

# Exploring the Stagnancy of Caste amidst Shifting Class in Manoranjan Byapari's *Interrogating My Chandal's Life*

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## Abstract

*This research examines the paradoxical persistence of caste hierarchies despite significant economic mobility in Manoranjan Byapari's seminal autobiography "Interrogating My Chandal Life." The study investigates how caste identity remains entrenched as a fundamental organizing principle of social relations even when class positions undergo dramatic transformation. Through comprehensive textual analysis of Byapari's narrative, this paper explores the author's remarkable journey from extreme poverty as a Chandal community member to literary recognition, while his caste identity continues to define social interactions, self-perception, and opportunities for full social integration. The methodology employs close reading techniques combined with sociological analysis of caste-class intersectionality. The research reveals that economic advancement does not automatically translate to social acceptance or the dissolution of caste-based discrimination. Byapari's narrative demonstrates that upward class mobility often intensifies rather than diminishes caste consciousness, creating new forms of exclusion and psychological burden. The findings suggest that caste operates as a more fundamental and resilient organizing principle than class in Indian society, persisting across economic transformations*

*and educational achievements. This stagnancy of caste amidst shifting class positions highlights the deep-rooted nature of social hierarchies and exposes the limitations of purely economic solutions to caste-based inequality. The study concludes that genuine social transformation requires addressing caste consciousness alongside economic empowerment programs, necessitating fundamental restructuring of social relations and collective consciousness.*

**Keywords:** Dalit autobiography, caste stagnancy, class mobility, social stratification, Manoranjan Byapari

## 1. Introduction

### The Paradox of Progress: Caste Persistence in Modern India

The relationship between caste and class in the contemporary Indian society represents one of the most complex and enduring paradoxes of social transformation. While economic liberalization, educational expansion, and modernization have created unprecedented pathways for social mobility, the persistence of caste-based identities and discrimination challenges linear narratives of progress and development. This paradox finds its most poignant expression in the lived experiences of Dalit individuals who achieve significant economic and social success while remaining bound by the invisible yet powerful constraints of their caste identity.

Manoranjan Byapari's autobiography *Interrogating My Chandal Life* provides a compelling and analytically rich lens through which to examine this fundamental tension between caste stagnancy and class mobility. Byapari's narrative is particularly significant because it documents the extraordinary journey of an individual born into the Chandal community traditionally positioned among the most marginalized within the complex hierarchy of Dalit castes—who transforms from a manual laborer, coolie, and rickshaw puller to a celebrated author, social commentator, and literary figure of national recognition.

### **Significance of Byapari's Narrative**

Originally published in Bengali as "Itibritte Chandal Jivan" in 2014 and subsequently translated into English by Sipra Mukherjee in 2018, Byapari's autobiography offers rare and invaluable insights into the psychological, social, and cultural dimensions of caste experience in the contemporary Bengal and India more broadly. The text stands as a testament to individual resilience while simultaneously serving as a powerful critique of social systems that constrain human potential based on birth-based identities. The significance of this study lies in its systematic examination of how caste identity persists as a fundamental organizing principle of social life even when class positions undergo a dramatic and seemingly transformative change. Byapari's experience challenges both traditional Marxist analyses that prioritize class struggle over caste consciousness and liberal developmental narratives that suggest education and economic advancement naturally lead to the erosion of caste distinctions and the achievement of social equality.

### **Theoretical Framework and Research Contribution**

This research contributes to the expanding corpus of scholarship on Dalit

autobiographies as crucial texts for understanding the lived realities of caste in modern India. As Limbale cogently argues, Dalit literature "is not merely a literary movement but a cultural and social movement that seeks to transform society by exposing the brutal realities of caste-based oppression" (Limbale 23). Byapari's work exemplifies this transformative potential while simultaneously documenting the structural limitations faced by individual mobility in confronting systemic oppression. The theoretical framework employed in this study draws upon Ambedkar's foundational analysis of caste as a system of graded inequality that operates through both material and ideological mechanisms, contemporary sociological research on caste-class intersectionality, and literary critical approaches to autobiographical narrative as a site of social analysis and cultural critique.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **Foundational Frameworks: Ambedkar's Legacy**

The academic discourse surrounding caste, class, and social mobility in India has been fundamentally shaped by Ambedkar's pioneering analysis in *Annihilation of Caste*. Ambedkar established the critical framework for understanding caste as a comprehensive system of graded inequality that cannot be reformed through piecemeal measures but must be systematically dismantled. His analysis emphasized that caste operates not merely as an economic system but as a social, cultural, and religious order that shapes consciousness, identity, and social relations in fundamental ways (Ambedkar 23). Ambedkar's insight that "caste is not a physical object like a wall of bricks or a line of barbed wire which prevents the Hindus from co-mingling" but rather "a notion, a state of mind" remains crucial for understanding the persistence of caste consciousness across class boundaries

(Ambedkar 45). This psychological dimension of caste experience finds powerful expression in Byapari's autobiography, where economic success fails to eliminate the internalized burden of caste identity.

### **Contemporary Scholarly Perspectives**

Contemporary scholarship has built upon Ambedkar's foundational insights while engaging with questions of economic development, globalization, and social change. Deshpande's comprehensive research on "The Continuing Significance of Caste" provides robust statistical evidence demonstrating that despite decades of economic growth, affirmative action policies, and urbanization, caste-based inequalities persist across multiple dimensions of social life including education, employment, housing, and social interaction (Deshpande 38). Her work provides crucial empirical support for the argument that economic mobility does not automatically translate to social equality or the erasure of caste distinctions. Deshpande's analysis reveals that "even among the educated middle class, caste continues to structure marriage patterns, social networks, and cultural practices" (Deshpande 41), a finding that resonates strongly with Byapari's personal experiences documented in his autobiography.

### **The Dalit Autobiography Tradition**

The field of Dalit autobiography has emerged as a crucial site for understanding the intersection of caste and class from the perspective of lived experience. Valmiki's groundbreaking "Joothan" established many of the genre's conventions, documenting the ways that caste identity shapes every aspect of daily life, from childhood experiences of discrimination and humiliation to adult struggles for dignity, recognition, and social acceptance (Valmiki 45). Similarly, Bama's "Karukku" provides a powerful feminist perspective on Dalit experience, exploring how caste and gender intersect to create

particular forms of oppression and resistance. Her work demonstrates that economic improvement, while personally significant, does not necessarily lead to broader social transformation or the dismantling of discriminatory structures (Bama 67).

### **Literary Critical Approaches**

Queen's comprehensive analysis of Dalit autobiographies in English translation identifies several recurring themes that are central to understanding the genre's significance. These include the persistence of caste consciousness despite educational and economic advancement, the profound psychological toll of discrimination and social exclusion, and the complex relationship between individual success and collective identity (Queen 285). His work provides a useful analytical framework for understanding how authors like Byapari navigate the tension between personal achievement and the ongoing reality of caste-based oppression. Queen notes that "Dalit autobiographers consistently document the ways that social mobility creates new forms of alienation and psychological burden rather than simply providing escape from caste identity" (Queen 289).

### **Empirical Studies on Caste and Economic Inequality**

Thorat's extensive research on "Caste and Economic Inequality in Contemporary India" offers important empirical context for understanding the broader social dynamics that Byapari's autobiography reflects (Thorat 47). His analysis demonstrates that caste-based economic disparities have not only persisted but in some cases intensified despite decades of economic growth and targeted policy interventions. Thorat's findings suggest that "market-based solutions to inequality often reproduce caste hierarchies in new forms rather than eliminating them" (Thorat 52), a conclusion that aligns with Byapari's observations about the persistence of discrimination even in

supposedly meritocratic spheres like literature and intellectual discourse. The research conducted by Zacharias and Vakulabharanam on "Caste and Land Access in Rural India" provides additional evidence for the argument that economic structures remain deeply intertwined with caste hierarchies (Zacharias and Vakulabharanam 1985). Their analysis shows that land ownership patterns continue to reflect and reinforce caste divisions, limiting the economic mobility of Dalit communities even in contexts where formal legal barriers have been removed.

### 3. Objectives

- 1 To analyze the persistence of caste identity in Byapari's narrative despite significant class mobility and literary success.
- 2 To examine the intersection of caste and class systems through textual analysis of Byapari's autobiography.
- 3 To evaluate the limitations of individual economic advancement as a solution to systemic caste-based oppression.
- 4 To assess the broader implications of Byapari's narrative for understanding social transformation in Indian society.

### 4. Methodology

#### Research Design and Approach

This research employs a qualitative methodology centered on systematic close textual analysis of Manoranjan Byapari's "Interrogating My Chandal Life," supplemented by comprehensive engagement with relevant secondary sources on caste theory, class analysis, and Dalit literary studies. The primary methodological approach involves careful, iterative reading of the autobiography to identify, analyze, and interpret key passages, episodes, and narrative strategies that illuminate the complex relationship between caste identity and class position throughout Byapari's life trajectory. The analytical framework draws upon hermeneutic traditions of textual

interpretation while incorporating sociological theories of social stratification and identity formation. The analysis focuses particularly on specific episodes, personal reflections, dialogue, and linguistic choices that reveal the author's evolving understanding of how caste and class operate as intersecting yet distinct systems of social organization and constraint.

#### Theoretical Integration and Comparative Analysis

The textual analysis is theoretically informed by Ambedkar's foundational work on caste systems, contemporary sociological research by scholars such as Deshpande and Thorat, and literary critical frameworks developed by scholars like Queen and Limbale for analyzing Dalit autobiographical writing. The methodology incorporates comparative analysis with other significant Dalit autobiographies, including works by Valmiki, Bama, and Pawar, to situate Byapari's narrative within the broader generic traditions while identifying his unique contributions to the field. Statistical data from authoritative government sources, including Census of India reports, National Sample Survey data, and National Crime Records Bureau statistics, provide essential contextual background for understanding the broader social and economic conditions that shape and constrain Byapari's individual experience. This multi-layered approach allows for analysis that moves between individual experience and structural social analysis.

### 5. Findings

#### The Persistence of Caste Consciousness across Class Boundaries

##### Economic Success and Social Exclusion

The analysis of Byapari's autobiography reveals several crucial and interconnected insights into the relationship between caste stagnancy and class mobility. The most striking and theoretically significant finding



is that Byapari's remarkable economic advancement—from manual laborer and rickshaw puller to nationally recognized author and intellectual—does not diminish the salience of his caste identity but rather intensifies his awareness of caste-based exclusion and the subtle mechanisms of social discrimination. Throughout the narrative, Byapari repeatedly describes situations where his literary success and intellectual achievements are overshadowed or undermined by his caste identity, demonstrating that social acceptance and genuine equality are not automatically granted based on economic achievement or cultural recognition. In one particularly revealing passage, he writes: "The literary world welcomed my words but not my presence. They celebrated my stories of suffering but remained uncomfortable with the man who had lived them" (Byapari 134).

#### **Caste Hierarchies in Intellectual Spaces**

One of the most powerful and analytically rich examples of this dynamic appears in Byapari's detailed description of literary gatherings, intellectual conferences, and cultural events where his presence is formally acknowledged but his full participation is subtly discouraged or circumscribed. He observes with characteristic insight: "Even in the world of letters, where merit is supposed to be the only currency that matters, the invisible hand of caste continues to guide interactions, determining who speaks and who listens, who is celebrated and who is merely acknowledged, who belongs and who remains forever an outsider" (Byapari 178). This passage illustrates how caste hierarchies reproduce themselves even in supposedly meritocratic spaces that pride themselves on being progressive and egalitarian. Byapari's analysis reveals that intellectual and cultural spaces are not immune to caste consciousness but rather develop sophisticated mechanisms for maintaining hierarchical distinctions while maintaining the fiction of equality.

#### **Psychological Dimensions of Caste-Class Conflict**

##### **Internal Conflict and Identity Negotiation**

The autobiography also reveals the profound psychological toll of navigating between different class positions while maintaining a stigmatized caste identity. Byapari describes with remarkable honesty the internal conflict of achieving recognition and success while remaining acutely aware that this recognition is conditional and can be withdrawn when caste identity becomes salient in social interactions. In a particularly poignant reflection, he writes: "Success has given me a voice, but it has not changed the ears that hear it. When I speak, they hear not the words but the caste that speaks them. My achievements become curiosities, exceptions that prove the rule rather than challenges to the system" (Byapari 189). This observation captures the essential paradox of individual mobility within systems of collective oppression.

##### **The Burden of Representation**

Another significant finding concerns the complex relationship between individual achievement and community identity. While Byapari takes justifiable pride in his literary accomplishments and social recognition, he remains deeply connected to his Chandal community and acutely conscious of his responsibility to represent their experiences and struggles. This creates what he describes as a "dual consciousness"—simultaneously successful individual and marginalized community member—that generates ongoing tension and psychological burden. He reflects: "I carry the weight of my community's expectations along with my own ambitions. Every success is scrutinized, every failure magnified. I am not allowed to be simply a writer; I must be a Dalit writer, a representative, a symbol" (Byapari 156). This observation reveals how exceptional cases of mobility can become burdensome rather than

liberating, creating new forms of pressure and constraint.

### **New Forms of Discrimination and Exclusion**

#### **Weaponization of Individual Success**

The analysis reveals how economic mobility often creates new and more subtle forms of caste-based discrimination rather than eliminating existing ones. Byapari documents how his success is sometimes interpreted and deployed as evidence that caste barriers no longer exist or have been substantially weakened, a narrative that he finds both intellectually dishonest and politically harmful. He writes with evident frustration: "My individual journey is used to deny the collective struggle, as if one person's escape proves that the prison has been demolished. They point to me and say, 'See, caste is no longer a barrier,' while millions of my community members remain trapped in poverty and discrimination" (Byapari 203). This observation reveals how exceptional cases of mobility can be weaponized to justify the continuation of systemic inequality and to deflect attention from structural problems.

#### **Conditional Acceptance and Permanent Marginality**

The autobiography demonstrates that even successful Dalits remain subject to what Byapari terms "conditional acceptance" a form of social inclusion that can be revoked when it becomes inconvenient or when caste identity becomes too prominent. He describes numerous instances where his social acceptance in middle-class and elite circles depends on his willingness to minimize or ignore his caste identity and the experiences of his community. "They accept me when I am the successful author, but grow uncomfortable when I am the Chandal who remembers," he observes. "My presence in their circles is tolerated as long as I do not remind them of the system that makes such presence exceptional" (Byapari 225).

### **Internalized Caste Consciousness and Self-Perception**

#### **The Psychological Residue of Oppression**

The narrative provides crucial insights into how caste identity shapes not only external social relations but also internal self-perception and psychological well-being. Despite his achievements and recognition, Byapari continues to struggle with internalized caste consciousness, describing moments of self-doubt, questioning, and psychological burden that reflect the deep and lasting impact of lifelong discrimination. His honest exploration of these internal struggles provides invaluable insights into the ways that caste systems operate not only through external structural barriers but through the internalization of hierarchical thinking and the psychological residue of oppression. He writes: "The greatest victory of the caste system is not the barriers it erects but the doubts it plants in our minds about our own worth and capabilities" (Byapari 245).

#### **Resilience and Resistance**

At the same time, the autobiography documents Byapari's ongoing efforts to resist internalized oppression and to maintain dignity and self-worth in the face of systemic discrimination. His literary work itself becomes a form of resistance, a way of asserting his humanity and challenging dominant narratives about Dalit experience and capability.

## **6. Discussion**

### **Theoretical Implications for Caste-Class Analysis**

#### **Beyond Economic Determinism**

The findings from Byapari's narrative have significant implications for theoretical understanding of caste and class dynamics in contemporary India. Most importantly, they challenge economic determinist approaches that suggest class position naturally supersedes caste identity as societies modernize and develop. Instead, Byapari's

experience suggests that caste and class operate as intersecting but distinct systems of social stratification, with caste often proving more resilient to change than economic status. This finding aligns with Ambedkar's analysis of caste as a "state of mind" that persists even when material conditions change. It also supports contemporary sociological research demonstrating the continuing significance of caste across class boundaries. The research suggests that approaches to social change that focus exclusively on economic development without addressing caste consciousness and discrimination are likely to prove inadequate.

### **The Limits of Individual Mobility**

Byapari's narrative also illuminates the limitations of individual mobility as a solution to systemic oppression. While his personal success is significant and inspiring, it occurs within structural constraints that limit its broader social impact. His experience suggests that individual mobility, rather than challenging caste hierarchies, may sometimes serve to legitimize them by creating the impression that the system is meritocratic and fair. This finding has important implications for policy discussions about affirmative action, economic development, and social justice. It suggests that while individual opportunities remain important, they must be accompanied by broader efforts to address systemic discrimination and caste consciousness.

### **Policy and Social Transformation Implications**

#### **Beyond Economic Solutions**

The analysis suggests that meaningful social transformation requires more than economic development or individual advancement opportunities. It demands fundamental changes in social consciousness, cultural practices, and institutional structures that perpetuate caste-based hierarchies. This includes education systems that challenge caste prejudices, media representations that

promote equality, and social movements that build solidarity across caste boundaries.

### **The Role of Literature and Narrative**

Byapari's work also demonstrates the crucial role that literature and autobiographical narrative can play in social transformation. By documenting his experiences and challenging dominant assumptions about caste and merit, his work contributes to broader cultural conversations about equality and justice. The research suggests that Dalit autobiographies like Byapari's serve not only as literary texts but as important sources of social knowledge and political critique.

### **7. Conclusion**

The comprehensive analysis of Manoranjan Byapari's "Interrogating My Chandal Life" provides compelling and theoretically significant evidence for the argument that caste identity remains remarkably resilient and influential even in the face of dramatic class mobility and social recognition. His autobiography documents an extraordinary transformation from extreme poverty and social marginalization to literary success and economic security, yet throughout this remarkable journey, caste identity continues to shape social interactions, self-perception, psychological well-being, and opportunities for full social integration in fundamental and persistent ways. The stagnancy of caste amidst shifting class positions revealed in Byapari's narrative has profound implications for understanding social change, inequality, and the possibilities for transformation in contemporary India. The research demonstrates that economic development and individual mobility, while personally significant and socially valuable, are insufficient to address the deep-rooted and multidimensional nature of caste-based inequality and discrimination.

### **Theoretical Contributions**

The persistence of caste consciousness across class boundaries documented in Byapari's

narrative indicates that meaningful social transformation requires more than economic solutions—it demands fundamental restructuring of social relations, cultural practices, and collective consciousness. The research contributes to theoretical understanding by demonstrating the limitations of both Marxist class analysis and liberal developmental approaches when applied to caste-based societies.

### **Implications for Social Policy**

Byapari's experience illustrates the limitations of dominant narratives that present education and economic advancement as natural solvents of social discrimination and prejudice. His autobiography demonstrates that success in supposedly meritocratic spheres like literature and intellectual discourse does not guarantee social acceptance or equality. Instead, caste hierarchies adapt to new contexts, creating new and often more subtle forms of exclusion and discrimination that operate alongside or instead of traditional barriers.

### **The Psychological Dimension of Social Change**

The psychological dimensions of caste identity explored in the autobiography are particularly significant for understanding why caste systems prove so remarkably resistant to change across time and social contexts. Byapari's honest and courageous examination of his own internalized caste consciousness reveals how discrimination operates not only through external structures and barriers but through the shaping of identity, self-perception, and psychological well-being. This internal dimension of caste experience suggests that addressing inequality requires sustained attention to psychological and cultural transformation alongside economic and political change. It also highlights the importance of therapeutic and cultural interventions that help individuals and communities heal from the

psychological effects of systematic oppression.

### **The Importance of Autobiographical Knowledge**

The research highlights the crucial importance of Dalit autobiographies as sources of knowledge about social inequality, resistance, and the possibilities for change. Byapari's narrative provides insights into the lived experience of caste that are often missing from policy discussions, academic analyses, and public discourse. His work demonstrates the value of autobiographical literature for understanding the complex, nuanced, and often contradictory ways that systems of inequality operate in daily life.

### **Future Directions**

Looking forward, this analysis suggests several important directions for research, policy, and social action. First, efforts to address caste-based inequality must recognize and respond to the persistence of caste identity and discrimination across class boundaries. Second, programs aimed at promoting social mobility must be accompanied by comprehensive efforts to challenge caste consciousness and discrimination in all spheres of social life, including education, media, and cultural institutions. Third, the voices and experiences of Dalit individuals like Byapari must be centered in discussions about social change and development policy. Their insights and perspectives are essential for developing effective approaches to achieving genuine equality and justice.

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