

**Understanding Intersectionality with Special Reference to Scheduled Caste Girls at Secondary
Schools in Haryana**

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NEW DELHI**

DECLARATION BY THE SCHOLAR

This is to certify that the M.Phil Thesis being submitted by me on the topic of **‘Understanding Intersectionality with Special Reference to Scheduled Caste Girls at Secondary Schools in Haryana’** has been completed under the guidance of Dr Mona Sedwal. It is declared that the present study has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship or Fellowship to this or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE OF THE SUPERVISOR

This is to certify that the thesis entitled '**Understanding Intersectionality with Special Reference to Scheduled Caste Girls at Secondary Schools in Haryana**' is the work undertaken by Reetu under my supervision and guidance as part of his M.Phil degree in this University. To the best of my knowledge, this is the original work conducted by him and the thesis may be sent for evaluation.

(Dr. Mona Sedwal)

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Abstract

The study aims to examine intersectionality and its impact on Scheduled Castes girls in Haryana. The study is based on both theoretical and practical considerations. Theoretical consideration comes from the exclusion of scheduled caste girls and lack of research on intersectionality of caste, class and gender and practical consideration is associated to violation of their dignity and human rights by the teachers and peer groups in schools. The main focus of the study is to identify the barriers in schooling of scheduled caste girls at secondary level and how intersectionality work in that particular context. The study also investigates the perception of the teachers and parents towards the education of scheduled caste girls. To find the barrier in education of scheduled caste girls' secondary data of UDISE, documents, surveys, data of census were investigated. The relevant literature was investigated to understand the concept of intersectionality and its impacts on SC girl's education. A telephonic survey was also conducted to examine the problems experienced by SC girls on the basis of their caste, class and gender. Targeted group of the study was scheduled cates girls of Haryana who were going to school at secondary level. A qualitative approach was adopted for this research, due to pandemic situation fieldwork was not possible in this situation 25 structured and unstructured telephonic interviews were conducted to investigate role of intersectionality and how it works in the context of SC girls. The study suggested several recommendations to frame effective policy and programmes for scheduled caste girls at secondary level.

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

“I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved. Unity is meaningless without the accompaniment of women. Education is fruitless without educated women and agitation is incomplete without the strength of women.”

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Education is an important tool for the growth and development of human beings. Education is the base on which the development of the civilizations and a person depends. Education makes a person aware of his/her society and nation which helps them to become a good human being. Education thinkers such as John Dewey and Emile Durkheim, the father of sociology, saw education as a tool for individual and societal emancipation as well as social transformation. Education influences the society directly or indirectly in many ways.

Social reformer Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar strongly believed in women’s empowerment and their role in the development of every society. He said, “I measure the progress of community by the degree of progress which women had achieved.” But gender and caste discriminations are two major problems in India. Caste based discrimination is a phenomenon largely associated with the Indian society. In India, caste consciousness and discrimination are a part of everyday reality for a significant part of the population. Caste discrimination translates into social exclusion from education, employment and other opportunities and venues. This leads to capability deprivation of a huge group or community of people.

SC women’s situation is very critical and need more attention to improve their condition in the society.

Women education can uplift their family, community and country because educated women are more aware about their health and wellbeing, they can make their own decisions to marry and having children. They can take care their children better and give them better education and health. They can also contribute in the economic development of the country and also help their family to out of poverty by earning more for themselves and their family. According to Max Weber Patriarchy is the responsible for marginalisation of women. Patriarchy was the oldest form of socially authorised power. Beteille (1969, 2000), influenced by Weber and Marx, saw "Caste, Class, and Power" as the foundation of agrarian society stratification. Gender, on the other hand, has never been used to classify people.

Weberian class studies have been given a gender dimension by certain sociologists, who have looked at how men and women are dispersed differently throughout the occupational hierarchy. (Britten and Heath 1983; Roberts 1993; Witz, 1990).

Around 132 million females are out of school worldwide, according to UNESCO. There are 34.3 million girls are out of school from primary level, 30 million from secondary school and 67.4 million from upper secondary school. Female literacy among SC is as low as 56.5 percent, compared to 64.6 percent for all women in India (Census Report, 2011).

During the 1960s and 1970s, intersectionality theories originated from the writings of women of color. Intersectionality has also been utilized to promote gender equality and economic justice (Symington, 2004). Intersectional framework allows scholars to understand that all women are not a homogenous group, they have to analyse the definition of feminism and determine whether it should be more inclusive. According to intersectionality framework gender cannot be utilized as a single analytic frame without also considering ethnicity, migratory status, history, and social class, of a woman and, impact of one's experience as a woman. Scholars, like Hill Collins (1999a, 1999b), Bell hooks (1981, 1989) and others, embody efforts to deconstruct feminist and gender theories and examines the privilege a homogeneous definition of what is “feminism”. Intersectionality encourages us to think of women in whole and acknowledging the experiences of womanhood of all women in the same way, that large no of women endure different types of suppressions, and that not all women are powerless.

Hooks said that women from oppressor class do not want equality for women, they want to be given equal opportunity to oppress the subjugated class. In *Ain't I a Woman* Bell Hooks explains that white feminists encouraged the word primarily use ‘Woman’ to refer white women and they did not oppose this racist-sexist term. They use this term to establish the fact that white men are world wide oppressors and there is no collaboration between white men and white women on the basis of their shared racial imperialism. White women wanted to alliance with black women so that they can divert debates from racism and classism (Hooks 1981).

In 'Feminism is for Everybody', Hooks beautifully explains how the dominant class women (white women in her case) use feminism not to liberate all women but demand an equal share in the right to exploit the subjugated class (black people in her case). They use this theory not to end oppression but to come closer to the centre of power.

We can say that black women are excluded from feminist movements and antiracist rhetoric after comprehending the single axis paradigm since both do not include the intersection of gender, class, and race. Black women Experience double or triple discrimination because of intersection of class, race and gender as compare to black men or white women. The challenges that black women suffer as a result

of the confluence of race, class, and gender are not simply handled by incorporating them into the existing framework. (Sunaina 2020 pg. 140).

The Intersectionality framework was established by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in 1991 to address the problem of identity politics i.e. it is unable to recognise the voice of heterogenous group within it.

She introduced this term in her Intersectionality in her article named 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color'. The focus of the article was to address the problems and experiences that are rape and domestic violence of black women, she stated that the black women face worst form of discrimination due to their skin color and gender. They do not face violence and discrimination due to their color or sex but because of the intersection of sex, color and class. Intersectionality is the frame to recognise exclusion as the result of the intersection of different identities like gender, class and race and this framework destruct the accepted homogeneity of women and blacks. Crenshaw established this framework in case of law to address the inability to acknowledge the multiple identities of the black women.

Crenshaw gave an example to explain the intersectionality, she describes the roads are identities that are gender and race and the ambulances stand on the road are the policies which are made to help these identities. Crenshaw explains that someone is standing on intersection would be strike by the car from both of the roads. She gave the example of a black women who strike at the intersection because of her gender and blackness would unable to get any help. At that time no ambulance either for race or gender could help her because they are on the roads to help specifically race or gender. There is no ambulance (policy) to help black women in this type of situation.

From the lens of intersectionality, we can see that Indian feminists have not given space to the women who face double or triple discrimination because of their multiple identities. As Bell Hooks said that dominant class women hijack feminism not because they want to end oppression but because they want their share in the machinery of oppression. Intersection of the caste, class and gender leads a unique type of discrimination to Indian Scheduled Castes women. In India, caste is a system of oppression and discrimination. When caste intersects with other identities like gender or class, discrimination become severe for the person at the intersections.

We can apply the theory of intersectionality in Indian context for Scheduled Castes girls in education sector. Because the intersections of caste, class and gender they unable to complete their education.

No matter how much mainstream feminists sought for 'choice', education and women's right, their attitude towards Scheduled castes as similar to their men. We can say that Scheduled castes or any other

subaltern women does not fit into their elite idea of womanhood or feminism. Its is never about the equality, its all about their sharing in power and politics equal to men.

1.1 Who can be Intersectional?

Intersectionality can be understood by some as a theory of multiple marginalization or as a theory of multiple identities. Intersectionality provides the insight about the multiple layers of discrimination that how identities interact within hierarchical structure. Everyone has multiple identity according to their social location, economic condition, and the place where he or she live. In this study I investigate the intersectionality with special reference of caste, class and gender in Indian context. A person who faces multiple layers of discrimination on the basis of his/ her socio-economic status, color, gender and so on can be intersectional.

1.2 Educational Scenario of Scheduled castes in India

- According to census 2011-
 - Total female population-1,18,47,951
 - Sex Ratio- 877/1000
 - Female Literacy Rate- 65.46%

Table-1

Year	India			Male-Female Literacy Gap	Haryana			Male-Female Literacy Gap
	Total	Male	Female		Total	Male	Female	
1971	34.45	45.96	21.79	24.17	25.71	38.90	10.32	28.58
1981	43.57	56.38	29.76	26.62	37.13	51.86	20.04	31.82
1991	52.21	64.13	39.29	24.84	55.85	69.1	40.047	28.63

2001	64.83	75.26	53.67	21.59	67.91	78.49	55.73	22.76
20011	74.04	82.14	65.46	16.68	75.55	84.05	65.94	18.11

Source- Census of India

The literacy rate is very important indicator of educational development. From 1961 to 1991 the literacy rate among scheduled caste increased from 10.27% to 37.41% whereas it raised 37.415 to 57.4% for others. Literacy rate among scheduled caste male is 66.1 % while literacy rate of male at all India level is 73%. Female literacy among SC is as low as 56.5 % as compare to another female is 64.6%. GER of higher education for male population all over India is 26.3% while GER for SC males is 22.7%. GER is 24.4% for female population at India while GER is 23.3% for SC female (AISHE 2018-19).

The overall Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) for elementary education was 96.9 (MHRD's educational statistics; ESAG 2018). The data indicated a little decrease in enrolment in 2015-16 (1291 lakhs vs. 1305 lakhs), with gender disparity persisting (622 lakhs of girls as opposed to 669 lakh boys) while at upper primary levels it was 347 lakhs for boys and 329 lakhs for girls and it decrease to 205 lakhs for boys to 186 lakhs for girls at secondary level. GER was 99.6 for females and 94.5 for males at elementary level while GER was 56.4 for girls and 56.04 for boys at secondary level. According to MHRD statistics 2014-15 the participation of girls decreases with higher level of schooling, there were 93 girls per 100 boys at primary level which declined to 90 at secondary level. The data also describes the gender disparity increased at higher levels and in rural areas. As per 1000 people only 118 male and 80 female are completing their secondary level. In India, both girls and boys drop out of school, but girls are forced to drop out owing to poverty, domestic obligations, and caring for younger siblings. They are involved and encourages to do household chores from very young age as compare to boys. According to All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch-NCDHR status report 2014-20, 50% of scheduled caste children dropout of elementary schools and the number increased upto 67% for scheduled caste girls. Child and early marriage is also the major issue faced by girls; that results dropout, low attendance and early pregnancy (Raj, McDougal, & Rusch, 2012). 26.8% of girls were married before the age of 18 and 7.9% of girls were pregnant between the ages of 15 and 19. (National Family Health Survey 2015-16).

Scheduled caste women are engaged in casual labours 41.8% as compare to scheduled caste men i.e., 41.1%, in service sector 23.3 % SC women and 26% SC men are engaged, only 19.8% of SC women are engaged in industry while SC men are 34.1%.

Due to lack toilets and sanitation facilities at schools specifically in rural areas they forced to drop the school (Azam & Kingdon, 2013; Jean Drèze & Kingdon., 1999; T.V. Sekher & Ram., 2015; Tilak., 2002). In rural areas male as well as female having negative perception for girl's education so the parents do not encourage them to study.

Teachers and fellow students routinely target SC students with acts of discrimination, prejudice, and rejection.. There are so many instances of cruelty like separate arrangements for siting, being called dirty, stupid, caste based abusive words, or 'untouchable', being beaten and so on (Drèze and Gazdar, 1997). We can say that, when SC students appear in the school they experience prejudice

1.3 Educational Provisions in Indian Constitution

1. Free and compulsory education (Article 45)- All children under the age of six must receive early childhood care and education from the state.
2. Right to Education (Article 21A)- All children aged 6 to 14 must get free and obligatory education from the state (86 amendment, Act 2002). Primary education has made a 'Fundamental Right after 93rd amendment of the constitution.
3. Education for women Article 15 (1)- This article ensures the equality of every citizen, there is a provision that there will be no discrimination based on gender, religion, race, or place of birth. According to Article 15 (3) The state has the authority to provide any particular provisions for women, including educational opportunities.
4. Promotion of Education and Economic Interest of SC, ST and Other Weaker Sections (Article 46) - According to the Article 46, "The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the schedule castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation". It is one of the directive principles of state policy.

1.4 Exclusion of Scheduled Castes

There are enough studies which indicates that the educational achievements and Scheduled castes have extremely bad socioeconomic conditions. The root cause of poor performance of scheduled castes is caste hierarchies present in the society which we can see in everyday interaction at social, economic and political level. Scheduled castes' self-worth, dignity, and economic well-being were influenced by the caste system (Sedwal, Kamat 2008). Studies indicates that caste-based discrimination is an important factor which influence the education of scheduled caste despite government has so many programmes for them (Secada, 1989). Scheduled castes were not included in the varna-system, they mentioned as untouchables or 'less than human' so, they experience worse form of discrimination and

violence by the other section (caste) of the society. Scheduled castes were not included in the varna-system; they were referred to as untouchables or "less than human," and as a result, they face more discrimination and violence from the other caste (Alexander, 2003). After legal prohibition of caste-based discrimination, the violation of their human rights continues at present time, especially in villages and they face violence on demanding equal social status.

Due to social hierarchy, they are involved in the most menial and caste-based occupations and these occupations determined their socio-economic status. The majority of persons from the scheduled caste work as landless farm labourers or in manual scavenging. After getting education scheduled castes have very limited social mobility because they have traditionally been denied education (Jefferey et al, 2002)

1.5 The Faces of Exclusion

It is important to understand the process of exclusion to deal with the problem of excluded students. Exclusion of scheduled caste from schooling is very complicated socio-economic and socio-cultural process having numerous reasons. To examine access and identify the many locations where cohorts of children are included, excluded, or at risk of exclusion, the Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions, and Equity (CREATE) has established a concept of 'Zones of Exclusion (see Lewin, 2007). They identified six zones in the CREAT model, these are following-

Zone 1- Children who never go to school or who are unlikely to attend school fall into this category. Those who are socially marginalised are likewise included in the zone.

Zone 2- Children who start in primary school but leave out before completing the cycle are included in this zone.

Zone 3- This zone includes those children who enter at primary level but not attaining the school and at the risk of drop out.

Zone 4- In this zone those children are included who drop out after elementary level, due to unable to afford costs or due to location of the school.

Zone 5- This zone contains those children who complete their elementary education but drop out at secondary level.

Zone 6- This zone includes those who are at the risk of drop out from secondary school. (Lewin, 2007)

This study is mainly concerned with mainly zone 5 and zone 6 to understand the exclusion of scheduled caste children from secondary education. In India, educational reforms have so far centered on zone 1, allowing children from marginalised communities to enroll in primary school. The focus of policies and

research in India is not sufficient regarding other zones of exclusion that ensure equal opportunity for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe to complete full cycle.

1.6 Scheduled Castes in Haryana

I. Population of Scheduled Caste Over the Year-

Table no 1 Population of scheduled castes was 18.89 percent in 1971, which increased 0.86 percent in 1991 but it decreased by 0.40 percent in 2001 finally it raised 0.42 percent in 2011 in Haryana. As can be seen, the proportion of Scheduled Castes to the total population has risen steadily over time. Scheduled castes make up about one-fifth of Haryana's population, however they have a very low standard of living due to their caste.. Due to various socio-economic and political reasons they are the most marginalized group of the society. In the decade 1971-1981, the percentage rise in scheduled caste population was 30.0 percent, increasing to 32.0 percent in 1981-1991, but then rapidly declining to 25.8 percent in 1991-2001 and 25.0 percent in 2001-2011. As a result of the analysis, it is obvious that the scheduled caste population's decadal growth rate has decreased drastically over the last two decades due to a variety of factors such as increased literacy, increased knowledge of family planning programmes, and so on.

Distribution of Population of Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Castes-

Table-2

Census Year	Total	Non-Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Castes	Percentage of Scheduled Castes to total population	Decadal Growth
1971	10036808	8140881	1895927	18.89	NA
1981	12922618	10458606	2464012	19.06	30.0
1991	16463648	13212715	3250933	19.75	32.0
2001	21144564	17053454	4091110	19.35	25.8
2011	25351462	20237847	5113615	20.17	25.0

Source: Census of India

II. Sex Ratio of Scheduled Castes Population in Haryana

The sex ratio is a significant indicator that is used to analyse the socioeconomic and cultural tendencies of a society. Changes in the sex ratio indicate women's equality and status in society. The sex ratio is defined as the number of females in the population per 1000 males. In recent years, Haryana has experienced a serious shortage of girls. It is a big societal problem in Haryana. From 1971 to 2011, the sex ratio and child sex ratio of reserved castes in Haryana are shown in the table.

Table-3

Census Year	Sex Ratio		Child Sex Ratio	
	Total	Scheduled Castes	Total	Scheduled Castes
1971	866	870	N.A.	N.A.
1981	870	859	N.A.	N.A.
1991	865	860	879	917
2001	861	872	819	865
2011	879	887	834	876

Sources- Census of India

In 1971, the sex ratio was 866 females, rising to 870 in 1981 before dropping to 865 in 1991 and 861 in 2001. According to census data from 2011, the general sex ratio was 879 females per 1000 males, while the scheduled castes sex ratio was 887. This data shows that the status of women in terms of equality is better than the other social groups. Except in Haryana from 1981 to 1991, the sex ratio of

scheduled castes was higher than that of other castes. When compared to Haryana's general child sex ratio, scheduled castes had a higher child sex ratio. Scheduled Castes have a superior sex ratio and child sex ratio than other castes in Haryana, despite a low literacy rate and a lack of resources.

1.7 Educational Scenario of Scheduled Castes in Haryana

During the previous few decades Haryana has changed dramatically. Overall literacy rate of Haryana was 67.9 percent whereas the literacy rate for SC population was 55.4 per cent. Literacy rate in Haryana is 75.55 % while it is as low as 66.85% in scheduled castes as compared to other castes is 77.70%. Literacy rate of scheduled castes is the highest in Gurgaon i.e., 76.31% followed by Rewari 76.03% and followed by Jhajjar 71.26%. While Literacy rate among Scheduled Castes is lowest in Sirsa is 55.08% followed by Fatehabad is 55.78% and followed by Kaithal district 59.24%. Literacy rate of other caste is the highest in Gurgaon is 85.94% followed by Ambala district is 81.64% while lowest in Mewat district is 53.01% followed by Palwal is 70.07% and Kaithal district is 72%. Literacy rate among SC female is highest in Gurgaon is 66.09% whereas SC male literacy rate is the highest in Rewari is 87.46% Sirsa district has lowest SC male literacy rate i.e., 62.45% and SC female i.e., 47.02. Highest literacy rate among female of other castes is 79.79% in Gurgaon while Mewat district has lowest female literacy rate i.e., 35.16% (As per Census 2011). Literacy rate of SC population is lower than the other castes across all districts of Haryana except Mewat. Government has done a lot of efforts to access and improve the quality education. In some areas, Haryana has outperformed other states while has also lagged behind them in certain areas. In addition to a low literacy rate, SC women have a high dropout rate in school. According to The Ministry of Human Development, the drop-out rate was 51% at elementary level. Because of the high drop-out rate at elementary school, enrolment at the higher schools and colleges is very less. GER of higher education for male population in Haryana is 26.5% and GER for female is 32.4%. GER of higher education for SC male population in Haryana 18.3% while GER for SC female is 22.0% (AISHE 2018-19).

Trends in Literacy Gap Among Male-Female in Haryana and at National level-

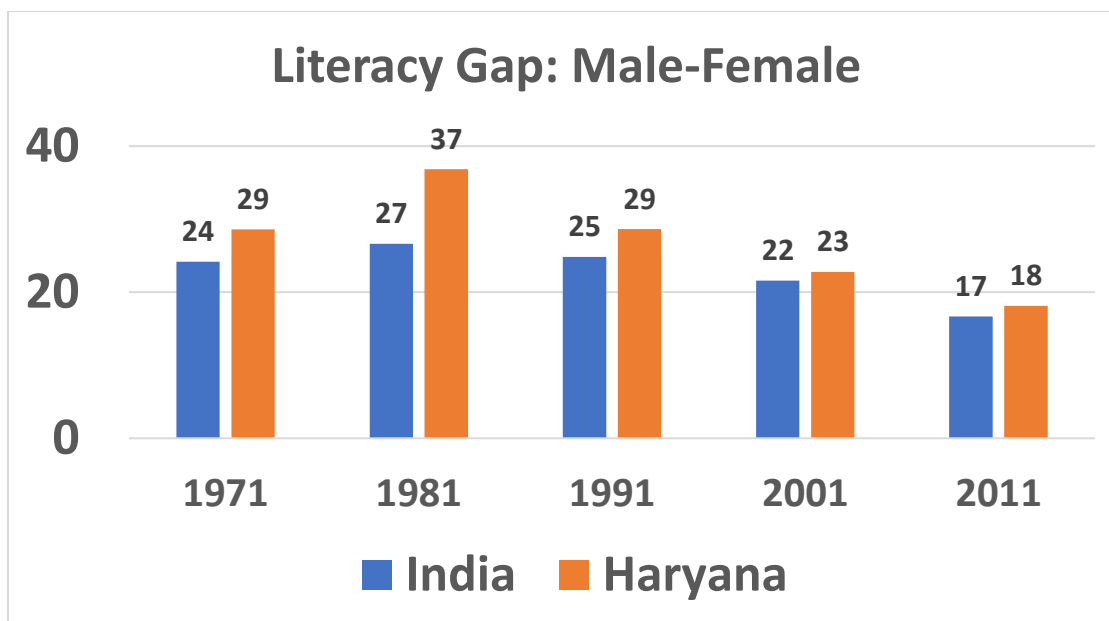


Figure- 1

- Male-Female literacy Gap in Haryana has been continuously high if it is compared with national figure.
- It is evident that Male-Female literacy Gap in Haryana has been declining from last 50 years.
- Recently, Male-Female literacy gap is now close to the national figure. There is very minimal difference.

1.8 Importance and Need for the Proposed Study

Despite policy framed for gender and caste SC women are left out. State government of Haryana have some policies to support the women. As per data of census SC women have lowest literacy rate and they have lack of social awareness to avail these policies. Along with the lack of education and social awareness the process to availing the benefit of the policies and schemes is very complex and time consuming for scheduled caste girls and their parents. Several studies shows that they are most poor and unemployed as compare to other group, so they do not take interest to avail these schemes because they do not want to lose their daily wage. Scholarships and incentives given by the government under the schemes are not in amount so their parents do not pay attention to these schemes. Haryana government have various schemes for girl's child like 'SABLA', 'Haryana Kanya Kosh' and 'Apki Beti-Humari Beti'. The scheme SABLA was launched in March 2011 for adolescent girls of the age group of 11-18 years. But this scheme was revised by government in 2018 now the scheme is only for the girls of age 11-14 years. The focuses of the scheme are to enable the adolescent girls for self-development and empowerment, improve the nutrition and health, support the girls to take admission back to formal

school who dropped out the school, develop awareness about their health, hygiene and nutrition. Total amount of Rs.100000 under the scheme of 'Apki Beti-Humari Beti' is given to the girl child after completing the age of 18 years. This scheme is not benefitted the education of SC girls because the amount is not received during their schooling.

Neither policy for gender nor for caste has benefitted them at large. The benefits of women-oriented policies are accrued to non-SC women. Similarly, policy for caste has benefitted mostly SC men. In both cases SC women are deprived of government aid and fail to participate in development. It will also be important to see the condition of girls in general and how SC girls are performing compared to non-SC girls. Study of Access, equity and quality aspect of education would provide a real condition which will be helpful in framing an effective policy. Hence an educational policy which addresses SC girls located at intersection should be framed separately. For this a research in this arena is badly needed. There is no doubt from the above discussions that huge gaps exist in both policy perception and implementation in terms of education of the SC girls. There is lack of academic studies that address the issues faced by SC girls in the schools.

There is a need to identify the clear picture through the framework of intersectionality that what are the barriers for SC girls to complete their education and what should have government to improve their participation and performance. This study endeavors to fill this gap and bring about problems related to education and development of persons located at intersection of caste, class and gender.

1.9 Rationale of the Study

Haryana has been in the limelight for its traditions and customs and known for the most patriarchal state in the country. In Haryana, the sex ratio for Scheduled Castes was 887 girls per 1000 males in 2011, while the sex ratio for non-Scheduled Castes was 879. (Census of India 2011).

It's also worth noting that Haryana's sex ratio at birth has increased by 52 points in the last five years (according to the State Government of Haryana's Civil Registration System). According to the data, the state's sex ratio has improved from 871 girls for every 1,000 boys in 2014 to 923 girls for every 1,000 boys in 2019. The state's nodal officer for "Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao" has given this figure..

Literacy rate among SC women is very low i.e. 56.65% as compared to SC men i.e. 75.93%. Beside a low literacy rate, dropout rate is another problem faced by SC women in schools. According to The Ministry of Human Development, the drop-out rate was 51% at elementary level. Because of the high drop-out rate at elementary school, enrolment at the higher schools and colleges is very less. NSSO data shows that the GER of girls of so-called upper caste is more than four times to SC women at the post-secondary level. Globalization produced lots of opportunities and money for privileged while made huge gap between caste, class, gender and minorities. After many policies and affirmative action

untouchable women still face discrimination by the people belonging to powerful political, social and financial backgrounds. There are so many policies and affirmative action for caste and gender but there is no specific policy for SC girl students. They are discriminated against twice or three times because of their caste, class, and gender. Their participation in education is very less. This is necessary to identify the factors which become barriers in achieving the education by SC girl at school level. The majority of contemporary intersectionality research is centred on Western gender and race or gender and class situations. It will be important in determining the impact of gender and caste intersectionality in schooling. This is the most needed area to study about the problems faced by SC girls within schools. According to UDISE data enrollment rate of SC girls of Haryana in the year 2012-13 was 47.54 and it remains almost static till the year 2016-17 i.e., 47.73. In the year 2012-13 girl's enrollment rate was 44.14 and after that in the year 2013-14 it is decreased by 7.23 %. The trends of girls' enrollment rate have been increasing marginally. Transition rate of girls in Haryana is also decreasing with time; in 2012-13 transition rate of girls was 95.96 but it is decreased by 10.23 % in the year of 2014-15. Average annual dropout rate is also increasing from 2012 to 2015.

1.10 Research Questions of the Study

To get the deeper understanding of the intersectionality I will investigate the available secondary data on intersectionality, status of women in India and Haryana, access and participation of Scheduled Caste girls in secondary education. The study also investigates the socio-economic condition of SC girls and the factors that influence their education. I framed following questions to enquire the concept after analysing the relevant literature, data and documents-

- What is the current scenario of intersectionality in India?
- What is the impact of intersectionality on the education of SC girl students?
- What are the factors which affect the performance of SC girls?
- What type of discriminations are faced by SC girl students in the schools?
- How teacher's and family behaviour effect the performance of SC girl students?

1.11 Objectives of the Study-

There are very few studies that are available on the education of Scheduled caste girls' education in Haryana. Most of the studies either for the girl's education or in the context of castes or the status of scheduled castes women at national level. To investigate the problems of SC girls facing during secondary schools this study has three main objectives. The objective of study is to understand the impact of intersectionality with reference to access and participation of SC girls in secondary schools.

- To examine the intersectionality with reference to gender, caste and class-based inequalities faced by SC girl's students.

- To identify the factors affecting the participation and performance of SC girls in secondary schools.
- To analyze the socio-economic profile of SC girls and the perceptions of the parents of SC girls towards their education.

1.12 Limitations of the study

The purpose of this study is to examine the situation of SC girls in Haryana at the secondary level in relation to the intersection of caste class and gender. The current study examines the participation and performance of SC girls in secondary school education and the factors which influence their education. The study was restricted within Mahendergarh district of Haryana. The research is based on pilot survey (telephonic interviews) because of limited time and pandemic situation. Online survey was also conducted based on questionnaire prepared for the research due to inability of fieldwork and covid-19 pandemic. As unavailability of data and libraries were shut down; it was a bit difficult to find adequate amount of literature online because of pandemic.

1.13 Chapterization-

The present study is divided into five chapters-

- Introduction or the present chapter meant for giving a precise glance of the study whereby the situation of SCs at technical higher education is mentioned along with sections as significance of the study, rationale for the study, operational definitions for the study, research questions, and objectives. The chapter also mentions the delimitations for the study.
- Chapter two structures the comprehension made out of the relevant literature
- Chapter three mentions the description of the methodology utilized to undertake the present study.
- Results and Discussions from the fourth chapter of the thesis where both secondary and primary data were placed and analyzed simultaneously.
- Chapter five includes conclusions and policy level recommendations and suggestions.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Intersectionality- A Contested Social Science Theory

Intersectionality, according to social scientists, refers to how identities such as race, gender, class, caste, and ability interact to shape individual experiences, social practises, institutions, and ideologies. Scholars disagree as to whether intersectionality is a continuation of earlier research or something altogether new (Lutz, Vivar, & Supik, 2011). In terms of its definitions and applications, scholars debate whether intersectionality should be utilized to better comprehend social group identities or to deconstruct the concept of identity categories altogether (McCall, 2005). Intersectionality has been celebrated as “the most important contribution women’s studies . . . has made so far” (McCall, 2005, p. 1771)- and yet has elsewhere been called “outmoded and outdated” (Taylor, Hines, & Casey, 2011, quoted in Puar, 2012, p. 51) and even accused of “illegally importing the very model it seeks to replace” (Carastathis, 2008, p. 23).

The term was coined by Kimberley Crenshaw (1989, 1991). According to Crenshaw's 1989 study, Black women are “caught between ideological and political currents that combine first to generate and then to bury [their] experiences” (p. 160). She mainly examined legal cases in which black women discrimination suits were denied discrimination against based on “single- axis” legal framework. In *DeGraffenreid v. General Motors*, Black female employees claimed that the company's human resources practises discriminated against them: General Motors did not hire Black women until 1964, and they were all put off due to seniority in 1970. The court concluded that plaintiffs "should not be allowed to combine legislative remedies to establish a new "super remedy" in this ruling.

Black female employees claimed that *DeGraffenreid v. General Motors*, company's human resources procedures discriminated against them: General Motors did not hire Black women until 1964, and in 1970, they were all laid off due to seniority. In this decision the court found that claimants "should not be allowed to combine statutory remedies to create a new "super remedy."... This lawsuit must be assessed to see whether it states a cause of action for race discrimination, sex discrimination, or both, but not both." According to Crenshaw, Such decisions, prioritise individuals of marginalized socio-economic groups who are not otherwise privileged: The decision in this case favoured Black men (assumed to represent all Black people) and White women (presumed to represent all women).

Such decisions, Crenshaw explained, prioritize otherwise-privileged members of marginalized social groups: In this case, the decision prioritized Black men (presumed to represent all Black people) and White women (presumed to represent all women). As a result, Black women are always subjected to "women" and "Blacks."

In “Mapping the Margins” (1991), Crenshaw examined and enumerated examples of structural, political, and representational intersectionality in relation to violence against women of colour. After Crenshaw, scholars began implementing intersectional analyses to non-Black women of color.

2.2 Intersectionality in Global Scenario

Intersectionality framework emerged in Black feminist theory and it definitely has applicability at universal level because of its extensive theoretical and philosophical relevance. We can say that the intersection is a point of junction where two or more components connect with each other. In the context of Black feminism race, class and gender create crucial intersection and in context of India caste, class and gender would seem to constitute the crucial intersection for Scheduled Castes. Intersectionality utilizes as a tool to address the discrimination caused by caste and patriarchy faced by the most vulnerable and marginalized group of the society in global and Indian context.

The term Intersectionality was first coined by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in two landmark articles; “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex” (1989) and “Mapping the Margins” (1991). Then it was adopted by scholars like Acker J. (1973). Kimberlé Crenshaw emphasised the limitations of anti-discrimination legislation in the United States when it comes to black women's experiences. Scholars and activists contended that persons with marginalised racial identities (i.e., black) and sex identities (i.e., women) were more likely to be ignored by the state and legislation, as well as by social movements. In her 1991 essay, ‘Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color,’ Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term “intersectionality.” She stated that black women confront distinct and worsened kinds of prejudice, focusing on their experiences in cases of domestic abuse and rape. They were marginalised, discriminated against, and subjected to violence not because of their colour or sex, but because of the interconnections of race and sex. She stresses that this does not imply that their experience was the result of a combination of racial and gender prejudice, but rather that it was unique.

The realisation that one's social standing and lived experience are influenced by several identities is not new in India. In India, caste is a kind of prejudice and injustice. When caste collides with other identities like sex, gender identity, or handicap, we see that the form of prejudice experienced by persons at the intersections is severe. In Indian society, caste and gender hierarchies are inextricably intertwined, as ‘caste purity’ is preserved by exerting control over women's bodies.

Intersectionality is a global paradigm for understanding the numerous axes of power within a society that lead to greater marginalisation of specific groups of women. The intersectionality view emphasises that a person's social identity has a significant impact on their gender ideas and experiences, making it critical to comprehend gender in the context of power dynamics. Intersectionality, according to McCall

(2005), is one of the most important additions to feminist theory in the contemporary understanding of gender. Shield (2008) claims that a person's "social identities fundamentally influence one's perceptions about and experience of gender." (2008: 301), which will be seen to be particularly true in India.

British feminists have discussed the concept of "triple oppression" in the context of intersectionality, claiming that black women are often subjected to a mixture of three levels of oppression or discrimination. They face discrimination as a result of their race, gender, and status as members of the working class (Lynn, 2014).

Intersectionality is a reflection of reality, and there is no single social identity category that can adequately describe how individuals respond to their social environment and how others respond to them in the same environment. It is therefore critical to consider the interconnection of multiple identities in order to fully comprehend reality's complexity (Shields, 2008).

Discrimination based on gender and caste has a long history in India, with roots that may be traced back thousands of years. Many social reformers, academics, and government programmes have helped to relieve the situation to some level, but there is still a long way to go to break down these barriers. To be effective, a framework must be designed that corrects the flaws in earlier frameworks and properly conceptualises equality provisions (Symington, 2004).

Women from the so-called upper castes, who live in the same villages and economic situations as lower-caste women, do not face as much sexual assault. In addition, when compared to the female clan, male counterparts from the same caste had a better life and safer living conditions. When a person belongs to two minority groups at the same time, the situation becomes untenable (Orchard, 2007).

2.3 Intersectionality in Indian context

Untouchable women are getting equal opportunity and freedom with their men in terms of speech, making contacts and relationships, work choice, physical movement and choice of spending their money on household products. In the most of the families all family members; women, men and children have to contribute in family's the economy because of poverty one member is not sufficient to earn enough for all the members. And in the most of the cases woman is the only one breadwinner in the family. Due to their share and main role in family economy they enjoy more equality and freedom with their men as compare to dominant caste women. One the one hand they are experiencing equality in their own family and community and on the other the strong control and influence of Brahmanical patriarchy violates their equal and human rights.

In the process of marginalization untouchable women face triple burden influence and oppress them. Savarna men is at the top of the Brahman hierarchy under whom untouchable men and untouchable

women work as laborer and they interact with them on the daily basis, they force them to be submissive to the authority of dominant caste. Their social, political and economic dominance influence negatively and exert dominance the livelihood of SC women who work as a laborer under them. Second layer is the dominance of dominant caste women who carry the ideology of Brahmanical patriarchy depend on their male's economy, social, cultural and political power pressurize untouchable women socially and psychologically to follow the patriarchal setup of Brahmins. Third layer of dominance and oppression is SC men (husbands, fathers, brothers and relatives) who have the similar mindset of Brahmanical patriarchy exploit and influence the freedom of SC women.

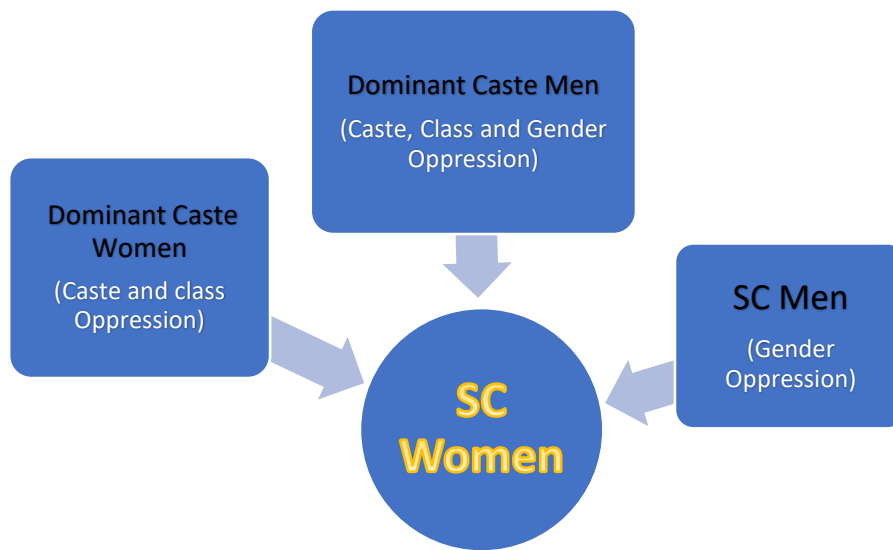


Figure- 2

Source- Researcher, 2021

SC men, women and their whole community are facing a bipolar tension; one side at the horizontal level in the relation with their families and community, the SC women enjoy relative equality of relationships and freedom of movement while on the other side because of their free movement and interaction in the whole society SC face the patriarchal oppression that flowing vertically structured class- caste society.

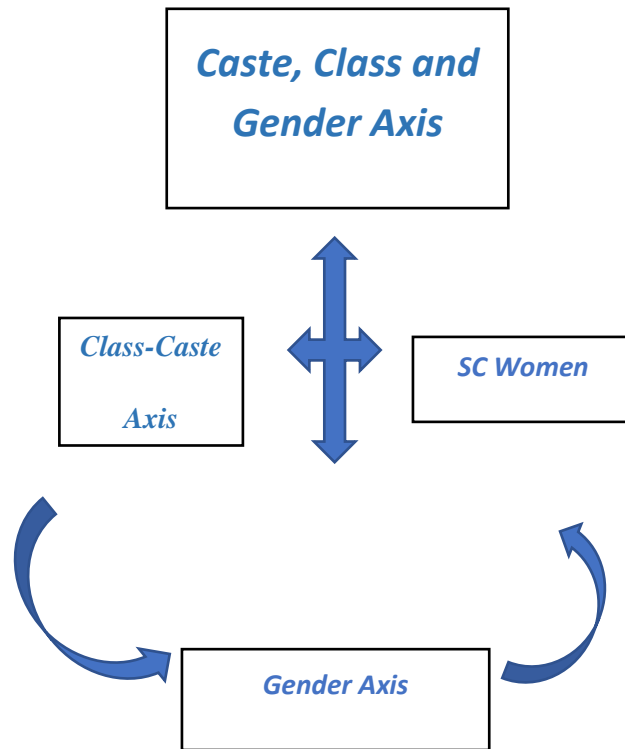


Figure- 3

Source- researcher, 2021

SC women are the most marginalized and vulnerable in the society. In comparison to SC men, dominant caste men and women have a higher economic status, and they perpetuate patriarchy by legitimizing their exploitation and violence against SC women in the framework of caste, class and gender (Aloysius, 2006).

Three interlinked principles are working in the Brahmanical patriarchy regarding human sexuality. First well-known principle is that men is superior to women. In terms of sexuality the male is ‘giver’ and the female is the ‘receiver’ and ‘caretaker’ of the progeny. The man implements this principle by the right to give or refuse to give and it’s the duty of woman to receive when he gives and accept his refusal silently. But woman cannot refuse her duty, if she refuses then men can be violent. Thus, freedom of men become restriction on women and his dominance become submission to her. Second, as dominant caste man is superior to woman and in caste hierarchy, the new generation reproduced by him from SC woman considered to be superior in caste structure. While the offspring by SC man from dominant caste woman considered to be of mixed caste and cannot enjoy their caste and class privileges of dominant

castes. Dominant caste men control over SC women's sexuality through sexual and caste violence in rural areas and also in cities with whom working in the occupation of manual scavenging. Third, is the discriminatory caste rule of law which exert a stringent penalty of banishment or excommunication on the man belonging to dominant caste and women belonging Scheduled Caste to maintain caste identity and purity. These penalties act as obstacles to eradicate the caste system from the society. These kind of caste laws play significant role against SC men to keep them in the fixed social position in caste hierarchy. And this caste rule of law gives dominant caste men great latitude to control the sexuality of SC women.

In the patriarchal caste system SC women face discrimination and violence which become severe due to the intersection of caste, class and gender. Dominant caste-class men, dominant caste-class women conditioned by patriarchal ideology and SC men assimilated the values of this discriminatory system all subject SC women to discrimination and exploitation.

The Brahmanical nature of patriarchy is also known as graded inequality which makes a specific model of patriarchy by elucidating a series of discrimination, creating a hierarchical structure in the society based on caste which is very unique in the context of India. Within this hierarchical structure of caste-based patriarchy it is insidious and impossible to confront as dominant caste men are most privileged, dominant caste women are more privileged, scheduled caste men are more deprived and Scheduled Caste women are most deprived. Scheduled Caste women are most vulnerable to violence because they face discrimination at three levels. On the basis of caste, they face oppression at the hand of dominant caste men and women, class-based oppression on the basis of class as the labourers also by dominant caste people who own the huge number of lands, gender-based oppression as female face patriarchal oppression by all men including their family members like fathers, brothers and husbands.

Meenakshi Moon and Urmila Pawar proclaim that the caste violence particularly sexual violence (murder, gang rape, naked parade) against scheduled caste women is proportionately public rather than domestic because they are working as labourers. Violence against scheduled caste is a 'permanently existing threat' to punish scheduled caste men and women on the basis of their caste for fighting their rights. This graded inequality makes SC women vulnerable for the rage and lust of dominant caste men.

In the nineteenth century, India's Jyotirao Phule was a notable social reformer and philosopher. He noticed that the rise of Brahmanism coincided with the limitation of women's autonomy. He presented the hypothesis of the Aryan invasion, which revealed gender and caste oppression. He identified three distinct forms of discrimination: underage marriage, forced widowhood, and the sati system. Phule discusses dual marginalisation and acknowledges the power imbalances that have resulted in women's

marginalisation. He viewed caste and gender as two distinct forms of marginalisation that influenced one's socioeconomic situation. Against patriarchy, he formed an alliance of Stri (women), Shudra (backward castes), and Ati Shudra (untouchables) (Deshpande 2002). Savitribai Phule, who subsequently became a symbol of anti-caste feminism, was also educated by him. Savitribai, was a radical social activist and an educationist committed to the service of all oppressed groups. She led many progressive movements against caste and patriarchy. Savitribai was a strong social activist and an educator who dedicated her life to helping the downtrodden people. She was a leader in a number of progressive initiatives against patriarchy and caste.

In 1882 Phule demanded the Hunter Education Commission to be 'kind enough to sanction measures for the spread of compulsory primary female education on a more liberal scale' (Phule 1882). He also attacked on Brahmanical orthodoxy and described how caste system and Brahmanical Patriarchy suppressed not just Shudra and Ati-shudra men and women but also sawarna women. It not only excluded marginalized men and women but all women from the benefits of education.

Jyotiba Phule started first school for all women, shudra and ati shudra men and shelter home to support Brahmin widows for their economic independence. But elite feminists and historians never paid enough attention to his contribution to reform of women education and opening residential schools (Sailja Paik 2014, 113).

As a response to Gandhi, E. V. Ramaswamy Periyar was the principal proponent of the Self-Respect Movement. He was the leader of a social and cultural uprising against caste, Brahmanism, religion, and men's dominance over women (Geetha 1998). He also accepted the fact that the untouchables and women are the most marginalized people of Indian history. He was convinced that the only way to free women and untouchables was to reverse the social order on which the caste system was founded. Untouchables and women were both marginalised by the Brahmanical order, he claimed. Renouncing caste privileges and religious faith would be part of the Self-Respect movement, which would reshape society along non-hierarchical lines. (Geetha 1998:11).

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was a renowned social reformer and leader in India. Ambedkar, like Phule, understood caste and gender identities, and he recognised the untouchables' and women's marginal status in a Brahmanical society. He demonstrates in *Who Were the Shudras* ([1946] 2013:166) how barring women and Untouchables from the framework of key Hindu ceremonies such as Upanayana legitimised their exclusion from property ownership. As seen by his condemnation of endogamy and support for inter-caste marriage, Dr. Ambedkar (1916) understood that caste and gender identities were not just parallel but also intersecting. According to him, the "superimposition of endogamy on exogamy results in the formation of caste." (p. 10). He pointed out that the centrality of endogamous marriages as the means to perpetuate the purity of the caste system. He was deeply convinced that in the creation

of the caste system, the subordination of women played a vital role (Caste in India). He has stressed the fact that it is important that we realise there is no caste without patriarchy and vice versa. It is the self-induced status of the Brahmin patriarchy of being at the top of the societal ladder that has transformed class to caste and at the heart of Brahmin patriarchy.

Dr. Ambedkar exposed the close links between sexuality and caste: Brahman patriarchy and gender intimately controlled and highly valued sexuality of caste Hindu 'surplus' women; 'sati, imposed widowhood and child marriage were created to resolve the problem of the surplus man and woman' and restricted them from breach the boundaries of caste. 'Strict endogamy could not be preserved' revealed the fundamental purpose of endogamy.

Baba Saheb Ambedkar stressed the importance of knowledge and education for both girls and boys-

'Knowledge and learning are not only for males; they are also necessary for women. This was known to our forefathers. People serving in the platoons would not have taught their girls as they did if they had not been aware. They say: khaan tashi maati khaan tashi maati khaan tashi ma (as is the quarry so will be the stone). So, if you wish to enhance the lives of future generations, you must remember that educating girls is critical. You cannot afford to forget my speech or to fail to put it into practice.'

(Bahishkrut Bharat, 3 February 1928)

Dr. Ambedkar believed that without education and improvement women would remain 'backward' and unable to provide intelligent training and discipline their children. He wanted untouchable women to provide education to develop self-respect and ambitions in their children, to eliminate inferiority complex from their minds (Ambedkar 2002 a, 426). He intended to make a link between the education of untouchable women and the internal reform of family culture.

2.4 Debates around Intersectionality in India-

Nivedita Menon critiques the concept of intersectionality in Indian context and argues against it. She writes that intersectionality has originated in a Western framework based on 'western' experience which is unable to address the issue of 'non-west'. She also argues that leaders of anti- imperial struggles are continuously "engaging with multiple identities." She also argues that the concept of 'double and triple burdens' adds nothing different or new to feminist discourse because a 'single axis framework' was 'never predominant or unchallenged in our parts of the world'.

She also contends that 'women' is an unstable category and the concept of caste is already involved in it; and 'the presumed subject of feminism in India most notably has been weakened or damaged by the politics of caste, religion or sexuality'. She also states that the question of caste, religion or region 'destabilises' the political thrust of gender- based issues. Menon affirms that intersectionality itself is

an 'empty place' because a person bears only a single relevant identity at a given point of time. We can say that at a particular time if one is being regarded as a woman, then at that particular time she is not being regarded as scheduled caste, as Muslim, as poor, as labourer and so on. She believes that we should not further 'fracture' the 'women', connecting women with identities other than gender weakens the struggle of feminists.

Gopal Guru in his article 'Dalit Women Talk Differently', explained how scheduled caste are more oppressed and victimized which influence their way of talking and living. He strongly stated that SC women are more prone to patriarchal and structural violence. They speak in different ways because they are subjected to exploitation as a result of both external (non-SC forces homogenising the issue of SC women) and internal (non-SC forces homogenising the issue of SC women) reasons (patriarchal domination within SC community). The phenomenon of talking differently because of ignorance against the exclusion of SC women from both the Brahmanical feminist politics as well as the dominant patriarchal structure. In his article Gopal Guru formulates the term Dalit patriarchy. He argues that in addition to external reasons, internal causes have driven SC women to organize independently from SC men. In the post-Ambedkar period, SC leaders have consistently subjugated, if not outright suppressed, the political expression of SC women. SC women have strong reason to be ignored in scheduled caste literature, seminars, and institutions. In conceptualisation of 'Dalit patriarchy', Guru argued that, gender is as important as class and caste in the assertion of one's identity; patriarchy is deep rooted in the marginalized men as casteism is in the dominant caste men and women; 'local' assertion within the marginalized community is mandatory.

Uma Chakravarti (feminist historian) tries to pluralise patriarchy by introducing the terms 'graded patriarchies' and 'dalit patriarchy,' and trying to explain that SC women face unique type of exploitation due to patriarchy. Chakravarti describes that marginalized community also have patriarchal structure and SC women have to fight against patriarchy within their own community. In her series of essays 'Gendering Caste Through a Feminist Lens', she demands the right for scheduled castes.

V. Geeta a feminist sociologist argued that SC men face discrimination of caste also face taunts about their masculinity i.e., they are unable to protect their women as a result they behave aggressive with their women. Due to these comments and taunts on their masculinity they exert bravery in their families. She explained that SC men carry similar idea of masculinity as dominant caste men. The conception of Geetha's (2009) based on a study on masculine norms among dalit youth presents a different view, that because of caste and class-based oppression SC men become more patriarchal than dominant caste men.

SC women experience patriarchy in a complicated way is true as proved through literature, research work and survey reports of scholars like Aloysius, Mangubhai and Lee, 2006; Gogu, 2012; Jogdand, 2013; Moon, 2001; Pawar and Moon, 2014; Rege, 2000,2013 [2006], Stephen, 2011; Dutt, 2019).

Sharmila Rege has argued for a "standpoint feminist" strategy to account for the realities of SC women and highlight their voices. Rege says that in India's mainstream feminist movement, caste and gender modify how 'woman' serves as a category in a "graded patriarchy." By ignoring caste's structural implications on SC women, they are forced to choose between feminism and community. Rege advocates that the time has come to address the ways in which caste and gender-based discrimination interact. In the absence of an intersectional framework, incidents like the Khairlanji violence are often characterized as either "sexual assault" or "caste atrocity," neglecting the fact that rape on the basis of gender and caste is inextricably linked and exacerbated. Those who are at the intersection of caste, class and gender identity get fewer support from the society. Rege advocates in her article in the context of caste and gender intersection,

'Patriarchy is not enough to analyses the caste and gender matrix in India. There is a need to figure out how the concept of 'women' is being rebuilt in different ways across regional patriarchal interactions that are crisscrossed by caste inequalities.'

In *Dalit Women Talk Differently: A Critique of 'Difference' and Towards a Dalit Feminist Standpoint Position* Rege revisits the historical evolution of feminist discourse starting from First World feminist, Black feminism, to the introduction of a Saidian framework in feminism. She describes how white feminists failed to address the issues of black women and how racism turned out to be 'the sole responsibility of black feminists.' Black criticized the established discourse of feminism on the grounds of their experiences of double discrimination on the basis of race and gender. Rege uncovers how the problem of caste become 'the sole responsibility of scheduled caste women's organisation' in India. 'It is critical for feminist politics that 'difference' be historically anchored in the real struggle of underprivileged women,' she claims. Rege reaffirms that caste plays a key part in 'the collective and public danger of rape, sexual assault, and physical violence at work and in public,' with scheduled caste women facing the most severe oppression.

Rege writes to referring 2006 Kahirlanji massacre of Scheduled caste family, paraded naked before being murder, that inadequate attention on caste-gender based violence against SC women tends to be marked as 'either-or': either as caste atrocity or sexual atrocity.

Ruth Manorama, a member of the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights and the National Alliance of Women, claimed that in a male-dominated culture, women have a difficult time expressing themselves, "Dalit women face a triple burden of caste, class and gender" in which, she summarises the suffering of SC women by emphasising that they are a separate social group that cannot be covered by a single term, such as 'Gender' or 'Caste.'

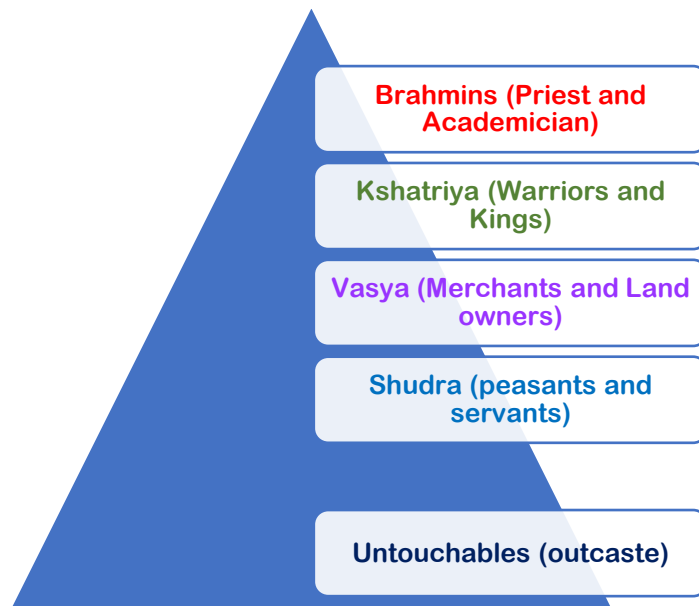
2.5 Caste as a social Evil

Individuals are divided into castes based on their surnames, descent, and skin colour, which is unique to Indian civilization. Despite the existence of numerous laws prohibiting untouchability, it persists in India, where untouchables, in particular, are ostracised (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

According to H. Risley, "A caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional callings and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."

Caste is a social group with two characteristics: (i) membership is limited to those who are born of members and includes all such people; and (ii) members are prohibited from marrying outside the group by an unbreakable social law (Dr. Ketkar).

Though caste is not considered as a major barrier to success for Indians living in urban areas, many matrimonial advertisements clearly indicate caste preferences for the marriage. In rural areas, a person's social position, access to education, and basic needs are all determined by his or her caste (Baker, 2006).



Varna System of Indian Society

Figure- 4

Source- Researcher 2021

The caste system stretches back 3000 years, and it is only mentioned once in the PurushSukta, a section of the ancient Rigveda. In India, the caste system is organised into four groups called varnas, which are further divided into sub divisions (Dumont, 1980). The four Varnas (Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra) are a Manusmriti-based imitative system by Manu. The group 'Untouchable' was the out of varna system, and "idea of pollution" was associates with them. And due to this idea of sanicity they were not allowed to go in the public places like villages, wells, temples, public gatherings etc. Despite the distinctions amongst the several Varnas, there is a strong cultural bond. Caste is the division of a larger cultural unit into smaller pieces. (Dr Ambedkar).

The caste system, according to Dr. Ambedkar, is more than just a division of labour. It's also a labourer division. In a civilised society, there must be a division of labour. However, dividing a civilised community on the basis of conjecture is difficult. The caste system is structured in a hierarchical manner. The construction of a manufacturing facility does not imply social improvements.

Castes system exist in the Indian village. The inhabitants of an Indian hamlet are separated into two groups: Touchables and Untouchables. The Touchables lived inside the hamlet, while the Untouchables lived on the outskirts. In terms of socioeconomics, the Touchables are a strong and powerful group in society. The Touchables are ruling race while the Untouchables occupy the social position as labour race (Dr. Ambedkar in Origin of the Untouchables).

2.6 Gender: A Quest for Equality

Many feminists have defined gender as a notion that arose around individual reproductive distinctions that impact societal connections, identities, and meanings (Connell, 1989). Gender, according to researchers such as Lorber (1994), is an organising principle or a social idea that extends far beyond reproductive variations. Others, on the other hand, see gender as a concept that is continually evolving based on our daily lives and the roles we perform (Torri, 2009). Gender, as a fundamental concept underlying society behaviour, has an impact on important aspects of life such as work, family, and sexuality, all of which are organised around gender principles including power, hierarchy, and privilege. Gender-based categorisation in society manifests itself in a variety of ways, including gender-specific symbols, representations, resource allocation, and autonomy based on gender. To get a comprehensive understanding of gender, one must first comprehend the background in terms of structure and meaning in the community or culture under consideration (Torri, 2009).

It is vital to note that Haryana is a patriarchal society from a gender standpoint. According to the 2011 census, Haryana's sex ratio was 879, which is lower than the national sex ratio (943). 'Female foeticide, domestic violence, dowry killings and harassment, caste-based oppressions, and cultural barriers to women's access to educational and health opportunities are all common and well-known manifestations

of gender oppression in Haryana.’ (Vandana, 2004: 263). In Haryana, it was discovered that there is less equality between males and females. This inequality can also be seen in education. Participation and performance of girl students is less than boys.

2.7 STUDIES RELATED TO SEX RATIO IN HARYANA

A study on “Female Foeticide in Rural Haryana” was conducted by Dahiya and George (1996) in Haryana. Their research showed that there is uncontrolled female foeticide occurrence in Haryana. The study also highlighted that foeticide is not only the problem but some other form of patriarchy like sexual and domestic violence, women- unfriendly inheritance practices, customary marriage at the age before 18 years degrading women.

An NGO Drishti Stree Adhyayan Probodhan Kendra working in Pune (Maharashtra), conducted a study in 2010 in the rural area of Haryana on the topic, “Impact of sex ratio on pattern of marriage in Haryana”. The study concludes that Haryana is already facing problem of female shortage. And the observation of the study is that due to decrease in sex ration the violence and crime has been increasing. Besides the shortage of female, the problem of dowry system has also been increasing.

2.8 Pierre Bourdieu: Relationship between Economic, Social and Cultural Capital

According to Bourdieu a French sociologist and philosopher, Economic, social, and cultural capital are intertwined in a transformational but non-replaceable relationship. A person with useful social networks, such as knowing prominent or prominent individuals, is said to have social capital, which can then be converted to economic wealth. The relationship between social and economic capital, on the other hand, is neither stable nor straightforward (Bourdieu, 2005).

A child from an affluent household may be more likely to be given the opportunity to study abroad and earn useful certifications and experience. This benefit might be thought of as a type of cultural capital. As a result, the person may be offered a job at a corporation. This explains how cultural capital can be converted into economic capital. This role allows a person to expand their social networks and form new friendships, which is known as social capital. The transformational relationship between economic, social, and cultural capital is demonstrated in this example. Cultural capital, for example, can only exist in specific circumstances and cannot be directly replaced by either economic capital or social capital (Bourdieu, 1993).

In the early stages of development, parents are regarded as their children's first teachers. Families are viewed in a similar light as an educational institution. In this context, education might relate to behaviour modification. According to Bourdieu, a person's family plays a significant role in gaining

cultural capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). An affluent family, for example, can support their children by allowing them to study abroad or enrol in a top school in order to gain knowledge and prominent credentials.

According to Lynn, Black women face triple discrimination. They face discrimination based on their color, gender and as a member of working class. We can associate Bourdieu's theory within Indian context of Intersectionality. Because Scheduled Caste women also face three types of discrimination based on their caste, gender and class. They lack social capital, economic capital and cultural capital.

2.9 Exclusion of SC women

During the reform of elite brahmin women for education were not able to include SC women in their liberal feminist movement. There were some Brahmin feminists like Pandita Ramabai were attacked caste system and Brahmanical patriarchy created a liberal feminism but they were also failed to establish connection with social reformers like Jyotiba Phule. The failure of nationalists and feminists to include the concerns of untouchable women result untouchable and non- brahmin radicals to severe critique Brahmanical agenda of education and effort for educational opportunities (Sailja Paik 2014 pg 109).

From 30 May to 1 June 1920 Akhil Bhartiya Bahishkrut Parishad was held at Nagpur by more than 10,000 untouchables 'Streepurush' for free and compulsory education. They started to use the word 'Streepurus' for special attention on gender differentiation to counter the nationalists who focus on the gender-neutral unity for nationalism. Tulsabai Bhandasode a untouchable woman activist with other streepurush attacked on the attacked the Brahmanical middle class idea of excluding untouchables from the education system (Mooknayak, 5 June 1920). She believed that untouchable women face discrimination by so called upper caste women due to the lack of their education. So, she proclaimed that education is more important for untouchable girls than so called upper caste girls. Bhandasode demanded boarding houses for untouchable girl students in every district.

Brahmin feminists mention a common identity and oppression i.e., 'women' for all and talk about sisterhood but they refuse to include and discriminate untouchable women. Many scholars like Chakravarti 2003; A. Rao 2003, 2009; Pardeshi 1998, have addressed the theoretical and complex nature of caste and gender but they were unable to incorporate the real experiences of untouchable women in western India (cf. Rege 2006). Shefali Chandra (2012) feminist historian has demonstrated that Brahmins have hegemony on English language within their caste and class location and gendered English language. So, Indian system of education strengthens the discriminatory and oppressive nature of caste and gender hierarchies. Some brahmin nationalists and activists opposed women education with the argument that education led to the demolition of the family and gender hierarchy (Sailja 2014, pg 110).

Untouchable women experienced double burden because they have to develop their self-confidence and self-esteem. Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar stated that schools are workshops to manufacture the best citizens (Bahishkrut Bharat, 3 June 1927). So, self-development of untouchable women as modern citizen of India through formal education was very challenging for them.

During twentieth century there were opportunities for so called upper caste elite women to write essays, quotes in the newspapers, publish magazines but untouchable women could not publish or write their struggles. They have only and one option to enter the schools instead of writing and publishing their experiences as compare to elite Hindu and Muslim women. British government was also silent and ignorant to Untouchable women and their issues. British government opened schools for all but they have not interfered in the caste system created by Hindu Brahmins and did not support Untouchables. Many scholars explained caste-class struggles and the educational agendas during British government which was benefited Caste Hindus men, Hindu women and their culture over the Untouchables (Sailja 2014, pg 110).

Pandita Ramabai a Brahmin feminist proclaimed in her book *Stree Dharma Niti* (1882) that refusing Indian women education was the root cause of the constant degradation of children's health (Quoted in Kosambi 2000, 139). She argued that women could improve themselves as well as their children with the help of education (ibid., 90).

Hindu nationalist B.G. Tilak was against the education of women and extensively critical of educated and independent women. He believed that education could ruin the precious traditions and make women immoral and insubordinate. According to Tilak, 'women should not be taxed with subjects' like history, English, mathematics and science- 'that were beyond their power to understand' (quoted P. Rao 2010, 105).

When elite Hindu feminists were busy in expressing themselves in newspapers, journals, articles and autobiographies then Untouchable women were struggling for education. Some Hindu men fought for their women to become doctors, teachers and professionals in other fields while Untouchable women fought for equal rights and opportunities to educate themselves and demanding other benefits like jobs (Sailja Paik 2014, 126).

Most of the educated elite women were busy to strengthen bourgeois cultural norms that are beauty, mellowness and moderation; while very few of them like Pandita Ramabai fought for the women education. Several educated Hindu women criticized some Hindu traditions without linking them to their caste location and privileges and thus promoted Brahman stratified society. They have the same vision of enlightened domesticity to the bourgeois values of Victorian society. They blended this bourgeois idea with Brahman culture and prepared their separate model of ideal Hindu womanhood that

eradicate Untouchable women from this model. Caste debates and discussions were disappeared from their ideal model and the often kept silent on the questions belonging to Untouchable women.

Untouchable women face double patriarchy of caste Hindu men and within their own community is a complicated feature of their everyday life same we can have seen in the realm of education (Paik, 2014 132). Caste identity is the primary lens rather than gender, they have to fight to reclaim their individual and collective self esteem and to uplift their community. They also face social discrimination and oppression from educated Hindu caste women. Left liberals who were the members of the Indian women's movement rarely discussed caste, they focused only on so called higher castes and ignored untouchable castes, thinking rather that talking about castes could be cut them from universal sisterhood. Some elite feminists also forced that first untouchable women must be loyal to their gender and to see exploitation within their family; fathers, brothers, husbands and own community. Elite hindu men women demanded girls' education to follow boys; women education to their feminine role and objected to higher education however untouchable radical activists wanted to enter in the schools for both men and women at the same time. They demanded fundamental rights to education, dignity and livelihood. Untouchable women challenged their exclusion by elite feminists and articulated their goals; developing self-respect and seeking education instead of beauty (Paik 2014, 140)

Mary E. John criticizes Menon rejection of intersectionality framework application in India, and urging engagement with it. John states, 'the framework definitely more generic use of double and triple burden or multiple axes of oppression. This way of alluding to the effect of 'race, class and gender' (caste, class and gender in Indian context) is widespread. The idea of being 'multiple' misleadingly suggests that identities are formed by adding together the adverse structures that constitute them. In such a manner, Black women's identities become a combination of being black and being women'.

John also argues, 'we in India are up against the surprising tenacity of "single axis" agendas within the women's movement, and need to come up with adequate explanation for this'.

Analysis of intersectional framework disclose that mainstream feminists have not given much attention to those who face 'double or triple discrimination'. Historically and practically SC women have always face triple burden whose issues thus only adequately be understood within an intersectional framework. The refusal of intersectionality framework by Indian feminist unmasks them and shows their caste-class privileged status in cattiest society. Gopal Guru also stated that scheduled caste women suffer due to their specific caste location, feminist theory fails to address the issues of scheduled caste women. Julie Stephens has recognized a deep theoretical problem in Indian feminism. Stephens has argued that in extensive feminist movement, the category of 'experience' is used as an important tool in the name of creating 'international sisterhood'; and this has been resisted by mainstream Indian feminists. Stephens questions the degree of 'experience' which is of course substantively various for various women

engaged with feminist movement. She criticized the 'us'- 'them' dichotomy prevalent in Indian feminism and charges mainstream Indian feminists with the manipulation of 'experience' about which they are too conveniently selective.

2.10 Policies and Programmes in India-

1) Central Government Policies and Programmes for Scheduled Castes

There are some central sponsored schemes for Scheduled Castes children to continue their education, these schemes are-

1. Pre matric scholarships for students belongs to Scheduled Castes.
2. Post metric scholarships to encourage them for study.
3. Distribution of free books and stationery.
4. There is a provision to provide hostels for SC girls and boys.
5. Upgradation of Merit of SC/ST students.
6. Free coaching scheme for SC students.
7. There is a scheme for implementation for the Protection of Civil Right Act, 1955 and Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 to protect them from caste discrimination.

Source- Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

2) Central Government Policies and Programmes for Gender and Caste at Secondary Level

i. SSA (Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan)

Samagra Shiksha is a programme for the school education from pre-school to higher secondary. It is an Integrated Scheme for School Education has been launched throughout the country to ensure equitable and inclusive education. This programme was prepared with the purpose of improving school effectiveness to provide equal opportunities and to improve the performance and outcomes. It is co-funded by the Centre government and the state government. It is developed by the incorporation of the three schemes of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) and Teacher Education (TE).

Provisions for Gender and Caste in SSA

- To upgrade secondary schools to Senior Secondary in Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (as per norms for new schools) wherever the secondary schools are not located.
- To prepare and distribute teaching learning material and aids for SC/ST students.
- To encourage girls and their family for residential schools.
- To provide both schooling and hostel facilities upto Class-XII in KGBVs (Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya) where neither facility is available in the vicinity.
- Stipend for girls and SCs/STs has been expanded upto classes I to XII in order to encourage girls for enrolment & retention and complete their schooling.

ii. RMSA (Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan)

This scheme was started in March, 2009 with the purpose of increasing the quality of education and to provide access to secondary education. The implementation of the scheme started from 2009- 10 to enhance access to secondary education and improve its quality. The implementation of the scheme started from 2009-10 to generate human capital and provide sufficient conditions for accelerating growth and development and equity as also quality of life for everyone in India.

To facilitate girls' education the Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA), revised in 2013, has integrated among others, the Girls Hostel Scheme and National Incentive to Girls specially to encourage girls in secondary level of education.

Provisions for Gender and Caste in RMSA

- Preference to Ashram schools for upgradation
- Preference to open schools in the areas with concentration of SC/ST/Minority to increase special enrolment
- More female teachers should be recruited in schools.
- Separate toilet facilities for girls in schools.

iii. Right to Education Act, 2009-

As per Article 21A of Indian Constitution, children between the age of 6 to 14 have the Fundamental Right to free and compulsory elementary education. To implement this article Right to Education Act comes in 2010. RTE 2009, instructs private and unaided school to provides free and compulsory education to the children from disadvantaged group (SC/ST/OBC) and economic weaker sections.

iv. **Beti Bachao Beti Padhao (BBBP)**

In January 2015, the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao initiative was inaugurated in Panipat, Haryana. The scheme's overall purpose is to honour the girl child and provide opportunities for her education.

The objectives are:

- Eliminate sex selection that is prejudiced towards women.
- Ensure the girl child's survival and protection
- Ensure that the girl child receives an education

This newly started centrally coordinated programme aims to provide new efforts to organise and converge efforts to secure the female child's survival, protection, and empowerment.

3) **Haryana State Sponsored Schemes for Scheduled Caste Students-**

1. Dr. Ambedkar Sanshodhit Medhavi Chhattar Yojna- This scheme was started in 2005-06 named Dr. Ambedkar Medhavi Chhattar Yojna and It amended in 2009 for SC and OBC students.
2. Financial assistance for higher competitive entrance examinations to SC and OBC students through private institutions.
3. Annusuchit Jati Chhattra Ucch Shiksha Protsahan Yojna.
4. Schemes for Hotel facilities for SC/OBC girls and boys.
5. Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas.
6. Post Matric Scholarship scheme for SC students
7. Mid- day Meals

Source- Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes Department Haryana

These above schemes and programmes are running by both central and state government to support the marginalized population. The literacy and educational achievements that scheduled caste population achieved today because of these scheme and programmes. But there is no scheme or programmes for scheduled caste girls separately. After of these scheme SC girls are unable to complete their education.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework derived from the discussion based on the intersection of caste, class and gender and their impact on the targeted group. The present study is aimed at describing various barriers and disablers for SC girls in terms of access, equity and continuity in the education system. The conceptual framework of the study is explained with the help of figure below

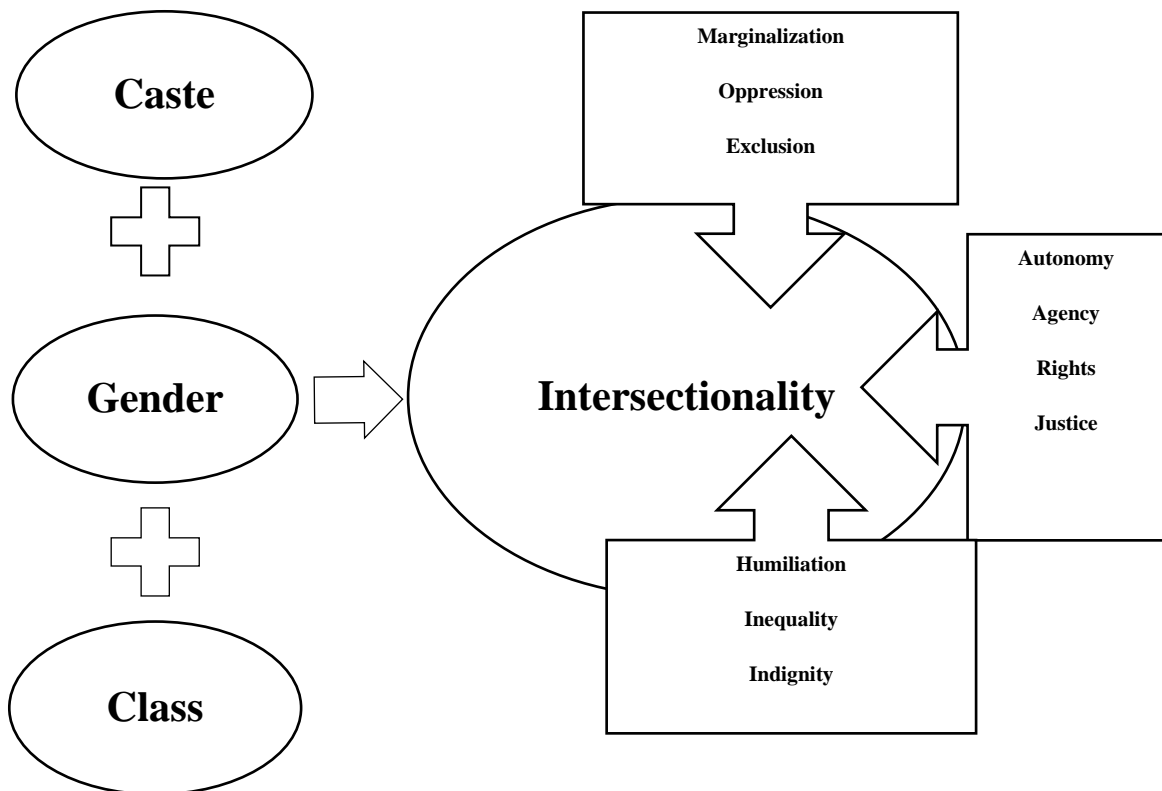


Figure- 5

Source- Researcher, 2020

In order to investigate the intersectionality of caste, class and gender the stakeholders face marginalization, oppression, exclusion, humiliation, inequality and indignity along with this severe discrimination they are not able to complete their education. As a result, they dropped out the school, lower attendance, lower retention and transition and poor academic performance.

To improve access and performance and engaging them to schooling process it is necessary to provide them autonomy, agency, justice and equal rights to living with dignity and complete the education process.

3.2 Research Questions of the Study

To get the deeper understanding of the intersectionality I will investigate the available secondary data on intersectionality, status of women in India and Haryana, access and participation of Scheduled Caste girls in secondary education. The study also investigates the socio-economic condition of SC girls and the factors that influence their education. I framed following questions to enquire the concept after analysing the relevant literature, data and documents-

- What is the current scenario of intersectionality in India?
- What is the impact of intersectionality on the education of SC girl students?
- What are the factors which affect the performance of SC girls?
- What type of discriminations are faced by SC girl students in the schools?
- How teacher's and family behaviour effect the performance of SC girl students?

3.3 Objectives of the Study

There are very few studies that are available on the education of Scheduled caste girls' education in Haryana. Most of the studies either for the girls education or in the context of castes or the status of scheduled castes women at national level. To investigate the problems of SC girls facing during secondary schools this study has three main objectives. The objective of study is to understand the impact of intersectionality with reference to access and participation of SC girls in secondary schools.

- To examine the intersectionality with reference to gender, caste and class-based inequalities faced by SC girl's students.
- To identify the factors affecting the participation and performance of SC girls in secondary schools.
- To analyse the socio-economic profile of SC girls and the perceptions of the parents of SC girls towards their education.

3.4 Target population

The target population for the research was SC school going girls of secondary and higher secondary. Since the study seeks to understand the factors that effects access to education and influence performance of SC girls at secondary level, respondents included only girls who were going to school at the time of this study. Secondary data showed that dropout of SC girls increases steeply after Class 8. GER, dropout rate and transition rate are showing that SC girls attendance drops after elementary level. According to UDISE date of 2015-16 and 2016-17 the dropout rate among SC girls at primary level was 7.9, 8.3 at Upper Primary Level, 22 at Secondary Level and 7.4 at Higher Secondary Level

3.5 Research Methodology and Data Collection

This research work has been undertaken by applying mixed method approach. Mixed method approach enables to understand the societal phenomenon in better way. Mixed method approach incorporates quantitative as well as qualitative aspects of any social problem. Quantitative and qualitative approach complement to each other. Extensive and critical review of literatures related to intersectionality have been carried out to understand the theoretical framework of the study. The interplay of class, cast and gender in dertmining Intersectionality in the lives of SC girl has been analyzed and understood at conceptual and theoretical level. Further adequate and appropriate indicators of different dimensions of intersectionality have been choosen to quantify and understand the problem. Extensive literature review has been carried out to understand how intersectionality plays a role in determining SC girl education. This research work mainly utilizes secondary level data sources to achieve the objectives.

In order to support objective reality a primary level data collection was carried out by interviewing 25 girls who are studying in secondary education in Haryana. This interview was carried out using telephonic medium of interaction. This primary level interview was helpful to understand the causes and factors which determine the intersectionality. This primary level survey proved to be critical for the qualitative analysis of the problem. Further, by interviewing and personal engagement with stakeholders i.e. teachers, parents and students uncovered many hidden layers of intersectionality. The research included pilot survey with girls and parents. The study was conducted in 4 villages of Mahendergarh district in Haryana. These four villages are: Khudana, Akoda, Bassai and Pali.



Figure- 6

Source-

<https://cdn.s3waas.gov.in/s338b3eff8baf56627478ec76a704e9b52/uploads/2019/10/2019103173.jpg>

3.6 Profile of the State- Haryana state was created on 1 November 1966. Before 1 November 1966 it was the part of the state of Punjab. Haryana covers 1.3 percent of the country. Haryana is located in the northwestern part of India and it is surrounded by Himachal Pradesh from north, from east it is covered by Uttar Pradesh and Delhi, northeast part covered by Uttarakhand, south region covered by Rajasthan

and it is covered from northwest region by Punjab. Total no. of districts in Haryana is 22 districts; Gurgaon, Faridabad, Kamal, Panipat and Kurukshetra are the major districts of the state. According to census 2011, Haryana comprised 5.96 percent of total population of India. Haryana has the total population of 23.35 million, from which 13.5 million were male and 11.85 million were women. Literacy rate in Haryana was 75.5 percent which is higher than the national average of 73 percent from 2017 to 2018. Haryana contributed about 3.63 percent to the total economy of India.

3.7 Profile of the Study Area (Mahendergarh)- Because of its ties to the Kanaudia Brahmans, Mahendergarh was once known as 'Kanaud.' It was given the name Mahendergarh in the middle of the nineteenth century. The district covers a total size of 1899 square kilometres. According to census 2011, the total population of the district is 9,22,088 out of which female population is 4,35,423 and male population is 4,86,665. Total no. of the village is 374 in the district. Total literacy rate is 77.72% in Mahendergarh district of Haryana. Population growth rate was 13.43 percent from 2001 to 2011. Sex ratio in Mahendergarh was 895 for every 1000 males. Narnaul, Nangal Chowdhary, Kanina, Mahendergarh, and Ateli are the five tehsils that make up the district. Ateli, Mahendergarh, Narnaul, and Nangal Chaudhry are the four Vidhan Sabha seats of the district. Satnali is a Sub-Tehsil. Mahendergarh was named one of India's 250 most backward districts out of 640 by the Ministry of Panchayat Raj.

3.8 Sampling- To understanding the intersectionality of caste, class and gender four villages were selected from Mahendergarh district. Mahendergarh district has eight blocks. From these eight blocks, one block (Mahendergarh) has selected for the study. Four villages were selected for the study that are Khudana, Akoda, Bassai and Pali.

3.9 Profile of Respondents- Total 25 girls were interviewed through telephonic interview. All girls were belonging to scheduled caste community. Their average age was 17 years at the time of interview. All respondents selected for the study were school going girls. 10 respondents were belonging to village Khudana, 5 were from village Akoda, 4 from village Pali and 6 respondents were from Bassai village. Out of 25 targeted respondents 13 were from secondary school and 12 were from higher secondary school. Parents of all the respondents are labourers and involved in construction work, sanitation, tailor, agriculture labourers. All respondents have had more than 5 family members including their parents, siblings and grandparents. Respondents were asked about their age, caste, occupation of their parents, experiences of caste-based based discrimination in the school and outside the school, family annual

income, behaviour of teachers with them and attitude of their parents towards their education.

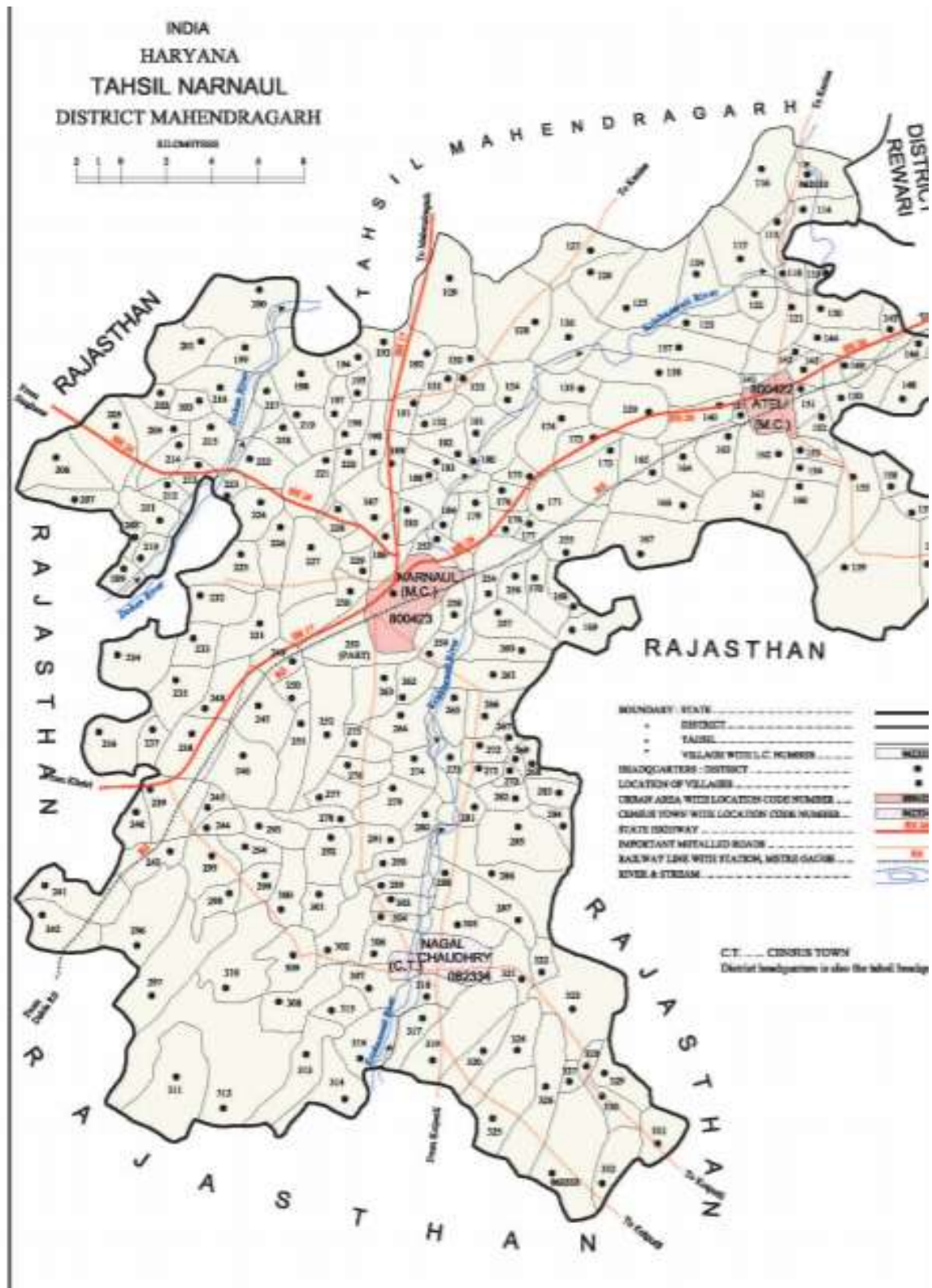


Figure- 7 Source- Census of India

CHAPTER 4

FACTORS AFFECTING THE PARTICIPATION AND EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE OF SCHEDULED CASTE GIRLS

4.1 The Role of Education in Economic Status

The mainstream education in India is failed to tackle the problem of cultural marginalization and discrimination experienced by scheduled castes. Lack of jobs is also another failure of Indian education system that influence the economic mobility in the society. Most of the scheduled caste people are involved in some form of manual labour like, mining, scavenging, construction work, metal, leather of brick work, cultivation and so on. Micro-studies reveal that although Scheduled Caste populations have a poor rate of employment in the job market, individuals do internalize the hidden curriculum of schools that teaches them to devalue and reject manual labour as ‘dirty’, ‘lowly’ and a mark of ignorance (Subrahmanian, 2005; Jefferey et al, 2002). They fail to obtain an employment means double loss for them, because the ‘educated’ child don not want to participate in the household's economic activity. Studies also indicates that caste and political networks play important role to get a job in India, and due to lack of social capital scheduled caste youth who complete their education are often not able to secure jobs. The research reveals that competition to getting job is very tough and the Chamar community are not able to pay the bribes to get government jobs due to lack of necessary social networks (Subrahmanian, 2005; Jefferey et al, 2002).

Making schooling relevant in rural economy areas is very important for the socio-economic development of scheduled castes. However, thus far, the focus has been investigating the socio-economic condition of scheduled castes in Haryana.

4.2 Socio-Economic Status of Scheduled castes Girls

Socio-economic status of the child is measured by the social and economic status of the family. Some studies indicates that there is a strong correlation between socio-economic status and the educational performance and achievements of the child. Many researchers have showed that family status play an important role and influence their academic performance (Arnold and Doctoroff, 2003; Reardon, 2011; Berkowitz et al., 2017; Lawson and Farah, 2017). According to some studies there is a positive correlation between social and economic status and educational performance persists from childhood

to adolescence and is consistent across races (Mpofu and Van de Vijver, 2000; Wossmann, 2005; Aikens and Barbarin, 2008; Caro et al., 2009; Kieffer, 2012; Ren and Xin, 2013). While there are some studies which indicate that there is a little or no relevance of social and economic status on academic achievements (Rech and Stevens, 1996; Seyfried, 1998, Ripple and Luther, 2000). Some studies indicate that poor academic performance is resultant of the lower socio-economic status and this relation consistent across ages of children (Walker et al., 1994; Pungello et al., 1996). Socio-economic condition influences the coognitive development and educational performance through a series of family environment variables like, parents' education, parenting ideas and behaviours and the parent-child relationship (Bradley et al., 2001; Yeung et al., 2002). We can say that there is a direct or indirect influence of socio-economic status of family on the academic achievements and performance of the child.

1. Distribution of Scheduled caste Population

Majority of the population of Haryana is living in the rural areas. According to census 2011, 65.12 percent population was living in the villages. While population constantly increased in urban areas over period of time. Above discussion and several studies indicate that the scheduled caste population are the poorest and most marginalized section of the society. Majority of the population among Scheduled castes are ling in the villages because of their engagement in agricultural activities and caste-based occupation. According to census 2011, total population of scheduled castes i.e., 65.12 percent was residing in villages. They have low literacy rate due to less literacy they have less chances to find suitable jobs or employment opportunities, also lack of economic capital and land ownership, they are less urbanized as compare to other castes in Haryana state. Due to living in remote area they do not have access to libraries, books, better educational institutions and internet facilities.

Table- 4

Census Year	Percentage of Rural Population		Percentage of Urban population	
	Total Population	Scheduled Caste Population	Total Population	Scheduled Caste Population
1971	82.33	86.40	17.67	13.59
1981	78.12	84.93	21.88	15.07
1991	75.35	82.29	24.63	17.71
2001	71.00	78.49	29.00	21.51

2011	65.12	72.80	34.9	27.20
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Sources- Census of India, 2011.

Everyone in the villages knows the caste of each other, its very difficult to hide the castes in rural areas. The everyday life and relationships develop on the basis of caste there is no need to mention specifically their caste. The degree of Caste and gender inequality and discrimination is prominent in rural areas as compare to urban. Most of the villages of Haryana having separate wells and handpumps for drinking water. These types of discrimination erode their self-confidence and self-esteem which led to lose of interest in education and effect their academic performance. Population living in rural areas practice direct untouchability with Scheduled Castes people which effects their basic human rights and their living right with dignity. School going girls belong to Scheduled Caste face triple burden.

2. Poverty among Different Social Groups in Haryana

It is a well-known truth that people of the scheduled castes have been subjected to harsh discrimination and social exclusion since historical times. The children belong to scheduled castes find it difficult to enroll in the schools due to poverty, because of opportunity costs including in educating a child and partly because of the expenditures associated with it (Huisman, Rani and Smits, 2010). The families with less 110 financial resources fail to get their children enrolled in schools or if manage to get enrol; withdraw them prematurely (Jayachandran, 2002).

Table- 5

Year	Rural Areas		Urban Areas		Total	
	All Groups	Scheduled Castes	All Groups	Scheduled Castes	All Groups	Scheduled Castes
1993-94	40.2	62.7	24.2	41.8	36.0	58.8
2004-05	24.8	47.5	22.4	46.9	24.2	47.4
2009-10	18.6	33.6	23.0	48.3	19.9	37.8

2011-12	11.6	23.6	10.3	25.9	11.2	24.1
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Source- Arvind Panagariya, Poverty by Social, Religious and Economic groups in India and its largest states 1993-94 to 2011-12, working paper no. 2013-02.

The above table shows that poverty ratio was higher among scheduled castes over the period of time. In other words, scheduled castes are living in worst situation as compared to other social groups. They suffer worst form of marginalization and deprivation due to their poor condition in terms of economy. They have a long history of social exclusion and marginalization. Due to denial of access education and property rights they are not capable to break this circle of poverty. As we all know that poverty affects the educational level, health and personality development of the society. Poverty also influences the income because due to lack of skills, they are unable to get employment in different sectors. Majority of the population are engaged in the manual labour like, agriculture, construction, brick making work, daily wage labour and so on. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme was started on 1st April, 2008 in Haryana to provide 100 days wage employment to every rural household in a year to increase the livelihood security in villages. One third of the jobs are reserved for the women in this scheme. The highest wage of Rs. 251 per person per day were paid to the workers on 1st April, 2015 who were engaged under this scheme.

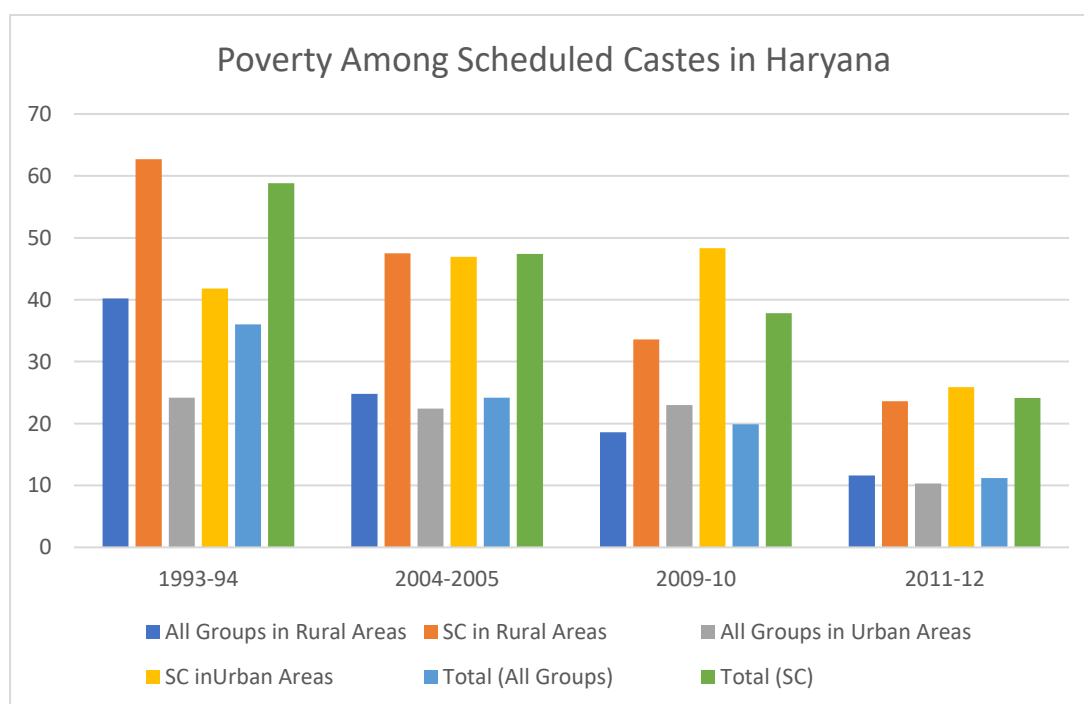


Figure- 8

Source- Arvind Panagariya, Poverty by Social, Religious and Economic groups in India and its largest states 1993-94 to 2011-12, working paper no. 2013-02.

From the above data we can see that the economic condition of scheduled caste is very poor and there is a little change took place with period of time. After decline in the poverty in rural areas as well as in urban areas scheduled caste are poorer than the other group. The poverty level among scheduled caste is approximately double of the poverty among the other groups.

3. Unemployment Rate among Different Social Groups in Haryana in 2011-12

The unemployment rate is a useful indicator to analyze the situation of the Indian society. It demonstrates an economy's inability to produce jobs for individuals who wish to work but are unable to do so. It is an indicator of the economy's efficiency and efficacy in consuming its labour force, as well as the labour market's performance. The unemployment rate is derived by dividing the total number of people in the labour force by the number of people who are jobless. The labour force (previously known as the economically active population) is the total number of people who are employed and unemployed (International Labour Organization).

Unemployment rate among scheduled castes is higher in rural areas as well as in urban areas than other groups. It was 7.7 percent among scheduled castes which was higher than OBCs and general. There is a little difference in the unemployment rate of OBCs (5.7) and general (5.6). It is clear from the data that scheduled castes were more unemployed than OBCs and general.

Table- 6

Social Groups	Rural Areas			Urban Areas			Total		
	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person
Scheduled Castes	8.4	6.5	8.0	5.7	10.7	6.3	7.8	7.0	7.7
Other Backward Classes	5.8	12.4	6.5	2.4	9.5	3.2	0.6	15.2	5.7
General	5.0	8.5	5.6	4.2	13.6	5.5	4.7	11.5	5.6

Total	6.4	8.5	6.7	4.1	12.8	5.3	5.3	9.6	6.3
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Source- Report on Employment and Unemployment Survey 2011-12, Labour Bureau Chandigarh

Their condition is more deprived and vulnerable in the rural areas as unemployment rate is 8.0 percent whereas it was 6.3 percent in the urban areas. Scheduled caste are more unemployed in urban areas also than other social groups. Unemployment rate among scheduled castes is as low as in urban areas for both male and female than their counterparts in the rural areas. The total unemployment rate in

Haryana had employment rate of 6.3 percent, while the scheduled castes had a rate of 7.7 percent. Due to low literacy rates, a lack of technical education, and insufficient skills, people from scheduled castes who have migrated to metropolitan regions are unable to find work. There is an interesting fact revealed from data that females less unemployed among scheduled castes compared to their men and other women. But due to involving in low-income jobs they are poor and vulnerable than the other social groups. Rural literacy rate in Scheduled Caste Population is remaining high in Haryana from India at all levels (total, male and female) during the entire time period (1991-2011) and its growth rate is recorded very high and almost same in both at all levels during the successive censuses. Gap in literacy between male-female is decreased from 28.14 per cent to 19.90 per cent in Haryana while in India, it decreased from 26.48 per cent to 20.01 per cent during the entire time period.

4. Literacy Among Scheduled Castes

The literacy rate is an important indicator of education. Literacy is the ability to read and write a simple message in any of language. Literacy rate is the percentage of the population that can read and write. Literacy rate among Scheduled Caste is high in the rural areas of Haryana from India at all levels (total, male and female) during the entire time period (1991-2011). Literacy gap between male and female is decreased from 28.14 percent to 19.90 percent in Haryana whereas it declined from 26.48 percent to 20.01 percent at all India level.

Table 1: Literacy Rate and Gender Gap in Scheduled Caste Population of Rural Area (1991-2011)

State and Country	Literacy Rate and Gender Gap in Literacy	1991	2001	2011
India	Total Literacy Rate	33.25	51.16	62.85
	Male Literacy Rate	45.95	63.66	72.58
	Female Literacy Rate	19.46	37.84	52.56
	Gap betweenin Male-Female Literacy Rate	26.48	25.81	20.01
Haryana	Total Literacy Rate	37.67	54.13	65.75
	Male Literacy Rate	50.62	65.88	75.10
	Female Literacy Rate	22.48	40.64	55.20
	Gap between Male-Female Literacy Rate	28.14	25.24	19.90

Source: Census of India 1991, Primary census Abstract, Scheduled caste table.
 Census of India 2001, Social and Cultural Tables, Table C-8.
 Census of India 2011, Social and Cultural Tables, Table C-8, SC

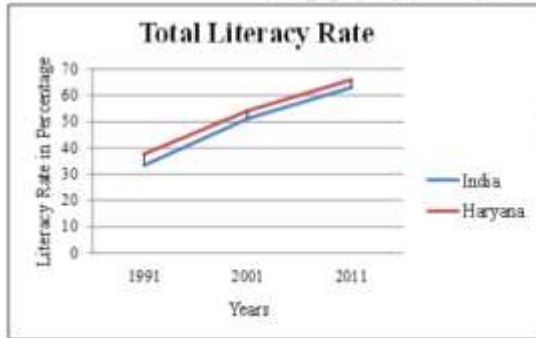


Figure 2

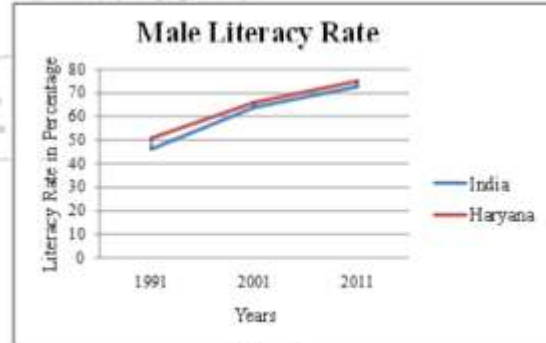


Figure 3

Figure- 9

5. Pattern of Literacy and Gender Disparity

Literacy rate is 65.75 percent among scheduled caste population in rural areas which is below almost seven percent from general literacy rate of rural area. Gurgaon has highest literacy rate i.e., 76.82 percent while Sirsa has lowest i.e., 53.97 per cent. Male literacy rate is 75.10 percent in scheduled caste is 8 percent in rural areas which is lower than general male literacy rate of rural area. It changes from 61.23 percent to 87.69 percent from Sirsa to Rewari respectively. Rural female literacy rate is 55.20 percent in scheduled caste which is six percent lower than general female literacy rate of rural area. It varies from 45.86 percent in Fatehabad to 65.57 percent in Gurgaon.

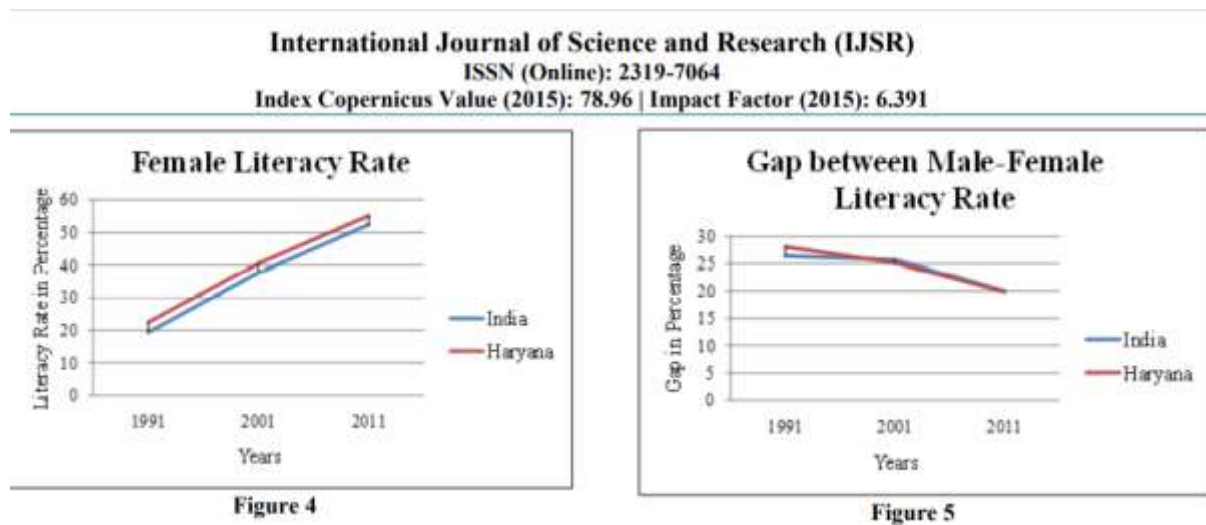


Figure- 10

6. Gender Disparity

Gender disparity in literacy is represented by gender disparity index (GPI). The value of GPI is 0.20 in scheduled caste population of rural area. The districts which are located near Delhi have high literacy rate at all levels than the other districts. Palwal district has high gender disparity while Panchkula and Yamunanagar have low gender disparity. It is noted that despite high male-female literacy rate Rewari, Mahendragarh and Jhajjar have high gender disparity.

7. Involvement in Agriculture Activities

Majority of the scheduled caste population is involved in the agriculture activities and caste-based occupation. But they work as agriculture labourers under the dominant castes. They do not have their lands for agriculture and cultivation. They are involved in manual labour and in some other works. According to agriculture census 2015-16, only 11.84% of SC population owns operational agricultural land in the country as opposed to 79.33% owned by dominant caste. They have to work under the dominant caste people in their fields. The data is very less for women, only 2329 SC women owning operational agriculture lands in joint or individually.

8. Lack of Civic Amenities

Several studies reveal the fact that scheduled caste people face multiple disadvantages because of their social location. They live at the outer most part of the villages that is the evidence of their social exclusion and discrimination. They are not in good physical health and frequently complain of weakness, disease, and mental tension.; they prevail high illness rate because Their proximity to waste-filled sewage ponds, a lack of drainage system, and flooded streets. The condition of their houses is very poor, 53.2 percent households have kacha house and 29.8 percent households do not have kitchens (Sanjeev 2020). Five basic amenities from the analysis of Household Amenities Census data that is;

(1) availability of drinking water facility in the house, (2) availability of latrine facility in the house, (3) electricity for domestic purposes, (4) Kacha roof type in the house and (5) availability of open drainage facility.

The IDC Study on Status of Dalit Development in Haryana shows that 83.0 percent households are using chullahs in the rural areas for preparing food, that adds an extra burden to the women especially on young girls who have to collect fuel for cooking instead of attending schools. Due to use of Chullahs their exposure to air pollution increases the chances asthma, tuberculosis and other health related problems. In rural areas 31.2 percent households do not have drinking water facilities and electricity, 49.5 percent households have toilet facilities all these facilities are important for efficiency, health, performance and overall quality of life (Kumar, 2016, pp. 98-100).

According to census 2011, the availability of toilets was 50.70 percent in the rural area's households (Census of India, 2011b, p. 262). Scheduled caste population significantly face problem of non-availability of electricity in rural areas. Bathing and drainage facilities is also another issue is limited to 39.41 percent as compare to non-SC households i.e., 63.30 percent. Percentage of the households with open drainage is 80.54 while 15.90 percent households have no drainage facility in rural areas (Census, 2011, p. 272).

4.3 Political Representation of Scheduled Caste women

Several studies found that the political participation of scheduled caste women is proportionately is very low. There are only 12 elected representatives in Lok Sabha out of 78 women members and merely 2.2 percent of parliamentarians. While women belong to scheduled caste do not form 1 % of the representation of Rajya Sabha. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) reports that Scheduled caste candidates, specifically women, are often forcibly prevented to contest election. They are also obliged to withdraw from village councils or other elected bodies if they are elected. Many scheduled caste people are denied the right to vote or are unable to exercise their mandate; their names are not listed in electoral rolls. CERD further stated that SC women's participation in politics and local government institutions is significantly low and fraught with difficulties (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Over 90% of the scheduled caste women are faced no. of problems for gaining access to local government institutions. From nominating candidates to announcing election results, SC women face disparagement of harassment, threats, or physical attacks; property destruction; limits on freedom of movement; and fraudulent and illegal voting procedures. The sarpanch belongs to the SC community, have to work under pressure of dominant caste men and do not able to provide basic services to his community (Kumar, 2020). They are also face discrimination and deprivation at the political level.

From the above discussion and data, we can conclude that the Scheduled Caste girls are most deprived and marginalized as compare to other girls. The social, economic and cultural status of scheduled caste is lower than the other groups in Haryana. Socio-economic status of the child determined by his/her family, as data indicates that the scheduled girls are most illiterate, poor, unemployed and living in rural areas. All these indicators show their marginalization is most prevalent due to their multi layered level of deprivation. They suffer at the bottom of the society, where they are subjected to socioeconomic deprivation and impurity. They are marginalized in almost all sphere of economic, social, cultural and political level as compared to the other social groups in the society. Data reveals that scheduled castes are one of the most socially and economically backward groups of Indian society.

4.4 Participation Indicators in Haryana-

Table- 7

Indicators	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17
Schools with Drinking Water Facility	97.22	94.87	89.58	89.13	100

Pupil Teacher Ratio	8	12	21	18	22
Enrollment Rate of SC Girls	47.54	47.19	47.12	47.60	47.73
Enrollment Rate of Girls	44.14	36.91	37.32	37.59	38.99
Schools with Girls Hostel (Sec and H S)	NA	5.13	22.92	15.22	19.51
Schools with Girls Toilet	75	NA	76.09	84.78	100
Transition Rate of Girls	95.96	87.00	85.73	NA	NA
Average Promotion Rate of Girls	89.15	85.82	81.89	NA	NA
Average Repetition Rate	0.92	1.24	2.81	NA	NA
Average Annual Dropout Rate	9.93	13.27	15.30	NA	NA

Source: Estimated from UDISE State Report

Pupil teacher ratio is a good indicator which shows the number of students against every single teacher. If school has adequate number of teachers, then it is considered better condition. Haryana has better Pupil teacher ratio if it is compared with national average. According to UDISE, 2016-17, national figure of pupil teacher ratio was 45 whereas in Haryana the pupil teacher ratio was 22. Pupil teacher ratio has been continuously progressed in Haryana during year 2012-13 to 2016-17. Almost every senior secondary school in Haryana has drinking facility. Enrollment rate of SC girls in Secondary school is higher (47.73%) than girls in general (38.99%). However, performance of SC girls is poorer than general girls. Various social factors can be responsible for the poor performance of SC girls. 19% of schools in Haryana have the facility of girls' hostels whereas at national level only 5% secondary school has girls' hostel. Annual dropout rate is 15.30 % whereas the nation figure for same is 17.79% in the year 2014-15.

4.5 Participation Indicators at India Level-

Table- 8

Indicators	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
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Schools with Drinking Water Facility	98.08	98.56	98.89
Schools with Girls Toilet	95.57	96.23	95.18
Participation of SC Girls	47.39	47.60	47.69
Transition Rate of Girls	89.68	84.44	83.06
Average Promotion Rate of Girls	82.10	79.05	80.19
Average Repetition Rate	3.36	3.16	2.92
Average Annual Dropout Rate	14.54	17.79	16.88

Source: Estimated from UDISE State Report

From above table we can see that the 98.89 percent of schools have drinking facilities in the school. 95.18 percent schools have separate girls' toilets but 4.82 percent of the schools are not having toilet facility for girl students. Participation of scheduled caste girls was 47.69 percent in 2015-16, it showed a little increase in the participation of SC girls from 2013 to 2016. It is very important to note that the transition rate is declined from 2013 to 2016. Transition rate of scheduled caste girls was 89.68 percentage in 2013-2014 but it declined by 5.24 percent in 2014-15, and in 2015-16 it declined by 1.38.

4.6 Educational Participation Indicators of Haryana and India-

Table- 9

Indicators	2013-14		2014-15		2015-16	
	Haryana	India	Haryana	India	Haryana	India
Schools with Drinking Water Facility	94.87	98.08	89.58	98.56	89.13	98.89
Schools with Girls Toilet	NA	95.57	76.09	96.23	76.09	95.18
Transition Rate of Girls	87.00	89.68	85.73	84.44	NA	83.06

Average Promotion Rate of Girls	85.82	82.10	81.89	79.05	NA	80.19
Average Repetition Rate	1.24	3.36	2.81	3.16	NA	2.92
Average Annual Dropout Rate	13.27	14.54	15.30	17.79	NA	16.88

Source: Estimated from UDISE State Report

From above table 8 we can see that Haryana has poor drinking water facilities than all India level. Data shows that the drinking water facility declined from 2013 to 2016 but it increased at country level. 76.09 percent of schools having separate girls' toilet whereas it is 95.18 percent at India level. Haryana has high average promotion rate of girl's students; it was 81.89 in Haryana while it was 79.05 percent at India level in 2015. Haryana has less dropout rate than all India level in 2015.

If we analyze the performance of SC girls against other social groups, figures show disparity between the group. Only 54.94 percentage of SC girls were able to pass 10th exam whereas 84.51 percent of general category girls and 70.80 percent of OBC girls were able to pass the same exam in year 2012-13. Even performance of OBC girls is poorer than general category girls. It is surprising to note that SC girl's performance in 10th exam has been worsen over the period 2012-13 to 2016-17. Data shows the result has declined from 2012 to 2016 but further it increased at some extent. Only 43.81 percent girls belong to scheduled caste were passed successfully 10th exam while the figure was 78.69 for general category and 61.54 percent for OBC girls. It is very interesting to noted that the girls from general category and OBC having more passing percentage than the boys of their community while SC girls having less percentage of passing than their boys in 10th exams.

4.7 Performance of SC girls in Haryana at 10th Level

Table- 10

Year	Result of 10 th					
	General		SC		OBC	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
2012-13	84.51	82.11	54.94	55.78	70.80	70.43
2013-14	77.77	77.10	41.58	43.64	59.74	59.98
2014-15	85.71	84.12	51.85	52.75	69.04	68.86
2015-16	77.41	76.35	36.74	39.11	57.31	56.35
2016-17	78.69	76.35	43.81	45.96	61.54	60.77

Source: Estimated from UDISE State Report

1) Performance of Scheduled Caste Children at 10th standard-

Table- 11

Year	Scheduled Castes	
	Boys	Girls
2010-11	80.25%	77.41%
2012-13	55.78%	54.94%
2013-14	43.64%	41.58%
2014-15	52.75%	51.85%
2015-16	39.11%	36.74%
2016-17	45.96%	43.81%

Source- UDISE data

2) Trends in performance of scheduled caste girls and boys-

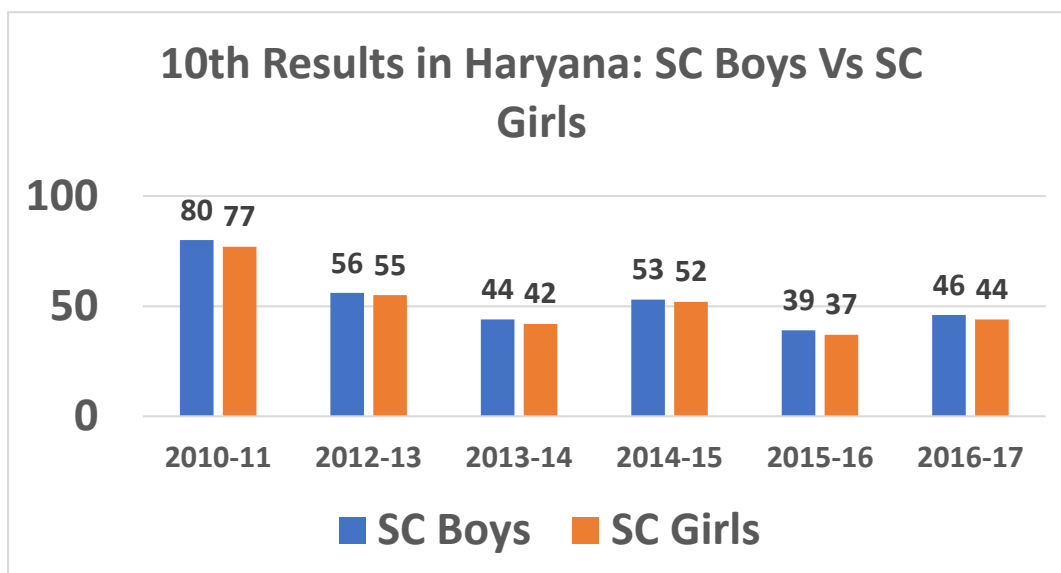


Figure- 11

Source- UDISE data

Performance of SC girls in 10th exam was poor compared to SC boys. However, over the period of time performance of SC girls in 10th exam has been improving continuously. In recent times, SC girls are performing equally well compared to SC Boys.

3) Performance of all Girls at 10th Result-

Table-12

Year	Caste	
	SC Girls	Other Girls
2010-11	77.41%	92.08%
2012-13	54.94%	84.51%
2013-14	41.58%	77.77%
2014-15	51.85%	85.71%
2015-16	36.74%	77.41%
2016-17	43.81%	78.69%

Source- UDISE Data

After the analysis of the performance of SC girls in 10th exam against two different social category OBC girls and other girls, performance of SC girls is most poor. SC girls are performing way poorer than OBC girls and other girls.

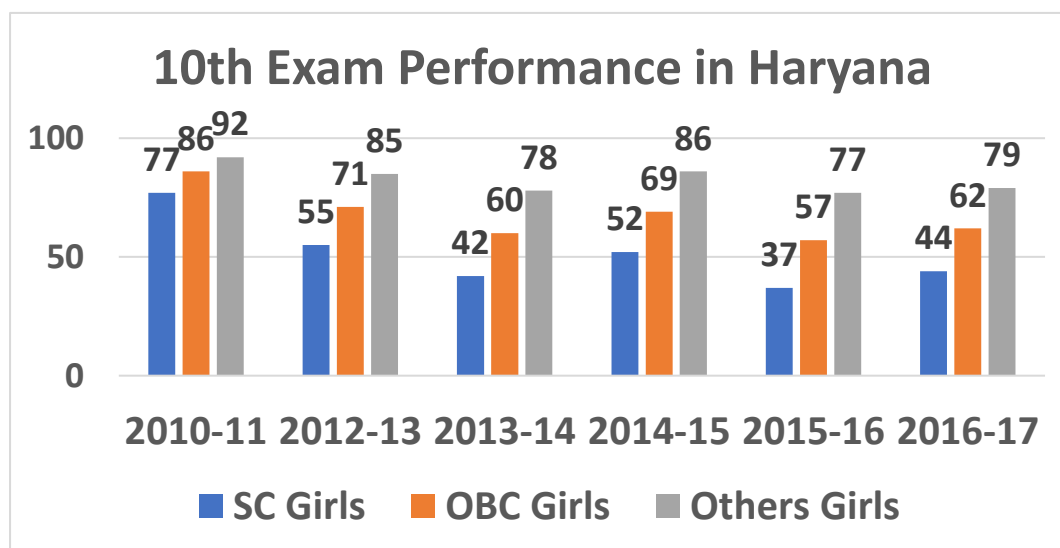


Figure- 12

Source- UDISE Data

4.8 Performance of SC girls in Haryana at 12th Level

Table- 13

Year	Stream	12 th Result in Percentage			
		Girls	SC Girls	OBC Girls	SC Boys
2012-13	Arts	82.06	69.62	75.54	60.18
	Science	84.87	77.9	81.79	64.82
	Commerce	84.40	74.22	62.08	57.37
2013-14	Arts	75.99	58.96	67.76	49.66
	Science	85.64	76.30	79.00	59.82
	Commerce	80.13	65.07	71.39	53.98
2014-15	Arts	87.37	74.30	80.21	66.08
	Science	92.35	82.27	86.87	75.55
	Commerce	89.86	81.22	81.01	67.37
2015-16	Arts	73.31	55.40	63.88	44.72
	Science	86.73	76.77	77.62	63.49
	Commerce	83.50	67.33	71.42	51.32
2016-17	Arts	79.06	62.79	69.05	54.54
	Science	90.04	79.92	84.85	71.08
	Commerce	84.70	68.62	75.63	59.17

Source: Estimated from UDISE State Report

According to UDISE data performance of SC girls in Haryana is lower as compared to OBC and other girls at 10th and 12th level. While there is a huge gap between the performance of SC girls and other girls. But it should be noted that SC girls are performing better than SC boys. This data shows that there are some factors other than gender parity which affect the performance of SC girls.

1) Performance of SC girls in Haryana at 12th Level in Arts-

Table- 14

Year	Arts			
	SC Girls	Other Girls	OBC Girls	SC Boys
2010-11	94.16%	96.30%	88.96%	87.27%
2012-13	69.62%	82.06%	75.54%	60.18%
2013-14	58.96%	75.99%	67.76%	49.66%
2014-15	74.30%	87.37%	80.21%	66.08%
2015-16	55.40%	73.31%	63.88%	44.72%
2016-17	62.79%	79.06%	69.05%	54.54%

Source- UDISE Data

As we can see the data the performance of scheduled caste girls was very good at 12th level in arts i.e., 94.16 percent and nearest to the girls of general category that was 96.30 percentage and higher than OBC girls and SC boys that was 88.96 and 87.27 percent respectively in 2010-2011. But the performance of all students declined after 2011, the performance improved in 2014-15 for all the students, but SC girls have very low performance as general Category girls and OBC girls. Despite the poor performance of the SC girls against general and OBC girls, they are performing better than SC boys.

2) **Performance of SC girls in Haryana at 12th Level in Commerce-** Data shows that the performance of scheduled caste girls was very good at 12th level in commerce i.e., 92.78 percent and nearest to the girls of general category that was 95.15 percentage and higher than SC boys that was 83.23 in 2010-2011. But the performance of all students declined after 2011, the performance improved in 2014-15 for all the students, but SC girls have very low performance as general Category girls and OBC girls. Despite the poor performance of the SC girls against general and OBC girls, they are performing better than SC boys in commerce also.

Table- 15

Year	Commerce			
	SC Girls	Other Girls	OBC Girls	SC Boys
2010-11	92.78%	95.15%	94.16%	83.23%
2012-13	74.22%	84.40%	62.08%	57.37%
2013-14	65.70%	80.13%	71.39%	53.98%
2014-15	81.22%	89.86%	81.01%	67.37%
2015-16	67.33%	83.50%	71.42%	51.32%
2016-17	68.62%	84.70%	75.63%	59.17%

Source- UDISE Data

1) Performance of SC girls in Haryana at 12th Level in Science-

Table- 16

Year	Science			
	SC Girls	Other Girls	OBC Girls	SC Boys
2010-11	77.41%	93.67%	92.48%	80.25%
2012-13	77.97%	84.87%	81.79%	64.82%
2013-14	76.30%	85.64%	79.00%	59.82%
2014-15	82.27%	92.35%	86.87%	75.55%
2015-16	76.77%	86.73%	77.62%	63.49%
2016-17	79.92%	90.04%	84.85%	71.08%

Source- UDISE Data

The overall performance of scheduled caste girls is very poor as compare to OBC girls and other girls in 2010-11 in science stream. But from above data we can say that SC girls are performing better than

SC boys at 12th from 2012 to 2017. The scheduled caste boys perform better in 2010-11 than SC girls, the passing percentage of SC girls was 77.41 while the percentage of SC boys was 80.25 in 2010-11.

2) Trends in Performance of Girls at 12th exams in Science-

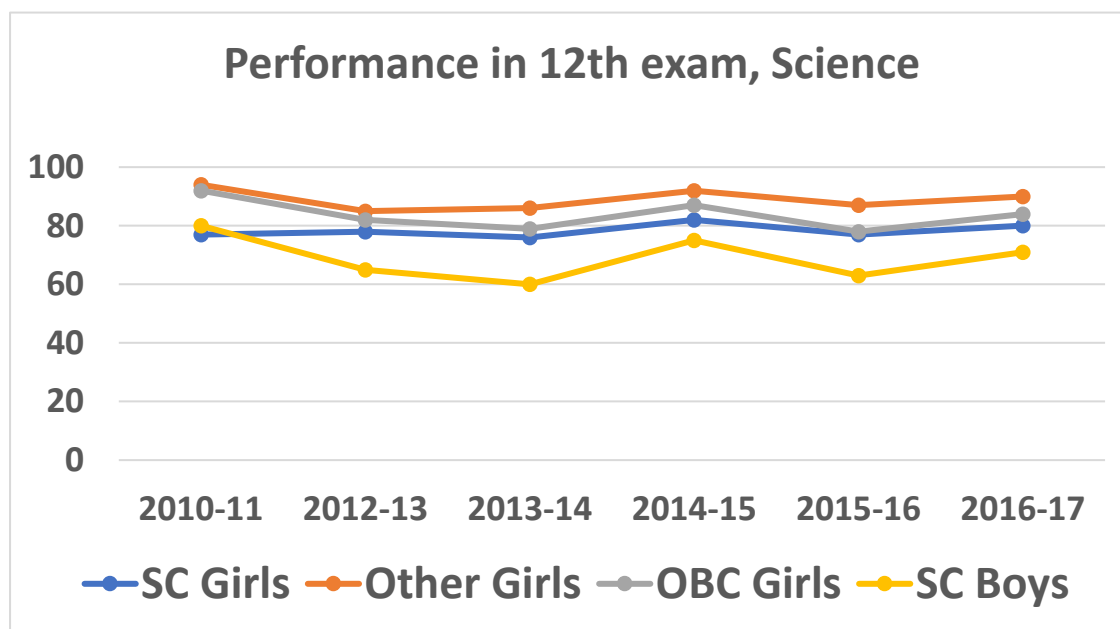


Figure-13

Source- UDISE Data

Performance of SC girls in 12th exam science is poorer than OBC girls and other girls. However, their performance is better than SC boys. Performance of other girls in 12th exam science is on higher side followed by OBC girls, SC girls and SC boys. Performance of SC girls in 12th exam science has been improving with the time. However, they are well behind of other girls and OBC girls.

4.9 Barriers to SC girls' access and participation in education

1. **Caste Based Atrocities-** Caste is the most important factor in India to determine the status and vulnerability of a person. Caste decides whether a person can access education or not. Scheduled castes people were not allowed to own their property, education, equal rights and to enter in temples and other public places. They were untouchables according to chaturvarna system of Hindu Dharma. Due to caste system a huge group of the Indian society excluded and denied to

basic human rights. Therefore, SC girls are the most ignored and oppressed group in the society. They face caste and gender discrimination at the same time in the society as well as in the schools. Scheduled Castes confront severe discrimination based on their sociocultural, political, and economic position, and as a result, they confront injustice, oppression, and violence (sexual exploitation, humiliation, rape, murder, and other forms of violence) in Indian culture. Rape, kidnapping, murders, molestation, physical and mental torture, immoral trafficking, and other forms of sexual abuse have all been perpetrated against the Scheduled Caste.

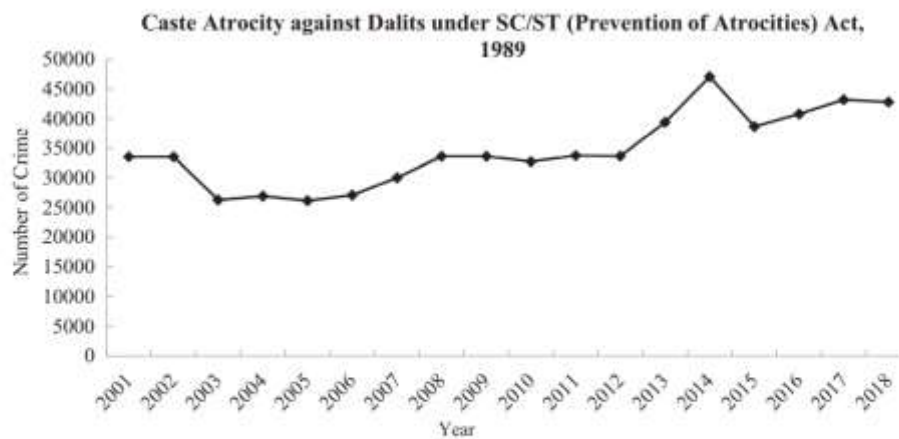


Fig. 10.3 Crimes against Dalits under the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989
 (Source: Crime in India, 2001–2018, Reports of National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) Government of India)

Figure-14

According to NCRB data 2019, 10 SC women and girls are raped every day. The rape percentage increased by 56.11 percent from 2014 to 2019. There is 43.86 percent increase in assault on SC women with intend to outrage her modesty from 2014 to 2019. Cases of insult to modesty of SC women is increased by 155.35%.

The above figure demonstrates the trend of atrocities against SC/ST in India during 2001–2018. The graph shows an increase in the number of atrocities from 33,501 in 2001 to 42,793 in 2018, with a high point in 2014. (47,064 cases). The figures of atrocities are raised again after a little decline in 2015. There was a 10 percent rise in the number of cases of crimes against SCs from 2010 to 2016. In these years, the proportion of cases belong to scheduled castes which were pending trial at the end of the year increased from 78 percent to 91 percent. Conviction rates for the crimes against scheduled castes also decreased from 38 percent to 16 percent in 2016. The first and most essential fact is that in the last two decades (2001–2018), atrocities against Dalits have escalated by 78 percent. Besides, the implementation of the

special SC/ST Atrocities Prevention Act 1989, which for their protection, there is the rising trends in the caste atrocities against scheduled castes are becoming stronger. When scheduled castes threatened the caste structure, they want to control them by caste atrocities and gang rapes of their women. The dominant caste Hindu try to teach them lesson by gang rape of scheduled caste women, naked parades in front of the village; (Misri 2011), burning their children and houses alive, force them to drink urine and eat human feces, beaten and naked parade in front of public (Una, 2016) by these instances they terrorize the whole community. These types of inhuman atrocities against scheduled castes are easily acceptable in the Indian society in name of caste system. The dominant caste people targeted scheduled caste women by these severe atrocities (gang rape, naked parade etc.), are normal and these types of atrocities do not get so much attention, even the judiciary system also contains it (Bhanwari Devi, 1992) as a part of the society. Action taken after the rape of scheduled caste women is very slow and negligible, which concludes that some rapes are more acceptable than others (Verwoerd and Lopes 2015).

2. **Dominant Caste hegemony-** In the process of resistance against caste system majority of SCs are vulnerable and tended to delegitimise their own culture; because they were overpowered by dominant caste hegemony in terms of food habits, greetings, language, dress, tradition and culture. Social scientists like Passeron (1977), Gramsci (2005) and Bourdieu analyses the exercise of the power in the society by dominant classes through their hegemony and this hegemonic structure influence scheduled caste culture. Scheduled caste negotiated the dominance in daily life in various manners, theoretical conceptualisation and political consciousness comes out of their lived and historical experiences. The dominant caste hegemony was extended and its symbolic power implicated through 'pedagogic practices' that included the education system and with other agencies (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). When scheduled caste girls tried to 'mingle' with the girls belong to dominant caste inside or outside the school. It was very difficult for them not to connect with dominant caste girls in terms of food, dress, housing, shoes and so on. They fail to associate with dominant caste culture because there is a huge gap between the cultures of both the communities. Most second generation and third generation scheduled caste children are tried to establish friendship with dominant caste but they realised that the dominant caste children are giving them less attention and preference as compare to the friends of their own community.
3. **Child and Early Marriage-** Child marriage has been an age-old social problem which has been continuously hampering the overall development of humankind. Practice of child marriage adversely affects the physical, mental and psychological well-being of a person. A girl who marries before the age of 18 years, is termed as child marriage. For boys the age limit

is 21 years. A girl experiences most difficult condition after child marriage. They are the one who are supposed to deliver child in a premature age which put them in a high health risk. Maternal mortality and child mortality is prevalent among those who are the victim of child marriage. Girl loses their childhood due to early marriage hence their education also gets affected negatively. Many do not get chance to get into schools and have a proper educational life. In our patriarchal set of social system, practice of child marriage has been normalized. Preference of boys over girls, giving boys more importance than the girls, preconditioning of gender role, these all makes situation worse for a girl to have a similar healthy and happy life as equal to boy. Parents do not consider girl education is that much important. The general societal notion is – “after all girls have to look after their child and do household works”. According to United Nations, globally 60 million girls get married before the age of 18 and out of which 31 million such marriages are occurred in South Asia region. United Nation considers child marriage is a grave violation of child rights. Practice of child marriage affects the overall well-being, education, health and psychological well-being. The Prohibition of Child marriage act in India, defines child marriage as either of the contracting party is a child. In India, 21 percent of the girls in the age group of 18-23 are marrying below the age of 18 years. Girls who are married early are not only denied childhood, they are socially isolated and cut-off from families and friends and other sources of supports. Girls receive minimum opportunity or often societal and familial forces act against them to have education and employment (UNICEF, 2014). Child marriage act against woman’s health, her agency and empowerment. Sustainable Development Goals considers Child marriage as impediment towards development, hence its target to end Child marriage worldwide.

Practice of child marriage is rampant in India. Its traditional and rural set up still cherish the child marriage. Child marriage in India gets cultural approval and social acceptance. Girls who marry “late” or doesn’t marry, receive tons of societal and familial judgment and not regarded as good social practice. Girls have lesser or no autonomy and agency in a patriarchal society like India. The societies are developed today because they have given equal importance to girl education. Without education a society never progress. Great philosopher like Dr. Ambedkar have said that a girl’s progress in a society is a real indicator of progress of any country. Indian government is working towards the goal of ending the practice of child marriage and promoting girl’s education. Giving free education to girls, providing key assistance in the form of distributing cycle among girl students, providing scholarships and working on social awareness and passing messages of the importance of girl’s empowerment with the help of education, all are said to be working well towards promoting girl’s education. The popular slogan of “Beti Bachao Beti Padhao” of the Government of India reflects the importance of girl’s education. Along with many factors, Child marriage also act against achieving greater

and conducive condition for girl education and empowerment. We cannot imagine a better result of improved girl education without we completely end the practice of Child marriage.

As discussed, earlier Haryana has strong caste and gender-based discrimination. The rape threat, gang rapes, sexual violence and molestation by the dominant castes are very common with scheduled castes girls. Majority of the respondents' parents are planning to get them marry after their secondary education. They marry their girls early due to above mentioned reasons.

4. **Gender Discrimination-** Gender norms Gender differential treatment was also noticed on certain parameters. Overall, at least eight in ten parents agreed that boys and girls were served similar food, at the same time around one-third also reported that boys were served before girls. Three in four parents also agreed that girls did more household work than boys. One in every two parents reported that boys got more time to study as opposed to girls and also highlighted that they prioritized the boy's education over that of the girl. A little more than half of the parents admitted that boys were advantaged on all respects. Thus, the study findings reflected on various aspects and on enablers and disablers of girl child education. These factors significantly determine the continuation and completion of education by a girl child.
5. **Behaviour of teachers and peer groups-** Some of the scheduled caste girls complained about poor teaching. Some girls found school boring and wanted to play at home. Some scheduled caste girls never get encouraging remarks for their efforts by the teachers. Due to poor teaching students developed a certain type of perception for a particular subject, teacher and then the entire school and as a result the chances to drop out increased. A few students from second and third generations to be found the teaching and learning very interesting and they enjoyed the attention and encouragement given by the teachers at school. Encouragements for learning and other efforts by the teachers of scheduled castes are very rare. When teacher was not able to provide friendly and motivated environment many of the students became disinterested in the learning process (Paik, 2016).

80 percent of the respondent complained about the poor teaching and discriminatory behaviour of teachers. 3 respondents out of 25 were not comfortable to share about the behaviour of their teachers. Only two respondents informed that they are enjoying going to school and receive encouragement from teachers.

6. **Poverty-** poverty is also an important factor to influence the education of a person. Studies shows that the SC girls are poor and have lack of resources to complete their education. They are not able to pay school expenses and other expenses like textbooks costs, uniform costs,

coaching fees, other stationery costs etc. Due to poor condition of the family parents choose to invest for boys' education instead of girls. Girls have to take care of their younger siblings and also helps in household chores. There are sufficient studies which shows that girls who face multiple level of inequalities like caste, gender, poverty, living in the remote areas, belongs to religious minorities are lagging behind to participate and complete their education as compare to other girls.

7. **Violence-** violence is also a barrier to complete the education for SC girls. They experience gender and caste-based violence including sexual abuse and sexual harassment during going to school and within the school. Type of violence influence their physical and mental health and leads them to drop out from school or to influence their performance. There are certain stigma associated with sexual violence and exploitation, and due to these stigma girls face discrimination from their family, peer group and society. These stigma leads theme to lower attendance and dropout from school.
8. **Mental Health Issues-** During the Secondary education the children get into puberty. And this age is called teen age of adolescent age. Adolescence is a period when children experience emotional disturbances, low self-esteem, depression, anxieties due to the development of the secondary sexual organs. Some studies indicates that these psychological issues, girls of secondary and senior secondary level, tend to have the defeatist attitude towards their future which influence their academic performance. Scheduled caste girls due to their poor socio-economic background have poor physical and mental health. Adolescents require just courteous, personable, and confidential guidance and comfort from medical personnel, as well as a clear understanding of the problem and minimal medical involvement (Dubey, 2012). But due to caste taboo and class gap between the communities the dominant caste girls do not want to talk with scheduled caste girls (Paik, 2016, pg. 251). And they face multiple type of discrimination and tend to drop out from the school or poor performance.
9. **Lack of employment and Opportunities-** Table no 5 shows the unemployment rate in Haryana according to the current daily status approach for various social classes. In Haryana, the unemployment rate for scheduled castes was 7.7%, which was higher than the rate for other socioeconomic categories. It is apparent that scheduled castes had a higher unemployment rate than other socioeconomic categories. Scheduled caste population is poorer than the other groups as discussed above. Instead to educate their children they prefer to send them for manual works so that they can contribute in the family economy. As per data of unemployment, scheduled caste population is most unemployed than others, so parents have negative attitude towards the education of their children.

- 10. Parents attitude towards girls Education-** Jean Drèze and Geeta Kingdon proposed a hypothesis during a survey on school participation in rural India that there is a correlation between educational attainment of girls and parental attitudes towards their education (Jean Drèze & Kingdon., 1999). This theory is validated by the findings of this survey, which show that child labour needs, school enrollment, school costs, school quality, and parental motivation are all determinants. 90 percent of the respondents were denied to go for higher education. They were answered during pilot survey that their parents are not ready to send college for higher education. They said that our parents are not in the favor of their higher education. 10 percent were not sure whether they will go for higher education or not. 70 percent respondent accept that their parents give preference to their male child. They are ready to send their boys for higher education, ‘our parents are poor and not able to send me outside the village’, 80 percent of the respondent replied. They have the burden of their girls’ marriage for what they work hard to collect money for them.
- 11. Exclusionary Curicullum and Pedagogy-** Educational system in India need reform to resolve the problems faced by scheduled caste children in the government schools. There is a need to reform in the curriculum content, learning and pedagogic approaches. As discussed above, the marginalisation of Scheduled Castes is nearly associated to their low socio-economic status, that is predetermined by ideology of caste. As per data, Scheduled Castes are mostly landless labourers in the agricultural sector they are involved in some other occupation like sewage, sanitation work, as street cleaning, as cobblers which are seen as ‘dirty’.
- 12. Prejudice and School curricula-** School textbooks and curricula are highly exclusionary and largely in the favored of the middle-class professional households. Textbooks often portray middle-class lifestyles and choices as role models to follow. As a result, the curricula used in schools tacitly legitimise the blatant prejudice suffered by Scheduled Caste pupils from teachers and students. The lack of positive representation of working-class labour, particularly that of ‘untouchable’ Scheduled Castes communities, isolates SC children from their own communities and families, and has a negative impact on their self-esteem. Curricula at the primary or elementary school level do not teach about their caste struggles for equality and justice fights for justice and dignity, or the repressive aspects of the caste system, and it is rarely addressed at the secondary school level.

Furthermore, school curriculum is limited to bookish and abstract learning, with no local examples, resources, or styles of instruction used to teach these topics. The scenario is similar for children from Scheduled Tribes, whose culture and living environments differ significantly from those of middle-class rural and urban families. In order to develop a sense of self-worth and allow meaningful learning, a curriculum that covers the histories, living situations, and

livelihoods of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities in a positive way is required. Current mainstream curricula, on the other hand, ignore Scheduled Tribe groups' socio-cultural and economic realities and goals.

CHAPTER- 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Intersectionality

Intersectionality can be understood by the theories of multiple marginalization or as a multiple identity. Intersectionality provides the insight about the multiple layers of discrimination that how identities interact within hierarchical structure. Intersectionality framework emerged in Black feminist theory and it definitely has applicability at universal level because of its extensive theoretical and philosophical relevance. Intersection is the point of junction where two or more components connect with each other. In the context of Black feminism race, class and gender create crucial intersection and in context of India caste, class and gender would seem to constitute the crucial intersection for Scheduled Castes. Intersectionality is the lens to investigate the multiple layer of discrimination on basis of race, gender, class and caste. It is the fact that “women” as such is no homogeneous entity like the liberal feminist movement would like to convey neither does the gender inequality resembles any way near to class, caste or race struggle. Like Simone de Beauvoir said, ‘women as such lack any feeling of gender solidarity. They identify themselves more with their class, caste or race than they do with their gender.’ This is the reason the White women, in general, were against any sort of women’s liberation in America and Savarna women resisted the Hindu Code Bill tooth and nail. Because these sorts of developments were to liberate all the women including the subjugated class women. Suffering gender oppression at the hands of their Savarna/White men is the inconvenience they enjoy it to keep subjugated women in line. An oppressive system like racism or casteism already makes the privileged class women superior to a considerable mass of subjugated men and women. White women were passive beneficiaries of slavery and racism as it made them superior to Black men and women just like the Savarna and especially Dwij caste women were the biggest passive beneficiaries of the Caste system as it automatically made them superior to underprivileged group of the society. In the USA, the biggest advocates of slavery were white women. As Bell Hooks (1982) writes in *Ain’t I a Women*, that the white women not only ignored but also actively supported the sexual harassment of Black women at the hands of White men because it not only saved them from getting harassed at the hands of White men but also gave them extra leisure time. Simone de Beauvoir (1949) said that men and women for a same class and case and unlike blacks and whites or bourgeois and proletariat or Savarnas and Avarnas they can’t separate from each other. The privilege of the women of one class, to a large extent, depend on the privilege of the men of that same class. This is why a woman is bound to defend her class privilege and by class privilege, she is bound to defend the men of her class. The book, *The Myth of White Proletariat* states that the white worker identifies more itself with the white Bourgeois than it identifies itself with the Black worker. Similarly, Bell hooks said that the oppressor class women

use the myth of a homogeneous womenkind to project their interest as the general women interest. Like the class, the ruling class has used the gender question to cancel the caste or race question. In India also just as the Savarna Communists used the class question to declare that caste oppression does not exist.

5.2 Key Findings- It is a well-known fact that scheduled castes population face worst form of discrimination, social exclusion since historical times. The children belong to scheduled castes find it difficult to enroll in the schools due to poverty, because of opportunity costs including in educating a child and partly because of the expenditures associated with it (Huisman, Rani and Smits, 2010). Literacy rate in Haryana was 67.9 per cent whereas the literacy rate for SC population was 55.4 per cent. Literacy rate in Haryana is 75.55 % while it is as low as 66.85% in scheduled castes as compared to other castes is 77.70%. According to The Ministry of Human Development, the drop-out rate was 51% at elementary level. Because of the high drop-out rate at elementary school, enrolment at the higher schools and colleges is very less. GER of higher education for male population in Haryana is 26.5% and GER for female is 32.4%. GER of higher education for SC male population in Haryana 18.3% while GER for SC female is 22.0% (AISHE 2018-19).

According to UDISE data enrollment rate of SC girls of Haryana in the year 2012-13 was 47.54 and it remains almost static till the year 2016-17 i.e., 47.73. In the year 2012-13 girl's enrollment rate was 44.14 and after that in the year 2013-14 it is decreased by 7.23 %. The trends of girls' enrollment rate have been increasing marginally. Transition rate of girls in Haryana is also decreasing with time; in 2012-13 transition rate of girls was 95.96 but it is decreased by 10.23 % in the year of 2014-15. Average annual dropout rate is also increasing from 2012 to 2015. Majority of the scheduled caste population is involved in the agriculture activities and caste-based occupation. But they work as agriculture labourers under the dominant castes. They do not have their lands for agriculture and cultivation. According to agriculture census 2015-16, only 11.84% of SC population owns operational agricultural land in the country as opposed to 79.33% owned by dominant caste. They have to work under the dominant caste people in their fields. The data is very less for women, only 2329 SC women owning operational agriculture lands in joint or individually.

Access, participation and Performance of SC girls- Enrollment rate of SC girls in Secondary school is higher (47.73%) than girls in general (38.99%). However, performance of SC girls is poorer than general girls. Various social factors can be responsible for the poor performance of SC girls. 19% of schools in Haryana have the facility of girls' hostels whereas at national level only 5% secondary school has girls' hostel. Annual dropout rate is 15.30 % whereas the nation figure for same is 17.79% in the year 2014-15. If we analyze the performance of SC girls against other social groups, figures show disparity between the group. Only 54.94 percentage of SC girls were able to pass 10th exam whereas 84.51 percent of general category girls and 70.80 percent of OBC girls were able to pass the same exam in year 2012-13. Even performance of OBC girls is poorer than general category girls. It is surprising

to note that SC girl's performance in 10th exam has been worsen over the period 2012-13 to 2016-17. Data shows the result has declined from 2012 to 2016 but further it increased at some extent. Only 43.81 percent girls belong to scheduled caste were passed successfully 10th exam while the figure was 78.69 for general category and 61.54 percent for OBC girls. It is very interesting to noted that the girls from general category and OBC having more passing percentage than the boys of their community while SC girls having less percentage of passing than their boys in 10th exams. The overall performance of scheduled caste girls is very poor as compare to OBC girls and other girls in 2010-11 in science stream. But from above data we can say that SC girls are performing better than SC boys at 12th from 2012 to 2017. The scheduled caste boys perform better in 2010-11 than SC girls, the passing percentage of SC girls was 77.41 while the percentage of SC boys was 80.25 in 2010-11.

Due to intersection of caste, class and gender the Scheduled caste girls face difficulties to complete their education. This framework helps to understand the multiple layered discrimination within the society.

Respondents have physical access and participation for schools. They face several barriers to complete their education. Government is providing support like free books, reading materials, uniforms and incentives but transition and enter in the higher education is a big challenge for scheduled caste girls. Dominant caste hegemony directly and indirectly restricts them to complete their education. They face discrimination on the basis of their caste, class and gender.

Recommendations:

1. Acknowledge Scheduled caste women as a separate category among women. Due to the multiple level of discrimination, they need special attention of policy makers and planners. Data should segregate separately for the scheduled caste women of different educational indicators for the implementation of the policies and programmes.
2. Government should ensure their equal rights to complete their education successfully. State has to adopt the policies and programmes particularly for scheduled caste girls to encourage them and monitor the implementation of the programmes with the engagement with students, parents and teachers.
3. Encourage educational institutions to adopt equal opportunity policies that include affirmative action for SC girls, and to monitor the implementation of the policy with the help of instructors, parents, and both boys and girls. The state must implement policies to combat prejudice and stereotypes based on caste and gender.
4. Untouchability and caste-based violence should be proclaimed national crimes, with violence against scheduled caste women being designated as a special category of crime with respect to caste and gender. There should be provision to immediate and strict action against the person who practice untouchability and caste violence.
5. Ensure good amount of scholarships for the scheduled caste girls. The incentives and scholarships given by government are not sufficient to support them. Due to backward socio-economic status, they drop out the schools. Government should give them scholarships for mobile and internet data for the upcoming challenges in digital learning. The processes of availing the benefit of schemes and policies are very complicated and time taking, there is a need to make the process easy and convenient so that they can easily benefitted by the policies.
6. As discussed above and also studies indicates that the scheduled caste lives in ghettos of their castes at the outer most part of the villages. There can be the provision of separate schools like Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya for scheduled caste population to decrease the chances of untouchability and discrimination.
7. According to UDISE data the dominant castes are overrepresented in the schools, so there are chances to discriminate and unequal treatment with the scheduled caste students on the basis of their caste. State should increase the representation of scheduled castes men and women in the schools so that the chances of discrimination can be decreased.

8. Government should start training programmes to sensitize teachers and children of dominant castes. The teachers and children from the background of dominant caste have some prejudice and stereotypes for scheduled caste students. They think traditionally that they are dirty, impure, and don't have manners to eat and they walk in a certain way; these types of stereotypes the children from scheduled castes lose their interest in education. So, state should start some anti-caste training for teacher and peer group to decrease the degree of discrimination and untouchability.

9. Parents of the scheduled caste girls having negative attitude towards their education due to their poor socio-economic status, as per telephonic interviewed. They are poor and unemployed as compare to other groups they cannot afford the cost of education and also prevail the traditional patriarchal mindset. So, state should provide counselling of the parents to eliminate their stereotypes based on genders and traditions and motivate them to send their girls to schools.

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