

Caste and Casteism in Sociological Scholarship

By

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Abstract

Caste is a central topic in the study of sociology in India. The author asks the question of how the conceptualizations of caste have changed over time and explores the study of caste in the journal *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, a leading sociological journal in India, over a fifty-year period of its publication.^{1,2} The author examines 667 scholarly articles published between 1967 and 2016. She reports that 81% of these articles contain some mention of caste; and that caste is a central focus of inquiry for 31% of the published articles. Among the articles in which caste as a central focus of inquiry, the author completed a discourse analysis on a sample of 20% of the articles. She finds that the conceptualizations of caste change over time, shifting from a focus on caste's ritual aspects to how it affects peoples' everyday social, economic, and political lives. The findings reported here highlight the ways that the mainstream sociological scholarship conceptualizes caste and support the critique of scholars who note important limitations in the mainstream scholarship on caste. These limitations include insufficient attention to the lived experiences of Dalit women and how caste and gender intersect more broadly; minimal focus on the specific mechanisms by which caste power reproduces itself among caste elites in the contemporary period; and limited details on the contributions of historically discriminated castes to the development of Indian and global society. Although some of these areas have been explored in detail by sociologists outside of mainstream publications and by scholars from sister disciplines, inattention or omission within a discipline that devotes so much attention to the study of caste provides further evidence for the need to diversify sociology and its gatekeepers.

Key words: caste, India, sociological scholarship

Introduction

Despite its status as the discipline most concerned with the subject, Indian sociology seems to have done little to account for or to counter the tendency for caste to vanish from view in precisely those contexts where it had been most effective (Deshpande 2003:99).

Caste is a central topic of inquiry in the sociological study of India. Yet, Satish Deshpande, among other scholars, have questioned whether the scholarship on caste and the discipline of sociology more broadly offer critical insights to how casteism operates in

contemporary society. Perhaps the omissions in the sociological literature on caste should be unsurprising given that academia remains dominated by caste elites; in 2010, faculty in India's leading research institutions were overwhelmingly from advantaged backgrounds with less than four percent of faculty from Dalit or ex-untouchable communities (MHRD 2011).³ The diaspora—particularly in North America and Europe—is also overwhelmingly from elite backgrounds. As such, groups that have benefited from the caste system and casteism continue to have a stronghold on the production of sociological knowledge about caste.

In this paper, the author examines the treatment of caste in the sociological literature over the past half century. Specifically, she looks at the articles published in *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, one of India's

¹This timeframe (1967-2016) comprises five complete decades after the start of the journal's publication.

²*Contributions to Indian Sociology* has the 2nd highest SCImago Journal Rank of the six sociological journals in India (Scimago Journal & Country Rank 2021).

³In 2011, the Institutes of National Importance had only 3.42% SCs, 0.78% STs, and 4.45% OBC faculty (MHRD 2011).

leading sociological journals, to explore two inter-related questions. First, what *proportion* of research articles have focused on caste and how *has this trend changed* during the past fifty years? Second, in the articles that focus on caste, how have conceptualizations of caste varied over time? The author also tracks the institutional affiliations of the authors and the methods they employed.

Literature Review

Scholars have traced various conceptualizations of caste in sociological literature. Jodhka (2015) argues that there have been three main views or trajectories of caste over time and that these conceptualizations are not mutually exclusive. Caste as *tradition* emphasizes the religious and ritualistic nature of caste. Historically, scholars have approached caste as a uniquely Indian institution steeped in customs and religious practices that spill into other domains of life. Jodhka (2015) argues that caste as tradition is the most common mode of conceptualizing caste in the sociological literature and dates back to the engagement of Western and colonial scholars. Jodhka (2015) describes caste as *power* as a second trajectory in the scholarship that places caste in a comparative perspective as an extreme example of how status distinctions operate. This body of scholarship conceptualizes the reproduction of caste in everyday life through the operation of coercive power and dominance, including material prosperity and exclusion.⁴ Studies of democratic politics and the evolving processes of caste in electoral transformations also fall within the trajectory of caste as power. Jodhka's (2015) third categorization of caste as *humiliation and discrimination* emphasizes the institutionalized nature of humiliation and discrimination and offers a larger critique of society. This third stream builds squarely upon a longer-standing political critique of caste, as well as on ideas of empowerment and resistance among historically exploited castes, dating back to the writings of Jyotiba and Savitribai Phule in the 19th and 20th centuries.

A subset of scholars have argued that the mainstream sociological literature minimizes how caste power structures Indian society and lived experiences of violence. The dominant historiography and knowledge is largely from those who have traditionally held power, making it "only part-history and hence this gives only

a distorted picture of the past" (Oommen 1983:117). As the opening quote to this article by Deshpande states, most knowledge has not adequately captured the new ways in which caste is being reproduced and its devastating effects. Visvanathan (2001) points out that sociology is highly lacking in the 'Dalit discourse' which is extremely important to understand Dalit experiences through their own words. Visvanathan (2001:3123) explains:

What this implies is not standard textbook categories but the lived world of Dalit oppression and not a borrowed sociology locating itself between caste, class, and race. It is a sociology which uses emotions to create a cognitive world, a sociology born out of anger.

Kannabiran (2001) points out the lack of mainstream attention to a long tradition of Dalit scholars with a more radical and politicized way of writing about caste. She argues that the relationship between the Indian state and sociologists "erases the potential for a radical pedagogy, and invisibilises the radical politics of anti-caste movements within the academy even while 'teaching' them" (2001:1). Knowledge produced by sociologists in "service of the state" must necessarily "lend itself to disaggregation and be apolitical" and "is expected to keep the status quo" (ibid). This conservative knowledge and pedagogy dampens the possibility for movements of liberation. Deshpande (2003) describes how sociologists have not been able to fully grasp the way casteism works outside of the realm of religion and rituals. Due to the biases in academia, caste blindness dominates scholarly understandings of many key institutions at a time when caste-based atrocities against Dalits and other historically oppressed groups are on the rise. Guru (2009) argues that understanding the gaps in sociology and anthropology can further aid the fight against casteism and the democratization of democracy. The language and practice of self-esteem and self-respect emerging from anti-casteist movements needs to take root in Indian democracy instead of the focus on democracy's political character by Indian elites (Guru 2011:100). These critical views of the scholarship on caste make an intervention in a discipline that presents itself as providing an expert view of untouchability, caste, and power.

These shortcomings in the sociological literature are consistent with the under-representation of faculty from historically exploited groups in institutions of higher education. (See Table 1 in Appendix A). The most recent data on the Institutes of National

⁴This conceptualization of caste flourished in village studies in the 1950s and 1960s.

Importance find that Scheduled Castes (SCs) are 7% of faculty and Scheduled Tribes (STs) are less than 2% of faculty—which is well below their percentages in the population and corresponding reservation quotas despite improvements between 2011 and 2018. These small percentages are especially problematic because Institutes of National Importance are research institutions that train a disproportionate share of future research scholars. (See Table 1 in Appendix A)

Moving away from mainstream sociological scholarship, Rege's (2011:230) conceptualizations of caste build on her engagement with Dalit literature, which highlight, "the relationship between Dalit modernity and the functioning of dominant social science knowledge in India." She sees three main moments. First, caste as political, which is widely (mis) labelled as anti-nationalism and emerges from the divergent responses to British rule of India. Scholars such as Patel (1995) have also pointed out the distinction between how Dalits and caste elites viewed colonialism. Leading Dalit activists argued that, "the colonial state had a positive role to play, for it introduced modern political systems to the country, which would further the cause of the untouchables" (Patel 1995:224). Rege's (2011: 230) second conceptualization of caste emerges in the 1970s by Dalits and Dalit Panthers who see "caste as feudal backwardness of Hinduism." Dalits formulated their findings into policy suggestions. Rege's (2011) third categorization of caste examines the new forms of modernity of mass democracy. Rege's conceptualizations differ from common sociological categorizations as she looks beyond dominant social science knowledge that includes limited Dalit voices.

Historians Rawat and Satynarayana (2016:8) argue that there is a shift in attention to Dalits' role in Indian history after the 1990s. Related to the diversification of academia since the 1990s, scholars have increased their focus on how Dalits have helped shape the country through their political struggles. This shift also includes attention to Dalit feminism and the differences in the lived experiences of Dalit women compared to caste Hindu women. This broader shift in attention is attributed to the, "mass killings of Dalits and the controversy over implementation of the Mandal commission's recommendations in the 1990s" (Rawat and Satyanarayana 2016:23-24). Even though the struggles of caste long preceded this period, these events led to more national attention to the violence and discrimination faced by oppressed castes.

The author expects that there will be an increase in scholarly publications on caste across the fifty-year

publication period, due to the diversification of faculty over time. In addition, conceptualizations of caste are likely to change from a heavy focus on ritual status and culture to a focus on politics and other secular institutions in the latter decades. The author also expects the articles to become less paternalistic and to show greater emphasis on the experiences of Dalit and other marginalized groups from the 1990s on, after historically excluded groups began to enter academia in greater numbers.

Methods

The author examines the attention given to caste in the mainstream sociological scholarship by taking a longitudinal look at the proportion of research articles in a leading sociological journal that have focused on caste and how conceptualizations of caste have changed over time. She reviewed all articles published in *Contributions to Indian Sociology* between 1967 and 2016.⁵ A total of 667 articles were published during this period. The author created a data entry record for each article (i.e., date of publication, title, author, and author's affiliation), and reviewed each article to determine whether the topic of caste was discussed in any capacity. If caste was mentioned, she further grouped each article into one of three categories: (a) caste central to analysis, (b) caste secondary to analysis (but still a component of the article's contribution), (c) caste included only as background information. For all the articles that mention caste, the author identified the methods used, such as surveys, in depth interviews, participant observation, historical analysis, and/or a literature review.⁶

In order to better understand the evolving conceptualizations of caste in sociological scholarship, the author conducted a discourse analysis on a 20% sample from the 211 articles in which caste is central to the analysis. She also completed a preliminary discourse analysis on six widely-cited articles spread across the fifty-year period to develop an initial family of codes, and later created additional categories as necessary. The author purposively selected the most highly-cited articles from each decade (i.e., 1967-1976; 1977-1986; 1987-1996; 1997-2006; 2007-2016)—choosing the

⁵She excluded book notes, reviews, biographies, editorials, and obituaries from the analysis.

⁶In this paper, the author does not discuss her results on methods employed or the institutional affiliations of the authors; however, the analysis is available upon request.

articles with the highest number of citations based on the *crossref* citation index—to focus on articles that have impacted the discipline. She also randomly selected two articles within each decade from the subset of articles that had no citations and completed a discourse analysis on these articles to see if articles with limited traction in the discipline conceptualize caste similarly to highly-cited articles. She conducted a discourse analysis-- an in-depth analysis of the words and context used in describing caste, on 53 articles in total. As part of the discourse analysis, she coded each article's conceptual or methodological definition of caste, as well as the topical areas related to caste that the author examined. She compared findings within and across the five decades to track similarities and changes in the research on caste. She also noted if there were differences in the conceptualization of caste between highly-cited articles and those articles that were not cited since publication.

Findings

As expected, caste is widely present in the published articles in *Contributions to Indian Sociology*. Of the published articles between 1967-2016, 81% (542 articles) have some mention of caste. (See Table 2, columns a-c in Appendix A) Looking at the decadal breakdown, the first decade (1967-1976) and fourth decade (1997-2006) have the highest mention of caste with over 88% of articles discussing caste. In the three remaining decades, the percentage of articles mentioning caste is between 76% to 81%.

In addition, 60% of the articles (N = 400 articles) published during the 50-year period make a substantive contribution to our understanding of caste; these articles either focus on caste or have a secondary focus on caste while primarily focusing on topics such as marriage, family, or other aspects of social or political life. (See Table 2, columns a and b in Appendix A) The first decade had a much higher percentage of articles that contribute to our understanding of caste (72%), while the subsequent four decades saw a decline in the proportion of articles that contribute to scholarly knowledge about caste (54%-61%).

Caste is the central focus for 31% of articles (N = 209 articles) during the fifty-year period. (See Table 2, column a). Between 1967 and 1976, caste was the central focus for 40% of the articles. This percentage was the highest out of all five decades analyzed. In the four decades from 1977 to 2016, the percentage of articles for which caste is central to the analysis stayed consistent at around 30%. (See Table 2 in Appendix A)

Therefore, there was extensive focus on caste in this sociological journal over the 50-year period.

Among the articles that have a central focus on caste that the author sampled for the discourse analysis, she found four major conceptualizations of caste: caste as status, caste as a system of domination and exclusion, caste as hegemony and dissent, and the declining significance of cast. (See Table 3 in Appendix A) Caste as status primarily conceptualizes caste in relation to religious and ritual life. Caste as a system of domination and exclusion theorizes how caste creates and perpetuates disparities in economic and social life both at the institutional level and through day-to-day interactions. Caste as hegemony and dissent conceptualizes how exploited castes fight against their historical and ongoing treatment through social movements and political power. Lastly, the declining significance of caste documents a decreasing role of caste and casteism in structural inequalities and discriminatory practices. Next, the author discusses each conceptualization in greater detail and examines the findings from articles that were not cited. She also summarizes some trends with regards to the authors of the articles' backgrounds.

Caste as Status: Religious Ritual/Ceremony

Caste as status conceptualizes caste as a system central to spiritual life, religious rituals, and ceremonies. It is a popular conception early on with sociologists who focus on caste distinctions in ritual life and how these distinctions affect a group's overall status in a village. In the article, "Untouchables and the Caste System: a Tamil Case Study" ritual status continues to depict most aspects of their lives, especially for untouchables. The author, Moffatt (1975:111), states:

Their ritual occupations remain the traditional ones in most of Tamil Nadu—drumming, scavenging dead cattle, and (in some areas) guarding the village boundaries at night. And their economic status is generally—but not invariably commensurate with their low social and ritual status.

We can see how this view focuses on the importance of rituals in the lives of villagers as it continues to affect their occupations as well. We can also see how a castes' relationship to other castes is affected by their ritualistic roles. Jay (1973) states that, "... the relationships among members of different castes, both within and outside the village, have a different quality. These relationships

are governed by the rules of ritual interaction and are often characterized by status differences” (1973:156). This research highlights how the ritual roles of different castes hold weight even during interactions that take place outside of them.

The first decade has the most articles conceptualizing caste as status. This kind of conceptualization of caste remains present in the most highly-cited articles until 1996. During the two most recent decades, this conceptualization disappears within the articles that I analyzed.

Caste as a System of Domination and Exclusion

Conceptualizing *caste as a system of domination and exclusion* moves away from the view of caste primarily in terms of religious status. It includes two subcategories that complement each other: caste from a macro, institutional perspective of economic and social systems and the day-to-day lived experiences of caste through attention to daily social and economic interactions. In the 1981 article, “The Ideology of the Householder Among the Kashmiri Pandits,” there is a clear understanding of the economic dominance of Brahmins (Madan 1981). This conceptualization of caste can also be seen in the 1994 article, “Idioms of Subordination and Styles of Protest among Christian and Hindu Harijan castes in Tamil Nadu.” A key observation by the author, Mosse (1994:70), is that:

During the 20th century agricultural and non-agricultural resources have become concentrated in the hands of a few castes (or rather individual families of these castes), and their influence is increased through privileged links with the bureaucracy, politicians and the market.

This way of viewing caste as central to the distribution of economic resources—as well as structuring relationships with the administrative state and politicians—along with ideas of purity is distinctly different from viewing caste as primarily affecting the ritualistic aspects of life. In addition to viewing caste as a broader system of economic domination, articles also conceptualize caste as a complementary set of social rules and regulations that shape day-to-day life. Dalits have to face untouchability in everyday situations such as when searching for a job or when trying to be taken seriously in political life (Gorringe 2008). This domination of caste elites continues to affect the lives of Dalits through food and eating practices. One

article shows that in “two orthodox hotels in Mumbai and Bangalore... Brahminical attitudes continue to influence contemporary practices, with neither making radical adjustments in their menus” (Iversen and P.S. 2006:339). Notions of purity and pollution remain prevalent in social settings. While *caste as a system of domination and exclusion* is present in sampled articles in all five decades, this conceptualization of caste predominates the second and third decades (i.e., 1977-1986 and 1987-1996) and the most recent decade (i.e., 2007-2016).

Caste as Hegemony and Dissent; Caste as Power

Caste as hegemony and dissent traces how historically exploited castes gain newfound power and use it to elevate themselves in their fight against casteism. This way of conceptualizing caste focuses on every day means of resistance, social movements, and organizing for formal political power. Caste as hegemony and dissent is most prominent between 1997-2006. This time frame corresponds with the aftermath of Mandal, when the government implemented and expanded reservations for Other Backward Classes and the violence that followed by oppressor castes. The use of the word Dalit also becomes more common during this period compared to previous decades.

This view of caste shows how historically-discriminated castes work to reject the position imposed upon them through social and political organizing. An article focused on Dalit assertion says, “It is as much socio-cultural as political, this being reflected in a desire for education to compete economically with the upper castes, in attempts to control local politics and resource distribution through panchayats, in the dissemination of the ideas of Ambedkar...” (Pai 2000:190). Scholars document resistance to caste-based discrimination and violence in and across the major institutions of society. An article published in 2005 shows how when traditional education fails to improve the status of men from marginalized castes they turn to political activity for empowerment. It says, “Some men have channeled their frustration at being excluded from such work into political activity... They are important in the circulation of positive images of education and continue to believe in the state as a site of empowerment” (C. Jeffrey, P. Jeffrey, and R. Jeffrey 2005:32). The conceptualization of caste appears in the highly-cited articles from 1977 on, while peaking in the decade following the Mandal.

The Declining Significance of Caste Power

Although most of the analyzed articles acknowledge caste as a source of power and inequality, the final conceptualization of caste emphasizes the declining significance of caste. It is present in the first two decades and then again in the most recent decade. However, the focus in the first two decades differs from more recent attention. The 1970 article, “The Concept of Dominant Caste: Some Queries*,” argues that the hierarchy of caste no longer has the stronghold over communities. Instead, power is attributed to the strength of a community’s numbers within India’s democratic political system. This article states:

The attempt to give political representation to the ritually degraded and economically deprived lower castes, through reservation of seats for them at all levels, is a leap forward in thwarting the power and influence of traditionally dominant castes...In fact, numerical superiority has become the decisive factor in the context of acquisition and exercise of power in village India (Oommen 1970:81).

Like this article, the other articles that conceptualize the declining significance of caste in the first two decades try to show that caste no longer holds specific groups back or favors others. In contrast, the 2009 article, “Brahmins in the Modern World: Association as Enunciation,” takes a different perspective. The author states:

In public, they are uncasted, and the fact that they are Brahmins makes no difference to their public interactions as individuals. Marking them as Brahmins in public spaces then becomes a burden imposed by other caste ... This imposition, it is argued, is unfair also because of a more important reason. Most Brahmins, these articulations suggest, are Brahmins merely by the fact of birth; however, by their actions—their way of talking, their everyday conduct and actions, their following of a ritual regimen, etc.—they are not (Bairy 2009:104).

Instead of writing about how Brahmins’ caste position puts them in an advantageous position, either with or without merit, the article puts forth that their caste status (unfairly) works against them. Bairy argues that being Brahmin affects them in a non-advantageous way, while other castes and the authority of the state assume that it benefits them and so targets them.

Articles Published, But Not Cited

The author also looked at a sample of articles that were not cited since their publication. Similar to the articles that were highly cited, the uncited articles also conceptualized caste as religious status in the first few decades. However, she also found that the perspective of caste primarily as religious status persisted among the uncited articles in more recent years. Another interesting finding was that the conceptualization of *caste as hegemony and dissent* showed up earlier in the uncited articles compared to the highly cited articles. There were articles in the first two decades that conceptualized caste this way that were not cited by other authors.

Discussion and Conclusion

Overall, as expected, the majority (60%) of articles in *Contributions to Indian Sociology* make a substantive contribution to our understanding of caste and over 30% of articles have a central focus on caste. Contrary to the author’s expectations, the percentage of articles that have a central focus on caste is highest in the first decade (i.e., 1967-1976) and then remains fairly consistent for the subsequent forty years. This suggests that while caste has consistently remained an area of sociological inquiry, the entry of more scholars from discriminated groups has not (yet) translated into an increased focus on caste in the mainstream sociological literature. This outcome may be due to the fact that the compositional change of faculty in India’s elite research institutions has been particularly slow and that mainstream journals like *Contributions to Indian Sociology* are more conservative in their approach as compared to interdisciplinary journals like *Dalit Studies* and *Women’s and Gender Studies*. This observation appears to be true even when mainstream journals publish a new theoretical approach. Scholarly engagement may be slow to follow.

Yet, perhaps even more important than quantifying scholarly attention to caste, is how scholars have conceptualized caste and the changing conceptualizations of caste over time. The findings reported here from a sample of published articles complement several trends described by other authors. Similar to Jodhka’s (2015) trajectory of caste as *tradition*, the author finds a focus on the religious and ritualistic aspects of caste, i.e., *caste as status* early. She also finds some similarities and differences with Jodhka’s (2015) second conceptualization of *caste as power*. Similar to Jodhka, she observes attention to the

reproduction of caste through everyday coercive power in the published scholarship—i.e. *caste as a system of domination and exclusion*. However, unlike Jodhka, the author did not find many articles in *Contributions to Indian Sociology* that focus on how caste, democratic politics, and electoral transformations reproduce or challenge caste status until the 1990s. Jodhka observes this trend much earlier (i.e., the 1950s and 1960s). The author also found Jodhka's third trajectory, caste as *humiliation and discrimination* (which includes the idea of empowerment and resistance among historically exploited castes), to be prevalent in the sampled articles published between 1997-2006 that she examined. Since Jodhka develops his categorizations from engagement with the broader field of scholarship on caste, the differences in findings highlight how mainstream sociological scholarship is slower to introduce and adopt new theoretical approaches to the study of caste compared to scholarly spaces 'in the periphery'.

Similarly, the three trajectories of caste that Rege (2011) develops based on how Dalit writers have conceptualized caste in literature are largely absent in the sample of articles the author analyzes. This also suggests that the conceptualizations that Dalits and other historically exploited castes have discussed through biographical and fictional accounts of the lived everyday experiences of caste, casteism, and anti-casteist organizing are either missing or under-represented in mainstream sociological literature.

While the articles the author sampled for the discourse analysis covered a wide range of topics, she noticed that several important topics had little coverage. First, little attention across the five decades was paid to the intersectionality of gender/sexuality and caste, as well as the multiple burdens faced by Dalit women (Luitel 2003) and the growth of Dalit feminism.⁷ In addition, most articles that focus on caste tend to examine specific villages or day-to-day interactions with little attention to how casteism operates at the institutional level. There also seems to be limited discussion on how globalized processes and structures play a role in the institutionalization of caste, and on how new modes of casteism operate in India, particularly among caste elites. These omissions provide additional support for the critiques of the mainstream scholarship on caste made by scholars such as Guru (2002), Kannabiran (2001), Visvanathan (2001), Deshpande (2003), Patel (1995), Rege (2011), and Rawat & Satyanarayana (2016).

⁷The exception to this overall trend is the *Special Issue: Feminisms and Sociologies: Insertions, Intersections and Integrations* (2016).

In conclusion, the ongoing diversification of academia—both in India and abroad—will be crucial to creating a fuller understanding of the way caste continues to work and affect the lives of people. A detailed understanding of how casteism operates in the contemporary period is an important step towards dismantling the caste system and casteism.

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APPENDIX A: Tables 1-3

Table 1. Composition of Faculty in Indian Universities (MHRD 2011, 2018)⁸

Type of University	Year	Caste							Response rate
		SCs	STs	OBCs ⁹	PWDs ¹⁰	Muslims	Other	General Category	
Public Universities	2011	8.83	1.72	15.56	0.36	2.29	1.89	69.35	348/351
	2018	11.25	2.81	24.86	0.39	5.89	7.88	46.92	
Private Universities	2011	2.93	0.87	15.13	0.18	1.53	3.63	75.73	330/343
	2018	3.43	0.95	22.92	0.12	3.28	9.14	60.16	
Institutes of National Importance	2011	3.42	0.78	4.45	0.18	1.73	0.63	88.81	98/101
	2018	6.93	1.56	12.79	0.46	3.07	4.7	70.49	
All Universities	2011	5.47	1.53	13.45	0.3	2.88	2.73	73.64	882/903
	2018	6.71	2.04	21.95	0.3	5.34	8.54	55.12	

⁸The author is grateful to Kellen Buckley, Providence College graduate of 2018, who compiled the MHRD 2011 data.

⁹OBC refers to "Other Backward Classes."

¹⁰PWD refers to "People with Disabilities."

Table 2: Relevance of Caste in Articles Published in *Contributions to Indian Sociology*

Decade	Caste Central (a)	Caste Secondary Focus (b)	Caste Included as Background (c)	No Mention of Caste (d)	Number of articles (e)
1967-1976	0.40	0.32	0.16	0.12	94
1977-1986	0.31	0.30	0.15	0.24	157
1987-1996	0.29	0.26	0.21	0.24	141
1997-2006	0.31	0.31	0.28	0.11	141
2007-2016	0.30	0.25	0.26	0.19	134
Average 1967-2016	0.31	0.28	0.21	0.19	667

APPENDIX A (continued)

Table 3: Changing Conceptualizations of Caste in *Contributions to Indian Sociology*

(1967-2016)*

Years	1967-1976 (a)	1977-1986 (b)	1987-1996 (c)	1997-2006 (d)	2007-2016 (e)	Total number of articles
Caste as Status: religious ritual/ ceremony	4 (1)	2 (1)	2 (1)	(2)	0	13
Caste as a system of domination and exclusion	3	5	4	2	4(1)	19
Caste as hegemony and dissent; caste as power	(1)	3(1)	2 (1)	7	2	17
Declining Significance of Caste	1	1	0	0	1	3
Other	0	0	0	0	(1)	1
Total number of articles	10	13	10	12	9	53

* The numbers in parenthesis represent articles that were *not cited* according to *crossref* as of June 2019.

APPENDIX B. Articles Analyzed in Discourse Analysis by Decade and Year Published

Decade Published	Year Published & Issue Number	Article Title	Author
1967-1976	1970.1	The Concept of Dominant Caste: Some Queries*	T.K. Oommen
	1971.1*	Politics and Social Mobility in India	Anil Bhatt
	1971.1	The Brahmannical View of Caste	Gerald D. Berreman
	1971.1	On the Nature of Caste in India A Review Symposium on Louis Dumont's Homo Hierarchicus intro	T. N. Madan
	1971.1	On Putative Hierarchy and Some Allergies to It	Louis Dumont
	1972.1	Muslims in the Hindu Kingdom of Nepal	Marc Gaborieu
	1973.1*	Bridging the Gap between Castes: Ceremonial Friendship in Chhattisgarh	Edward J. Jay
	1975.1	Untouchables and the caste system: a Tamil case study	Michael Moffatt
	1975.2	Gifts and affines in north India*	Sylvia Vatuk
	1976.1	Coconuts and gold: relational identity in a south Indian caste	Steve Barnett
	1976.2	The symbolic representation of death	Meena Kaushik
	1976.2	Kumari or 'virgin' worship in Kathmandu valley	M.R. Allen
1977-1986	1977.2	Power, purity and pollution: aspects of the caste system reconsidered	Frédérique Apffel Marglin
	1978.2*	Caste, caste association, caste federation and inequality as vocabularies	Arthur S. Wilke & Raj P. Mohan
	1979.1	Widows and goddesses: female roles in deity symbolism in a south Indian village	Bruce Elliot Tapper
	1980.1	Hypergamy, kinship and caste among the Chettris of Nepa	John N. Gray
	1980.2	Caste and castelessness among South Indian Christians	Lionel Caplan
	1981.1	The ideology of the householder among the Kashmiri Pandits	T.N. Madan
	1981.1	The salvation of the king in the Mah	Madeleine Biardeau
	1981.1*	The householder and the renouncer in the Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions	Romila Thapar
	1982.1	Division and hierarchy: an overview of caste in Gujarat	A.M. Shah
	1983.2	For a sociology of India: an intracultural approach to the study of 'Hindu society'	Richard Burghart

APPENDIX B. Articles Analyzed... by Decade and Year Published (Continued)

	1984.1	Sources of deprivation and styles of protest: the case of the Dalits in India	T.K. Oommen
	1984.2	Some reflections on the nature of caste hierarchy	M.N. Srinivas
	1984.2	Living with capitalism: class, caste and paternalism among industrial workers in Bombay	Narendra Panjwani
	1986.1	Caste in Islam and the problem of deviant systems: a critique of recent theory	Charles Lindholm
	1986.2	Jat Sikhs: a question of identity	Ravinder Kaur
1987-1996	1989.1	The original Caste: power, history, and hierarchy in south Asia	Nicholas B. Dirks
	1989.1	Centrality, Mutuality, and hierarchy: shifting aspects of inter-caste relationships in north India	Gloria Goodwin Raheja
	1989.1	Hindu Periods of Death "impurity"	Diane Paull Mines
	1991.1	The Reproduction of Inequality: Occupation, Caste and Family	Andre Beteille
	1991.2	The Hindu Lexicographer? A note on auspiciousness and purity	Jonathan Parry
	1993.1	Marrying Money: Changing preference and practice in Tamil marriage	Karin Kapadia
	1994.1	Idioms of Subordination and styles of protest among Christian and Hindu Harijan castes in Tamil Nadu	David Mosse
	1994.1*	Of the religious and the (non-) feminine: open questions	Sasheej Hegde & Seemanthini Niranjana
	1994.2*	Rites of ancient India: Outlook for comparative Anthropology	Raymond Jamous
	1996.1	Dowry and prestige in north India	Marguerite Roulet
1997-2006	1997.1*	Secularisation in Hindu temples: The implication for caste	S. Selvam
	1997.2	Social and Cultural strategies of class formation in coastal Andhra Pradesh	Carol Upadhyia
	1998.2	Sanskritization: The career of an anthropological theory	Simon Charsley
	2000.2	New social and political movements of Dalits: A study of Meerut district	Sudha Pai
	2004.1	Sikhism and the caste question: Dalits and their politics in contemporary Punjab	Surinder S. Jodhka
	2004.1	'We (Yadavs) are a caste of politicians': Caste and modern politics in a north Indian town	Lucia Michelutti
	2004.1*	Differentiation and formation of hierarchy: A methodological note on social stratification	Suraj Bandyopadhyay

APPENDIX B. Articles Analyzed... by Decade and Year Published (Continued)

	2004.3	Untouchability, Dalit consciousness, and the Ad Dharm movement in Punjab	Ronki Ram
	2005.1	When schooling fails: Young men, education and low-caste politics in rural north India	Craig Jeffrey, Patricia Jeffery and Roger Jeffery
	2006.2	Learning the use of symbolic means: Dalits, Ambedkar statues and the state in Uttar Pradesh	Nicolas Jaoul
	2006.3	What the signboard hides: Food, caste and employability in small South Indian eating places	Vegard Iversen and Raghavendra P.S.
2007-2016	2007.1	From stigma to self-assertion: Paraiyars and the symbolism of the parai drum	C. Joe Arun
	2008.1	The caste of the nation: Untouchability and citizenship in South India	Hugo Gorringer
	2008.3	'Paying back to society': Upward social mobility among Dalits	Jules Naudet
	2009.1	Brahmins in the modern world: Association as enunciation	Ramesh Bairy T.S.
	2009.3	From dreams to discontent: Educated young men and the politics of work at a Special Economic Zone in Andhra Pradesh	Jamie Cross
	2014.1	T-shirts and tumblers: Caste, dependency and work under neoliberalisation in south India	Grace Carswell and Geert De Neve
	2014.1	The anthropology of neoliberal India: An introduction	Daniel Münster and Christian Strümpell
	2016.2*	Local jatis and pan-Indian caste: The unresolved dilemma of M.N. Srinivas	Padmanabh Samarendra
	2016.3*	Theorising the interaction of caste, class and gender: A feminist sociological approach	Padma Velaskar

Note: Years marked with an * are the articles that were *not cited* as of June 2019.