

CrossRef DOI of original article:

1 Understanding Scenario of Casteism in Twentieth Century India 2 through Satyajit Ray Film Sadgati

3 Abir Mondal¹

4 ¹ Visva-Bharati University

5 *Received: 1 January 1970 Accepted: 1 January 1970 Published: 1 January 1970*

7 **Abstract**

8 This article tries to emphasize the actual scenario of Casteism in twentieth century of India
9 solely on the basis of Satyajit Ray's film ?Sadgati? (1981). Although this article doesn't
10 focus on film theories and criticism of ?Sadgati? as a film but on sociological aspect of
11 castesim in India. ?Sadgati? is a Hindi movie but in this article the dialogues of the movie as
12 per requirement is translated by author.

14 **Index terms**— casteism, sadgati, satyajit ray, film.

15 **1 Introduction**

16 What is Casteism? According to R. N. Sharma, "Casteism is a blind group loyalty towards one's own caste or sub-
17 caste, which does not care for the interests of other castes, and seeks to realize the social, economic, political and
18 other interests of its own group" (quoted in Rao, 2017). So in simple word we can say Casteism is a caste's interest
19 towards its individuals and oppressed others who are inferior to them. It's a basic caste-wise discrimination which
20 has been practicing since the ancient period in India. In the Indian society it cannot be ignored. The relationship
21 between Caste and Society is significant. Caste is a factor behind social stratification which in simple word, the
22 social division of the society. By the definition of Bottomore it can be cleared, "social stratification is the division
23 of society into classes of strata, which from a hierarchy of prestige and power" (quoted in Pal, 2016). Actually,
24 social stratification characterized by endogamy, hereditary transmission of a style of life which often includes an
25 occupation, ritual status in a hierarchy, and customary social interaction and exclusion based on cultural notions
26 of purity and pollution. The Hindu religion has castes that range from Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and
27 Sudra. While the Brahmins are the highest caste, they enjoy all the amenities which the lower caste person isn't
28 allowed to. People are not allowed access to certain things solely because of their caste. This creates a lot of
29 division in Indian society. So from societal aspect casteism is very crucial element for social stratification.

30 In this article we will try to understand the caste based oppression in twentieth century of rural India with
31 reference to the legendary film director Satyajit Ray's movie Sadgati. Originally this movie is based on a
32 short story of same name written by Munsi Premchand. This story was first published in 1931 in volume 4
33 of Mansarovar, the collected stories. This Hindi story was translation into English by David Rubin appears
34 as the title story of Rubin's Deliverance and Other Stories. Satyajit Ray made this film in 1981 produced by
35 Doordarshan. Ray in his book The Chess Players and Other Screenplays called this story of a poor Dalit "a
36 deeply angry film ... not the anger of an exploding bomb but of a bow stretched taut and quivering" (1989) where
37 Sourodipto Sanyal described as "It is not the worst manifestations of physical violence meted out to lower castes,
38 but the everyday exploitation they face, which is cinematically represented. The issue of caste is also linked to
39 the superstitious practices of Hinduism in the film" (2016). This film was telecasted first on Indian television
40 (Doordarshan) in 1981, and subsequently on Channel 4 in the UK.

41 **2 II. Casteism Showcasing in Sadgati**

42 Being a Bengali Kayasthas (in the ancient Chaturvarna system 2 nd height caste after Brahmin) Satyajit Ray
43 don't believe in this caste system. Even he criticizes the higher caste's negative attitude towards lower caste. In

2 II. CASTEISM SHOWCASING IN SADGATI

44 a Bengali dialogue of his movie Jana Aranya (The Middleman) he sarcastically emphasizes that which I try to
45 translate as "being a Brahman decent you can do begging on road but how can you peddle anything?"(37:12-
46 37:15). Actually he criticizes the values of higher caste where they proudly can do beg on road but not do laborious
47 works which gives them little earning but provide self-respect. In Sadgati this caste based discrimination is rather
48 more prominent.

49 The main characters of this film are Dukhi (a tanner) played by Om Puri, Jhuria (Dhuki's wife) played by
50 Smita Patil, Dhania (Dukhi's daughter) played by Richa Sharma, Ghasiram (a Brahmin) played by Mohan
51 Agashe, Lakshmi (Brahmin's wife) played by Gita Siddharth. The story is roaming around the life of Dukhi and
52 his misery which was described by Upadhyaya as "Dukhi is so completely grounded under the weight of tradition
53 and Brahmanical superiority that he considers himself a non-entity before the spiritual might of the Brahman.
54 He is so laden with his consciousness of being an untouchable that he follows those norms even when there is
55 nobody to observe or enforce it" (quoted in Upadhyaya & Ahmad, 2010).

56 Firstly the name of lead character Dukhi is metaphorically significant in the film. By using the name 'Dukhi'
57 which literary means 'Wretched' Premchand as well as Ray traces the 'Dukh' or 'Sorrow' of a lower castes that
58 is offered by higher castes which makes him the ultimate victim of mortal coil as he was "untouchable chamar,
59 an untouchable caste according to the hierarchical caste system" (Rajak, 2020).

60 The film starts with Dukhi went to field for cutting grass in spite of his illness which he offered as a gift (Bhet)
61 to the village Brahmin Ghasiram when he asked him to come for fixing an auspicious date for his daughter's
62 engagement according to Hindu customs. Here Dukhi is not represented as a social revolutionary where he
63 proudly protest against the social discrimination and prejudices but he accepted it as his destiny Brahmin pundit
64 takes this as an 'opportunity' to get some strenuous works done by Dukhi, as he knows that Dukhi is compelled to
65 follow his order because Dukhi is religiously bound" (Rajak, 2020). By this, Ray slaps on the cheeks of civilized
66 society. So despite of the inferior treatment by Ghasiram, Dukhi always addressed him as Maharaj. Giving
67 respect to others attitude of Dukhi couldn't beat the cunningness of Pandit or his cruelty. He has learned from
68 his ancestors that serving the upper castes is their destiny. And he tries to serve with devotion. So that he
69 ordered Jhuria, "Tell Dhania to break off some Mohwa leaves. Make a mat with them" (Sadgati, 2:31-2:34) for
70 Ghasiram as Dukhi knew that being a Brahmin Ghasiram definitely refused to sit on Chamar's cot. Casteism
71 is more prominent when Jhuria said, "We can borrow one (cot) from the Chief (Mukhiya, head of the village)
72 (2:19-2:21) then Dukhi reminded her, "Are you mad or what! They won't let a coat out of their house to light a
73 fire with and you tell lend us their cot? (2:21-2:28) so it is clear that this caste based discrimination is not only
74 restricted in Brahmin but in every corner of the society.

75 Dukhi also ordered "Make a plate with Mohwa leaves. They are holy" (2:43-2:47) as they would "have to
76 offer him some provisions (Sidha) too" (2:37-2:39). Here 'Holy' word used sarcastically where being holy Mohwa
77 leaves easily excepted by Ghasiram but how he neglect the manufacturer of Mohwa made plate? Respecting a
78 creation and dishonor the creator is a self contradictory thing. He also warned his wife "put four annas on the
79 edge of the leaf. Don't touch anything (4:10-4:14) which indicates touch of lower caste would profane that plate.
80 But when lower caste people made that plate weren't those profane then? Unfortunately there is no answer as
81 this prejudice was made for the upper castes' benefit.

82 We have to understand that being a representative of Chamar community the only identity of Dukhi, Jhuria
83 and others like them were 'Chamar' and that could be clear by Dukhi's addressing some lady as 'Gond's daughter'
84 as she was the representative of Gond community. It was injected into their blood that only identity is that they
85 can achieve by birth not by work and unfortunately these illiterate lower caste people accepted it as an omnipotent
86 truth without arguing which described as—"The dominating exercise of power takes an insidious form when the
87 present order is internalized by the Dalits?" (quoted in Kant, 2017).

88 Dukhi addressed Ghasiram with respect, "Your Honor (Maharaj), I've come to see you" (Sadgati 8:59-9:01).
89 He assured the Brahmin, "I have kept everything ready, your honor" (9:10-9:12) so that Ghasiram didn't have to
90 worry. But to showcase his higher status he said, "What do you think? Am I free so that whenever someone calls
91 me to go with I will go?" (9:22-9:26). Actually being a Brahmin how could he complacent with just a bundle
92 of fodder as gift? So he wanted to get Dukhi to do some household works for free as it was Dukhi's need he
93 has to obey Brahmin's order because without a Brahmin he couldn't fix the date of his daughter's marriage.
94 As mentioned earlier Dukhi was the follower of social rituals, not the revolutionary. He believed that without
95 Brahmin his daughter's marriage couldn't be done. Dukhi gladly accepted orders from Ghasiram which are as
96 follows-1) "See there is a broom lying there. Take it and sweep that balcony (Verandah) clean" (9:43-9:41). 2)
97 "There is a store-room across the street out in front.

98 You will find a pile of husk lying there. Take it out and put it in cowshed" (12:03-12:15). 3) "I want you
99 to chop wood for me. You will find a log lying below a banyan tree outside. I want it chopped in small slices"
100 (12:20-12:34). Astonishingly after every order Dukhi said like a tamed servant "Joe spades (Jo Hukum)" or
101 "Yes sir (Maharaj)". The question is how an illiterate, so called uncivilized dalit showed this kind of penchant?
102 Which Haider manifested "Characterized by failure, lack and inadequacy, most of the Dalit-speaking subjects
103 are silent sufferers who bend beneath the lashes of undeserved fate, and encounter expressivity or volubility in
104 others without counter-poising their own expressions of suffering" (quoted in Asaduddin, 2016).

105 Even he fulfilled first two orders with dedication. But in third case he couldn't succeed as he had no time to
106 take any food from morning. While he was struggling with the wood log a gond (lower caste) questioned why he

107 was trying this as he was not habituated with the work. Then he mentioned the work as "The Brahmin's order"
108 (Sadgati 20:52-20:53) and it signified how these lower caste people's life controlled by 'Brahmin's order'.

109 **3 Volume XXII Issue VI Version I**

110 **4 ()**

111 The gond sarcastically asked, "So can't he even let you feed, even if he doesn't give you money?" ??20:16-21:19)
112 and insisted Dukhi to ask Ghasiram "for some food" ??21:20). But his conscience stopped him to take a favor as
113 he believed that by asking Ghasiram to go to his house was already a favor so "how can I ask food?" (21:27-21:28).
114 This is his ethics which is nothing but casted pearl before swine. He asked that gond for Bidi (low quality cigar)
115 which might give him power to cut and even the gond gave it to Dukhi. Being a lower caste the gond felt the
116 pain of Dukhi and helped him as much could. But Dukhi needed a fire to light the biri. He thought Ghasiram's
117 wife might help him with the fire. But unfortunately he was wrong. Her question "Why is that man come back
118 again and again" (23:13-23:15) towards her husband and when her husband disclosed the reason of his coming
119 her question why her husband went to "Now? In the middle of the day" (23:24) was really selfish. As it was
120 not seems unfair to her to have Dukhi worked forcefully without remuneration 'in the middle of the day' but her
121 husband's going. This partiality is not just because Ghasiram was her husband but being a dalit this was his
122 duty to work as per order of higher castes.

123 Dukhi asked for fire to Ghasiram and listening to that Ghasiram showed a little grace as he asked her wife to
124 give him fire. But her wife screamed with anger reminding Ghasiram that "You are not worried about anything
125 of caste rules (Dharama-karama). Tanners, Washer men (Dhobi), Bird shooters (Pasi)? they just come walking
126 in. As if it is not a decent Hindu house, but an inn" (23:43-23:51). She even more loudly said, "Tell him to get
127 out or I will scorch his face with a fire brand" (23:54-23:58) so that Dukhi could hear. With that she added, "If
128 he ever comes back here, I will give him the coals in his face" (24:16-24:20) which ironically remarked as "She was
129 speaking the truth-how could a tanner ever come into a Brahman's house? These people were clean and holy, that
130 was why the whole world worshipped and respected them. A mere tanner was absolutely nothing" (Upadhyay
131 & Ahmad, 2010). In reply for the first time patience of the Dukhi ignited and he just said in innuendo, "It's
132 because we are such fools that we get kicked about" (Sadgati 24:39-24:41). After Dukhi's departure the personal
133 conversation of husband-wife brought out a little sympathy towards Dukhi but when it's conflicted with their
134 own comfort they easily neglected Dukhi's basic needs which described as follows-Lakshmi (Ghasiram's wife):
135 "Has the tanner had anything to eat?" Ghasiram: "Perhaps not. He is been here since morning".

136 "How can he chop wood on an empty stomach?" –"Why don't you give him something to eat?" –"Then let
137 him be hungry. I can't go cooking in this hot weather". (24:51-25: 19) After smoked the hookah due to physical
138 weakness he felt asleep which was not tolerated by the Brahmin and said, "Have you come here to snooze?"
139 (25:49-25:50) and Dukhi for the first time admitted, "I had nothing to eat since this morning" (30:10-30:12)
140 which was easily thwarted by Ghasiram by saying, "So what? Finish your work, go home and eat whatever
141 you want" (30:14-30:17) and alarmed him, "So if you don't find an auspicious date for your daughter's marriage
142 don't blame me" (30:25-30:29). He ordered boldly, "Hit hard?. Don't stop until you have split it" (31:34-31:44).
143 Hearing this, Dukhi's stubbornness rose and he madly hit the wood and after a couple of minute's hard struggle
144 he fallen down. Dukhi died. His death was happened without a single protest which Zutsh describes "?stories like
145 'Sadgati', he occasionally thrusts questions and statements at the readers that are capable of creating ripples in
146 the smooth waters of the reader's probable indifference towards those problems" (quoted in Asaduddin & Ghosh,
147 2012). Even Ghasiram's wife reacted Dukhi's death very casually like, "Go to the tanners' colony. Tell them to
148 come and take the corpse away?. maybe he had fever. Some people die in their sleep, don't they? After all, you
149 didn't know that he would die" (Sadgati 34:04-34:25). And initially we assumes that the Brahmin couple is the
150 reason behind his death but if we think deeply we understand the Brahmin couple is just a part of the society
151 but main culprit of this oppression and repression is the society with its evil caste system and prejudices.

152 The caste discrimination was not ended yet. The dead body of Dukhi made a trouble for the upper caste as
153 it was lying on the way of upper castes' well. So being an untouchable dead body it makes their way profane
154 and without making the well holy they couldn't take water from it. And no doughty "This is a serious matter"
155 (37:31-37:35) for them and was cleared by the words of a Brahmin, "Until the corpse is removed, we can't use
156 this road to go to well. How long we live without water?" (37:36-37:42)

157 On the other side no sooner did that gond informed about the death of Dukhi than he went to tanners' colony
158 and assimilated the dalits and induced them to protest against this wrong doing and alert them "He (Ghasiram)
159 will ask to remove the corpse?don't touch the corpse, or you will be in trouble with police" (35:24-35:32) as "it's
160 a police case and the guilty one in the Brahmin" (35:33-35:39). After some time Ghasiram came to tanners'
161 colony and asked to remove the dead body but by their attitude he understood, "They would not remove this
162 corpse" (38:30-38:32). But Lakshmi's attitude was like if they didn't remove the corpse it's their sin because being
163 Brahmin they couldn't remove that dead body. But her husband said, "They just turned a deaf ear and looked
164 at me with red eyes" (38:47-38:50). After sometime when it was raining Lakshmi was afraid of the decomposition
165 of the dead body and odd smells.

166 In the mean time when Jhuria was informed about her husband's death she was devastated and cried loudly
167 in front of the Brahmin's house, "Maharajyou made him chop wood -made him work hardwhen he had just

168 recovered from fever. He had no strength -yet you made him work. What harm has he done you that you were
169 so cruel?" (40:35-40:56). At the end point of the story this little voice was heard from the oppressed. But this
170 was not end though. As Ghasiram had no way to remove that dead body he made a way to got rid of this
171 mess. He took a round branch of tree by which he pulled up the leg of dead body without touching it and tide
172 with a rope and dragged the dead body by the rope and left that body into a heaps of rubbish where many
173 decomposed animals' skeleton were already there. The last scene of the movie was most ironical which was
174 described as "The backbreaking toil that extracts Dukhi's life ironically places his body in a no-man's land where
175 it is lies unclaimed" (Kant, 2017). After solving the problem of dead body being a puritanical Brahmin he had
176 to the place make holy where the dalit dead body lied and for that he freshly bathed, chanted holy mantras
177 and sprinkled holy water (Gangajal) to purify the place. In this way he made the 'Sadgati' of the dead body.
178 The English title of the film 'Deliverance' is also significant. Here this name approves two meaning 1) First is
179 how Ghasiram get deliverance from the dead body which might give him trouble. 2) Secondly the metaphoric
180 meaning of this is how lower caste's people like Dukhi get rid of the worldly misery offered by higher castes by
181 death and attains 'Mukti' or 'Deliverance' from the eternal world.

182 5 III. Analyzing Practical Scenario with Film Depiction

183 Being a neo-realist filmmaker (Specially Italian neo-realist) Satayjit Ray's film Sadgati is a realistic portrayal of
184 casteism in twentieth century. Although the film comprises a fiction story. So there must be qualms among its
185 relevant in practical field. May be the actual scenario is not so pathetic in twentieth century or even today as
186 showcased in Ray's film. So for that we have to take evidence of secondary sources to understand is this film a
187 fable of Ray or is there any relevance with real society.

188 The first evidence is the census of India in 1900s by British Government where in 1935, "the British Government
189 of India came up with a list of 400 groups considered untouchable, as well as many tribal groups, that would be
190 accorded special privileges in order to overcome deprivation and discrimination. Those groups included on this
191 list came to be termed Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the 1970s, however, many leaders of castes
192 considered untouchable started calling themselves Dalits" (Sekhon, 2000).

193 After 1910, "Dalit leaders started focusing on distancing themselves from Hinduism and began to advocate
194 for a separate electorate for the Dalits. But Gandhi? tried to instead encourage the incorporation of Dalits as
195 part of reformed Hinduism" (Deshpande, 2010).

196 The pioneer of Dalit Movement in India B.R. Ambedkar believed that "the subordination of Dalits was
197 primarily economic and political, and could only be overcome by changing the social structure through legal,
198 political, and educational means" (Sekhon, 2000). In 1956, he encouraged around six million Dalits to convert to
199 Buddhism "as a means of escaping the social stigma of untouchability within the Hindu caste system" (Sekhon,
200 2000).

201 So it is very clear that casteism and caste based discrimination is there in India and this is not an imaginary
202 story made by Ray but it has relevance in society. Now let's look at how lower caste people are oppressed at
203 that time. The torture towards dalits and lower castes as shown by Ray in the film was actually the same in real
204 society?

205 Our first evidence Kilvenmani massacre was an incident in Kizhavennmani village, Nagapattinam district of
206 Tamil Nadu on 25 December 1968 in which a group of around 44 people, the families of striking Dalit village
207 labourers, were murdered by a gang, allegedly led by their landlords. The chief accused was Gopalakrishnan
208 Naidu ??Gough, 1974).

209 We are all aware of Phoolan Devi, the famous dacoit of UP and later became politician. She was born in a
210 Mallaah (boatman class) family. Her life story is not less than movie script. In a nutshell, she was abducted by
211 an upper-caste Thakur friend of her husband Vikram. She was locked up in the Behmai village and was raped
212 in the village by Thakur men, until she managed to escape after three weeks (Arquilla, 2011). Phoolan then
213 formed a gang of Mallahs of her own, which carried out a series of violent robberies in north and central India.
214 Seventeen months after her escape from Behmai, Phoolan returned to the village, to take her revenge. On 14
215 February 1981, her gang massacred 22 Thakur men in the village. Later she surrendered and sentenced for eleven
216 years in prison (Devi, Cuny & Rambali, 1996) (Narula, 1999).

217 Like this there is multiple example of brutality of Ranvir Sena towards lower castes. And in rural to urban
218 level of India such incidents were not rare then and even today. In Tsundur massacre 8 dalits were killed on the 6
219 August 1991. In Melavalavu massacre six Dalits were killed in June 1996. The list is endless. So after analyzing
220 so much evidence of caste based oppression and torture we can say that defiantly Ray's Sadgati was not mythic
221 story but actually iniquitous scenario of social discrimination.

222 6 IV.

223 7 Conclusion

224 "Sadgati vividly sketches the pitiless plight of the Chamars in the discredited lives they lead and the ignominious
225 death they face" (Kant, 2017). Now-a-days this situation might have been changed slightly, but not totally. So
226 the question is-is there any relevance of caste based discrimination and oppression today? The answer lies in some
227 newspaper headlines like recent Hathras dalit girl rape and murder case; a dalit boy is brutally beaten up by his

228 school teacher & later died for touching upper caste's water pot (Ghosh, 2022); a dalit was being threatened with
229 dead threats by the Thakurs of his village after he complained that utensils of Scheduled Castes school children
230 used for their mid-day meals were kept apart on the premises, and washed by the children themselves (Rehman,
231 2021). All these can clearly describe how casteism is relevance even today.

232 Unfortunately the news of oppression, exploitation and marginalization of lower caste people wouldn't end
233 yet. There is millions of similar news available on newspaper archives. The most astonishing thing is when the
234 world is trying to combat with cancer, missiles are sending to the universe, train lines are being made under
235 river; bullet trains are attaining new technologies to run faster a dalit individual being born in lower caste family
236 is facing of caste based torture somewhere in remote India. We can say in urban and metropolitan cities this
237 scenario of dalit torture might be lesser but not abolish. But in rural India it is massive to control though Indian
238 Constitution protects the rights of all people irrespective of caste. It conserves equal opportunity to every citizen.

239 However, we can conclude by understanding the reference of Sadgati even today with Bhaskar Chattopadhyay's
240 remark "The story of Sadgati was written almost one hundred years ago. The film itself was made 40 years ago.
But even today, the evil shadow of untouchability and caste crimes hover over us" (2017).

Sadgati.

Ranvir Sena is a militia functioning as a higher-caste landlord group based in Bihar. It has committed violent acts against Dalits and other lower castes people which are as follows-

1) 21 Dalits including 11 women, six children and three infants were slaughtered on 11 July 1996 by the Ranvir Sena in Bathani Tola, Bhojpur district. The

76 perpetrators targeted women and children in Volumparticular, so as to deter any future resistance (Banerjee, 2012). 2) On 1 XXII December 1997, sena members killed 63 Dalits-16 children, 27 women and Is- 18 men-by guns in Laxmanpur-Bathe. The dead included 5 teenage girls sue who had been raped and mutilated before being shot, and 8 people from the VI Mallah community

Ver-
sion
I
)
(

Figure 1:

7 CONCLUSION

242 [Youtube] , Youtube . <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rRpaPV3QayY>

243 [Youtube] , Youtube . <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nd1rRNuG0Nw>

244 [Rajak (2020)] , Sumit Rajak . 2020. July-September.

245 [Banerjee (2012)] *All accused in 1996 Bihar Dalit carnage acquitted*, Shoumojit Banerjee . <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/all-accused-in-1996-bihar-dalit-carnage-acquitted/article3321368.ece> 2012. April 17.

246 [Kant ()] ‘Approaching the Question of Caste Subjugation in Premchand’s Stories Kafan and Sadgati and Analyzing them with Reference to Dominant Trends Noticed in Dalit Literature’. Yashika Kant . *Veda’s Journal of English Language and Literature-JOELL* 2017.

247 [Narula (1999)] *Broken People: Caste Violence Against India’s “Untouchables*, Smita Narula . <https://www.hrw.org/report/1999/03/01/broken-people/caste-violence-against-indias-untouchables> 1999. March 1.

248 [Upadhyay, Shashi Bhushan Ahmad, Imitiaz ()] ‘Dalit Assertion in Society, Literature and History’. *Orient BlackSwan* Upadhyay, Shashi Bhushan & Ahmad, Imitiaz (ed.) 2010.

249 [Ghosh, Poulo (Ed.). (1974)] ‘Dalit boy thrashed for touching water pot dies in Rajasthan: Gehlot orders probe, announces 5 lakh. Hindustan Times’. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/dalit-Indian-Peasant-Uprisings-Economic-and-Political-Weekly> Ghosh, Poulo (Ed.). (ed.) 2022. August 14. 1974. August. 9 (32) p. . (-boy-thrashed-by-teacher-for-allegedly-touching -water-pot-in-rajasthan-dies-101660446996437.html 10)

250 [Ray ()] *Director) & Doordarshan. (Producer)*, Satyajit Ray . 1981.

251 [Ray] *Director) & Guha, Subir. (Producer)*. (1976). *Jana Aranya*, Satyajit Ray .

252 [Asaduddin Ghosh, Anuradha (ed.) ()] *Filming Fiction: Tagore, Premchand, and Ray*, Asaduddin & Ghosh, Anuradha (ed.) 2012. India: OUP.

253 [Deshpande and Manali ()] *History of Indian Caste System and Its Impact on India Today*, Deshpande , S Manali . 2010. California: San Luis Obispo Fall.

254 [Rehman (2021)] *I’m being threatened: Dalit pradhan’s husband who complained of caste discrimination in UP village school*. The Indian Express, Asad Rehman . <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/lucknow/im-being-threatened-dalit-pradhans-husband-who-complained-of-caste-discrimination-in-up-village-school-5901221/> 2021. September 27.

255 [Devi et al. ()] *I, Phoolan Devi: The Autobiography of India’s Bandit Queen*, Phoolan Devi , Marie-Thérèse & Cuny , Paul Rambali . 1996. London: Warner Books.

256 [Rao and Shankar ()] ‘Indian Social Problems: A Sociological Perspective’. C N Rao , Shankar . *India: S CHAND & Company Limited* 2017.

257 [Arquilla (ed.) ()] *Insurgents, Raiders, and Bandits: How Masters of Irregular Warfare Have Shaped Our World*, John Arquilla . Ivan R. Dee (ed.) 2011.

258 [Karamchedu Massacre: A Report ()] *Karamchedu Massacre: A Report*, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140801202415/http://www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/HumanRights/05%20STATE%20AGRICULTURE%20FOREST%20DALITS%20AND%20TRIBALS/08.pdf> 1985.

259 [Sekhon ()] *Modern India*, Joti Sekhon . 2000. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

260 [Asaduddin ()] *Premchand in World Languages: Translation, reception and cinematic representations*, Asaduddin . 2016. New York: Routledge.

261 [Sanyal (2016)] *Revisiting ‘Sadgati’ by Satyajit Ray: Caste in Indian Cinema*, Sourodipto Sanyal . <https://sabrangindia.in/article/revisiting-sadgati-satyajit-ray-caste-indian-cinema> 2016. Jun 24.

262 [Problematizing Dalit] ‘Sadgati as the Battleground of Conflict between the ‘Progressive Casteless Consciousness’ and the Anti-Caste Dalit Consciousness’. Chetna Problematizing Dalit . <http://rupkatha.com/V12/n4/v12n410.pdf> Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities 12 (4) p. .

263 [Chattopadhyay (2017)] *Sadgati: Based on Premchand’s story, Satyajit Ray took a scathing look at the tragic lives of untouchables*, Bhaskar Chattopadhyay . <https://www.firstpost.com/entertainment/sadgati-based-on-premchand-s-story-satyajit-ray-took-a-scathing-look-at-the-tragic-lives-of-untouchables-474711.html> 2017. October 08.

264 [Pal ()] *Sikshabigyan*, Debasish Pal . 2016. Kolkata; Rita Book Agency. (nd ed.)

265 [Ray ()] *The Chess Players and Other Screenplays*, Satyajit Ray . 1989. London: Faber and Faber.