



Socio-economic and cultural status of marginalized groups in Andhra Pradesh-overview on dalits

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Abstract

Caste has been considered an economic aspect of a group of individuals in the Indian content. It is property and the value of the property in raised or reduced directly in proportion to the ritual status in the social order of Hindu society. The new economic policy has provided opportunities to the upper castes to consolidate their social and economic power by deals and mergers. Social inclusion in a comple and multi-dimensional concept that cannot be measured directly. Social inclusion and division of marginalized groups resulted in their assertion and empowerment and seeking human dignity in the social order. The origin and historical background of marginalized groups, in enumerating the origin and background of marginalized groups in Andhra Pradesh. It is clear that the marginalized groups suffer from social identity and social inclusion. These sections have been denied of their just rights and consequent to that lot many social movements came into existence, the discrimination and exclusion encountered by marginalized groups in Indian society. Marginalized groups were pushed into backwardness in terms of economical, social, political and cultural identities. This once again speaks deliberate action plan of upper caste people to suppress them. Caste and Class system in India which throws light on the age old caste structure and its influence on the social system. Marginalization is a slippery and multi-layered concept, but society can be marginalized at the global level while classes and communities can be marginalized from the dominant social system. It is observed that the marginalized suffer the greatest loss of rights and opportunity, for which the caste system remains most strongly a reality.

Keywords: disadvantaged sections, civil society, exclusion, inequality, social injustice, spatial segregation

Introduction

Lack of access to land makes Dalits economically vulnerable; their dependency is exploited by upper- and middle-caste landlords and allows for many abuses to go unpunished. Most Dalit victims of abuse are landless agricultural labourers who form the backbone of India's agrarian economy. The exploitation of agricultural labourers and the rigid assignment of demeaning occupations on the basis of caste keep Dalits in a position of economic and physical vulnerability. The triple burden of caste, class, and gender effectively ensures that Dalit women are the furthest removed from legal protections. Sustainable economic empowerment of rural masses; investments to enhance their capability and effective measures for accelerated development of the disadvantaged sections like Dalits. The pre-requisite to reforms therefore could be the radical land reforms, massive investments in rural areas into agriculture-related infrastructural projects, universalisation of primary education, primary health care system and reinforcement of positive discrimination in favour of Dalits^[1]. In India, globalization has brought about many significant changes in the socio-political and economic spheres of development and socio-cultural change. Although it has increased economic growth and in some cases expanded the size of the middle class, the lives of marginalized people have not improved as expected by most financial and economic experts. Furthermore, globalization has drastically transformed the relationship between the state and civil society. The state has been withdrawing from its previous welfare agenda. In response, a number of non-state actors

have emerged to take responsibility for many of the issues that were previously undertaken by the state. In general, globalization has been accompanied by market-oriented development strategies, which for the most part have adversely affected the livelihoods of marginalized people. Civil society actors have strongly opposed the exploitative and exclusivist models of development associated with globalization and advocated a more participatory and people-centric development paradigm.

Firstly, examining experiences of the state from the margins opens up the concept of marginality as a situation within which different populations and individuals are located. But a view from the margins may also expose the fractured and heterogeneous nature of the state. For it is within the margins that the state becomes differentially visible, both in terms of its presence but also its absence. The politics of marginality in India have characteristically been associated with low castes, Dalits, tribal groups and religious minorities^[2].

Marginality invokes a relational position that refers to disadvantageous social and spatial experiences with in common fields of knowledge and power^[3]. The social dimensions of marginalization might refer to matters of demography, religion, culture, social structure (such as caste, hierarchy, class, ethnicity, gender, age), economics and the politics of resource access between different people and groups, as well as processes of displacement. These dimensions inform processes of exclusion, inequality, social injustice and spatial segregation of people^[4]. The spatial aspects of marginality concern physical location, distance

from centres of development and degrees of connectivity and integration. As a spatial experience, marginalized groups may live in out of the way places, on or near territorial boundaries, outside homelands and in inhospitable and inaccessible areas. ^[5] But marginality may also be the product of being “out of place” ^[6] within the ideological centre or heartland, which directly challenges the integrity of the nation, e.g., social exclusion due to race, religion, gender or, in the Indian case, caste, all of which take place in locations that are very visible. Often, but not always, spatial and social aspects of marginality overlap and interlock to reproduce and reinforce experiences of marginalization.

Marginality is, however, more than a fixed social or spatial location, and instead constitutes a process. Patterns of marginality are configured and reconfigured through time and space, just as they are lived and perceived from within shifting individual and collective positionalities. As a process, marginality is not uniformly experienced, but represents an uneven terrain of multiple and overlapping spatial and scalar influenced, that present constraints as well as possibilities for those, externally and self-referentially, perceived as marginal.

Concepts of marginalization

The concept of marginalization has its roots in the 1930s when Park ^[7] (1928) first coined and systematically explained this concept in his seminal essay “Human Migration and the Marginal Man.” Later, Billson ^[8] (1988, 1996) tried to theorize and explain its significance in the sociological realm. Thus, Billson distinguished between “cultural marginality, social role marginality, and structural marginality, according to whether the linchpin of marginal status rests in cultural differences, individual roles, or location in the social structure” ^[9] (1996, pp. 1–2). In this special issue, we have tried to use the concept of marginalization in a more nuanced manner to increase the understanding of the sociological and anthropological aspects of the phenomena it encompasses.

Nilsen’s article (2013) entitled “Adivasi Mobilization in Contemporary India” ^[10] focuses on the sociological engagement of the political aspects of the structural marginalization of the Adivasis in India. He puts forward the argument that it is necessary to move beyond both anti-statism and state-centrism in order to develop a politically enabling engagement with the contemporary Adivasi mobilization in India. This kind of mobilization is in fact more frequent in the tribal belts of India as a result of the identity mobilization of the Scheduled Castes and the so-called Other Backward Classes.

Williams, Vira and Chopra ^[11] (2011) pay special attention to the contemporary Indian state as a major part of the context of development. Their work reflects upon the ways in which the state experiences by focusing on questions of marginality, agency and power as they intersect the politics of development. The implementation of pro-poor and more inclusive policies has altered the discursive landscape within which state–society interactions have taken place over the last few years. It is important to note that these policies have functioned to reconfigure not only the material interactions between the state and India’s marginalized, but also the imagined spaces within which marginal groups renegotiate their relationships with the state in order to get their agenda

implemented. It is pertinent to mention here that the Indian government is actively involved in the beneficiaries in order to fulfil its promise of inclusive forms of governance.

With this as the current state of the art, this special issue on “Globalisation and People at the Margins” examines the theoretical and epistemological engagement of globalization on the one hand, and provides ethnographic and empirical information on the other. It examines various facets of marginalization from political, economic, social, gendered, and caste perspectives. Therefore, this special issue provides an interdisciplinary examination of globalization and marginality.

Caste, the rural community, and the joint family have contributed to social and cultural solidarity in India, where differences of race and culture were likely to provoke perpetual conflict. Although they make up an interwoven compact and solid structure they are plastic, bending to economic forces. Through the caste system the aboriginal tribes have been gradually absorbed into Hindu social organization. As peasants, artisans, and traders rise in the economic scale, they rise also in caste, not as individuals but as groups. Almost unceasing are the processes of differentiation and fusion of castes and sub-castes, especially in the lower rungs of the Hindu social ladder.

Marginalization and its attributes. The definitions of marginalization that we referred to were: ‘Being marginalized refers to being separated from the rest of the society, forced to occupy the fringes and edges and not to be at the centre of things. Marginalized people are not considered to be a part of the society’. Material deprivation is the most common result of marginalization. Along with material deprivation; marginalized individuals are also excluded from services, programs, and policies. Marginalization needs to be understood in terms of exclusion, both individual and group. Exclusion is sometimes implicit and those that perpetrate it are often unaware that they are doing so. One participants provided the following example from a study carried out by the Institute for Dalit Affairs which found that Muslims and Dalits were the least likely to get jobs in the urban labor market even when controlling for other social and professional attributes. In this regard, the concepts of fair and unfair exclusion and inclusion were brought up, as were the concept of individual and group exclusion and inclusion. Understanding individual exclusion is the key to understand group exclusion dynamics. An individual may not have certain attributes which are required for inclusion into certain opportunities, such as marks to get into a particular course etc. Such exclusion would be termed ‘fair’. Marginalization makes people vulnerable to unfair exclusion/inclusion at an individual or group level ^[12].

The experience of marginalization may not always be painful or experienced in the way that we think it is. Dalits or Other Backward Castes may not feel marginalized where they are in the majority and their aspirations may not be turned to social equality but to improved standards of living. The idea of being on the margins is a spatial one and one way to measure it may be to examine how many people who are on fringes could come into policy making. Another might be to track the rate of change of social indicators among marginalized communities vis à vis the others. Disaggregation of data by coverage and

quality is very important to be able to identify systematic inequalities between various groups that point to marginalization. Unusual but meaningful indicators may be suggested by those of the communities. Natural experiments such as those caused by the partitioning of a country or differences between states in a country may provide useful lessons.

In the case of the Velugu project in Andhra Pradesh where a form of social engineering is happening, many marginalized communities have come out in the open. The greatest pace of change is being seen in Dalit and backward communities as compared to the higher classes. The article by Pundit that was circulated suggests that the notion of caste and a backward caste in India might well have been concretized by the affirmative actions of the policies that India has adopted^[13].

The groups' connectedness to the conversation in society determines their self-worth just as an individual's does so as she grows up in a family. And it can be changed by inclusion into that conversation. Newer technology provides possibilities to do that. A sense of community can help to foster that possibility of connectedness.

Affirmative Action

Equity or rather, inequity plays out in real life as 'marginalization'. Material deprivation is the most visible result of marginalization; two less visible dimensions are poor access to services resulting from discrimination, and poor self-esteem resulting from stigma.

The notions of equity and equality were revisited. One view that was proffered was that stigma results not only in poor self-esteem, but also colors (and is perhaps caused by) the way in which society looks at different groups within it. True equality ensures pluralism and diversity; it does not mean homogeneity and needs to be addressed in any discussion of marginalization. Given our previous discussions on equity this closely approximates the definition of equity that the group had agreed; so it is clear that all were speaking of the same notion.

A recent book 'Why Nations Fail', deals with the drivers that cause nations to fail to become inclusive and instead, remain extractive societies. Several structural factors are often at play, and political systems to back up these extractive interests are created. The debate is about whether services for marginalized segments should reflect 'affirmative action' or should such segments be required to avail themselves of mainstreamed services; both points of view have strong support from academics and the communities themselves.

Progress of equity

A prerequisite for framing policies for marginalized groups is to craft a dashboard of indicators for action that actually makes a difference. These indicators can act as scorecards to decide what constituted a good society. Scorecards such as the Millennium Development Goals which define health profiles exist. But what is needed is a set of 'equalizing measures' which come pre-loaded with a tipping point which tells you that 'enough' has been done on a particular aspect. Tata Tea provides an example of using new and innovative scorecards. They have created a Social Welfare Index which includes parameters such as percentage of mothers who delivered in the

hospital, immunization rate, water and sanitation rate etc. they evaluate different parameters on a scale and then ranks and prioritizes the gardens accordingly. Albeit that the Index is used only over a small population of 80,000, it makes for an interesting study for how measurement can be used to create outcomes^[14]

Approaches to tackle marginalization

The discussion on approaches to tackle marginalization touched upon several ideas. Affirmative action was revisited. One view was that affirmative action may not be enough to address problems of marginalization. Firstly, it may not take into consideration the highly marginalized among the marginalized. And if the focus is not on the most marginalized, desirable outcomes may not be achieved. Secondly, just taking affirmative action may not guarantee privileges to the excluded populations since governance also plays an important role in actual delivery of goods and services. Hence in states like Uttar Pradesh, where governance is weak, affirmative action perhaps remains more of an academic response.

Yet, some felt that affirmative action can and does help to mitigate marginalization. It not only makes it possible to identify marginalized groups, it also leads to institutionalization of the process of identification and measuring program outcomes, which can then be perpetuated as an integral part of the system. However, it is possible that in so doing, it may fail to attend to the larger structural problem and therefore may not take the holistic course. Nonetheless, it was agreed that affirmative action or any kind of focused action may have a positive impact on marginalization as it helps to bring socially excluded people into a space, which they may never have aspired to be a part of.

Rights of the marginalized

The civil and political rights as discussed above focused largely on the rights of individual, but the mid 70s witnessed a new development of human rights discourse in India, which was based on group rights, collective rights and people rights for the economic, social and political empowerment of the marginalized groups, like women, Dalits, and Adivasis (Tribals).

The women's movement not only presented a critique of the Indian patriarchy, casteism and feudalism, it also endorsed a new awareness of women's rights. Though the movement initially emerged as a largely urban movement, but now it has developed as one of the most articulated and widespread movements in India, with new campaigns for political participation of women and their rights.

It is partly the pressure from these women's movements that the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments provided 33% reservation for women in local self-government institutions in India.

Therefore, from the mid 80s there have been continuous efforts to describe and re-articulate the rights of Dalits, Tribals over natural resources etc. This became more articulated and vocal, when issue of displacement because of large dams, developmental projects, forestry projects, mining companies etc, came into existence. Most of the sufferers of

these displacements were Dalits and Tribal people. The movement like Narmada Bachao Andolan, the Fishworker's struggle and Dalit movements brought the issue of the marginalized communities into the mainstream political discourse in India ^[15].

Economic, social and cultural rights

The unequivocal focus on Economic, Social and Cultural (ESC) Rights is comparatively new when compared to civil and political rights or group rights. The appearance of ESC rights in the mainstream development agenda is related with the emergence of more institutionalised and funded efforts for the eradication of poverty and social development of the masses. These initiatives generally termed as Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs). In the initial years, many such NGOs commenced with a welfarist approach, with an effort to supplement or substitute the welfare state.

The active judiciary has also served for the development of the scope of fundamental rights which resulted into the integration of economic and social rights in its arena. It expanded the scope of Article 21 of the Indian Constitution which guarantees the Right to Life and suggests that the right to life means the right to live with dignity, and that the right to live with dignity includes the right to livelihood, right to education and right to health.

To protect the rights of consumers and people, the environmental and consumer protection movements suggested the way for a series of new legislations and policy interventions. The Adivasi (tribal) movement and the increasing marginalisation of the minority groups by the right-wing forces have brought the concept of cultural rights into public debate and policy discourse.

While the period of 1970s can be termed as the decade of the civil liberties movements, the 1980s observed the appearance of group rights and people's rights over resources and livelihoods. But the 1990s witnessed the emergence of ESC rights, causing the rights-based reorientation through the international development organizations and the political impulses on the ground and the increased visibility of the rights discourse provided the right conditions for advocating ESC rights ^[16].

The Constitution of India is prefaced by a resolve "to secure to all of its citizens. Equality of status and opportunity."¹⁷ Accordingly, it confers on all citizens a fundamental right to be free of discrimination by the State on grounds of race, religion and caste ^[18]. In specific contexts government is further forbidden to discriminate on grounds of place of birth ^[19], residence, ^[20] descent, ^[21] class, ^[22] language ^[23] and sex. ^[24] Additional provisions outlaw untouchability ^[25] and protect the citizen from certain kinds of discrimination on the part of private persons and institutions ^[26].

Marginalization and role of civil society

Marginalization has been defined as a complex process of relegating specific groups of people to the lower or outer edge of society. It effectively pushes these groups of people to the margin of society economically, politically, culturally and socially following the policy of exclusion. It denies a section of the society equal access to productive resources and

avenues for the realization of their productive human potential and opportunities for their full capacity utilization. This pushes the community to poverty, misery, low wage and discrimination and livelihood insecurity. Their upward social mobility is being limited. Politically this process of relegation denies people equal access to the formal power structure and participation in the decision making processes leading to their subordination to and dependence on the economically and politically dominant groups of society. As a consequence of the economic, political and cultural deprivation a vast chunk of the population has emerged to be socially ignorant, illiterate, uneducated and dependent. Devoid of the basic necessities of life they are relegated to live on the margins of society.

The wording "any provision" in Article 16(4) and "any. Special provision" in Article 15(4) gives the State great leeway prescribing the method of operation for such schemes. Article 16 (4) dealing with, "Government employment confines the State to the method of "reservation"²⁷ 'Presumably' this rules out other possible ways of encouraging. These groups in 'Government employment. But it is 'broad' 'enough to include preferential rules of recruitment, such as waiver of age requirements, application fees and minimum educational qualifications. State power to establish preferences for employment is not confined to posts directly under the State: where the State acts as employing agency for State-aided schools, it may make such preference a condition of the aid. Outside the Government employment area the State is not limited to reservation as a method. Thus the State may provide such benefits as educational facilities, fee concessions or housing exclusively for backward groups.

The lines of exploitation in Pre-British India, in terms of the production, extraction and accumulation of surplus, were structured through the caste system. This identified a particular caste division of labour involving specific forms of hierarchy among the exploited, with at least three major groups identified in most villages: toiling peasant castes, most of whom were simply cultivators but with some village management powers held by a dominant lineage, artisans and service castes performing particular caste-duties within a *jajmani* system: a large caste of general labourers working for the village and its dominant sections and classes as 'untouchable'. Tribals and pastoralists outside the village were also among the exploited sections. The exploited as a whole included a very wide range of castes, the broad 'toiling caste majority' ^[28]

The Other Backward Castes also termed as backward classes in the policy matter and bureaucratic circles is having theoretical limitation. In fact, in the Indian context all the forward castes and *Dalits* have got the class character due to their privileged and under privileged social and economic position, therefore, they may be characterized as the upper class and lower class or exploiting class and exploited class. The backward castes also come under the exploited category by the upper caste but in a different form. The backward castes are collectively exploited and deprived all the privileges along with *Dalits*. But untouchability is not practiced in the case of backward castes. For practicing the traditional caste based occupations to provide goods and services to the rulers in particular and mass in general got the higher position than

the Dalits and lower position than the upper castes and they are highly heterogeneous and stratified with similar socio-economic backwardness and interdependence nature of all these occupational castes. The traditional occupation prevented them to come out of the social stranglehold resulting in continued backwardness.

Development and Marginalization

The development process has failed to end the deprivation faced by the marginalized communities in most of the developing nations. Infact it has contributed to the social reproduction of marginalization. According to Human Development Report the marginalized people are emerged as victims of these processes of development. In every society there are some sections of people who are deprived of socio-economic opportunities for their sustenance and are victims of social, cultural and political exclusion. In India the marginalized communities are rural poor, scheduled tribes and castes, manual workers in unorganized sectors etc. The marginalized people have very little or no participation in the development process. The initiatives are channelled through pre-existing power structure.

Their conditions have remained unchanged over the centuries even after government initiatives implemented for their upward mobility. There has been serious thinking about the participation of marginalized communities in the process of development. Due to government failure of integrating them in the development process, an alternative has emerged in the form of civil society to evolve the strategy for empowerment of the marginalized people.

Empowerment of the marginalized

Empowerment is a political process. The core idea of empowerment lies in the dynamics of sharing, distribution and redistribution of power. According to Max Weber, power is one's capacity to have control over others and when this capacity to control is legitimized, it becomes authority. The logic of empowerment essentially involves the dynamics of authority. Powerlessness has been legitimized within the given social order. Hence empowerment will mean a process of distribution of power through legitimized means. In human society everybody has no equal authority as people have unequal access to the resources that determine power.

The process of gaining control over self, ideology, material and knowledge resources which determine power may be termed empowerment. Thus the process of gaining control over resources is to be seen within the given context of deprivation, structure of hierarchy and the process of legitimization and reproduction. The civil societies try to ensure the equal access to the resources to the marginalized community that determines power equation within the society.

Aim and Scope

The present study is an attempt to focus on the Marginalized Groups in Andhra Pradesh and its influence on the socio-economic life of the people in the of Andhra Pradesh. Any social movement has to grapple not only with the dimensions of genesis, ideology, collective mobilization, organization, and leadership, but also with the conceptual problems relating to social change. Hence in the dissertation it is proposed to

examine different movements and its outcome to establish the consolidation of marginalized groups resulted in social identity and dignity of life in the mainstream of social system. This study is limited to the socio-economic conditions of the marginalized groups of Andhra Pradesh. In this context, this chapter gives an outline of the status of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe in Andhra Pradesh, their problems and prospects in the human development perspective. It presents the prevailing situation in respect of marginalized groups and their level of backwardness with respect to parameters such as income, land ownership, health indicators, educational attainments, access to basic infrastructure and basic amenities like water supply, sanitation, etc. It upholds an ideology based on social justice and equal opportunities, represents a new moral self for the individual citizen in public to claim the benefits of liberal democracy.

Moreover, it constructs a positive collective culture of people based on fraternal and rational ethos and finally it symbolizes a vision for the reconstruction of society by bringing the issue of 'social democracy' in the mainstream debates of political development. Conversion movement further incorporates the potential values to change the public discourse from 'politics of caste' to the 'evaluation of Hindu religion' with a secular perspective, upholding the need of moral religions in the public domain. The agenda of establishing social democracy through radicalizing the orthodox religious domain is sidelined under the broad consensus to the largely ineffective political democracy. Modern marginalized politics thus has a blurred, narrow and a power centric perspective having limited effects on socio, cultural and economic status of the community. Secondly, being the representative of particular caste/castes in politics it operates in the circle of hierarchal relationships without actually breaking the permanent pure-impure dichotomy. The struggle for civil, political and economic rights within the constitutional framework and negotiating with the state for the restoration of rights through the judiciary is another approach of social movements to address the concerns of the people, especially of the vulnerable sections.

All these movements are aimed at acquiring due space for different sections of populations and regions, which have been denied the same historically in economy, society, and polity in the development process. These movements attempt to negotiate with the state, market and civil society, and the root cause of the denial of due spaces for marginalized peoples and regions in the development process. The outcome of a movement could be seen in terms of social, political and economic change, sometimes structural and also non-structural. However, the state has the power to formulate new public policies or to modify the existing public policies within the constitutional framework in response to the demands of different social movements. Thus social movements through the state and actions initiated by the state on its own, irrespective of any social movements, can determine public policy. The social and democratic awareness fueled by anti-emergency struggle in the country widened the ambit of civil rights followed by the increased activism of Dalit advocacy groups, apparently those who headed such groups are the first generations beneficiaries of opportunities under reservation

policy succeeded in differentiating between civil rights and atrocities.

Objectives of the study

- To trace the History of the Marginalized Groups for their Social Exclusion and their marginalization in Andhra Pradesh.
- To understand the impact of social exclusion and discriminatory practices on inter-group inequalities, poverty, human right violations, inter-group conflicts and economic development of the marginalised social categories.
- To identify the marginalized communities consciousness and their assertion to resist caste dominant culture in these marginalized communities.
- To assess the impact of subaltern movements and their struggle for socio- economic equality of the social change in Andhra Pradesh.
- To develop methods and measuring tools for the study of discrimination and exclusions in social, cultural, political and economic spheres of everyday life and their consequences.

Lastly, in examining experiences of the state from the margins, these papers document some of the ways in which relations between the state and India's marginalized are being configured and reconfigured in contemporary India. Opening up the concept of marginality facilitates insight into the fluid meaning of marginality for displaced populations, the spatial hierarchies of power and influenced for civil society and state actors in the making of policy as well as the shifting articulation of the politics of the marginalized in statehood movements and the application of marginality as a strategy in negotiating state health schemes.

Conceptualizing marginality not as an inert state, but as process draws our attention towards the spaces of opportunity that also emerge within these papers. Through experiences of the state, individuals and groups acquire the knowledge to work the state to their advantage through negotiation, bargaining and shrewdness. However, there are limits to these spaces of opportunities for within the margins is evidently contingent on the particular interaction of politics and power at the local, national and international level, as Tillin's paper affirms. While international discussions on poverty, pro-poor governance and the targets set out under the Millennium Development Goals may to differing extents have informed the context for more positive state action with respect to incorporating its marginalized members these papers suggest that there has been a significant imaginative (although not necessarily material) reorientation of state-society relations with evident of the congress -led UPA government in 2004. While recognizing these wider structural context within which power is being renegotiated, the papers by Beazley, Donegan and Chopra also point to the importance of significant individuals in facilitating and reconfiguring the conditions of marginality, both at the national and local level. This provokes questions concerning who holds influenced and power, and more importantly who represents different marginalized sections of society, and how are they able to articulate their agency and thereby influenced their

differentiated experiences of the state.

Across this collection of papers, it also becomes apparent that whether the state is contested, negotiated or strategically manipulated, it remains significant in the lives of marginal groups, and perhaps more so than for mainstream, or non-marginal groups. Both the absence of the state, and its overwhelming presence, meaningfully affect the ever day life worlds of the marginalized, especially in the context of recent rapid economic and social change. The papers reveal the abiding importance of the state idea in shaping the opportunities (and constrains) that present themselves to, and are renegotiated by, India's marginalized populations. By detailing these interactions across a range of empirical contexts and scales, these papers illustrate how differential experiences of the state help to frame our understanding of how government works. But, they also show how the constantly shifting, fluid and contingent nature of the state-society boundary that characterizes contemporary India influenced the realization of everyday citizenship. While emerging from a detailed analysis of the Indian context, these themes resonate across the Asia Pacific region, and will be of interest to a wide range of disciplines and audiences who are engaged in understanding the abiding role of the state in contemporary society.

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