (Mickevičienė 2003). Dumont says that most manifestly purity and impurity can be seen in the traditional occupations of the two extremes: Brahmans traditionally being priests or men of learning, and

knowledge, and Untouchables - cleaning, removing dead animals, and serving the higher castes (Dumont 1970).

While referring to caste, most researchers make reference to Ketkar (1909), Ghurye (1957) and Srinivas (1966). They emphasize the caste system as hierarchy, endogamy, graded occupation, food, and social intercourse disconnect in customs, dressing and civil or religious disabilities. Ambedkar (1917) in his first essay emphasized control on resources, endogamy, immobility in occupation, and operating irrational social institutions as the main issues. He termed the caste system as an 'enclosed class' and further in these enclosures 'some closed the doors and others found the doors closed'. His description taken further in his writing emphasizes the control on resources and the idea of pollution or purity as the main drivers of sustaining the system.

It should be remembered that Weber (1958) was of the view that human differentiation (*Varna*-caste division and hierarchy) in India got religious and magical backing. A strong and all-pervading belief in reincarnation and karma, according to Weber (1958) was the legitimizing force (Judge 2014: xxx). Weber's effort to combine economy, status group, religion, and magic in understanding the caste system paves the way for taking stock of Mark's commentary on Indian society (Judge 2014: xxxi). It is well articulated by Wilkerson (2020), caste is the bones, race the skin. Caste is the powerful infrastructure that holds each group in its place. According to Yengde (2019) caste in India is an absolute sanction – of the dominant class over the dominated. Its strict division into five categorical instances organised in horizontal capacities is an archetype of legitimised apartheid. Caste in India is observed according to one's position out of these five categories. The conversation on caste is navigated by the prospective person's investment in the system.

The underlying principle of the *varna*-caste system is purity of blood and the hierarchy of position and therefore servitude as a part of the *varna*-caste system (Franco & Chand 1989; Risley 1892). Going beyond this it means some are human beings and others are not or put it mildly lesser human beings. However, the biggest difference is that these four *varna* groups of castes neither marry nor dine with the Avarna, the consequence is pollution and punishment for the Avarna.

Justification of the caste system also derives from the theory of Karma. This concept rationalizes the caste system based on birth. It supports the argument that people of the lower castes have to blame themselves for their troubles and low status because of

their bad Karma in their past life (Jayarama 2010). Therefore, it is the notion that “one’s particular duty is calibrated to the class into which one was born and the stage of life one is presently passing through” (Smith 1994). One of the main entailments of the caste system is “the belief in karma and the cycle of rebirth whereby one’s social position in this life is ethically determined by moral actions in past lives” (Ibid. 1994).

The Varna-caste system has endured because it is justified by the Divine will, originated from sacred texts, presumed laws of nature, reinforced throughout the culture, and passed down through the generations (Wilkerson 2020: 17). The hierarchy of caste is not about feelings or morality. It is about power – which groups have it and which do not. It is about resources – which caste is seen as worthy of them and which are not, who gets to acquire and control them, and who does not. It is about respect, authority, and assumption of competence – who is accorded these and who is not (Ibid. 2020: 18).

Delineates three key scholarly approaches to the subject: caste as tradition, caste as power politics, and caste as humiliation. Caste is seen as a system that institutionalizes humiliation as a social and cultural practice (Jodhka 2015: 5).

Over the years, a significant body of multidisciplinary feminist scholarship has examined the connections between gender, class, and caste. It is concerned primarily and deeply with women’s subordination, their lives, status, and subjective experience. The scholars, both from the universities and outside who had in one way or the other experienced *varna*-caste discrimination, and prejudices brought in another dimension to *varna*-caste and gender studies. This has enriched the understanding and nexuses dynamics of caste-gender and patriarchy (Guru 1995) and in some way exposed the defenses in favour of *varna*-caste history, ideology, and practice (Dabhi 2005; Oommen 2001; Kumar & Shetty 2021; Kumar 2014). Kannabiran (2009) has articulated the debate as ‘sociology of caste and the crooked mirror’.

The most powerful challenge to the undifferentiated category of ‘woman’ came in the mid-1990s from the Dalit feminist scholars, writers and/or activists—Urmila Pawar, Pradnya Lokhande, Ruth Manorama, Jyoti Lanjewar, Pratima Pardeshi, to name a few - who critiqued the Indian women’s movement for its caste blindness and questioned the Brahminical domination of its theory and practice (Velaskar 2016).

The feminist literature has highlighted the oppression of women as *Varna*-caste has been instrumental and crucial in caste-based marriage and control over women’s sexuality and continuation of the caste system in India. Thus, caste and gender are closely

linked, and as a consequence brutal reprisals have followed when Dalits and women have tried to challenge caste-based marriage and inequality which allots strict rules of conduct for women and all Dalits. Women are at the heart of the caste conflict, either as protagonists or as victims. According to (Velaskar 2016: 391), women were also figured as gateways to caste through whom caste purity could be threatened and caste status could be claimed by lower caste men, and as signifiers of the cultural attributes of caste; this was recognition that the material base of caste lay crucially in the control over women's sexuality. Moreover, women from excluded caste are not 'just like' or 'similar' to the rest of the women. They are also disadvantaged by who they are. They suffer from social exclusion which deprives them of choices and opportunities to escape from poverty and denies them a voice to claim their rights. The women from discriminated groups suffer from triple deprivation – gender, poverty, and social exclusion (Sabharwal 2012).

Highlighting the relationship between caste and gender, Ambedkar argued that castes are born and thrive using gendered violence, patriarchal relations within castes, and exclusionary processes between castes. Membership within the caste is controlled and regulated through the use of sati, enforced widowhood, and girl marriage. In a radical departure from the reform position, Ambedkar's articulation of these issues ties the question of the annihilation of caste to the rejection of women's subjugation within caste (Kannabiran 2009; Hiwrale 2020). Similarly, caste has become so entrenched in Hindu social life and, consequently, a powerful, violent tool in the subordination of women (Chakravarty 2018).

If one looks at the *varna*-caste bottom up, the system has two striking features. First, from the point of view of people at the lowest end of the scale, caste has functioned (and continues to function) as a very effective system of economic exploitation. Second, one of the functions of the system has been to prevent the formation of social classes with any commonality of interest or unity of purpose (Mencher 1992).

Thomas Khun (1970) has argued that revolution in scientific knowledge comes about not through the accumulation of data alone, but through a change in the paradigm when the framework of explanation is altered or a new set of questions is posed. In this context, we can locate Dalit writers changing the paradigm and raising new hypotheses about their existential and experiential realities in their writings. This has two implications for sociology in India. First, there has emerged a conflict between the perception of Dalit writers and the mainstream Indian sociologists on a number of

conceptual categories. The Dalit writers have been rejecting the explanations given by the mainstream Indian sociologies about the permanent structures of Indian society such as caste, village, etc. (Ambedkar 1979).

It is found that discrimination is a key driver of exclusion. Exclusion and discrimination have a detrimental impact on both physical and emotional health. Discrimination has, for instance, been associated with self-reported poor health, psychological distress, anxiety and depression, hypertension as well as potential disease, risk factors such as obesity and substance abuse (Pascoe & Richman 2009).

Caste System: Untouchability, Vulnerability and Exclusion

Untouchability refers to certain practices of the exploitative caste such as refusing to touch or share water, or food with people who have been branded as untouchable by them and who are today collectively called Dalits (Sarukkai 2014). Gandhi called untouchability a sin, a corruption of the caste system which the exploitative caste Hindus must root out through penance as well as recognising dignity of work assigned to *avarna* and allow them to enter temples. Gandhi did not see the caste system as evil.

The nature and role of caste-based economic discrimination received less attention, as a result we know much less about caste-based discrimination induced economic deprivation, particularly of the untouchables in Indian society (Thorat 2001). For instance, the subtly practiced system of untouchability gets manifested in the lower bargaining power of the lower caste labourers vis-a-vis the upper caste landed employers. The segmentation of the labour market, based on asset position and caste, prevents any collective bargaining action on the part of the labourers. The SC labourers face difficulties in diversifying and obtaining better paying job opportunities due to the poor resource base of humans as well as capital (Kajale 2001). Thorat (2001) argued that the Scheduled Caste household's access to agricultural land and capital is extremely low and as a result, the level of manual wage labour among them is astonishingly high. High incidence of wage labour among them, however, is not matched by favourable employment and wage earning.

Untouchability forms a part of the complex discriminatory practice that imposes social disabilities on persons by reason of their birth in certain castes. These practices include different forms of exclusion and exploitation. The practice of untouchability in whatever degree and whichever form has been adopted by Dalits, and segregation among

them is either invisible or excluded from the larger social–political discussion. However, when we talk about the hierarchy of untouchability, two things come to the fore. 1) Caste ideology is the root cause for such practices. 2) Agency (individual/group) which reproduces the caste ideology and untouchability practices (Gopani 2020).

Untouchability to most of the members of the marginal castes is a personal experience. The new forms of untouchability have replaced the old practices. And thus, it continues to haunt the urban life of the marginal caste. External matters like physical touch or sitting together for a cup of tea are possible. There are instances of friendly interactions, meetings, discussions, etc. However, invitations to the home to partake of a meal or family ties are still rather rare. In that sense, age-old untouchability is still maintained, but in different forms. In the new form, the practice of untouchability in private spheres in the cities has been described as “white untouchability”, a subtle way of expressing a safe distance from the marginal caste. The term “white untouchability,” though not so popular, is in circulation among educated members of the community, and is used as a code word. It is also termed as a “refined version” of untouchability expressing “prejudice or hidden agenda” of the upper castes or other Dalit groups against the marginal caste. For Ghurye (1979: 317), there exists an inherent connection between the spirit of caste and untouchability, hence the removal of untouchability, therefore, intimately depends on the disappearance of the spirit of caste.

For downtrodden caste, untouchability leads to their vulnerability which in turn results in their social exclusion. This social exclusion broadly refers to what happens when people or areas are excluded from essential services or everyday aspects of life that most of us take for granted. Socially excluded people or places can be trapped in a cycle of related problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poverty, poor housing, high crime, bad health, and family breakdown (Ziyauddin 2009: 8). For Buvinic (2005), the meaning of social exclusion is the individuals’ inability to participate in the basic political, economic, and social functioning of society. This inability for him is a product of the denial of equal access to opportunities imposed by certain groups in society upon others. This definition captures three distinguishing features of social exclusion: it affects culturally defined groups, is embedded in social relations between them, and results in deprivation or low income for those excluded (Hann 1997; Sen 2000). The caste system has remained a potential marker super scribed on other identities in the social script. What further contributed to this are i) the continuation of caste in large sectors of

everyday life rituals around birth, marriage, death, etc.; ii) the further strengthening of community interactions and bonds; iii) the political use of caste as a mobiliser of popular support (Srinivasulu 2002).

Caste discrimination and exclusion is also related to economics and politics (power to govern and power to decide). It “exclude lowest caste groups from ownership of land and key productive assets and assign them to various forms of labour and services which are considered to be menial, degrading and dirty” (Kabeer 2006: 9).

The Report on the World Social Situation (2010)² states that socially constructed disadvantages attach to individuals virtually from birth and stigmatise them throughout their lives. These forms of identity-based exclusion typically characterise individuals constituted as social groups. Such exclusion expresses itself explicitly in the form of social prejudice and discrimination and is not often dispelled by a higher economic status achieved by the individual or the group affected. It becomes an overarching factor that tends to perpetuate the material poverty and low socio-economic status of such excluded marginalized groups.

Velaskar (1998) pointed out that Dalits are being forced to adopt new stigmatising identities in place of their outdated, traditional, impure identities based on secular standards of lack of merit. They are called "undeserving," "stupid," and "indolent." Velaskar argued that this is a new strategy to exclude the so-called lower castes from education. They already decided without any examination that the lower castes were not deserving, talented or skilled (Mohanty 2014: 5666).

The practice of caste-based exclusion and discrimination necessarily involves failure of access and entitlements not only to economic rights but also to civil, cultural, and political rights. It involves what has been described as “living mode exclusion”; exclusion from political participation and exclusion and disadvantage from social and economic opportunities (Singh and Ziyauddin 2009: 523). Advancing inclusion requires rethinking the traditional role of state and non-state actors and the institutions through which they interact. Social inclusion, even under the most enlightened states, could never be achieved directly from above. Rather, excluded populations’ direct involvement and participation is essential to identifying the sources of exclusion and spurring group and community identity which is needed to overcome exclusion and, ultimately, change societies (Buvinic & Mazza 2005). For an egalitarian, and inclusive society, Oommen (2014) proposes a strategy for social change which should begin with a ‘soft spot’ in the

system that consists of education, employment, political representation, access to economic resources, and the like. The measures such as temple entry, inter-caste marriages, etc. are more change-resistant as they erode the ritual superiority of the exploitative castes (Oommen 1968).

Development has increased in terms of education, infrastructure, and availability of transport and government schemes. Yet the Dalits and Valmiki in particular are lagging behind in terms of voice and access to development (Dreze & Sen 1998; Deb 2001).

Valmikis: Discriminated among the Discriminated Castes

Valmikis are known by many nomenclatures including Valmiki in Gujarat and Balmiki in some parts of North India. Valmikis are part of the Schedule castes communities. Considered an 'outcaste', the Valmikis have been patronized by various names such as *dasyu* (barbarian), *dasa* (slave), *Paaiyan* (pariah) and untouchables (Pinch 1996). In other parts of the country, they are also known as '*Bhangi*.' The group, however, prefers to be called "*Balmiki*" or "*Valmiki*", claiming a common origin from the saint Balmiki. Balmiki is thought to be the first Sanskrit poet and author of the holy Hindu epic "Ramayana," and was brought up by a sweeper woman although he was a Brahmin (highest Hindu caste) mendicant's son.³

Valmikis as a social category and group often gets discounted and goes unnoticed in the public eyes under the broad umbrella of Dalit identity. And within this, they again become outcasts and are made victims of social exclusion. In society, they are isolated, compelled not to use public spaces, public utilities, and services; discriminated against and deprived of equal access to social and economic opportunities. Social exclusion must be seen from the articulation of political, social, economic, and spatial dimensions (Dabhi 2020).

The discrimination against Valmikis is due to the prescribed traditional occupation in caste hierarchy which more or less becomes hereditary. Across India and some parts of South Asia the community is largely engaged in cleaning and sanitation related occupations. In India, there are five million sanitation employees who perform drudgery, dangerous, filthy, and dehumanizing jobs. They are into the cleaning of filth, human and animal excreta, disposing dead and rotten bodies of animals, cleaning private and public latrines, removing trash from municipal dustbins, cleaning streets, and cleaning sewers, gutters manually. Notably in almost all human-made and natural disasters the handling

and disposing of human and animal decomposed bodies, rotten grain, food is done by the members of these communities, largely without any proper protection gears mostly bare handed. According to the social hierarchy among both higher and lower castes, they occupy the lowest of the low position as they are night soil remover. Cleaning and sanitation are very generic terms and does not reveal the extent of their demeaning and demanding tasks. These employees are exposed to numerous harmful fumes and dangerous products. They are marginalized socially, economically and politically. In matters of health and education, which is considered to be pillars of development by Amartya Sen, these communities are far behind (Shyamala 1992; Kumar & Preet 2020).

On September 6, 2013, the Indian Parliament passed The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and Their Rehabilitation Act, 2013 (the 2013 Act), committing itself yet again to ending manual scavenging. Seven months later, on March 27, 2014, the Indian Supreme Court held that India's constitution requires state intervention to end manual scavenging and "rehabilitate" all people engaged in the practice. This meant not only ending the practice but also ending the abuses faced by communities engaged in manual scavenging (Human Rights Watch 2014).

Although manual scavenging has been made illegal and prohibited since 1993, the findings of the Socio Economic and Caste Census, 2011 (SECC-2011), released by the Ministry of Rural Development showed there are 18.06 lakh manual scavengers in the country that too only in the rural areas. It has further revealed that there are more than 2.6 million functional dry toilets in India where women constitute the majority of the workforce (NCSK 2018). Highest number of manual scavengers were identified in the state of Maharashtra, which ranked 1st in the state survey list while Madhya Pradesh state has second highest number of manual scavengers, followed by Karnataka, Tripura, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Daman and Diu and Bihar. The Census data reveals that in states like Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Gujarat, Assam, and Manipur there are no manual scavengers. However, this is far from being true as surveys conducted by Garima Abhiyan and other organizations have clearly stated that even in these states manual scavenging and dry latrines exist at a large scale. It is a matter of surprise that in states where the practice of manual scavenging is clearly visible the Census reports negligible or no number of manual scavengers.⁴ For instance, the Gujarat Safai Kamdar Adhikar Andolan, an organization that fights for rights and privileges of sanitation workers, reports that Gujarat had 34,000 dry latrines, as per government data from 2011.

There are about 200 spots in Ahmedabad alone where Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) forces its workers to clean human excreta manually (Dhar 2016).

People still engaged in manual scavenging such as in some parts of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, tell a different story of their social stigma. Manual scavengers' livelihood tasks are viewed as deplorable or deemed too menial by higher caste groups. Women usually clean dry toilets, men and women clean excrement from open defecation sites, gutters, and drains, and men are called upon to do the more physically demanding work of cleaning sewers and septic tanks. The customarily relegated and confined livelihood tasks of them reinforce the social stigma that they are unclean or "untouchable" and perpetuates widespread discrimination. Ashif Shaikh, founder and convener of the Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan, a grassroots campaign against manual scavenging, argues that the manual carrying of human faeces is not a form of employment, but an injustice akin to slavery. It is one of the most prominent forms of discrimination against Dalits, and it is central to the violation of their human rights (Human Rights Watch 2014). The general idea of social sanctioning and conditioning done by the upper strata of people makes the compulsion surrounding for the manual scavengers to continue the task, and forces them to forget about basic things like education, health, and dignified life. It is already believed by the other caste people that manual scavengers cannot do the skilled, expertise and specialised tasks and scavenging is for the benefit of them as they can easily earn money by doing nothing (Shahid 2015).

In India, social exclusion affects certain groups of people, especially Dalits, adivasis, women, and minorities. The country as a whole is conscious of the need for cleanliness and therefore organises cleaning programmes. These debates and campaigns entirely ignore and obscure the folks who clean on a daily basis. The Shudras, largely women, have been forced to perform sanitary chores for ages. The Valmiki community, located at the bottom of the caste, class, and gender hierarchy, cleans the trash created by the whole country. Regardless of how these employees see themselves, society views them as 'untouchables.' These characteristics, along with the requirement to clean dry latrines, compel scavengers, particularly women, to stay in this activity (Priya & Sharma 2017: 12). If the women happen to leave their occupation of cleaning they are still stigmatised. They are not allowed to participate in village functions, or religious ceremonies, and are kept at a distance. Even though women leave scavenging for good, the society knows who they were (Bose 2019).

The study based on the Rehabilitation Research Initiative (RRI India) and South Asian Labour Network (SASLN) carried out in 27 states, between 2017 and 2021 suggest that while the government refuses to come to terms with the continuing prevalence of manual scavenging in India – recognizing only 58,098 manual scavengers for rehabilitation and compensation across the country – the survey across 14 states found that the number of manual scavengers in the country, including children and those working under conditions that can be defined as bonded labour, is in fact increasing (Akhilesh & Kumar 2022). According to the survey, Jharkhand has the highest number of sanitation workers employed in the areas of Hazaribagh, Jamtara, and Godda, cleaning sewer tanks. The total number of such workers found in the state were 763, but only 112 fell under direct categorisation of the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act. While earlier it was largely women manual scavengers working in ‘dry latrines’ in toilets constructed under ‘Swachh Bharat Mission,’ the survey shows that children below the age of 12 – especially girls – are now being employed as manual scavengers in local settlements for this work, through unknown middlemen.

While the central government enacts laws, state representatives in *panchayats*, elected village councils, and municipal corporations too often not only fail to implement prohibitions on manual scavenging by private households, but also perpetuate the practice. In Maharashtra state, for instance, *panchayats* have recruited people to manually clean toilets and open defecation areas on the basis of their caste, even denying them other jobs for which they are qualified within the *panchayat*. While *panchayats* compensate families that clean dry toilets, drains, and open defecation sites with housing and wages, many of those employed were denied regular wages and were warned that they would be evicted from their houses if they refused manual scavenging work (Human Rights Watch 2014). Thus, it can be assumed that for the large mass of scavengers in smaller towns and villages, nothing much has changed. In earlier times they used their own tins, brooms, and buckets to clean dry latrines, but now they are provided with these implements by their employers, as well as being supplied with a tractor to carry the faeces further away. In larger towns and cities, the practice of dry-latrine scavenging has stopped, in part due to legislation, but largely also as a result of the change in attitudes and beliefs concerning toilets, which are now a luxury, rather than polluting entities (Joshi, Morgan & Fawcett 2005: 43).

Though manual scavenging had been debarred but its existence did not disappear. The Indian Railways, prominently visible and public, is the largest employer of manual scavengers (India Spend 2015). Coaches were fitted with dry latrines from which the shit that drops onto the railway tracks has to be manually cleaned. Hence people acting ignorant about the question of, ‘Are there human beings who carry other people’s excreta even today? Where are these dry latrines?’ seems untrue. This denial, real or feigned, of the existence of scavenging speaks volumes about our cultural tuning and caste bias, where despite clear evidence, people cannot face the reality” (Bezwada & Singh 2017). Now the dry latrines have been replaced by bio-toilets, yet the cleaning of it and railway tracks is largely done by the people of Valmiki caste. Railway cleaning employees clean the human excreta i.e., remains of a train that has ended its journey, leftover food, packets, and paper boxes from the track as well as cleaning of the railway toilets. All these activities are carried out several times a day. These workers are employed by private contractors to whom the India Railways has outsourced. Most of the time when the water does not get the job done or the drains get clogged, the cleaners have to scoop up the excreta with ply boards using their bare hands without any precautions (Cannie & Cannie 2020).

The data from the National Commission for Safai Karamcharis (NCSK) revealed appalling facts on the pattern of the deaths of manual scavengers from January 2017 to September 2018. As per the data in India, every five days a manual scavenger dies in a sewer, septic tank, or a manhole. This revelation is disturbing but the numbers could be more as the data was from NCSK, which has disarrayed information, organised arbitrarily (Cannie & Cannie 2020). In a study by TISS, 80 percent of the workers die before the age of 60 because of work-related health problems. In Mumbai, an average of 20 sewer workers dies each month from accidents, suffocation, or exposure to toxic gases, as the study found (Karthikeyan 2014). Since 2000, the Safai Karamchari Andolan has started recording nationwide figures of deaths of manual scavengers; it has fastened the death count to 1,760 in recent years as reported (Desai 2020).

In India, municipal corporations across various states uses the contract system to hire sanitation workers for cleaning dangerous sewers and septic tanks. Making the sanitation work contractual contributes towards worsening the living conditions of such workers. The work is portrayed as fully automated on paper but in reality, things differ. On the ground, the cleaning is done with manual intervention as most contractors do not

have the necessary machines to provide. Even workers are not aware of the availability of protective equipment, which they should get from the employer. Many times, manual scavengers work for 8-10 hours a day out of which many are even forced to work when not in better health. The wages they earn are not enough to sustain them. They have no job security due to the looseness of contract-based employment. The jobs they perform align them with a social stigma and cause them to face discrimination and the staunch practice of untouchability along with becoming susceptible to the life-threatening diseases (Chugh et al. 2020).

Pertaining to Valmikis and their work, an important question arises which is why is it that sanitary employees in India are always different from those in other areas of the world? The answer to this is that the occupation of sanitation work is intrinsically integrated with caste in India. This link earmarks sanitation as the sole concern of just one caste – the Dalits and among them Valmikis. They have historically engaged themselves in manual scavenging and sweeping (Kumar 2017; Shahid 2015; Singh 2014; PRIA 2019). In 2017, a study of sanitation workers carried out by Dalberg Advisors estimated that there were nearly 5 million sanitation workers in India; of which 2.5 million face high occupational hazards and risks. About 45 percent of sanitation workers work in urban areas. Though their number is less than sanitation workers in rural areas, they carry out more risky jobs such as cleaning sewers and septic tanks. Nearly 50 percent of urban sanitation workers are women, mostly engaged in school toilet cleaning (PRIA 2019). Treated as untouchables, Valmikis are unable to undertake other tasks or employment, therefore they are compelled to participate in scavenging and sweeping. They experience exclusion from education, economic activity, residential areas, political engagement, and other opportunities because of their caste and occupational position. This condition also exposes individuals to societal shame (Kumar 2014).

Along with being forced to continue prescribed caste occupation, when it comes to having access to water supplies, houses of worship, and other cultural activities, manual scavengers are discriminated against. Even though all of these practices based on untouchability are forbidden under the Protection of Civil Rights Act of 1955, they are nonetheless widely used. It is found that many young children who start in school leave their studies early. There may be a variety of causes for this, including prejudice experienced on school grounds and subsequent dropout. The majority of instructors are from high castes, and their treatment of the kids may also be a contributing factor. Some

children are even required to clean the school instead of going to class. Their lack of education for other jobs, forces the offspring of manual scavengers to continue doing what their parents have been doing. Even if they meet the requirements to hold a higher job, they are not considered suitable for it because of their stigmatised occupation (Aamir 2019: 32).

A study by Salve, Bansod & Kadlak (2017) on safai-karamcharis⁵ employed with the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai provides significant insights about their lives. It was found that they suffer the dual burden of communicable and chronic non-communicable diseases. Given that they begin work early in the morning, they hardly get time for breakfast and go to work with just a glass of water or tea. The nature of work, irregular eating schedules, and alcoholism enhance the risk of multiple diseases. TB, heart disease, cancer, and liver diseases are the leading causes of death of these safai-karamcharis. The study also pointed out that the recruiting system of conservancy work in many municipal corporations in Maharashtra has become a hereditary occupation, continued from one generation to another through the *varsa hakka* system which translates to 'hereditary right' in Marathi. Under this system, a conservancy worker can nominate his wife, son/brother, unmarried or widowed daughter/sister, or any other dependent to the position of safai-karamchari after his retirement, death, or permanent disability. It is stated that system of conservancy work of safai-karamcharis actually institutionalises the caste-based occupations that keeping generations of safai-karamcharis in the set occupation rather than making them move out of such system.⁶ Cannie & Cannie (2020) also stated that some scavengers have endeavoured to challenge their social and economic status by transmuted their jobs. But determinately, they have to return to their pristine profession because of a social boycott and the lack of foothold from both private and governmental agencies. The law-and-order machinery has additionally proved inefficient. The empirical study by Singh and Ziyauddin (2009) on manual scavengers in Gazipur, Uttar Pradesh also reported similar results where they found that some scavengers have tried to change their occupation but they have to return to the same occupation as they face social boycott and there was hardly any government support. The notion of impurity if not of untouchability is still attached to it as no one takes this occupation and this becomes the hereditary occupation of Valmiki.

Persistent exposure to discrimination can lead individuals to internalise the prejudice or stigma that is directed against them. Such internalisation may be manifested

in shame, poor self-esteem, fear, and stress, as well as poor mental and physical health (Williams, Neighbors & Jackson 2003). Beyond these debilitating effects, discrimination may also impede individuals' achievement and their capacity to make decisions and act on them, that is their agency. In other words, individuals sometimes effectively behave in ways that conform to how others perceive them (UN 2016: 117). For instance, Salve, Bansod & Kadlak (2017), highlighted that the 'hereditary right (*varsa hakka*)' system of hiring Valmiki in the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai influences the way safai-karamacharis think about themselves, their caste, and their occupation. It was found that they believe that cleaning is their obligation (*hamara kaam* or our work), determined by their caste status, and because of this attitude, they are ready to do the dirtiest work. Their government job gives them a sense of security with a regular salary, housing, and pension. They say their working hours, the *varsa hakka* policies of the government assure their progeny employment, besides the fewer working hours (6 am to 1 pm), as they are free by lunchtime.

Ganguly (2018: 51) argued that the caste-specific areas that are physically separated raise the risk of stigmatisation and amplify the stigma already associated with their caste and line of work. As a result, these processes contribute to and reinforce one another. Valmiki community remains in separate communities. This spatial segregation of residential space which is typically associated with rural societies, also occurs in urban societies which transcends to stigmatisation of their space/ colony as the Balmiki colony/ Bhangi colony, etc., by the society and political parties. The stigma associated with the phrases is so strong that they are frequently used as insults in everyday speech. The whole segregated place they reside in or are assigned to sometimes symbolises the same and becomes a threat to the "clean" and normal, just as the group is stigmatised as a constant carrier of filth and illness. It could turn into "stigma symbols," which Goffman defines as a symbol that is "useful in bringing attention to a demeaning identity difference" (Goffman 1986: 45). Social discrimination of touch against the Valmiki or so-called sanitation workers were influenced with their association with the 'dirt.' Thus, they are commonly referred to as "kachrawalla" (garbage people), and not "safaiwalla" (cleaning staff) (PRIA 2019).

The people of Valmiki caste are pressurised by the community and even their own families to continue traditional occupation. This is because they do not have many other work opportunities for themselves. They come from the poorest and most disadvantaged

households in the nation and their income sources are unstable. Therefore, their fundamental requirements are covered by their employment as manual scavengers and cleaners, sweepers. This makes them hesitant to quit. If they do not come to work or do not want to work, they risk being harmed. Folks who work for panchayats and municipalities claim that this is their main source of income and that they are unable to leave it (Aamir 2019: 30).

A study by PRIA (2019), on women sanitation workers highlighted that women enter the world of sanitation work through three entry points which are caste, poverty, and marriage. Multiple women in the study admitted of having learned sanitation work by watching their parents do the job. Some women got this job as compensation when their husbands, who were employed with the municipality, died in the course of his work. All women expressed the use of their gendered experience as girls in their parental homes where all the cleaning and cooking was expected of them while their brothers were sent to school or did odd jobs. Gendered, caste-based experiences put women sanitation workers in a very vulnerable position, as their chance of entry into different professions is based on better education. In addition, they deal with multiple occupational health issues such as infections from cuts caused by rusted nails and glass bits, eye and throat infections caused by dust, seasonal infections (especially during the monsoon), skin scrapes, weakening eyesight, low blood pressure, allergies, and bruises. These diseases compounded with factors like poverty, poor housing conditions, poor diet, and absence of any health benefits bound the women to suffer in silence.

The dropout problem is a major problem in the Indian educational system. Lower castes students who start school are unable to complete their secondary education, and therefore children drop out of school. Among Valmikis, one reason the children of manual scavengers dropout is the prejudice they experience in school as they help their family to conduct cleaning and scavenging jobs. This impacts their education and frequently leads to their complete dropout. Therefore, it could be argued that social exclusion and educational dropout both are interrelated. Also, schools characterised by poor physical structure, lack of basic facilities, leaking roofs and mud floors as well as insufficient availability of teachers further contribute to the non-enrolment of children and dropouts from school (Mohanty 2014: 5666). Similarly, a study by Centre for Human Rights and Social Justice (2010) highlighted the discriminatory behaviour against the children of manual scavengers in schools, which leads to their dropout from schools. It was reported

that the children of manual scavengers were forced to perform cleaning and scavenging work at schools on a regular basis. They were also consistently discriminated against in curricular and cultural events by their teachers and fellow students. In certain cases, children are employed in the disposal of dead animals or must accompany their parents to work or to beg for food. All these factors have either forced these children to leave school or to stay away from school education. School dropout of marginalized communities of Valmiki could also be because of classroom teachings and interpretation that sometimes reinforces the Valmiki position to the lowest assuming their intelligence to be poor. This could affect the people psychologically as the majority of them would develop poor self-esteem associated with feelings of rejection, inferiority, and insecurity (Eshetu 2010).

The world was in the grip of a COVID-19 pandemic, which is the result of a newly found coronavirus identified in Wuhan (China). India was also hit by the second wave of the COVID-19 pandemic in which people were advised to stay at home and not work. India declared a lockdown, which was eventually altered to a curfew to curtail the spread of the COVID-19 virus. However, in the fight against the epidemic the sanitation employees continued to work. They kept the public venues, villages, towns, and cities clean and sanitary in order to limit the spread of COVID-19 infection. In doing their duty they however, risked their life by contracting the disease or death. They worked in circumstances which were hazardous, the hours and length were excessive, protective equipment was unavailable and for some alcohol and cigarette use became prevalent (Kumar and Shetty 2021). Additionally, there were reports of sanitation workers being infected with COVID-19 along with their families with consequent effects on overall health and financial situation (Salve and Jungari 2020). During the Covid pandemic, the prevention of the spread of the virus was associated with one's cleanliness but the sanitation workers were deprived of it due to their work and habitual circumstances. Their caste identity had pushed them to accept their occupation as God-given and being devoid of necessities amidst the COVID-19 pandemic (Chugh et al. 2020).

Considering the crucial nature of their work, sanitation workers have been designated as “coronavirus warriors.” A few states have also provided them with financial and welfare benefits. However, in general, sanitation work has never been treated as an essential occupation (Bhatnagar 2018). Though the government of India appreciated sanitation workers for their role, whether it changed the relationship between sanitation

work, untouchability, and stigma; the answer to it seems no. Discrimination against the sanitation workers persists. The community's lived experiences show them living a life involved with the emotional trauma of social isolation, invisible citizenry, and economic depression. Consumed in a vicious cycle, the intergenerational lack of access to education, influenced by socio-politics, and the traditional practices of pollution-purity restrict the empowerment and the capacity of Valmiki to move towards better-paid and dignified occupations (PRIA 2019).

Overall Valmiki community is rarely able to take up other occupations due to the stigma associated with their caste and occupational status. They are paid less than minimum wages and are often forced to borrow money from upper-caste neighbours in order to survive. This ends up upholding the status quo and maintaining the vicious circle of bondage. Following the lack of alternative livelihood opportunities, the community is unable to break free from these age-old shackles of the religiously sanctioned deep-seated structure of exclusion and oppression (Kumar 2014).

Notes

¹ <https://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/mmt/ambedkar/web/terms/6835.html>

² <https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/rwss/docs/2010/fullreport.pdf>

³ https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/16399/IN

⁴ <https://www.kractivist.org/india-18-06-lakh-manual-scavengers-maharashtra-tops-manual-scavenging-states-wtfnews/>

⁵ Valmiki also known by the name '*safai karamcharis*' due to their given occupation. National Commission for Safai Karamcharis (NCSK) defines safai karamchari - a person engaged in, or employed for any sanitation work and includes his/her dependents." The NCSK is currently a non-statutory body of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. Earlier it was a statutory body which was established by 'National Commission for Safai Karamcharis Act 1993' on 12th August 1994. Originally, it was constituted for three years, i.e. from 1994 to 1997; however, it continued as a statutory body till 2004. The act lapsed in 2004, following which the commission is continuing as a non-statutory body. The NCSK investigates the conditions of Safai Karamcharis (waste collectors) in India and makes recommendations to the Government of India. For more details see: <https://ncsk.nic.in/about-us/about-ncsk>

⁶ The Lad-Page Committee recommended in 1972 that municipal corporations should adopt preferential treatment in recruitment of conservancy staff in order to empower safai-karamcharis economically. This system has been fiercely debated on many public forums, with proponents of the system holding that it secures economic welfare of the community while some social activists strongly condemn it as a casteist and regressive move that perpetuates the centuries-old caste system.

Chapter 3

Social-Demographic Composition

This chapter provides the socio-demographic composition of the Valmiki households based on the information gathered from the 486 rural and 148 urban households.

Demographic Profile

Household Size and Population

Of the total surveyed households (634) in the study areas, the total population of villages was 2507, comprising 486 families, while that of the towns was 606 from 148 households¹. As evident from Table 3.1, the majority number of households fall in the categories of family having 3 to 6 members in rural areas with 63.2 percent and 4 to 6 members in towns with 65.5 percent. Overall, the data suggests that the average number of members in a household in both the urban and rural areas was around 5. The data tallied with overall national data confirmed that the family size in India has comparatively decreased.

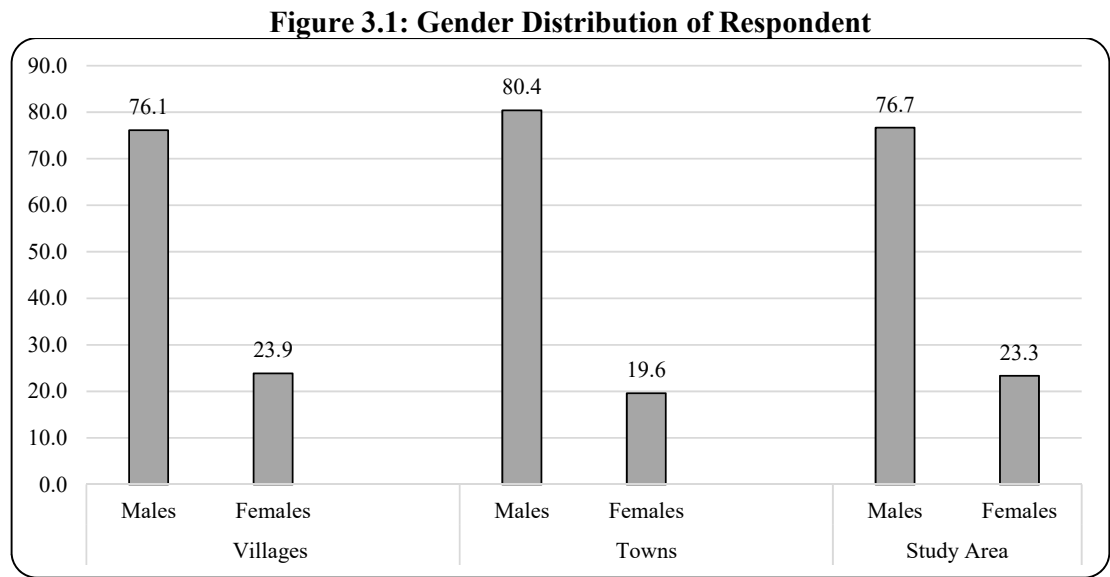
Table 3.1: Total Members and Population in the Household												
Members in a Family	Villages				Town				Study Area			
	Total Families		Total Population		Total Families		Total Population		Total Families		Total Population	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
1	19	3.9	19	0.8	9	6.1	9	1.5	28	4.4	28	0.9
2	41	8.4	82	3.3	16	10.8	32	5.3	57	9.0	114	3.7
3	59	12.1	177	7.1	22	14.9	66	10.9	81	12.8	243	7.8
4	84	17.3	336	13.4	44	29.7	176	29.0	128	20.2	512	16.4
5	90	18.5	450	17.9	30	20.3	150	24.8	120	18.9	600	19.3
6	74	15.2	444	17.7	23	15.5	138	22.8	97	15.3	582	18.7
7	47	9.7	329	13.1	-	-	-	-	47	7.4	329	10.6
8	31	6.4	248	9.9	1	0.7	8	1.3	32	5.0	256	8.2
9	12	2.5	108	4.3	3	2	27	4.5	15	2.4	135	4.3
10	17	3.5	170	6.8	-	-	-	-	17	2.7	170	5.5
11	5	1	55	2.2	-	-	-	-	5	0.8	55	1.8
12	3	0.6	36	1.4	-	-	-	-	3	0.5	36	1.2
13	3	0.6	39	1.6	-	-	-	-	3	0.5	39	1.3
14	1	0.2	14	0.6	-	-	-	-	1	0.2	14	0.4
Total	486	100	2507	100.0	148	100	606	100.0	634	100.0	3113	100.0

Some households in rural areas showed large family sizes consisting of 8 to 10 members and indicated that they were joint families. However, in towns, only four respondents had such

a large family size. Large families in villages normally consisted of parents, married sons, their spouses and married or unmarried children, grandparents and relatives (parents’ siblings, cousins or others). Families having only five or less than five members as seen in the table for both study areas indicated the family structure consisting of married couples with children and husband’s parents.

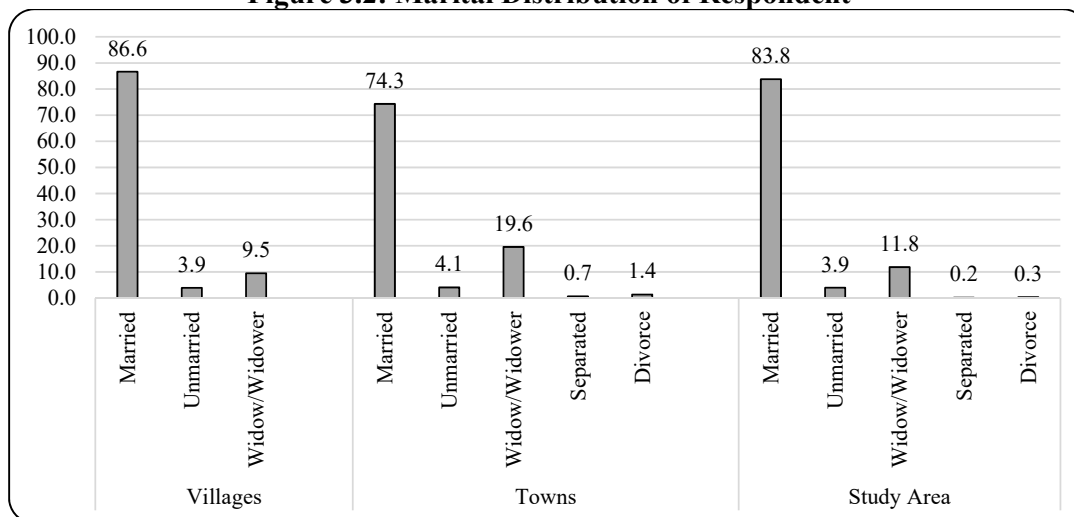
Gender Profile and Marital Status

Gender distribution reflected the national census (2011) population data. The overall skewed sex-ratio of the Valmiki community in Bhal resembled the national sex-ratio. In villages, there were more men (1274) than women (1233). The urban town also showed similar results with the population of women (284) being lesser to men (322).²



The majority of respondents' marital statuses indicated that they are married (Figure 3.2). Unmarried respondents were more in towns (19.6 percent) than in villages (3.9 percent). In total, there were about 12 percent of widowed people. Respondents who were separated from their spouses or were divorced were very few and were seen in towns.³

Figure 3.2: Marital Distribution of Respondent



Age Profile

Age profile of the respondents in the study area showed that they were mainly in the prime working age groups namely between 26 years to 55 years accounting to 67.8 percent of the population. However, the major percentage was of those in the age bracket between 46 to 55 age group (36.8 percent) (Figure 3.3).

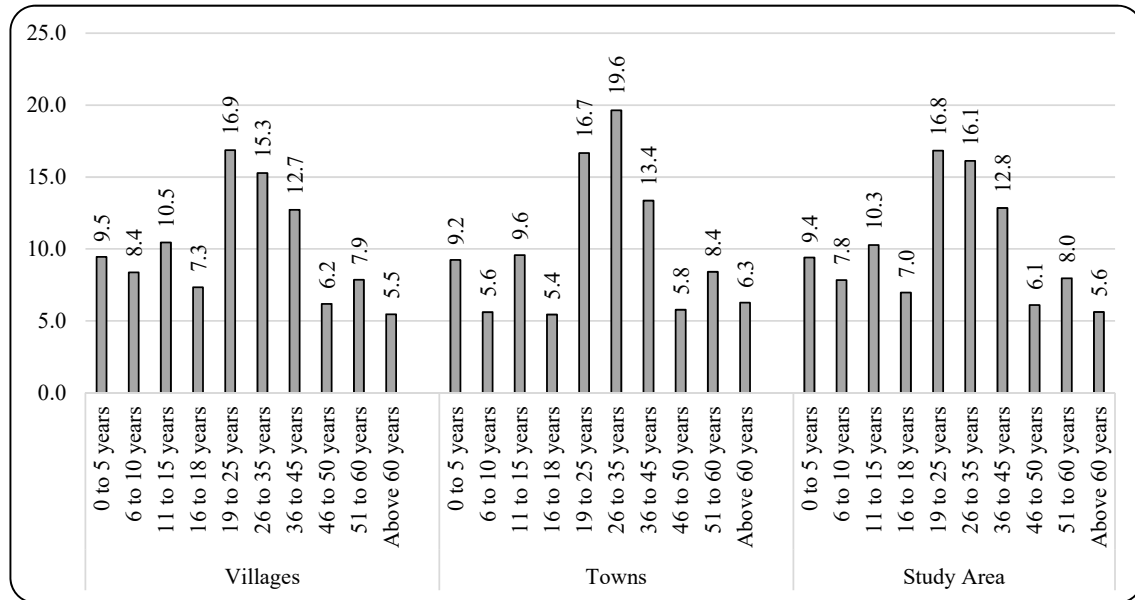
Figure 3.3: Age Distribution of Respondent



The next larger proportion was of those in the age group of 36-35 and 56-65 years with about 17 percent (Figure 3.3). In villages the major number of respondents happened to be 46 years and above (66.3 percent) while in towns they were in between the age group of 26 – 56 years (67.8 percent). ⁴

As far as the age distribution of total members of the households is concerned, then they had the members in the age group of 19 to 45 years (45.7 percent), primarily the adult working age groups (Figure 3.4). In villages and towns, they constituted 44.9 percent and 49.7 percent respectively. Around 09 percent population was in the no-schooling age group i.e., 0-6 years, whereas elderly age group (above 60 years) were around 6 percent.⁵

Figure 3.4: Age Distribution of Total Population of Households



Education Status

During the twentieth century, education, skills, and the acquisition of knowledge have become the crucial determinants of a person's and nation's productivity. One can even call the twentieth century as the "Age of Human Capital" in the sense that the primary determinant of a country's standard of living is how well it succeeds in developing and utilising the skills and knowledge, and furthering the health and educating most of its population. Education provides a foundation for development, the groundwork on which much of our economic and social well-being is built. It is the key to increasing economic efficiency and social consistency. By increasing the value and efficiency of their labour, it helps to raise the poor from poverty (Ozturk 2001). Amartya Sen (1999), emphasises education and its role in the development of people and the country. The role of education accepted in mainstream economic theory, namely the intrinsic value of education, has led to the right-to-education model (Rajapakse 2016). In this context education among Valmiki community is important as it is one of the most marginalised and

deprived communities of Gujarat and India. Also, caste becomes convenient in reiterating existing inequalities and the lack of education is the easiest way to maintain the imbalanced status quo.

The educational status of the total respondents reveals that 64.5 percent of them were literate and had done a certain level of schooling (Figure 3.5). Respondents with no formal schooling and illiterate were found more in villages (38.3 percent) than in towns (26.4 percent).⁶

Figure 3.5: Educational Status of Respondents in Villages and Town

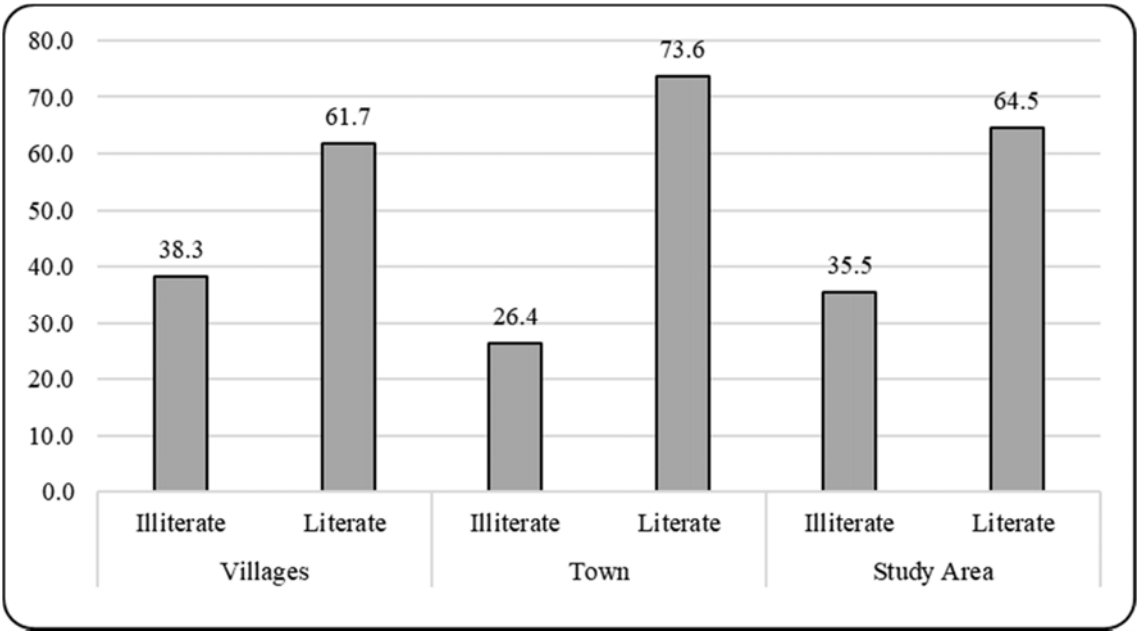
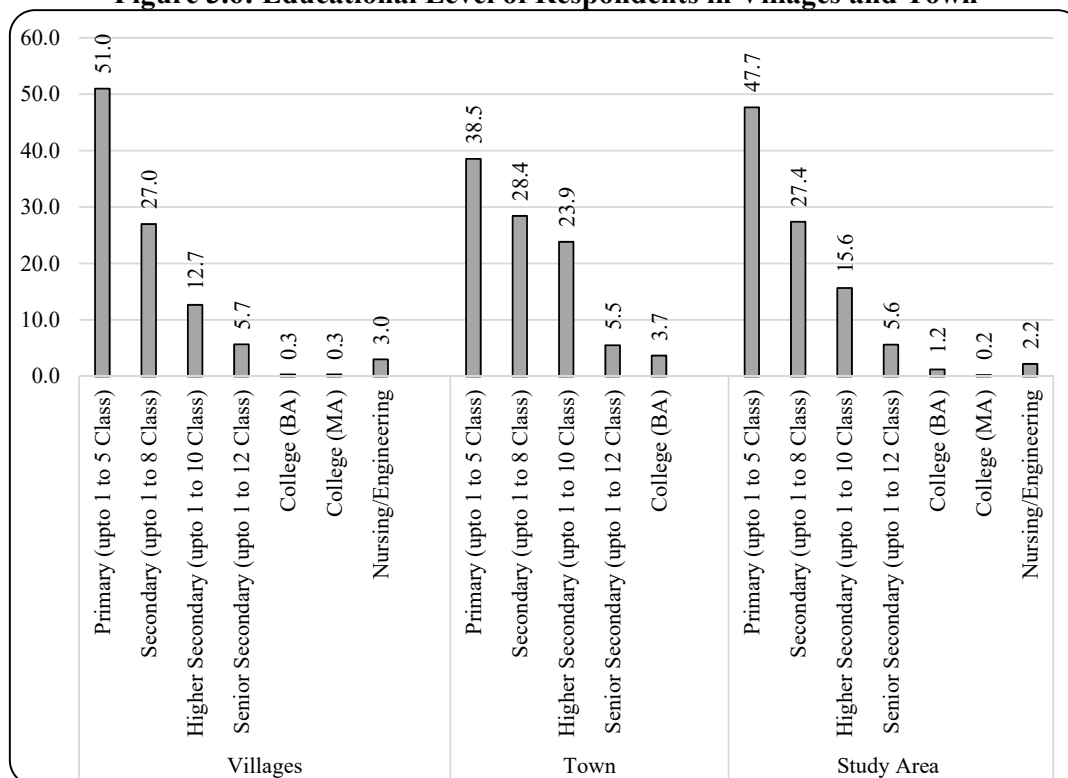


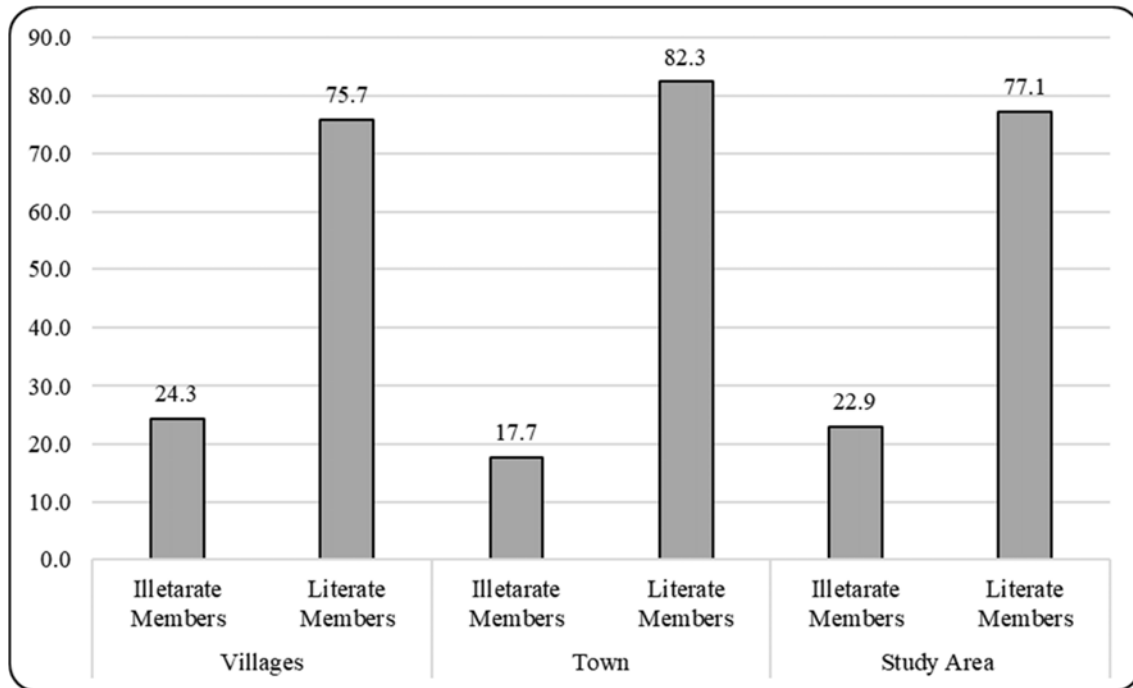
Figure 3.6: Educational Level of Respondents in Villages and Town



For the educational level of respondents (Figure 3.6), the majority of them had primary schooling (47.7 percent). In villages, they constituted 51 percent. In villages the number of respondents who had not completed secondary education were more as compared to the respondents in town. However, in villages nine respondents had the professional degree of nursing and engineering.⁷

In terms of total population (i.e. respondents and their family members), 75.7 percent were literate in the villages while it was 82.3 percent in towns (Figure 3.7). In both study areas 22.9 percent of population was found illiterate.

Figure 3.7: Educational Status of Total Population of the Households in Villages and Town

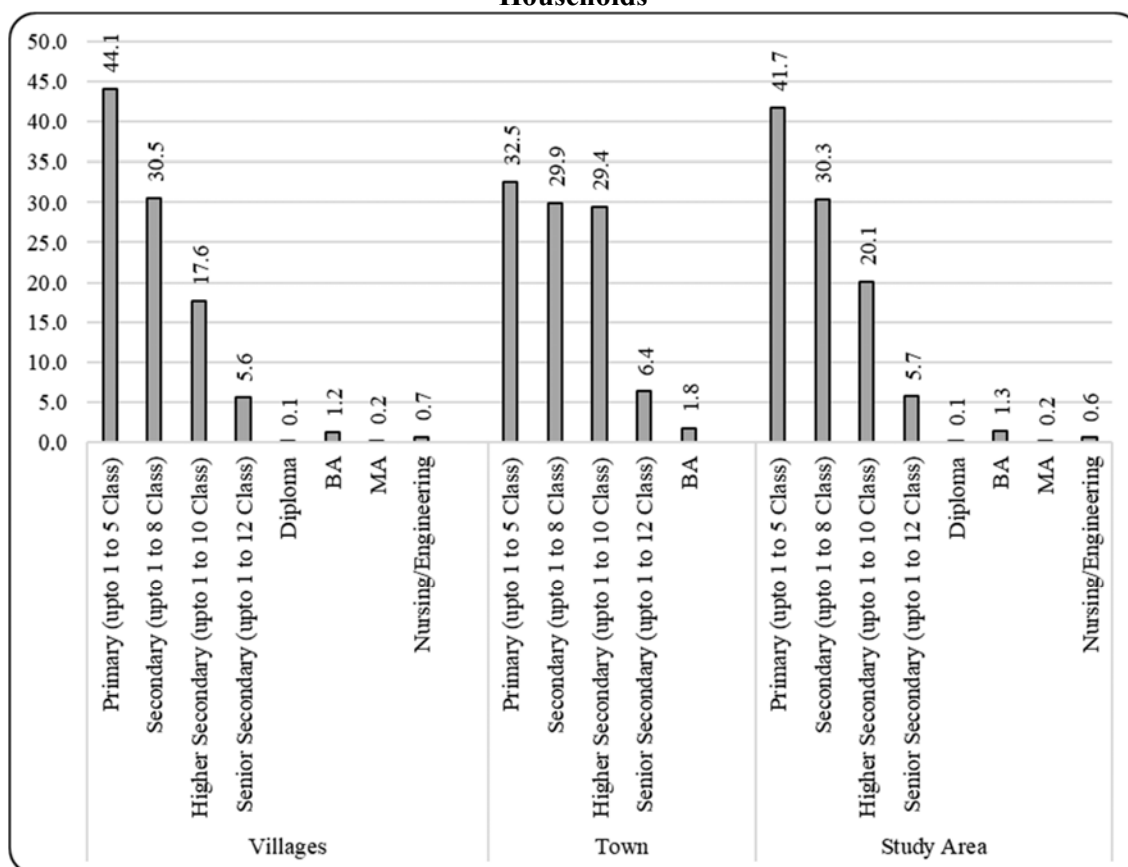


Note: Calculation excluded no-schooling members (0-6 years, n=282(225V & 57T))

It was observed that in villages there were 334 households out of 486, where at least one or more members were illiterate. For instance, in 121 households, two members were illiterate while in 27 households at least three members were found to be illiterate. Similarly, in towns out of 148 households, 70 households had illiterate members. In 46 households there were at least one illiterate member while in 22 households, two members were seen to be illiterate.⁸ The members above 60 years, especially women and daughter-in-laws of the households happened to be the illiterate members in many cases.

As far as the educational level of the literate population is concerned then, education among the Valmiki was not very encouraging though there were signs of hope (Figure 3.8).⁹ For example, up to secondary i.e., from 1 to 8 grade, all the households have someone who has studied or is studying. No doubt, the number of people up to grade 5 was greater (41.7 percent) than those with 6 to 8 grades (30.3 percent). Those who have either completed or studied in school from 9 to 10 and 11 to 12 grade were few, especially in villages.

Figure 3.8: Educational Level of Literate Population of the Households



Note: Calculation excluded non-schooling and illiterate population

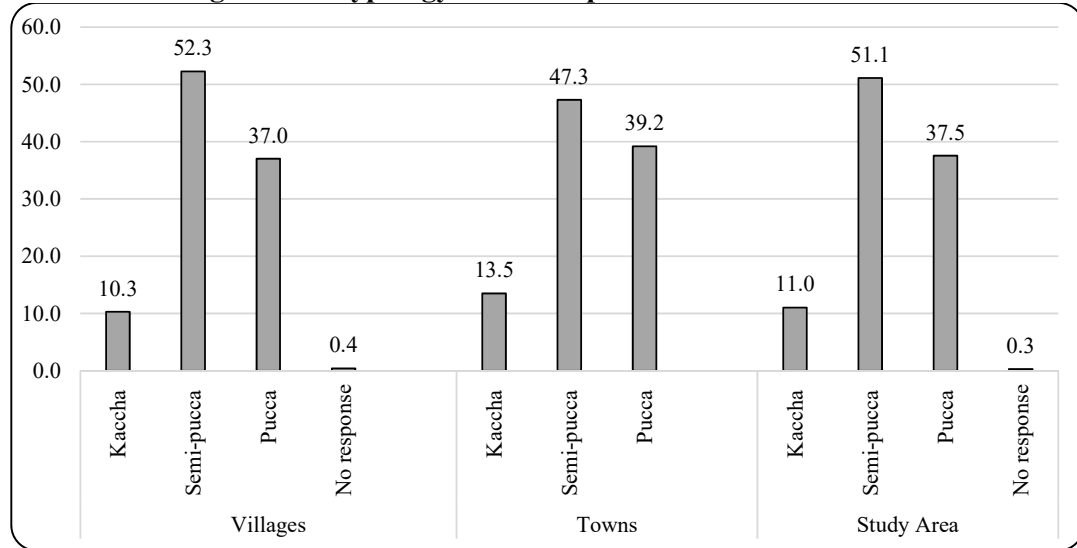
The situation for higher education was worry some in both villages and towns. This is so because Bhal falls in the region which is a prosperous district with good educational institutions. Only 2 percent (47) of the population have gone through higher education and were able to reach college where they had been enrolled or completed their BA, MA, diploma, and engineering. Unlike in town, there were 12 people in villages who had been into professional courses like nursing and engineering. Looking at the education level of respondents and the family members, it can be said that their education was limited to the level of secondary school. Moreover, the sex ratio of girls to boys in education was also lower, especially after primary class. There was no presence of girls and women at the college level.¹⁰

Status of Housing

The housing structure shows that not many people live in pucca-houses. In total only 37 percent of Valmiki's house were pucca. More than 60 percent of the respondents in villages and towns have either kaccha or semi-pucca houses. In such houses, the roof was made up of metal sheets

or tiles. It shows that the community still lives in houses with a poor housing structure. In towns of the surveyed households in Tarapur no family lived in kaccha houses but mostly in pucca or semi-pucca houses. While in Khambhat, most of the families were living in semi-pucca (60) followed by pucca (34) and kaccha houses (20).¹¹

Figure 3.9: Typology of the Respondents House



The year of the construction of the house presented in Table 3.2, shows that nearly 20 percent of households in the village do not know when their house was constructed. About 17 percent were built before 2001 and the other houses (60.5 percent) were built approximately between 2001 and 2020. Only 2.3 percent (11) houses were built during the year 2021-22. In the towns in which respondents lived, the largest share (72.3 percent) of houses were constructed before 2001.¹²

Table 3.2: Year of the Construction of the Current House

Construction years	Villages		Towns		Study Area	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
2021-2022	11	2.3	5	3.4	16	2.5
2020-2016	46	9.5	6	4.1	52	8.2
2015-2011	65	13.4	22	14.9	87	13.7
2010-2006	95	19.5	6	4.1	101	15.9
2005-2001	88	18.1	2	1.4	90	14.2
Before 2001	83	17.1	107	72.3	190	30.0
Don't know/ remember	97	20.0	-	-	97	15.3
Total	486	100.0	148	100.0	634	100.0

It was observed that the houses of the Valmikis in the villages were mostly in a joint row formation of houses with no space in between the houses. They were referred to as street (*gali/chali*) in Gujarat. These kinds of houses saved building materials and expenses per house. Individual houses with space all around the house would be more expensive as more land would be required and construction material as well. The decreasing number of construction of houses may be due to several reasons such as lack of additional land for homestead, no assistance from the government for new houses, decreasing affordability to build a house, and third migration to cities in search of employment. It also means not all houses have been covered under the housing programme of the government. A few casual interactions revealed that such houses in the proximity to one another with no spaces in between become the cause for conflicts. At times as waste water flows out easily to the neighbours' house and loose talks are easily heard by the neighbour triggering arguments and conflicts. This is not the case with houses with enough free space around.

The table pertaining to ownership of the house (Table 3.3) shows that houses belonged to the respondent (self) (62 percent). The next most important owner was the father of the respondent (17.5 percent). This holds true in both villages and towns.¹³

Table 3.3: Ownership of the House						
Owner-Relations	Villages		Towns		Study Areas	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Self	327	67.3	67	45.3	394	62.1
Father	75	15.4	36	24.3	111	17.5
Mother	16	3.3	7	4.7	23	3.6
Husband	15	3.1	4	2.7	19	3.0
Wife	13	2.7	-	-	13	2.1
Son	4	0.8	-	-	4	0.6
Sons' Wife	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.2
Brother	6	1.2	-	-	6	0.9
Grand-Father	1	0.2	7	4.7	8	1.3
Grand-Mother	4	0.8	1	0.7	5	0.8
Great-Grandfather	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.2
Jointly with Father/ Brother/other	2	0.4	-	-	2	0.3
Uncle	-	-	2	1.4	2	0.3
Husband's Elder/ Younger Brother	10	2.1	-	-	10	1.6
Father-in-law	7	1.4	6	4.1	13	2.1
Mother-in-law	2	0.4	1	0.7	3	0.5
Slum	-	-	12	8.1	12	1.9
Rental	1	0.2	5	3.4	6	0.9
No Answer	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.2
Total	486	100.0	148	100.0	634	100.0

The data also revealed that the ownership was male-dominated. Of the total 634 households, only 18.6 percent owners were women (118) while 81.4 percent (516) were men. Among the women owners, 74 were respondents themselves, 14 were owned by wife and 23 by mother. Daughter-in-law owned only 1 house while grandmother owned 5 houses.¹⁴

Household Facilities

Table 3.4 shows details of basic facilities in the respondents' households. It is evident that electricity has reached many villages in this area. Yet, there were 61 HHs that used kerosene for light in the house while 194 HHs used candles. It was possible that they might not be using electricity all the time but one can assume that the failure of electricity was replaced with kerosene and candles. Of the two towns surveyed all except three had electricity in the house, thus indicating towns being well electrified.

Table 3.4: Facilities Available in the Respondents' Household				
Details	Villages		Towns	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Source of Light				
Electricity	471	96.9	145	98.0
Kerosene	61	12.6		
Candles	194	39.9		
No Answer		-	3	2.0
Total	486	100.0	148	100.0
Source of Cooking				
Wood	473	97.3	3	2.0
Kerosene	51	10.5	1	0.7
Gas cylinder	370	76.1	138	93.2
Coals	7	1.4	6	4.1
Dung cakes	246	50.6	-	-
Total	486	100.0	148	100.0
Source of Drinking Water				
Tap	474	97.5	144	97.3
Tube well	1	0.2	-	-
Hand pump	1	0.2	-	-
Well	99	20.4	-	-
Lake/River	3	0.6	-	-
Public Water Source	-	-	1	0.7
No Response	-	-	3	2.0
Total	486	100.0	148	100.0
Toilet Facilities				
Yes	261	53.7	132	89.2
No	225	46.3	16	10.8
Location of Toilet Facility:				
Inside House	62	23.8	31	23.5
Outside House	199	76.2	95	72.0
Alternatives for no Toilets at house:				
In field	23	10.2	1	6.3
Open Space	202	89.8	12	75.0
Use common toilet	-	-	6	37.5
At a Relative's house	-	-	3	18.8

The source of cooking suggested that households in both villages and towns used various sources of fuel for cooking in combination. There were 97.3 percent rural households that used wood, while 76.3 percent and 50.6 percent used gas and dung cakes respectively. Coal and kerosene were seldom used in comparison to other materials. Notably, the Bhal area is prone to Wild Babool (*Ganda Baaval*¹⁵) and wood of these bushes was easily available along the fields as well as roadsides in the villages. They grow in all barren, non-cultivable land and desert areas. They grow fast and the wood deteriorates fast. People used it mainly for fuel, hence the wide use of wood as a source for cooking is done. In towns, a large number of households (93.2 percent) used gas for cooking. Yet a small number of households (6.8 percent) used either wood, kerosene or coal for cooking (Table 3.4). Drinking water facilities shows that household in the villages were covered by water line connection and nearly all household (97.53 percent) had access to drinking water through pipeline and water taps (Table 4.3). One-fifth of the households (20.37 percent) depended on wells in the villages. Those who used tube-wells, hand pumps, and reservoirs as a source of water were minuscule in number or nil. The drinking water situation in towns was good as they had tap water supplied by the municipality. However, only one household in Khambhat had to rely on the public water supply. Both the villages and the two towns in the Bhal area had water supply connections in the house.

Toilet facilities in the household suggest that 46.3 percent of families in villages did not have toilets and went out in the open (Table 4.3). Rural toilets received government funding, but accessing them was difficult, and even if it was, finding the money to build and equip the toilet was challenging. Data also indicated that there were no public toilets in the villages as they might have been available in cities in some places with pay and use arrangements. The facility in towns showed that the majority of the households (89.2 percent) had toilets, out of which 23.5 percent had it inside while 72 percent had it outside the house. Only nine households from Khambhat used common public toilet facilities or used a relative's facility. Yet there were 12 families who had no choice but had to go to open spaces for ablution.¹⁶

Amenities in the Household

The data on amenities the Valmikijs enjoyed reflected their economic status. The weather of the region varied a great deal from 10 C in winter to 45 C degree in summer. In the cold, staying inside and dressing warmly is a potential solution. In the summer, the heat during the day could be tolerated, but getting a good night's sleep without a fan was impossible. The working

population without a reasonably good sleep would not be functional the next day. Thus, a fan is not a luxury to these families but a necessity. In villages, nearly all the families (95.7 percent) had fans in their houses (Table 3.5). However, a furnished bed was a luxury and only half of the households (55.6 percent) enjoyed having a wooden furnished bed. The same was true for TV, only 42.4 percent had it. Home coolers (2.1 percent), home-mixers (5.1 percent) for the kitchen, and radio or music systems (8 percent) were not even with 10 percent of the families. In towns, nearly 2/3 households had beds to sleep on while 93.9 percent had fans in the house. Only two families had a cooler. Like villages, possession of a mixer for kitchen use was very limited and only six families had it. However, possession of a fridge (44.6 percent) and a TV (66.9 percent) was higher in the households in towns. A few people stated that in the last Census, their household was not considered in the poverty line category if they possessed a fan in the house.

Table 3.5: Various Amenities at Respondents House						
Details	Villages		Towns		Study Area	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Amenities in the Respondents Home						
Bed	270	55.6	96	64.9	366	57.7
Fan	465	95.7	139	93.9	604	95.3
Cooler	10	2.1	2	1.4	12	1.9
Fridge	100	20.6	66	44.6	166	26.2
Mixer	25	5.1	6	4.1	31	4.9
TV	206	42.4	99	66.9	305	48.1
Radio/music system	39	8.0	1	0.7	40	6.3
Vehicles owned by the Respondents?						
Bicycle	59	12.1	4	2.7	63	9.9
Motorcycle	173	35.6	33	22.3	206	32.5
Scooter/Scooty	14	2.9	9	6.1	23	3.6
Rickshaw/Chhakda	9	1.9	2	1.4	11	1.7
Car, Jeep	10	2.1	-	-	10	1.6
Animals in the Respondents Home						
Rooster/Poultry	23	4.7	-	-	23	3.6
Goat	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.2
Cow	35	7.2	-	-	35	5.5
Buffalo	118	24.3	-	-	118	18.6
OX	3	0.6	-	-	3	0.5
Income Source Vehicles Owned by the Respondents						
Rickshaw/ Chhakda	7	1.4	2	1.4	9	1.4
Tractor/ trolley	12	2.5	-	-	12	1.9
Truck	3	0.6	-	-	3	0.5
Jeep/Ecco	6	1.2	-	-	6	0.9
Tempo	-	-	1	0.7	1	0.2

Of all the households in villages, 38.5 percent had motorcycles or scooters while in towns 28.4 percent owned them, with more cases in Khambhat (38), compared to Tarapur (Table 3.5). Khambhat being a bigger town and a more dispersed one, reports high requirements of a vehicle to move about easily and faster. Possession of a vehicle in the houses indicated both the need and affordability. It was also found that some of the respondents owned animals/birds in the villages. Animal husbandry was one of the additional income-generating options for these families. Nearly 1/4th (24.3 percent) of families kept buffaloes at home. Cows were kept only by 7.2 percent and home-rooster poultry by 4.7 percent of families. Besides animal husbandry, there were 28 families in villages and 3 in towns who owned income-generating vehicles. For instance, 12 families had tractors and trollies while 6 families had Ecco (four-wheelers), used as a private transport vehicle for ferrying people on fixed travel routes.¹⁷

The data about mobile phones showed that in both the study areas about 54 percent of households had at least one mobile phone in the house (Table 3.6). While 28 percent had 2 mobile phones in the house. However, about 10 percent and 13 percent households respectively in villages and towns did not have a mobile phone. The households without a phone had to depend on neighbours or friends for any communication or messages from family or others. There were a few households who had more than two mobiles.

Table 3.6: Details on Mobile Phones in the Household						
Details	Villages		Towns		Study Area	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Number of mobiles						
No Mobile phone	52	10.7	20	13.5	72	11.4
1 mobile	254	52.3	90	60.8	344	54.3
2 mobiles	148	30.5	30	20.3	178	28.1
3 mobiles	26	5.3	5	3.4	31	4.9
4 mobiles	6	1.2	2	1.4	8	1.3
5 mobiles	-	-	1	0.7	1	0.2
Person keeping mobile						
Self	353	72.6	114	77.0	467	73.7
Husband	37	7.6	2	1.4	39	6.2
Wife	37	7.6	12	8.1	49	7.7
Father	17	3.5	3	2.0	20	3.2
Mother	3	0.6	4	2.7	7	1.1
Brother	75	15.4	15	10.1	90	14.2
Sister	9	1.9	1	0.7	10	1.6
Son	101	20.8	17	11.5	118	18.6
Daughter	-	-	5	3.4	5	0.8
Grandfather	-	-	2	1.4	2	0.3
Grandmother	-	-	3	2.0	3	0.5

The economic status of the household along with job and education profile determined more members owning mobile phones in the house. The data indicates that mobile as an instrument of communication had become quite common especially in rural areas as almost 90 percent of the houses had either one or more mobile phones. Mobile phones work as an easy mode of communication and also a means of monitoring movements, updating work status, and meeting household needs.

The data on persons keeping mobile phones distinctly indicated that its possession was male-dominated. Of the total 634 respondents, 467 possessed mobile phones with themselves, among whom 85 percent (397) were males and 15 percent (70) were females. In villages, they accounted for 85.8 percent and 14.2 percent respectively, while in towns 82.5 percent and 17.5 percent holders of mobile phones were males and females respectively. Besides them, there were 71 females consisting of wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, and grandmothers who kept mobile phones with them in the household. More brothers possessed mobiles than the sisters did, according to data, and the same was true for sons and daughters (Table 3.6).¹⁸

Marriage Route of Girls

As part of Census 2011, Varun Krishnan cited the biggest reason for migration in India as marriage (The Hindu, 2 August 2019). It showed that 46 percent of the total migrants moved because of marriage and of these, 97 percent were women. As many as 20.58 crore women in India migrated due to marriage. Marriage migration was highly gender-specific: the great majority of marriage migrants were women. After marriage, a lady usually relocated her household to her husband's home. The man would seldom ever move to join his bride. Further, the agency of women in determining a marriage was recognised today as they migrated across the world to pursue work and economic mobility (Ghosh 2017). Whether women from these villages married in cities, continue to be victims of patriarchy and caste discrimination or they are able to exercise their agency is open to research.

In the study, very few girls had moved from rural to urban due to marriage. Out of studied villages, the daughters of the household had been largely married to rural men. Also, their daughter-in-law happened to be coming from rural areas from the nearby region. However, the pattern was contrary in the households of 10 villages, where in total 16 girls were married to men living in the city. Maximum cases were in Jinaj village, where in out of four families (out of 13), 06 girls had been married in cities. Other villages included Daheda (3 girls, from 2 families), Indranaj (3 girls from 1 family), Kansbara (1 girl from 1 family), Navi-

akhrol (2 girls from 1 family), and Sokhda (1 girl from 1 family). It was also found that the marriages in the community were largely arranged marriages. Inter-caste marriages even within the larger Dalit communities were prohibited.

Status of Divorce among Valmiki Families

India has the lowest divorce rate in the world, reported India Today on November 20, 2018. Though marriage was dependent on religion, family, culture, individual behaviour, and location, it was currently a stubborn global issue. Incompatibility, infidelity, drug/alcohol addiction, and physical/mental abuse were found to be some of the common reasons leading to divorce (indiatoday.in 2018). Aakanksha Ahire stated that an end to marriage was especially traumatic for the woman and her family due to the deep-rooted patriarchy that largely governed Indian society even today (youthincmag.com 2021).

With respect to divorce, women comparatively had more freedom in the Valmiki community. In total, there were 7.2 percent of divorce cases (Table 3.7). Among the total studied households in the villages, the divorce share was 9.1 percent, which was much higher than that of India.

Table 3.7: Details of Status of Divorce in the Households				
Status of Divorce	Villages		Towns	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Case of divorce in the family				
Divorce Cases	44	9.1	2	1.4
Party who initiated the divorce				
Boys Side	23	52.3	-	-
Girls Side	20	45.5	-	-
No Answer	1	2.3	-	-
Person-Relations who filed for the divorce				
Self	12	27.3	1	50.0
Parents	21	47.7	-	-
Relatives	4	9.1	-	-
Sister	-	-	1	50.0
No Answer	7	15.9	-	-
Person who negotiated the divorce				
Intermediary	6	13.6	-	-
Intermediary and Family head	3	6.8	-	-
Family head/leader	11	25.0	-	-
Village caste council/ Caste leaders	19	43.2	1	50.0
Lawyer	1	2.3	1	50.0
Other	4	9.1	-	-
Money paid by the divorced person to the other party				
Yes	26	59.1	2	100
No	16	36.4	-	-
No Answer	2	4.5	-	-
Whether divorced person remarried				
Yes	25	56.8	-	-
No	19	43.2	2	100

It was observed that the divorces were initiated slightly more from the men's side (52.3 percent) than that by the women's side (45.5 percent). Of the total 44 divorces, 27.3 percent were self-initiated and 47.7 percent were by parents. In 28 cases the divorce alimony was paid by the concerned party. Data also suggested that of the divorced people, 25 people (56.8 percent) remarried. Only two cases were seen in towns (Khambhat) with money transacted for divorce was just Rs.5,000/- and 7,000/-.

Responses over divorce-related details were guarded and could have been more. It was felt that many respondents were hesitant to share the data about marriage and divorce. This can be due to concern for being reported to the authorities or having a child marriage.

Government Benefits Received

The data on access to government schemes shows that of the total households, 56.8 percent of the respondents had been the beneficiary (Table 3.8). In villages, the proportion of such households was 65.6 percent. In towns, only 27.7 percent were the beneficiary of the government schemes.¹⁹

Table 3.8: Details of Government Benefits Received by the Respondents Household						
Details	Villages		Towns		Study Area	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Benefits Received						
Yes	319	65.6	41	27.7	360	56.8
No	167	34.4	107	72.3	274	43.2
Total	486	100.0	148	100.0	634	100.0
Kind of Benefits						
Education Scholarship for Children	82	22.2	19	39.6	101	24.2
Housing	277	74.9	26	54.2	303	72.5
Loan	11	3.0	-	-	11	2.6
Widow Pension	-	-	3	6.3	3	0.7
Total*	370	100.0	48	100.0	418	100.0
Details of Beneficiaries of Various Housing Scheme						
Safai Kaamdar Ambedkar Awas Yojna	41	14.8	-	-	41	13.5
Ambedkar Awas Yojna	115	41.5	2	7.7	117	38.6
Indira Awas Yojna	110	39.7	1	3.8	111	36.6
Pradhanmantri Awas Yojna	11	3.9	2	7.7	13	4.3
Sardar Awas Yojna	-	-	21	80.8	21	6.9
Total	277	100.0	26	100.0	303	100.0

Note- *Total calculation also included the multiple beneficiaries, hence the difference

In terms of the nature of schemes, the highest number of households received the benefits of the housing scheme (72.5 percent) followed by educational scholarships to the respondent's children (24.2 percent).²⁰ In the villages, 74.9 percent of households had benefited from the housing scheme, while in the towns their share was 54.2 percent. They received the benefits under various schemes like - Safai Kaamdar Ambedkar Awas Yojna, Ambedkar Awas Yojna, Indira Awas Yojna, Sardar Awas Yojna, and Pradhanmantri Awas Yojna. Also, most people (191) benefitted from the scheme from the year 2001 to 2010, especially under Ambedkar and Indira Awas Yojna. In the last 6 years (2016-2022) only 40 respondents were the benefitted by the housing scheme. The amount received for the housing scheme was not much. The largest share (258) was between Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 1,00,000. More beneficiaries of housing schemes also implies that most of the Valmiki households building their own pucca or semi-pucca houses without government assistance is very difficult if not impossible. However, considering the limited amount released under the schemes it is also the fact that, the quality of the house would have suffered if families do not add their own contribution to what they receive from the Government.

The educational scholarships that children received was also limited and ranged mostly between Rs.1500/- to Rs.6000/- annually. In a few cases, it was between Rs.10,000 to Rs.20,000, depending on the educational level. The benefit received under other schemes saw a widow pension, which included three women from Town (Khambhat). The amount received under this scheme was inadequate as it ranged only between Rs.1200/- and 1250/- every month, which according to present prices of food and other essentials was far below the requirement for a dignified living. The pensions received by parliamentarians would be a scandal compared to a poor widow to say the least. In villages 11 respondents used the benefits of the loan scheme for the purpose of self-business (3), purchasing agricultural seeds and tractors (3) and for other financial needs (5).

Entitlement Cards Owned by the Respondent

As evident from Table 3.9, except 10 families in the village, all had the election and Aadhar cards. In the matter of accessing their entitlement cards the data suggested that the respondents had failed to acquire them for various reasons. Lack of awareness and bureaucratic hurdles in the process of acquiring them were the main reasons. Only 41 percent respondents hold employment related cards, while 36.4 percent and 4.1 percent were holders of MGNREGA job cards in villages and towns respectively.

Table 3.9: Government ID Cards Owned by the Respondent								
Card Details	Villages			Towns			Study Area	
	Numbers	%		Numbers	%		Numbers	%
Identification card								
Voter Card	476	97.9		148	100.0		624	100.0
Aadhar Card	476	97.9		148	100.0		624	100.0
Employment card								
MNREGA Job Card	177	36.4		6	4.1		183	29.3
Majoori Card (City-Job Card)	64	13.2		7	4.7		71	11.4
Health card								
Ayushman Card	116	23.9		41	27.7		157	25.2
MAA Card	152	31.3		41	27.7		193	30.9
Food Security								
Ration Card	472	97.1		148	100.0		620	99.4
Antodaya	63	13.3		4	2.7		67	10.8
BPL	308	65.3		70	47.3		378	61.0
APL	97	20.6		73	49.3		170	27.4

For health-related cards, Ayushman Card and MAA cardholders respectively were 25.2 percent and 30.9 percent. In villages, there were more MAA card holders than Ayushman. Barring a few families, most of the families were covered under food security benefits through the provision of rations. It was seen that there were more holders of the Below Poverty Line (BPL) and Antyodaya, revealing the poor economic status of Valmikis where many are still living below poverty line.²¹

Notes

¹ For village and town wise details of total households and total population (family members), see Annexure-2, Table 3.1.

² For village and town wise details of Gender Distribution of total members in the household, see Annexure-2, Table 3.2.

³ For village and town wise details of marital status of the respondent, see Annexure-2, Table 3.3.

⁴ For village and town wise details of, age profile of the respondent see Annexure-2, Table 3.4A.

⁵ For village and town wise details of, age profile of the total family members of the respondents' household see Annexure-2, Table 3.4B.

⁶ For village and town wise details of respondents' educational status, see Annexure-2, Table 3.5.

⁷ For village and town wise details of respondents schooling level, see Annexure-2, Table 3.6.

⁸ For village and town wise details of total illiterate members in the household, see Annexure-2, Table 3.7.

⁹ For village and town wise details of total literate members in the household, see Annexure-2, Table 3.8.

¹⁰ For village and town wise details of total literate members in the household across gender, see Annexure-2, Table 3.9.

¹¹ For village and town wise details of housing typology of Respondents, see Annexure-2, Table 3.10.

¹² For village and town wise details of construction year of house, see Annexure-2, Table 3.11.

¹³ For village and town wise details of the Owner of the Respondents' House, see Annexure-2, Table 3.12.

¹⁴ For village and town wise details of the Owner of the Respondents' House by gender, see Annexure-2, Table 3.13.

¹⁵ In Gujarat people call the tree as *gando babool* or *bawal/baaval* meaning the mad tree. It is called so due to this thorny tree's unrestricted spread, sometimes shrinking pastures. Due to its leaves containing some toxic substance it is not much used for live stocks. It is also believed that its fast rate of growth threatens prevalent flora and fauna as well as traditional water storage systems. Though the tree is not used for live stocks, people collect pods, gum and honey from the tree to supplement their incomes in times of scarcity. Largely it is used for fuelwood and charcoal (Tiwari and Rahmani 1999).

¹⁶ For village and town wise details of basic facilities available in the Respondents' House, see Annexure-2, Table 3.14A and Table 3.14B.

¹⁷ For village and town wise details of various amenities at the Respondents' House, see Annexure-2, Table 3.15.

¹⁸ For village and town wise details of persons keeping mobile in the Respondents' House, see Annexure-2, Table 3.16A and Table 3.16B.

¹⁹ For village and town wise details of Respondents who received government scheme benefits, see Annexure-2, Table 3.17A.

²⁰ For village and town wise details of types of government scheme received by the Respondents, see Annexure-2, Table 3.17B.

²¹ For village and town wise details of Government ID cards owned by the Respondents, see Annexure-2, Table 3.18.

Chapter 4

Work, Livelihood and Liabilities

Rural life is a network of social and economic relationships. Rural politics is greatly influenced by the social and economic dynamics between people and communities. In India, a large population depends on daily wages available in and around villages. Social, economic, and political factors also have an impact on the relationships and livelihood options. The following data highlights the working and livelihood status of the respondents.

Working Population

As Table 4.1 suggests, of those working, 76 percent of the population found their livelihood in the village itself. There were 226 households that had at least one or two members working, while 83 households had three to four members from the household working in the village. Nearly ½ of the households had at least two family members working in the village. Thus, it can be argued that a household with income from two persons had better options to survive than a family only with one person engaged in gainful work. There were about 23 percent of people going outside the village for work. In towns, the population working outside the city was very limited. Just 5.1 percent of the population are employed outside towns, seen mostly in Khambhat, while 95 percent worked within the town. The places the people had gone to work were the cities of Anand, Vadodara, and Ahmedabad.¹

Table 4.1: Distribution of Total Working Members in the Surveyed Households						
Work Status of Members	Villages		Males		Females	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Villages						
Working Within village	855	76.1	504	58.9	351	41.1
Working Outside Village	268	23.9	174	64.9	94	35.1
Total	1123	80.0	678	60.4	445	39.6
Towns						
Working Within Towns	262	94.9	206	78.6	56	21.4
Working Outside Towns	14	5.1	12	85.7	2	14.3
Total	276	20.0	218	79.0	58	21.0
Study Area						
Working Within village/town	1117	79.8	710	63.6	407	36.4
Working Outside village/ town	282	20.2	186	66.0	96	34.0
Study Area	1399	100.0	896	64.0	502	36.0

Note: Tabulation also included the profile of Respondents.

Gender distribution showed that though women were economically participating in the households, they were largely engaged with the jobs available within the village or town. Those going outside were mostly moving with the male members of the household, especially husband or son.

In terms of nature of job (Table 4.2), it was observed that the working members in villages were largely engaged as agricultural labourers, casual labourers or as sweepers in Panchayat Offices, private companies, and in village schools on daily (mostly) or monthly wages. Other occupations included private school teacher (2), Asha worker (1), driver (5) and tailor. While in towns one can observe many diverse occupations, though the proportion of those engaged as sweepers remained higher. As sweepers, they were working at petrol pumps, companies, government office, hospitals, schools, housing societies, bungalows, and with Municipal Corporation. Other jobs included, hotel-supervisor, house-maid, showroom agent, driver, school teacher (government and private), working in garage, laboratory, and chemical factory. There were minuscule cases of people being doctors, traffic policemen, social, and contractors.²

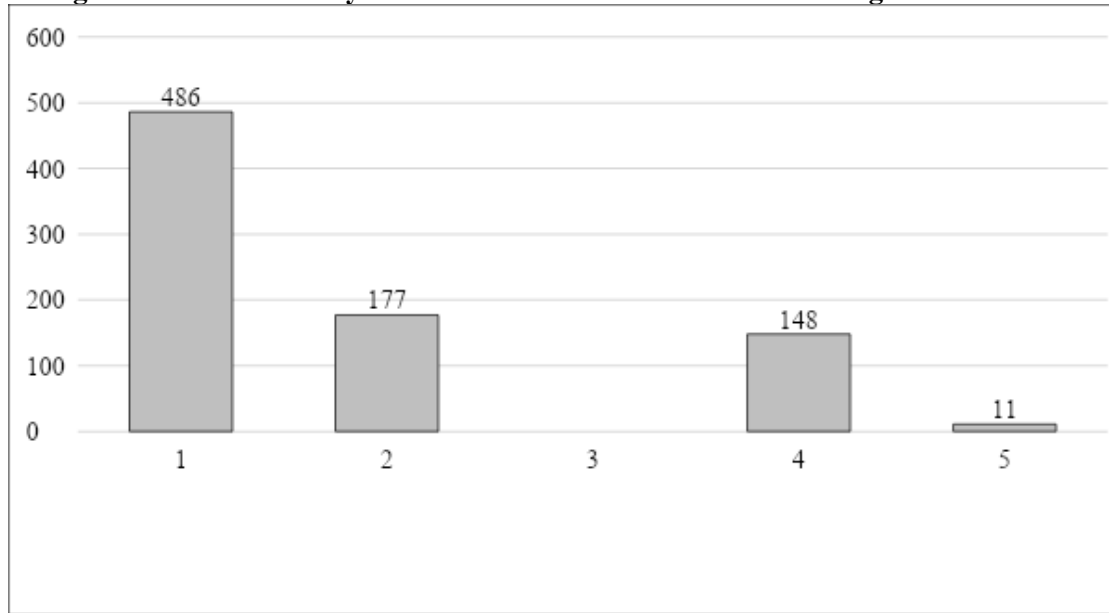
Table 4.2: Distribution of Nature of Job of Working Members in Household			
Nature of Job	Villages	Towns	Study Area
Agriculture Labour	464	23	487
Casual /Daily Labour	365	63	428
Driver-Rickshaw	6	3	9
Driver-Libasi	1	2	3
Driver-School bus	1	-	1
Company-Job	16	5	21
Asha Worker	1	2	3
Contractor.	1	1	2
Traffic Policemen	1	1	2
Plumber	3	4	7
Pvt. School Teacher	10	-	10
Govt. School Teacher	1	-	1
Housemaid	-	3	3
Driver-Tractor	9	-	9
Hotel-Supervisor	2	-	2
Job in Laboratory	2	-	2
Hotel-waiter	-	1	1
Electrician/Light fitting	1	-	1
NGO job	-	1	1
Office-peon	-	1	1
Supervision-cleaning of animals in cages	-	4	4
Light fitting in municipality	-	1	1
Tailor	1	-	1
Mason work	-	2	2

Dairy/Animal Husbandry	3	-	3
Municipal Office- Malaria Division	-	1	1
TV Shooting	1	-	1
Showroom Agent	3	-	3
Work in Garage	1	-	1
Hotel	1	-	1
In Factory-Chemical	4	-	4
Doctor	1	-	1
Social Work	1	-	1
Sweeper-Hospital	9	7	16
Sweeper-Company	17	5	22
Sweeper-Panchayat Office	6	59	65
Sweeper-Housing society/bungalow	8	19	27
Sweeper-Municipal Corporation	1	32	33
Sweeper-Petrol pump	1	1	2
Sweeper-Government Office	-	17	17
Sweeper-School	3	-	3
Sweeper (pvt)	175	18	193
No Response	3	-	3
Total	1123	276	1399

Migration Status

Migration is neither a new phenomenon in India nor in Gujarat. The difference is largely between stress (compulsion) and incremental (free) migration of communities. Among the marginalized communities such as Valmikis, it was stress migration rather than incremental. In the study of the surveyed households of villages, more than 1/3rd of families that is 177 (36.4 percent) had one or more family members who had migrated to different cities for employment (Figure 4.1). In 81 families, two members have migrated while in 22 and 24 families the respective migrated members were three and four.

Figure 4.1: Total Surveyed Households and Households with Migrated Members



In three villages (Chitravada, Khada, and Khanpur), not a single household had migrated members. While in twelve villages, more than 50 percent of the households had migrated members. In Gudel, Paldi, and Tadatalav, all interviewed houses had some members who had migrated to the city for employment. As far as the time period of migration of members was concerned, it was found that in large cases (119 families) it was between one to six years. Only in 18 families, the members first migrated ten years back. Across villages the members largely migrated to Ahmedabad (138) and Surat (23).³

As mentioned earlier, in towns it was found that almost 72 percent of the surveyed families (148) had been staying at their current residence for more than 20 years. Twenty-two families had been living there for a decade among which 11 had moved to the current residence in the last five years. Urbanisation in India had led to the migration of various groups and communities. Individuals and groups migrate to towns and cities when opportunities for employment and a better life are seen, promised, and offered. Tarapur has grown into a big town yet the population here has not experienced migration from other places. The community has expanded over the years. Khambhat was a town and it has developed and expanded. Along with the population, there was also an increased need for hygiene and cleanliness of the place. The existing *varna*-caste system provided an easy option to invite Valmikis to do what the community members had been doing over the years. As reported by the residents, initially three families had been staying here for the last 57 years. The others arrived later and added to the expansion and increase of the community. Employment was the main objective for the

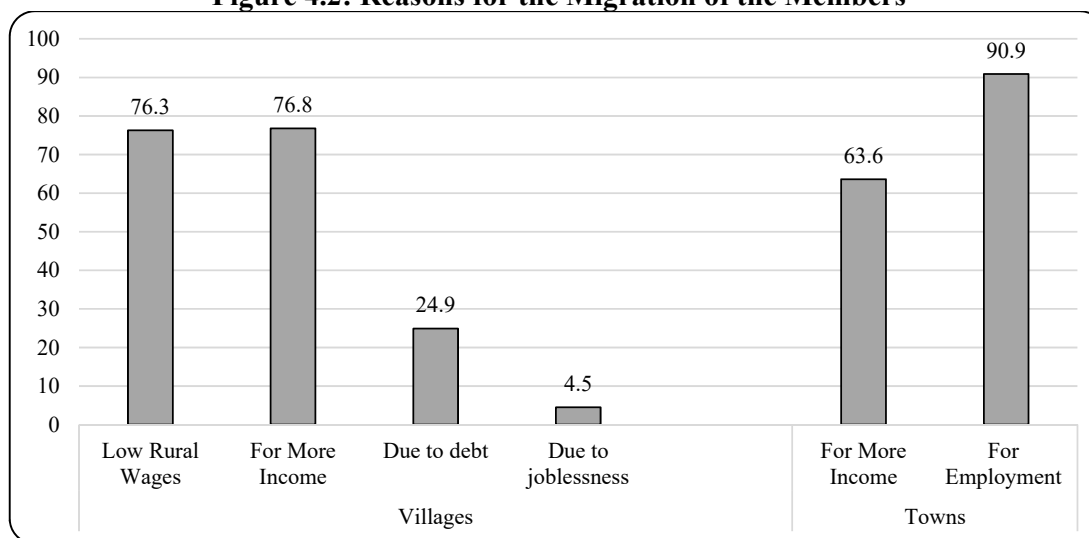
movement. The facilitating factors to move to this place were employment and agents were parents, teachers, relatives, and in some cases own initiative who facilitated the movement. The families of Khambhat came from four geographical areas: 1) Lathidal, Kathiyavad, presently known as Saurashtra; 2) Matar, Khambhat Taluka; 3) Napad, Anand (central Gujarat); and 4) Sadarva, Dholka, Ahmedabad District, known as part of Big Bhal. It was observed that there was a weak tie between families here in the towns and native places. Only six families (one in Tarapur, five in Khambhat), confirmed that they had relatives (brother, uncle) back in the place of their origin. Only families from Tarapur sent some money to the native place and visited them once in four months while others (5) mentioned meeting them occasionally. It was also found that in 11 families there were members who had migrated to other cities and states for jobs in the last one decade⁴. These migrated family members have been dwelling at the migrated place and make visits to the family home every six months, once a year, or as necessary.

It was also found that migrants found out about the availability of jobs either on their own or from friends or family. In some villages, contractors, and people in the village also informed them about the jobs available at their migrating place⁵.

Reasons to Migrate

As Figure 4.2 suggests the two prominent reasons to migrate to cities from rural areas were first, the rural wages were not satisfactory second, there was a hope of better wages or income in the city. Indebtedness had caused migration among 24.9 percent of families. A small percentage of 4.5 percent had chosen to migrate due to joblessness in the village. Similarly, in towns also members migrated for the opportunity of employment and better earning. Migration for the education of children and meeting wedding expenses did not figure in the data given as a reason to migrate⁶. Literature and research confirmed the data that migration in India and Gujarat was due to low wages and ambition to increase wages and income from what was available in the village. Literature had pointed out the issues that the Valmiki faced concerning employment and low wages. It was argued that the Scheduled Castes household's access to agricultural land and capital was extremely low and as a result, the level of manual wage labour among them was astonishingly high. The high incidence of wage labour among them however, was not matched by favourable employment and wage earning (Thorat 2001).

Figure 4.2: Reasons for the Migration of the Members



Remittance Sent Home by Migrants

Of those household members who had migrated, not all sent remittances to their families. In villages only 77.4 percent of the migrated household members sent remittances. Likewise, in towns only one family received remittances (Table 4.3). As observed, the members who had migrated and sent remittance in the villages did it at various intervals but largely every month (52.6 percent) and others sent as and when required (38.7 percent).

Table 4.3: Remittance Sent Home by Migrants

Details	Villages		Towns		Study Area	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Sending remittance to the respondent family						
Yes	137	77.4	1	9.0	138	73.4
No	39	22.0	10	91.0	49	26.1
Not answered	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.5
Total	177	100.0	11	100	188	100.0
Frequency of those who are sending remittance						
Monthly	72	52.6	-	-	72	52.2
Monthly and whenever required	3	2.2	-	-	3	2.2
Once in 3 months	7	5.1	-	-	7	5.1
Once in 6 months	2	1.5	-	-	2	1.4
Whenever required	53	38.7	1	9.0	54	39.1
Total	137	100.0	1	100	138	100.0

Land Ownership

Land ownership of Valmiki living in villages revealed that out of the total households, 48.1 percent were landless while 51.9 percent of the families possessed land (Table 4.4). Only one person in town reported about a family owning land. However, the piece of land that all of them had was very small.

Table 4.4: Distribution of Land Ownership Details						
Details	Villages		Towns		Study Area	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Households owning land						
Yes	252	51.9	1	0.7	253	39.9
No	234	48.1	147	99.3	381	60.1
Total	486	100.0	148	100.0	634	100.0
Land size of those owning land						
Less than 2.5 Acres (Marginal)	243	96.4	1	100	244	96.4
2.51 to 5.00 Acres (Small)	1	0.4	-	-	1	0.4
5.1 to 10 Acres (Medium)	2	0.8	-	-	2	0.8
No Response	6	2.4	-	-	6	2.4
Total	252	100.0	1	0.7	253	100.0

It was found that 96.4 percent (243) owned land of less than 2.5 acres, indicating Valmiki being a marginal land owner. Among them most were owning land with less than one acre (218). About one percent had land between 2.51 to 10 Acres⁷. According to the agriculture census 2010-11, there were 67.1 percent marginal farmers in the country who owned less than one hectare of land⁸.

It is to note that though families had agricultural land, not all were cultivating it. This also meant that despite owning land, farming seemed unprofitable. Zia Haq (2018), in a write-up in the Hindustan Times, cited a report by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which stated that farming in India was unprofitable for nearly two decades. As mentioned, there were families with little land and those who cultivated land were smaller in number. This suggests that assets and finance to cultivate were difficult for some of the farmers.

As Table 4.5 shows, in villages of those owning land, only 64.3 percent cultivated their land themselves. Of those families who did not cultivate by themselves, 29 of them had given it for sharecropping to others.

Table 4.5: Distribution of Land Ownership and Cultivating Land				
Details	Villages		Towns	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Households cultivating land themselves:				
Yes	162	64.3	1	100.0
No	90	35.7	-	-
Total	252	100.0	1	100.0
Land given for share cropping, if not cultivating themselves:				
Yes	29	32.2	-	-
No	61	67.8	-	-
Total	90	100.0	-	-
To which caste person land given for share cropping:				
Own Family member	5	17.2	-	-
Valmiki	5	17.2	-	-
Bharvad	4	13.8	-	-
Vankar	1	3.4	-	-
Darbar	2	6.9	-	-
Baraiya	2	6.9	-	-
Patel-Koli	8	27.6	-	-
Panchal/Lohar	1	3.4	-	-
Vaghri	1	3.4	-	-
Total	29	100.0	-	-

Remarkably except for ten families where land-cropping was given to a family member or a person from the same caste, the land of other families was given to members who happened to be placed above them in social caste hierarchy⁹. Migration of members, absence of adult and capable working members in the family to do agriculture, and lack of proper irrigation facilities allowed households to opt for share-cropping.

Debt and Mortgage

There was a total of 328 families in villages and 53 in towns who were in debt. In villages, prominent reasons for debt were marriage expenses (42.1 percent) followed by health expenses (17.1 percent), and household expenses (11.3 percent) (Table 4.6). However, in towns, most people took debt for the construction or renovation of houses (34.0 percent). Expenses for social rituals such as during death, birth, etc. also compelled many to incur debt. Overall, 5 percent had taken debt for the education of children¹⁰.

Table 4.6: Distribution of Reasons for the Debt						
Reasons	Villages		Towns		Study Area	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Health Treatment /Hospital Costs	56	17.1	4	7.5	60	15.7
House Construction /Renovating	24	7.3	18	34.0	42	11.0
Marriage Expenses	138	42.1	9	17.0	147	38.6
Education of Children	16	4.9	3	5.7	19	5.0
Household Expense	37	11.3	6	11.3	43	11.3
Agricultural related Expense	8	2.4	-	-	8	2.1
Social functions-Birth, Death, <i>Babri</i> (head-shaving of a child) etc.	35	10.7	6	11.3	41	10.8
Purchasing Vehicle	4	1.2	-	-	4	1.0
Purchasing Animal	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.3
Loan Payment	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.3
To fill groceries in Corona	-	-	2	3.8	2	0.5
Building Toilet	-	-	1	1.9	1	0.3
Marriage Expenses and Education of children	2	0.6			2	0.5
Marriage Expenses, and Hospital Costs/treatment	1	0.3	1	1.9	2	0.5
House construction/renovation and social functions	-	-	1	1.9	1	0.3
House construction/renovation and for Divorce alimony	-	-	1	1.9	1	0.3
Social functions and purchase of mobile	-	-	1	1.9	1	0.3
No Answer	5	1.5	-	-	5	1.3
Total	328	100.0	53	100.0	381	100.0

Sources of Receiving Debt Amount

Collecting data from people about the debt they had incurred was not easy and those who gave data did it with caution. Sources of receiving debt amount showed variations in villages and towns (Table 4.7)¹¹. In villages, the sizable debt was taken largely from the non-valmiki caste people (74.7 percent) while in towns it was from banks (58.5 percent). Depending on the caste demography in selected villages, those who responded, the major caste from whom money was borrowed included Darbar (37.6 percent) as seen in Varsada and Kasbara, Patel (26.5 percent) as seen in Bhimtalav, Khanpur, Changda, and Bharvad (15.5 percent) as seen in Kanavara and Lunej.¹²

Table 4.7: Distribution of Sources from whom Respondent Borrowed Debt Money						
Sources	Villages		Towns		Study Area	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Family member	10	3.0	1	1.9	11	2.9
Relatives	2	0.6	1	1.9	3	0.8
Bank	20	6.1	31	58.5	51	13.4
Pvt. Finance/ Agent	5	1.5	-	-	5	1.3
Private Money lender	-	-	6	11.3	6	1.6
Friends	-	-	5	9.4	5	1.3
Vikas Nigam	4	1.2	-	-	4	1.0
Credit Finance Cooperative/ Organization /Mandali	1	0.3	7	13.2	8	2.1
From employer	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.3
Safai Kaamdar Nigam	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.3
GEB	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.3
Jeweler	20	6.1	-	-	20	5.2
People from Valmiki Caste	18	5.5	-	-	18	4.7
Non-valmiki Caste people of the village/town	245	74.7	2	3.8	247	64.8
Total	328	100.0	53	100.0	381	100.0

Unlike towns, family members and relatives were also an important source (9.1 percent) for borrowing money. Borrowing money from private money lenders (11.3 percent) and from their own savings in credit Finance Cooperatives or Organization/*Mandali* (13.2 percent), was the major source after banks in towns. In the villages, in a few cases, respondents had taken debt from their own community person (5.5 percent), showing that they were economically at a better placed than the respondent. Having more working members or better jobs and wages helped households improve their economic status. In villages, there were 6.1 percent of families who borrowed money each from banks and jeweller.

Of the total 381 respondents who had taken debt, almost 50 percent (193) of them had received money interest-free from the others. For those who borrowed money on interest (188), the rate of interest (per hundred per year) was mostly between 1 percent (29) and 2 percent to 5 percent (101), especially in villages. Interest rates of more than 5 percent on debt money were in 33 cases (23 in villages and 10 in towns). In few cases, the respondents were paying about 10 percent to 11 percent.¹³

Mortgaged Items for Debt Taken

Unlike the substantive economy, the consumer economy is dependent on the transaction of cash money, access, and credibility of the household to borrow. The Valmiki community would find it difficult to manage many of their events and occasions without liquid cash. The families

in the villages borrowed money for various purposes as well as from various sources. Borrowing money for some was not easy, as their income did not guarantee a credit on which they could borrow. In such cases, mortgaging the assets they had was the only way out and some had done it. As Table 4.8 shows, of those who were in debt, 192 (58.5 percent) had mortgaged some item/s for money received in debt. The jewelry mortgaging percentage (43.9) was the highest followed by land 21.4 percent.¹⁴ Land and jewelry thus were the two assets which were mortgaged as they had the exchange value for the higher amount required to meet the expenses for the borrowing family, especially for marriages and major medical costs. As observed, 42 people in villages had mortgaged the assets for the debt money between one lakh to more than five lakh rupees. Notably in towns, the amount against mortgaged items was not high and largely remained below one lakh.¹⁵

Table 4.8: Distribution of Mortgaged Details of the Respondent						
Details	Villages		Towns		Study Area	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Yes	192	58.5	17	32.1	209	54.9
No	136	41.5	36	67.9	172	45.1
Total	328	100.0	53	100.0	381	100.0
Items mortgaged for the debt money-						
Land	41	21.4	-	-	41	19.6
Jewelry	161	83.9	17	100	178	85.2
Utensils	1	0.5	-	-	1	0.5
House	2	1.0	17	100	19	9.1
Amount taken against the mortgaged item (in Rs.)						
Below 25,000	51	26.6	8	47.1	59	28.2
25,001 to 50,000	58	30.2	3	17.6	61	29.2
50,001 to 1,00,000	37	19.3	5	29.4	42	20.1
1,00,001 to 1,50,000	14	7.3	1	5.9	15	7.2
1,50,001 to 2,00,000	9	4.7	-	-	9	4.3
2,00,001 to 2,50,000	2	1.0	-	-	2	1.0
2,50,001 to 3,00,000	10	5.2	-	-	10	4.8
3,00,001 to 4,00,000	2	1.0	-	-	2	1.0
4,00,001 to 5,00,000	3	1.6	-	-	3	1.4
Above 5,00,000	2	1.0	-	-	2	1.0
No Answer	4	2.1	-	-	4	1.9
Total	192	100.0	17	100.0	209	100.0
Whether mortgaged item brought back?						
Yes	4	2.1	-	-	4	1.9
No	165	85.9	17	100.0	182	87.1
<i>Duul</i>	21	10.9	-	-	21	10.0
<i>Aghat</i>	2	1.0	-	-	2	1.0
Total	192	100.0	17	100.0	209	100.0

The interviews with people also revealed that only four respondents had relieved the mortgaged asset. Around 87.1 percent were yet to bring back their assets. It was found that land

given as a mortgage was often difficult to redeem and often not recovered in one life cycle. For instance, in villages, 23 cases reported about their mortgaged asset becoming ‘dull’ or ‘aghat’ referring to the mortgaged asset becoming void for them and usurped by the source, the person who had given the money. This was so because the respondents were unable to bring back the asset as per the terms and conditions when they borrowed the money (for example duration within which to repay debt taken and interest on the capital borrowed) and hence lost the items.¹⁶

Status of Debt Repayment

Indebtedness was a concern as the community had limited sources of income to pay back debt. The information on debt clearance by the respondents was poor and slow as only seven families (five in villages and 2 in towns) had paid their debt. The others had paid partially or still had to pay back their debt. In 23 cases the debt amount was compensated against the loss of mortgaged assets.¹⁷

Notes

¹ For village and town wise details of status of working population see, Annexure 3, Table 4.1.

² For village and town-wise details of occupation of working members in the respondent’s household see Annexure 3, Table 4.2A, 4.2B and Table 4.3.

³ For village wise details of families with migrated members see, Annexure 3, Table 4.4, and Table 4.5.

⁴ For town wise details of migration status of families in Towns see, Annexure 3, Table 4.6.

⁵ For village and town wise details of source of information about work to the families with migrant members see, Annexure 3, Table 4.7.

⁶ For village wise details of reasons cited by families for migration of members see, Annexure 3, Table 4.8.

⁷ For village and town wise details of ownership of land details see, Annexure 3, Table 4.9 and Table 4.10.

⁸ <https://agricoop.nic.in/sites/default/files/air2010-11complete.pdf>.

⁹ For village/town wise details of cultivation of land and share cropping details see, Annexure 3, Table 4.11 and 4.12 respectively.

¹⁰ For village/town wise details of reasons for debt by households see, Annexure 3, Table 4.13.

¹¹ For village/town wise details of sources of debt borrower see, Annexure 3, Table 4.14A

¹² For village/town wise details of sources of debt borrower of non-valmiki caste people see, Annexure 3, Table 4.14B.

¹³ For village/town wise details of rate of interest on borrowed debt money by respondent see, Annexure 3, Table 4.15.

¹⁴ For village/town wise details of mortgaged items for debt money borrowed by respondent see, Annexure 3, Table 4.16.

¹⁵ For village/town wise details of Amount taken by respondent against mortgaged items see, Annexure 3, Table 4.17.

¹⁶ For village/town wise details of mortgaged item brought back by the respondent see, Annexure 3, Table 4.18.

¹⁷ For village/town wise details of repaid status of debt money by the respondent see, Annexure 3, Table 4.19.

Chapter 5

Social Interaction, Experience and Practice of Discrimination

Marginalization and deprivations are global phenomena and they exist in the highest magnitude in rural areas, followed by semi-urban and urban areas. In the Indian context, the core feature of social exclusion is the denial of equal opportunities by certain groups of society which impose themselves upon others and leads to the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic, and social functioning of society (Singh & Ziyauddin 2009). Social exclusion is more closely related to the concept of relative rather than absolute poverty and, therefore, is inextricably linked with inequality. It refers not only to the distribution of income and assets (such as poverty analysis does) but also to social deprivation and lack of voice and power in society. “Social exclusion doesn’t just happen, it has to be made to happen” (Buvinic & Mazza 2005).

The understanding of caste as a system of exclusion and exploitation stands in sharp contrast with a traditional understanding of caste as a tool of social control for preserving Hindu society. While it is argued that all human beings are born equal, the social reality is that not all are born equal. Caste with its practices of casteism, untouchability, and discrimination continues to infect as well as inflict upon the social order and humans collectively (Mishra 2006). Dr. Ambedkar was the first one who used the word “exclusion” in the public sphere. He used the Marathi word ‘Bahishkrit’ which means exclusion for the organization named ‘Bahishkrit Hitkarni Sabha’ in 1924. He used ‘Bahishkrit Bharat’ for his 1927 publication. He used the word exclusion in the memorandum submitted to ‘Simon Commission’ in 1930 to highlight the exclusion of Dalits, OBC, and Mohammedans from Indian Civil Services (Kumar V. 2021. *Towards Epistemology of Social Exclusion*).

The Feudal System of Client-Family Relationship

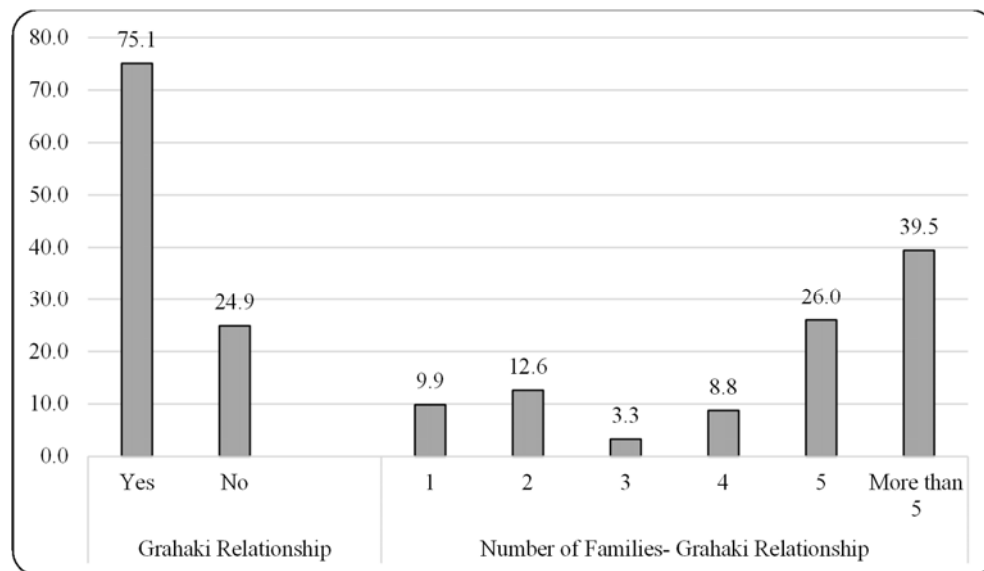
The Caste system is a unique feature of Indian society. The customs, traditions, and rules of behaviour differ from caste to caste. Though most of the castes are socially segregated, on certain occasions, they are economically interdependent on one another. This results in a ‘Jajmani’ or ‘Patron-Client’ system, which is very much linked with the caste system in rural India. Gould (1964) has described the Jajmani system as an inter-familial, inter-caste relationship pertaining to the patterning of superordinate-subordinate relations between patrons and suppliers of services. The patrons or *Jajmans* are the families of the so-called clean castes

while the suppliers of services or *Kamins* are the families of the so-called lower and unclean castes. For services rendered, the serving castes are paid in cash or in-kind (grains, fodder, clothes, animal products like milk, butter etc.).

Although the system has its roots in the castes but in reality it is between the families belonging to a particular caste rather than the whole caste. According to Leach (1960), the system maintains and regulates the division of labour and economic interdependence of castes while Beidelman (1959) opines it to be a system that maintains the so-called higher castes' prestige. The relationship between the 'served' and 'serving' is neither based on a contract, nor is it individual and temporary, but a permanent relationship. This makes the jajmani system a 'feudal.' It is believed that the jajmani system has been largely eroded in villages in recent decades due to various factors such as changes in the rigidity of the caste system, the spread of education, migration of the so-called lower castes people, better employment, and material amenities, etc.

In the context of the present study, it can be said that as far as Valmiki is concerned, not much has changed in terms of the feudal system of client-family relationships. In all the villages there were households where the '*Grahaki Sambandh*' (Patron-Client relation) was still practiced (Figure 5.1). Of all 75.1 percent respondents said about servicing the so-called higher caste families in their respective villages. Among them, 65.5 percent were serving five or more than five families.

Figure 5.1: Client-Family Relationship of Households in Villages



Village-wise details showed that Kanavada was one village where the Valmiki families had the least percentage of patron-client relationships (14.3 percent) compared to the other villages. In eight villages (Khada, Khaksar, Varsada, Navi-Akhrol, Padra, Panded, Rinjha, Gorad) all the residing Valmiki households had accepted devoting their time to various families providing their services to their respective owners as per the need and arrangement. This relation implied the physical availability and labour of the specific Valmiki family at an agreed time and occasion and in return, the Valmiki family received wages in cash or kind (grain, food, grazing space for animals, clothes etc.), and even gifts on social festivals and occasions. They rarely received money as a loan in emergencies. Many Valmiki families had relationships with Bharvad and Darbar (Rajput, Jhala) families who belonged to the Kshatriya caste. They also happen to be a land-owning and economically better off caste groups. These communities were known to flex their muscle due to their numeric, political, and financial status in the area.¹

Social Interaction of the Valmiki Community with Other Caste Communities

The division and hierarchy of castes constitute one of the most fundamental features of India's social structure sanctioned by the Hindu religion. In Hindu society, caste divisions play a part in both actual social interactions and in the ideal scheme of values. Members of different castes are expected to behave differently and to have different values and ideals (Béteille 1965). Literature born from the experiences of being in the community is limited. Talking of history and concept of caste is one thing and experiencing caste discrimination manifested in day-to-day life is altogether another thing. Many academics in India who have studied and have written about outcaste families might not have seen, or let alone experienced what it means to be born in an 'outcaste' family.

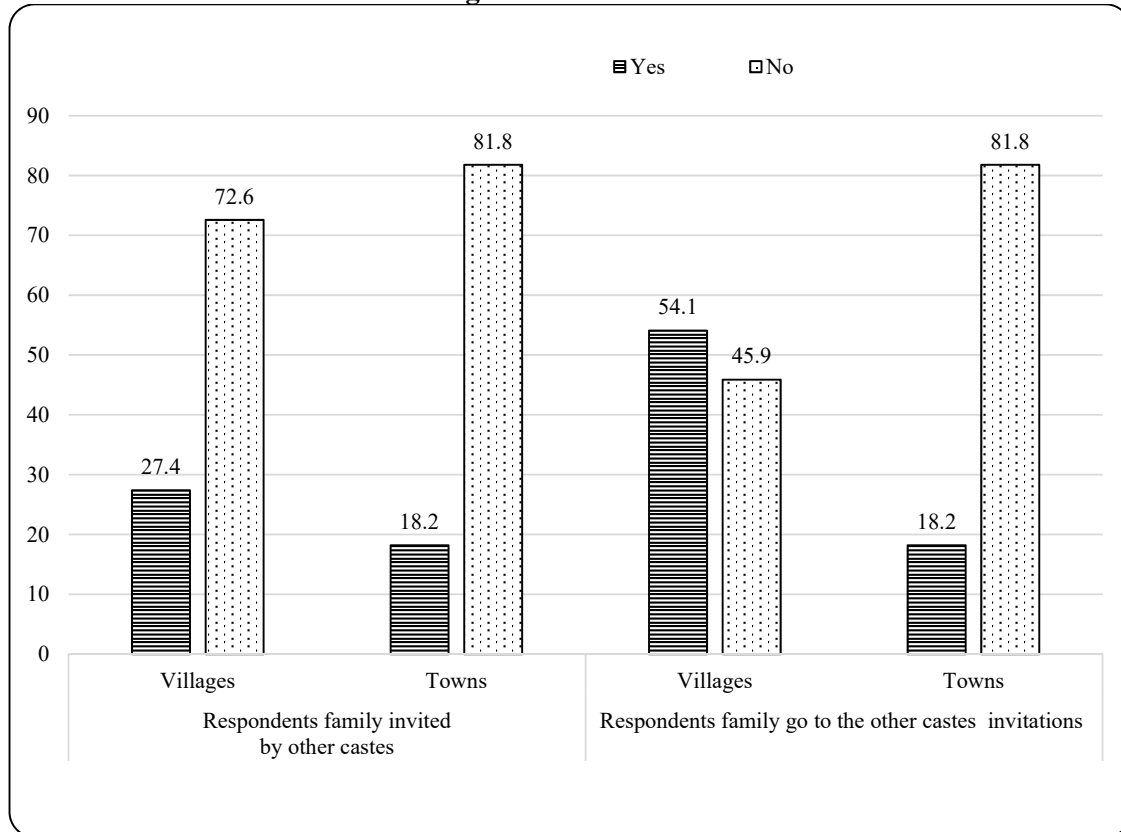
The Valmiki's relationship with other castes was mainly seen as whether they participated in social gatherings, have friends and if other castes and families maintained distance from them or not. In all cases, the findings showed some positive interactions but largely there were hindrances and avoidance of social and personal interactions.

Invitations for Social Functions

Only 27.4 percent (133) households of the Valmiki in villages were invited to wedding occasions and other social functions of caste households. Similar invitations to the Valmiki on occasion in the towns were about 18 percent. In the villages of Bhimtalav, Khada, Khaksar, Khanpur, Rinjha, Fathehpura, and Galiyana, all households confirmed the invitations received orally. Though Valmikis were invited, not all honoured the invitation, especially in villages

only 54.1 percent (72) reported about going to such gatherings, while 45.9 percent avoided attending them. In towns, all those who got the invitations did attend them.²

Figure 5.2: Respondent Family Invited by Other Castes Households for Marriage and Other Functions



Friendships with other Caste Households

When respondents were asked about their children and youngsters having friendships with their peer group from the other caste members the response was negative in 56.2 percent cases. This held true for the adult members as well. Many respondents reported of having friendships with people from their own community only. Their children had some friends from other communities, it is because either they attend the same schools accessible to them in the village, or have work relations. It was also remarked that the friendships between Valmiki and the others from caste groups hardly crossed to the extent of both sitting together and sharing tea or food in one another's residence. Even in towns, only 23 percent of households had said about them having friends from other caste communities. There were a few who chose to be silent about the community with whom they related.

Communities do not Relate or/and Maintain Distance from the Valmiki

The study confirmed that social discrimination and especially its physical manifestation such as touch, physically having tea or food or having a conversation in close proximity were unsaid taboos.

Around 68 percent (328) of respondents had stated that one or more communities kept physical distance from them and did not relate to them on an equal term. The communities which were cited as keeping a distance from Valmiki in most of the villages were Devipujak (colloquially referred to as the Vaghri), Patel, Darbar (Kshatriya caste), and Bharvad.³ A few also reported about facing physical distance and discrimination not only from the so-called upper castes of social hierarchy but also from the other Dalit communities. It was also observed that some villages experienced the distance more than others did. In Golana, in January of 1986, 4 Dalits belonging to the Vankar community were killed by the Darbar as the Vankars had begun to assert their rights on land. It was alleged that the Darbars had used another Dalit community, the Valmiki, to instigate a conflict with the Vankars for violence. The Darbars were given life term prison (14 years). After nearly three and half decades, the Valmiki families claim that discrimination is still present. In the towns, unlike villages, Valmiki households had more interaction with Muslims and Patels (OBC). It was possible that social discrimination practiced by these group members might be much less than that of the exploitative castes. It was also possible that the nature of work engagement might have increased interactions and over time decreased physical discrimination. Social interactions and relationships are important for a healthy society and for change towards inclusion. However, replies of respondents suggested that their relations with other caste members were limited and not on equal footing as human beings.

Present-day Discrimination and Harassment with the Valmiki Community

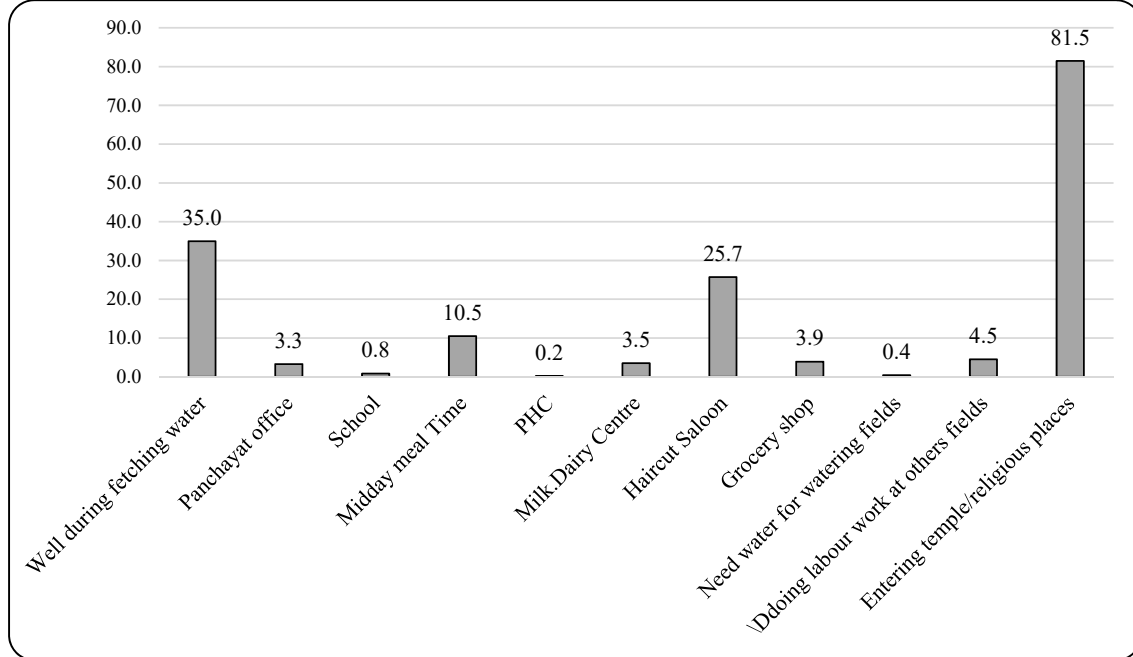
Varna-caste discrimination and untouchability is known in India but denied by many, especially members of the communities who practice it most. Caste denotes a traditional system of rigid social stratification into ranked groups defined by descent and occupation. The Caste divisions in India dominate housing, marriage, employment, and general social interaction. Divisions are reinforced through the practice and threat of social ostracism, economic boycotts, and physical violence (Human Rights Watch 2007). The said report states that a published survey investigating the extent of "untouchability" practiced in 565 villages in 11 Indian states found that the constitutionally abolished crime of "untouchability" continues to profoundly affect the lives and psyches of millions of Dalits. "Untouchability" practices were documented

in almost 80 percent of the villages surveyed. India has also failed to encourage integrationist movements or eliminate barriers between castes. It has allowed segregation in schools and housing and has failed to faithfully implement constitutional and legislative abolitions of “untouchability” practices (Centre for Human Rights and Global Justice 2007; Shah et al. 2006).

Abusive and derogatory language use, restricted access to places of worship, discriminating seating arrangements and peer bullying in schools, sexual exploitations are common forms of social exclusion practices prevailing in society that primarily affect the social mobility amongst the Valmikis (Mohanty 2014). Kavita Chowdhury in ‘The Diplomat’ reported on August 23, 2022, “Seven Decades after it was abolished, ‘untouchability’ continues to be practiced in India. The recent killing of a Dalit child for drinking water out of a pot meant for upper caste people lays bare the extreme discrimination, exclusion, and violence that Dalits suffer.” Thorat and Joshi (2015) wrote about the continuing practice of untouchability in India. They argued that the patterns have changed and mitigating influences are different but untouchability all the same prevails.

The data shows that in 2022, discrimination based on *varna*-caste still exists in the villages, especially in the social-commensal relations. The discrimination becomes blurred when it involves economic transactions in public places. Access to water and entry to places of Hindu worship where the Valmiki experience “Untouchability” the most account to 35 percent and 81.5 percent respectively (Figure 5.3). For instance, in Bhimtalav, Varsada, Daheda, and Dugari most respondents had talked about them being not allowed entry into religious places, while people from Gorad and Mahayari have talked about facing discrimination in fetching water from wells meant for other castes.⁴ The hair cutting salon (25.7 percent) and midday meal distribution (10.5 percent) at school are the other major places where Valmikis suffer the sting of ‘Untouchability practiced by the Hindu caste people. Strangely, in towns, except for one respondent (discrimination faced in municipal corporation offices), all had reported that they had not faced any kind of discrimination.

Figure 5.3: Distribution of Discrimination Faced by the Respondents at Various Places



Respondents facing untouchability due to their caste correspond to other similar observations by various authors. For instance, Oommen (2014: 24) stated that “The lived reality in Indian society is that untouchability is practiced even today, particularly in rural areas, and people who practice it and who are its victims believe that Hinduism and untouchability are inextricably intertwined”. Similarly, Lambert (1958) has cited social practices and conditions among the majority groups, which operationally define untouchability. According to him, they include a prohibition of social intercourse, denial of access to village wells, temples, schools, residential segregation, and stigmatization in general. These disabilities are constitutionally prohibited and they are criminal offenses. He also stated that the other practices of *varna*-caste discrimination are behaviour traits and attributes of the stigmatized communities themselves, which, in terms of preventing social mores, justify the assignment to these groups of fewer of the rewards of society such as prestige, wealth, and power.

Untouchability is also closely associated with pollution. A polluting person is always stated as wrong. He has developed some wrong condition or simply crossed some line which should not have been crossed and this displacement unleashes danger for someone (Douglas 1966), in our case the Valmikis. There are two types of contacts and their relation to pollution. Dumont and others argued (Dumont 1970; Mickeviciene 2003) that there are distinctions in contact, depending on its purpose in *varna*-caste purity. The important distinction is between contact of a general nature and a specialized contact which has a completely different effect on

purity. No doubt changing socio-economic and political situations and exposure to education and other cultures have changed this concept of purity and pollution (Mickevičienė 2003). However, there is a sizable Hindu population that has not been fully liberated from the caste pollution beliefs and practices.

Incidents of Valmiki members being beaten or thrashed by other Hindu caste community members over the last few years were also not reported except for two, one each in Changda and Dugari villages. In both cases, the reason was related to the matter of cattle grazing, as the cattle of the respondents have entered the field of others. In towns, there was no discrimination mentioned in the form of physical beating or violence.

Notes

¹ For village wise details of respondents in Client-Patron or work-relationship with some fixed families in the village see, Annexure 4, Table 5.1.

² For village and town wise details of respondents getting invitations for marriage and social functions by other castes households see, Annexure 4, Table 5.3.

³ For village and town wise details of other Caste groups keeping physical distance from respondents in villages see, Annexure 4, Table 5.4.

⁴ For village wise details of Discrimination faced by the Respondents at Various Place see, Annexure 4, Table 5.5.

Chapter 6

Continuity and Change: Study Findings, Reflections and Recommendations

The caste system, though conceptualized in dominant thinking as a traditional, pre-capitalist, and pre-modern institution and as a primordial marker of social identity, has not declined in its importance. It has rather proved to be more explosive than ever before. The principal coordinates of caste can be identified as i) hierarchy based on the principles of purity and pollution; ii) specification of occupation role specialization; iii) endogamy; and, iv) social aspects of dominance-subordination (Srinivasulu 2002: 38).

The caste system created the infrastructure for the formation of social relations and interactions between different groups, people, and social systems in Indian society. This old-age caste system is still perpetuated in Indian society; however, some changes have been observed in its representation and nature. Still, caste-based discrimination, exclusion, and divisions persist as an institutionalised system directed towards the marginalized, downtrodden, and oppressed people through restricting all means and resources for enhancing their life chances and upward mobility (Chaudhry 2013).

In the caste system, Valmiki are considered as untouchables and are at the lowest in the caste hierarchy. They have always been marginal to society socially, economically as well as culturally due to their occupation of scavenging, which socially is the lowest of all hereditary occupations. This study on the Valmiki community covers 36 villages and two towns of the Bhal region in the Anand District where they lived. The study that focused on the socio-economic situation of the Valmiki brought out certain changes and continuity that the community were living with. This concluding chapter addresses some of the major findings underlining such aspects which shows some similarities and some differences specific to rural and urban areas.

Study Findings

Demography

The data suggested that the Valmiki community was widespread in the region including the 36 villages and the towns of Tarapur and Khambhat. The study highlighted that Valmiki are minuscule in number vis-a-vis the larger castes population and within the Dalit population. Data also showed that people have migrated to cities in search of employment/livelihood from

almost all the villages. The average family size of the Valmiki in these villages and towns was 5.2 members.

There were villages with larger numbers of Valmiki households such as 39, 38, and 37 in Changda, Daheda, and Kasbara compared to villages with just two, three, and five households such as Tadatalav, Chitarvada, Paldi, and Gudel respectively.

Being a small community with less households in caste-divided villages, the unity of the Valmiki with other communities or even with the general Dalit community was not possible. In a caste village, therefore *varna-caste* based exploitation and compliance with caste norms existed and were practiced.

With a small population, their social, political, and economic survival depended on their individual and collective skills to manage relationships, networks, and bargaining in a caste-ridden society to survive and function. The *varna-caste* divide was most likely to stay in India and numerically the Valmiki would not be able to compete with any social caste group and therefore their wisdom, ability, and courage to survive and enjoy all the sustainable developmental goals was an upheaval task.

In towns, the population of Dalits in Tarapur (5 percent) is less than Khambhat (7.1 percent). The population of Valmiki was not available except for the surveyed population of 606 including both the villages from 148 households in the studied areas.

Education

Education is the process of instruction aimed at all-round growth of human beings. The process of learning includes moral values, character building, and the strength of mind. Education has the power of transferring human beings into human resources. Education and health are the pillars of development as argued by Amartya Sen. The Constitution not only ensures that all people are treated equally, but it also allows the state to take actions that positively discriminate against SC, ST, OBC, and minorities. For (Lal & Nahar 1990), education was in some way a weapon to resist social discrimination and untouchability. India has a reputation of being backward when it comes to education and employment possibilities, especially for the marginalized section.

It was observed that the mindset of Caste Hindus and Valmikis seemed to prevent them from pursuing higher education. The attitude of others in the villages was '*What will a Valmiki child do with education? She/he is a Valmiki child and will continue to take over work once from her mother/father*¹'. Nonetheless, the education expansion may hopefully mitigate the evil

practice of untouchability – a practice which is a blot on our secular principles and enhances the well-being of Valmikis.

The study found that the education scenario among the Valmikis was in some ways hopeful as from each family there were members who had obtained education upto the VIII grade. There were only 302 people out of the 2507 total population who had studied up to school level (9 to 10 grade). The education status in the towns was slightly better as 4.5 percent of the population had studied up to 12th grade and 1.2 percent up to college. Overall, the Valmiki community still lagged in education both at the high school level and more so at the higher education level whether it was diploma, engineering, BA and MA, or any other professional education. The low level of higher education in the Valmiki community was worrisome as in today's world higher education and learning are key to access the opportunities for better livelihood options. It was found that of the studied 37 villages, 19 villages² had a secondary school in the village premises while High school was present only in 5 villages³.

Image 6.1: School Going Children in Gorad Village Interacting with the Research Team



The situation of Valmikis in Bhal reflected the study finding that pointed illiteracy or low levels of education being high among safai-karamcharis groups that somehow perpetuated the vicious cycle of hereditary occupation (Salve, Bansod & Kadlak 2017). Lack of education prevented them to take up other kinds of jobs (Aamir 2019: 32) besides what they had been doing traditionally. The finding of Mohanty (2013: 108) also supports our study, which argued that cultural, societal, and economic obstacles continued to prevent people of underprivileged

groups from having access to educational opportunities, therefore, the issue of equality was still contentious in India.

It is a long way still for the Valmikis to draw benefits from the education system in Gujarat which may not always favour them. The present policy of withdrawing scholarships at higher education levels has the danger of making the education status of these communities worse than before.

Housing and Household Amenities

Housing

The overall scenario of Bhal in Anand District showed that Valmikis had decent shelter over their heads. In the rural area, nearly half of the total families had semi-pucca houses and little more than 1/3 had pucca houses. Their houses were smaller in size and mostly in a row, touching each other. In the towns, 70.6 percent of households had pucca houses compared to 39.2 percent in Khambhat and 29.4 percent in semi-pucca houses in Tarapur, and 52.6 percent in Khambhat. Tarapur had no kachha houses while Khambhat had 17.5 percent.

A sizable number of houses in both study areas were built under government schemes most of them during the year 2011-15. From 2016 to 2020, houses under government schemes seemed to have reduced. Ownership of assets indicated gender inequality among the Valmikis like other social categories in India. Valmikis in matters of ownership of a house were gender-biased and men of the house owned houses. A few houses (31) were owned by the daughter-in-law, wife, and mother in the villages. In the towns, only seven houses were owned by mothers.

Having a shelter is a big blessing for a family as it helps realisation of safety and education rights. The Valmikis in these towns were settlers. In Khambhat, they informed that they were invited from other districts of Gujarat to settle there.

The *varna-caste* system had denied the Valmikis of adequate houses. Our finding echoed the findings of HRW in Maharashtra stating that many of those employed by panchayat in Maharashtra in the context of Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan were denied regular wages and had been warned that they would be evicted from their houses if they refused manual scavenging work (Human Rights Watch 2014). However, the Valmiki community like the other caste communities stayed in their own caste locality, space in the village, which normally is secluded from the others.

Household Amenities

The rural and urban areas were well equipped with electricity. The villages were electrified and the Valmiki households had electricity in their houses. However, besides electricity, they used kerosene and candles for light sources as the electricity supply keeps fluctuating. Since Valmiki houses were in poor localities, they were the first ones to be deprived of regular supply.

In villages, the most used sources of fuel for cooking were wood and gas. The wood of ‘*ganda bawal*’ was easily available as it grew widely along the fences of fields, houses, etc.; thus, it was the common wood for fuel. Affordable and clean energy (SDG 7) were met to some extent among the Valmiki. In the urban area, a sizable household (93.2 percent) used gas for cooking.

Likewise drinking water was available practically in all the villages, hence the houses of Valmiki had clean drinking water through tap connection supplied either by the panchayat or Municipality. In this respect, clean water, and sanitation (SDG 6) was largely met. Yet for other purposes, nearly 1/5 of the Valmiki population used the village well for household use. Of course, the wells in the villages for Valmikis were different and even different from other Avarna castes. Unlike villages in the urban areas, Valmiki had a water supply to their residential area. With respect to villages, it is noted that Alan Dundes went beyond Dumont's classic *Homo Hierarchicus* in deconstructing the pervasive pollution complex that prevents millions of individuals from entering temples or drawing water from community wells (Dundes 1997). We found that the practice talked about by Dundes was prevalent even today in 2022.

A furnished bed in a house is a common feature. However, the Valmiki community in the villages did not have the luxury of having a wooden furnished bed. What they commonly shared was the homemade bed woven with the locally available rough rope (called *khatlo* in common use). The most common thing found in their house was a fan which made it possible to bear the scorching heat of Central Gujarat and the attack of mosquitos. Due to fluctuating electricity, the fridge was not common. Having a TV was a common feature and less than half the population had TV at home. The towns collectively were well equipped with Fan (93.9 percent), Fridge 44.6 percent and TV with 66.9 percent.

With all the campaign of ‘*swachh bharat*’ and propaganda about each family having toilet facility, yet the ground reality was that even in 2022 there were 46.3 percent of families that did not have toilets and went out in the open. There were no public toilets in the villages as one might have them in cities at some places with pay and use system. The situation of the two towns was much better compared to the rural area, where only about 10.8 percent of families did not enjoy the facility of toilets and had to go in the open.

Livelihood-related Assets with the Valmiki Community

One-third of the families owned a motorcycle/scooter which was an easy means of transport in Bhal where public transport was limited and less frequent. Vehicles were used for commuting to work as well for social interactions with friends, relatives, and for bureaucratic purposes. Motorcycle/scooter owners were less in the towns and in Taraput (11.7 percent) much less than in Khambhat (33.3 percent) town. No one owned four-wheelers in the towns while just four families owned three-wheelers.

Mobile phones, in modern times are used for multiple purposes such as education, work, and social contacts. Mobile has become a common asset to people in urban areas. Both the towns almost had an equal percentage of mobiles (86.5 percent) belonging to 128 total families. Mobile phones like most of the other assets were largely owned by men and were in the possession of men as an unstated social norm of patriarchy and gendered Indian society.

Land for homestead and for agriculture was an asset for Indians across India. Land in Bhal was an asset and only 50 percent of the Valmiki community owned some amount of land. Unfortunately, most of these people owned less than an acre of land. Notably, not all land owned by the Valmikis was fertile or productive. Most of the land owned by the families were saline or unproductive.

The Economics of the Valmiki Community

Besides doing tradition the Valmikis in rural areas were engaged as farm labourers and marginalized farmers. Only one-third of the land-owning families cultivated their own land. A small percent (11.4 percent) of land-owning families gave their land for sharecropping.

The Valmiki community was not debt-free. Debt for many families was a strap and they could not become debt free easily. In villages, out of 486 families, 328 families (2/3 families of villages) were in debt. Jewellery (49 percent) and Land (12.5 percent) were two assets which were mortgaged for the debt money. The debt was largely taken for marriage expenses (42 percent), health care (17 percent), and household purposes (11.3 percent). Nearly 16 percent of the land-owning families had mortgaged their land to others in the village. In most cases, the source for the debt money remained those people from non-Valmiki castes who co-existed in the villages. However, persons from Darbar, Bharvad, and Kodi-Patel were the three prominent caste groups as sources to borrow, considering that they were economically dominant groups in the villages. The debt amount borrowed varied from Rs.25,000 to Rs.5,00,000. However, they borrowed between Rs. 25,000-50,000 (56.8 percent in villages and 64 percent in towns) and Rs.50,001-1,00,000 (19 percent in villages and 29.1 percent in towns).

Sociology of Marriage among Valmiki

In these castes, women and men usually get married at the early age of 18 or early twenties. When the respondents were asked about the custom of child marriages, all denied the existence of child marriage, but individual conversations confirmed that child marriages is still prevalent where mostly girls, being 15 or 16 years, are married off. It was a rare incident that the Valmiki community from a few villages in the region married off their girls to boys from cities.

It was also found that marriages among Valmiki are endogamous. They largely married among themselves, i.e., within the community. According to Babasaheb Ambedkar, it is mainly the custom of endogamy that has preserved the castes and prevented one caste from fusing into another. Arranged marriages were normal in the community; few cases of love marriages also happened but not without their complexity and difficulties. Being a patriarchal society of rural areas, girls moved to husband's households adapting to his family, culture and traditions.

Divorce numbers showed 9.1 percent of cases of the total families (486) surveyed in 36 villages, which was a much higher rate than that of India. Women comparatively had more freedom in the Valmiki community to initiate divorce as observed in the study, which was nearly equal to men. Further, less stigma on being divorced, easy acceptance of them in a family, and divorced women and men easily getting remarried also aids for more common occurrence of divorce among the community.

Though divorce is acceptable, there were restrictions on women's movement as per their will similar to the women belonging to other castes. However, the degree of such restraint was less, especially in the houses where they were economically active. Their participation in paid work and household responsibilities forced them to get out of the house for the fulfilment of the household needs. Patriarchy, gender, caste, class, and religious ideologies and practices are deeply ingrained in the socialisation of Indian society and women are no exception. It is argued that these ideologies place people and communities in hierarchical order and maintain the hard and oppressive status quo by means of a complex combination of custom, functionality, and religious belief (Chitnis 2004).

Employment - related Movement of the Valmikis

The Valmikis in the rural area found employment in and outside the village. The population working within the village was higher than those who had moved out of the village for employment. In total, ten percent of the population was working outside the village. There were a few families, which had more than one member employed outside the village. Of course, there were more males working outside than women.

Migration was not uncommon among Valmiki and was on the increase. The study found that more than 1/3 precisely (36.4 percent) families of Valmiki from the surveyed villages had migrated to cities and towns and yet there were villages like Chitravada, Khada, and Khanpur where there was no migration. While there were also villages like Gudel, Paldi, and Tadalav where from all the households someone or the other had migrated. Those who worked outside their village were usually found working in cities/towns like Ahmedabad, Dahod, Khambhat, Tarapur, Surat, and Vadodara. In the towns, of all the families, 11 families had members who migrated to the cities of Ahmedabad, Anand, Dharmaj, Mumbai and Vadodara. In villages where people had migrated some households were closed as they had migrated to the city. They visit home once in four to five months or only during special events.

Reasons that compelled migration of Valmiki in villages were mainly unsatisfactory rural wages and hope for better wages or income in the city. Indebtedness had also caused migration among 1/4th of families. A small percentage had chosen to migrate due to joblessness in the village. In towns, the availability of more jobs and higher income led the members to migrate to different cities. Literature and research also confirmed the data that migration in India and Gujarat was due to low wages and ambition to increase wages/income as compared to that in the village. Literature further pointed out the issues that the Valmiki face concerning employment and low wages. It is argued that the Scheduled Caste household's access to agricultural land and capital was extremely low and as a result, the level of manual wage labour among them was astonishingly high. The high incidence of wage labour among them, however, was not matched by favourable employment and wage earning (Thorat 2001). Only 3/4th of the families in villages received remittance from their migrated members.

As mentioned, no work in the villages compelled people to migrate. To minimize migration and to ensure a minimum of 180 days of work to the people in rural areas, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) Scheme was initiated by the Central Government in all the states. It aimed for the enhancement of livelihood security of the rural households by providing guaranteed wage employment for a fixed number of days. In the study area, it was reported that the scheme was in existence (only in 26 villages), but the number of days was not followed as per the scheme. The days of work in the villages mostly ranged from 10 to 50 days. In six villages it was for 100 days. There were also irregularities in wage payments; it was paid less or not on time. So, in general, people felt that the MGNREGA had not benefited them enough and with no work in the villages more people migrated to nearby cities and towns, which provided better wages (than MGNREGA) and a regular income to the household.

The Social Situation of Valmiki

Geographical Isolation

The social system of rural villages remained intact mostly because of *varna*-caste system and class division bearing similarity with villages across India. The social divisions were geographically translated into physical residential areas of the communities and movements. There was a match between the *varna*-caste hierarchy and the economic position of the community and individuals. The social, economic, and cultural marginality of outcaste (ex-untouchables) of the society was reflected and reinforced by their peripherality in the village settlement patterns: the so-called upper caste and the shudra castes resided in the village's finer residential areas while the outcastes lived on the outskirts of the village (Sharma 1987). In the surveyed villages, the caste hierarchy reflected on the type of houses, assets and residents' location. While the lower in social strata were more located in the peripheries. Also, in some villages, the roads to reach Valmiki's lanes were not properly constructed and had no proper street lights. Their physical segregation was because of them being an 'excluded caste'. As an excluded caste, its members were generally forbidden to enter the streets in which the houses of the so-called upper castes were situated along with many customs and laws that kept them beyond villages and towns. Since they were treated outside of the caste system, they were destined to be only in the outskirts of the village and were never an integral part of the village community. Their services, however, were still essential to the health of the community and therefore still had to be part of the system in order to serve the upper castes (Velassery 2005: 8).

The Feudal System of Client-family Relationship

Jajmani or patron-client relations have been identified as being hereditary and as involving duties and responsibilities on the parts of those giving and those receiving the service. It was assumed that the system had faded from the villages, but in this study of the coastal region its tentacles still seems to spread and Valmiki families were in the grip of it to some degree or the other. The bondedness with a patron family in the village existed for various kinds of work such as cleaning the house, stable, their toilets, and they worked from their agricultural labour to the casual work of the household. Some of the families were tied in such relationships with more than one family. This relation implied the physical availability and labour of the specific Valmiki family at an agreed time and occasion and in return, the Valmiki family would receive wages in cash or kind (grain, food etc.) and in certain cases even gifts on social festivals and

occasions. In some cases, the 'jajmani' system that prevailed between patron (caste person) and client (the outcaste) was inherited from succeeding generations.

The Valmiki families who engaged in serving their patrons had a large number of their patrons from Bharvad and Darbar (Rajput, Jhala) families who belonged to the Kshatriya caste. They also happened to be land-owning and economically better off caste groups. These communities were also known to flex their muscle due to their numeric, political, and financial status in the area. Such a feudal system persisted in the heart of Gujarat; Anand District does not go with all the hype of the Gujarat development model.

Present-day Practice of Discrimination with Valmiki Community

The caste system is considered a closed system of stratification, which means that a person's social status is obligated to the caste they were born into. There are limits on interaction and behaviour with people from another social status (Sekhon 2000: 39). The study shows that Valmikis had yet not broken out of the clutches of discrimination against them totally. The people in the villages have reported about facing discriminatory behaviour from co-villagers of other castes just because they belonged to Valmiki community, the lowest among the lowest Dalit caste. Among others, they also face discrimination in accessing water from other wells and entrance to the place of Hindu worship. These are the places where the Valmiki experience 'Untouchability' the most. In villages, some also reported about hair cutting salons not providing services to them, as it would mean 'impuring' the salon and where people from other castes will not come. The owner may not have any issue but since the salon owner had to earn, he avoided going against most people, hence no services to the Valmikis. He had to follow the social dictates in order to avoid the larger customers from other social caste groups not coming to him. Thus, Valmikis either go to other villages or nearby urban centres to get haircuts. The practice of untouchability was also visible against the children of Valmiki at school especially while having the midday meal distribution. One hardly saw any person from the community getting appointed as a cook under the midday meal scheme in village schools. It was also reported that, in villages where Valmikis work as agriculture labourers in the fields of the so-called upper castes, they carried their own food and water. Unlike other non-Valmiki labourers, they were not offered these things by the land owner. In some cases a few so-called upper caste families did invite the Valmiki for meals. However, they were served only when all the members of the family had their food. It was reported that Valmiki labourers often get lower wages as compared to other castes.

The *varna*-caste discrimination perpetuated by various actors and factors more so by those who falsely assumed that they were from a superior high caste breed maintained physical distance between human beings of various caste groups, especially with the Dalits and more so the Valmiki. The prominent caste groups who still strongly used the abusive power of *varna*-caste were Devipujak, Darbar, and Bharvad. In some villages discrimination and socio-physical distancing was more as compared to others villages. Social discrimination backed by religious teaching, poor economic status, and miniscule numbers has left Valmiki at the receiving end. The state has played lip service to eliminate marginalisation by announcing some programmes and schemes without much political will and lacklustre implementation of recommendations of many of the commissions set up to work towards reducing discrimination and exploitation (Dabhi 2009). No doubt, there were a few from among the younger generation who challenged the system and practice and asserted their dignity and equality.

Changes and Continuity

The study observed a certain level of changes and continuity in the lives of Valmiki of Bhal over two-three decades. By observing various facets of their lives, the most noticeable change had happened in the education and economic sphere. This is true for both rural and urban areas.

Changes

Education

Changes in education show that the level of education has increased among the community but not very high. The families have shown increased interest in sending their children to schools. There were more people who had moved at least up to higher-primary schooling from being illiterate. Though small in numbers, Valmiki children had gained some amount of higher education and professional education. As a result, some have got teacher jobs, especially in public schools. Increased interest of the community in the education of youngsters is also because they want their children to take up diverse jobs in formal and informal sectors rather than follow their traditional occupation of cleaning. It was also found that families are sending girls to school, hence we found more literate girls as compared to a few decades before. There were cases, where increased mobility of them was seen for their education and employment. For instance, a father of three female children from Kansbara said, '*... main toh jyada nahi pada lekin main aphi teeno betiyon ko pada raha hoon. Do toh city ke hostel me reh kar padai kar rahi hain. Ek nursing kar rahi hain, ek computer-engineering ka aur ek abhi 11th me hain. Log mujhe bolte hain ki itna mat padhao, paisa mat lagao...shadi karva do...lekin main chahta*

hoon ki voh humare jaise nahi rahe, pade aur naukri kare! (.... I have not studied, but I am educating my three daughters. Two already stays in the city in a girls' hostel (for SC/ST). One is doing nursing; one is in IT-engineering and one is in 11th now. People tell me not to educate them so much, not to invest money in their education but to save it for their marriage. But I don't want them to be like us, they should complete their studies and take up a job). Educational schemes in the form of scholarships for the children of Valmiki also helped some to move up in accessing higher education.

Some people also stated that the discriminatory behaviour in schools like earlier has also reduced because of the teachers from SC/ST community. Since the teachers belonged to the same community, they did not behave biased towards children of any social group. In Gorad village it was visible and reported by the key informant belonging to the community that there was no discrimination in the village because many schools in the area employ teachers from the Valmiki community. So, discrimination against them in schools was not noticeable. But in places where teachers belonged to so-called upper castes some form of discrimination towards children of Valmiki can be evident.

The importance of education for the Valmiki is reflected in the thought of a person who was a Taluka Panchayat Sabhya at Mahiyari Village. For him there is less discrimination towards the educated Valmiki people, hence education is very important for the development of the community. Stating the situation of another community of Dalits i.e., of Vankars, he mentions that the Vankar community is getting more educated, and taking up the occupation of teachers. Hence one saw the so-called upper caste people giving much better space in terms of social interaction to them as compared to the Valmiki due to their achieved position and class. If an uneducated Valmiki sat on a chair in a public place the upper castes insulted her/him which may or may not be the case with other so-called lower castes.

Economic Progress

Mechanization of rural agriculture technology brought an effective change in the lives of Valmiki. Valmiki families own very little land if at all. They are largely dependent on agriculture and household labour (taking care of the animals and surrounding courtyards houses of the exploitative caste HHs in the village). Tractors and harvesting and threshing machines had reduced human labour in agriculture drastically. Thus, employment in the villages had reduced and migration for gainful employment elsewhere including cities like Ahmedabad and Surat had increased.

Changes in the economic sphere in Valmiki were thus mainly due to migration. Poor wages and lack of employment opportunities had led to the greater migration of members to the cities. In the study areas, except in a few villages, in every household, there were at least one or two members who had migrated for jobs to the nearby urban centres. Also, in many cases, the migrated members had moved with spouses and children leaving parents and other extended members behind. Leaving some, these members regularly send remittances back home, which takes care of various household needs such as house expenses, part of debt repayment, medical expenditures, investments and so on. In some cases, families had productive assets like fertile agricultural land with irrigation facilities, and commercial three and four-wheeler vehicles. All this enhanced the economic condition of the households.

Additionally, migration to urban areas also provided some opportunities for the Valmiki to enter different labour markets. Though the majority of Valmiki continue in the traditional occupation, one also observed an occupational shift away from sweeping/scavenging of some suggesting upward mobility. There were people who now work as teachers, drivers, plumbers, electricians, tailors, mechanics, peons, and supervisors. In some villages, there were people in government jobs such as – teachers, police, doctors, and army. For these people, it can be said that by moving to different occupations, they have changed their path and have certainly paved the way for their children's (and other kins) occupation. Mobility aided them with education and training for different jobs. This was a step towards breaking the intergenerational transfer of their hereditary scavenging occupation.

Due to better-paid jobs than what was available in their own villages/towns the income of households had increased, but so did the expenses. Families had started spending more on weddings and their local deity functions. Weddings become an elaborate affair with musical nights with DJs, photography, and videography. Moreover, designer dresses and jewellery have taken over from the traditional form of dressing for bride and bridegroom. To a certain extent these are influenced by the ways marriages are portrayed in TV serials and films and imbibing the patterns of weddings of upper castes people. For instance, they have adopted some customs of other social groups like *babri*⁴ (*baby's first haircut*), *var-ghodo* (bridegroom's procession during a wedding) which was not seen earlier. Excessive expenses on weddings and other social functions had however resulted in families getting into a debt trap. For debt, some also mortgaged their productive assets like land and jewellery with few able to get it back and others not.

Image 6.2: Community Members Sharing Issues among Valmikis in a Meeting



Social-Cultural Situation

The study found changes in demography and living conditions. The family size has decreased to an average of six to seven members. Age profile suggested longevity of members is not high. In almost 69 percent of the surveyed households in the villages, they do not have family members above 60 years. Of those with aging members, except a few the oldest member in the house, was between the age of 65 years to 70 years.

The kind of houses have improved. There are more pucca houses now with more facilities – refrigerator, mobiles, TV, toilets, and tap water. One also found a sizable increase of households with motorcycles, a few also owned three-wheelers. Older generation reported this change as a result of improved economic status and also as the need of the hour. In many cases the pucca and semi-pucca houses of Valmiki were also because of the government housing schemes meant for SCs, *Safai Karamchari* and BPL families that had reached to them. Around 41 percent in villages had built the house under Ambedkar Awas Yojna and about 14 percent under Safai Kamdar Awas Yojna. It must be noted that the preference to build toilets attached to the house in the villages was because of the insistence of the female members of the household. It was because women going for open defecation can increase the chance of their harassment and molestation by men of other castes. In formal interviews, few of the community members had mentioned such incidents, which somehow made people across villages take this up this a priority. Accessing government fund schemes for building toilets had also helped the Valmiki families for its construction, hence a greater number of houses with the toilet facility.

Changes in the social arena also showed that physical atrocities against Valmiki have reduced considerably. Among study areas there were only 2-3 reported cases of beating as they have trespassed the land of upper castes without permission. Social change in terms of decrease in child marriages were cited by the people, but some incidents of it were reported as well. In one such case, a girl (17 years) died when she got pregnant. Besides, villagers also stated that unlike earlier times, now no one from the community goes begging for food to the upper caste households.

Another visible change in the households of some villages was their increasing affiliation with Hindu sects like Swami Narayan, Kabir Panth,⁵ and Radha Swami. Most of such cases were seen in Indranaj village. Of the total 15 surveyed households, 10 households were affiliated to the Swami Narayan sect. In Changda eight households (out of 31) were followers of Swami Narayan. All these houses had the posters of Swami Narayan guru pasted on the room walls. They also attend the *satsangs* as and when it occurs. Valmiki people's affiliation with the Swami Narayan sect seems ironical considering that the untouchables were not permitted to enter Swami Narayan temples that Sahajanand Swamy⁶ built. Moreover, he supported the caste system by demanding that his followers take a vow that he or she would refuse to take food from anyone who was of a caste inferior to their own (Hardiman 1988). It is said that the jati system is not static and there is mobility in the system. A jati can move up in the caste hierarchy. Such mobility in the caste system has been termed as '*Sanskritization*' by the scholar M.N. Srinivas. In this process, to gain an upward position, a lower jati copies the habits and behaviour patterns of the dominant jati in the area. This may mean a lower jati will change its name to one of a higher jati, adopt vegetarianism, observe more orthodox religious practices, build a temple, and treat its women in a more conservative way. The type of emulation will mainly depend on the habits of the dominant jati being copied. In due time the new position on the social scale will be solidified and accepted by other jatis. And over the time the acceptance could lead them to gain membership of the emulated caste or group, which also means them being included in marital and commensal relationships. Valmikis affiliation with Swami Narayan and other related Hindu sects is one such process of *Sanskritization*. Though upper-caste Hindus of the village may welcome their affiliation to the religious and habitual patterns of their own, allowing their entry into the inner social circle of marriage seems grim.

There are two important dimensions of change in Valmiki – the nature or pattern of change and the direction of change. This change can be seen from two perspectives. First from the development perspective in terms of wealth creation and resource building; and second

from political processes of claiming their share in power in governance in public institutions whether village-block-district panchayats or cooperatives and committees. Both these processes are closely linked in village politics, caste dynamics, and economy. The Valmiki families support and are supported by competitive exploitative caste families for local election and in return the Valmiki families receive financial favours which help the economic development of the Valmiki. The economic dependency of Valmiki families also compels them to politically support the exploitative caste families on whom they are dependent for yearly employment and wages.

It is believed that Valmikis are responsible for the cleanliness of the village. They had to take the responsibility of taking away dead animals (from any house/street of the village) and its cremation. In some villages, this practice is retained. But in some villages, people said that they were not called forcefully to do the tasks, it was handled by others or by the owner itself.

Continuity

Education

Though education had improved but was still low. Not many are into higher education. Though some families are open towards girls' education, their share was small. Inhibition among the parents to teach their girls beyond village school was still intact. Girls were allowed to study in the schools available in the village, which is mostly up to primary (up to 5th standard) or secondary (up to 8th or 10th Standards). But sending them to schools for higher education available at nearby places or villages is largely not permitted, hence their educational level remains low and is mostly up to 8th standard. Financial constraints, lack of transport, no person to drop them at school, not many girls going from the village and fear of abuse were few reasons for non-permission.

Discussion with a group of women in villages showed the validity of these reasons which were prevalent among the community that favours lower educational level of girls. It was said that if girls go outside for school/college, and something happens to her, it will bring in bad name for the family. '*....ghar ki izzat, maan-maryada khraab ho jayegi! (The honor and dignity of the family will be spoiled.)*'. It was also found that the fear of girls ruining their family name if sexually abused or if they got into love affairs was always there, that hindered the education of girls. Some also stopped educating their girls by hearing such incidents happening to others. This could also be the reason for early marriages for girls in the community. Peer pressure to not educate girls also comes into picture sometimes. However, such thoughts were

not towards stopping boys' education. Additionally, spending on the education of a girl-child was seen as an economic burden with no returns. Rather, the family was interested in focusing on her domesticating activities - cooking, housekeeping, etc. Girls were sent to schools which are free and available within the village. Families believed that, '*....why spend on the education of the girl child when it is beneficial for others*'. Ironically, the family was ready to spend lakhs of rupees on her marriage. One woman working as an Asha worker said, 'if the amount a family spent on a daughter's marriage could be invested in her education, significant change could come in the community. Educated girl was an asset to the family. As an educated person, she could make educated decisions that will benefit all - self, children and family. Also, education could make girls more independent, strong, and less dependent on their family or husband.' She also pointed out that the low level of education among Valmiki was also because of the parents. Many households did not allow small children to go to school. Parents did not motivate or force them to go to school. School going children rather remained at home playing or doing other things. No schooling meant either getting into the traditional occupation of parents or getting poor paid jobs and no mobility to better occupation.

Moreover, lack of awareness for education for better life choices were also noted. Undoing caste-class barriers to access freedom and choice of education or occupation is still a difficult task and a long-achieved dream, despite state-society reorientation on affirmative action. In the absence of any capital, and therefore inability to acquire the right kind of education, Valmiki remain economically backward, falling back into the only occupation they know and generationally have access to (PRIA 2019).

Social Isolation, Lack of Amenities and Gaps in Welfare Schemes Coverage

There was no change in the physical location of Valmiki residence, especially in villages. Approach roads continued to be poor. In some villages sizable families continued to do open defecation because of lack of toilets.

There were grievances among the respondents that the authorities neglected them in matters of providing amenities such as quality streetlights, concealed gutter systems, adequate broad streets, and approach roads in their locality. These facilities first get implemented in the villages in the streets and locality of upper caste people. Additionally, the government entitlements were not easy for them to access. For instance, in one of the villages, a man said that, '...Valmiki lanes looked dirty and unclean, because of gutter lines in front of us. They leaked and created problems. Reporting to village authorities (who were from the exploitative castes) did not work, as they take us for granted. They clean it whenever they want. Also new

gutter lines were not laid in our locality.’ However, it is to note that, compared to a few decades back, the situation of most villages was better now. There were RCC roads, internal village roads approaching various lanes were pucca. But the locality of SC’s including Valmiki were not well developed as observed in the localities of other upper castes.

Further there were also cases where people were unable to access the benefits of government schemes as they did not have the government required documents like Aadhaar card, no bank accounts etc.

Continuity in Traditional Occupation

There is a continuity in traditional occupation in the sense that their work was the same as before related to cleanliness, but the severity has declined. They did not do manual scavenging anymore. The cleaning of human excreta in the open or in toilets has reduced or gone. In some places, even machines have replaced human labour in doing some cleaning functions. Those who had migrated to cities and towns had not shifted to different occupations altogether but largely worked as cleaners in Municipal Corporations or private offices. Movement from rural to urban had not freed them from the slavery of traditional occupation they were burdened with.

The anonymity of the urban environment provided the social situation for occupational mobility. But for Valmikis the urban situation by itself did not encourage abandoning of the hereditary caste occupation. Rather, from rural areas they have migrated to urban areas in search of employment as scavengers/sweepers-better paid employment in their hereditary occupation (Sharma 1987). Many women from the community in villages were hired by the Panchayat office for sanitation-related work. No vertical occupational mobility also made respondents state that they did not see any change or did not know what had changed in their lives and around them. They regretted that there was unemployment in the community and hardly any change had come from the traditional occupation. This was so because others had largely associated them with this pollution associated works.

Social and Political Affairs

Expenses on social events and festivals have increased. Some of the members in the group discussion had shown their disappointment with unnecessary expenses on certain occasions, which they considered as ‘bad’ customs or superstitions.

There were addictions among members of the Valmiki community like others in the village such as Tobacco and liquor consumption. Most of the men denied it, but interaction with women revealed about the addiction of male members in their house. Alcohol

consumption sometimes led to domestic abuse and fights, to which women said that it was common and they accepted it as part of their life. They did not have any other option but to live with it because if they protested or try to get separated from the abusive man, because neither did they have any place to go back to nor any financial stability to support themselves. Having children also did not allow them to take such a step, as it would affect them the most. It was believed that even in health care, the community lagged behind as against others. Asha worker of one of the villages, mentioned that, ‘Many people from the community believed in *dua and dhaga dora* (prayer and ritual practices) for the person suffering from illness. They delayed in taking medical treatment from hospitals or medical clinics. They took the person to local religious *babaas* (holy/spiritual man) or deities for curing them.’ She further stated, ‘...even child immunisation was poor among the community. When Asha workers went to houses for vaccination, many of them either hid their infants and children or said they are not well. There also existed myths and beliefs that vaccination could lead to potential risk during their adult years. As a result, one also saw significant cases of infant and child deaths among the community. Lower education of parents and of the community in general became disadvantageous to infants and young children with its health repercussions later on for children.’ It is well documented that poor presence of health institutions also lead to poor access to health care. In studied villages, not all of them were equipped with health service providers. Only twelve villages had a government primary health centre (PHC). While in nine villages, private health clinics were functioning. Most of these services were located either in common public areas (like near roads, school, bus station, lakes) or in the lanes of the so-called upper castes. The visits of doctors in Government PHC, except in three villages, was also not regular. In Mahiyari village, PHC was yet to be inaugurated.

The feudal system of ‘servitude paid labour’ had continued with less severe exploitation. This somehow showed the continuity of the acceptance and attitude of servitude ingrained in the Varna-caste ideology. Also, in marriage or other festivities, the Valmikis were still called to play the drums.

Hygiene and cleanliness were not the strong points of the community members, as reported by some of the respondents. However, this issue of blaming oneself syndrome has been looked at by people differently. For example, Paulo Freire (1972) in his ‘The Pedagogy of the Oppressed’ will analyse it as internalising the blame and accepting the unjust structure. In group discussions with the community some felt that they were discriminated against because they eat pork/beef/meat, do dirty work and keep themselves unclean. However, cleanliness among the poor must be viewed differently and through different lenses. To label

poor as dirty is a stereotype easily used by others who were actually responsible for their poverty and the waste they produced to be cleaned. They also felt that other caste people did not call them with '*maan*' (*honour*) but with insult. This starts early, as in schools they get habituated to listen to all kinds of sarcasms and undertones pertaining to their caste and related occupation. They are called '*Bhangi*', '*kachravala*' and so on.

Gender discrimination within and outside the village existed. This reflected in the poor education of girls as compared to boys and limiting the role of women members in household matters such as making decisions or in financial matters or independent decisions regarding self or family. One also found the presence of women limited or no presence at all at the gram-sabha meetings or important village level committees. They either did not have information about the meetings or were not interested in knowing or attending them. Women said that '....they had so much household work to do that they did not get time to attend such committees. Also, they did not know about its schedule. Even if they went, no one would hear them.'

Moreover, the preference for sons was prominently imbibed in the community. It was observed that if the first born was a girl, then the woman was forced to go for consecutive births till the boy child was born. If the first child was a boy and the second a girl, then there exists a high chance for the couple to stop at 2 or 3 kids.

In villages, in power positions, one finds no face of Valmiki. One hardly found a person from Valmiki in any position of Gram Panchayat (GP). Moreover, Valmiki's consent, and views hardly mattered in *Gram-sabha* meetings. They were considered vote banks.

Economic Sphere

Relations between social discrimination, economic dependence, and poverty continued among Valmiki. Lack of employment in the village resulted in the increased migration of people for work. One or two members from each household were migrants. In some cases, the whole family had migrated. Their visit to the village is limited to once in a few months (if parents and children live in the village) or once a year for social events. In villages, the working age group between 16 to 25 years is very low or almost missing in the household due to migration. Indebtedness continues, debt is mainly taken for marriage and social functions. The study showed Valmiki households own land but of small size. And in many cases, for debt they mortgage their land, which they eventually lose if the debt amount is not paid; a reality for some in the study.

Social Discrimination

Varna-Caste ideology and discriminatory practices are continued in one way or the other. One can comfortably say that the effect of discrimination that was observed 20 years back by one of the researchers has reduced but not eradicated completely. There were relations of Valmiki community members with other caste group members who usually discriminated against them in some spaces. Valmiki community members were invited for wedding occasions but very few participated. During the meal times at such occasions Valmiki members were discriminated against either by being invited last or made to sit away from other group members. Some people who attend the marriage of others on invitation said that they were supposed to take their own plates, and eat separately away from other invitees and mostly during the end of function. The villagers had said that, 'discrimination at public wells, worship and residential location continued'. Few people also reported about discrimination against them in village fairs, but no such thing was visible in fairs held in cities.

A woman from one of the villages mentioned that, '...In some areas of the Bhal region, it was still believed that the shadow of Valmiki should not fall on a person from another caste group lest s/he be polluted. Hence, it was common to see that, when a person from another community was coming, it was assumed that Valmiki person had to stop on his way or move aside ensuring that his/her shadow does not fall upon the person'. Another woman from Gorad village said that, '.....we are not permitted to enter the temple and that if we came in front of so-called upper-caste on their way to the temple for worship, they would feel inauspicious and ill-omened.' Further, the cook of the village midday meal or Anaganwadi programme would be anyone but a Valmiki. Interestingly to avoid conflict, one noticed that for Anganwadi's *faliya* (lane) wise (caste *faliya*) cooks were appointed. The profiles of villages also showed separate cemeteries (except in 4 villages) for the Valmikis.

Studies have shown that there has been some change in the practice of untouchability in public places but there does not seem to have been a major change in the general attitude of privileged classes as reported in this study. For instance, a man working as a teacher said that 'his colleagues from other castes interact with him in school but at a certain distance. When he goes to their house they sit outside/on the verandah and not in the living rooms. Also, when colleagues are invited for dinner/lunch on some good occasions they come but rather than taking food prepared in the house, they go to a nearby eatery, decided by them only.' On a different note, a woman said that 'as she belongs to a teaching family so they suffer from less discrimination indirectly. Though facing non-entry in some public programs are still there.'

A man from one of the villages said that ‘...in village gatherings and festivals like Holi, Diwali, Naag Pancami (worship of Cobra), Valmiki people did not sit in the front row but always at a distance. The front rows were meant for the upper caste people of the village.’ A woman from one of the villages shared, ‘...when and if people from other castes come to Valmiki home for work, they avoid drinking or eating anything at their place. They remain outside and talk from a distance.’ Similarly, sharing her own experience, a woman working as an Asha worker said that, ‘...as an Asha worker she was allowed to enter the houses of upper castes only during the delivery of a newborn baby. At other times, for her professional work (like keeping note of pregnant women, infants, and their health) she always made to sit outside the homes of upper caste people. The upper caste women did not allow her to touch their baby during measuring of the weight or immunisation of their baby because of her caste.’ Due to such practices, it was believed that in the villages the appointments of Asha workers were made according to the caste. Organised efforts backed by legislative and executive action, and education expansion may hopefully mitigate the evil practice of untouchability – a practice which is a blot on our secular principles (Lal & Nahar 1990).

Altogether, social discrimination is still prevalent against Valmikis. However, it was found that wherever rules (legal) were implemented the discrimination (per se) was not much. The discrimination in its cruellest form had subsided at public places of government/panchayat office, bus stops, eatery joints, etc. in the towns. For instance, the apparent discrimination against the Valmiki might not be visible in public or government offices. But if the behavioural pattern of the interaction of members from two extreme castes is observed, the nuances of discrimination can be seen in the way they sit (at a distance; one in chair other down), speak (disrespect; prejudiced; casteist; sarcastic) or work (less interest; delayed).

Moreover, the structure of caste and associated discrimination of servitude was seen to be internalised very much by the Valmiki and that of domineering by the so-called upper caste households. During fieldwork when the research team visited the villages for interviews and group discussions with the Valmiki members, some of them asked the team to come to their house. On visiting a few of them as a part of hospitality they were not offering anything that is made by them. Rather they offered us cold drinks, brought from the shops opened in front of us. This they did as they believed that the team would not take anything that was prepared at their house. But in a few houses when the team asked for tea instead of cold drinks, they felt happy. Their happiness was expressed by stating, ‘...*aap hamare ghar ka bana chai peeyenge. Vaise log huamare ghar me bana hua kuch khaate nahi hain!*’ (...You will drink tea prepared in our house. By the way, people do not eat anything cooked in our house).

Acceptance of Change: Questions and Assumptions

The pain and taboo associated with being born in a certain caste continued to convert the lives of Valmiki into immense segregation and discrimination. In group meetings with the community members, it came to light that there existed difficulty on the part of the other caste communities in accepting changes or better status of the Valmiki that happened due to education and changed economic situation. It was voiced that if Valmiki people are well dressed, questions such as “why were you dressed well?” “What was the need?” “Such dressing did not go well with your traditional occupation and so forth,” were raised towards them. But if the dressing was untidy and looked tattered, then it was thought as normal, suitable to their ‘caste and work.’ This showed that the social system of caste was so rigid that it does not allow the discrimination against Valmiki to break - either physically in practice or in thoughts and mind. As a result, one saw Valmiki surrender to their social situation without protest, feeling angry to revolt or challenge the system. Despite discrimination against them from other communities they had accepted it as their fate, as the generational practice, trying to avoid conflict. Group of people said, ‘why to protest when we had no option but to stay in the village, with no better alternative.’ Few men from the group mentioned that, though the community had improved economically, but in some matters their mindset had not changed. They want to live like a ‘Valmiki person’, as others expect them to be. They are yet to embrace ‘modern thinking’ especially related to freedom for women, and coming out from the notion of ‘*maan-maryada*’ (*honour-boundary*).

Recommendations

1. Education:

- a. Special provisions and entitlements (such as free uniforms, books, school bags, and scholarships) are required for the education of Valmiki community members in Gujarat.
- b. Improving village primary and secondary education will directly benefit the Valmiki community as most of their children to date go to public schools. If it is not available in the village then provide them with a scholarship to go to nearby high schools.
- c. Poor education and indebtedness demand that special attention through policies and programmes need to be focused on these key areas of development of this community.
- d. The Government, Panchayat, and SMC must collaborate with civil society and local NGOs to enhance the education of the Valmiki children.

- e. Special attention to be given to girl child education and ensuring that there is running water and good toilet facilities in all the schools.

2. Medical:

- a. Medical emergencies were the second important reason for the indebtedness of the community. Hence, to lessen the debt the CHCs in rural areas and the government hospitals should be made proactive in encouraging the Valmiki community members to access the medical facilities for all health-related issues.
- b. In Public hospitals, they must be provided free medication and meals.
- c. The schools must have regular visits from the PHC medical nurse or doctor to create greater awareness about hygiene and health care among students, especially the girl students (subsidised or free sanitary napkins, etc.).

3. Discrimination:

- a. Elimination of discrimination must be addressed and monitored by the community, gram panchayat, and municipal cooperation in public spaces like in schools, during midday meals, in temples, in use of public wells, panchayat premises, etc.
- b. Greater awareness by the government agencies (education department, panchayats TDO, school authorities, and other bodies' is needed about the annihilation of caste discrimination such as untouchability and segregation practiced at public gatherings, places, and events. Inclusiveness and unity in diversity must be celebrated at the village level.
- c. In case of midday meal discrimination, the entire Panchayat body be penalised to the extent of the suspension and legal action be taken against the principal and teacher. The steps should include holding officials accountable for properly enforcing relevant laws, including the 2013 Act and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989.

4. Economic:

- a. Have segregated data about Valmiki in the rural and urban areas through District administration to focus on economic interventions along with structural discrimination based on caste.
- b. Designing anti-poverty interventions which increases the economic assets of excluded groups such as Valmiki (the most deprived groups in the rural and urban

areas) could lead to changes in deeply ingrained social practices, attitudes, and beliefs toward them.

- c. To develop accountable access to credit at low interest to Valmiki community members through local banks for education, entrepreneurship, agriculture. Ensure that it is corruption free.
- d. The government and ordinary people should encourage alternative businesses started by people from the Valmiki community by buying from them and spreading the word about such shops/businesses (PRIA 2019).

5. Social-Cultural Concerns:

- a. There has been a positive change in the Valmiki community in affirming their rights as and when possible, mostly through their efforts and investment in education. These efforts must continue through greater awareness programmes, training, and campaigns by community and local secular NGOs.
- b. Panchayat should be more vigilant of child marriages.
- c. Easy access to government schemes for various entitlements. Ensure severe sanction and exposure of the officials receiving and expecting bribes. Ensure that they are put through legal and judicial processes and penalised if found guilty including the elected assembly member block and district-level bureaucrat of the area.
- d. Gender discrimination linked to patriarchal practices in the larger society and percolated among the Valmiki community needs to be addressed seriously through the gender empowerment process, mahila welfare board, and other NGOs.

6. Awareness and Implementation of Social Welfare Schemes:

- a. There are various laws, schemes, and policies for sanitation workers in India.⁷ But there is very low or nil awareness levels about such schemes and programmes expected to benefit the Valmikis and their children. There is a need for proper awareness.
- b. Attention is also required in proper implementation of schemes. It was found in the study, that access to many rural schemes related to roads and sanitation is shrouded with irregularities, social discrimination, and corruption which functions from local to the top-level authorities. As a result, the Valmikis residential spaces are equipped

with poor facilities. Moreover, sometimes their spatial location comes at the end of the resource allocation list.

- c. The schemes meant to protect Valmiki (working as sanitation workers) should be evaluated by independent bodies of sanitation workers from the Valmiki community. Local bodies should be held accountable for any failures. These bodies of sanitation workers should tie up with civil society organisations for support to form an independent alliance keeping a watch on the implementation of good-intentioned policies (PRIA 2019).

To Conclude

People born in the Valmiki caste have suffered immense inhumane treatment for a long time. Such treatment was basically an outcome of the *varna*-caste religious-based beliefs and ideology, promoted by the so-called high castes which are exploitative in nature. An excuse is often cited that the discrimination is attributed to Valmiki's engagement with the occupation they were traditionally prescribed as per *Varna*-caste ideology – i.e., cleaning and scavenging. The argument is blaming the victim. Indian Constitution has outlawed the practice of Untouchability of any form towards them and other outcast are included in the larger umbrella of scheduled castes.

Moreover, the Indian Constitution has established special measures through the reservation to bring about justice and equality against historical wrongs done to the outcastes in educational institutes, in government jobs, and in Parliament. The measure was to initiate the process of justice and equality. However, various factors affected the laws but mainly it was due to political complicity that the process became weak, often made weak by political maneuver.

Caste discrimination is not permitted in the eyes of but the law and reality have not caught up with each other. Caste discrimination still exists differently and has not faded away in history. It has changed its expression and works under different forms and facades depending on the context and system. For instance, when it comes to the exchange of monetary transactions with the Valmiki and other lower castes (e.g., selling them shop items, lending their assets, etc.), discrimination against the caste is blurred, but in social matters (e.g., commensal relations, their entry in religious places and homes of upper castes, etc.), the discriminatory behaviour against them is clearly evident. Also, in the current political scenario, the caste groups as political pressure groups work very well in a democratic system.

Overall, the study on Valmikis in the Bhal region showed that the chief features of the caste system are still intact, thus making social and economic changes a slow process. Its features of hierarchy, on commensal relations, and on acceptance of food and drink from members of other castes continue the rigidity of the system and its continuity. The discrimination is not only from the upper caste varnas, though, it is primary and strong but, also extends horizontally to the sub-castes of lower social strata (such as Vankars, Devipujak, Bharwads, etc.) highlighting their status of ‘outcastes among the outcastes’.

But not everything looks gloomy for the Valmikis because some changes are taking place in the community as found in the study areas and in general. Most importantly, more children are now admitted to schools, because parents want their children to get educated and have a better future unlike them. It must be noted that economic and employment deprivation mixed with social discrimination creates a toxic social attitude and behaviour which hinders the progress and development of the community and its ability to face discrimination from external factors and actors. Considering the social and economic conditions of the Valmiki it can be said that to reduce inequality, empower them, and to make them a part of an egalitarian society, Ambedkar’s vision needs to be strengthened and be practiced as an alternative. For him, the solution to ending inequality and discrimination of ostracized communities was through access to education, employment, unity, struggle and political representation. Education acts as a tool of change for Valmikis in building their confidence and a way to change people’s behaviour towards them. This was also echoed by the people across villages and towns where this study was based. This sums up in a quote said by one of the persons in the group discussion, ‘...the discrimination is less where the education is more; meaning that, people who are educated and know about their rights and can speak up are not the ones to be discriminated against.’

Notes

¹ <https://indianculturalforum.in/2016/08/04/clean-india-unclean-indians-beyond-the-bhim-yatra/>

² These villages were Bhimtalav, Dugari, Golana, Gudel, Indranaj Junaj, Khada, Lunej, Mahiyaari, Mitli, Navagambara, Navi-Aakhhol, Nejh, Padra, Pandad, Rohini, Vadgam, Vainaj and Valli.

³ These villages were Dugari, Golana, Gudel, Khada and Vadgam.

⁴ This is a ritual of the baby's first haircut also known as mundane in other Indian cultures. This is a rite of passage for this new soul arriving in this world. In Gujarati families, the ritual is performed to a baby 6 to 2 years old, depending on the hair growth. In some families it is limited to the boys, however many perform this for boys and girls. Some families invite a priest and some make it a small intimate affair. There are many beliefs behind why it is done for instance- hair grows back nice and thick, Helps keep the baby’s head cool, to get rid of the past life’s negative connections, and to protect from evil eye.

⁵ Kabir Panth is a Sant Mat denomination and philosophy based on the teachings of the 15th century saint and poet, Kabir. Kabir did not found any distinct sect in his own lifetime but two of his disciples, later found maths i.e. centres dedicated to preaching his teachings and were the two main subdivisions of Kabir Panth. Surat Gopal first founded the Kabir Chaura math (also known as *bāp* meaning "father") in Varanasi and slightly later Dharamdas found the Dham Khera math (also known as *māī* meaning "mother") located in modern-day Chhattisgarh (Singh 2011). The foundation of Kabir Panthis are their belief and practice of the basic set of guidelines such as natural law of life (Dharma), primordial and eternal truth (Satya), non-violence towards all beings through deeds and words, faith and unswerving loyalty (Shraddha) etc, that gives Kabir Panthis an all-encompassing formula for Love, Humility, Compassion and Unity. They also believe in simplicity of life; simple food, clothing and belongings. One's mind and body must be kept pure by contemplation and avoiding gross and complicated behaviour. Such practice will allow one to attain salvation while living no matter what one's religion or other personal endeavour may be. Separate organizations have formed over the years. One of the largest groups of Kabir Panthis outside India is in Trinidad and Tobago. Several smaller active groups exist outside of India as well, especially in Canada, Fiji, Guyana, Mauritius, Nepal, the Netherlands, Suriname, and the United States. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabir_panth#cite_ref-0_4-0).

⁶ Sahajanand Swami was the founder of the sect. His original name was Ghanshyam Pande and was from the village of Chhapaiya near Ayodhya (UP). He was born in 1781, he left home in his boyhood and wandered around various parts of India as an ascetic, eventually arriving in Gujarat in 1800. He first began to preach in Saurashtra, especially attacking the sexual practices and debauchery of the sadhus and priests of his day. He initially encountered opposition from orthodox Hindus who resented his preaching amongst low caste people (Hardiman 1988). Sahajanand had made it known that he was an incarnation of god and that he should be called Swaminarayan (Williams 1984). After 1818 when the British gained power in Gujarat the sect made great headway with their support. In the years following his death in 1830 the sect expanded considerably and today it is one of the most powerful and influential of all Vaishnavite sects of Gujarat with an estimated following of about five million people.

⁷ The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and 1993 Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act was initiated to discourage manual handling of human waste through the process of conversion of dry latrines to pour-flush latrines. The Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS) is an attempt to provide manual scavengers with training for alternative skills and loans. There are other national and state schemes for social welfare focusing on educational scholarships and hostels for Dalit students, loans of self-employment, skill-based training, and housing schemes.

Annexure 1 A

Table 1.1: Village Profile

Table 1.1: Village Profile						
1. DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS						
1.	Village name					
2.	Total population of village					
3.	Total Valmiki Community population					
4.	Names and total population of caste communities living in the village					
	S.No	Caste	Total households	Total population		
	1.					
	2.					
2. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS						
	S.No	Educational institutions	Yes	No	If yes, how many	Place of location
	1.	Primary school				
	2.	Secondary school				
	3.	Higher Secondary school				
	Mid-day meals in school:				1. Yes () 2. No ()	
	Running of Anganwadi:				1. Yes () 2. No ()	
3. HEALTH FACILITIES						
	S.No	Health Facilities	Yes	No	If yes, how many	Place of location
	1.	Government health Center				
		How many days in a month the doctor visit the health center?				
	2.	Private health clinics				
4. WATER AND ELECTRICITY FACILITIES						
	1.	Drinking water facility in the village	1. Well () 2. Taps () 3. Others:			
	2.	How many wells are there in the village?				
	3.	Which community uses this well?				
	4.	How many reservoirs/ponds are there in the village				
	5.	Is there facility of canal for irrigation?	1. Yes () 2. No ()			
		If yes, does it benefit Valmiki farmers?				
	6.	Is there electricity available in Valmiki locality	1. Yes () 2. No ()			
5. OTHER FACILITIES						
	1.	Milk Dairy available in the village	1. Yes () 2. No ()			
	2.	Bank facility in the village	1. Yes () 2. No ()			
	3.	How many crematoriums/graveyards are there in the village?				
		Is there a separate graveyard for valmiki?	1. Yes () 2. No () If yes, its location:			
	4.	Does the vet-Doctor visit the village?	1. Yes () 2. No () If yes how often:			
6. OTHER DETAILS						
	1.	Details of various schemes of the government implemented for the entire village:				
		1. 2. 3.				
	2.	MNREGA scheme working in the village?	1. Yes () 2. No ()			
	3.	On an average, how many days of employment does MNREGA scheme provide to a family in a year?				
	4.	Have the people of Valmiki benefited from the housing scheme?	1. Yes () 2. No ()			
	5.	If yes, how many families have benefited from the housing scheme?				
		Benefits availed from which scheme	1. Indira Awas () 2. Dr. Ambedkar Awas ()			

					3. Others ()
6.	How many times in a year does the Gram Sabha meet in the village?				
7.	Are there any NGOs, government agencies, cooperatives, finance companies working in the village?				1. Yes () 2. No ()
	If yes, share their names:				
	NGO	Government Agency	Co-operative institutions	Finance-company	
8.	Are different community have different barbers in the village?				1. Yes () 2. No ()
	Old age pensioners among Valmiki community				1. Yes () 2. No ()
9.	If yes,				1. Total women - 2. Total men -
10.	What are the festivals where the whole people of the village gathers to celebrate?				
11.	In which festivals of village, does people of Valmiki community participate?				

Annexure 1 B
Questionnaire Schedule (Rural and Urban)

વિષય : ભાલ વિસ્તારનાં વાલ્મીકી કુટુંબોની સામાજિક અને આર્થિક પરિસ્થિતિ

I : પ્રશ્નાવલી શેડ્યૂલ : ગામ

1. ઘર અને અન્ય વિગતો:

ક્રમ	પૂછવામાં આવેલી વિગત	ઉત્તરદાતાએ આપેલી માહિતી
1.	ઘર કોના નામે છે? નામ લખો પોતાનું અથવા જે સંબંધીના નામે હોય તે સંબંધ જ લખો (દાદી, દાદા, કાકા, મામા, ભાઈ, બહેન વગેરે).	
2.	રહેવાનું ઘર કેવું છે? (જે લાગુ પડતું હોય તેની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો)	
	1. કાચું = (માટીથી ચણેલું કે લીપેલું, પતરાં કે નળિયાંનું છત)	
	2. અર્ધ પાકું = (ઈંટની દીવાલ, નીચે પ્લાસ્ટર, પતરાં કે નળિયાં નું છત)	
	3. પાકું = ઈંટની દીવાલ, સિમેન્ટનું ધાબુ,	
3.	આ ઘર કયારે બનાવવામાં આવ્યું હતું/ ઘરમાં સુધારા વધારા કર્યા હતા? (જે લાગુ પડતું હોય તેની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો)	
	ક્રમ કયા વર્ષે બાંધેલું નીચેના ખાનામાં ટીક માર્ક કરો ક્રમ કયા વર્ષે બાંધેલું નીચેના ખાનામાં ટીક માર્ક કરો	
	1. 2022	5. 2006-2010
	2. 2021	6. 2001-2005
	3. 2016-2020	7. 2001, પહેલા
	4. 2011-2015	8. ખબર નથી
4.	ઘરમાં અજવાળું કરવા શાનો ઉપયોગ કરો છો? જે લાગુ પડતું હોય તેની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો) 1. વીજળી [] 2. કેરોસિન [] 3. મીણબત્તી [] ૪. અન્ય: _____	
5.	ઘરમાં કયા પ્રકારના ઈંધણનો ઉપયોગ કરો છો? જે લાગુ પડતું હોય તેની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો) 1. લાકડાં [] 2. કેરોસિન [] 3. ગેસ સિલિન્ડર [] 4. કોલસો [] 5. ગાય/ભેંસનું છાણ [] 6. અન્ય: _____	
6.	પીવા, રસોઈ અને કપડાં ધોવા/નહાવા માટે ઘરના પાણી કયાંથી લાવો છો?	
	ક્રમ પાણીનો સ્ત્રોત પીવા માટે રાંધવા માટે/ ઘર વપરાશ માટે કપડા ધોવા માટે	
	1. નળ	
	2. ટ્રયુબવેલ	
	3. હેન્ડપંપ	
	4. કુવો	
	5. નહેર	
	6. તળાવ/નદી	
	7. અન્ય	
7.	તમારા ઘરમાં સંડાસની સગવડ છે? 1. હા ઘરની અંદર [] ઘરની બહાર [] 2. ના જો ના, તો તમે ક્યાં જાઓ છો?:	
8.	ઘરમાં રહેલી વસ્તુઓની માહિતી (જે લાગુ પડતું હોય તેની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો)	
	8.1. ઘર અને રસોડાની વસ્તુઓ	
	ક્રમ વસ્તુઓ નીચેના ખાનામાં ટીક માર્ક કરો ક્રમ વસ્તુઓ નીચેના ખાનામાં ટીક માર્ક કરો	
	1 પલંગ 5 દીવી	

	2	પંખા / ફુલર		6	રેડિઓ/મ્યુઝિક સિસ્ટમ	
	3	ફ્રિજ		7	અન્ય	
	4	મિશર				
	8.2 જાનવર/ પક્ષી					
	1	મરઘાં		4	ભેસ	
	2	બકરાં		5	બળદ	
	3	ગાય		6	અન્ય	
	8.3 વાહનો					
	1	સાઈકલ		4	રીક્ષા/છકડા	
	2	મોટરસાયકલ		5	ફોર વિહલર (કાર, ઈકો)	
	3	સ્કુટર/સ્કુટી		6	અન્ય	
	8.4 રોજગારી માટેના સાધનો					
1	રીક્ષા/છકડા		4	જીપ/ ઈકો		
2	ટ્રેક્ટર / ટ્રોલી		5	અન્ય		
3	ટ્રક					
9.	ઘરમાં કેટલા મોબાઈલ છે?		સંખ્યા _____			
10	ઘરમાં મોબાઈલ કોની પાસે હોય છે? એમની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો? 1.પોતે ઉતર આપનાર [] 2.પતિ/પત્ની [] 3.પપ્પા [] 4.મમ્મી [] 5.ભાઈ [] 6.બહેન [] 7.અન્ય:- _____					

2. ખેતી બાબતે માહિતી

11.	પોતાની કે બાપ દાદાની ખેતીની જમીન છે (ટીક માર્ક કરો?)		1. હા [] 2. ના []
	11.1	હા, તો કેટલી જમીન છે? (હેક્ટર, એકર, વીધા, ગુંઠા, ખેતર)	
	11.2	તમે પોતે ખેતી કરો છો?	1. હા [] 2. ના []
12.	તમે કોઈને ભાગે ખેતી કરવા આપી છે?		1. હા [] 2. ના []
	12.1	હા, તો કેટલી જમીન ભાગે આપી છે?	
	12.2	કોને જમીન ભાગે આપી છે? (જ્ઞાતિનું નામ લખો)	
13.	તમે જમીન ગીરવે મૂકી છે?		1. હા [] 2. ના []
	13.1	હા, તો કોને ત્યાં ગીરવે મૂકી છે? (જ્ઞાતિનું નામ લખો)	
	13.2	કેટલા રૂપિયામાં તમે ગીરવે મૂકી છે?	
	13.3	શા માટે તમે જમીન ગીરવે મૂકી છે?	
	13.4	તમે કેવી રીતે / કઈ શરતે જમીન ગીરવે મૂકી છે?	
14.	તમે બીજા કોઈની જમીન ભાગે ખેડો છો?		1. હા [] 2. ના []
	14.1	હા તો કોની જમીન ભાગે ખેડો છો? (જ્ઞાતિનું નામ લખો)	

3. દેવુ અને ગરાકી બાબતે માહિતી

15.	શું તમારા માથે કોઈ દેવુ છે?	1. હા [] 2. ના []
15.1	હા, તો કેવા ખર્ચાઓ માટે દેવુ કર્યું છે?	
15.2	દેવુ કોની પાસે કર્યું છે? (જ્ઞાતિનું નામ લખો)	
15.3	કેટલા ટકાના વ્યાજે (વર્ષે) પૈસા લીધા છે?	1. વ્યાજે:_____ 2. વ્યાજ વગર []
15.4	દેવુ પાછું ચૂકવી દીધું છે?	1.પૂરું [] 2.અમૂક [] 3.બાકી છે []
16.	તમે દેવુ લેવા કોઈપણ વસ્તુ ગીરવે મૂકી છે?	1. હા [] 2. ના []
16.1	હા, તો કઈ વસ્તુ ગીરવે મૂકી છે? (એક કરતા વધારે વિકલ્પ હોય શકે) 1.જમીન [] 2.દાગીના [] 3.જનવર [] 4.વાસણો (પીતળ/તાંબાના) [] 5.મકાન [] 6.અન્ય:_____	
16.2	ઉપરની વસ્તુ કેટલા રૂપિયામાં ગીરવે મૂક્યાં છે?	
16.3	વસ્તુ ગીરવે ક્યાં કારણે મૂકી છે?	
16.4	કોની પાસે ગીરવે મૂક્યાં (જ્ઞાતિનું નામ લખો):	
16.5	ગીરવે મુકેલ વસ્તુઓ તમે પાછી લઈ લીધી છે?	1.હા [] 2.ના [] 3.ડુલ [] 4.અઘાટ []
17.	ગામમાં કોઈ ખાસ ઘરો સાથે તમારે ઘરાકીનો સંબંધ છે?	1. હા [] 2. ના []
17.1	હા,તો કેટલા ઘરો સાથે આ સંબંધ છે?	
17.2	કઈ જ્ઞાતિના ઘરો સાથે આ સંબંધ છે?	

4. ધંધા/રોજગારી વિષેની માહિતી

18.	ઘરમાંથી ધંધા/રોજગારી માટે ગામની બહાર દરરોજ કેટલા જણ જાય છે?	1.કેટલા જણ [] 2.કોઈ નથી []
	ગામની બહાર જાય છે તો નીચેની માહિત આપો	
ક્રમ	ક્યાં ગામ/શહેરમાં જાય છે	ક્યાં પ્રકારની મજૂરી કરે છે? દરરોજ ત્યાં કેટલી મજૂરી મળે છે?
1		
2		
કામધંધા માટે સ્થળાંતર વિષેની માહિતી		
19.	ઘરમાંથી કામ-ધંધા માટે બીજા શહેરમાં રહેવા કોઈ ગયા છે?	1.હા [] 2.ના []
19.1	હા,તો ઘરમાંથી કેટલા લોકો બહાર ગયા છે?	સંખ્યા_____
19.2	જે ગયા છે તેમની માહિતી:	
ક્રમ	ક્યા શહેરમાં ગયા છે? (શહેરનું નામ)	ત્યાં ક્યા પ્રકારનું કામ કરે છે? કેટલા સમયથી ગયા છે
1		
2		
20.	તમને ગામની બહાર કામ મળશે એવું કેવી રીતે જાણો છો? (જે લાગુ પડતું હોય તેની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો) 1.પોતે શોધી કાઢો છો [] 2.સગા સંબંધી [] 3.ગામમાં કોઈના દ્વારા [] 4.કોન્ટ્રાક્ટર [] 5.ગામનો એજન્ટ [] 6.ગામની બહારનો એજન્ટ [] 7. અન્ય:_____	
21.	ગામ છોડી બહાર કામ કરવા જવાનું કારણ શું છે? જ્યાં યોગ્ય હોય ત્યાં ટીક માર્ક કરો: 1.ગામમાં મજૂરીનો દર ઓછો છે [] 2.વધુ આવક મળે છે [] 3.માથે દેવુવધી ગયું છે [] 4.અન્ય કારણ_____	
22.	તમારાં ઘરની બહાર મજૂરીએ ગયેલ વ્યક્તિ તમને ઘરે પૈસા મોકલે છે?	1.હા [] 2.ના []
22.1	હા, તો કેટલી વાર મોકલે છે? 1.અઠવાડિયામાં [] 2.મહિનામાં એકવાર [] 3.ત્રણ મહિનામાં એકવાર [] 4.છ મહિનામાં એકવાર [] 5.જ્યારે જરૂર પડે ત્યારે [] 6. અન્ય :_____	
23.	તમારા ઘરમાંથી કેટલી છોકરીઓનાં લગ્નો શહેરમાં થયા છે?	1.હાં તો સંખ્યા લખો: _____ 2.કોઈ નથી []

5. છૂટાછેડા વિષેની માહિતી

24.	શું ઘરના કોઈપણ સભ્યએ છૂટાછેડા લીધેલા છે/અથવા છૂટાછેડા માટેની કાર્યવાહી/અરજી કરી છે?		1.હા [] 2.ના []
24.1	હા, તો છૂટાછેડા માટેની કાર્યવાહી/અરજી પહેલા કોણે કરી?	1.છોકરા પક્ષેથી: [] ક્યા સંબંધીએ: _____ 2.છોકરી પક્ષેથી: [] ક્યા સંબંધીએ: _____	
24.2	છૂટાછેડા મેળવવા તમારે કોના દ્વારા વાત આગળ ચલાવવાય? 1.વચેટીયા [] 2.કુટુંબનાં આગેવાન [] 3.ગામના નાતના પંચ દ્વારા [] 4.વકીલ [] 5.અન્ય _____		
24.3	છૂટાછેડા લીધેલ સભ્યએ બીજા પક્ષને પૈસા ચૂકવ્યા છે?	1.હા [] રૂપિયા: _____ 2.ના []	
24.4	છૂટાછેડા લીધેલ સભ્યએ ફરી બીજા લગ્ન કર્યા છે?	1.હા [] 2.ના []	
24.5	છૂટાછેડા લીધેલ સભ્યનાં પહેલા લગ્નથી બાળકો છે?	1.હા [] 2.ના []	
24.6	હા, તો કેટલા બાળકો?	1.છોકરી _____ 2.છોકરા _____	
24.7	બાળકો કોની સાથે રહે છે? (સંબંધ જણાવો)		

6. સરકારી યોજનાઓ વિષેની માહિતી

25.	તમારા પરિવારને કોઈ સરકારી યોજના મળી છે:		1.હા [] 2.ના []
25.1	હા,તો કઈ સરકારી યોજના મળી છે ? : જ્યાં યોગ્ય હોય ત્યાં માહિતી લખો		
	ક્રમ	યોજના	હા હોય તો ટીક માર્ક કરો
			યોજનાનું નામ
			યોજનાનો લાભ ક્યાં વર્ષે મળ્યો
			યોજના હેઠળ કેટલા પૈસા મળ્યા
1	ભણવા માટે	1.પુત્ર [] 2.પુત્રી []	
2	ઘર માટે		
3	લોનની કોઈ યોજના		
4.	અન્ય કોઈ યોજના		
26.	તમારી પાસે ક્યા ક્યા સરકારી કાર્ડ (ઓળખપત્ર) છે? (ટીક માર્ક કરો)		
	1.ચૂંટણી કાર્ડ [] 2.આધાર કાર્ડ [] 3.મનરેગા/જોબ કાર્ડ [] 4.આયુષ્યમાન કાર્ડ [] 5.માં કાર્ડ [] 6.મજૂરી કાર્ડ []		
	7. રેશનકાર્ડ -- અંત્યોદય [] /બી.પી.એલ [] / એ.પી.એલ [] / અન્નપૂર્ણા [] 8.અન્ય _____		

7. ભેદભાવ વિષેની માહિતી

27.	છેલ્લા બે - ત્રણ વર્ષમાં તમને ગામમાં કોઈ નીચે મુજબનાં ભેદભાવ અનુભવવા કે જોવા મળે છે?	
1.	કૂવા પર કે કુવામાંથી પાણી ભરવા બાબતે	1.હા [] 2.ના []
2.	પંચાયત ખાતે	1.હા [] 2.ના []
3.	શાળામાં	1.હા [] 2.ના []
4.	મધ્યાહન ભોજનમાં	1.હા [] 2.ના []
5.	પ્રાથમિક આરોગ્ય કેન્દ્રમાં	1.હા [] 2.ના []
6.	દૂધની ડેરીમાં	1.હા [] 2.ના []
7.	હેરકટ સલૂનમાં	1.હા [] 2.ના []
8.	કરિયાણાની દુકાને	1.હા [] 2.ના []
9.	ખેતરમાં પાણી લેતી વખતે	1.હા [] 2.ના []
10.	બીજાના ખેતરમાં મજૂરી કરતી વખતે	1.હા [] 2.ના []
11.	મંદિર/ધાર્મિક જગ્યામાં પ્રવેશવા	1.હા [] 2.ના []
12.	બીજા અન્ય કોઈ પણ પ્રકારનો ભેદભાવ	

8. મહિલાઓ વિષેની માહિતી

28.	ઘરમાં સ્ત્રીઓને મળતી છૂટ-છાટ (સ્વંત્રતા):			
	વિગતો	પહેલા હતી હવે પછી છે	પહેલા ન હતી પછી હવે છે	પહેલા પછી ન હતી અને હવે પછી નથી
	1	પૈસાની બાબતમાં નિર્ણય લેવામાં		
	2	ઘરની બહાર જવા માટે (ગામમાં કે કોઈના ઘરે જવા)		
	3	પોતાની બાબતમાં અને કુટુંબની બાબતમાં સ્ત્રીને પોતે નિર્ણય લેવાની છૂટ		
29.	આ ગામમાં કોઈ વાલ્મિકી સમાજની બહેનોને હેરાનગતિ કરવાનો બનાવ બન્યો છે?			1.હા [] 2.ના []
	29.1	હા, તો ટૂંકમાં જણાવો :		
		ક્યારે	ક્યાં	શું થયું

10. અન્ય માહિતી

30.	તમે ગામમાં ચાલતા કોઈ મંડળ/મંડળી (ડેરી, બચત, સીલાર્થ) ના સભ્યો છો?		1.હા [] 2.ના []
	30.1	હા, તો કયા મંડળીના સભ્ય છો? નીચે નામ લખો. 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	
	30.2	આ મંડળી/મંડળથી તમને શું ફાયદો થયો છે? નીચે લખો. 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	
31.	તમે કોઈ ધાર્મિક પંથમાં માનો છો?		1.હા [] હા તો પંથનું નામ લખો : _____ 2.ના []
32.	તમારા કુટુંબ/પરિવાર સાથે, બીજી કોઈ જ્ઞાતિના લોકો વડે મારજૂડ કરવામાં આવી છે?		1.હા [] 2.ના []
	32.1	હા, તો આ મારજૂડ કરવાનું કારણ શું હતું?	
33.	તમારા બાળકો અને યુવાનોને અન્ય જ્ઞાતિના બાળકો, યુવાનો સાથે મિત્રતા/દોસ્તી છે?		1.હા [] 2.ના []
	33.1	હા, તો કઈ જ્ઞાતિના લોકો સાથે મિત્રતા/દોસ્તી છે? (નીચે જ્ઞાતિનું નામ લખો). 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____	
34.	અન્ય જ્ઞાતિના લોકો તમને એમના લગ્ન જેવા પ્રસંગોમાં આમત્રણ આપે છે?		1.હા [] 2.ના []
	34.1	હા, તો તમે આવા પ્રસંગોમાં જાઓ છો?	
		1.હા [] 2.ના []	
35.	કયા જ્ઞાતિના લોકો તમને સહેલાયથી બોલાવતા નથી કે તમારી સાથે સંબંધ રાખતા નથી? (જ્ઞાતિનું નામ લખો). 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____		

II: પ્રશ્નાવલી શેડ્યૂલ : શહેર

1. કુટુંબના સભ્યોની માહિતી

ક્રમ	ઉત્તરદાતા નું પ્રથમ નામ અને ત્યારબાદ કુટુંબના સભ્યોનું નામ લખો	ઉત્તરદાતા સાથે સંબંધ (e.g. પતિ, પત્ની, દીકરી, વગેરે)	લિંગ (સ્ત્રી/પુરુષ)	ઉંમર	ભણતરનું સ્તર	કામ/ મજૂરીની માહિતી								
						કામને લગતી વિગત			કામ ક્યાં કરો છો			કેટલું મહેનતાણું મળે છે?		
						ક્યા કામ કરો છો?	ખાનગી	સરકારી	આ શહેરમાજ	આ શહેરની બહાર	ગુજરાતની બહાર (નામ)	દિવસનું	માસિક	
1.														
2.														
3.														
4.														

2. પરિવાર અને ઘર બાબતે માહિતી

ક્રમ	પૂછવાની વીગત (પ્રશ્નો)	ઉત્તરદાતાએ આપેલી માહિતી
1.	ઘર કોના નામે છે? નામ લખો પોતાનું અથવા જે સંબંધીના નામે હોય તે સંબંધજ લખો (દાદી, દાદા, કાકા, મામા, ભાઈ, બહેન વગેરે).	
2.	રહેવાનું ઘર કેવું છે? (જે લાગુ પડતું હોય તેની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો)	
	2.1 કાચું = (માટીથી ચણેલું કે લીપેલું, પતરાં કે નળિયાંનું છત)	
	2.2 અર્ધ પાકું = (ઈંટની દીવાલ, નીચે પ્લાસ્ટર, પતરાં કે નળિયાં નું છત)	
	2.3 પાકું = ઈંટની દીવાલ, સિમેન્ટનું ધાબુ,	
3.	આ ઘરમાં કેટલા સમયથી રહો છો?	
4.	આ ઘર કોણે બનાવ્યું છે (સુંબુંદ જ લખો)	
5.	5.1 આ ઘર કોઈ સરકારી યોજનામાં બનેલું?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	5.2 જો હાં, તો કઈ યોજના હેઠળ?	
6.	6.1 છેલ્લા પાંચ વર્ષોમાં તમે આ ઘરમાં સુધારા-વધારા કર્યા છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	6.2 જો હાં, તો મુખ્ય સુધારા-વધારા કયા કર્યા છે?	
	6.2.1 સુધારા-વધારામાં કેટલો ખર્ચ કર્યો?	
7.	7.1 ઘરમાં વીજળી છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	7.2 જો ના, તો તમે અજવાળા માટે શું વાપરો છો?	
8.	8.1 તમારી પાસે એલ.પી.જી સીલીન્ડર છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	8.2 જો ના તો રાંધવા માટે શું વાપરો છો?	
9.	9.1 તમારે પાણી માટે નળ છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	9.2 જો ના, તો પાણી ક્યાંથી લાવો છો?	
10.	ઘર મા સંડાસ છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	10.1 જો હાં તો: 1. ઘરની અંદર [] 2. ઘરની બહાર [] 3. જાહેર (કોમન) સંડાસ []	
	10.2 જો ના, તો તમે ક્યાં જાઓ છો?:	
11.	ઘરમાં રહેલી વસ્તુઓની માહિતી (જે લાગુ પડતું હોય તેની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો)	
	11.1 ઘર અને રસોડાની વસ્તુ: 1. ટીવી [] 2. પલંગ [] 3. પંખા/ફૂલર [] 4. રેડિઓ/મ્યુઝિક સિસ્ટમ [] 5. ફ્રિજ [] 6. મિક્સર [] 7. અન્ય (કયા જણાવો): _____	
	11.2 વાહન: 1. કાર/ જીપ/ફોર વિલ્ડર [] 2. મોટોસાયકલ [] 3. સાર્થકલ [] 4. સ્કુટર/સ્કુટી [] 5. રીક્ષા [] 6. અન્ય (કયા જણાવો): _____	
12.	12.1 તમારી પાસે રોજગારી માટેના કોઈ સંસાધનો છે? (રીક્ષા, ટેમ્પો વગેરે)	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	12.2 જો હાં, તો કયા:	
13.	ઘરમાં ક્યાં સભ્ય પાસે મોબાઈલ ફોન રહે છે? એમની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો 1. પોતે ઉત્તર આપનાર [] 2. મા-બાપ [] 3. પત્ની [] 4. પતિ [] 5. દીકરી [] 6. દીકરો [] 7. બેહન [] 8. ભાઈ [] 9. દાદી-દાદા [] 10. અન્ય (જણાવો): _____	
14.	ઘરમાંથી કામ-ધંધા માટે બીજા શેલરમાં અથવા બીજા રાજ્યમાં કેટલા જણ ગયા અને કામ માટે ત્યાંજ સ્થાયી થયા છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના [] હાં તો જનરા કેટલાં ? []
	14.1 બીજા શેલરમાં અથવા બીજા રાજ્યમાં ગયા હોય તો કેટલા સમયથી બાહર છે?	કેટલા: વર્ષ: _____ મહિના: _____

2. ખેતી, દેવું બાબતે માહિતી

15.	પોતાની કે બાપ દાદાની ખેતીની જમીન છે (ટીક માર્ક કરો?)		1.હાં [] 2.ના []
	15.1	હા, તો કેટલી જમીન છે?	હેક્ટર: ગુંઠા: ખેતર: એકર: વીધા:
	15.2	જમીન ક્યા છે?	1.ગામમા [] 2.ગામ બહાર []
	15.3	તમારી જમીન કોણ ખેડે છે?	1.પોતે [] 2.ઘરના સભ્યો [] 3.અન્ય (સબુધ જણાવો): _____
16.	તમે કોઈ કારણે જમીન ગીરવે મૂકી છે?		1. હાં [] 2. ના []
17.	તમારા માથે કોઈ દેવું છે?		1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	17.1.	જો હાં, તો કેટલા રૂપિયાના દેવું છે?	રૂપિયા:
	17.2.	દેવ કોની પાસે ક્યું છો?	1.ઘરના સભ્યો [] 2.બેંક [] 3.મિત્ર [] 4.ભાઈબંધ [] 5.મંડળી [] 6.નાણા શાહુકાર [] 7.સંગઠન [] 8.બીજી જ્ઞાતિના વ્યક્તિ []/ જ્ઞાતિનું નામ: _____ 9.પૈસા ઉછીના આપનાર સમુદાય [] નામ _____ 10. અન્ય (જણાવો) : _____
	17.3	દેવું ક્યા ખર્ચાઓ માટે કર્યું છે?	
	17.4	દેવું પાછું ચૂકવી દીધું છે?	1 પૂરું ચુકવ્યું [] 2.અમૂક ચુકવ્યું [] 3.બાકી છે []
	17.5	તમે વચાજે દેવું લીધું છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	17.5.1	જો હાં તો, કેટલા ટકાના વ્યાજે (વર્ષે) પૈસા લીધા છે?	
	17.6	તમે દેવું લેવા કોઈ વસ્તુ ગીરવે મૂક્યાં છે??	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	17.6.1	જો હા, તો કઈ- કઈ વસ્તુ ગીરવે મૂક્યાં છે?	1. જમીન [] 2.દાગીના [] 3.મકાન [] 4.વાસણો (પીતળ/તાંબાના) [] (5) અન્ય: _____
	17.6.2	ઉપરની વસ્તુ કેટલા રૂપિયામાં ગીરવે મૂક્યાં છે?	રૂપિયા:
	17.6.3	કોની પાસે વસ્તુ ગીરવે મૂક્યાં છે?	1.ઘરના સભ્યો [] 2.બેંક [] 3.નાણા શાહુકાર [] 4. મિત્ર [] 5.ભાઈબંધ [] 6.બીજી જ્ઞાતિના વ્યક્તિ [] જ્ઞાતિનું નામ: _____ 7. અન્ય (જણાવો) : _____
	17.6.4	ગીરવે મુકેલ વસ્તુઓ તમે પાછી લઈ લીધી છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []

3. જે લોકો સ્થળાંતર કરીને અહીં આવ્યા હોય એમના વિશેની માહિતી:

18.	તમે કોઈ જગ્યાએથી સ્થળાંતર કરીને અહીં આવી વસ્યા હોય તો કેટલા વખતથી અહીં રહો છો?		
19.	અહીં સ્થળાંતર કર્યા પહેલા તમે ક્યા રહેતા હતા?		
20.	અહીં તમે સ્થળાંતર કેમ કર્યું?		
21.	અહીં આવી વસવામા તમને કોણે મદદ કરી?		
22.	તમારા કુટુંબમાંથી કોઈ વ્યક્તિ તમારા મૂલ વતનમા રહે છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []	
	22.1	જો હાં, તો એ સભ્યો કોણ છે?	
	22.2	તેઓ ત્યાં શું કરે છે?	
	22.3	તમે વર્ષમા કેટલી વાર એમને મલવા જાઓ છો?	
	22.4	તમે એમને પૈસા મોકલો છો?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	22.5	જો હાં, તો વર્ષમા કેટલી વાર?	

4. છૂટાછેડા વિશેની માહિતી:

23.	ઘરના કોઈપણ સભ્યએ છૂટાછેડા લીધેલા છે/અથવા છૂટાછેડા માટેની કાર્યવાહી/અરજી કરી છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
23.1	જો હાં, તો એ સભ્ય કોણ છે?	1.ઉત્તરદાતા [] 2.પુત્ર [] 3.પુત્રી [] 4.ભાઈ [] 5.બેહેન [] 6.ભાણી [] 7.ભાણો [] 8.ભત્રીજી [] 9.ભત્રીજો [] 10.અન્ય (કોણ જણાવો):_____
23.2	છૂટાછેડા મેલવા તમે કોના દ્વારા વાત આગળ ચલાવી?	1.ઉત્તરદાતા [] 2.મા [] 3.બાપ [] 3.વચેટીયા [] 4.વકીલ [] 5.જ્ઞાતિના આગેવાન [] 6.ગામના જ્ઞાતિના પંચ [] 7.અન્ય (જણાવો):_____
23.3	છૂટાછેડા લીધેલ વ્યક્તિએ બીજા પક્ષને કોઈ પૈસા ચૂકવ્યા છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
23.3.1	જો હાં તો, કેટલા ચૂકવ્યા છે?	રૂપિયા:_____

5. સરકારી યોજનાઓ વિષય ની માહિતી:

24.	પરિવારને કોઈ સરકારી યોજના મળી છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	જો હાં,તો લાગુ પડતું યોજના ની માહિતી આપો:	
1.	ભણવા માટે શિષ્યવૃત્તિ	
	કોણે લિધી?	ક્યારે(વર્ષ)/કેટલા વર્ષ માટે:
	1. પુત્રી []	કેટલા પૈસા મળ્યા?
	2. પુત્ર []	
2.	ઘર માટે યોજના	
	યોજનાનું નામ	ક્યા વર્ષે યોજનાનો લાભ મળ્યો ?
	1.	કેટલા પૈસા મળ્યા?
	2.	
3.	લોન ની કોઈ યોજના ((દા.ત.પશુપાલન માટે, દુકાન ખરીદવા માટે, અન્ય)	
	યોજનાનું નામ	ક્યા વર્ષે યોજનાનો લાભ મળ્યો ?
	1.	કેટલા પૈસા મળ્યા?
	2.	
4.	અન્ય કોઈ યોજના	
	યોજનાનું નામ	ક્યા વર્ષે યોજનાનો લાભ મળ્યો ?
	1.	કેટલા પૈસા મળ્યા?
	2.	
25.	તમારી પાસે ક્યા ક્યા સરકારી કાર્ડ (ઓળખપત્ર) છે? (લાગ પડતું હોય તેની સામે ટીક માર્ક કરો)	
	1.ચૂંટણી કાર્ડ [] 2.આધાર કાર્ડ [] 3.મનરેગા-જોબ કાર્ડ [] 4.આયુષ્યમાન કાર્ડ [] 5.માં કાર્ડ [] 6.મજુરી કાર્ડ [] 7. રેશનકાર્ડ – i.અન્યોદય [] / ii.બી.પી.એલ [] / iii.એ.પી.એલ [] / iv.અન્નપૂર્ણા [] 8..અન્ય: _____	

6. બેદભાવ વિશેની માહિતી

26.	છેલ્લા બે કે ત્રણ વર્ષમાં તમને શેહરમાં કોઈ નીચે મુજબનાં બેદભાવ અનુભવવા કે જોવા મળ્યો છે?		
	1.	નગરપાલિકાની ઓફીસ	1.હાં [] 2.ના []
	2.	તાલુકા પંચાયત	1.હાં [] 2.ના []
	3.	શાળામાં	1.હાં [] 2.ના []
	4.	મધ્યાહન ભોજનમાં	1.હાં [] 2.ના []
	5.	પ્રાથમિક આરોગ્ય કેન્દ્રમાં/ મોટા દવાખાનામાં	1.હાં [] 2.ના []
	6.	જાહેર વાહન-વધ્વહારમાં મસાફરી કરતે વખતે	1.હાં [] 2.ના []
	7.	હેરકટ સલૂનમાં	1.હાં [] 2.ના []
	8.	અનાજ – કારીયાણાની દુકાન પર	1.હાં [] 2.ના []
	9.	અન્ય સ્થળે (સ્થળનું નામ)?	
27.	શેહરમાં વાલ્મિકી સમાજની મહિલાઓને કોઈ હેરાનગતિ કરવાનો બનાવ બન્યો છે?		
	હા, તો ટૂંકમાં જણાવો :		
	27.1	ક્યારે?	
	27.2	ક્યાં?	
	27.3	શું થયું ?	

7. અન્ય માહિતી

28.	શહેરમાં કોઈ વાલ્મિકી લોકોનું મંડળ છે?		1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	જો હાં તો:		
	28.1	મંડળ નું નામ	
	28.2	તમે આ મંડળના સભ્ય છો?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	28.3	એ મંડળ કયા કાર્યકર્મો કરે છે?	1. 2. 3.
	28.4	આ મંડળ તરફથી તમને કોઈ લાભ મળેલો છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	28.4.1	જો હા, તો ક્યાં લાભ મળેલા છે?	
29.	તમે કોઈ પંથમાં માનો છો? (દા.ત. સ્વામીનારાયણ, કબીરપંથ)		1.હાં [] પંથ નું નામ:___ 2.ના []
30.	તમારા કુટુંબમાંથી કોઈની પાળ સાથે, બીજી કોઈ જ્ઞાતિના લોકો વડે મારજૂડ કરવામાં આવી છે?		1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	જો હા,તો :		
	30.1	ક્યારે (વર્ષ/કિટલા સમય પહેલા)	
	30.2	કોણે સાથે?	
	30.3	કોણે કર્યું?	
	30.4	મારજૂડ કરવાનું કારણ શું હતું?	
31.	અન્ય જ્ઞાતિના લોકોનું સાથે તમારી દોસ્તી છે?		1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	31.1	જો હા,તો તો કઈ જ્ઞાતિના લોકો સાથે? (જ્ઞાતિના નામ લખો)	
32.	અન્ય જ્ઞાતિના લોકો તમને એમના લગ્ન જેવા પ્રસંગોમાં આમત્રણ આપે છે?		1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	32.1	જો હા,તો તમે આવા પ્રસંગોમાં જાઓ છો?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []

	32.1.1	જો ના,તો તમે કેમ જાતાં નથી?	
33.		છેલ્લા દસ વર્ષોમાં તમારી જિંદગી માં કયાં સામાજિક અને આર્થિક ફેરફાર થયા છે?	
34.		વાલ્મિકી સમાજમાં કયાં-કયાં મુદ્દાઓ છે જો તમને લાગે છે કે એમાં આજદિન સુધી કોઈ ફેરફાર/પરિવર્તન નથી થયા?	
35.		તમને એવું લાગે છે કે વાલ્મિકી સમાજની પરિસ્થિતિ ગામડા કરતાં શહેરમાં સારી છે?	1. હાં [] 2. ના []
	35.1	જો હા,તો કયા કારણે સારી છે?	
	35.2	જો ના, તો કયા કારણે સારી નથી?	

Annexure 2

Table 3.1 : Total Households and Population of Valmikis in Villages and Towns									
Sr. No	Villages	Total Households		Total Population		Females		Males	
		Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Total Population	%	Total Population	%
Total		486	100.0	2507	100.0	1232	49.1	1275	50.9
1	Bhimtalav	20	4.1	83	3.3	38	45.8	45	54.2
2	Gudel	5	1.0	34	1.4	17	50.0	17	50.0
3	Indranaj	15	3.1	91	3.6	42	46.2	49	53.8
4	Jafrabad	8	1.6	23	0.9	9	39.1	14	60.9
5	Junaj	13	2.7	42	1.7	22	52.4	20	47.6
6	Kanavara	7	1.4	62	2.5	31	50.0	31	50.0
7	Kansbara	37	7.6	144	5.7	71	49.3	73	50.7
8	Khada	14	2.9	52	2.1	29	55.8	23	44.2
9	Khaksar	12	2.5	76	3.0	42	55.3	34	44.7
10	Khanpur	12	2.5	36	1.4	19	52.8	17	47.2
11	Lunej	15	3.1	70	2.8	33	47.1	37	52.9
12	Changda	39	8.0	192	7.7	92	47.9	100	52.1
13	Mahiyari	11	2.3	63	2.5	27	42.9	36	57.1
14	Navagambara	10	2.1	81	3.2	42	51.9	39	48.1
15	Navi-Akhrol	10	2.1	52	2.1	26	50.0	26	50.0
16	Nejh	11	2.3	50	2.0	25	50.0	25	50.0
17	Padra	9	1.9	59	2.4	22	37.3	37	62.7
18	Paldi	3	0.6	12	0.5	8	66.7	4	33.3
19	Panchegam	11	2.3	55	2.2	28	50.9	27	49.1
20	Panded	12	2.5	67	2.7	31	46.3	36	53.7
21	Rinjha	9	1.9	54	2.2	28	51.9	26	48.1
22	Chitravada	2	0.4	5	0.2	2	40.0	3	60.0
23	Rohini	8	1.6	50	2.0	21	42.0	29	58.0
24	Sokhda	14	2.9	57	2.3	27	47.4	30	52.6
25	Tadatalav	2	0.4	17	0.7	9	52.9	8	47.1
26	Tamasa	11	2.3	69	2.8	32	46.4	37	53.6
27	Vadgam	8	1.6	48	1.9	26	54.2	22	45.8
28	Vainaj	11	2.3	73	2.9	42	57.5	31	42.5
29	Valli	11	2.3	53	2.1	28	52.8	25	47.2
30	Varsada	21	4.3	96	3.8	47	49.0	49	51.0
31	Daheda	38	7.8	237	9.5	120	50.6	117	49.4
32	Dugari	20	4.1	87	3.5	39	44.8	48	55.2
33	Fathehpura	8	1.6	59	2.4	28	47.5	31	52.5
34	Galiyana	8	1.6	42	1.7	20	47.6	22	52.4
35	Golana	27	5.6	146	5.8	72	49.3	74	50.7
36	Gorad	14	2.9	70	2.8	37	52.9	33	47.1
Towns		148	100.0	606	100.0	284	100.0	322	100.0
1	Tarapur	34	23.0	139	22.9	71	25.0	68	21.1
2	Khambhat	114	77.0	467	77.1	213	75.0	254	78.9
Study Area		634	20.4	3113	100.0	1516	48.7	1597	51.3

Table 3.2 : Gender Distribution of Total Members in the Household											
Total Family Members	Villages				Towns				Grand Total		
	Total Families	Total Males	Total Families	Total Females	Total Families	Total Males	Total Families	Total Females	Total Males	Total Females	
	No Member	9	-	13	-	6	-	6		-	-
	1	93	93	112	112	31	31	49	49	124	161
2	135	270	157	314	56	112	55	110	382	424	
3	151	453	90	270	44	132	28	84	585	354	
4	58	232	65	260	8	32	9	36	264	296	
5	20	100	27	135	3	15	1	5	115	140	
6	15	90	16	96	-	-	-	-	90	96	
7	4	28	3	21	-	-	-	-	28	21	
8	1	8	2	16	-	-	-	-	8	16	
9	-	-	1	9	-	-	-	-	-	9	
Total	486	1274	486	1233	148	322	145	284	1596	1517	

Table 3.3 : Marital Status of the Respondent						
Villages/Towns	Married	Unmarried	Widow/ Widower	Separated	Divorce	Total
Villages						
Total	421	19	46	-	-	486
Bhimtalav	17	-	3	-	-	20
Gudel	5	-	-	-	-	5
Indranaj	15	-	-	-	-	15
Jafrabad	7	-	1	-	-	8
Junaj	10	2	1	-	-	13
Kanavara	5	1	1	-	-	7
Kansbara	27	-	10	-	-	37
Khada	11	-	3	-	-	14
Khaksar	12	-	-	-	-	12
Khanpur	9	-	3	-	-	12
Lunej	11	2	2	-	-	15
Changda	35	1	3	-	-	39
Mahiyari	10	-	1	-	-	11
Navagambara	10	-	-	-	-	10
Navi-Akhrol	10	-	-	-	-	10
Nejh	11	-	-	-	-	11
Padra	9	-	-	-	-	9
Paldi	2	1	-	-	-	3
Panchegam	10	-	1	-	-	11
Panded	11	1	-	-	-	12
Rinjha	7	-	2	-	-	9
Chitravada	2	-	-	-	-	2
Rohini	8	-	-	-	-	8
Sokhda	11	3	-	-	-	14
Tadatalav	2	-	-	-	-	2
Tamasa	10	-	1	-	-	11
Vadgam	8	-	-	-	-	8
Vainaj	10	1	-	-	-	11
Valli	11	-	-	-	-	11
Varsada	14	-	7	-	-	21
Daheda	30	5	3	-	-	38
Dugari	17	1	2	-	-	20
Fathehpura	6	1	1	-	-	8
Galiyana	8	-	-	-	-	8

Golana	27	-	-	-	-	27
Gorad	13	-	1	-	-	14
Towns						
Total	110	6	29	1	2	148
Tarapur	26	2	6	-	-	34
Khambaat	84	4	23	1	2	114
Study Area	531	25	75	1	2	634

Table 3.4A : Age Profile of the Respondent (in Years)								
Villages/Towns	15 to 18	19 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 45	46 to 55	56 to 65	Above 65	Total
Villages								
Total	10	24	75	55	200	83	39	486
Bhimtalav	-	1	4	2	7	6	-	20
Gudel	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	5
Indranaj	1	-	2	3	8	1	-	15
Jafrabad	-	-	1	-	4	1	2	8
Junaj	2	-	1	1	4	1	4	13
Kanavara	-	3	-	-	4	-	-	7
Kansbara	-	2	8	4	13	5	5	37
Khada	-	1	6	1	1	3	2	14
Khaksar	-	-	2	-	8	1	1	12
Khanpur	-	2	3	-	4	3	-	12
Lunej	1	1	-	-	11	2	-	15
Changda	1	1	7	8	15	6	1	39
Mahiyari	-	-	-	2	6	3	-	11
Navagambara	-	-	-	-	2	4	4	10
Navi-Akhrol	-	1	3	-	5	1	-	10
Nejh	1	1	1	1	5	2	-	11
Padra	-	-	2	1	2	3	1	9
Paldi	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	3
Panchegam	-	-	3	1	5	2	-	11
Panded	-	-	3	5	2	2	-	12
Rinjha	-	-	-	-	7	1	1	9
Chitravada	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Rohini	-	-	-	2	3	3	-	8
Sokhda	1	1	2	-	9	1	-	14
Tadatalav	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Tamasa	-	-	2	-	3	4	2	11
Vadgam	-	-	-	2	3	3	-	8
Vainaj	1	-	5	-	3	-	2	11
Valli	-	1	2	1	5	2	-	11
Varsada	-	-	1	4	7	5	4	21
Daheda	1	2	6	4	13	8	3	38
Dugari	-	2	2	5	8	2	1	20
Fathehpura	-	3	-	1	3	-	1	8
Galiyana	-	-	-	1	6	1	-	8
Golana	-	1	6	5	13	2	1	27
Gorad	-	1	3	1	7	1	1	14
Towns								
Total	2	4	33	34	33	27	15	148
Tarapur	1	1	11	10	4	6	1	34
Khambaat	1	3	22	24	29	21	14	114
Study Area	12	28	108	89	233	110	54	634

Table 3.4B: Age Profile (in Years) of the Total Family Members of the Respondents Household											
Villages/ Towns	Below 6	6 to 10	11 to 15	16 to 18	19 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 45	46 to 50	51 to 60	above 60	Total
Villages											
Total	237	210	262	184	423	383	319	155	197	137	2507
Bhimtalav	2	7	13	5	13	9	15	7	6	6	83
Gudel	3	-	5	2	3	2	9	-	6	4	34
Indranaj	11	9	15	6	9	17	12	4	5	3	91
Jafrabad	-	2	2	1	2	1	4	3	5	3	23
Junaj	2	4	4	5	5	6	3	3	3	7	42
Kanavara	10	6	6	7	9	7	8	4	5	-	62
Kansbara	14	13	16	4	21	26	15	11	13	11	144
Khada	4	4	8	4	11	8	2	3	5	3	52
Khaksar	8	3	10	6	13	15	4	5	9	3	76
Khanpur	6	2	1	2	6	7	3	2	5	2	36
Lunej	5	4	5	4	19	8	5	11	7	2	70
Changda	22	15	28	13	28	32	24	9	12	9	192
Mahiyari	2	1	9	5	15	5	15	3	4	4	63
Navagambara	13	10	4	5	11	15	4	2	7	10	81
Navi-Akhrol	-	7	6	2	11	12	-	10	2	2	52
Nejh	1	6	6	7	8	6	7	5	2	2	50
Padra	8	5	-	4	15	11	6	-	5	5	59
Paldi	-	1	2	1	2	-	1	3	2	-	12
Panchegam	3	6	9	7	12	5	4	3	4	2	55
Panded	4	5	11	9	6	11	10	1	3	7	67
Rinjha	3	2	2	7	13	10	4	7	4	2	54
Chitravada	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	5
Rohini	7	5	6	2	11	7	7	-	4	1	50
Sokhda	1	3	3	6	8	9	8	9	8	2	57
Tadatalav	3	3	1	-	1	5	-	1	1	2	17
Tamasa	4	7	12	3	7	15	10	4	2	5	69
Vadgam	4	6	4	2	13	7	7	1	2	2	48
Vainaj	13	8	8	3	7	16	7	3	5	3	73
Valli	6	6	1	2	9	9	10	2	6	2	53
Varsada	6	2	8	11	12	10	25	3	7	12	96
Daheda	31	25	15	20	46	41	26	10	18	5	237
Dugari	4	10	11	6	17	10	14	6	5	4	87
Fathehpura	9	4	6	4	15	10	6	1	2	2	59
Galiyana	3	1	6	4	10	2	4	5	7	-	42
Golana	17	14	12	12	16	23	27	7	11	7	146
Gorad	8	4	6	3	19	6	9	7	5	3	70
Towns											
Total	56	34	58	33	101	119	81	35	51	38	606
Tarapur	10	3	23	7	25	30	16	6	14	5	139
Khambhat	46	31	35	26	76	89	65	29	37	33	467
Study Area	293	244	320	217	524	502	400	190	248	175	3113

Table 3.5: Distribution of Education Status of the Respondent			
Name of Village/Town	Illiterate	Literate	Total
Villages			
Total	186	300	486
Bhimtalav	7	13	20
Gudel	3	2	5
Indranaj	6	9	15
Jafrabad	2	6	8
Junaj	5	8	13
Kanavara	5	2	7
Kansbara	11	26	37
Khada	7	7	14
Khaksar	2	10	12
Khanpur	5	7	12
Lunej	7	8	15
Changda	7	32	39
Mahiyari	7	4	11
Navagambara	3	7	10
Navi-Akhrol	3	7	10
Nejh	5	6	11
Padra	2	7	9
Paldi	1	2	3
Panchegam	6	5	11
Panded	2	10	12
Rinjha	3	6	9
Chitravada	1	1	2
Rohini	3	5	8
Sokhda	4	10	14
Tadatalav	1	1	2
Tamasa	7	4	11
Vadgam	4	4	8
Vainaj	4	7	11
Valli	3	8	11
Varsada	10	11	21
Daheda	19	19	38
Dugari	13	7	20
Fathehpura	5	3	8
Galiyana	6	2	8
Golana	4	23	27
Gorad	3	11	14
Town			
Total	39	109	148
Tarapur	6	28	34
Khambaat	33	81	114
Study Area	225	409	634

Table 3.6: Distribution of Education Level of the Respondent								
	Primary (upto 01 to 05 Class)	Secondary (upto 06 to 08 Class)	Higher Secondary (upto 09 to 10 Class)	Senior Secondary (11 to 12 Class)	College (BA)	College (MA)	Nursing/ Engineering	Total
Villages								
Total	153	81	38	17	1	1	9	300
Bhimtalav	9	2	-	1	1	-	-	13
Gudel	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Indranaj	6	2	1	-	-	-	-	9
Jafrabad	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	6
Junaj	3	1	4	-	-	-	-	8
Kanavara	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
Kansbara	17	5	4	-	-	-	-	26
Khada	3	1	2	1	-	-	-	7
Khaksar	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	10
Khanpur	4	-	2	1	-	-	-	7
Lunej	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	8
Changda	15	9	1	6	-	-	1	32
Mahiyari	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	4
Navagambara	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	7
Navi-Akhrol	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	7
Nejh	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	6
Padra	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	7
Paldi	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Panchegam	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	5
Panded	3	4	2	1	-	-	-	10
Rinjha	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	6
Chitravada	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rohini	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	5
Sokhda	2	4	3	1	-	-	-	10
Tadatalav	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tamasa	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
Vadgam	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	4
Vainaj	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	7
Valli	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	8
Varsada	6	5	-	-	-	-	-	11
Daheda	11	3	4	-	-	1	-	19
Dugari	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	7
Fathehpura	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
Galiyana	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Golana	11	10	1	1	-	-	-	23
Gorad	1	2	1	1	-	-	6	11
Town								
Total	42	31	26	6	4	-	-	109
Tarapur	10	8	4	4	2	-	-	28
Khambaat	32	23	22	2	2	-	-	81
Study Area	195	112	64	23	5	1	9	409

Table 3.7: Distribution of Total Illiterate Members in the Households							
Villages/ Towns	1 Member	2 Members	3 Members	4 Members	5 Members	More than 5 Members	Total
Villages							
Total	173	121	27	9	1	3	334
Bhimtalav	7	4	1	-	-	-	12
Gudel	-	3	1	-	-	-	4
Indranaj	3	3	2	1	1	-	10
Jafrabad	6	1	-	-	-	-	7
Junaj	7	2	-	-	-	-	9
Kanavara	3	3	-	1	-	-	7
Kansbara	7	10	1	-	-	-	18
Khada	1	7	-	-	-	-	8
Khaksar	6	2	-	-	-	-	8
Khanpur	4	2	1	-	-	-	7
Lunej	7	6	-	-	-	-	13
Changda	15	6	1	1	-	-	23
Mahiyari	4	4	1	-	-	-	9
Navagambara	6	3	-	-	-	-	9
Navi-Akhrol	2	2	1	-	-	-	5
Nejh	3	3	1	-	-	-	7
Padra	1	3	1	-	-	-	5
Paldi	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
Panchegam	1	4	-	1	-	-	6
Panded	6	3	1	-	-	-	10
Rinjha	3	2	-	-	-	1	6
Chitravada	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Rohini	1	1	2	-	-	-	4
Sokhda	6	3	1	-	-	-	10
Tadatalav	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Tamasa	4	2	1	2	-	-	9
Vadgam	4	1	1	-	-	-	6
Vainaj	4	1	1	1	-	1	8
Valli	5	2	1	-	-	-	8
Varsada	15	2	1	-	-	-	18
Daheda	14	16	1	-	-	-	31
Dugari	3	8	3	-	-	-	14
Fathehpura	2	2	1	1	-	1	7
Galiyana	3	3	1	1	-	-	8
Golana	12	3	1	-	-	-	16
Gorad	4	1	-	-	-	-	5
Towns							
Total	46	22	1	1	-	-	70
Tarapur	11	5	-	-	-	-	16
Khambaat	35	17	1	1	-	-	54
Study Area	179	143	28	8	1	3	404

Table 3.8: Distribution of Educational Level of Total Literate Members in the Households						
Educational Level	Villages		Town		Study Area	
	Households	Total Population	Households	Total Population	Households	Total Population
Class 1 to 5	372	762	94	147	466	909
Class 6 to 8	318	526	85	135	403	661
Class 9 to 10	208	304	84	133	292	437
Class 11 to 12	75	96	24	29	99	125
Diploma	2	2	-	-	2	2
BA	19	21	7	8	26	29
MA	4	4	-	-	4	4
Professional degree (nursing, engineering)	10	12	-	-	10	12
Total	-	1727		452	-	2179

Table 3.9: Gender Distribution of Educational Level of Total Literate Population of Surveyed Households																			
Villages/ Towns	1 st to 5 th Class		6 th to 8 th Class		9 th to 10 th Class		11 th - 12 th Class		Diploma		BA		MA		Profession al degree-		Total		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total	
Villages																			
Total	366	396	308	218	201	103	74	22	2	15	6	3	1	11	1	980	747	1727	
Bhimtalav	16	13	14	7	8	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	40	23	63	
Gudel	3	5	4	2	4	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	12	10	22	
Indranaj	21	19	9	5	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	27	61	
Jafrabad	5	3	2	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	3	14	
Junaj	5	7	7	3	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	13	29	
Kanavara	5	8	3	8	7	2	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	21	20	41	
Kansbara	28	19	13	17	11	5	4	2	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	56	46	102	
Khada	4	10	5	5	3	1	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	15	18	33	
Khaksar	10	14	13	12	5	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	29	58	
Khanpur	3	7	3	-	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	8	19	
Lunej	15	7	12	5	3	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	31	16	47	
Changda	31	27	36	17	10	3	9	4	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	88	52	140	
Mahiyari	4	5	12	5	8	3	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	31	14	45	
Navagambara	14	13	6	5	9	4	4	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	34	24	58	
Navi-Akhrol	10	13	7	4	4	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	22	20	42	
Nejh	7	12	9	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	18	37	
Padra	14	7	6	4	5	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	14	41	
Paldi	3	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	9	
Panchegam	8	12	5	6	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	18	21	39	
Panded	9	7	13	7	4	3	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	30	17	47	
Rinjha	7	9	6	4	6	3	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	22	16	38	
Chitravada	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	4	
Rohini	4	8	8	4	9	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	23	12	35	
Sokhda	5	3	7	5	9	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	18	41	
Tadatalav	0	4	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	6	11	
Tamasa	13	11	5	5	5	3	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	27	19	46	
Vadgam	6	8	3	4	4	5	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	16	17	33	
Vainaj	12	13	4	6	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	19	37	
Valli	7	3	5	6	7	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	11	31	
Varsada	11	18	17	6	9	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	29	68	
Daheda	32	43	28	22	22	13	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	85	80	165	
Dugari	12	4	10	9	7	8	3	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	33	22	55	
Fathehpura	4	6	9	7	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14	28	
Galiyana	3	4	6	1	5	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	16	7	23	
Golana	30	39	13	10	8	1	7	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	59	51	110	

Gorad	4	12	4	10	7	5	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	27	28	55
Towns																		
Total	71	76	70	65	87	46	22	7	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	258	194	452
Tarapur	13	14	18	10	21	18	7	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	62	45	107
Khambat	58	62	52	55	66	28	15	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	196	149	345
Study Area	437	472	378	283	288	149	96	29	2	23	6	3	1	11	1	1238	941	2179

Note: M- Males; F- Females

Table 3.10: Distribution of Typology of the Respondents House					
Villages/ Towns	Kaccha House	Semi-pucca House	Pucca House	No Response	Total
Villages					
Total	50	254	180	2	486
Bhimtalav	2	9	9	-	20
Gudel	1	-	4	-	5
Indranaj	1	11	3	-	15
Jafrabad	-	6	2	-	8
Junaj	2	6	5	-	13
Kanavara	2	3	2	-	7
Kansbara	3	7	27	-	37
Khada	2	4	8	-	14
Khaksar	-	10	2	-	12
Khanpur	3	6	3	-	12
Lunej	-	14	1	-	15
Changda	3	14	21	1	39
Mahiyari	1	1	8	1	11
Navagambara	-	8	2	-	10
Navi-Akhrol	-	3	7	-	10
Nejh	1	7	3	-	11
Padra	1	7	1	-	9
Paldi	-	3	0	-	3
Panchegam	-	8	3	-	11
Panded	-	7	5	-	12
Rinjha	-	6	3	-	9
Chitravada	-	2	-	-	2
Rohini	3	3	2	-	8
Sokhda	-	6	8	-	14
Tadatalav	-	2	-	-	2
Tamasa	4	3	4	-	11
Vadgam	-	-	8	-	8
Vainaj	4	6	1	-	11
Valli	4	6	1	-	11
Varsada	1	19	1	-	21
Daheda	3	25	10	-	38
Dugari	2	14	4	-	20
Fathehpura	-	6	2	-	8
Galiyana	1	3	4	-	8
Golana	6	11	10	-	27
Gorad	-	8	6	-	14
Towns					
Total	20	70	58	-	148
Tarapur	-	10	24	-	34
Khambaat	20	60	34	-	114
Study Area	70	324	238	2	634

Table 3.11: Distribution of Year of the House Constructed								
Villages/ Towns	2021- 2022	2016- 2020	2011- 2015	2006- 2010	2001- 2005	Before 2001	Don't know/ remember	Total
Villages								
Total	11	46	65	95	88	83	97	486
Bhimtalav	3	-	1	4	10	-	2	20
Gudel	-	-	2	-	1	-	2	5
Indranaj	-	1	3	1	2	-	8	15
Jafrabad	-	1	3	-	4	-	-	8
Junaj	-	1	3	4	-	2	3	13
Kanavara	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
Kansbara	-	8	1	2	17	3	6	37
Khada	-	-	6	1	-	5	2	14
Khaksar	-	-	-	2	10	-	-	12
Khanpur	-	-	1	-	5	2	4	12
Lunej	-	-	1	4	3	6	1	15
Changda	3	4	5	8	2	9	8	39
Mahiyari	-	2	-	7	1	-	1	11
Navagambara	-	1	-	8	1	-	-	10
Navi-Akhrol	-	5	2	2	1	-	-	10
Nejh	-	1	3	3	-	3	1	11
Padra	-	1	2	2	2	1	1	9
Paldi	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	3
Panchegam	-	1	7	-	-	-	3	11
Panded	-	1	11	-	-	-	-	12
Rinjha	-	1	-	3	2	1	2	9
Chitravada	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Rohini	-	-	-	1	3	1	3	8
Sokhda	-	1	1	2	1	5	4	14
Tadatalav	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Tamasa	-	1	-	5	4	1	-	11
Vadgam	-	-	-	1	-	7	-	8
Vainaj	-	-	-	5	2	4	-	11
Valli	-	-	-	-	2	6	3	11
Varsada	-	-	2	10	4	2	3	21
Daheda	3	8	4	8	5	4	6	38
Dugari	-	-	2	3	-	7	8	20
Fathehpura	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8
Galiyana	1	2	-	-	-	-	5	8
Golana	-	2	-	4	5	10	6	27
Gorad	-	4	5	2	1	2	-	14
Towns								
Total	5	6	22	6	2	107	-	148
Tarapur	-	-	19	1	-	14	-	34
Khambaat	5	6	3	5	2	93	-	114
Study Area	16	52	87	101	90	190	97	634

Table 3.12: Distribution of the Owner of the Respondents' House																			
	Self	Husbands younger/ Elder Brother	Father	Mother	Father-in-law	Mother-in-law	Brother	Grand-father	Grand-mother	Jointly with Father/ Brother/other	Daughter-in-law	Great-Grand Father	Husband	Son	Wife	Uncle	Rental	Slum	No Answer
Villages																			
Total	327	10	75	16	7	2	6	1	4	2	1	1	15	4	13	-	1		1
Bhimtalav	12	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	20
Gudel	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Indranaj	9	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Jafrabad	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Junaj	7	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Kanavara	3	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Kansbara	21	-	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	2	-	-	-	37
Khada	7	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	14
Khaksar	9	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	12
Khanpur	9	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Lunej	11	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	15
Changda	22	-	12	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	39
Mahiyari	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	11
Navagambara	8	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Navi-Akhrol	4	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Nejh	8	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Padra	6	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	9
Paldi	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Panchegam	10	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Panded	9	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Rinjha	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	9
Chitravada	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rohini	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Sokhda	9	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Tadatalav	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tamasa	7	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Vadgam	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Vainaj	3	2	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Valli	8	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	11
Varsada	12	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	21
Daheda	28	1	6	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	38
Dugari	12	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	4	-	-	-	20
Fathehpura	4	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	8
Galiyana	7	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Golana	23	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
Gorad	9	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	14
Towns																			
Total	67	-	36	7	6	1	-	7	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	2	5	12	-
Tarapur	20	-	7	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	34
Khambaat	47	-	29	4	5	1	-	7	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	4	12	114
Study Area	394	10	111	23	13	3	6	8	5	2	1	1	19	4	13	2	6	12	634

Table 3.13 Distribution of the Owner of the Respondents' House by Gender																					
Study Area	Gender	Self	Husbands Brother	Father	Mother	Father-in-law	Mother-in-law	Brother	Grand-father	Grand-mother	Jointly with Father/ Brother/other	Daughter-in-law	Great-Grand Father	Husband	Son	Wife	Uncle	Slum	Rental	No Answer	Total
Villages	Total	327	10	75	16	7	2	6	1	4	2	1	1	15	4	13	-	-	1	1	486
	Male	263	1	64	14	-	1	6	1	2	2	1	-	1	-	13	-	-	1	-	370
	Female	64	9	11	2	7	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	14	4	-	-	-	-	1	116
Towns	Total	67	4	36	7	6	1	-	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	12	5	-	148
	Male	58	-	32	6	1	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	10	4	-	119
	Female	9	4	4	1	5	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	29
Study Areas	Total	394	14	111	23	13	3	6	8	5	2	1	1	15	4	13	2	12	6	1	634
	Male	321	1	96	20	1	1	6	7	2	2	1	-	1	-	13	2	10	5	-	489
	Female	73	13	15	3	12	2	-	1	3	-	-	1	14	4	-	-	2	1	1	145

Table 3.14A : Distribution of the Basic Facilities Available in the Respondents' Household														
Villages/ Towns	Source of light			Source of cooking fuel					Source of drinking water					
	Electricity	Kerosene	Candles	Wood	Kerosene	Gas cylinder	Coals	Dung-cakes	Tap	Tube-well	Hand-pump	Well	Lake/River	Nearby Water Source
Villages														
Total	471	61	195	473	102	370	7	246	474	1	1	99	3	-
Bhimtalav	20	-	20	20	-	17	-	15	20	-	-	2	-	-
Gudel	5	5	4	5	5	5	-	5	5	-	-	-	-	-
Indranaj	15	13	10	14	10	12	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-
Jafrabad	6	-	-	8	-	6	-	8	8	-	-	-	-	-
Junaj	10	-	5	13	-	10	-	11	13	-	-	3	-	-
Kanavara	7	2	5	6	2	4	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-
Kansbara	36	1	22	36	-	30	-	15	37	-	-	-	-	-
Khada	14	-	14	14	-	12	-	14	14	-	-	-	-	-
Khaksar	12	-	6	12	-	10	1	-	12	-	-	12	-	-
Khanpur	12	-	9	12	-	8	-	12	12	-	-	10	1	-
Lunej	14	-	6	13	-	12	-	13	15	-	-	-	-	-
Changda	39	-	20	38	-	33	-	21	38	-	-	1	-	-
Mahiyari	11	-	1	11	-	9	-	-	11	-	-	6	-	-
Navagambara	10	-	-	10	-	9	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
Navi-Akhrol	10	2	2	10	1	7	-	7	10	-	-	-	-	-
Nejh	11	-	1	11	-	3	-	11	11	-	-	-	-	-
Padra	8	-	6	9	-	7	-	-	9	-	-	1	-	-
Paldi	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
Panchegam	10	1	1	9	-	6	-	4	11	-	-	-	-	-
Panded	12	-	-	12	-	11	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-
Rinjha	9	1	1	9	-	8	-	6	8	1	-	-	-	-
Chitravada	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Rohini	8	7	7	8	4	8	3	8	8	-	-	-	-	-
Sokhda	14	-	4	14	3	12	-	13	14	-	-	5	-	-

Tadatalav	2	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Tamasa	11	-	-	11	-	5	-	1	11	-	-	1	-	-
Vadgam	8	4	5	8	6	7	-	8	8	-	-	4	-	-
Vainaj	11	-	-	11	-	3	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-
Valli	10	-	-	11	-	7	-	8	11	-	-	-	-	-
Varsada	21	-	-	20	-	19	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-
Daheda	36	2	13	38	-	27	-	14	36	-	1	15	1	-
Dugari	19	2	9	20	-	10	-	17	20	-	-	13	1	-
Fathehpura	7	-	-	8	-	4	-	5	8	-	-	-	-	-
Galiyana	8	-	-	8	-	6	-	5	8	-	-	-	-	-
Golana	27	20	22	25	20	26	3	21	19	-	-	26	-	-
Gorad	14	-	2	12	51	12	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-
Towns														
Total	145	-	-	3	1	138	-	-	144	-	-	-	-	1
Taapur	33	-	-	1	1	32	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	-
Khambhat	112	-	-	2	0	106	-	-	111	-	-	-	-	1
Study Area	616	61	195	476	103	508	7	246	618	1	1	99	3	1

Table 3.14 B : Distribution of Toilet Facility Available in the Respondents' Household								
Villages / Towns	Toilet Facility in House		Location of Toilet Facility		If No Toilets, What was the Alternative			
	No	Yes	Inside House	Outside House	In field	Open Space	Use Common Toilet	At a Relative's House
Villages								
Total	225	261	62	199	23	202	-	-
Bhimtalav	1	19	4	15	1	-	-	-
Gudel	1	4	1	3	-	1	-	-
Indranaj	14	1	1	-	10	4	-	-
Jafrabad	2	6	-	6	-	2	-	-
Junaj	7	6	-	6	-	7	-	-
Kanavara	5	2	2	-	3	2	-	-
Kansbara	13	24	6	18	-	13	-	-
Khada	-	14	13	1	-	-	-	-
Khaksar	-	12	-	12	-	-	-	-
Khanpur	4	8	-	8	2	2	-	-
Lunej	15	-	-	-	-	15	-	-
Changda	10	29	15	14	-	10	-	-
Mahiyari	2	9	2	7	-	2	-	-
Navagambara	2	8	2	6	-	2	-	-
Navi-Akhrol	2	8	-	8	-	2	-	-
Nejh	7	4	-	4	-	7	-	-
Padra	6	3	-	3	-	6	-	-
Paldi	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-
Panchegam	8	3	3	-	7	1	-	-
Panded	8	4	-	4	-	8	-	-
Rinjha	4	5	-	5	-	4	-	-
Chitravada	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
Rohini	1	7	-	7	-	1	-	-
Sokhda	7	7	-	7	-	7	-	-
Tadatalav	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Tamasa	8	3	-	3	-	8	-	-
Vadgam	4	4	-	4	-	4	-	-
Vainaj	10	1	-	1	-	10	-	-
Valli	11	-	-	-	-	11	-	-
Varsada	10	11	1	10	-	10	-	-
Daheda	23	15	8	7	-	23	-	-

Dugari	13	7	-	7	-	13	-	-
Fathehpura	8	-	-	-	-	8	-	-
Galiyana	5	3	-	3	-	5	-	-
Golana	9	18	2	16	-	9	-	-
Gorad	2	12	2	10	-	2	-	-
Towns								
Total	16	132	31	95	1	12	6	3
Tarapur	5	29	3	26	1	2	-	2
Khambhat	11	103	28	69	-	10	6	1
Study Area	241	393	93	294	24	214	6	3

Table 3.15: Distribution of Various Amenities at Respondents' House

Villages/ Towns	Amenities in the Home							Animals in the Home					Vehicles Owned by the Respondents					Income Source Vehicles Owned by the Respondents				
	Bed	Fan	Cooler	Fridge	Mixer	TV	Radio/music system	Rooster/ Poultry	Goat	Cow	Buffalo	OX	Bicycle	Motorcycle	Scooter/Scooty	Rickshaw/Chakda	4 wheeler (Car, Jeep)	Rickshaw/Chakda	Tractor/trolley	Truck	Jeep/Ecco	Tempo
Villages																						
Total	270	465	10	100	25	206	39	23	1	35	118	3	59	173	14	9	10	7	12	3	6	-
Bhimtalav	14	20	-	3	3	17	8	-	-	5	10	1	4	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gudel	5	5	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indranaj	15	13	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jafrabad	3	8	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junaj	3	10	-	2	2	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kanavara	7	7	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kansbara	16	37	-	15	1	22	5	-	-	2	10	-	1	12	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Khada	12	14	-	4	1	14	4	-	-	2	9	-	-	11	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Khaksar	9	12	-	1	-	3	-	5	-	1	5	1	2	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khanpur	7	12	-	1	-	8	3	-	-	-	3	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lunej	2	14	-	3	-	5	-	-	-	1	6	-	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Changda	23	38	-	14	1	25	14	-	-	11	28	-	1	28	-	-	1	-	6	-	4	-
Mahiyari	6	10	-	4	1	4	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Navagambara	6	10	-	4	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Navi-Akhrol	2	10	-	1	-	8	-	-	-	-	4	-	5	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Nejh	4	10	-	3	-	2	-	1	-	1	3	-	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Padra	6	8	2	3	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
Paldi	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panchegam	11	9	-	2	2	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Panded	6	12	2	4	1	8	1	1	-	-	2	-	3	1	5	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
Rinjha	4	9	-	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Chitravada	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rohini	6	8	1	3	0	4	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sokhda	3	14	-	2	2	1	-	3	-	1	3	-	3	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Tadatalav	0	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tamasa	2	11	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Vadgam	8	8	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Vainaj	1	11	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Valli	3	9	-	2	-	3	1	2	-	1	4	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Varsada	9	20	-	4	2	10	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Daheda	19	36	-	7	1	12	1	4	-	1	5	-	2	9	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Dugari	7	18	-	1	-	12	-	-	1	3	8	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fathehpura	8	7	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Galiyana	7	8	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	2	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Golana	22	27	2	4	2	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	17	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
Gorad	12	14	2	4	1	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	4	6	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-

Towns																		
Total	96	139	2	66	6	99	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	33	9	2	-
Tarapur	23	30	1	18	3	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-
Khambhat	73	109	1	48	3	79	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	30	8	2	-
Study Area	366	604	12	166	31	305	40	23	1	35	118	3	63	206	23	11	10	9

Table 3.16A: Details of Person keeping Mobile in the House											
Villages/Towns	Self	Husband	Wife	Father	Mother	Brother	Sister	Son	Daughter	Grand-father	Grand-mother
Villages											
Total	353	37	37	17	3	75	9	101	-	-	-
Bhimtalav	18	2	2	3	-	7	-	1	-	-	-
Gudel	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Indranaj	9	1	2	-	-	3	-	5	-	-	-
Jafrabad	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junaj	7	1	1	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	-
Kanavara	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	-
Kansbara	31	1	3	1	-	6	3	-	-	-	-
Khada	10	4	3	1	-	5	-	1	-	-	-
Khaksar	12	-	-	1	-	7	1	-	-	-	-
Khanpur	11	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Lunej	12	-	3	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	-
Changda	32	2	5	1	-	4	-	4	-	-	-
Mahiyari	6	1	-	-	-	5	-	3	-	-	-
Navagambara	8	-	2	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Navi-Akhrol	7	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Nejh	8	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Padra	7	1	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Paldi	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panchegam	4	1	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Panded	11	-	-	-	1	6	2	-	-	-	-
Rinjha	8	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
Chitravada	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rohini	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-
Sokhda	10	3	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tadatalav	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tamasa	10	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-
Vadgam	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Vainaj	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-
Valli	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Varsada	16	1	-	-	-	3	-	4	-	-	-
Daheda	22	3	2	3	1	1	-	12	-	-	-
Dugari	13	2	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-
Fathehpura	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	-
Galiyana	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	8	-	-	-
Golana	27	4	2	2	-	-	-	13	-	-	-
Gorad	6	2	-	-	-	3	1	3	-	-	-
Towns											
Total	114	2	12	3	4	15	1	17	5	2	3
Tarapur	26	2	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	2
Khambaat	88	-	12	3	3	12	1	17	5	2	1
Study Area	467	39	49	20	7	90	10	118	5	2	3

Table 3.16B: Details of Respondent Keeping Mobile in the House			
Villages/ Towns	Male	Female	Total
Villages			
Total	303	50	353
Bhimtalav	11	7	18
Gudel	3	-	3
Indranaj	8	1	9
Jafrabad	7	1	8
Junaj	4	3	7
Kanavara	1	1	2
Kansbara	28	3	31
Khada	8	2	10
Khaksar	11	1	12
Khanpur	10	1	11
Lunej	10	2	12
Changda	30	2	32
Mahiyari	6	-	6
Navagambara	7	1	8
Navi-Akhrol	7	-	7
Nejh	6	2	8
Padra	7	-	7
Paldi	1	1	2
Panchegam	3	1	4
Panded	10	1	11
Rinjha	7	1	8
Chitravada	1	-	1
Rohini	5	1	6
Sokhda	6	4	10
Tadatalav	1	-	1
Tamasa	7	3	10
Vadgam	3	1	4
Vainaj	5	-	5
Valli	8	1	9
Varsada	15	1	16
Daheda	18	4	22
Dugari	13	-	13
Fathehpura	4	-	4
Galiyana	3	-	3
Golana	23	4	27
Gorad	6	-	6
Towns			
Total	94	20	114
Tarapur	20	6	26
Khambaat	74	14	88
Study Area	397	70	467

Table 3.17A: Details of Government Scheme Benefits Received by Respondents Household			
Villages/Towns	Yes	No	Total
Villages			
Total	319	167	486
Bhimtalav	12	8	20
Gudel	4	1	5
Indranaj	8	7	15
Jafrabad	7	1	8
Junaj	6	7	13
Kanavara	5	2	7
Kansbara	21	16	37
Khada	12	2	14
Khaksar	12	-	12
Khanpur	6	6	12
Lunej	10	5	15
Changda	20	19	39
Mahiyari	2	9	11
Navagambara	7	3	10
Navi-Akhrol	9	1	10
Nejh	5	6	11
Padra	5	4	9
Paldi	1	2	3
Panchegam	2	9	11
Panded	10	2	12
Rinjha	6	3	9
Chitravada	-	2	2
Rohini	4	4	8
Sokhda	8	6	14
Tadatalav	1	1	2
Tamasa	9	2	11
Vadgam	8	-	8
Vainaj	9	2	11
Valli	10	1	11
Varsada	18	3	21
Daheda	32	6	38
Dugari	13	7	20
Fathehpura	4	4	8
Galiyana	8	-	8
Golana	21	6	27
Gorad	4	10	14
Towns			
Total	41	107	148
Tarapur	24	10	34
Khambaat	17	97	114
Study Area	360	274	634

Table 3.17 B: Details of Government Scheme Benefits Received by Respondents Household				
Villages/ Towns	Education scheme	Housing Scheme	Loan Scheme	Widow Pension
Villages				
Total	82	277	11	-
Bhimtalav	-	12	-	-
Gudel	2	4	-	-
Indranaj	5	7	-	-
Jafrabad	2	7	-	-
Junaj	-	6	-	-
Kanavara	5	1	-	-
Kansbara	-	19	4	-
Khada	-	12	-	-
Khaksar	3	12	-	-
Khanpur	-	6	-	-
Lunej	3	9	-	-
Changda	1	19	1	-
Mahiyari	-	2	-	-
Navagambara	2	7	-	-
Navi-Akhrol	5	6	-	-
Nejh	-	5	-	-
Padra	-	5	-	-
Paldi	-	1	1	-
Panchegam	2	-	-	-
Panded	8	6	-	-
Rinjha	-	6	1	-
Chitravada	-	-	-	-
Rohini	1	4	-	-
Sokhda	4	3	1	-
Tadatalav	-	1	-	-
Tamasa	4	6	-	-
Vadgam	2	8	-	-
Vainaj	4	8	-	-
Valli	5	9	2	-
Varsada	1	18	-	-
Daheda	11	28	1	-
Dugari	1	12	-	-
Fathehpura	4	-	-	-
Galiyana	3	6	-	-
Golana	3	19	-	-
Gorad	1	3	-	-
Towns				
Total	19	26	-	3
Tarapur	8	23	-	-
Khambaat	11	3	-	3
Study Area	101	303	11	3

Table 3.18: Details of Government ID Cards Owned by the Respondent											
Villages / Towns	Identification Card		Employment Card		Health Card		Food Security				
	Voter	Aadhar	MNREGA Job Card	Majoori/ Job Card	Ayushman	MAA	Ration Card	Antodaya	BPL	APL	Anna-purna
Villages											
Total	476	477	177	64	116	152	472	63	308	97	4
Bhimtalav	17	18	3	-	-	5	19	6	13	-	-
Gudel	5	5	3	-	3	2	5	-	2	3	-
Indranaj	14	14	9	-	2	6	14	1	8	5	-
Jafrabad	8	8	3	3	3	2	9	2	4	3	-
Junaj	13	13	8	1	2	4	13	-	6	7	-
Kanavara	7	7	2	-	1	4	6	-	5	-	1
Kansbara	37	37	4	3	3	8	36	2	27	7	-
Khada	14	14	1	2	4	10	14	2	12	-	-
Khaksar	12	12	7	7	-	7	15	-	12	1	2
Khanpur	12	12	2	-	2	4	12	1	11	-	-
Lunej	14	14	1	-	2	-	14	-	6	8	-
Changda	39	38	14	5	9	15	37	15	20	2	-
Mahiyari	11	11	-	1	-	-	12	1	9	2	-
Navagambara	10	10	10	2	2	3	10	3	5	2	-
Navi-Akhrol	10	10	7	7	7	6	10	1	7	2	-
Nejh	11	11	1	-	3	1	9	-	-	9	-
Padra	8	9	4	2	3	4	10	2	8	-	-
Paldi	3	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	1	2	-
Panchegam	11	11	1	-	-	4	11	3	6	2	-
Panded	12	12	-	-	-	3	12	-	12	-	-
Rinjha	9	9	1	-	-	2	9	2	7	-	-
Chitravada	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1
Rohini	8	8	3	1	4	3	7	-	6	1	-
Sokhda	14	14	8	2	5	4	13	-	5	8	-
Tadatalav	2	2	-	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	-
Tamasa	11	11	-	-	4	4	11	-	10	1	-
Vadgam	8	8	8	-	3	-	8	2	4	2	-
Vainaj	11	11	8	2	2	3	10	1	5	4	-
Valli	11	11	9	5	9	3	10	1	7	2	-
Varsada	21	21	1	-	-	5	21	-	21	-	-
Daheda	38	38	21	10	15	14	35	2	23	10	-
Dugari	20	20	9	2	5	8	20	11	8	1	-
Fathehpura	6	6	1	-	-	3	4	1	2	1	-
Galiyana	8	8	2	1	1	2	8	-	8	-	-
Golana	26	26	20	6	17	3	27	3	18	6	-
Gorad	14	14	6	2	2	9	14	-	8	6	-
Towns											
Total	148	148	6	7	41	41	148	4	70	73	1
Tarapur	34	34	3	2	15	12	34	3	27	3	1
Khambaat	114	114	3	5	26	29	114	1	43	70	-
Study Area	624	625	183	71	157	193	620	67	378	170	5

Annexure-3

Table 4.1: Distribution of Total Working Population in Respondent's Household										
Villages/ Towns	Total Population	Within village			Outside Village			Total		
		Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Villages										
Total	2507	855	504	351	268	174	94	1123	678	445
% (to total working population)	-	76.1	74.3	78.9	23.9	25.7	21.1	44.8	60.4	39.6
himtalav	83	29	19	10	11	8	3	40	27	13
Gudel	34	3	2	1	10	6	4	13	8	5
Indranaj	91	29	18	11	20	10	10	49	28	21
Jafrabad	23	9	6	3	1	1	0	10	7	3
Junaj	42	17	10	7	5	4	1	22	14	8
Kanavara	62	22	12	10	13	6	7	35	18	17
Kansbara	144	47	32	15	5	5	0	52	37	15
Khada	52	26	14	12	0	0	0	26	14	12
Khaksar	76	24	11	13	1	1	0	25	12	13
Khanpur	36	18	10	8	0	0	0	18	10	8
Lunej	70	24	17	7	12	7	5	36	24	12
Changda	192	74	39	35	16	11	5	90	50	40
Mahiyari	63	27	20	7	5	3	2	32	23	9
Navagambara	81	18	10	8	0	0	0	18	10	8
Navi-Akhrol	52	16	11	5	4	3	1	20	14	6
Nejh	50	15	10	5	5	4	1	20	14	6
Padra	59	21	13	8	2	1	1	23	14	9
Paldi	12	4	2	2	0	0	0	4	2	2
Panchegam	55	19	9	10	12	8	4	31	17	14
Panded	67	29	16	13	1	1	0	30	17	13
Rinjha	54	19	12	7	7	4	3	26	16	10
Chitravada	5	3	2	1	0	0	0	3	2	1
Rohini	50	14	7	7	7	5	2	21	12	9
Sokhda	57	14	9	5	11	10	1	25	19	6
Tadatalav	17	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Tamasa	69	15	11	4	3	2	1	18	13	5
Vadgam	48	22	13	9	2	1	1	24	14	10
Vainaj	73	22	11	11	0	0	0	22	11	11
Valli	53	25	19	6	0	0	0	25	19	6
Varsada	96	42	26	16	15	9	6	57	35	22
Daheda	237	61	27	34	42	27	15	103	54	49
Dugari	87	40	23	17	7	5	2	47	28	19
Fathehpura	59	14	9	5	18	9	9	32	18	14
Galiyana	42	11	8	3	12	7	5	23	15	8
Golana	146	65	37	28	10	7	3	75	44	31
Gorad	70	16	9	7	11	9	2	27	18	9
Towns										
Total	606	262	206	56	14	12	2	276	218	58
% (to total working population)	-	94.9	94.5	96.6	5.1	5.5	3.4	46.4	79.7	20.3
Tarapur	139	77	57	20	3	2	1	80	59	22
Khambaat	467	185	149	36	11	10	1	196	165	36
Study Area										
% (to total working population)	-	79.8	79.2	80.9	20.2	20.8	19.1	44.9	64.1	35.9

Table 4.2 A: Distribution of Nature of Job of Working Members - Working within Village																	
Villages/Towns	Agriculture Labour	Driver-Tractor	Driver-School bus	Driver-Rickshaw	Casual /Daily Labour	Pvt. School Teacher	Asha Worker	Company-Job	Tailor	Dairy/Animal Husbandry	Sweeper (pvt)	Sweeper-Company	Sweeper-Hospital	Sweeper-Panchayat Office	Sweeper-School	No Response	Total
Villages																	
Total	458	8	1	2	358	2	1	1	1	3	8	1	1	6	1	3	855
Bhimtalav	24	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	29
Gudel	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Indranaj	26	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29
Jafrabad	6	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Junaj	5	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	17
Kanavara	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	22
Kansbara	42	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
Khada	23	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	26
Khaksar	4	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
Khanpur	7	-	1	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	18
Lunej	1	-	-	-	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
Changda	71	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	74
Mahiyari	-	-	-	-	25	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
Navagambara	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
Navi-Akhrol	15	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
Nejh	1	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Padra	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
Paldi	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
Panchegam	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Panded	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29
Rinjha	15	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	19
Chitravada	0	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Rohini	6	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Sokhda	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Tadatalav	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tamasa	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Vadgam	2	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
Vainaj	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
Valli	22	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
Varsada	-	-	-	-	40	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	42
Daheda	47	2	-	1	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	61
Dugari	39	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
Fathehpura	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Galiyana	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	11
Golana	8	-	-	-	55	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	65
Gorad	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16

Table 4.2 B: Distribution of Nature of Job of Working Members - Working Outside Village																													
Villages	Agriculture Labour	Casual /Daily Labour	Company-Job	Driver-Tractor	Driver-Rickshaw	Driver-Libasi	Hotel-Supervisor	Job in Laboratory	Electrician/Light fitting	Traffic Police	Contractor-govt.	Pvt. School Teacher	Govt. School Teacher	Shooting	Showroom Agent	Plumber	Work in Garage	Hotel	In Factory-Chemical	Doctor	Sweeper (pvt)	Sweeper-Petrol pump	Sweeper-Company	Social Work	Sweeper-Hospital	Sweeper-School	Sweeper-Housing	Sweeper-Munc. Corp.	Total
Total	6	7	15	1	4	1	2	2	1	1	1	8	1	1	3	3	1	1	4	1	166	1	16	1	8	2	8	1	268
Bhimtalav	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	11
Gudel	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Indranaj	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
Jafrabad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Junaj	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
Kanavara	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Kansbara	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	5
Khada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Khaksar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Khanpur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Lunej	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	12
Changda	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
Mahiyari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Navagambara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Navi-Akhrol	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Nejh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	5
Padra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Paldi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Panchegam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Panded	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rinjha	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Chitravada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Rohini	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	7
Sokhda	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	11
Tadatalav	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	0
Tamasa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	3
Vadgam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Vainaj	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Valli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Varsada	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Daheda	2	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	26	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	42
Dugari	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Fathehpura	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
Galiyana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Golana	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Gorad	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11

Table 4.3: Distribution of Nature of Job of Working Members in Towns									
Kind of Job	Working within Towns			Working outside Towns			Total		
	Tarapur	Khambaat	Total	Tarapur	Khambaat	Total	Tarapur	Khambaat	Total
Agricultural Labor	-	22	22	-	1	1	-	23	23
Casual/Daily labour	8	54	62	1	-	1	9	54	63
Company-Job	1	4	5	-	-	-	1	4	5
Driver-Rickshaw	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	3	3
Driver-libasi	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	2
Housemaid	1	1	2	1	-	1	2	1	3
Asha worker	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	2
Hotel-waiter	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Traffic policemen	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
NGO job	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Office-peon	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Plumber	1	2	3	1	-	1	2	2	4
Supervision-cleaning of animals in cages	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	4	4
Light fitting in municipality	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Mason work	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2
Contractor	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Municipal Office-Malaria Division	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sweeper-Municipal Corporation	3	29	32	-	-	-	3	29	32
Sweeper-Hospital	2	5	7	-	-	-	2	5	7
Sweeper-Housing society	-	13	13	-	6	6	-	19	19
Sweeper-Panchayat office	59	-	59	-	-	-	59	-	59
Sweeper-Government Office	-	17	17	-	-	-	-	17	17
Sweeper-company	-	4	4	-	1	1	-	5	5
Sweeper	-	18	18	-	-	-	-	18	18
Sweeper-petrol pump	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Total	77	185	262	3	11	14	80	196	276

Table 4.4: Distribution of Migrated Members from the Family to Town/City for Employment											
Villages	Total Members in a Family									Total	Total Migrant Population
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10		
Bhimtalav	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	11
Gudel	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	12
Indranaj	1	5	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	10	25
Jafrabad	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10
Junaj	3	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	8	20
Kanavara	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	5	18
Kansbara	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	5
Khada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Khaksar	2	2	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	9	29
Khanpur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Lunej	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	11
Changda	1	6	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	9	21
Mahiyari	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
Navagambara	1	6	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	9	20
Navi-Akhrol	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	9
Nejh	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
Padra	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	6	23
Paldi	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	9
Panchegam	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	12
Panded	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	7
Rinjha	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	9
Chitravada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Rohini	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	11
Sokhda	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	9
Tadatalav	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
Tamasa	2	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	8	18
Vadgam	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Vainaj	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10
Valli	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	9
Varsada	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	5	16
Daheda	3	8	3	3	1	1	-	-	-	19	51
Dugari	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	9
Fathehpura	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	1	6	33
Galiyana	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	5	15
Golana	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
Gorad	2	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	16
Total	32	81	22	24	7	6	3	1	1	177	466

Table 4.5: Distribution of Families with Migrated Members and Place of Migration Destination in Villages													
Villages	Families Surveyed	Total Families with migrated members for employment	Place of Migration for Employment										
			Ahmedabad	Dahod	Khambhat	Surat	Vadodara	Bavada	Changodar	Dholka	Gandhinagar, Ahmedabad	Nargam	Surat, Ahmedabad
Bhimtalav	20	5	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gudel	5	5	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indranaj	15	10	9	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jafrabad	8	5	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junaj	13	8	2	-	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kanavara	7	5	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kansbara	37	4	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khada	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khaksar	12	9	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Khanpur	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lunej	15	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Changda	39	9	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Mahiyari	11	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Navagambara	10	9	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Navi-Akhrol	10	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nejh	11	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Padra	9	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paldi	3	3	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panchegam	11	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panded	12	3	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Rinjha	9	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chitravada	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rohini	8	3	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sokhda	14	5	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tadatalav	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tamasa	11	8	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vadgam	8	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vainaj	11	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Valli	11	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Varsada	21	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Daheda	38	19	16	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Dugari	20	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fathehpura	8	6	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Galiyana	8	5	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Golana	27	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gorad	14	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	486	177	138	1	1	23	5	2	1	1	1	1	3

Table 4.6: Distribution of Migration Status of Families in Towns			
Details	Tarapur	Khambaat	Total
Number of years since respondent's family staying at the current residence			
02 years	-	5	5
05 years	-	6	6
10 years	8	3	11
11 years	11	-	11
13 years	1	-	1
15 years	-	1	1
17 years	-	4	4
20 years	-	2	2
Above 20 years	14	93	107
Total	34	114	148
Any family members migrated to other city/state for job			
Yes	2	9	11
No	32	105	137
Total	34	114	148
Total number of migrated family members			
1 member	2	3	5
2 members	-	5	5
3 members	-	1	1
Total	2	9	11
Number of years, family members has migrated to other city/state			
1 year	-	1	1
2 years	-	1	1
3 years	1	2	3
4 years	-	1	1
5 years	-	1	1
10 years	-	2	2
More than 10 years	1	1	2
Total	2	9	11
City where person migrated			
Ahmedabad	-	4	4
Anand	1	2	3
Dharmaj	1	1	2
Mumbai	-	1	1
Vadodara	-	1	1

Table 4.7: Distribution of Source of Information about the Work in City/Town to the Migrants				
Villages/ Towns	Self	Relatives	Village Person	Contractor
Villages				
Bhimtalav	-	5	2	-
Gudel	5	5	1	-
Indranaj	1	10	-	-
Jafrabad	4	2	-	-
Junaj	3	6	-	-
Kanavara	1	4	-	-
Kansbara	-	4	-	-
Khaksar	3	9	-	2
Lunej	2	4	-	-
Changda	5	4	-	-
Mahiyari	-	2	-	-
Navagambara	9	1	3	-
Navi-Akhrol	1	3	-	-
Nejh	2	1	-	-
Padra	3	6	-	1
Paldi	3	3	-	-
Panchegam	1	4	-	-
Panded	2	3	-	-
Rinjha	2	3	-	-
Rohini	3	3	-	-
Sokhda	3	3	-	-
Tadatalav	-	2	-	-
Tamasa	4	4	-	-
Vadgam	1	1	-	-
Vainaj	4	4	-	-
Valli	1	2	-	-
Varsada	5	4	-	-
Daheda	16	10	4	-
Dugari	2	3	-	-
Fathehpura	-	6	-	-
Galiyana	2	3	-	-
Golana	3	3	2	-
Gorad	4	5	-	-
Total	95	132	12	3
Towns				
Tarapur	-	2	-	-
Khambhatt	3	6	-	-
Total	3	8	-	-

Table 4.8: Distribution of Reasons Cited by Families for Migration of Members to City/Town					
Villages/ Towns	Low Rural Wages	For More Income	Due to increased debt	Due to joblessness	For employment
Villages					
Bhimtalav	4	1	3	-	-
Gudel	4	4	2	-	-
Indranaj	7	10	-	-	-
Jafrabad	-	3	-	2	-
Junaj	2	7	-	-	-
Kanavara	2	5	2	-	-
Kansbara	1	3	-	-	-
Khaksar	9	6	7	-	-
Lunej	4	4	-	-	-
Changda	8	4	1	-	-
Mahiyari	2	2	1	-	-
Navagambara	7	7	4	-	-
Navi-Akhrol	2	3	1	-	-
Nejh	2	2	-	-	-
Padra	6	4	4	-	-
Paldi	1	3	-	-	-
Panchegam	4	4	-	-	-
Panded	3	3	3	-	-
Rinjha	2	3	-	-	-
Rohini	3	3	2	-	-
Sokhda	3	3	1	-	-
Tadatalav	2	2	-	-	-
Tamasa	7	7	-	-	-
Vadgam	1	1	1	-	-
Vainaj	4	3	1	1	-
Valli	1	-	1	-	-
Varsada	4	4	2	-	-
Daheda	19	13	4	5	-
Dugari	2	4	-	-	-
Fathehpura	6	6	-	-	-
Galiyana	5	5	1	-	-
Golana	3	3	1	-	-
Gorad	5	4	2	-	-
Total	135 (76.3%)	136 (76.8%)	44 (24.9%)	8 (4.5%)	-
Towns					
Tarapur	-	2	-	-	2
Khambhatt	-	5	-	-	8
Total	-	7 (63.6%)	-	-	10 (90.9%)

Table 4.9: Distribution of Land Ownership of Respondents			
Villages/Towns	Total Households surveyed	Households owning land	Percent (of Total households)
Bhimtalav	20	12	60
Gudel	5	4	80
Indranaj	15	6	40
Jafrabad	8	5	62.5
Junaj	13	2	15.4
Kanavara	7	7	100
Kansbara	37	26	70.3
Khada	14	7	50
Khaksar	12	12	100
Khanpur	12	6	50
Lunej	15	2	13.3
Changda	39	28	71.8
Mahiyari	11	9	81.8
Navagambara	10	7	70
Navi-Akhrol	10	5	50
Nejh	11	5	45.5
Padra	9	5	55.6
Paldi	3	3	100
Panchegam	11	-	-
Panded	12	11	91.7
Rinjha	9	1	11.1
Chitravada	2	-	-
Rohini	8	4	50
Sokhda	14	5	35.7
Tadatalav	2	2	100
Tamasa	11	7	63.6
Vadgam	8	2	25
Vainaj	11	6	54.5
Valli	11	9	81.8
Varsada	21	1	4.8
Daheda	38	24	63.2
Dugari	20	8	40
Fathehpura	8	-	-
Galiyana	8	6	75
Golana	27	3	11.1
Gorad	14	12	85.7
Total	486	252	51.9
Towns			
Tarapur	34	1	2.9
Khambhatt	114	-	-
Total	148	1	0.7

Table 4.10: Distribution of Land size of those Owning Land					
Villages/Towns	Less than 2.5 Acres (Marginal)	2.51 to 5.00 Acre (Small)	5.1 to 10 Acres (Medium)	No Response	Total
Villages					
Bhimtalav	9	-	-	3	12
Gudel	4	-	-	-	4
Indranaj	6	-	-	-	6
Jafrabad	5	-	-	-	5
Junaj	2	-	-	-	2
Kanavara	7	-	-	-	7
Kansbara	24	1	-	1	26
Khada	7	-	-	-	7
Khaksar	12	-	-	-	12
Khanpur	6	-	-	-	6
Lunej	2	-	-	-	2
Changda	28	-	-	-	28
Mahiyari	9	-	-	-	9
Navagambara	6	-	1	-	7
Navi-Akhrol	5	-	-	-	5
Nejh	5	-	-	-	5
Padra	5	-	-	-	5
Paldi	3	-	-	-	3
Panchegam	-	-	-	-	-
Panded	11	-	-	-	11
Rinjha	1	-	-	-	1
Chitravada	0	-	-	-	-
Rohini	4	-	-	-	4
Sokhda	4	-	-	1	5
Tadatalav	2	-	-	-	2
Tamasa	7	-	-	-	7
Vadgam	2	-	-	-	2
Vainaj	6	-	-	-	6
Valli	8	-	-	1	9
Varsada	1	-	-	-	1
Daheda	23	-	1	-	24
Dugari	8	-	-	-	8
Fathehpura	-	-	-	-	-
Galiyana	6	-	-	-	6
Golana	3	-	-	-	3
Gorad	12	-	-	-	12
Total	243	1	2	6	252
Towns					
Tarapur	1	-	-	-	1
Khambhatt	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	-	-	-	1

Table 4.11: Distribution of Owning and Cultivation of Land			
Villages/Towns	Families own land	Families cultivate land	% of land cultivators
Villages			
Bhimtalav	12	5	41.7
Changda	28	25	89.3
Chitravada	-	-	-
Daheda	24	18	75.0
Dugari	8	7	87.5
Fathehpura	-	-	-
Galiyana	6	3	50.0
Golana	3	2	66.7
Gorad	12	7	58.3
Gudel	4	2	50.0
Indranaj	6	2	33.3
Jafrabad	5	3	60.0
Junaj	2	1	50.0
Kanavara	7	2	28.6
Kansbara	26	19	73.1
Khada	7	6	85.7
Khaksar	12	11	91.7
Khanpur	6	1	16.7
Lunej	2	1	50.0
Mahiyari	9	6	66.7
Navagambara	7	6	85.7
Navi-Akhrol	5	4	80.0
Nejh	5	4	80.0
Padra	5	4	80.0
Paldi	3	1	33.3
Panchegam	-	-	-
Panded	11	7	63.6
Rinjha	1	-	-
Rohini	4	4	100.0
Sokhda	5	3	60.0
Tadatalav	2	-	-
Tamasa	7	2	28.6
Vadgam	2	-	-
Vainaj	6	4	66.7
Valli	9	1	11.1
Varsada	1	1	100
Total	252	162	64.3
Towns			
Tarapur	1	1	100.0
Khambhatt	-	-	-
Total	1	1	100.0

Table 4.12: Distribution of Land Share Cropping Details											
Villages	Land given for share Cropping		Person/Caste group to whom land given for share cropping								
	No	Yes	Family member	Valmiki	Bharvad	Vankar	Darbar	Baraiya	Patel-Koli	Panchal /Lohar	Vaghri
Bhimtalav	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gudel	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Indranaj	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jafrabad	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junaj	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kanavara	6	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kansbara	24	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khada	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khaksar	10	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khanpur	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lunej	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Changda	26	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mahiyari	7	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Navagambara	6	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Navi-Akhrol	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nejh	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Padra	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Paldi	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panchegam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panded	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rinjha	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Chitravada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rohini	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sokhda	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Tadatalav	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Tamasa	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
Vadgam	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vainaj	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Valli	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Varsada	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Daheda	23	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dugari	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fathehpura	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Galiyana	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Golana	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gorad	11	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	223	29	5	5	4	1	2	2	8	1	1

Table 4.13: Distribution of Reasons for the Debt																			
Villages/Towns	Health Treatment/Hospital Costs	House Construction / Renovating	Marriage Expenses	Education of Children	Household Expense	Agricultural related Expense	Social functions	Purchasing Vehicle	Purchasing Animal	Loan Payment	To fill groceries in Corona	To build toilet	Marriage Expenses & Education of Children	Marriage Expenses & Hospital Costs/treatment	House construction/repairing & social functions	Social functions & purchasing mobile	House construction/repairing & Divorce Alimony	No Answer	Total
Villages																			
Bhimtalav	1	-	8	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	14
Gudel	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Indranaj	5	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Jafrabad	1	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Junaj	2	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Kanavara	4	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Kansbara	1	3	6	-	12	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
Khada	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Khaksar	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10
Khanpur	3	1	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	10
Lunej	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Changda	4	2	7	1	3	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
Mahiyari	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Navagambara	2	1	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Navi-Akhrol	2	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Nejh	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Padra	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Paldi	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Panchegam	-	2	6	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Panded	1	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
Rinjha	1	1	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Chitravada	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Rohini	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
Sokhda	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Tadatalav	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tamasa	5	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Vadgam	3	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Vainaj	2	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Valli	4	-	4	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Varsada	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Daheda	5	6	10	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
Dugari	2	-	5	3	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	17
Fathehpura	2	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Galiyana	1	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Golana	-	3	7	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Gorad	-	1	4	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Total	56	24	138	16	37	8	35	4	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	5	328
Towns																			
Tarapur	-	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Khambaat	4	16	6	2	6	-	6	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	47
Total	4	18	9	3	6	-	6	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	53

Table 4.14 A: Distribution of Sources from whom Respondent Borrowed Debt Money														
Villages/ Towns	Family member	Relatives	Bank	Pvt. Finance/ Agent	Vikas Nigam	Credit Finance Cooperative/ Organization/Mandali	From the Employer	Safai Kaamdar Nigam	GEB	Jeweler (Sunar)	Co-caste community Person	Non-valmiki Caste Person of the village/Town	Friends	Total
Villages														
Bhimtalav	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	11	-	14
Gudel	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	5
Indranaj	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	8	-	10
Jafrabad	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	5
Junaj	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	7
Kanavara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-	6
Kansbara	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	24	-	27
Khada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Khaksar	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	10
Khanpur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	8	-	10
Lunej	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
Changda	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	17	-	23
Mahiyari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	9
Navagambara	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	9
Navi-Akhrol	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	8
Nejh	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	4
Padra	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	6
Paldi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
Panchegam	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	10
Panded	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	7
Rinjha	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	7
Chitravada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Rohini	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	7
Sokhda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	5
Tadatalav	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Tamasa	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	7	-	9
Vadgam	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	5	-	8
Vainaj	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	7
Valli	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	6	-	11
Varsada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	11
Daheda	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	16	-	27
Dugari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	12	-	17
Fathehpura	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	5
Galiyana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	6
Golana	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	11	-	15
Gorad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	5	-	9
Total	10	2	20	5	4	1	1	1	1	20	18	245	-	328
Towns														
Tarapur	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	6
Khambaat	1	1	30	6	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	47
Total	1	1	31	6	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	53

Table 4.14 B: Distribution of Non-valmiki Caste People of the Village from whom Respondent Borrowed Debt Money																				
Villages/ Towns	Bharvad	Brahmin/Goswami/Sadhu)	Harijan	Vankar	Bharwad, Vankar	Darbar	Rohit	Patel-Koli	Patel-Kadva/Leuva/Patidar	Patel	Gadhvi	Panchal/Lohar	Rajput	Vaghri	Vaniya	Gadhvi, Darbar	Thakor	Rabari	Not mentioned caste	Total
Villages																				
Bhimtalav	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	11
Gudel	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Indranaj	1	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Jafrabad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junaj	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
Kanavara	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Kansbara	1	-	-	1	-	16	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	24
Khada	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Khaksar	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Khanpur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Lunej	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Changda	2	-	-	-	-	7	-	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Mahiyari	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9
Navagambara	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Navi-Akhrol	-	-	-	2	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Nejh	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Padra	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
Paldi	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Panchegam	1	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Panded	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Rinjha	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5
Chitravada	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rohini	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
Sokhda	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
Tadatalav	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tamasa	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Vadgam	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
Vainaj	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Valli	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	6
Varsada	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Daheda	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	16
Dugari	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	12
Fathehpura	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Galiyana	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6
Golana	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	11
Gorad	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Total	38	1	2	7	1	92	1	28	36	1	4	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	23	245
Towns																				
Tarapur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Khambhat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2

Table 4.15: Distribution of Payment of Interest (Per Hundred Per Year) against Debt Money Borrowed by Respondent						
Villages/Towns	1%	2% to 4%	5%	More than 5%	Not mentioned	Total
Villages						
Bhimtalav	-	6	-	-	1	7
Gudel	1	1	1	-	-	3
Indranaj	-	4	2	1	-	7
Jafrabad	2	-	-	-	-	2
Junaj	4	-	-	-	-	4
Kanavara	-	2	-	-	-	2
Kansbara	-	19	-	-	1	20
Khada	1	2	-	-	-	3
Khaksar	1	7	-	-	-	8
Khanpur	-	-	-	-	3	3
Lunej	-	-	-	5	-	5
Changda	-	8	2	6	2	18
Mahiyari	-	2	-	-	-	2
Navagambara	-	-	-	4	-	4
Navi-Akhrol	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nejh	-	1	-	-	-	1
Padra	-	3	1	-	-	4
Paldi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panchegam	1	6	-	2	-	9
Panded	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rinjha	-	2	1	1	2	6
Chitravada	-	2	-	-	-	2
Rohini	2	1	-	1	-	4
Sokhda	2	-	-	-	-	2
Tadatalav	-	2	-	-	-	2
Tamasa	1	2	-	-	-	3
Vadgam	2	-	-	-	-	2
Vainaj	-	1	-	-	-	1
Valli	5	-	1	-	-	6
Varsada	-	3	-	-	-	3
Daheda	1	5	-	1	-	7
Dugari	-	11	-	1	1	13
Fathehpura	1	3	1	-	-	5
Galiyana	3	2	-	1	-	6
Golana	2	2	-	-	-	4
Gorad	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total	29	98	9	23	10	169
Towns						
Tarapur	-	-	-	1	1	2
Khambaat	-	3	1	9	4	17
Total	-	3	1	10	5	19

Table 4.16: Distribution of Mortgaged Items against Debt Money Borrowed by Respondent							
Villages/ Towns	Items mortgaged for the debt money			Mortgaged Items			
	No	Yes	Total	Land	Jewelry	Utensils	House
Villages							
Bhimtalav	4	10	14	5	7	-	-
Gudel	1	4	5	-	4	-	-
Indranaj	8	2	10	-	2	-	-
Jafrabad	1	4	5	2	2	-	-
Junaj	6	1	7	-	1	-	-
Kanavara	2	4	6	-	4	-	-
Kansbara	19	8	27	4	4	-	-
Khada	2	1	3	-	1	-	-
Khaksar	8	2	10	-	2	-	-
Khanpur	2	8	10	5	3	-	-
Lunej	2	3	5	1	2	-	-
Changda	10	13	23	3	13	-	-
Mahiyari	6	3	9	-	3	-	-
Navagambara	3	6	9	-	6	-	-
Navi-Akhrol	2	6	8	2	5	-	-
Nejh	-	4	4	2	1	1	-
Padra	3	3	6	-	2	-	1
Paldi	-	2	2	-	2	-	-
Panchegam	6	4	10	-	4	-	-
Panded	6	1	7	-	1	-	-
Rinjha	5	2	7	-	2	-	-
Chitravada	1	1	2	-	1	-	-
Rohini	2	5	7	-	5	-	-
Sokhda	-	5	5	2	3	-	1
Tadatalav	-	2	2	-	2	-	-
Tamasa	-	9	9	2	7	-	-
Vadgam	-	8	8	-	8	-	-
Vainaj	-	7	7	3	7	-	-
Valli	3	8	11	4	7	-	-
Varsada	11	-	11	-	-	-	-
Daheda	6	21	27	1	20	-	-
Dugari	10	7	17	2	5	-	-
Fathehpura	1	4	5	-	4	-	-
Galiyana	2	4	6	-	4	-	-
Golana	1	14	15	-	14	-	-
Gorad	3	6	9	3	3	-	-
Total	136	192	328	41	161	1	2
Towns							
Tarapur	6	-	6	-	-	-	-
Khambaat	30	17	47	-	17	-	17
Total	36	17	53	-	17	-	17

Table 4.17: Distribution of Amount Taken against the Mortgaged Item by Respondent

Villages/Towns	Below Rs.25,000	Rs.25,001 to Rs.50,000	Rs.50,001 to Rs.1,00,000	Rs.1,00,001 to Rs.1,50,000	Rs.1,50,001 to Rs.2,00,000	Rs.2,00,001 to Rs.2,50,000	Rs.2,50,001 to Rs.3,00,000	Rs.3,00,001 to Rs.4,00,000	Rs.4,00,001 to Rs.5,00,000	Above Rs.5,00,000	No Answer	Total
Villages												
Bhimtalav	1	2	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	2	10
Gudel	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Indranaj	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Jafrabad	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Junaj	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kanavara	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Kansbara	3	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	8
Khada	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Khaksar	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Khanpur	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	8
Lunej	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Changda	-	4	2	4	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	13
Mahiyari	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Navagambara	2	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	6
Navi-Akhrol	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	6
Nejh	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	4
Padra	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Paldi	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Panchegam	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Panded	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rinjha	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Chitravada	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rohini	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Sokhda	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
Tadatalav	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tamasa	4	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Vadgam	3	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Vainaj	-	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Valli	-	3	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	8
Varsada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Daheda	8	8	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
Dugari	1	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Fathehpura	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Galiyana	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Golana	8	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Gorad	-	2	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	6
Total	51	58	37	14	9	2	10	2	3	2	4	192
Towns												
Tarapur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khambaat	8	3	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Total	8	3	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17

Table 4.18: Distribution of Mortgaged Item Brought Back by the Respondent					
Villages/Towns	Yes	No	Duul	Aghat	Total
Villages					
Bhimtalav	-	8	2	-	10
Gudel	-	1	3	-	4
Indranaj	-	2	-	-	2
Jafrabad	1	2	-	1	4
Junaj	-	1	-	-	1
Kanavara	-	4	-	-	4
Kansbara	-	8	-	-	8
Khada	-	1	-	-	1
Khaksar	-	2	-	-	2
Khanpur	-	5	3	-	8
Lunej	-	3	-	-	3
Changda	-	13	-	-	13
Mahiyari	-	3	-	-	3
Navagambara	-	6	-	-	6
Navi-Akhrol	-	6	-	-	6
Nejh	1	3	-	-	4
Padra	-	3	-	-	3
Paldi	-	2	-	-	2
Panchegam	-	2	2	-	4
Panded	1	-	-	-	1
Rinjha	-	2	-	-	2
Chitravada	-	1	-	-	1
Rohini	-	4	1	-	5
Sokhda	-	4	1	-	5
Tadatalav	-	2	-	-	2
Tamasa	-	9	-	-	9
Vadgam	-	7	1	-	8
Vainaj	-	7	-	-	7
Valli	1	6	-	1	8
Varsada	-	-	-	-	-
Daheda	-	17	4	-	21
Dugari	-	7	-	-	7
Fathehpura	-	2	2	-	4
Galiyana	-	4	-	-	4
Golana	-	12	2	-	14
Gorad	-	6	-	-	6
Total	4	165	21	2	192
Towns					
Tarapur	-	-	-	-	-
Khambaat	-	17	-	-	17
Total	-	17	-	-	17

Table 4.19: Distribution of Repaid Status of Borrowed Debt Money by the Respondent					
Villages/ Towns	Paid	Partially paid	Yet to be paid	Dull/ Aghat	Total
Villages					
Bhimtalav	-	5	7	2	14
Gudel	-	1	1	3	5
Indranaj	-	5	5	-	10
Jafrabad	-	-	4	1	5
Junaj	-	-	7	-	7
Kanavara	-	2	4	-	6
Kansbara	-	1	26	-	27
Khada	-	1	2	-	3
Khaksar	-	1	9	-	10
Khanpur	-	2	5	3	10
Lunej	-	-	5	-	5
Changda	-	2	21	-	23
Mahiyari	-	2	7	-	9
Navagambara	1	1	7	-	9
Navi-Akhrol	-	-	8	-	8
Nejh	1	-	3	-	4
Padra	-	1	5	-	6
Paldi	-	-	2	-	2
Panchegam	1	2	5	2	10
Panded	-	2	5	-	7
Rinjha	-	2	4	-	6
Chitravada	-	-	2	-	2
Rohini	-	-	6	1	7
Sokhda	-	-	4	1	5
Tadatalav	-	-	2	-	2
Tamasa	-	-	9	-	9
Vadgam	1	2	4	1	8
Vainaj	-	-	7	-	7
Valli	1	2	7	1	11
Varsada	-	2	9	-	11
Daheda	-	5	18	4	27
Dugari	-	2	15	-	17
Fathehpura	-	1	2	2	5
Galiyana	-	3	3	-	6
Golana	-	2	11	2	15
Gorad	-	3	6	-	9
Total	5	52	247	23	327
Towns					
Tarapur	-	1	5	-	6
Khambaat	2	5	40	-	47
Total	2	6	45	-	53

Annexure 4

Table 5.1: Respondents in Client-Patron or Work-Relationship with Some Fixed Families in the Village											
Villages	Respondents have Work-relations					Total Number of Families Respondent have work-relations					
	No	% of Total Households	Yes	% of Total Households	Total Households	1	2	3	4	5	More than 5
Bhimtalav	1	5.0	19	95.0	20	-	-	-	-	1	18
Gudel	1	20.0	4	80.0	5	-	2	-	-	1	1
Indranaj	7	46.7	8	53.3	15	3	1	1	1	2	-
Jafrabad	5	62.5	3	37.5	8	-	1	1	1	-	-
Junaj	5	38.5	8	61.5	13	-	-	1	-	1	6
Kanavara	6	85.7	1	14.3	7	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kansbara	12	32.4	25	67.6	37	1	-	-	7	9	8
Khada	-	-	14	100.0	14	-	-	-	1	6	7
Khaksar	-	-	12	100.0	12	-	-	-	-	1	11
Khanpur	4	33.3	8	66.7	12	-	-	-	1	1	6
Lunej	4	26.7	11	73.3	15	-	1	-	-	5	5
Changda	5	12.8	34	87.2	39	1	6	-	5	19	3
Mahiyari	1	9.1	10	90.9	11	-	-	-	-	2	8
Navagambara	1	10.0	9	90.0	10	3	4	-	-	-	2
Navi-Akhrol	-	0.0	10	100.0	10	1	4	1	1	1	2
Nejh	7	63.6	4	36.4	11	-	-	-	-	1	3
Padra	-	-	9	100.0	9	-	-	-	-	1	8
Paldi	2	66.7	1	33.3	3	-	-	-	-	-	1
Panchegam	4	36.4	7	63.6	11	1	2	-	1	2	1
Panded	-	-	12	100.0	12	-	-	-	-	2	10
Rinjha	-	-	9	100.0	9	-	-	1	2	4	2
Chitravada	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
Rohini	4	50.0	4	50.0	8	3	-	-	-	1	-
Sokhda	3	21.4	11	78.6	14	-	2	-	3	-	6
Tadatalav	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tamasa	2	18.2	9	81.8	11	2	3	-	1	2	1
Vadgam	1	12.5	7	87.5	8	3	3	1	-	-	-
Vainaj	3	27.3	8	72.7	11	2	-	-	2	2	2
Valli	2	18.2	9	81.8	11	-	-	-	2	1	6
Varsada	-	-	21	100.0	21	-	-	-	-	6	15
Daheda	17	44.7	21	55.3	38	4	8	3	-	6	-
Dugari	1	5.0	19	95.0	20	4	2	1	1	8	3
Fathehpura	1	12.5	7	87.5	8	1	3	-	1	2	-
Galiyana	3	37.5	5	62.5	8	1	-	1	-	3	-
Golana	17	63.0	10	37.0	27	5	4	-	-	1	-
Gorad	-	-	14	100.0	14	-	-	-	1	4	9
Total	121	24.9	365	75.1	486	36	46	12	32	95	144

Table 5.2 : Caste Groups Living in the Villages	
Bhimtalav	Bharvad, Darbar, Patel, Rajput, Vaghri, Valmiki
Changda	Beldar, Bharvad, Brahmin , Chavda, Darbar, Kumbhar, Patel-Koli, Sadhu/Goswami, Vaghri, Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Chitarvada	Bharvad, Brahmin,Darbar-Gohil, Patel, Sadhu/Goswami, Valand,Valmiki,Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Daheda	Bharvad, Harijan, Patel-Koli,Patel-Shotipur, Prajapati, Raval, Vaghri, Valmiki
Dugari	Bharvad, Brahmin , Darji, Karadiya –Rajput, Nayak/Naik, Patel-Koli, Patidar, Prajapati, Ramanandi, Rohit-Chamar, Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Fathepura	Patel-Koli, Vaghri, Valand, Valmiki
Galiyana	Baraiyaa, Beldar, Bharvad, Brahmin, Darbar, Kumbhar, Muslim, Raval, Vaghri, Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Golana	Bharvad, Darbar, Devipujak-Valmiki, Patel, Rajput, Valmiki. Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Gorad	Bharvad, Chamar, Darbar-Gohil. Od , Patel, Patel-Koli, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Gudel	Bharvad, Darbar, Devipujak-Valmiki, Patel, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Indranaj	Bharvad, Muslim, Nayak/Naik, Paagi, Patel-Koli, Rajput, Vaghri, Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Jafrabad	Bharvad, Muslim- Garasiya , Valmiki
Junaj	Bharvad, Darbar-Gohil, Diwan, Panchal, Patel, Pathan, Prajapati, Suthar, Thokor-Baraiyaa, Vaghri-Devipujak, Valmiki,Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara), Vohra
Kanavara	Bharvad, Brahmin, Khoja, Muslim, Nayak/Naik, Patel, Patel-Koli, Prajapati, Pujari, Vaghri-Devipujak, Valand, Valmiki, Vaniya, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Kansbara	Bharvad, Gadhvi, Muslim, Od , Rajput, Sadhu/Goswami, Suthar, Vaghri-Devipujak, ,Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Khada	Bharvad, Darbar, ,Darji, Muslim, Nayak/Naik, Od , Patel-Koli, Patidar, Prajapati, Rohit-Chamar, Suthar, Vaghri-Devipujak, Valand, Valmiki
Khaksar	Beldar, Bharvad, Darbar, Mistri, Muslim, Patel-Koli, Prajapati, Rohit-Chamar, Thakor, Vaghri, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Khanpur	Baraiyaa, Bharvad, Brahmin , Devipujak-Valmiki, Panchal-Lohar, Patel, Prajapati Raval, Rohit-Chamar, Thokor-Paggi, Valand, Valmiki
Lunej	Bharvad, Devipujak-Valmiki, Patel-Koli, Raval, Sadhu/Goswami, Valand, Valmiki
Mahiyaari	Bharvad, Darbar, Mistri, Muslim, Od , Patel-Koli, Thakor, Vaghri, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Mitli	Bharvad, Darbar, Muslim, Patel, Rajput, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Navagambara	Patel-Koli, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Navi-Aakhhol	Bharvad, Darbar, Harijan, Patel, Vaghri-Devipujak, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Nejh	Bharvad, Darbar, Muslim/Musalman, Patel, Rajput, Vaghri, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Padra	Beldar, Bharvad, Darji, Devipujak-Valmiki, Diwan, Molesalam- Garasiya , Patel, Patel-Koli, Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Paldi	Baraiyaa, Bharvad, Devipujak-Valmiki, Valmiki
Panchegam	Beldar, Bharvad, Darbar, Kumbhar, Muslim, Patel, Patidar, Vaghri, Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara),
Pandad	Bharvad, Chamar, Darbar, Kumbhar, Muslim/Musalman, Patel, Vaghri, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Rinjha	Bharvad, Darbar-Vaghela, Devipujak-Valmiki, Nayak/Naik, Patel-Koli, Sadhu/Goswami, Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Rohini	Bharvad, Darbar, Patel, Vaghri, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Sokhda	Baraiyaa, Bharvad, Bhoi, Devipujak-Valmiki, Patel-Kadva, Raval , Valand, Valmiki
Tadatalav	Bharvad, Patel-Koli, Vaghri-Devipujak, Valmiki
Tamsa	Bharvad, Darbar, Patel, Rajput, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Vadgam	Bharvad, Darbar, Devipujak-Valmiki, Patel, Rajput, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Vainaj	Bharvad, Patel, Vaghri, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Valli	Bharvad, Brahmin , Jhala/zhalaa, Patel , Patel-Koli, Prajapati, Sadhu/Goswami, Suthar, Vaghri, Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)
Varasda	Baraiyaa, Bharvad, Darbar-Molesalam, Nayak/Naik, Od, Patel, Patel-Koli, Prajapati, Raval, Rohit-Chamar, Suthar, Thakkar, Vaghri, Valand, Valmiki, Vankar (Vaghela, Anjara)

Table 5.3: Distribution of Respondents Getting Invitations for Marriage and Social Functions by Other Castes Households (HHs)								
Villages/ Towns	Invited for Functions					Family Attending Functions		
	No		Yes		Total	Yes	No	Total
	Numbers	% to Total HHs	Numbers	% to Total HHs	Total HHs			
Villages								
Bhimtalav	20	100.0	-	-	20	-	-	-
Gudel	-	-	5	100.0	5	3	2	5
Indranaj	4	26.7	11	73.3	15	9	2	11
Jafrabad	5	62.5	3	37.5	8	-	3	3
Junaj	11	84.6	2	15.4	13	1	1	2
Kanavara	4	57.1	3	42.9	7	2	1	3
Kansbara	35	94.6	2	5.4	37	1	1	2
Khada	14	100.0	-	0.0	14	-	-	-
Khaksar	12	100.0	-	0.0	12	-	-	-
Khanpur	12	100.0	-	0.0	12	-	-	-
Lunej	11	73.3	4	26.7	15	4	-	4
Changda	35	89.7	4	10.3	39	1	3	4
Mahiyari	8	72.7	3	27.3	11	1	2	3
Navagambara	6	60.0	4	40.0	10	3	1	4
Navi-Akhrol	6	60.0	4	40.0	10	1	3	4
Nejh	7	63.6	4	36.4	11	3	1	4
Padra	8	88.9	1	11.1	9	-	1	1
Paldi	2	66.7	1	33.3	3	-	1	1
Panchegam	10	90.9	1	9.1	11	1	-	1
Panded	11	91.7	1	8.3	12	1	-	1
Rinjha	9	100.0	-	-	9	-	-	-
Chitravada	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	-	1	1
Rohini	5	62.5	3	37.5	8	-	3	3
Sokhda	11	78.6	3	21.4	14	1	2	3
Tadatalav	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	1	-	1
Tamasa	5	45.5	6	54.5	11	3	3	6
Vadgam	1	12.5	7	87.5	8	2	5	7
Vainaj	6	54.5	5	45.5	11	5	-	5
Valli	1	9.1	10	90.9	11	8	2	10
Varsada	18	85.7	3	14.3	21	-	3	3
Daheda	22	57.9	16	42.1	38	15	1	16
Dugari	18	90.0	2	10.0	20	1	1	2
Fathehpura	8	100.0	-	-	8	-	-	-
Galiyana	8	100.0	-	-	8	-	-	-
Golana	10	37.0	17	63.0	27	1	16	17
Gorad	8	57.1	6	42.9	14	4	2	6
Total	353	72.6	133	27.4	486	72	61	133
Towns								
Tarapur	31	91.2	3	9	34	3	31	34
Khambaat	90	78.9	24	21	114	24	90	114
Total	121	81.8	27	18	148	27	121	148

Table 5.4: Distribution of Other Caste Groups Keeping Physical Distance from Respondents in Villages				
Villages	Not Experience distance	Experience distance	Total	Castes/group, not keep relations
Bhimtalav	-	20	20	Vaghri, Patel, Darbar, Bharvad,
Gudel	2	3	5	Vaghri
Indranaj	5	10	15	Darbar, Devipujak,, Vaghri, Bharvad, Brahmin/sadhu/Goswami,
Jafrabad	8	-	8	-
Junaj	7	6	13	Vaghri, Talpada, Patel-kadva leuva/ patidar, Baraiya
Kanavara	1	6	7	Devipujak, Brahmin/sadhu/Goswami,
Kansbara	12	25	37	Vaghri, Bharvad
Khada	-	14	14	Vaghri, Darbar, Bharvad
Khaksar	4	8	12	Vaghri
Khanpur	-	12	12	Vaghri, Darbar, Raval, Bharvad,
Lunej	13	2	15	Vaghri
Changda	2	37	39	Vaghri, Darbar, Bharvad, Patel-koli, Vankar, Patel-kadva/leuva/patidar
Mahiyari	2	9	11	Vaghri
Navagambara	2	8	10	Bharvad, Vaghri, Patel-Koli
Navi-Akhrol	2	8	10	Bharvad, Darbar, Vaghri
Nejh	11	-	11	-
Padra	2	7	9	Vaghri
Paldi	3	-	3	-
Panchegam	7	4	11	Devipujak, Vankar, Bharvad, Brahmin/sadhu/Goswami,
Panded	2	10	12	Vaghri
Rinjha	4	5	9	Vaghri
Chitravada	2	-	2	-
Rohini	6	2	8	Vaghri
Sokhda	14	-	14	-
Tadatalav	-	2	2	Vankar, Patel-Koli
Tamasa	-	11	11	Bharvad, Darbar, Vaghri
Vadgam	1	7	8	Vaghri, Darbar, Bharvad
Vainaj	-	11	11	Bharvad, Vankar, Vaghri, Patel-Koli
Valli	1	10	11	Vaghri
Varsada	2	19	21	Vaghri
Daheda	26	12	38	Valmiki, Darbar, Vaghri, Patel-Koli, Bharvad
Dugari	4	16	20	Rohit, Vaghri, Darbar, Bharvad, Vankar
Fathehpura	5	3	8	Devipujak, Brahmin/sadhu/Goswami
Galiyana	8	-	8	-
Golana	-	27	27	Valmiki, Vaghri, Darbar, Bharvad
Gorad	-	14	14	Vaghri
Total	158	328	486	-

Table 5.5: Distribution of Discrimination Faced by the Respondents at Various Places

Villages	At well or during fetching water from well	At panchayat office	At School	During midday meal Distribution	At PHC	At Milk. Dairy	At Haircut saloon	At Grocery shop	When need water for watering fields	Doing labour work at others fields	Entering temple or religious places
Bhimtalav	20	-	-	16	-	1	1	3	-	-	20
Gudel	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Indranaj	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Jafrabad	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	2	8
Junaj	4	3	2	3	-	1	9	4	-	3	11
Kanavara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Kansbara	21	-	-	19	-	-	-	1	-	1	22
Khada	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Khaksar	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Khanpur	12	-	-	8	-	-	1	-	-	-	12
Lunej	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Changda	4	1	-	-	-	1	34	-	-	-	27
Mahiyari	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Navagambara	-	-	-	-	-	1	9	-	-	1	10
Navi-Akhrol	1	-	-	1	-	-	10	1	-	-	10
Nejh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Padra	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9
Paldi	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
Panchegam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	11
Panded	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Rinjha	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	9
Chitravada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rohini	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Sokhda	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	5	6
Tadatalav	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	-	2	2
Tamasa	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	2	10
Vadgam	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Vainaj	-	1	1	1	1	1	11	-	-	2	11
Valli	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	9
Varsada	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
Daheda	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	-	2	37
Dugari	1	9	-	-	-	7	15	1	-	-	20
Fathehpura	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Galiyana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Golana	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	6
Gorad	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Total	170	16	4	51	1	17	125	19	2	22	396

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