



A comparative study of Occupational and Cultural Identity in Gujarat via the Lens of caste

Student Name: Anika Garg

1. Introduction

Caste has been a defining feature of Indian society, and Gujarat is no exception. The caste system in Gujarat has a rich historical legacy, and it continues to shape the social and economic fabric of the state. Despite reducing caste-based discrimination and promoting social equality, inequalities persist in Gujarat. This report aims to compare occupational and cultural identity in Gujarat through the Lens of caste. The report will examine the historical roots of the caste system in Gujarat, its impact on the social and economic structure of the state, the intersectionality of caste with other social identities, the impact of globalisation on the caste system in Gujarat, and the government and civil society efforts to reduce caste-based discrimination. The findings of this report will provide valuable insights into the caste system in Gujarat and its impact on society.

2. Historical roots of the caste system in Gujarat

The caste system is an age-old social hierarchy prevalent in Indian society for centuries. Its roots can be traced back to ancient India, where it was initially based on the occupation of individuals. Over time, this system became a rigid social hierarchy, with individuals being born into a particular caste and restricted to certain occupations and social roles based on their caste status (Jaffrelot, 2016).

In Gujarat, the caste system has a complex history deeply intertwined with the region's socio-economic and political landscape. According to some scholars, the caste system in Gujarat can be traced back to the ancient Vedic period, which began around 1500 BCE (Cort, 2004). During this period, society was divided into four main varnas or social classes, which were Brahmins (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), Vaishyas (merchants and traders), and Shudras (manual labourers). This system was based on the idea of karma and rebirth, with individuals being born into a particular varna based on their actions in their past lives (Cort, 2004).

Over time, the varna system became more rigid and hierarchical, with the Brahmins occupying the top position and the Shudras relegated to the bottom. In Gujarat, this system was further complicated by the arrival of the Aryans in the region, who brought their own caste-based social hierarchy. This hierarchy was based on the idea of purity and pollution, with individuals being classified into different castes based on their occupation and social status (Parmar, 2020).

During the mediaeval period, Gujarat was ruled by various dynasties, including the Chalukyas, Solankis, and Vaghelas. These rulers followed the caste system and used it to maintain their social and political power. They also granted land and other privileges to the higher castes, further entrenching the existing social hierarchy (Parmar, 2020).

The arrival of the British in India in the 17th century brought about some changes in the caste system. The British tried to introduce a more merit-based system of education and employment, which was meant to reduce the influence of the caste system. However, these efforts were not entirely successful, as the caste system continued to be deeply ingrained in Indian society (Jaffrelot, 2016).

Today, the caste system in Gujarat continues to be a significant social and political issue. Although the Indian constitution has officially abolished it, it still remains a powerful force in the lives of millions of people in the region. Discrimination and prejudice based on caste are still widespread, and individuals from lower castes continue to face significant barriers in education, employment, and social mobility (Parmar, 2020).

3. The role of caste in shaping occupational and cultural identity in Gujarat

The caste system in Gujarat has played a significant role in shaping its people's occupational and cultural identity. In Gujarat, the caste system is divided into four main categories: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. Each caste is associated with specific occupations and roles, which are often passed down from generation to generation (Parmar, 2020).

3.1 Occupational Identity

In Gujarat, the caste system has traditionally been the main factor in determining an individual's occupation. Brahmins have historically been associated with religious and intellectual pursuits, such as teaching, preaching, and scholarly work. Kshatriyas were responsible for the administration and defence of their kingdoms, while Vaishyas were involved in trade and commerce. Conversely, Shudras were relegated to menial and manual labour (Dodiya, 2019).

Despite the modernization of the economy and society, the caste system still plays a significant role in determining an individual's occupation in Gujarat (Naz, 2015). According to a study conducted by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) in 2011-2012, the majority of individuals from the lower castes in Gujarat work in low-paying and menial jobs, such as agricultural labourers, domestic workers, and construction workers (Mospi.gov.in, 2015). In contrast, individuals from the upper castes are more likely to work in high-paying and prestigious professions, such as medicine, engineering, and law (Ilo.org, 2018).

Figure 1: Real average daily urban wages by type of worker

(Source: Ilo.org, 2018)

Figure 2: Real average daily rural wages by type of worker

(Source: Ilo.org, 2018)

3.2 Cultural Identity

The caste system in Gujarat also plays a crucial role in shaping cultural identity. Each caste has its own cultural practices and traditions, which are passed down from generation to generation. These cultural practices often include religious beliefs, dietary restrictions, and social norms (Mosse, 2018).

For example, Brahmins in Gujarat are traditionally vegetarian and involved in religious activities such as performing rituals and praying. Kshatriyas have historically been associated with martial arts and are known for their bravery and valour. Vaishyas have traditionally been involved in trade and commerce and have their own cultural practices related to business and finance. On the other hand, Shudras have traditionally been excluded from many cultural practices and have had limited access to education and social mobility (Parmar, 2020).

Figure 3: District wise Socio Economic and Caste Census (SECC)

(Source: secc.gov.in, 2023)

The caste system in Gujarat also influences marriage practices and social interaction between different castes. According to the 2011 census, nearly 91% of marriages in Gujarat are within the same caste. Inter-caste marriages are still considered taboo in many parts of Gujarat. Individuals who choose to marry outside their caste often face significant social pressure and ostracism from their families and communities (Censusindia.gov.in, 2023).

4. Intersectionality of caste with other social identities like gender and religion

The intersectionality of caste with other social identities like gender and religion in Gujarat is a complex issue that significantly impacts individuals and communities.

4.1 Gender and Caste

Gender and caste intersect in complex ways in Gujarat. Women from lower castes face multiple forms of discrimination due to their caste and gender. According to a study by Satyanarayana (n.d.) in Gujarat, Dalit women face higher levels of violence and sexual abuse than women from other castes. Kshatriya (2023) stated that Dalit women are more likely to be subjected to rape, sexual harassment, and domestic violence and are less likely to report such incidents due to fear of social ostracism and further violence.

The intersection of caste and gender also affects women's access to education and employment opportunities. According to a report by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), women from lower castes are more likely to be employed in low-paying and insecure jobs such as domestic work and agricultural labour (Ilo.org, 2013). Women from upper castes, on the other hand, are more likely to be employed in higher-paying and more prestigious professions.

Figure 4: Total labour force participation in Gujarat

(Source: Ilo.org, 2013)

4.2 Religion and Caste

The intersection of caste and religion is another complex issue in Gujarat. The state has a significant population of Muslims, who are often discriminated against due to their religion and caste status. According to Mukhopadhyay (2020), Muslims in Gujarat who also belong to lower castes face multiple forms of discrimination, including social exclusion, job discrimination, and violence. The report found that many Muslims in Gujarat are forced to work in low-paying and insecure jobs and are often subjected to violence and harassment by upper-caste Hindus.

The intersection of caste and religion also affects access to education and political representation. According to Aswani (2023), Dalits and Muslims in Gujarat are significantly underrepresented in political positions and have limited access to quality education.

5. Impact of globalisation on the caste system in Gujarat

The impact of globalisation on the caste system in Gujarat has been significant, as it has influenced society's economic, social, and cultural aspects.

5.1 Economic Impact

Globalisation has brought economic changes that have affected the caste system in Gujarat. With the growth of industries and the development of the service sector, traditional caste-based occupations have become less relevant, leading to the emergence of new economic opportunities (Manzoor, 2022). This has resulted in the expansion of the middle class and the growth of urbanisation, which has created new patterns of social interaction and challenged traditional caste hierarchies (Singh and Kumari, 2022).

However, globalisation has also led to economic inequalities, further reinforcing caste-based discrimination. According to a report by the World Economic Forum, India ranks 108th in the Global Gender Gap Index, which measures gender equality in various areas, including economic participation, education, and health (Pib.gov.in, 2020). This gender gap is particularly pronounced in Gujarat, where women from lower castes face significant barriers to economic opportunities due to their gender and caste (Manzoor, 2022).

5.2 Social Impact

Globalisation has also significantly impacted social interactions and relationships in Gujarat. The growth of urbanisation and the emergence of new media and communication technologies have enabled people from

different castes and regions to interact with each other more freely. This has led to a greater awareness of social diversity and has challenged traditional caste-based norms and practices (Ghosh, n.d.).

However, globalisation has also led to the fragmentation of traditional social structures, resulting in the emergence of new forms of inequality and exclusion. As stated by Parmar (2020), globalisation has led to the marginalisation of certain castes and communities, particularly those who cannot take advantage of new economic opportunities.

5.3 Cultural Impact

Globalisation has also had a significant impact on the cultural practices and traditions of Gujarat. With the growth of tourism and the emergence of new media and communication technologies, traditional cultural practices and identities have become commodified and commercialised. This has led to the erosion of traditional cultural practices and has created new forms of cultural hybridity and diversity (Dodiya, 2019).

However, globalisation has also led to the emergence of new cultural identities and practices that challenge traditional caste-based norms and practices. For example, the growth of the feminist movement and the LGBTQ+ rights movement has challenged traditional gender and sexual norms that are often linked to caste (Chakravarty, 2022).

6. Efforts by the government and civil society to reduce caste-based discrimination in Gujarat

The Indian Constitution prohibits caste-based discrimination, and the Government of Gujarat has implemented various policies and measures to reduce caste-based discrimination in the state. Following are the efforts made by the Gujarat government to reduce caste-based discrimination:

6.1 The Prevention of Atrocities Act

The Prevention of Atrocities Act was enacted in 1989 and was amended in 2016 to provide more stringent punishment for those who commit atrocities against members of scheduled castes and tribes. The Act aims to protect members of these communities from discrimination, violence, and abuse. In Gujarat, the Act has been implemented through various measures, such as the setting up of special courts to try cases related to caste-based violence and discrimination (Tribal.nic.in, 2016).

6.2 Reservation Policy

The reservation policy in India provides for the reservation of seats in educational institutions and public sector jobs for members of scheduled castes, tribes, and other backward classes. In Gujarat, the state government provides reservations for these communities in education, government jobs, and other areas. According to the latest data available, 15%, 7.5% and 27% of government jobs in Gujarat are reserved for members of SC, ST and OBC, respectively (Dopt.gov.in, 2023).

6.3 Education Initiatives

The Government of Gujarat has implemented various initiatives such as 'Education for All', Viidhyalaxmi Bond Yojna, Vidya Deep Yojna etc., to improve access to education for marginalised community members, including scheduled castes and tribes. These initiatives include setting up schools and hostels in rural areas, providing scholarships, and offering financial assistance to students from economically weaker sections (Gujaratindia.gov.in, 2023).

6.4 Civil Society Efforts

Civil society organisations in Gujarat have been actively involved in raising awareness about caste-based discrimination and promoting social inclusion. These organisations have organised various campaigns and initiatives to empower marginalised community members and promote their rights. Some examples of civil society organisations working in this area include the Navsarjan Trust, Janvikas, and the Dalit Shakti Kendra (Empowerweb.org, 2023).

6.5 Public Awareness Campaigns

The Government of Gujarat has launched various public awareness campaigns to promote social inclusion and reduce caste-based discrimination. One such initiative is the "Ambedkar Awas Yojana," which aims to provide housing to members of scheduled castes and tribes in the state (Esamajkalyan.gujarat.gov.in, 2023). The government has also launched campaigns to promote inter-caste marriages and to create awareness about the negative impacts of caste-based discrimination.

7. Comparative analysis of the caste system in Gujarat with other parts of India

The caste system in Gujarat shares some similarities with other parts of India, but some unique characteristics distinguish it from other regions. Following is a detailed comparative analysis of the caste system in Gujarat with other parts of India:

7.1 Caste-Based Discrimination

Caste-based discrimination is prevalent in many parts of India, including Gujarat. However, the severity of discrimination may vary from region to region. According to the National Crime Records Bureau, Gujarat has reported a higher number of cases of caste-based violence than other states like Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu (Ncrb.gov.in, 2022). However, it is important to note that reporting such incidents may vary from state to state, and the actual incidence of discrimination may be underreported.

7.2 Occupational Hierarchy

The occupational hierarchy in Gujarat follows the traditional caste-based division of labour, where people from certain castes are associated with certain occupations (Mosse, 2018). For example, the Patels are traditionally associated with farming and agriculture, while the Brahmins are associated with religious and intellectual pursuits. This is similar to the occupational hierarchy in other parts of India, where certain castes are associated with certain professions (Nielsen *et al.* 2020).

7.3 Inter-Caste Marriage

Inter-caste marriage is still a taboo in many parts of India, and Gujarat is no exception. According to the National Family Health Survey, only 5.8% of marriages in Gujarat are inter-caste, which is lower than the national average of 10.5% (Singh *et al.* 2021). This indicates that social barriers still exist in Gujarat that prevent people from different castes from marrying each other. However, some regions in India, such as Kerala and West Bengal, have a higher incidence of inter-caste marriages (Singh *et al.* 2021).

7.4 Reservation Policy

The reservation policy in India provides for the reservation of seats in educational institutions and public sector jobs for members of scheduled castes, tribes, and other backward classes. The percentage of reservations varies from state to state; in Gujarat, it is 27%. This is similar to the reservation policy in other states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan, where the reservation percentage is also around 27% (Dopt.gov.in, 2023).

7.5 Intersectionality with Other Identities

The intersectionality of caste with other social identities like gender and religion is also prevalent in Gujarat, as it is in other parts of India. Women from lower castes face double discrimination due to their caste and gender identity (Sarkar *et al.* 2020). Similarly, members of religious minorities who also belong to lower castes may face triple discrimination due to their caste, religion, and minority status (Nair and Vollhardt, 2020).

Therefore, it can be understood that the caste system in Gujarat shares some similarities with other parts of India, such as the traditional occupational hierarchy and the prevalence of caste-based discrimination; some unique characteristics distinguish it from other regions (Nair and Vollhardt, 2020). The lower incidence of inter-caste marriages and the higher number of cases of caste-based violence in Gujarat are some examples of these unique characteristics. However, the reservation policy and the intersectionality of caste with other social identities are similar in other parts of India.

8. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the report, the following recommendations are proposed:

- **Encourage Inter-Caste Marriages:** The government should promote and incentivize inter-caste marriages to reduce caste-based discrimination and promote social equality in Gujarat. This can be done through awareness campaigns and financial incentives (Parmar, 2020).
- **Increase Representation of Marginalised Castes:** The government and private sector should increase the representation of marginalised castes in education, employment, and politics. This can be achieved through affirmative action policies and reservation systems (Mosse, 2018).
- **Strengthen Legal Frameworks:** The legal framework to combat caste-based discrimination should be strengthened. This can be done by increasing the severity of punishment for caste-based offences and ensuring that cases of discrimination are investigated and prosecuted in a timely manner (Nielsen *et al.* 2020).
- **Raise Awareness:** The government, civil society organisations, and the media should raise awareness about the negative impact of the caste system on society and the importance of promoting social equality. This can be achieved through educational campaigns, public service announcements, and media outreach.
- **Empower Marginalised Castes:** The government should empower marginalised castes by providing them with access to education, healthcare, and economic opportunities. This can be achieved through policies and programs that provide financial and social support to marginalised communities (Singh *et al.* 2021).

9. Conclusion

The caste system in Gujarat is a complex issue that continues to shape the social and economic fabric of the state. Despite efforts to reduce caste-based discrimination and promote social equality, inequalities still persist. This report's findings reveal the caste system's profound impact on various aspects of society. The recommendations proposed can help reduce caste-based discrimination and promote social equality. It is essential to address this issue through a multifaceted approach and continue working towards a more equitable society in Gujarat.

References

- Aswani, T. (2023) *Gujarat: Why a sizeable number of dalits are joining Hindutva outfits*, *The Wire*. Available at: <https://thewire.in/communalism/gujarat-dalits-hindutva-outfits> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).
- Censusindia.gov.in (2023) *C- 3 APPENDIX - MARITAL STATUS BY RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY, AGE AND SEX - 2011, Home.* Available at: <https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/10535/download/13647/DDW-0000C-03A.xlsx> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).
- Chakravarty, D., 2022. Reflections on the New Latter-day Saint Temple in Bengaluru and Religious Gender Norms. *Mormon Studies Review*, 9, pp.41-51. <https://www.academia.edu/download/82892145/41chakravarty.pdf>
- Cort, J.E., 2004. Jains, caste and hierarchy in north Gujarat. *Contributions to Indian sociology*, 38(1-2), pp.73-112. <https://mysocialbliss.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Dipankar-Gupta-Caste-in-Question-Identity-or-Hierarchy-Contributions-to-Indian-Sociology-Occasional-Studies-12-20041.pdf#page=96>
- Dodiya, M.P., 2019. *A Sociological Study of the Changing Status of Kshatriyas in Gujarat (With Special Reference to Bhal-Nalkantha Region)* (Doctoral dissertation, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda (India)). <http://dspace.mirror.hmlibrary.ac.in:8084/jspui/bitstream/123456789/628/12/12-CHAPTER-5.pdf>

Dopt.gov.in (2023) *Policy of Reservation to SCs, STs and OBCs*. Department of Personnel & Training. Available at: https://dopt.gov.in/sites/default/files/FAQ_SCST.pdf (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Empowerweb.org (2023) *Navsarjan Trust / Dalit Shakti kendra: Past grantees: Global reach, EMpower*. Available at: <https://empowerweb.org/global-reach/past-grantees/navsarjan-trust-dalit-shakti-kendra> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Esamajkalyan.gujarat.gov.in (2023) *Ambedkar Awas Yojana*. Social Justice & Empowerment Department. Available at: <https://esamajkalyan.gujarat.gov.in/index.aspx?ServiceID=wq9yJJOft11YsNrpPOIhhQ==> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Ghosh, B., *Consequences of Globalisation: Social and Cultural Life in 21st Century* (Paper Presented at Savitribai Phule Pune University on 6th February 2019). https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Biswajit-Ghosh-3/publication/348080398_Consequences_of_Globalisation_Social_and_Cultural_Life_in_21st_Century/links/5fe eabeda6fdccdc81ead9c/Consequences-of-Globalisation-Social-and-Cultural-Life-in-21st-Century.pdf

Gujaratindia.gov.in (2023) *Education Projects and Initiatives*. Gujarat State Portal. Available at: <https://gujaratindia.gov.in/initiatives/initiatives.htm?InitiativeId=Ow74LqwpdaExxK3FbmJQew==> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Ilo.org (2013) *Low Female Employment in a Period of High Growth: Insights from a Primary Survey in Uttar Pradesh & Gujarat*. International Labour Organization. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-new_delhi/documents/publication/wcms_763352.pdf (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Ilo.org (2018) *India Wage Report*, International Labour Organisation. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-new_delhi/documents/publication/wcms_638305.pdf (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Jaffrelot, C., 2016. Quota for Patels? The neo-middle-class syndrome and the (partial) return of caste politics in Gujarat. *Studies in Indian Politics*, 4(2), pp.218-232. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Christophe-Jaffrelot-2/publication/309366644_Quota_for_Patels_The_Neo-middle-class_Syndrome_and_the_partial_Return_of_Caste_Politics_in_Gujarat/links/59d3ab3ea6fdcc181ad94145/Quota-for-Patels-The-Neo-middle-class-Syndrome-and-the-partial-Return-of-Caste-Politics-in-Gujarat.pdf

Kshatriya, D.S. (2023) *Dalit atrocities: Conviction rate low in Gujarat*, *The New Indian Express*. The New Indian Express. Available at: <https://www.newindianexpress.com/thesundaystandard/2023/jan/29/dalit-atrocities-conviction-rate-low-in-gujarat-2542266.html> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Manzoor, M., 2022. Neo-Liberal Policies In Face Of Globalisation And Renewed Caste Conflicts And Its Effect On Crime. *Journal of Pharmaceutical Negative Results*, pp.7860-7865. <https://pnrjournal.com/index.php/home/article/download/6175/7801>

Mospi.gov.in (2015) *Employment and Unemployment Situation Among Social Groups in India*, Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation | Government Of India. Available at: https://mospi.gov.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/nss_rep_563_13mar15.pdf (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Mosse, D., 2018. Caste and development: Contemporary perspectives on a structure of discrimination and advantage. *World development*, 110, pp.422-436. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305750X18301943>

Mukhopadhyay, A. (2020) *Is Gujarat providing a model for 'Muslim discrimination'?* – DW – 12/18/2020, *dw.com*. Deutsche Welle. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/en/is-indias-gujarat-providing-a-model-for-muslim-discrimination/a-55987068> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Nair, R. and Vollhardt, J.R., 2020. Intersectionality and relations between oppressed groups: Intergroup implications of beliefs about intersectional differences and commonalities. *Journal of Social Issues*, 76(4), pp.993-1013.

https://www.academia.edu/download/65267150/Intersectionality_and_relations_between_oppressed_groups.pdf

Naz, F., 2015. Water, water lords, and caste: A village study from Gujarat, India. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 26(3), pp.89-101. https://www.cnsjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Farhat_26.3.15.pdf

Ncrb.gov.in (2022) *Crime in India 2021 - Statistics Volume - 1*. National Crime Records Bureau. Available at: https://ncrb.gov.in/sites/default/files/CII-2021/CII_2021Volume%201.pdf (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Nielsen, K.B., Sareen, S. and Oskarsson, P., 2020. The politics of caste in India's new land wars. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 50(5), pp.684-695. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00472336.2020.1728780>

Parmar, R., 2020. Transacting caste in modern times: Changing social identity through surnames in urban Gujarat. *Contemporary Voice of Dalit*, 12(2), pp.220-233. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Rajnikant-Parmar/publication/342214863_Transacting_Caste_in_Modern_Times_Changing_Social_Identity_through_Surnames_in_Urban_Gujarat/links/5f96a51b458515b7cf9efa33/Transacting-Caste-in-Modern-Times-Changing-Social-Identity-through-Surnames-in-Urban-Gujarat.pdf

Pib.gov.in (2020) *Global gender gap index, Press Information Bureau*. Ministry of Women and Child Development. Available at: <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1602397> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Sarkar, S., Chakravorty, B. and Lyonette, C., 2020. Social Identity and Aspiration-Double Jeopardy or Intersectionality? Evidence from Rural India (No. 724). GLO Discussion Paper. <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/226520/1/GLO-DP-0724.pdf>

Satyanarayana, A. (n.d.) *Caste system, social exclusion and justice - MCRHRDI*. DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OSMANIA UNIVERSITY HYDERABAD. Available at: <http://www.mcrhrdi.gov.in/88fc/Week-7/Issues%20in%20Economics%20History%20%20-%20H%2012.pdf> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Secc.gov.in (2023) *Caste Tribe Status of Households (Rural), Socio Economic and Caste Census (SECC)*. Available at: <https://secc.gov.in/getCasteProfileRuralStateReport.htm/24> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Singh, J. and Kumari, M., 2022. Impact of Globalization on Women in India: A Critical Review. *Globalization*, 2(1). https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Drjagdeep-Singh/publication/362692572_Impact_of_Globalization_on_Women_in_India_A_Critical_Review/links/62ff2046eb7b135a0e46243d/Impact-of-Globalization-on-Women-in-India-A-Critical-Review.pdf

Singh, S.K. et al. (2021) *NATIONAL FAMILY HEALTH SURVEY (NFHS-5)*, International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and ICF. Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. Available at: https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR374/FR374_Gujarat.pdf (Accessed: April 5, 2023).

Tribal.nic.in (2016) *The Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 No. 33 of 1989*. Ministry of Tribal Affairs - Government of India. Available at: <https://tribal.nic.in/actRules/preventionofAtrocities.pdf> (Accessed: April 5, 2023).