

**2016 RINDAS International Conference**  
**“Understanding Social Exclusion: Dalit Issues in South Asia”**

Date and Time: Friday, 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 2017, 9:45-18:30

Venue: Room B207, Wagenkan, Fukakusa Campus, Ryukoku University

**[Program]**

[Opening Session] Chair: Satoko Nakane (Associate Professor, Ryukoku University)

9:45-9:55 Opening Remarks

Satoko Nakane

9:55-10:10 Mission Statement

Mitsuya Dake (Professor, Ryukoku University)

[Presentations]

Chair: Satoko Nakane

1. 10:15-11:15

Kalinga Tudor Silva [SRI LANKA]

(Professor Emeritus, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka)

*Subaltern Caste Groups as Collateral Victims of War: Why Panchamars Remain Long-term IDPs in Jaffna, Sri Lanka*

Commentator: Sae Nakamura (Associate Professor, Kyoto University)

(15min. Break)

2. 11:30-12:30

Yasuko Fujikura [NEPAL]

(Visiting Research Fellow, National Museum of Ethnology)

*Citizenship Certificate: Transformation of Marginality in Nepal*

Commentator: Makiko Habazaki (Associate Professor, The University of  
Electro-Communications)

(60min. Lunch Break)

Chair: Yoshie Shimane (Associate Professor, Ryukoku University)

3. 13:30-14:30

Kanako Nakagawa [NEPAL]

(Research Fellow, NIHU Area Study project for South Asia/ National Museum of Ethnology)

*The Social Mobility Mediated by Meat Market: Struggles of Caste Ordained Butchers in Nepal*

Commentator: Kenichi Tachibana (Lecturer, Ritsumeikan University)

4. 14:30-15:30

Ghulam Hussain [PAKISTAN]

(PhD Student, Sociology/BGHS Universität Bielefeld, Germany & Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan)

*Caste Politics and Anti-Caste Dalit Assertions in Pakistan*

Commentator: Sou Yamane (Professor, Osaka University)

(20min. Break)

5. 15:50-16:50

Ronki Ram [INDIA]

(Visiting Professor of Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) Chair of India Studies at Ryukoku University/ Dean of Arts Faculty and Shaheed Bhagat Singh Professor of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India)

*Castes within Castes: Dilemmas of a Cohesive Dalit Movement in Contemporary East Punjab*

Commentator: Miwako Shiga (Associate Professor, Senshu University)

(10min. Break)

[General Discussion]

17:00-18:25 Chair: Mitsuya Dake

Discussants:

Pramod Kumar (Director, Institute for Development and Communication  
(IDC), Chandigarh, India)

Toshie Awaya (Professor, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

18:25-18:30 Closing Remarks

19:00-20:30 Reception at Shieikan Grill, Ryukoku University

## **Subaltern Caste Groups as Collateral Victims of War: Why Panchamars Remain Long-term IDPs in Jaffna, Sri Lanka**

Kalinga Tudor Silva, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka

The war between the Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) from 1983 to 2009 uprooted nearly all inhabitants in the Jaffna Peninsula irrespective of their ethnicity, social class, caste and gender. The total number displaced by the brutal war is estimated to be around 1.5 million. Among them nearly 750,000 people moved to foreign destinations in Europe, North America, India and elsewhere as refugees or as legal migrants. The remaining 750,000 were internally displaced people (IDPs) within Sri Lanka in camps (officially referred to as 'welfare centres', among relatives of the displaced and in various other alternative living arrangements. Six years after the end of the war, most of the persons internally displaced by the war have been resettled by the GOSL in either their original villages or in new settlements. The GOSL has declared its policy of resettlement of IDPs successful in terms of housing, infrastructure development, livelihood restoration, recovery and reintegration of IDPs. However, as of early 2016 the resettlement of IDPs remained unfinished and the last set of IDPs yet to be resettled posed a serious problem as they appeared to be collateral victims of war as well as the parallel and mutually reinforcing processes of ethnic, class and caste oppression.

As of January 2016, approximately 38,000 people (11,000 families) were identified by the state as remaining IDP population in Jaffna peninsula. The veritable "wretched of the earth" among them were some 3,970 war-displaced persons (1,100 families) who live in a total of 31 IDP camps located across seven administrative divisions in the Jaffna Peninsula. Many of these IDPs have been living in the camps for well over two decades and others were actually born during their stay in the IDP camps. The relief and subsidies provided to these IDPs by the state and NGOs stopped in 2011 and this has not encouraged them to move out. UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussain, who visited selected IDP camps in Jaffna in February 2016, referred to them as a 'lingering sore' in post-war recovery in Sri Lanka (Sunday Times 28-2-2016).

The Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) has not been able to resettle these long-term IDPs due to a combination of factors, including the acquisition of their land by the predominantly Sinhalese military for establishment of high security zones (HSZs) and the refusal by the security forces to release the acquired land for IDP resettlement on the grounds of security for military installations, complete landlessness of some of the IDPs and the refusal of IDPs to move to alternative sites proposed by the government. This had resulted in a deadlock in the government plans to complete the resettlement process and proceed with the post-war recovery in Sri Lanka. Prior research by Thanges and Silva (2009), Thanges (2015) and Bahirathy (2015) found that many of these long term IDPs belong to a socially excluded group within Jaffna Tamil society, a group collectively

identified as “depressed castes”, “Panchamar”, “minority Tamils” or “a minority within a minority”. While the war displaced most Tamil inhabitants in the Jaffna Peninsula irrespective of their caste and class, the largely overlapping categories of upper class and the high castes in Jaffna (see Pfaffenberger 1982, 1990) were able to move out to safety from the IDP camps using their social networks, higher skills and the financial resources at their disposal. On the other hand, the displacement of subaltern depressed caste IDPs was prolonged due to the forced acquisition of their land by the military, a process that may have been facilitated by the interstitial nature of their villages, their fragile land rights and lack of representation vis-à-vis the state. Moreover, they may be prevented from moving out of IDP camps due to their lack of financial and social capital, continuing disadvantages and discriminations they experience in the land market and in access to public utilities in general and the caste-blind and ethnically-biased policies of the state. Using information gathered in rapid ethnographic assessment, the paper examines how caste continues to serve as a social and economic barrier in remaining IDP populations in Jaffna.

**Citizenship Certificate:  
Transformation of Marginality in Nepal**

Yasuko Fujikura

**Abstract**

This paper explores the transformation of marginality in Nepal, by focusing on the collective efforts to obtain citizenship certificate in the Badi community. The Badi, who are treated as Dalit, had served as entertainers for small rajas and landlords in the past, and became increasingly dependent on income from women's sex work in the process of migration and urbanization in the 1960s. In the late 1990s, residents of the Badi community began to fight against historical discrimination and demanded legal rights for socially recognized marriage and family life. As many Badi women, historically, had unstable marriage, the identification of fathers of their children became the problem when they applied for birth registration and citizenship certificate. Badi activists and residents engaged in public campaigns to demand legal reform, arguing that birth registration and citizenship should be issued based on mother's identity. This study discusses how the long-standing social marginality of the Badi community has been altered in particular historical circumstances, by examining the manner in which people engage the state through the production of formal identification papers to be recognized as "Nepali citizens."

# **The Social Mobility Mediated by Meat Market -Struggles of Caste Ordained Butchers in Nepal**

Kanako Nakagawa

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## **Abstract**

This study examines the process of marketization of buffalo meat and how it leads the social mobility especially on caste society in Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. I will focus on the Khadgi caste, who have historically engaged in slaughtering, processing, and trading livestock as their caste-ordained role in Newar society. In 2008, Khadgi decided to leave governmental Dalit list, and insisted themselves as ‘Adivasi Janajati (Indigenous Nationality)’. I will describe the formation process of meat market, and shifts in Khadgi’s caste identity.

Khadgi suffered from caste discrimination, which can be traced back to ‘water unacceptable status’ by Muluki Ain of 1854. However, following the expansion of the market economy, they succeeded in gaining economic advantages by their caste-based role in the meat business.

At the beginning of 20th Century, one Khadgi family started their business of importing buffalo from UP state in India through Muslim brokers. They formed weekly buffalo bazar near the India/Nepal border, which developed into the main commercial route of buffalo meat supplied for Kathmandu Valley. In 1973, Khadgi formed their own caste association Nepal Khadgi Sewa Samiti(NKSS) as the platform to resist caste discrimination. After the democratization of 1990, the meat market expanded rapidly. During that period, many non- Khadgi people joined the meat business in chicken, goat, pork markets, but Khadgi still occupy the buffalo markets.

In the meat market, Khadgi negotiate with their business counterparts beyond their caste and ethnicity creating new norms and rules. For example, Khadgi employ the Muslims in their abattoirs, and introduce the cutting ways of halal, so that they are successful in selling ‘halal meat’ to Muslims. On the other hand, Khadgi strengthen their caste solidarity. NKSS supports collecting and processing buffalo skins and bones over Kathmandu Valley. NKSS shifted its function from social service to mutual aid networks mediated by the meat market.

Caste representation is usually regarded as an example of identity politics, centering on public meetings and agitations by activists. In contrast, however, I will examine the bottom up process of how everyday-life practices in the market mediate the social mobility in the caste society.

**Caste Politics & Anti-Caste Dalit Assertions in Pakistan**  
**(Presentation Title)**  
**Ghulam Hussain**

**Abstract**

This ethnographic and discursive study explores the invisibility of caste, and attempts to analyze intersecting nodes of anti-caste Dalit activism and caste politics of the dominant castes, tackling later as the fundamental micro-to-macro political determinant that lead to oppression of Dalits and to the sustenance of oligarchic caste democratic culture state (s) in Sindh, Pakistan. I will thus be addressing two aspects of the same question, that is, graded caste based inequalities and caste-based Dalit oppression. This study thus explores the counter narratives of Dalits, and socio-political strategies of Dalits to (re) organize, to (re) negotiate their identities and reconstruct their histories, to struggle against caste-based socio-economic discrimination, humiliation, dispossession, and the political marginalization, all such related forms of structural violence being dealt here as multiple forms of caste-based oppression. I attempt to demonstrate how resilience and dominance of casteism is constraining Dalits to assert caste identities, and in certain other ways provides an impetus to seek alternatives, to anonymize both castes and Dalitness by aligning themselves with wider trans-local and transnational Pro-Dalit assertions and Dalit activism. It, by this, attempts to bring to the surface Dalit identity assertions that are undermined, through hegemonic mechanisms, as apolitical ethnic identity assertions, as un-Islamic, anachronistic, anti-Hindu, anti-minority, and divisive of the Sindhi nation or antinational in general.

This study concludes that in Pakistan caste and kinship patronage form the basis of local politics in Pakistan. Caste based hierarchies lead to oppression, subjugation and exclusion of Dalit communities or castes, and to the sustenance of oligarchic democratic culture. Ethnic conflicts at local level are caste driven and create anarcho-casteist polity at mircopolitical level. I propose that caste capital is the major organizing principle of social, cultural and political capital that perpetuates structures of violence. Dalit in Sindh are more suppressed than the Dalits in India. Dalits are likely to continue with the politics of presence. However, graded inequalities within Dalits are not going to vanish soon, with the result that three to four major Dalit castes will dominate Dalit activism in Sindh. Ultra-subaltern castes, tribes and communities within Dalits are likely to remain excluded from the mainstream society and would remain excluded from Dalit civil society itself.

*Keywords: Caste Capital, Caste Resilience, Caste-based Oppression, Oligarchic Caste democracy, Caste Politics, Dalit activism, Dalit identities, Dalit assertion, Politics of Shame, Politics of difference, Politics of presence.*

# **Castes within Caste: Dilemmas of a Cohesive Dalit Movement in Contemporary East Punjab**

Ronki Ram

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## **Abstract**

*Punjab houses the highest number of Scheduled Castes (SCs) in comparison to all other states in India and much higher than national average SCs population. Despite the common nomenclature - SCs, Dalits are sharply divided into thirty nine castes scattered over varied religions and Deras. This caste heterogeneity impacts their upward social mobility and political mobilisation in multifarious ways.*