

# Resituating the ‘Dominant Caste’: A Critique of Existing Narratives about Brahmins in S. L. Bhyrappa’s *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home*

**Kishan Kumar Mishra and Nagendra Kumar**

## **Abstract**

In India, the paradigm of the caste system dictates Brahmins are necessarily dominant, wealthy, mighty, highly knowledgeable, and rigid. However, like any stereotype, these attributes are far from ubiquitous. Brahmins can also be poor, oppressed, and lacking education. For centuries, this community has also witnessed many difficulties, disasters, and predicaments. Regrettably, the atrocities against Brahmins have been kept undisclosed and unpublished. This article challenges such one-sided, preconceived, prejudiced notions about Brahmins, their privileges, and their dominance. It explores the fragile and critical conditions as well as the decadence of Brahmins in the last century. This will be conducted with reference to *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home* (2019), a semi-autobiographical novel by S. L. Bhyrappa. This article will use textual analysis to explore the Brahmins’ predicaments. M. N. Srinivas’s concept of ‘Dominant Caste’ is used as a theoretical framework to substantiate the arguments. In a broader context, this article will challenge the prevalent notion of caste dominance and Brahmins in a new light and demonstrates the unexplored realities of Brahmins.

**Keywords:** Caste, Brahmins, Dominant Caste, Oppression.

## **Introduction**

In India, the paradigm of the caste system dictates Brahmins are necessarily dominant, wealthy, mighty, highly knowledgeable, and rigid. However, like any stereotype, these attributes are far from ubiquitous. Brahmins can also be poor, oppressed, and lacking education. For centuries, this community has also witnessed many difficulties, disasters, and predicaments. Regrettably, the atrocities on Brahmins have generally been undisclosed and unpublished. This article challenges such one-sided, preconceived, prejudiced notions about Brahmins, their privileges, and their dominance. It explores the fragile

and critical conditions as well as the decadence of Brahmins in the last century. This will be conducted with reference to *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home* (2019), a semi-autobiographical novel by S. L. Bhyrappa. This article will use textual analysis to explore the Brahmins’ predicaments. M. N. Srinivas’s concept of ‘Dominant Caste’ is used as a theoretical framework to substantiate the arguments. In a broader context, this article will challenge the prevalent notion of caste dominance and Brahmins in a new light and demonstrates the unexplored realities of Brahmins.

### Mapping the Caste System

The word ‘caste’ has its roots in the Portuguese and Spanish languages, deriving from the word ‘Casta’, which variously means ‘race’, ‘lineage’, or ‘tribe’. G. S. Ghurey, M. N. Srinivas, and Ranjan Kothari have defined caste on different grounds. Due to its complexity and vague origin, it does not have any single definition or the source of emergence. Debashish Mitra explains, “...there is to date no widely accepted theory of its origin, or even a universally accepted description of caste, is, that it has no single origin and no single form.”<sup>1</sup> When the Portuguese came to India for the first time, they used this word for the local groups of Indian society. Caste is ultimately a social practice, and the basic assumption of this stratification was interdependency, as almost each caste had at least one specific ancestral calling for livelihood. Therefore, people from different castes were dependent on other castes, and there was harmony among them. Though most of the castes had a particular profession for their members’ livelihood, it did not mean that all the members of a specific caste performed that occupation. According to Priyanka Mahawar, “Each *jati* has some unique job, but not everyone in the *jati* performs it. Thus, there are barbers who do not shave, carpenters who do not build, and Brahmins who do not act as

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Kishan Kumar Mishra is currently a research scholar in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Roorkee, Roorkee, Uttarakhand, India. His research is focused on caste and Brahmin Studies.

Nagendra Kumar is a Professor of English in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Roorkee, Roorkee, Uttarakhand, India. He specialises in English Language, Literature, and Communication Studies.

<sup>1</sup> Debashish Mitra, *In Search of Hegemony: A Comparative Study of the Brahmin Caste of India* (London: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2016), p. 1.

priests.”<sup>2</sup> As evidenced, the caste system in its original form was nowhere near as rigid as its current state. As Tharoor writes, “India had castes, but not a caste system.”<sup>3</sup>

At this time, *varna* was altogether a different concept. Earlier, the *varna* of a human being was not decided by one’s birth; rather, it was determined by the character, aptitude, and faculty. As Declan Quigley illustrates: “The sense of *Varna* is quite different. The basic idea is not of birth but of function, and not simply any function, but one which is necessary to ensure that social harmony and cosmic stability are maintained.”<sup>4</sup> As per the available documents, it can be concluded that the four *varnas* at this time were ‘Brahmin’, ‘Kshatriya’, ‘Vaishya’, and ‘Shudra’. The origins of Brahmin *Varna* can be traced back to the *Purush Sukta* of the *Rig Veda*.

According to the *Rig Veda*, the primal man – ‘Purush’ - destroyed himself to create a human society. The different *Varnas* were created from different parts of his body. The Brahmans were created from his head; the Kshatriyas from his hands; the Vaishyas from his thighs and the Sudras from his feet.<sup>5</sup>

Pronouncements about the functions and characteristics of Brahmins can also be found. For Olivelle, “The term Brahmin in Indian texts has signified someone who is good and virtuous, not just someone of priestly class.”<sup>6</sup> In the ‘Varna Parva’ of the *Mahabharata*, it is mentioned that “Truth, charity, forgiveness, good conduct, gentleness, austerity, and mercy, where these are seen, O king of serpents, he is called a Brahmana.”<sup>7</sup> It is generally believed that the *varna* system was fixed and worked in an enclosed system. However, evidence shows that it was flexible since it was decided by *karma*, or an individual’s social standing by their own merit. A number of significant historical figures notably took on the Brahmin status later in their lives due to their aptitude, genius and talent.<sup>8</sup> Even in the *Santi Parva*, of *Mahabharata*, Yudhishthira “clearly points out that a Brahmin is not a Brahmin just because

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<sup>2</sup> Priyanka Mahawar, ‘Difference between Caste and *Jati*’, *Medium*, 5 June (2017). At: <https://medium.com/@priyankamahawar5/difference-between-caste-and-jati-de80528c8b67>. Accessed 3/3/2022.

<sup>3</sup> Shashi Tharoor, *Why I am a Hindu* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2018), p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Declan Quigley, *The Interpretation of Caste* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Mitra, *In Search of Hegemony*, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Patrick Olivelle, *Ascetics and Brahmins: Studies in Ideologies and Institutions* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), p. 60.

<sup>7</sup> Sanatan Dharm, *An Elementary Text-Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics* (Banaras: Tara Printing Works, 1916), p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> Mitra, *In Search of Hegemony*, pp. 19, 20.

he is born in a Brahmin family, nor is a Sudra because his parents are Sudras.”<sup>9</sup> From this, it is clear that in the past, one's varna was determined less by the status of one's family and more by an individual's acts throughout their lives. Apart from this, in the Vedic period, “there was no prohibition against the *Shudras* (who later on became the low-castes) listening to the Vedas or participating in any religious rite.”<sup>10</sup>

Traditionally, the job of Brahmins was that of priests: reading scriptures, performing rituals and worshipping at temples. Later, due to the increase in population, this community expanded to other professions. As Srinivas demonstrates, “to say that Brahmins and Lingayats are priestly castes means only that some individuals from these castes serve as domestic or temple priests.”<sup>11</sup> Mitra further highlights, “Many Brahmins, who were supposed to be the priest and learned of the society, could not find jobs as priests or could not manage to feed their families as priests, and therefore, worked as simple farmers.”<sup>12</sup> For many centuries, Brahmins were dependent on the people from different castes for their livelihood. They devoted their whole lives to learning and transmitting knowledge. Once the system of interdependence on other castes collapsed, many Brahmins were forced to accept poverty. As Bhyrappa says, “A Brahmin's duty is to voluntarily embrace poverty.”<sup>13</sup>

Many Brahmins began to face poverty with the advent of Islam's arrival in India, which greatly changed the cultural landscape. Further changes came about subsequent to the British invasion of South Asia. Many outsiders believed that Brahmins were the biggest hurdle in conquering India. As Pandey claims:

Brahmins were being religiously persecuted continuously, were killed on a massive scale... for at least last ten centuries at the hands of British and Islamic rulers like Taimur, Muhammad Gori, Khalji, Mehmud Gajnavi, Muhammad bin Quasim, Tipu Sultan, Babar

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<sup>9</sup> Mitra, *In Search of Hegemony*, p. 18

<sup>10</sup> Mitra, *In Search of Hegemony*, p. 30

<sup>11</sup> M. N. Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 64.

<sup>12</sup> Mitra, *In Search of Hegemony: A Comparative study of Brahmin Caste of India*, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>13</sup> S. L. Bhyrappa, *Aavarana: The Veil* (New Delhi: Rupa Publication India Pty Ltd, 2014), p. 255.

and Aurangzeb.<sup>14</sup>

Ambedkar has also offered a similar argument in his chapter “Break up of Unity,” where he points to the atrocities committed by various invading forces. He quotes from *Tabaquat-i-Nastri*: “great plunder fell into the hands of victors. Most of the habitants were Brahmins with shaven heads. They were put to death.”<sup>15</sup> He also cites *Badshah Namah*, *Massir-I-Alamgiri*, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shah*, and others to show the brutality of the Muslim invasion in India. Ambedkar writes,

Muhammad Bin Quasim’s first act of religious zeal was forcibly to circumcise the Brahmins of the captured city of Debul; but on discovering that they objected to this sort of conversion he proceeded to put all above the age of 17 to death and to order all others, with women and children, to be led into slavery.<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, the instances of atrocities are not few. He has extensively talked about the murder, destruction, and religious conversions effected by Muslim invaders such as Mohammad bin Qasim, Muhammad of Ghazni, Mohammed Ghorī, and Taimur, Shah Jahan.<sup>17</sup> These invaders “had targeted temples, priests and Brahmins on a large scale.”<sup>18</sup>

### **Representing Brahmins in Literature**

In the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries, the condition for Brahmins was more or less the same as it had been throughout history. In particular, once India achieved independence from the British empire, there was a rise in anti-Brahmin sentiment among lower castes. Many anti-Brahmin movements, for example led by Dr B. R. Ambedkar, Jyotiba Phule, and E. V. Ramaswami, overshadowed Brahmins’ voices. As Srinivas points out, “...in different parts of South India shortly after World War I there began what may be called the Non-Brahmin Movement...the non-Brahmin agitation succeeded, and gradually a number of rules discriminating against

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<sup>14</sup> Rakesh Kumar Pandey, ‘Ten centuries of continuous religious persecution of Hindus: Brahmins at the center of target’, *My Voice*, 4 July (2920). At: <https://myvoice.opindia.com/2020/07/ten-centuries-of-continuous-religious-persecution-of-hindus-brahmins-at-the-center-of-target/>. Accessed 3/3/2022.

<sup>15</sup> Bhimrao Ambedkar, ‘Break up of Unity’, in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, ed. Vasant Moon (New Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundations, 1940), p. 58.

<sup>16</sup> Ambedkar, ‘Break up of Unity’, p. 57.

<sup>17</sup> Ambedkar, ‘Break up of Unity’, pp. 55, 56, 59, 60

<sup>18</sup> Pandey, ‘Ten centuries of continuous religious persecution of Hindus: Brahmins at the center of target’.

the Brahmins were evolved by the Government of Mysore.”<sup>19</sup> Though all these movements aimed to eradicate caste-based discrimination, the Brahmin community was villainized through the process.

One such writer who has explored these matters is S. L. Bhyrappa. He has authored twenty-four novels and has been awarded the Saraswati Samman, Sahitya Akademi Award, and Padma Shri in 2010, 2015, and 2016 respectively. In his 2019 *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home*, he sheds light on the perennial subjugation, oppression, and exploitation of Brahmins. The novel, translated into English by L. V. Shanthakumari, is a semi-autobiographical work that depicts the life and sufferings of Nanjamma, a Brahmin woman. The novel is set in a rural village of Karnataka; it begins with Nanjamma’s marriage, and ends with her tragic death. During the course of her life, her family goes into massive debt and thus is stripped of their assets, including their house and land. Eventually, due to plague, Nanjamma dies alongside her two children, Parvati and Ramanna. This article explores discourse around Brahmins and their subjugation, particularly in India in the 1930s. The study aims to counter widespread notions regarding Brahmins, their privileges, and their dominance. In order to legitimise and substantiate the arguments, M. N. Srinivas’s concept of ‘Dominant Caste’ will be used as a theoretical framework.

### **The Concept of ‘Dominant Caste’**

M. N. Srinivas, a prominent Indian sociologist, has extensively discussed the idea of the ‘dominant caste’. The concept is “crucial to the understanding of rural social life in most part of India.”<sup>20</sup> According to Srinivas, any caste can be dominant depending on its prominence within the population. He writes,

A caste may be said to be ‘dominant’ when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can more easily be dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low.<sup>21</sup>

In all these determinants, Srinivas explains that “the numerical strength of a caste can be translated into social rank,” and this strength in numbers is an

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<sup>19</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 98.

<sup>20</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 96.

<sup>21</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 4.

essential element in cultural domination.<sup>22</sup> He takes the example of the Besthas, the fishing caste, which was dominant at one place but not in others: a caste section in a village was able to win the respect of other castes if it had strength of numbers...for instance. Fisherman (Besthas) rank much lower than the dominant caste of Okkaligas, but in the villages where they enjoyed numerical strength they were known to stand up for themselves.<sup>23</sup>

Further, he states that in some places, Brahmins were dominant despite not holding a majority; however, this changed greatly over the course of India's invasions. In post-independence India, "the democratic, secular, and egalitarian winds which are blowing in the country... have resulted in an erosion of the position of the Brahmin."<sup>24</sup> Now, power and dominance are determined by the count of people of a caste. Srinivas confirms that at the regional level, the post-independence India is the India of dominant castes.<sup>25</sup> Talking about the function of a dominant caste, Srinivas states that the dominant caste performs kingly duties. The concept of dominant caste is intended to maintain law and order in society.<sup>26</sup>

Though Srinivas emphasises that numerical strength, along with economic and political power, are the sole factors in deciding the dominant caste, there are some critics of this analysis. Louis Dumont, Peter Gardner and S. C. Dube have extended the concept of the dominant caste and suggested that while strength of numbers is significant, it is far from the deciding factor in social dominance. As Gardner states, "it is not so clear that numerical preponderance is sufficient to create a dominant caste unless used as a means to wrest ownership of the village land."<sup>27</sup> Dube also illustrates this when he says, "strength, while it is an element of dominance, does not necessarily make a caste dominant."<sup>28</sup> He further expands,

It will be meaningful to speak of a 'dominant caste' only when power is diffused in the group and is exercised in the interest of the whole group or at least a sizable part of it. When there are pronounced inequalities of wealth, prestige and power between different individuals in a so-called dominant caste, and where dominant individuals exploit the weaker

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<sup>22</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup> P. M. Gardner, 'Dominance in India: A Reappraisal', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1968), pp. 82–97.

<sup>28</sup> S. C. Dube, 'Caste Dominance and Factionalism', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1968), pp. 58–81.

elements in their own caste as well as the non-dominant castes it will perhaps be inappropriate to think of it as a dominant caste.<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, Dube adds that "Intra-caste unity and articulation in terms of power are essential for its emergence as a dominant caste."<sup>30</sup> Dumont also insists that mere numbers are deficient; landowning and possession of rights are the essential requirements to be dominant. The caste which owns more land can be a dominant caste.

However, Srinivas justifies his stand on the Dominant Caste by saying that "since independence the forces of democracy and secularization have been so strong that power tends to move inexorably in favour of numbers."<sup>31</sup> He also states that he "was concerned with caste being used as a base for acquiring power and not with questions of how that power was being used by the leaders of the dominant caste."<sup>32</sup>

### **Dominant Caste in *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home***

It has been a prevalent notion about the social structure of India that among the four varnas (Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra), Brahmins have historically been at the apex of social order. Even today, people believe that Brahmins enjoy and exercise the so-called privileges of being dominant. They are often seen as being responsible for the social cohesion of their communities. This comes with a number of connotations of authority and dominance that may or may not be accurate in a given region. As Srinivas writes, "it is difficult, if not possible, to determine the exact, or even the approximate, place of each caste in the hierarchical system."<sup>33</sup> As far as the novel *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home* is concerned, its depiction of the village 'Ramsandra' is similar to Srinivas' analysis of Rampura village. The story shows the panorama of village life, the changing social order and social climate of Karnataka. Such transformations at the caste level provide a new dimension to Indian society and give birth to a new perspective of looking at caste structure.

In the village Ramsandra, people from different castes live together. Most of them are peasants who earn their livelihood by tilling the land. The essential features of the dominant caste are social dominance, economic

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<sup>29</sup> Dube, 'Caste Dominance and Factionalism'.

<sup>30</sup> Dube, 'Caste Dominance and Factionalism'.

<sup>31</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 13.

<sup>33</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 79.



prosperity, political supremacy, landowning, money lending, and exploitation of other castes. As opposed to the popular claim that the Brahmins must possess all the characteristics of the dominant caste, in this novel, the situation is different. In Ramsandra, the conditions faced by are often harsh. Here, Patel Shivegowda is the patriarch of the village, and refuses to be questioned by people of any caste. He says of Gangamma family, “if I don’t bring these bastards begging on the streets for food, I am not a son born to my father.”<sup>34</sup> He states, “I am the Patel of the village. I will pronounce the judgment.”<sup>35</sup> When Appannaiah, a Brahmin, goes to beg some ragi at Kallegowda’s house, Kallegowda becomes angry. “Come will feed you roti, come work in the field... Hey, will you go out quickly or should we push you out by your neck?”<sup>36</sup> These lines suggest that both Shivegowda and Kallegowda are not only affluent and influential, but also dominant, having a significant amount of land, which makes them a part of the dominant caste.

Along with Shivegowda and Kallegowda, Shivalingagowda, Revannashetty, Gundegowda, and Chikegowda are also from the dominant caste. These individuals exploit both Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike. Srinivas writes “when a caste is decisively dominant, its dominance extends over all the castes including castes ritually higher.”<sup>37</sup>

When it comes to the economy, Shivegowda is again the richest person in the village. Land is always a very significant source of income, and possession of land means having high status and power in the village. In this respect, dominant individuals have the lion’s share of the land. Contrary to stereotypes, some of the Brahmins do not possess land, such as Ayyashastris and Annajois, and even Nanjamma. Ayyashastris is a performer of rituals on several occasions, while Annajois is a temple priest and maintains a temple farm. Nanjamma lives in a house of Gundegowda and acts as village accountant, as well as joining leaves to make plates to sell at the market. Other Brahmins are forced to beg for money. When Gangamma (a Brahmin lady) loses her house and land to Shivegowda, she can do nothing but “visit each and every village, and beg at each house, saying ‘A wicked bastard cheated us and swallowed all our property. We have nothing for our livelihood; please give us something,’ and Gangamma would spread her red

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<sup>34</sup> S. L. Bhyrappa, *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home* (New Delhi: Rupa Publication India Pvt. Ltd., 2019), p. 99.

<sup>35</sup> Bhyrappa, *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home*, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> Bhyrappa, *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home*, p. 175.

<sup>37</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 105.

sari on the floor'.”<sup>38</sup> Sathu's condition is economically comfortable until her father's death. Subsequent to this tragedy, there is no one to support this family, leading to their decline. In so many popular narratives, Brahmins have been portrayed as affluent, prosperous, and cruel moneylenders. Here, Shivegowda, Revannashetty, Chikegowda and Kashimbaddi are the economically affluent families who lend money and exploit people of different castes.

In Ramsandra, since Brahmins are not dominant, most of them are exploited by more powerful caste members. For instance, Shivegowda and Revannashetty cheat Gangamma on several occasions in the novel. When Ramanna dies, Shivegowda convinces Gangamma to transfer the post of village accountant to his brother-in-law Shivelingowda, by saying that when Channigarayya reaches adulthood, he will transfer the post. Nevertheless, when Channigarayya comes of age, both Shivegowda and Shivelingowda not only scold him, but refuse to relinquish the funds. Later, Gangamma loses all her land and paternal property because of the wickedness of Shivegowda.

The lives of common Brahmins in this novel are arduous and adverse. They are swindled by the people from the dominant caste and oppressed by the Brahmins of high status. Ayyashastry and Annajois take advantage of Gangamma's family on several occasions. For instance, Gangamma is already in debt, and instead of helping her, Ayyashastry asks her to perform Rishipanchami Vrata. In the procession of this Vrata, Ayyashastry demands two dhotis and two saris of high quality, as well as a cow, rice, and sugar. These resources are not readily available to the family. There are many such instances in the novel. Thus, in Ramsandra, the high-class Brahmins manipulate, cheat, and oppress the low-class Brahmins.<sup>39</sup>

In the varna system, there was no compulsion to do only one profession; instead, the occupation was determined by the availability and need. As Srinivas has pointed out, people from different castes were not bound to follow the traditional occupation of their caste; instead, they were free to do other jobs as well.<sup>40</sup> The same outcome can be found among the Brahmins of this novel. Here, Kantijois is a pandit, but his son Kalesha is a police constable, and later a farmer. Suryanarayana, the husband of Parvati, is a schoolteacher who does not teach Sanskrit, the traditional occupation

<sup>38</sup> Bhyrappa, *Grihabhanga: A Broken Home*, p. 157.

<sup>39</sup> Mitra, *In Search of Hegemony: A Comparative study of Brahmin Caste of India*, p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 62.

associated with Brahmins. Similarly, the Brahmins who do not perform rituals either cultivate the land or attempt to sell crafts at market.

As Srinivas analyzes the Rampura village, he finds that “members of other non-Brahmin castes may enter temples where Brahmins or Lingayats are priests.”<sup>41</sup> In Ramsandra also, there are two temples, managed by Brahmins, that are accessible to Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike. And apart from some special occasions, they often go to the temple listening to *bhajans* sung by Maadevyya or to offer something as a part of a vow.

### **Conclusion**

*Grinhabhanga: A Broken Home* indicates that Brahmins are not from the dominant caste, particularly in Ramsandra, Kurubarahalli, and Nuggikere villages, and are in fact subservient to the members of the dominant caste. They are exploited, oppressed, and cheated by the dominant caste. However, in Nagalpura, the situation is different. Here, because of the erudition of Kantijois and the job of Kalesha as a police constable, the family is dominant. Overall, the novel vividly depicts the lives of rural Karnataka, where discrimination is not caste specific; rather, the powerful exploit the weak. Here, it is not the Brahmins perpetuate this, rather, “the dominant castes, who are generally non-Brahmins and owners of the land, are among the worst practitioners of inequality and exploitation, their victims being the local poor, particularly the landless members of the Scheduled Castes.”<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, in different geographical locations, different castes used to be dominant. It is universally acknowledged that the powerful people, irrespective of their caste, have been exploiting the less powerful in different ways. In this sense, anyone from any caste can be a victim of power politics, including Brahmins.

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<sup>41</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 64.

<sup>42</sup> Srinivas, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, p. 10.