CINEFORUM
ISSN: 0009-7039
Vol. 66. No. 1, 2026

Caste and Colonial Knowledge the British Census and Social Classification

Ms. Arti

Assistant Professor In History, Siri guru har rai sahib college for women chabbewal dist. Hoshiarpur, PB (india)
Email ID:- artitohan4@gmail.com
Published on: 19-01-2026

ABSTRACT
The colonial census in British India was not simply a statistical procedure but a tool that created, organized, and controlled knowledge of the social. From the late 19th century, British rulers began to categorise Indian society using terms such as caste, tribe, religion, occupation and social rank. In doing so, this process standardized an administrative category that was historically dynamic, and which had been fragmented and localized into a complicated set of castes. The paper reflects colonial ethnography, census records and historical studies and looks into the ways in which the British census played a role in the production of caste knowledge and in the transformation of social identities in colonial India. It claims that the process of census classification was not just a reflection of the status quo but a contributor to the formation of new concepts of caste, political organization and status struggle. As a result of the colonial administration and indigenous reaction, the caste became more and more associated with the numerical power, political representation and social legitimacy. The paper also examines the impact of colonial practices of enumeration on colonial and contemporary ideas of caste, and the ways in which the latter remain relevant to present day debates around identity, reservation and social classification in India.
Keywords: Caste; Colonial knowledge; British India; Census; Social classification; Enumeration; Ethnography; Governmentality

1. INTRODUCTION

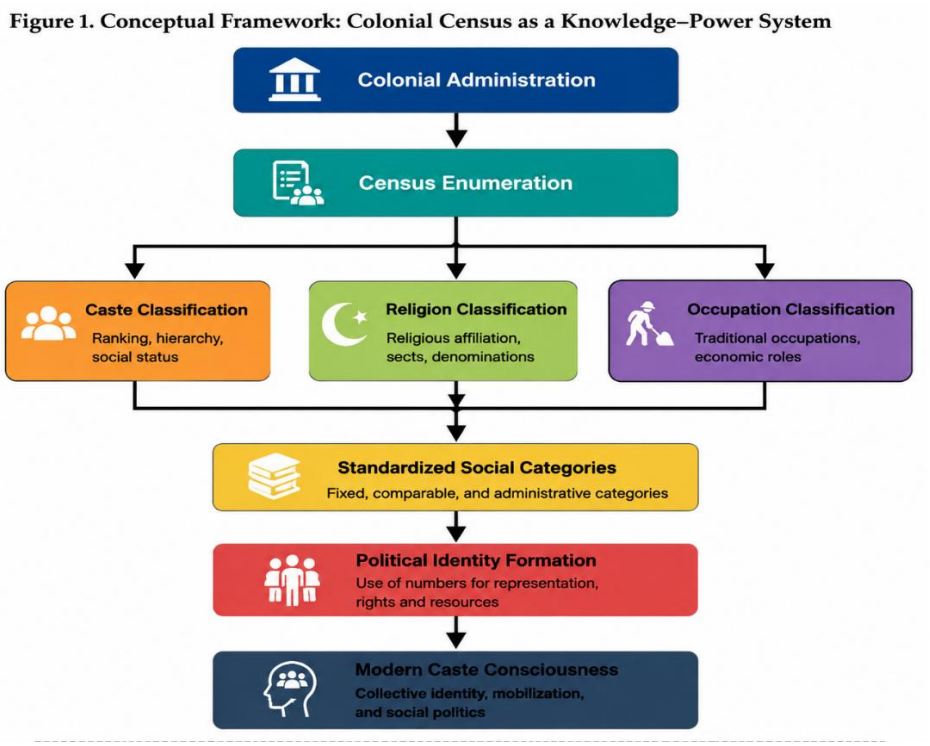
The colonial classification of Indian society was among the most important intellectual and administrative endeavours of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In the different categories established by the colonial officials, caste was at the heart of Indian social life as colonial administrators believed that this was a key principle that organized Indian society. Colonial powers, using census, ethnographic surveys, and administrative reports, tried to make a variety of social practices into a system of measurable groups. Appadurai, A. (1993).

Colonial authorities used the British census, which was undertaken systematically from 1871 and then on a decennial basis, to come to know and control Indian society. The census was described as an objective scientific process but scholars have pointed out its close ties to colonial power. Colonial knowledge systems were not merely descriptive, but they were also formative of structures that enabled colonial control. (Bernard Cohn 1996) Likewise, Nicholas Dirks (2001) has been able to show that colonialism had an important impact on casting caste as a more fixed and political entity, by incorporating it into administrative structures.

Prior to the rule of the colonies, caste identities were manifested in the social practices, ritual relations, labour groups and local political structures of the region. Hierarchy and exclusion were significant aspects of the caste system, but caste did not always have a single pan-Indian system of ranking. European ideas of classification and social evolution prompted colonial administrators to make an attempt to establish such a system, which arranged communities in the hierarchy of perceived ritual status, occupation, race and historical origin (Dirks, 2001).

OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework: Colonial Census as a Knowledge–Power System



2. RESEARCH QUESTION

How was caste imposed as an administrative and statistical category by the British census?
How was the caste system in the colonies changed after the process of classification?
What has the impact of colonial systems of enumeration been on the understandings of caste in the present day?

Table 1. Major Colonial Census Operations Related to Caste

Census Year	Colonial Objective	Role of Caste Classification
1871	First systematic all-India census	Attempted broad categorization of communities
1881	Standardized census procedures	Greater emphasis on caste and occupation
1891	Expansion of ethnographic categories	Linking caste with social evolution theories
1901	Detailed caste ranking under H.H. Risley	Attempt to establish hierarchical classification
1911–1931	Continued enumeration	Increased political significance of caste identities

(Source: Adapted from Cohn, 1996; Dirks, 2001)

3. RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

Study of colonial caste classification continues to be relevant even today since contemporary discussions on caste statistics, affirmative action, and identity politics are related to categories created by colonial governance. The idea of census as a political and epistemological process enables historians and social scientists to study the impact of knowledge systems on social realities.

It is not enough to consider the caste an old and static institution, it should also be focused on the historical change of the caste. Caste communities were formed as a result of colonial classification as organized political groups which could make collective claims. Caste identities were continually created through local traditions, colonial policies, and modern political processes.

OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM

4. LITERATURE REVIEW STRUCTURE

4.1 Colonial Knowledge, Power, and the Construction of Social Categories

The examination of colonial knowledge production has shown how much was required of colonial rule beyond military and economic coercion, such as the development of ways to make the colonial societies comprehensible and controllable.

Bernard S. Cohn (1996) has been one of the first academics to explore the colonial knowledge systems in India, where the British adopted several investigative modalities (surveying, census, ethnography, legal documentation) to generate a matrix of understanding and administration of Indian society. Cohn argues that colonial knowledge was not just acquired from Indian society, but created in the interactions of colonial institutions and indigenous social structures. These practices of knowledge were part of a perception of communities by the British state, and of decisions made by the administration.

Nicholas Dirks (2001) who looked at caste as a product of colonial knowledge. He contended that caste had become the primary means of understanding social organization in India as a result of British colonial rule. Although caste was an important aspect of social life prior to colonialism it acquired an additional administrative significance during colonialism as it became one of the main categories of identification.

4.2 The Colonial Census and the Politics of Enumeration

The census has been a major focus of colonial classification scholarship because it was one of the boldest ventures of systematic information about Indian society by the colonial state.

Anderson (1991) suggests that states today rely on statistical methods like censusing and mapping to produce "legible populations" and "imagined communities. While Anderson's main focus has been on nationalism, his analysis also applies to colonial India, which was depicted in terms of census categories. The colonial census created social identities as numbers that could be compared, ranked and controlled by the state.

Numerical classification also plays a key role in colonial governance as noted by Appadurai (1993). He claims to have developed a mental model of Indian society as a collection of measurable groups through colonial statistics. The census was thus a political technology, creating categories of belonging and difference. The process of enumeration was not only a reflection of social divisions, it was a process which also helped to stabilize those divisions.

4.3 Ethnography, Anthropology, and the Classification of Caste

Official conceptions of caste were heavily influenced by colonial ethnography. British administrators often used census information with anthropological theories to help understand Indian social organization. Some of these investigations were based on 19th century Eurocentric ideas of race, civilization, and hierarchy.

The Tribes and Castes of Bengal (1891) and The People of India (1915) by Herbert Risley were more influential in laying the anthropometric and racial interpretations of caste. Risley believed that the caste hierarchy could be explained by physical characteristics and racial heritage, a view that has since been strongly challenged as being biological determinist.

More complex is Susan Bayly's 1999 interpretation of the history of caste, in which she claims that caste was the product of interactions between indigenous political systems and colonial institutions. Bayly does not consider caste to be wholly a colonial legacy, nor as an unchanging old order but focuses on the shifts and negotiations in history.

Dirks (2001) states that ethnographic information became crucial to the Indian social analysis of the caste. The concept of caste was often the theme of colonial writing and was seen as an integral part of the Indian social fabric, both in scholarly circles and as a factor in colonial policy.

Table 2. Major Scholarly Interpretations of Colonial Caste Classification

Scholar	Major Work	Main Argument
Bernard Cohn (1996)	Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge	Colonial institutions produced knowledge categories that shaped governance
Nicholas Dirks (2001)	Castes of Mind	Colonialism transformed caste into a rigid political and administrative category
Susan Bayly (1999)	Caste, Society and Politics in India	Caste identities evolved through interaction between indigenous traditions and colonial modernity
Ronald Inden (1990)	Imagining India	Colonial scholarship created problematic representations of Indian society
Arjun Appadurai (1993)	"Number in the Colonial Imagination"	Statistical classification shaped colonial perceptions of populations

OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM

4.4 Research Gap and Contribution of the Study

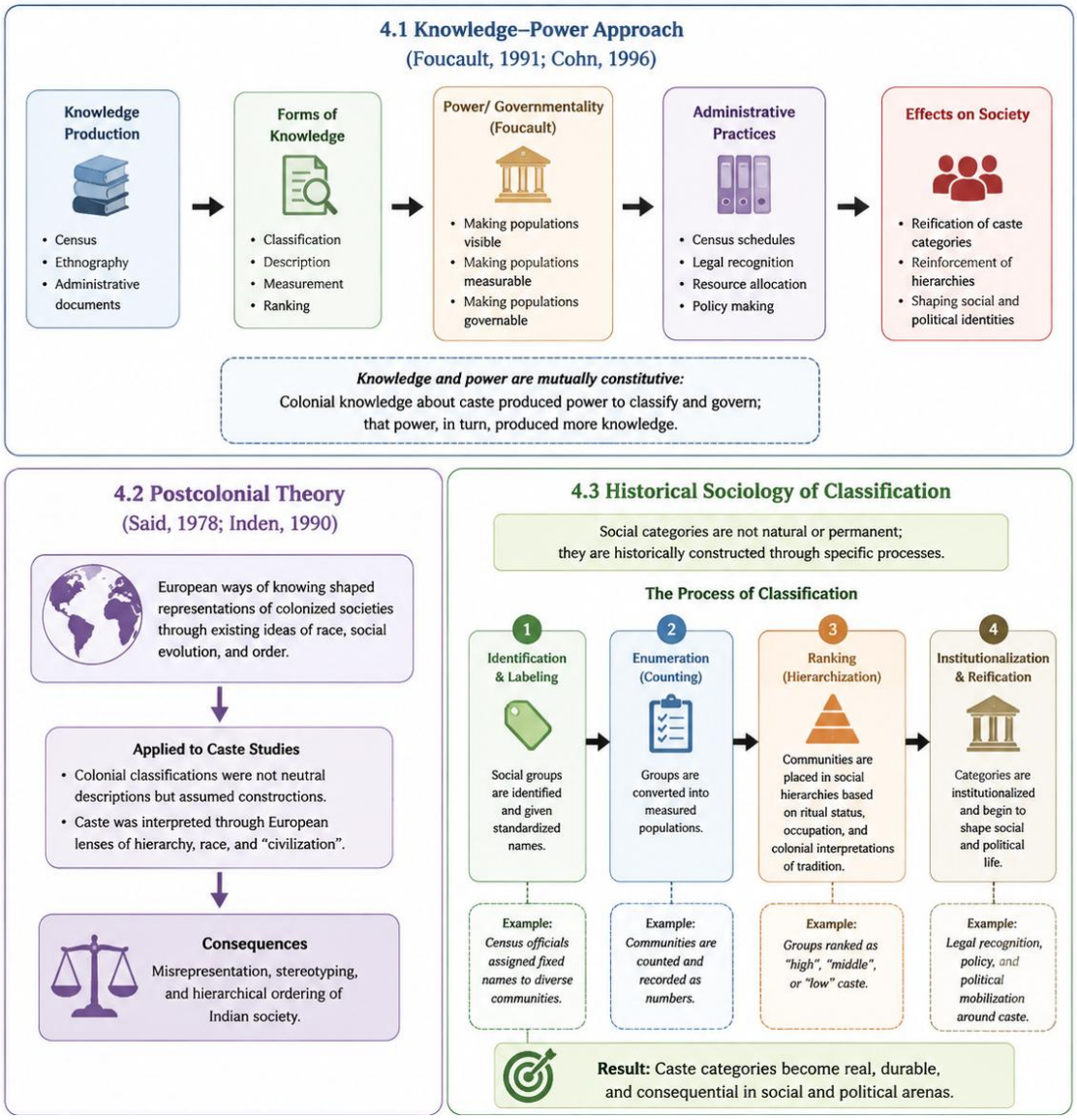
The present study aims to identify the research gap that will be addressed and the contribution made by the study. Previous research has covered colonial knowledge and census practices in great depth, as well as caste formation, but there is a need for work that examines the relationship between the administrative categorisation and actual social identities. Some studies are colonial discourse based, some are caste politics based and fewer are based on the idea of the census as a process in which knowledge production, governance and social negotiation were intertwined.

The aim of this study is to add to the literature by examining British censuses as a functioning system of social classification and not just as a snapshot of history. It suggests that there has been a relationship between the process of censusing, and social identity construction, which has influenced colonial governance and, in South Asia, understandings of caste.

5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The knowledge-power approach, postcolonial theory, and the historical sociology of classification are three key theoretical lenses that are employed in this study. All in all, these views establish a critical consciousness of the ways in which caste became an administrative category as a result of the British colonial census. Bayly, S. (1999). This framework posits that colonial classification processes were not simply the recording of pre-existing social identities, but were instead the creation of understandings, structuring and political mobilization of them.

Figure:2 Theoretical Framework



OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM

5.1 Knowledge-Power Approach

This study uses Michel Foucault's (1991) notion of governmentality and Bernard Cohn's (1996) understanding of the colonial construction of knowledge systems to interpret the census as a technology whereby knowledge and power were closely entangled. Modern states, says Foucault, have power in their coils, but also in their systems of knowledge, which produce populations visible, measurable and governable. The census is such a mechanism because it turned a variety of social groups into statistical and administrative entities. Cohn, B. S. (1996).

The census in colonial India was an attempt by the British officials to find out and document the colonial society. But, there was an interpretation, selection and categorization process. Colonial administrators were left with the problem of delineating just which communities were separate castes, how they should be ranked, and what social characteristics they had. Dirks, N. B. (2001).

Colonial institutions produced "forms of knowledge" that helped the British government to comprehend and control Indian society as Cohn (1996) demonstrates. On the one hand, caste was described as a socially stable, quantifiable, and stratified system of social organization, with support from census data, ethnographic studies, and administrative documents. Foucault, M. (1991). On the other hand, caste was increasingly being portrayed as a stable, measurable, and hierarchical social structure, as evidenced in census reports, ethnographic surveys, and administrative records. Knowledge and power can thus be related as:

$$\text{Knowledge Production} \rightarrow \text{Classification} \rightarrow \text{Governance}$$

5.2 Postcolonial Theory

The second theoretical approach is based on post colonial studies which explore the effects of colonial systems of representation in societies beyond the colonial period. Edward Said (1978) and Ronald Inden (1990) have suggested that European scholars' understanding of colonial societies was largely influenced by existing European ideas that sometimes classified other societies in a binary and hierarchical manner.

Applied to the subject of caste studies, post colonial theory brings to light that the classifications of the colonies were not neutral descriptions but assumed ones of Indian society. British colonial officials often made use of the idea of caste that was shaped by notions of race, social development and order that were common in nineteenth century Europe. Deshpande, A. (2017).

5.3 Historical Sociology of Classification

The third is historical sociology, which sees social categories as not naturally or permanently given, but historically-created. This approach sees caste categories as products of certain political, administrative and cultural processes.

The process of classification can be represented as:

$$\text{Classification} = \text{Naming} + \text{Counting} + \text{Ranking} + \text{Institutionalization}$$

The first step is to identify and label social groups. British colonists during the census operations, standardized names were given to various communities. The second step was to convert these groups into measured populations through the process of counting. Ranking, the third stage, placed communities in perceived social hierarchies, frequently according to ritual status, occupation and interpretations of the tradition by the colonists. Institutionalization was the last stage of the process when these categories were institutionalized and were affecting social and political behaviors. Elyachar, J. (2018).

6. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: THE CENSUS AND THE PRODUCTION OF CASTE KNOWLEDGE

The British colonial census was not simply a statistical operation of counting people, but a powerful tool for creating knowledge of Indian society. The census started with systematic enumerations in the late 19th century and evolved into a valuable administrative instrument through which the colonial government tried to categorize, categorise and rule the diverse populations of India. The census became a instrument of social identification in terms of measurable categories, this was a creation of new understanding about the caste and helped in building modern caste consciousness.

OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM

CINEFORUM
ISSN: 0009-7039
Vol. 66. No. 1, 2026

Figure: 3 Historical Analysis: The Census and the Production of Caste Knowledge



6.1 The Colonial Census as a Knowledge-Making Institution

The colonial leaders perceived the Indian society as an intricate but definable social structure. European concepts of scientific classification had influenced them, and they tried to classify the communities based on caste, religion, occupation, tribe and social status. Gupta, D. (2018). But these labels were not merely a description of Indian society of the objectivity. They included interpretation and selection by colonial authorities which decided the categorisation and ranking of communities. Colonial knowledge systems were intimately linked with colonial power as they were used to give intellectual foundation to the colonial state that operated over its subjects (Cohn, 1996).

6.2 Caste Classification and the Colonial Understanding of Indian Society

The colonial enumeration involved several social and regional factors, including the occupation, kinship, ritual practices, local tradition, and political relationships, which determined the caste identities. Social identities were not always rigid or standardized across India, though a system of inequality did exist. Communities might negotiate their status via social mobility, economic transformation and political associations.

The colonial state, on the other hand, wanted to establish a uniform conception of caste. Census officials tried to make out caste groups, draw the boundaries, and categorise them in a larger hierarchy. Jaffrelot, C. (2021). This

OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM

process was one that shifted the nature of caste from an informal social identity that was locally negotiated to a formal administrative category. Census records reinforced the official recognition and state categorization of caste.
The transformation can be represented as:

Social Diversity → Colonial Classification → Administrative Identity

6.3 The 1901 Census and the Scientific Classification of Caste
The Census of 1901 was an important turning point in the evolution of colonial caste knowledge. H. H. Risley brought ethnographic theories and an effort to create a scientific ranking of Indian communities into the caste classification. Risley studied caste groups by occupation, ritual position, social practices and anthropometric analysis.
These were nineteenth-century notions about racial theory, which now seem to be dated, but which influenced colonial perceptions of Indian society. The Census added an official validity to certain understandings of caste, which were represented in government documents and administrative reports. Kumar, A. (2022).
Nicholas Dirks (2001) suggests that caste was not a creation of colonialism, but rather the colonialism that was the dominant mode of understanding Indian society. The census was at the heart of this change, creating a new set of social categories and making them manageable for the State.

6.4 Enumeration, Identity Formation, and Political Consequences
Perhaps the most significant outcome of the census classification was the link between the political identity and the numerical representation. The census counted the caste community, thus turning social groups into measurable populations. There was a growing association between numbers and the right to social recognition, political representation, education and employment. Mosse, D. (2018).
Colonial categorisation was resisted by Indian communities. Numerous caste groups formed associations, wrote histories of their own groups, and lobbied colonial officials for better social standing or for a separate status. Thus, the classification of a census was not just a matter of the colonial state, but also a site of contestation space in which communities strived to shape their official identities. Natrajan, B. (2021).

6.5 Legacy of Colonial Caste Knowledge
The colonial census was a radical restructuring of the caste-state link. Colonial enumeration of caste was achieved by naming, counting and ranking of communities and their institutionalization. The classification that were instituted under British rule had continued to shape the postcolonial practices, such as the demographic study, affirmative action policies, and the debates on caste representation. Oommen, T. K. (2020).
Hence, the census cannot be viewed as a neutral document of Indian society, but rather as a powerful knowledge-producing institution. It developed new meanings for caste, defined new sets of collective identities and made new classificatory systems which continue to affect social and political life in India today. Zucman, G. (2022).

7. MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE STUDY
This study makes five important points based on past review of British colonial census and its contribution for the production of caste knowledge. The research highlights that colonial enumeration was not merely the process of collecting data; it was a very important tool which categorized, standardized, politicized and institutionalized caste identities. The results show the multifaceted nature of knowledge production, administrative authority and social identity construction in the colonial context of India.

7.1 Census Produced New Forms of Social Visibility
The first significant discovery is that the colonial census generated new forms of social visibility, by staking caste communities as measurable and statically recognisable populations. Prior to colonial enumeration, the identities of castes were entrenched in local social systems such as occupation, family, religion and local practice. While there was caste hierarchy, community identities were sometimes fluid and negotiated in relation to changing social relations.
The census has a new understanding of caste through its numbering, whereby communities were asked to identify themselves in the categories recognized by the state. As a result of counting and documentations, caste groups became available as a demographic entity to colonial state rather than a local community. This statistical visibility helped the state to compare populations, to draw up administration policy and to organize governance.

7.2 Classification Increased the Fixity of Caste
The second discovery is that the classification was an integral part of the growing sense of caste as a permanent and fixed social grouping. Colonial records represented caste as a category that was:

OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM

hereditary,
permanent,
officially identifiable.
The colonial authorities maintained the illusion of caste groups as discrete and unchanging communities in census reports, administrative documents and ethnographic research. This method minimized the awareness of the different caste systems and flexibility in historical times of India.
In most of the cases, communities had already negotiated their social status through economic mobility, political relationship, and migration and cultural adaptation. But the colonial classification system was conducive to a more dogmatic conception of caste, setting communities into a fixed order. These categories had been institutionalized and became authoritative in the eyes of the state and society as soon as they were recorded in official records.

7.3 Colonial Knowledge Shaped Political Identity
The third discovery is that colonial forms of knowledge had a significant role in shaping caste identities that were political.The third discovery is the importance of the role played by colonial forms of knowledge in the formation of caste political identities. The census turned castes into population numbers, establishing a connection between the strength of the population and political demands.
This relationship can be represented as:

$$\text{Population Count} \Rightarrow \text{Political Claim} \Rightarrow \text{Collective Identity}$$

Numerical strength was an important tool that the communities could use when fighting for recognition, representation, education, and employment opportunities. Census categories enabled communities to structure themselves together and politically mobilize on the basis of their official identities. Thus, colonial enumeration played a role in the development of modern caste consciousness, which was linked to political participation and demographic power.

7.4 Communities Actively Negotiated Colonial Categories
The fourth finding provides an insight into the fact that Indian communities were not simply "objects of classification" by the colonial powers. Rather, they participated actively in categories on the census and in colonial institutions to promote their social and political concerns.
Numerous castes formed associations, compiled histories of their communities and presented petitions to colonial officials for the purposes of affecting the colonial classification of their caste. There were certain communities that wanted to be recognized as more powerful communities, and others that wanted to be recognized as distinct communities and have their own representation. Rao, A. (2020).
This exemplifies a negotiated classification process within colonialism. While the colonial state organized the system of enumeration, communities reacted strategically in that they embraced, resisted or reworked the categories imposed on them.

7.5 Colonial Categories Continue to Influence Modern Governance
The fifth finding is that the approach to caste, government and social policy is still affected by colonial classification systems today. The categories created in colonial times are still important in demography, in discussions of enumerating castes, in political representation and in affirmative action policies. Srinivas, M. N., & Shah, A. M. (2018).
While these categories have been modified in post-colonial India through democratic institutions and social justice policies, many discussions today are still happening in the shadow of these categories as a legacy of colonial administrative practice. The relevance of the caste categories is evident, as are the effects of state classification systems.
In general, the results indicate that the British census had a significant impact on the development of caste knowledge. It was a means of new social visibility, a move towards rigidification of caste categories, a shaping of political identities, a call to community mobilization, and a positioning of caste classificatory systems that still exist today in India. The census thus was not simply a record of Indian society; it was an active institution which contributed to the dynamic production and re-production of social realities. Teltumbde, A. (2020).

8. DISCUSSIONS OF THE STUDY:
8.1 Colonial Knowledge and Contemporary Implications
The historical study of the British census shows that colonial production of knowledge was an important part of the process by which caste became more of a governmental and political classification. While colonial states did not form castes, the caste-based hierarchy was prevalent in Indian society prior to colonial rule, and caste was greatly transformed in terms of meaning, organization, and visibility. Caste acquired a more fixed, measurable

OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM

identity as a result of census enumeration, ethnographic surveys and administrative classifications, and was thus defined by individuals and communities. Thorat, S., & Newman, K. S. (Eds.). (2018).

8.2 The Politics of Enumeration and Representation

A major aspect of the colonial census procedures was that there was a relationship between numerical power and political representation. The census was instrumental in establishing new political consciousness in communities, since it turned them into statistical populations. Numbers were transformed into valuable tools to assert claims for recognition, social status and access to state institutions in a community.

This was the time when caste groups started to organize and negotiate with the administration about the definition of themselves through colonial enumeration. Caste associations, community groups and social reform movements began to emerge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which was related to the significance of the census classification. Communities wanted to influence the way that they were classified because they believed that classification could impact upon their educational opportunities, employment opportunities and political recognition.

8.3 Persistence of Colonial Categories in Postcolonial India

Despite India's independence in 1947, some categories remained to shape practices and social discourses in the state. Later efforts to study and understand population, in the fields of social welfare policies and political representation, were influenced by colonial systems of classification. The terms "Scheduled Castes," "Scheduled Tribes" and "Other Backward Classes," are contemporary terms that resonate with past practices of enumeration and classification.

The persistence of colonial categories shows that such categorizations made by the state can have long term social consequences. After being institutionalized, categories are fixed in institutional structures and collective identities. They shape notions of community identity, shape policy making by governments, and shape measures of social inequalities.

8.4 Colonial Knowledge and the Debate on Objectivity

Important questions are also raised about the relationship of knowledge and objectivity from the history of the colonial census. Often census classification was done in a scientific and neutral way, but it was based on assumptions regarding hierarchy, social evolution, and cultural difference. Colonial categorizations were not always accurate or even necessarily based on objective elements of truth or history itself, but instead on historical and political conditions.

9. CONCLUSION

This study has explored how caste and colonial knowledge are connected by looking at the importance of the British census in the classification and production of social identities in India. The analysis shows that the colonial census was not just a statistic-making tool that was used to document population characteristics but was a strong knowledge-making institution that changed the ways in which caste was understood, experienced and governed. The census was a process of enumeration, classification, ranking and institutionalisation in which social identities, which were embedded in complex patterns and local categories, were transformed into administrative categories. The thoughts and theories of knowledge-power, postcolonial theory and historical sociology show us that the process of classification in colonialism was very much bound up in a system of governance. Census operations made Indian society visible and manageable; official categories of Indians and their decisions and perceptions were influenced by the census. As Cohn (1996) and Dirks (2001) have pointed out, colonial rule was not merely a process of uncovering pre-existing social structures but of reorganizing them in new ways of thinking and of authority.

The historical examination also reveals that the classification of caste was an important factor in the construction of identity and political mobilization. The census turned caste communities into countable populations, and brought attention to the numerical might of these communities in an effort to secure recognition, representation, and access to resources. Meanwhile, Indian communities were vigorously involved in these classifications – negotiating their social status through the use of colonial institutions and advocating political goals. So, the enactment of the caste system was not a singular act of colonial control, but rather a space of negotiation and interaction between state and society.

The legacy of census practices continues to shape debates on the enumeration of castes in contemporary India, affirmative action, social justice and political representation. While many of the caste identities in contemporary use have been influenced by postcolonial processes, there are also a number of administrative categories and classificatory systems with historical roots in colonial practice.

Finally, the British census may be seen as a catalyst for revolution in the history of caste. It was not only a reflection of social realities, it was also a contributor to the creation of new forms of caste knowledge and identity.

OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM

REFERENCES

1. Appadurai, A. (1993). Number in the colonial imagination. In C. A. Breckenridge & P. van der Veer (Eds.), Orientalism and the postcolonial predicament: Perspectives on South Asia (pp. 314–339). University of Pennsylvania Press.
2. Bayly, S. (1999). Caste, society and politics in India from the eighteenth century to the modern age. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511572864
3. Breman, J. (2019). The village in colonial India: Studies in the history of Indian society and economy. Oxford University Press.
4. Chakravarti, U. (2018). Gendering caste through a feminist lens. Stree.
5. Cohn, B. S. (1996). Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India. Princeton University Press.
6. Deshpande, A. (2017). A yearning for equality: Social mobility and economic inequality in India. Oxford University Press.
7. Dirks, N. B. (2001). Castes of mind: Colonialism and the making of modern India. Princeton University Press.
8. Elyachar, J. (2018). The politics of dispossession: Anthropological perspectives on caste, economy, and governance in India. Current Anthropology, 59(S18), S17–S31. https://doi.org/10.1086/696254
9. Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality (pp. 87–104). University of Chicago Press.
10. Fuller, C. J., & Bénéï, V. (Eds.). (2019). The everyday state and society in modern India. Hurst & Company.
11. Gupta, D. (2018). Citizens versus the people: The politics of everyday life in India. Routledge.
12. Inden, R. (1990). Imagining India. Basil Blackwell.
13. Jaffrelot, C. (2021). India's silent revolution: The rise of the lower castes in North India (Updated ed.). Columbia University Press.
14. Kumar, A. (2022). Caste, census and the politics of enumeration in India. Contemporary South Asia, 30(3), 345–360.
15. Mosse, D. (2018). Caste and development: Contemporary perspectives on a structure of discrimination and advantage. World Development, 110, 422–436. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2018.06.003
16. Natrajan, B. (2021). Caste, class and capital: The social transformation of India. Cambridge University Press.
17. Natrajan, B., & Jacob, S. (Eds.). (2019). Critical themes in Indian sociology: Caste, class and social change. Sage Publications.
18. Oommen, T. K. (2020). Understanding Indian society: Theories and perspectives. Orient BlackSwan.
19. Pai, S. (2018). Dalit assertion and the unfinished democratic revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh. Sage Publications.
20. Piketty, T., Chancel, L., Saez, E., & Zucman, G. (2022). World inequality report 2022. Harvard University Press.
21. Rao, A. (2020). The caste question: Dalits and the politics of modern India. University of California Press.
22. Srinivas, M. N., & Shah, A. M. (2018). Social change and caste transformation in India. Sociological Bulletin, 67(2), 123–140.
23. Subramanian, A. (2019). The caste of merit: Engineering education in India. Harvard University Press.
24. Teltumbde, A. (2020). The persistence of caste: The Khairlanji murders and India's hidden apartheid. Zed Books.
25. Thorat, S., & Newman, K. S. (Eds.). (2018). Blocked by caste: Economic discrimination in modern India. Oxford University Press.

OPEN ACCESS © CINEFORUM