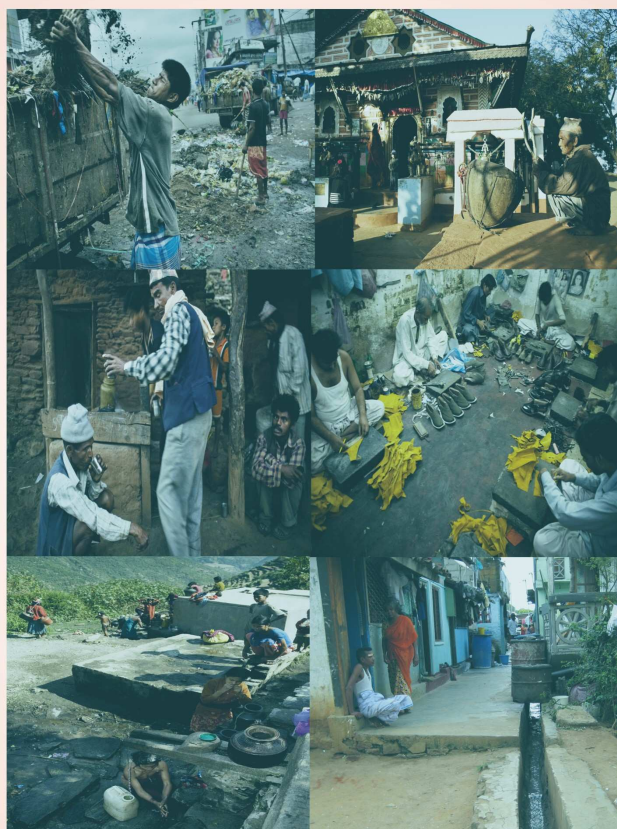


Caste-based Discrimination in South Asia: A Study of Bangladesh



**Indian Institute of Dalit Studies
Q-3, Green Park Extension
New Delhi - 110 016
2008**

IIDS

Established in January 2002, the Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (IIDS) has been undertaking researches on the development concerns of the marginalized groups and socially excluded communities. Over the last more than five years IIDS has carried-out a large number of studies on different aspects of social exclusion and discrimination of the historically marginalized social groups, such as the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Religious minorities in India and other parts of South Asia (dalitstudies.org.in). In its endeavour to build data base on marginal groups for state policy and social action IIDS has been working with a wide range of national and international funding agencies and collaborates with a large number of scholars world over.

Preface and Acknowledgements

Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (IIDS) has been among the first research organizations to undertake studies on the development concerns of the marginalized groups and socially excluded communities. Over the last five years IIDS has carried out a large number of studies on different aspects of social exclusion and discrimination of the historically marginalized social groups, such as the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Religious minorities in India and other parts of South Asia.

This report is part of a regional research project on caste-based discrimination and constitutes an important landmark for us. For the first time researchers from five countries of South Asia have worked together to understand the nature and forms of caste-based discrimination in different political settings of Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. This comparative study brings out new information on the extent and nature of caste based discrimination and we hope it will open up new spaces for state policy and civil society interventions for making South Asia a more just and democratic region.

This report has been made possible by efforts of various individuals and institutions. First of all we would like to acknowledge the financial and intellectual support we received from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN). We are particularly grateful to Ms Rikke Nöhrind for her support to the project. The steering committee of our advisors, Ghanshyam Shah, Sukhadeo Thorat and Martin Macwan, provided intellectual leadership and coordinated the entire work. Chittaranjan Senapati from IIDS worked hard to coordinate the work with different agencies.

A large number of researchers and organizations participated in carrying out studies in the four countries. I express my deepest thanks and gratitude to the scholars who undertook the painstaking work. Prof. Krishna Bahadur Bhattachan of Tribhuvan University coordinated the work in Nepal; Prof. Kalinga Tudor Silva of University of Peradeniya in Sri Lanka; Prof. Iftexhar Uddin Chowdhury of University of Chittagong in Bangladesh; and Senior Research Associate Zulfiqar Ali Shah of Pakistan Institute of Labour Education in Pakistan. It is their work that made this report possible.

We are also grateful to different organizations (NGOs) that assisted us in the research in different ways: Nepal National Dalit Social Welfare Organization (NNSWOW); the Dalit NGO Federation (DNF) of Nepal; Human Development Organization (HDO), Sri Lanka; Thardeep Rural Development Programme (TRDP), Siran Mithi, Tharparkar Sindhi, Pakistan and IMAGE, Chittagong, Bangladesh.

Colleagues at IIDS were always available for advice and assistance. Ananth Panth, Narendra Kumar and Raj Kishor Kampa, M. Gairiangmei R. Naga, Samir Mahapatra and Pramod Dabral deserve special mentioning for their help in different ways.

The four country reports are available at www.dalitstudies.org.in and www.idsn.org.

Surinder S. Jodhka
Director
Indian Institute of Dalit Studies
New Delhi

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

- ❖ Ghanshyam Shah
- ❖ Sukhadeo Thorat
- ❖ Martin Macwan

RESEARCH COORDINATOR

- ❖ Chittaranjan Senapati

COUNTRY RESEARCHERS

Bangladesh:

- ❖ Iftekhar Uddin Chowdhury

Nepal:

- ❖ Krishna B. Bhattachan
- ❖ Tej B. Sunar
- ❖ Yasso Kanti B. Gauchan

Pakistan:

- ❖ Zulfiqar Ali Shah

Sri Lanka:

- ❖ Kalinga Tudor Silva
- ❖ P.P. Sivapragasam
- ❖ Paramsothy Thanges
- ❖ Sasikumar Balasundaram
- ❖ P. Kotikabadde
- ❖ A.S. Chandrabose

Executive Summary

The major purpose of the research is to find out the nature and extent of descent and work-based discrimination in contemporary rural Bangladesh. Though it is changing from rigid to fluid form, the underlying assumption of caste practice and discrimination has been found very much existent and endorsed by information from different sources, survey techniques and tools such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Questionnaire Survey for in depth inquiry and few Case Studies used in this study. Although it originated in the Hindu scriptural and socio-religious tradition, descent and work-based discrimination and relevant social exclusion has been indeed a reality in societal scenario in both Hindu minority and Muslim majority communities in Bangladesh. The extent has been changed though in different manners, it still covers all the spheres of socio-economics, culture, and politics in both the Hindu and Muslim communities. In Bangladesh, the dominant feature could be termed as a combination of Bengali society and culture predominated by Hindu and Buddhist heritage along with Muslim traditions brought specially by Muslim missionaries and Arab traders.

In a predominantly rural and semi-urban economy of Bangladesh, the traditional professions such as fishing, sweeping (Harijan), barber, washer, dyer, blacksmith, goldsmith, cobbler (Muchi), oil-presser, boatmen (Mazi), weavers, hunters, sawyers, Kasai (Butcher), gardener (Mali), Darji (tailor), Hajam (quake for circumcision), drum beater (Dholak), Bede (river gipsy), Hijra (transvestites) and so on play an important role in the social relations of production and for providing employment. Such kind of professions are either descent or work-based; the communities of whom make their living in severe nasty and polluted environment either in public housing provided by the local municipalities or privately arranged housing in the slums/squatters in and around the semi-urban and rural areas throughout the country. They are segregated for their dwellings in different names such as Methor/Harijan Patti, Bede Colony, Sweeper Colony, Jele (fishermen) Para, Napit (barber) Para etc. in the locality. They always bear the pains of abusing with different bad words particularly in relation to their job and status. It is assumed that the major causes of severity of their livelihood might be

enumerated and examined in terms of rigid religious and psychological barrier to go for any change in the habitat and profession.

The fact is that traditionally these descent and work-based discriminated, broken and poverty driven population are the members of a single endogamous group of Hindu or Muslim castes and sub-castes with strong kindred of recognition of kinship and affinity who have been engaged in the respective professions from ancient times. These professionals with different socio-cultural connotations like 'untouchables', 'low caste', 'schedule caste', 'outcaste' etc. could be termed 'Dalit' to denote people deliberately and actively broken, exploited, oppressed, violated and destroyed. In a country like Bangladesh with Muslim majority, the Hindus are the minority and Dalit represent most marginalized and deprived section of that of a minority community. Since they are still considered 'unclean', they live separately from other so called 'clean' groups in their own neighborhood. They are not allowed for renting or building houses outside their exclusive localities. Most Dalits particularly the untouchables among the Hindus in Bangladesh are the descendents of Indians from Bihar, Kanpur, Hamirbag, Jobbalpur of mainly Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, and many others parts alike. They have been largely brought by the British Colonial regime to provide menial services and have been popularly known as 'Methor' 'Dome' and so on. They are denied entry inside the temples of non-Dalits, religious programs, tea shops or restaurants, houses of non-Dalits, playgrounds, movie theatres, burial ground, social gatherings music concerts, cultural program in different manners and extent.

The secular Bengali nationalism was the key to unite all the people of different religions with the bond of fraternity that led the country towards its independence in 1971. Four fundamental principles Nationalism, Socialism, Democracy and Secularism were the major spirit that was manifested in the Bangladesh Constitution of 1972 in the Article Nos.9, 10, 11 and 12 respectively. Article 10 ensures the attainment of a just and egalitarian society free from exploitation of man by man. Article 11 guarantees the fundamental human rights and freedom and respect for the dignity and worth of the human person and Article 12 eliminates communalism of all forms, the use of religion for political purposes and discrimination against or persecution of persons practicing a

particular religion. Article 28(1) stands for any discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. The Constitution of Bangladesh does not recognize minorities as groups distinct from Bengalis. In the Constitution of Bangladesh, equal rights for all people irrespective of any race, caste, creed and religion is established though, unfortunately social exclusion is manifested in the physical structure of both rural and urban areas throughout the country. Dalit face severe form of panic and violence, abduction, rapes, tortures, destruction of houses, land grabbing, eviction from land and threat in different ways every time everywhere in the society.

The visible discrimination against the minority, the majority of whom are the Dalits, delineates its reflection in every sphere of socio-economic and politics in Bangladesh society. The minority representatives in the parliament in 1973 were 3.8%, 2.4% in 1979, 1.2% in 1988 and 3.3% in 1991. In terms of population, the minority representatives ought to have been 18% or 60 members out of 330, but it has been around 10 only in the last two decades. The number of minority officers in army in 1993 was 1.6% and 6% in the police department. There has been virtually no representation of the minorities in the Ministry of Foreign, Home and Defense. Till 1993 there was none as secretary, additional secretary except 3 joint secretaries out of 134 positions, 25 deputy secretary out of 463 and 8 income tax officials only out of 450. While religious teachers have been appointed in each school for imparting Islamic instruction, crores of Taka is being spent for the development of Madrashes and even an Islamic University has been set up, but there is none such for other religions. Among religious minorities, schedule castes and Harijans are the most backward for which they used to enjoy special treatment in employment, housing, health and education etc. during British period, but at present they are deprived of such facilities. The law of Vested Property in the replacement of Enemy Property is indeed the permanent woe to the minority community in Bangladesh.

Both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits have very lower access to capital assets. Most dalits live in Kutcha (Bamboo/thatched) houses with 1-2 rooms, have very least access to water and sanitation, electricity, telephone, toilet, gas, radio, bicycle, etc. In terms of employment, income and status of labor, Dalits of both communities face severe discrimination. Dalits including a large number of untouchables are employed in the

public and private offices as sweepers and cleaners with low pay on mostly temporary or casual basis. They have to spend a good amount of money as bribe or other means for managing the employment. They do not get wages properly and regularly. In the sector like farming, fishing, crop sale, small shop business or work on choice; they are seriously discriminated and face several restrictions in contracts like *Dadan* in fishing or share cropping etc. Most Dalits are the poorest as they possess no land except homestead in very few cases even in the villages. They do not have income from any other sources except major professions and are always on loan from NGOs, and the money lenders in particular with high rate of interest that leads their perpetual indebtedness and pauperization.

In terms of status of education, most Dalits have no formal education except a few with 1-2 years education in formal and non-formal education or very negligible number of graduates from primary/high schools and colleges. They are least interested in general or higher education as they find difficulty to look for even lowest grade of official job in the public and private offices after graduating from high schools or colleges. This very low literacy has been big hindrance for the Dalits to develop their communities and become rigid to look for alternatives or change in the profession. Since the Dalits are poor they can not afford the expenses for health services they require that lead them to continue sick and enormous sufferings. Dalits are the victims of various types of socio-cultural and political discrimination. In the policy making program by government or local government, Dalits are strongly discriminated and can not take part at all in the decision making process. In many cases if the things particularly the holy things of worship are touched by Dalits/ untouchables, the non-Dalits sprinkle water to make them pure or protect impurity. They can not go for casting their votes without the permission of influential non-Dalits or their leaders as the agents of non-Dalits. They are victims of social boycotts for any simple reason. Sometimes, Dalits are also discriminated within their community if they look for job other than the traditional one, go for inter-caste marriage or does something against the prevailing norms/values of their own community. They generally do not get equal and just verdict if anything happens wrong among them as most cases are settled or negotiated through informal authorities. Though there is no such strong bonded labor system, Dalits are made by the non-Dalits to serve with forced

labor like cleaning, carrying goods, caring cattle etc. without remuneration. There are of course; many cases like children as forced labor, trafficking particularly the women etc. falls in the category of multiple nature of bonded labor.

The situation in gender discrimination particularly of the untouchable or Dalits, it is not an exception to the overall women status in a traditional, illiterate and Islamic bonded society like Bangladesh. It is rather more severe as the Dalit women are yet to be empowered to take active part in socio-cultural, economic and political arena in the community and the country as well. Women's life is still overwhelmingly controlled by men giving her little independence or self-determination. Even girls over 20 years of age do not have a say in any kind of their own household decision making, including such personal decisions as planning and pursuing her education, choosing a career or choosing a marriage partner. The status of women, their rights and duties as regards their control over property, over their own body, the degree of seclusion and veiling, their participation in politics, and community development, social contacts, employment etc. are all in tremendous complexity of demonstrations on the basis of both Islamic and Hindu code of life. The bitter experience of Dalit Women in relation to violence and communal atrocities during pre and post parliament election, police or other non-Dalit violence and oppression make a real panicky scenario in the case of violence against women in the country.

In Bangladesh, NGOs and civil forums are well known for their active role, voices and activities for poverty eradication and establishing human rights. Many NGOs have hundred of activities for spending billions of dollars for poverty focused programs, but many researchers or the policy makers do not really know what exclusive programs they have for the betterment of Dalit livelihoods or protect their interest or civic rights. Despite growing protest in a very low tone and exposures by some civil forums and NGOs, due to inadequate addressing of the issues by the government, poor implementation of the policies for protecting Dalit rights and weak representation of Dalit leadership, caste and work based discrimination is still flourishing and widespread. Due to the lack of information, documentation and also understanding for the policies, many more research and gathering information are required to oversee the prevailing challenges

and changes in the Dalits communities in both rural and urban Bangladesh. Who is doing what for whom in which way with what effect should be addressed properly to understand the situation of Dalits, meaningful establishment of their rights and improvement of their livelihood.

Contents

Executive Summary	I
Abbreviations	
Section I : Untouchability and Descent Based Discrimination	
1.1 Objectives of the Study	1
1.2 Methodology	1
1.3 Limitation and Barriers	3
1.4 Background of Hindu Caste in Bangladesh	4
1.4.1 Social Stratification in Islam	6
1.4.2 Background of Muslim Elite and Muslim Dalits in Bangladesh	7
1.5 Low Caste/ Untouchables among Hindus	9
1.5.1 Dalit Issues in Contemporary Bangladesh	11
1.5.2 Hindu Dalits in Contemporary Bangladesh	12
1.5.3 Muslim Dalits in Contemporary Bangladesh	13
Section II : State, Caste and Human Rights	
2.1 Background of Bangladesh State and Constitution	14
2.2 Legislations and Policies	15
2.2.1 Historical Roots for Constitutional Amendments	16
2.2.2 Discrimination in the Bureaucracy against Minority Communities	17
2.2.3 Discrimination through Enemy (Vested) Property Ordinance	19
Section III : Economic and Social Status of Low Caste vis-à-vis Other Castes	
3.1 Lower Access to Capital Assets	22
3.2 Higher Proportion of Wage Labour	29
3.3 Discrimination in Wage Earnings	36
3.4: Higher Incidence of Poverty	38
3.5 Low Literacy Rate	43
3.6 Poor Health	46
3.7 Housing	48
Section IV : Nature and Extent of Untouchability and Discrimination in Social and Cultural Spheres	
4.1 Residential Segregation	52
4.1.1 Survey findings about Denial in Housing/Entry	54
4.2 Denial of Access to Basic Public Services	59
4.2. 1 Access to Common Resources	60
4.3 Discriminated Treatments in Public Services	65

4.4	Discriminatory Restrictions on Public Behavior	68
4.5	Other Discriminatory Restrictions	73
Section V : Economic and Market Discrimination		
5.1	Labour Market Discrimination	75
5.2	Discrimination in Other Factor Markets – Irrigation and Land (Survey Findings)	80
5.3	Discrimination in Consumer Markets – Sale and Purchase	82
5.4	Consequences of Economic Discrimination	85
Section VI : Discrimination in Political Sphere		
6.1	Participation in Political Process (Survey Findings)	89
6.2	Rights and Local Governance	94
6.3	Participation in Development Process	97
6.4	Discrimination on Dalit/Low Caste /Untouchables Issues	99
Section VII : Discrimination in Education		
7.1	Enrollment and Dropout	104
	7.1.1 Results of Survey Findings	104
7.2	Discrimination by Peer Groups	106
7.3	Discrimination Teachers and Management	108
7.4	Discrimination through Curricula Activities	110
Section VIII : Bonded Labour		
8.1	Reasons for Bondedness	114
8.2	Nature of Bonded ness	117
	8.2.1 Children as Forced Labour	117
8.3	Status of Bonded Labourers	119
Section IX : Multiple Discrimination of Low Caste/ Untouchable Women		
9.1	Women Status and Role in Bangladesh	121
9.2	Discrimination against Women: Bangladesh Scenario	122
	9.2.1 Pre-election and Post-election Political Violence	124
	9.2.2 Police Violence	125
	9.2.3 Right to Freedom from Violence	125
	9.2.4. Fatwa Instigated Violence	126
Section X: Conclusion, Recommendation		
10.1	Conclusion	128
10.2	Recommendation	130
References		133
Appendix- Case Studies		135

List of Tables

Table 1.1	Schedule Caste Populations in Muslim Bengal (Bangladesh District	5
Table 2.1	Minority Representation in Army Bureaucracy	18
Table 2.2	Minority Representation in Police Department	18
Table 2.3	Minority Representation in Civil Bureaucracy	18
Table 3.1	Status of Housing of Dalits	23
Table 3.2	Number of Rooms in the House	24
Table 3.3	Access to Water supply	24
Table 3.4	Access to Electricity	25
Table 3.5	Access to Telephone	25
Table 3.6	Access to Toilet	26
Table 3.7	Access to Gas	27
Table 3.8	Access to Radio	27
Table 3.9	Access to Bicycle	28
Table 3.10	Access to Cassette Player	28
Table- 3.11	Description of Household Head:	29
Table 3.12	Age of the Dalit Respondents:	30
Table 3.13	Sex of the Dalit Respondents:	31
Table-3.14	Professions of the Dalits	33
Table 3.15	Occupation of the Sons of Dalits:	34
Table 3.16	Income Structure of the Dalits:	35
Table: 3.17	Status of Wage of Dalits	36
Table 3.18	Status of Wage Increment of Dalits	37
Table 3. 19	Status of Work on Choice by Dalits	37
Table- 3.20	Dalits' Work with Less Money	38
Table 3.21	Household Size of the Dalit Respondents	38
Table 3.22	Number of Sons and Their Age of the Dalit Respondents	39
Table -3.23	Income of Dalits from Other Sources	41
Table 3.24	Amount of Loan (Monthly) of the Dalits	42
Table 3.25	Purpose for Loan	42
Table 3.26	Sources of Loan of Dalits	43
Table 3.27	Education level of the Dalits:	44
Table 3.28	Language of the Dalits	45

Table 3.29	Proficiency of Dalits in Reading Newspaper	45
Table 3.30	Dalits' Discrimination in GOB Hospital	46
Table 3.31	Dalits' Discrimination in NGO Hospital	47
Table 3.32	Dalits' Discrimination in Private Hospital	47
Table 3.33	Dalits' Discrimination by Doctors/Nurses	47
Table 3.34	Home district of Father of Dalit Respondent	49
Table 3.35	Fathers' Occupation of Dalit Respondents	50
Table 3.36	Time Frame or Duration of Living in the Same Location	51
Table 4.1	Nature and Extent of Discrimination in Entry	52
Table 4.2	To Rent a Room/House	54
Table 4.3	To Enter Inside Home	55
Table 4.4	To Enter in Toilet	55
Table 4.5	To Enter in House to Wish New Baby	56
Table 4.6	To Enter in House to Wish New Couple	56
Table 4.7	To Enter Inside Food Factory	57
Table 4.8	To Enter in Tea Shop	58
Table 4.9	To Rent Room in Hotel	58
Table 4.10	Access to Common Resources (FGD Findings)	59
Table 4.11	Use of Water from Public Sources	60
Table 4.12	Use of Water from Private Sources	61
Table 4.13	Electricity Connection	61
Table 4.14	Gas Connection	62
Table 4.15	Use of Public Toilet/Sewerage	62
Table 4.16	Use of Graveyard	63
Table 4.17	Use of Government Forest/Hills	64
Table 4.18	Journey by Train by Dalits	64
Table 4.19	Journey by Bus by Dalits	65
Table 4.20	Discriminatory Treatment in Public Services (FGD Findings)	65
Table 4.21	Discriminatory Restrictions in Participation by Dalits (FGD Findings)	68
Table 4.22	Restrictions in the Forms of Dominance (FGD Findings)	70
Table 4.23	Restrictions in the Forms of Social Boycott (FGD Findings)	72
Table 4.24	Restrictions in Attitudinal Untouchables (FGD Findings)	72
Table 4.25	Marriage with other Religions	73
Table 4.26	Affair Marriage with Other Religions	74
Table 4.27	Attend Family Ceremony of Non-Dalits	74

Table 5.1	Discriminatory Labour (FGD Findings)	76
Table 5.2	Experience of Forced Labour	76
Table 5.3	Work with Less Money	77
Table 5.4	Carry Shopping Bag	77
Table 5.5	Take Care of Children Without Pay	78
Table 5.6	To Get Job through Bribe	78
Table 5.7	To Get Leave with Bribe	79
Table 5.8	To Get Pension with Bribe	79
Table 5.9	Transfer with Bribe	80
Table 5.10	Occupy Land by Force	81
Table 5.11	Evict from Own Land by Force	81
Table 5.12	Take Crop by Force	82
Table 5.13	Discrimination in the Buy and Sell Land	82
Table 5.14	Sell Land Cheaper by Force	83
Table 5.15	Buy Land with More Money	84
Table 5.16	Sell Land by Force	84
Table 5.17	Problem to Get Loan from Bank	85
Table 5.18	Problem to Get Loan from NGO	86
Table 5.19	Problem to Get Loan from Mohajan (money lender)	86
Table 5.20	Problem to Give Loan to Other Religions	87
Table 5.21	Charge More Interest from Loan	87
Table 6.1	Participation in Political Activities	90
Table 6.2	Participate in Political Procession	90
Table 6.3	Participate in Election (National)	91
Table 6.4	Participate in Election (Local)	92
Table 6.5	Participate in Election (Labour Union)	92
Table 6.6	Take Part in Decision Making Locally	93
Table 6.7	To Form Panchayet / Local Committee	93
Table 6.8	Vote for Candidate of Choice	94
Table 6.9	Political Right (FGD Findings)	95
Table 6.10	Government Policy and Program (FGD Findings)	96
Table 6.11	Participation in Local Leadership	96
Table 6.12	Participation in Government and NGO Offices (FGD Findings)	97
Table 6.13	Development Programs of the Government/Donors (FGD Findings)	98
Table 6.14	Participation in Decision Making of Government	98

Table 6.15 Religious and Cultural Issues (FGD Findings)	99
Table 6.16 Discrimination in the Forms of Atrocities (FGD Findings)	101
Table 6.17 Physically torture	101
Table 6.18 Burn House	102
Table 6.19 False Case against Dalits	102
Table 6.20 Exile from the Area	103
Table 7.1 Discrimination in Educational Institutions (FGD Findings)	104
Table 7.2 Admission in School	105
Table 7.3 Opportunity to be Teacher	106
Table 7.4 Teasing by School Mate	107
Table 7.5 Discrimination in Sitting beside School Mate	107
Table 7.6 Joining School Executive Committee	108
Table 7.7 Teasing by Teachers	108
Table 7.8 Discrimination in Selection children for Scholarship	109
Table 7.9 Discrimination in Examination Result	110
Table 7.10 Discrimination in Drinking Water in School	111
Table 7.11 Discrimination in Toilet use in School	112
Table 7.12 Discrimination in Sports in School	112
Table 7.13 Discrimination in joining in Cultural Activities in Schools	113
Table 8.1 Discrimination through Haliya system (Farmer)	115
Table 8.2 Discrimination through Forced labour for Loan	116
Table 8.3 Discrimination through Forced labour for Food	116
Table 8.4 Discrimination through Cleaning Work for Food	117
Table 8.5 Reasons of Trafficking	116
Table 8.6 Estimation of Street Children by Sex in Six Divisional Cities	120
Table 8.7 Nature of Harassment of Street Children	120
Table 9.1 Fatwa or Rulings against Women's Right to Vote	124
Table 9.2 Communal Atrocities from 15.9.2001 to 10.12.2001	124

Abbreviations

ALRD	Association for Land Reform and Development
ASK	Ain-O-Salish Kendra
ATSEC	Action Against Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Children
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BNWLA	Bangladesh National Women Lawyers Association
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IDSN	International Dalit Solidarity Network
IIDS	Indian Institute of Dalit Studies
ILO	International Labour Organization
NCDHR	National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights
NNDSWO	Nepal National Dalit Social Welfare Organization
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
SWOT	Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threats
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WASA	Water and Sanitation of Government

Section I

Untouchability and Descent-based Discrimination

1.1 Objectives of the Study

The major purpose of the research is to find out the nature and extent of untouchables, descent and work-based discrimination, and social exclusion in the contemporary Bangladesh society through secondary sources and first-hand investigation as primary sources. In a predominantly rural and semi-urban economy of Bangladesh, the traditional workers such as fisherman, sweeper, barber, washer men, blacksmiths, goldsmith, cobbler, oil-presser and so on play an important role in the social relations of production and employment generation. Such kind of professions are either descent or work-based and people working in these professions have been facing severe discrimination in every walks of life in the society for long. In order to address these issues in the Bangladesh society and to improve the quality of life of the victims of such discrimination, a proper understanding of the nature and extent of discrimination is necessary.

The discriminated poverty-stricken communities in Bangladesh face untold miseries because of discrimination. They endanger their lives by staying in public housing provided by municipality/city corporation/government offices or privately arranged housing in the slums/squatters in and around of urban/semi-urban and rural areas and lead a sub-standard life throughout the country.

1.2 Methodology

To make the study comprehensive and more effective, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Questionnaire Survey through in-depth interview and few case studies were used.

1.2.1 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA):

It is an approach of shared learning between local people and outsiders to enable the researchers to identify the locality of the target population through social mapping, pattern of their existing livelihoods, income/status etc.

1.2.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD):

A total of five villages two Muslim villages (Khurushkul under Cox’s Bazar District and Joara under Satkania Upazila/sub-district of district Chittagong), two Hindu villages (Katghar under Sitakund Upazila/sub-district and Bhujpur under Fatikchari Upazila/sub-district of Chittagong district), and one village of Adibashi communities (Shawnirbhar Bazar, under Khagrachari district) have been selected for FGD study. An average of 25-30 participants from different professional groups of schedule caste, untouchables and work-based discriminated people attended the discussion. All the participants were very much active and expressed their opinion freely and frankly besides giving other relevant issues to help the researchers understand the situation of the nature and extent of discrimination.

1.2.3 Questionnaire:

To identify the issues and assess the extent and nature of discrimination based on caste and work, an in-depth interview was conducted through the questionnaire survey. The nature of questionnaire was problematic. In order to bring out flexibility in the data collection, the questionnaire was divided into two major sub-divisions- the household information and the other information relevant to the nature of discrimination. For having a clear understanding of the nature and extent of discrimination, the level of discrimination was categorized as strong, moderate, less and not observed. Further, two major divisions were made for both the Hindu and Muslims–Schedule Caste and untouchables for Hindu, work-based and untouchables for Muslims. The nature of discrimination was categorized on the basis of education, health, service sector, marriage/family relationship, housing, political, worship, other facilities and oppression.

1.2.4 Sampling

Type of Village Cross Tabulation

Type		Village					Total
		Bjpur	Sjnagar	Dopi	Lakkatura	Bhujpur	
Hindu	Count	35	35	35	35	35	175
	% within Type	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	15	15	15	15	15	75
	% within Type	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%

The survey was designed to collect data from five villages: Bhujpur under Chittagong district, Bijoypur and Sujanager under Comilla district and Dopri and Lokkatura under Sylhet district. From each village, there were 50 respondents. Among them, 35 respondents were from Hindu schedule castes and untouchables while 15 respondents were from Muslim, including work-based and untouchables. The samples were collected on random basis depending on the availability of the respondents.

1.2.5 Case Studies

There were seven case studies conducted on different castes and groups.

1.3 Limitation and Barriers

The most important limitation was to convince the target population for participating in the group discussion and getting interviewed. It had been rather difficult to make them understand that the study would benefit them in the long-run, not with immediate effect. Prior to this, they had been discussed and interviewed so many times by NGOs and individual researchers regarding their livelihoods, micro credit and so on; However, they did not find any qualitative change in the policies that could resolve their problems. As a result, they are least interested for this kind of study as they think that it will also bring no benefit to them. However, after building a rapport with them, they were made to realize and understand that the objective of the present study viz. the nature and extent of discrimination they are facing, they kept quite and became very much cooperative.

Another important limitation was to get participants/respondents at home as they had to go either for work/extra work or chat/games/drink. Therefore, the researchers/field workers had to depend on the availability of the participants/respondents for scheduling FDG and sample survey through in-depth interview. Language was also barrier in terms of localities, colloquial, and dialects. Moreover, many Harijans were from different parts of India; and they speak somehow mixed Hindi language, which became more difficult to understand. However, the helping hands of the locality for interpretation of language supported for FDG and sample survey. The building rapport and making them confident that the data/information given by them will not be disclosed or caused any sufferings/threat from various stakeholders was also an important issue concerned with limitation and barriers.

1.4 Background of Hindu Caste in Bangladesh

Bangladesh, the then East Pakistan got her independence in 1971. The partition of the Indian subcontinent into two States, India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a mass exodus of refugees from both States reciprocally. Being the eastern part of Pakistan, East Bengal had experienced the exodus mostly in one way – from East Pakistan to India. According to the census of India 1951, 4.7 million Hindu and Sikh refugees came over to India from West Pakistan. From East Pakistan the number was 2.55 million, 81% of whom were settled in West Bengal against very small number of Muslim migrants from West Bengal to East Pakistan (Nakatani: 2004). If we assess the situation of caste practice at that time, we see that castes in Bengal like castes in other regions, had both hierarchical and territorial characteristics. According to the Varna system there were only two Varnas in Bengal – the Brahmins and the Shudras. Baidyas (physicians) and Kayasthas (scribes) occupied the highest position among the Shudras (Sanyal: 1981). In the census of 1941, 118 castes were counted in Bengal, including 62 scheduled castes (Sarma: 1980).

According to 1931 census, five castes were numerically dominant in Bengal of which Mahisya was the largest and Rajbangshi, Namasudra, Kayastha and Brahman were next to the order. While Mahisyas was predominant in Burdwan and Presidency divisions, Namasudras were found in large numbers in Dhaka and Chittagong divisions of East Bengal (Sarma: 1980). It means that Mahisya was the major caste in the western region while Namasudra was in the eastern region (Nakatani:2004). Notably, Mahisya was previously called ‘Casa Kaibarta’. Kaibarta meant fishermen, which elevated itself to a higher position ‘Cas’ (agriculture) and so became Casa (peasant) Kaibarta and established itself as a full-fledged caste in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Sanyal :1981).

Namasudra, a non-aryan caste of Bengal, were earlier known as ‘Chandals’ or scavengers. They occupied a very low social position and were considered to be untouchables. By the late nineteenth century, they had emerged as a settled peasant community (Risley: 1981; Bandyopadyay: 1995). According to N.K. Bose, many Namasudras in East Bengal were boatmen or fishermen. He says, ‘in Bengal, and especially in East Bengal, wherever there are rivers and canals, one can find the members of the Namasudra caste. Hindu society has always deposed this agricultural caste and has

gone to the extent of treating its members as untouchables and making them live in the fringes of the village’ (Bose: 1994)

It is well known that a large number of untouchable castes were displaced in various districts in East Bengal. This was also true for many tribes like the Garos, the Hajongs and the Chakmas (Dasgupta: 2004). According to 1941 census, there were 7.1 million scheduled caste comprising Muchi, Dhopa, Dom, Hari, Kaura, Lohar, Bhui and Mali in Bengal at the time of partition of India.. Though the actual division of Bengal did not take place like the ‘Hindu’ Bengal and ‘Muslim’ Bengal as visualized by S.K. Chatterjee (Van Schendel:2002), the number was 62% i.e., 4.43 million in Hindu Bengal and the rest 38% i.e., 2.75 millions was in Muslim Bengal or present day Bangladesh (Chatterjee: 1947).

Again, according to A., Dasgupta, the number went up to over 3.7 million as many areas were carved out from Hindu Bengal and later added to the Muslim Bengal e.g. Rangpur, parts of Dinajpur, Khulna, and parts of Nadia (Dasgupta:2004). Moreover, caste structure as origin in East Pakistan includes Bagdi, Banik, Brahman, Goyala, Mahisya, Mayra, Malo, Muci, Namasudra, Tanti, Teli, Tili and others among whom Bagdi, Malo, Muci and Namasudra are categorized under scheduled caste (Nakatani: 2004).

Table 1.1 Schedule Caste Populations in Muslim Bengal (Bangladesh)

District	Population	Percentage
Bogura	61,303	2.25
Pabna	1,14,728	4.17
Dinajpur	91,578	3.34
Rajshahi	54,531	1.98
Mymensingh	3,40,676	12.40
Dacca	4,09,905	14.94
Faridpur	5,27,496	19.22
Bakerganj	4,27,667	15.57
Tippera	2,27,643	8.29
Noakhali	81,817	2.98
Chittagong	57,024	2.08
Chittagong Hill Tract	283	.01
Total	27,45,388	100.00

Source: Chatterjee (1947:27)

1.4.1 Social Stratification in Islam

Islam preached its egalitarian principles and equality with saying ‘there is no deity but God’ and oneness of God is meaningless without the belief in oneness of man, that man must spread brotherly love among all human beings. According to Islamic belief, all human beings are the sons of Allah and a true Muslim does not speak evil of others, nor does he tell tales about the disadvantage of his fellow men irrespective of their religious affiliations.

Islam indeed introduced a new type of social stratification, in which the highest were those who were the closest to the Prophet of Islam in blood, faith and geography. In the early time of Islam religion this principle of the new social stratification was followed while distributing annuity from the state’s treasury. Even the Islamic jurisprudence recognizes this rule of precedence. The prophet taught that in case of marriage, the considerations of birth should be given special attention. Because of this, even to today the upper classes of Muslim in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh follow the saying of the Prophet as support to maintain their caste and class distinctions (Karim:1956).

According to the Sunni School of Jurisprudence, the descent or the lineage is the most important which could be categorized as follows: (i) An Arab is superior to a non-Arab (Ajami) Muslim, (ii) Amongst Arab – a) The descendants of Hazrat Ali come first, b) The Quraysh are above all other Arabs, save Hazrat Ali’s descendants, (iii) The descendants of the Caliphs, (iv) A learned non-Arab (Ajami) is equal to an ignorant Arab, (v) A Qazi (a Muslim judge) or a Faqih (a Muslim jurist theologian) ranks higher than a merchant and a tradesman (Blunt:1931). In fact, in Islam the system of endogamy is not the same as the Hindu caste system.

According to Islamic law, although equal marriages are preferred, unequal marriages are not declared void. Therefore, consideration of caste and class distinctions different from those enumerated above arose in different Muslim societies depending on the conditions prevailed in other parts of the Muslim world (Karim: 1956). To clear confusions and contradictions relating to caste and class, it is better to denote work-based discrimination or Dalits in the case of Muslim for both work-based discrimination and untouchables.

1. 4.2 Background of Muslim Elite and Muslim Dalits in Bangladesh

Muslims in Bengal patterned its social stratification among four major castes – Syed, Mughal, Sheikh, and Pathan as has been peculiar in India for its imitation to Hindu Varna system, which divides the society into four main classes. All are noble, indeed, but the former two, as representing the tribe of Mahomet and the direct progeny of Alee, his son-in-law, are pre-eminent (Cunningham:1903). Socially, the community has been unfortunate to inherit the traits of both their Hindu and Moslem forbears and caste prejudices, have left their mark upon many. There are about thirty five separate Moslem castes in Bengal (Talke:1914).

In Bengal, up to the early part of the twentieth century, Muslims, especially members of higher divisions used to divide the Muslim society into three broad divisions: 1) Sharif or Ashraf (i.e., noble born/foreign Moslems), 2) Atraf (low-born) and 3) Ajlaf or Arzal (lowest of all) all of them signifying extreme contempt. The Ashraf exclusiveness projected itself sharply in its attitude towards language and culture. Fazole Rubbee, the Dewan of the Nawab of Murshidabad, emphasized the foreign origin of the Bengal Muslim in his book 'Origin of Muslims in Bengal'. This appeared to be the essence of Ashraf outlook. In fact, the entire Ashraf or the aristocrat group strongly refused to be identified with locality. Neither in cultural heritage nor with regards to language did the Ashrafs of this region express their readiness to acknowledge their Bengali identity, nor did it remain surprisingly a permanent Ashraf's feature all through the rest of the decades (Dey:1998).

However, the recent research has revealed that the growth of the educated land-holding or service-holding middle class professional was the most uneven among the Muslims in Bengal. In Bengal, Muslim did not welcome the practice of modern education and change their attitude towards the modernity of life and improved the total life style of general mass in a befitting manner as it did in other regions and religion as well particularly in Hinduism. Unlike the Muslims of urban Uttar Pradesh, who could retain their social and economic status through the possession of land in large amounts and the retention of Urdu, the Bengal Muslims, the majority of whom were rural poor and illiterates, could not form a viable middle class.

The above mentioned phenomenon came to be considered as the most important drawback of the Bengali Muslim society. Moreover, the 1881 census of Bengal, listing the districts surveyed in the province of Bengal, grouped together, as the five divisions - Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong, with their twenty eight districts under the heading Bengal. Within this area the language spoken by the Muslims, barring a few upper class residents of major cities, was Bengali. Some Muslims would also wish to learn Arabic, the language of their religion. Abdul Latif put this point forcibly: "unless a Mohammedan is a Persian and Arabic scholar, he can not attain a respectable position in Mohammedan society".

The upper class Muslims, especially those who claimed to have entered Bengal as Muslims, spoke Urdu at home. A large number of the Bengali Muslims, who are converted Muslim, spoke a language mixed with Persian and Arabic words known as Mussalmani-Bengali, the language of an extensive popular literature. But they, too, as has been seen, when educating their children, chose Urdu, because it was likely to raise their social status.

The census of 1901 showed that Muslims formed a large part of the agricultural population of Bengal, but the reports also revealed that most of them were tenants rather than landlords. The Muslims were the tenants, and their Zamindars with few exceptions were Hindus (Ahmed:1996). The tenants suffered a lot at the hands of Zamindars because they were mostly absentees and used to leave the matters in the hands of Naibs (literally deputies or managers). In 1902, the government of India in a resolution said that in Bengal there were in existence "the evils of absenteeism, of management of estates by unsympathetic agents, or unhappy relations between the landlords and the tenants. The majority of these Naibs are Hindus, who have little sympathy with the Mohammedan tenants.

Like the higher caste Hindus, foreign Moslems(Arabs, Persians, Afghans) and their descendents used to consider that the acceptance of menial service or ploughing as a moral degradation (Indian Census Report 1901 Part-1 p.543) and look with contempt upon all other ranks of Bengal Moslems whom they call "Ajlaf", 'coarse rabble'(functional groups such as weavers, cotton-carders, oil-pressers, barbers, tailors

etc.). The Arzal (lowest of all) were consisted of very lowest castes such as the Helalkhor (sweepers, latrine and garbage cleaners), Lalbegi, Abdal and Bediya with whom no other Moslem would associate. These lower caste were forbidden to enter the mosque or to use the public burial ground (Levy:1933)

Bannerjee says, the handloom weavers were found both in the Muslims and Hindus. Only the names given to them by the two communities were different. Among the Hindus, they were called Tantis, Tantwas and Jogis. The Muslims called them Jolahas or sometimes Momins". "This weaver class, according to Risley, among the Muslims occupied a very low social position within their own community. Generally, they used to marry within their own class and `inter-marriages were regarded as improper and undignified; and the people doing such marriages were not allowed except on the payment of special penalties. The term 'Jolaha' was regarded as one of abused caste in the society and they were considered as unrefined. As said by Allen (East Bengal District Gazetteer Dacca, p.64.) it is a strict caste, their traditional occupation was weaving or dyeing.

Recent studies on contemporary rural society also endorse existence of caste among the Muslim in rural Bangladesh (Chowdhury:1978, Jain: 1975). The Muslims in the villages are broadly divided into Khandan (high status Muslims), Girhasta (low status Muslims) and Kamla (labourers/lowest status Muslims) and there exists a sharp cases of discrimination and exclusion in most of villages in the country. This socially,culturally and economically marginalized people, in fact, have to do very little in the local power structure and change the political and economy situation of the communities in the country.

1.5 Low Caste/ Untouchables among Hindus

The Hindus of Bangladesh are traditionally divided into various upper, lower and scheduled caste groups; those are internally homogeneous but heterogeneous to each other and are arranged in hierarchical order. Besides Brahmin, Kashtriya and Vaishya, there are lower castes known as Shudra- the traditional serfs, craftsmen, agricultural labourers, and outcastes (Atishudras), who perform manual labour that is considered to be degradable kind (Mohanty: 2004). At the bottom of the society there are the stigmatized

ritually polluted and despised “untouchables” – upon whom Mahatma Gandhi bestowed the euphemistic name “Harijan” (children of God-Vishnu). Each caste usually used to follow a particular hereditary occupation such as agriculturist caste (Hakil Gopes and Baruis), artisan caste (goldsmiths, blacksmiths, potters, carpenters, dyers, oil-men, confectioners, spice-dealers, cotton weavers, silk weavers), the most despised castes including hunters, boat-men, barbers, sawyers, fishermen, date-palm juice collectors, watchmen, and untouchables like Harijons/Methors/Domer (Sweeper and cleaner), Dom (curing of diseased spleens), the Muchi/Chamar (cobbler) and so on based on the occupation and locality (Gupta:1914, Karim:1976, Chowdhury:1978, Shamsuddin:1983, Ali:1985). Thus, it is clear from the sources of information that in Bangladesh, the status of scheduled or low caste and untouchables are different and as a result, the nature and extent of discrimination they experience at different levels is not the same.



Sweeper Colony in Dhaka, Bangladesh (Photo JakobCarlsen)

1.5.1 Dalit Issues in Contemporary Bangladesh

In Bangladesh Muslim are in the majority, the Hindus are the minority and the Dalits represent the most marginalized and deprived section of that of a minority community. The Dalit community usually lives at the edge of the villages. Since they are still considered ‘unclean’, they live separately from the so called ‘clean’ groups in their own neighborhood. They might live next to either, Hindu or Muslim neighborhoods, but they are only allowed to live in the most inhospitable areas, which nobody else covets. The recent controversy regarding untouchables, Schedule Castes, Harijans etc. has created much confusion in defining or delineating the situation from a common perspective. Should it be ‘Dalit’ or could it be identified with different others names including Schedule Castes or untouchables to be known as the discriminated population.



Sweepers working in Dhaka, Bangladesh (Photo Jakob Carlsen)

In terms of enumeration of Dalit population in the country, there is no specific figure or statistics either by the government or private organization to consider. In India, the number of Dalits is 167 million i.e., about one-sixth of total population (NCDHR, 2006) and 4.5 million i.e., 20 percent of the total population in Nepal (NNDSWO, 2005).

Pakistan, a predominantly Muslim nation, has more than 60 percent of 1.4 million Hindu minorities are Dalits (Wikipedia, 2007). According to BBS report (2005, published in November 2006), the number of household and population of Harijon is 12 and 63, and it is only in Khulna Division.

The economic activity of the people of a decade shows that the percentage of Dalits (fisher men, weaver, blacksmith, potters, and goldsmith) is 1.11% (BBS 2003, published in February 2006). Some researcher claims that 1 percent of the total population of Bangladesh is Harijons (Akhteruzzaman, Haque, Bashfire: 2006). Again the number of Bedays (Muslim river gypsy) as per the estimation of their own community, it is about 1.5 million (Maksud: 2006), but according to a recent estimate, it is only 0.4 million (Rahnuma and Chowdhury: 2003). The number of Dalits in Bangladesh, though vary greatly according to different sources is estimated 3.5 million (Daily Jugantor 24/4/2006), 5.5 million and there are about 45 different types of Dalit communities who are segregated based on their professions and castes (IDSN, BDHR, 2006).

1.5.2 Hindu Dalits in Contemporary Bangladesh

Most Dalits, particularly the untouchables among the Hindus in Bangladesh, are the descendents of Indians from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh (Kanpur, Hamirbag, and Jobbalpur), Andhra Pradesh and many other parts like Gourakpur, Chapra, Uriya, Maddaparpur, Baliha, Patna, Motihari, and Bhagalpur. From the inception of setting up the capital in Dhaka by Islam Khan during Mughal regime in 1608, sweepers were appointed for cleaning activities. It is a common opinion that they had been brought largely by the British Colonial regime to provide menial services for them since 1830s. They have been popularly known as 'Methor' (derived from Persian word Mihtar' literal meaning is ruler/prince) that signifies degradation, and disgusting (Asaduzzaman, 2001).

The major Hindu Dalits include Bashpor (bury dead body and speak Bhojpuri and Hindi), Dome (bury dead body and help postmortem and speak Bhojpuri), Hadi/Hela (sweeper and speak Telegu), Domer (Sweeper/cleaner speak Jabbalpuri and Hindi), Lalbegi/Vulmiki (sweeper /cleaner speak Urdu and Hindi), Kolu (traditional oil presser

and speak Bangla), Pasi (collector of palm and date juice and speak Bhojpuri), Risi /Tanner (shoe/leather worker and speak Bangla), Muchi/Chamar (shoe and leather worker and speak Hindi), Harijon/Methor (sweeper/cleaner and speak Jabbalpuri and Hindi), Harijon/methor (sweeper/cleaner and speak Telegu), Mala (tea garden worker/sweeper and speak Telegu), Madiga (sweeper/tea garden worker/drum beater and speak Telegu), Sabari(sweeper and speak Telegu), Chakli (washer men and speak Telegu), Jaladas(fishermen and speak Bangla), Bede (healing and entertainer with snake/monkey etc. and speak Bangla), Sutradhar (carpenter and speak Bangla), Karmakar (blacksmith and speak Bangla), Kulal/ Kuar/Kumor (potter and speak Bangla), Jugi (bamboo work and speak Bangla), Napit (barber and speak Bangla), Sharnakar (goldsmith and speak Bangla), Goala (milk seller and speak Bangla), Dhopa (washer men and speak Bangla), Bainna Bede (food collector after harvest and speak Bangla), Mali(gardener/cleaner and speak Bangla), Masuwara (pig rearing and speak Bangla), Tati (weaver and speak Bangla), Mushaheries (mice and eel eater), Dholak (drum beater) and so on.

1.5.3 Muslim Dalits in Contemporary Bangladesh

The major Muslim Dalits include Tele (oil presser), Napit (barber), Tati (weaver from Pakistan and speak Urdu), Darji (tailor), Hajam (quake for circumcision), Mazi/Khottra (boat men), Bhera (carrier of bride carriage), Kasai (butcher), Hijra (transvestites deal with entertainment with dance/ songs/sex worker), Bihari (refugees from Bihar, India), Rohingya (ethnic minority/refugees from Myanmar) and so on.

Section II

State, Caste and Human Rights

2.1 Background of Bangladesh State and Constitution

Bangladesh, the then East Pakistan achieved its independence through a long liberation struggle started right after the separation of Pakistan and India in 1947 based on 'Two Nation Theory.' People from all walks of life from the then East Pakistan joined their hands against exploitation and oppression of Pakistani rulers from the very inception which geared its explosion in the historic Language Movement in 1952. Secular Bengali nationalism was the key to unite all the people of different religions with the bond of fraternity. Four fundamental principles—Nationalism, Socialism, Democracy, and Secularism were the major spirit of the overall liberation struggle and nine month's war of independence in 1971 which was manifested in the Bangladesh Constitution of 1972 in the Article 9, 10, 11 and 12 respectively. Article 9 recognises Bengalese nationalism on the basis of national identity as derived from its language and culture and Article 10 on Socialism and Freedom from Exploitation ensures the attainment of a just and egalitarian society free from exploitation of man by man.

According to Article 11 under section I on Democracy and Human Rights, "The Republic shall be a democracy in which fundamental human rights and freedom and respect for the dignity and worth of the human being shall be guaranteed; and in which effective participation by the people through their elected representatives in administration at all." Article 12 ensures that the principle of secularism shall be realized by the elimination of (a) communalism of all forms, (b) granting of political status by the state in favour of any religion, (c) the abuse of religion for political purposes, d) any discrimination against or persecution of persons practicing a particular religion. In an effort to enlighten the newly emerged national entity in real glory, the special declaration of these firm fundamental principles of state policy were pronounced as the basic foundation of the super structure of the 1972 Constitution (Justice Bhattacharyya D.C, 1993). Following the constitutional provisions, the then government of Bangladesh banned the politics of Islamic fundamentalists who played a very strong role against the

struggle for liberation and helped the Pakistani military in killing, raping and doing other brutal activities during the war of independence.

2.2 Legislations and Policies

Article 8 (2) ensures that four fundamental principles as set out in the Constitution shall be fundamental to the governance of Bangladesh, shall be applied by the State in the making of laws, shall be a guide to the interpretation of the Constitution and of the other laws of Bangladesh, and shall form the basis of the work of the State and for its citizens, but shall not be judicially enforceable. Article 25 (a) endorses the respect for international law and the principles enunciated in the Charter of United Nation, and on the basis of those principles, (b) uphold the right of every citizen freely to determine and build up its own social, economic and political system by ways and means of its own free choice; and (c) support the oppressed people throughout the world waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism, or racialism. Thus, the constitutional obligations have assumed a lot of importance to establish rights for each and every individual not only in the country but also in the international arena further with the provisions as follows:

1. Article 28 (1) of the 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh proclaims that “the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth”. Other articles concerning non-discrimination are: Articles 10 (Participation of women), 27 (equality before law), 29 (equality of opportunity of all citizens in respect of employment or office in the service of the Republic), and 121 (the division of electoral rolls).
2. Article 39 guarantees (a) freedom of thought and conscience; (b) the right of every citizen to freedom of speech and expression; c) freedom of press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.
3. Despite the fact that, according to the eighth amendment to the Constitution of Bangladesh, Islam is declared as a State religion, article 41 of the Constitution declares, “every religious community or denomination has the right to establish,

maintain and manage its institutions”. Further the provisions of article 41 guarantee an individual’s right to refuse to practice a religion, or to be compelled to be educated in a religion other than his own.

4. The Constitution of independent Bangladesh does not recognise the minorities as groups distinct from the Bengalis. Also, the State obligation to ‘conserve the cultural traditions and heritage of the people’ has merely the objective of enriching the ‘national culture’. Furthermore, the Constitution is said to have failed to recognise the existence of indigenous people in the country.

2.2.1 Historical Roots for Constitutional Amendments

After the assassination of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman – the national father of Bangladesh in 1975, Ziaur Rahman, an army general seized the power of the country following a brief succession of military coup that, in fact, set the country firmly on the principle of fundamentalism. To fulfill his political ambition he had to depend on the so-called pro-Islamic and other fundamentalists groups to generate his own civilian base. The dismantling of secularism in Bangladesh started by him in the year 1977 through the Proclamation Order No. 1, which inserted the first sentence of the Holy Quran “Bismillah-ar-Rahman-ar-Rahim” means “In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful” at the beginning of the constitution and also deleted the principle of secularism and replaced it by “Absolute Trust and Faith in the Almighty Allah”.

Again Zia’s assassination made the way for a new army general named Ershad to come to power that moved for the 8th Amendment in the Constitution in which Article 2 declares that “The state religion of the Republic is Islam, but other religions may be practiced in peace and harmony in the Republic”. With a view to perpetuating his autocratic rule through using Islam as a political weapon and justifying the amendment, Ershad declared that the distinct identity of the people of Bangladesh in their culture, language, geographical entity, independent sovereignty and other spheres of nationalism could only be defined through Islam. Through this vicissitudes of the history, anti-progressive and anti-liberation forces gradually became the ruler of the country and destroyed the spirit and ideals of liberation leading to jeopardizing the rights and

existence of other religious minority, the majority of whom are people of low caste/untouchables of Hindu religion.

In the constitution of Bangladesh, equal rights for all people irrespective of any race, caste, creed, and religion is established though, unfortunately social exclusion is manifested in the physical structure of both rural and urban areas throughout the country. In terms of viewpoint of all theories such as racial, religious and economic relevant to caste system and untouchables, social stratification in which the individuals are divided into a number of hereditary groups – mutually exclusive to each other are arranged in a hierarchical status could be analyzed for assessing the situation in Bangladesh. According to print and electronic media, different minority communities including Dalits, human right defenders, media personnel, women, children, NGO personnel, Adibashi, Ahmedayi community, progressive civil societies become every now and then the victims of intense discrimination and great deprivation. They face severe form of fear and violence, abduction, rapes, tortures, destruction of houses, land grabbing, eviction from land and threat in different ways mostly linked to militant Islamic groups and unruly miscreants.

2.2.2 Discrimination in the Bureaucracy against Minority Communities

The visible discrimination against the minority community, the majority of whom are the low caste Hindus/untouchables delineates its reflection in every sphere of socio-economic and political life in Bangladesh society. The representatives of minority in the Parliament in 1973 was 3.8% (12 members out of 315), 2.4% in 1979 (8 out of 330), 1.2% in 1988 (4 out of 330), and 3.3% in 1991 (11 out of 330). In terms of population, the minority representatives ought to have been 18% or 60 members out of 330, but it has been around 10 in the last two decades (Dutta:1993).

If we consider the scenario of representation of religious minority in army and civil bureaucracy, we see that in defence services, there were only 500 Jawans out of 80,000 belonging to the minority community. The number of officers was 1.6% as shown in the table.

Table 2.1 Minority Representation in Army Bureaucracy

Posts	Total Strength	Minority
Second Lt/Lt	900	3
Captain	1,300	8
Major	1,000	40
Lt. Col.	450	8
Colonel	70	1
Brigadier	65	NIL
Major General	22	Nil
Total	3,807	62

Source: Dutta C R: "Different Aspect of Discrimination against Religious Minorities" in Communal Discrimination in Bangladesh: Facts and Documents, 1993.

In the police department, the number was 2000 from the minority communities out of 80,000 ordinary police. The percentage of officer was only 6 percent (Table-2.b)

Table 2.2 Minority Representation in Police Department

Posts	Total Strength	Minority
ASP/Asst. Commissioner	635	40
DSP/Addl. SP	87	2
SP/AIG	123	10
DIG	18	1
Addl. IG	6	NIL
IG	1	NIL
Total	870	53

Source: Dutta C R: "Different Aspect of Discrimination against Religious Minorities" in Communal Discrimination in Bangladesh: Facts and Documents, 1993.

There has been virtually no representation of the minorities in the Ministry of Foreign, Home and Defence. The figure of the civil bureaucracy as represented by minority communities is given below.

Table 2.3 Minority Representation in Civil Bureaucracy

Posts	Total Strength	Minority
Secretary	49	Nil
Addl Secretary	26	Nil
Joint Secretary	134	3
Deputy Secretary	463	25
Excise and Customs Officials	152	1
Income Tax Officials	450	8

Source: Dutta C R: "Different Aspect of Discrimination against Religious Minorities" in Communal Discrimination in Bangladesh: Facts and Documents, 1993.

Till 1993, there is not a single member of the minority community holding the post of chairman or director in the government, semi-government or autonomous organizations. In the banks or financial institutions, no post of managing director or director is held by a minority member. There was only one minority representative as a general manager among 37 general managers in the nationalised banks. There is also discrimination in the matter of higher education and awarding scholarships.

While religious teachers have been appointed in each school for imparting Islamic education, crores of Taka is being spent for the development of Madrashes and even an Islamic university has been set up, but there are no facilities or arrangements for the education of other religious groups. Though there are a handful of religious teachers belonging to the minority community, they are discriminated in terms of salary and other benefits. Among the religious minorities, people from Scheduled Castes and Harijan are the most backward. So, they used to get special treatment in the areas of education during the British period. But at present, they are deprived of such facilities (Dutta:1993). According to advocate Rana Das Gupta – acting General Secretary of Bangladesh Hindu Buddhist Christian Unity Council, the situation of minority representation remains the same in all the spheres of state even in the present day of Bangladesh.

2.2.3 Discrimination through Enemy (Vested) Property Ordinance

The most discriminatory Enemy Property Law against the minority, particularly the Hindus was rooted in the propagation of separate nation for the Muslim by the Muslim League launched in 1905. The formation of Pakistan in 1947 on the basis of ‘Two Nation Theory’, in fact, generated such a situation that it abruptly disrupted the communal harmony. After the emergence of Pakistan, a devastating communal riot in 1949 made a good number of minority Hindus to migrate to India due to the lack of security of lives and properties. Taking this opportunity, the government of Pakistan took over the possession of the properties of the evacuated minority people as “evacuee property” in 1949, 1951 and 1957.

Again, in the wake of another riot in 1964 in East Pakistan (present Bangladesh), the government promulgated the Ordinance No.1 of 1964 restricting the rights to transfer

lands without prior permission and captured all properties of evacuees, who were found untraceable and kept those properties in the management as in the case of evacuee property. Under the Proclamation of Emergency and Defence of Pakistan, Ordinance No. XXIII of 1965 and subsequent rules such as 171 and 182, government authorized appointment of controller to manage the enemy firms and to carry the trade and business as agents of the enemy firms and also appointed custodians of enemy Property. Even before revocation of State emergency, the government promulgated the Enemy Property Ordinance No. 1 in 1969, which provided that the provisions of the Defense of Pakistan Rules should continue in force.

After the liberation of Bangladesh, the government following the sectarian policy of the erstwhile Pakistan, promulgated the Bangladesh (Vesting of Property and Assets) order, 1971 which provided that all properties and assets that were vested in the government of Pakistan should be deemed to have vested in the government of Bangladesh on and from March 26, 1971, including the Enemy Property also. The Enemy Property had been renamed as 'Vested Properties' for which another enactment namely Enemy Property Administration Act (Act No. XLVI of 1974), 1974 was enacted. The Act was replaced by Ordinance No. XCII of 1976 under Martial Law adding therein that the vested properties should be administered, controlled, managed and disposed of by transfer or otherwise, by the Government or by such officer or authority as the Government might decide. At the present moment, this is the basic law relating to Enemy Property or in other words, Vested property (Chowdhury P B, 1993).

The Law of Vested Property in the substitute of Enemy Property is indeed the permanent woe to the minority community in Bangladesh. It is sharp weapon to evict them from hearth and homes and severe discriminatory concept of 'majority' and 'minority' is classified and established through this law which is real violation of Human and Fundamental Rights of the people. Due to this law, about 5.3 million of Hindus migrated in between mid sixties and 1991 which is average 538 per day and 196,296 per year. A total of 40% of Hindu households or 925,050 families were affected and 53% people of this community lost their lands and homesteads. The ruling elite's purpose behind this law as eminent economist Abul Barakat says is to reduce the number of

Bengali speaking population by driving out a considerable part of Bengali Hindu population. Though the law was repealed in the parliament in 2001, the implementation of the repeal is yet to take place in an effective manner (Gupta: 2007).

Section III

Economic and Social Status of Low Caste vis-à-vis Other Castes

3.1 Lower Access to Capital Assets

As mentioned earlier, following the war between India and Pakistan in 1965, the then Pakistan government introduced the Enemy Property (Custody and Registration) Order II of 1965. The Defence of Pakistan Rules, in fact, identified the minority Hindus most of whom belonged to Scheduled Caste and untouchables of the then East Pakistan (present day Bangladesh) as enemies and dispossessed them of their properties. Following the 'Vested Property Act', the repression of minorities continued even after liberation in 1972.

90 percent of minority people mostly Dalits live in the rural areas with their hearth and homes which consists of dwelling houses, country yard, orchard, garden, pond, derelict tanks, drain, fellow lands etc. Such homestead, in almost all cases, jointly owned by the minority people living in Bangladesh and by the alleged enemies living in Indian territory or elsewhere (Chowdhury P B. 1993). Thus, the property of the minorities has all the time become the subject to auction or declared as Khas land owned by the government most of which either leased by the corrupt and influential political leaders/bureaucrats or possessed by trespassers.

The consequence of the continuation of VPA (EPA of the then Pakistan) was devastating according to another estimates by the Association for Land Reform and Development (ALRD) and a total of 1,048,390 Hindu households have been affected and 1.05 million acres of land have been dispossessed. About 30 percent of the Hindu households or 10 out of every 34 Hindu households are found to be the victims of the VPA/EPA. According to report of Ain-O-Salish Kendra (ASK), there were about 29 cases of forceful occupation of land and property of Hindu minorities in 1999.

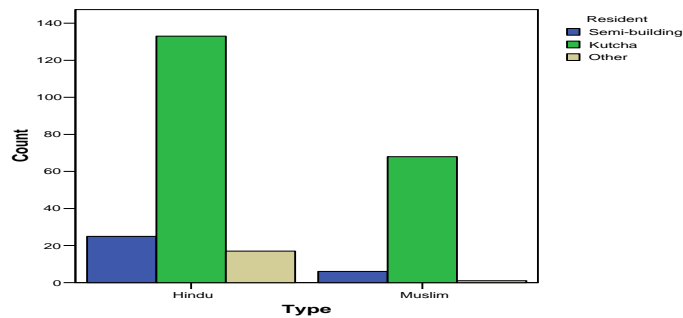
In Sunamganj district, out of 21,000 acres of vested land property, 16,000 acres of land have been illegally occupied. Likewise, in Mymensingh district, out of 29,722 acres of vested land property, 28,000 acres of land and 300 houses have been occupied by one

influential person. In 1995, 72% of all vested property was acquired by the members of Bangladeshi Nationalist party and in 1998, 44 percent was acquired by the Awami League and 32 percent by the BNP (Persecuted Minorities and Endangered Nations, 2002). Because of this law, the estimated migration during 1964-1991 was 5.3 million or 538 persons each day since 1964, with as high as 703 persons per day during 1964-1971 which acted as an effective tool for the extermination of Hindu minorities (Daily Star, January 6, 2002). As a result, most Dalits, particularly, the Hindus have very lower access to capital assets which can be mentioned in the following tables from the finding of the survey. The possession of capital assets reflects almost the same scenario for the Muslim Dalits too though they do not have to face any such law as Vested Property Act.

Table 3.1 Status of Housing of Dalits

Type		House			Total
		Semi-building	Kutcha	Other	
Hindu	Count	25	133	17	175
	% within Type	14.3%	76.0%	9.7%	100.0%
	% within Resident	80.6%	66.2%	94.4%	70.0%
	% of Total	10.0%	53.2%	6.8%	70.0%
Muslim	Count	6	68	1	75
	% within Type	8.0%	90.7%	1.3%	100.0%

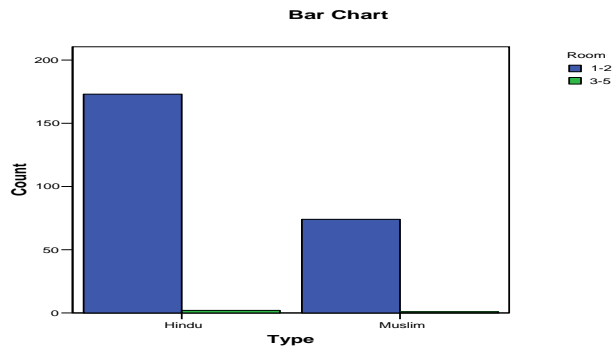
Bar Chart



The findings of our questionnaire survey in different localities in the country as shown above in Table 3.1 most Dalits both from Hindu and Muslim live in Kutcha (Bamboo made/thatched etc.) houses. It is 76 percent for Hindu Dalits and 91 percent for the Muslim Dalits. 14 percent of Hindu Dalits live in semi-building whereas the percentage of Muslim Dalits is 8.

Table 3.2 Number of Rooms in the House

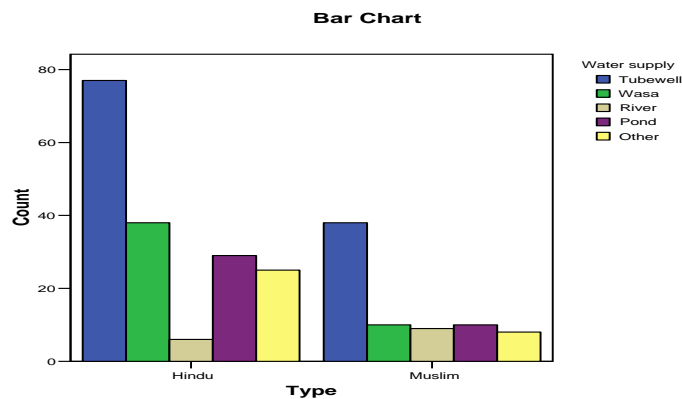
Type		Room		Total
		1-2	3-5	
Hindu	Count	173	2	175
	% within Type	98.9%	1.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	74	1	75
	% within Type	98.7%	1.3%	100.0%



About 99 percent of the Hindu Dalits live in houses consisting of 1-2 rooms. It is the same scenario for the Muslim Dalits too. It means most of the Dalits have to live in a very small polluted and densely populated houses.

Table – 3.3 Access to Water supply

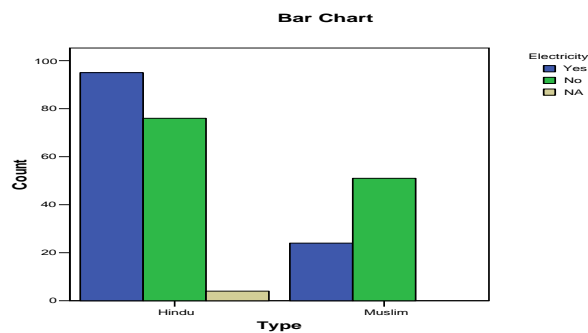
Type		Water supply					Total
		Tube well	Wasa	River	Pond	Other	
Hindu	Count	77	38	6	29	25	175
	% within Type	44.0%	21.7%	3.4%	16.6%	14.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	38	10	9	10	8	75
	% within Type	50.7%	13.3%	12.0%	13.3%	10.7%	100.0%



44 percent of Hindu Dalits have access to tube wells, 22 percent to Water and Sanitation of government (WASA), 17 percent pond and 14 percent others, whereas 51 percent, 13 percent, 12 percent, and 11 percent of Muslim Dalits have access to tube wells, WASA, pond and other respectively. It means most of the Dalits have less access to government facilities and mostly managed by themselves either by private tube well or ponds, rains, rivers and so on.

Table 3.4 Access to Electricity

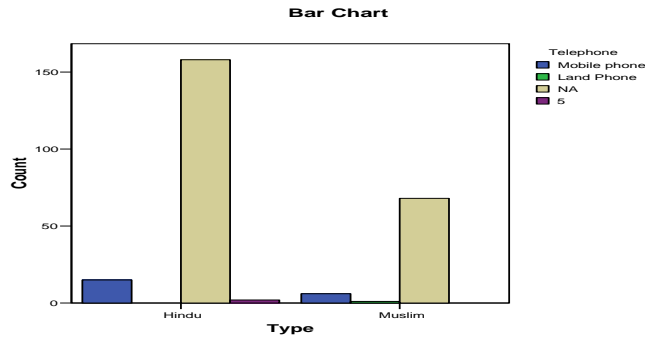
Type		Electricity			Total
		Yes	No	NA	
Hindu	Count	95	76	4	175
	% within Type	54.3%	43.4%	2.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	24	51	0	75
	% within Type	32.0%	68.0%	.0%	100.0%



54 percent of Hindu Dalits have access to electricity, which is 32 percent for Muslim Dalits. It also indicates that many Hindu Dalits live in the government or local government arrangements of housing where electricity is connected which is not possible for the Muslim Dalits.

Table 3.5 Access to Telephone

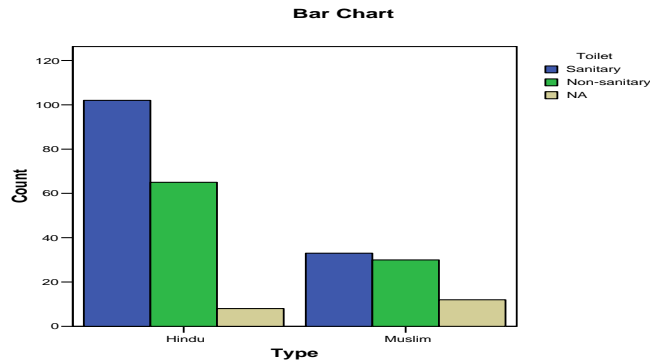
Type		Telephone				Total
		Mobile phone	Land Phone	NA	5	
Hindu	Count	15	0	158	2	175
	% within Type	8.6%	.0%	90.3%	1.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	1	68	0	75
	% within Type	8.0%	1.3%	90.7%	.0%	100.0%



90 percent and 91 percent of the Hindu and Muslim Dalits respectively have no access to telephone services. Only 9 percent of Hindu and 8 percent of Muslim Dalits use mobile phones.

Table 3.6 Access to Toilet

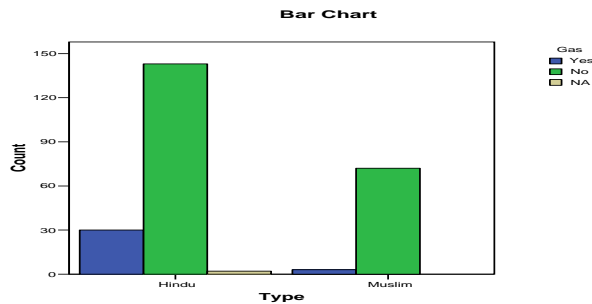
Type		Toilet			Total
		Sanitary	Non-sanitary	NA	
Hindu	Count	102	65	8	175
	% within Type	58.3%	37.1%	4.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	33	30	12	75
	% within Type	44.0%	40.0%	16.0%	100.0%



About toilet, 58 percent of Hindu Dalits and 44 percent of Muslim Dalits use sanitary toilet where 37 percent and 40 percent of Hindu and Muslim Dalits respectively use non-sanitary toilets. It indicates a very poor sanitary condition which is very much important issue for their ill health and pollution.

Table 3.7 Access to Gas

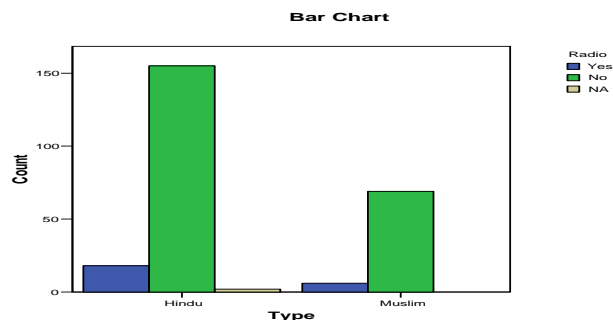
Type		Gas			Total
		Yes	No	NA	
Hindu	Count	30	143	2	175
	% within Type	17.1%	81.7%	1.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	3	72	0	75
	% within Type	4.0%	96.0%	.0%	100.0%



81 percent of Hindu Dalits have no access to gas, which is 96 percent for the Muslim Dalits too. It also indicates that the percentage of installation of gas system in the houses by the government or local government is higher for the Hindu Dalits than the Muslim Dalits as most of the Hindu Dalits are living in the housing/colonies arranged by the government because most of them are not allowed to stay in the locality.

Table 3.8 Access to Radio

Type		Radio			Total
		Yes	No	NA	
Hindu	Count	18	155	2	175
	% within Type	10.3%	88.6%	1.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	69	0	75
	% within Type	8.0%	92.0%	.0%	100.0%



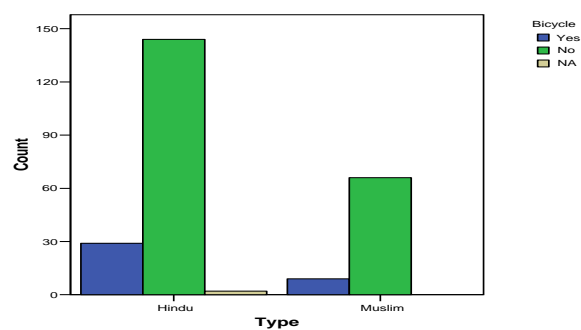
89 percent of Hindu Dalits have no access to radio, which is 92 percent for the Muslim Dalits. The percentage is little higher for the Hindu Dalits as there are traditional Hindu fishermen who are provided radio by the government or sometimes arranged by

themselves for gathering information about weather on which their venture to river/sea depends on to catch fish.

Table 3.9 Access to Bicycle

Type		Bicycle			Total
		Yes	No	NA	
Hindu	Count	29	144	2	175
	% within Type	16.6%	82.3%	1.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	9	66	0	75
	% within Type	12.0%	88.0%	.0%	100.0%

Bar Chart

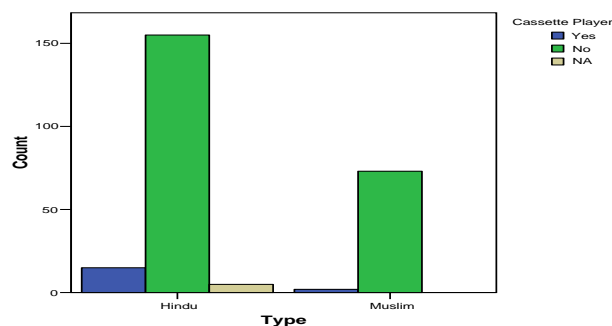


82 percent and 88 percent of Hindu and Muslim Dalits have no access to bicycle, which is an important vehicle for them. The low percentage endorses that the poverty situation is so severe that they can not buy a bicycle even for their use.

Table 3.10 Access to Cassette Player

Type		Cassette Player			Total
		Yes	No	NA	
Hindu	Count	15	155	5	175
	% within Type	8.6%	88.6%	2.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	2	73	0	75
	% within Type	2.7%	97.3%	.0%	100.0%

Bar Chart



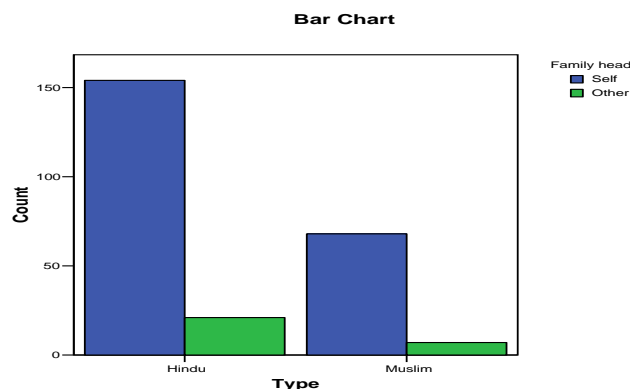
87 percent of the Hindu Dalits and 97 percent of the Muslim Dalits have no cassette player at homes. It means they have no access to any sort of entertainment, which is very important for a simple living in the village.

3.2 Higher Proportion of Wage Labour

In terms of employment, income and status of labour, a large number of untouchables are employed in the public/private offices as sweepers and cleaners with very low pay. Our FGD findings endorse that the average monthly income of the majority Dalits falls between Tk.3000-5000, which is far below the national average monthly income of Tk. 7203. Since the untouchables enjoy their life, particularly in rural and semi-urban areas in different ways through ceremonies/festivals/drinks/movies/chat, they spend much amount of their income for such kind of entertainments. They are always on loan from friends, relatives and Mahajans (money lender) with high rate of interest that leads to their perpetual indebtedness and pauperization. Dalits require introduction or reference/channels for any kind employment for which they have to pay bribe in cash, kind and other services. Sometimes parents replace their children in the service after their retirement and for that purpose too, they need to bribe the middleman for employment.

Table- 3.11 Description of Household Head:

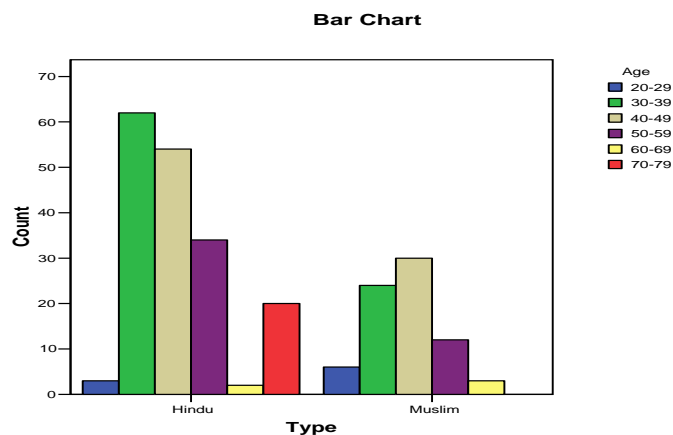
Type		Household head		Total
		Self	Other	
Hindu	Count	154	21	175
	% within Type	88.0%	12.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	68	7	75
	% within Type	90.7%	9.3%	100.0%



In order to ascertain the nature and the extent of caste and work-based discrimination, the respondents that we approached in different districts belong to different Dalits groups. Among them we could reach directly to 88 percent of the Hindu Dalits, who were the household heads and 12 percent of them were their old father/mother, spouse or oldest son/daughter whom we interviewed as representatives of the head of the households. In the case of Muslim Dalits, 91 percent of head of households were directly interviewed. And rest 9 percent of their representatives were interviewed.

Table 3.12 Age of the Dalit Respondents:

Type		Age						Total
		20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	
Hindu	Count	3	62	54	34	2	20	175
	% within Type	1.7%	35.4%	30.9%	19.4%	1.1%	11.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	24	30	12	3	0	75
	% within Type	8.0%	32.0%	40.0%	16.0%	4.0%	.0%	100.0%



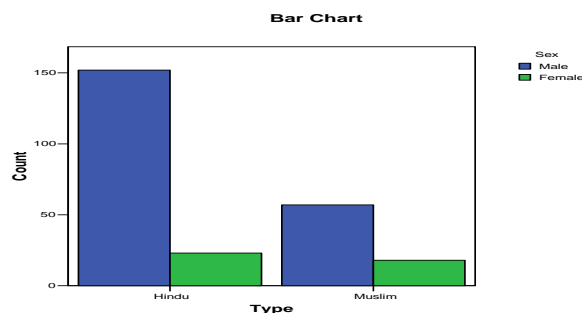
Among the Hindu Dalits (Table 3.12) 85 percent respondents belong to the age group of 30- 59 and 11 percent belong to the age group of 70-79. Again, the majority of the respondents i.e. 35 percent of the head of the household belong to the age group of 30-39 and 31 percent of the respondents come under the age group of 40-49. 19 percent of the respondents are found in the age group of 50-59 years. The age factor indicates that the largest number of head of households under survey belongs to such age group, which is not generally considered to be the average age of a mature household head. It may be reason that most Dalits families get their young children married early and make a separate household. Moreover, the survey witnessed that this is the age group when the

young Dalits should develop their skills and talents. And they are forced to face challenges to build traditional career of their fathers. The same scenario can be seen in case of Muslim Dalits.

Among the Muslim Dalits, 88 percent respondents belong to the age group of 30-59, where 41 percent, 31 percent, and 16 percent belong to the age group of 40-49,30-39 and 50-59 respectively. Only 4 percent of the respondents are found in the age group of 60-69, which means there are many old people in both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits groups. It is interesting to note that the people in the age of 50 and above, who don not want to go to work due to old age, illness, or weakness, however, they are treated as the head of the households. Because of the traditional nature of the South Asian people, the seniors are respected and properly taken care by the young earning members in both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits communities.

Table 3.13 Sex of the Dalit Respondents:

Type		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Hindu	Count	152	23	175
	% within Type	86.9%	13.1%	100.0%
	% within Sex	72.7%	56.1%	70.0%
	% of Total	60.8%	9.2%	70.0%
Muslim	Count	57	18	75
	% within Type	76.0%	24.0%	100.0%



87 percent of the respondents (see table 3.13) i.e., head of Hindu Dalits households are male and 13 percent are female. Among the Muslim Dalits, 76 percent are male and 24 percent are the female. The contiguous gender scenario in South Asia compounds the problem of understanding the role of the female in the past and even in the contemporary Bangladesh. While growing up in South Asia is a perpetual struggle, further it becomes difficult for females as they are severely dominated by their male

counterparts with power to control over women, family, government and civil and religious laws. The data collected from survey reveal that the patriarchal system in Bangladesh is still prevalent and it is similar in the case of Hindu and Muslim Dalits groups as most of the head of the households are male.

The data (table 3.14) shows that the Hindu Dalits are broadly divided into many different types of professionals for their main jobs, such as Bede (12%), Barbar (12%), Fisherman (11%), Mali (10%), Dome (9%), Muchi (8%), Dhopa (8%), Sweeper (6%), Kumar (6%), Goala (4%), Mazi (4%) and so on. 3 percent respondents are said to be the job holder such as watchman/guard/peon. On the other hand, the Muslim Dalits includes Mali (16%), Bede (15%), Kasai (15%), Tati (15%), Fisherman (11%), Kumar (8%), Dhopa (7%), Mazi (7%). There are also 5 percent job holders like watchman/guard/peon. It is interesting to note that among the Muslim Dalits respondents, there are sweeper or cleaner.

Table-3.14 Professions of the Dalits

Type		Profession																Total
		Job	Muchi	Dome	Cleaner	Sweeper	Kumar	Mali	Tati	Fisherman	Dhopa	Goala	Barbar	Mazi	Business	Bede	Kasai	
Hindu	Count	6	14	16	5	10	11	17	4	20	14	7	21	8	1	21	0	175
	% within Type	3.4%	8.0%	9.1%	2.9%	5.7%	6.3%	9.7%	2.3%	11.4%	8.0%	4.0%	12.0%	4.6%	.6%	12.0%	.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	4	0	0	0	0	6	12	11	8	5	0	0	5	2	11	11	75
	% within Type	5.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.0%	16.0%	14.7%	10.7%	6.7%	.0%	.0%	6.7%	2.7%	14.7%	14.7%	100.0%

Bar Chart

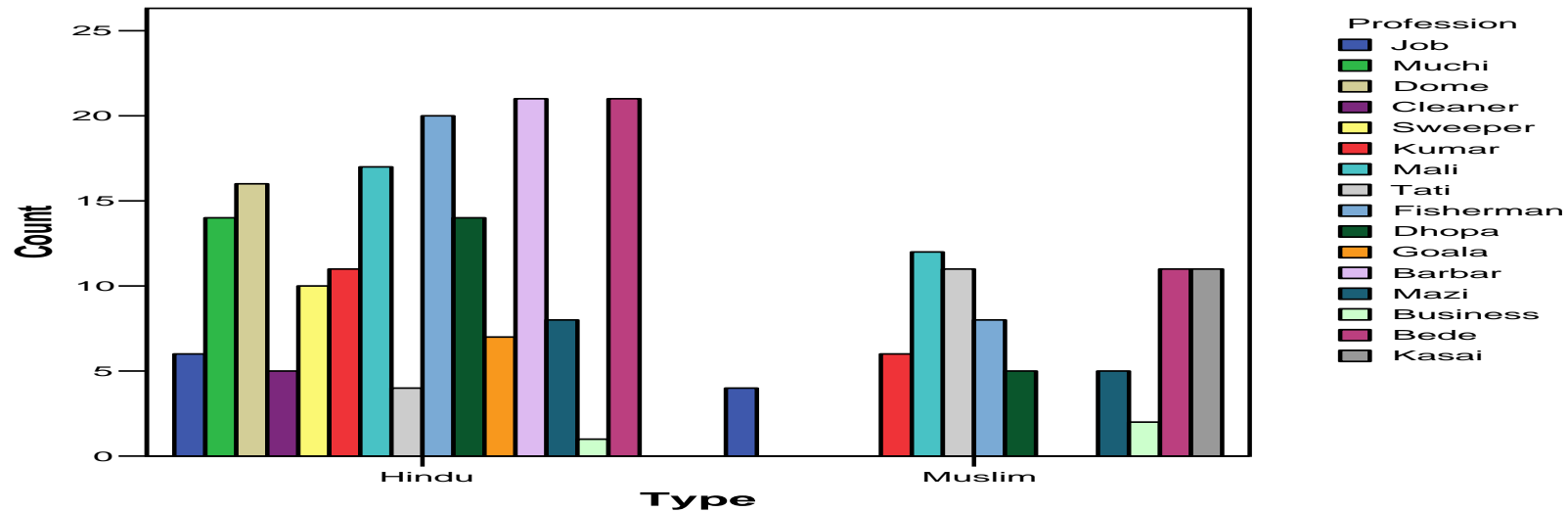
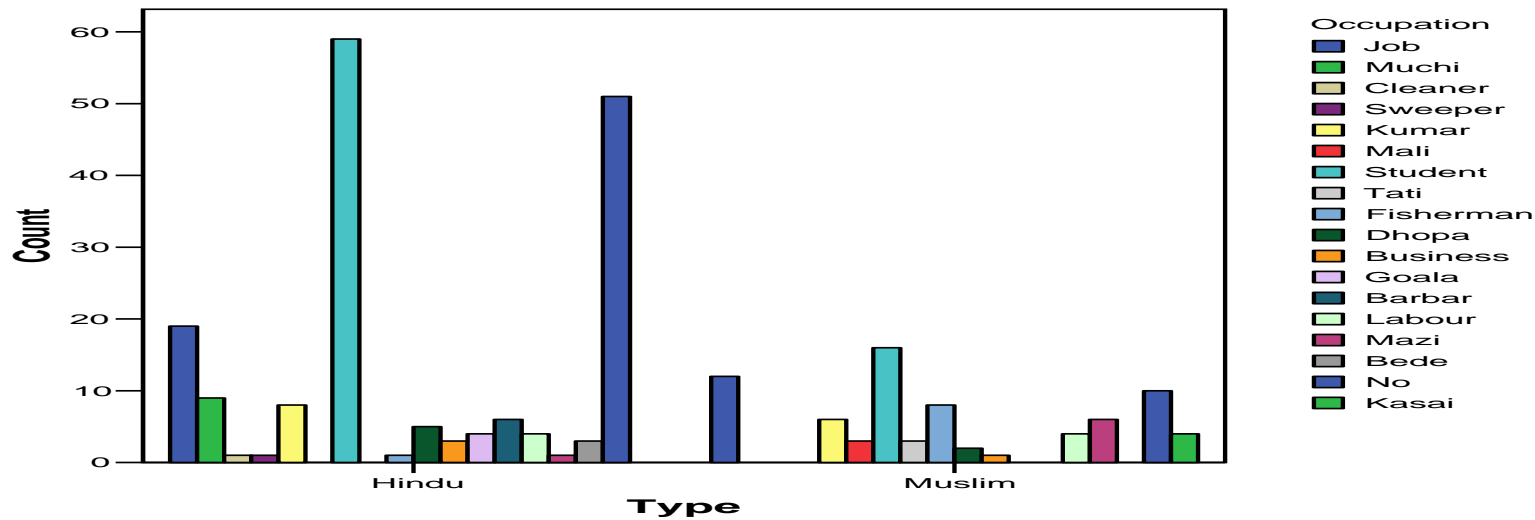


Table 3.15 Occupation of the Sons of Dalits:

Type		Occupation																	Total	
		Job	Muchi	Cleaner	Sweeper	Kumar	Mali	Student	Tati	Fisherman	Dhopa	Business	Goala	Barbar	Labour	Mazi	Bede	No		Kasai
Hindu	Count	19	9	1	1	8	0	59	0	1	5	3	4	6	4	1	3	51	0	175
	% within Type	10.9%	5.1%	.6%	.6%	4.6%	.0%	33.7%	.0%	.6%	2.9%	1.7%	2.3%	3.4%	2.3%	.6%	1.7%	29.1%	.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	12	0	0	0	6	3	16	3	8	2	1	0	0	4	6	0	10	4	75
	% within Type	16.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.0%	4.0%	21.3%	4.0%	10.7%	2.7%	1.3%	.0%	.0%	5.3%	8.0%	.0%	13.3%	5.3%	100.0%

Bar Chart

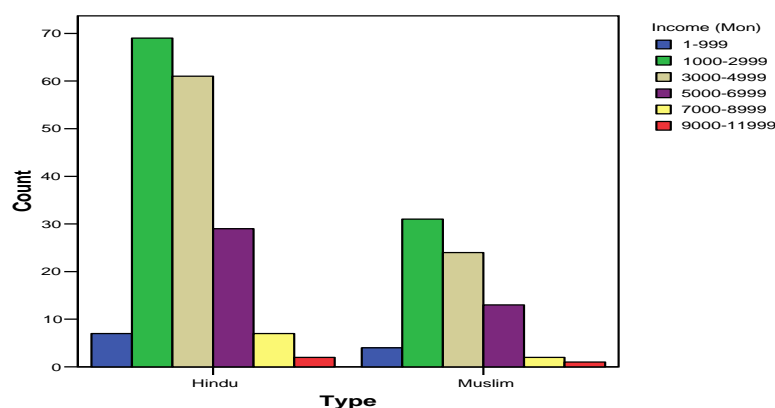


Among the Hindu Dalits, 34 percent, 29 percent, and 11 percent sons of the respondents are students, unemployed and job holders respectively. It is 21 percent for students among Muslim Dalits and 13 percent are unemployed and 16 percent of the sons of Muslim Dalits have some kind of job like servants, teaching small students and so on. About 11 percent fisherman, 8 percent Mazi, 5 percent Kasai indicates that the sons of the Muslim Dalits are either trying to adapt father's profession or looking for alternative options as there is some variation in the calculation of employment. It is also encouraging that the sons of the Hindu and Muslim Dalits have still some interest in education.

Table 3.16 Income Structure of the Dalits:

Type		Income (Mon)						Total
		1-999	1000-2999	3000-4999	5000-6999	7000-8999	9000-11999	
Hindu	Count	7	69	61	29	7	2	175
	% within Type	4.0%	39.4%	34.9%	16.6%	4.0%	1.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	4	31	24	13	2	1	75
	% within Type	5.3%	41.3%	32.0%	17.3%	2.7%	1.3%	100.0%

Bar Chart



The above data reflects that the largest number i.e. 39 percent and 41 percent of the Hindu and Muslim respondents belong to the income groups of monthly Taka 1000-2999. 35 percent and 24 percent of respondents belong to the income groups of Taka 3000-4999. Only 17 percent among both Hindu and Muslim Dalits belong to the income groups of Taka 5000-6999 and 4 percent and 3 percent belong to the income groups of Taka 7000-8999. It reveals the extreme poverty situation of the Dalits. With a family size more than 6, majority of Dalits are living under poverty line, which is less than the national average of Taka 4366/month per household and Taka

7973/month per household in urban areas (HES 1995-96). The perpetual struggle against poverty actually makes the Dalits more dependent on the non-Dalits charity or different types of governmental supports or loan from other sources, which leads their livelihood from poorer to poorest and results in high discrimination and oppression.

3.3 Discrimination in Wage Earnings

In the following tables, it is shown how the Dalits are discriminated in the wage earnings. In the wage or job sector, Dalits are treated poorly. They do not get increment and wages properly and regularly. In the other sector like farming and cultivation, fish sale, crop sale, shop business, work on choice, they are severely discriminated and face a lot of restriction.

In the table 3.17 given below, it is shown that 14 percent of the Hindu Dalits face strong discrimination in getting proper wage in the job. About 8 percent and 19 percent of Hindu Dalits stated moderate and less discrimination. In the case of Muslim Dalits, it is 21 percent for strong, 20 percent for moderate and 45 percent for less discrimination. It is very interesting to note, the general view is that the Hindu Dalits are discriminated everywhere in terms of wage earnings, but the data shows a reverse trend as it is more severe in the case Muslim Dalits.

Table: 3.17 Status of Wage of Dalits

Type		No wages properly				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	24	14	34	103	175
	% within Type	13.7%	8.0%	19.4%	58.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	16	15	34	10	75
	% within Type	21.3%	20.0%	45.3%	13.3%	100.0%

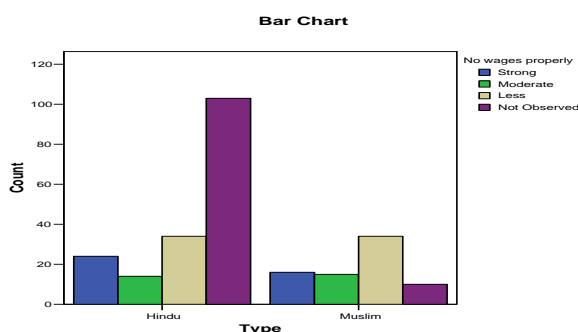
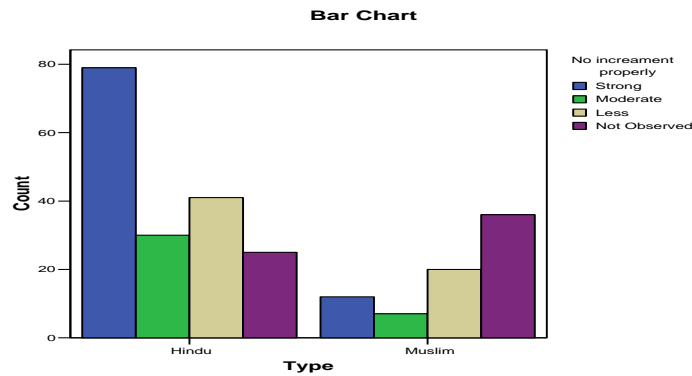


Table 3.18 shows that 45 percent and 17 percent of Hindu Dalits and 16 percent and 9 percent of Muslim Dalits replied that they face strong and moderate discrimination in case of wage increment.

Table 3.18 Status of Wage Increment of Dalits

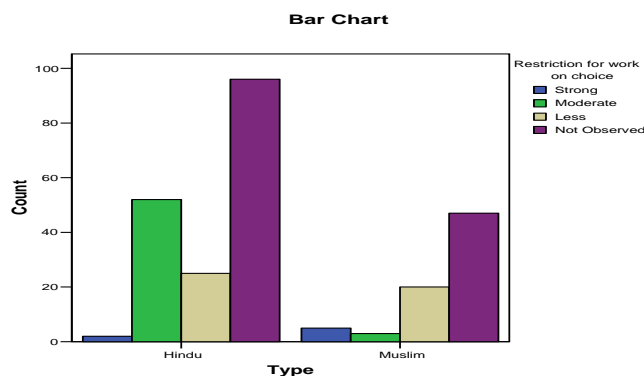
Type		No increment properly				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	79	30	41	25	175
	% within Type	45.1%	17.1%	23.4%	14.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	12	7	20	36	75
	% within Type	16.0%	9.3%	26.7%	48.0%	100.0%



The table 3.19 shows that majority of the respondent from both Hindu and Muslim Dalits did not inform about the restriction they face in wage earnings or choice of work. Both Dalits groups do not want to change their occupation because of the caste system. And for that reason they think that they are rather allowed to work on their own choices except 30 percent of Hindu and 27 percent of Muslim Dalits, who feel it moderately discriminated.

Table 3. 19 Status of Work on Choice by Dalits

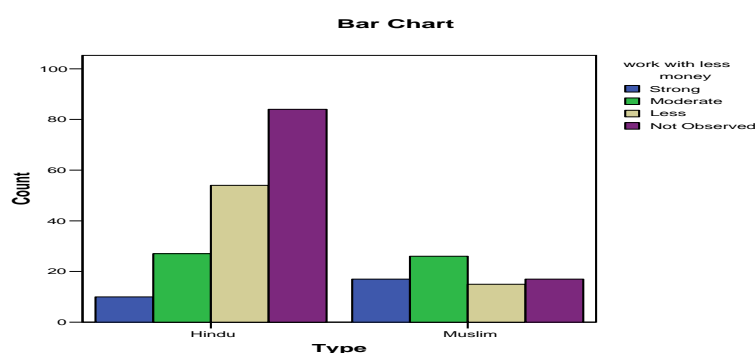
Type		Restriction for work on choice				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	2	52	25	96	175
	% within Type	1.1%	29.7%	14.3%	54.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	5	3	20	47	75
	% within Type	6.7%	4.0%	26.7%	62.7%	100.0%



The table below shows that of majority Hindu and Muslim Dalits feel they are discriminated in work with fewer wages. Indeed, it is a reality in the rural areas that there is no fixed wage structure for any job for Dalits. As a result, they are always victims of low-wage discrimination for the services they offer to non-Dalits.

Table- 3.20 Dalits' Work with Less Money

Type		Work with less money				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	10	27	54	84	175
	% within Type	5.7%	15.4%	30.9%	48.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	17	26	15	17	75
	% within Type	22.7%	34.7%	20.0%	22.7%	100.0%

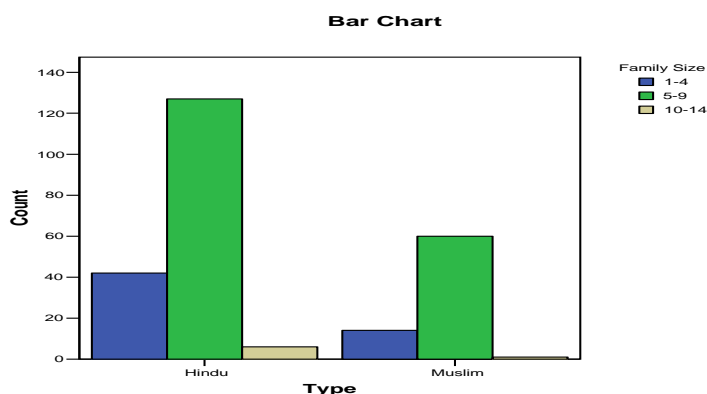


3.4: Higher Incidence of Poverty

Table 3.21 shows that 73 percent of the Hindu Dalits have a family of 5-9 and 24 percent have 1-4. It is definitely larger than the national average of 5.2 (Household Expenditure Survey 1995-96) or 4.9 (USAID 2007). Almost it is similar to the case of Muslim Dalits too. It also indicates that both Muslim and Hindu Dalits are not aware of adopting the methods of fertility control and reduction of family size due to illiteracy, lack of awareness, poverty and other socio-cultural reasons. Lack of pleasure and other medium of entertainment may be the reasons behind large reproductive nature of both Hindu and Muslim Dalits.

Table 3.21 Household Size of the Dalit Respondents

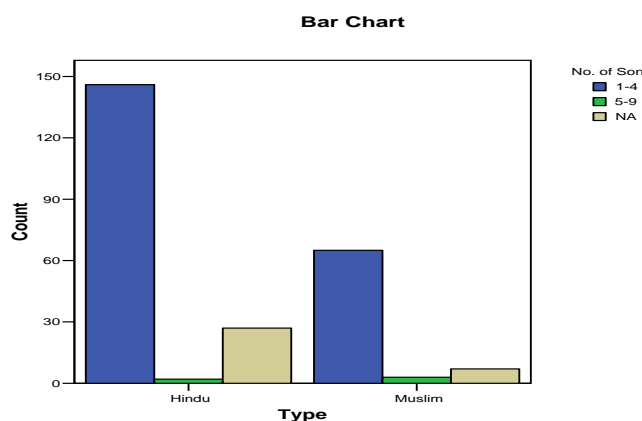
Type		Family Size			Total
		1-4	5-9	10-14	
Hindu	Count	42	127	6	175
	% within Type	24.0%	72.6%	3.4%	100.0%
	% within Family Size	75.0%	67.9%	85.7%	70.0%
	% of Total	16.8%	50.8%	2.4%	70.0%
Muslim	Count	14	60	1	75
	% within Type	18.7%	80.0%	1.3%	100.0%



The table below shows that most of the Hindu Dalits have 1-4 sons (83%) and majority (78%) of them belongs to the age group of 5-29. Again, the majority are in the age group of 15-19 (23%) and 10-14 (22%). Among the Muslim Dalits, the trend is the same as it is about 87% among the Muslim Dalits for having 1-4 sons. Among them majority (28%) belong to 10-14 years age group. 17 percent belong to the age group of 15-19 and 16 percent belong to belong to age group of 5-9. Both the Dalits groups prefer to have more sons than daughter. And field survey claims that the desire of the parents to have son contributes to increase of more children till they have two or more sons.

Table 3.22 Number of Sons and Their Age of the Dalit Respondents

Type		No. of Son			Total
		1-4	5-9	NA	
Hindu	Count	146	2	27	175
	% within Type	83.4%	1.1%	15.4%	100.0%
	% within No. of Son	69.2%	40.0%	79.4%	70.0%
	% of Total	58.4%	.8%	10.8%	70.0%
Muslim	Count	65	3	7	75
	% within Type	86.7%	4.0%	9.3%	100.0%



Type		Age									Total
		0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	NA	
Hindu	Count	0	19	38	40	27	12	10	2	27	175
	% within Type	.0%	10.9%	21.7%	22.9%	15.4%	6.9%	5.7%	1.1%	15.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	5	12	21	13	10	2	4	1	7	75
	% within Type	6.7%	16.0%	28.0%	17.3%	13.3%	2.7%	5.3%	1.3%	9.3%	100.0%

Bar Chart

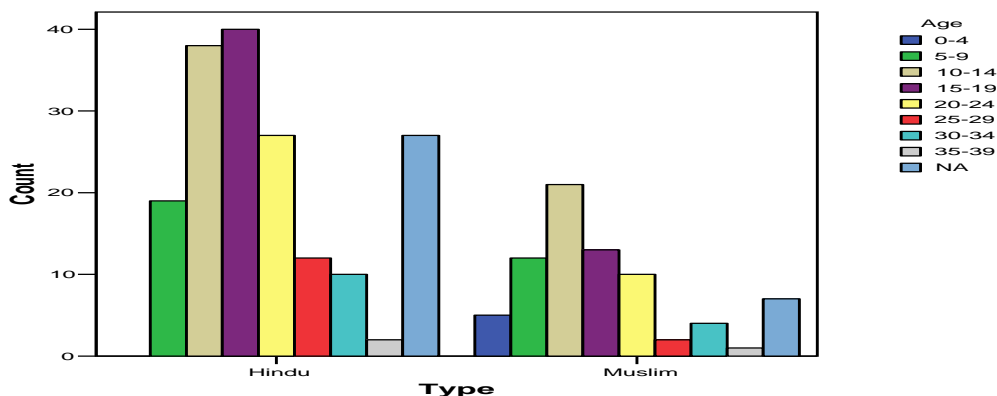


Table 3.23 shows that 52 percent of the Hindu Dalits have no income from other sources except the income they receive from major profession. It is to mention here that the following tables, in fact, endorse the poverty scenario for both Hindu and Muslim Dalits. 18 Hindu Dalits said that they run some kind of business that includes selling of vegetables, fish, eggs, chicken, other pottery things, toys, and cloths. It is interesting to note that most Bede and other Dalits professional except the untouchables like Horizon, Dome and so on take loans or money from investors or Mohajans, who run their business through these groups of professionals and pay them wage/profit on the basis of the volume of sales generated. This case is the same for 3 percent of the Muslim Dalits too.

Among Hindu Dalits 10 percent are involved with farming for their extra source of income, which is 12 percent for the Muslim Dalits. It should be noted that most of the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are very poor and they do not possess such large holding of land. Some of them have very small holding, including homestead. In the village, though holding of land is the main indicator of wealth, most of the Dalits are the poorest in the sense that they do not have such land or wealth at all in their possession. Other major sources of extra income are small jobs like cleaning of houses/bazaar on off time, looking after some small business of others and take care of the children and so on.

Table -3.23 Income of Dalits from Other Sources

Type		Income from other source															Total
		Job	Sweeper	Mali	Farming	Business	Barbar	Labour	Mazi	Other	No	Tea Shop	Kasai	Fisherman	Tati	Dhopa	
Hindu	Count	8	3	4	17	32	2	5	1	12	91	0	0	0	0	0	175
	% within Type	4.6%	1.7%	2.3%	9.7%	18.3%	1.1%	2.9%	.6%	6.9%	52.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	0	0	0	9	2	0	0	1	0	55	4	1	1	1	1	75
	% within Type	.0%	.0%	.0%	12.0%	2.7%	.0%	.0%	1.3%	.0%	73.3%	5.3%	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%	100.0%

Bar Chart

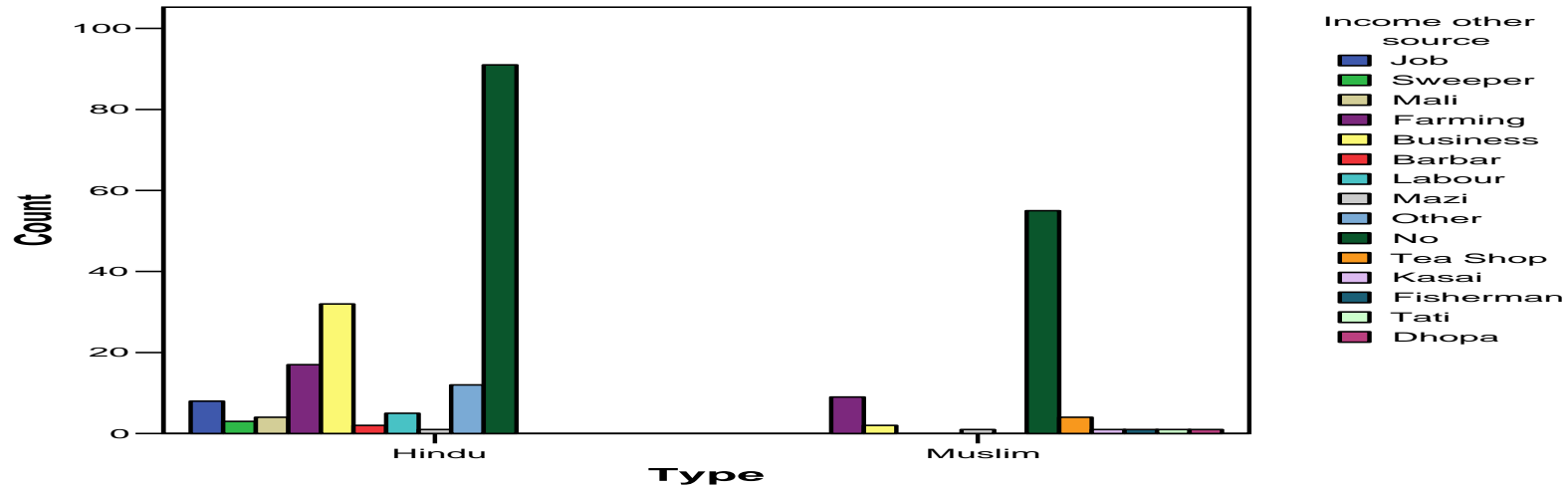


Table 3.24 shows that 36 percent of the Hindu Dalits have a loan amount of Taka 1000-2999, which is 48 percent of the Muslim Dalits. 32 percent of the Hindu Dalits have a loan of Taka up to 1000/month, which is 13 percent of the Muslim Dalits. It indicates that the Muslim Dalits have more loan than the Hindu Dalits as they are more involved with business for their extra income or other purposes.

Table 3.24 Amount of Loan (Monthly) of the Dalits

Type		Loan				Total
		1-999	1000-2999	3000-4999	NA	
Hindu	Count	56	63	0	56	175
	% within Type	32.0%	36.0%	.0%	32.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	10	36	2	27	75
	% within Type	13.3%	48.2%	2.7%	36.0%	100.0%

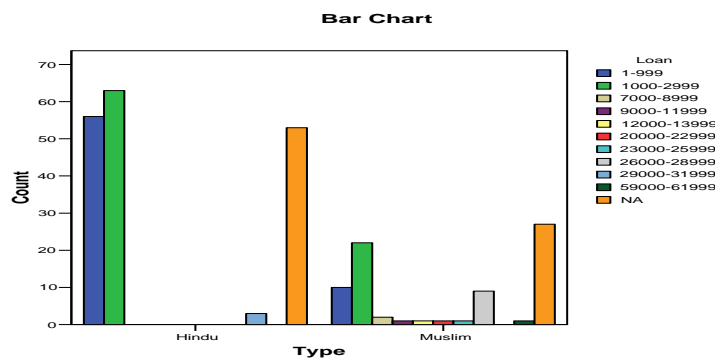


Table 3.25 shows that 63 percent of the Hindu Dalits take loan on the ground of poverty i.e., for meeting the living expenses or daily expenditure and 3 percent for education of children and 3 percent for business, whereas 48 percent of the Muslim Dalits take loan to meet poverty related issues, 4 percent for business 11 percent for other purpose, including the marriage of sons/daughters, buying land and repairing houses etc.

Table 3.25 Purpose for Loan

Type		Purpose for Loan					Total
		Poverty	Business	Education	Other	No	
Hindu	Count	111	5	6	0	53	175
	% within Type	63.4%	2.9%	3.4%	.0%	30.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	36	3	1	8	27	75
	% within Type	48.0%	4.0%	1.3%	10.7%	36.0%	100.0%

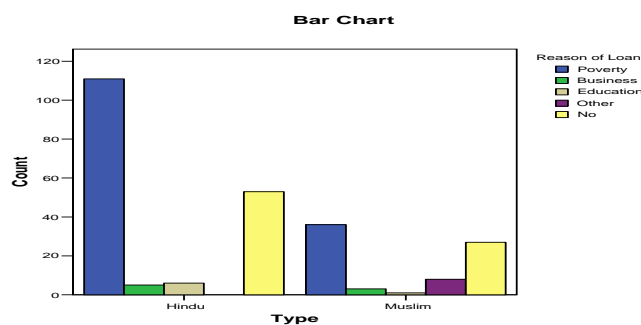
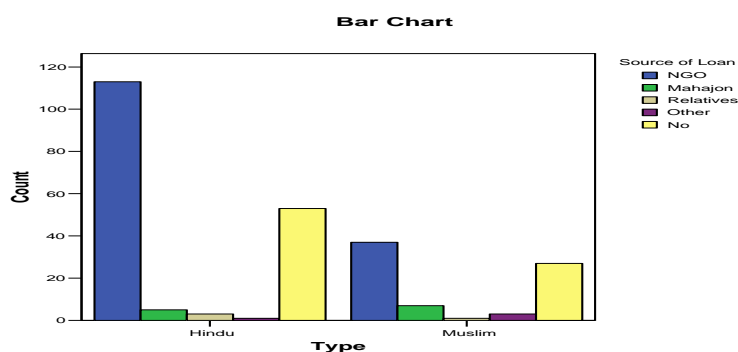


Table 3.26 shows that Hindu and Muslim Dalits take loans from different sources when they require. 65 percent of Hindu Dalits and 49 percent of Muslim Dalits take loans from NGOs. 9 percent of Muslim Dalits and 3 percent of Hindu Dalits take loan from Mahajons (money lenders) with high rate of interest; and only 2 percent and 1 percent of the Hindu and Muslim Dalits take loans from relatives.

Table 3.26 Sources of Loan of Dalits

Type		Sources of Loan					Total
		NGO	Mahajon	Relatives	Other	No	
Hindu	Count	113	5	3	1	53	175
	% within Type	64.6%	2.9%	1.7%	.6%	30.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	37	7	1	3	27	75
	% within Type	49.3%	9.3%	1.3%	4.0%	36.0%	100.0%

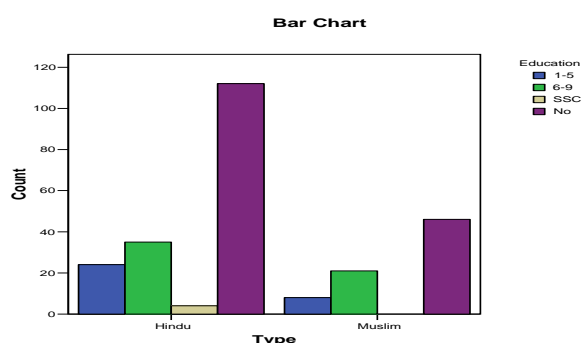


3.5 Low Literacy Rate

In term of educational status, the respondents in the FGD both from the Hindu and Muslim Dalit communities have no formal education. A few had attended the primary education for 1-2 years and they can not even read and write in their native language. Some of them had attended some non-formal adult education and learned little about numerical and can understand about monetary calculation.

Table 3.27 Education level of the Dalits:

Type		Education				Total
		1-5	6-9	SSC	No	
Hindu	Count	24	35	4	112	175
	% within Type	13.7%	20.0%	2.3%	64.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	8	21	0	46	75
	% within Type	10.7%	28.0%	.0%	61.3%	100.0%



In terms of education of Dalits, the data shows that 64 percent and 61 percent of the respondents of Hindu and Muslim Dalits respectively have no education at all. 20 percent and 28 percent of the respondents both from Hindu and Muslim Dalits respectively are shown to have completed junior high school education and 14 percent and 11 percent are found to have completed primary education till five years against the national average of literacy and adult literacy rates of population 5+, 7+ and 15+ for 47%, 49% and 50% respectively (Statistical Pocket Book Bangladesh 2005). 2% Hindu Dalits are shown to have completed high school i.e., Secondary School Certificate (SSC) which is the first formal certificate from the state to be evaluated as an eligible for applying any official jobs like clerk, peon or lower division assistants in the government offices or other sectors.

This education scenario reflects that the negative attitude of the Dalits towards education on one hand and on the other, it indicates that no effective initiatives were taken by the government, private sector or NGOs to educate this huge number of degraded Dalits in a proper manner. This data reveals that Dalits are severely discriminated in the sphere of education and they are least interested for higher/further education as they find it is difficult to look for job in the government or private offices even for peon with certificate from high school due to their discriminated identity. This very low illiteracy in the context of Dalits education, indeed, has been a big hindrance for them to develop their communities and to become rigid to look for alternatives or change in profession. Due to this problem they failed to address the

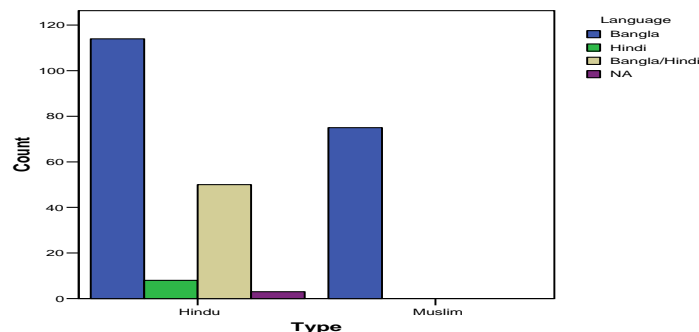
issues of discrimination and deprivation and make ways for their protection and positions without exploitations.

65 percent respondents of the Hindu Dalits replied that they speak Bangla, 29 percent speak Bengali and Hindi mixed; only 5 percent speak Hindi. Among the Muslim Dalits, the entire respondents speak Bengali. It indicates that many Hindu Dalits like sweeper, Muchi, Dome, Bede etc. speaks mixed Bengali and Hindi as their forefathers/ grandfathers or even fathers were from different Hindi speaking area of India used to speak Hindi. This is interesting to point out that the sweeper class of the Horizons/untouchables and their families still prefer to speak more Hindi than Bengali. Normally, they speak Hindi at home and within their own community.

Table 3.28 Language of the Dalits

Type		Language				Total
		Bengali	Hindi	Bengali/Hindi	NA	
Hindu	Count	114	8	50	3	175
	% within Type	65.1%	4.6%	28.6%	1.7%	100.0%
	% within Language	60.3%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	70.0%
	% of Total	45.6%	3.2%	20.0%	1.2%	70.0%
Muslim	Count	75	0	0	0	75
	% within Type	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%

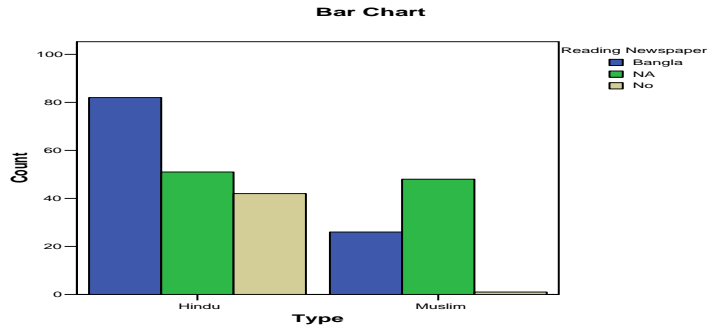
Bar Chart



47 percent Hindu Dalits can read newspaper and it is 34 percent for Muslim Dalits. As most of the people from both the Dalits groups do not have any formal education, they can not able read newspaper.

Table 3.29 Proficiency of Dalits in Reading Newspaper

Type		Reading Newspaper			Total
		Bengali	NA	No	
Hindu	Count	82	51	42	175
	% within Type	46.9%	29.1%	24.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	26	48	1	75
	% within Type	34.7%	64.0%	1.3%	100.0%



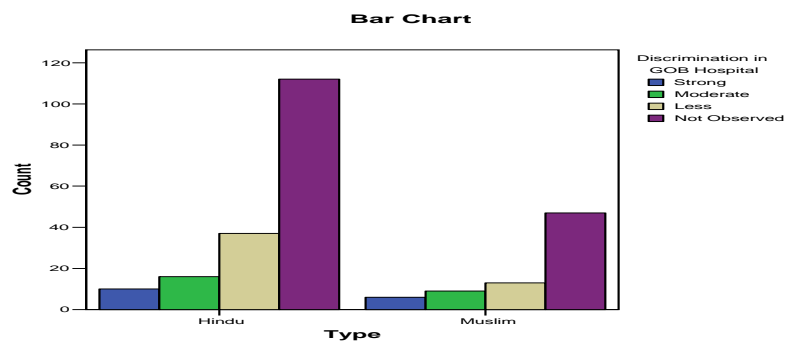
3.6 Poor Health

The common diseases that affect the Dalits are skin, diarrhea, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and other diseases caused by malnutrition. They do not have any health center. They are treated mostly by the public/NGO health centers, where they need to pay for services and medicines. Since they are very poor, they can not afford the medical expenses when they get sick which leads to prolong ill and enormous sufferings.

Dalits are discriminated in different medical facilities of government, private and NGOs. Table 3.6.a below shows that about 36 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel discriminated in government hospitals which is about 37 percent for the Muslim Dalits.

Table 3.30 Dalits' Discrimination in GOB Hospital

Type		Discrimination in Government Hospital				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	10	16	37	112	175
	% within Type	5.7%	9.1%	21.1%	64.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	9	13	47	75
	% within Type	8.0%	12.0%	17.3%	62.7%	100.0%



The table 3.32 below shows the percentage of discrimination in the hospitals run by NGOs. It is about 31 percent for the Hindu Dalits and 28 percent for the Muslim Dalits, including strong, moderate and less discrimination.

Table 3.31 Dalits' Discrimination in NGO Hospital

Type		Discrimination in NGO Hospital				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	5	20	29	121	175
	% within Type	2.9%	11.4%	16.6%	69.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	3	6	12	54	75
	% within Type	4.0%	8.0%	16.0%	72.0%	100.0%

Bar Chart

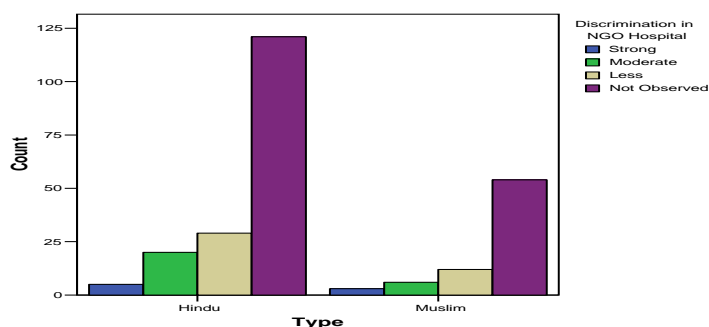


Table 3.32 Dalits' Discrimination in Private Hospital

Type		Discrimination in private Hospital				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	5	22	39	109	175
	% within Type	2.9%	12.6%	22.3%	62.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	8	14	47	75
	% within Type	8.0%	10.7%	18.7%	62.7%	100.0%

Bar Chart

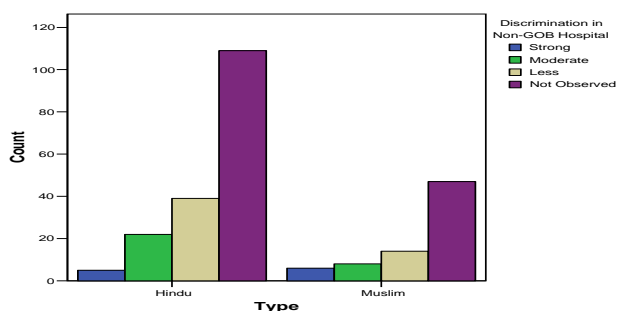
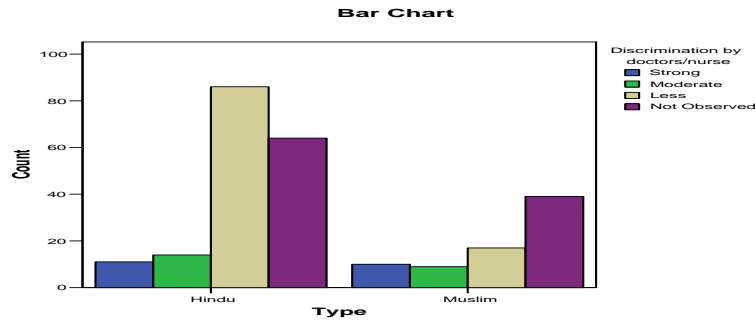


Table 3.33 shows that about 38 percent of the Hindu Dalits and Muslim Dalits feel discriminated in the private hospitals.

Table 3.33 Dalits' Discrimination by Doctors/Nurses

Type		Discrimination by doctors/nurse				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	11	14	86	64	175
	% within Type	6.3%	8.0%	49.1%	36.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	10	9	17	39	75
	% within Type	13.3%	12.0%	22.7%	52.0%	100.0%



In the table 3.34 above shows that about 63 percent of the Hindu Dalits and 48 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel discriminated by the doctors and nurses in different health facilities as they belong to lower castes and are not able to satisfy the service providers with due charges or fees.

3.7 Housing

Against the backdrop of capital assets accessibility as mentioned earlier, it can be worth correlated with the findings of FGD on housing and its conditions. The reality is that most of the Dalits have no land of their own. Many of them live like gypsies in the Khas land of the government near railway station or road/government offices or the vacant private land during non-harvesting period. Dalits have been living in nasty and polluted environment either in public house provided by the municipality/city corporation/government offices or privately arranged house in the slums/squatters in and around the urban/semi-urban centers and rural areas in the country. Most of them have common toilets, common water supply either in tap or tube well/ ponds/rivers in the villages. Most of them have no access to TV, radio, telephone and other basic amenities for maintaining a simple life even in the rural areas.

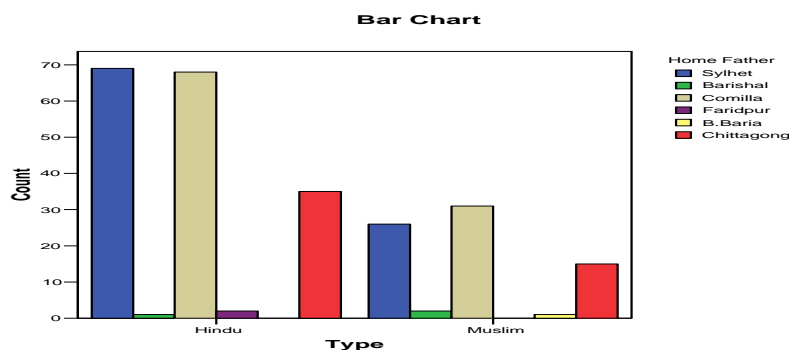
The untouchables mainly working in town/municipalities are facing serious housing problem as the rent, including the utilities for their housing are deducted from their salary every month which is according to them is high. As a matter of fact, they and their forefathers were brought in this country by the then authorities for the sweeping/cleaning jobs subject to a condition that they would be provided free housing, health and other facilities for livelihoods and as a result, they have been accommodated in the same locality for years together. Since they are untouchables

and discriminated, they are not allowed to rent or build house outside their exclusive areas.

Though the living standard in the areas is sub-human and the numbers of their families are increasing very fast, they must have adequate housing facilities to be provided by government. Moreover, the authorities allocate public housing only to those with permanent positions as sweeper/cleaner in the offices. Unfortunately, most of these permanent sweepers/cleaners will be retired soon and therefore, they have severe tension and uncertainty that they will be forced to leave the accommodation after their retirement and they will be unable to find houses outside of the areas.

Table 3.34 Home district of Father of Dalit Respondent

Type		Sylhet	Barishal	Comilla	Faridpur	B.Baria	Chittagong	Total
Hindu	Count	69	1	68	2	0	35	175
	% within Type	39.4%	.6%	38.9%	1.1%	.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	26	2	31	0	1	15	75
	% within Type	34.7%	2.7%	41.3%	.0%	1.3%	20.0%	100.0%

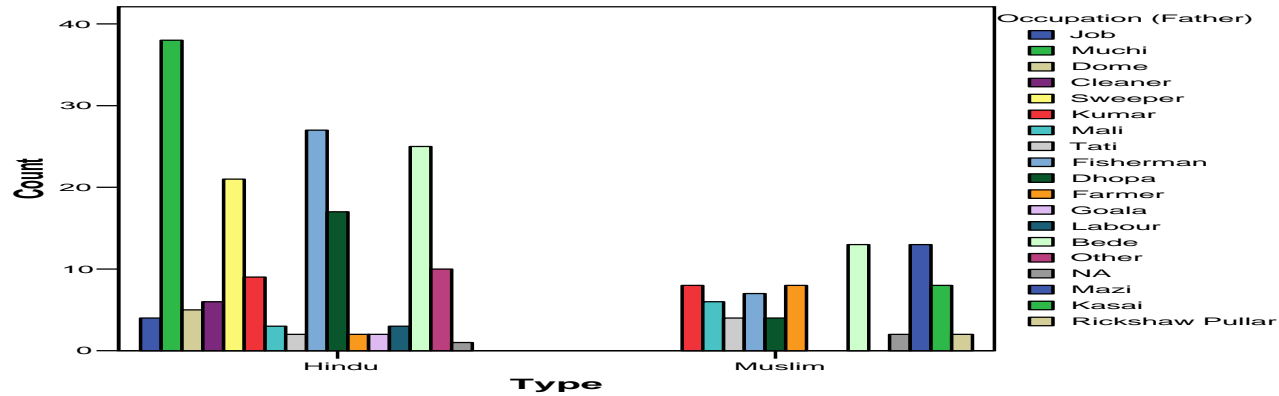


About a question of home district of fathers, data shows that almost all the Dalits are the first generation in Bangladesh as their father's are from different districts in the country.

Table 3.35 Fathers' Occupation of Dalit Respondents

Type		Occupation (Father)																			Total
		Job	Muchi	Dome	Cleaner	Sweeper	Kumar	Mali	Tati	Fisherman	Dhopa	Farmer	Goala	Labour	Bede	Other	NA	Mazi	Kasai	Rickshaw Pullar	
Hindu	Count	4	38	5	6	21	9	3	2	27	17	2	2	3	25	10	1	0	0	0	175
	% within Type	2.3%	21.7%	2.9%	3.4%	12.0%	5.1%	1.7%	1.1%	15.4%	9.7%	1.1%	1.1%	1.7%	14.3%	5.7%	.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	0	0	0	0	0	8	6	4	7	4	8	0	0	13	0	2	13	8	2	75
	% within Type	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	10.7%	8.0%	5.3%	9.3%	5.3%	10.7%	.0%	.0%	17.3%	.0%	2.7%	17.3%	10.7%	2.7%	100.0%

Bar Chart

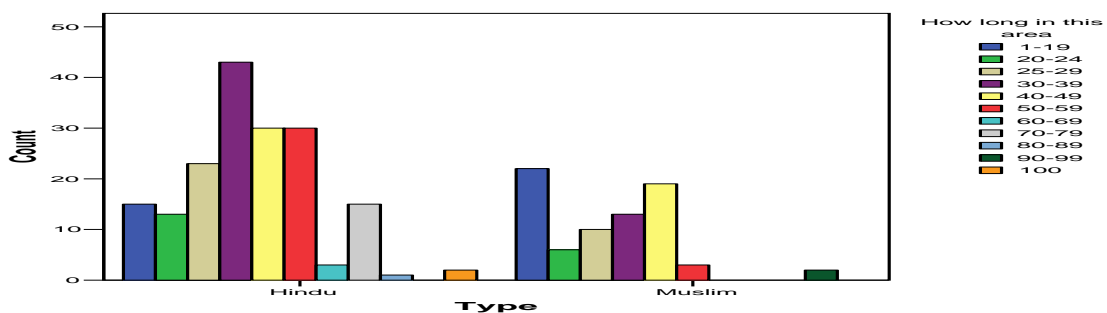


In terms of fathers' occupation, it is shown in the above table that 22 percent fathers are Muchi, 3 percent cleaner, 15 percent fishermen, 10 percent Dhopa, 14 percent Bede and others of the Hindu Dalits. For the Muslims Dalits, it is 17 percent for Mazi, 11 percent for Kasai, 11 percent for Kumar 11 percent for farmer, 17 percent for Bede , 9 percent for fishermen and so on. The data strongly endorses that the caste and work-based discriminated professions still trying to hold and continue their fathers' profession and practice caste and tradition.

Table 3.36 Time Frame or Duration of Living in the Same Location

Type		How Many Years in this area											Total
		1-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	100	
Hindu	Count	15	13	23	43	30	30	3	15	1	0	2	175
	% within Type	8.6%	7.4%	13.1%	24.6%	17.1%	17.1%	1.7%	8.6%	.6%	.0%	1.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	22	6	10	13	19	3	0	0	0	2	0	75
	% within Type	29.3%	8.0%	13.3%	17.3%	25.3%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.7%	.0%	100.0%

Bar Chart



The above table 3.37 shows that most of the Dalits of both Hindu and Muslims have been living in the same locations for a long period of time. It indicates their affinity to live together or in group for their own security and serve their socio-cultural purposes.

Section IV

Nature and Extent of Untouchability and Discrimination in Social and Cultural Spheres

4.1 Residential Segregation

Generally, the Hindu and Muslim Dalits in Bangladesh are segregated for their dwellings in the community. They either live in the locality called ‘Methor (untouchables) Patti/Bede colony/sweeper colony/Jele (fishermen) Para (village), Napit (barber) Para(village) etc. or in the periphery of the community living in the Khas land of the government / the land near the canals/rivers/forests etc. the areas which are treated as dwellings of the low caste people. The low caste of both the religions, particularly the untouchables are not allowed for renting or building houses outside their exclusive localities. They are denied entry by non-Dalits inside the temples/mosques, religious programs, tea shops or restaurants, house of the member of upper caste Hindu community and other communities, playgrounds, movie theatres, burial grounds/graveyards, club/societies, social gatherings/wedding ceremonies, music concerts, cultural programs in different forms.

Table 4.1 Nature and Extent of Discrimination in Entry

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Inside the house of non-Dalits	√						√	
2. Inside house to wish new born baby	√					√		
3. Temple (Mandir), Mosque	√							√
4. Inside teashops/restaurants			√					√
5. Inside home to wish newly married couple	√					√		
6. Inside the food factory	√					√		
7. In the religious programs	√						√	
8. Enter in the kitchen	√						√	
9. Enter in the toilets	√						√	

In terms of entry inside different places of the non-Dalits dwellings, it is found from the field observations (PRA and FDG sessions) that most of the Hindu Dalits, specially the untouchables are strongly opposed to enter inside the houses of non-

Dalits as they are thought impure and they belong to low caste. There are some cases that Goala (milk seller), Napit (barber) and Dhopa (washer man) can enter only into the front balcony or living room, at best, for necessary work. Napit or barber is called when they are required for a haircut particularly for new born baby. The washer man or Dhopa are allowed to enter home for taking or delivery of clothing. In case of the Muslim Dalits, they are less opposed as there are many professional groups who are required to enter the houses of non-Dalits like sweeper, cleaners, Kasai (butcher) and Hazam and so on.

In the case of wishing new born baby, no Hindu Dalits are allowed to enter the houses and strongly opposed, which is moderately opposed in the case of Muslim Dalits. In case of entry into the Temple or Mandirs, untouchables are strongly opposed by the Brahmins/priests or the care takers of the temples. Sometimes other Hindu Schedule Caste such as barber, washer man, and goldsmith are allowed to enter the temples on certain conditions.

For Muslim Dalits, it is not found that they are not allowed to enter the mosques. Earlier or even few years ago, it was found that the untouchables were not allowed to enter inside the tea shop/restaurants at all. They were served keeping them standing outside the restaurant with broken cups/plates though they used to pay the same for any services they required like other customers. But recently, the phenomenon has been changed and the discrimination is not severe, but still it exists in some cases at a lesser extent.

Both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are strongly and moderately opposed to wish any newly married couple. Though they know the bridegroom/bride very closely due to the interaction in the community, yet they are not allowed cordially inside the house for wishing the new couple. Since the Dalits know the issue, they do not feel good to go their homes for wishing them. Inside the food factory, untouchables are strongly opposed, particularly for Hindus but among the Muslim Dalits, it is not found that much rigid.

In the religious programs, the untouchables or the lower caste Hindus are still not entertained or encouraged to attend the programs together with non-Dalits.

Though the non-Dalits do not say anything very openly, their attitude towards the entry of the lower castes/untouchables is not positive. The entry into kitchen and toilets inside the house are not permitted for use by Hindu Dalits. For the Muslim Dalits, these are moderately opposed.

4.1.1 Survey findings about Denial in Housing/Entry

The Dalits are severely discriminated while renting a room, entering houses, kitchen, and toilet; entering houses to wish the new born baby and couple; entering food factory and tea shop; renting a room in hotel and using cup/plate.

Table 4.2 To Rent a Room/House

Type		To rent a room				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	34	44	39	58	175
	% within Type	19.4%	25.1%	22.3%	33.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	20	17	19	19	75
	% within Type	26.7%	22.7%	25.3%	25.3%	100.0%

Bar Chart

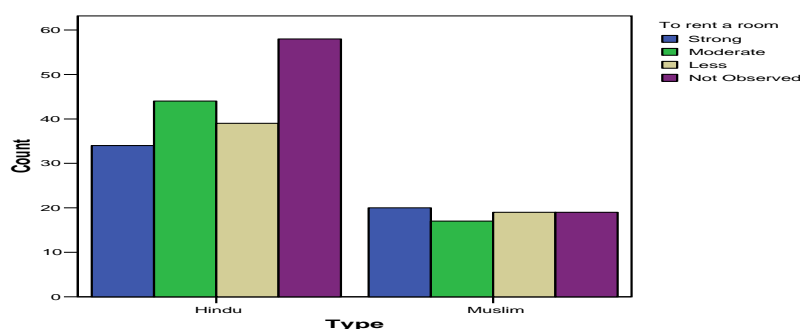


Table 4.2 shows that 19 percent of the Hindu Dalits are strongly opposed to rent rooms or houses outside their exclusive areas. 25 percent and 22 percent are moderately and less discriminated for renting the houses. Of the Muslim Dalits, 28 percent are strongly opposed. 23 percent and 25 percent are moderately and less discriminated for renting rooms and houses. It has been a common understanding that only the Hindu Dalits are discriminated or opposed to rent rooms/houses, but the findings of the survey endorse that Muslim Dalits, particularly the untouchables are not allowed to rent such facilities outside their exclusive dwellings.

Table 4.3 shows that 13 percent of the Hindu Dalits are strongly opposed to enter the house of non-Dalits. About 17 percent and 25 percent are opposed

moderately or less. Among the Muslim Dalits, 25 percent are strongly opposed. 20 percent and 13 percent are opposed moderately and less.

Table 4.3 To Enter Inside Home

Type		To enter inside home				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	22	29	44	80	175
	% within Type	12.6%	16.6%	25.1%	45.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	19	15	10	31	75
	% within Type	25.3%	20.0%	13.3%	41.3%	100.0%

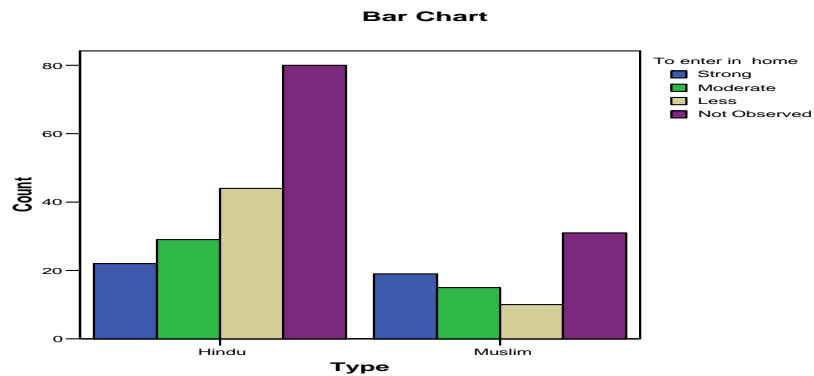


Table 4.4 shows that 38 percent of the Hindu Dalits are opposed to enter the toilet of the non-Dalits. About 2 percent and 26 percent are opposed moderately and less. 23 percent of the Muslim Dalits are strongly opposed to enter the toilet of non-Dalits Muslims. It is 40 percent for moderately and less opposed. It also endorses that the scenario is rather worse in the case of Muslim Dalits, particularly the untouchables, than the Hindu Dalits or untouchables.

Table 4.4 To Enter in Toilet

Type		To enter in toilet				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	66	3	45	61	175
	% within Type	37.7%	1.7%	25.7%	34.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	17	9	21	28	75
	% within Type	22.7%	12.0%	28.0%	37.3%	100.0%

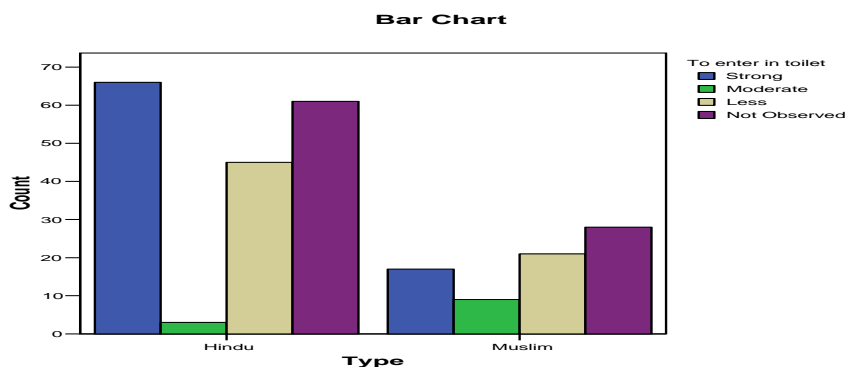


Table 4.5 shows that 31 percent of Dalits are not allowed to enter houses to wish new born baby of the non-Dalits and strongly opposed. It is 15 percent and 37 percent for moderately and less opposed. Of the Muslim Dalits, the same 31 percent are strongly opposed. 11 percent and 31 percent are moderately and less opposed. Though the barber are allowed to go for hair cut for new born baby, they are treated and welcomed only in the front room/lobby. And it not for wishing the baby rather makeing the baby clean by having the inherent hair cut.

Table 4.5 To Enter in House to Wish New Baby

Type		To enter in house to wish new baby				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	54	26	65	30	175
	% within Type	30.9%	14.9%	37.1%	17.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	23	8	23	21	75
	% within Type	30.7%	10.7%	30.7%	28.0%	100.0%

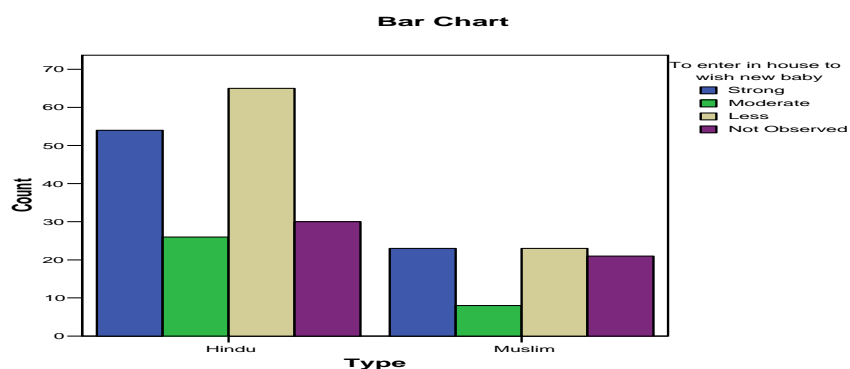


Table 4.6 shows that even they know each other and have very formal and informal relations in the villages, yet 38 percent of the Hindu Dalits are strongly opposed to enter the house for wishing newly married couple. It is 13 percent and 40 percent as moderate and less for Hindu Dalits. 25 percent of the Muslim Dalits are also strongly opposed to enter houses for wishing new couple which is 15 percent and 23 percent as moderately and less opposed.

Table 4.6 To Enter in House to Wish New Couple

Type		To enter in house to wish new couple				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	66	22	70	17	175
	% within Type	37.7%	12.6%	40.0%	9.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	19	11	28	17	75
	% within Type	25.3%	14.7%	37.3%	22.7%	100.0%

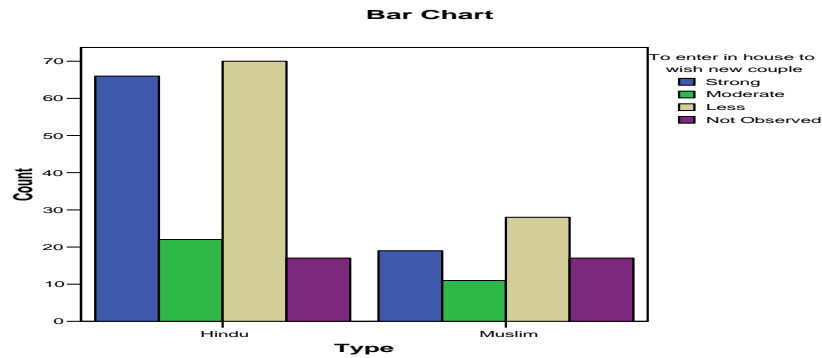


Table 4.7 shows that 27 percent of the Hindu Dalits are opposed strongly to enter any food factory, which is 17 percent and 41 percent as moderately and less opposed. For the Muslim Dalits, 28 percent are strongly opposed, where 9 percent and 52 percent are moderately and less opposed. It is also interesting to point out that the superstition that prevails in the community for good luck and favor is equally practiced by Muslim and Hindu Dalits or untouchables.

Table 4.7 To Enter Inside Food Factory

Type		To enter in food factory				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	48	29	72	26	175
	% within Type	27.4%	16.6%	41.1%	14.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	21	7	39	8	75
	% within Type	28.0%	9.3%	52.0%	10.7%	100.0%

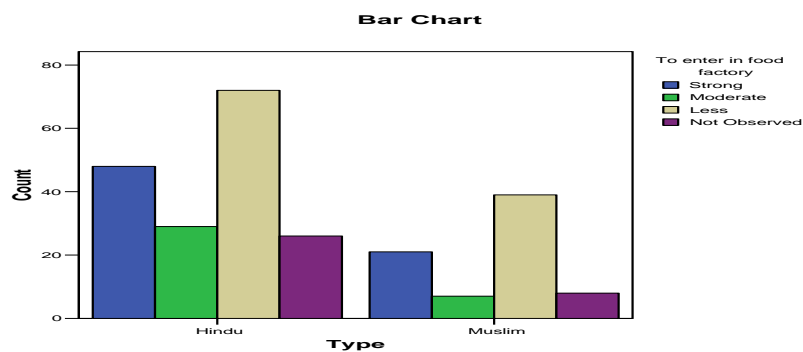


Table 4.8 shows that about 3 percent of the Hindu Dalits are strongly opposed to enter the tea shop/ restaurant. 12 percent and 39 percent of the Hindu Dalits are moderately and less opposed. It is quite reverse or very much unexpected in the case of Muslim Dalits as 27 percent of them said that they are not allowed and strongly opposed to enter the tea shop. Though the general understanding is that the Muslim Dalits are not that much discriminated, but the findings of the survey reveals that the Muslim Dalits are severely discriminated than the Hindu Dalits.

Table 4.8 To Enter in Tea Shop

Type		To enter in tea shop				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	6	21	67	81	175
	% within Type	3.4%	12.0%	38.3%	46.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	20	8	28	19	75
	% within Type	26.7%	10.7%	37.3%	25.3%	100.0%

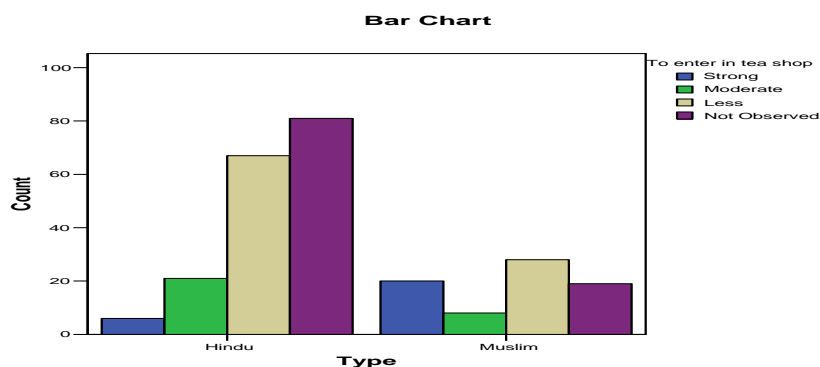
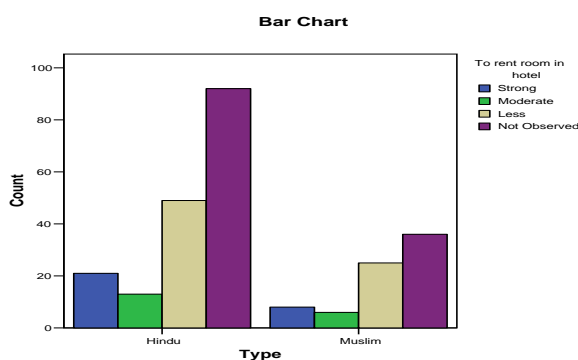


Table 4.9 shows that 12 percent of the Hindu Dalits are strongly opposed when they want to book room in hotel where they are known as untouchables. 7 percent and 28 percent of them are moderately and less opposed. 11 percent of Muslim Dalits are strongly opposed. 8 percent and 33 percent are of them moderately and less opposed. The cases are the same for both Hindu and Muslim Dalits if their identity is disclosed to the Hotel managers/owners. Because the hotel managers/owners apprehend the fear of losing the boarders or the customers in case the Dalits are allowed to stay in the hotels.

Table 4.9 To Rent Room in Hotel

Type		To rent room in hotel				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	21	13	49	92	175
	% within Type	12.0%	7.4%	28.0%	52.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	8	6	25	36	75
	% within Type	10.7%	8.0%	33.3%	48.0%	100.0%



4.2 Denial of Access to Basic Public Services

Table 4. 10 Access to Common Resources (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Drinking water source			√				√	
2. Other water source (Pond, Tube well etc)		√				√		
3. Gas/Electricity/Telephone			√					√
4. Facilities/Toilets etc. inside the school premise.			√					√
5. Walk at the trails, horse trails and streets				√				√
6. Get scholarship	√					√		
7. Use common crematory				√				√
8. Use community forests	√					√		

In case of drinking water sources provided by the government/other authorities like WASA, municipality or Union Parishad i.e. tube wells or other water supply arrangement by the government, both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are not discriminated. But they are moderately discriminated while using of water particularly from private ponds/lakes in the villages. Sometimes Muslim Dalits are allowed to set up separate Ghat (place to bath and wash) for their own use. The Hindu Dalits are seriously discriminated in this regard in the villages particularly using private ponds or other water resources.

Sometimes they are treated badly and make them stand for hours until other people fetch water. In the villages, especially the farmers from Hindu and Muslim Dalits suffer a lot to get water from ponds/lake/river for cultivation. Influential local inhabitants create several problems and sometimes they compel them to serve the non-Dalits in other ways for taking supply of the water they require for the field.

Since the Hindu and Muslim Dalits do not have any experiences of applying for common resources like gas and phone , they do not know the extent of discrimination. Some of them have electric connection through illegal arrangements. Also they do not face much discrimination while using toilets or other facilities such as school ground or sports etc. But in the selection of scholarship for their children, they think that they are strongly and moderately discriminated. The non-Dalits school

teachers or school committees do not treat their children well in the school. Though they are seriously opposed for using community forests, they are allowed to get the place in the public graveyard after death for funerals.

4.2. 1 Access to Common Resources (Survey Findings)

Table 4.11 shows that 63 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel discriminated while using public water facilities. The percentage though is not that high in case of strong and moderately opposed, but there is discrimination for which large number of Dalits suffer even for procuring pure drinking water. In the case of Muslim Dalits, the scenario is more acute. As the Muslim Dalits live in the periphery of the village or in the exclusive localities like gypsies, the use of public water facilities is rather high and they are largely discriminated. The table 4.11 shows that 12 percent feel that they are strongly and 8 percent are moderately discriminated. 37 percent feel less discriminated.

Table 4.11 Use of Water from Public Sources

Type		Use of water				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	9	31	72	63	175
	% within Type	5.1%	17.7%	41.1%	36.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	9	6	28	32	75
	% within Type	12.0%	8.0%	37.3%	42.7%	100.0%

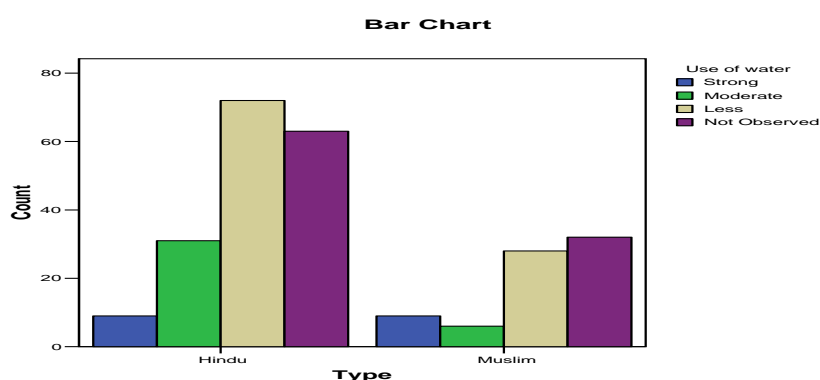


Table 4.12 shows that 46 percent of the Hindu Dalits are discriminated while using water from private sources like tube well, ponds, lake etc. whereas 71 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel discriminated while using water from private sources. Thus, the Muslim Dalits are not in a better situation than any highly discriminated Hindu low caste population.

Table 4.12 Use of Water from Private Sources

Type		Non-GOB water				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	3	31	46	95	175
	% within Type	1.7%	17.7%	26.3%	54.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	5	22	26	22	75
	% within Type	6.7%	29.3%	34.7%	29.3%	100.0%

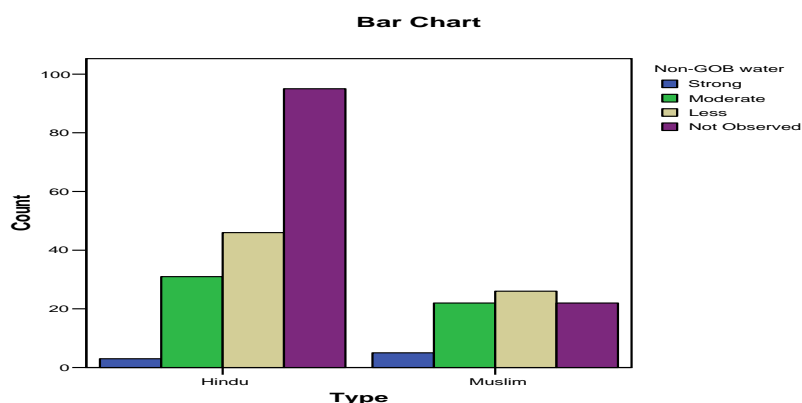


Table 4.13 shows that 29 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel discriminated strongly while having electricity connection which is 16 percent and 10 percent for moderately and less discrimination. Among the Muslim Dalits, 21 percent feel strongly discriminated. 7 percent and 19 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. The reason here can be mentioned it is rather very expensive or highly bureaucratic to have electricity in the areas where both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits live and in fact they do not have that much economic or political power to make the things easy for electric connection and supply in their localities.

Table 4.13 Electricity Connection

Type		Electricity Connection				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	50	28	17	80	175
	% within Type	28.6%	16.0%	9.7%	45.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	16	5	14	40	75
	% within Type	21.3%	6.7%	18.7%	53.3%	100.0%

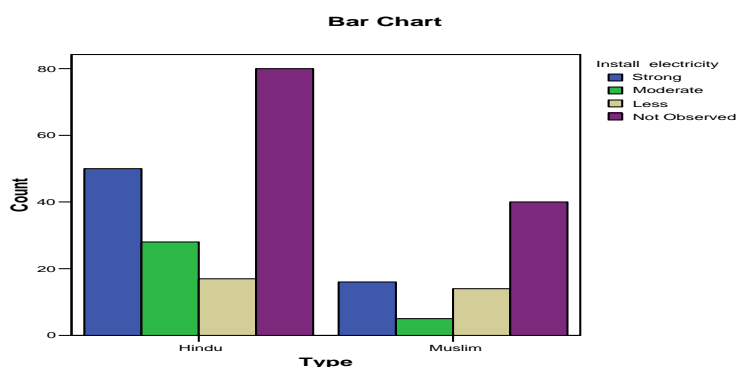


Table 4.14 shows that 21 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel discriminated while getting gas connection. 17 percent and 32 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. But in case of Muslim Dalits, it is 24 percent for strong, 16 percent for moderate and 20 percent for less discrimination. The reasons of discrimination are the same as that of Hindu Dalits.

Table 4.14 Gas Connection

Type		Gas Connection				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	37	29	56	53	175
	% within Type	21.1%	16.6%	32.0%	30.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	18	12	15	30	75
	% within Type	24.0%	16.0%	20.0%	40.0%	100.0%

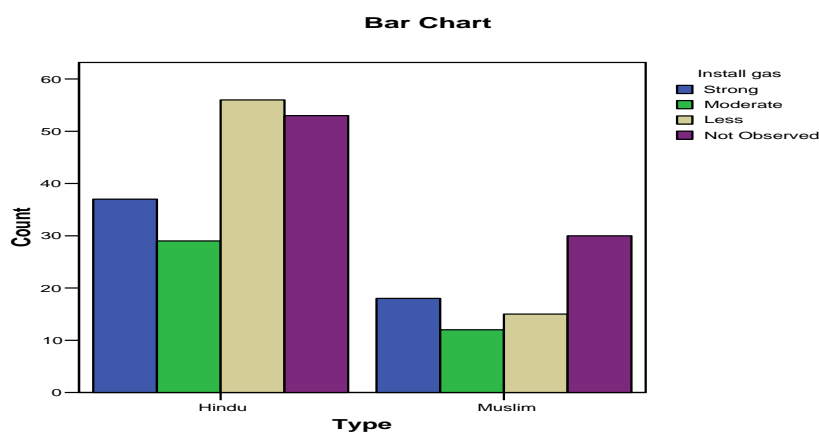


Table 4.15 shows that 22 percent of the Hindu Dalits are strongly discriminated for using public toilets. 9 percent and 42 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. About Muslim Dalits, 13 percent feel strong discrimination while using public toilets. 21 percent and 37 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination.

Table 4.15 Use of Public Toilet/Sewerage

Type		Toilet/Sewerage				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	38	15	76	46	175
	% within Type	21.7%	8.6%	43.4%	26.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	10	16	28	21	75
	% within Type	13.3%	21.3%	37.3%	28.0%	100.0%

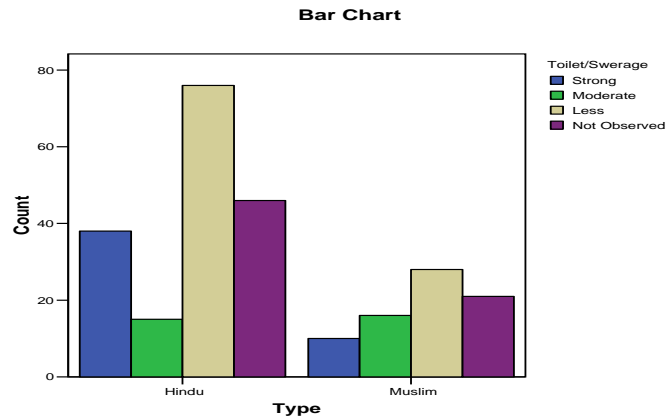
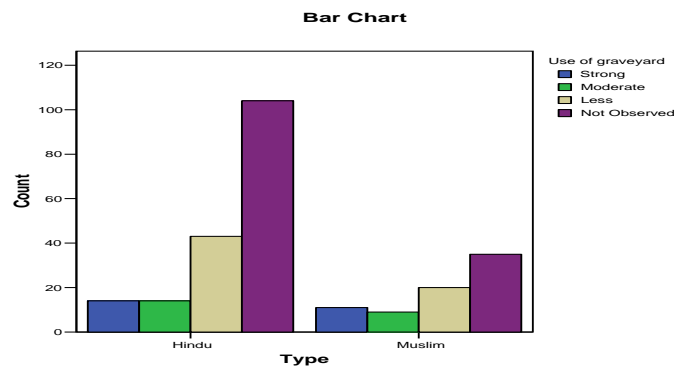


Table 4.16 shows that 8 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination in case of using public graveyard. 8 percent and 25 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. 15 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination. 12 percent and 27 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination.

Table 4.16 Use of Graveyard

Type		Use of graveyard				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	14	14	43	104	175
	% within Type	8.0%	8.0%	24.6%	59.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	11	9	20	35	75
	% within Type	14.7%	12.0%	26.7%	46.7%	100.0%



About 6 percent of the Hindu Dalits as shown in the table 4.17 feel strong discrimination while using government forests or hills. Of them 5 percent and 14 percent feel moderate and less discrimination. 8 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination 16 percent and 19 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination for using public forests or hills in around their localities.

Table 4.17 Use of Government Forest/Hills

Type		To use GOB forest/hills				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	10	9	24	132	175
	% within Type	5.7%	5.1%	13.7%	75.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	12	14	43	75
	% within Type	8.0%	16.0%	18.7%	57.3%	100.0%

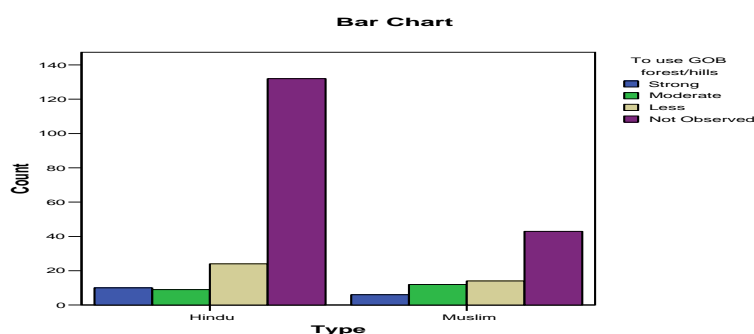
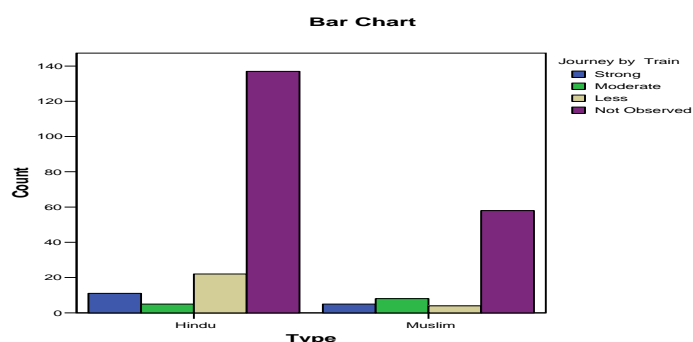


Table 4.18 shows 6 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel, they are strongly discriminated. 3 percent and 13 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination in the case of journey by train. 7 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel they are strongly discriminated. 11 percent and 5 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. In this case, the overall incidence of discrimination is not severe for the Dalits communities.

Table 4.18 Journey by Train by Dalits

Type		Journey by Train				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	11	5	22	137	175
	% within Type	6.3%	2.9%	12.6%	78.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	5	8	4	58	75
	% within Type	6.7%	10.7%	5.3%	77.3%	100.0%

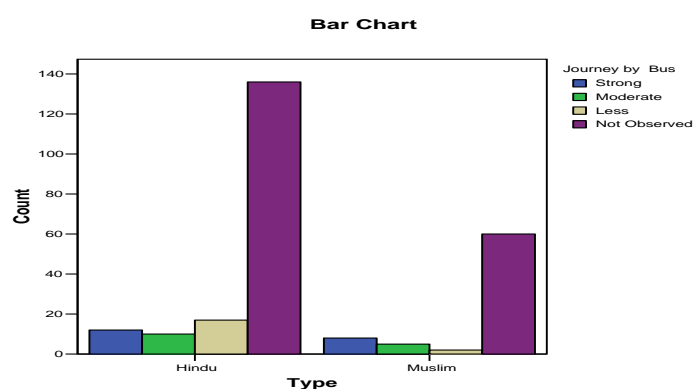


In the case of bus journey, 7 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel that they are strongly discriminated. 6 percent and 10 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. For Muslim Dalits, 11 percent feel strong discrimination. 7 percent and 3 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. It is very positive that

78% and 80% Hindu and Muslim Dalits feel they are not discriminated while traveling by bus.

Table 4.19 Journey by Bus by Dalits

Type		Journey by Bus				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	12	10	17	136	175
	% within Type	6.9%	5.7%	9.7%	77.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	8	5	2	60	75
	% within Type	10.7%	6.7%	2.7%	80.0%	100.0%



4.3: Discriminated Treatments in Public Services

4.20 Discriminatory Treatment in Public Services (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Sell milk	√						√	
2. Take loans		√				√		
3. Rent rooms/hostel	√						√	
4. Seek relief or rehabilitation help		√					√	
5. Priestly works	√					√		
6. Sacred thread	√							√
7. Give or take Prasad (offered fruits, food etc.) and Tika	√							√
8. Eat food or drink tea etc without washing utensils/glass	√						√	
9. Apply for government land/housing	√				√			
10. Touch or carry dead bodies	√						√	
11. Health care			√				√	
12. Sale meat	√						√	
13. Legal services by practitioners			√					√

In the service sector, the Hindu untouchables except the traditional Goalas (milk seller) are strongly opposed to sell milk. The traditional Goalas are allowed to involve in milk the selling business, who supplies milk from house-to- house, besides supplying to tea shops and restaurants. They are also allowed to sell milk in the market openly. For the Muslim Dalits, there is no such discrimination. In case of obtaining loans, both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are moderately discriminated. Normally, they are not allowed to ask for loans from upper caste or non-Dalits. Generally they take loan from different money lender (Mahajans) at a high rate of interest according to their need.

Sometimes they are forced to mortgage documents (deed) of the land/homestead (if any) or any other valuable things when they intend to take loans. Dalits are always encouraged to pay interest rather than the principal amount of the loan. In villages, there are many cases of pauperization/landlessness only due to the reason that the money lender would ultimately grab the land/valuable things against mortgage if the borrowers can not pay back the loan in time, including the increased interest amount for the entire period of loan disbursement.

The Hindu untouchables are strongly opposed to go for booking houses/rooms in any hotels/guest houses and hostels if the owners somehow know them or the owner/manager can guess them as untouchables from their names. Sometimes in the big cities/towns, where they are unknown, they can take rooms by identifying them with different names. It is hardly possible to recognize them as Dalits/untouchables until and unless their names get disclosed. According to the survey, Dalit students are not allowed to stay in the hostels or dormitories. They are not permitted, rather teased by others even though they get any such allotment through fair selection on the basis of merits or other criteria. In terms of taking/listing for relief and rehabilitation at the time of disasters, both Muslim and Hindu Dalits are moderately discriminated. They are not given due help or cooperation because of their identity. In the villages, the local authority tries to satisfy the non-Dalits first even though they might not need any help/cooperation to meet the disaster.

Again, in the selection of items, the Dalits do not have any voice or choice whereas the non-Dalits are allowed to select items at their own choice. Neither the Hindu Dalit nor the Muslim Dalit is allowed to do prayer or perform priestly works in

Islam or Hindu religions. Since they are thought and treated unclean or belonging to lower class, even they are discriminated for taking sacred thread in the case of Hindu, and for Muslims, there is no such case of sacred thread in the Islam religion.. For the Muslim Dalits, though there is no such discrimination for giving and taking Prasad/offered foods, the Hindu untouchables, are still discriminated even for taking and giving Prasad/Tika at the Mandirs/temples. The Brahmins/priests do not allow them to enter and touch Holy Books; they even do not allow them uttering God's name in front of others in the Mandir premises if they are known as untouchables or belonging to other discriminated caste.

Both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are discriminated strongly and less respectively for sharing food/tea in the same plates/cup/utensils by the non-Dalits. Since they are treated to be 'dirty', the perception stands in the way that their touch also makes the things dirty and as a result, they need to wash whatever they use for making it pure. Both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are strongly discriminated while applying or being allocated government lands (Khas land) for temporary or permanent use. The Hindu untouchables are not allowed to touch the dead body of non-Dalits and carry the dead body, but in the case of Muslims Dalits, they are not allowed to make the dead body bathe or wash before funerals but they can carry the dead body.

According to the discussion, though most of the Hindu and the Muslim Dalits do not feel any discrimination in the government hospitals/health centers, they are discriminated in the private clinics. Sometimes in many NGO clinics, they are not properly treated as they are Dalits and the feeling is like that if they come and enter the clinics, other non-Dalits would stop coming to the clinics; the clinic owners rather feel insecure of loosing their potential customers. No untouchable of both Hindu and Muslim is allowed to sell meat. For Muslim, the Dalits called Kasai (butcher) are only allowed to deal with cutting Halal animals and sell meat. Nowhere in the village can they sell pork or any other animals' meat which are not allowed in Islam. The Hindu untouchables who eat pork can sell it within their local colonies and it should be also properly covered. The blood of pig should not be on the street by any ways. Both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are found to be satisfied with legal practitioners whenever they require for seeking legal help. But no one is helped without any charges. Many

Dalits opine that sometimes they are charged high by the legal practitioners when they commit some offence that is treated serious crime or default.

4.4 Discriminatory Restrictions on Public Behavior

Table 4.21 Discriminatory Restrictions in Participation by Dalits (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Feasts: private	√						√	
2. Feasts: Community	√						√	
3. Feasts: Marriage	√						√	
4. Attend funeral of non-Dalits			√				√	
5. Attend Dalit funeral by non-Dalits				√				√
6. Government programs		√				√		
7. NGO programs			√				√	
8. Attend marriage procession			√				√	
9. Religious programs		√					√	
10. Policy/Decision making	√				√			
11. Socio-cultural programs		√				√		
12. Judgment/Dispute Settlement activities			√				√	

Invitation to Dalits by non-Dalits in any private feast is a rare case. But the Dalits always try to make the non-Dalits happy and invite them in all occasions, though they join yet do not take food in most cases. In the villages, the Dalits make separate menu and dishes beyond their capacity to make the non-Dalits happy with food and service. In many cases, if the non-Dalits likes to invite any Dalit in the private/community/ marriage ceremony, they make also separate sitting arrangement and menu for the Dalits, so that they do not have to sit with them and eat together.

In fact, the non-Dalits always try to call the Dalits in different work and make them happy with words/laugh without giving them due wage or recognition. Somehow the Hindu Dalits feel strongly discriminated in the arrangement of feast by private/community or in other marriage feasts in the locality. On the other hand, the Muslim Dalits are less discriminated in those feasts organized by private/community or marriage feast.

In the funerals of non-Dalits, normally both Hindu and Muslim Dalits like to attend, but they are somehow discouraged for being untouchables. They are not allowed to stay long time in the funeral. They are just allowed to see the dead body from far away and show their grief. Somehow both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits feel less discriminated in attending funerals of non-Dalits. On the contrary, the attendance of non-Dalits in the funerals of Dalits is rare in villages. Sometimes, the non-Dalits from local areas come to show their feelings for the person died and try to give some money or buy materials for funerals. However, they do not attend funerals at most cases.

In most of the cases in the villages, the Dalits are not invited to any government programs like observation of national, international days etc. Even they go to enjoy any such ceremonies, they are not welcomed warmly. They just stand outside and enjoy programs as viewers. In NGO programs, both Muslim and Hindu Dalits are less discriminated. Sometimes they are invited depending upon the programs and sometimes they are required to be showed to the donors or other concerned agencies through such gatherings involving Dalits.

In the marriage procession or other ceremonies, both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are less discriminated. In the religious programs, the Hindu Dalits are moderately discriminated, but the untouchables are seriously discriminated and are not allowed to attend the religious programs if they are known in the community as untouchables.

In the policy making programs or decision making programs of the local authorities, both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are strongly discriminated. They are never invited for any such program. Sometimes their leaders are invited if anything relates to their community, but they are kept silent and whatever non-Dalits decide, the Dalits are to follow those without any oppose. In the socio-cultural programs, both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are moderately discriminated.

They are not properly invited or entertained in the community activities related to judgment or settlement of disputes. The Dalits of both Hindu and Muslims have very little to do with the power structure of the locality. Many of them observe and endorse in the meeting that normally they do their best to settle most of the disputes if somehow among them through negotiation or arbitration. Their community

leaders or Sarders of respective communities play a vital role for the settlement of the disputes. Sometimes, they face punishment or the demand of compensation and all the proceedings related to these matters are done before the community leaders. The common disputes among the Dalits are raised due to the quarrel between the children or spouses for simple reasons. Sometimes they are victimized by the group of bad people who like to create dispute among the Dalits every time.

In terms of discrimination in the forms of dominance as mentioned below, both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are the victims of discrimination. In many cases in the villages, the Dalits bow their heads to show respect to the non-Dalits. Very often particularly the Hindu Dalits touch the feet of non-Dalits with their heads/foreheads to show maximum respect for getting help/cooperation etc. Actually, non-Dalits or influential people in villages expect and enjoy this kind of respect or loyalty from the Dalits in many occasions. They become happier when the Dalits do such kind of things in front of others. Normally, the Dalits take off shoes/sandals when they like to go in front of non-Dalits, specially the powerful person. The Dalits try to make them happy without wearing sunglasses, walking below the trail/path in many cases.

Table 4.22 Restrictions in the Forms of Dominance (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Bowing head for respect	√					√		
2. Touch feet with head/forehead	√					√		
3. Take off shoes		√				√		
4. Walk below the trail or path			√				√	
5. Not to wear sunglasses		√				√		
6. Use of abusive language/words	√					√		
7. Ignore due to illiteracy and poverty	√				√			
8. Not to go for casting vote		√					√	
9. Not to support against party		√					√	
10. Not to raise voice	√						√	
11. Not to attend ceremonies		√					√	
12. Sprinkle holy water if touched by Dalits	√							√
13. Tolerate whatever is done by non-Dalits	√					√		
14. Not to sit on chair in front	√					√		
15. Not to laugh in front		√					√	
16. Force to sell goods/serve cheaper		√				√		

Use of abusive words is a common practice in villages. Both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits always bear the pains of abusing with different bad words particularly in relation to their job/status. They feel strongly discriminated for this kind of abusing. The non-Dalits, especially the influential non-Dalits of both religions scold the Dalits with abusive words without mentioning their names.

Since the Hindu and Muslim Dalits are poor and illiterate, they are strongly ignored and discriminated in the communities. They are not allowed to go for casting vote without the permission of the influential non-Dalits or their leaders in their community who are also the follower of the influential non-Dalits. Sometimes they are not allowed to attend the procession or support other candidates against the interest of the influential non-Dalits in the locality. They are kept tight-lipped or are not allowed to raise voice because of the threatening of their leaders/local cadres.

In many cases, if the untouchables touch anything of the non-Dalits, particularly the holy things of worship or anything in the offices, the non-Dalits sprinkle water to make them pure or protect them from impurity as might have been caused due to the touch of Dalits. The non-Dalits always force the Dalits to tolerate whatever discrimination and oppression they impose on them. The non-Dalits do not allow any Dalits to sit on the chair in front of them rather they keep them standing while talking to them. Even the Dalits in villages are not allowed to laugh loudly in front of the influential non-Dalits. In the market, if the Dalits sell anything like fish, vegetables and others, the non-Dalits particularly the influential non-Dalits compel them to sell cheaper or give things for more than actual weight they pay for. They always try to get extra benefits from the Dalits everywhere.

In villages, the Dalits are still victims of social boycott because of simple reason. Sometimes, the Dalits are even discriminated within their own community if they look for other job except traditional one, go for inter-caste marriage, or do something against his community norms/values. Sometimes the Dalits are alienated within their own community, prevented from attending funerals, and socio-cultural programs when the other fellow groups even within their own community declare them wrong doers. Dalits of both the religions are skeptical about the judgment of outsiders.

4.23 Restrictions in the Forms of Social Boycott (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. If traditional occupation should not be maintained	√						√	
2. If enter into inter-caste marriage relationship	√						√	
3. If rebelled against traditional norms and values	√					√		
4. prevent attending funerals	√		√				√	
5. make alienated	√					√		
6. Declare as wrong doer	√					√		
7. prevent attending socio-cultural programs			√				√	

Generally, they do not get equal and fair justice if anything happens wrong among them and it is settled or negotiated through the outside formal or informal legal/government authorities. As outsider judges become biased or bribed on many occasions by someone more powerful of their own community in terms of either physical or monetary strength. Therefore, they rely more on their own community leaders than the outsiders of the other locality to resolve the disputes or conflicts.

4.24 Restrictions in Attitudinal Untouchables (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Belief that Dalits lack qualification	√					√		
2. Belief that Dalits lack ability	√					√		
3. Deny offering teaching jobs	√					√		
4. Deny offering official status	√					√		
5. Deny touching Holy books	√							√
6. Deny pronounce God's name		√						√
7. Believe that politics is something that should be done by Dalits	√		√					√

In terms of attitudinal untouchables, the Hindu Dalits are still facing strong discrimination in the community. It is the public's perception that they lack qualifications and ability, so they should not be offered any teaching job or job with status. Since they are untouchables, they are not allowed to pronounce God's name or touch holy books. They are compelled to think that the political leadership and other social responsibilities are not for them. They are born only to work as per their descend occupations and carry out order of non-Dalits and serve them who are superiors to them by birth.

4.5 Other Discriminatory Restrictions (Survey Findings)

Table 4.25 shows that 49 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strongly discriminated while going marriage with other religions. 17 percent and 25 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. Among the Muslim Dalits, 45 percent feel strongly discriminated. 17 percent and 23 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination while going for marriage with other religions.

Table 4.25 Marriage with other Religions

Type		Marriage with other religions				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	86	29	43	17	175
	% within Type	49.1%	16.6%	24.6%	9.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	34	13	17	11	75
	% within Type	45.3%	17.3%	22.7%	14.7%	100.0%

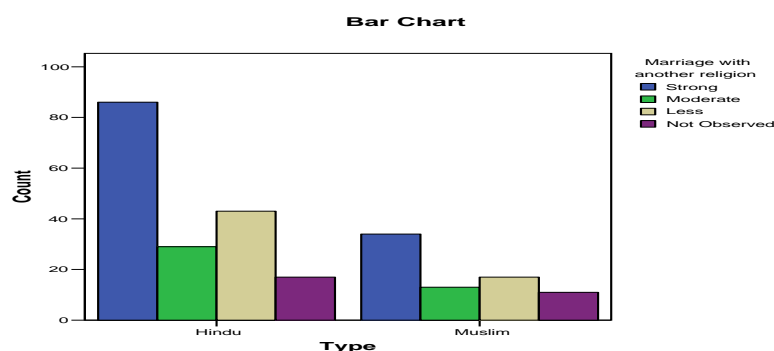


Table 4.26 shows that 49 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strongly discriminated to have affairs with other non-Dalits of other religions and materialize the affair into marriage.. 16 percent and 22 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. In case of Muslim Dalits, 53 percent of them feel strongly

discriminated to go for affair marriage with non-Dalits of other religions. 19 percent and 31 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel moderate and less discrimination.

Table 4.26 Affair Marriage with Other Religions

Type		Affair marriage with other religions				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	86	28	39	22	175
	% within Type	49.1%	16.0%	22.3%	12.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	40	14	16	5	75
	% within Type	53.3%	18.7%	21.3%	6.7%	100.0%

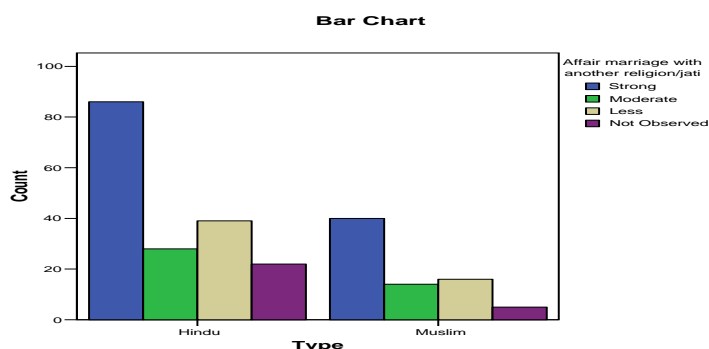
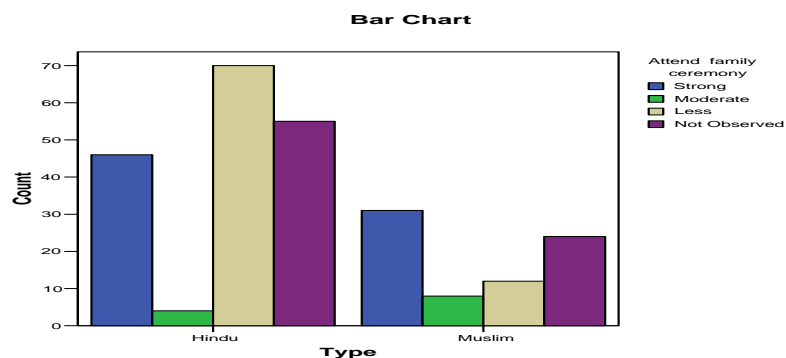


Table 4.27 shows 26 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strongly discriminated for attending any family ceremony of non-Dalits. 2 percent and 40 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. 41 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination for attending such ceremonies. 11 percent and 16 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination.

Table 4.27 Attend Family Ceremony of Non-Dalits

Type		Attend family ceremony				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	46	4	70	55	175
	% within Type	26.3%	2.3%	40.0%	31.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	31	8	12	24	75
	% within Type	41.3%	10.7%	16.0%	32.0%	100.0%



Section V

Economic and Market Discrimination

5.1: Labour Market Discrimination

5.1.1 Discriminatory Labour (FGD Findings)

In terms of physical labour, the Hindu Dalits are real victims in villages. They are strongly discriminated while the Muslim Dalits are moderately discriminated. But Dalits from both the religions render physical labour such as cleaning, carrying goods, caring cattle, and pleasantry to the non-Dalits without any monetary benefits or gifts. But sometimes the Dalits in villages have to seek help and cooperation in other means; therefore, they serve the non-Dalits for the service they receive.

As has been said earlier, if the non-Dalits see some Dalits in the market place, they ask them to carry their shopping bags and help them in buying things. Normally, the Dalits have to carry all those bags to for which they may get some wages or not. Sometimes they are abused if they ask for help or tips to the non-Dalits.

Sometimes, the non-Dalits ask the Hindu and Muslim Dalits to help them in the farm, peasantry without showing much discrimination. They ask them to work and sometimes pay with due wage or gift in kind. Looking after the cattle of non-Dalits by the Dalits, especially Hindu Dalits, is a common practice. For caring cattle, particularly the Goals or other low castes are moderately discriminated. The untouchables are not allowed to do the job of caring cattle in villages.

In other jobs like carrying Dula/Dulhan (bride/bridegroom), prostitution, carrying children etc., the extent of discrimination is less for both Hindu and Muslim Dalits. But for the massage service, both the Dalits from both the religions are moderately discriminated. Though the untouchables are not allowed for the job, the barber or other relevant low caste Muslims or Hindus have to serve the non-Dalits on different occasions in market place or at home with massage service. Sometimes, the influential non-Dalits keep them for long time with little or without payment for this kind of service even in the busy hours.

Table 5.1 Discriminatory Labour (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Physical Labour (Gatar Khata)	√					√		
2. Bonded labour (Haliya)			√				√	
3. Carry shopping without wages		√				√		
4. Household and farm works without wages			√				√	
5. Work either with no wages or little wages			√				√	
6. Caring cattle		√					√	
7. Carry Dula (bridegroom)	√						√	
8. Prostitution			√				√	
9. Carry children			√				√	
10. Massage head and body		√				√		

5.1.2 Labour Market Discrimination (Survey Findings)

Table 5.2 shows that 33 percent of the Hindu Dalits say that they had experienced strong discrimination for giving their labour by force. 21 percent and 31 percent of them have experience of moderate and less discrimination. Only 16 percent of the Hindu Dalits have no experience of forced labour. 25 percent of the Muslim Dalits have the experience of forced labour strongly and 29 percent and 21 percent of them have moderate and less discrimination respectively. 24 percent Muslim Dalits have no experience of forced labour.

Table 5.2 Experience of Forced Labour

Type		Forced labour				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	57	36	54	28	175
	% within Type	32.6%	20.6%	30.9%	16.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	19	22	16	18	75
	% within Type	25.3%	29.3%	21.3%	24.0%	100.0%

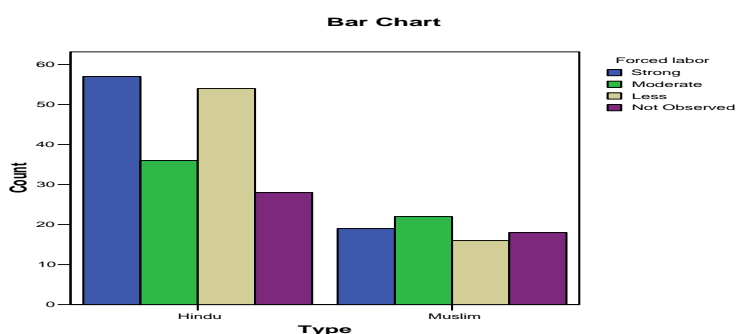


Table 5.3 shows that 6 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strongly that they have worked with less money; 15 percent and 3 percent of them feel moderately and less respectively to have worked with less money. 23 percent 35 percent and 20 percent of Muslim Dalits also have the same experience of strong, moderate and less discrimination respectively. Only 23 percent of Muslim Dalits replied that they were underpaid.

Table 5.3 Work with Less Money

Type		work with less money				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	10	27	54	84	175
	% within Type	5.7%	15.4%	30.9%	48.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	17	26	15	17	75
	% within Type	22.7%	34.7%	20.0%	22.7%	100.0%

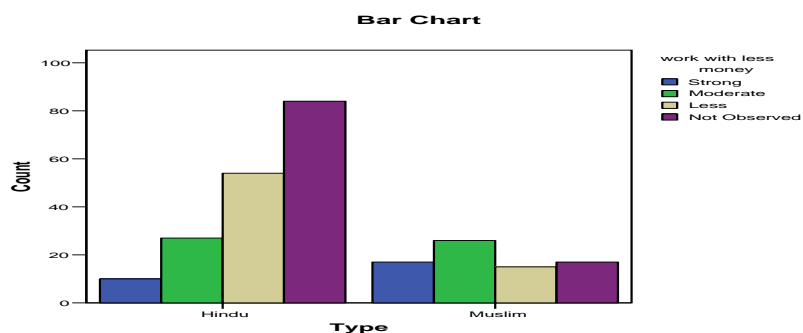


Table 5.4 shows 2 percent, 15 percent, and 29 of the Hindu Dalits have strong, moderate and less experience of carrying shopping bags of non-Dalits with less or without pay respectively. And for this, 13 percent, 28 percent and 29 percent of the Muslim Dalits also have the experience of strong, moderate and less discrimination respectively

Table 5.4 Carry Shopping Bag

Type		Carry shopping bag				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	3	27	51	94	175
	% within Type	1.7%	15.4%	29.1%	53.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	10	21	22	22	75
	% within Type	13.3%	28.0%	29.3%	29.3%	100.0%

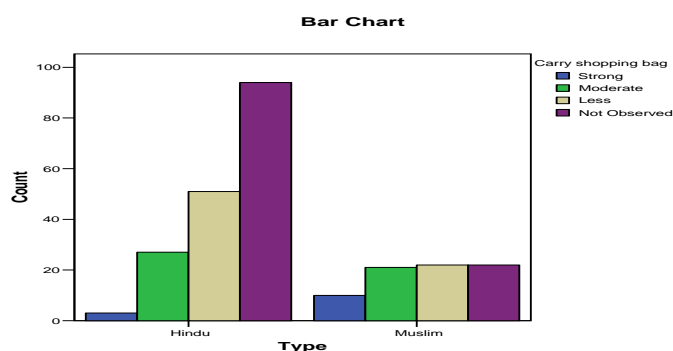


Table 5.5 shows that 6 percent, 7 percent and 11 percent of the Hindu Dalits are discriminated strongly, moderately and less respectively for caring the children of non-Dalits without pay. It is 9 percent, 39 percent, 25 percent for the Muslim Dalits which look much severe than the Hindu Dalits. It may be the reason that most non-Dalits do not prefer their children to be taken care of by Dalits as they are not clean and hated by others. For the Muslim, the case may be little different for which their number is large to care the children of non-Dalits without pay.

Table 5.5 Take Care of Children Without Pay

Type		Take care of children without pay				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	11	13	20	131	175
	% within Type	6.3%	7.4%	11.4%	74.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	7	29	19	20	75
	% within Type	9.3%	38.7%	25.3%	26.7%	100.0%

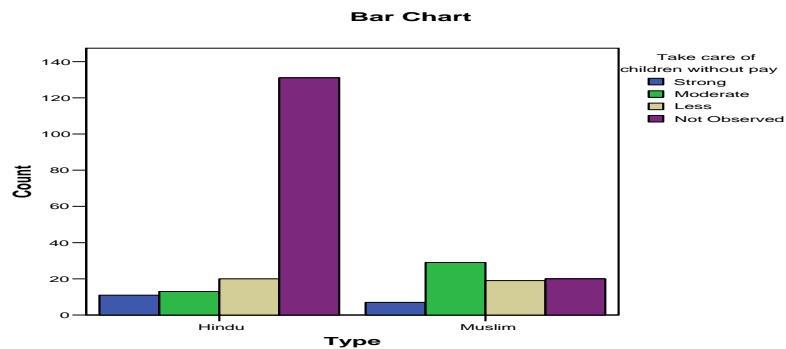


Table 5.6 17 percent, 10 percent, and 10 percent of the Hindu Dalits have strong, moderate, less experience of giving bribe to securing job. 19 percent, 24 percent, and 16 percent of the Muslim Dalits have strong, moderate, and less feelings of giving bribe for securing jobs.

Table 5.6 To Get Job through Bribe

Type		To get job through bribe				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	30	17	17	111	175
	% within Type	17.1%	9.7%	9.7%	63.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	14	18	12	31	75
	% within Type	18.7%	24.0%	16.0%	41.3%	100.0%

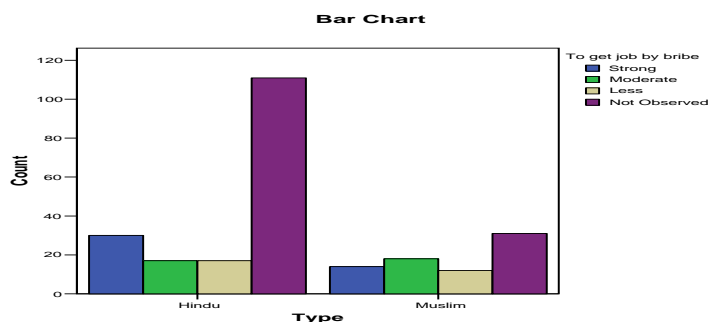


Table 5.7 shows that 2 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strongly that they have to give bribe to avail leave; 4 percent and 23 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. Among the Muslim Dalits, 8 percent, 21 percent and 27 percent of them feel strong, moderate and less discrimination respectively while availing leave.

Table 5.7 To Get Leave with Bribe

Type		To get leave with bribe				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	3	7	40	125	175
	% within Type	1.7%	4.0%	22.9%	71.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	16	20	33	75
	% within Type	8.0%	21.3%	26.7%	44.0%	100.0%

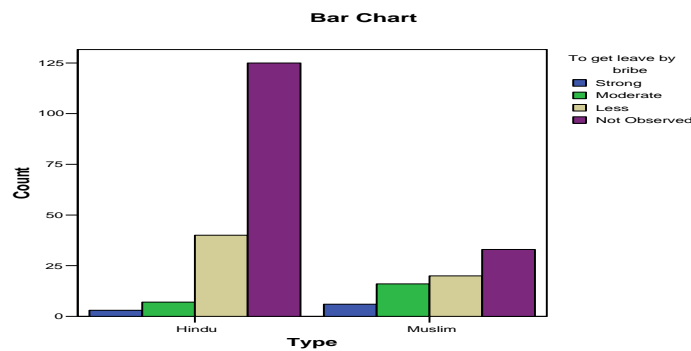


Table 5.8 shows that 15 percent, 4 percent and 10 percent of the Hindu Dalits have replied that they experience strong, moderate and less discrimination while getting pension even with bribe by their community people. For the Muslim Dalits, 5 percent, 12 percent and 13 percent of them have the experience of strong, moderate, less discrimination. The data endorse an equal discrimination for both the Dalits groups.

Table 5.8 to Get Pension with Bribe

Type		To get pension with bribe				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	27	7	18	123	175
	% within Type	15.4%	4.0%	10.3%	70.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	4	9	10	52	75
	% within Type	5.3%	12.0%	13.3%	69.3%	100.0%

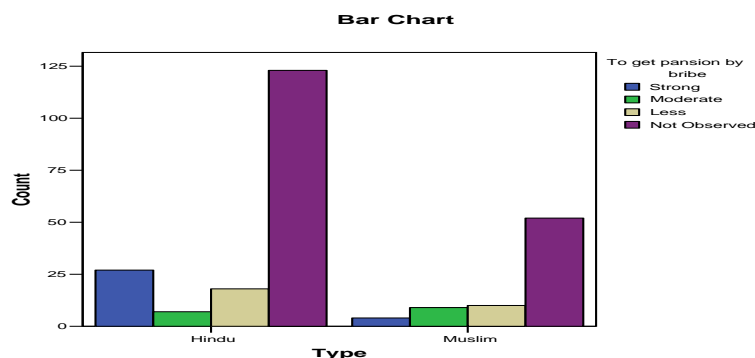
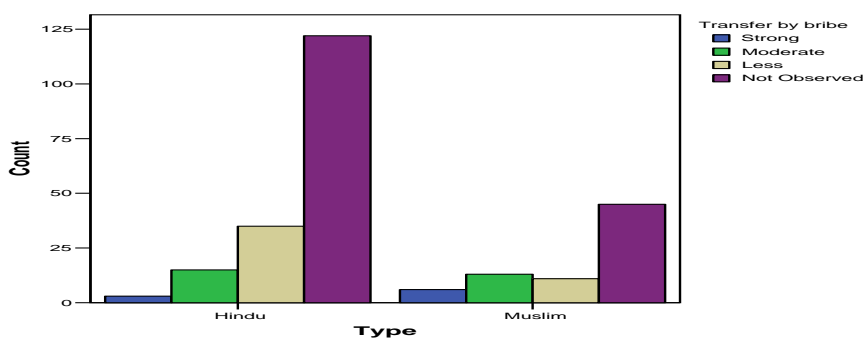


Table 5.9 shows that 30 percent of the Hindu Dalits have the experience of giving bribe to get transferred from one place to another or one position to another. Among the Muslim Dalits, 8 percent, 17 percent and 15 percent of them have the feeling of strong, moderate and less discrimination, which looks very unusual and severe in the case of Muslim Dalits. The reason may be that most of the Muslim Dalits do not want to do cleaning of dirty things for which they have to bribe a lot for going to the place of their choice.

Table 5.9 Transfer with Bribe

Type		Transfer with bribe				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	3	15	35	122	175
	% within Type	1.7%	8.6%	20.0%	69.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	13	11	45	75
	% within Type	8.0%	17.3%	14.7%	60.0%	100.0%

Bar Chart



5.2 Discrimination in Other Factor Markets – Irrigation and Land (Survey Findings)

As mentioned earlier under Section II, sub section: 2.2.4 the Enemy (Vested) property Ordinance proclaims the eviction or dispossession of the Hindu minorities, particularly the Dalits, from their lands in Bangladesh. The table 5.9 shows that 41 percent respondents of the Hindu Dalits reply they have been strongly discriminated in the possession of land and opine that their lands are forcefully occupied by the miscreants or the powerful rich men/politicians. 10 percent of them feel moderately discriminated and 23 percent feel less discriminated. The case is also the same as in the case of Muslim Dalits. Though they are not the victims of Enemy (Vested) Property Law, due to lack of power and of control over economy, their lands are also occupied by the powerful people in the community.

Table 5.10 Occupy Land by Force

Type		Occupy land by force				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	72	17	41	45	175
	% within Type	41.1%	9.7%	23.4%	25.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	3	23	27	22	75
	% within Type	4.0%	30.7%	36.0%	29.3%	100.0%

Bar Chart

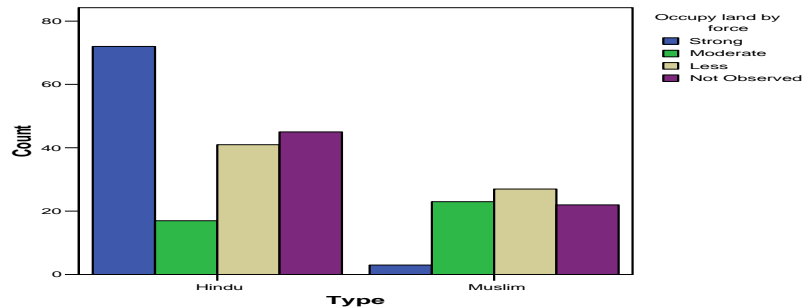


Table 5.11 shows that 11 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel that they are strongly discriminated in the eviction from their own land by the hoodlums or the powerful people in the community. 9 percent and 25 percent of them feel that they are moderately and less discriminated in this regard. In case of the Muslim Dalits, 17 percent feel that they are strongly discriminated; 16 percent and 36 percent of them feel that they are moderately and less discriminated. However, the overall scenario is not really comfortable for both the communities in the case of eviction from own land sometimes either by the government or other private sources.

Table 5.11 Evict from Own Land by Force

Type		Evict from own land by force				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	20	16	44	95	175
	% within Type	11.4%	9.1%	25.1%	54.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	13	12	27	23	75
	% within Type	17.3%	16.0%	36.0%	30.7%	100.0%

Bar Chart

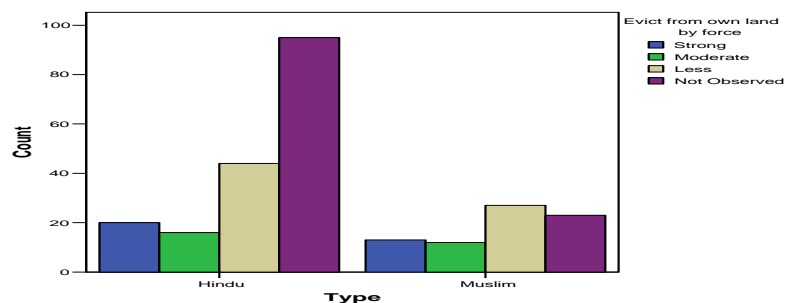


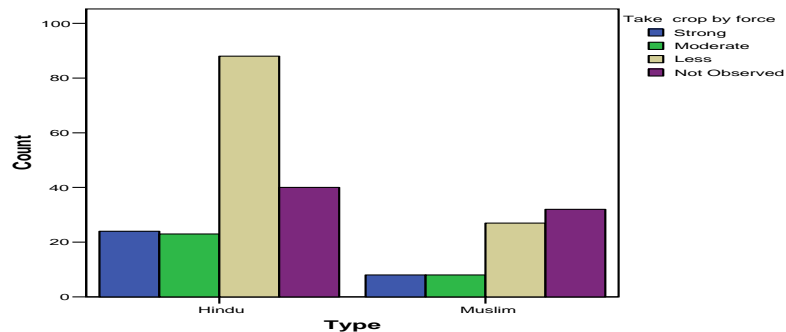
Table 5.12 shows that 14 percent respondents feel strong discrimination in the case of taking crop from the fields by force. Among the Hindu Dalits, other 13 percent and 50 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. Only 23

percent feel that they are not discriminated in the matter of taking crop by force. About the Muslim Dalits, 11 percent feel strong discrimination while 11 percent and 36 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. 43 percent of the Muslim Dalits say they do not feel discriminated for taking crop from their lands whatever they grow.

Table 5.12 Take Crop by Force

Type		Take crop by force				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	24	23	88	40	175
	% within Type	13.7%	13.1%	50.3%	22.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	8	8	27	32	75
	% within Type	10.7%	10.7%	36.0%	42.7%	100.0%

Bar Chart

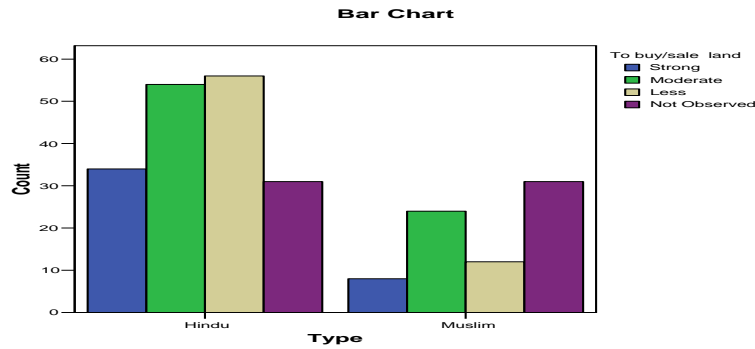


5.3 Discrimination in Consumer Markets – Sale and Purchase

Table 5.13 shows that 19 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination for buying and selling land while 31 percent and 32 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. Among the Muslim Dalits, 11 percent feel strong discrimination. 32 percent and 16 percent feel moderate and less discrimination about it

Table 5.13 Discrimination in the Buy and Sell Land

Type		To buy/sell land				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	34	54	56	31	175
	% within Type	19.4%	30.9%	32.0%	17.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	8	24	12	31	75
	% within Type	10.7%	32.0%	16.0%	41.3%	100.0%



In context of selling land at cheaper price by force, 22 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination. 37 percent and 19 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. In the case of Muslim Dalits, 23 percent feel strong discrimination while 21 percent and 31 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. Only 21 percent of the Hindu Dalits and 25 percent of Muslim Dalits do not feel discriminated for making them sell land at cheaper price by force by non-Dalits.

Table 5.14 Sell Land Cheaper by Force

Type		Sale of land cheaper by force				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	39	65	34	37	175
	% within Type	22.3%	37.1%	19.4%	21.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	17	16	23	19	75
	% within Type	22.7%	21.3%	30.7%	25.3%	100.0%

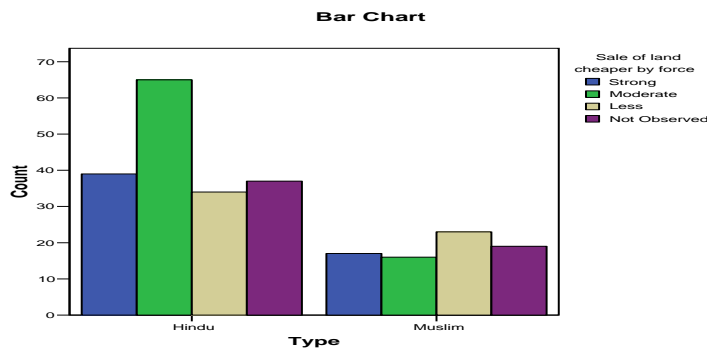


Table 5.15 shows that 18 of the Hindu Dalits feel that they are strongly discriminated in the case of buying land at higher price. 37 percent and 25 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination respectively where they are made to buy land at higher price or with more money since they are belonged to low castes. 20 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination while 31 percent and 20 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. Only 20 percent and 29 percent of the Hindu and Muslim Dalits do not feel discriminated for buying lands with more money or higher price due to their identity as low caste.

Table 5.15 Buy Land with More Money

Type		Buy land with more money				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	32	64	44	35	175
	% within Type	18.3%	36.6%	25.1%	20.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	15	23	15	22	75
	% within Type	20.0%	30.7%	20.0%	29.3%	100.0%

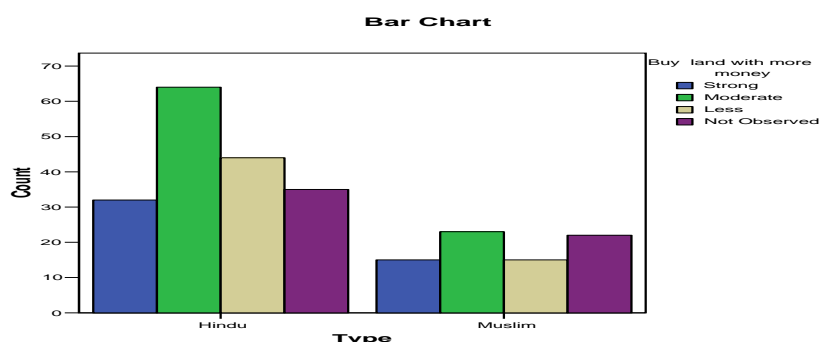
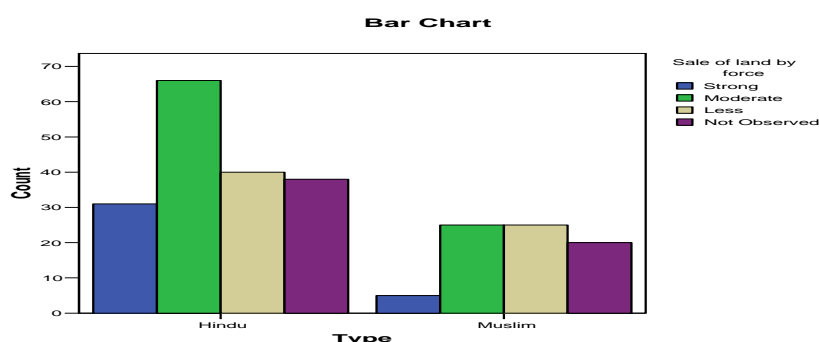


Table 5.16 shows that 18 percent of the Hindu Dalits reply that they feel strong discrimination in the forceful sell of lands. Generally, the powerful and socio-economically influential people force the Dalits to sell their land such as homestead/pond/other piece of land etc. 38 percent and 23 percent of the Hindu Dalits have the feelings of moderate and less discrimination in this regard. Among the Muslim Dalits, 7 percent feel strong discrimination while 33 percent and 33 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. Though both the Dalits communities do not possess such land in the village or countryside, they are been forced to sell whatever they have in the form of land to non-Dalits or the influential people in the locality. Otherwise, they are harassed or humiliated in different ways.

Table 5.16 Sell Land by Force

Type		Sale of land by force				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	31	66	40	38	175
	% within Type	17.7%	37.7%	22.9%	21.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	5	25	25	20	75
	% within Type	6.7%	33.3%	33.3%	26.7%	100.0%



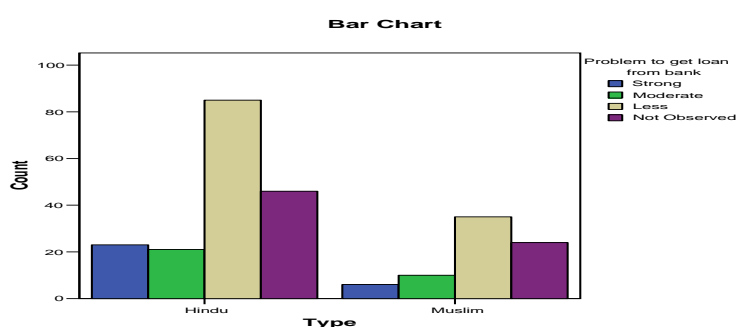
5.4 Consequences of Economic Discrimination

The major consequences of economic discrimination are making the Dalits powerless, dependent on non-Dalits for jobs, financial hardship and illness, living a life of slave and rendering service to non-Dalits when they needed, deprivation of education, health and other social benefits and suppression of voices. In the village economic empowerment is the key to hold power over decision making process and all sorts of socio-cultural and political control.

Table 5.17 shows that 13 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination to get loan from the bank while 12 percent and 49 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. Among the Muslim Dalits, 8 percent feel strong discrimination while 13 percent and 47 percent feel moderate and less discrimination to get loan from banks. Only 26 percent of the Hindu Dalits and 32 percent of the Muslim Dalits do not feel discrimination to get loan from the banks.

Table 5.17 Problem to Get Loan from Bank

Type		Problem to get loan from bank				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	23	21	85	46	175
	% within Type	13.1%	12.0%	48.6%	26.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	10	35	24	75
	% within Type	8.0%	13.3%	46.7%	32.0%	100.0%



Though Bangladesh is famous for its micro-credit program in the world, the reality is that majority Dalits are still out of this benefits or coverage due to their least capacity to form groups and keep very small amount of money every week. Moreover, they are the least relied as most of them do not have permanent job and place for dwellings. Table shows that 16 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination in getting loan from NGOs while 15 percent and 51 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. Among the Muslim Dalits, 7 percent feel strong discrimination while 8 percent and 41 percent of them feel moderate and less

discrimination respectively. The situation looks more severe in the case of Hindu Dalits than the Muslim Dalits as only 18 percent of the Hindu Dalits reply that they do not feel discrimination against 44 percent of the Muslim Dalits' reply for non discrimination.

Table 5.18 Problem to Get Loan from NGO

Type		Problem to get loan from NGO				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	28	26	90	31	175
	% within Type	16.0%	14.9%	51.4%	17.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	5	6	31	33	75
	% within Type	6.7%	8.0%	41.3%	44.0%	100.0%

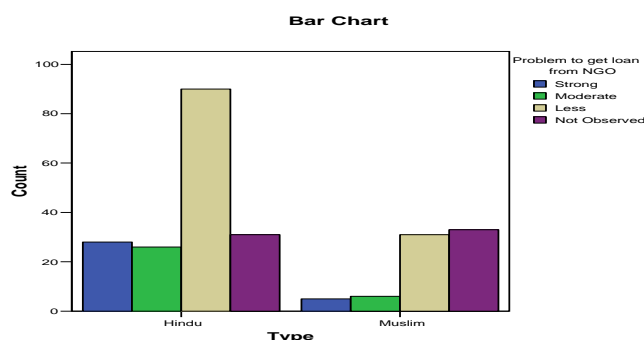


Table 5.19 shows that 17 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination even to get loan from the money lenders while 18 percent and 50 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. Among the Muslim Dalits, 1 percent feel strong while 15 percent and 49 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. Only 14 percent of Hindu Dalits and 25 of the Muslim Dalits do not feel discrimination respectively. The reason may be that they are neither able to pay back the money with interest in time as experienced by the money lender nor money lenders do feel comfortable to lend them money because of their extent of poverty for which money lenders are not assured to get their money back. Moreover, money lenders can not get any such mortgage against their money lending from the Dalits as they do not have any such thing for mortgage.

Table 5.19 Problem to Get Loan from Mohajan (money lender)

Type		Problem to get loan from Mohajan				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	30	32	88	25	175
	% within Type	17.1%	18.3%	50.3%	14.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	8	11	37	19	75
	% within Type	10.7%	14.7%	49.3%	25.3%	100.0%

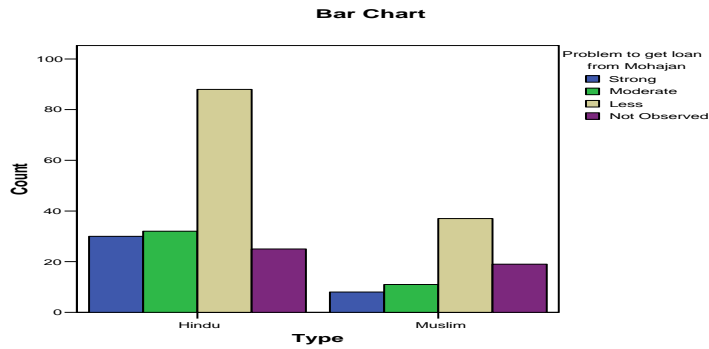


Table 5.20 shows that 18 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while getting loan from different religious groups other than their religion or community. 46 percent and 26 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. 11 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong while 24 percent and 37 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. It is established fact that in Bangladesh all the religions have good and harmonious relations, in some cases, particularly in the case of giving loan or financial help to Dalits by non-Dalits is not praiseworthy. Only 10 percent of the Hindu Dalits and 28 percent of the Muslim Dalits do not feel discrimination in getting loan from the people of other religions.

Table 5.20 Problem to Give Loan to Other Religions

Type		Problem to give loan to other religions				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	32	80	46	17	175
	% within Type	18.3%	45.7%	26.3%	9.7%	
Muslim	Count	8	18	28	21	75
	% within Type	10.7%	24.0%	37.3%	28.0%	

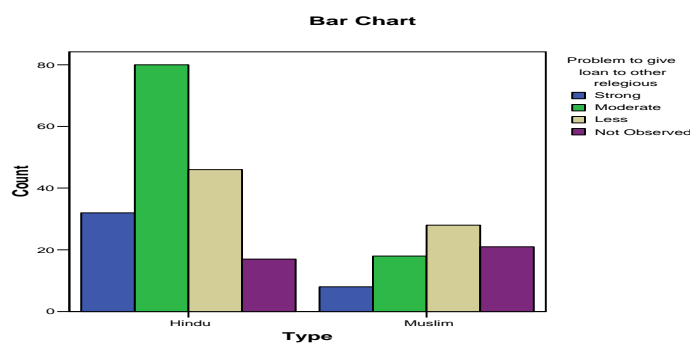


Table 5.21 Charge More Interest from Loan

Type		Charge more interest from loan				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	28	25	34	88	175
	% within Type	16.0%	14.3%	19.4%	50.3%	
Muslim	Count	7	30	24	14	75
	% within Type	9.3%	40.0%	32.0%	18.7%	

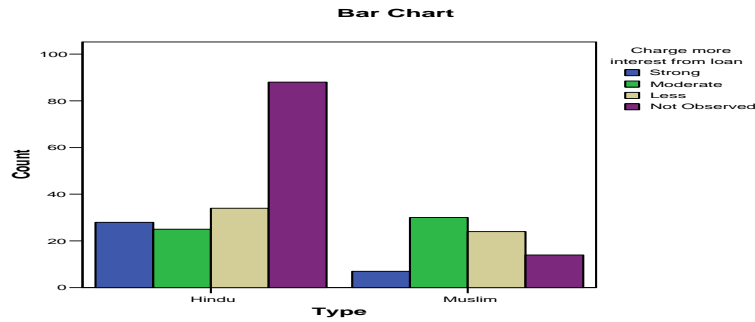


Table 5.21 shows that 16 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination in charging high interest when they are taking loan from different sources. 14 percent and 19 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination. 9 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination while 40 percent and 32 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. Since the Dalits are poor and they need money for their livelihood, they are always on loan mostly from money lenders of their own community or other sources. On major occasions particularly for marriage of self or daughters/sons, celebration of religious festivals, renovation of house etc. they take loan on urgent basis with high interest, which they fail to pay ultimately in time. As a result, their loan amount gets higher and higher with increased interest for which they suffer pauperization throughout the year to pay some of amount of loan even with hardship.

Section VI

Discrimination in Political Sphere

Our FGD findings indicate that the Dalits of both the religions in Bangladesh have least to do with power politics and decision-making process. They enjoy very limited access to organizing trade unions, electing their leaders for own benefits, entering polling booths comfortably, participating in political rallies, representing themselves as candidates in administrative units, casting vote in support of their candidate, particularly in villages. Sometimes they encounter serious violence created by upper caste Hindus to get the supports of the Dalits for a particular candidate, and in most cases, the Muslim Dalits are threatened not to go the polling booth before the election. In case they take part in rallies or other activities in support of someone else, they become the victims of violence and threats after the election. If someone wins election without the support of upper caste Hindu,, they face severe problem.

6.1 Participation in Political Process (Survey Findings)

Table 6.1 shows that 11% percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination in the participation of political activities in the locality while 7 percent and 13 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. The majority that is 67 percent of the Hindu Dalits say that they do not feel any discrimination for taking part in political activities. Obviously, the comfort of the Dalits depends on the locality, when their number is large. 5 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination while 20 percent and 25 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively in the matter of taking part in the political activities. Interestingly, despite the Muslim Dalits are large in numbers in comparison to their Hindu counterpart, they feel more discriminated in taking part in the political activities. Though the general idea is quite different i.e., Hindu Dalits are not allowed to take part in political activities but our survey findings gives a reverse picture for the Muslim Dalits who in reality take less part in political activities.

Table 6.1 Participation in Political Activities

Type		Participation in political activities				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	20	13	22	120	175
	% within Type	11.4%	7.4%	12.6%	68.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	4	15	19	37	75
	% within Type	5.3%	20.0%	25.3%	49.3%	100.0%

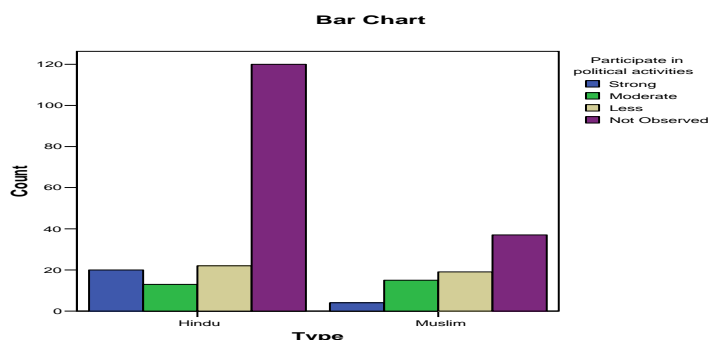


Table 6.2 shows that 17 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 37 percent and 14 percent feel moderate and less discrimination to take part in political processions. Among the Muslim Dalits, 4 percent feel strong while 11 percent and 13 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively in taking part in political procession.

Table 6.2 Participate in Political Procession

Type		Participate in political procession				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	29	65	25	56	175
	% within Type	16.6%	37.1%	14.3%	32.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	3	8	10	54	75
	% within Type	4.0%	10.7%	13.3%	72.0%	100.0%

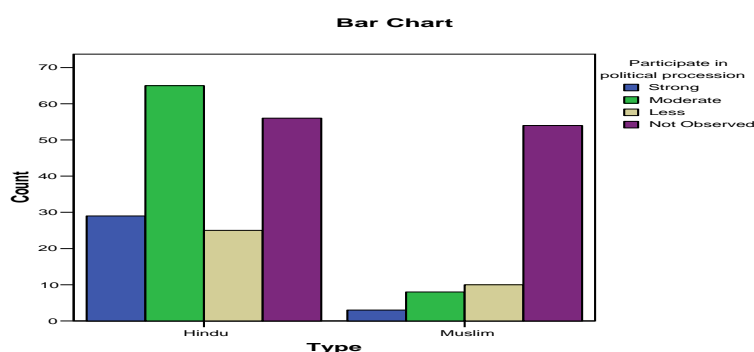
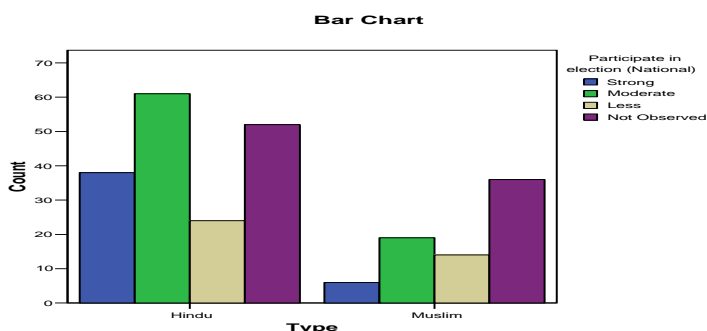


Table 6.3 shows that 22 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination in taking part in the national election either as a candidate or a supporter while 35 percent and 14 percent are moderate and less discriminated. Among the Muslim Dalits, 8 percent feel strong discrimination while 25 percent and 19 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively in taking part in national election. Only

30 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel that they are not discriminated in this regard. This scenario correlates to the representation of minorities of whom majority are the Dalits in the country which reflect that in 1954 the number of parliament members in the then East Pakistan was 309 of whom 72 were minority representatives. In 1973, it was 12 out of 315. In 1979, it was 8 out of 330 and 1991 it was only 11 whereas as per population the minority representatives ought to have been 60, but it has been around 10 in the last two decades. The Muslim Dalits also have the same feelings that 8 percent feel strong while 25 percent and 19 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in taking part in the national election. It means the Dalits have, in fact, least to do in representing in the national parliament through election.

Table 6.3 Participate in Election (National)

Type		Participate in election (National)				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	38	61	24	52	175
	% within Type	21.7%	34.9%	13.7%	29.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	19	14	36	75
	% within Type	8.0%	25.3%	18.7%	48.0%	100.0%



In the table 6.4 it is shown that 22 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination in the participation of local level election while 40 percent and 19 percent feel moderate and less discrimination. Among the Muslim Dalits, 9 percent feel strong discrimination while 20 percent and 16 percent feel moderate and less discrimination. Only 19 percent of the Hindu Dalits and 55 percent of the Muslim Dalits say they do not feel discrimination in taking part in local election. It indicates that though the minority or the Hindu Dalits are treated as a vote bank for some political parties or leaders, in reality they are shattered and do have very little for representation of them even in the local power politics.

Table 6.4 Participate in Election (Local)

Type	Participate in election (Local)					Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	38	70	34	33	175
	% within Type	21.7%	40.0%	19.4%	18.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	7	15	12	41	75
	% within Type	9.3%	20.0%	16.0%	54.7%	100.0%

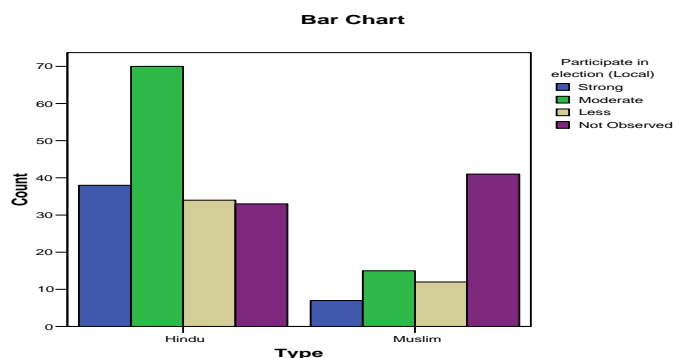


Table 6.5 shows that 16 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while taking part in the election for labour union while 37 percent and 34 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. Only 14 percent feel they do not face any discrimination in labour union election. Among the Muslim Dalits, 16 percent feel strong while 20 percent and 40 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. Only 24 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel they are not discriminated in the labour union election. It indicates that both the Dalit groups are not able to represent themselves in labour union which plays a very important role for employment, increment of wages, bonus or making the job permanent etc.

Table 6.5 Participate in Election (Labour Union)

Type		Participate in election (labour union)				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	28	64	59	24	175
	% within Type	16.0%	36.6%	33.7%	13.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	12	15	30	18	75
	% within Type	16.0%	20.0%	40.0%	24.0%	100.0%

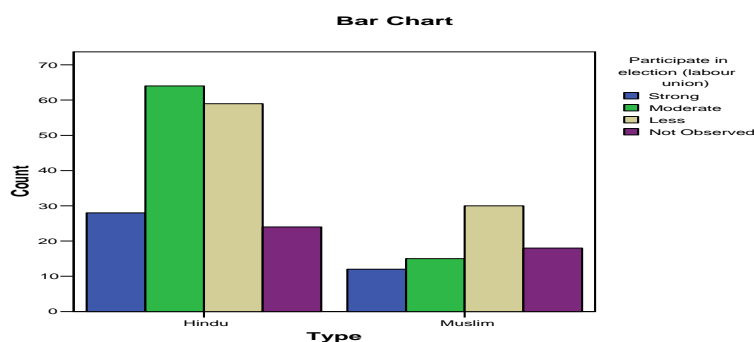


Table 6.6 shows that 24 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 33 percent and 35 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in taking part in local decision making process. 12 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination while 20 percent and 32 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. Only 9 percent of the Hindu Dalits and 36 percent Muslim Dalits say they do not feel discrimination while taking part in the local decision making process. It indicates the least participation of the Dalits, particularly Hindu Dalits, in the local decision making process

Table 6.6 Take Part in Decision Making Locally

Type		Take part in decision making locally				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	42	57	61	15	175
	% within Type	24.0%	32.6%	34.9%	8.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	9	15	24	27	75
	% within Type	12.0%	20.0%	32.0%	36.0%	100.0%

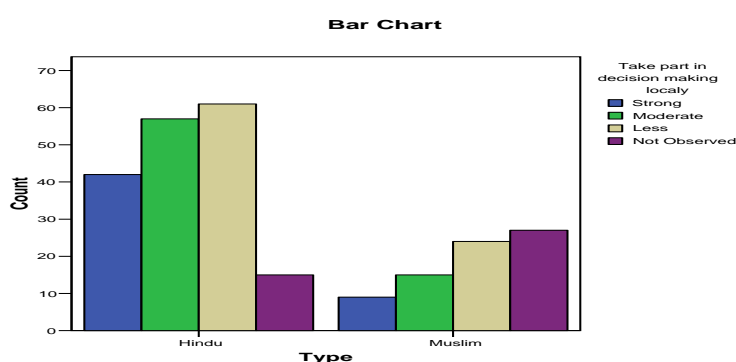


Table 6.7 shows that 50 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 19 percent and 22 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively in the formation of local committee or Panchayat for their community benefit. 25 percent of Muslim Dalits also feel strong discrimination while 35 percent and 29 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in the formation of Panchayat in the locality. Only 8 percent of the Hindu and 11 percent of the Muslim Dalits say they do not feel discrimination in this regard. It indicates severe discrimination for both the groups that they are so powerless in the locality that they are not even able to form Panchayat to solve their problems.

Table 6.7 To Form Panchayet / Local Committee

Type		To form Panchayet/committee				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	88	34	39	14	175
	% within Type	50.3%	19.4%	22.3%	8.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	19	26	22	8	75
	% within Type	25.3%	34.7%	29.3%	10.7%	100.0%

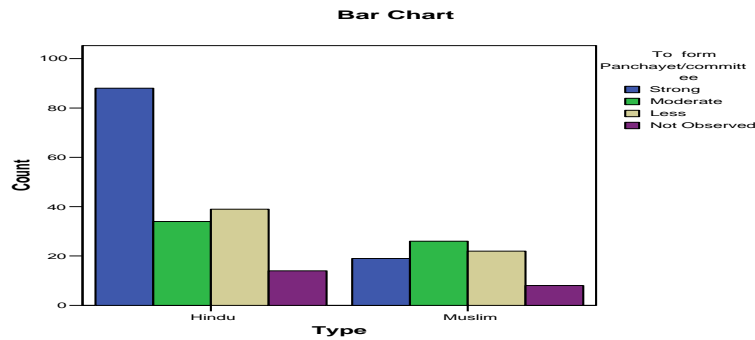
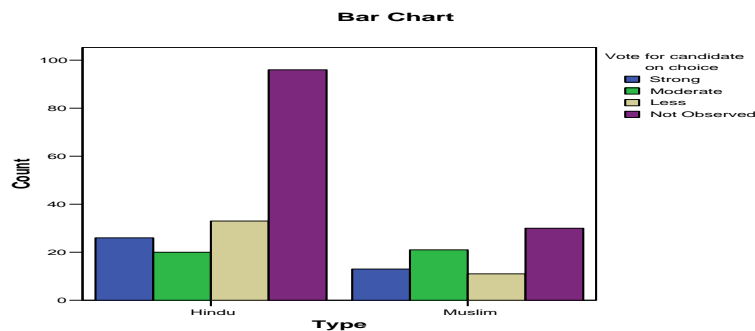


Table 6.8 shows that 15 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 11 percent and 19 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively while casting their vote for a candidate of their choice. 17 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination while 28 percent and 15 percent feel moderate and less discrimination for electing their own candidate.

Table 6.8 Vote for Candidate of Choice

Type		Vote for candidate of choice				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	26	20	33	96	175
	% within Type	14.9%	11.4%	18.9%	54.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	13	21	11	30	75
	% within Type	17.3%	28.0%	14.7%	40.0%	100.0%



6.2 Rights and Local Governance

6.2.1 Political Right

In terms of political rights, the Hindu Dalits are strongly discriminated and the Muslim Dalits are moderately discriminated in most of the spheres of political activities. They are discouraged to take part in the politics even at the local levels. They are also discouraged to be a candidate in the election or a representative in political parties, hold positions as office bearers or be members of parliament or any other important political positions. The Dalit women are also discouraged by their own and other communities to be active in politics and to raise voice in favour of Dalits.

They are always discouraged to go for poll booths by the local Muslim non-Dalits or fundamentalist as they think the Dalits would cast their votes in favor of the candidate that they are not supporting. The politicians or candidates from opposite party always think that the Dalit of both Hindu and Muslim cast their votes in favor of progressive or pro-liberation politics and therefore, they are discouraged and threatened where opposite politicians are strong and dominant. Sometimes the Dalits are used as vote banks for many politicians/political parties through bribing leaders of the Dalit communities. Since they are illiterate and unaware about the dynamics of politics, they listen to the voices of their Sardars/leaders and cast vote in that manner.

Table 6.9 Political Right (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Discourage to represent high level political positions	√					√		
2. Discourage to represent high level positions in political parties	√					√		
3. Discourage Dalit women to participate in politics	√					√		
4. Discourage to become candidates	√					√		
5. Casting votes for candidate of choice		√				√		
6. Easy to go Poll center and cast vote		√				√		
7. Misuse Dalits as vote banks	√					√		

6.2.1 Government Policy and Program

In the discussion, it is clear that the government has no long or short-term plan/programs for the eradication of poverty and discrimination. Neither the local authority nor the other Government agencies have such development program exclusively for the Dalits. The Hindu Dalits feel they are discriminated strongly in the planning and program of the Government for the benefits of the Dalits.

Though the Dalits have lot of agonies, anger, agitation, and complaints in relation to their livelihood, poverty, discrimination, violence, and all other activities that go against their socio-economic up-gradation; their voices are not given due attention by the policy makers. Though there are many programs organized by the

different Dalit groups individually or collectively, there is no such big cases that cause quite a stir the influential civil forums/NGOs to voice in favor of Dalits to mitigate their discrimination and miseries. Normally, the Dalits are treated badly when they look for institutional loans from the banks or other financial institutions. The Dalits are mostly excluded from the governmental policy/program.

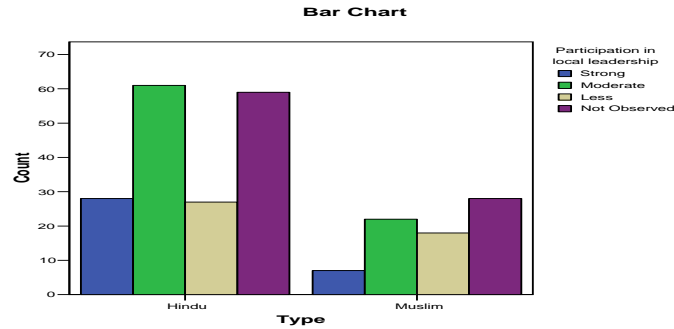
Table 6.10 Government Policy and Program (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Not to give priority to policies and programs concerning Dalits in long-term and short-term plans	√					√		
2. Non-implementation of Dalit Development Program	√						√	
3. Not to recognize	√						√	
4. Non presentation of Dalit Bill in the Parliament	√					√		
5. Discourage Dalits to get loans from the banks	√					√		
6. Exclude Dalits in the formulation of policies and programs	√				√			

Our survey findings in the table 6.11 shows that 16 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 35 percent and 15 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in taking part in the local leadership. Among the Muslim Dalits, 9 percent feel strong discrimination while 29 percent and 24 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. Only 34 percent of the Hindu Dalits and 37 percent of the Muslim Dalits do not feel discriminated. It indicates that both the Dalit groups in fact very least to do in the local leadership and the non-Dalits discourage them in different ways not to take active participation in local leadership.

Table 6.11 Participation in Local Leadership

Type		Participation in local leadership				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	28	61	27	59	175
	% within Type	16.0%	34.9%	15.4%	33.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	7	22	18	28	75
	% within Type	9.3%	29.3%	24.0%	37.3%	100.0%



6.3 Participation in Development Process

Both the Hindu and Muslim Dalits feel moderately discriminated in the government offices like post office, police station and other services provided by the government. They are not listened properly and their issues/complains are not given due attention by the police or other authorities. They are discouraged to look for jobs in police/military or other law enforcing agencies. The participation of the Dalits in most the government program is really undermined or ignored. Sometimes in the villages, NGOs bring the Dalits to different programs with little money or gifts, but they really do it to show the increased number of people in the gathering. Practically, their focus is limited to the non-Dalit issues rather than Dalits problems.

Table 6.12 Participation in Government and NGO Offices (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Discourage Dalits to join in military and police	√					√		
2. Abuse of Dalits in the office and police posts		√				√		
3. No hearing in the offices and police posts about Dalits problem		√				√		
4. Discourage Dalits participation in government programs		√				√		
5. Discourage Dalits participation in the programs of NGOs		√				√		

In terms of policy advocacy on the part of donors, most Dalits think that they are strongly discriminated. They are not involved in the formulation of policy and programs. The Dalits women are not included in the policy matter for the development and empowerment of women. Sometimes they feel and listen that there are programs sponsored by the central government for their benefit or poverty eradication, but at local levels, they do not find any implementation of the policies or

programs. The government has no policy for the promotion of the Dalit employees who are working in different positions like watchmen/guards peon or other lower division staffs required in the offices. Neither the government nor the donors have policy to make their jobs permanent or promote them to higher positions and salary.

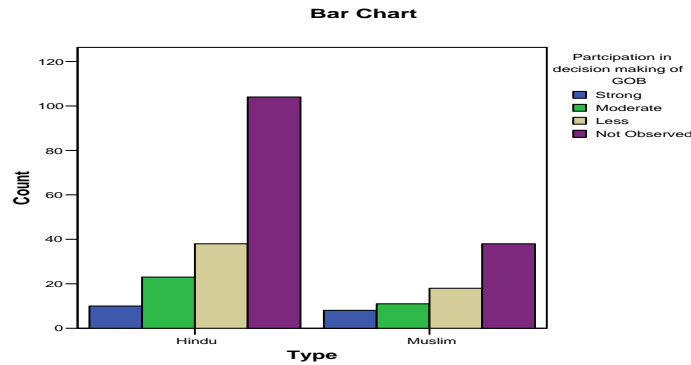
Table 6.13. Development Programs of the Government/Donors (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Low or inadequate budget	√					√		
2. Discourage Dalit women to participate in women's development programs	√					√		
3. Exclude Dalits in formulation of policies and programs	√					√		
4. Non-implementation of Central policies at the local level	√				√			
5. Non-encouragement for promotion of Dalit employees	√					√		
6. No priority in employment	√					√		
7. Employers do not hire Dalits	√					√		
8. No priority given to proposals submitted by Dalits	√					√		

Our survey findings shows in the table 6.14 that 6 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 13 percent and 22 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in taking part in the decision making process of government. Among the Muslim Dalits, 11 percent feel strong discrimination while 15 percent and 24 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. The table shows that in the decision making process of government, somehow majority Dalits of both the groups do not feel discriminated.

Table 6.14 Participation in Decision Making of Government

Type		Participation in decision making of GOB				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	10	23	38	104	175
	% within Type	5.7%	13.1%	21.7%	59.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	8	11	18	38	75
	% within Type	10.7%	14.7%	24.0%	50.7%	100.0%



6.4 Discrimination on Dalit/Low Caste /Untouchables Issues

In terms of religion and other socio-cultural factors, the Hindu Dalits feel strongly discriminated to be recognized as main stream Hindu though they have equal belief, feelings and respect for God/Goddess. Despite they are from same religion with same gods/goddesses, they are not allowed to enter the temples/Mandirs.

They are highly discriminated to perform the customs and ceremonies that the Hindu religion demands. The Brahmins/priests, as said earlier, do not treat them equal and always express some negative approaches towards the feelings of Dalits. They are so hesitate to give them Prasad and prevent them from taking blessings in the form of Tika, Prasad or other means from the temples. In spite of all discriminations, the Hindu Dalits show deep devotions and reverence towards God. As a matter of fact, their socio-cultural identity is not duly recognized either by the government, or the community. As a result, discrimination and deprivation against the Dalits continue unabated and if this trend goes up, then it will spread more in this community and later in the country as a whole.

Table 6.15 Religious and Cultural Issues (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Difficulty to practice Hindu religion and customs being Hindus	√						√	
2. Priests in temples refuse to accept fruits and gifts	√						√	
3. Dalits' cultural identity put in mess	√						√	

In case of atrocities, the table 6.16 shows different issues of victims/discrimination that is found to a greater extent in villages of Bangladesh.

Violence against the Dalits of both religions is a common practice of non-Dalits in the community. The notorious young or old people of non-Dalits groups still create a lot of nuisance in the locality and make situation violent for the Dalits. The non-Dalits try to make issue for any simple matter in the locality to oppress the Dalits. Even children's quarrel or abusing words among each other may create big issue of violence of the non-Dalits against the Dalits.

During religious festivals or drum beating or any other feasts, if the non-Dalits are not invited and duly served they also create different issues of violence in villages. Rape, physical injury, beating, physical and mental torture, vandalism, burn house/hut etc. are the common threats to the Dalits throughout the year in the locality.

Sometimes the Dalits are forced to cast vote against their will. Sometimes they are threatened by the non-Dalits not go to the polling booth even. Stealing or killing cattle or domestic animals are common in the villages. Woman trafficking is also common issues related to atrocities in the locality of Dalits by non-Dalits.

In many cases, the non-Dalits victimize the Dalits with false allegations and sue against them in the local union offices, police station or other formal and informal agencies. These are the mechanisms through which the Dalits are always discriminated and oppressed in various forms in the locality.

Our survey findings in the table 6.17 depicts that about 54 percent of the Hindu Dalits are victims of physical torture, including their feelings of discrimination as strong, moderate and less. The number of Muslim Dalits is less in this regard. It indicates that generally Hindu Dalits are the victims of torture either by non-Dalits of Hindu Community or the miscreants of other religion, particularly the Muslim Fundamentalist. Only 28 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel they are somehow discriminated and have become the victims of torture by the Muslim non-Dalits.

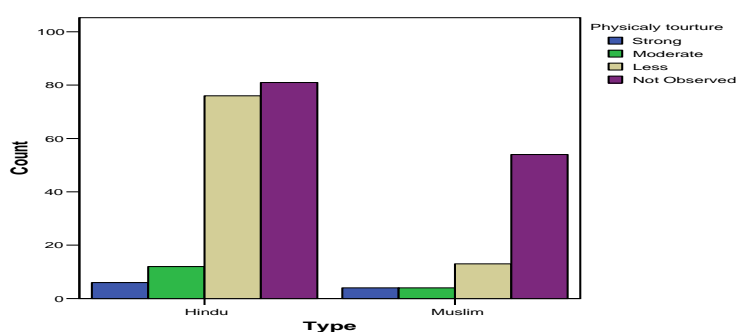
Table 6.16 Discrimination in the Forms of Atrocities (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Violence	√				√			
2. Rape		√				√		
3. Physical injuries/ disabilities		√				√		
4. Abduction			√				√	
5. Torture: Physical	√					√		
6. Torture: Mental	√				√			
7. Beating		√				√		
8. Vandalism		√				√		
9. Burn house/hut		√					√	
10. Forceful voting/not voting		√				√		
11. Exile/Expel from the town/village	√					√		
12. Kill cattle/ domestic animals	√						√	
13. Violence against women	√					√		
14. Trafficking		√				√		
15. False allegations		√				√		
16. False charges		√				√		
17. Sexual abuse		√				√		
18. Character assassination	√				√			
19. Divorce/Break inter-caste marriage	√					√		

Table 6.17 Physically torture

Type		Physically torture				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	6	12	76	81	175
	% within Type	3.4%	6.9%	43.4%	46.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	4	4	13	54	75
	% within Type	5.3%	5.3%	17.3%	72.0%	100.0%

Bar Chart



7 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 11 percent and 22 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in burning their houses by other non-Dalits or the Muslim fundamentalists. The Muslim Dalits are also the victims as 8 percent of them feel strong discrimination while 17 percent and 27 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in the case of burning their houses by other non-Dalits or powerful people in the community.

Table 6.18 Burn House

Type		To burn house				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	12	20	39	104	175
	% within Type	6.9%	11.4%	22.3%	59.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	13	20	36	75
	% within Type	8.0%	17.3%	26.7%	48.0%	100.0%

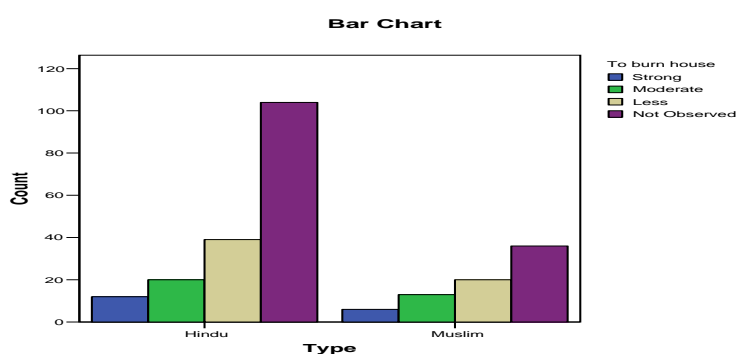


Table 6.19 depicts that 8 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 29 percent and 14 percent feel moderate and less discrimination to be punished by false allegation against them by the non-Dalits or the Muslim fundamentalists or powerful people in the locality. 8 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination while 20 percent and 43 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. It indicates that the Muslim Dalits are more vulnerable to false allegations than their Hindus counterpart in the locality. In majority cases, the reasons are likely that the Dalits do not care the non-Dalits more or they do not serve them easily/they do not listen to them whatever they ask them to do.

Table 6.19 False Case against Dalits

Type		False case				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	14	51	25	85	175
	% within Type	8.0%	29.1%	14.3%	48.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	15	32	22	75
	% within Type	8.0%	20.0%	42.7%	29.3%	100.0%

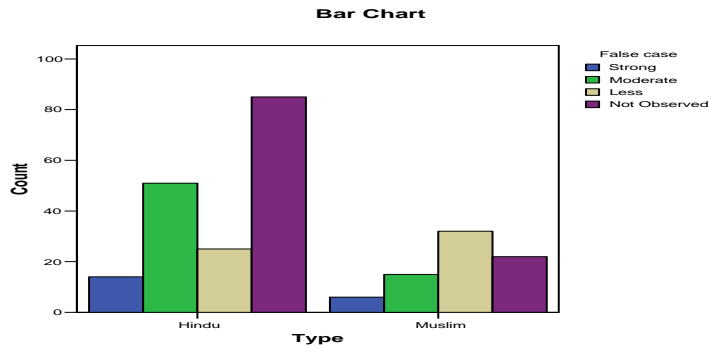
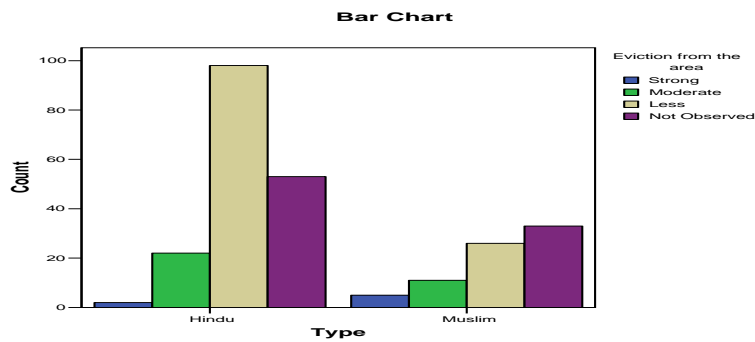


Table 6.20 depicts that 70 percent of the Hindu are discriminated and forced to leave their home/villages either by the Hindu non-Dalits or by Muslim fundamentalist/ influential people. 66 percent of the Muslim Dalits also have the same feelings to be ousted from home or exiled. The major reason behind this situation is either they are forced to sell their lands/homesteads or serve the non-Dalits of both the religion otherwise they become the victims.

Table 6.20 Exile from the Area

Type		Exile from the area				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	2	22	98	53	175
	% within Type	1.1%	12.6%	56.0%	30.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	5	11	26	33	75
	% within Type	6.7%	14.7%	34.7%	44.0%	100.0%



Section VII

Discrimination in Education

7.1 Enrollment and Dropout

In education, the Dalits, particularly the Hindus Dalits, are most deprived and discriminated. They are denied to be in school executive committee, discouraged to be teachers, discouraged to get their children admitted into schools, they are denied any other jobs in the schools. Their children do not have any quota in the allocation of scholarships. The selection for offering scholarship is not fair and in most cases, the school committee does irregularities for allocating scholarships among the Dalits students. There are also irregularities in the selection for sports and games i.e., it means in most cases the Dalits student are not given due chances to prove their talent or performance in the schools. As has been said earlier, the Dalit students are generally teased by the other community students and they always show some kind of hatred towards the Dalits students in the schools or outside the schools too. Therefore, the dropout of Dalits' children from the schools is high.

Table 7.1 Discrimination in Educational Institutions (FGD Findings)

Nature of Discrimination	Hindu				Muslim			
	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found	Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Found
1. Deny to be in the executive committee	√						√	
2. Discourage teaching	√						√	
3. Discourage to admit in	√						√	
4. Denial of jobs	√						√	
5. Inadequate scholarships	√						√	
6. Irregularity in scholarships	√						√	
7. Irregularity in sports in	√						√	
8. Teasing by school mates		√					√	

7.1.1 Results of Survey Findings

All the target respondents were interviewed to know whether they face discrimination in education in terms of overall difficulty for their children to get admitted into school, opportunity for their community members to be a school

teacher, chance for joining to school executive or governing body, discrimination in the selection and allocation of scholarship, discrimination in examination result, whether their children are teased by school mates and the school teachers, discrimination for drinking water in the school, discrimination in the use of toilet, discrimination in sitting between Dalits and non-Dalits, discrimination in the selection of sports, discrimination to touch any other goods such as chalk, duster, tables and chairs etc. and Dalits teachers are teased by fellow non-Dalits teacher

Table 7.2 shows that 21 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 26 percent and 34 percent feel moderate and less discrimination for enrollment of their children in schools. Only 18 percent of them do not feel any such admission related discrimination. Among the Muslim Dalits, 27 percent feel strong discrimination while 21 percent and 36 percent feel moderate and less discrimination for enrolling children in schools. 16 percent of the Muslim Dalits do not feel discriminated. Though the Hindu Dalits, particularly for the Harijans/sweepers in town or semi-urban area, have some schools in their locality for their children, the Muslim Dalits do not have such facility anywhere in the country. The discrimination in the enrollment of children into school is almost the same for both the groups.

Table 7.2 Admission in School

Type		Admission to School				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	37	46	60	32	175
	% within Type	21.1%	26.3%	34.3%	18.3%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	20	16	27	12	75
	% within Type	26.7%	21.3%	36.0%	16.0%	100.0%

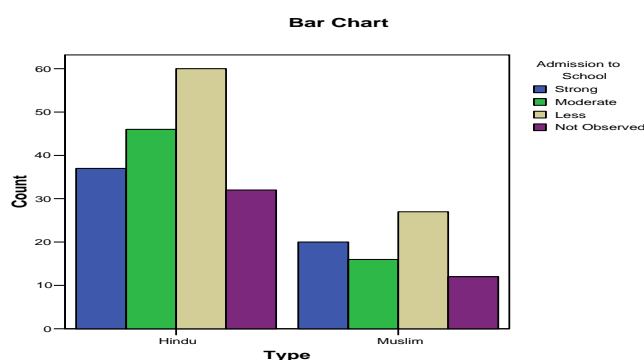
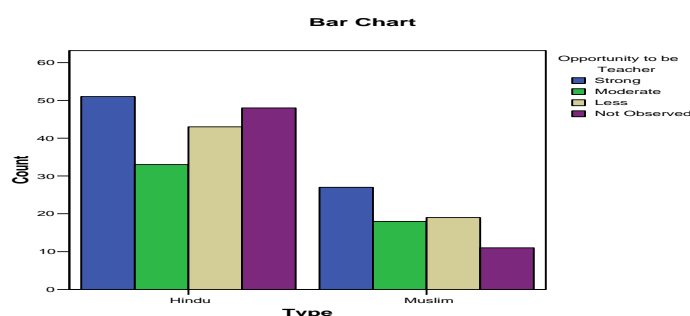


Table 7.3 depicts that 29% of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 19 percent and 25 percent feel moderate and less discrimination to be appointed as teachers in schools. Among the Muslim Dalits, 36 percent feel strong discrimination while 24 percent and 25 percent feel moderate and less discrimination

to have the opportunity to become teachers in schools. Only 27 percent of the Hindu Dalits and 15 of the Muslim Dalits say they are not discriminated to become teachers in schools.

Table 7.3 Opportunity to be Teacher

Type		Opportunity to be Teacher				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	51	33	43	48	175
	% within Type	29.1%	18.9%	24.6%	27.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	27	18	19	11	75
	% within Type	36.0%	24.0%	25.3%	14.7%	100.0%

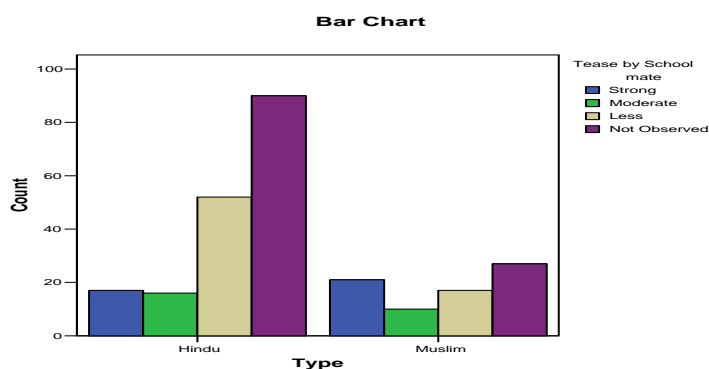


7.2 Discrimination by Peer Groups

Table 7.4 shows that 10 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination for their children to be teased in schools by school mates while 9 percent and 30 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively. 28 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong while 13 percent and 23 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. The scenario of discrimination in this case is interesting in the sense that it is a general idea in the country, the Hindu Dalits and children are highly discriminated by the fellow or school mates. But the survey findings endorse that the situation is more severe in the case of Muslim Dalits and their children. The reason may be again that the Hindu Dalits have some schools for their own community people which are not made available for the Muslim Dalits in the country. As a result, the Muslim Dalits' children have no other alternative option except going to the same school for non-Dalits. As a result, they are often teased by the school mates as they are from low caste or untouchables.

Table 7.4 Teasing by School Mate

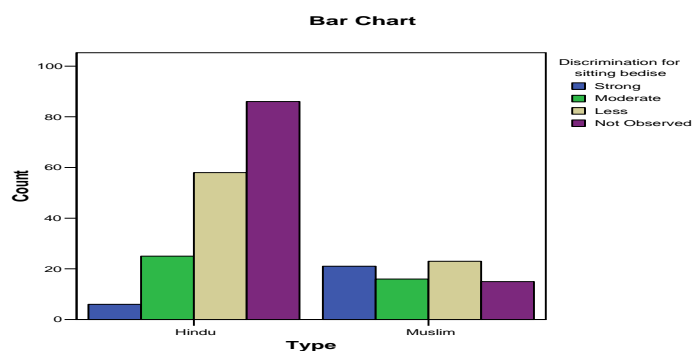
Type		Tease by School mate				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	17	16	52	90	175
	% within Type	9.7%	9.1%	29.7%	51.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	21	10	17	27	75
	% within Type	28.0%	13.3%	22.7%	36.0%	100.0%



In the table 7.5 it is shown that 51 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel that their children are treated badly or discriminated while sitting beside the non-Dalits' children in the school. 80 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel that their children are treated badly by the school mates from non-Dalit families. Among them, 28 percent and 21 percent feel strong and moderate discrimination while 31 percent feel less discrimination. A comparison between the Hindu Dalits children with the Muslim Dalits children, it reflects a severe discrimination in case of the Muslim Dalits' children which is quite unknown to any such researchers or policy makers in the country.

Table 7.5 Discrimination in Sitting beside School Mate

Type		Discrimination in sitting beside				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	6	25	58	86	175
	% within Type	3.4%	14.3%	33.1%	49.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	21	16	23	15	75
	% within Type	28.0%	21.3%	30.7%	20.0%	100.0%



7.3 Discrimination by Teachers and Management

Table 7.6 shows that 27 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 22 percent and 29 percent feel moderate and less discrimination to be elected or nominated in school management committee. Only 22 percent say that they do not feel any such discrimination. The reason in this case may be such that there are executive committee members from Dalits community as the schools are established for their children in their locality where their representation in the committees is must. For Muslim Dalits, 44 percent of them say that they feel strong discrimination while 19 percent and 17 percent feel moderate and less discrimination to be included in the executive committees of the schools.

Table 7.6 Joining School Executive Committee

Type		Joining to School Ex. Committee				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	48	39	50	38	175
	% within Type	27.4%	22.3%	28.6%	21.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	33	14	13	15	75
	% within Type	44.0%	18.7%	17.3%	20.0%	100.0%

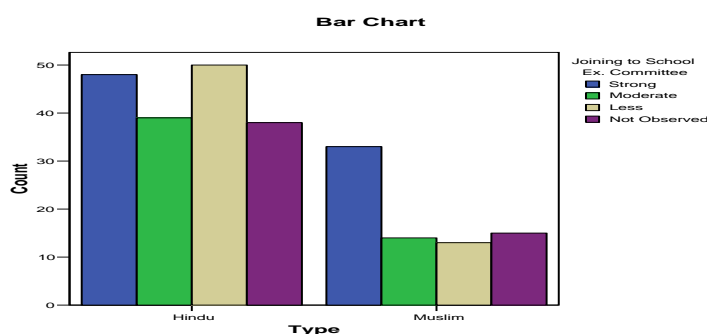
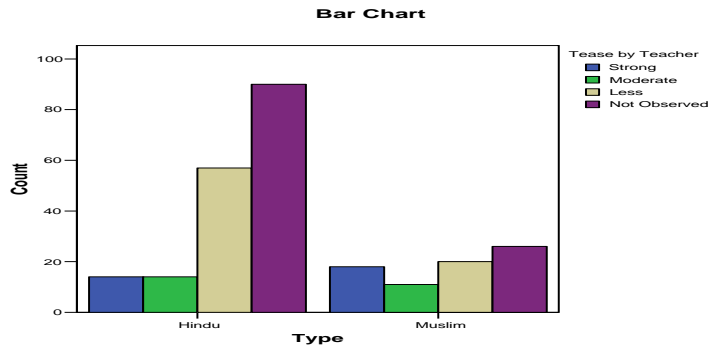


Table 7.7 shows that 8 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 8 percent and 33 percent feel moderate and less discrimination for their children to be teased by the teachers in schools. 51 percent say that their children are not treated badly or teased by the teachers. In the case of Muslim Dalits, it is more severe as 24 percent feel strong discrimination while 15 percent and 27 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. 35 percent of the Muslim Dalits say that they do not feel any such discrimination for their children to be teased by teachers in schools.

Table –7.7 Teasing by Teachers

Type		Tease by Teacher				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	14	14	57	90	175
	% within Type	8.0%	8.0%	32.6%	51.4%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	18	11	20	26	75
	% within Type	24.0%	14.7%	26.7%	34.7%	100.0%



In the table 7.8, it is shown that 13 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 6 percent and 27 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in terms of selecting their children for scholarship in school by school management committee. 54 percent of the Hindu Dalits do not feel any such discrimination though, the reality is that they get deprived of scholarships if they do not request or make the committee members happy in other ways to recommend their children for scholarships. In the case of meritorious students, the situation is different and scholarships are given according to the merit of the children. Among the Muslim Dalits, 47 percent feel strong discrimination while 21 percent and 15 percent feel less discrimination in this regard. Only 17 percent of the Muslim Dalits say that they do not feel any such discrimination. The finding is also very interesting in the sense that it is quite unknown and undesirable that the Muslim Dalits face such unfortunate situation in the schools for their children for scholarships. The discrimination regarding scholarships is severe not only for the Hindu Dalits' children but also for the Muslim Dalits' children for which they can not continue their education in the absence of financial supports.

Table 7.8 Discrimination in Selection children for Scholarship

Type		Discrimination in Scholarship				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	23	11	47	94	175
	% within Type	13.1%	6.3%	26.9%	53.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	35	16	11	13	75
	% within Type	46.7%	21.3%	14.7%	17.3%	100.0%

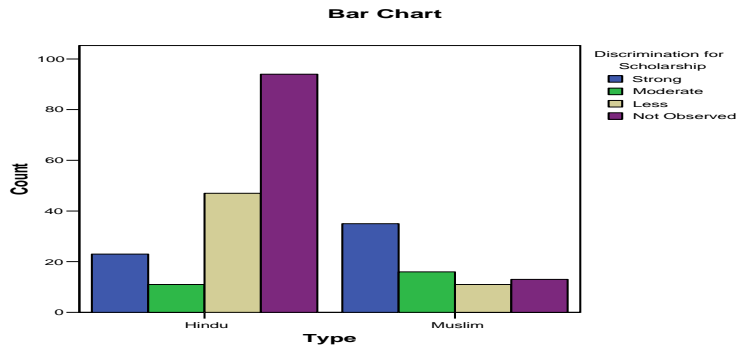
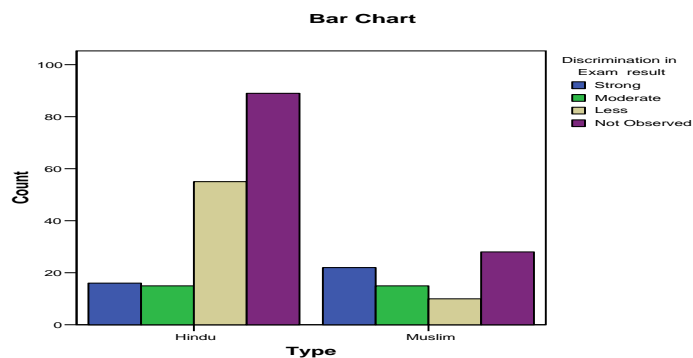


Table 7.9 shows that 9 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 9 percent and 31 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in the evaluation examination paper of Dalits students. 51 percent of the Hindu Dalits do not feel such discrimination against 37 percent of the Muslim Dalits. 29 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong discrimination while 20 percent and 13 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. In fact, the children of Muslim Dalits are really deprived since they do not have any such school for them and they have to sit for examinations with the children of non-Dalits where they are much discriminated and are not properly evaluated.

Table 7.9 Discrimination in Examination Result

Type		Discrimination in Exam. result				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	16	15	55	89	175
	% within Type	9.1%	8.6%	31.4%	50.9%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	22	15	10	28	75
	% within Type	29.3%	20.0%	13.3%	37.3%	100.0%



7.4 Discrimination through Extra Curricula Activities

Table 7.10 shows that 13 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 10 percent and 37 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in drinking water in schools. Generally, in those schools, school mates do not want

the Dalits' children to drink water in the same glass or same jar. They treat the Dalits' children impure and dirty. Earlier it was too severe which is getting loose day by day. 41 percent of the Hindu Dalits do not feel such discrimination. Among the Muslim Dalits, 17 percent feel strong discrimination while 19 percent and 27 percent feel moderate and less discrimination. Only 37 percent of the Muslim Dalits do not feel such discrimination for drinking water in schools. Anyway, the scenario again delineates the real picture of the Muslim Dalits in the country.

Table 7.10 Discrimination in Drinking Water in School

Type		Discrimination in drinking water				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	23	17	64	71	175
	% within Type	13.1%	9.7%	36.6%	40.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	13	14	20	28	75
	% within Type	17.3%	18.7%	26.7%	37.3%	100.0%

Bar Chart

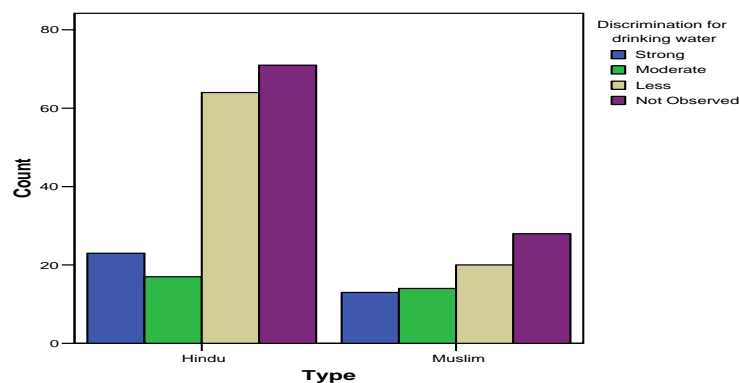


Table 7.11 depicts that 13 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 17 percent and 33 percent feel moderate and less discrimination for their children to use toilets in schools. Only 37 percent of the Hindu Dalits do not feel such discrimination for their children in schools. Among the Muslim Dalit, the scenario is again in the severe form. 16 percent of the Muslim Dalits feel strong while 17 percent and 34 percent feel moderate and less discrimination for their children to use toilet in schools. Only 33 percent of the Muslim Dalits do not feel such discrimination. Though the society is moving fast towards modernity, the negative attitude and discrimination in regard to low caste people or untouchables of both the religions remain very crucial and very much existent in Bangladesh society.

Table 7.11 Discrimination in Toilet use in School

Type		Discrimination in toilet use				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	23	30	58	64	175
	% within Type	13.1%	17.1%	33.1%	36.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	16	13	28	18	75
	% within Type	21.3%	17.3%	37.3%	24.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	15.6%	17.2%	34.4%	32.8%	100.0%

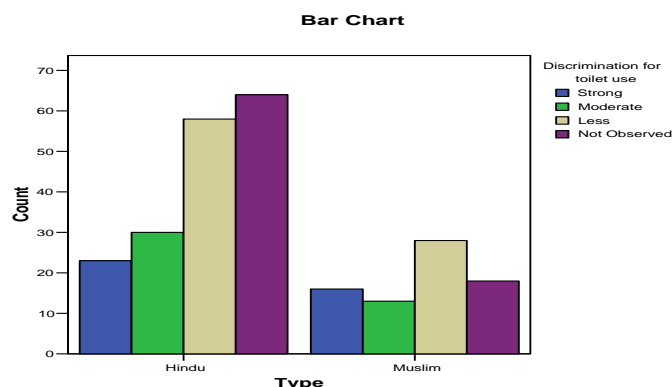


Table 7.12 shows that 7 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 15 percent and 13 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in the case of their children to be discriminated in sports in schools. Normally, the Dalits’ children are discouraged and are not selected for such tournament though they perform well in sports. It is good to say that 65 percent of the Hindu Dalits do not feel such discrimination. Among the Muslim Dalits, 13 percent feel strong discrimination while 21 percent and 29 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regards. Only 36 percent of the Muslim Dalits do not feel such discrimination. In short, the scenario is the same for the Muslim Dalits which has been unknown till today.

Table 7.12 Discrimination in Sports in School

Type		Discrimination in sports				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	12	27	23	113	175
	% within Type	6.9%	15.4%	13.1%	64.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	10	16	22	27	75
	% within Type	13.3%	21.3%	29.3%	36.0%	100.0%

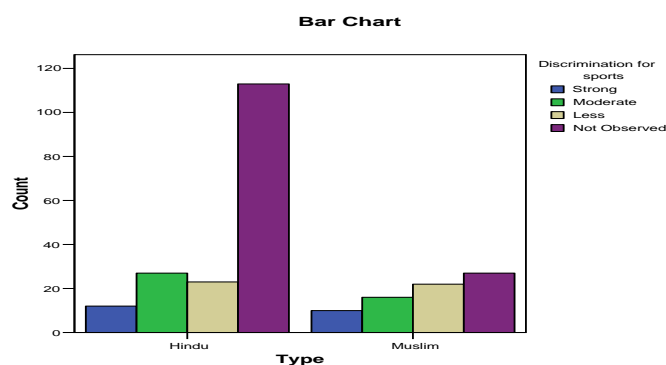


Table 7.13 Discrimination in joining in Cultural Activities in Schools

Type		Discrimination in joining in Cultural activities				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	10	20	16	129	175
	% within Type	5.7%	11.4%	9.1%	73.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	15	7	17	36	75
	% within Type	20.0%	9.3%	22.7%	48.0%	100.0%

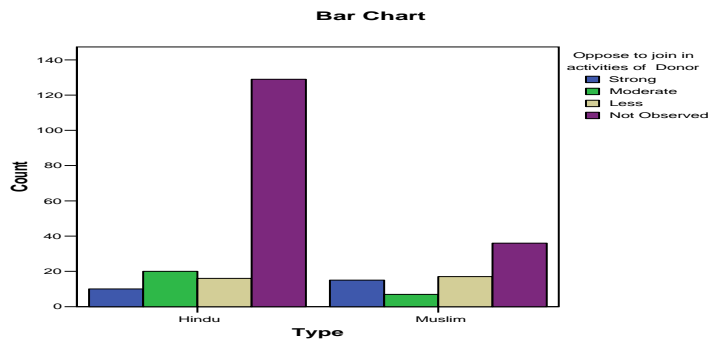


Table 7.13 shows that 6 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 11 percent and 9 percent feel moderate and less discrimination respectively in the participation of their children in the cultural activities in the school. It is very positive that 74 percent of the Hindu Dalits do not feel such discrimination. But discrimination in the case of Muslim Dalits' children is severe. Among them, 20 percent feel strong discrimination while 9 percent and 23 percent feel moderate and less discrimination that their children are treated badly and not allowed to join cultural activities in schools. It is a general perception that Muslims are not culturally advanced or they are reluctant to participate in cultural activities. As a result of this, their children also do not show interest in cultural activities following the discouragement of their children. The scenario reflects the issue in the case of Dalits too as only 48 percent of the Muslim Dalits does not feel such discrimination.

Section VIII

Bonded Labour

8.1 Reasons for Bondedness

The underlying causes of bondedness link to the problem of unemployment, under employment, abject poverty, and deterioration of socio-cultural norms and values to a greater extent. It also ranges from the expansion of global market forces and a growing materialism perpetuated by media to a rapid social transformation. In a country like Bangladesh, 40 percent of its 140 million people live below poverty line. Slightly more than half of all children are malnourished. Seventy percent of the workforces are involved in agriculture which accounts for one-fourth of the gross domestic product. The industrial sector is growing albeit slowly, largely based on manufacturing of garments and textiles by privately owned companies.

The general conception is that push-effect and pull-effect play a vital role in migration of people from rural areas to cities. But in Bangladesh, not the pull-effect but the push-effect drives villagers out to the cities because of extreme poverty and unemployment. These huge numbers of poor migrants do not find any place to sleep in the cities except on sidewalks, railway station, steamer Ghat (harbor), and available open government Khas land. This people are generally called as floating people among whom the majority are women and children. As they mostly belong to lowest strata of the society, they fall into more critically vulnerable situations and they are the real victims of forced labour in different forms.

The Constitution of Bangladesh prohibits forced or compulsory labour, including child labour. However, the government does not enforce this prohibition effectively. The Factories Act and Shops and Establishments Act, both passed in 1965, established inspection mechanisms to enforce laws against forced labour. But practically, these laws could not be enforced due to the scarce of resources. There is no large-scale bonded or forced labour; however, numerous domestic servants many of whom are children work in conditions that resemble servitude and suffer physical torture leading to death. Also, there is also extensive trafficking of both women and children, mainly for purposes of forced prostitution (Bangladesh: Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2000, Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour, February 23, 2001).

There is no law that uniformly prohibits the child labour and as a result, child labour has become a serious problem. The Factories Act of 1965 bars children under the age of 14 from working in factories. The Shops and Establishment Act prohibits the employment of children under the age of 12 in commercial workplaces. The Employment of Children Act 1938 prohibits the employment of children under the age of 15 in railways or in goods handling within ports. But because of the widespread poverty, many children begin to work at a very young age. According to labour force survey of 1996 by the government, the country had 6.3 million child labours between the age of 5 and 14 years who were not enrolled in school. Previous surveys of ILO and UNICEF indicate that children of 6 to 17 age group, 21 percent of boys and 4 percent of girls work as paid labour with long working hours and low pay very often in hazardous conditions. Against this backdrop, the scenario of forced or bonded labour should have its focus in Bangladesh.

Our survey findings as shown in the table 8.1 indicate that about 2 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination in terms of Haliya or bonded labour in farming. 2 percent and 22 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. About the Muslim Dalits, 7 percent feel strong discrimination while 19 percent and 9 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in term of Haliya or bonded labour system. Though the percentage is low, it still exists particularly among the Muslim Dalits.

Table 8.1 Discrimination through Haliya system (Farmer)

Type		Haliya system (Farmer)				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	3	4	39	129	175
	% within Type	1.7%	2.3%	22.3%	73.7%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	5	14	7	49	75
	% within Type	6.7%	18.7%	9.3%	65.3%	100.0%

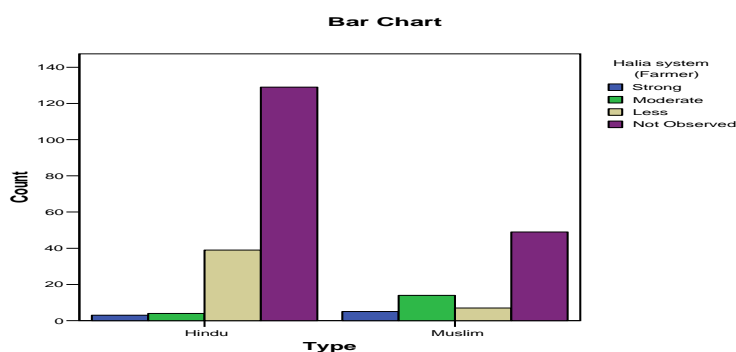


Table 8.2 shows that 2 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination for debt or loan bondage. Though the country is well known for the success of micro credit, the reality is many Dalits are victims of debt or loan bondage. 6 percent and 19 percent of them feel moderate and less discrimination for loan bondage. Among the Muslim Dalits, 12 percent feel strong discrimination while 9 percent and 13 percent feel moderate and less discrimination.

Table 8.2 Discrimination through Forced labour for Loan

Type		Forced labour for loan				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	3	10	34	128	175
	% within Type	1.7%	5.7%	19.4%	73.1%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	9	7	10	49	75
	% within Type	12.0%	9.3%	13.3%	65.3%	100.0%

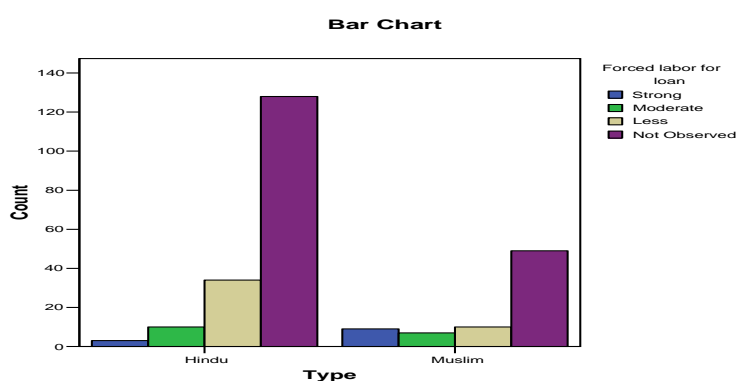


Table 8.3 Discrimination through Forced labour for Food

Type		Forced labour for food				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	33	5	18	119	175
	% within Type	18.9%	2.9%	10.3%	68.0%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	7	10	6	52	75
	% within Type	9.3%	13.3%	8.0%	69.3%	100.0%

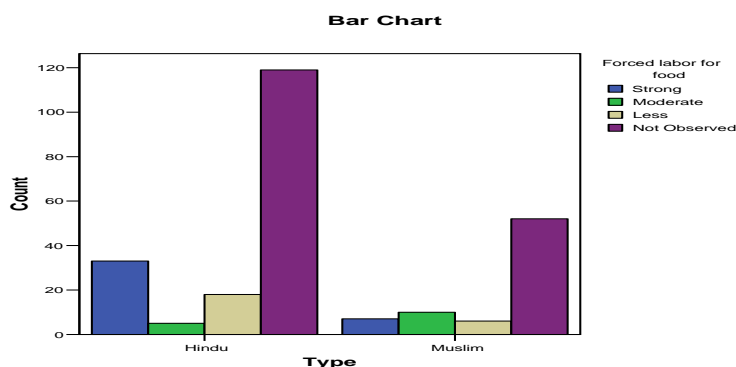


Table 8.3 shows that 19 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 3 percent and 10 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in the case of

forced labour for food. Among the Muslim Dalits, 9 percent feel strong while 13 percent and 8 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard. It indicates the existence of forced labour for food which determines the level of discrimination of the low caste people of both religions.

Table 8.4 Discrimination through Cleaning Work for Food

Type		Cleaning work for food				Total
		Strong	Moderate	Less	Not Observed	
Hindu	Count	24	8	65	78	175
	% within Type	13.7%	4.6%	37.1%	44.6%	100.0%
Muslim	Count	6	7	19	43	75
	% within Type	8.0%	9.3%	25.3%	57.3%	100.0%

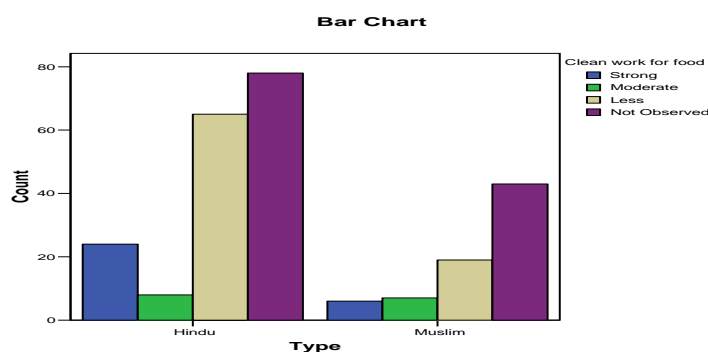


Table 8.4 shows that 14 percent of the Hindu Dalits feel strong discrimination while 5 percent and 37 percent feel moderate and less discrimination on the ground of cleaning work for food. It indicates that non-Dalits in the society insists the Dalits to do the cleaning job for food and in many cases they are forced to do so from generation to generation. Among the Muslim Dalits, 8 percent feel strong discrimination while 9 percent and 25 percent feel moderate and less discrimination in this regard.

8.2 Nature of Bondedness

8.2.1 Children as Forced Labour

As mentioned earlier, Bangladesh is one of the most densely populated countries in the world with more than 40 percent of its inhabitants live below poverty line and frequently suffer from natural disasters that make them more vulnerable. According to the National Sample Survey of Child Labour in 1995-96 children are working either in profit making organizations or farmhouse/economic activity. As mentioned earlier, 6.3 percent of total 34.4 million children in 1995-96 were child labour and 19 percent of the total child population is economically active. 12 percent

of them were in the age group of 5-9 and the male-female ratio of the children was 60:40. The children were working in manufacturing units, blacksmiths, shoe cleaning, street cleaning, pottery, baking bricks and stone chips, printing press, welding, motor garage, light engineering workshops, construction work, and waste picking and so on.

According to survey conducted by ILO and UNICEF on Hazardous Child Labour in Bangladesh in 1996, there are 300 different kinds of activities where children are engaged of which 47 activities are hazardous. These activities are hazardous because of exposure to flames, working with electricity, exposure to harmful chemical substances (carcinogens, neurotoxins, gas, fume and organic dust), handling garbage, high-speed machinery, inappropriate hand tools, sharp equipment, extreme heat or cold, insufficient light, heavy load, continuous working with ice and water without gloves and stressful working conditions (Begum S A. 2002). According to Bangladesh Shishu Adhikar Forum (BSAF), children are engaged in 430 different kinds of activities of which 63 could be categorized as hazardous to children. These included ship breaking, prostitution, collecting shrimp fries, working in brick kiln, slaughtering, smuggling and political violence (BSAF, 2002).

According to an UNICEF report of 1995, about 10,000 girls belonging to the age group of 12 to 17 are active in flesh-trade, vulnerable to repression and exploitation (Child Labour Situation in Bangladesh: A Rapid Assessment Study by ILO in 1997). As per the information available, there are about 12 brothels with 25,000 -35,000 sex workers and children. The estimated number of floating sex workers and their children is about 100,000 in the major cities and towns in Bangladesh. According to the estimate of Bangladeshi police, there are between 15,000 and 20,000 children engaged in street prostitution (Begum S A .2002).

According to the Child Labour Survey, 28 percent of girls between the age groups of 10-14 are economically active. Many of them engaged household activities such as cooking, looking after younger siblings and other. The recent phenomenal growth in the number of domestic child workers in Bangladesh indicates a new trend in child labour. It is estimated that between 250,000-300,000 children, most of whom are girls, work as maids in Dhaka alone. This is one of the most inaccessible and secretive forms of child labour that could be treated as forced labour.

Reports from NGOs indicate that kidnapping of children and trafficking of them for bondage labour and prostitution has become a serious and widespread problem. There is an extensive trafficking of children, primarily to India, Pakistan and other destinations within the country are largely for forced prostitution. According to press reports, over 200,000 women and children have been trafficked from Bangladesh to India in last the 10 years including those smuggled to various Middle East Countries and Pakistan, most of them were coerced into prostitution. Statistics provided by Action Against Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Children (ATSEC) at a press conference in Dhaka on June 1, 2003, showed that in the last 30 years over one million women and children were trafficked out of the country and many of them were forced to become prostitutes, domestic helps, camel jockeys and beggars (Rahman M. 2004.) The following table shows the reasons of trafficking.

Table 8.5 Reasons of Trafficking

Description of Reasons of Trafficking	Male	Female
High demand of women and children in abroad	24	4
They are sold in high price to do immoral work	159	17
Traffickers are used to get subscription from recipients	5	3
Others	3	0

Source: The data of this table are compiled from the base line survey 2001 of Bangladesh National Women Lawyers Association (BNWLA).

Another important form of bondage labour in the case of child is the camel jockeying, which is a popular traditional sports in the Gulf. In camel race, the Arabs use the children or minors as jockeys to spur the animals into coveted winning positions or to enhance their racing efforts. Since 1989, reports have been coming in national and international news media that children or minors are being smuggled out of Bangladesh to some Gulf countries, especially UAE. With horrifying stories demonstrated about the number of casualties in the electronic media, the UAE govt. banned the use of children under the age group of 14 years or less than 45 kg. in the camel jockey in 1993. But it hardly helped the government as many cases have been identified and reported by media in recent year.

8.3 Status of Bonded Labourers

The table below shows that there are 445,226 street children in six cities in Bangladesh. Among them, 235,483 (53%) are boys and 209,743 (47%) are girls.

These street children are basically homeless orphans or abandoned, and in most cases they are financially and socially exploited as forced or bonded labours.

Table 8.6 Estimation of Street Children by Sex in Six Divisional Cities

Name of City	Street	Boys	Street	Girls	Total
Dhaka (75.2)	172287	(38.7)	162520	(36.5)	334807
Chittagong (9.9)	25337	(5.7)	18766	(4.2)	44102
Rajshahi (2.4)	6387	(1.4)	4427	(1.0)	10814
Khulna (8.5)	2100	(4.7)	17070	(3.8)	38070
Barisal (2.6)	6409	(1.4)	4991	(1.1)	11400
Sylhet (1.4)	4063	(0.9)	1970	(0.4)	6033
Total (47.1)	235483	(52.9)	209743	(100)	445226

Source: Baseline Survey of Appropriate Resources for Improving Street Children's Environment (ARISE) on Street Children on Six Division Cities, September, 2001.

Table 8.7 Nature of Harassment of Street Children

Nature of Harassment	Frequency	Percent
Bad/Offensive remarks	25	19.63
Forced to have sex	5	3.91
Homosexuality	2	1.56
Muscleman	2	1.56
Prostitution	1	0.78
Push toward dark place for ill motive	5	3.91
Touch on private parts and do bad things	5	3.91
Sexual Harassment	48	37.5
Raped while sleeping on the street	25	19.53
Torture by police for sex and money	8	6.25
Physical harassment while working in factory	2	1.56
Total	128	100

Source: ARISE, September 2001.

Tables 8.7 shows that the highest percentage of the street children (37%) who are sexually harassed while the second largest of them (19%) are victims of bad/offensive remarks and raped while sleeping on the street .

Section IX

Multiple Discrimination of Low Caste/ Untouchable Women

9.1 Women Status and Role in Bangladesh

The problem of understanding women's status and their role in the past and in contemporary Bangladesh society is compounded by contiguous gender scenario in South Asia comprising six other countries namely India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Maldives and Bhutan. While growing up in South Asia is a perpetual struggle, to be a woman in this region is to be a non-person. The patriarchal system in Bangladesh throughout its social history has generated the character of submissive and passive women with men's power to control over women, the family, the government, civil and religious laws, economy, education, health, media and society as whole. Men view women as inferior and consider them less valuable than their cattle (Garry M L, 1997).

The situation of women in a traditional, illiterate and Islamic-bonded society like Bangladesh is quite frustrating as they are discriminated in a much unintended manner. The scenario of low caste or untouchables women is not an exception to that situation rather it is severe since they are belonged to Hindu and Muslim Dalit groups. Women, in general, are yet to be empowered to take part actively in socio-cultural, economic and political activities in the country. In fact, they contribute significantly to their households and to the country's economy. Statistics indicate that 36 percent of the total women population of the country was working in the year 2000 while in case of men, it was 54 percent (BBS, LFS, 1999-2000). 54 percent of men and 77 percent of women are in the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sector.

The presence of women in all other sectors is disproportionately low as compared to their male counterpart. While 3.4 percent of the employed men are in professional technical sector while the proportion of women in these sectors is 1.9 percent of the employed women. Out of the total women workforce, 10.8 percent of them work in the production and transport sectors, including the ready-made garments sector while 18.8 percent of men workforce work in the same sector. Bangladesh is one of the first developing countries in the world to form a separate Ministry of

Women Affairs for improving the status of women though, woman's life is still overwhelmingly controlled by man, giving her little independence or self-determination (Hussain. S.H, Khan A.U, Momsen J, 2006). Even girls over 20 years of age do not have a say in any kind of their own household decision making, including such personal decisions as planning and pursuing her education, choosing a career, or even choosing a life partner.

The biological norm in all societies is that women live longer than men and that is why, there is an overall ratio of 106 women to 100 men. In Bangladesh like other South Asian countries, the sex ratio is reverse. Bangladesh is one of the only four countries in the world where males outnumber the females. Over a period of more than two decades, the sex ratio has decreased from 108 to 105 (Asian Development Bank, Country Briefing Paper: women in Bangladesh, August 2001). According to BBS 2003, it is 104 men per 100 women.

The literacy rate of women is much lower than for men. Female literacy in urban areas is higher at 52.5 percent than in rural areas, where it is only 20.2 percent. As the government has placed a high priority on education, particularly at the primary school level, the enrollments have increased and the gender balance has improved (USAID Bangladesh Website). There has been a significant increase in antenatal care among pregnant women, from 33 percent in 2000 to 49 percent in 2004. Gender inequality in Bangladesh is recognized as one of the root causes of poor health among women and girls that directly affects the overall development of the nation.

9.2 Discrimination against Women: Bangladesh Scenario

Though Bangladesh is a signatory state to comply with UN-CEDAW, the implementation of women's rights and the prevention of ideological resistance to the women's rights are challenged in the absence of state machinery. The right to take part in the governance of one's country is a basic human right as recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1943) and later it was reaffirmed in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995). Bangladesh, as a signatory is committed to achieving women's equal participation in decision-making. The National Policy for advancement of women in 1997 emphasized that political empowerment of women could be promoted through implementing programmes for

achievement of women's political rights, taking initiatives for direct elections in reserved seats at all levels of national and local government system, employing a considerable number of women in highest levels of decision-making and encouraging political parties to nominate more women candidates.

Within the framework of beliefs, tradition, culture, rituals based on majority Islam and minority Hindu, women status is determined in terms of two basic divisions (a) Bhadramahila, in broad sense, the mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, other female relatives of the same status and doctors, lawyers, teachers, government officials, mid-level traders who are made up of educated urban-based professional from upper and middle class, and (b) Mahila simply the women of lower status, including all female related to working class, peasants and others living in the villages or semi-urban areas. The distinct classification of women based on socio-economic and religious background still determines their roles and status to a larger extent in Bangladesh society.

The status of women, their rights and duties as regard to their control over property, over their own body, the degree of seclusion and veiling, their participation in politics, and community development, social contact, employment etc. are all in tremendous complexity of demonstrations on the basis of both Islamic and Hindu code of life. For example, the women's rights to vote or exercise of their rights in political process particularly in Islam is still decided by their male partners or male guardians based on Fatwa or religious decree by Mullahs/religious leaders in many areas as shown in table 9.1. It has similar domination in most cases in Hindu religion too. The role of Purdah (veiling system through which women are secluded from the public view), ritual, working, and judicial status of women such as marriage, divorce and dowry are highly influenced by both Muslim and Hindu laws which always go in different ways against the rights of women.

Table 9.1 Fatwa or Rulings against Women's Right to Vote

Source	Area	No. of women voters	Reason
Jugantor: 28 January	Chandradighalia union, sadar Upazila, Gopalganj	3,020	Fatwa by community elders since 1973
Prothom Alo: 7 February	Pangashia union, Dumki Upzila, Patuakhali	4,635	Fatwa by the Pir (Priestly personality with followers) since 1919
Janakantha: 7 February	12 villages of Surat union, Sadar Upazila, Jhenaidaha	3,288	Fatwa by community elders since 1958
Ittefaq: 12 February	Choiani and Durgapur unions, Begumganj, Noakhali	Approximately 16,000	Fatwa by Alem (Religious teachers) and the community elders since 30-35 years
Prothom Alo: 18 April	Berubari union, Nageshwari Upzila, Kurigram	Approximately 4,000	Fatwa by three community leaders since three decades
Prothom Alo: 18 April	Kalikapur union, Madaripur	5,126	Following a decision of chairman and members of the union council in the sixties.

Source: Neela Matin: ASK, 2001.

9.2.1 Pre-election and Post-election Political Violence

Pre-election and post-election political violence by the political gangsters is the real threat and measure for materializing the discrimination against women particularly the women of Scheduled Caste or untouchables of the Hindu minority. All people in the country witnessed thousands of events of communal atrocities during the pre-parliament election of October 1, 2001. The Home Minister acknowledged in Parliament on 18 November 2001 that some 266 murder cases and 213 rape cases were recorded in the first twenty five days of October across the country. Higher figures were reported in newspapers. These exceeded all records of atrocities in previous elections. Women have been subjected to violence as political workers, relatives of politicians and members of religious or ethnic minorities. The following table 9.2 shows the types and number of victims of atrocities, including killing, rape, physically torture, physical assault, kidnapping, eviction, demolition and setting of fire etc.

Table 9.2 Communal Atrocities from 15.9.2001 to 10.12.2001

People Killed	27
Raped women	269
Raped child	1
Physically tortured men	2,619
Physically assaulted women	1,430
Male and female kidnapped	100
Evicted families	38,500
Churches, temples and deities demolished	155
Business and dwelling houses set on fire	4,551

Source : Reports of PRIP Trust, Adhikar and Mass Medias

In the face of continued government indifference and even denial of what was happening in the country, ASK filed a writ petition (No 6556 of 2001) on 24 November, on the grounds of reported incidents of assault, intimidation, torture, rape, sexual assaults and arson on the person and property of citizens belonging to religious minority communities, especially the Hindu Dalits. The High Court Division of the Supreme Court issued a rule nisi on 27 November asking the government to explain why it should not be asked proper steps to protect the country's religious minorities from attack and harassment. The Court further asked the government to investigate the incidents and submit its report by 15 January 2002.

9.2.2 Police Violence

Violence against women by police in socio-cultural and political affairs is also a common scenario in the country. Women, particularly the Dalits, are the real victims as either they fail to satisfy police with bribe or have access to power structure to influence the police. They are not treated equal in the police stations when they go for lodging complaints against miscreants. More recently, the police seems to have targeted women politicians in particular, perhaps to prevent them participating in rallies or meetings. Violence against women political activists may be an emerging trend as such incidents have occurred during the past two elected governments. Though the minority issue and extent and duration of violence against them had become the lead news in national press and electronic media in the post-election period, police did not receive complaints formally and record all the cases properly, therefore, the numbers and types of violence recorded by the government differed a great deal with the press.

9.2.3 Right to Freedom from Violence

Lack of political power of women in public forums is reflected in their marginalization in the community. The consequences of marginalization of women are noted in the discriminatory attitudes and practices towards girl children and women, which resists their talents to develop and acquire skills to participate equally in family, social, economic and political life. The other notable consequence is the subjugation of women to patriarchal norms often resulting in violence against women by the community members. The major crimes against women and girl children are instigated by fatwa as described below or through rape, acid attacks, and women's insecurity at home.

9.2.4.Fatwa Instigated Violence

During the last decade, an important aspect of violence, revealed by media, has been the illegal use of fatwa as a form of physical and psychological punishment. In the absence of historical evidence, it is difficult to define the trend in fatwa-instigated violence, but media reports show that fatwas were issued for a variety of perceived deviations from patriarchal norms. These included women's participation in public life, exercising choice in marriage or non-conformity with conventional norms of sexual behavior, mobility in accessing health, education and employment or merely seeking legal redress. In many case, while the perpetrators of fatwa related violence were not prosecuted and remained unpunished, the women thus victimized and faced social ostracism or exclusion from their families and communities. Community leaders tend to enforce fatwas against women arbitrarily as a means of control. Over the years, Fatwa has been found to violate both constitutional and international rights to:

- Freedom from cruelty, degrading or inhuman treatment (lashing and stoning, forcible shaving of the head, beating by shoes, throwing shoes at women after half-burial in the ground, etc.);
- Life (burning to death, compelled to commit suicide);
- Family or private life (social ostracism, forcing unlawful divorce, forcing women to contract a Hilla marriage means 'marriage with another person for time being to legitimate the marriage again with previous husband if there happens verbal Talaq/divorce between them' denial of religious rituals after death);
- Education (compelled to abandon education);
- Economic activity and work (preventing women from taking bank loans or their repayment, destruction of mulberry trees planted by women and obstructing participation in other income-generating or development activities);
- Political participation (prohibiting women from casting votes);
- Exercising choice in reproductive health (preventing women from using contraceptives).

In 2001, 34 cases of violence instigated by Fatwas were reported in the newspapers. Of these 53 percent related to insistence on Hilla marriage following oral Talaq (divorce). Other instances were when women demanded punishment for rape (18 percent) or for pre-marital or extra-marital affairs/ pregnancy (15 percent). In 14 percent of incidents, the causes were not known. The punishments included forced Hilla marriage, flogging in public, social ostracism and physical violence.

(Source: Neela Matin, ASK, 2001)

Section X

Conclusion and Recommendation

10.1 Conclusion

Bangladesh, a South Asian nation with over 140 million people residing within an area of 147,570 sq km is only three and half decade's old sovereign and independent republic. Though the world has been changing faster and faster in different ways, Bangladesh like most of the developing countries is still in a state of underdevelopment and challenged by many obstacles in the way of its overall socio-economic development. Religion and relevant issues, particularly the caste-based discrimination has been playing indeed a significant role as the constraints towards achieving betterment of a larger number of broken people popularly known as Dalits in recent times. The issues of discrimination based on descent and work not only a problem between the poverty driven distressed people and the non-Dalits but also it creates a real tension for the whole nation to overcome the miserably low rate of poverty reduction. Data on human deprivation reveals that about 50 percent of the people are poor while 77 percent lack basic human capabilities – capacity to be well-nourished and remain healthy and capacity for education. The livelihoods of Dalits and their outstretched degradation and deprivation are not an exception to this common scenario of Bangladesh society.

The fact is that traditionally the caste, sub-caste or members of a single endogamous group of Hindu caste system with strong kinship and affinity have been engaged in their respective professions from ancient times. The rigid religious and psychological barriers to continue the profession from generation to generation based on birth made the ways for change and transformation of profession a difficult dilemma. Though there has been the both vertical and horizontal mobility among these upper and lower castes, and also sub-castes, still it is prevalent and damaging for the social dynamics. The prevailing concept and understanding about discrimination based on work in Muslim community as like as Hindu caste system has not been duly addressed or even recognized by the scholars belonging to Marxist and neo-Marxist schools of thoughts. But in reality, the life patterns of these work-based generations are very much exploited in rural and semi-urban locations, which this study approves in a befitting manner.

It is evident from the study that major population of Dalits in both the Hindu and Muslim communities face discrimination in almost all spheres of life. Their access to all modern amenities necessary for sound and healthy social formation is highly limited. Access to modern education for better or change their professions and access to power structure for motivating the change is still like a dream for the Dalits. This study in fact did its best to identify the nature of discrimination and investigate the extent through different mechanisms. Since the present Bangladesh society is highly fundamentalist in character from both the Hindu and Muslim perspectives, it became much sensitive to address the issues of discrimination on a common standpoint of caste and work. However, this study could measure the extent to a great deal with a liberal approach based on Dalits concept. Further, the study objectively delineates that the practice of caste and also the work-based degradation of human being in Bangladesh has become an accepted and usual norms for many people in the community.

The PRA, FGD, in-depth survey and case studies demonstrate the key findings through which frequent reviewing the nature and extent of discrimination could be in channeled. The comparison between the information gathered through FGD and in-depth sample survey is very interesting in the sense that it sounded so severe in FGD in various types of discrimination, which were failed to be determined by the data actually shown in the questionnaire survey. The predominance of caste structure among different professional are severe not only due to their birth or work, but also being institutionalized through rules and regulations adopted by the stakeholders like government, NGOs, social, religious and other market organizations which as a matter fact strengthened the existence more in the social acculturation.

In Bangladesh, NGO and civil forums are well known for their voices and activities in relation to poverty eradication and establishing human rights. Many organizations have thousands of programs for spending billions of dollars for poverty focused programs, but many researchers or the policy makers do not really know what exclusive programs they have for the betterment of livelihoods of the Dalits or protect their interest or civic rights. Due to inadequate addressing of the issue by the government, poor implementation of the policies for the protection of Dalits rights and the weak representation of Dalits leadership, the caste and work-based

discrimination is still flourishing and widespread. Why there are the so many fractions among Dalits? Why Dalits are not well defined? Why Dalits are not united? Why Dalits do not know each other? Why Dalits can not select their leaders? Why Dalits are powerless? Why Dalits do not have access to all spheres of life? Why the discrimination is encouraged? There are so many questions to be addressed in a meaningful manner, so that Dalits could be status oriented and be made exploitation free community.

In brief, if the Dalits communities are properly educated, skilled, trained and supported by alternative financial resources for their subsistence, survival and substantial up gradation of their livelihoods throughout the year with countrywide programs, they are sure to produce more social goods instead of treated as liabilities from which the whole nation will be benefited.

10.2 Recommendation

- 1) In order to address the issues of caste and work-based discrimination properly and adequately; policies of the government as well as private stakeholders should be rooted in ground realities.
- 2) Policy formulation process should not be too remote and inaccessible for the Dalits as they are the concerned communities.
- 3) Institutional support based organization should be established and activated for the promotion of awareness, information, education, communication and motivation.
- 4) The vulnerability of the Dalits should be properly identified and the authorities in due course and time should take necessary measures.
- 5) Strong social mobilization should be generated to uphold the status of the professionals who are not only essential but the real assets for the society
- 6) Strategy should be developed by the government or the private enterprises/NGOs to enable the Dalit communities to have access to all sorts of benefits and services as enjoyed by other citizens
- 7) The congregation of the Dalits should be wider and open, and the policy implementation must be mandatory by state rules, so that congregation

will not face hazards due to rapidly increases of influx of new people and growth of Dalit population.

- 8) Dalits should be leased with government lands and make them able through institutional loan/credit support to build housing for their own and families.
- 9) Dalits should be encouraged to be involved with policy making process.
- 10) Sustainable livelihood approach should be adapted for the Dalits for generating all capital assets like human assets, natural assets, social assets, financial assets and physical assets.
- 11) Relationship between policies, institutions and processes (PIP) should be pragmatic, practical and effective, so that the Dalits could be benefited from the course of development designed for them.
- 12) Community, political, social and religious leaders and civil societies should play a vital role to discern the overall situation and to ensure a sound and healthy atmosphere for the disadvantaged and discriminated Dalits in the country.
- 13) The Law or Act for protecting the Dalits from attack, harassment and misbehaviour by the non-Dalits or other communities, law enforcing agencies, hoodlums, fundamentalist, and other outsiders must be enforced effectively and the offenders must be punished and convicted in due course.
- 14) Programs should be introduced by the government, NGOs, civil forums for more and more advocacy to encourage and empower the Dalits and Dalits women in particular for their protection and establishment of human rights.
- 15) Initiatives for creating awareness among the Dalits regarding social education should be undertaken by the Govt. NGOs with the help of mass media to improve the status of the Dalits.
- 16) Proper employment opportunity should be reserved for the Dalits in all sectors

- 17) Provisions should be made in the Parliament to prioritize the benefits of Dalits during natural disasters and human made hazards like riots etc
- 18) .Income generation scheme and relevant initiatives should be undertaken everywherefor the Dalits women and children.
- 19) National, private and international scholarship should be properly allocated for Dalits children for encouraging higher education.
- 20) Intervention must be undertaken to create a positive attitude towards Dalits and their families in the society.

References

1. Ahmad M. State and Civil Society: The Other Options – NGO's and People's Praxis, Community Development Library, Dhaka, 2000.
2. Ahmed S. Muslim Community in Bengal 1884-1912, The University Press Limited, 1996.
3. Ambedkar. B. R. 2004. "Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development" Readings in Indian Government and Politics. Class, Caste, Gender. California.
4. Akramuzzaman. 1979. "A Sociological Profile of Islam" Dhaka.
5. Ali, A.F.I. 1985. "The Concept of Caste: A New Perspective"> Chittagong University Studies. (Social Science), 8(1): 47-75.
6. Bangladesh: Country Report on Human Rights Practices -2000 , Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour, February 23, 2001).
7. Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar 1995. "Popular Religion and Social Mobility in Colonial Bengal: The Matua Sect and the Namasudras", in Rajat Kanta Ray (ed). Mind Body & Society: Life and Mentality in Colonial Bengal. Calcutta, oxford University Press, PP.152-192.
8. Banerjea, N.N., Monograph on the Cotton fabrics of Bengal, Calcutta, 1898, pp.15-16):
9. Baviskar A. Untouchability In Rural India, IIDS.
10. Begum S A. "Situation of Children in Worst Form of Labour", State of Children Rights in Bangladesh, Bangladesh Shishu Adhikar Forum, Dhaka, 2002.
11. Berreman G.D. 1973 "Cast in the Modern World" Gneral Learning Press, Morristown, N.J. 07960.
12. Beteille, Andre. 1967. Class, Caste and Power. Berkeley: UC Press.
13. Bhattacharyya D C. "The Constitution of Bangladesh and Religion", in Communal Discrimination in Bangladesh: Facts and Documents, Bangladesh Hindu Buddhist Christian Unity Council, Dhaka 1993.
14. Bose, N.K. 1994, "The Structure of Hindu Society (translated by Andre Beteille)" Delhi: Manohar.
15. Chatterjee, S.K. 1947. "The Partition of Bengal: a Geographical Study" Calcutta: Calcutta Geographical Society.
16. Chowdhury. A. 1978. A Bangladesh Village: A study of Social stratification. Dhaka: Center for Social Studies.
17. Chowdhury P B. "A Tyranny to the Minorities of Bangladesh" in Communal Discrimination in Bangladesh: Facts and Documents, Bangladesh Hindu Buddhist Christian Unity Council, Dhaka 1993.
18. Deshpande S. Untouchability In Rural India, IIDS.
19. Das M. Annual Report 2006 "A Voice for the Invisible" Barefoot Researchers.
20. Dasgupta.A. 2004. "State, Society and Displaced People in South Asia" Dhaka.
21. Dasgupta R. Press Conference Report on Equal Rights of Religious and Ethnic Minorities: Human Rights in Bangladesh, December 7, 2007 at National Press Club, Dhaka.
22. Dasgupta R. "Movement for Restoration of Human Rights in Bangladesh: Bangladesh Hindu Buddhist Christian Unity Council" in Communal Discrimination in Bangladesh: Facts and Documents, Bangladesh Hindu Buddhist Christian Unity Council, Dhaka 1993.
23. Dey D.P. Bengal Muslims in Search of Social identity: The University Press Limited, Dhaka, 1998. pp.4-5.
24. Dutta C R. "Different Aspects of Discrimination against Religious Minorities" in Communal Discrimination in Bangladesh: Facts and Documents, Bangladesh Hindu Buddhist Christian Unity Council, Dhaka 1993.

25. Ghurye.G.S. 1950. Caste and Race in India. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
26. IDSN, 2006, "Consultative Meeting on the Situation of Dalits in Bangladesh" Dhaka.
27. Karim, A. K. N. 1956. Changing Society in India and Pakistan. Dhaka: Ideal Publications.
28. Levy R., (London: Williams and Norgate, 1931-1933), " An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam. Vol. I, 96-97.
29. Mander H. Untouchability In Rural India, IIDS.
30. Matin N. "Women's Rights: Freedom of Participation and Freedom from Violence", Human Rights in Bangladesh, ASK, 2001.
31. Mohanty. M. 2004, "The Context If the New Century" Readings in Indian Government and Politics. Class, Caste, Gender. California.
32. Mayer.A.C. 1960. Caste And Kinship In Central India. London: Routledge and kegan and paul.
33. Mishra R C, Governance of Human Rights Challenges in the Age of Globalization, Delhi, Authors Press, 2003.
34. Nakatani T. "State, Society and Displaced People in South Asia" Dhaka.
35. Risley, H.H. 1981. "Tribes and Castes of Bengal" Calcutta Firma KLM.
36. Shah G. Untouchability In Rural India, IIDS.
37. Sanyal, H. 1981. "Social Mobility in Bengal. Calcutta, Papyrus.
38. Sarma, J. 1980. Caste Dynamics among the Bengali Hindus. Calcutta, Frma KLM.
39. Sikder C. "Constitutional Amendments: An Act of Treachery" in Communal Discrimination in Bangladesh: Facts and Documents, Bangladesh Hindu Buddhist Christian Unity Council, Dhaka 1993.
40. Srinibas.M.N. 1960. Caste In Modern India And Other Essays. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
41. The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition
42. Thorat S. Untouchability In Rural India, IIDS.
43. Talke J. 1914 "Islam in Bengal" The Muslim World, Vol. IV.
44. Van Schendel,W.2002. "Stateless in South Asia: the Making of the Indea-Bangladesh Enclaves" The Journal of Asian Studies 61, 1, February 115-147.
45. Wali M. A. "Ethnographical Notes on the Mohammedan Castes of Bengal" Journal of Anthropological Society of Bombay, Bol. VII, p. 108.
46. Wise J. 1994, "The Mohammedans of Eastern Bengal" Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIII, p.60.

Appendix: Case Studies

Case Study: 1

Name : **Tapan Karmakar**
Occupation : **Blacksmith**
Village : **Grammogal, Ranguania, Chittagong.**

Tapan Karmakar is from blacksmith community of village Grammogal of Ranguania, Chittagong. He belongs to Hindu religion. He thinks that he is a low caste Hindu and for the reason, he has been discriminated everywhere in the society/community. The village of this blacksmith community has about hundred families. He is 45 years old. Generally, he works everyday in the shop of blacksmith in the nearby market. It is rented a shop for which he has to pay every month. The owner of the shop is a Hindu non-Dalit. He works almost 10 hours a day from 9am to 8 pm. He comes back home for lunch. Sometimes he carries lunch in a small box/tiffin carrier when the shop is busy especially during the harvesting time and religious program of Muslim like Eid-ul-Azha (sacrifice of animals in the name for God). He meets accidents many times. And during such accident, it is common for him to be burnt or injured. He does very old and traditional work like sharpening knife and making tools for cultivation and irrigation. He works in the paddy field on hire when his workload in the shop is less. He has a family of 6 members, including two sons and two daughters. His sons also help him in his work. He can not send them to school for poverty or economic reasons. His daughters go to primary and junior high schools but they are not doing well in the examinations. He can not pay extra money for her daughters to be tutored at home or other private arrangements. He earns Tk. 3000-4000 per month but not regularly. He does not have any education. His parents could not send him to school due to poverty. His grand father and father were also blacksmith. According to him, caste discrimination in his village still exists. Once they faced a lot of severe discrimination in terms of communication with each other in the communities, taking food together, chatting or having social relationship with upper caste communities and also Muslims. The discrimination is not that much severe now, though the marriage system does not allow their children to get married with the female of other communities. Other communities and upper cast Hindus hate

them and they do not like to make relation with them. Even the priests of the temples do not behave well with them. Since the people from other community, including Muslims are now joining their jobs and technological advancement, they are losing the chances to continue their jobs as traditional blacksmith. This situation is making their life miserable and hardship to make a subsistence living.

Case Study: 2

Name : Shimla(Shabnur) Hijra (transvestites)

Occupation : Entertaining with song, dance and sex.

Location: Jhaotala Station Colony, Chittagong.

Shimla is a member of Hijra (transvestites) group. Her original name is Shabnur. She was born in a Muslim family near the Chittagong city. She lives in a very small room in a highly polluted slum near Jhaotala station colony, Chittagong. She is now 24 years old. Her name Shabnur was given by her parents after her birth but she is called by the name 'Shimla' which is generally a name of women in Bangladesh society. She has been living in the present Hijra community for the last fourteen years. At the age of seven, she was forced to leave home by the family due to her physical abnormalities. Her parents could not withstand the pressure to think that their child has no definite sex. It is a delicate situation for a family to decide what should be done with the child of that kind. Apprehending the fear of stigmatization, many poor families in Bangladesh decide to oust their children from families. There are few such cases like that in rich family where they get the operated organs and make the child to be a particular sex. However, Shimla's family failed to keep her together with them. Since it is not her fault, she does not know really why she had been treated by her family or accursed in the manner she has been experiencing. In her early childhood, she used to write poems, sing a song and had a very joyful life. But when her neighborhood came to know about her physical abnormality, she was bound to make an end of normal life living with her family in the community. One night, how pathetic and painful it was that she had to leave home without any knowledge/information where and how she should go and how to maintain life. She thought she had only one way open and that was to become a member of Hijra community somewhere living in the town. From then onwards, she has been an inhabitant of 'Hijra' community and herself a Hijra. According to Shabnur there are more than twenty thousand Hijras in Bangladesh. They are seriously discriminated in

the society. Nobody offers them any job and allow them enter into the shops and houses. They are deprived of all the human facilities/amenities provided by the public and private enterprises. They think that they are more than untouchables in the society. Generally, they are called by low income/low strata groups for dancing, singing songs or meeting the demand sex. They are like untouchables in the society. They do not have any education, any skill or any kind of professional training for entertaining others. . They are not allowed to go for schooling or any other job as many people in the society think that they are the symbol of impurity, misfortune and curse to the humanity. They are so degraded and discriminated that they are not even allowed to take a glass of water in the tea-shop or private houses. She has such an experience that her request for water in a neighborhood restaurant was refused because of her identity. She thinks that they are treated like dogs or other animals that people hate in the society. The young in the society tease them in different ways. They are thrown stones or mishandled on many occasions by others in the community without any reasons.

Case Study : 3

Name: Monju Rani Pal

Occupation : 'Kulal' (Pottery)

Location: Bhujpur, Fatikchari, Chittagong

Monju Rani Pal is a Bangali Hindu from Fatikchari Thana under Chittagong District. She was born in Kulal family and got married to another Kulal of different location. The village where they have been living is a village for the Kulals. Generally, they do pottery work like jars, cups and so on with clay. Their products are normally sold in village markets or any special festivals or village fairs. Though the job is very hard, technical and artistic, it is recognized as good job in the society. Traditionally, they belong to this group of professionals and treated as untouchables in the community. In terms of socio-economic and cultural sphere such as education, health, occupation, government services/relief/donor's programs, religion etc., all of them are still seriously discriminated in the society. They are not allowed to establish relations with other upper caste people or the non-Dalits in the society. Their marriage system is highly restricted within their community. People of other communities do not like to have relationship with them. They are severely abused with slang and

typical words for scolding. Though they belong to very low income group, they are forced to give donation for any matter or festivals etc. happening in the community. In the market place where they go for selling their commodities, they are discriminated in selecting place for marketing. They are also not given due price. In most cases, the non-Dalits and other community people negotiate the price and try to pay less or low. Therefore, they loose business and can not make profit. As a result, they are not able to change their economic condition and they remain in the same living conditions year after a year. They are treated ill as untouchables in one hand and on the other hand they are poorest of the poor in the community. Other community people never invite them for any occasions and even in community festivals. Their children face immense distress in getting into a school, social relations with the non-Dalits/community and also go for changing their occupation. They are not offered any other job by the employers/governments/private agencies due to their lower status/identity. They are not allowed or discouraged to go for casting votes in the election though they like to go and support their candidate of choice. They often face abuses from other community people. So their misery knows no bounds.

Case study:4

Name: Bhubon Chandra Das

Occupation: Muchi (Cobbler)

Location: Ostogram, Kishoreganj.

Mr. Bhubon Chandra Das is a 'Muchi' or cobbler from Oshtogram of Kishorgonj. He is a Hindu untouchable. He is 34. He is married and has two sons. His family lives in the village. His family is like a joint family as his father/mother and unmarried brothers/sisters live together with him. Traditionally, he is a Muchi and has been doing the job of his grand father and father. His sons do not go to school as he can not afford education. According to him, they used to earn good amount of money four or five years back. But these days, people are not that much interested to mend shoes or sandals rather they prefer buying new ones. To him Muchis are treated untouchables and highly discriminated in the society. People from non-Dalits or other communities have very negative attitude towards their livelihood and profession. They are not allowed for inter-caste marriage or change to other professions. They are also not allowed to eat, drink and mix with other non-Dalit communities. They are

deprived of all socio-economic amenities like education, shelter, sanitation, and health to make a simple living. People of other communities abuse them severely and call them always with ill names. They never get good approach or behavior from other communities rather treated as thief, low caste, illiterate, and hated. Earlier they were not allowed to enter tea shops/restaurants and were given foods/tea in broken or separated plates/cups. The situation is getting changing now, so has the attitude of the people towards them. He thinks that they are their enemies. As they do not want to change their life and educate their children like other non-Dalits, it is their responsibility. He thinks that they should have dynamic leader to change their life style and give proper value to their traditional profession. He thinks that if opportunity is given to them by the authorities through institutional help like educational loan, work, farming and other necessary things, it might bring a dramatic change in their life. Since nobody pay attentions to them, they also get frustrated and see their life as it is and continuing to be same According to him, there should be law/rules for punishment/penalty of some one hates others and others' profession; and religious leaders should come forward to give doctrines or ideas how life could be changed in the reality of religious dogmas. Sometimes he feels too bad when he sees that their children are more neglected by the community. Many donors are there in the country to help the Dalit or the poor but there should have planning to determine who are the poorest among the poor and untouchables. Since they have limited option for job and livelihood, there must be different ideas and plans to help them from donors and the government as well.

Case Study: 5

Name: Jabol Hossain

Occupation: 'Bede'

Location: Hatazari, Chittagong.

Mr. Jabol Hossain is from Mirer Khil, Hatazari, Chittagong. He is 45 years old. They has been living in a government (Khas) land near railway station for many years. They are Muslim and called 'Garoli' as they do not have any permanent residency. Though the land is owned by the government and they made their huts at their own cost, they have to pay Tk.75 per month to the local 'Mastans' (hoodlums). As they belong to very low income group and poorest of the poor, the amount of

money they pay for the residency is a severe economic torture to them. They complained about the issue to the local political leaders and police, but there is no remedy instead threatened for complains. According to their own estimate, they are about 1.5 million in number throughout Bangladesh. The major jobs of this community are selling of talisman for preventing snake bite, treatment for snake bite, snake charming, spiritual healing services, traditional healing services with ‘Singa’ and selling of traditional medicine, monkey show, and magic show etc. In some areas, they are called river gypsy in the country. They belong to low income group with an amount Tk. 3000-5000 per month which comes under the category of below poverty line. They face different problems in their day to day life due to lack of health food, services and education. Their children are severely discriminated in the schools by the fellow students of other communities, teachers and others. Due to humiliation, their children do not like to go school rather they prefer to live like vagabonds, beggars, thieves or sometimes go with the parents to practice their traditional occupations. They cannot marry in other communities. They can not establish any social relations with other communities in the society. Since they are untouchables, they are not allowed to enter any houses of other Muslim non-Dalits. They are not treated properly at the tea shop and restaurants due to the fear that the shop may loose business if the Bedes are allowed in the shops. The Bede women though look very strong, they are badly teased and humiliated in the localities. Many people are afraid of them as they can do some harm to the people through spiritual power or magic. Indeed, their unchanging living pattern and traditional attitude towards their lives and occupation are the obstacles for them to improve the quality of life.

Case Study: 6

Name: Shameer Ranjan Jolodas

Occupation: Fisherman

Location: Sagorika, Chittagong.

Shameer Ranjan Jolodas is from Khejurtoli Jelepara, Sagarika, Chittagong. He is a permanent resident of this locality. His father’s name is Manmohan Jolodas. He lives by fishing in the sea. He has this occupation by the way of inheritance. Due to their rigid religious and psychological barriers, they are not able to change their habitat and profession. Due to the recent changes in fishing technology, distribution,

and marketing system, these traditional fishermen have been facing severe problem to continue the traditional profession. They are severely discriminated in the society not only in terms of caste, but also other issues involved with socio-economics aspects of life. Due to the lack of capital assets, decline in fish resources, and communal riots, their livelihoods have been facing tremendous shocks. Since they belong to very lower Hindu caste, mostly untouchables, no one likes to offer them any other jobs. In the community, they do not go easily for any help such as seeking loan from bank, NGOs or other institutional agencies, introduction for jobs or any other cooperation for their identity. They are hated by other non-Dalits. For example, they have their own temples in their respective locality but other non-Dalits do not come to that temple. Though they wish to join ceremonies in other temple, sometimes they are not allowed to take part in the ceremonies. Other non-Dalits do not like to establish relations with them. The fishermen have restrictions in their marriage too. In few cases, a male can marry with a female of other caste but female can not marry any male from other castes. According to Shameer, the traditional fishermen are seriously discriminated and deprived in this country. They are always abused as untouchable in the society. Their children are treated bad in the schools and teased by the class mates and even by the teachers. They are called 'uncultured' and 'uncivilized' by other community. They face severe discrimination during any natural disasters which are very common for them every year especially during monsoon. They do not get any relief and rehabilitation like the people of other community though they become the real victims. They also become political victims very often during any local or national elections as they are treated pro-liberation and progressive vote bank by the fundamentalists supported politics. They become first victims of communal riots between the Hindu and Muslims in the country.