



Original Article

Caste Consciousness and Educational Spaces: A Sociological Study of Teachers' Attitudes in Sirsa District, Haryana

Karam Jeet Kaur¹, Dr. Devaki Nandan Bhatt²

¹Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, M. N. S Govt. College, Bhiwani (Haryana)

²Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Ch. Charan Singh University, Meerut

Manuscript ID:
RIGJAAR-2025-020719

ISSN: 2998-4459
Volume 2
Issue 7
Pp.92-98
July 2025

Submitted: 07 June 2025
Revised: 21 June 2025
Accepted: 11 July 2025
Published: 31 July 2025

Correspondence Address:
Dr. Devaki Nandan Bhatt
Assistant Professor, Department of
Sociology
Ch. Charan Singh University, Meerut
Email:
devakinandan.soc@ccsuniversity.ac.in

Quick Response Code:



Web. <https://rlgjaar.com>



DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.17071967

DOI Link:
<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17071967>



Creative Commons



Abstract

This study examines the persistence of caste consciousness and discriminatory practices among teachers in the Dabwali block of Sirsa District, Haryana, highlighting the complex relationship between educational attainment and entrenched social hierarchies. Drawing on both quantitative and qualitative data collected from 124 teachers and assistant professors across seven schools and two colleges, the research explores how caste identity continues to shape interpersonal interactions, professional behavior, and marital preferences within educational spaces. Findings indicate that while overt forms of untouchability, such as denial of seating or talking, have largely disappeared among teachers, more subtle forms of exclusion persist. These include restrictions on inter-dining, selective friendships, and frequent enquiries about caste or surnames, particularly among general and OBC respondents, suggesting that caste remains a salient marker in social evaluation and relationship formation. The study also investigates teachers' perceptions of inter-caste marriage as a means of promoting social integration. Although a notable proportion of respondents—especially from Scheduled Castes—viewed inter-caste unions positively, a significant share of general caste respondents expressed ambivalence or opposition, reflecting persistent concerns about social boundaries and status preservation. Marriage preferences further underscore these dynamics, revealing a strong inclination toward hypergamy (marrying into a higher social group) among general and OBC teachers, and relatively less acceptance of hypogamy (marrying into a lower social group). Scheduled Caste respondents, however, displayed greater openness to both hypergamous and hypogamous unions, indicating their aspirations for upward social mobility and a willingness to challenge traditional hierarchies.

The study underscores that educational attainment alone is insufficient to eliminate deep-rooted caste biases within professional and personal domains. Instead, it calls for comprehensive measures including teacher sensitization programs, inclusive institutional policies, curricular interventions, and broader societal engagement to address subtle discriminatory behaviours and promote equitable social relations. By highlighting the enduring presence of caste consciousness in educational settings, the research contributes to a deeper understanding of how social stratification continues to influence professional roles, interpersonal interactions, and value systems. The findings provide evidence-based recommendations for transformative reforms aimed at aligning educational practice with constitutional principles of equality, social justice, and inclusion, thereby fostering genuine social integration within Indian schools and colleges.

Keywords: Caste-based discrimination, Teachers' attitudes, educational equity, Untouchability, Caste consciousness, Inter-caste marriage, Hypergamy, Hypogamy, Social integration, Affirmative action, Teacher sensitization.

Introduction

Caste discrimination is major issue in India, even in schools and colleges where people are to be treated equally. Indian education historically mirrors the social caste biases, which precluded lower caste students from receiving equal opportunity. Much as the Right to Education and reservation policies seek to dismantle barriers, many educators and institutions perpetuate inequities. Educators proscribe valuing and fostering friendships based on equality, and yet, a considerable number tend to subtle yet profound caste biases, in varying degrees of their conscious.

Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

This is an open access journal, and articles are distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International Public License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/), which allows others to remix, tweak, and build upon the work noncommercially, as long as appropriate credit is given and the new creations are licensed under the identical terms.

How to cite this article:

Kaur, K. J., & Bhatt, D. N. (2025). Caste Consciousness and Educational Spaces: A Sociological Study of Teachers' Attitudes in Sirsa District, Haryana. *Royal International Global Journal of Advance and Applied Research*, 2(7), 92–98. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17071967>

This discrimination can include barring students of the lower caste from classroom games, caste-based segregation, verbal abuse, punitive marking, enforced isolation from their peers, and gross neglect in support and materials. This is the reason why the rules were put in place, although in real-world scenarios, it is not used the same way everywhere. The government made laws like the SC/ST Act and provides reservations, but students from the Dalit and OBC communities still face exclusion, bullying, and at times even violence. This results in the feeling of worthlessness and isolation, and in some cases, certain students get so stressed that they resort to self-harm.

Sirsa district in Haryana provides a wonderful real-life example of such issues. This region has always been associated with a significant division of "caste", although, as a result of increased education, urbanization, and the adoption of progressive policies, things are changing. This research is concerned with the scale and the causes of discrimination against particular castes by teachers in the region as well as the factors that make the situation worse.

The primary purpose of this research is to assess the extent to which teachers' own caste influences their attitudes toward other castes, the criticism that age, gender, and level of education change and with regard to inter-caste and inter-caste cohabitation. At the same time, the study poses the questions regarding the attitudes of teachers toward marriage and cohabitation between persons of different rigidly defined castes.

This research, alongside other works, will further the understanding of discrimination within the realms of educational institutions and inform more practical policy that incites actual change, as opposed to change that is merely theoretical. In studying teachers who are capable of creating positive change, but are themselves also trapped within the social system, this research illustrates why the role of education in resolving the caste problem in India needs to be re-assessed.

Objectives of the Study

- 1. Understand the real experiences:** To find out how teachers in Sirsa District, Haryana, experience and respond to caste-based discrimination—whether they notice it, participate in it, or actively work against it in their daily professional lives.
- 2. Explore the impact of social backgrounds:** To examine how factors like the teacher's own caste, their educational background, age, and gender might shape their attitudes and behaviours toward colleagues and students from different caste groups.
- 3. Assess views on social integration:** To understand what teachers believe about inter-caste marriage and whether they see it as a way to bring people together and reduce discrimination within their community and workplaces.
- 4. Identify patterns and drivers:** To look at the bigger picture and see what common trends, causes, or motivations can be found behind these attitudes—so that the study can suggest practical ways to make schools and colleges more inclusive and fairer for everyone.

Review of Literature

S.V. Ketkar, in his seminal book *History of Caste in India*, explores the evidence from the ancient *Laws of Manu* and offers a detailed examination of social conditions in India during the third century A.D. The book covers various important aspects such as the theory and psychology of caste and provides a historical overview of India dating back to 250 B.C. Ketkar's work stands as an early scholarly attempt to analyse the complexities and origins of the caste system in India.

Old books like Murray's *Dictionary* explain caste system rules, and census paper or province gazettes give lot data about where castes come from and how they are divided. Education always called "great equalizer" and "balance wheel for society," a idea given by Horace Mann, famous old education reformer. Education helps to remove difference between people from all caste and race, so poor or low caste people also get chance to go ahead same as rich or high caste.

In India, caste discrimination in schools is like story of Eklavya and Dronacharya. Eklavya was from Shudra caste and was not allowed to learn fighting skills by Dronacharya, who only teach prince boys. This story shows how Brahmanism put barriers for low caste people, and is used by Adivasi and Dalit groups to show how they get left out. Even if it is only myth, it matches with real history, where SC and ST groups also not get education chance easily.

Discrimination based on caste is still prevalent in Indian education, even among Sirsa, Haryana, teachers. There is less overt untouchability, but there is still covert caste prejudice and a preference for particular caste unions. Although there are laws and reservations, discrimination persists due to societal attitudes and conflicts between quota and merit, making true equality challenging. Better teacher preparation, policies, and social initiatives are required to break down caste barriers because education alone cannot resolve this issue.

According to research by Gore, Desai, and Chitnis in their report *Field Studies in the Sociology of Education*, which was based on surveys conducted in several states, a person's social background—including their caste, religion, and whether they live in an urban or rural area—has a big impact on their ability to access higher education.

Joan Mencher (1972) examined the socioeconomic circumstances of the Pariyan community, a Scheduled Caste group in South India. According to her research, children from the Pariyan community frequently faced discrimination because they had to travel through upper caste areas to get to school, highlighting the effects of social forces, commercialization, and political and legal reforms on these communities.

Higher education's effects on Scheduled Caste communities were studied by M. Karlekar (1975), who concentrated on opportunities and problems pertaining to equity, access, and institutional dynamics, including the consequences of reservation policies. Since marginalized groups still face major obstacles in higher education, this work is still relevant today.



An empirical study by Upadhyay (2007) showed stark caste disparities in certain industries; for example, in the Indian ITI industry, only 1% of respondents belonged to SC/ST groups, while 48% were Brahmins.

Equity in Education? Written by Geetha B. Nambissan in 1996. By examining Dalit children's educational outcomes, social treatment, and access, Schooling of Dalit Children in India investigates the aspects of equity in schools. Because upper caste teachers were frequently reluctant to teach Dalit students, Nambissan noted that many schools serving untouchable communities lacked adequate resources and were primarily staffed by teachers from lower castes or Muslim backgrounds. Untouchability practices were further prolonged by this institutional segregation.

S.K. Ovichegan's 2015 book—yeah, the one with the mouthful of a title about discrimination in Indian higher ed—dives headfirst into the ugly realities Dalit students and faculty still deal with, even in those supposedly “top-tier” universities. Ovichegan doesn't just stick to abstract policy talk. He breaks down how these quota systems actually play out on the ground, showing all the subtle (and not-so-subtle) ways Dalits get pushed to the margins. The whole “othering” vibe? It's alive and kicking. And honestly, the stories from Dalit women? Extra brutal. The book shines a light there too, not letting anyone look away.

Bharat Rathod, back in 2017, basically took micro-aggression theory and slapped it onto the whole caste mess in Indian colleges. He didn't just stick to the obvious, in-your-face discrimination—he also zoomed in on those sneaky little jabs and sideways comments that lower-caste students have to dodge every day. The guy really went after

the words people use, picking apart all the coded language and “casual” remarks that end up making folks feel like outsiders, even if no one's shouting slurs. And get this: even with all the talk about India getting modern and progressive, Rathod's saying the higher ed scene is still a country club for the elite. The system's built to keep marginalized students out before they even get a real shot. So much for progress.

Research Methodology

The present study is descriptive in nature and focuses on examining teachers' perceptions of caste-based discrimination. The universe of the study comprised schools and colleges of Haryana, with Sirsa district chosen as the study area and Dabwali block selected purposively for its social diversity and accessibility. From four educational clusters of Dabwali, seven schools and two colleges were randomly selected, and a total of 124 teachers and assistant professors were included through convenience sampling, based on their willingness to participate. Fieldwork was carried out from April to June 2025.

For data collection, observation, interview schedules, and case studies were employed, using both closed and open-ended questions to capture quantitative as well as qualitative aspects. Data were classified, tabulated, and analysed mainly through percentage method and statistical averages, supplemented by qualitative insights. Ethical considerations such as informed consent, confidentiality, voluntary participation, and minimizing potential harm were strictly adhered to throughout the study.

Findings

Socio-Economic Profile of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Age		
25-30	6	4.83%
30-35	22	17.75%
35-40	32	25.81%
40-45	21	16.94%
45-50	20	16.23%
50-55	13	10.48%
55-60	10	8.06%
Gender		
Male	65	52.42%
Female	59	47.58%
Designation		
JBT	3	2.41%
TGT	27	21.77%
PGT	40	32.26%
Assistant Prof	54	43.56%
Caste Category		
General	74	59.68%
OBC	32	25.81%
SC	18	14.51%

The demographic breakdown shows a predominantly middle-aged teacher population (ages 30-45 form the majority) with a near even gender balance and a

sizeable portion of teachers from the general caste category (59.68%). Assistant Professors form the largest group by professional designation.



This profile suggests that the sample largely represents established educators likely to have ingrained

social views, reflecting both societal norms and educational influences.

Practice of Untouchability in Interaction

Form of Untouchability	General (Yes)	General (No)	OBCs (Yes)	OBCs (No)	SC (Yes)	SC (No)
Denial of Inter-Dining	10 (8.06%)	64 (51.62%)	6 (4.83%)	26 (20.98%)	0	18 (14.51%)
Denial of Sitting	0	74 (59.68%)	0	32 (25.81%)	0	18 (14.51%)
Denial of Talking	0	74 (59.68%)	0	32 (25.81%)	0	18 (14.51%)
Denial of Friendship	4 (3.22%)	70 (56.46%)	2 (1.62%)	30 (24.19%)	0	18 (14.51%)

The data reflects the persistence of untouchability in social interactions across caste groups, despite constitutional safeguards and decades of social reform movements. The findings reveal a differentiated pattern of discrimination, with denial of inter-dining and friendship still present, while denial of sitting and talking has relatively declined in observable practice.

Denial of Inter-Dining

Among General castes, 8.06% accepted practicing restrictions in inter-dining, while a majority (51.62%) reported no such practice. Within OBCs, 4.83% admitted practicing this form of exclusion, compared to 20.98% who denied it. Strikingly, **Scheduled Castes (SCs)** reported no incidence of inter-dining restrictions from their side, reflecting both their marginalized positionality and the historical denial of equality they have faced.

This suggests that food-sharing — often symbolic of intimacy and equality — continues to carry a stigma in sections of higher and intermediate castes, reinforcing caste boundaries in subtle but significant ways.

Denial of Sitting Together & talking

None of the respondents, whether General, OBC, or SC, admitted practicing this form of untouchability. The overwhelming majority (59.68% General, 25.81% OBC, 14.51% SC) rejected this practice, indicating that overtly visible forms of exclusion (like segregated seating) have lost legitimacy in contemporary rural and semi-urban contexts.

This could be attributed to the impact of education, constitutional rights, and public visibility of egalitarian norms.

Denial of Friendship

The data, however, reveals that friendship remains a contested domain. 3.22% General respondents and 1.62% OBC respondents acknowledged restrictions on caste-based friendships. None SC respondent admitted practicing such denial, reflecting that the exclusion is not self-imposed but externally enforced.

Friendship — unlike sitting or talking — signifies deeper emotional and social integration, thus exposing the limits of social inclusion. Caste hierarchies still condition intimate social relations, particularly among dominant caste groups.

Caste Identity Markers (Asking Surname and Caste)

Category	Asking Surname and Caste (Yes)	Asking Surname and Caste (No)
General	36 (29.03%)	38 (30.65%)
OBCs	12 (9.68%)	20 (16.13%)
SC	0	18 (14.51%)

The data on caste identity markers reveals that asking about surname and caste continues to be a common practice, particularly among the *general* caste respondents. Nearly one-third (29.03%) of them admitted to enquiring about caste or surname in interactions, while another substantial segment (30.65%) reported not engaging in it. This split suggests that even within socially dominant groups, caste consciousness remains alive, operating as a subtle but powerful tool for placing others within a social hierarchy.

Among the OBC respondents, close to 10% acknowledged enquiring about caste, while around 16% denied doing so. Although the intensity is somewhat lower than among the general castes, the tendency indicates that

caste-based curiosity has trickled into intermediate caste groups as well.

In contrast, none of the Scheduled Caste respondents reported asking about surname or caste. This silence is deeply telling—it reflects their historical experience of being on the receiving end of such questioning. For SCs, not enquiring about caste can be seen as both a rejection of the discriminatory framework and a conscious distancing from practices that have long contributed to their marginalization.

Taken together, the data shows that caste identity remains an active social marker. While overt forms of discrimination may have weakened, the act of asking about caste or surname is still woven into everyday interactions. This practice not only signals curiosity but also reinforces

social boundaries, reminding us that caste continues to shape identity management and interpersonal relations in

subtle yet persistent ways.

Perception of Inter-caste Marriages Promoting Social Integration

Category	Agree (Yes)	Disagree (No)
General	40 (32.26%)	34 (27.42%)
OBCs	20 (16.13%)	12 (9.68%)
SC	15 (12.09%)	3 (2.42%)

The data on perceptions of inter-caste marriage as a vehicle for social integration reveals both openness and resistance across caste groups. Among the *general* category, a significant proportion (32.26%) expressed agreement that such marriages promote integration, yet almost as many (27.42%) disagreed. This near split highlights the ambivalence within socially dominant groups: while education and modern values have encouraged some acceptance, a sizeable section continues to view inter-caste marriage as a challenge to established boundaries.

The *OBC respondents* appear somewhat more favourable, with over 16% supporting the idea of inter-caste marriage as socially integrative, compared to less than 10% who disagreed. This suggests a gradual but noticeable shift, where sections of intermediate caste groups may be more willing to accept social mixing, possibly due to their own experience of negotiating space within caste hierarchies.

Preference on Hypergamy and Hypogamy in Marriage

Category	Hypergamy (Yes)	Hypergamy (No)	Hypogamy (Yes)	Hypogamy (No)
General	50 (40.33%)	24 (19.35%)	20 (16.13%)	54 (43.54%)
OBCs	25 (20.16%)	7 (5.64%)	10 (8.07%)	22 (17.75%)
SC	16 (12.90%)	2 (1.62%)	15 (12.09%)	3 (2.42%)

The findings show that hypergamy—the preference for marrying into a higher social group—still carries weight across caste categories, though to varying degrees. Among the *general* respondents, 40.33% favoured hypergamy, reflecting the persistence of traditional status concerns, while a smaller section (16.13%) accepted hypogamy, which goes against conventional norms. *OBCs* also leaned toward hypergamy (20.16%), though a portion (8.07%) expressed openness to hypogamy, suggesting a slow but emerging flexibility. Interestingly, the *Scheduled Castes* displayed almost equal preference for both: 12.90% for hypergamy and 12.09% for hypogamy, a pattern that reveals their stronger willingness to cross boundaries in search of social mobility and equality.

Overall, the data suggests that while hypergamy continues to dominate marriage choices, particularly among the upper castes, hypogamy is gaining some recognition, especially among marginalized groups, reflecting their aspiration to renegotiate status and belonging in a hierarchical society.

Summary of Findings and Recommendations

The study reveals nuanced patterns of caste consciousness and social attitudes among teachers in the Dabwali block of Sirsa district. The socio-demographic profile indicates that the majority of respondents are middle-aged (30–45 years, totalling 60.50%) with near

Among the *Scheduled Castes*, agreement is particularly strong—12.09% endorsed inter-caste marriage as a means of fostering integration, while only 2.42% opposed it. This response reflects a clear aspiration for equality and a dismantling of barriers that have historically excluded them. For marginalized communities, inter-caste marriage is not only symbolic but also potentially transformative, offering a route to dignity and recognition in a stratified social order.

Taken together, these findings indicate that while inter-caste marriages are increasingly recognized as a step toward social integration, resistance persists—especially among the upper castes, where notions of purity and boundary maintenance remain influential. Yet, the relatively higher acceptance among *OBCs* and *SCs* underlines that the desire for greater social cohesion and equality is gradually pushing against entrenched traditions.

gender parity (52.42% male, 47.58% female). Assistant Professors form the largest professional category (43.56%), and teachers from the general caste constitute the majority (59.68%), followed by *OBCs* (25.81%) and *SCs* (14.51%). This composition suggests that the sample largely represents established educators whose social views are shaped by both personal experiences and institutional environments.

In terms of untouchability in interaction, overt exclusion practices such as denial of sitting or talking were not reported among any respondents, highlighting the influence of education and constitutional safeguards. However, subtler forms persist: 8.06% of general and 4.83% of *OBC* respondents admitted restricting inter-dining, while 3.22% of general and 1.62% of *OBC* respondents reported limiting friendships based on caste. *SC* respondents did not acknowledge practicing any form of exclusion, reflecting their historically marginalized position and aspiration for social equality.

Regarding caste identity markers, almost one-third of general caste teachers (29.03%) admitted asking about surname or caste during interactions, whereas 9.68% of *OBCs* did so. None of the *SC* respondents engaged in such questioning, suggesting that caste-based curiosity persists among dominant groups while marginalized groups consciously avoid reinforcing discriminatory practices.

Perceptions of inter-caste marriages indicate mixed attitudes: 32.26% of general, 16.13% of OBC, and 12.09% of SC respondents agreed that inter-caste marriages promote social integration. Resistance is particularly notable among general caste respondents, with 27.42% opposing such unions. OBCs displayed moderate acceptance (16.13% yes, 9.68% no), and SC respondents showed the strongest support for integration through marriage (12.09% yes, 2.42% no), reflecting their desire to challenge historical inequalities.

Marriage preferences further underline caste-conscious behaviours. Hypergamy remains dominant among general (40.33%) and OBC respondents (20.16%), while hypogamy is less accepted (16.13% general, 8.07% OBC). SC respondents display a more balanced view, with 12.90% favouring hypergamy and 12.09% favouring hypogamy, indicating willingness to cross traditional boundaries for social mobility and equality.

Recommendation: These findings suggest that while legal and educational interventions have reduced visible discrimination, caste consciousness persists in subtle forms. Teacher training should include sensitization programs on caste equality, and schools should foster environments where caste identity is not used as a marker of exclusion. Encouraging inter-caste interactions and normalizing inter-caste marriages can further reduce symbolic boundaries.

Conclusion

The study underscores a layered reality: overt caste-based exclusion has largely diminished, but subtler forms of discrimination and social stratification remain, particularly in personal and intimate domains. While education and constitutional awareness have reduced visible untouchability, practices such as inter-dining restrictions, selective friendships, and caste-based inquiries highlight the persistence of symbolic boundaries. Teachers, given their role as social influencers, are uniquely positioned to challenge these practices and promote inclusive attitudes. The data on marriage preferences—where hypergamy dominates among higher castes while SC respondents show openness to both hypergamy and hypogamy—demonstrates that caste still shapes both social interactions and life choices, albeit in evolving ways.

Policy Implications

- Teacher Training and Sensitization:** Incorporate modules on caste equality, social integration, and respectful interpersonal practices in professional development programs.
- Institutional Measures:** Implement policies that discourage caste-based questioning, promote mixed-group activities, and create inclusive classroom environments.
- Promotion of Inter-Caste Marriages:** Awareness campaigns, counseling, and government incentives (such as those under Dr. Ambedkar Foundation schemes) can encourage acceptance of inter-caste unions.
- Community Engagement:** Organize workshops and dialogues involving students, parents, and community

members to address subtle caste prejudices and foster egalitarian values.

- Curriculum Integration:** Include case studies, historical perspectives, and discussions on equality and inter-caste socialization in teaching material to normalize inclusive practices from a young age.

Acknowledgment

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to Chaudhary Charan Singh University, Meerut for providing the necessary facilities and support to carry out this research. Special gratitude is extended to **Dr. Devaki Nandan Bhatt** for his valuable suggestions, guidance regarding selection of the topic, review, data collection, analysis, interpretation and report writing.

Financial support and sponsorship

The authors have not received any financial support from any funding institution or university.

Conflicts of interest

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

References:

- Bailey, F.G. (1957). *Caste and Economic Frontier*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Banerji, M. Martin, S & Desai, S. (2013) Are the young and educated more likely to have love than arrange marriage? A study of autonomy of partner choice in India *Working Paper Series (pp. 1A 43)*, NCAER, New Delhi.
- Barth, Fredrik (1960). *The System of Social Stratification in Swat, North Pakistan*, In E.R Leach (ed) *Aspects of Castes in South India, Ceylon and North West Pakistan*, pp 113-148. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berreman, Gerald D. (1967). *Caste as Social Process*. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 23(4):351-370
- Berreman, Gerald D. (1968). *The Concept of Caste'* In *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. Vol.2. Macmillan and Free Press.
- David, K. (1941). *Intermarriage in caste societies*. *American Anthropologist*, 43(3): 376-395.
- De Vos and Wagatsuma (1967). *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Deshpande Satish & Usha, Z. (2013). *Beyond inclusion: The practice of equal access in Indian higher education*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Desai, S. and Kulkarni, V. (2018). *Changing educational inequalities in India in the context of quota policy*, *Demography*. (pp.245-270).
- Fryer, R.G. (2007). *Guess who's been coming to dinner? Trends in interracial marriage over the 20th century*. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 21(2): 71-90.
- Furtado, D. (2012). *Human capital and interethnic marriage decisions*. *Economic Inquiry* .50(1):82-93
- Ghurye, G.S. (1950). *Caste and Race in India*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.



13. Leach, Edmund R. (1967). Caste, Class and Slavery: taxonomic problem, In Reuck, Anthony and Julie Knight (eds.) *Caste and Race*. London: J&A Churchill Ltd.
14. Ashwaq, M. (2017). From Manual Scavenger to Professor, the Journey of Kaushal Pawar, Mint.
15. Mencher, Joan (1972). Continuity and Change in an Ex-Untouchable Community of South India' in Mahar (ed), *Untouchables in Contemporary India*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
16. Nathan, R. (1904). Progress of Education in India 1897-98-1901-02, Office Mondal, Sudipo " Attacked by the Anti-caste book, Dalit students forced to vacate hostel", India New, 2015, Jan 20.
17. Narwana, K. & Gill, A.S. (2020). Beyond access and inclusion: Dalit experience of participation in higher education in rural Punjab, *Contemporary Voices of Dalits*, Vol.12, No.2.
18. Nayar, K. (2017). Discrimination that haunts campuses *The Statesman*. May, 23.
19. Ovichegan, S.K. (2015). Faces of discrimination in higher education in India: quota policy, social justice and the Dalits. London: Routledge.
20. Pal GC and Arjun BBK. (2013). Caste Discrimination in the Premier Institutes of Higher Education in India: A Study of Dalit Students Suicide Report, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Dalit Studies.
21. Pathania, Gaurav J & William Tierney, G. (2018). The ethnography of caste and class at an Indian university campus; Creating capital. *Tertiary Education and Management*. Vol.24. Oxford University Press.
22. Rathod, B. (2017). Caste based discrimination in higher education: An application of micro-aggression theory in Indian context *Journal of Exclusion Studies* Vol 7, No.2 August 2017,171-201.
23. Rathod, B. (2023). *Dalit academic journeys: Stories of caste , exclusion and assertion in Indian higher education*
24. Rukmini, S.(2014) Just 5% of Indian marriages are intercaste : Survey *The Hindu* [https://www.thehindu.com/data/just5-prc-cent-of-indian-martishrd-are-intercaste/ article6591502.ece](https://www.thehindu.com/data/just5-prc-cent-of-indian-martishrd-are-intercaste/article6591502.ece).retrived on dated 20.06.205.
25. Pooja, V. & Sreya, B. (2019). Public opinion on caste discrimination in higher education., *International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering (IJRTE)* ISSN: 2277-3878, Volume -8 Issue - 4.